Contested Classicism: The English Baroque, Palladianism, and the Commodification of Architectural Style, 1715-1754

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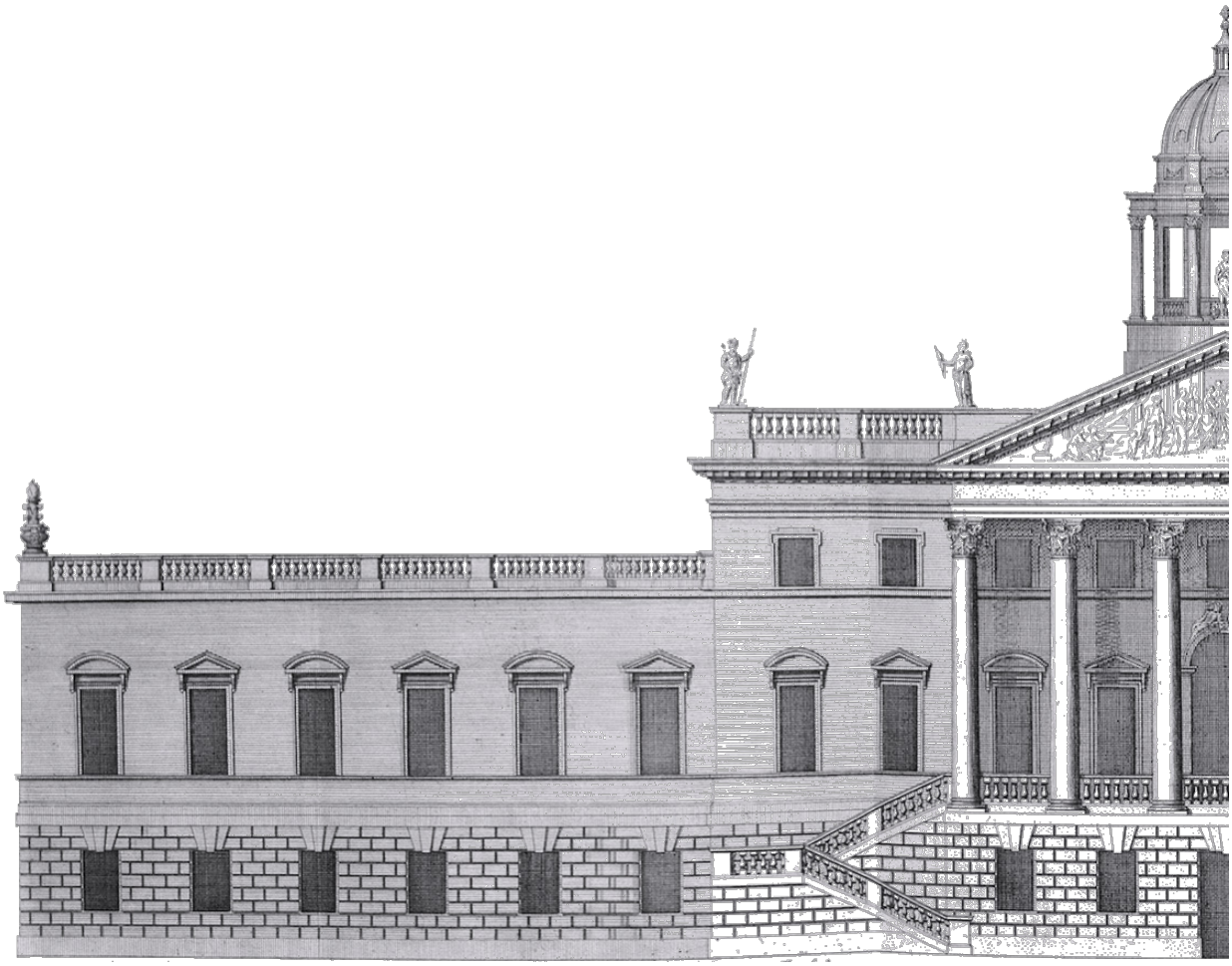

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DYLAN WAYNE SPIVEY

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother,
Annie Newton Blanton (1933-2018).

Your wisdom, wit, and strength have always inspired me,
and your memory continues to do so.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments

Because words are somewhat insufficient to acknowledge and repay the many debts I have accrued over the lengthy course of this project, I will keep them few. However, I must offer my deepest thanks to those individuals without whom this project would not have been possible. First and foremost, to my advisor, Douglas Fordham, who has challenged my thinking and has helped to shape, clarify, and sharpen this project from its earliest moments. From our initial conversations about James Gibbs and the print to his insightful questions as the project germinated, his unfailing support, encouragement, and advice have been instrumental. And his ability to slash through the thicket of my prose has helped to distill the arguments of this project and has made me a better scholar and writer. I could not have asked for a better advisor and mentor, and I will be forever grateful. Additionally, I thank the members of my committee: Shiqiao Li, Richard Guy Wilson, and Cynthia Wall. In the pages of their research and in their classrooms, offices, homes, and, in one particularly unforgettable instance, from atop a moon gate in Newport, RI, they have graciously shared their knowledge, experience, and advice with me. They have each enriched both this project and my approach to art, architecture, and eighteenth-century British culture.

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Some of the central ideas of this project have benefitted from publication elsewhere, including in *Palladiana: Newsletter of the Center for Palladian Studies in America* (fall 2020). A significant excerpt from this dissertation's third chapter will appear as "The House with Two Faces: From Baroque to Palladian at Wentworth Woodhouse," in the forthcoming volume *Politics and the British Country House, 1688-1800*, edited by Jon Stobart, Peter Lindfield, and Joan Coutu (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022). I am indebted to my readers and editors for their helpful comments and questions, and a special thanks must be given to Joan Coutu for her constant support, her phenomenal editorial eye, and the myriad ways in which she helped me to tell a stronger story.

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Abstract

Bounded by the careers and publications of rival architects Colen Campbell (1676-1729) and James Gibbs (1682-1754), "Contested Classicism: The English Baroque, Palladianism, and the Commodification of Architectural Style, 1715-1754," questions how style was understood, articulated, and ultimately commercialized in early eighteenth-century England. Using a series of case studies which unites period discourse with concurrent architectural practice, this dissertation argues that the nascent concept of style was central to the architecture of early eighteenth-century Britain. And, at the intersection of theory and practice lay the print and illustrated book. At once a professionalizing tool, an advertisement of architectural skill, and the means by which architectural style became a commodity in an ever-expanding consumer society, the print enabled architects such as Campbell and Gibbs to recalibrate their relationship with potential patrons and to market their work directly to a broadening consumer base. Selling style, or at least a superior knowledge of it, would become central to anyone professing to be an architect in eighteenth-century England, a reality evidenced by the careers of Campbell and Gibbs.

Borne out both in the pages of the architectural book and in brick and mortar, the taste debates of the eighteenth century demonstrate how style was transformed into a vital commodity in the marketplace for ideas and country houses. In an age of tremendous academic specialization, this dissertation deploys the methods of both architectural history (with careful attention to plans, siting, materials, and careful inspection of existing structures) alongside art history (and its emphasis on the power and limits of representation, the importance of book illustration, and the particular status of cultural commodities). In the process, this dissertation offers a new understanding of the role of style in early eighteenth-century Britain, reappraises the Palladian powerhouse, implicates the print and architectural book in a commodification of architectural style, extends the chronology of luxury consumption to the early decades of the eighteenth-century, and argues that competing notions of style were, at least in part, fueled by the dynamic eighteenth-century market for luxury goods.

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION

"That Dam'd Gusto"

By 1719, William Kent had reached the end of his tether. Writing from Paris after travelling across Italy with Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, Kent bemoaned the state of contemporary architectural production and found himself simply unable to bear visiting any buildings in Paris other than two Renaissance palaces by the Genovese architect Galeazzo Alessi. However, in spite of his angst, Kent remained hopeful that, "by his Lordships encorgement & other gentlemen whe may have a better gusto, then that dam'd gusto that's been for this sixty years past."[1] Kent's anxiety lies at the heart of this dissertation. His acerbic dismissal of "that dam'd gusto" is at once delightfully quotable and incredibly illuminating. Terminologically, it reveals a crucial eighteenth-century cognizance of architectural style, and, temporally, it aligns that style with the career of Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723).[2] In the scholarship of English architectural

[1] Kent to Burrell Massingberd, Paris, 15 November 1719, in "Letters From William Kent to Burrell Massingberd from the Continent, 1712-1719," ed. Carol Blackett-Ord, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, Vol. 63 (2001), 103. In her notes, Blackett-Ord clarifies that the architect who Kent refers to as "Vetruvio a Genova" is Alessi. See also John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Gardens at Chiswick* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

[2] The OED provides examples of gusto in this usage dating as early as 1662, 1706, and 1712, and the historic definition makes the link explicit: "style in which a work of art is executed; artistic style; occasionally

history, this period has become known as the English Baroque, and Kent was not alone in his disapproval. Reform was in the air, and it would arrive in the guise of Palladianism. This reformist narrative has, from the middle of the twentieth century, dominated the scholarship surrounding the architecture of early eighteenth-century England, framing Palladianism as a stylistic, intellectual, and political counterpoint to the Baroque.

The idea of Palladianism was introduced by Rudolf Wittkower, who examined the phenomenon first in his 1943 essay "Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neo-Classical Architecture," which explored the distinctively "English" Palladian classicism employed by "the academic architects of the Burlington circle" who "felt themselves to be the custodians of the tradition formed by [Andrea] Palladio and [Inigo] Jones, in whose works they believed that they had discovered the eternal rules of architecture."[3] However, Sir John Summerson's seminal *Architecture in Britain*, published a decade later in 1953, remains, in the word of Giles Worsley, "profoundly influential."[4] In it, Summerson echoes William Kent's temporal and stylistic divisions, organizing the history of the English Baroque in direct relationship to Wren in the volume's third section, "Wren and the Baroque (1660-1710)," and casting the period's other leading architects, Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736), and Thomas Archer (1668-1743), firmly in Wren's professional shadow.

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prevailing or fashionable style in matters of taste." Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "gusto." Accessed Novermber 10, 2017. http://www.oed/view/Entry/82701.

[3] Rudolf Wittkower, "Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neo-Classical Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943). This essay is reproduced amidst a larger study of Palladio and his influence in English architecture in Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: George Braziller, 1974).

[4] As Worsley notes, while Summerson's book covers a far wider historical ground, "at the heart of the book lies the concept of Palladianism." Giles Worsley, "Sir John Summerson and the Problem of Palladianism," in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Histriography*, Studies in British Art 16, ed. Frank Salmon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 105.

Similarly, Kerry Downe's landmark study, *English Baroque Architecture*, published a decade later in 1966, begins with the Restoration and places Wren at the forefront of his analysis. Writing nearly half a century later, Giles Worsley also looked to Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Archer for what he characterized as the "stuttering phenomenon" of the English Baroque, and his own study, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, offered a reassessment of architectural style in the eighteenth century, arguing for a coexistence of styles.[5] If the arc of the English Baroque mirrored that of Wren's career, then, for both Summerson and Downes, the end of the moment was spelled out by 1715 and the launching of Palladianism, which looked backwards to the work of Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) and the subsequent Palladian classicism introduced in England by Inigo Jones (1573-1652). The history of eighteenth-century British architecture has, therefore, been a history of style, and Palladianism, both as an art historical concept and an eighteenth-century architectural movement, has dominated the narrative.

The formalism of Summerson's study has, more recently, been the subject of much criticism, and style itself has become increasingly problematized as a focus or framework for art historical investigation.[6] Indeed, the term "style," as it is used in modern art and architectural

[5] Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830,* 9th ed., Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London: A.Zwemmer Ltd, 1966); Giles Worsley, "Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Archer: The Search for an English Baroque," *Studies in the History of Art* 66 (2005); and Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[6] For reconsiderations of Summerson, see, for example, Caroline van Eck, "Artisan Mannerism: Seventeenth-Century Rhetorical Alternatives to Sir John Summerson's Formalist Approach," and Worsley, "Summerson and the Problem of Palladianism," in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography*, Studies in British Art 16, ed. Frank Salmon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). For useful analyses of the concept and usefulness of style in art history, see Willibaud Sauerländer, "From Stilus to Style: Reflections on the Fate of a Notion," *Art History* 6, no. 3 (September 1983): 253-70; Whitney Davis, "Style and History in Art History," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Jas Elsner, "Style," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2nd ed., ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

history, is not an explicitly eighteenth-century term. Samuel Johnson's mid-century *Dictionary of the English Language* defines style as a manner of writing or of speaking, and Kent's Italianate "gusto" as "intellectual taste."[7] However, I contend that, as Kent's letter reveals, the nascent concept of architectural style was of great importance to early eighteenth-century architects, authors, and their clients and readers. And, contemporaneous with Kent's letter is a growing body of architectural criticism and theory, as well as an equally growing body of domestic architecture whose formal changes reflect period stylistic discourse.[8] Although both English Baroque and Palladian architecture can be characterized as classical, architectural style was deeply contested in the early eighteenth century. Thus, as the most capacious category under which these interrelated eighteenth-century issues and impulses can be grouped and interrogated, my dissertation places the question of style at its center. However, it does not attempt to define or redefine either the English Baroque or the Palladianism which displaced it, both of which, to echo Kerry Downes, escape easy definition.[9] Rather, it offers a reassessment of architectural style in the early eighteenth century which endeavors not to be ensnared or misled by the terms themselves.

In this way, the terms Baroque and Palladian, which remain useful descriptors necessary for this and any study of architecture in this period, can be viewed as the product of significant cultural forces such as increasing professionalism, the role of the print and publication, and resultant consumerism and commodification. Indeed, it is the very awareness of and anxiety

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[7] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London, 1756), *s.v.* "Gusto" & "Style."

[8] For an assessment of these changes in English domestic architecture in the period from 1710 to 1740, see Sir John Summerson, "The Classical Country House in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 107, no. 5036 (July 1959). For the changes to the country house in the second half of the century, see Damie Stillman, "The Neo-Classical Transformation of the English Country House," *Studies in the History of Art* 25, Symposium Papers X: The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House (1989).

[9] Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture*, 1-11.

surrounding style, as revealed in Kent's letter, which frames the central questions of this dissertation: why were eighteenth-century thinkers so concerned with style? How did they learn about it? And what is the status of the architect within this discourse? At once a historiographical intervention and a recovery of period conceptualizations of architectural style, this dissertation argues that a unique conjunction of professional and commercial incentives made the debate between English Baroque and Palladian styles a defining feature of early eighteenth-century architectural theory and practice in Britain.

One of the most intriguing and beguiling architects of the English Baroque is Sir John Vanbrugh. Yet, he is, for the most part, conspicuously absent from this study. Although he cast a wide professional shadow, Vanbrugh worked within the traditional client economy, and his career was built on a network of social connections and political appointments which gave him both security and reputation (if not always a positive one). With characteristic abandon, Vanbrugh also demonstrated a remarkable willingness to work across style lines. However, like Christopher Wren, by the first decades of the eighteenth-century, Vanbrugh's life and career were approaching their end. In the same moment, two eager Scotsmen had just arrived in London to launch their careers. As this dissertation will demonstrate, Colen Campbell (1676-1729) and James Gibbs (1682-1754), both of whom had begun their professional lives in fields unrelated to architecture, understood acutely the importance of architectural style, and, even more importantly, recognized the commercial potential of the print and publication. While both Campbell and Gibbs also relied on the support of aristocratic patrons and sinecures, their hugely successful books helped to establish their careers and to recalibrate their relationship to potential clients. Thus, this dissertation begins and ends with the seminal publications of these two shrewd architects, and, like

the careers of Campbell and Gibbs, this study is situated at a moment of great cultural and stylistic change.

Colen Campbell was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh and practiced law there for several years. Campbell was still described as a lawyer when, in 1717, he designed the Rolls House in London. By that time, he had already established himself as an architect and had published the first two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a nationalistic survey of British architecture initially inspired by seventeenth-century French publications.[10] Yet, while Campbell's book would make him a prophetic voice for the style, the origins of Palladianism have deeper roots. The rise of Palladianism has been linked to the intellectual changes taking place in English society between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is marked by a transition from the experimental or empiricist approach to architecture exemplified by the work of Robert Hooke and Christopher Wren to the humanistic ideal of virtue espoused by Shaftesbury and expressed architecturally by Campbell and Burlington.[11] This early eighteenth-century conception of virtue was based on the notion of an innate sense of right and wrong, and along with this moralistic formulation came the secondary conception of a taste for the beautiful and the equating of the good with the beautiful. This same moralizing language is reflected in Campbell's reformist Palladian text, and, although Shaftesbury's call for a new national style did not suggest what it should be, the subsequent reshaping of the Office of Works did. Under Burlington's guidance,

[10] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978), *s.v.* "Campbell, Colen." See also Howard E. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

[11] See Shiqiao Li, *Power and Virtue: Architecture and Intellectual Change in England, 1660-1730* (London: Routledge, 2006), 6-14. See also Matthew Hunter, *Wicked Intelligence: Visual Art and the Science of Experiment in Restoration London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); and Alexander Echlin and William Kelley, "A 'Shaftesburian Agenda'? Lord Burlington, Lord Shaftesbury and the Intellectual Origins of English Palladianism," *Architectural History* 59 (2016).

Wren, Hawksmoor, and Vanbrugh were all removed by the 1720s and replaced by Palladian architects such as Thomas Ripley (1682-1758), William Kent (1685-1748), and Colen Campbell. The "rule of taste" took a firm hold in the first half of the eighteenth-century, and Palladianism became its architectural expression.[12]

1715 was a watershed moment for both English architecture and politics, and the two have been inextricably linked within scholarship of the period.[13] Arriving on the heels of the Hanoverian Succession, 1715 was the year of a landslide Whig victory in the general election, beginning a period of political dominance would last for much of the century. It was also the year of an unsuccessful Jacobite uprising led by John Erskine, Earl of Mar.[14] Though Cambell and Gibbs were both Scottish (and Erskine, also an amateur architect, was one of Gibbs's earliest supporters), the political allegiances between either architect or architectural style are far less clear than the binary which has too frequently linked the Tories with the Baroque and the Whigs with Palladianism. As Howard Colvin has reminded us, the origins of Palladianism were far less politically charged. Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (died 1710), and his disciple, Dr. George Clarke (died 1736), early practitioners of a Palladian style, or, in Colvin's words, "pre-Palladians," were both staunchly Tory in their politics.[15] However, for Scottish architects

[12] Li, *Power and Virtue*, 4-11.

[13] In addition to Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, and Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, see Carole Fry, "Spanning the Political Divide: Neo-Palladianism and the Early Eighteenth-Century Landscape," *Garden History* 31, no. 2 (2003); Patrizia Granziera, "Neo-Palladian Architecture and its Political Association: The Contribution of Venice to Eighteenth-Century British Art, *Mediterranean Studies* 13 (2004); Francis Dodsworth, "*Virtus* on Whitehall: The Politics of Palladianism in William Kent's Treasury Building, 1733-6," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no. 4 (December 2005).

[14] See, for example, Clayton Roberts, *The Struggle for the Scepter: A Study of the British Monarchy and Parliament in the Eighteenth-Century*, ed. Stewart Dippel (New York: Peter Lang, 2020); and Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832*, The Arnold History of Britain (London: Arnold, 1997).

attempting to establish themselves in London amongst the backdrop of Jacobitism and political upheaval (and, for Gibbs, Catholicism), entry into the raging debates about national architectural style was unavoidable. Therefore, this dissertation does not seek to dismantle the political associations of architectural style in the early eighteenth-century, which are myriad and mutable. Rather, it explores the ways in which architectural style was politicized and suggests that the publications of Campbell and Gibbs sought to both engage with and transcend deep regional and political divisions through a commodification of style. Similarly, this dissertation interrogates the relationship between architectural style, commodity, and national identity.

Also in 1715, and in response to the publication of Giacomo Leoni's English translation of Palladio's *I quattro libri*, Campbell issued the first volume of his own stylistic treatise, *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Promising its readers "the exact Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the Regular Buildings, both Publick and Private, in Great Britain," *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a highly successful publication, and has been considered by historians as a Palladian manifesto.[16] Through a series of pointed questions in his introduction, Campbell characterized the problems of contemporary architectural practice. The theatricality, freedom, interplay of massing and voiding, and the use of ornament with which the baroque is now associated are here described as "affected and licentious," "wildly extravagant," "where the parts are without proportion, solids without their true bearing, heaps of materials without strength, excessive ornaments without grace, and the

[15] Howard Colvin, "A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism," *Architectural History* 17 (1974), 5. See also Li, *Power and Virtue*, 12.

[16] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. I (London: 1715), 8.

whole without symmetry." In their restrained and erudite classicism, Palladio, and the English architect Inigo Jones were, according to Campbell, the great restorers of architecture.

While Campbell's project grew out of a larger body of nationalistic surveys and took up the debate between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns" which had been carried out by French architects and theorists and had occupied the members of the Royal Society in London since its founding in 1660, his book was among the first to assemble and publish English architectural designs.[17] More important, it was the first to prominently include designs by its author, most of which, it should be noted, were completely speculative. Borne out in the text and images of his book, style, for Campbell, became an important component of his professional credibility. Thus, although the philosophical, political, and intellectual origins of Palladianism extend far beyond Colen Campbell, my dissertation begins in 1715 at this critical stylistic juncture and with this landmark publication. Unlike previous studies, this dissertation focuses neither on the production nor the reception of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and it moves beyond considerations of the dissemination of Palladianism and architectural style.[18] Instead, I consider the theoretical and visual languages employed in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the way in which Campbell deployed the emergent debates surrounding national architectural style as a commercial strategy for promoting his own work. While the overt stylistic messaging of *Vitruvius Britannicus* has long been acknowledged, I argue

[17] For more about this body of eighteenth-century architectural discourse, see John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842* (Cambridge: The MIT press, 1985); Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Lucy Elisabeth Rumble, "'Of Good Use or Serious Pleasure': *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Early Eighteenth-Century Architectural Discourse" (PhD Diss., University of Leeds, 2001). For more on the production history of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, see T.P. Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus,'" *Architectural History* 20 (1977); and Eileen Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus' before Colen Campbell," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 998 (May 1986).

[18] See Carole Anne Fry, "The Dissemination of Neo-Palladian Architecture in England, 1701-1758" (PhD Diss., University of Bristol, 2006).

that Colen Campbell leveraged architectural style as a vehicle for self-promotion and professionalization, and marked a new conception of style as a commodity.[19] Thus, Campbell could both sell style and demonstrate his mastery of it.

The only active architect whose work was not included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was James Gibbs, the son of a Scottish merchant. Raised a Catholic, in 1703 Gibbs enrolled at the Scots College in Rome to become a priest. However, he abandoned a religious calling to study architecture with the Italian architect Carlo Fontana. While in Italy, Gibbs met important early patrons, including Erskine, who would lead the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715, and Gibbs returned to England in 1709 to begin his architectural career in London.[20] In part as a response to his omission from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in 1728, Gibbs published his own *Book of Architecture*, the first English book to be completely dedicated to the designs of its author. Though in his introduction Gibbs laid out that his book was meant to "be of use to such Gentleman as might be concerned in building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Design can be procured," the self-promotional motives of the publication are transparent. Indeed, in 1713, two years before Campbell published the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs was desperate and had considered publishing a book of architecture in order to gain much-needed professional traction. In the fall of that year, Gibbs wrote to his friend and patron Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, that "to establish my reputation here" he had "in mind to publish a book of architecture, which is indeed a science that everybody criticizes here, and in all the countries I was

[19] For more on architectural professionalization and the printed book, see Dell Upton, "Before 1860: Defining the Profession" in *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North American*, ed. Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

[20] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, s.v.* "Gibbs, James." See also, Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

in, never did I see worse performers."[21] Like Campbell, Gibbs recognized the importance of the print and publication in the promotion of his careers, and how architectural style might be commodified within the pages of a printed catalog.

Vitruvius Britannicus and Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* were shrewd professional maneuvers. Both publications were financial successes, and both also served to advertise their author's work to a broader public. As Dell Upton has suggested, "architectural professionalism and the publication of architectural handbooks were exactly contemporaneous…."[22] This dissertation, too, identifies a correlation between book publications and the professionalization of the architect in Britain. While Upton argues that, in the American context, it is the publication of architectural handbooks in the last decades of the century that coincided with increasing architectural professionalization, I contend that Campbell and Gibbs understood their books as intimately tied to their professional identities and commercial successes.[23] *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the *Book of Architecture* are, in fact, early examples of professionalizing efforts which were intended to demonstrate, for Campbell, the correct architectural style as determined by the examples of

[21] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. V (Norwich: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by the "Norfolk Chronicle" Company, Ltd., 1899), 332.

[22] Upton offers a useful assessment of the relationship between architectural pattern books and the professionalization of the architect in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America, identifying a coinciding trend between professionalization and the publication of architectural handbooks. Upton argues that, in the American context, this is inaugurated in the 1790s. See Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (1984). See also Dell Upton, "Before 1860."

[23] In addition to Terry Friedman's landmark monograph, recent studies have considered Gibbs's publishing endeavors as well as his training in Rome as part of an emerging professionalization of the architect. See William Aslet, "James Gibbs's Autobiography Revisited," *The Georgian Group Journal* 25 (2017); and William Aslet, "*Il Ritorno di 'Signor Gibbi' in Patria*: James Gibbs's Training in Italy and its Bearing on his Later Career," *The Georgian Group Journal* 27 (2019).

Palladio and Inigo Jones and, for Gibbs, the architectural training gained through his study in Italy and his ability to work in a variety of stylistic modes. This dissertation also tracks the seismic shift which took place between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the *Book of Architecture*. While, for Campbell, architectural style is a monolithic moral imperative, Gibbs recodes the vocabulary of classical virtue into a series of less freighted consumer choices, opening the door, at least rhetorically, to a much larger group of patrons.

By considering how architectural style was commodified through the medium of the print, this dissertation also engages with the broad range of scholarship surrounding the birth of a consumer society in the second half of the eighteenth-century England.[24] Scholars have characterized eighteenth-century England as inaugurating a consumer revolution. The rapidly expanding middle class began to reconsider the notion of luxury and consumption, which created an equally expanding market for luxury goods. However, Linda Levy Peck has argued against the grain of this scholarly consensus, locating the roots of luxury consumption instead in seventeenth-century London, and Shiqiao Li has argued that the development of a commercial society is one of the unique cultural conditions which fueled the intellectual and stylistic changes taking place in the first decades of the eighteenth-century.[25] This dissertation similarly relocates the origins of

[24] See, for example, Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds., *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (New York, Routledge, 1995); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Maxine Berg, "In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 182 (February 2004); and, more recently, Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[25] Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Li, *Power and Virtue*, 8-9. See also Rachel Ramsey, "Buying and Selling Luxury in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Eighteenth Century* 51, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2010).

luxury consumption by arguing that architectural style was commodified in the first decades of the eighteenth century for an elite class of consumers. The architectural print and illustrated book—and the resultant commodification of architectural style—point to an earlier instance of consumerism which took place at a highly elite level, complicating prevailing assumptions about print culture and eighteenth-century consumerism. Moreover, the commodification identified by this dissertation urges a more capacious model of eighteenth-century consumption and a new wariness of equating print culture with democratic politics. Yet, at the same time, the architectural print and illustrated book signal a change in priority from land to building. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the abstracted and overtly architectural convention of the orthographic projection displaced the bird's eye view, shifting both visual and symbolic emphasis from the land in which the country house was situated to the architecture of the building itself.

The commodification of architectural style is also visible in practice. Domestic architecture was the principal focus of building in the early eighteenth-century, and this dissertation turns to two especially illuminating examples, Houghton in Norfolk (fig. 0.1), and Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire (fig. 0.2). These houses are significant for two reasons. First, both are examples of the political country house, built for prominent Whig politicians. Houghton was constructed as a political powerbase for Prime Minister Robert Walpole. Likewise, the building campaign at Wentworth Woodhouse was fueled by the outsized political ambitions of Thomas Watson-Wentworth, who would become the 1st Marquis of Rockingham. Second, and perhaps even more crucial, architecturally, both houses reveal the tension between the contested classicism of the English Baroque and Palladianism. At Houghton, Walpole brought together the competing talents of Colen Campbell, James Gibbs and, later, William Kent, and the resulting building is a curious amalgam of Baroque and Palladian details. Wentworth Woodhouse, on the other hand, is

a house built in both Baroque and Palladian styles. The earlier façade, inspired by the exuberant, Continental Baroque of nearby Stainborough (with a gallery designed by James Gibbs), was appended by a staggering Palladian addition (fig. 0.3), based on Colen Campbell's schemes for Wanstead, published in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Thus, Houghton and Wentworth Woodhouse are situated at an instructive intersection between style, politics, and commodity.

This dissertation unites eighteenth-century discourse with concurrent architectural practice to trace increasing architectural professionalization, self-promotion, and the codifying and commercialization of classical forms through print. Selling style, or at least a superior knowledge of it, would become central to anyone professing to be an architect in eighteenth-century England, a reality evidenced by the careers of Campbell and Gibbs. The dissertation's first chapter explores the wider history of architectural publications into which Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and, later, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* are situated, tracing their commercial and intellectual origins and charting the trajectory from Campbell's singular and moralized stylistic gospel to Gibbs's far more expansive approach to style. Centrally, Chapter One reassess Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1727), and positions his designs for Wanstead House as the paradigm of a Campbellian Palladianism. Current scholarship too frequently has been preoccupied with stylistic classification—what is and is not Baroque or Palladian—without considering the cultural implications of style as a conscious consumer choice. By considering Campbell's publication alongside contemporaneous architectural theory and other self-promotional tools, my dissertation argues that the Baroque was recast as a consumer choice that a fashionable patron would discard in favor of a Palladian style that was more easily codified, in every sense of the term. Moreover, Chapter One also argues for a relationship between the planarity of Palladian designs and the

orthographic projection drawing which became the dominant form of architectural representation in print.

Moving from theory to practice, Chapter Two examines Walpole's Houghton Hall. Arguably the most important early Palladian house, Houghton set the standard for the Whig powerhouse, and the house's role as a seat of Whig political power has mapped neatly onto the frequent scholarly associations between Whiggery and Palladianism. However, little about Houghton is neat. It confounds the political narrative because it is stylistically unresolved. The house's two primary architects, Campbell and Gibbs, were bitter rivals, and Houghton, I argue, is a stylistic battleground where Baroque forms and planning collide with Palladian details to create a hybrid that illustrates the ongoing stylistic debates of the early eighteenth century. Chapter Two also examines the political landscape of early eighteenth-century Britain under Walpole, reconsidering the two-party system and, along with it, the frequent association between party and architectural style.

Chapter Three reexamines the Janus-faced and under-studied Wentworth Woodhouse. While current scholarship acknowledges that the two styles of Wentworth Woodhouse reflect a rapid change in fashion, I argue that the abrupt change to Palladianism is politically motivated and that the resulting east front is also representative of the commodification of the country estate. As an early plan for the rebuilding reveals, Wentworth Woodhouse was always envisioned on a palatial scale. However, initially intended as an architectural response to a fierce family rivalry, the design of the house changed alongside the ambitions of its patron. Wanstead, Colen Campbell's essay on the Palladian country house, became the model for a greatly enlarged new Palladian range at Wentworth Woodhouse. Selected from the pages of Campbell's Palladian book, I contend that

the design for Wentworth Woodhouse is at once a corrective to the Baroque façade and a catalog item necessary for anyone with political ambitions.

Serving as a foil to the first chapter, the final chapter turns to Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728) and builds on recent scholarship to consider how Gibbs's book operated as a professional catalog. However, by marketing his book as catalog for potential patrons and as a pattern book for remote craftsmen, Gibbs bridged the high art of architectural design with the mechanical art of the craftsman. By presenting architectural style as a series of engraved options, I contend that, as the careers of Campbell and Gibbs reveal, the development of Palladianism rose in tandem with the expanding consumer market of the eighteenth century. Ultimately, I argue that Gibbs's comparative plates anticipated the conventions of later catalogic publications such as Thomas Chippendale's *Director* (1754) and rendered architectural style itself a commodity.

Bounded by the careers and publications of rival architects Colen Campbell and James Gibbs, my dissertation examines how architectural style was understood, articulated, and, ultimately, commodified in the early eighteenth century. Using a series of case studies, including the stylistically unresolved country houses of Houghton and Wentworth Woodhouse, I interrogate how architectural style was conceptualized in a moment marked by architectural upheaval, and, by uniting theory with practice, I trace increasing architectural professionalization and the codifying and commercializing of classical forms. However, my dissertation moves away from the issue of stylistic dissemination to investigate how architectural style was commodified through ornament and print amidst a growing consumer culture. Thus, this dissertation contributes to a new understanding of early eighteenth-century architectural books as not merely transmitters of taste but as part of an active commodification of style, and of the architects who published them as emerging professionals establishing their credentials and reconfiguring the relationship between

patrons and clients. Through print, architectural style was becoming a high-end consumer good, merging fine line engravings with elite taste and knowledge of style. By illuminating these changing dynamics, the dissertation ultimately argues that the contested notions of classical style in early eighteenth-century England were, at least in part, fueled by rising professionalization and the dynamic eighteenth-century market of luxury goods.

1

PROCLAIMING THE GOSPEL

Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus

On April 8, 1715, something rather unremarkable happened. By command of King George I, an Approbation was given for the publication of a new book. Colen Campbell, the book's author, along with the booksellers John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, William Taylor, Henry Clements, and map seller Joseph Smith, were granted a fourteen-year copyright for the book's sole printing and publishing. In three volumes, published in 1715, 1717, and 1725, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect*, promised its readers "the exact Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the Regular Buildings, both Publick and Private, in Great Britain," and it would become one of the most remarkable, or at least remarked upon, books of eighteenth-century British architectural history.[1] Also remarkable and published later the same year, in 1715, was Andrea Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, with text translated by Nicholas Dubois and plates redrawn by Giacomo Leoni. Together, these two books have been considered the harbingers of a new, Palladian taste;

[1] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. I (London: 1715), 8.

Campbell's introduction rang out the gospel and Palladio wrote the law.[2] Yet, the story of Palladianism is far more complicated than this, and Campbell's book was part of a large body of architectural theory produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Even so, *Vitruvius Britannicus* remains one of the most intriguing and instructive publications of eighteenth-century Britain. No matter how wide or narrow its influence may have been, the book is nothing short of a manifesto.

This chapter traces the history of Campbell's remarkable book. Though its story has been well rehearsed, particularly in the work of Eileen Harris and T.P. Connor, I situate Campbell's publication alongside the growing body of architectural publications in the first decades of the eighteenth century to uncover how architectural style was understood and articulated by architects and theorists.[3] As the fierce debates and pedantic theorizations within their books suggest, the stakes of architectural style were high. By leveraging those stakes and insinuating himself in the midst of their deliberations, Campbell appointed himself the spokesman of a pure (yet assertively English) classicism restored not only to the "ingenious Labours" of Palladio, but to "the Famous Inigo Jones" who "is esteemed to have out-done all that went before."[4] This Campbellian Palladianism, legitimized by Palladio and Jones, was exemplified by Campbell's own designs, which were shrewdly included and positioned within the collection of plates. While both the Palladian agenda and the commercial implications of Campbell's publication have been long

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[2] See, for example, John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 296; See also Howard E. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 5, from whom I borrow the biblical metaphor.

[3] T.P. Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus,'" *Architectural History* 20 (1977): 14-30+81; Eileen Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus' Before Colen Campbell," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 998 (May 1986): 338+340-43+45-46.

[4] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:1-2.

acknowledged (and their successes can be measured by the growing subscription lists and the elite subscribers contained therein), I argue that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was ultimately more than an engine of professionalization and self-promotion.[5] By the middle of the eighteenth-century, architectural style began to be understood as not only mutable but selectable. Emerging from an already flourishing tradition of architectural treatises and collections of views and within a rapidly expanding commercial market, *Vitruvius Britannicus* inaugurated a new understanding of architectural style as a commodity. In the pages of his book, Campbell could sell style itself alongside his demonstrated command of it.

Vitruvius Britannicus was more critical than theoretical, and Campbell's criticisms, along with the frequently corrective designs of his own supplied throughout the book, reveal much about the nature and understanding of architectural style in early eighteenth-century Britain. Working in the negative space of Campbell's criticisms as well as through his interventionist designs, this chapter recovers not only Palladianism but its implied stylistic alternative, the corrupted classicism of the English Baroque. Campbell did not offer a sustained architectural theory. His introduction was less than two pages long, and the plates received little more than a paragraph of explanation. In the pithy words of Robert Tavernor, "Yet while it lacks theory it is not short of opinion: Campbell used his book as a stick with which to beat the Baroque 'excesses' of Wren and High Church Toryism, and decried the influence of Bernini and [James] Gibbs's Italian mentor Carlo Fontana."[6] These ideas about architectural style would be developed further by later writers such

[5] For more on architectural professionalization and the printed book, see Dell Upton, "Before 1860: Defining the Profession" in *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North American*, ed. Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

[6] Robert Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism*, Thames & Hudson World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1991), 152.

as Robert Morris and Isaac Ware, but Campbell made them visual. *Vitruvius Britannicus* was, simultaneously, a collection of plates of the best buildings of Britain and a catalog of Campbell's own speculative, Palladian designs, frequently dedicated to specific potential clients.

As this chapter will demonstrate, the idea of a collection of architectural plates or of a theoretical commentary is not what makes *Vitruvius Britannicus* remarkable. Rather, Campbell brought to the publication a clear (and self-promotional) thesis based on antique principles of architecture as articulated by Palladio and brought to England by Inigo Jones. He clarified the visual language of the plates, removing the perspective or bird's eye view in favor of the distinctly architectural conventions of plan, elevation, and section, and, through the careful insertion of his own designs, he staged comparatives, critiques, and correctives which made important distinctions about architectural style and demonstrated his professional abilities. Crucially, Campbell crafted a visual argument about architecture in a visual language which was itself decidedly architectural. The assembly of the book and the rhythm of it plates placed Colen Campbell firmly within a heritage of British architects, established his credentials, and implicitly promoted a new era of architecture rooted in the tradition of Palladio, while the modes of architectural representation recalled the woodblock prints of Palladio, emphasized such principles as symmetry, geometry, and proportion, and inaugurated an architectural style especially suited for engraving.

Finding Style in Early Eighteenth-Century Architectural Books

Though *Vitruvius Britannicus* became a declaration of stylistic reform, it did not begin that way. As Eileen Harris has shown, the origins of the publication were quite different, and it remains unclear exactly why *Vitruvius Britannicus* developed in the way that it did. The project was initially conceived in 1713 as a print-sellers' compendium of British architectural accomplishments,

possibly as a collaborative effort on the part of the printsellers David Mortier, Peter Dunoyer, Joseph Smith, and Andrew Johnson. Of these, however, the only figure to retain his interest in the publication was Joseph Smith, who, along with Colen Campbell in 1714, became co-owner of the copyright.[7] Campbell, with little experience as either an architect or printseller, was brought onto the project as author relatively late in the project's development.[8] Initially engaged as a draughtsman for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Colen Campbell seems to have been given authorship of the project at an advanced stage in the process, sometime after the first advertisements announcing the book appeared in *The Post Boy* on June 1, 1714.[9] Indeed, as Harris notes, the position of Campbell's name ruptures the typological symmetry of the book's title page (fig. 1.1), suggesting that his designation as the publication's author was not made until after the plate had already been prepared.

Whatever his original function, Campbell ultimately became the name attached to the entire project. Even so, as a joint copyright holder, it may be impossible to ascertain precisely how much freedom Campbell had in selecting the plates. Yet, as the purpose for *Vitruvius Britannicus* evolved from an architectural survey in the tradition of early French and English publications such as *Britannia Illustrata*, which had no recognizable architectural agenda, to a distinctly Palladian publication, the plates that it included—and those that were subsequently excluded—are especially

[7] Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus' before Colen Campbell," 341.

[8] Shiqiao Li, *Power and Virtue: Architecture and Intellectual Change in England, 1660-1730* (London: Routledge, 2006), 168-169. See also Eileen Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus' before Colen Campbell," 341, who suggests that Campbell was employed sometime between June 1714 and April 1715, when he was granted a joint copyright.

[9] "Proposals for publishing by Subscription, A Book entitl'd, *Vitruvius Britannicus*," *The Post Boy*, June 1, 1714.

revealing.[10] Campbell's Palladian interventions on the project may have been, at least in part, a response to the publication of an English translation of Palladio's *Four Books*. Giacomo Leoni announced his intention to publish the four volumes by subscription on April 30, 1715, with the promise to deliver the first volume within two weeks.[11] This first complete English translation also contained observations and notes by Inigo Jones, and, as Giles Worsley has suggested, the publication of Palladio in English would have made *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as it was originally conceived, seem outmoded.[12] Similarly, Eileen Harris argues that the designs by Palladio which would have appeared in Leoni's illustrated edition would have made many of the British buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* appear equally outdated.[13] Campbell's claim to authorship was dependent on his provision of both text and images and was predicated on penning an introduction to the project, writing a textual explication for each volume's illustrations, and contributing a total of eighteen designs across each of the publication's three volumes.[14] Campbell's new designs displaced others originally prepared for the book, and he selected and organized the book's plates. As T.P. Connor writes, Campbell "transformed the rough and heterogeneous architect's drawings into a uniform type of elevation and plan…"[15] Through these contributions and reconfigurations, Campbell brought to the publication a clear point of view, transforming *Vitruvius Britannicus*

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[10] John Harris, "The Country House on Display," foreword to *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus: Annotated and Analytic Index to the Plates*, by Paul Breman and Denise Addis (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972), v.

[11] Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 342.

[12] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 95.

[13] Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 342.

[14] *Ibid.*, 340-342.

[15] Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 22.

from a print-sellers' architectural survey into a testament (and, occasionally, an indictment) of the state of contemporary British architecture.

In less than two pages, Campbell's introduction to *Vitruvius Britannicus* made bold claims about architecture and style. His nationalistic language positioned the British architect as not only equal to but the rival of his Continental, specifically Italian, counterpoint, and, in the first line of text, Campbell points to the intrinsic and problematic admiration of his countrymen for all things foreign, especially in architecture. He continues by accusing his contemporaries of living in "an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the Ignorance or Partiality of others, than to judge truly of the Merit of Things by the Strength of Reason."[16] At once, Campbell questions the prevailing architectural taste while simultaneously suggesting that the solution to such ignorance could be found in judgement based on reason. Here, Campbell's assertions echo John Locke, who, in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* and *Essays on the Law of Nature*, proposed a distinction between custom, or shared, socialized opinions and values, and reason. According to Locke, people often "are guided not so much by reason as either by the example of others, or by traditional customs and the fashion of the country, or finally by the authority of those whom they consider good and wise."[17] As Ruth W. Grant has noted, while Locke acknowledges the difficulties of overcoming the strength of custom, he champions the ultimate authority of reason.[18] Colen Campbell adopts Locke's language to propose a similar need to overcome the prevailing power of custom in assessing contemporary architectural production.

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[16] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:1.

[17] John Locke, *Essays on the Law of Nature*, ed. W. von Leyden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 135.

[18] Ruth W. Grant, "John Locke on Custom's Power and Reason's Authority," *The Review of Politics* 74, no. 4 (2012), 609.

As Campbell writes, it is because of this "Mistake in Education," or the strength of customary values and opinions, "that so many of the British Quality have so mean an Opinion of what is performed in our own Country;" to correct this mistake by confronting custom with reason, Campbell proclaims directly that "in most we equal, and in some Things we surpass, our Neighbors."[19] By mirroring the arguments of John Locke, Campbell positions the reforming language and plates that will follow as part of a logic of reason. When their merits are judged solely on the basis of such reason, Campbell suggests, the buildings of British architects deserve no less esteem than the examples of foreign architecture that have become much admired. As the observable, empirical evidence upon which this reasonable judgement might be made, Campbell offers the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and he explicitly states that his collection is intended to invite between examples of the work of British architects "a fair Comparison with the best of the Moderns."[20]

Turning from this explanation of his motives to a veritable attack on the architecture of the last century, perhaps the most instructive and assertive stylistic language of the introduction comes in the form of these pointed questions:

> How affected and licentious are the Works of Bernini and Fontana? How wildly extravagant are the designs of Boromini, who has endeavored to debauch Mankind with his odd and chimerical Beauties, where the Parts are without Proportion, Solids without their true Bearing, Heaps of Materials without Strength, excessive Ornaments without Grace, and the Whole without Symmetry? And what can be a stronger Argument, that this excellent Art is near lost in that Country, where such Absurdities meet with Applause?[21]

[19] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:1.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

These questions are offered as rhetorical buttresses for Campbell's assertion that, after Palladio, "…the great Manner and exquisite Taste of Building is lost; for the Italians can no more now relish the Antique Simplicity, but are entirely employed in capricious Ornaments, which must at last end in the Gothick."[22] At the heart of Campbell's assessment—and his dismissal of the "odd and chimerical Beauties" of the moderns—are important implications about architectural style: what Campbell begins to identify within his introductory text is a stylistic distinction between the "Antique Simplicity" which characterized the architecture of Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones, who Campbell signals as Palladio's English equal, and the licentiousness and unbridled imagination that could only result in the "Gothick." For Campbell, Gothic is offered as a stylistic catch-all which includes all of the contemporary architectural production which does not adhere to the purity of the ancient classical tradition and which he considers corrupted, barbarous, or excessively ornamented.

As Giles Worsley has argued, Campbell's introduction echoes the sentiments of many similar architectural texts of the period.[23] Indeed, the tensions between the ancients and the moderns revealed in Campbell's introduction are derived from the seventeenth-century French writer and theorist Roland Fréart de Chambray, whose *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec le moderne* was published in 1650 and translated into English by John Evelyn in 1664. At the heart of both Campbell and Fréart de Chambray's criticisms lie the absurdities of invention. As Joseph Levine has argued, the romantic notion of the liberated, independent artist is a reversal of classical

[22] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:1.

[23] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 95-96.

expectations, whose priorities were imitative rather than creative.[24] In the preface to the *Parallèle*, Roland Fréart de Chambray dismisses challenges by those who would argue:

> …That the Mind is free, not bound, and that we have as good Right to invent, and follow our own *Genius*, as the *Ancients*, without rendring our selves their Slaves; since *Art* is an infinite thing, growing every Day to more Perfection, and suiting it self to the Humour of thee several *Ages* and *Nations*, who judge it differently, and define what is agreeable, everyone according to his own Mode, with a world of such like vain and frivolous Reasonings, which yet leave a deep Impression on the Minds of certain half-knowing People, whose the Practice of *Arts* has not yet disabus'd; and on simple *Workmen*, whose *Trade* dwells all upon their Finger Ends only: But we shall not appeal to such *Arbiters* as these.[25]

For Fréart de Chambray, invention is vanity, and he would instead:

> …ascend even to the very Source of the *Orders* themselves, and derive from thence the *Images*, and pure *Ideas* of these incomparable *Masters*, who were indeed their first *Inventors*, and be instructed from their own Mouths; since doubtless the farther Men have wander'd from their *Principles*, transplanting them as it were into a Strange Soil, the more they are become degenerate, and scarce cognoscible to their very *Authors*.[26]

The love of novelty and invention, according to Fréart de Chambray, lead only to libertinism, and the solution was to return to the antique originals. As he writes, "But to the end we may proceed solidly, and make a Judicious *Election*, it will first be requisite to be thoroughly instructed in the *Principles* of *Architecture*, and to have apply'd our Studies to *Antiquities*, which are the very *Maxims* and *Rules* of this *Art*…"[27] Like Campbell would repeat fifty years later, capricious

[24] Joseph Levine, "Why Neoclassicism? Politics and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25 (2002), 76.

[25] Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, trans. John Evelyn, 3rd edition, (London: 1723), 2.

[26] Fréart de Chambray, *Parallel*, 2-3.

[27] *Ibid.*, 6.

ornament and invention create "some strange and monstrous Alteration" from the purity of the antique.[28]

Another important, if somewhat lesser known, early eighteenth-century architectural theorist was Robert Morris, who, according to Howard Colvin, was the author of the foremost written theorization of English Palladianism.[29] Morris's *Essay In Defense of Ancient Architecture* (1728) and subsequent *Lectures on Architecture* (1734) laid out the aesthetic theory to accompany the rules set by Palladio. Like Campbell, Morris also espoused a strict adherence to the Orders and the importance of "classical simplicity."[30] Also like Campbell, in his *Essay*, Morris created a narrative in which ancient architecture was set in critical opposition to the inferior productions of the moderns. Similarly, Morris identifies a cycle of decay and renewal. By departing from "those just and pure Rules prescrib'd by the Ancients in the Perfection of their Sciences," Morris argues that architecture:

> fell a Victim (with its Fellow-Sciences, Painting and Sculpture, &c.) to the sacrilegious *Barbarians*, and lay long buried in the Ashes of Oblivion, till about the latter end of the thirteenth Century, without the least Pity or Affection; till the Love of Virtue encouraged that great Genius *Bramante*, in the time of Pope *Julius* II to revive the Beauties of it, by a due Observation of the ancient Edifices, and the Practice of it in a Conformity to the Rules and Methods he found made use of in the Execution.[31]

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[28] Fréart de Chambray, *Parallel*, 3.

[29] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London: John Murray Ltd, 1978), *s.v.* "Morris, Robert."

[30] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Morris, Robert."

[31] Robert Morris, *An Essay in Defense of Ancient Architecture; or, a Parallel of the Ancient Buildings with the Modern* (London: 1728), 22-23.

As his narrative continues, Morris builds to a familiar conclusion: for English architecture, the restorer of truth and virtue and the "guide to lead us through the unerring Rules of ancient Architecture" is none other than "the *British Palladio*, Inigo Jones."[32]

In addition to an adherence to the rules preserved in the buildings of Classical antiquity, central to the narratives of Fréart de Chambray, Morris, and Campbell are periodization and individualization. Ancient is distinguished from modern, Greek and Roman from Italian, and Bernini from Palladio. Terminologically, "style" and "gusto" were used by eighteenth-century architectural writers to refer to both the work of an architect, such as Palladio or Jones, or to an age or culture, such as Italian or Greek. In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell also uses style typologically, including designs made "in the Theatrical Style," and "in the Style of Inigo Jones." Similarly, William Kent's use of "gusto," which we have seen in the Introduction, echoes Fréart de Chambray, who deploys the term in both senses. In addition to criticizing the Italian Renaissance architect Vincenzo Scamozzi as "very poor and trite in his Ornaments, and but of an ill *Gusto*," Fréart de Chambray declares that his "own *Maxim* be ever precisely to conform myself to the *Gusto* of the *Ancients*, and to the *Proportions* which they have established."[33] In addition to these broad terms, the more complicated and periodized terms "antique," "modern," and "gothic," were also commonly used by architectural authors, including Campbell.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, these terms were codified in Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture*, published in 1756. Like Campbell, Isaac Ware was connected to Lord Burlington and his circle; Howard Colvin has suggested that Ware was a protégé or at least

[32] Morris, *Essay in Defense*, 25.

[33] Fréart de Chambray, *Parallel*, 78.

an associate of Burlington and may have benefited from the Earl's patronage. In 1733, Ware published the slim volume *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others*, which contained designs by Jones, Burlington, and William Kent. Later, in 1733, he published *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Houghton in Norfolk*, and, in 1738, Ware issued his own erudite translation of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*. Just as Ware's scholarly edition of Palladio has been regarded by Howard Colvin as the most accurate and reliable English translation of the *Four Books*, the *Complete Body of Architecture* was a massive and comprehensive compendium of eighteenth-century architectural theory and practice.[34]

Part of a new series of books from publishers Thomas Osborne and J. Shipton, including *The Complete Body of Husbandry* (Thomas Hale, 1756-1758) and *The Complete Body of Planting and Gardening* (William Hanbury, 1771), Ware's book was indeed meant to offer a complete body of architectural theory. Ware sought "to collect all that is useful in the works of others, at whatever time they have been written, or in whatever language; and to add the several discoveries and improvements made since that time by the genius of others, or by our own industry" in order to compile and distill their knowledge into one master volume "supplying the place of all other books."[35] Indeed, the frontispiece announces these ambitions with a fictive architectural landscape assembling a visual history of architecture (fig. 1.2). In the background rises a great Egyptian pyramid behind a Greek temple set atop a hill, while, in the foreground, the ruins of the Roman Coliseum are overshadowed by a Renaissance pavilion inset with a prominent *serliana*. From these buildings it seems, a group of young architects learn the principles of their science

[34] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Ware, Isaac."

[35] Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), i.

which have been codified into the three Classical orders held aloft by the central figure. Holding their tools to the side, the figures are contemplative and studious, suggesting that the manual skills of the architect are subordinate to his intellect. Like the imagined landscape, Ware's book has been assembled from the best examples of the past as an encyclopedic instructional tool, and the developmental narratives repeated by Fréart de Chambray, Campbell, and Morris, are echoed in the layered buildings of the frontispiece.

Ware's *Complete Body* makes explicit many of the stylistic distinctions implied by Colen Campbell. Although published several decades after *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Ware's project has been called by Harold Francis Pfister the "last full grasp of first-generation doctrine." Situating Ware within a historiography he has characterized as "Burlingtonian," Pfister presents the *Complete Body* as the final and most comprehensive statement of an architectural theory first articulated by Colen Campbell.[36] And Ware's book was direct. It begins with a useful glossary of architectural terms and offers instructive definitions for temporal categories of style. The first of these terms, both alphabetically and temporally, is "Antique," which Ware defines as:

> A term at large expressing any thing antient, but appropriated to signify a building, part of a building, or other work, that has been executed by Greeks or Romans, when the arts were in their greatest purity and perfection among those people. The period of things called *antique* extends from the time of *Alexander the Great*, to that of the emperor *Phocas*, when *Italy* was over-run by the *Goths* and *Vandals*. In the most strict sense of the term *antique*, it take in only the express period when some of the great works of antiquity were made, that period commencing when the arts had arrived at their perfection, and ending when they began to fall to decay. In this sense *antique*, which properly signifies antient, is used as a term distinguished from *antient*: all old buildings, or remains of buildings, of other ages being called *antient*, but those erected within that period only being honoured with the name of *antique*. But this is a vague and arbitrary sense: the derivation of the word

[36] Lord Burlington remains a central figure in the history of English neo-Palladianism, and many of the movement's primary architects and theorists, including Colen Campbell and Isaac Ware, were members of his circle. See Harold Francis Pfister, "Burlingtonian Architectural Theory in England and America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 11 (1976): 123-151.

> being from the Latin *antiquus*, which signifies old, without any limitation to one period of more than another.[37]

For Ware, "antique" referred specifically to the works of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Therefore, a building said to be built in the "antique manner" was any modern building "executed according to the strict rules and good taste of the antients," and "Antiquo-Modern" was offered as a descriptor for "buildings which have been executed since the time that is comprehended under the term *antique*, and yet too long ago to be properly called modern: our old *Gothic* churches, and other structures of that kind and time, are called *antique-modern* edifices."[38]

If the antique was purity and perfection, then, as his explanation of antiquo-modern suggests, Gothic is its categorical antithesis. Ware characterized Gothic as:

> A wild and irregular manner of building, that took place of the regular antique method at the time when architecture, with the other arts, declined. The *Gothick* is distinguished from the antique architecture, by its ornaments being whimsical, and its profiles incorrect. The inventors of it probably thought they exceeded the *Grecian* method, and some of the late have seemed, by their fondness for *Gothick* edifices, to be of the same opinion; but this was but a caprice, and, to the credit of our taste, is going out of fashion again as hastily as it came in.[39]

Ware further broke down the gothic into antient and modern periods. The former was "too coarse" and the latter "too full of imaginary elegance."[40] In his discussion of the gothic, Ware also makes a revealing claim about ornament. As he writes, "In antient architecture, no ornament was admitted but what had its origin in something necessary or useful, and contributed to the beauty of the whole." In contrast, Gothic ornament was dismissed as "fanciful," having "no respect to the

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[37] Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), 5.

[38] Ware, *Complete Body*, 5-6.

[39] *Ibid.*, 19.

[40] *Ibid.*

part or whole of the building."[41] Gothic is both a periodized term, referring to a post-antique period of decline which invokes the Goths (and is frequently characterized as similarly "barbarous"), and a stylistic descriptor for decidedly non-Classical buildings.

Perhaps the most complicated definition Ware offers, however, is for "Modern" architecture:

> Architects distinguish buildings of former ages into three classes, antique, antient, and *modern*: the two first terms are exactly the same in their original sense, but they appropriate them into different meanings. Antique signifies a remain that was executed when the arts were in their greatest purity and perfection; and antient an old piece of work, but not of that perfect truth. The word *modern* is used as distinguished from both of these, but its sense it not well fixt: some mean, by *modern* structures, those *Gothick* buildings which are so common at this time, and though built long since, are *modern* in comparison of the remains just named; others, by *modern* buildings, mean the *Italian* method, but that is only the antique revived. Others express by this term, the new whimsical structures, which have so much of fancy, and so little judgement or taste, that they deserve no name at all. It is a reflection upon our country to call these *modern*, as if the general taste were as much depraved as that of the few particular people who erect those baubles.[42]

As Ware admits, the term is unfixed. Whereas the antique signified Classical architecture and gothic its stylistic opposite, modern was multivalent, with broad temporal and stylistic bounds. Ware further suggests that modern might be used as a synonym for gothic, or for recent classical structures built in "the *Italian* method." Intriguingly, Ware distinguishes between this classical revival and a new stylistic category of "whimsical structures, which have so much of fancy, and so little judgement or taste, that they deserve no name at all." By implication, these buildings are neither completely gothic nor strictly classical.

Suspended somewhere between these poles lies a distinct stylistic category which, in Ware's words, deserved no name at all. Though not properly modern, this implied style was temporally

[41] Ware, *Complete Body*, 19-20.

[42] *Ibid.*, 23-24.

recent. Indeed, Colen Campbell identifies a similarly whimsical style explicitly in "the Productions of the last Century," which were "affected and licentious," "wildly Extravagant," "odd and chimerical," and marred by "Parts … without Proportion, Solids without their true Bearing, Heaps of Materials without Strength, excessive Ornaments without Grace, and the Whole without Symmetry." Such debauched classicism, Campbell warns, can only result "in the Gothick."[43] Thus, both Campbell and Ware imply a liminal stylistic category caught along a trajectory from the antique to the gothic. Baroque, already a loaded and anachronistic descriptor when applied to British architecture by twentieth-century historians such as Kerry Downes and John Summerson, was not an eighteenth-century term. However, conceptually at least, the Baroque is precisely the corrupted, seventeenth-century classicism described by Campbell and Ware. Caught between the contested classicisms of such early eighteenth-century discourse, both the Baroque and the importance of architectural style are thus revealed through the critical language of the period's writers, commentators, and theorists. The whimsical, barbarous, licentious, and corrupted classical structures decried by Ware are precisely the type of buildings Campbell condemns in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and are what have, in contemporary scholarship, been categorized as the English Baroque. In this way, the notion of a whimsical and licentious classicism which precedes the more strictly classical style espoused by Palladian architects and theorists is a product of eighteenth-century discourse. As their texts makes clear, Campbell and Ware understood the Baroque conceptually even if not terminologically, and indeed, for Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a largescale advertisement of his architectural credentials which rested upon this stylistic distinction

[43] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:1.

between good and bad classicisms, borne out not only in his text but through the engravings as well.

Architectural Representation in the Eighteenth-Century

As a series of plates representing the best of British architecture, *Vitruvius Britannicus* emerged from a genre of national architectural surveys which had become especially popular in France in the seventeenth century. Two such lavish surveys were the sets of engravings produced by Jean Marot, first of the buildings of Paris, or "Le Petit Marot," in around 1659, and later *L'Architecture Françoise*, or "Le Grand Marot," in 1686, both of which contained perspective views, detailed elevations, section engravings, and occasional plans.[44] In England, geographical surveys published at both ends of the seventeenth century, such as John Speed's *Theatrum imperii Magnæ Britanniæ* (1616) and John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1698), included views of churches, houses, and noteworthy places in Britain along with maps and descriptions.

With early encouragement from Charles II, a more specifically architectural survey of the plans and views of the notable buildings of Scotland was finally begun by the German military engineer John Slezer in 1695. *Scotia Illustrata*, as Slezer's book was advertised, had been brought almost to completion by 1705, but nonreceipt of funds promised by the Scottish parliament and unsuccessful attempts to raise others in London meant that, by the time of Slezer's death in 1714, his survey remained unpublished.[45] Part of this larger, if unsuccessful, project was *Theatrum Scotiae* (c. 1686), whose 175 lavish copies (almost one hundred of which remained unsold after

[44] Harris, "Vitruvius Britannicus," 340.

[45] *Ibid.*, 340-341.

more than ten years) proved a financial disaster for Slezer. Even so, the plans, elevations, and perspective views prepared for *Scotia Illustrata* were probably known to Colen Campbell, who did not leave Scotland for London until at least 1707.[46]

The same year that Campbell left Scotland, and less than ten years before the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a series of eighty plates of views, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip, were complied with a title reminiscent of Slezer's failed work: *Britannia Illustrata or Views of Several of the Queens Palaces also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain*. Sold in London by the publisher and bookseller David Mortier, *Britannia Illustrata* was a compilation of views developed out of a subscription undertaken by Leonard Knyff for "the Drawing and Painting of 100 Noblemens and Gentlemens seats…"[47] For £10, each subscriber would receive two prints of each view drawn as well as sixty prints double delivered. These views were then compiled and sold together as *Britannia Illustrata* by David Mortier, as well as Henry Overton and Joseph Smith.[48]

Kynff and Kip's engravings were a series of prospects and sweeping birds-eye views. The plate of Cassiobury Park in Watford, seat of the Earl of Essex, typifies the broad, prospective views that make up the publication (fig. 1.3). Here, the foreground is dominated by open fields and groves of trees that abruptly yield to a wooded parkland neatly bounded by a double arboreal border

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[46] John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting, 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Park Bernet, 1979), 91. Classicism in Scottish architecture as well as the role of Scotland, or at least of Scottish architects, in the rise and spread of English Palladianism has been the subject of much scholarship; see Howard Colvin, "A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism," *Architectural History* 17 (1974); and Deborah Howard, "Reflexions of Venice in Scottish Architecture," *Architectural History* 44 (2001).

[47] *The Post Boy*, May 31, 1701. Quoted in Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 92.

[48] Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 92. See also *Britannia Illustrata*, edited by John Harris and Gervase Jackson-Stops (Bungay: Paradigm Press, 1984), 5-6.

on either side of an axial *allée*. Diagonally bisecting the composition, this axis leads from a terminating circular court, up the tree-lined *allée* to a walled parterre garden, and beyond to the pedimented garden front of the house. The converging paths of a *patte d'oie* lead back from the house and across the remaining wooded grounds to the curving road and plowed fields at the composition's edge.

Architectural representation was certainly a concern for topographical artists like Kip and Knyff as well as their patrons. Indeed, the house at Cassiobury was never realized to the design given by Kip and Knyff in *Britannia Illustrata*. However, architecture is neither the literal nor the figurative center of the image. Rather, in this plate and all the others, the house forms an integral and, frequently, small part of an entire ordered landscape. Similarly, the privileged, aerial view of Ragley in Warwickshire (fig. 1.4) given by Kip and Knyff reinforces the importance of landscape in *Britannia Illustrata*. Although the central placement of the house positions the architectural intervention on the landscape at the heart of the estate, its scale amidst the formal, terraced gardens and open fields which surround it renders it secondary to the power of the land itself. A central axis bisects the plate, leading the spectator's eye along the processional drive into the forecourt, through the house and the formal parterres beyond, and marching triumphantly along a tree-lined *allée* into the seemingly limitless distance. House and landscape are thus elided in a sweeping prospective view of the owner's boundless landholdings.

The centrality of land to Kip and Knyff's views is also evidenced by their precision and specificity. In the contract made between Knyff and the Duke of Newcastle to engrave his estates at Nottingham Castle, Bolsover, and Haughton, Newcastle specified that the prospect of

Haughton (fig. 1.5) must be taken from a mile about the house.[49] Similarly, after the death of her husband, the Duchess of Beaufort engaged Knyff to complete several views of their estate at Badminton (fig. 1.6), intent "to have some of them bound in books & given them to show what a noble place my deare Lord has left."[50] This connection between landscape, power, and identity was equally reinforced artistically. In addition to a highly accurate topographical rendering, each engraving typically included an armorial shield which often spilled into the picture plane along with a brief script which identified both the estate and its owner. Ordered and occupied, the extent of the property, and the extent of the property owner's stewardship, is fully illustrated in these sweeping birds-eye perspectives.[51] In this way, house, heritage, and heraldry are inextricably bound in the views of *Brittania Illustrata*, and landownership, or, perhaps more important, good stewardship of the British landscape underwrites its publication.

Kip and Knyff's views were not merely located; they were also peopled. Garden paths are ambulated, lawns are bowled upon, carriages arrive, and, as in the view of Somerset House (fig. 1.7), boats and barges traverse the waterways. David Solkin has reminded us of the almost propagandistic messaging of order, both natural and social, through the display of vast improvements ostensibly made for the benefit of all, which underlies both these plates and their commissioning.[52] Thus, these are not only pleasurable landscapes, but also productive ones. While

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[49] Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 92.

[50] Letter from the Duchess of Beaufort dated January 1699. Quoted in Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 92.

[51] Christine Stevenson, "Prints 'proper to shew Gentlemen': Representing the British Hospital, *c.* 1700-50," in *The Impact of Hospitals, 300-2000*, ed. John Henderson, Peregrine Horden, Alessandro Pastore (Bern: Peter Lang, AG, 2007), 200.

[52] David H. Solkin, *Art in Britain, 1660-1815*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

the staffage of Kip and Knyff's images is primarily members of polite society enjoying the delights of ordered nature, labor, even when absent, is always implicitly visible. Indeed, as John Harris argues, these views might be read as a political document and a symbol of the landed class's indissoluble dependence on the value of land.[53] In this way, the plates of *Britannia Illustrata* are layered representations of aristocratic improvement.

In stark contrast, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was, as its title implies, an explicitly architectural project. So too were its plates. Though he would later use them in his additional third volume, Campbell did not include bird's-eye or perspective views in the initial two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Instead, Campbell relied on the distinctly architectural modes of plan, elevation, and section. The origins for these forms of representation lie in the earliest printed architectural books, including Andrea Palladio's *I Quatto Libri dell'Architettura*, first published in Venice in 1570 and containing woodcut illustrations after Palladio's own drawings. Campbell visually aligned himself with the "great Restorer" Palladio by limiting his plates to the same conventions. Although these modes have now become ubiquitous, Dana Arnold notes that such anti-pictorial forms of visualization result in both an abstracted representation of the country house and a similarly abstracted concept of architectural design, allowing the plans and elevations to be appraised on the basis of composition, symmetry, and rhythm, as well as on their reference to antique and Renaissance examples.[54]

Although such abstracted depictions of architecture, divorced from any landscape or context, either geographic or temporal, had become common in foreign architectural treatises, they

[53] Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 95.

[54] Dana Arnold, "The Country House and its Publics," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, edited by Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 38-39.

were a stark departure from the topographical, birds-eye views which dominated English prints before Campbell's book. As Christine Stevenson has argued, the bird's-eye view was the most common form of topographical depiction, either in painting or in print, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was also the most frequent convention for the representation of architecture in England in this period.[55] In this way, the shift from topographical views in *Britannia Illustrata* to the architectural ones in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not insignificant. Neither the prospect or the related perspective view were visually demanding for the eighteenth-century viewer, and such depictions, familiar from paintings as well as prints, did not require either architectural expertise or any previous experience with the representational conventions of expensive treatises, either foreign or domestic.[56] The specifically architectural modes of representation used in *Vitruvius Britannicus* were new, and understanding them was largely restricted to a wealthy audience who could afford Campbell's book and the foreign treatises to which its plates respond.

If the views in *Britannia Illustrata*, which contextualized architecture within very specific landscapes complete with attendant human figures, were the most common form of topographic representation, then the plans and elevations presented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* represent a jarring change from the located to the abstracted. Chatsworth, which was contextualized in *Britannia Illustrata* within the Duke of Devonshire's landscaped estate (fig. 1.8), is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by three plates of plans and two elevations, representing each of the floor plans in succession – first, second, and then third floors – followed by the west and south facades. This creates a virtualized progression which moves first through the interior spatial organization and

[55] Stevenson, "Prints 'proper to shew Gentlemen,'" 198.

[56] *Ibid.*, 203.

then presents the newly redesigned facades as if they were the front and back of the building. The conglomerate realities of the building are collapsed into an organizational schema in which the new, classicized facades read as the principal fronts of a fully unified design.

In contrast, Kip and Knyff's plate of Chatsworth also illustrates the house from the south in a typical bird's-eye view that offers an oblique glimpse of the older, crenellated east façade. Interestingly, Kip and Knyff's view, in which the house makes up only a small portion of the composition, clearly depicts the motto of the Duke of Devonshire, "*Cavendo tutus*," prominently inscribed in the South Façade. The omission of this detail in Campbell's engraving further dislocates the building from any familial context, emphasizing the façade's architectural features and giant order composition rather than its powerful owner. As with any elevation drawing, and typical of all facades represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell's engraving of Chatsworth's west front pictorially flattens the façade into two dimensions, while tonal variations created through hatching provide the only suggestions of depth or dimensionality (fig. 1.9). Such abstracted and dislocated depictions characterize the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, particularly in the elevation, where orthogonal renderings of facades float on a blank, white ground.

Perplexingly, in the engraving of Chatsworth's west front, a small shadow projects from the building's far-right corner. Perhaps employed to create a spatial separation between the building itself and the garden wall included below, this errant shadow is the only such indication of undepicted space. While hatching cuts across facades and indicates projection and recession, no other plate contains external shadows or indications of located, three-dimensional space. As this view of Chatsworth indicates, unlike topographical views, which could easily be comprehended because of their context clues and conventional familiarity, plans and elevations must be read more actively and abstractly. Similarly, architectural space, whose physicality in Kip and Knyff was

suggested by elongated architectural forms shown at oblique angles and whose scale was humanized by figures, becomes almost cartographic in the form of the plan. Like the geographical boundaries charted by the map, the architectural plan presents spaces bounded by walls whose dimensions can only be determined when indexed to the accompanying diagrammatic scale.

According to Timothy Clayton, unlike the view, whose function was illustrative, commemorative, and collectible as a souvenir, plans and elevations were more specialized and, more importantly, educational.[57] In the words of the seventeenth-century writer Pierre Monier, "fine Books of Architecture have made a great many Good Architects; who without going to Italy, where are the fine Relicks of Antiquity, have formed a true and good Manner, and perfected their Studies in this Art by the Help of Graving, which faithfully represents the Plans, Profils, the Elevations and Measures of the finest Buildings."[58] As Monier suggests, plans, elevations, and sections are uniquely architectural modes of visual representation that, in turn, communicate specifically architectural knowledge. Moreover, Sam Smiles has provided a useful framework for considering the plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as part of a relationship between seeing and knowing. As he writes, "the power that visual communication possesses above all… is twofold: its ability to provide information directly (unmediated representation) and its ability to bring discrete data together in spatial representation (compound and comparative display)."[59] Further, Smiles suggests a connection between vision and cognition in which seeing becomes a form of active and

[57] Timothy Clayton, "Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, edited by Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), 44.

[58] Pierre Monier, *The History of Painting, Architecture, Sculpture, Graving*, English translation (London, 1699), 182. Quoted in Clayton, "Publishing Houses," 44.

[59] Sam Smiles, *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain, 1770-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 4.

purposeful knowledge acquisition.[60] Applying Smile's approach to Campbell's project, the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* become a method of empirical, Lockean substantiation for Campbell's claims through a visual communication of architectural knowledge, or, more specifically, a Palladian taste, and for the comparative display of the buildings they illustrate.

Plan, elevation, and section drawings were, in the words of Christine Stevenson, "specific to the art or science of architecture."[61] This characterization is worth expanding, as, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, artistic practice and scientific knowledge frequently overlapped. Drawings and engravings were important tools for recording and disseminating empirical or experimental observations, and a similar alliance between experimental knowledge and architecture was exemplified by the endeavors of the Royal Society and in the work of Christopher Wren, John Evelyn, and Robert Hooke. Indeed, Wren felt that, like scientific understanding, architectural knowledge should be based on empirical principles.[62] The methods by which both architectural and scientific knowledge might be communicated visually were similarly aligned. The plan, elevation, and section specific to architectural drawings and engravings are comparable to the conventions of contemporary scientific illustrations, such as Robert Hooke's drawings of a dissected porpoise (fig. 1.10). Translated into engravings for Edward Tyson's 1680 publication, *Phocœna; or, The Anatomy of a Porpess*, Hooke's drawing depicts a profile of the porpoise above an illustration of its butterflied carcass.[63] Both visually and communicatively, Hooke's drawings are analogous to an elevation and a section.

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[60] Smiles, *Eye Witness*, 5.

[61] Stevenson, "Prints 'proper to shew Gentlemen," 203.

[62] Li, *Power and Virtue*, 33-37. See also Matthew C. Hunter, *Wicked Intelligence: Visual Art and the Science of Experiment in Restoration London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 188-221.

In art as in science, the challenge of representing three-dimensional forms in the two-dimensional mediums of drawing and engraving is and was an unavoidable reality of the intermedial transposition required to make such subjects as architecture and sculpture widely knowable and circulatable through print. Paolo Alessandro Maffei and Domenico de' Rossi's Italian publication of antique and modern Roman sculpture, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, published in 1704, offers a compelling visual comparative to architectural representation. While a greater indication of dimensionality might be necessitated by the intricacies of their subject, Maffei's engravings, such as that of the famous Apollo Belvedere (fig. 1.11) and the Laocoön (fig. 1.12), also decontextualize the sculptures against a blank, white ground. A near contemporary of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the *Raccolta di statue* relies on a similar visual language to translate a three-dimensional medium into a two-dimensional one. However, Maffei and Rossi's shading is more delicate and, crucially, the sculptures are shown in a careful one-point perspective, particularly evident by the inclusion of the Laocoön's stone base.

The transposition from architectural form to engraving is, of course, central to Campbell's publication. However, the limitations and particularities of that process, which would remain important in architectural practice specifically and in British visual culture broadly, may also have driven the stylistic development of eighteenth-century English Palladianism. Comparing representative examples of Baroque and Palladian structures, John Vanbrugh's Blenheim and Colen Campbell's Wanstead respectively, Kerry Downes writes:

> In respect of formal qualities: a house like Wanstead could not change much in appearance from differing viewpoints. From any distance and direction it was a simple composition of blocks decorated on the surface with very little depth. At Blenheim the aspect varies dramatically with distance and direction, and the wall surfaces are developed in three

[63] For more about Robert Hooke's drawing practice and use of sequence, as well as the cognitive generativity of drawing as an activity, see Hunter, *Wicked Intelligence*, 118.

> dimensions. In contrast to the inert walls of a Palladian house, those of Blenheim are alive. This is architecture of change, of movement, of surprise…[64]

As Downes suggests, Baroque buildings are complex and spatialized experiences which were activated, or in Downes's words developed, by a spectator's movement through and around them in three-dimensional space. Palladian buildings, by contrast, are frequently planar, both architecturally and in the orthogonal projections used to represent them in Colen Campbell's engravings.

Orthographic projection drawing, to which the elevation, section, and plan belong, is a method of representing three dimensional forms in two dimensions though front (elevation), side (section), and top (plan) views. The views are projected in parallel planes, in which all of the projection lines are orthogonal, or perpendicular, to the projection plane. Thus, in their architectonic planarity, Palladian buildings are therefore especially suited for representation in orthogonal projections, which do not virtualize depth and dimensionality. One of the most compelling visual examples in *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be found in a comparison between the elevations of Wanstead and Castle Howard. Wanstead (fig. 1.13) is the paradigm of Campbellian Palladianism. Raised on a rusticated basement, the house is composed of a nine-bay, two-story central block with a hexastyle Corinthian portico, flanked by one-storey wings of six bays. The ornament has been reduced to the strong horizontal of the string course upon which rest the windows, with alternating pediments, of the *piano nobile*. Figural sculptures line the balustrade of the central block, crowned with a cupola, and the pediment is carved with a frieze. Perfectly symmetrical, the house is, to echo Downes, composed of rectilinear blocks or planes with little

[64] Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1966), 9.

depth, either decorative or spatial. Wantead is Campbell's response to Castle Howard, similar in composition but greatly simplified, ordered, and flattened in the language of a Palladian villa.

Castle Howard, by contrast, is a building of far greater architectural complexity. The first elevation of the building Campbell offers is of the entire north front (fig. 1.14), foregrounded by the prominent and deeply shaded forecourt wall. Indeed, shading is utilized in this engraving to a far greater degree than in that of Wanstead, or of many of the other plates in the first volume. Such emphatic shading is required by the drastic changes in depth between the numerous symmetrical elements of the composition, from the wall of the forecourt, to the giant order central block, the series of wings and curved hyphens, and the several pavilions. In this engraving, the plan, or an understanding of precisely how each of the building's forms relate to one another in space, is difficult to virtualize, and has helpfully been given before the elevation. Campbell's next two plates give a view of "The Front to the Court," or an elevation of the main block of Castle Howard (fig. 1.15), more visually analogous to the elevation of Wanstead. From it, we can see more clearly the nine-bay central block broken vertically by giant order Doric pilasters articulating the central three and final single bays and horizontally by the deeply channeled stone. Ornament, variety, and a sense of contrasting depths characterize the entire façade, which is also crowned by a cupola. However, the spatial complexities of Castle Howard are most fully comprehensible in the magnificent bird's-eye view included in the supplemental third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 1.16). As these views reveal, Castle Howard is a building best activated and experienced by movement in three-dimensions and whose spatial complexities are difficult to contain and express within the parameters of orthographic projection.

In abandoning the bird's-eye and perspective view in favor of the specialized, architectural modes of plan, elevation, and section specific to orthographic drawing, Campbell began a tradition

of architectural representation which would dominate English print throughout much of the eighteenth-century. Ernst Gombrich has explained at length the limitations placed on artists by the modes and techniques of representation, and, in much the same way, the relationship between built form and the imaginative, generative, or artistic methods of representing it is frequently reciprocal.[65] As the architect Mark Hewitt has argued, although the conceptual abilities of the mind are theoretically limitless, the conventions of architectural drawing and representation can actively shape built form.[66] Hewitt draws parallels between Renaissance architecture and the development of linear perspective, scenography and the theatricality of late-Baroque Italian building, and the Picturesque and the perspective view. Of the early decades of the eighteenth-century, Hewitt has suggested a correlation between the development of comprehensive interior design and the drawings of Daniel Marot, William Kent, and Robert Adam, whose work he characterizes as "bold experiments in visualizing the spatial, planar, chromatic, and tactile qualities of rooms."[67] Building from Hewitt's generative thesis, I suggest that, in formal and stylistic terms, Palladianism may, at the very least, correlate to the parameters of eighteenth-century architectural engraving. In this way, the relationship between Cambellian Palladianism and *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and, indeed, between architectural style and architectural engraving, might be more complex and direct than previous scholarship has acknowledged. Whereas the baroque buildings of the previous sixty years were, as Downes observed, dimensional and theatrical—and even

[65] Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, A. W. Mellon Lectures (New York: Bollingen, 1960). For a more recent exploration of the complex relationships between conceptualization and representation and what he describes as the virtualization of visible space, see Whitney Davis, *Visuality and Virtuality: Images and Pictures from Prehistory to Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

[66] Mark Hewitt, "Representational Forms and Modes of Conception: An Approach to the History of Architectural Drawing," *Journal of Architectural Education* 39, no. 2 (Winter 1985), 4-5.

[67] Hewitt, "Representational Forms," 6.

performatively and phenomenologically spatialized—Palladian architecture was purposefully pictorialized for translation and legibility in orthogonal projection.

Although architecture would still be most easily consumable (both cognitively and commercially) through printed engravings, country house tourism only increased in popularity throughout the century.[68] In observing a similar relationship between architecture and its representation, Mark Girouard has suggested that as the way visitors viewed houses changed in the eighteenth century, so too did the way they were represented. He argues that, "up to the early eighteenth century the conventional—and for architects almost the invariable—way to show a house was full-frontal, from a central axis," but, by the second half of the century, "it became increasingly common to draw them from an angle."[69] Ultimately, for Girouard, the resulting asymmetry of such views, and of the increasing asymmetry of country house planning, led to the abandonment of symmetrical facades altogether and the concomitant rise of new (and frequently unclassical) architectural styles.[70]

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the exclusive use of specifically architectural representational conventions was a direct product of Campbell's authorial and editorial interventions and was symptomatic of his overtly architectural, and, ultimately, Palladian agenda. Importantly, Campbell's newly contributed designs displaced topographical plates, such as that of Castle

[68] For more on country house tourism as well as the relationship between printed plans and guides in understanding and experiencing the country house, see Jocelyn Anderson, "Remaking the Space: The Plan and the Route in Country-House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1815, *Architectural History* 54 (2011): 195-212. See also Jocelyn Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

[69] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 212.

[70] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* 212.

Howard, which had already been prepared for inclusion.[71] These plates would not be published until several years later in 1725 when they were included in a new, third volume. Originally proposed as a two-volume work, a note at the end of the subscriber list in Volume II promised readers that "The Author has made a great Progress in a Third Volume, containing the Geometrical Plans of the most considerable Gardens and Plantations, with large Perspectives of the most Regular Buildings, in a Method intirely new, both instructing and pleasant."[72] Campbell's promise is echoed on the eventual title page of Volume III (fig. 1.17), which distinguishes itself from the earlier volumes by a restored typographical symmetry and an explicit emphasis on gardens and perspective views. By excising topographical representation from the original volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and placing them instead in a third volume, Campbell visually solidifies the new and pointedly architectural purpose of the book. The specifically architectural modes of representation to which Campbell restricted his plates echoed the visual language of Palladio and the architectural treatise to lend legitimacy and communicative power to its images. Not only was the implicit visual narrative Palladian; so, too, were the conventions of the plates themselves.

THE IMAGE AT WORK IN *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

What makes *Vitruvius Britannicus* truly remarkable is not Campbell's explicitly Palladian perspective nor his theorization of architecture, which was arguably better articulated by later writers such as Morris and Ware. Instead, it is the way in which Campbell deftly leverages the stakes of style to his own professional ends, inserting himself, quite literally, into its discourse and

[71] Harris, "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," 340. The displacement of topographical images in the first two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* represents, for Harris, a crucial component in the Campbell's Palladianizing agenda.

[72] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. II (London: 1717), 8.

history. Equally important is the role of images in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. They are strategically assembled, and Campbell shamelessly inserts his own unbuilt designs into their midst. In this way, *Vitruvius Britannicus* is not simply a carefully selected survey of the best architecture in Britain. Rather, it is a suggestive series of images which makes clear visual arguments and which, crucially, offers speculative designs by Campbell, made for specific potential patrons. The inclusion of his own designs allowed Campbell to make subtle visual statements, professional solicitations, and, as an otherwise unknown and only recently arrived architect, to establish himself and announce his professional abilities to a wide, elite audience.

Though Robert Morris's *Essay* and *Lectures*, published over a decade after Campbell's first and second volumes appeared, may have more fully explicated the theory of Palladianism, Howard Colvin has argued that Morris's own published designs were "competent but somewhat pedestrian."[73] What Morris manifested in text, Campbell argued through illustration. The plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* were carefully placed and strategically interspersed with Campbell's designs. These editorial interventions, which, as we have seen, gave Campbell claim to the project's authorship, were a crucial component of the propagandistic Palladianism of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In addition to providing his own designs, Campbell prominently included buildings attributed to Inigo Jones. Important also was the placement of Campbell's images. Unlike other compendia of prints which could be purchased in sheets or groups and bound in any order by the purchaser, the plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* were paginated, necessitating their binding in a prescribed order. Once more, Sam Smiles's observations regarding the compound and comparative display invited

[73] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Morris, Robert."

by seriation apply directly to Campbell's project, which could stage successive images in especially revelatory ways, inviting comparatives through the visual similarities of collated plates.[74]

Beginning with an especially declarative succession of engravings, Colen Campbell opens his manifesto with a critique of a recently completed building of particular national importance. The first seven plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* invite a specifically orchestrated comparison and allow for critical review, albeit by proxy, of Christopher Wren's newly finished St Paul's Cathedral. A plan and elevation of St Paul's (fig. 1.18) are answered by a plan, elevation, and section of St Peter's in Rome (fig. 1.19). These, in turn, are followed by a remarkably similar theoretical design by Campbell of a church proposed for Lincoln's Inn Fields (fig. 1.20). Campbell's explanatory text for St Paul's is conspicuously neutral, remaining almost exclusively descriptive. However, in his text accompanying St Peter's (which is the only foreign building Campbell included and which is clearly offered for direct comparison to St Paul's) Campbell notes that "The Criticks generally condemn the excessive Height of the Attick, which they confine to a third of the inferior Column. That the Pediment, supported by a Tetrastyle, is mean for so great a Front, which at least would demand an Hexastyle; that the Breaks are trifling, and the Parts without any Proportion…"[75] As Shiqiao Li has noted, all of the criticisms Campbell identifies might equally be applied to Wren's church.[76] The curious inclusion of St Peter's thus becomes a vehicle through which Campbell can indirectly critique the new symbol of the city and its architect, Sir Christopher Wren.

[74] Smiles, *Eye Witness*, 4.

[75] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:3.

[76] Li, *Power and Virtue*, 178. See also Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladiansim*, 152-153.

Campbell's critical review of St Paul's and St Peter's is answered by his own designs for a church proposed for Lincolns Inn Fields. Campbell writes that, in his design, "The Plan is reduced to a Square and a Circle in the Middle, which, in my weak Opinion, are the most perfect Figures," and he notes that he has corrected the towers and introduced a Hexastyle portico which is "in certain Measures of Proportion."[77] Further, he uses only the Corinthian order, and asserts that "the whole is dress'd very plain, as most proper for the sulphurous Air of the City, and, indeed, most comfortable to the Simplicity of the Ancients."[78] In offering his design as an invention intended for Lincolns Inn Fields, Campbell enables himself to ignore any practical considerations for construction as well as the basic requirements enumerated by the Commission for the rebuilding of St Paul's. Campbell's design recasts Wren's church in a Palladian vocabulary of ornament and proportion.[79] Read as a corrective, as is implied by the sequence of plates, his speculative church articulates the principles of antique classicism as interpreted by Campbell while simultaneously revealing the mistakes made in the designs for the Roman basilica and London's new cathedral. The association forged between Wren's church and the seat of Catholic power at St Peter's worked to cast London as a new Rome. However, the exuberance of St Paul's also rang of a dangerous and objectionable popishness. Placing St Paul's Cathedral alongside St Peter's Basilica made their similarities clear and wrought a visual connection between Wren's church and Catholicism. This connection was suggestive, too, of a stylistic difference between the architecture of Papal excess and that of Palladian, or Campbellian, simplicity.

[77] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:3.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] Li, *Power and Virtue*, 178.

Perhaps theologically as well as stylistically, Campbell's speculative design synthesizes St Paul's and St Peters, and purifies and distills them into a composition marked by clear and simple geometries. In plan, Campbell returns to the centralized church, the purity of which had appealed to Bramante and Michelangelo in their early schemes for St Peter's, and to Christopher Wren as well. Attractive for the simplicity of its forms and the strictness of its symmetry and modularity, the central plan church is frequently unconducive to processional liturgy. Even so, Campbell's plan closely recalls Michelangelo's, c. 1546, for the new St Peter's. However, Campbell has replaced the apsidal projections of the Greek cross plan with blunted porticoes. Where Michelangelo's plan relies on numerous and overlapping squares and circles, Campbell's plan is sharply rectilinear, composed primarily of squares set within a nine-square grid plan. The four identical porticoes lead into square vestibules which form the arms of the cross, and massive piers form a crossing that is as much a diamond as it is a circle, supporting a large drum and spherical dome. Not only reminiscent of early, centralized plans for St Peter's and St Paul's, the square, centralized scheme of Campbell's church for Lincolns Inn Fields also recalls Palladio's Villa Rotonda in Vicenza (fig. 1.21). The four identical facades of Campbell's church are punctuated by hexastyle engaged porticoes and surmounted by a dome, echoing the plan and composition of Palladio's Vicentine villa.

Externally, Campbell followed the compositional formula of both Wren and his Renaissance counterparts for a church with a central porticoed entrance, flanked by twin towers, and crowned with a dome. However, the same geometrical approach Campbell took to the plan has been repeated on the façade. The unusual stacked and paired columned portico of Wren's church has been replaced by an engaged hexastyle portico whose attic storey creates a perfectly square unit, and the elongated dome of St Paul's has been reduced to a hemisphere. Even in the

plate itself, the primacy of the square portico is communicated through the use of hatching and shading. Similarly, the busy rhythms of paired columns, the dynamic projection and recessions of the surface, as well as the abundance of carved garlands, festoons, and other ornament on the façade of St Paul's have each been drastically scaled back in Campbell's scheme. Rather than overtly condemn Christopher Wren, as Shaftesbury and Kent had done, Campbell staged a critique, unsubtle yet indirect, by offering a church of his own design which, when placed directly opposite his plates of St Paul's and St Peter's, could only be read as their corrective.

In addition to the corrective through comparison created by Campbell in his opening plates of St Paul's, St Peter's, and the church of his own invention, Campbell utilizes the same convention of offering a stylistic corrective through direct comparison. Two consecutive examples from the second volume are especially noteworthy for their directness and easy comparability. Plates 81 and 82 illustrate the elevation and plan, respectively, of Braman Park in Yorkshire (fig. 1.22). These are immediately answered by plates 83 and 84 which illustrate a design by Campbell dedicated to Robert Walpole (fig. 1.23). The composition of Braman House, with its large central block and small terminal pavilions connected by colonnaded hyphens, is echoed by Campbell's scheme for Walpole. Here, however, Campbell has "endeavoured to introduce the Temple Beauties in a private Building."[80] Indeed, Campbell has transformed the façade of Braman House by introducing a pedimented engaged octastyle portico across the full width of the building's front. Additionally, Campbell has enclosed the hyphens and transformed the pavilions or wings into triumphal arch forms. Utilizing a rusticated basement and the colossal Corinthian order typical of Palladian design, Campbell's design is compositionally reminiscent of Palladio's plan for the Villa Pisani at

[80] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2:4.

Montagnana (fig. 1.24). Even the combination of plan and elevation on the same plate recalls Palladio's woodcut. The formula of the Palladian villa with wings would become a standard typology of the English Palladian architecture in the eighteenth century.[81] In his speculative design for Robert Walpole, Campbell corrects Braman House by introducing a temple front and following closely the language of Antique classicism filtered through a Palladian villa.

If the Braman-Walpole plates represent the adaptation of the Palladian villa, the following plates turn to the palazzo. In Plate 85, Campbell illustrates Chevening House in Kent (fig. 1.25). This is answered, in Plate 86, by Colen Campbell's invented design dedicated to James Stanhope (fig. 1.26). In his design for Stanhope, Campbell ostensibly recasts the seven bay, three storey façade of Chevening House as a Palladian palazzo, drawing directly from the Palazzo Valmarana in Vicenza (fig. 1.27). Colossal order Corinthian columns demarcate the bays and the hipped roof is obscured behind an attic storey. Campbell's debt to Palladio, which includes sculptures of Mars and Pallas at the building's angles, is acknowledged in his accompanying text, and Palladio, as Campbell writes, should be deemed "a sufficient Authority."[82] Moreover, Campbell's design is a clear example of his professional agenda. Dedicated to Secretary Stanhope, who had recently purchased Chevening, Campbell's new design is a plan for the remodeling of the seventeenth-century house.[83]

As his introduction made clear, it was not only Palladio and classical antiquity to whom Colen Campbell turned for the restoration of architecture. Inigo Jones, who Campbell

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[81] Paul Breman and Denise Addis, *Guide to* Vitruvius Britannicus*: Annotated and Analytic Index to the Plates* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc, 1972), 21.

[82] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2:4.

[83] Breman and Addis, *Guide to* Vitruvius Britannicus, 21.

characterizes as the English Palladio, is prominently included among the plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In the first volume, after concluding the opening plates with a final design by Thomas Archer for St Phillip's church in Birmingham, Campbell opens the survey of secular buildings with five plates devoted to Inigo Jones. The first of these is, unsurprisingly, the Banqueting House at Whitehall (fig 1.28), which Campbell calls an "incomparable Piece" by the "immortal Jones."[84] Noting that the Banqueting House was but one pavilion of a much larger palace complex Jones envisioned for Whitehall, Campbell extols his hope that "Britain will still have the Glory to acomplish [*sic.*] it, which will as far exceed all the Palaces of the Universe, as the Valour of our Troops and Conduct of our Generals have surpassed all others. Here our excellent Architect has introduced Strength with Politeness, Ornament with Simplicity, Beauty with Majesty: It is, without Dispute, the first Room in the World…"[85] In this highly adulatory and equally patriotic exclamation, Campbell introduces the greatness of Inigo Jones as well as offering as an example of the perfect balance of ornament and simplicity.

As he had promised in his introduction, Campbell begins his second volume with Inigo Jones's designs for Whitehall (fig. 1.29), about which he declared that "all Mankind will agree with me, that there is no Palace in the World to rival it."[86] Indeed, Campbell presents Whitehall lavishly in a series of foldout pages that, together, total eighteen of the second volume's one hundred plates. Campbell's plates of the Whitehall Palace design are the largest and most impressive in the second volume, giving prominence to the work of Inigo Jones. Howard Stutchbury has noted that the

[84] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:3.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] *Ibid.*

Whitehall plans were more likely from drawings by Edward Carter than from Inigo Jones himself and that, of the remaining five projects attributed to Jones and dispersed throughout the volume (Covent Garden, the York Stairs, Cobham Hall, Wilton House, and Chevening House), only Chevening is widely agreed upon as an authentic design by Jones.[87]

In many ways, the authenticity of the Whitehall designs was immaterial. Instead, it was their very presence that gave weight to Campbell's project and also served to illustrate what Campbell understood as Jonesian design. To lend weight to his own work, the first of Campbell's speculative designs from the first volume, dedicated to the Duke of Argyle, is made in the "style of Inigo Jones" (fig. 1.30). Based on the façade of Jones's Somerset Gallery, the plan for the Argyle scheme is based on Palladio's Villa Pojana.[88] By gesturing to both Inigo Jones and Andrea Palladio and by placing formally similar plates in succession to invite comparison and suggest correctives, Colen Campbell visually advanced and articulated the precepts of Palladianism, promoted his own skills, and appealed directly to potential patrons. Across the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell combined text and image to clearly pronounce the gospel of Palladianism and to simultaneously demonstrate its laws—and his command of them.

As a commercial enterprise, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was an expensive book to produce. T.P. Connor estimates that the cost to engrave and publish 400 copies of the first volume was £1,750.

[87] Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, 10.

[88] Breman and Addis, *Guide to* Vitruvius Britannicus, 18.

Partially funded by subscription, the first list of which called for 368 copies, the initial cost to subscribers was three guineas, and additional copies were printed that cost £1 more than the initial subscription cost.[89] In addition to the cost, the subscriber list also reflects the elite audience for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The corrective architectural taste Campbell proposed was necessarily aimed at the elite audience who could afford such a lavish publication, and who, by extension, could also afford to commission a building from an architect. In spite of the financial limitations for Campbell's audience, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a relative commercial success, gaining subscribers with each successive volume, and was arguably responsible for a large portion of the substantial sums left behind after Campbell's death in 1729.[90] Concerns for Campbell's audience aside, the commercial success of the *Vitruvius Britannicus* suggests a financial motivation for its publication, and the architectural modes of representation in his book were circulated among an increasingly wide, if necessarily elite, readership.

The potential motivations for the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are further highlighted by the sources for Campbell's engravings. Their accuracy (or at least purported accuracy) was important, and, as Campbell assures his reader, "all the drawings are either taken from the Buildings themselves, or the original Designs of the Architects, who have very much assisted me in advancing this Work."[91] This claim for accuracy is important for two reasons: first, it underlines the idea that the book was meant to communicate factual, empirical architectural

[89] Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 16-17. See also Appendix, page 26. Connor provides an extensive breakdown of the estimated costs for the publication of each volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, including estimations about the profitability of each of these volumes. As Connor notes, the lists of subscribers expanded with each volume, as, subsequently, did the profitability of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a publishing endeavor.

[90] Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 17. Campbell is reported to have left £12,000 upon is death.

[91] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:2.

knowledge; second, it reveals the commercial implications of that knowledge. While it may be impossible to fully know the precise reasons why Campbell included the plates that he did, it is clear that the primary source for Campbell's engravings were drawings provided by the architects themselves.[92] That the architects would have contributed drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be explained by the commercial possibilities of the publication. As Connor notes, "the book offered them a professionally managed infrastructure of publication and distribution which no single set of prints could hope to achieve."[93] Not only did Campbell's book present a systematized and organized display of architectural knowledge; it also offered a considerable commercial opportunity for both Campbell and the other architects whose buildings were represented within its pages.

Vitruvius Britannicus was a profitable series. The book demonstrated Campbell's abilities not only as an engraver but also as an architect, whose proposed designs were significantly included in a publication whose purpose was to visually educate its readership in the architectural achievements of "so many learned and ingenious Gentleman, as Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Bruce, Sir John Vanbrugh, Mr. Archer, Mr. Wren, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Talman, Mr. Hawksmoore, Mr. James, &c. who have all greatly contributed to adorn our Island with their curious Labours, and are daily embellishing it more."[94] While presenting his own speculative designs alongside the "curious Labours" of such an illustrious list of architects, Campbell implicitly equated his genius with theirs. However, this self-promotion was dependent upon the function of the book as a transmitter of architectural knowledge and taste.

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[92] Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 21.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1:2.

By including plates of the facades of Jones's Banqueting House, the Queen's House, and the gallery Somerset House, Campbell sought to prove the greatness of Inigo Jones and simultaneously present his own designs as equally worthy of examination. The self-promotional agenda of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was thus inextricable from the book's Palladian function, and establishing himself as a follower of Inigo Jones and a restorer of architecture in the lineage of Palladio and Jones was critical to Campbell's career. Perhaps more importantly, Campbell's book advanced a particular architectural style whose contours were articulated through comparison and precedent, and which was especially suited for the conventions of architectural representation which he helped to inaugurate in British architectural books. Style, for Campbell, became a way to stake a claim and make a name for himself in the face of a changing architectural climate. As the self-appointed spokesman for Palladianism, Campbell also presented himself through his unsolicited designs as the architect to transform the theory of Palladianism into practice.

2

THE BATTLEGROUND

Houghton Hall Unresolved

On September 12, 1732, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Earl of Mortimer, set out from Dover Street on a journey. From there, he traveled by coach "through part of the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire" along with Lady Oxford, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, and Miss Philippa Walton, while the Scottish peer Thomas Hay, Viscount Dupplin (later 9th Earl of Kinnoull) rode alongside on horseback.[1] A week later, Oxford and Dupplin rode the "four very short miles" from Raynham, Norfolk to Houghton, "the seat of the great Sir Robert Walpole."[2] Harley had much to say about Walpole's recently built house, and his account is worth quoting at length:

> This house at Houghton has made a great deal of noise, but I think it is not deserving of it. Some admire it because it belongs to the first Minister; others envy it because it is his, and consequently rail at it. These gentlemen's praise and blame are not worth anything, because they know nothing of the art of building, or anything about it. I think it is neither magnificent or beautiful, there is a very great expense without either judgment or taste. The two best rooms are the hall and the saloon, which take up just the depth of the house.

[1] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. VI (Norwich: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by the "Norfolk Chronicle" Company, Ltd., 1899), 148.

[2] HMC, *Portland*, vol. VI, 148.

> The measure of the hall, as well as the plan of the house, are exhibited in that ignorant rascal's book called "Vitruvius Britannicus," the editor Colin Campbell; there is some small alteration, as the roofs of the towers, else it is exact.[3]

In a note in the manuscript, Harley concludes that "The house as it is now is a composition of the greatest blockheads and most ignorant fellows in architecture that are."[4] And indeed, as this chapter will argue, Houghton was a composite building assembled by a coterie of the most fashionable architects of the early eighteenth-century, including the "ignorant rascal" Colen Campbell, Harley's friend (and Campbell's professional enemy) James Gibbs, as well as the interior decorator William Kent. Whether these hands represent the greatest blockheads or the greatest masters of their craft is a matter of opinion. However, Campbell, Gibbs, and Kent were undisputedly among the forerunners of the architectural profession in early eighteenth-century England, and Houghton one of the most preeminent country houses of the period.

Begun in 1722 for Sir Robert Walpole, England's first prime minister and prominent Whig, Houghton Hall was an attempt architecturally to legitimize Walpole and his expansive power, and is an important example of the Whig political powerbase. As Michael Charlesworth has argued, by the 1730s the Whigs, under the leadership and example of Walpole at Houghton Hall in Norfolk, were solidifying a system of political dominance based on the ownership of productive and influential estates. In this system, the country house became especially important as the centre not only of a productive estate but also of the abstract social and political ideas associated with both the country house and its owner.[5] While the political role of architecture, and

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[3] HMC *Portland*, vol. VI, 160

[4] HMC *Portland*, vol. VI, 160.

[5] Michael Charlesworth, "The Wentworths: Family and Political Rivalry in the English Landscape Garden," *Garden History* 14, no. 2 (1986), 124-5.

indeed the country house, was not a new development, its centrality to Whig politics, both as a base of political activity and as a symbol of a patriotic local investment and improvement, gave the political powerhouse increased importance. And, while Walpole's seat at Houghton essentially set the standard for the Whig powerhouse, scholars such as Giles Worsley and Peter Lindfield have complicated the prevailing associations between Whiggish restraint and Palladianism and between Tory exuberance and the baroque.[6] Moreover, early eighteenth-century British politics cannot be reduced to the binary of Whigs and Tories, and Palladianism defies any attempts to be neatly connected to either party. As this chapter argues, architects such as Campbell and Gibbs sought to transcend political divisions through a commodification of style.

Houghton is certainly an overt political statement. Yet, it is the result of numerous and often competing agents, including Walpole himself. Though attractive in its simplicity, John Harris has argued that the standard narrative of Houghton's construction, in which the designs were made by Colen Campbell, overseen by Thomas Ripley, and later modified by the addition of domes by James Gibbs, is inaccurate. Stylistically, Houghton is no less resolved. While Houghton has often been characterized as "the most complete neo-Palladian house" in England, in this chapter, I argue that Houghton was a stylistic battleground.[7] In this way, the resulting house is an architectural hybrid which combined the earlier, seventeenth-century country house plan with Palladian details and Continental Baroque flair. Indeed, in building Houghton, Walpole assembled a team of the most fashionable architects of the time and amassed a collection of art

[6] See Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) and Peter N. Lindfield, "'Whig Gothic': An Antidote to Houghton Hall," in *Politics and the English Country House, 1688-1880*, ed. Joan Coutu, Jon Stobart, and Peter N. Lindfield (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming).

[7] John Harris, "James Gibbs, Eminence Grise at Houghton," *New Light on English Palladianism: Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium 1988*, ed. Charles Hind (London: The Georgian Group, 1990), 5.

and furnishings meant to legitimize his social and political pretentions.[8] The commodification of style gave country house builders new options. However, as the construction of Houghton suggests, it also allowed shrewd patrons like Walpole to combine and assemble those options as they liked. By bringing together multiple architects, two of whom were known professional rivals, and placing them under the control of his own pet architect, Houghton's patron, Robert Walpole, effectively exploited both their rivalry and the different architectural styles in which they worked to assemble an amalgam of the best tastes the market had to offer.

Houghton was not only one of the most important houses of the early eighteenth century; it was also, at its completion, "the most conspicuous if not the most lavish country house in England."[9]As Harley's letter suggests, Houghton attracted wide critical attention, and, although it was far removed from London, descriptions and images of Houghton circulated widely in print. In addition to traveler commentaries like Harley's, Houghton was also at the center of public speculation. In 1731, the poet and satirist Alexander Pope published *Of Taste, an Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*, creating the character of Timon and describing his ostentatious villa, on which great sums had been "thrown away" without taste, which could easily have been identified as Robert Walpole and Houghton.[10] Just as the critical responses to Walpole's new seat ranged from positive to negative, the images of the house which appeared in print were

[8] Susan Jenkins, "Power Play: James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, and Sir Robert Walpole: The Politics of Collecting in the Early 18th Century," *The British Art Journal* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 80. For a more fulsome account of Walpole's collecting and patronage, see Larrisa Dukelskaya and Andrew Moore, eds., *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[9] Kathleen Mahaffey, "Timon's Villa: Walpole's Houghton," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1967), 196.

[10] Alexander Pope, *Of Taste, an Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington* (London: 1731), 9.

just as contested. For example, Colen Campbell published his design for Houghton in 1725 in the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and, a decade later in 1735, Isaac Ware published *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections … of Houghton*, which credited Thomas Ripley as the architect. As the famously lavish home of the most prominent Whig politician of the early eighteenth century, Houghton captured public attention. However, its image was elusive and unfixed. The print, with its tendency to ascribe a single author and origination date, was at odds with the kinds of patronage Walpole distributed at Houghton. And, perhaps just as important, the print enabled both Walpole and his various architects to release their own—and often drastically differing—images of Houghton. As this chapter argues, the coexistence of the building and the images of it which were published in print meant that, both on the ground and on paper, Houghton was a battleground. The collision of styles, agencies, and artistic voices at Houghton reinforces the importance of architectural style in this period, reflects the complex relationship between style and patronage, and reveals the ways in which style might be tied to the professional identity of the architect and the personal image of the patron.

Uneasy Alliances: Politics and Palladianism

As we have seen, 1715 was a landmark year. The publication of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Giacomo Leoni's translation of Palladio's *Four Books* coincided with significant changes to the political landscape of England. A year earlier, in 1714, Queen Anne had died and, along with her, the Stuart line, precipitating the arrival of the Hanoverian George I. In assembling his Cabinet and granting offices, the newly arrived George I quickly faced a dilemma in the two-party English political system. However, a Whig victory was somewhat inevitable. As Clayton Roberts has argued, "recent history had proved mixed ministries to be impracticable," and George

ultimately distrusted the Tories.[11] Although the Tories had the support of the clergy and had demonstrated their electoral strength in the 1713 election, George suspected the Tory ministers Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke, had attempted to thwart his succession to the crown. Moreover, the Tories would have staunchly defended the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, which George hoped his ministry would repeal. Ultimately, George demonstrated his favor to party by appointing thirteen Whigs and only four (Hanoverian) Tories and one unaffiliated peer to his Regency Council. Among them, George appointed Robert Walpole as Paymaster General of His Forces, Charles Viscount Townshend as Secretary of State, Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, as First Lord of the Treasury, and William Cowper as Lord Chancellor.[12]

By 1715, Lord Cowper's advice to George I was proven: "'tis wholly in your Majesty's power, by showing your favor in time (before the elections) to one or other of them, to give which of them you please a clear majority in all succeeding parliaments."[13] Indeed, in the general election of 1715, the Whigs won a reversal in Parliament. Two years earlier, 358 Tories and 200 Whigs had been returned; however, in 1715, 341 Whigs were elected and only 217 Tories. This Whig victory, which would mark a period of Whig dominance in Parliament which would last for decades, could partially be explained by the influence of government patronage which, after George's appointments, had been in Whig control. Clayton Roberts has noted that it was not bribery which secured the election, as George's ministers were opposed to this approach. Rather,

[11] Clayton Roberts, *The Struggle for the Scepter: A Study of the British Monarchy and Parliament in the Eighteenth-Century*, ed. Stewart Dippel (New York: Peter Lang, 2020), 14.

[12] Roberts, *The Struggle for the Scepter*, 13-14.

[13] Quoted in Roberts, *The Struggle for the Scepter*, 15. See also Romney Sedgwick, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970-71).

government patronage, which was placed in the gift of George's new Whig ministers, helped to secure a parliamentary victory for the party. The King himself had also made an appeal, in the proclamation issued dissolving Parliament, to the Protestant cause, evoking a fear of Jacobitism which might even explain the loss of Tory seats in English and Welsh counties.[14] In addition to marking a Whig ascendancy, the general election of 1715 served, as Frank O'Gorman has suggested, to legitimize the Hanoverian Succession electorally. The results of the election demonstrated that public opinion was on the side of the Protestant king and the Whigs, who had doubled the county seats in their control.[15]

The Jacobite threat was a serious one, and 1715 also witnessed an uprising. The Tory defeat in the general election caused many high-ranking Tories to defect to the Old Pretender, James Stuart, the son of James II, who had been deposed in the Glorious Revolution and replaced by his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William. Shortly after the election, Viscount Bolingbroke, whom George had suspected of attempting to circumvent the Protestant Succession, fled to France, and began negotiations for French military and naval support. On September 6, the Scottish John Erskine, Earl of Mar, raised the standard of the rebellion at Braemar Castle. The call was answered by eighteen fellow Lords, and, within three weeks, the Jacobite forces had increased to 5000 men. By the end of the month, Mar took Perth and gained control of all of Scotland north of the river Tay. However, rather than strike immediately and decisively against the 1500 Hanoverian troops quartered in Scotland, Mar chose to await reinforcements.[16]

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[14] Roberts, *The Struggle for the Scepter*, 16. Roberts also notes that Treasury and Naval boroughs were far less numerous than those controlled by private patrons or municipal corporations, who had answered the King's call to elect men who had shown a commitment to the Protestant cause.

[15] Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832*, The Arnold History of Britain (London: Arnold, 1997), 66.

Although by November his troops had doubled to 10,000, Mar's hesitation allowed the English to retaliate and, more importantly, to secure England. The success of the rebellion had depended not on Scottish forces but on a simultaneous revolt in England, and Mar's delay provided the government with the time needed to double the standing army in England, send the fleet to monitor the ports in the Channel, arrest English Jacobite leaders, and take additional precautions such as surrounding Jacobite outposts and sending troops to the West Country to prevent a rising there. Thus, the rising in England was stifled and largely contained. Jacobite forces advanced south to Preston, but there they were put down by superior numbers and surrendered. The day before the English Jacobite forces surrendered, the Scottish rebels fought an indecisive battle at Sheriffmuir. Ineffective leadership, uncoordinated efforts, and disunity among the clans complicated the Scottish efforts, and the Old Pretender arrived only too late, landing at Peterhead on December 22. After only a few weeks of futile efforts, James accepted his defeat and, on February 4, 1716, he abandoned both his cause and his supporters and fled once more to France.[17]

The Jacobites were swiftly put down, and the 1715 uprising served only to hurt the Tory cause. In addition to the individual sentences to transportation, hanging, and being stripped of titles, the broader political consequences of the failed uprising were significant. The defeat of the Jacobite Tories helped to solidify Whig political supremacy, and many of the remaining Tory members of Parliament had been removed from office in retaliation. With Whig control in Parliament, in May 1716, the Septennial Act was passed. This act extended the term of Parliament from three years to seven, thus ensuring a Whig majority for the rest of the decade. And, by

[16] O'Gorman, *Long Eighteenth Century*, 66-7.

[17] *Ibid.*, 67.

December 1718, George I got his wish when Parliament repealed the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.[18] Politically, the unsuccessful Jacobite rising of 1715 gave the Whigs the additional strength and momentum to bring about legislative changes which helped to secure their ascendancy.

The significance of the 1715 Jacobite rising was not limited to parliamentary politics. It should also be considered alongside the development of Palladianism and, especially, within the context of the careers of two of the early eighteenth-century's leading architects, Colen Campbell and James Gibbs. Both Campbell and Gibbs were Scottish, and, even worse, Gibbs was Catholic. Moreover, the Earl of Mar, who raised the Jacobite standard, had been one of Gibbs's early supporters. However, as a consequence of his actions, Mar was charged with treason and forced into exile in France for the remainder of his life. While there is no reason to suggest that either Campbell or Gibbs were supporters of the Jacobite cause, the politics of elite and court patronage were complex and delicate. Shrewd politicians such as Harley, Bolingbroke, Lansdowne, and even John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough, had quietly maintained their ties to the exiled Stuart court. Even so, the failed Jacobite rising of 1715 made it increasingly clear that such loyalties were a liability and that severing those ties and distancing themselves from the Stuart cause would be politically advantageous.[19] As Clarissa Campbell Orr has demonstrated, friendship networks and political alliances were closely tied to systems of artistic patronage. Although the importance of the court was waning as Parliamentary power increased, the court offered a link between aristocratic families, brought together the center and periphery, and was an important locus of

[18] O'Gorman, *Long Eighteenth Century*, 68.

[19] Clarissa Campbell Orr, "The Royal Court, Political Culture, and the Art of Friendship, ca. 1685-1750," in *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, ed. Susan Weber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 48.

networking, both for politicians and for artists, architects, and musicians, such as William Kent and George Frederick Handel.[20] Thus, association with the Jacobite cause could have been highly damaging to architects seeking to establish their careers and reputations in London.

Perhaps because of the sharp division of the two-party system in early eighteenth-century England, architectural style has frequently been allied with party. Fears of Continental (and thus Popish) influence and excess extended to architecture, and the lavishness of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century (Tory) Baroque began to be abandoned in favor of a more restrained (Whig) Palladianism. Or so John Summerson would have us believe. In his words:

> The Palladian taste became the taste of the second generation of the Whig aristocracy, the sons of that Whiggery which dated its accession to power from 1688 and to which, in Anne's time, artistic and intellectual leadership, once centered at the Court, had passed. The second Whig generation had strong beliefs and strong dislikes, conspicuous among the latter being the Stuart dynasty, the Roman Church, and most things foreign. In architectural terms, that meant the Court taste of the previous half-century, the works of Sir Christopher Wren in particular, and anything in the nature of Baroque.[21]

As Summerson implies, Palladianism and the Baroque were wholly distinct and the periods existed in political opposition.

Summerson's narrative, however attractive, is dangerously narrow and reductive. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the debates surrounding architectural style were frequently pedantic and as much about the taste of the architect or patron, based on contested interpretations of classicism. Moreover, in addition to creating an oppositional definition for Palladianism, one that necessarily depends on its distinctiveness from the baroque, such an explanation of Palladianism, as Giles Worsley argues, "suffers from hindsight. The style is defined by what it

[20] Orr, "The Royal Court," 49.

[21] Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830,* 9th ed., Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 295.

became … but there in nothing inevitable about the way neo-Palladianism developed."[22] Even Summerson seems to have understood the dangers of stylistic labels and easy definitions. As he writes, "this period of consolidation [the first decades of the eighteenth-century], during which the influence of a small group of architects and amateurs became impressed on the whole output of English building, had long ago become labelled 'Palladian', a description not wholly accurate (as no such labels can be), but accurate enough and secure enough in acceptance."[23] However, in the words of Giles Worsley, "what Summerson perhaps did not know was that by embracing this 'secure enough' definition he created a straightjacketed view of the history of British architecture from which he would never be able or willing to escape."[24] In responding to Summerson, Giles Worsley's monograph of British architecture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* argues centrally that the history of architecture in this period is not defined by a successive series of dominant styles. Rather, architectural styles can—and did—coexist, and the influence of Palladio can be felt even in the post-Restoration period typically characterized as baroque. For Worsley, British architecture from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth is defined by varying degrees of classicism.[25]

As this historiographic tension reveals, the architectural history of eighteenth-century England was complex and far from clean cut, as was its political history. Style and party were not clearly aligned, and, although both the Whigs and the Palladians began their ascendance in 1715,

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[22] Giles Worsley, "Nicholas Hawksmoor: A Pioneer Neo-Palladian," *Architectural History* 33 (1990), 60.

[23] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 295.

[24] Giles Worsley, "Sir John Summerson and the Problem of Palladianism," in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 106.

[25] See Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

they did not, as Summerson suggested, necessarily rise hand-in-hand. Patrizia Granziera has argued that, after their consolidation of power in 1715, the Whigs abandoned and "completely perverted" the moral and political ideals which they had championed since the Glorious Revolution.[26] After resigning from his offices in 1717, Robert Walpole began a calculated campaign of opposition, and, after several years, was elected Finance Minister in 1721. Walpole helped to stabilize English politics and finances in the wake of the South Sea collapse, earning the favor of the King.[27] However, this stabilization was dependent upon a systematic corruption of Parliament by Walpole, who maneuvered deftly in both Parliament and at Court. Ultimately, in April 1721, the king rewarded Walpole's service in the South Sea crisis by naming him First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. With the death of Walpole's two main rivals, Stanhope and Sunderland by 1722, Walpole was at the helm of British government. In this position, which effectively made him the first Prime Minister, Walpole enjoyed the support of the Crown, and, by wielding its patronage network, he dominated English politics and retained control of much of the ruling elite.

Under Walpole, the Whig ideal of moral character as a necessary component for the preservation of a free government was replaced with a system in which influence was secured through rewards of patronage and positions. As Granziera contends, "the development of the separation between power and morality, political reality of the time and ideal socio-political

[26] Patrizia Granziera. "Neo-Palladian Architecture and its Political Association: The Contribution of Venice to Eighteenth-Century British Art," *Mediterranean Studies* 13 (2004), 149.

[27] For more about Walpole's role in the South Sea crisis, see Patrick Kelly, "'Industry and Virtue Versus Luxury and Corruption': Berkeley, Walpole, and the South Sea Bubble Crisis," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 7 (1992): 57-74. For a more recent reassessment of South Sea crisis, see John McTague, "The Indifference of Number: The South Sea Bubble, 1720-21," in *Things That Didn't Happen: Writing, Politics, and the Counterhistorical, 1678-1743* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2019): 141-165.

concepts which were the legacy of the English Revolution, brough about a gradual dissolution of the old party division as well as the development of a strengthened Parliamentary Opposition party, composed of discontented Whigs and reformed Tories."[28] The new reality of this "Robinocracy" meant that, while the two-party system remained, politics in this period are more accurately marked by a division between what Granziera has characterized as the Court party, or Walpole's ruling regime, and the Country party, or the Opposition.[29]

Just as the Palladian revival has been aligned with the Whig ascendancy, its development can also be linked to the Opposition. One of the most compelling examples is Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, who was dismissed by Walpole in 1733. Cobham retreated to his country house at Stowe, which, over several decades from 1712 to 1749, he updated in the Palladian style (fig. 2.1) and surrounded by an emblematic landscape garden meant to architecturally communicate his political ideologies and principles while highlighting the corruption of modern Britain during Walpole's regime, represented by the resplendent Temple of Ancient Virtue (fig 2.2) and the ruinous Temple of Modern Virtue (fig. 2.3).[30] Palladian architecture was deployed by both the

[28] Granziera, "Neo-Palladian Architecture," 149.

[29] Granziera, "Neo-Palladian Architecture," 150-2. As Granziera has argued, after the Restoration, Whigs and Tories could not easily be aligned with distinct social classes because their actions and principles frequently fluctuated based upon whether or not they were in power. She sites Shaftesbury's *The Moralist* (1711), in which he writes that "a noted friend to Liberty in Church and State, an Abhorror of the slavish dependancy on Courts" reverses his principles when in power to become a "'Royal Flatterer,' a Courtier against his Nature …" (149). Granziera also suggests that it is the Opposition which identified itself with the political thought which had resulted in the English Civil War, such as natural rights, the contract between government and society, and the liberties promised by tbe English Constitution (150).

[30] Granziera, "Neo-Palladian Architecture," 152. In describing Cobham's landscape at Stowe, I borrow the term "emblematic" from John Dixon Hunt, who characterized the development of the English landscape garden during the eighteenth century as a movement from emblematic to expressionistic. See John Dixon Hunt, "Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 4, no. 3 (1971): 294-317. Hunt's reading, however, has been challenged by later historians, such as Stephen Bending, who argues that the authorship of meaning in the English landscape garden shifted from the overt hand of the owner to the appropriately educated eye of the visitor. See Stephen Bending, "Re-Reading the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1992): 379-99.

court Whigs and the Opposition, and Tory politicians frequently built or rebuilt their country houses in the style.[31] And, one of the most prominent figures of the Palladian revival and the Whig ideal, Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, has been reappraised as a suspected Jacobite who hid freemasonic and Jacobite symbols throughout his emphatically Palladian villa at Chiswick, such as in the allegorical ceiling of the Blue Velvet Room, whose color and iconography suggest freemasonic associations (fig 2.4).[32] Thus, the political divisions in early eighteenth-century England are defined less by party than by power, and Palladianism cannot be cleanly aligned with either.

As we have seen, during the opening decades of the eighteenth-century, architectural style was an issue of great debate, and it was leveraged to professional and political ends by architects and their patrons. Carole Anne Fry has demonstrated that, in addition to being utilized by builders across the political spectrum, Palladianism was undefined and malleable. Moreover, Fry has argued for the "apolitical nature of the style."[33] Yet, it may be equally misleading to characterize architectural style in eighteenth-century England as wholly apolitical, as both the decision to build a country house and the architectural style in which it was built were overtly politically choices. However, the correlation Fry reveals between Palladianism and the expanding middle and merchant class, who, she demonstrates, are its early adopters and builders, is compelling.

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[31] See Carole Anne Fry, "The Dissemination of Neo-Palladian Architecture in England 1701-1758," PhD Diss. (University of Bristol, 2006), 38-40.

[32] See Jane Clark, "'Lord Burlington is Here'," in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, ed. Tony Barnard and Jane Clark (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995). See also Murray G.H. Pittock, "The *Aeneid* in the Age of Burlington: A Jacobite Text?" in the same volume.

[33] Fry, "The Dissemination," 172-73 & ii.

Building from Fry's contention, I argue that, through print, architects such as Campbell and Gibbs commodified architectural style and advertised it directly to potential consumers. Later in the eighteenth century, the picturesque landscape—and, in an especially compelling example, picturesque views of country houses, such as those in compiled in *Picturesque Views of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, in England and Wales* (1786-8)—would enfranchise a wider public in the consumption of property. However, by the first half of the century, architectural prints and other forms of consumable style made visible the ways in which style might relate to political power and enabled an as-yet-unenfranchised middle class to envision themselves in new roles. The country house, which by the eighteenth-century had become central to Whig politics and was increasingly shaped by stylistic debate, had long been a symbol of aristocratic power. But the print made it knowable and consumable in new ways and for new audiences. Walpole's own meteoric rise from the minor gentry to England's first Prime Minister was, as we shall see, a subject of great interest to a literate public, and his position was legitimized through the lavishly conspicuous consumption at Houghton which was also made visible in print.

BUILDING A BATTLEGROUND: WALPOLE'S HOUGHTON

On May 24th, 1722, the first stone was laid on the rebuilding of Houghton. Robert Walpole had inherited the estate upon the death of his father in 1700, and, initial improvements were made several years later in 1707.[34] The estate had been in the Walpole family since the late twelfth century, when Robert de Walpole married Emma, daughter of Walter de Howelton or Houton.

[34] Harris, "James Gibbs," 5.

After the Restoration, Sir Edward Walpole constructed a red brick house on the site.[35] It has not been recorded what alterations were made to the Jacobean house in 1707, possibly by the local architect Alderman Henry Bell, who was also working at nearby Narford for Andrew Fountaine, but another attempt to repair the old house was made in 1716 before, in 1720, Walpole decided to construct a new house.[36] In 1719, Thomas Badeslade was engaged to complete a survey of the estate, and his earliest map, produced in 1720, reveals a block plan house of similar size to the new building, composed of main fronts of different lengths with courts at either end and office blocks framing a central forecourt.[37] Hiring Badeslade to complete an extensive survey of the extant estates at Houghton suggests that Walpole saw an opportunity to reconsider and even reinvent his family seat.

The series of maps produced by Badeslade in the 1720s provides an important, if occasionally inconsistent, record of the progress of the works taking place at Houghton. Unfortunately, however, because most of the papers were destroyed after Walpole's fall from power in 1742, the construction history of the new house remains unclear. The prevailing narrative, as John Harris recounts, is that Walpole engaged his friend Thomas Ripley, who brought with him his apprentice Isaac Ware, to oversee the project, with Colen Campbell as the architect. James Gibbs was consulted later in the project, and it was at his suggestion that the domes were added to the corner towers.[38] Thomas Ripley was born in Yorkshire c. 1683 but journeyed to London to

[35] Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian, 1715-1760* (London: Country Life, 1955), 72.

[36] Harris, "James Gibbs," 5. Harris has argued that, in addition to being employed nearby, Henry Bell and Walpole were friends and that, in return for political favors, Bell had been made a captain in the Marshland Militia.

[37] Harris, "James Gibbs," 5.

[38] *Ibid.*, 5-6.

begin a career, entering the Carpenters' Company in 1705. However, after marrying one of Robert Walpole's servants, Ripley's career began to accelerate under the benefit of Walpole's powerful patronage. 1715 was also a significant year for Ripley, who was, that April, made Labourer in Trust at the Savoy. The following year, Ripley was named Clerk of the Works at the Mews. After only five years, in 1721, Ripley took over as Master Carpenter from Grinling Gibbons, and, five years after that, he succeeded Sir John Vanbrugh as Comptroller of the King's Works. By 1729, Walpole secured for Ripley the post of Surveyor of Greenwich Hospital, and, in 1737, he was awarded the sinecure of Surveyor of the King's Private Roads, a post he would hold until his death in 1758.[39]

While Ripley enjoyed the favor and protection of Robert Walpole (or perhaps even because of it), he has not always been admired as an architect, either in the eighteenth-century or in contemporary scholarship. Although Ripley was appointed his successor as Comptroller of the King's Works in 1726, Vanbrugh had little respect for his replacement. In 1721, Vanbrugh recorded that, when he "met with his [Ripley's] name (and Esquire to it) in the Newspaper; such a Laugh came upon me, I had like to Beshit my Self."[40] Lord Burlington, Jacobite or not, was equally dismissive of Ripley, and, as we shall see, Alexander Pope criticized both Walpole and his architect.[41] In his *Epistle to Burlington*, Pope lambasts Ripley by name, quipping "Heav'n visits with a Taste the wealthy fool, / And needs no Rod but Ripley with a Rule."[42] Ripley with his ruler

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[39] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978) *s.v.* "Ripley, Thomas."

[40] Quoted in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Ripley, Thomas."

[41] Colvin notes that Burlington was as contemptuous to Ripley as Vanbrugh was, but suggests that Ripley's apprentice, Isaac Ware, may have benefited from Burlington's early patronage. See Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Ripley, Thomas" and "Ware, Isaac."

[42] Early editions of Pope's *Epistle to Burlington*, such as the third edition of 1732, do not contain Ripley's name, reading instead: "Heav'n visits with a *Taste* the wealthy fool, / And needs no Rod, but *S—d* with a Rule." *op. cit.*, 4. A 1732 edition sold by G. Lawton of Fleet Street, T. Osborn, below Bridge, and J. Hughes in High

had, after all, trained in the manual skill of carpentry, rather than as an apprentice to an architect, and he owed his advancement to Walpole. Ripley's first public building was the Admiralty at Whitehall (fig. 2.5), built between 1723 and 1726. Howard Colvin has argued that the "ill-proportioned" portico of this building is an example of Ripley's deficiency as an architect, echoing Alexander Pope's own dire predictions in the *Dunciad*: "See under Ripley rise a new White-hall, / While Jones' and Boyle's united labours fall."[43] In Pope's characterization, Ripley's poor taste and insufficient skill at the Admiralty House threatened the fate of all of Whitehall, including Jones's Banqueting House which stood next door.

Ripley's professional successes were a result of Walpole's patronage, which was criticized for being given without regard to the architect's abilities. A note in a 1751 compilation of Pope's works adds, as an explanative to the mention of the architect in the *Epistle to Burlington*, that "this man was a carpenter, employed by a first Minister, who raised him to an Architect, without any genius in the art; and after some wretched proofs of his insufficiency in public Buildings, made him Comptroller of the Board of Works."[44] As Walpole's pet architect who enjoyed numerous positions and sinecures under the influence of the Prime Minister, it is unsurprising that Ripley would be chosen to supervise the building at Houghton. While it is unlikely that Ripley was responsible for the design of the new building, the full extent of Ripley's role in the project remains unrecoverable. Christopher Hussey has argued that Ripley was in complete charge of the building

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Holborn, entitled *A Miscellany on Taste*, is published along with an interpretive key and clavis which identifies S—d as "one *Stafford*, a Carpenter." However, later editions of the poem, such that included among the moral essays in *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq*, Vol. 3 (George Faulkner, et. al.: Dublin, 1751), replace S—d with Ripley (271).

[43] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Ripley, Thomas." See also Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad: As it is Now Changed by Mr. Pope. In Four Books.* (Dublin: Philip Bowes, 1744), 31.

[44] Pope, *The Works*, 271.

works and that "it must have been understood from the first that the whole business of supervision and even revision was to be conducted by Ripley, whose technical ability Walpole trusted…"[45] However, the involvement of Colen Campbell and James Gibbs on the project, to which we shall shortly return, suggests that, while Walpole certainly seems to have trusted Ripley's technical skills, he did not extend that trust to his genius for design.

In spite of his role as supervisor of the works and perhaps as an attempt to promote his career and legitimize his nepotistic appointments, Ripley unabashedly claimed authorship of the new Houghton. In 1735, Ripley's apprentice, Isaac Ware, published *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections; Chimney-Pieces, and Ceilings of Houghton in Norfolk…*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Ware published a number of books over the course of his career, including, in 1738, his own translation of Palladio's *Four Books*, and, in 1756, the monumental *A Complete Body of Architecture*. However, *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Houghton* follows the pattern of Ware's first publication, *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others*, from c. 1731, a thin volume of only fifty-three plates, primarily containing designs by Jones, but also by Ware, Burlington, and Kent. The volume is somewhat commemorative in its tone, and Ware notes that "Most of these Designs are already Executed, & the rest, are at Burlington House."[46] By placing the designs of himself and his contemporaries alongside those of Inigo Jones, Ware creates legitimacy by association, much as Campbell had done in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. William Kent, whose designs make up nearly half of the plates, is especially well represented, and his chimneypieces and ceilings recall those attributed to Jones in the same volume. Kent is similarly prominent in the Houghton

[45] Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 72.

[46] Isaac Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others* (London, c. 1731), ii.

volume. However, what is most curious about Ware's publication is its authorial claims. In addition to Ware, who prepared the drawings, Paul Fourdrinier, who engraved the plates, and William Kent, who designed the ceilings and chimneypieces engraved in the second half of the volume, Thomas Ripley is listed in the credit line for each of the publication's first eighteen plates as "T. Ripley Arch." Neither Gibbs nor Campbell are credited in the plates, and the book declares subtly (though without any ambiguity) that the team responsible for the creation of Walpole's new seat are Ripley, Ware, and Kent.

The Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Houghton was arguably a commemorative publication printed to celebrate the recent completion of the house. The book contains no subscriber list, and the expense required to produce such a lavish collection of prints may well have been borne by Walpole himself who would have wished to distribute copies to his friends.[47] Thus, Ripley's authorial claims may have been made to an audience already aware of the facts. However, a decade before, in 1725, Colen Campbell claimed the design of Houghton as his to a broader public audience in Volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, for which he had gathered almost nine hundred subscribers. In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell includes:

> …all the Designs of my Invention; First, the general Plan and Front of the House and Offices … the Plans of the principal and Attick Story … [and] the Front to the great Entrance…. The Basement is rustic, and I have also rusticated the Windows and Door-Case in the principal Story; the Building is finished with Two Towers, dress'd with Two rustic *Venetian* Windows. In the next Plate is the Front to the Garden, with a regular *Portico Tetrstile Ionic*…. In this Front the Windows of the principal Story are dress'd without Rusticks. The last Plate is the Section of the great Hall, all in Stone, the most beautiful in *England*; the whole Building is Stone, and, without pretending to excuse any

[47] Timothy Clayton has argued that prints such as those in Ware's book might be issued to commemorate the completion of a building, but offers Ware's publication only as an example of the architectural books issued to be helpful and promote the skills of their authors which were more commonly published after the release of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-25), William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), and Gibbs *Book of Architecture* (1728). See Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 62-3.

> seeming or real Defects, I believe, it will be allowed to be a House of State and Conveniency, and in some Degree, worthy of the great and generous Patron.[48]

Campbell's use of the phrase "Designs of my Invention" is common among the explanatory text in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. However, in the case of Houghton, it might also serve to distinguish the house as Campbell designed it from the house as it would be completed.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, in 1717, in the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell dedicated a design to Robert Walpole (see fig. 1.23). Though the plate functioned in the context of the book as a Palladian corrective to the preceding engraving of Braman Park (see fig. 1.22), it was also meant to attract the attention—and patronage—of the powerful Whig politician. And it may well have worked. Campbell was brought onto the project at Houghton sometime in the early 1720s. Ripley was hired to supervise the project in 1720, he began sourcing materials in 1721, and the first stone was laid in 1722. Yet, Campbell's text claims that he began the designs for Houghton in 1722, and the plates are dated the following year. In 1725, two years after the plates were prepared, the engravings were published in Campbell's third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus.* Campbell's plates of the east and west fronts of Houghton (figs. 2.6-2.7) reveal a house with gabled terminating towers clearly derived from the south façade of Wilton House (begun 1636), which was, in the eighteenth-century, attributed to Inigo Jones.[49] Campbell had included Wilton in the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 2.8), and he described the elevations and sections of Wilton that he provided as "being all designed by *Inigo*

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[48] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. 3 (London, 1725), 8.

[49] The 4th Earl of Pembroke, for whom Wilton was remodeled, had indeed consulted Inigo Jones, who, too burdened by his project for the Crown, recommended the architect Isaac de Caus. The south front as built, including the towers and venetian windows, was designed by de Caus, and the gabled roofs were added to the towers by Jones's student, John Webb, who carried out the repairs at Wilton after it was damaged by fire in 1647-8. However, the house became associated with Jones, and the towers and venetian windows became popular Palladian motifs. See Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 131-2.

Jones, and finished by him in the Year 1640…."[50] Campbell also promised a prospect view (fig. 2.9) in the subsequent volume, which he delivered. Campbell's designs for Houghton were meant to evoke direct comparison to Wilton, and he made additional alterations to the drawings to increase the similarities, including swapping the exterior staircases and subtly suggesting the Jonesian façade as the principal front rather than its porticoed counterpart.

Moreover, although the house would not be completed until almost a decade later (and several years after Campbell's death), even by 1725, the house would have looked markedly different from the Wilton-inspired engravings in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Sometime around 1725, Walpole's friend, the antiquarian Edmund Prideaux, who made many drawings of houses for Walpole's political allies, produced a sketch of the construction at Houghton (fig. 2.10).[51] Prideaux's drawing reveals that, by the time the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published, the gabled towers Campbell proposed, if they had ever been seriously considered at all, had already been abandoned in favor of domes. Intriguingly, a pair of drawings made by Campbell of the east and west fronts of Houghton (figs. 2.11-2.12) are inscribed as the first design and dated 1723. The unusual composition of the towers, with their pyramidal roofs punctuated by a cupola, and, on the east front, raised on an additional attic storey set above pediments, seem to anticipate the towers Campbell proposed in the final design for Wanstead, as published in the third volume of *Vitrruvius Britannicus*.

As we shall see in the next chapter, Wanstead would set an important and much replicated precedent for the Palladian country house, and the towers from Campbell's third design would be

[50] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. 2 (London, 1717), 3.

[51] Andrew Eburne, "Charles Bridgeman and the Gardens of the Robinocracy," *Garden History* 31, no. 2 (2003), 196.

adapted for the new range of Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire. I suggest that the unusual roofing of these towers may be the result of a hybrid compromise between the gabled towers of Campbell's idealized published designs and the domed towers, consistently attributed to James Gibbs, which would ultimately be constructed at Houghton (fig. 2.13).[52] In typical fashion, Campbell's engravings, then, represent his Palladianized revisions to Houghton. In any case, Campbell published an idealized version of the building that diverged significantly from the reality. Perhaps his claims to authorship operate on a number of planes. Campbell simultaneously claims the credit as the architect of one of the most significant political powerhouses of the early eighteenth century while representing it in what, to him, was the most flattering and Palladian conception. This, Campbell's plates seem to suggest, is what Houghton could have—and even should have—been.

Campbell's "first" designs, with their curiously roofed towers, may well have been the first designs that he made for Houghton. However, it is likely that they were not the first made for the project. Indeed, the domes, which have long been considered a late-stage contribution to the building, may have been intended from the outset. Among Colen Campbell's collection of drawings, now at the Royal Institute of British Architects, are two drawings of Houghton made by James Gibbs. Although it has been thought that these drawings were prepared by Gibbs to illustrate how his new domes would appear on the house, John Harris has reconsidered them. Because of the many discrepancies between Gibbs's drawings and the finished building, Harris has concluded that, rather than representing late-stage changes, the drawings must predate 1723.

[52] See, for example, Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 303.

Gibbs, Harris argues, was the initial architect at Houghton, there as early as 1720.[53] Walpole may well have acknowledged the abilities of the young Gibbs based on the work he had recently overseen at Cannons for James Brydges, Earl of Caernarvnon and 1st Duke of Chandos. Both William Talman and John James had worked on the remodelling at Cannons. But, unimpressed with the results, Chandos commissioned Gibbs in 1716 to take over the project. Gibbs, too, was ultimately dismissed from the project in 1719, and the house was executed with some revisions by John Price. Although Cannons was demolished in 1747, Gibbs's designs for the principal fronts, incorporating the earlier work by Talman and James, survive in drawings (figs. 2.14-2.15), and, in 1717, the house was praised as a "Noble Pile, whose Fame shall ever live."[54] If Gibbs was, as Harris contends, the original architect at Houghton, the fabric ultimately constructed owes at least as much to him as it does to Campbell, and Gibbs certainly deserves more credit for Houghton than he has previously been given.

One reason why Gibbs has not been fully considered as the original architect of Houghton may come from the architect himself. Curiously, he did not include Houghton among his designs of country houses in the *Book of Architecture*, which he published in 1728. Unlike Campbell, who had no difficulty publishing an idealized version of the house, perhaps Gibbs did not wish to the same. Or perhaps he was unwilling to illustrate a compromise. However, I argue that Gibbs may have simply wished to distance himself from the conspicuously Continental building. Giles

[53] Both John Harris, who cataloged the RIBA drawings, and Terry Friedman, have concluded that these drawings are in the hand of James Gibbs. However, prompted by a distinct detail in the design of the window surrounds which are not found in Campbell's designs but exist in both the building and in a set of drawings now attributed to Gibbs, Harris has suggested that, in spite of the claims made by Campbell and Ripley, Gibbs's designs were the first to be made for Houghton. See Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 105-107, and Harris, "James Gibbs," 5-8.

[54] Charles Gildon, *Canons: or, The Vision*, (London, 1717), 10. Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 111.

Worsley has argued that part of Gibbs's motivation for publishing the *Book of Architecture* was to demonstrate his ability to work in the Palladian style, and Houghton, with its distinctly French domes, would not have helped his cause. Moreover, it would have disrupted the timeline he suggested in the *Book of Architecture*. According to Gibbs's book, he made a number of designs for Palladian villas in 1720. If this were true, Gibbs's villa designs would have predated Burlington's and Campbell's, and they would have established him as a pioneering Palladian architect.[55] It is impossible to know precisely why Gibbs did not include Houghton in the *Book of Architecture*. Such a prominent commission would certainly have been worth noting, but perhaps Gibbs felt otherwise. As we shall see in Chapter Four, Gibbs, like Campbell, understood the way in which a book might best be used to his own professional advantage, and Houghton, for whatever reason, did not fit into the narrative he wished to construct.

Professionally and stylistically, Houghton was a battleground. Although they were countrymen, Campbell and Gibbs were known professional rivals, and Ripley, in spite of enjoying Walpole's patronage and protection, was eager to prove himself equal to the title of architect which had been bestowed upon him at Walpole's behest. Furthermore, though Houghton has often been cited as an early example of and even precedent for the Palladian country house, Giles Worsley has noted that "neither the plan … nor the elevation derive from Palladio, but are attempts to dress up the standard large post-Restoration house … with fashionable Palladian detail."[56] In plan, such as the one drawn by Gibbs which closely matches the house as constructed (fig. 2.16), Houghton is derived from the six-room plan with axial hall, a standard seventeenth-century plan type

[55] Worsley, *Classical Architecture*, 119.

[56] *Ibid.*, 108.

epitomized by Chevening Park, Kent, built c. 1620 and illustrated by Campbell in the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (see fig. 1.25). Over the course of the seventeenth century, this popular plan type began to have wings added at either end, such as at Belton House, Lincolnshire (1684-8), also included in Volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 2.17).[57] Gibbs had utilized this plan type in a number of his villa designs, and the plan for Houghton is remarkably similar to that of Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire (fig. 2.18), which Gibbs designed in 1720. At Houghton, the plan is modified to create the four corner towers, which may have been intended to evoke the flanking towers common in sixteenth-century English castles.[58] While the main block is based on a standard seventeenth-century English plan type, Houghton's service wings, connected by colonnaded hyphens, recall the villas of Palladio, and its stone exterior was composed, on the west, with a classical portico, and on the east, in imitation of Jones's Wilton House. Crowned with Continental domes, Houghton is a hybridization of styles and influences as well as a collision of rival architects and a strong-willed patron.

IMAGE CRISIS: CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY AT HOUGHTON

Houghton was a dynastic statement. Its cornerstone, laid in 1722, offers this prayer: "God grant, That after its Master, to a mature Old-age, shall have long enjoyed it in Perfection, his latest Descendents may safely possess it, in an unimpaired Condition, to the End of Time."[59] Walpole intended for Houghton to be a testament to future generations and an assertion of his political

[57] For more about the seventeenth-century development of the six-room plan, which Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire have characterized as the "state centre," see Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 262-81.

[58] See Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan*, 63-72.

[59] Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 106.

power. It was also an attempt architecturally and artistically to express Walpole's new social stature. Along with Gibbs and Campbell, Walpole also engaged another of the most important young architects, William Kent. Kent, a polymath whose long and productive career would influence the Georgian interior throughout the century, counted among his early patrons some of the most important aristocrats and politicians of the period, including Lord Burlington, who was one of Kent's most ardent supporters. By the end of the 1720s, under the reign of George II, William Kent had been employed for private projects by the holders of the highest political offices, Walpole, Townshend, and Newcastle, and one of his earliest patrons had been Henry Pelham.[60] Campbell, Gibbs, and Kent had all been associated, in one way or another, with the Burlington circle, and had worked for many of the leading figures of period. Moreover, both Gibbs and Kent had worked at Ditchley, upon whose plan Houghton had been modeled. For Houghton, Walpole wanted the very best, and he brought all of the most current architectural talent together to construct his new home as a literal and figurative seat of political power.

Before he propelled himself to the position of Prime Minister, Walpole had been a member of the minor gentry, and the rebuilding of Houghton, along with his voracious appetite for collecting Old Master paintings, were attempts to secure the necessary accoutrements of the tasteful, educated aristocrat. Both the house and its contents were meant to solidify a carefully crafted image of Walpole. There, he amassed a significant collection of paintings, including works by Rubens, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck, which were ultimately sold by his son to Catherine the Great of Russia in 1779 to form the nucleus of the Hermitage.[61] However, as Joan Coutu has

[60] Catherine Arbuthnott, "Kent's Patrons," in *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, ed. Susan Weber (New Haven: Yale Unviersity Press, 2014), 75.

[61] For more about this collection, see Dukelskaya and Moore, eds., *A Capital Collection*.

demonstrated, Walpole also assembled an important collection of sculpture representing individuals and classical narratives meant to legitimize his political power. On the exterior, recumbent statues of Neptune and Britannia carved by John Michael Rysbrack recline in the pedimented entrance to the Stone Hall on the east front, and presiding over the points of the pediment on the west façade are the figures of Demosthenes, defender of liberty, Minerva, goddess of wisdom, and Justice with her scales, also by Rysbrack. These symbols of good governance begin an iconographic program which is echoed on the interior in the Stone Hall (fig. 2.19), where visitors are greeted by personifications of Peace and Plenty, reminders of the state of Britain under Walpole's leadership. The dynastic statement is reinforced on the ceiling. In the center are the garter star, an honor bestowed upon Walpole by the King in 1726, along with Walpole's coat of arms, while, in the coves, medallion portraits of Walpole, his first and second wives, and his eldest son, Robert, announce Walpole's line.[62]

All'antica busts on scrolled corbels are placed around the perimeter of the Hall, representing renowned rulers such as Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, and Commodus, the selfless hero Hercules, the aristocratic and agricultural figures of Homer and Hesiod, other portraits of leadership and virtue. Elevated higher than all of these, on the chimneypiece, is a bust of Walpole, wigless and in classical dress. This comfortable collision of past and present, what Coutu has termed "temporal elision," inserts Walpole into the pantheon of virtuous leaders assembled in the Stone Hall, while the further theme of selfless service and sacrifice is suggested by the room's most prominent sculpture, a full-size bronze cast of the Laocoön made by Francois Giradon after the original in the Vatican, and the four relief panels of scenes of sacrifice modeled after those on the

[62] Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 29-30. See also Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 80-1.

Arch of Constantine, also carved by Rysbrack.[63] Thus, Walpole artistically asserts a personal and political identity marked by strong leadership, virtue, and self-sacrifice.

Impressive though it may have been, located in distant Norfolk, both Walpole's house and its collection were not easily accessible from London. Furthermore, during Walpole's regime, only his close circle of friends, political allies, and important dignitaries would have seen Houghton, its hangings, or its program of sculptures.[64] Just as Campbell had done to bolster his career, Walpole and his associates used print to widen the audience for Houghton, Walpole's collection there, and their message of their owner's sophistication and erudition along with dynastic power and legitimacy. The story of Laocoön, which had appeared in Book II of Virgil's *Aeneid*, was celebrated in poetry, and a memoir chronicling Walpole's noble lineage was published.[65] As we have seen, Ware's *Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Houghton* was both an advertisement of Ripley's (alleged) architectural abilities and a celebratory publication marking the completion of the house. Ware's publication was followed, just over a decade later in 1747, by *Ædes Walpolianæ, or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton* by Walpole's youngest son, Horace Walpole, who would later inherit the house and build his own oppositional dynastic statement at Strawberry Hill, one of the earliest examples of the Gothic revival in England.[66] All of these publications brought Houghton to a broader public audience.

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[63] Coutu, *Then and Now*, 31-3. See also Malcolm Baker, "Public Images for Private Spaces? The Place of Sculpture in the Georgian Domestic Interior, *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 4 (2007): 309-23. In the context of this room, the bust of Walpole without a wig serves to visually link him with the heroes, statesmen, and philosophers among whom he stands; however, for more about the use or disuse of hair in eighteenth-century portrait busts, see Malcolm Baker, "'No Cap or Wig but a Thin Hair upon it': Hair and the Male Portrait Bust in England around 1750," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (2004): 63-77.

[64] Coutu, *Then and Now*, 34-5.

[65] *Ibid.*, 34.

Print allowed Walpole to circulate the image of his house and collections and, along with it, the public identity he wished to construct for himself. However, it also offered an arena for equally public criticism. Alongside the swirl of broadsheets, pamphlets, poems, and propaganda, issued because of what Jerry C. Beasley has characterized as a "public obsession" with the powerful finance minister, Walpole became a popular subject in prose fiction during the height of his career, and at least three dozen works took Walpole or his government as their subject.[67] Early examples, such as *The Life of Mr. Robin Lyn* from 1729 reveal a public interest in Walpole's meteoric rise to power, and Walpolean satires reached their peak by the mid-1730s, around the same time Ware's book was published. By that point, Walpole's name had become synonymous with corruption, which had an even broader meaning in the eighteenth century.[68] And Houghton, too, featured in these publications. One example can be found in *Letters from a Moor at London to his Friend at Tunis*, published in 1736. Of Houghton, the narrator suggests that "When we consider the vast places of profit a prime minister of England enjoys, and the power he has of disposing of places of profit to others, it is not so much to be wonder'd at."[69] The breadth of Walpole's corruption, collusion, and granting of favors allowed him to amass enormous wealth alongside his power, and Houghton was the unsurprising result.

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[66] For a recent reassessment of Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill, see Matthew M. Reeve, "Gothic Architecture, Sexuality, and License at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill," *The Art Bulletin* 95, no. 3 (September 2013): 411-39.

[67] Jerry C. Beasley, "Portraits of a Monster: Robert Walpole and Early English Prose Fiction," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 4 (1981), 407.

[68] Lacy Marschalk, Mallory Anne Porch, and Paula R. Backscheider, "The Empty Decade? English Fiction in the 1730s," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 3 (Spring 2014), 399-401.

[69] *Letters from a Moor at London to his Friend at Tunis* (London, 1736), 267. Quoted in Marschalk, Porch, and Backscheider, "The Empty Decade," 401.

In addition to satires and attacks on Walpole's character and politics, Walpole's taste, or lack thereof, also fell victim to public vitriol. Houghton, as the expression of that taste, became a popular target as well. One of the most fulsome (and amusing) of these criticisms was made, albiet indirectly in the character of the tasteless and wasteful Timon, by Alexander Pope in his *Epistle to Burlington*, first published in 1731.[70] J.H. Plumb characterized Walpole at the height of as his power as proud and boastful. As he writes, Walpole "paraded his wealth with ever greater ostentation. He bought pictures at reckless prices, wallowed in the extravagance of Houghton, deluged his myriad guests with rare food and costly wine… And he gloried in his power, spoke roughly if not ungenerously of others, and let the whole world know that he was master."[71] Plumb's characterization echoes the character of Timon and his villa:

At *Timon's Villa* let us pass a Day,
Where all cry out, "What Sums are thrown away!
So proud, so grand, of that stupendous Air,
Soft and *Agreeable* come never there.
Greatness, with *Timon,* dwells in such a Draught
As brings all *Brobdignag* before your Thought:
To compass this, his Building is a Town,
His Pond an Ocean, his Parterre a Down;
Who bust must laugh the Master when he sees?
A puny Insect, shiv'ring at a Breeze!
Lo! what Heaps of Littleness around!
The Whole, a labour'd Quarry above Ground![72]

[70] There has been much debate as to the identity of Timon in Pope's satire, both in the eighteenth-century and in subsequent scholarship. After its publication, many claimed that Charles Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, was the identity of Timon, and Pope was forced to apologize to both Chandos and Burlington and reissue the poem with a key. Kathleen Mahaffey, however, has suggested that Timon was in fact Walpole. See Mahaffey, "Timon's Villa." James R. Aubrey has responded to Mahaffey's essay, arguing instead that Timon was not a single individual but a composite satire. See James R. Aubrey, "Timon's Villa: Pope's Composite Picture," *Studies in Philology* 80, no. 3 (1983): 325-48. However, Mahaffey's argument for a single identity of Timon, based on Pope's claims of the necessity of direct satire, remains convincing. Though the identity of Timon is arguably unrecoverable and could, as Aubrey proposes, be a general satirical invention, Timon and his villa map nicely onto Walpole and Houghton, and Pope's criticisms, even if general, would certainly still apply.

[71] J.H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole*: *The King's Minister* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 331. Quoted in Mahaffey, "Timon's Villa," 196.

Houghton, cast as Timon's villa, is a Brobdingnagian pile, built at great vast expense but with little taste to justify it. The same might be said of Walpole's sculpture collection and his expensive paintings, assembled not on the basis of their artistic merits but on their collective symbolic worth. Pope mocks a similarly vacuous approach to collecting in Timon's study where Timon is interested more in the age of the books themselves than in their contents. As Pope asks, "His *Study*! with what Authors is it stor'd? / In Books, not Authors, curious is my Lord;" indeed, "For all his Lordship knows, but they are *Wood*."[73] The value of Timon's collection, like Walpole's lies merely in its assembly.

The great expenditures lavished by Walpole on entertaining political dignitaries at Houghton, where he served only the best food and wine, were also captured in verse by Pope:

> But hark! the chiming Clocks to Dinner call;
> A hundred Footsteps scrape the marble Hall:
> The rich Buffet well-colour'd *Serpents* grace,
> And gaping *Tritons* spew to wash your Face.
> Is this a Dinner? This a Genial Room?
> No, 'tis a Temple, and a Hecatomb;
> A solemn Sacrifice, perform'd in Sate,
> You drink by Measure, and to Minutes eat.
> So quick retires each flying Course you'd swear
> *Sancho*'s dread Doctor and his Wand were there:
> Between each Act the trembling Salvers ring,
> From Soup to Sweetwine, and *God bless the King*.
> In Plenty starving, tantaliz'd in State,
> And complaisantly help'd to all I hate,
> Treated, caress'd, and tired, I take my leave,
> Sick of his civil Pride, from Morn to Eve;
> I curse such lavish Cost, and little Skill,
> And swear, no Day was ever past so ill.[74]

[72] Pope, *Of Taste*, 9.

[73] *Ibid.*, 11.

[74] *Ibid.*, 12-3.

The evocation of Timon's marble Hall, with its overwrought classical features, recalls the Stone Hall at Houghton, where the incongruous theme of solemn sacrifice served as the backdrop to Walpole's own lavish dinners and political entertainments. Just as Timon's villa was a metaphor for its owner, Walpole's character was closely aligned to his house. For Walpole, it was the culmination of his new aristocratic identity, a statement of power, magnificence, validity, and longevity. However, for his opponents, it was a stupendous, tasteless, and wastefully extravagant architectural manifestation of Walpole's expansive power purchased through favors, payoffs, widespread government corruption, and the abandonment of morality once central to the Whig ideal.

By bringing together such a competitive team of architects to build his new seat, Walpole recognized that he could benefit from their zeal and enjoy the best each had to offer. Indeed, the house as constructed, which matches fully neither Gibbs's or Campbell's designs, arguably owes its final appearance as much to its discerning patron than it does to its architects. An architectural hybrid both within and without, Houghton is stylistically unresolved—and perhaps unresolvable: neither wholly Baroque or purely Palladian, Houghton defies neat classification and complicates any easy associations between political party and architectural style. As one of the most lavish and conspicuous country houses of the early eighteenth-century, Walpole's new seat also attracted strong public criticism. Walpole's corruption and favors had gained him the fortune necessary to build Houghton, but the lavish new building also suggested the possible extent of his financial

malfeasance. Even so, as a declaration of Walpole's political leadership, virtue, and taste, Houghton was certainly a political statement, and one that circulated in print, both in the popular press and in architectural publications like Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Ware's *Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Houghton*. Walpole, his architects, and even his detractors understood the role of the print in constructing and disseminating a professional identity, and the unresolved stylistic tension of Houghton is an architectural manifestation of the many forces competing to construct their own identities in stone and in print.

3

THE HOUSE WITH TWO FACES

From Baroque to Palladian at Wentworth Woodhouse

Wentworth Woodhouse is one of the grandest and most intriguing country houses in England. It is also, in the words of Terry Friedman, one of the "major unresolved problems of Georgian domestic architecture."[1] Located in Rotherham, South Yorkshire, Wentworth Woodhouse's Palladian east façade is the longest front in England, stretching over 600 feet. Hidden behind this staggering Palladian front, however, is an earlier, Baroque house, begun in 1724. Writing ten years later, in 1734, Sir Thomas Robinson, a gentleman architect and follower of Lord Burlington, observed that the west front of Wentworth Woodhouse was "entirely finished, being partly patchwork of the old house … little can be said in its praise." Yet, in the same letter, he enthused about the progress simultaneously being made on the house's east front, whose "upright will be in the same style as Lord Tilney's [Wanstead]," arguably the most fashionable house of the day, and the "whole finishing will be entirely submitted to Lord Burlington."[2] Although Wentworth

[1] Terry Friedman, *Catalogue of the Drawings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. G-K, ed. Jill Lever (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1973), 23.

[2] Quoted in Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian, 1715-1760* (London: Country Life, 1955), 147.

Woodhouse was built in a single (albeit lengthy) campaign for Thomas Watson-Wentworth, 1st Marquess of Rockingham, and completed seamless by his son, the 2nd Marquess, it is indeed a house of two faces. More accurately, and certainly far more perplexing, Wentworth Woodhouse is almost two separate houses placed back-to-back.

In this chapter, I will reassess the stylistic disjuncture of Wentworth Woodhouse. The Janus-faced country house has frequently been explained as a reflection of the rapid change in architectural fashions that took place in the early decades of the eighteenth century, and its dual frontages have been understood as containing separate private and public spheres.[3] However, such fashionable and functional interpretations do not satisfactorily explain the evolution of Wentworth Woodhouse. Instead, the abrupt stylistic change between the construction of the house's east and west fronts was the result of the shifting motivations and aspirations of its patron. While the choice to adopt Palladianism as the language for Wentworth Woodhouse's grand new façade was a political one, and one obviously concerned with size, I argue it also reflects the commodification of both the country house and of architectural style itself.

HOUSE, HALL, CASTLE, PALACE: STAINBOROUGH AND WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

On October 16, 1695, William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford and 1st Baron Raby, died. Although his life had been unremarkable, his death was another matter entirely.[4] He had married well, first to Henrietta Maria Stanley, daughter of the beheaded Earl of Derby, and then to

[3] See, for example, Michael Charlesworth, "The Wentworths: Family and Political Rivalry in the English Landscape Garden," *Garden History* 14, no. 2 (1986), 126-7.

[4] For more on the "unremarkable" life of Thomas Wentworth, see C.V. Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 395. For more about the history of the Wentworth family broadly, see O.B., "Country Homes: Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, A Seat of the Earl Fitzwilliam," *Country Life* 19, no. 482 (31 March 1906), 450-62.

Henriette de la Rochefoucauld, daughter of the French Count de Roye. Yet, he died without issue, taking the earldom to his grave. The Barony of Raby, however, passed to the grandson of William's uncle, Thomas Wentworth. But, under the terms of William's will, that is all he got. For reasons which remain known only to the deceased, William chose to leave everything else to the third son of his sister Anne, Thomas Watson, who thus inherited Wentworth's vast estates in England and Ireland, as well as the appellation Wentworth.

The disinherited Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, remained bitter throughout his life. Indeed, in 1702, Raby and his cousin, now Thomas Watson-Wentworth, were embroiled in a legal dispute over the restitution of unpaid debts allegedly owed to Raby's father by the Earl of Strafford. When ordered to pay the debts by the Court of Chancery, Watson-Wentworth filed an appeal. As the respondent, Raby detailed again the debts and pointed to his distant cousin's income from the rents and profits made on his newly inherited estates, which he had claimed "Title thereto under Colour of a Will pretended to be made by the Earl some short time before his death."[5] Clearly affronted, Raby's statement implicitly called into question the very legitimacy of Watson-Wentworth's inheritance. Moreover, he provided a bitter account of "the whole Matter":

> …the Appellant [Thomas Watson-Wentworth] that seeks Relief here against the several Acts and Deeds of the said Earl [William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford], is one that claim all the Earl's Estate under his pretended Will, which was an Estate that the Earl himself could have had no Power to have disposed of from Sir *William*, the next Heir-Male, had not Sir *William* himself, at the Earl's Request, joined in the cutting of the Entail, in order to enable the Earl to raise Moneys for supplying his Occasions; and which Sir *William* complied with, upon the Earl's repeated Promises, That the Estate should come to Sir *William* at the Earl's Decease without Issue-Male; and the Respondent [Lord Raby], against whom this Relief is sought, though he is the Earl's Heir-Male, and very near

[5] Answer, Wentworth v Raby, (1701) A.C. "The Respondents Case," Thomas Wentworth, alias Watson Esq; and Others, Appellants; The Lord Raby, and Others, Respondents; to be heard before the House of Lords, Saturday the 28th of February 1701, in *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, Gale. (Original in the British Library.)

> Relation, yet through the Means of false Insinuations, has nothing left him from the Earl, but a naked Honour.[6]

Denied the earldom and left with an empty barony, Raby objected not only to the appellant's case but to his very claim to the estate. To add insult to the injury of being denied his inheritance, the entail which would have settled the estate upon Raby had been broken only through the assistance of his father and with the Earl's assurances of an unaltered line of succession. Broken promises, a broken entail, and Thomas Watsons's "pretended Will" left Raby without the estates he felt should have rightfully been his.

A few years later, in the summer of 1708, although he already owned the family land at Wakefield, Raby abandoned his service as the ambassador in Berlin to return to England and personally oversee negotiations for the purchase of Stainborough Hall, located less than ten miles from Wentworth Woodhouse.[7] Almost immediately, Raby began optimistically referring to the new house as Strafford Hall.[8] And, in a letter to William Cadogan dated 16 February 1709, Raby revealed there were two things he most desired: the first was to be made a Privy Councillor, which he felt was a right of his office as ambassador, and the second was his birthright. As he wrote:

> … of being made Earl of Strafford, is what a word's speaking may get done for me now, and with being the head of the Wentworth family, who has so much deserved the keeping of that title in it, I have a very good pretension to ask it; since the Duke's only objection formerly was that I had not estate eno' to support it, and that I have now 4,000*l.* a year of my own, I think this is no more an objection. Nay, I have bought a pretty estate very nigh him who the late Lord Strafford made his heir, which with what I had before in that country, I have almost as much land in Yorkshire as he has, and am sure I have a much

[6] Wentworth v. Raby.

[7] Charlesworth, "The Wentworths," 122.

[8] For example, proposing her travel plans in a letter to his mother, Lady Wentworth, dated May 1709, Thomas Wentworth writes: "If you have a mind to see Wakefield you may go from Strafford in the morning and come back the same night. It is not ten miles distance or else you may go there of a Saturday and lie there, and so go to church at Wakefield the Sunday, or either lie there the Sunday night or return to Strafford." Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers*, 2.

> better interest in that country; nor can I think the consideration of him can be any bar to me, since he can have no pretensions like mine, and is one that has been and ever will be against the court and the ministry, let them do what they can for him.[9]

Raby's letter reveals not only the legal necessity of an estate to match his pretensions but also the opposing political alignments of Raby and Watson-Wentworth and the importance of Raby's position within the Tory court. With the estate secured, the staunch Tory's aspirations were realized when, in 1711, he was created 1st Earl of Strafford, 2nd creation, by Queen Anne.

At Stainborough, certainly very nigh Wentworth Woodhouse, Raby initiated a series of architectural and landscape improvements worthy of his ambitions and intended to rival the neighbouring Wentworth Woodhouse. Raby's rebuilding campaign included an exuberant new Baroque wing (fig. 3.1), the plans and elevation of which were included in the first volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715, as well as new gardens and terracing (fig. 3.2), which appeared later in the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus,* by Thomas Badeslade and John Rocque and published in 1739.[10] As Nikolaus Pevsner observed, the new façade of Stainborough displays a "Palatial splendour, uncommon in England," whose composition and details refer to Continental, specifically French, Baroque models.[11] Designed by the Prussian court architects Johann van Bodt and Johann Friedrich Eosander, both of whom Raby had met in Berlin while serving as the ambassador to Prussia, Stainborough's new range was appended to the east end of the existing manor house and was comprised of fifteen bays with a central block and paired terminating bays projecting forward and further articulated by pilasters. The design survives in a

[9] Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers*, 22.

[10] For more about the landscape of Stainborough, see Michael Charlesworth, "The Imaginative Dimension of an Early Eighteenth-Century Garden: Wentworth Castle," *Art History* 28, no. 5 (November 2005): 626-47.

[11] Ruth Harmon and Nicholas Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding: Sheffield and the South*, The Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 740.

drawing (fig. 3.3) and was built, with minor revisions to the windows and terminating pavilions, possibly by Thomas Archer.[12] Ultimately, Thomas Wentworth rechristened the house Wentworth Castle, both to assert his lineage and to obscure the building's provenance with an evocation of ancient family roots. As such, Raby had both reclaimed the earldom he thought rightfully his while also outdoing his distant cousin's outmoded seventeenth-century house at Wentworth Woodhouse. As his brother Peter wrote in 1709, in spite of the great expense of the rebuilding, the new front would "make his Great Honour [Thomas Watson-Wentworth] burst with envy and his Little Honour [also Thomas Watson-Wentworth] pine and die."[13]

While the elder Watson-Wentworth seemed unmoved by Strafford's aggrandizing, the younger was not. In 1716, the son was given Wentworth Woodhouse by his father, and it is around this date that planning for the remodeling of the house began. As we have seen, a year earlier, in 1715, the Whigs had taken control of the government in the general election, beginning a period of Whig dominance which would last much of the century.[14] As a result of this Whig ascendancy, the Watson-Wentworths were no longer "against the court and the ministry," as Lord Raby had happily described them just a few years before.[15] Rather, emboldened by political change and fueled

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[12] Pevsner notes that Archer "has been credited with these changes but, although he offered advice, there is no firm evidence for his greater involvement." Harmon and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding*, 740. Additionally, John Harris has suggested that Raby first hired William Talman for the remodeling at Stainborough but found the architect too difficult to work with and replaced him with Bodt. John Harris, "Bodt and Stainborough," *Architectural Review* 130 no. 773 (July 1961): 34-35. See also James Lees-Milne, *English County Houses: Baroque, 1685-1715* (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited for Country Life, 1970), 236-42.

[13] Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers*, 79.

[14] This period of Whig domination has been called by historians the "Whig oligarchy." See, for example, Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Preindustrial Britain, 1722-1783* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1993). For a general discussion of Whiggism in the period, see H.T. Dickinson, "Whiggism in the eighteenth century," in *The Whig Ascendancy: Colloquies on Hanoverian England*, ed. John Cannon (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).

[15] Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers*, 22.

by family rivalry, Thomas Watson-Wentworth began planning to remodel Wentworth Woodhouse.

An early plan for the project, possibly made by Yorkshire builder William Thornton, dates from between 1716 and 1723, when Watson-Wentworth officially inherited the property upon his father's death (fig. 3.4).[16] This plan encloses parts of the original building, shown in yellow wash, into a palatial building compositionally reminiscent of John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor's design for Castle Howard, also in Yorkshire. Wings with bowed windows project from a nine-bay central block on the west front, incorporating parts of the early H-plan house, and a large central courtyard and transverse corridors connect the entrance front on the west to the suite of rooms on the east, where an enfilade of principal apartments spills back from either side of a square central hall, articulated externally by an engaged hexastyle portico with paired end columns. The plan created a logically circulating ground floor, unified by bilateral corridors and enfilades organized around the central courtyard. The compositional unity achieved in the preliminary plan is an elegant, efficient, and largely symmetrical solution to the problem of incorporating portions of the earlier building into a much larger design. Both within and without, Wentworth Woodhouse was conceived on a magnificent scale, and the exterior treatment of the house answered the splendours of Stainborough Hall with an equally exuberant, Baroque west façade, faced in brick and stone and accented with elaborate carvings and heavy window surrounds, as shown in a ca. 1728 engraving

[16] The unsigned plan was once attributed to James Gibbs. See Friedman in J. Lever, *Catalogue of the Drawings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 23-4; and W. Ison, "A Plan for Wentworth Woodhouse," in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House*, ed. Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane, 1970), 106-109. However, based on several features typical of Yorkshire architects and the use of architectural details taken from Domenico de Rossi's *Studi di Architetture Civile*, Richard Hewlings has suggested as the author of this plan the Yorkshire architect William Thornton, whose death in 1722 would explain his replacement on the project. See Richard Hewlings, "The Classical Leviathan: Wentworth Woodhouse, South Yorkshire, The Home of Mr. and Mrs. Newbold, Part I," *Country Life* 204, no. 7 (17 February 2010), 52. See also Marcus Binney, "Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited, *Country Life* 173 (24 March 1983): 624-27.

by Paul Fourdrinier (fig. 3.5). Facing, and perhaps even confronting, nearby Stainborough, the new west front of Wentworth Woodhouse answered the splendour of its Wentworth neighbour and rival with an equally exuberant, Continental Baroque façade and palatial plan.

BUILT TO SCALE: PALLADIANISM AND POLITICAL AMBITION

After less than a decade, and before construction of the west front was fully completed, the plan for Wentworth Woodhouse seems to have abruptly—and inexplicably—changed. Between 1728 and 1734 an engraving of the new east front of Wentworth Woodhouse (fig. 3.6) was published, signed "R. Tunnicliff, Architectus."[17] Based on Colen Campbell's designs for Tynley's Wanstead House in Essex (fig. 3.7), the new design for the east front of Wentworth Woodhouse was assertively Palladian, with a tripartite main block and hexastyle portico. However, the scale was exaggerated through the insertion of low, pedimented, and hip-roofed wings and end towers. Richard Hewlings has suggested that "the change in style simply reflects the stages by which the building was completed."[18] But a more self-conscious politically motivated agenda seems to have been at play. Just as Hewlings has acknowledged that the size of Wentworth Woodhouse was necessary for such a political powerbase in the largest county in England, the decision to cleave the building into two discrete houses with decidedly different styles suggests that the overall house was to be appropriately palatial for Watson-Wentworth's own political, decidedly Whig, aspirations.[19]

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[17] Christopher Hussey has suggested that Tunnicliffe signed the engraving, but that he himself was only responsible for the wings and the towers. However, because the engraving is dedicated to "Baron Malton," a title only used between 1728 and 1734, and because there is no evidence of Henry Flitcroft's involvement prior to 1736, Howard Colvin believes this engraving is "*prima facie* evidence that the exterior of the mansion at least was designed by him [Tunnicliffe] before Flitcroft came on the scene…" Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 148; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978), *s.v.* "Tunnicliffe, Ralph"

[18] Hewlings, "The Classical Leviathan," 50.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the productive country estate was a potent political symbol and became central to Whig politics, and the political powerhouse was an essential component of aristocratic ambition.

The Yorkshire builder Ralph Tunnicliffe died in 1736, and, by 1740, a slightly perspectival view of the same front, with minor variations, most notably in the towers, was published by Henry Flitcroft (fig. 3.8). As a protégé of Lord Burlington, Flitcroft was often known as "Burlington Harry."[20] Malton had turned to Burlington in 1733 for political guidance after Sir George Savile announced his decision not to stand again for the county of Yorkshire, writing to the Earl that "whosoever is thought upon to succeed Sr. Geo. Can have little hopes of success without your Lordship's Countenance."[21] As Malton flatters, the endorsement of Lord Burlington was crucial for political success in the county, and he evidently reinforced it by seeking guidance for his house as well. In addition to engaging Burlington Harry to oversee the works at Wentworth Woodhouse, the new designs for the house's west front would be submitted to Burlington, as Thomas Robinson's 1734 letter had promised. Furthermore, Flitcroft was also at work in London, overseeing Malton's Grosvenor Square house, reporting in a letter from 1743 that, in addition to sending "two Carvers, who will be at Wentworth House … to proceed with the Cornice and Window Dresses of the Front north of the portico," the "Works at your House in Grosvenor Square go on very well, and as fast as the nature of them permit."[22]

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[19] Hewlings, "The Classical Leviathan," 46.

[20] Through the influence of the Earl of Burlington, Flitcroft was named Clerk of the Works at Whitehall, Westminster, and St James's in 1726. See Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Flitcroft, Henry."

[21] Thomas Watson-Wentworth, Baron of Malton, to Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, 14 October 1733, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (WWM)/M1 11, Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England.

[22] Henry Flitcroft to Thomas Watson-Wentworth, Earl of Malton, 2 June 1743, WWM/M2 128.

Flitcroft was a metropolitan professional, employed in both the country and the city, working in the fashionable Palladian style endorsed by Lord Burlington. At Wentworth Woodhouse, Flitcroft completed the central block and revised the wings of the east front, and he was responsible for the sumptuous interiors, for which he employed the best craftsmen.[23] In a 1736 letter, Thomas Watson-Wentworth wrote to Lord Lovell (later Lord Leicester) that "Mr Flitcroft is there and has adjusted my whole scheme, both for the elevations, and also the disposition of the rooms."[24] Flitcroft's alterations remained similar in composition to the east front of the earlier plan. Yet it was not simply a revision or extension. It was an essentially separate Palladian house, complete with a series of magnificent rooms and state apartments set back-to-back with the baroque west range. The massive new frontage, given as 606 feet in the engravings, retained at its core the formula of a central hall with flanking apartments and wings connected by corridors, an adaptation of what Mark Girouard has characterized as the "formal plan" which was popularized in the late seventeenth-century houses built for lavish entertainments.[25] Thomas Watson-Wentworth's new and political house needed not only a Palladian veneer; it also needed to function like the Walpolean powerhouse. Indeed, a gathering of tremendous scale was held at the house at around the same time as construction began on the new Palladian wing. On January 9, 1731, Watson-Wentworth:

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[23] Harman and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding,* 728.

[24] Quoted in Binney, "Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited," 627. That Flitcroft "adjusted" the designs for the elevations may be further evidence that the exterior was initially conceived by the local builder Ralph Tunnicliffe.

[25] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 145-154. For a more recent analysis of country house plan development, see Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

> gave a large entertainment to all my tenants in the Neighbourhood & their Wives & some Neighbouring Gentleman… the number of Guests was about one Thousand… For preventing Confusion, all invited had tickets sent them with the name of the Rooms they were to repair to, men by themselves & women by themselves, with a few Men at each table to help them & women servants ready at their coming to show them & assist them in taking off their Hoods &c, men to conduct the men & the chief were carried to the best Rooms & the Inferior according to their Rank.[26]

Wentworth Woodhouse had always been conceived on a palatial scale, and the new Palladian range largely responded to the earlier footprint. However, the reconfiguration of the house's internal spaces suggests that the stylistic change that occurred at Wentworth Woodhouse was not merely skin deep. Campbell had already provided the model at Wanstead, and Watson-Wentworth and his architects needed only to graft it on to the already palatial plan.

The selection of Wanstead as the model for Watson-Wentworth's new façade might also suggest more regional political motivations. Just as the early plan for Wentworth Woodhouse recalls that of Castle Howard, owned by the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, Yorkshire's venerable Whig family, the Palladian east range at Wentworth Woodhouse is, in effect, a stylistic corrective aimed at Thomas Watson-Wentworth's rival for the leadership of the Yorkshire Whigs. This is implied by Campbell's schemes for Wanstead, especially the domed second proposal that has been understood to be a Palladian correction to Vanbrugh's domed Castle Howard.[27] As we have seen in Chapter One, Wanstead is Campbell's refinement of the early eighteenth-century palatial country house in the stylistic language of the Palladian villa. In addition to being an influential and well-known house and published in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Wanstead was also a popular destination on tourist

[26] Quoted in Hewlings, "Classical Leviathan," 46.

[27] See Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 98; Shiqiao Li, *Power and Virtue: Architecture and Intellectual Change in England, 1660-1730* (London: Routledge, 2006), 183-5; and Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, 9th ed., Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 298-301.

itineraries and accounts. Thus, the use of Wanstead as a model for Wentworth Woodhouse was therefore clear to visitors and commentators. Echoing earlier authors such as Daniel Defoe, the nineteenth-century travel guide writer W.C. Oulton informed his readers that Wentworth Woodhouse was "built in imitation of Wanstead House, in Essex," which it is clearly assumed his audience (and Defoe's) would have recognized.[28] By adapting the well-known Wanstead for Wentworth Woodhouse, Thomas Watson-Wentworth's new political seat responded not only to the demands of changing market fashions and a politically motivated building program, it also marked a shift in his priorities from confronting family animus to vying for political and architectural power in Yorkshire.

While construction of the house was underway, Watson-Wentworth was gaining political traction and receiving a number of political appointments. He was a loyal Court Whig under both George I and II, and, when George I created the Knights of the Bath in 1725, Watson-Wentworth was rewarded with the honor in the first gift of investitures. He also secured the Barony of Malton in 1728, and he was made Lord Lieutenant of the Yorkshire West Riding in 1733. The following year, in 1734, he was awarded the Irish earldom of Malton, and, in 1746, his inherited Rockingham baronetcy was elevated to the marquisate. Building was evidently an essential component of Rockingham's political agenda, and his massive new house, complete with a great hall in the style of that at Houghton, testifies to the extent of his political ambitions, ultimately aimed at a ducal coronet. As Joan Coutu has quipped, "the enormity of the façade evidently indicates that the 1st marquis believed in legitimization through magnitude."[29] Indeed, along with

[28] W.C. Oulton, *The Traveller's Guide; or, English Itinerary*, 2 vols. (London: Albion Press, 1805), 1:806.

[29] Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 55.

Houghton and its Norfolk neighbor, Holkham, begun in 1734 for Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, Wentworth Woodhouse was one of the three largest private building projects in the 1720s and 1730s. And it, too, was a seat of political authority and an example of legitimization through size and splendor.

BUYING POWER: THE COMMODIFICATION OF ARCHITECTURAL STYLE

It was amidst this political backdrop that the stark change in the design for Wentworth Woodhouse took place, and the sudden shift in its architectural language suggests that style could function as a commodity to satisfy Rockingham's lofty political ambitions. Though Wentworth Woodhouse's stylistic disjuncture may seem strangely incongruous to our eyes, evinced by Pevsner's assertion that "the contrasting architectural character of its two fronts" is "as remarkable as its size and grandeur," eighteenth-century visitors seemed less bothered.[30] While commentators like Robinson frequently revealed their opinions on the merits (or lack of them) of each façade, they were not startled by the simultaneity of baroque and Palladian fronts on the same building. This easy acceptance is suggestive of the emerging commodification of architectural style. As we have seen, the correlation between the elite notion of such a standard of taste and the increasing theorization and standardization of classicism led to the distillation—and, arguably, the longevity—of Palladianism. However, like all fashionable consumer goods, architectural style, once commoditized, became an expression of taste through consumer choice. As early as the first decades of the eighteenth-century, then, Baroque and Palladian, both simply approaches to

[30] Harman and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding*, 727-28.

classicism, had become styles that could be chosen by patrons and that could exist comfortably side-by-side.

Even John Vanbrugh, who John Summerson unequivocally insists "had nothing to do" with Palladianism, displayed a remarkable ability not only to work in the Palladian style but to treat Baroque and Palladian as styles that could happily coexist.[31] For example, although only one façade was realized, Vanbrugh's plans for the remodeling at Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire, as published in 1727 in the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, show that he proposed a dual-fronted house.[32] The Baroque north front ultimately constructed (fig. 3.9) would have been answered on the south by an unexpectedly Palladian façade, complete with portico and end towers (fig. 3.10). Although it was not uncommon for country houses to have wings added or to be remodelled in the most current architectural fashions—even Stainborough would receive a new Palladian wing several decades later—such alterations were typically the interventions of a new generation. What makes Wentworth Woodhouse especially distinctive is that the two parts of the house were built by the same patron.

Building in two styles allowed patrons to have the best of both worlds, particularly in a moment when stylistic debates were becoming invigorated for the first time, and architects and their clients could perhaps even use the contrasting styles to suggest the dynastic longevity which the country house often represented. Writing of the later eighteenth-century interior, Stacey

[31] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain,* 295. Giles Worsley has argued that such an interpretation "places a dangerously narrow stylistic straight-jacket on a complicated period of architectural flux," and, while I agree with this contention, it must be acknowledged that John Vanbrugh has hardly been accused of being a Palladian. See Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 85.

[32] For more about Vanbrugh's unexpectedly Palladian façade proposed for Grimsthorpe, see Marie Bak Mortensen, ed., *Palladian Design: The Good, The Bad and the Unexpected* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 2015), 72. I thank Charles Hind for bringing Vanbrugh's designs to my attention.

Sloboda has argued that "far from producing a disorienting or unstable schema, the proper display of a variety of styles within the country house affirmed a sense of both material tradition accumulated throughout the years, and consumer modernity expressed through constant redecorating in the latest fashions."[33] At both Wentworth Woodhouse and in John Vanbrugh's plans for Grimsthorpe, this approach to style as a consumer choice demonstrative of taste, modernity, and tradition seems to have been applied to the use of both Baroque and Palladian facades. Sloboda continues that "the dual affirmation of, on the one hand, history, tradition, and place, upon which a family's power was based, and on the other hand, commercial modernity through which their contemporary status was displayed, was expressed self-consciously through decoration and material objects."[34] The same self-consciousness resulted in a commodification of architectural style that was, even in this earlier moment of the eighteenth-century, demonstrated by the contrasting approaches to classical architecture deployed simultaneously at Wentworth Woodhouse and in the designs for Grimsthorpe.

As a commodity, architectural style reflected a consumer's taste, but it was a product of the architect. An architect's taste, then, could be purchased through his services. Writing in the 1760s, amidst his praise of the work being done at Wentworth Woodhouse by Thomas Watson-Wentworth's son, Charles, the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, Arthur Young quipped that "The money of one man may perhaps purchase the taste of another."[35] And indeed, as Patrick Eyres has argued, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the country house and the landscape in which it

[33] Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 85-86.

[34] Sloboda, *Chinoiserie*, 86.

[35] Arthur Young, *A Six Month's Tour Through the North of England*, 2nd ed., 4. vols. (London, 1770), 1:270.

was situated—and, through them, the ancestral heritage each represented—had become commodities that could be purchased from professional architects and landscape gardeners, whose claims to professionalism increasingly rested on firsthand study and demonstrations of their resulting taste in the pages of architectural publications.[36] As a product of such professionalizing endeavours and of self-conscious consumer choice, the two faces of Wentworth Woodhouse suggest that architectural style and the country house had been commoditized in even the first decades of the eighteenth century. Such commodification was facilitated by the architectural print, which allowed both to be widely consumed.

Like architectural style, politics also became commodified as, amidst the radical politics of the eighteenth-century, shrewd entrepreneurs and professionals began to recognize the commercial potential of politics itself. Writing of the 1760s, John Brewer has observed that "politics, especially radical politics, was open to commercial development and exploitation. If the Wilkites used the techniques and methods of organization derived from the world of business, so the tradesman and entrepreneur treated politics as a commodity whose purchase could bring them profit."[37] Eager producers capitalized on politicized goods ranging from ceramics to books, prints, and pamphlets. Both engravings of popular political figures and the satirical cartoons which lambasted them circulated in this growing consumer market. Several decades earlier, however,

[36] Patrick Eyres, "Commercial Profit and Cultural Display in the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Gardens at Wentworth Woodhouse and Harewood," in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550-1850*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 208. For more about early architectural professionalization, especially in North America, and its relationship to architectural books, see Dell Upton, "Before 1860: Defining the Profession," in *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America*, ed. Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

[37] John Brewer, "Commercialization and Politics," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 238.

architectural prints and books helped to inaugurate such a "consumption of culture" for an admittedly smaller "public," but nonetheless a growing political class.[38] In much the same way that print culture rendered politics itself consumable, the architectural print and illustrated book made the political powerhouse equally knowable and consumable. Albeit intended for a far more elite audience, architects such as Colen Campbell and James Gibbs leveraged the architectural print and publication in order to gain professional traction and to capitalize on the stakes of ongoing stylistic debates, just as the fashion plate in the later eighteenth century would feed the appetite for the most up-to-date information and simultaneously stimulate increased consumer demand.[39] As we have seen, by shrewdly combining the most current architectural discourse with unabashed self-promotion, Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* presented Palladian classicism as the height of architectural achievement and Campbell as its chief practitioner. And, through a form of elite consumerism easily masked as taste and erudition, architectural publications such as Campbell's rendered style as a series of pictorial facades to be selected and superimposed by their elite patrons.

Vitruvius Britannicus was an expensive book to produce, and the subscriber list reflects its elite audience.[40] The corrective architectural taste Campbell proposed was necessarily aimed at

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[38] Ann Bermingham, "Introduction," in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (New York: Routledge, 1995), 3.

[39] For more about the commercialization of fashion and the role of the fashion plate in eighteenth-century England, see Neil McKendrick, "The Commercialization of Fashion," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 34-99. A more recent analysis of print culture, fashion, and historicism is offered by Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[40] T.P. Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," *Architectural History* 20 (1977) 16-17. See also Appendix, page 26, where Connor provides an extensive breakdown of the estimated costs for the publication of each volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, including estimations about the profitability of each of these volumes. As Connor notes, the lists of subscribers expanded with each volume, as, subsequently, did the profitability of *Vitruvius*

those who could afford such a lavish publication and who, by extension, could also afford to commission a building from an architect. However, as we have seen in Chapter One, the potential rewards for publication were great. In addition to being a commercial success for Campbell as well as a vehicle for his own promotion, inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* offered architects and patrons alike a professional means of publication and distribution which an individually commissioned set of prints could not.[41] Moreover, as Tim Clayton has demonstrated, architectural prints and books operated on many levels. In addition to sets of views prepared as decorative objects which might be sold as souvenirs or to invite admiration, the specialized form of elevations and plans could serve as documentary evidence of design developments in local and international circles of architects and connoisseurs as well as provide patterns which could be copied by other builders.[42] As Campbell's title implies, such collections of prints and architectural books were often nationalistic statements of achievement, responding especially to seventeenth-century French architectural compendia, and, indeed, the title page of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was given in both English and French. As such, books like *Vitruvius Britannicus* were also examples of the affluence and taste of their owners and served as largescale advertisements for architects and as assertions of aristocratic investment.[43] As the self-appointed spokesman for Palladianism, Campbell used his

Britannicus as a publishing endeavour. For more on the history and development of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, see Eileen Harris, "'Vitruvius Britannicus' before Colen Campbell," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 998 (May 1986).

[41] Connor, "The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," 16-17.

[42] Tim Clayton, "Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishin Limited, 1998), 44.

[43] Clayton, "Publishing Houses," 44.

speculative designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* to position himself as the architect able to transform the theory of Palladianism into practice.

The architectural book and print, though consumable goods in their own right, also shaped the market for architecture itself. Architectural style was becoming a high-end consumer good, merging fine line engravings with elite taste and knowledge of style. Just as the country house could be consumed through engraving, such representations were also stand-ins for the product itself. Wanstead provides an ideal example. Sir Richard Child, the first Earl of Tylney to whom Robinson's letter refers, had completed the house in 1722. As built, Wanstead followed the second scheme published in the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715 (fig. 3.11). Albeit exaggerated, the design for the east front of Wentworth Woodhouse is an almost direct copy of Campbell's elevation for Wanstead. Thus, the new east front of Wentworth Woodhouse is not only Palladian; it is also a house from a book. And, although Thomas Watson-Wentworth was not among the subscriber lists for any volume of Campbell's publication, a catalogue of the library at Wentworth Woodhouse made in 1748 records that he owned all three, along with numerous other architectural books.[44] Furthermore, Henry Flitcroft was a subscriber to volume three. While it is impossible to claim with any certainty that Wentworth Woodhouse was selected as if from a catalogue, either by architect or patron, from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in the decades following its construction and publication, Wanstead became a highly influential design adopted as the model for a number of country houses.[45] What is clear is that in the middle of construction Watson-Wentworth engaged new architects and craftsmen working in the most fashionable Palladian

[44] "Catalog of Books in the Wentworth Library," 1748, WWM/A 1203.

[45] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 302.

language, and the much-admired Wanstead was replicated as the central block of a massive new house.

As we have seen, Walpole's seat at Houghton, begun in 1722, set the standard for the Whig powerhouse. Houghton was not only one of the most important houses of the early eighteenth century; it was also, at its completion, one of the most lavish and conspicuous houses in England.[46] There Walpole brought together the most fashionable architects of the time, including Campbell, and assembled a collection of art and furnishings meant to legitimize his social and political pretensions.[47] Erudite classicism and tasteful consumption were one and the same at Houghton. And indeed, as both Viccy Coltman and Dana Arnold have demonstrated, classicism was inextricably linked to eighteenth-century consumerism.[48] Classical and *all'antica* sculptures, along with casts and copies, proliferated in eighteenth-century collections. While earlier collectors, such as Walpole, were concerned with philology and identity (and the construction of Houghton, too, was spurred by these same concerns), mid-century collectors acquired reproductions for aesthetic reasons, and copies of antique ideals such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Venus de'Medici*, the *Antinous,* the *Dancing Faun*, and the *Dying Gladiator* formed the heart of their collections.[49]

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[46] Kathleen Mahaffey, "Timon's Villa: Walpole's Houghton," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 9, no. 2 (1967), 196.

[47] Susan Jenkins, "Power Play: James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, and Sir Robert Walpole," *The British Art Journal* 4, no. 2 (2003), 80. For a more fulsome account of Walpole's collecting and patronage, see Larrisa Dukelskaya and Andrew Moore, eds., *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[48] Viccy Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), and Dana Arnold, "The Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 101-16. See also Sloboda, *Chinoiserie*, 87.

[49] Coutu, *Then and Now*, 4.

Like the rebuilding of the house itself, the collecting of antique sculpture at Wentworth Woodhouse was fueled by family rivalry and enabled by classical consumerism. In the late 1740s, the 2nd Earl of Strafford installed in the gallery at Wentworth Castle statues of *Apollo*, *Antinous*, *Ceres*, and *Isis*, which were placed amidst his collection of paintings and Roman medals purchased in Italy in 1709 (fig. 3.12). After seeing the statues, the 1st Marquess of Rockingham wrote to his son, Charles, Lord Malton, that they made "but an insufficient show," and were "of very coarse and spotted marble."[50] Even so, he needed his own. In the same letter, Rockingham asked Malton, who was then in Italy on his Grand Tour, to purchase eight statues for the Great Hall at Wentworth Woodhouse. The Great Hall, or Marble Saloon (fig. 3.13), was, like the Stone Hall at Houghton, modelled on the Cube Room of Inigo Jones's Queen's House in Greenwich, and was the principle room of the new range. Measuring sixty feet square and forty feet high, the room is ranged with engaged Ionic columns below the gallery and Corinthian pilasters above, both in yellow Siena *scagliola*. The plaster ceiling also recalls Inigo Jones, containing a circular central motif surrounded by square and rectangle panels. This is echoed below on the marble floor, which, although not added until the mid-nineteenth century, was based on designs made for the 2nd Marquess (figs. 3.14a and 3.14b).[51] To fill the niches placed between the columns of the magnificent room, Rockingham specified that the new statues be six feet tall and unblemished on their fronts. Accepting that originals would have been impossible to purchase and plaster casts "will never be proper for so fine a Room as the Great Hall," Rockingham settled on copies in

[50] Thomas Watson-Wentworth, 1st Marquess of Rockingham, to Charles Watson-Wentworth, Lord Malton, 18 September 1749, WWM/M2. Quoted in Coutu, *Then and Now*, 60.

[51] Harmon and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding*, 731.

marble.[52] Ultimately, Malton purchased in Rome copies of the Capotiline *Antinous* and *Flora*, the Uffizi's *Apollino*, *Dancing Faun*, and *Venus de'Medici*, the *Callipygian Venus* from the Farnese, the *Germanicus* from Versailles, and the *Faun* from the Prado.

As Joan Coutu has shown, sculpture collections like Strafford's and Rockingham's were evocations of the collector's understanding of his position, and their assembly was frequently motivated by the Shaftsburian notion of civic humanism. They also represented the best examples of the classical past and were "part of a complete package that also included the country house, the surrounding landscape, the town house, and other objects that were collected such as coins, gems, and telescopes, as well as the owner's sense of fashion, command of languages, and overall deportment."[53] As a whole, these collections acted as *exemplum* in the Shaftsburian sense, both as demonstrations of classical erudition and inducements towards public virtue. In the early eighteenth century, this notion was championed by the Whigs to distinguish themselves from the Tories as civic-oriented and honorable gentlemen. By the 1720s, the political importance of *exemplum* gave way to a new understanding grounded in a standard of taste, the existence of which was a crucial notion among the eighteenth-century educated elite.[54] Taste and erudition could therefore be demonstrated through the consumption of casts and copies of the best examples of classical antiquity. And, just as Rockingham's new façade was a copy of Campbell's idealized Palladian country house resized to match his ambitions, his marble copies were specially

[52] Rockingham to Malton, 18 September 1749, WWM/M2. Quoted in Coutu, *Then and Now*, 60.

[53] Coutu, *Then and Now*, 6.

[54] Coutu, *Then and Now*, 6-7.

commissioned and sized for his niches. The new Palladian frontage of Wentworth Woodhouse was thus an example of consumable taste, both within and without.

INSIDE AND OUT: FORM AND FUNCTION AT WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE

The new range not only changed the stylistic language of Wentworth Woodhouse, it also totally reoriented the building. Where originally the projecting arms of the west front created an entrance court, emphasized by the processional drive or walkway indicated in the early plan, the massive Palladian façade became the principal front, turning the house to face the vast parklands that awaited Watson-Wentworth's further Whiggish investment and improvement.[55] The Great Hall was thus the centerpiece and grand public entrance of the new range. This change in emphasis at Wentworth Woodhouse raises important phenomenological questions about how guests would have seen the house and precisely what they might have encountered, especially in regard to Watson-Wentworth's political and aristocratic ambitions. Unfortunately, the devastating effects of open cast coal mining, which at one point expanded precariously close to the house itself, have largely erased the eighteenth-century landscape immediately surrounding the house.[56] However, period views and contemporary visitor accounts acknowledge its reorientation. The multiple editions of Daniel Defoe's *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, first published in three volumes between 1724 and 1727, act as a chronicle of the house's construction. In the second

[55] For an analysis of the construction of aristocratic representation in landscape at Wentworth Woodhouse and the relationship between Whiggish improvement and profitability, see Patrick Eyres, "Commercial Profit and Cultural Display." For a broader discussion of the concept of improvement in the period, see "Improvement" in Vittoria Di Palma, *Wasteland: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 43-83.

[56] For a modern (ca. 1902-1970) history of the Fitzwilliam family and of coal mining at Wentworth Woodhouse, see Catherine Bailey, *Black Diamonds: The Rise and Fall of a Great English Dynasty* (London: Penguin, 2008).

edition (1738), Defoe noted that Lord Malton "has made much improvements to it [Wentworth Woodhouse], and is still making more," and that "Its Front is 250 Feet in Length; the Floors laid with a peculiar Composition, of a reddish Colour, which shines like polish'd Mohoggany."[57] In the next edition (1742), he added that "The House, with the Additions lately made, and now carrying on, will extend 200 Yards in Front, and is built in Imitation of *Wanstead* in *Essex*, the Seat of Earl *Tilney*."[58] Based on these descriptions, Defoe's observations may even signal the change in emphasis from the west to the east front. Certainly, by the seventh edition, published over two decades later in 1769, Defoe observed that the house "has a most noble and extensive Front, with an handsome Portico and Pediment, and would have made a grand Appearance if situated, as it might have been, on a proper eminence."[59]

In the account of his travels through England in 1750 and 1751, Dr. Richard Pococke, who was invited to stay for three days at Wentworth Woodhouse, observed that, although the central or state rooms remained unfinished, "a gallery and a library make part of the side building, which look backward into the garden" while "to the back of the house [the east front] is a lawn with four obelisks in it, a visto beyond them, and on each side high hedges, a wood, and wilderness."[60] The Baroque façade of Wentworth Woodhouse now faced the intimate garden while the Palladian portico marked the primary, and more public, front. The new Palladian front was intended, and very purposefully so, to be the public façade of the house, to be seen and entered

[57] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London, 1738), 3:68.

[58] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3rd ed., 4 vols. (London, 1742), 3:96.

[59] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 7th ed., 4 vols. (London, 1769), 3:114-15

[60] James Joel Cartwright, ed., *Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, 2 vols. (London: The Camden Society, 1888) 1:66.

first by both invited guests and curious travelers alike. Pococke describes the "ascent to the grand portico, which is two pillars in depth, and leads to a saloon sixty feet square and forty-five feet high…"[61] Likewise, Nathaniel Spencer, writing in 1771, also entered the house from the portico. Like Pococke, Spencer had much praise for Wentworth Woodhouse:

> [the house] has two fronts, the principal of which fronts the park, having a center, and two wings that extend in length above six hundred feet. The portico in the middle is supported by Corinthian columns, and over it is a range of nineteen windows, with a fine balustrade running from one extremity of the roof to the other. All the other parts of the building are executed in the same elegant taste, and … Entering at the great door under the portico we came to the hall, one of the finest rooms in England, and executed with so much art, that every thing in a manner presents itself at first sight.[62]

In addition to a textual account, Spencer also included a perspectival view of the house in his *Complete English Traveler* (fig. 3.15), reinforcing the east range as the principal front as Tunnicliffe's engraving had done in 1734. To mid-century tourists, readers of these accounts, and to those who had seen the house through print, the Palladian front not only overshadowed but, frequently, completely obscured the earlier building, and the terminology used for labeling engravings and in visitor descriptions asserts the new Palladian façade as Wentworth Woodhouse's principal front. Just as the print enabled the commodification of architectural style and of the country house, it also allowed the country house to be consumed by a broader public in the form of engravings and through travel guides and local histories.

A few years before Spencer, Arthur Young also wrote extensively of Wentworth Woodhouse in his *Six Months Tour* (1768), devoting all of the first volume's Letter V to the estate

[61] Cartwright, ed., *Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, 66.

[62] Nathaniel Spencer, *The Complete English Traveler* (London, 1771), 506.

and the improvement works of Thomas's son, the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham. Describing the house, Young writes:

> It consists of an irregular quadrangle, enclosing three courts, with two grand fronts: the principal one to the park extends in a line upwards of 600 feet, forming a center and two wings. Nothing in architecture can be finer than this center, which extends 19 windows. In the middle, a noble portico projects 20 feet, and is 60 long in the area; fixt magnificent Corinthian pillars support it in front, and one at each end: This portico is lightness itself; the projection is bold, and when viewed obliquely from one side, admits the light through the pillars at the ends, which has a most happy effect, and adds greatly to the lightness of the edifice.[63]

Young not only asserts that the Palladian facade is indeed the house's front; he also begins his description of the interior from the pillared hall on the ground, or, in Young's words, "rustic" floor. Young praises the grouping of "fine" statuary by Foggini in the pillared hall, and he notes the supping room, drawing room, anteroom, and dining room to the left of the pillared hall, along with "many admirable good apartments."[64] On the *piano nobile*, Young notes that the first room encountered is "the grand hall, which is, beyond all comparison, the finest room in England; the justness of the proportion is such, as must strike every eye with the most agreeable surprise on entering it."[65] Continuing with the suites of apartments on either side of the marble hall, Young then describes the rooms of the Baroque front "at the other end of the house" and notes that Lord and Lady Rockingham's apartments are in the attic storey.[66]

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[63] Young, *A Six Months Tour*, 245.

[64] Young, *A Six Month's Tour*, 246-7.

[65] Young, *A Six Months Tour*, 247. It is important to note that the rooms of the south wing were not completed until after 1800. See Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 148.

[66] Young, *A Six Month's Tour*, 247.

In addition to devoting as much of his description of the house to the spaces of the baroque range, Young also praises the layout and organization of the house's rooms and apartments. He writes:

> In respect of convenience, the connection of the apartments through the house is excellently contrived: For the grand suite of rooms on the left of the hall has a roomy passage behind it, which communicates with the offices by backstairs, and with the library and apartments adjoining, by passages. To the right of the hall the same convenience is found, for one of its doors opens into the great staircase, landing-place and passage … so that there is a double way through all this suite …. The passage beforementioned, or rather vestible, which connects the hall and the apartments to the right of it, likewise opens into the gallery, which as a rendezvous room is excellently situated … so that on every side there is a communication between all the apartments, and yet without making one passage-room to another; which is excellently contrived.[67]

In spite of this period comprehension, modern commentators and scholars have continued to interpret Wentworth Woodhouse as two distinct but abutting houses. Notably, Pevsner assigned distinct characters to the house's two fronts: the Baroque façade "is gay and profusely decorated" and the Palladian "is staid, reserved and correct."[68] Michael Charlesworth has correlated this division in character to Jonathan Swift's distinction between public and private morality, and has extended the analysis to the functionality of each front. He therefore describes the west front as intimate and private. As he writes, "The west front faces the garden. It is enclosed, private, and relatively inaccessible, looking over the place where the family could be most themselves. … The garden it faced was in effect a *giardino secreto*, or secret garden, concealed behind a raised terrace to the south and a ditch and wall to the north, protected by the house to the east and the walled

[67] Young, *A Six Month's Tour*, 257-9.

[68] Harmon and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding*, 728.

kitchen garden to the west."[69] In contrast, the east front was public and expressive of Thomas Watson-Wentworth's political ambitions.

To support his characterization, Charlesworth has also pointed to the personal character of the Watson-Wentworths who, according to Thomas Robinson, "live[d] as happily together, as easy to those with them, and with as much hospitality to their neighbours and goodness to their children and servants as in any house I was ever in."[70] For Charlesworth, the "gay" Baroque front reflected the happy private family life within. Indeed, the distinction between public and private life certainly seems to have been a concern for Thomas Watson-Wentworth, or at least in his characterization of his father, eulogized on the elder Waston-Wentworth's funerary monument erected in York Minster (fig. 3.16):

> His virtues were equal to his descent:
> By abilities he was formed for publick,
> By inclination determined to private life:
> In that life can be called private, which was daily employed
> In successive acts of beneficence to the publick

This tension between private and public virtue may have been as much a reflection of the son's priorities as it was of the father's, and it tempts us to read a similar dualism into the Janus-faced family seat. Moreover, such interpretations are reinforced also by the internal physical separation of the two halves in the mid-twentieth century. During World War II, the house was taken over by Military Intelligence, and in 1947, the Palladian range, along with the offices and stables, was leased for use as a women's physical education teacher-training college. The Baroque wing, however, remained the private residence of the Fitzwilliam family, the descendants of Thomas

[69] Charlesworth, "The Wentworths," 126. See also Coutu, *Then and Now*, 55.

[70] Quoted in Charlesworth, "The Wentworths," 126.

Watson-Wentworth, which may account for the persistent understanding of Wentworth Woodhouse's Baroque front as a private family sphere.[71] Even the two faces themselves, as differently personified by Pevsner and Charlesworth, perhaps have similarly influenced the readings of building's interiors and their functions. Indeed, Charlesworth writes that "the difference in character between the two fronts has a certain functional significance."[72] However, Young's description of the house not only contradicts interpretations of the Baroque and Palladian fronts as distinctly private and public spheres, but it also suggests that the logic of apartments, corridors, stairs, and passages created interior spaces easily navigable and comprehendible by eighteenth-century visitors.

Although Young's description upends traditional historical interpretations, and indeed period visitors may have found the interiors conveniently contrived, the spatial complexities resulting from the multiple phases of construction remain discernable. In 1782, William Fitzwilliam, 4th Earl Fitzwilliam, inherited the Wentworth estates from his uncle, the 2nd Marquess, and initiated a number of alterations and redecoration programmes at the house, which included redecorating the state rooms in 1783-84, raising and attaching Doric porticoes to the service wings and rebuilding the kitchen in 1785-86, and altering rooms, including the gallery and dining room, on the west front in 1792-93 and again in 1800-01.[73] A series of plans from this period, surviving among the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments and endorsed by Earl Fitzwilliam, illustrates architectural attempts to reconcile the two halves of the house. Although

[71] Binney, "Wentworth Woodhouse Revisited," 624.

[72] Charlesworth, "The Wentworths," 126.

[73] Brian Wragg, *The Life and Work of John Carr of York*, ed. Giles Worsley (York: Oblong Creative Ltd, 2000), 220.

unsigned, the plans were certainly produced by the Yorkshire architect John Carr (1723-1807), who replaced Henry Flitcroft and, in 1763, began receiving an annual salary of £80 which lasted until his death in 1807.[74] The first two plans, identical in size and showing the exact same detail of the larger house, may have been prepared expressly for direct comparison with one another. The first (fig. 3.17) shows the rooms of the west front as they existed (and as they largely still exist today). A shallow entrance hall is nearly filled by the width of the staircase rising to the left, behind which is a series of small rooms, and a heavy masonry wall remains from the Jacobean house. A dashed line is drawn from the west door, through two small interior rooms, across the courtyard, and beyond into the saloon, labeled on the plan as the "Grand Hall." This axis, purposefully emphasized, is broken and blocked.

Carr offers a solution in the second plan (fig. 3.18). He has enlarged the entrance hall by removing the staircase, which has been tidily folded and tucked into the leftmost of a sequence of nearly square rooms abutting the courtyard. The thick masonry walls of the old house have been removed or shorn, and the walls themselves have been relocated to create neat geometries and even lines. Most important, Carr has addressed the central axis, again emphasized by a dashed line, with the inclusion of a wide hallway through the courtyard. Thus, Carr proposes a grander west entrance hall and an unbroken vista from its door to its counterpoint beneath the east portico, internally uniting the baroque and Palladian fronts. The largest of the plans (fig. 3.19) depicts the full core of the building and includes a pasted flap showing the proposed alterations to the west entrance hall. However, the hallway has been replaced—and made moot—by the rough sketch of a grand

[74] For Charles Watson-Wentworth, Carr had made some minor alterations to the house, and, most significantly, built the grand new stables to its north (1776-83) and, in the park, erected Keppel's Column (1776-81). Wragg, *John Carr of York*, 219-220.

staircase which nearly fills the courtyard and dates these plans to ca. 1800.[75] While Carr's proposed changes to the west entrance were never realized, this large plan seems to be an early idea for what would be the architect's most significant late intervention, the semicircular great stair which joined the Marble Saloon to the Pillar'd Hall all below.

Carr's idea for a central hallway indicates at least an attempt to unify the two fronts of Wentworth Woodhouse. However, this does not appear to be the primary concern. Rather, these plans amount to a series of proposals for stairs and enlargements to the west entrance, which ultimately result only in the addition of the great staircase. Christopher Hussey has observed that Flitcoft's only ascent in the east range was a wide, square-planned wooden staircase on the north side of the saloon. As he writes, "it was well placed, since its first-floor landing adjoins not only the State rooms but the east end of the Gallery of the western group of buildings."[76] In the south-west hall abutting the courtyard is an earlier staircase, which Arthur Young found equally convenient. And, although Carr's comparison plans seek to create an emphatic central axis, the larger plan reveals that the east and west ranges communicate easily across the gallery and corridor on the north side of the courtyard and across the enfilade and stair hall to the south. Placed at these points of intersection between the two fronts, the staircases link the house back to front as well as floor to floor. In spite of its appearance, then, the incongruous house still functioned with logic and fluidity. Thus, Wentworth Woodhouse is one house with two faces.

[75] Brian Wragg has suggested that discussions for the stair began in 1800, but construction was not completed until 1806. Wragg, *John Carr of York*, 220.

[76] Hussey, *English Country Houses*, 153. Hussey has further suggested that the position of the staircases might explain the misalignment of the house's axes, as illustrated in a diagram plan, p. 149. However, neither Carr's plan nor more recent diagrams, such as that provided in Harmon and Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding*, 732, show similar misalignment.

The contrasting styles of Wentworth Woodhouse reflect not only the rising tide of Palladianism in England but echo the shifting motivations of its construction, from the personal to the political. While the new east front of Wentworth Woodhouse creates a dialogue of stylistic correction and revision with the Baroque house it abuts, it might simply have been made out of political expediency, as an attempt architecturally to acquire the symbolic status of political power. Indeed, the stylistic disjuncture of Watson-Wentworth's newly rebuilt house, startling to our eyes, did not cause similar anxiety for its eighteenth-century visitors. In this way, the simultaneity of Baroque and Palladian fronts at Wentworth Woodhouse attests both to the contentious nature and understanding of architectural styles in this period—along with the resulting change in taste and fashion—and to the paradoxical notion of their comfortable coexistence. More than this, however, the dual-fronted Wentworth Woodhouse reflects the commodification of not only the country house but of architectural style itself.

The staggering new Palladian front was selected and adapted from a Palladian catalogue, albeit given significant enlargements so as to match the scope of Watson-Wentworth's political ambitions. As such, the Janus-faced Wentworth Woodhouse was a product of motivations that shifted from personal one-upmanship to the assertion of dynastic and political power. As a 1906 *Country Life* article began, "it is but the modesty of the English tongue which keeps such a house as Wentworth Woodhouse from styling itself a palace."[77] However, by sheer magnitude alone, it is nothing short of palatial. From the beginning, Wentworth Woodhouse was conceived on a such

[77] O.B., "Wentworth Woodhouse, 4.

a scale, but its new and assertive Palladianism was more than simply a shift in taste. Rather, it marked Thomas Watson-Wentworth's new understanding of the political power of architecture. Architecture and the landed estate had long been manifestations of power, and Thomas Watson-Wentworth had the money to buy it.

4

BREAKING GROUND

James Gibbs's Book of Architecture

In 1754, Thomas Chippendale, a hitherto obscure cabinetmaker living in St. Martin's Lane, published *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*. His ambitious collection of furniture designs has long been considered a landmark publication of eighteenth-century British design and has even been described as being "as valuable as the drawings of the old masters."[1] Indeed, Chippendale's *Director* was an immediate success. A second edition was issued only a year later, in 1755, and a third and expanded edition in French was released in 1762. As the release of a French edition suggests, the impact of the *Director* was global, reaching and influencing craftsmen and patrons across continental Europe, the Americas, and even in Asia.[2] In addition to making the name Chippendale synonymous with the style in which he worked, the *Director* also recalibrated the cabinetmaker's professional relationship with his clients. As Anne Puetz has observed, the

[1] Arthur Hayden, "Introduction" in *The Furniture Designs of Thomas Chippendale*, arr. J. Munro Bell (London: Gibbings and Company, Limited, 1910), vi. For more about the life of Thomas Chippendale as well an in-depth analysis of the publication of the *Director*, see Christopher Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (New York: Macmillan, 1978).

[2] Stacey Sloboda, "St. Martin's Lane in London, Philadelphia, and Vizagapatam," in *Eighteenth Century Art Worlds: Global and Local geographies of Art*, ed. Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan, 253.

consumption of the large and often anonymous public, which, by the middle of the century, was increasingly comprised of an emerging moneyed and leisured middle class, emancipated artists and designers from traditional artist-patron relationships. The medium of the print allowed artists, architects, and designers to deliberately and directly advertise their work to that public.[3] Chippendale's book was marketed to both gentleman and cabinetmakers, as its title implies, and the *Director* was expressly intended "to assist the one in the choice, and the other in the execution of the designs."[4] By consolidating his designs into a series of engraved images, Chippendale's prospective clients "used a catalog, and selected a picture."[5] Chippendale's book propelled his designs into broad circulation, in each of what Mark Girouard has called the "two worlds" of fine art and craft production in St. Martin' Lane, and directly to eager mid-century consumers who might select their favorites from the wide variety of engraved designs it contained.[6]

Although its lasting and far-reaching influence cannot be denied, Chippendale's *Director* was not a groundbreaking publication. More than two decades before its release, in 1728, James Gibbs published his own professional catalogue, in both senses of the term. Gibbs's *Book of Architecture Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* presented a broad and varied showcase of Gibbs's architectural career up to that point, and it also, as its title suggests, offered a wide array of designs of architectural and sculptural ornament. Indeed, it is the subtitle of Gibbs's

[3] Anne Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy: The Intersection of Art and Design in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London," *RIHA Journal* 0088, Special Issue "When Art History Meets Design History" (27 March 2014).

[4] Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director* (London: 1754), iii.

[5] Mark Hinchman and Elyssa Yoneda, *Interior Design Masters* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 10. See also Gilbert, *Chippendale*, 65, who argues that, after the publication of the *Director*, it is likely that Chippendale began to work directly with the public instead of with other tradesman.

[6] Mark Girouard, "The Two Worlds of St. Martin's Lane," *Country Life* (3 February 1966): 224-7. See also Sloboda, "St. Martin's Lane."

book, almost always left out in the shorthand reduction to the *Book of Architecture*, which announces the project's real innovation: not its assemblage of architectural achievements or prototypical examples, which would have been relatively familiar, but instead its compilation and comparative presentation of architectural ornament in a variety of options.

While scholars such as Terry Freidman and Eileen Harris have acknowledged the importance of Gibbs's book both commercially and professionally—like Chippendale's *Director*, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* enjoyed great success and had an international reach, particularly in North America—this chapter reconsiders the *Book of Architecture* and its implications for the commodification of architectural style.[7] Like Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was a self-promotional and professionalizing publication venture. In fact, it may even have been a direct response to Campbell's book (from which Gibbs was conspicuously absent). However, Gibbs utilized the printed book in a new way: the *Book of Architecture* was the first English architectural book to contain only designs by its author. Gibbs's book is also an example of design at all levels of eighteenth-century understanding; as Stacey Sloboda has argued, "by the mid-eighteenth century, 'design' referred to both the manual skill of drawing and the more intellectual notion of composition, referred to by the Italian term *disegno*, as well as to the preliminary activity of creating a two-dimensional image that could be realized in three-dimension, often by another maker or makers."[8] By the middle of the century, print was the medium at the center of disseminating designs, ideas, and, along with them, style.

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[7] See, for example, Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) and "Two Eighteenth-Century Catalogues of Ornamental Pattern Books," *Furniture History* 11 (1975): 66-75. See also Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Anne Puetz, "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3, 18th Century Markets and Manufactures in England and France (1999), 217-39.

[8] Sloboda, "St Martin's Lane," 247-8.

While Gibbs's book was certainly—and expressly—a pattern book and a public-facing exhibition of his architectural skills and training, it, like Chippendale's *Director*, rendered style a commodity by presenting it as a series of options which could be selected, adapted, and replicated by the discerning client or consumer. Gibbs's book was published on the same subscription model that had enabled the production of Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but it, like Chippendale's *Director*, was targeted at both ends of the market—aristocratic (or socially mobile) patrons and builders or craftsmen. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a growing call for both artistic instruction and for the luxury three-dimensional goods that resulted from two-dimensional design made a book like Chippendale's *Director* hardly surprising. Certainly, books and prints of design would become increasingly popular by the middle of the eighteenth century, circulating in the expanding market of luxury goods demanded by the growing middle class. However, published over two decades before Chippendale's *Director*, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was a groundbreaking publication that set a precedent for the genre.

PUBLISH OR PERISH: THE CONCEPTION OF THE *BOOK OF ARCHITECTURE*

By 1713, two years before the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published, James Gibbs was thirty years old. He had been in London for only half a decade, and he was desperate. In August of that year, William Dickinson, who was, along with Nicholas Hawksmoor, one of the surveyors to the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches, made the decision to resign from his position. Rumors of Dickinson's decision soon reached Gibbs, who was eager for the job. As John Erskine, 11th Earl of Mar, wrote to the Lord High Treasurer, Robert Harley (later 1st Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer), "He [Gibbs] is in great want of some support, and had it not been for a little thing I gave him in Stirling Castle, which he lost last year by the reduction [the

Restricting Orders of 1712], he had starved four years ago."[9] His support rallied, and recommendations to the Commissioners came from the amateur architect Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, the Queen's physician, Dr. John Arbuthnot, and even Sir Christopher Wren. Even so, the Commissioners deferred their vote. Echoing his precarity, Gibbs wrote anxiously to Harley:

> Now since your Lordship was pleased out of your goodness to recommend me by my Lord Bingley's letter, I hope you will be pleased to consider and compassionate my circumstances by not recommending anybody else. I thought indeed that the least intimation in your name by anybody besides so great a man as my Lord Bingley would have been sufficient to the Commissioners for electing the person recommended, but it seems that my antagonist has got the majority on his side, and unless your Lordship renew your goodness by a line or two from your own hand, I shall certainly lose it. These little places do not fall out every day, and I may starve before another opportunity presents itself…[10]

"Poor Gibbs," as Mar described him in yet another letter to Harley, was anxious, and, in the meantime, John James, Assistant Clerk of the Works at Greenwich Hospital and Master Carpenter at St Paul's, put himself forth as a candidate. In response, Gibbs penned a further missive to the Commissioners emphasizing his study in Rome. Finally, after months of deliberation, on November 18, the Commissioners voted in his favor.[11]

It was in the midst of these professional difficulties that Gibbs first considered publishing a book of architecture as a catalyst for his struggling career. As he proposed to Harley:

> I would willingly be doing something to establish my reputation here, by showing the world by demonstration that I know something of what I pretend I have learned while I was abroad, and by making this as advantageous as I can, till such as time as your Lordship shall think fit to provide for me. In order to do this I have in mind to publish a book of architecture, which indeed is a science that everybody criticizes here, and in all the countries I was in, never did I see worse performers. Be that as it will, this is my design, which I think to go about this summer if your Lordship will encourage me by accepting the

[9] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. X (Norwich: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by the "Norfolk Chronicle" Company, Ltd., 1899), 301.

[10] HMC *Portland*, vol. V, 331-32.

[11] Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 10.

> dedication, and being at the expense of the plates, for I am so far from being able to pay the charge myself, that I am fifty pounds in debt…[12]

Gibbs's desire to demonstrate what he knew is understandable. Born in Aberdeen in 1682, Gibbs was educated in Europe. Sometime before 1700, he traveled first to Holland, where he worked briefly for an architect and master builder, then onward through Flanders, France, Switzerland, and Germany, before finally arriving in Italy, where, in 1703, he enrolled as a student at the Pontifical Scots College in the Via Rasella. However, Gibbs left before taking vows and, according to his autobiographical manuscript, the "Short Accompt," he had become so taken by the beautiful architecture of Rome that "he resolved to make Architecture his principal study."[13] After being recommended to Carlo Fontana, the most influential architect in Rome at the time, Gibbs studied with the Italian architect at the Accademia di San Luca, learning architecture, geometry, perspective, and drawing.

By the time Gibbs returned to England in November 1708, his training in Rome would have made him the most qualified architect in London, and, while in Italy, he had met a number of important tourists, including the Anglo-Irish politician Sir John Perceval, later the 1st Earl of Egmont, who invited Gibbs to Ireland to rebuild the family mansion, Burton House, in Cork. However, Gibbs understood that London was the best place to build his reputation as an architect, and he wrote to Perceval in February 1709 that "I might do very well in Ireland, but that England was the only place to raise a man of my employment…"[14] Fortunately for Gibbs, he had met

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[12] HMC *Portland*, vol. V, 332.

[13] Sir John Soane's Museum, London: *A Manuscri by Mr. Gibbs Memorandums, &c.*, including 'A few Short Cursory Remarks on some of the finest Antient and modern Buildings in Rome, and other parts of Italy, by Mr. Gibbs while he was Studying Architectur there, being Memorandums for his own use. 1707 and not intended to be made public being imperfect' and 'A Short Accompt of Mr James Gibbs Architect And of Several things he built in England &c. after his returne from Italy."

another patron, fellow Scotsman John Erskine, 11th Earl of Mar, who encouraged him to remain in England and gave him a post at Stirling Castle enabling him to do so. In addition to commissioning Gibbs to remodel his house in the Privy Gardens at Whitehall and to design a lodge for his Scottish estate at Alloa, Lord Mar was, as we have seen, instrumental in helping Gibbs secure the surveyorship to the Commission.

As a surveyor to the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches, Gibbs was responsible for assessing the suitability of proposed sites, checking the quality of the materials to be used, and monitoring the work of the craftsmen employed. Additionally, Gibbs was empowered to submit designs for the churches, and, after yet another difficult round of negotiations and voting from the Commissioners, he was granted the commission for a new church to be built on the Strand. Although Gibbs's most significant contribution to the ecclesiastical and architectural fabric of London would be St. Martin-in-the-Fields (begun 1722), his first major architectural project came as a Fifty New Churches Commissioner. The church of St. Mary-le-Strand (fig. 4.1) was, as Gibbs enthused, "the first publick Building I was employed in after my arrival from *Italy*; which being situated in a very publick place, the Commissioners… spar'd no cost to beautify it."[15] As Terry Friedman has argued, St. Mary-le-Strand was one of the first churches to be considered by the Commission and, because of its prominence, it became a symbol of the achievements of the New Churches Commission.[16] Indeed, by the eighteenth-century, the Strand was the main artery

[14] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, vol. II, 235-6. Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 8.

[15] James Gibbs, *Book of Architecture* (London: 1728), vi.

[16] Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 40. See also Dylan Wayne Spivey, "From Maypole to Monument: Queen Anne and James Gibbs' St Mary-le-Strand," MA diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 2014; and William Aslet, "Situating St Mary-le-Strand: The Church, The City and the Career of James Gibbs," *Architectural History* 63 (2020): 77-110.

connecting the City of London with Whitehall and was a fashionable shopping street in Westminster. In 1708, three years before the New Churches Commission was established, Edward Hatton published the *New View of London*. Of the Strand, Hatton wrote that it was "an extraordinary spacious and publick str[eet] Caused by the intercourse of the Court and City, and also of the Inns of the Court with *Westminster*, many of whose Buildings are large 3*d* and some 4*th* rates," which ran between Temple Bar and Charing Cross.[17] In addition to Durham House, the Savoy, and Somerset House, the Strand was also home to the Exeter, Middle, and New Exchanges, the latter of which Ned Ward described as "a great centre for women's shopping and was famous for its milliners and trinket-sellers."[18]

Built on an island in the middle of this bustling commercial and political thoroughfare, Gibbs's first public commission was certainly highly visible. Much as he had for the idea of publishing a book of architecture, Gibbs hoped that St. Mary-le-Strand would "gain me a reputation to recommend me to other business."[19] For better or for worse, the prominent location of Gibbs's first public commission made it the subject of critical attention. While Lord Mar praised Gibbs's "fair daughter in the Strand," assured of her "proving the most complete little damsel in town and doing honour to the parent," others, including the Commissioners, were critical of the lavish—and expensive—interiors.[20] In 1718, the Commission ordered that a "Stop should be put

[17] Edward Hatton, *A New View of London* (London, 1708), 79.

[18] Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, edited by Arthur L. Hayward (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), 162. Hayward provides this as a note to Ward's original text.

[19] Lambeth Palace Library, London: The Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches papers 2726, 75-6. Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 51.

[20] HMC, *Stuart*, vol. II, 92.

to the extravagt. Carvings within."[21] However Gibbs felt that the visibility of St. Mary-le-Strand merited its expense. As he wrote, with characteristically dubious spelling:

> …I hope you will not be against my proceeding with the Church in the Strand, since I have caryed it up so farr to the intire satisfaction of every body, the Building can not be too fine for the situation, since it's so much in vive [view], and I will ingage it will answer the estimat, you yourself shall state the prices of the workemen, your surveyours shall measur and inpect the work to save you from being cheated … this is so reasonable that I believe you would have condecended to have done, if I had not ask'd it.[22]

Gibbs's assurance that the progress on St. Mary-le-Strand was to the "intire satisfaction of every body" was hopelessly optimistic. As we have seen, the building had already been condemned by some for its extravagance. Yet, the Commissioners agreed to Gibbs's appeal, and he remained in charge of the building's construction for nearly a decade.

In 1717, a year before the Commissioners ordered a stop to the lavish carvings on the interior of St Mary-le-Strand, the second volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published. The volume begins, unsurprisingly, with Inigo Jones, opening to extravagant, foldout plates of his designs fort Whitehall Palace followed by Covent Garden. These, in turn, are followed by plates of the Royal Exchange and the steeple of Bow Church. After establishing a theme of notable public buildings, Campbell, in typical fashion, offers his own design for a public, ecclesiastical building (fig. 4.2). As he describes his design, "The Aspect of this Church is *Prostile*, *Hexastyle*, *Eustile*, which by *Vitruvius*, *Palladio*, and the general Consent of the most judicious Architects, both Ancient and Modern, is esteem'd the most beautiful and useful Disposition…"[23]

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[21] Lambeth Palace Library, London: The Queen Anne Churches 2724, 69-70. Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibb*, 50.

[22] Lambeth Palace Library, London: The Queen Anne Churches 2726, 75-6. Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 51.

[23] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. II (London, 1717), 1.

On one plate, Campbell offers front and side elevations, along with a section and plan, of a hexastyle temple based closely on the Maison Carrée. Invoking both Vitruvius and Palladio as sources for his design, Campbell notes:

> I have abstained from any Ornaments between the Columns, which would only serve to enflame the Expence and clog the Building. In those admirable Pieces of Antiquity, we find none of the trifling, licentious, and insignificant Ornaments, so much affected by some of our Moderns. The Ancients placed their chief Beauties in the justness of the Intercolumnations, the precise Proportions of the Orders and the greatness of Parts; nor have we one Precedent either from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they practices two Orders, one over another in the same Temple in the Outside, even in the most considerable, much less to divide it into little Parts; and whereas the Ancients were contented with one continued Pediment from the Portico to the Pastico, we have now no less than three in one Side where the Ancients never admitted any. This Practice must be imputed either to an entire Ignorance of Antiquity, or a Vanity to expose their absurd Novelties, so contrary to those excellent Precepts in *Vitruvius*, and so repugnant to those admirable remains the Ancients have left us.[24]

Campbell's church, as his text reveals, is as much a biting criticism of contemporary church design as it is a showcase of his own ecclesiastical ambitions. In fact, Campbell's criticisms map directly onto one church: Gibbs's St. Mary-le-Strand. Gibbs has committed all of the sins Campbell identifies, from the use of two orders on the exterior of one temple to the inclusion of three pediments on one side. Even Campbell's reference to avoiding the "Expence" of ornaments foreshadows the Commissioners' complaints about Gibbs's extravagantly carved church.

As we have seen, Colen Campbell and James Gibbs, both Scots, were bitter professional rivals. In addition to Campbell's direct attack on Gibbs's teacher, Carlo Fontana, by the publication of Campbell's third volume in 1725, James Gibbs was the only practicing British architect of note whose work had not been included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. As Eileen Harris has observed, by 1725, Gibbs's notable projects included both St. Mary-le-Strand and St. Martin-in-the-Fields in

[24] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2:1-2.

London and several country houses, such as Ditchley House in Oxfordshire, Sudbrooke in Surrey, and Witham House in Somerset.[25] Similarly, although Campbell included both Houghton and Burlington House in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, he made no mention of Gibbs's participation in either project. Unfortunately for Gibbs, his career remained tumultuous after he was made a Surveyor to the Commission to Build Fifty New Churches. Following the political upheavals of 1714 and 1715, Gibbs's supporter Robert Harley was sacked as Lord High Treasurer and imprisoned in the Tower. Lord Mar was also dismissed as Secretary of State for Scotland, and his Jacobite army was defeated in 1715. This did not bode well for the Scottish, Tory, and secretly-Catholic Gibbs, who met a similar fate when he was dismissed from his surveyorship in January of 1716. A letter from Gibbs to the Commissioners after his dismissal pointed to "a false report of a Countrayman of mine that misrepresented me as a papest and a dissafected person, which I can assure you is intirly false and scandalous, and done purly out of a design to have gott him self into the place I have now lost."[26] The countryman to whom Gibbs refers is none other than Colen Campbell.

Vitruvius Britannicus is not only an example of critical response to Gibbs's first public building or of the rival between the two Scots. It is also the direct predecessor of Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*. As we have seen, Campbell's book operated as a vehicle for directed stylistic critiques, and as a mouthpiece for Campbell's own expertise, typically orchestrated by the inclusion of his own speculative designs amongst what was otherwise a book dedicated to existing buildings. Visually, the speculative designs Campbell inserted into his series of plates were not only meant to attract commissions; they were also seriated to invite corrective comparisons. Style, already a

[25] Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

[26] Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 10.

contentious issue in the first decades of the eighteenth-century became for Campbell a component of his professional identity and legitimacy. Like Gibbs had done as early as 1713, Campbell understood that a book might operate as a demonstration of ability and credibility. However, Campbell deftly appropriated the language of the wide body of architectural discourse and theory circulating by the end of the seventeenth and early decades of the eighteenth centuries and leveraged style as a professional prerogative.

In the years between Gibbs's dismissal from the surveyorship in 1715 to the publication of his book in 1728 Gibbs gained a number of successful commissions, both public and private, including a new building for King's College, Cambridge. The stylistic change occurring in the early decades of the eighteenth century which left St Mary-le-Strand victim to Campbell's stylistic criticism and which also lost Gibbs commissions to the same rival forced him to reconsider both his work and his image. As Giles Worsley writes, "after the failures of the 1710s Gibbs's concern was not with the style in which he built, but simply to build."[27] John Summerson also noted Gibbs's ability to work across style lines, devoting an entire chapter to the architect's "individuality."[28] This flexibility indicates the precarity of Gibbs's career and the necessity for work in whatever form. However, it also indicates a different approach to the relationship between style and the architectural profession. Campbell had taken a clear stylistic stance in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, thereby linking his own career with his ability to design in that style as evidenced by the plates of his designs inserted into the publication. Rather than demonstrating a lack of concern for the style

[27] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 122.

[28] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 325-333.

in which he built, I suggest that the stylistic variety of Gibbs's buildings reflects a different understanding of style altogether, and his book would demonstrate it.

Style, Choice, and Representation in Gibbs and Chippendale

In 1728, fifteen years after Gibbs's letter to Harley and three years after Campbell released the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs finally published his *Book of Architecture*, making him the first British architect to publish a book dedicated entirely to his own work. By then, he would have seen firsthand the commercial advantages of a publication. Campbell's highly successful *Vitruvius Britannicus* had run into three volumes, the last of which was published in 1725. Two years later, in 1727, William Kent published the *Designs of Inigo Jones*, which included designs by Kent and other contemporary architects along with those of Jones. Unlike Campbell and Kent, whose books included contributions from many architects, Gibb's book contained only his own work, offering 380 unique designs in 150 plates.[29] As his 1713 letter made clear, Gibbs conceived of the *Book of Architecture* as a self-promotional tool which would demonstrate his training and skill. And, even in the midst of his difficulties with the Commissioners over the building of St Mary-le-Strand, Gibbs implored that they "give to no body the designes of the Church in the Strand nor suffer the same to be copyed, in order to have them printed, becaus I am now about graving them my self at my own proper Charge in order to publish

[29] Timothy Clayton has identified these three publications by Campbell, Kent, and Gibbs from the 1720s as the first instances in which English architectural designs had been gathered and published. By the following decade, books of architectural designs were more commonly published. See Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 63.

them."[30] Clearly the publication of his work was an important part of Gibbs's career ambitions from even the earliest years of his career, and he was at work on the plates for some time.

At least some of the plates had been prepared by the middle of the 1720s, because, as Terry Friedman has identified, the "Monument of his Grace *John* Duke of *Newcastle*, in *Westminster-Abbey*," published as plate 111 (fig. 4.3) in the *Book of Architecture*, had been engraved in 1725 by George Vertue.[31] In 1727, Gibbs issued a proposal for the printing of the *Book of Architecture*, promising that:

> The Work will consist of 140 Plates, engraved by the best Hands, and printed on Imperial Paper, with Descriptions in *English* and *French*. The Price to Subscribers will be Four Guineas; half to be paid at the time of Subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of a Book in Sheets. The Whole will be finished by *Michaelmas* next, most of the Plates being already graved; Proofs of which may be seen at the Author's House in *Henrietta-Street Marybone*, at Mr. *Strathan's* in *Cornhill*, at Messieurs *Woodman* and *Lyon's* in *Russel-Street Covent Garden*; at Mr. *Prevost's* over against *Southampton-Street* in the *Strand*, and at Mr. *Stagg's* in *Westminster-Hall*; at all which Places Subscriptions are taken.[32]

While the promise that the publication would be issued with text in both English and French indicates that Gibbs sought to appeal to the French market and to compete with *Vitruvius Britannicus* which, perhaps not coincidentally, also cost four guineas, by May of 1727, Gibbs seems to have changed his mind. A new advertisement indicated that the French descriptions were to be eliminated, and, although the number of plates was increased to 150, many important buildings, including Burlington House, Cannons, and Kedleston, were also eliminated from inclusion.[33]

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[30] Lambeth Palace Library 2726, ff. 77-8; 2690, p. 224(I). Quoted in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 257. Friedman also notes that Gibbs's fears of plagiarism were "well founded since David Lockeley issued an almost identical print [of St Mary-le-Strand] in J. Smith, *Views of all the Cathedrals in England and Wales* (1719)," 347.

[31] Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 258.

[32] *The Third Volume of the Monthly Catalogue the years 1727, and 1728* No. 48 (1729), 48; and *Mist's Weekly Journal* 102 (1 April 1727), 3. The full Proposal is transcribed in Freidman, *James Gibbs*, 258-9.

[33] Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 259.

Perhaps the additional expense and labor required for translation or lettering in French was deemed too financially prohibitive or inefficient, or perhaps Gibbs no longer felt it necessary. After all, only Campbell's title pages had been bilingual; his text was given only in English.

Eileen Harris had speculated that the ten new plates added to the *Book of Architecture* might be those of designs for doors and windows which were inspired by William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, published the year before in 1727. Striking numerous country houses and simultaneously increasing the overall number of plates also indicates that Gibbs intended to give more room to the plates of ornament.[34] This revision may even explain the curious absence of Houghton in the *Book of Architecture*, and it certainly suggests that Gibbs wanted to advertise his interior skills as well. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Campbell, Gibbs, and Kent had worked together at Houghton, and Gibbs and Kent had been employed at Ditchley. Gibbs would certainly have been aware of Kent's work and his recent publication, and he may have recognized equally that Kent's star was in the ascendant. The *Book of Architecture* thus enabled him to respond to Campbell's snub in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and to showcase his decorative skills in response to Kent's recent book.

By the time of its publication in 1728, Gibbs had secured 481 subscribers from a wide array of individuals, including professionals, academics, merchants, architects, painters, and other craftsmen, as well as aristocrats (though, as Terry Freidman notes, fewer aristocratic subscribers than Colen Campbell had attracted for *Vitruvius Britannicus*).[35] In any case, Gibbs's *Book of*

[34] Eileen Harris has speculated that the ten additional plates might be those of designs for doors and windows which were inspired by William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, published the year before in 1727. See Harris and Savage, *British Architectural Books*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

[35] Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 259.

Architecture was an immediate—and long-lasting—success. In purely financial terms, Gibbs's reported to George Vertue that he made £1,500 from the books and a further £400 for the sale of the plates. Beyond its commercial success, Gibbs's book was widely used and circulated in throughout the eighteenth century, both in England and in the American Colonies as well as the West Indies and India, and, as Howard Colvin asserts, the *Book of Architecture* was "the source of several stock features of Georgian vernacular architecture, and a host of church steeples on both sides of the Atlantic owe their form to Gibbs's engravings."[36] Certainly, Gibbs's design for the church of St Martin in the Fields was hugely influential in ecclesiastical architecture throughout Britain and America. Thomas Jefferson was famously reliant on his copy of the *Book of Architecture*, and Gibbs's book was available from booksellers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston.[37] Gibbs's publication was nothing short of an international success, and it gave Gibbs's designs a wide audience and lasting influence.

While it was clearly a calculated—and successful—professional endeavor, the *Book of Architecture* was more than merely a showcase of Gibbs's work. Where *Vitruvius Britannicus* had been organized to stage instructive comparatives and to build rhythmically to Campbell's designs, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was organized by building type. As John Archer argues, the order of the designs constructs a clear architectural hierarchy.[38] However, what makes Gibbs's book unique is its scope. Terry Friedman has observed that, compared to similar early eighteenth-century books,

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[36] See Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978), *s.v.* "Gibbs, James;" and Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 259-60.

[37] For more on the widespread influence of Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* on both sides of the Atlantic, see Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 262-87, and Harris, *Architectural Books*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

[38] John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985), 354.

Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* presented a far greater variety of building types as well as designs of ornament, including coats of arms, chimneypieces, windows, cornices, doorcases, columns, niches, balusters, vases, cisterns, tables, and pedestals.[39] The first thirty-one plates of the *Book of Architecture* are devoted to Gibbs's ecclesiastical projects, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Mary-le-Strand, Marylebone Chapel, and Allhallows Church in Derby. Gibbs's designs for King's College, Cambridge are given in the next four plates, which are followed by another plate of design for a public building in the same city. Designs for twenty-five domestic buildings, primarily country houses, make up the next thirty plates, which also includes two designs for villas. Next are the designs for garden structures, which includes temples, pavilions, summerhouses, outdoor "Rooms," seats, and a menagerie. Following these are five plates of landscape ornaments such as obelisks and fences. The next group of plates depicts interior architectural features, including chimneypieces and door and window surrounds. Next, a plate of niches is followed by a plate of window designs. Designs for public and funerary monuments, sarcophagi, and tablets for inscriptions make up over two dozen plates, and the final thirteen plates offer designs for various interior and exterior ornaments, such as vases, urns, tables, and pedestals.[40]

While the sheer variety of designs in Gibbs's book is almost overwhelming, his compositions, which group like designs and arrange them neatly into rows for comparison, visually confirm that he is offering a selection of preapproved stylistic options available in numerous typologies, much like Chippendale's *Director* would do two decades later. This is particularly evident in the plates of ornament which make up the second half of the *Book of Architecture*, such

[39] Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 259.

[40] Archer, *Literature*, 354-55.

as the five plates of designs for chimneypieces. Each plate contains eight individual designs arranged in four rows of two. This clean and efficient compositional strategy also groups the chimneypiece designs into a series of pairs, each of which appear to be variants of one another. In plate ninety-three (fig. 4.4), the uppermost pair of chimneypieces offers two different designs for festoons, the pairs in the second and third rows give a segmental arched pediment on the left and a triangular pediment on the right, with various options for carved or uncarved aprons beneath. Similarly, the lowermost pair offers two designs for chimneypieces supported by caryatids, male on the left and female on the right. Significantly, the two designs on each row share a ground line which, whether intentional or not, further unites them as a pair of options.

Gibbs's compositional pairing continues in each of the four other plates of chimney piece designs and his scheme for comparative groupings is used in various guises throughout the plates of ornament. The designs for chimney pieces are followed by two plates illustrating doorcase proportions in each of the three classical orders and eight plates of doorcase designs. Like the paired chimney pieces, these too are grouped as variations on a common theme, with three doorcase designs which share a ground line illustrated on each plate. As Gibbs writes, these designs were made "some to the proportion of twice the width to the height, and others to twice the widths and a sixth part."[41] While Gibbs's acknowledgment of their proportional relationships demonstrates his knowledge of classical and Renaissance architectural theory, his designs for doorcases, like those for chimneypieces, are compositionally arranged as variations in several styles, such as Plate 101 (fig. 4.5), which offers three variations for windows suitable for the rustic, or lowest, level of a building. While some of the doorcase plates present designs which are more

[41] Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, xxii.

restrained, such Plate 103 (fig. 4.6) or Plate 104 (fig. 4.7), Plates 106 and 107 (figs. 4.8 and 4.9) offer far more exuberant doorcase designs crowned by pediments which defy easy description, contain a variety of sculptural ornament, and are bordered by elaborate scrollwork.

In many ways, Gibbs's comparative plates of designs in the *Book of Architecture* seem to anticipate those used two decades later by the furniture-maker Thomas Chippendale in his *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, which, like its predecessor, was a runaway hit both at home and abroad. Certainly, the *Book of Architecture* and Gibbs's subsequent publication, *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture*, issued in 1732 and to which we will shortly return, served as models for Chippendale's book.[42] Like Gibbs, Chippendale presents a wide array of designs and frequently arranges them in compositional groupings very similar to the plates in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*. Also like Gibbs, Chippendale groups his plates by types, and often into further groups in the explicitly stylized terms "French," "Gothic," and "Chinese." While larger items of furniture such as beds, chests, and bookcases are given full plates (often accompanied by architectural information like magnified profiles views, measurements, and proportions), smaller furnishings such as chairs, candle stands, fire screens, tea chests, china trays, wall brackets, clock cases, cornices, and girandoles are presented remarkably similarly to Gibbs typological groupings.[43] Much like Gibbs's doorcase designs, Chippendale's designs for chairs are typically shown in

[42] For more on the relationship between Chippendale's *Director* and Gibbs's *Rules for Drawing*, see David Adshead, "Miniature Architecture in Fine Wood: Chippendale and the Discipline of Classical Architecture," in *Furniture History* 54 (2018): 59-68. For more about the creation and publication of the *Director*, see Femke Speelberg, "Dissecting the *Director*: New Insights About its Production, and Chippendale as Draughtsman," in *Furniture History* 54 (2018): 27-42.

[43] To further illustrate the intimate connection between Chippendale's project and architectural publications, David Adshead has noted that the inclusion of a scale bar and perspectival rendering in these designs is analogous to the plans, elevations, and section drawings that would have been included by an architect. See Adshead, "Miniature Architecture," 61-62.

groupings of three: of the fourteen plates of chairs, ten are arranged as sets of three, and the remaining four plates are all designs for chairs in the French style, which, possibly because of their larger proportions, are grouped in pairs.

One especially useful example of the similarity between the design plates of Gibbs and Chippendale is plate sixteen (fig. 4.10), a group of three designs for ribband back chairs. Grouped together like Gibbs's designs for doorcases, each of these are designs for complete chairs with pierced splats formed from thin, interwoven, and undulating ribbons and bows. As Chippendale writes, these chairs, "if I may speak without vanity, are the best I have ever seen (or perhaps have ever been made). The Chair on the left hand has been executed from the Design, which had an excellent effect, and gave satisfaction to all who saw it. I make no doubt but the other two will give the same content, if properly handled in the execution."[44] Here, Chippendale has grouped together three chairs of the same type, in this case ribband backed, in a variety of designs. All three chairs have elaborately carved cabriole legs and crest rails, and the design on the far right offers an option with a curved seat rail. Intriguingly, though Chippendale asserts that he had executed a chair from the leftmost design, it contains a curious dual scheme for the scrolled carvings beneath the seat apron. When engraved, the plate image reversed Chippendale's original preparatory drawing (fig. 4.11), which could explain the discrepancy (and the design on the left in the drawing is certainly the most elaborate and intricately carved). However, this small hybrid detail, which is very easy to overlook, is symptomatic of a representational strategy employed by Chippendale in the preceding plates.

[44] Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (London, 1754), 8.

Plates twelve through fifteen of Chippendale's *Director* present "a variety of new-pattern Chairs, which, if executed according to their Designs, and by a skillful workman, will have a very good effect. The fore feet are all different for your better choice. If you think they are too much ornamented, that can be omitted at pleasure."[45] As Chippendale makes clear, his designs are selectable, adaptable, and customizable, and are specially given in hybrid forms to maximize the ornamental variations each plate could present. Plate twelve (fig. 4.12), for example, shows three chairs all with the same basic chairback silhouette but with a variety of subtle and ornamental variations. Though each chair rests on cabriole legs, the forefeet, just as Chippendale describes, are all different, even those on the same chair. Similarly, each chair has a different pierced slat and crest rail design. And, like the feet, each of the stiles are different, alternating between plain, on the left, and ornamented varieties, on the right. As Femke Speelberg has noted, the conventions of representation employed by Chippendale were carefully selected in order to efficiently maximize the amount of information conveyed within the limited amount of space provided by the plates.[46]As plate twelve demonstrates, Chippendale's maximization of space includes presenting multiple versions of the same chair grouped side-by-side for easy comparison, as well as giving each individual design multiple stylistic and ornamental options from which potential clients and their workmen might select. The resulting abstracted and hybrid designs could not, therefore, simply be copied directly from the plate. Chippendale not only invited stylistic choice. His hybrid chair designs necessitated it.

[45] Chippendale, *Director*, 7.

[46] Speelberg, "Dissecting the *Director*," 34.

All four of Chippendale's plates of designs for "new-pattern" chairs followed this hybridized approach to representation, containing what Chippendale referred to as a "variety of hints."[47] Another similarly abstracted representational strategy employed by Chippendale is the bimodal composition utilized in the plates of designs for pier glass frames, frames for marble slabs, and shields for pediments. In these plates, alternative designs are presented as two halves of a larger whole, with each half bounded by a vertical discontinuation line and separated from the other by a negative space ample enough to allow carved ornament from both designs to spill into it. Two typical examples are plate 147 (fig. 4.13) and plate 148 (fig. 4.14), designs for pier glass frames and frames for marble slabs, respectively. In the former, two alternatives for an elaborately carved oval mirror frame are given as separate halves. On the left, a stylized Chinese bird rests on the shoulder of the frame while, in the center, a figure stands inside an architectural pavilion. This is answered on the right by a seated buddha at the summit of the frame. Similarly, in the latter plate, four designs for slab frames or console tables are given as two left and two right halves, each variously containing similar Chinese figures, pavilions, and birds. These bimodal compositions allow Chippendale to present twice the amount of variety and choices and clearly suggest that such objects could be selected not only in a number of styles but with various options of associated ornament.

The hybrid and bimodal plates in the *Director* make clear Chippendale's intention to present furniture and decoration which could be selected in a number of styles and alternatives. As published, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* did not contain any similar bimodal or hybrid

[47] Chippendale, *Director*, iii. I borrow here Anne Puetz's reuse of Chippendale's description. Of this "variety of hints," she writes that the phrase "describes the characteristic way in which rococo design is presented on the plate: not only elaborate in individual forms, but typically showing more than one design and often giving numerous details or alternative versions on the same page. See Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy," 51.

compositions. However, among the preparatory drawings made for the publication of the *Book of Architecture*, now in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are three intriguing bimodal drawings, two chimney pieces and one doorcase.[48] Like Chippendale's similar compositions, these drawings make the ornamental and stylistic language of internal architectural details a matter of consumer choice. Indeed, both the doorcase scheme (fig. 4.15) and one of the two chimney piece designs (fig. 4.16) are crowned, on one side, by a more restrained (antique) pediment and, on the other, a more exuberant (Baroque) broken pediment. In these plates, even more explicitly than in those ultimately published in the *Book of Architecture*, Gibbs reduces architectural style to its characteristic details and ornament and renders it as an option from which a discerning client might select. In this way, architectural style becomes a commodity which might be chosen from a catalog of options, much like the Chinese, Gothic, or ribband back chairs in Chippendale's *Director*.

TO "BE OF USE TO SUCH GENTLEMEN AS MIGHT BE CONCERNED IN BUILDING"

Equally groundbreaking were the intentions of Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, setting another important precedent for Chippendale's *Director*. Indeed, the *Book of Architecture* had expressly different aims than the books published by Colen Campbell and William Kent, its most immediate intellectual and architectural precedents. Gibbs introduces his book as a guide which would "be of use to such Gentleman as might be concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Designs can be procured." In the absence of

[48] For more about the Gibbs drawings in the Ashmolean's collections, see William Wright Crandall, Jr., "Catalogue of the Drawings of James Gibbs in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and their Connection with His Life and Work," BL Thesis (New College, University of Oxford, 1933).

an official academic system, like the French Academy, there was, in the early decades of the eighteenth century, increasing demand for the establishment of a public institution or body responsible for design instruction for artists in Britain. When the Royal Academy was finally founded in 1768, it delineated the higher art of design from the lower applied arts of manufacture.[49] Thus, in publishing the *Book of Architecture* as an instructional tool, Gibbs took a risk in combining the elevated skills of the architect with the low skills of the craftsmen or decorator. Gibbs's insistence on the good taste of his designs and warnings against their misuse or alteration, as well as his use of the term "design," may well have been protections against the tarnish of the applied arts by reaffirming what Joshua Reynold's would characterize as the "Arts of Design" that lay behind their conception.[50]

Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* also answered the call for artistic and artisanal instruction in the decades before the founding of the Royal Academy. The need to train craftsmen and artists was similarly met by a number of unofficial schools, encouragement societies, and academies of drawing, such as William Hogarth's St Martin's Lane Academy and William Shipley's drawing school which, in 1754, became the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.[51] Although it is unclear if Gibbs had any formal connection with the St Martin's Lane artists, Gibbs was made a governor of St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1723 and was commissioned for its rebuilding. A decade later, Hogarth was commissioned to paint two enormous canvases on the walls of the stair hall, *The Good Samaritan* and *The Pool of Bethesda*, which were completed

[49] Puetz, "Design Instruction," 219.

[50] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses*, R. Wark, ed., *Discourse I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 13. See also Puetz, "Design Instruction," 219.

[51] Puetz, "Design Instruction," 219-20.

in 1737. Both artist and architect offered their services free of charge, and the hospital provided Hogarth with his first commission for history painting.[52] Although Hogarth's contributions to St Bartholomew's Hospital came almost a decade after the publication of Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, the artistic circles of Gibbs and Hogarth may well have overlapped.

Whatever his association with Hogarth, much like his contemporary, who saw in the print an alternative—and more profitable—artistic and professional avenue, Gibbs also recognized the instructional and profit potential of the print. As Anne Puetz has demonstrated, artists and print publishers were responding to the demand, both artistic and commercial, for design instruction in the absence of a formal academy, and, by the 1740s, printmakers and publishers began to release prints with expressly didactic intentions in their titles or subtitles.[53] By suggesting that his designs were suitable for both gentleman interested in building and the craftsmen responsible for it, Gibbs met consumer desire at both ends of the design market. Later, Chippendale would echo Gibbs's educational language in the *Director*, explaining that "the Title-Page has already called the following work, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, as being calculated to assist the one [the gentleman] in the choice, and the other [the cabinet-maker] in the execution; which are so contrived that if no one drawing should singly answer the Gentleman's taste, there will yet be found a variety of hints sufficient to construct a new one."[54] Following Gibbs's example,

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[52] For more about the design of hospitals in the eighteenth-century, see Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence: British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). For Hogarth's involvement in the hospital, as well as its relationship to his aspirations and professional trajectory, see Ronald Paulson *Hogarth, Volume 2: High Art and Low, 1732-50* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

[53] Puetz, "Design Instruction," 220. See also Charles Samaurez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1993), who argues that a profusion of two-dimensional design prints in this period led to a subsequent awareness of three-dimensional design and, therefore, also to an increased consciousness of design in the middle of the eighteenth century (140).

[54] Chippendale, *Director*, iii.

Chippendale's book was also meant as a both a catalog from which designs might be chosen by a discerning client and a pattern book from which skilled workmen might realize those designs.

The *Book of Architecture* and the *Director* were, like all other printed books, a commodity in their own right, simultaneously participating in a commerce of ideas and as a means of courting patronage. In this way, the *Book of Architecture* is not merely a compendium; rather, it is a catalog from which gentlemen and workmen might select buildings and ornaments done, as Gibbs promised, "in the best Tast I could form upon the Instructions of the greatest Masters in *Italy*, as well as my own Observations upon the ancient Buildings there…"[55] And, while Gibbs suggested that minor alterations might be made "by a Person of Judgment," he cautioned readers from "suffering any material Change to be made in their Designs, by the forwardness of unskillful Workmen, or the Caprice of ignorant, assuming Pretenders."[56] Crucially, Gibbs assured his readers that he has:

> …taken the utmost care that these Designs should be done in the best Taste I could form upon the Instructions of the greatest Masters in *Italy*, as well as my own Observations upon the ancient Buildings there, during many Years application to these Studies: For a cursory View of those August Remains can no more qualify the Spectator, or Admirer, than the Air of the Country can inspire him with the knowledge of Architecture.[57]

Gibbs's project rested on his promise of "the best Taste," and, by subscribing to his book and reproducing his designs, gentlemen interested in building could express their own taste through consumer choice. In another example of shrewd marketing, Gibbs also typically described the clients for whom his designs had been made, such as "a gentleman in the country," "a person of

[55] Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, i.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*, ii-iii.

quality," or even "a single gentleman." If another reader fit those descriptions, then those designs could just as easily be his, and the organization of the book conveniently grouped like with like, allowing for easy comparisons and selection.

In many ways, the usefulness of Gibbs's book as a design or pattern book was its primary, or at least its most significant and widely influential, function. As Howard Colvin has suggested, "by devoting a whole volume to his own works Gibbs more than made up for the deliberate omission of his name from Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. At the same time, by the inclusion of a number of well-conceived designs … he converted a personal advertisement into a general architectural pattern-book of high quality."[58] As a pattern book, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was intended to provide architect-approved designs, necessarily based on Gibbs's own extensive education and experience as also demonstrated in the book itself, which could be utilized—albeit carefully—by rural workmen who lacked models from which to work. In practice, however, the designs in the *Book of Architecture* were copied, imitated, and adapted not only by workmen, but by other would-be architects, in both England and America.[59] Gibbs's book, though a demonstrably successful pattern book in the eighteenth century, is decidedly more complicated than this: in spite of its cumbersome scale, more suited to a gentleman's library than to a workman's bench, and its expense, equal to that of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the *Book of Architecture* had a wide array of subscribers and proved equally widely influential.[60] Though on the one hand reducing

[58] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

[59] See Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 262-87.

[60] Eileen Harris has noted that the expense of Gibbs's book, even at the reduced price of 3 guineas for the second edition of 1739, was "out of reach to ordinary builders." However, as she notes, popular—and more affordable—manuals issued by compilers such as William Salmon and Batty Langley included pirated designs based on Gibbs's plates. See Harris, *Architectural Books*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

architecture and style to commodities which might be selected at will from his usefully organized catalog, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* also made a crucial, if subtle, claim about Gibbs's artistic professionalism. Gibbs's designs, in this sense, demonstrated his intellectual capacity as an architect rather than his mechanical skill as draughtsman, sculptor, or builder.[61] In the context of early American architecture, Dell Upton has drawn an instructive correlation between increasing architectural professionalization and claims of professionalization and the proliferation of practical architectural books and guides aimed at potential clients and builders.[62] In this way, the *Book of Architecture* not only demonstrated Gibbs abilities; it also affirmed his identity as a professional architect.

Simultaneously an advertisement of his skill and experience, a catalog of architectural options, and a pattern book for rural workmen and architects, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* can thus be situated directly within what Anne Puetz has identified as the "intersection" of art and design in eighteenth-century London. As Puetz argues, "the notion of 'design' (as a mental conception) relating to the crafts and manufactures and its realization through drawing lie at the very heart of the burgeoning British art world of the early eighteenth century."[63] Gibbs's "designs" operated, as we have seen, both as *disegno*, or demonstrations of his intellectual or conceptual skill as an architect, and as two-dimensional models from which craftsmen might work. However, the commerce of ideas in which Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* circulated stretched not only across the

[61] For more on this academic distinction between "design" or "art" as concept and its execution or "craft," see Puetz, "Design Instruction."

[62] See Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (1984). See also Dell Upton, "Before 1860: Defining the Profession" in *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North American*, ed. Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

[63] Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy," 2.

distinctions between the "high" art of architecture and the "low" art of mechanical craft drawings but also across the social spectrum, from elite "patrons" to professional or merchant "clients" to the "builders" themselves. In this way, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* recalibrated the traditional relationship between architects and patrons, just as Chippendale's *Director* would do for the furniture maker in later decades.

Through the medium of print, Gibbs could effectively liberate himself from the system of sustained elite patronage which had previously defined architectural practice. Again, Gibbs's actions are similar to those of Hogarth, who pivoted away from history painting to printmaking in order to expand the commercial potential of his work by responding to consumer demand.[64] Much as the print series had done for Hogarth, the *Book of Architecture* allowed Gibbs to market his designs directly to aristocratic patrons as well as to an increasingly monied and growing middle class, each of which could select from among its fashionable designs. At the same time, the print allowed Gibbs's designs to operate at across all meanings of the term "design" simultaneously. Although in recent decades significant scholarship on the rise of a consumer society in eighteenth-century England has linked the growth of consumerism to the demand for material culture from the rapidly expanding middle class, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, like Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, requires us to reconsider this relationship.[65] These books suggest that the type of conspicuous, middle-class material consumption represented by Chippendale's *Director* in the

[64] See, for example, Paulson, *Hogarth: High Art and Low*.

[65] See, for example, Neil McKendrick, "The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 9-33. For a useful summary of this wide body of scholarship as well as an instructive reconsideration of elite patronage and patterns of consumption, see Jon Stobart, "Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Economic History Review* 64, no. 3 (August 2011), 885-904.

middle of the eighteenth century began at a much more elite level. While the subscriber lists and audiences for both *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the *Book of Architecture* may have been broad, they were necessarily aimed at those who could afford to build or remodel a large country house or commission an elaborate funerary monument. However, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* went even further to bridge the gap between elite and middle-class patrons as well to appeal directly to craftsmen and builders.

In 1732, following the success of the *Book of Architecture*, Gibbs published the *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture, in a More exact and easy manner than has been heretofore practiced, by which all Fractions, in dividing the principle Members and their Parts, is avoided*. As his title suggests, this book was a much more practical handbook geared specifically to workmen, especially those with limited mathematical training. As Gibbs prefaces:

> Palladio, in dividing and adjusting his Orders, has no doubt excelled the rest, whom I have therefore followed. He has divided the Diameter of his Column, which he calls his Module, into sixty Minutes, and subdivided them into Seconds, Thirds, and Fourths. This is supposed to be the Method of the Ancients in composing their Designs; but it is very difficult to Beginners and such as are but little skill'd Arithmetick: And certainly the parts consisting of so many Fractions may occasion mistakes in those who copy the Orders of Palladio; besides the difficulty of dividing those small parts with Compasses.[66]

While gesturing to the ancients and Palladio as his models, Gibbs devised a new method for calculating the proportions of the various elements of each Order based on whole numbers.[67] This system, intended to be simpler to use, further solidified Gibbs's erudition as an architect trained in the theory of the ancients. And, the *Rules for Drawing* proved as much a success as the *Book of Architecture*. It, too, was pirated and plagiarized by other architectural writers, such as Batty

[66] James Gibbs, *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture* (London, 1732), v-vi.

[67] For a useful summary of Gibbs's method, see Harris, *Architectural Books*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

Langley, who included Gibbs's method in *Ancient Masonry* the following year (1733-34), and again in the *Builders Compleat Assistant* in 1738. William Salmon also reproduced it in his 1738 publication *Palladio Londinensis*.[68]

Another prominent publication to rely on the methods Gibbs published in the *Rules for Drawing* was Chippendale's *Director.* Indeed, Chippendale drew a direct correlation between the cabinetmaker and the architect, writing:

> of all the Arts which are either improved or ornamented by Architecture, that of Cabinet-making is not only the most useful and ornamental, but capable of receiving as great assistance from it as any whatever. I have therefore prefixed to the following designs a short explanation of the five Orders. Without an acquaintance in this science, and some knowledge of the rules of Perspective, the Cabinet-maker cannot make the designs of his work intelligible, nor shew, in a little compass, the whole conduct and effect of the piece. These, therefore, ought to be carefully studied by everyone who would excel in this branch, since they are the very soul and basis of his art.[69]

Architecture is the subject of the first four pages of Chippendale's text, as well as the first eight of his plates, and Chippendale's inclusion of a discussion of the Orders was unique among contemporary furniture-makers' publications.[70] While, for Chippendale, understanding of architecture was in service to furniture design, his demonstration of architectural knowledge also served to legitimize his own project. However, Chippendale also demonstrated the application of this higher order architectural and artistic knowledge to the production of furniture designs. Immediately following his section on the Orders, Chippendale presents a series of plates containing the rules to draw chairs, dressing tables, and bookcases in perspective (fig 4.17). These

[68] Harris, *Architectural Books*, *s.v.* "Gibbs, James."

[69] Chippendale, *Director*, iii.

[70] Adshead, "Miniature Architecture," 60.

plates served the dual purpose of providing instruction on drawing furniture in perspective and demonstrating Chippendale's ability to do so.

The artist's ability correctly to draw in perspective was an important component of the emerging call for artistic education in England, and it was crucial to William Hogarth's visions for the curriculum at the St. Martin's Lane Academy as early as 1735. He enlisted John Joshua Kirby to teach the subject, and in February 1754, Kirby published a two-volume treatise on both the theory and practice of perspective, *Dr. Brook Taylor's Method of Perspective Made Easy*.[71] Thus, Chippendale introduces the *Director* with a demonstration of practical and theoretical knowledge of both architecture and art. Anne Puetz has noted that Chippendale emphasized the usefulness as well as the inventiveness and variety of his designs. This variety is expressed by the several styles promised in the title, namely the Modern, Chinese, and Gothic, which were a popular group of connected styles by the middle of the eighteenth century. As she writes, "more importantly, however, Chippendale emphasized the kind of variety that springs from a richly fertile imagination – the prerequisite of the internationally competitive craftsman- artist, who was not obliged to draw on stock models or slavishly copy the inventions of others."[72] By linking his publication to loftier artistic and architectural realms, Chippendale not only demonstrates his own intellectual and professional skills, he implicitly ties the craft of furniture-making to both art and architecture, and he similarly demonstrates his own skills in artistic design and the unlimited inventive powers of his imagination.

[71] Adshead, "Miniature Architecture," 64.

[72] Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy," 49.

Chippendale relied directly upon Gibbs's *Rules for Drawing* in his introductory discussion of the orders, which was largely summarized from Gibbs's text. Visually, Chippendale's plates are also directly indebted to Gibbs's own in the *Rules for Drawing*. For example, Chippendale's plate illustrating the bases for the columns in each of the five Orders (fig. 4.18) replicates Gibbs's plate of the same subject in the *Rules for Drawing* (fig. 4.19). By directly invoking the theoretical principles of architecture, albeit through elegantly simplifying and repackaging Gibbs's practical model in the *Rules for Drawing*, Chippendale implies that the designs of the cabinetmaker might, like those of the architect, be both useful mechanical tools and expressions of an artistic intellectual exercise. As David Adshead has argued, Chippendale "would have known that by producing such a handsome volume, stocked with his own designs, he might gain credibility amongst potential patrons, perhaps putting him, even, on a similar footing to that of an architect."[73] Just as Gibbs's *Rules for Drawing* had usefully provided the practical architectural information Chippendale introduced in the *Director*, the *Book of Architecture*, as a commercially successful synthesis of self-promotional *oeuvre* and commoditized catalog of architectural style, served as its ideological and professional precedent.

Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was a groundbreaking publication. It marked the first book by a British architect which was dedicated entirely to his own work. It demonstrated Gibbs's skill across a whole range of building typologies and ornament and made claims to his architectural

[73] Adshead, "Miniature Architecture," 60.

professionalism. Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* also reveals the critical intersection between art and the multivalent term "design" in early eighteenth-century England. As Anne Puetz has argued, printed and published designs, such as those in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* and in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* a decade before, acted "as a mouthpiece for the expression of their authors' participation in debates of national importance – on 'taste,' on a national cultural identity, on the economic implications of design, and on the semantics of style…."[74] However, perhaps what makes Gibbs's publication most remarkable is that, for Gibbs, style was not a matter of course but one of choice. Certainly, where *Vitruvius Britannicus* had inextricably tied Campbell's professional bona fides and fate to the supremacy and correctness of one (Palladian) style, the *Book of Architecture* stripped away this monolithic understanding of style and presented it instead as a series of options done in the "best Taste" and from which a potential client might make selections. In this way, through the liberating power of print, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* also recalibrated traditional architect-patron relationships by advertising his products directly to a wide body of eager consumers and workmen alike. Indeed, the *Book of Architecture* rendered style and ornament as commodities which could be ordered by patrons and copied or adapted by workmen and builders.

The print made architectural style widely consumable. And, just as Gibbs began and Chippendale replicated, by the second half of the eighteenth century, the consumption of the large and often anonymous public, which was increasingly comprised of an emerging moneyed and leisured middle class, emancipated artists and designers from traditional artist-patron

[74] Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy," 9. See also Anne Puetz, "The Emergence of a Print Genre: The Production and Dissemination of the British Design Print, 1730s-1830s," PhD diss. (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2007).

relationships. However, as Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* reveals, the commodification of style was initiated far earlier in the century and for a more elite consumer. The medium of the print allowed architects like Gibbs deliberately and directly to advertise their work to that public.[75] From the middle of the eighteenth century, as Neil McKendrick has observed, commerce was consciously manipulating the competitive and socially emulative vicissitudes of fashion in order to stimulate increased consumption.[76] For architecture, illustrated books would ultimately provide visual examples of the most current styles, just as the fashion plate provided sources of the latest fashion developments to meet the demand for the most current information which grew in tandem with the growing demand for consumer goods.[77] Indeed, it is in this mid-century climate of fashionable material consumption that Chippendale's *Director* was published.

By then, just over two decades after Gibbs published the *Book of Architecture*, style was beginning to emerge as numerous and variable. As we have seen, Chippendale's *Director* promised "Useful Designs of Household Furniture in the Gothic, Chinese, and Modern Taste."[78] The frequently related triumvirate of Modern, Chinese, and Gothic styles, most frequently associated with the new consumers of the expanding leisure class, have become freighted terms in the scholarship of eighteenth-century design, associated variously with politics, international trade, nationalism, patriotism, and native artistic education.[79] However, the explicit use of these decidedly

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[75] Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy" 9.

[76] Neil McKendrick, "The Commercialization of Fashion" in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982): 34-99, 43.

[77] McKendrick, "The Commercialization of Fashion," 47.

[78] Chippendale, *Director*, i.

[79] Puetz, "Drawing from Fancy," 8. See for example, Patricia Crown, "British Rococo as Social and Political Style," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 3 (Spring 1990), 269-282; Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A*

stylistic terms signals a shift in the approach to style in eighteenth-century England from the idea of one correct, classical style, as demonstrated by Colen Campbell, to the acceptance and employment of a plurality of styles. The variety of designs in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* laid the groundwork for this new mutability of architectural style by rendering it a commodity in a catalog, marketed expressly as a workmen's pattern book but priced for elite consumption. In any case, either through its original form or in the plagiarized reproductions of writers such as Batty Langley, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* circulated at both levels. In this way, even from the first decades of the eighteenth-century, the print both answered consumer desire and created it, and the published architect might benefit from both. And, once engraved and circulated through the medium of print, the commodification of both architecture and architectural style was, perhaps, inevitable.

Conceptual and Historical Investigation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and Annie Richardson, "From the Moral Mound to the Material Maze: Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*," in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 119-134.

CONCLUSION

In the plates of the illustrated book, architectural style became a luxury commodity. Fine line engraving, itself an in-demand consumer good, enabled architects like Colen Campbell and James Gibbs to carve professional identities for themselves in print, thereby creating new commercial opportunities at the intersection of theory and practice. Yet, as a distinct kind of consumer good, architectural style can only be understood in this period through a triangulation of architectural theory, aristocratic patronage, and architectural practice. Through a close examination of theory and the engraved images which accompanied it, a reconsideration of the influence and motivations behind elite patronage, and an investigation of practice based on patient analysis of built forms, this dissertation has demonstrated just how contested British architecture of the early eighteenth-century was. These contests were symptomatic, at least in part, of increasing architectural professionalization and a dynamic commercial marketplace.

Previous scholarship has too frequently been befuddled by the historiographical lexicon, and certainly both the English Baroque and Palladianism are distractingly limiting and unfixed labels. However, as this dissertation has shown, the acute awareness of architectural style in the

early eighteenth century necessitates its centrality in any analysis of British architecture of the period. By endeavoring to work with the terms Baroque and Palladian rather than against them, this dissertation foregrounds style to reveal how it was conceptualized in theory, expressed through patronage and in practice, and ultimately marketed and commodified in the illustrated book. As a product of the forces of consumerism and professionalization which were uniquely enabled by the print, the contestation between Baroque and Palladian is singularly illuminating. At Houghton, the shifting sands of this style debate crystalized into one of the most influential early Palladian powerhouses. Yet, Houghton's Palladianism is a mirage. As I have argued, Houghton is instead a stylistic hybrid created by the purposeful collision of artistic voices. By bringing together Campbell, Gibbs, and Kent—all under the control of his own pet architect, Thomas Ripley—Houghton's patron, Sir Robert Walpole, exploited their professional rivalries and stylistic differences to create an amalgam of the best tastes of the period. Moreover, the coexistence of the building and the images of it which appeared in print meant that, even on paper, Houghton was a battleground which illuminated the importance of architectural style in the early eighteenth-century and the extent to which style might be variously tied to the personal identity of its patron and the professional identities of its architects.

Classicism would remain the dominant architectural language in Britain well into the nineteenth century, augmented later by the emergence of archaeological discovery and the new and broadened understanding of the architecture of antiquity which came with it. However, in the first decades of the previous century, the burgeoning concept of architectural style became a matter of great interest and importance to British architects, theorists, and patrons. This interest was reflected in architectural criticism and in the formal changes taking place in architectural practice during the period. And the print, through which architects sought to illustrate as well as to

demonstrate their experience, ability, and taste—or, in other words, their understanding or interpretation of style—thus fulfilled a dual role in theory and in practice. Moreover, prints also allowed the architect to negotiate and exploit the possibilities of emerging markets for their work, to attract new patrons directly, and to recalibrate patronage through consumer choice. In this way, architectural style became marketable and consumable, even if cloaked in the language of theory or masked beneath assertions of good taste.

Through the shrewd combination of self-promotion and architectural discourse, *Vitruvius Britannicus* situated Colen Campbell as the prophetic voice of Palladian classicism, and, in a deft sleight of hand which concealed elite consumerism as a manifestation of taste and erudition, its plates represented architectural style as a series of engraved elevations which might be selected, amalgamated, and augmented by the publication's elite audience. As I argued in Chapter Three, that is precisely what Thomas Watson-Wentworth and his architect did in rebuilding Wentworth Woodhouse. This house with two faces cannot fully be explained by changing tastes. Instead, although the house was, even in the earliest stages of the remodeling, envisioned on a palatial scale, the abrupt stylistic change from the earlier, exuberant Baroque front to the massive and decidedly Palladian façade which would ultimately obscure and overshadow it, mirrors both the shifting motivations of its patron and the commercial means by which those ends might be achieved. In this way, the staggering Palladianization of Wentworth Woodhouse is the result of the commodification of architectural style.

The commodification of style through print which resulted in Wentworth Woodhouse also forged an indelible link between the illustrated architectural book and the professionalization of the architect in this period. Much like *Vitruvius Britannicus*, James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* was a decidedly self-promotional and professionalizing endeavor, and Gibbs was the first architect

to publish a book containing only his own designs. Indeed, Gibbs's plates operated as examples of design both as an intellectual composition and as a two-dimensional model which could be realized by future craftsmen. This duality maximized the market for architectural books, and Gibbs targeted his publication at either end of the consumer base, both the elite or ambitious patrons who wished to build as well as their craftsmen and builders. This constitutes a significant reconsideration of James Gibbs. As I have shown, the *Book of Architecture* was an important development in the professionalization of the architect and a groundbreaking publication that bridged architecture, building, and design at all levels. Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* showcased the architect's abilities, but it also effectively created both a catalog of stylistic options for potential patrons and a pattern book for craftsmen by representing a comparative selection of ornament in a variety of styles all on the same plate. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a book such as Chippendale's *Director* was unsurprising, but, at the time of its publication, Gibbs's book was novel. And, although the *Director* has been regarded as an immensely important and influential publication in the history of design (and it certainly was), this dissertation has revealed Chippendale's indebtedness to Gibbs and has demonstrated the way in which Gibbs's plates anticipated—and indeed precipitated—the conventions of Chippendale's plates of furniture designs which would not be published until over twenty-five years later.

Building on the broad base of existing scholarship which has outlined the emergence of a consumer society in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, this dissertation argues that consumerism extended back to the early decades of the century and that it included books such as *Vitruvius Briannicus* and those who could afford to build the lavish country houses in its pages. As the century progressed, the commodification of architectural style in print intensified the relationship between style and ornament. Because style was central to Campbell's concept of a

singular correct classicism and to his own professionalizing project, the plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, made style appear monolithic. Palladianized correctives in the form of Campbell's speculative or unsolicited designs were presented as implicit answers to earlier Baroque buildings, such as Wanstead and Castle Howard. However, as his designs for Wanstead reflect, Campbell's use of ornament differentiates his restrained classicism from the exuberant and licentious classicism of the Baroque. Indeed, ornament most easily distinguishes style, and, in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, it was how style was ultimately signified in print, providing consumers with a series of options. Gibbs's bimodal drawings and comparative plates, which anticipated the representational conventions of Chippendale's *Director*, reduced style to a series of differently ornamented architectural components which could then be chosen and reassembled by the discerning consumer.

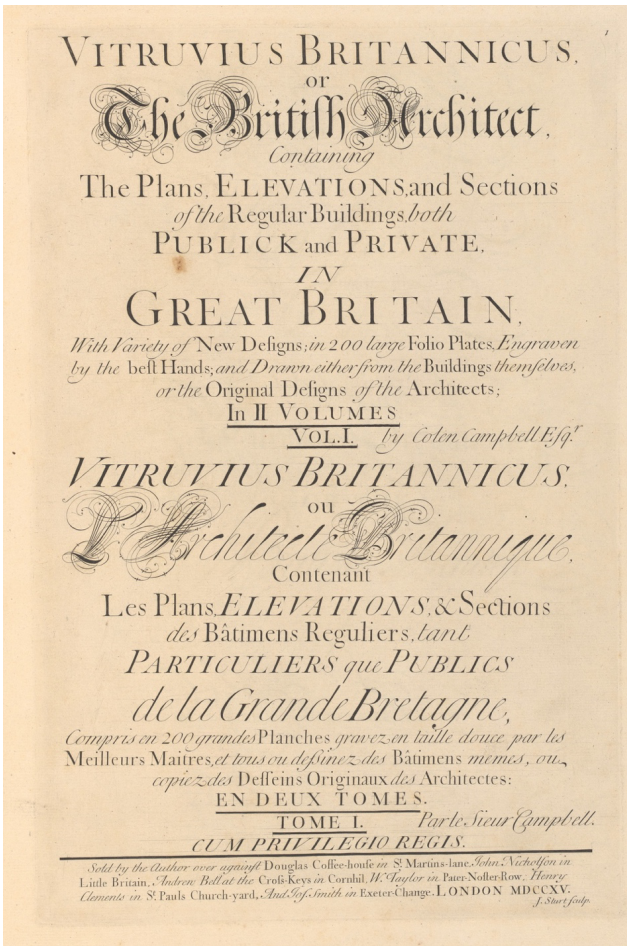
In the end, contested classicism defines the theory and practice of early eighteenth-century British architecture. Style mattered. It fueled theoretical debates, formed the basis of professional identities, and reflected the taste and education of patrons. And, because style mattered, illustrated books allowed ambitious architects to represent it, exploit it, and, in an increasingly commercialized society, sell it. By 1715, Palladianism had largely won. Yet, by the time the *Director* was issued in 1754, new enemies were beginning to emerge. Just as the print had helped to secure Palladianism's triumph, it would also betray it by generating new consumer demand in a market eager for luxury goods, a call happily answered by the seemingly endless variety and invention of chinoiserie and the gothic. The victory, alas, would be short lived.

Figures

Figure 0.1 Houghton Hall, Norfolk, built for Sir Robert Walpole, begun 1722. Photo: Author.

Figure 0.2 Wentworth Woodhouse, baroque façade, built for Thomas Watson-Wentworth, begun 1724. Photo: Author.

Figure 0.3 Wentworth Woodhouse, Palladian façade, built for Thomas Watson-Wentworth, begun c. 1734. © Oliver White.



VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,
or
The British Architect,
Containing
The Plans, ELEVATIONS, and Sections
of the Regular Buildings, both
PUBLICK and PRIVATE,
IN
GREAT BRITAIN.
With Variety of New Designs; in 200 large Folio Plates, Engraven
by the best Hands, and Drawn either from the Buildings themselves,
or the Original Designs of the Architects;
In II VOLUMES
VOL. I. By Colen Campbell Esq.r
VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,
ou
L'Architecte Britannique,
Contenant
Les Plans, ELEVATIONS, & Sections
des Bâtimens Reguliers, tant
PARTICULIERS que PUBLICS
de la Grande Bretagne,
Compris en 200 grandes Planches gravez en taille douce par les
Meilleurs Maitres, et tous ou dessinez des Bâtimens memes, ou
copiez des Desseins Originaux des Architectes:
EN DEUX TOMES.
TOME I. Par le Sieur Campbell.
CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.
Sold by the Author over against Douglas Coffee-house in St. Martins-lane, John Nicholson in
Little Britain, Andrew Ball at the Cross-Keys in Cornhil, W. Taylor in Pater-Noller-Row, Henry
Clements in St. Pauls Church-yard, And Jos. Smith in Exeter-Change. LONDON MDCCXV.
J. Sturt sculp.

Figure 1.1 Title page, from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. I, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

Figure 1.2 Frontispiece, from *A Complete Body of Architecture* by Isaac Ware (London, 1756).

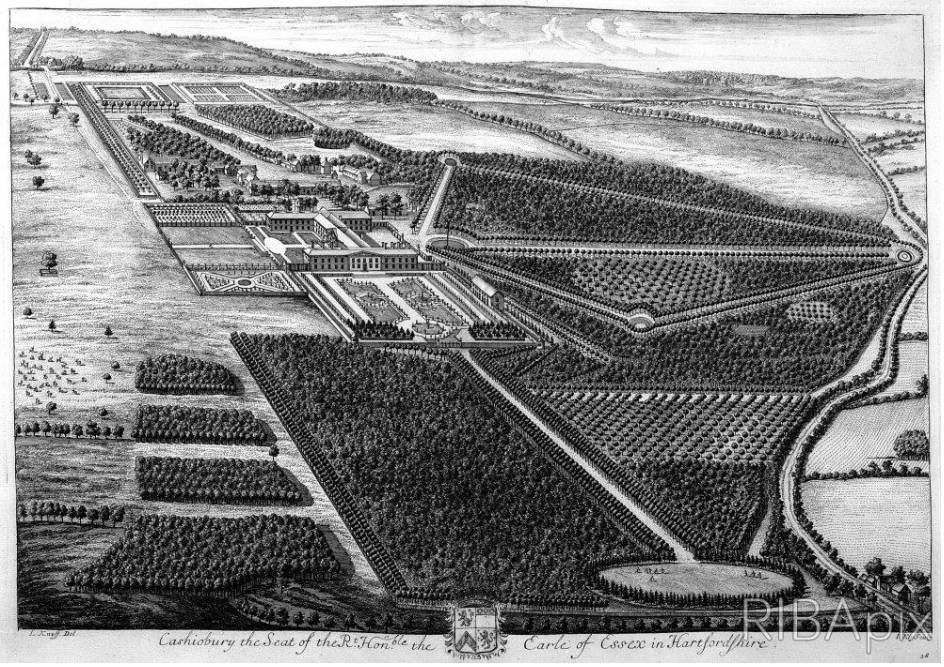


Figure 1.3 "Cashiobury the Seat of the R.[t] Hon.[ble] the Earle of Essex in Hartfordshire," plate from *Britannia Illustrata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707). Royal Institute of British Architects.

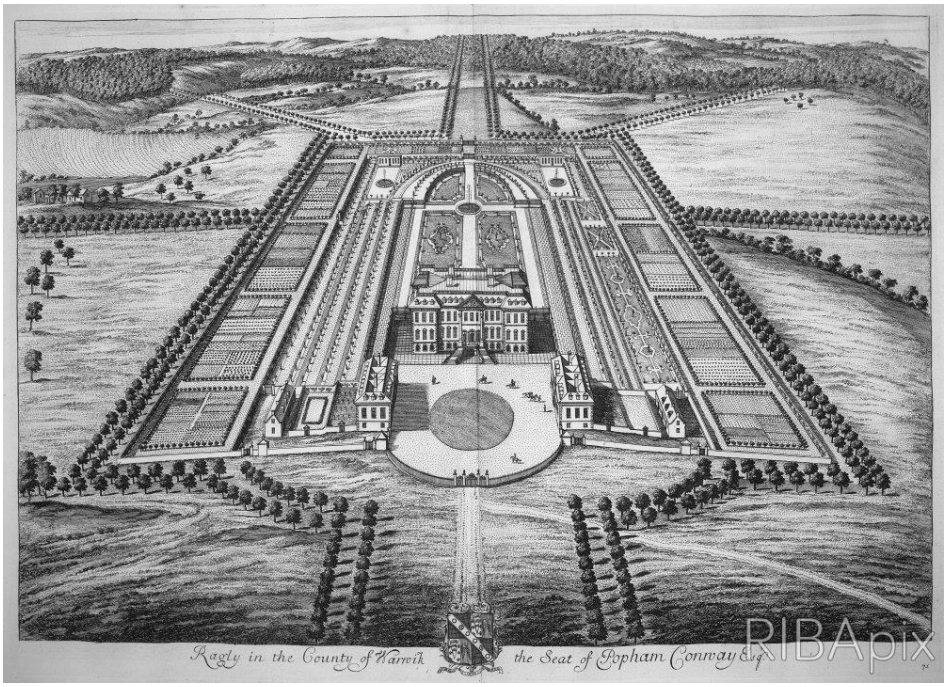


Figure 1.4 "Ragly in the County of Warwik the Seat of Popham Conway Esq.," plate from *Britannia Illustrata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707). Royal Institute of British Architects.

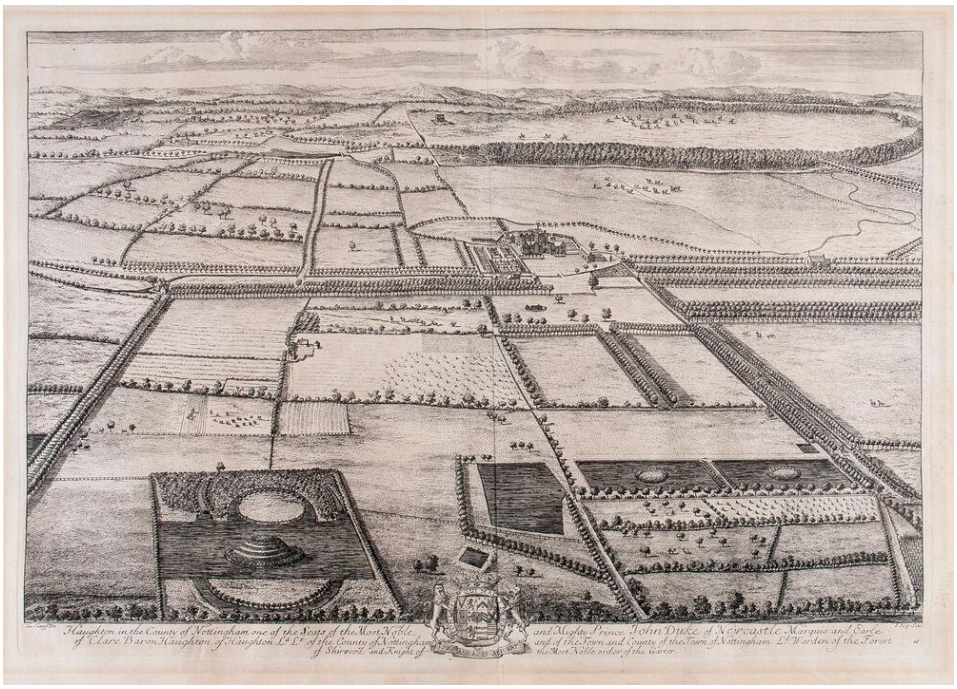


Figure 1.5 "Houghton in the County of Nottingham…," plate from *Britannia Illustata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707).

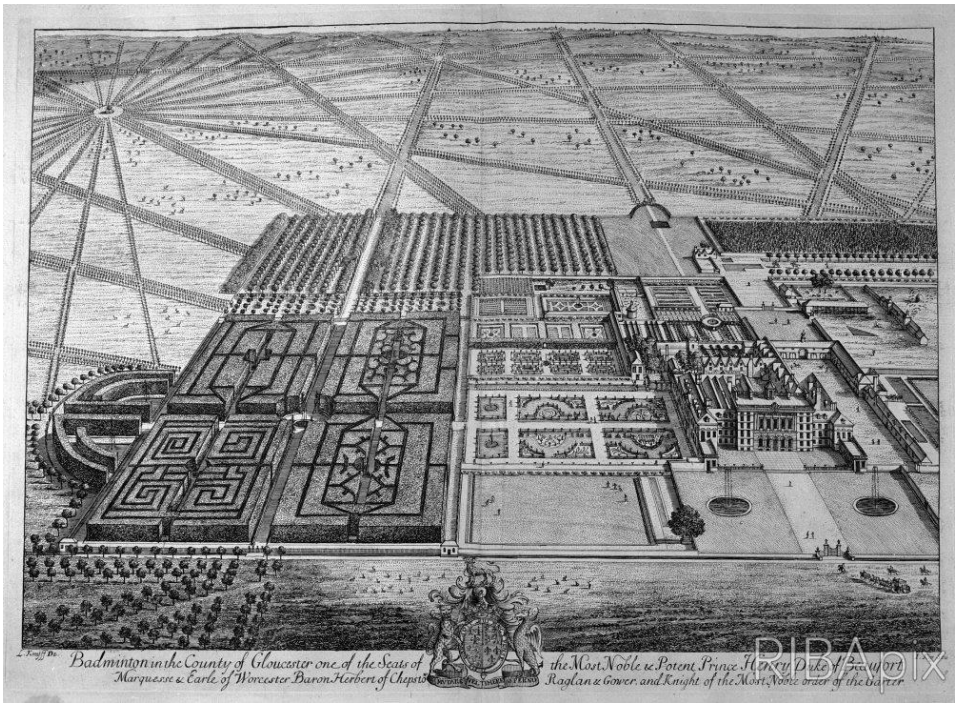


Figure 1.6 "Badminton in the County of Gloucester…" plate from *Britannia Illustrata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707). Royal Institute of British Architects.

Figure 1.7 "Somerset House," plate from *Britannia Illustrata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707). Royal Institute of British Architects.

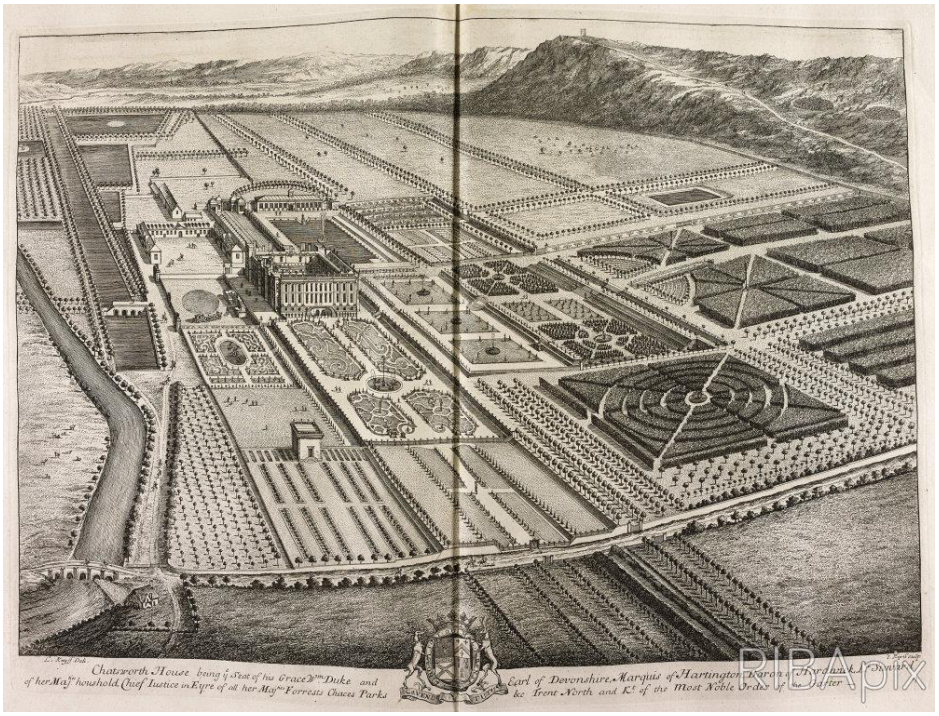


Figure 1.8 "Chatsworth House…," plate from *Britannia Illustrata*, drawn by Leonard Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip (London, 1707). Royal Institute of British Architects.

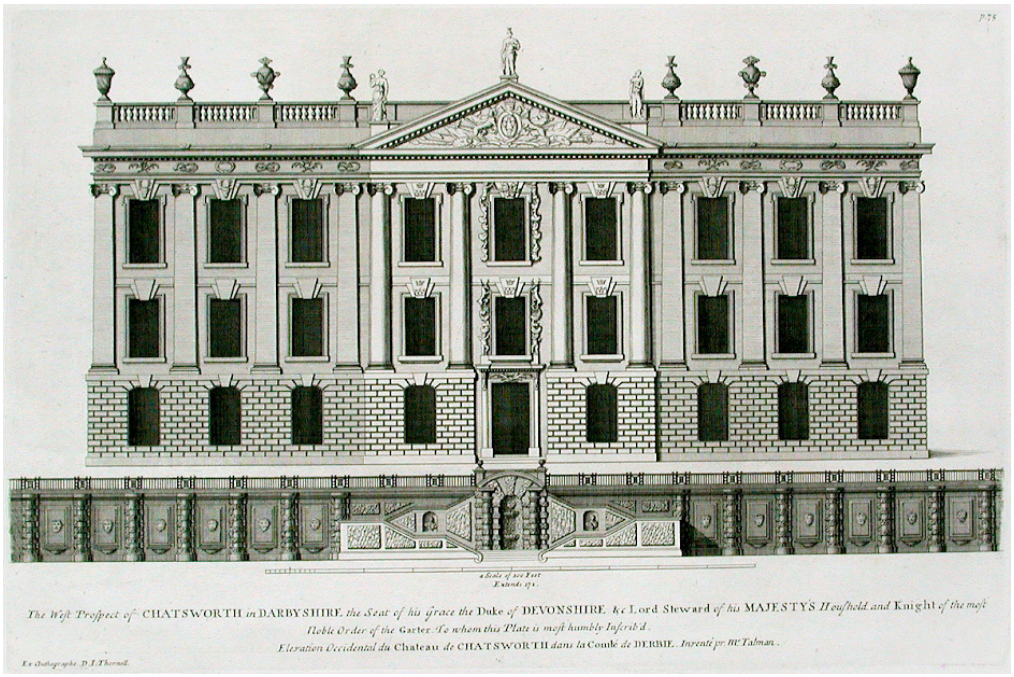


Figure 1.9 The West Front of Chatsworth, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

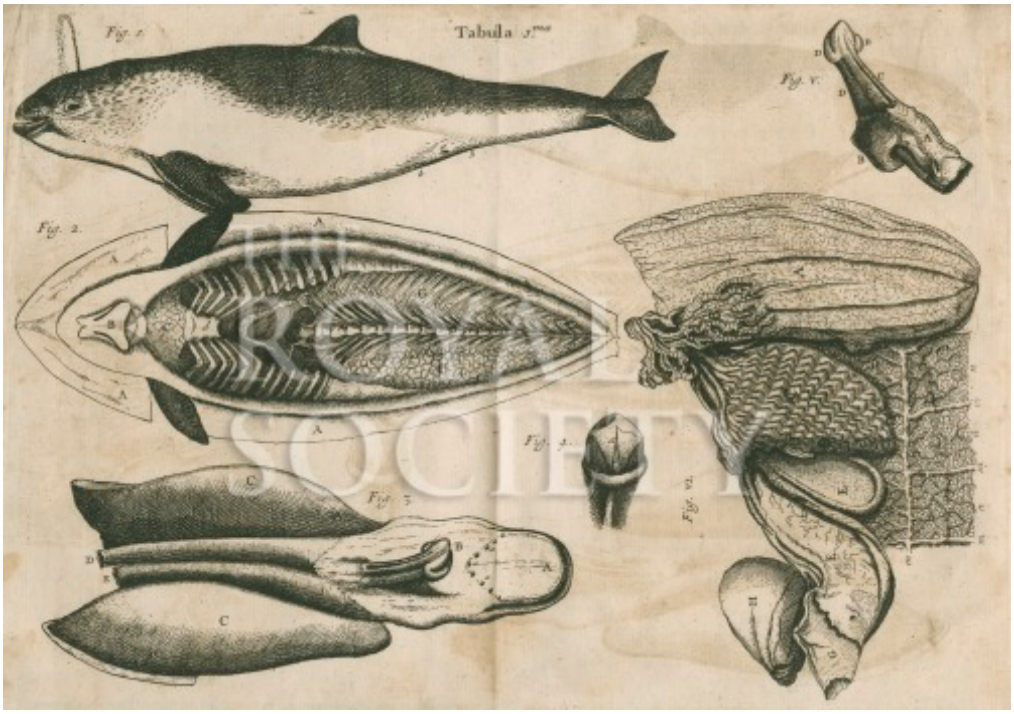


Figure 1.10 Anatomy of the Porpoise, plate from *Phocaena, or the anatomy of a porpess, dissected at Gresham Colledge: with a praeliminary discourse concerning anatomy, and a natural history of animals*, by Edward Tyson (London, 1680). The Royal Society, London.

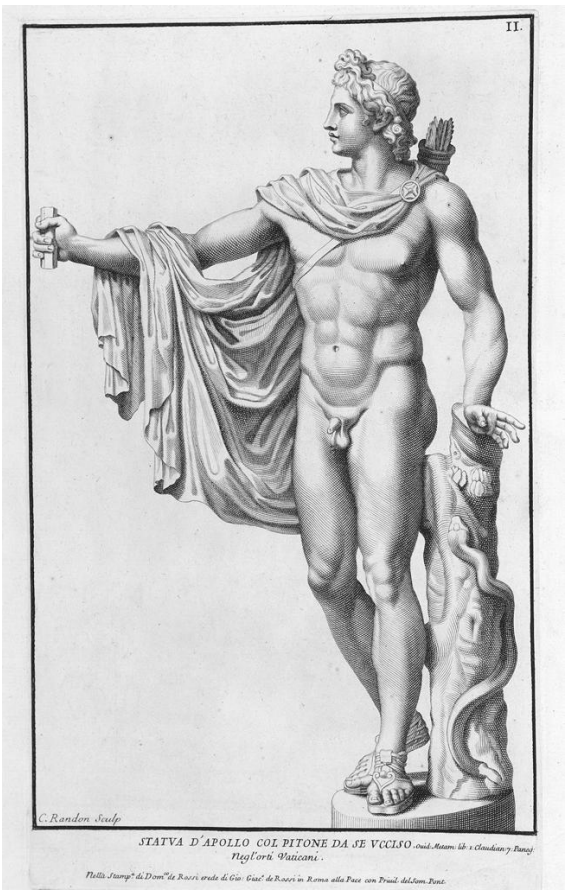


Figure 1.11 Apollo Belvedere, plate from *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, by Paolo Alessandro Maffei and Domenico de' Rossi (1704).

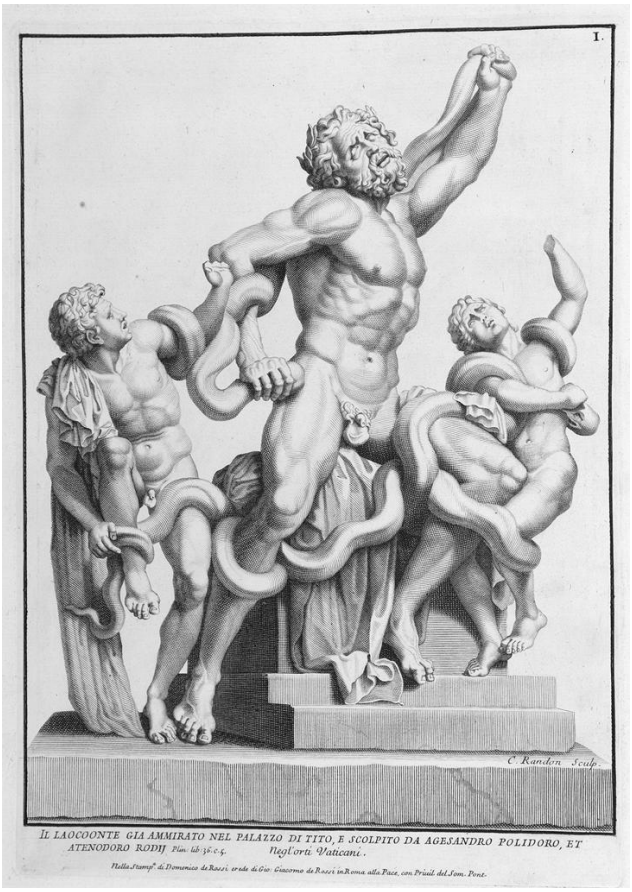


Figure 1.12 The Laocoön, plate from *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, by Paolo Alessandro Maffei and Domenico de' Rossi (1704).

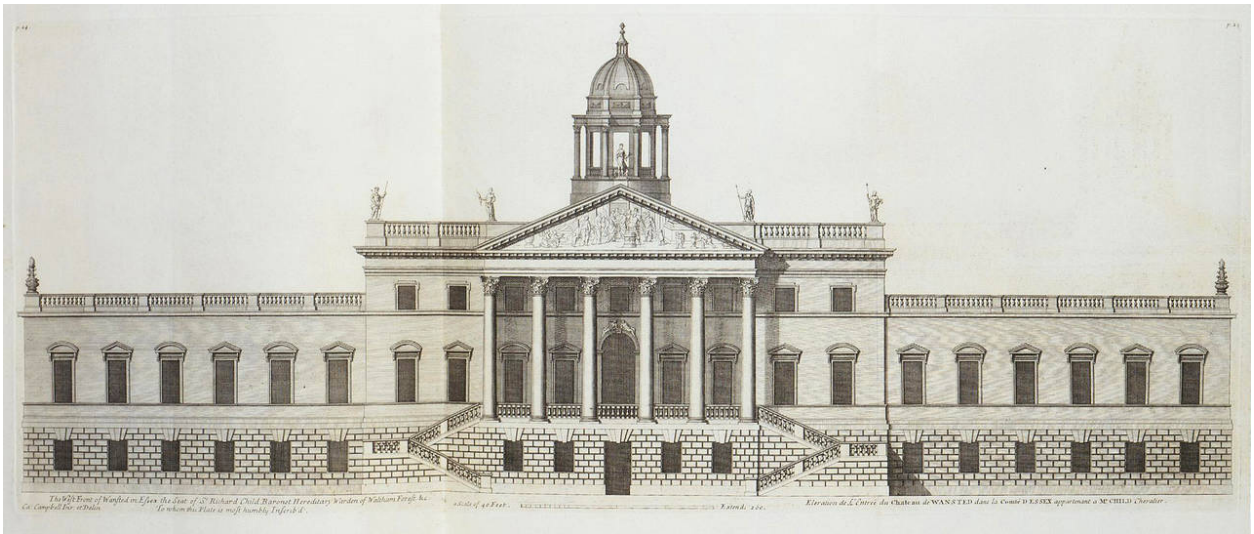


Figure 1.13 Second design for Wanstead, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

Figure 1.14 "The Elevation of the General Front of Castle Howard…," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

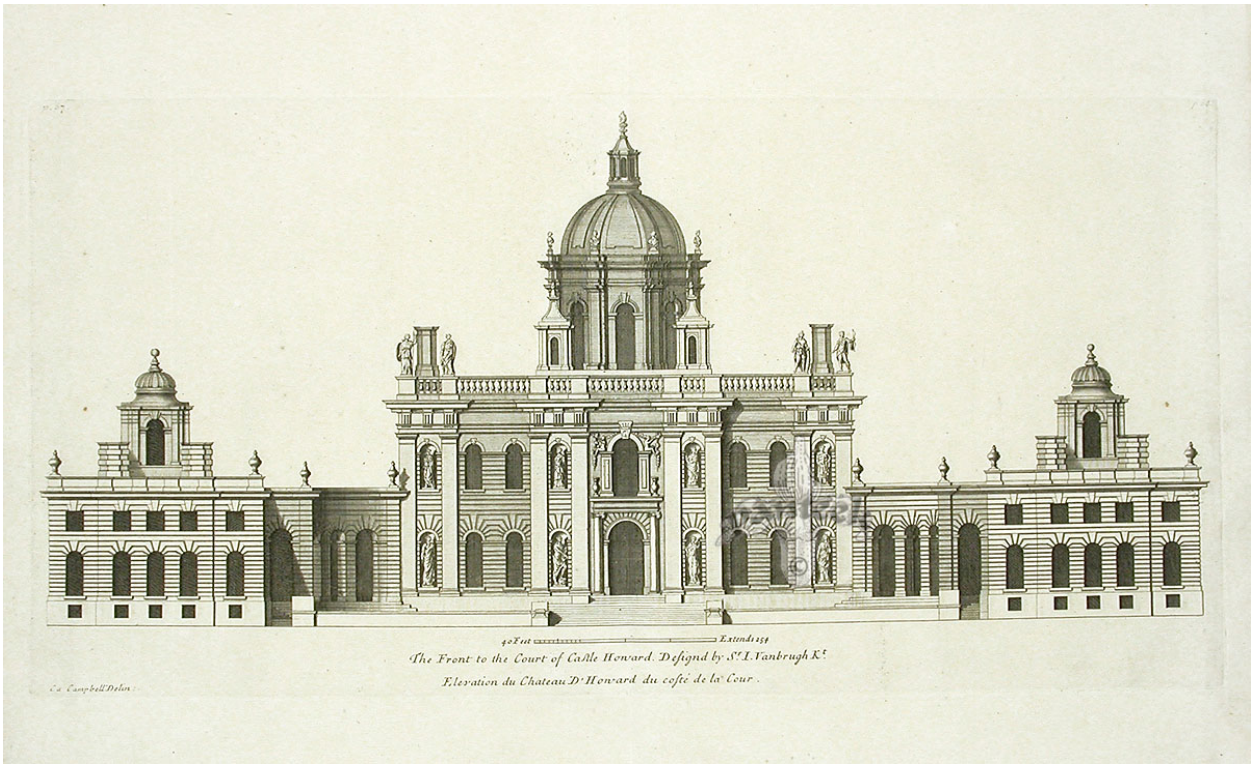


Figure 1.15 "The Front to the Court of Castle Howard…," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

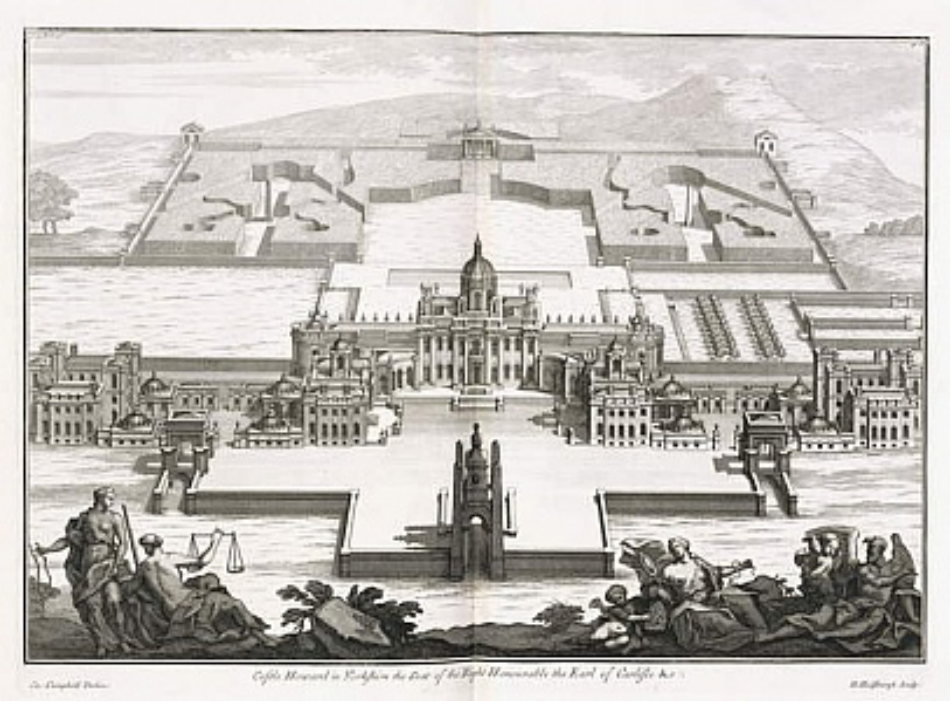


Figure 1.16 Bird's-eye view of Castle Howard, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725).

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF
Vitruvius Britannicus :
OR, THE
BRITISH ARCHITECT.
CONTAINING
The *Geometrical PLANS* of the moſt Conſiderable *GARDENS* and *PLANTATIONS*; alſo the PLANS, ELEVATIONS, and SECTIONS of the moſt *Regular* BUILDINGS, not Publiſhed in the *Firſt and Second Volumes*. With *Large* VIEWS, in *Perſpective*, of the moſt Remarkable *Eliſices* in *Great Britain*.
Engraven by the Beſt Hands *in* One Hundred *large Folio* PLATES.
By *COLEN CAMPBELL*, Eſquire,
Architect to His ROYAL HIGHNESS *the* PRINCE *of* WALES.
VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS:
OU,
L'Architecte Britannique :
CONTENANT
Les *PLANS* des *JARDINS* les Plus Conſiderables, Auſſi les PLANS, ELEVATIONS, & SECTIONS des BATIMENS *Reguliers*, ne ſont pas encore publies dans les *Deux Premiers Tomes*. Avec quelques VEUES, en *Perſpective*, des *Maſons* les plus *Celebres* de la *Grande Bretagne*.
Compris en 100 *grandes* Planches *gravez en taille douce par les* plus habiles Maitres.
Par Le Sieur *CAMPBELL*,
Architecte de Son ALTESSE ROYALE *Le* PRINCE *de* GALLES.
TOME III.
CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.
LONDON,
Printed; And Sold by the AUTHOR, at his Houſe in *Middle Scotland-Yard*, *White-Hall*; And by JOSEPH SMITH, at the Sign of *Inigo Jones's* Head, near *Exeter-Change*, in the *Strand*. M.DCC.XIV.

Figure 1.17 Title page, from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725).

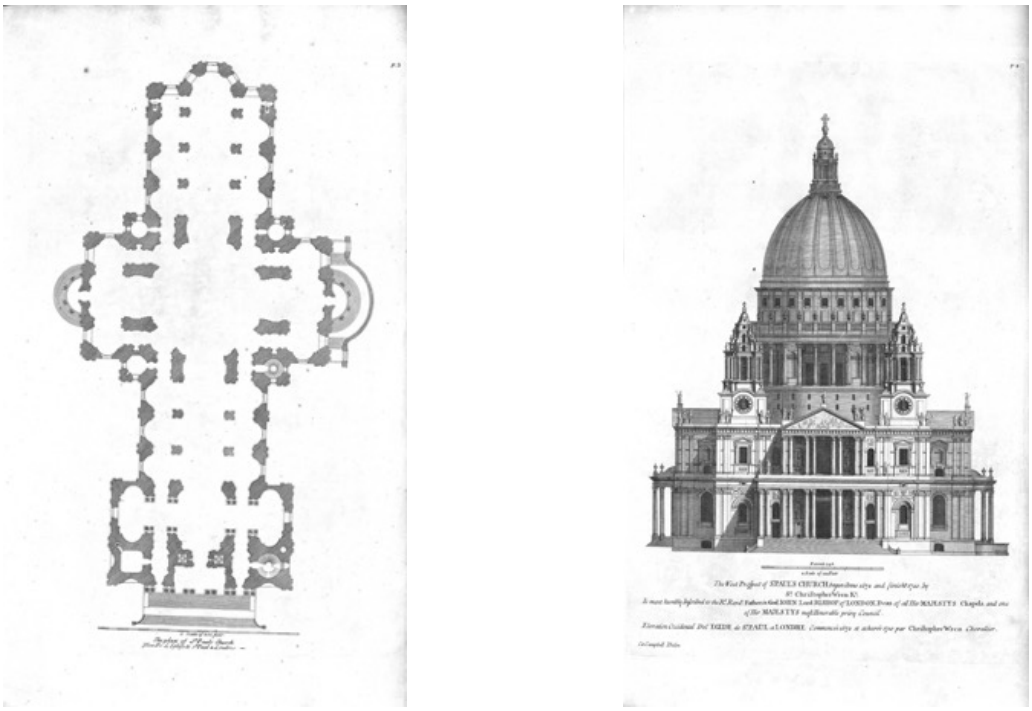


Figure 1.18 Plan and elevation of St. Paul's Cathedral, plates 3 and 4 from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, the British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

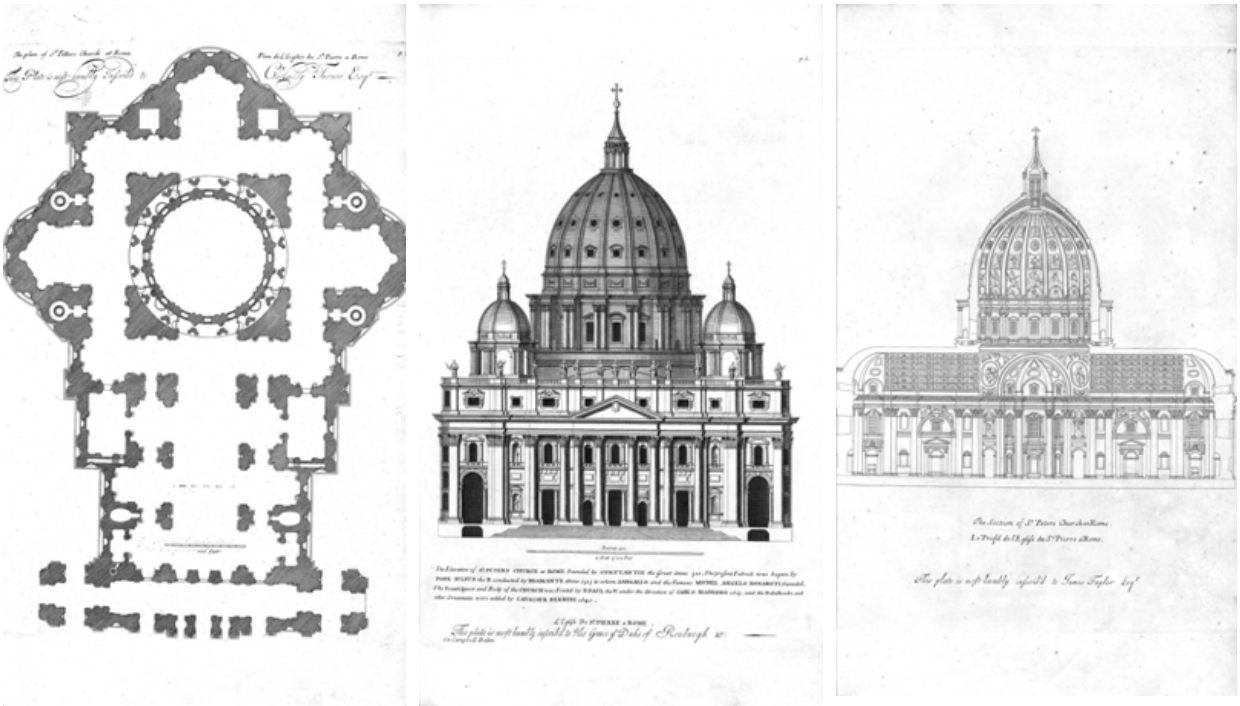


Figure 1.19 Plan, elevation, and section of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, plates 5-7 from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

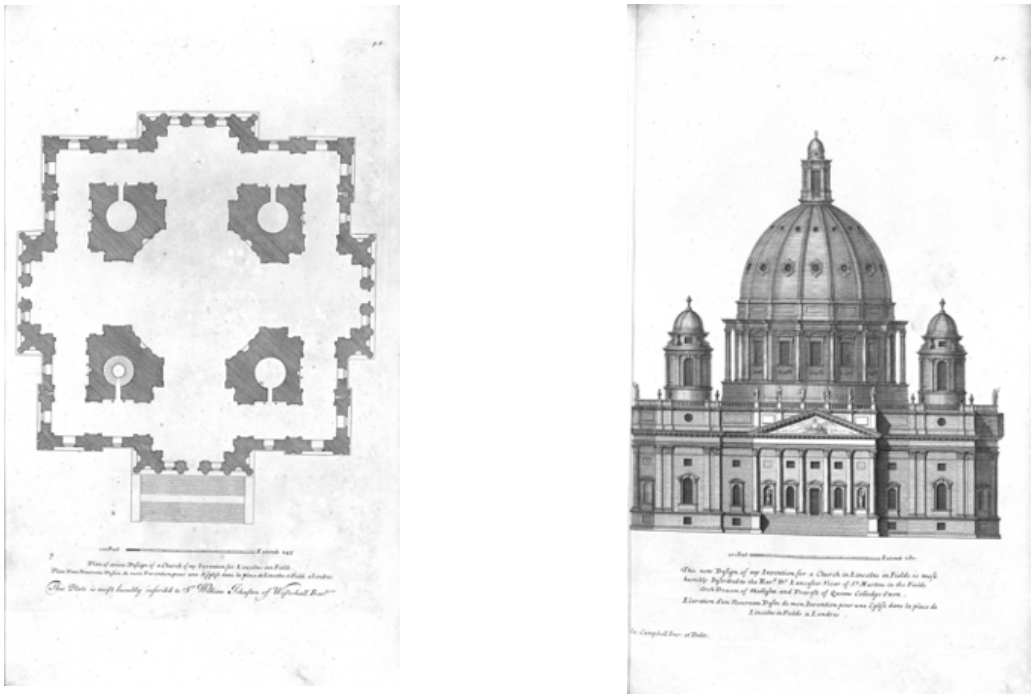


Figure 1.20 Plan and elevation of "a new Design of my Invention for a Church in Lincolns in Fields…," plates 8 and 9 from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

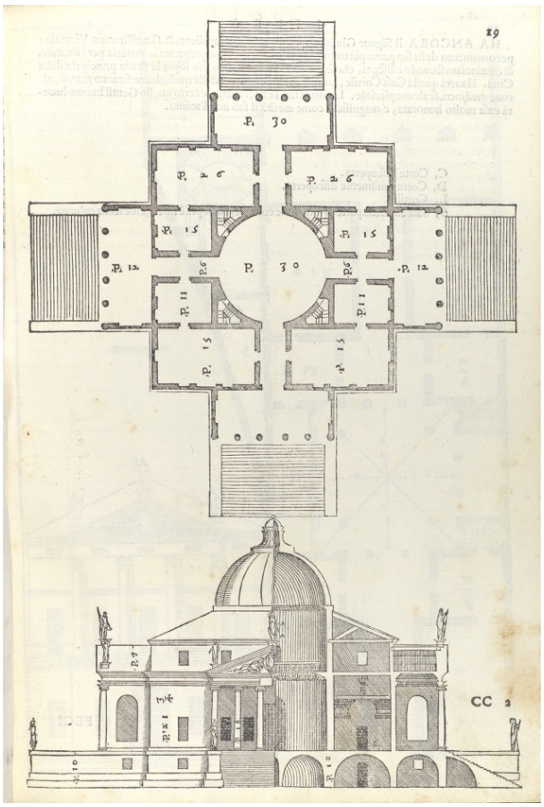


Figure 1.21 Villa Almerico (La Rotonda), woodcut illustration from *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, Book 2, by Andrea Palladio (Italy, 1570).

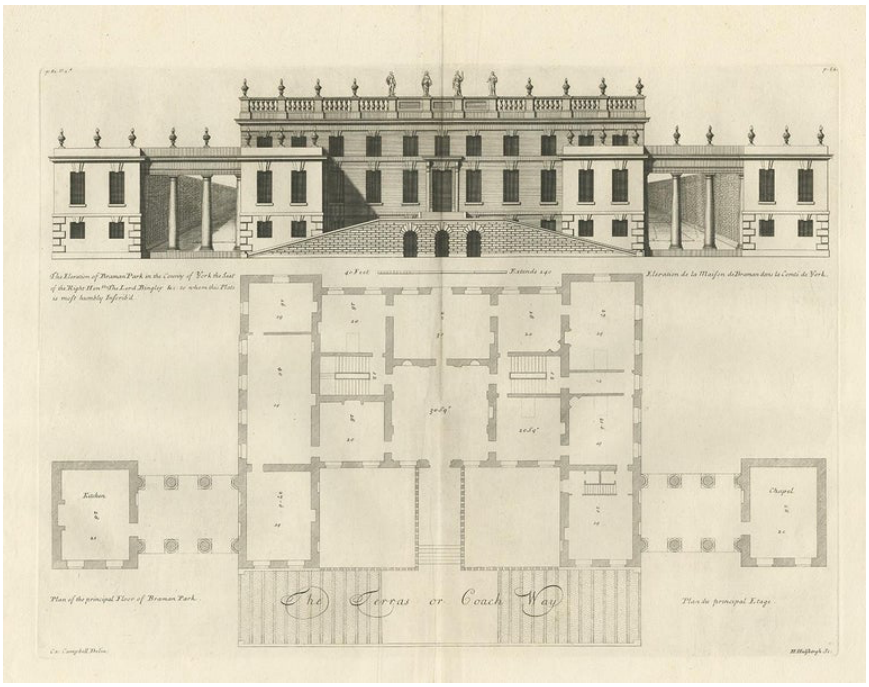


Figure 1.22 Elevation and plan of Braman Park, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, the British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

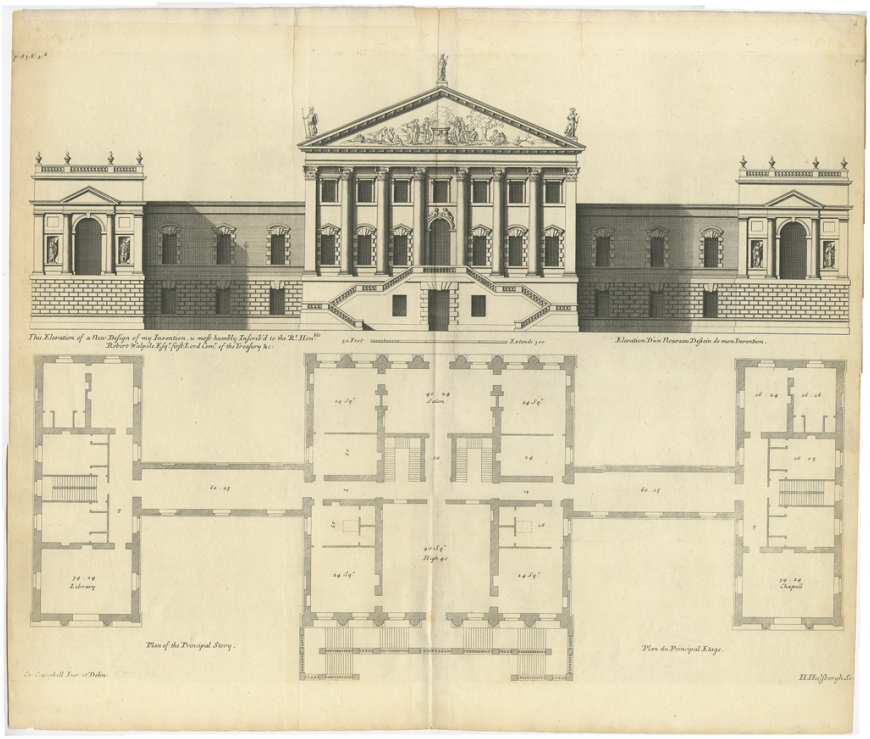


Figure 1.23 Elevation and plan of a design dedicated to Robert Walpole, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

Figure 1.24 Plan and elevation of the Villa Pisani at Montagnana, woodcut illustration from *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, by Andrea Palladio (Italy, 1570).

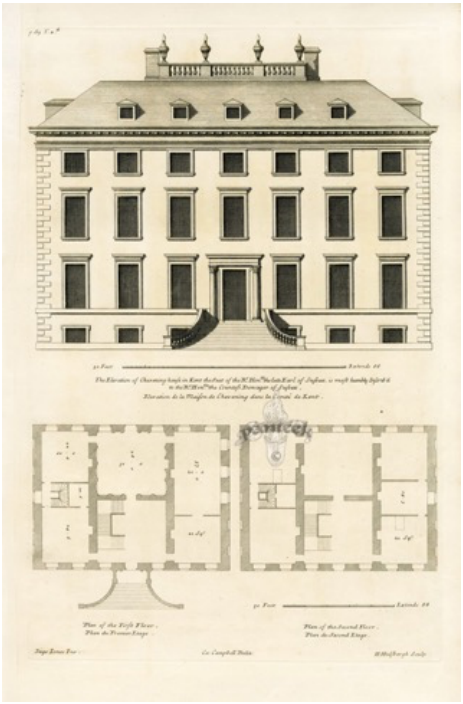


Figure 1.25 Elevation and plan of Chevening House, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

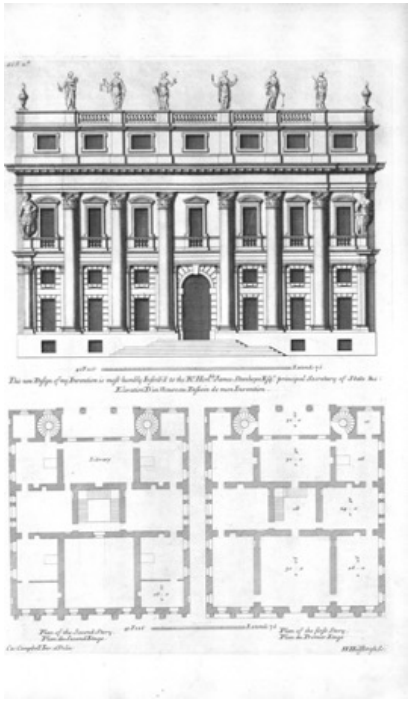


Plate 1.26 Elevation and plan of a design dedicated to James Stanhope, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

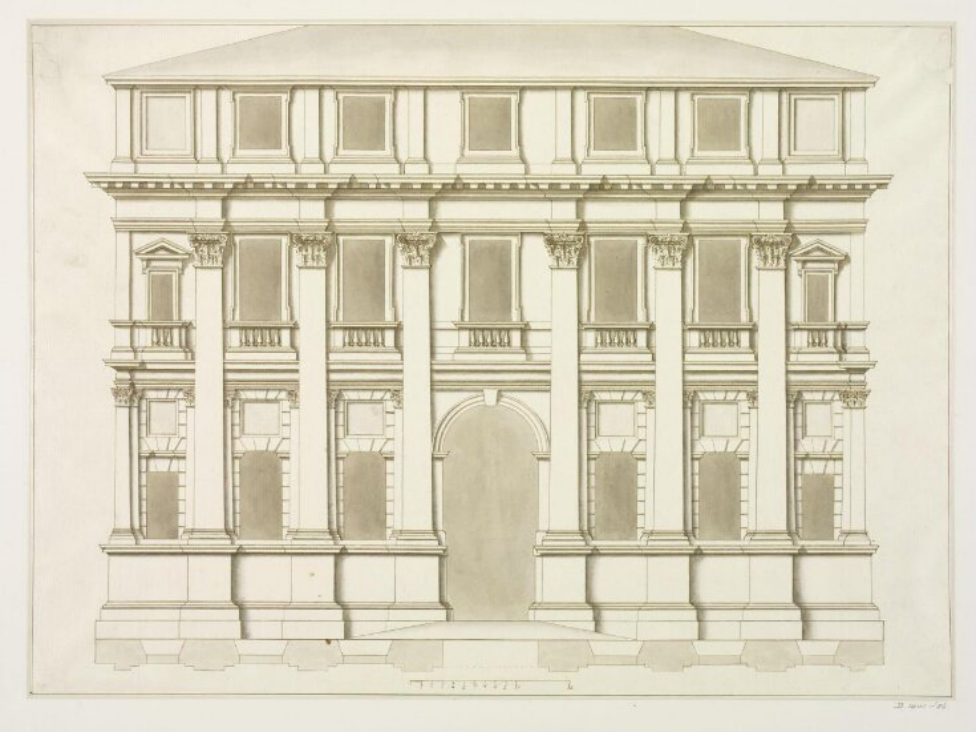


Figure 1.27 Elevation of Palazzo Valmarana, Vicenza. Drawing by unknown artist, circle of Antonio Visentini (1688-1782), mid-18th century. © Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

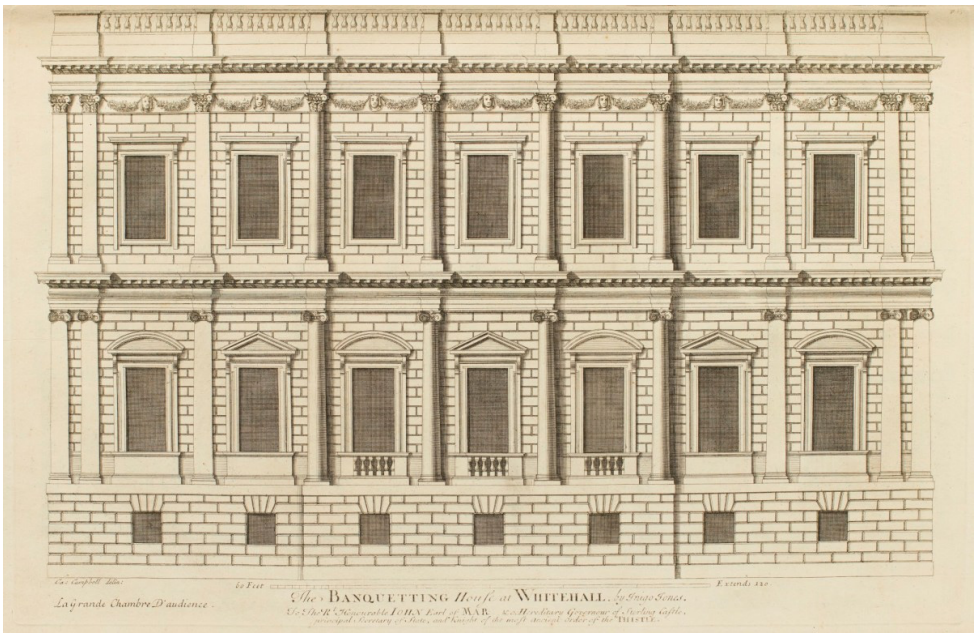


Figure 1.28 Elevation of the Banqueting House, London, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

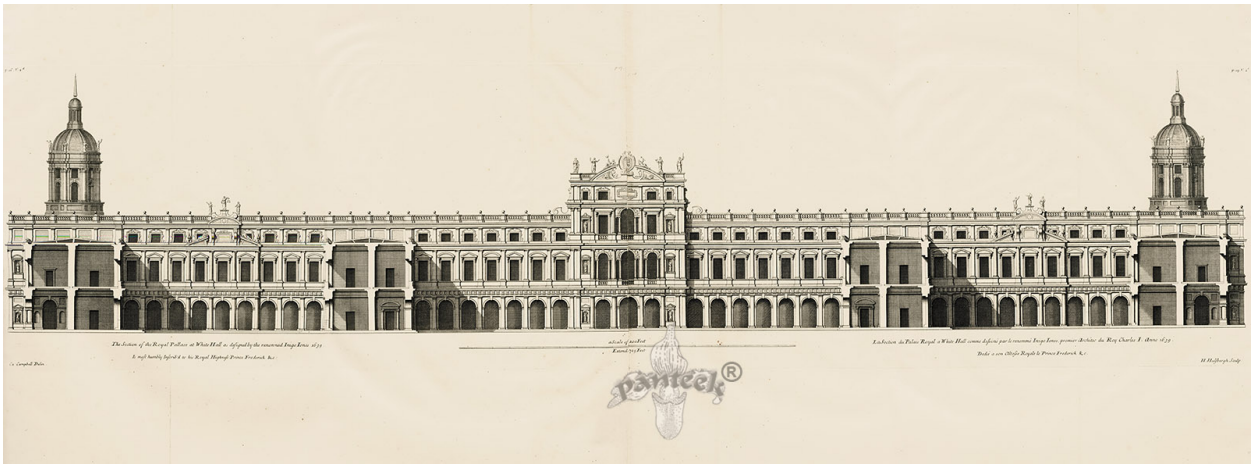


Figure 1.29 Inigo Jones's design for Whitehall Palace, plates from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

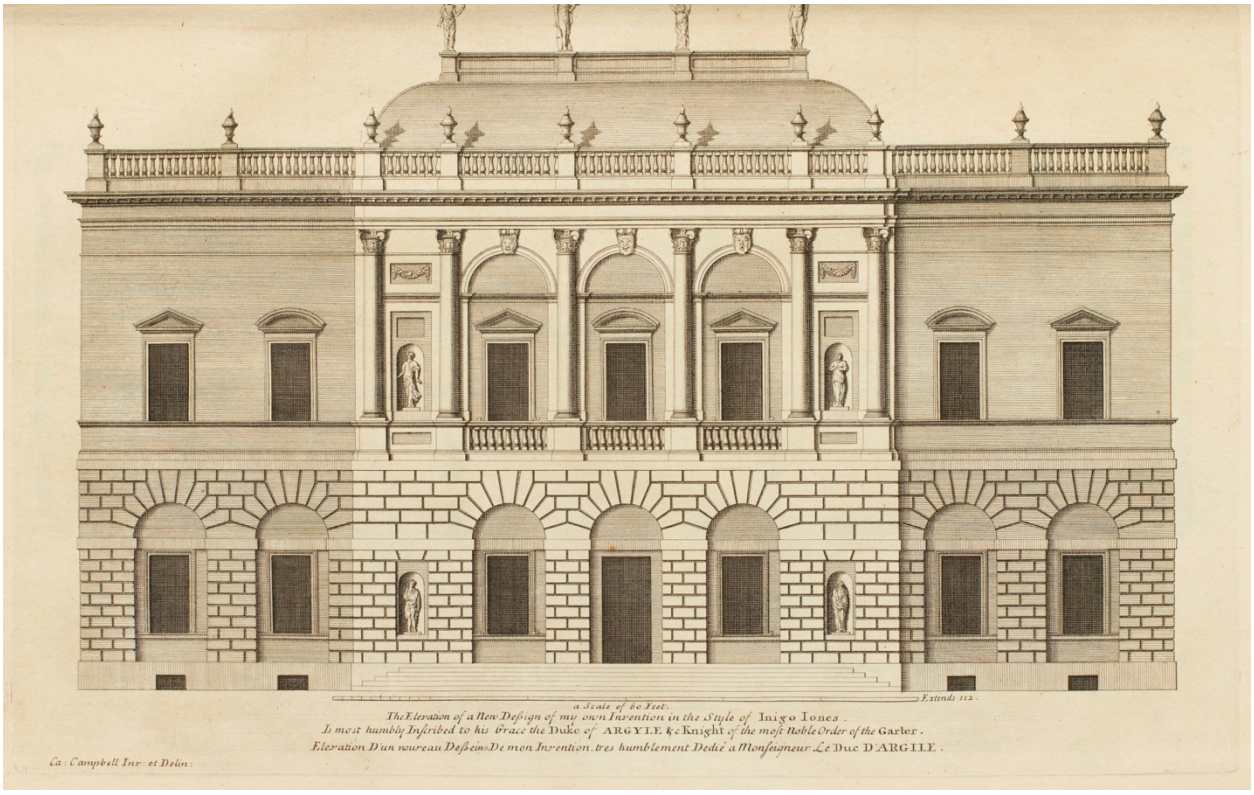


Figure 1.30 "The Elevation of a New Design of my own Invention in the Style of Inigo Jones," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

Figure 2.1 John Vanbrugh and William Kent, north front, Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, 1720-33.

Figure 2.2 William Kent, Temple of Antient Virtue, Stowe, Buckinghamshire, 1734. Photo: Richard Guy Wilson, Thomas Jefferson Digital Library, University of Virginia.

Figure 2.3 "The Temple of Modern Virtue," from *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, by Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1744).

Figure 2.4 William Kent, ceiling, Blue Velvet Room, Chiswick House, 1718-35. UVA Library Core Collection.

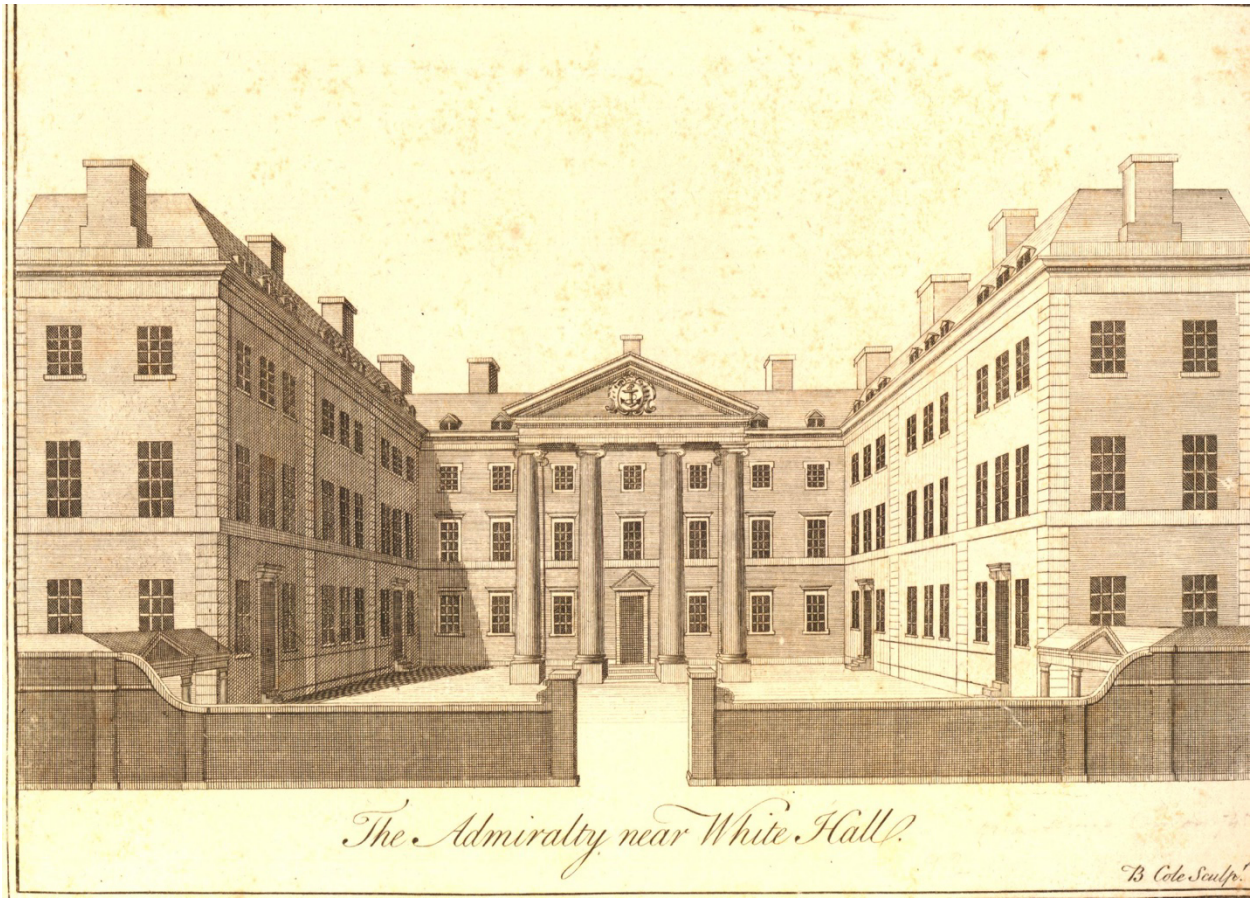


Figure 2.5 Thomas Ripley, Admiralty Building, plate from *The History of London*, by Thomas Maitland (London, 1756). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

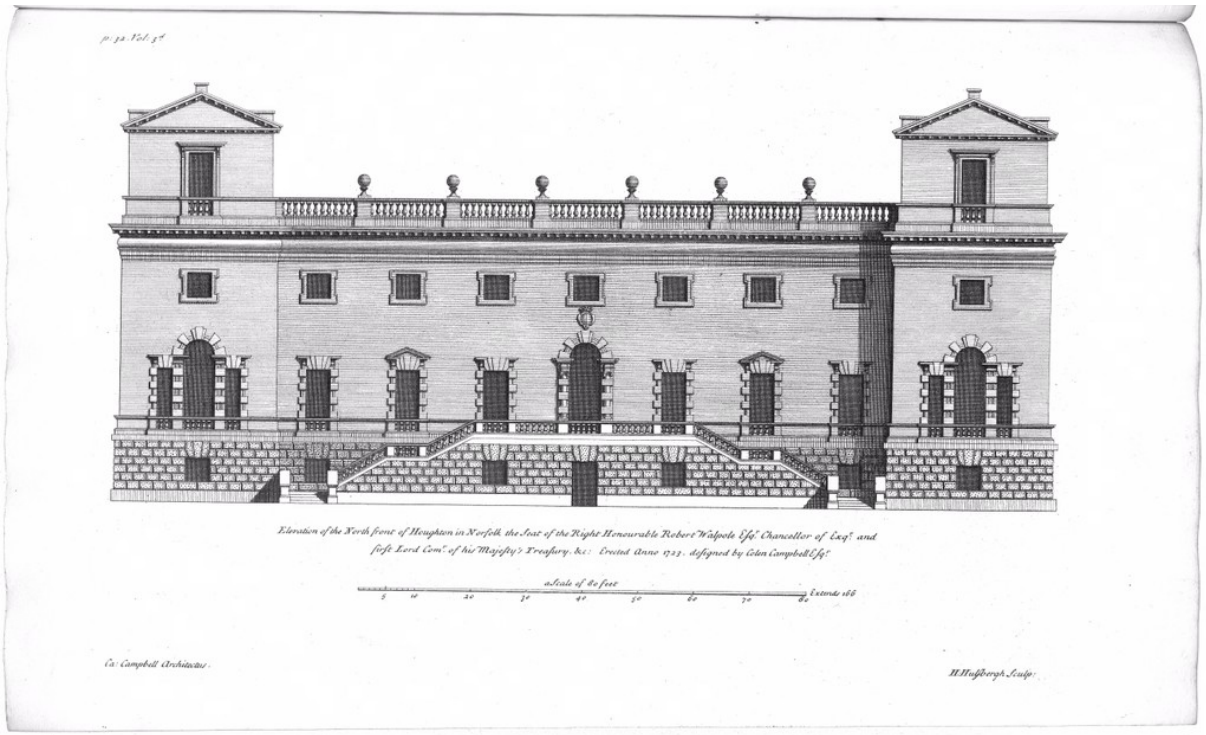


Figure 2.6 Elevation of the North (East) Front of Houghton, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725).

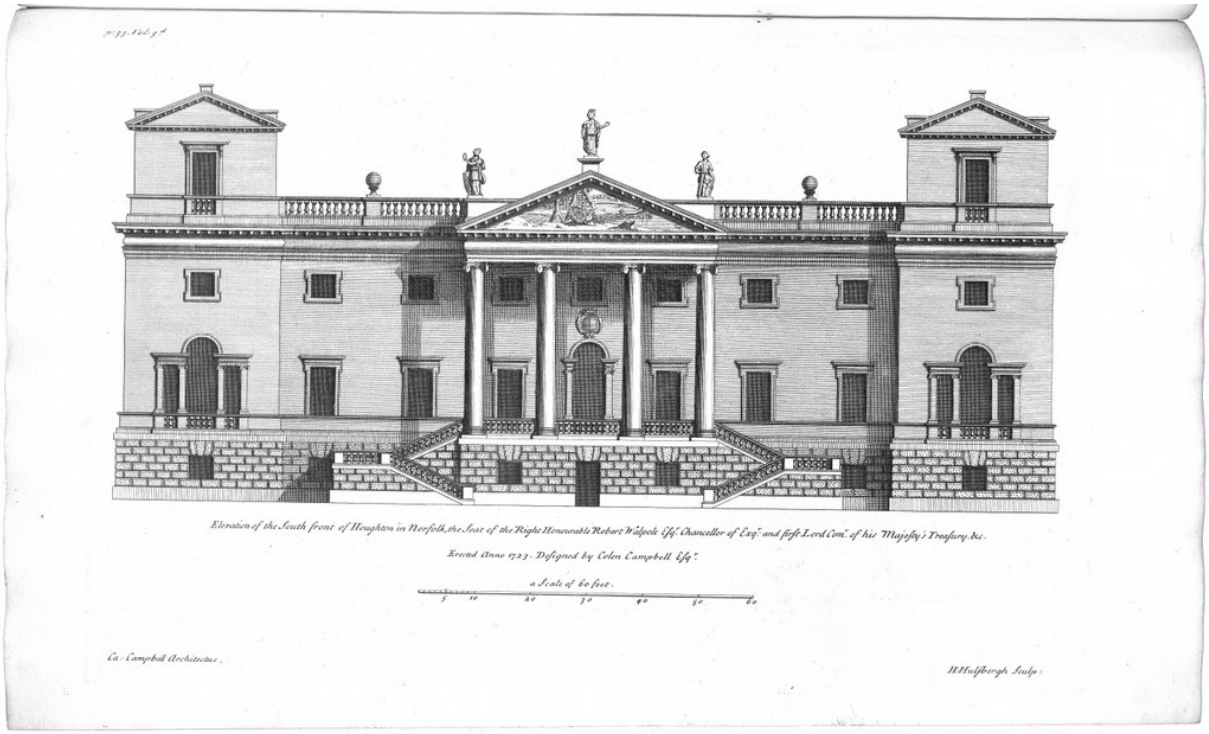


Figure 2.7 Elevation of the South (West) Front of Houghton, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725).

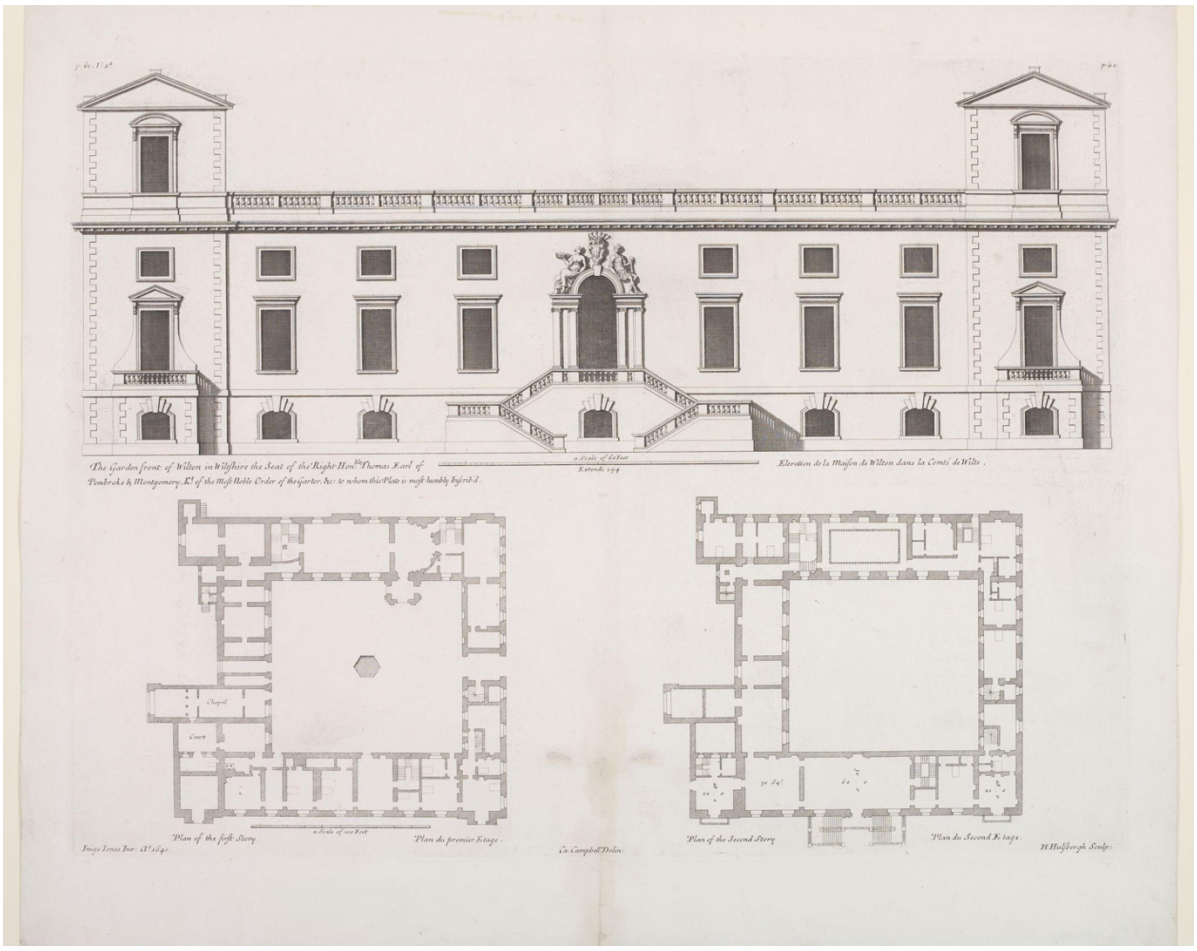


Figure 2.8 The Garden Front of Wilton House, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717). © Victoria & Albert Museum.

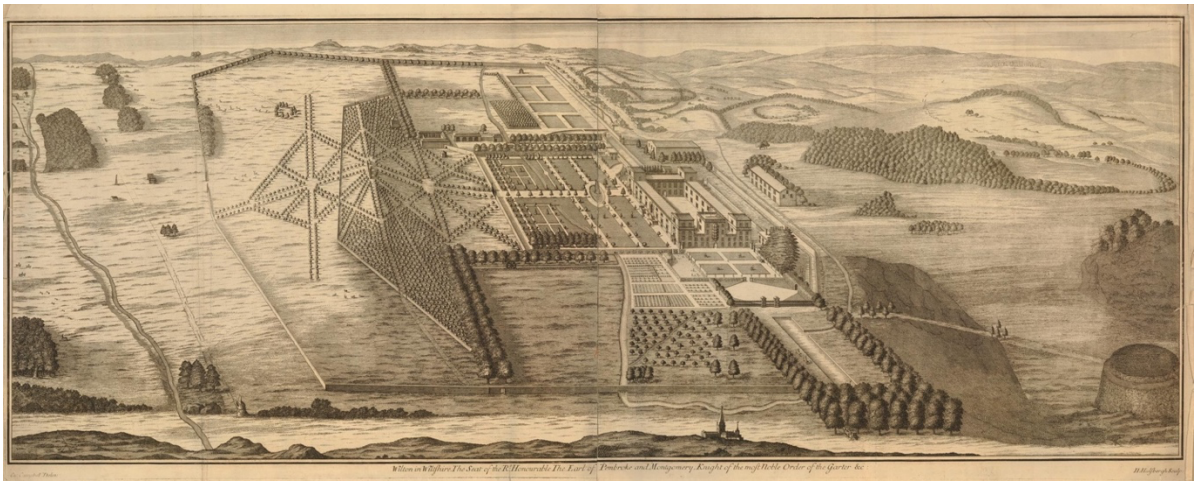


Figure 2.9 Wilton in Wiltshire, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

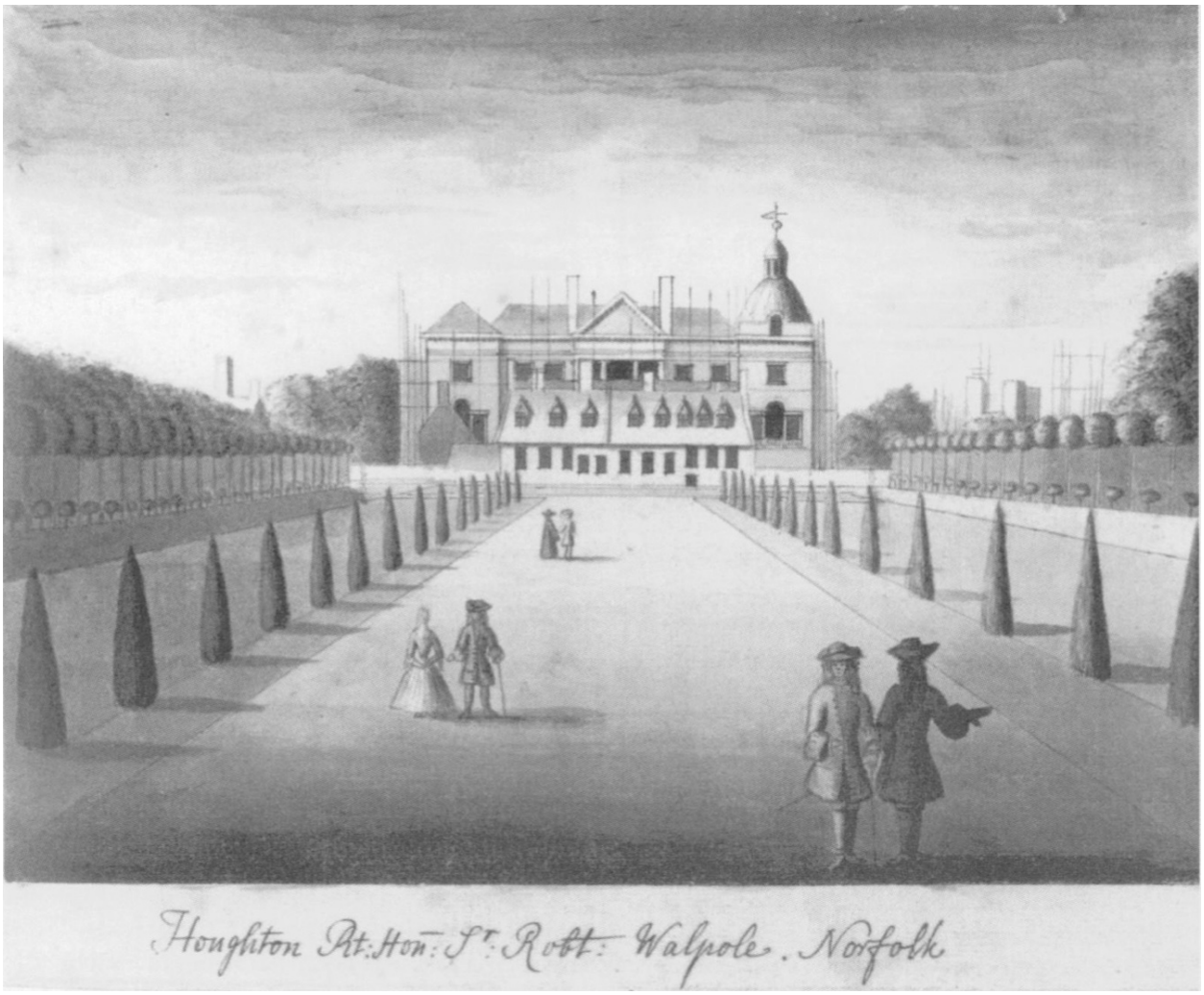


Figure 2.10 Edmund Prideaux, "Houghton Rt: Hon: Sr: Robt: Walpole. Norfolk," c. 1725. The Prideaux Collection at Padstow, Cornwall. Reproduced in Andrew Eburne, "Charles Bridgeman and the Gardens of the Robinocracy," *Garden History* 31, no. 2 (203): 193-208.

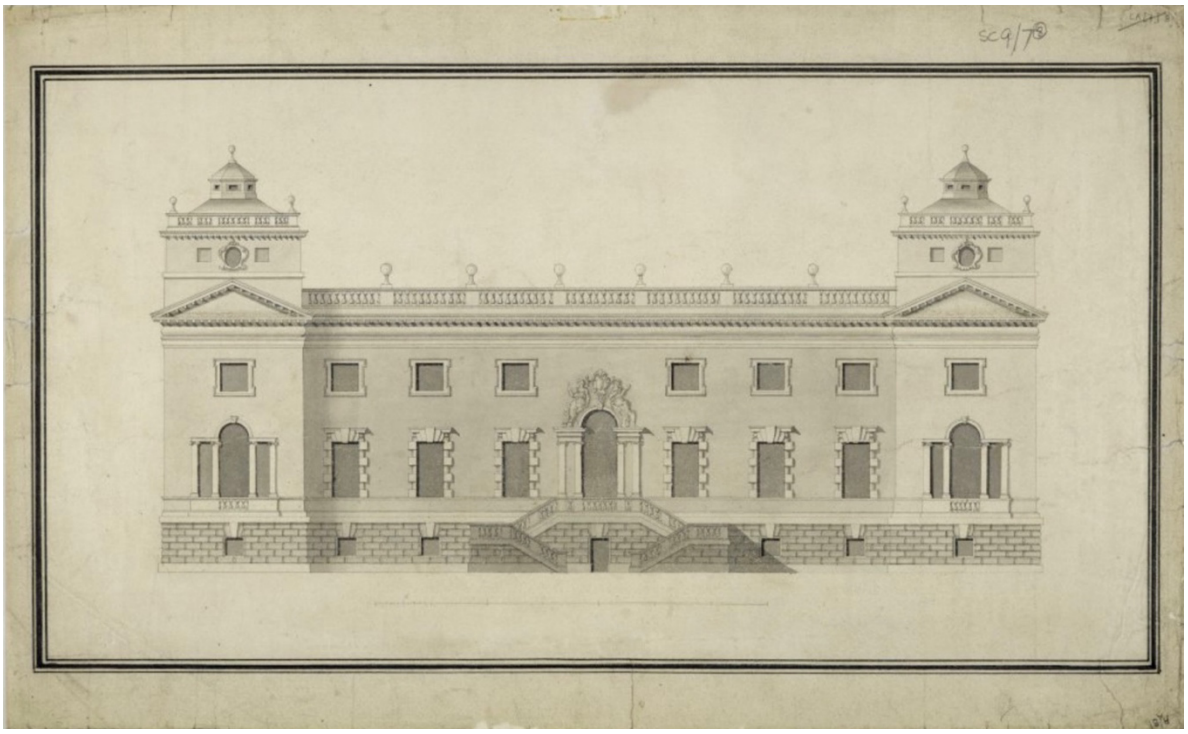


Figure 2.11 East front of Houghton Hall (First Design), drawing by Colen Campbell, 1723. Royal Institute of British Architects.

Figure 2.12 West front of Houghton Hall (First Design), drawing by Colen Campbell, 1723. Royal Institute of British Architects.

Figure 2.13 James Gibbs, Colen Campbell, Thomas Ripley, Houghton Hall, Norfolk, begun 1722. Photo: Author.

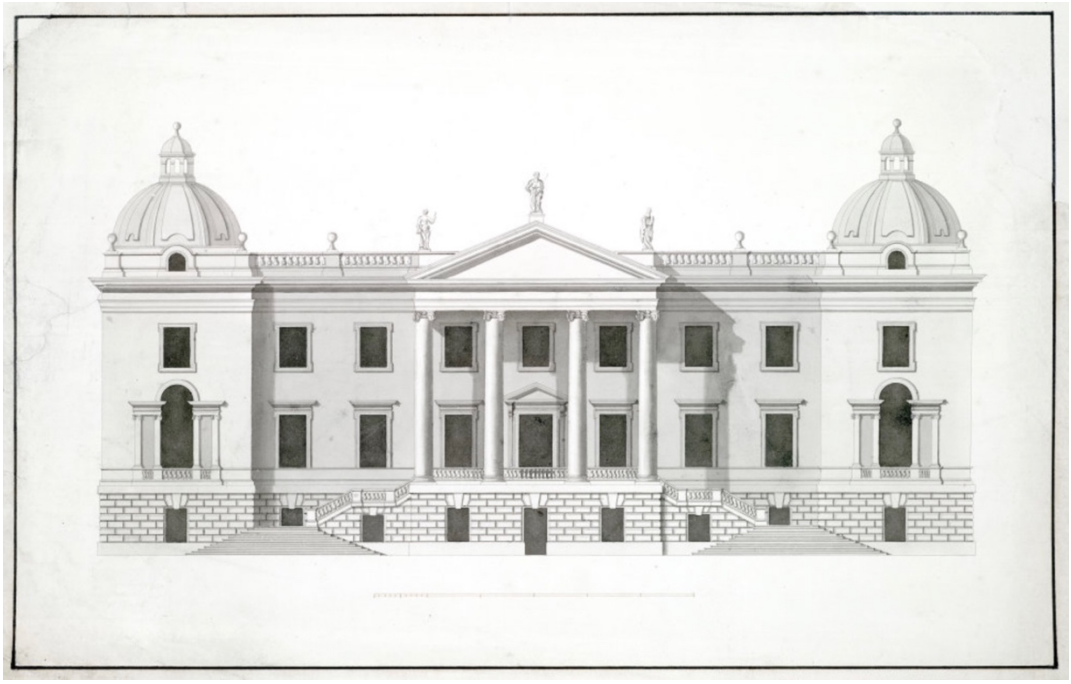


Figure 2.14 West Front of Houghton Hall, drawing by James Gibbs, before 1723(?). Royal Institute of British Architects.

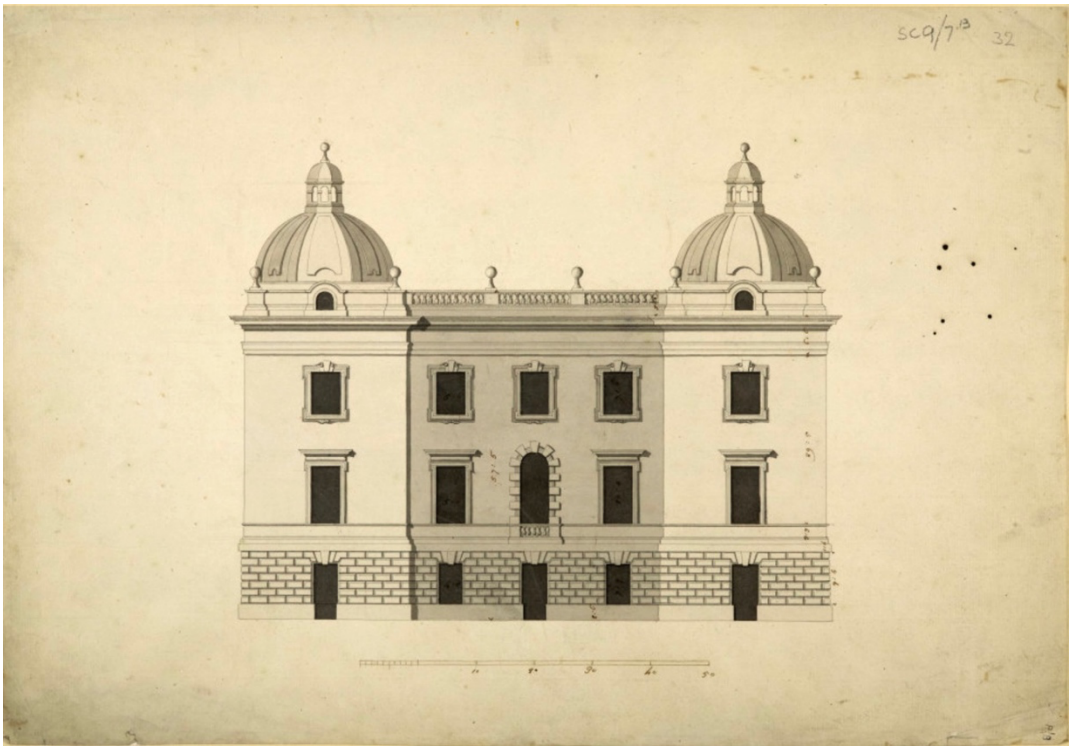


Figure 2.15 North or South elevation of Houghton Hall, drawing by James Gibbs, before 1723(?). Royal Institute of British Architects.

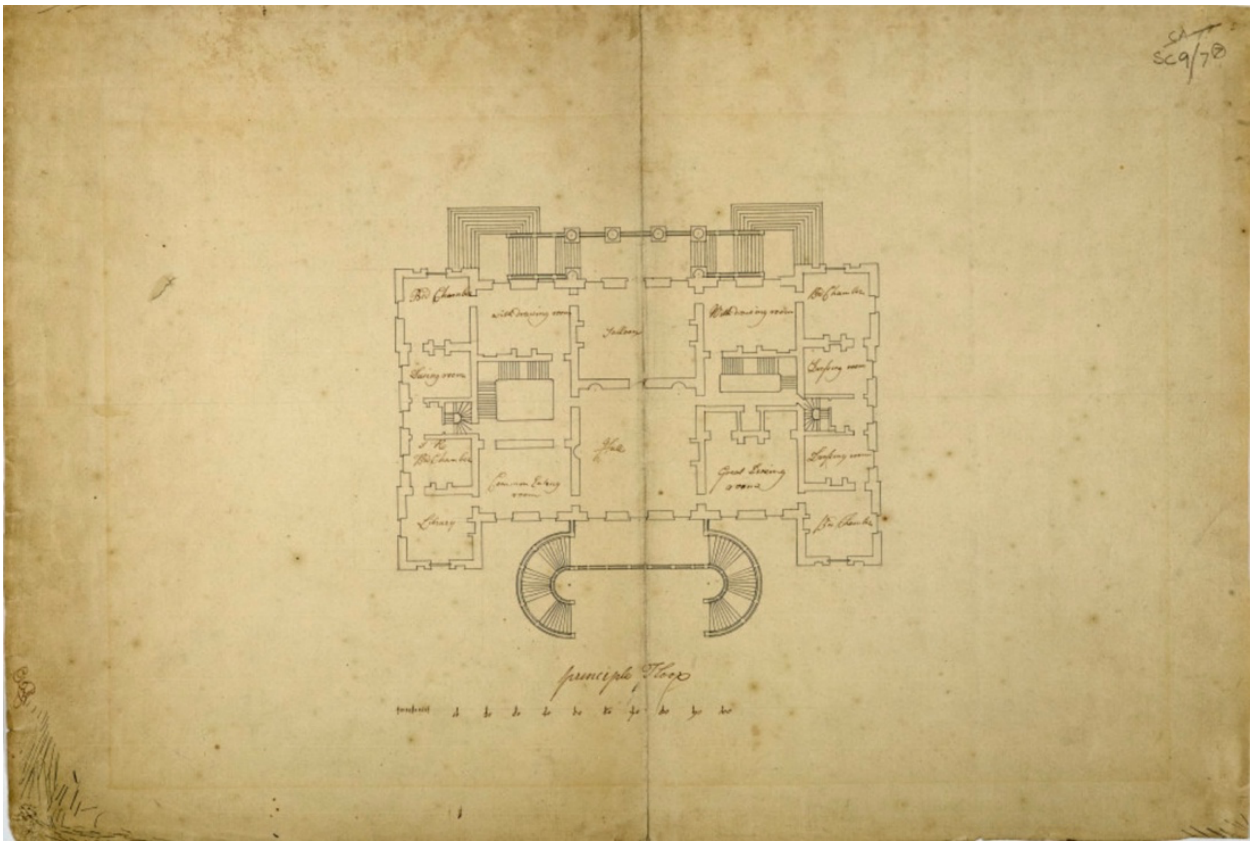


Figure 2.16 Plan of the Principal Floor, Houghton Hall, drawing made by James Gibbs, before 1723 (?). Royal Institute of British Architects.

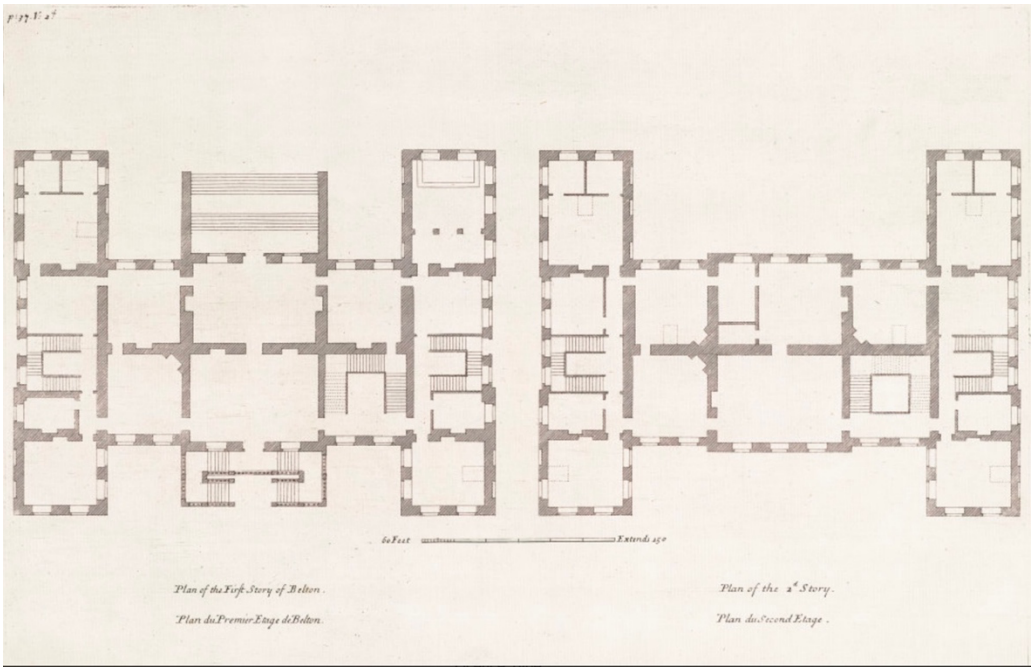


Figure 2.17 Plans of the first and second floors of Belton House, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 2 (1717).

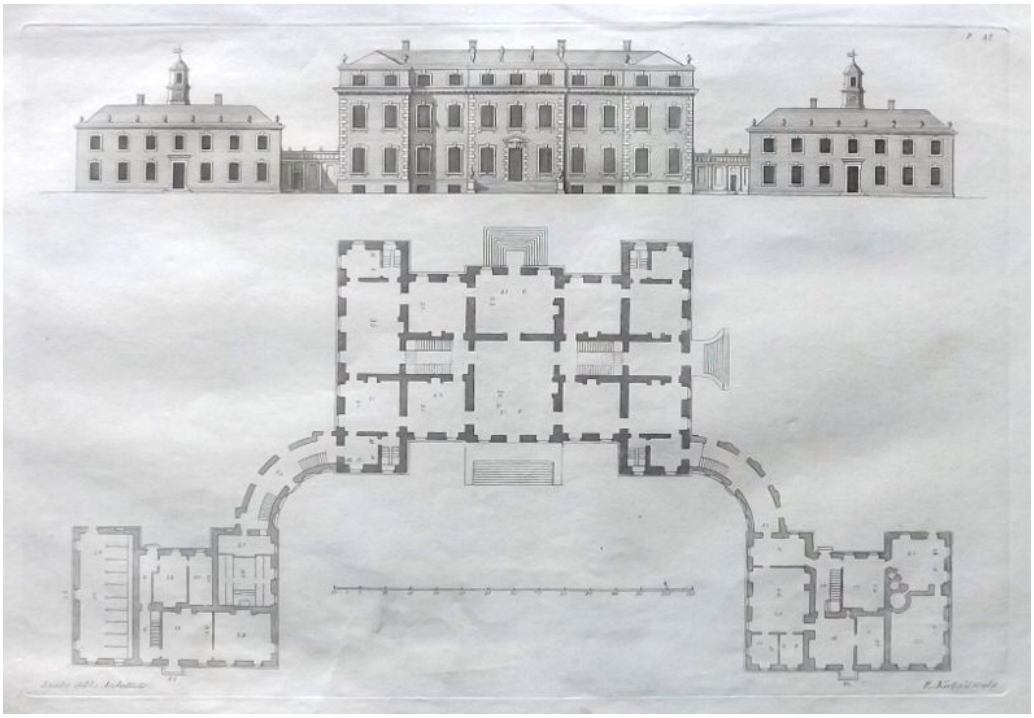


Figure 2.18 Elevation and plan of Ditchley Hall, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728).

Figure 2.19 Colen Campbell, James Gibbs, and William Kent, Stone Hall, Houghton, c. 1728.

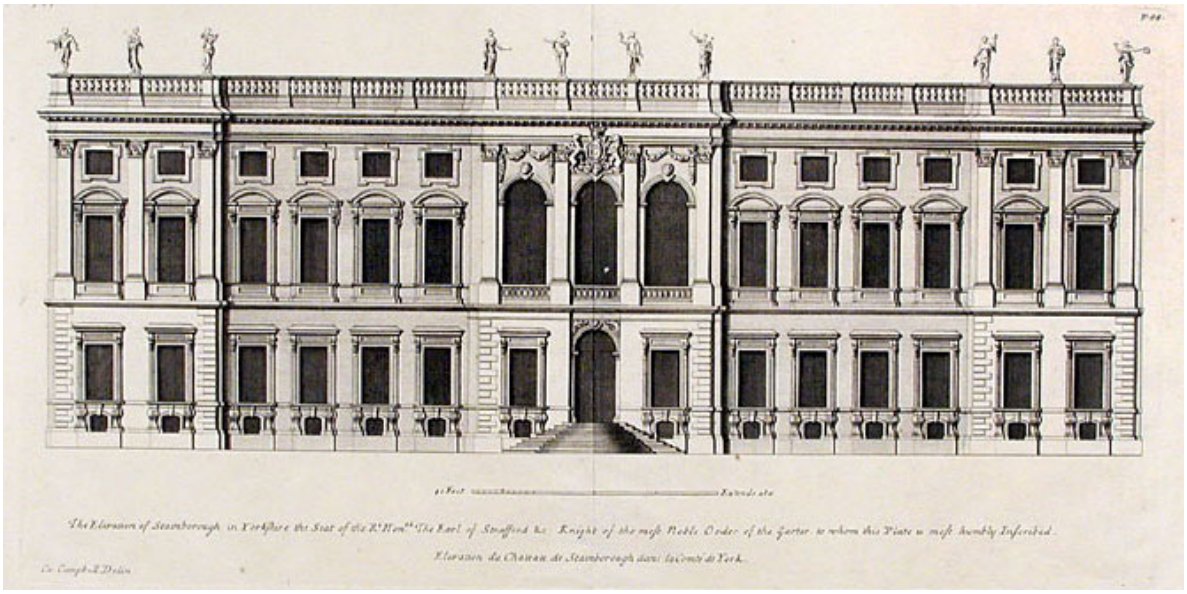


Figure 3.1 The Elevation of Stainborough, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect,* Vol. 1, by Colen Campbell (London, 1715).

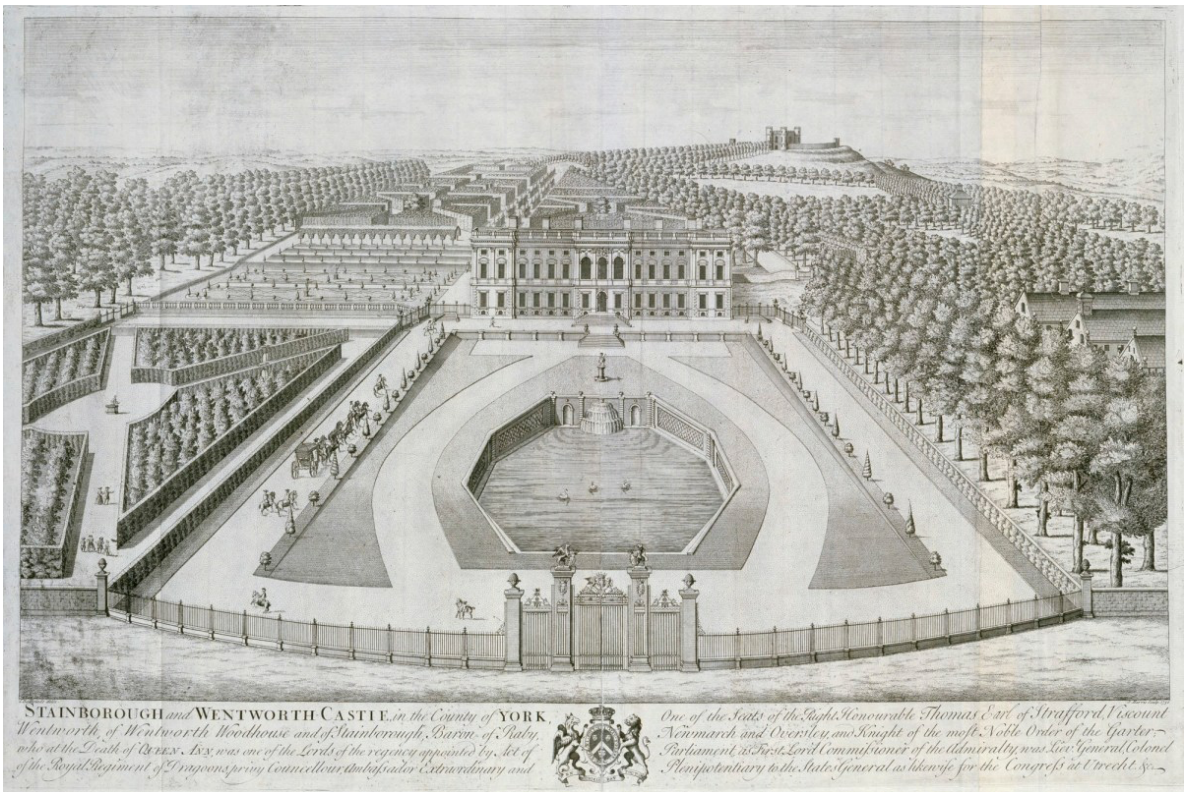


Figure 3.2 Stainborough and Wentworth Castle, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, by Thomas Badeslade and John Rocque, 1739, London. Cartographic Items Maps K.Top.45.29.b. By permission of The British Library.

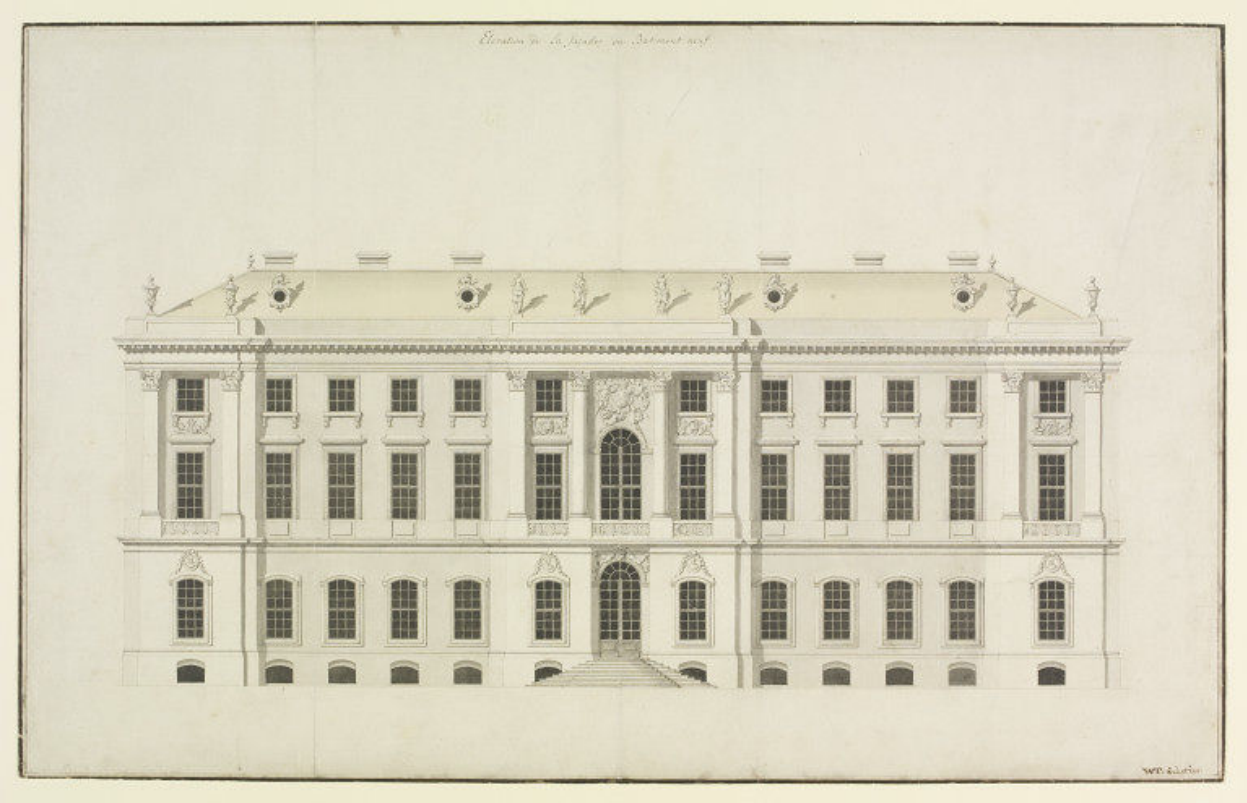


Figure 3.3 Design for the East Wing of Wentworth Castle (Stainborough Hall), Johann van Bodt, 1709. Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings & Paintings Collection: D.212-1890. © Victoria & Albert Museum.

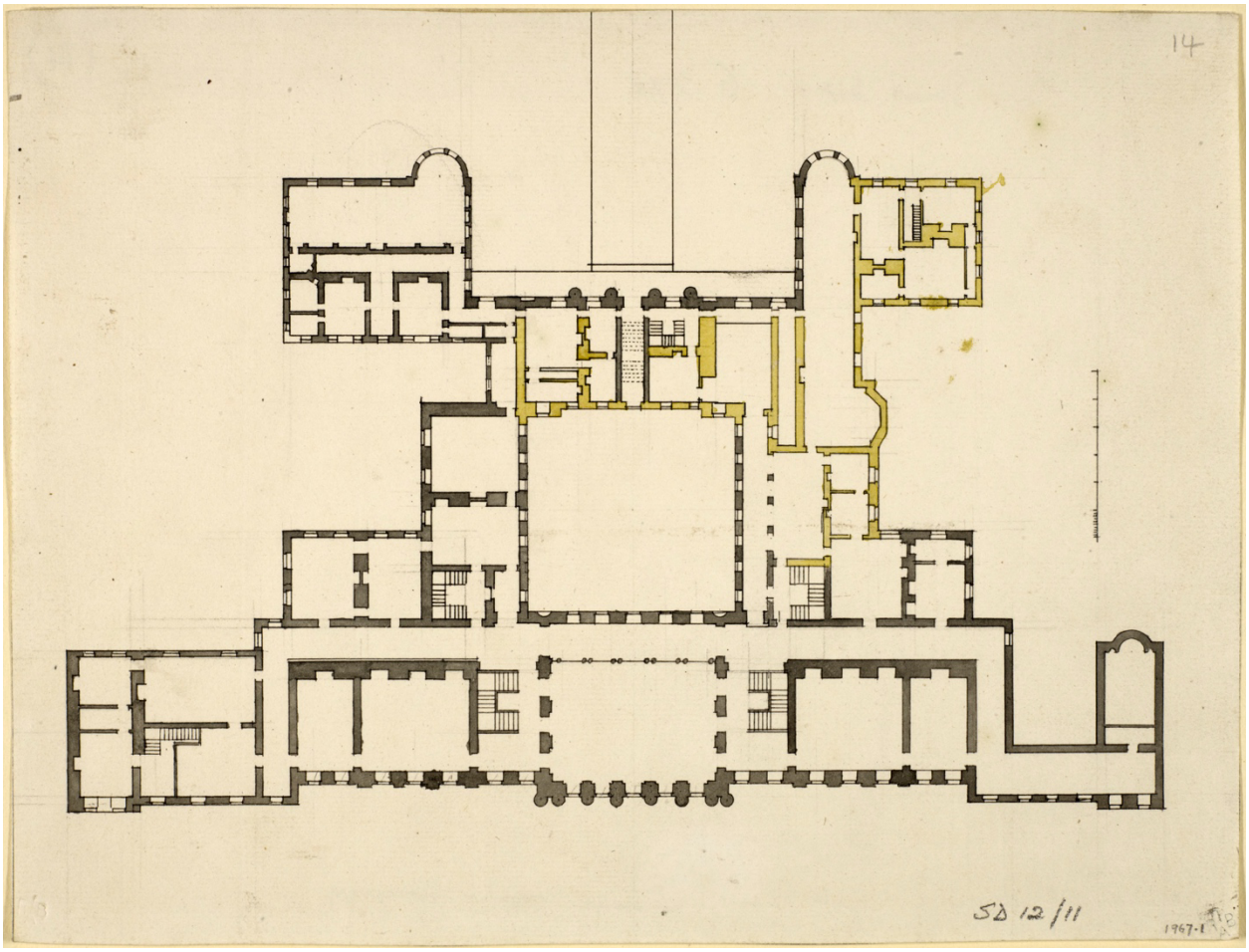


Figure 3.4 Design for remodeling Wentworth Woodhouse, plan of the ground floor, William Thornton (?), previously attributed to James Gibbs, c. 1711. Royal Institute of British Architects Collections: SD 12/11. Royal Institute of British Architects.

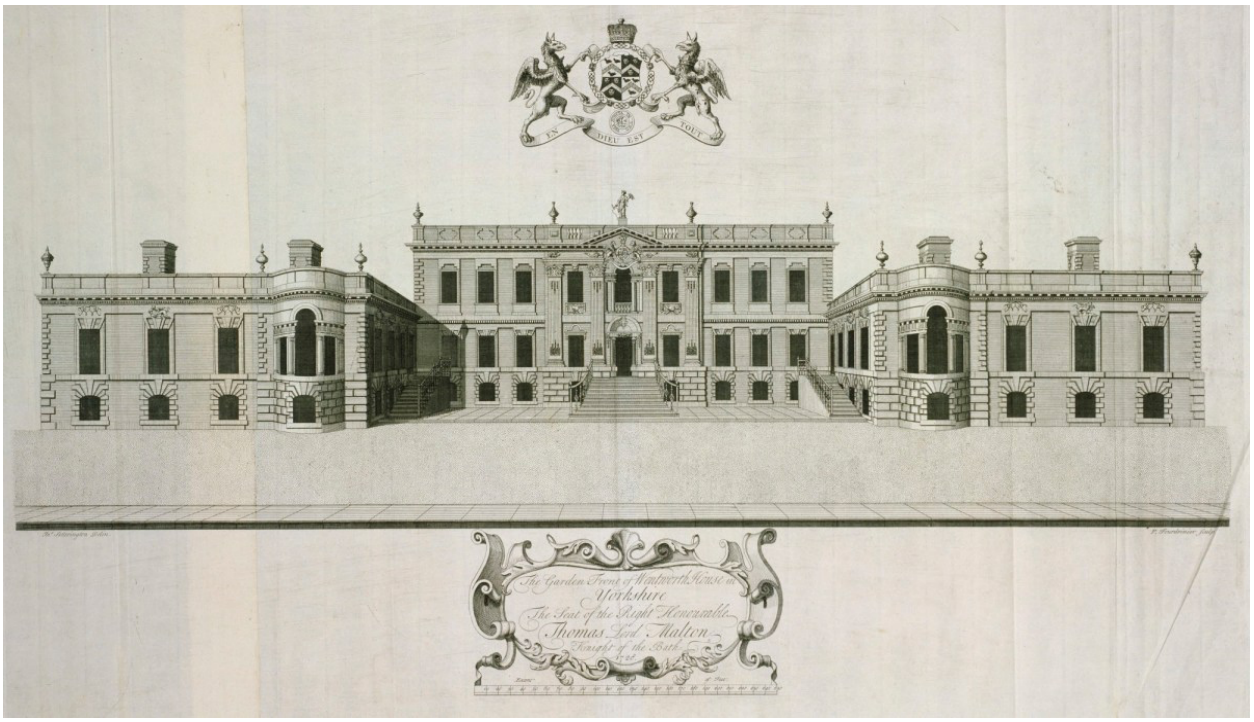


Figure 3.5 The Garden Front of Wentworth House, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, by Thomas Badeslade and John Rocque, 1739, London. Cartographic Items Maps K.Top.45.30.a. By permission of The British Library.

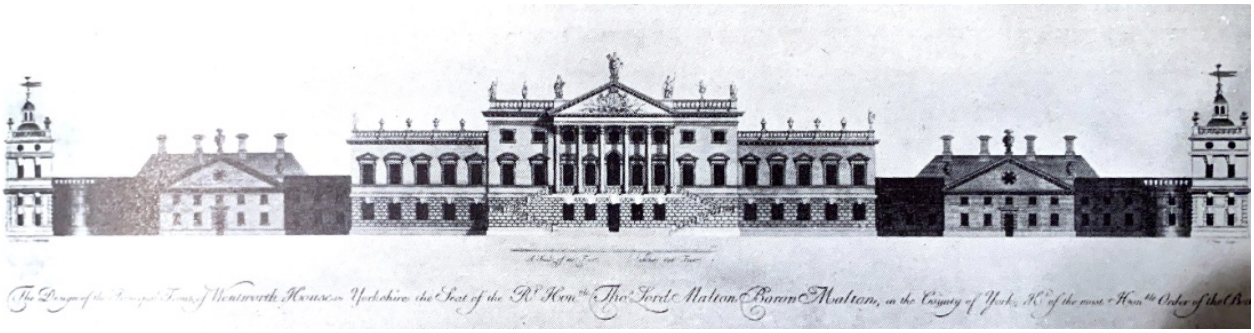


Figure 3.6 "The Design of the Principal Front of Wentworth House…," signed "R. Tunnicliff, Architectus." Reproduced in Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian, 1715-1760* (London: Country Life, 1955).

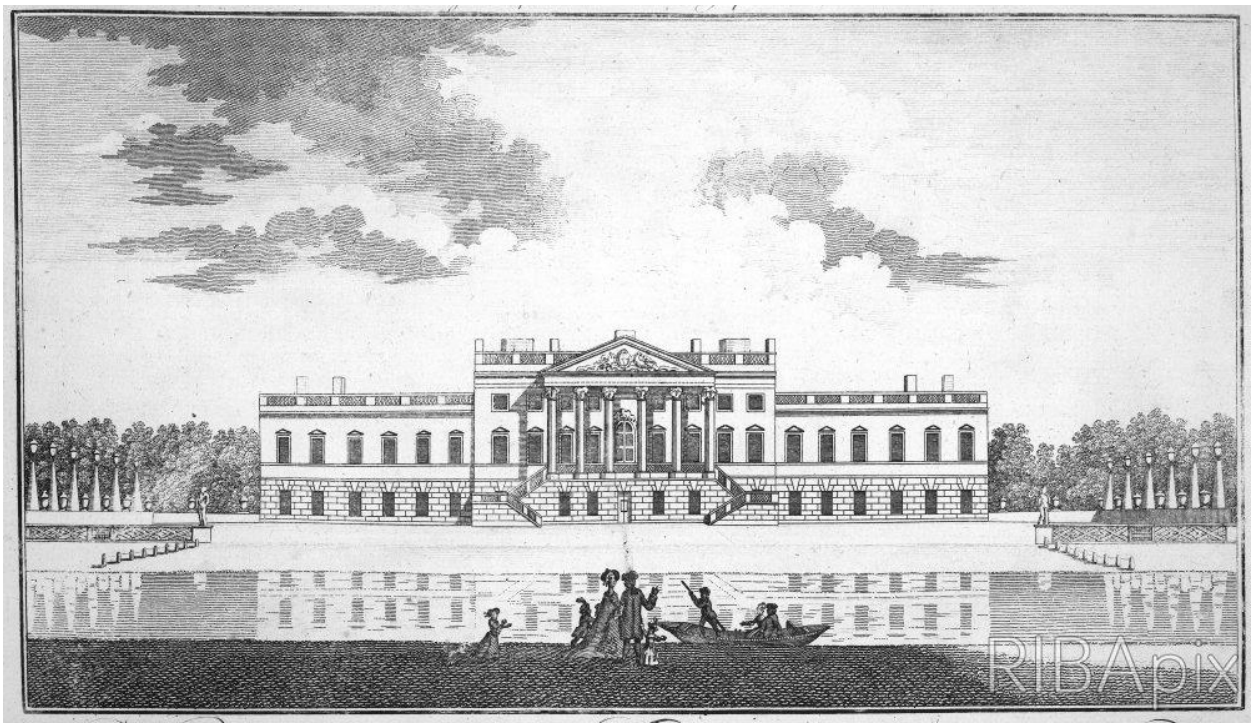


Figure 3.7 Wanstead House, plate from *A New and Universal History, Description, and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and their Adjacent Parts*, by Walter Harrison (London, 1776). Royal Institute of British Architects.

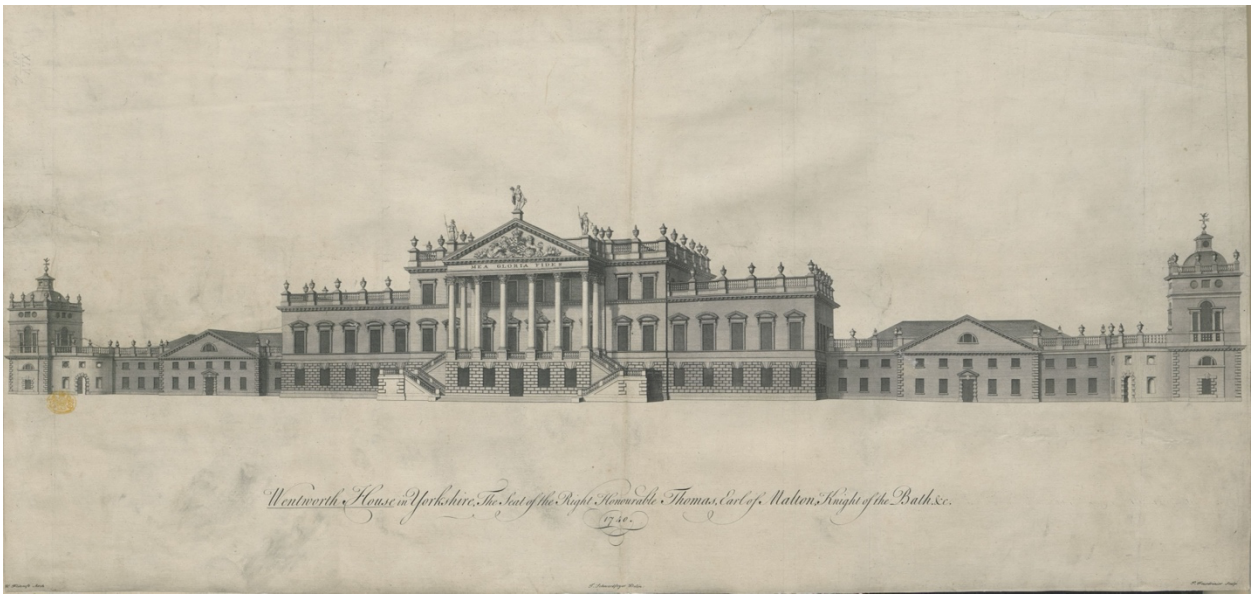


Figure 3.8 Wentworth Woodhouse, design for the East Front, Henry Flitcroft, 1740. Cartographic Items Maps K.Top.45.30.b. By permission of The British Library.

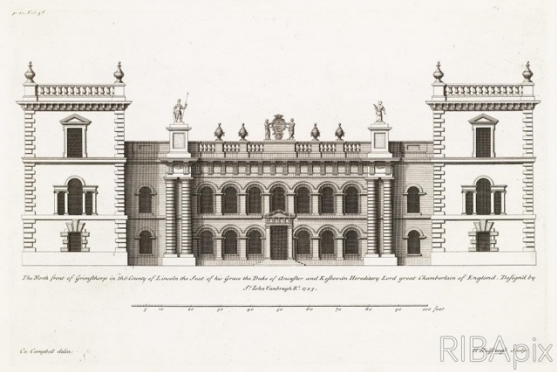


Figure 3.9 "The North Front of Grimsthorp…," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725). Royal Institute of British Architects.

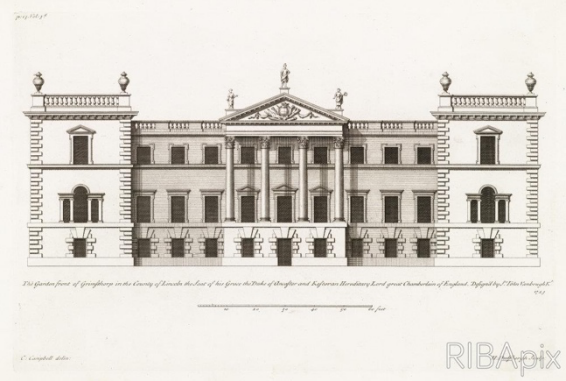


Figure 3.10 "The Garden front of Grimsthrop…," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 3, by Colen Campbell (London, 1725). Royal Institute of British Architects.

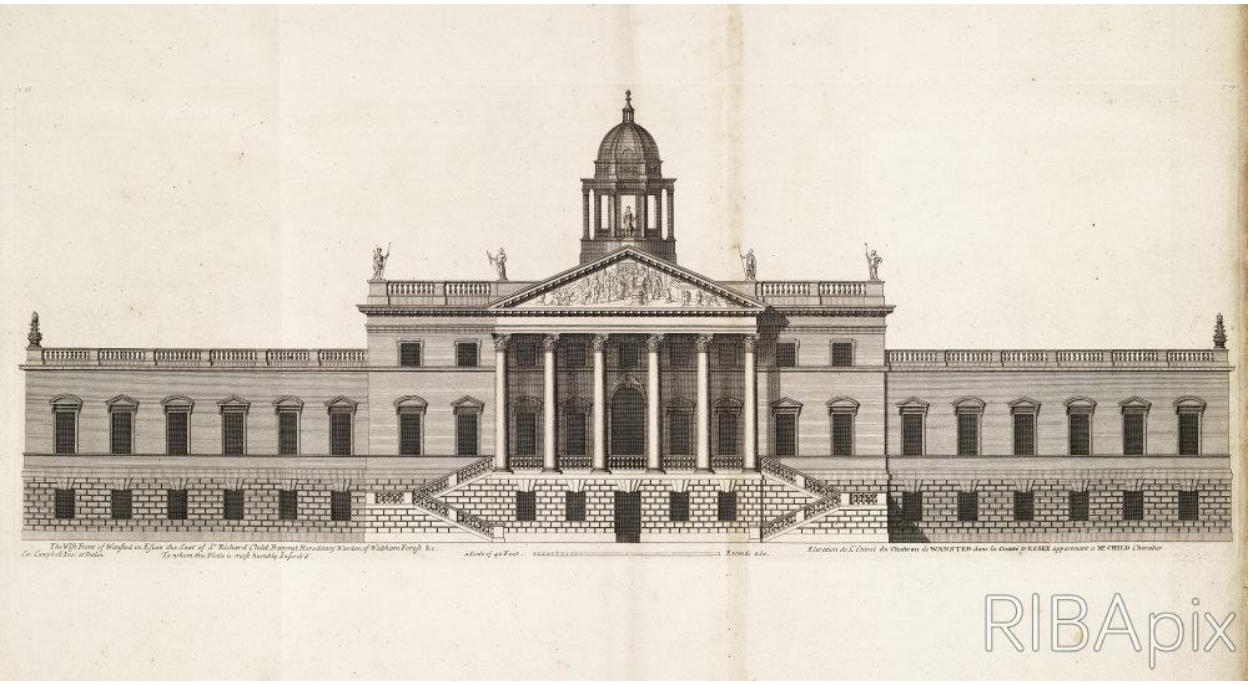


Figure 3.11 The West Front of Wanstead House in Essex, plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect*, Vol. 1 (London, 1715). Royal Institute of British Architects.

Figure 3.12 The Gallery, Wentworth Castle. Photo © Country Life.

Figure 3.13 Marble Saloon, Wentworth Woodhouse. Photo: Author.

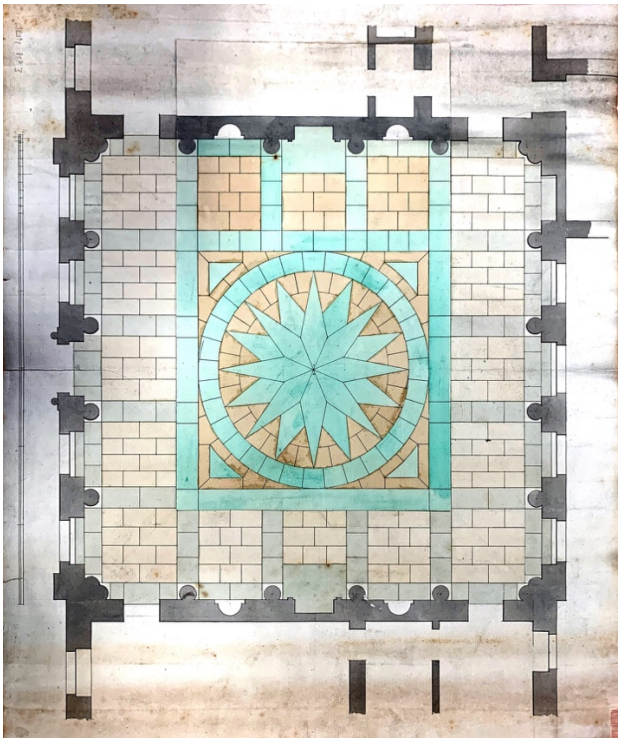


Fig. 3.14a Plan for floor of the Hall, Wentworth Woodhouse, n.d. WWM MP 3.

Figure 3.14b Plan for floor of the Hall, alternative design, n.d. WWM MP 3.

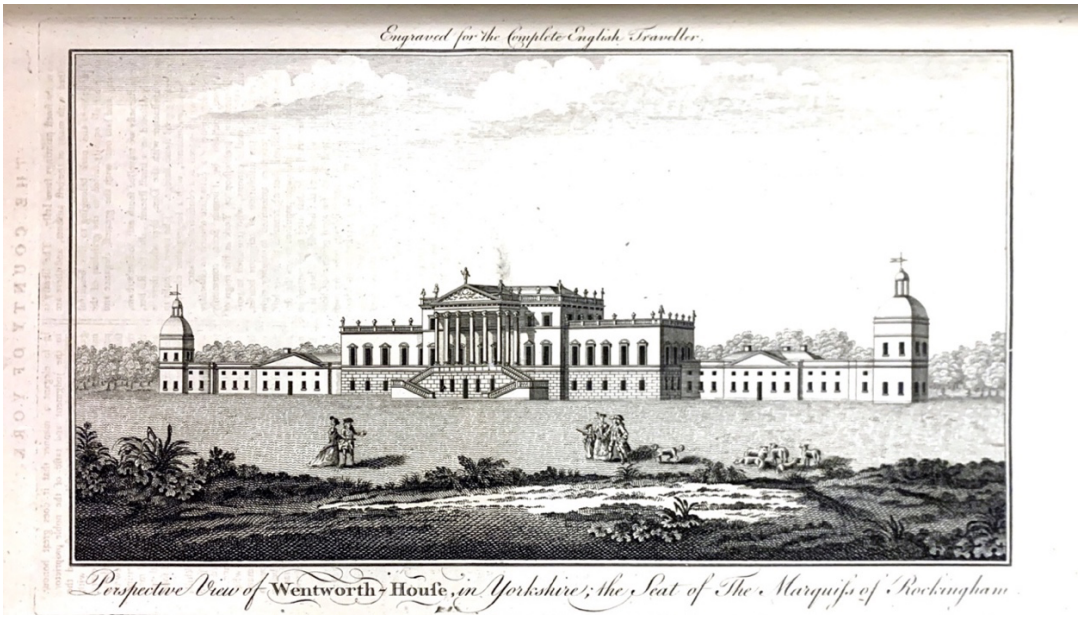


Figure 3.15 "Perspective View of Wentworth House in Yorkshire; the Seat of the Marquess of Rockingham," plate from, The Complete English Traveller, by Nathaniel Spencer, pseud., i.e. Robert Sanders (London: 1771).

Figure 3.16 Monument to Thomas Watson-Wentworth, York Minster, Giovanni Battista Guelfi after William Kent, c. 1723. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

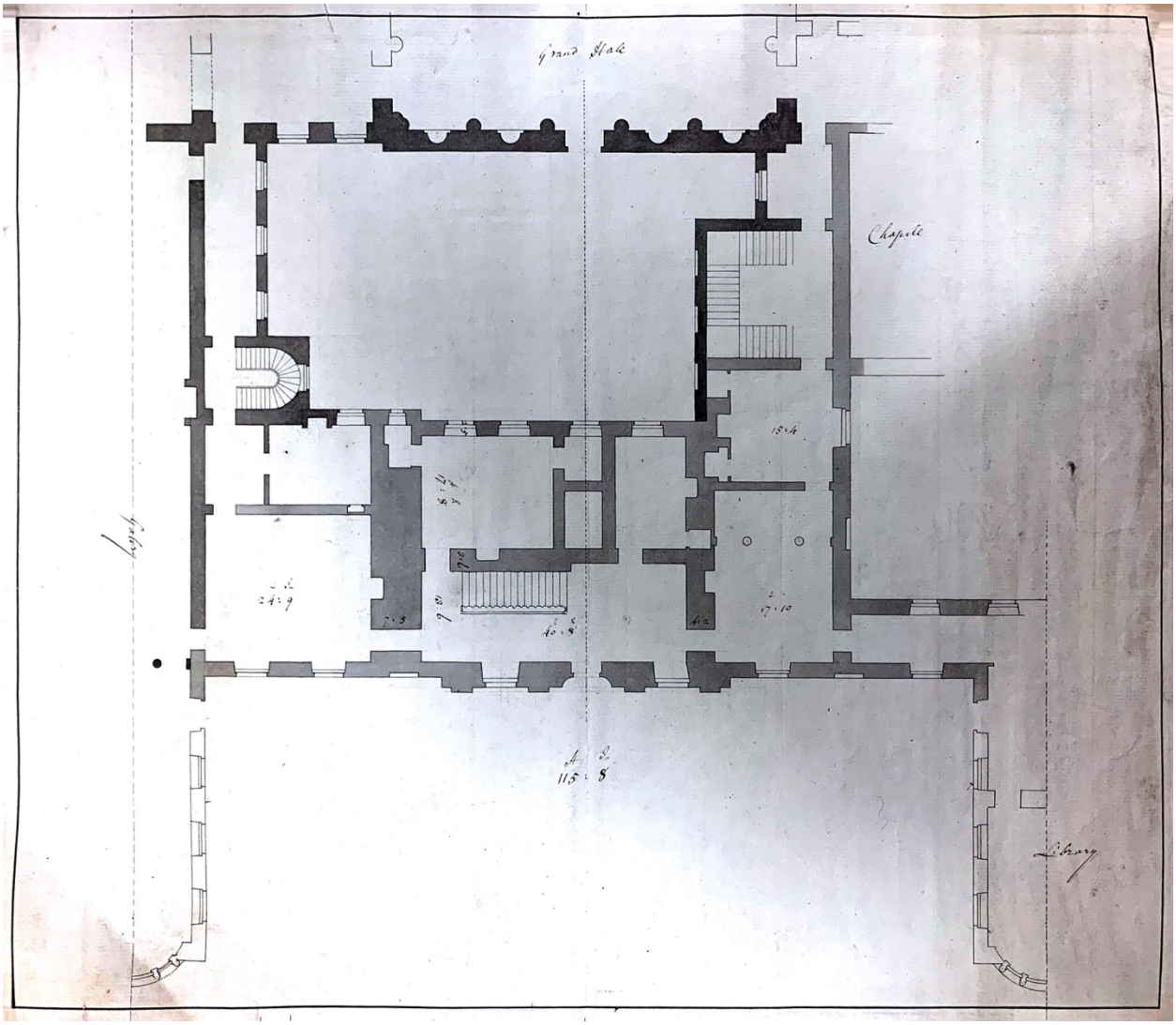


Figure 3.17 Plan of principal floor in Garden front showing alternative staircase plans, John Carr (?), n.d. WWM MP 5(a).

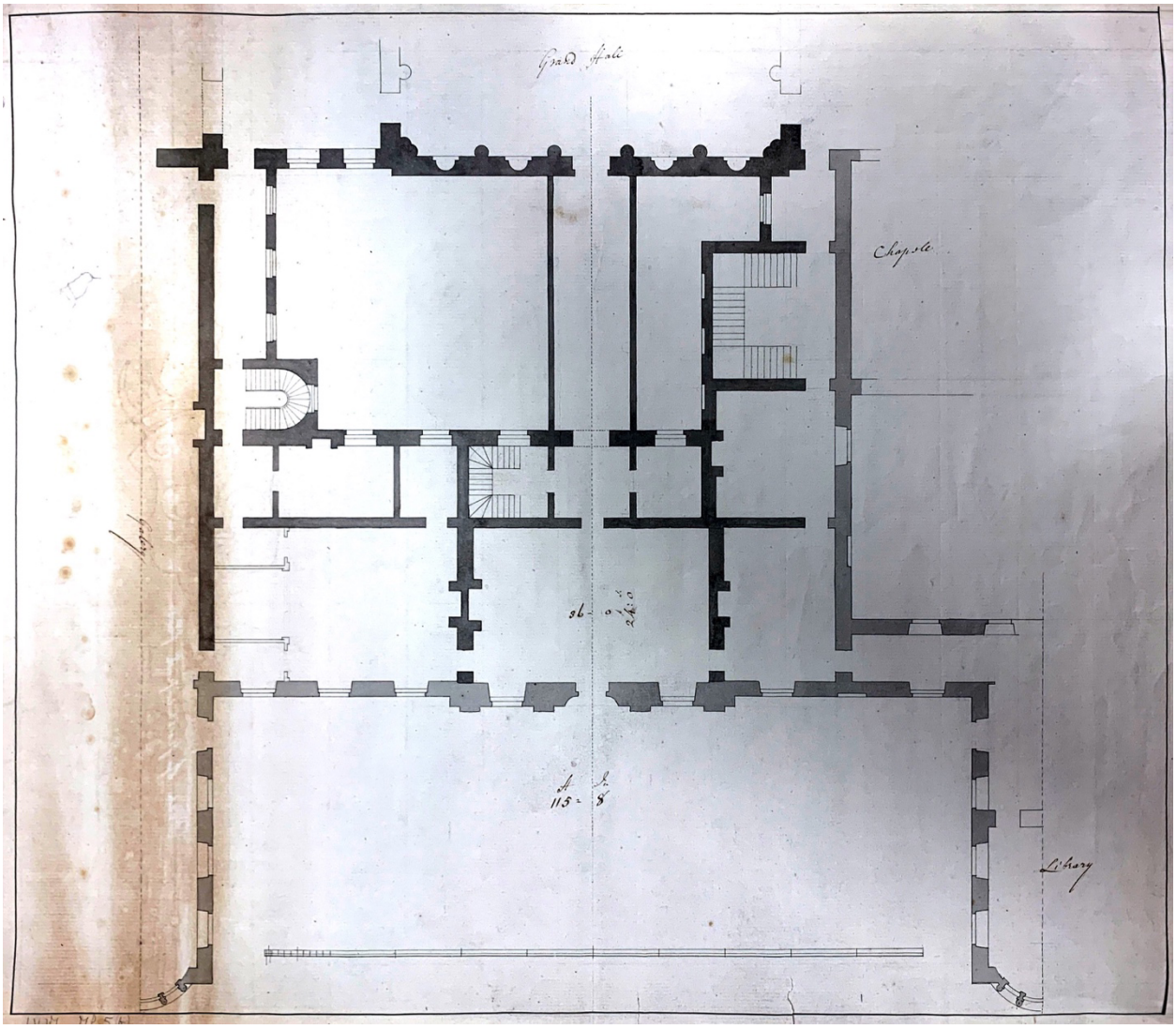


Figure 3.18 Plan of principal floor in Garden front showing alternative staircase plans, John Carr (?), n.d. WWM MP 5(b).

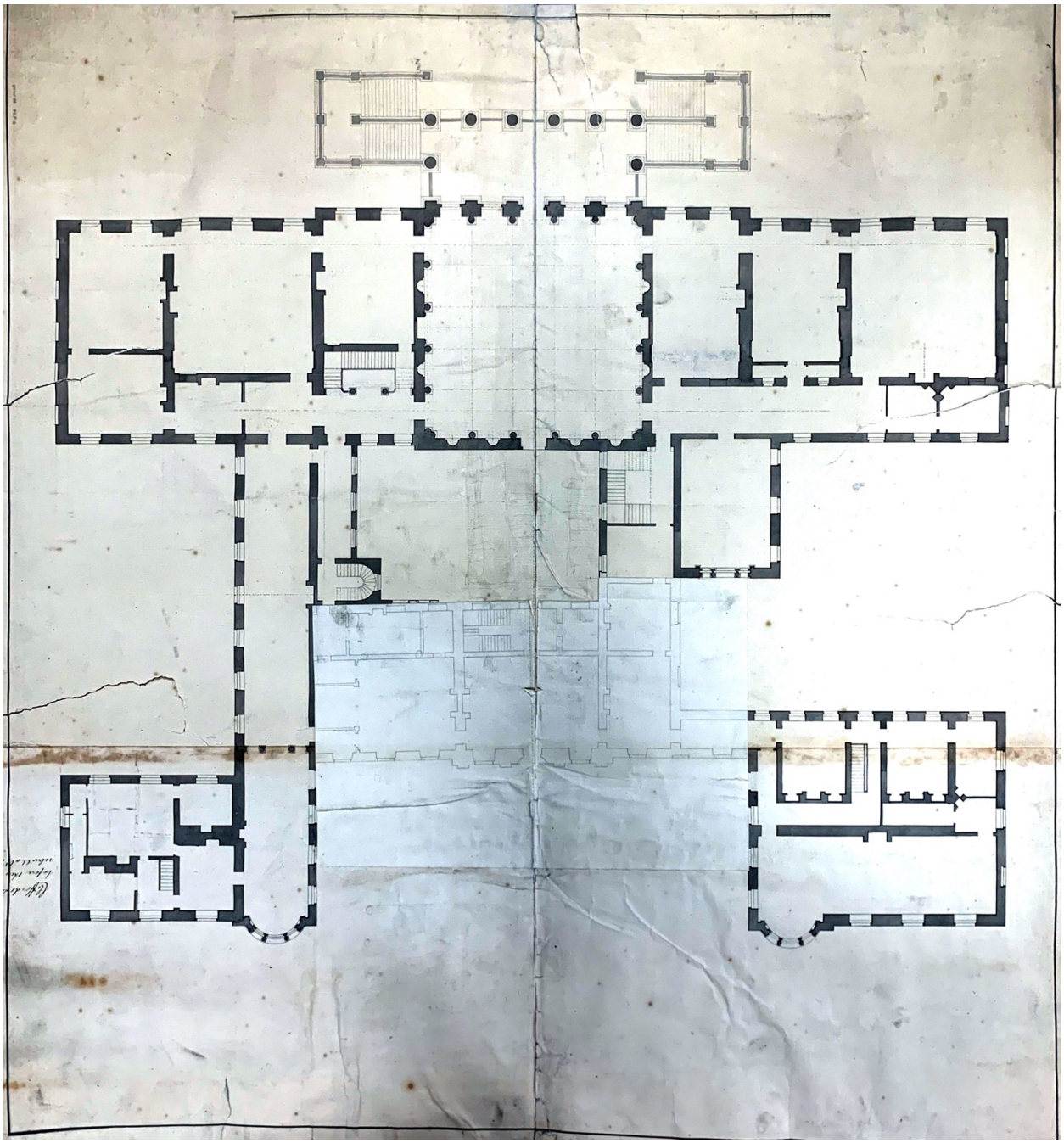


Figure 3.19 Plan of the main floor at Wentworth, with two alternative staircase designs, John Carr (?); endorsed by Lord Rockingham: "Plan of the Stair Case etc. etc., as it now is towards the Garden Front," n.d. WWM MP 4.

Figure 4.1 John Harris after James Gibbs, view of the Church of St Mary-le-Strand, first issued 1717. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

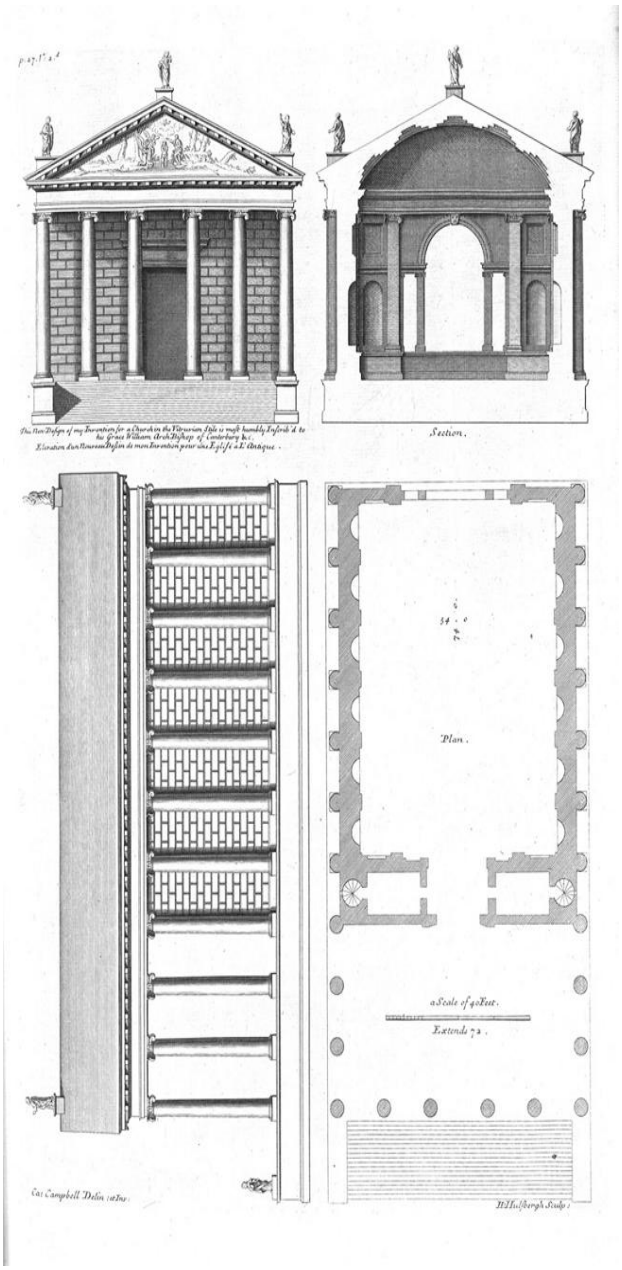


Figure 4.2 "A Design for a Church of my Invention," plate from *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect*, vol. 2, by Colen Campbell (London, 1717).

Figure 4.3 Monument to the Duke of Newcastle in Westminster Abbey, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

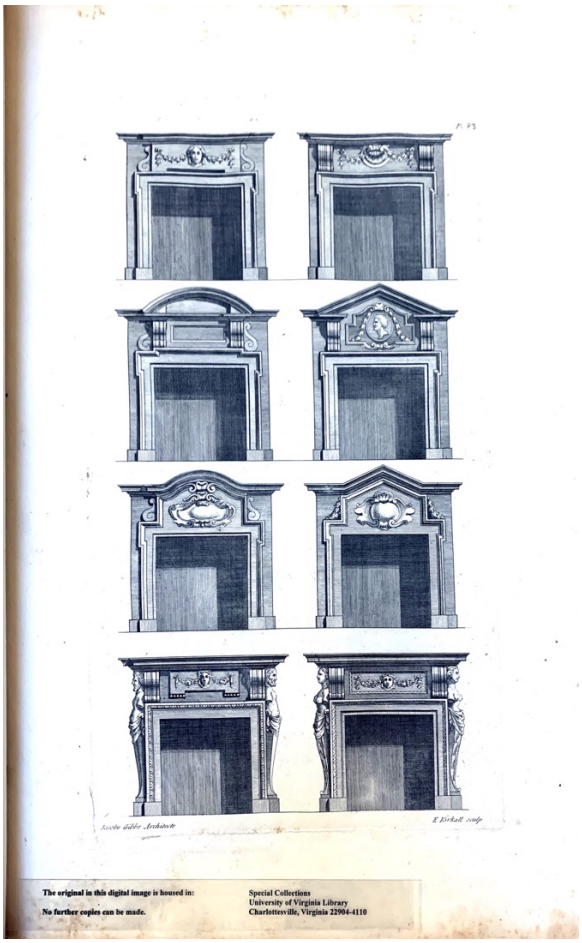


Figure 4.4 Eight designs for chimney pieces, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

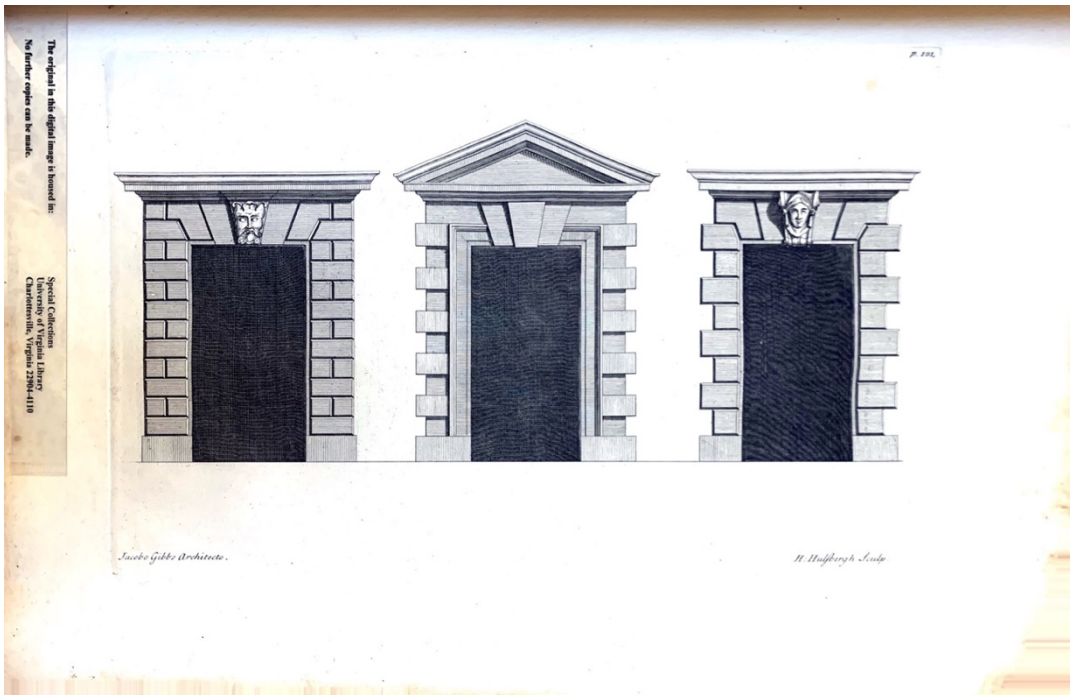


Figure 4.5 Three designs for doorcases, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

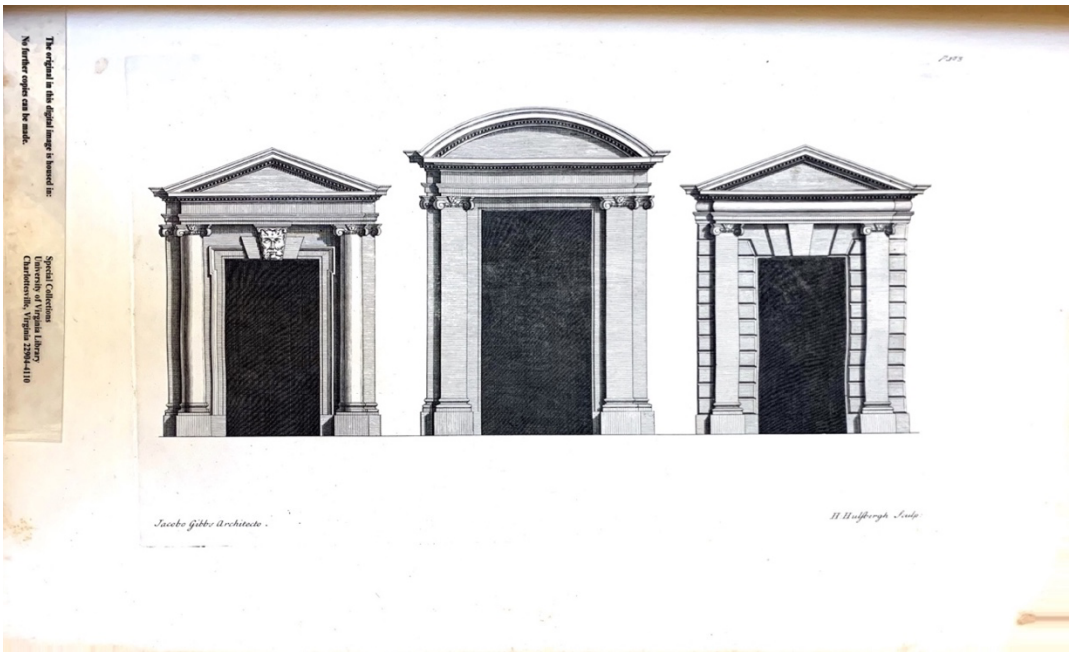


Figure 4.6 Three designs for doorcases, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

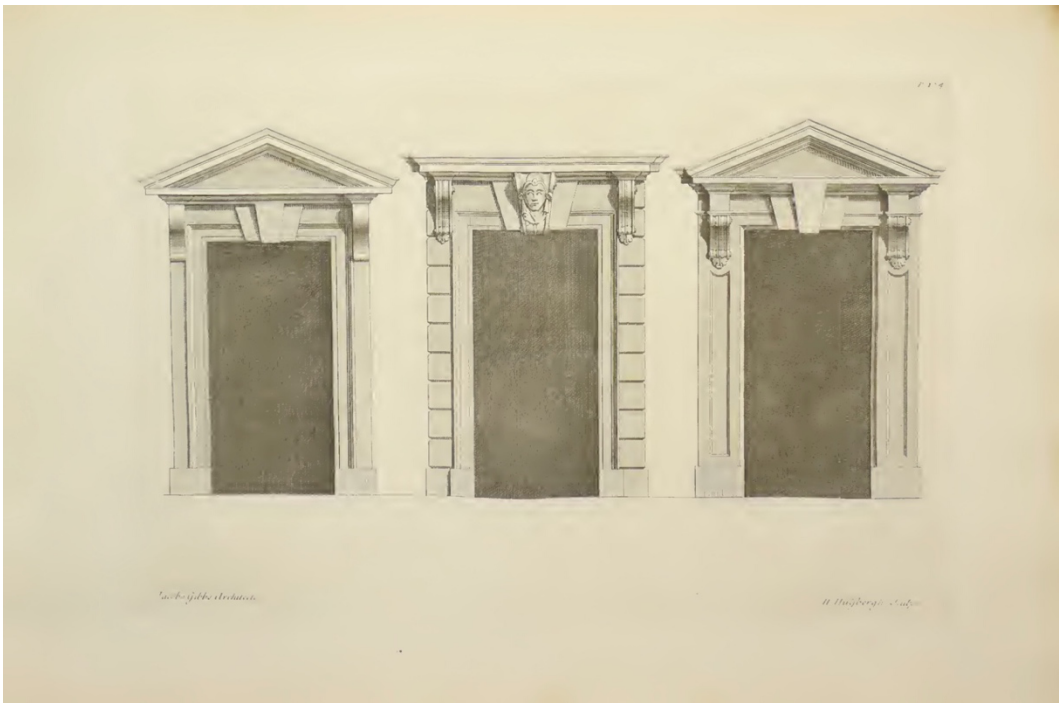


Figure 4.7 Three designs for doorcases, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728).

Figure 4.8 Three designs for doorcases, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornament*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728).

Figure 4.9 Three designs for doorcases, plate from *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728).

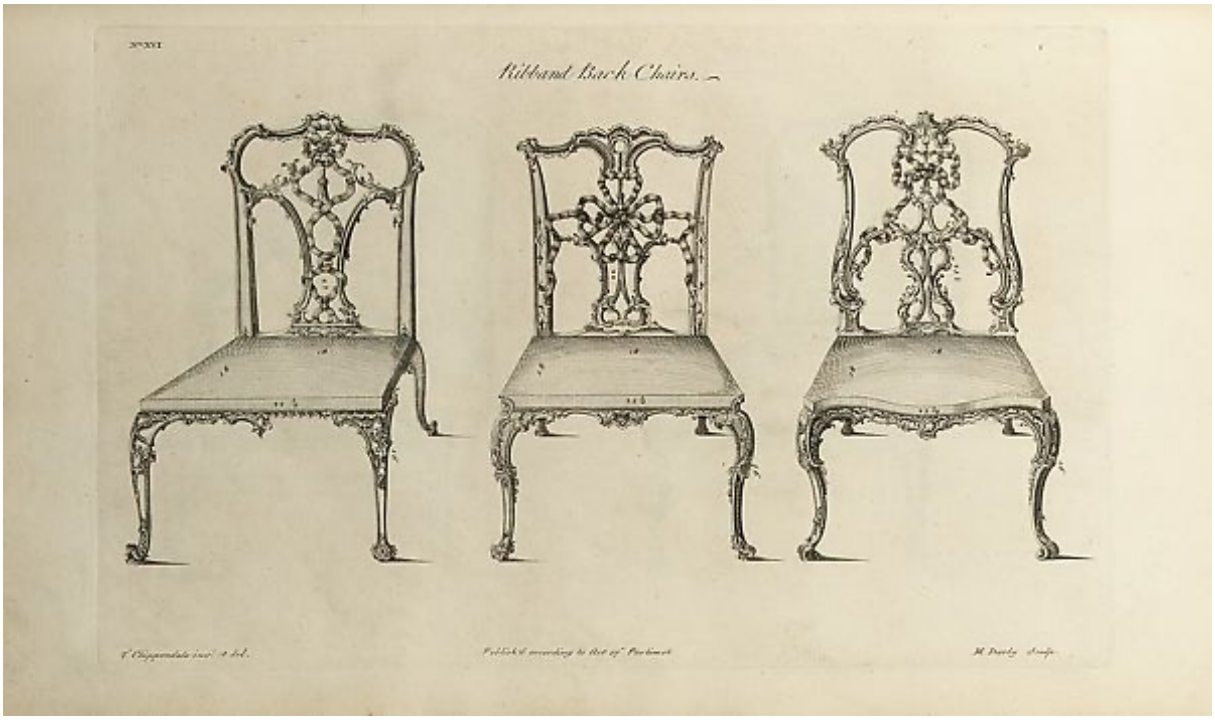


Figure 4.10 Three designs for Ribband Back Chairs, plate from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

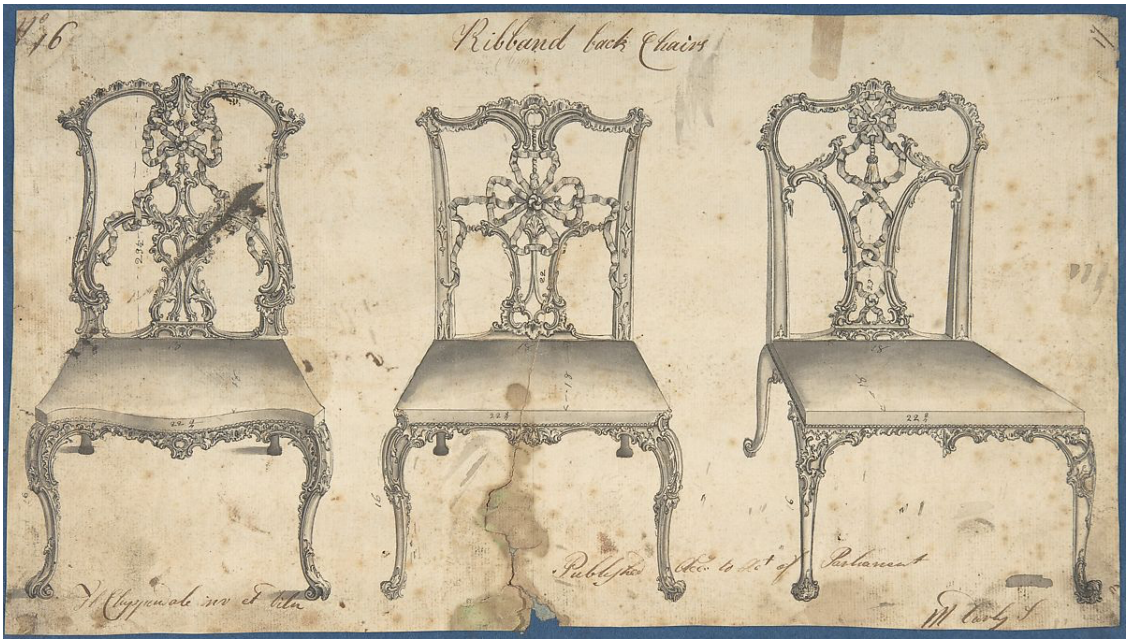


Figure 4.11 Thomas Chippendale, preparatory drawing for Plate 16, "Ribband Back Chairs," published in *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754). The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

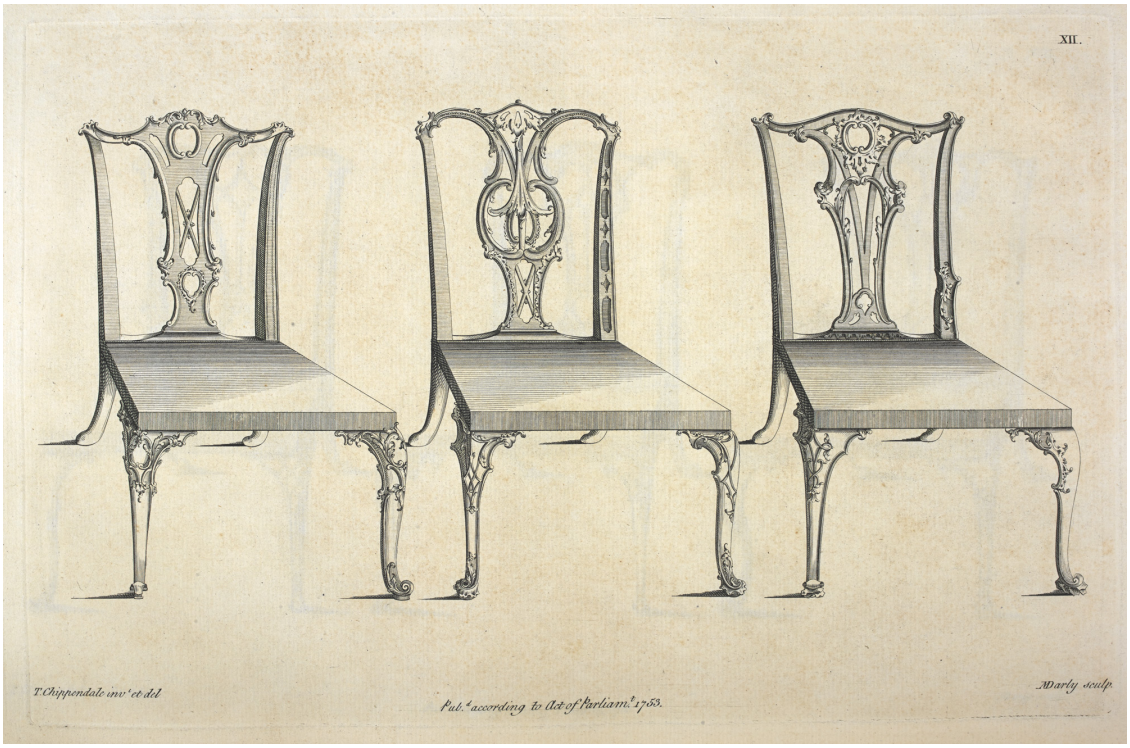


Figure 4.12 Three designs for chairs, plate from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

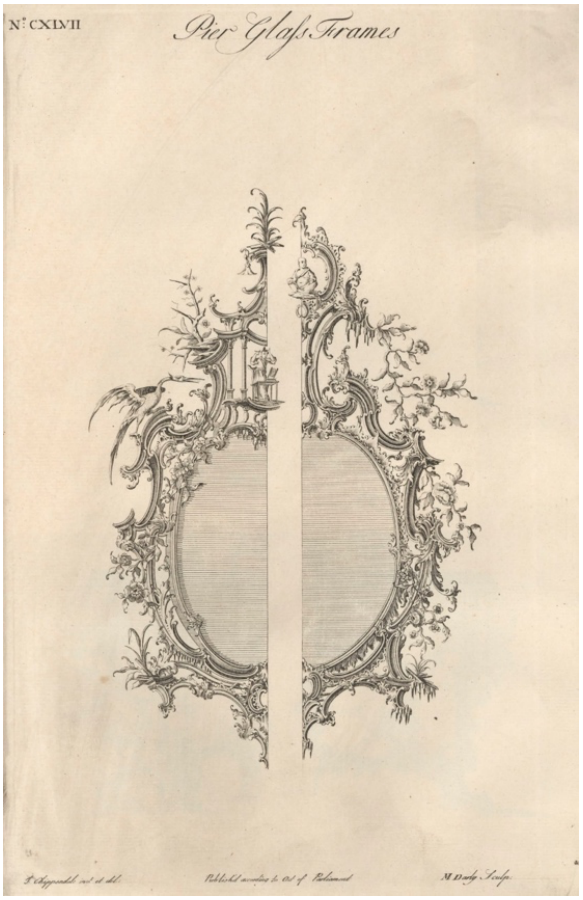


Figure 4.13 Pier glass frames, plate from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

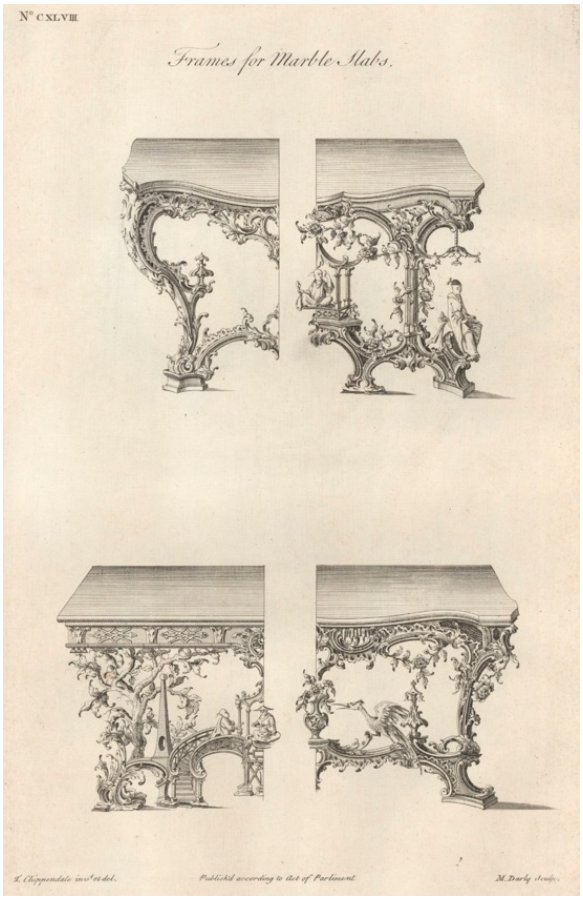


Figure 4.14 Frames for marble slabs, plate from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

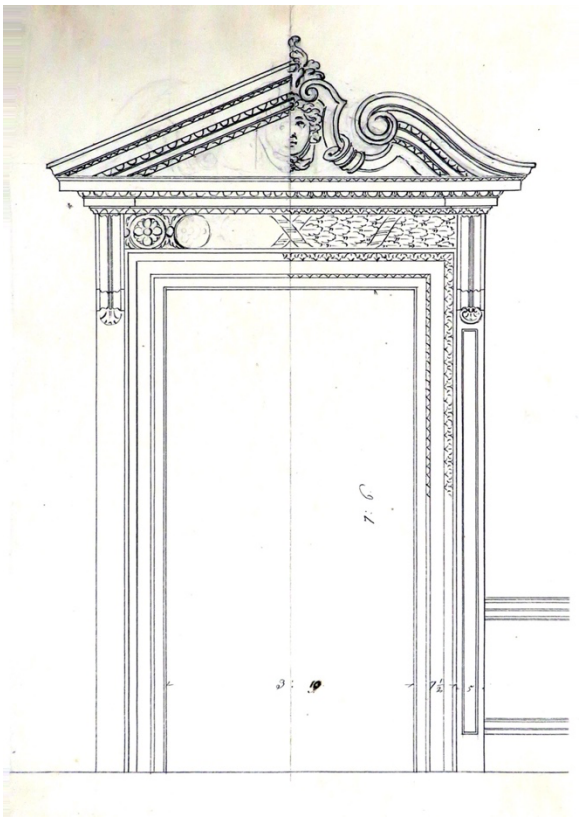


Figure 4.15 James Gibbs, two designs for doorcases, preparatory drawing for *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). The Ashmolean Museum.

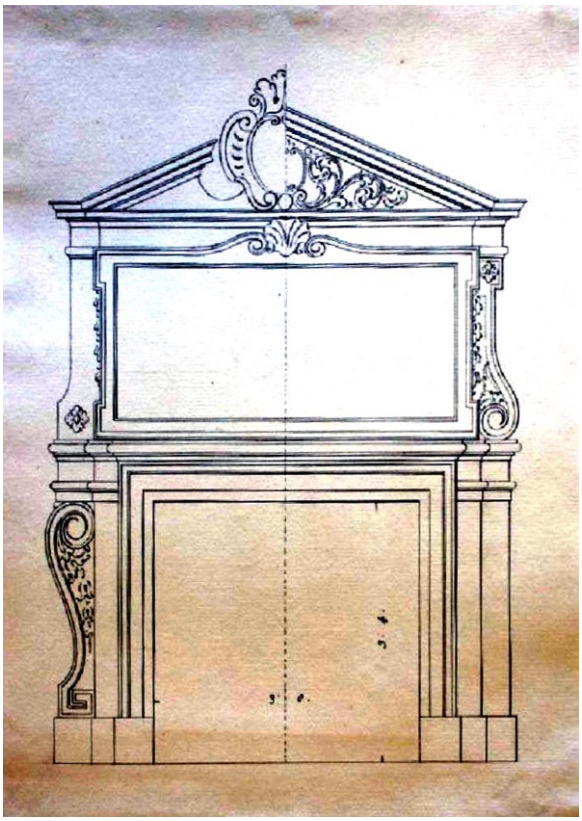


Figure 4.16 James Gibbs, two designs for chimneypieces, preparatory drawing for *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, by James Gibbs (London, 1728). The Ashmolean Museum.

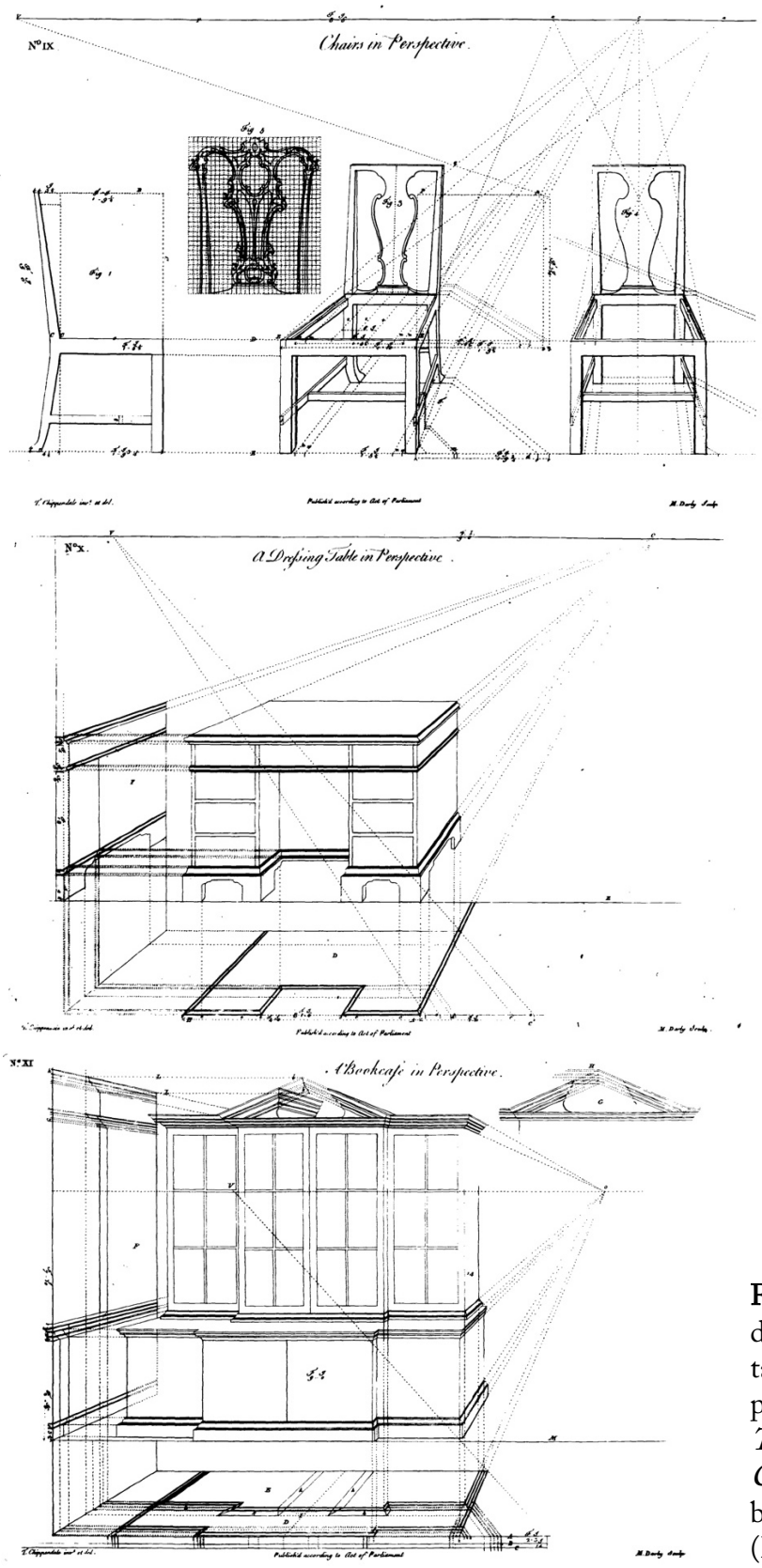


Figure 4.17 Rules for drawing chairs, a dressing table, and a bookcase in perspective, plates from *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

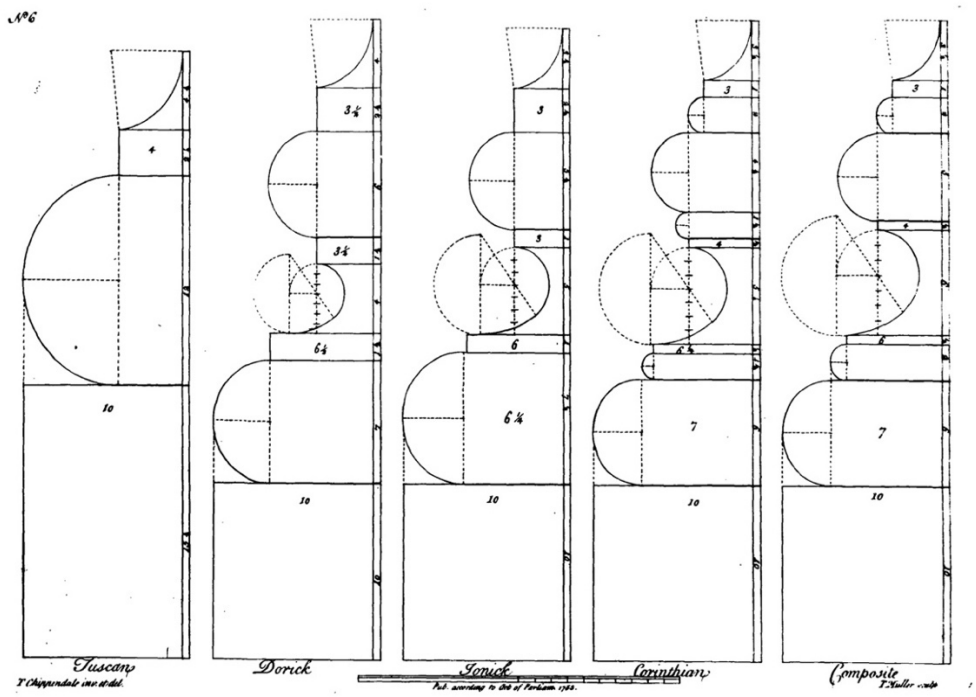


Figure 4.18 Rules for drawing the bases for the columns of each order, plate from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale (London, 1754).

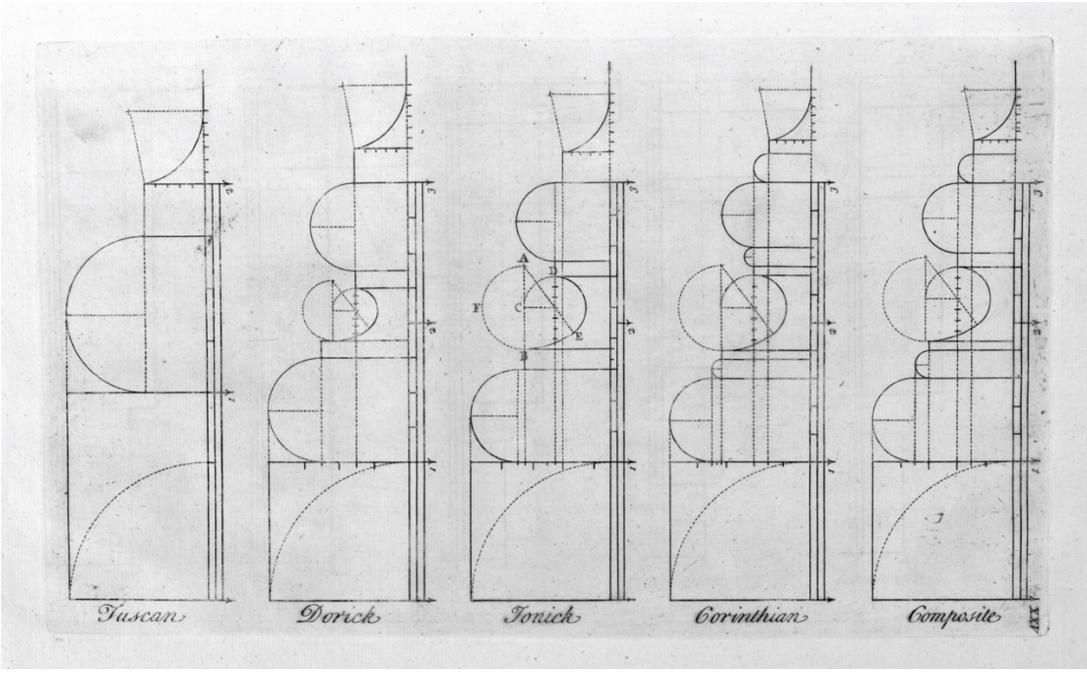


Figure 4.19 Rules for drawing the bases for the columns of each order, plate from *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture*, by James Gibbs (London, 1732).

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