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# ‘OUR GREAT ARCHITECT’: INIGO JONES IN THE 1830s – A FORGOTTEN SOURCE FOR THE ENGLISH ITALIANATE?

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*The palazzo architecture which became so marked a feature of the nineteenth-century English street scene has traditionally been seen as the result of architects of the 1820s and 1830s reproducing and reinterpreting the architecture of Florence and Rome upon their return to England. Yet an examination of the work of Sir John Soane, Charles Robert Cockerell and Sir Charles Barry, three architects who helped establish palazzo architecture in England, reveals a desire to build on what they perceived as a national tradition. The actual and supposed architecture of Inigo Jones was upheld as the legitimising prototype for this experimentation.*

‘The persisting interest in Italian architecture and the custom of Italian travel led to a new phase in English architecture at about the end of the 1820’s. Rome and Florence, where most architects had studied, were particularly rich in fine Renaissance palazzi, and more than one traveller had expressed his admiration for them. Charles Barry, who made a tour of Italy and the Middle East in 1817–20, was particularly impressed by the Italian palazzi, and in 1829, in his designs for the Travellers’ Club House, he introduced the Italian palazzo-formula into English street-architecture.’<sup>1</sup>

So wrote C.P. Brand in 1957, confirming the popular opinion that Barry had seen the palazzi of Rome and Florence, returned to London and repeated Italian Renaissance formulas in his London club houses and private houses for the rest of his career. This supposition is of course partly based on fact, but if understood as the only source for nineteenth-century

palazzo architecture it creates the false impression that the highly complex work of Barry and the pioneering ‘palazzo architects’ of the 1820s and 1830s was akin to a souvenir architecture, gathered abroad and replicated in England.

The reality was that the palazzo style emerged only partly from an interest in the architecture of the Italian Renaissance. The earliest nineteenth-century palazzo formulas were worked out by Soane, Cockerell and Barry, and each architect looked to an English tradition as much as to original Florentine and Roman examples. In particular they turned to Inigo Jones, promoting a renewed public interest in his work while rooting the genesis of the nineteenth-century palazzo mode firmly in the established traditions of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English architecture. Far from importing a ‘new’ form of architecture from Italy the work of these three architects demonstrates that the 1830s marked a readiness to return to the origins of English classicism.

## SIR JOHN SOANE

When Daniel Asher Alexander, Surveyor to the London Dock Company, undertook repairs and alterations to the Queen’s House in Greenwich and to Coleshill House, Berkshire, in 1807 and 1814 respectively, public praise was conferred on ‘the finely conservative’ spirit of his work. The speaker was Sir John Soane, speaking from the Chair of the



Fig. 1. Watercolour showing the Duke Street view of the new State Paper Office, St James's Park, by J. Richardson, 1833. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Royal Academy.<sup>2</sup> The Queen's House was started in 1616 by Inigo Jones for Queen Anne of Denmark, but finished in 1638 for Queen Henrietta Maria. Wings were added later when it became a school for naval families' children in the late eighteenth century, and Alexander added flanking blocks and colonnades for the Royal Naval Asylum, at the same time repairing Jones's existing fabric.<sup>3</sup> His work at Coleshill, at that time believed to be entirely the work of Inigo Jones, consisted of 'repairs' (in this case the word appears to have signified maintenance repairs, rather than significant remodelling).

That Soane should have praised conservatism in the handling of Jonesian architecture was by no means typical of the period. Yet by the mid nineteenth century the architecture of Jones was valued not only for its own sake, but actively

emulated in entirely new buildings, usually those following the palazzo mode introduced to England in the late 1820s and throughout the 1830s. Soane was an originator of this mode, not only in theory but also in practice, through one building which, despite its 28-year lifespan, would form a significant example of the nineteenth century palazzo model in England (Fig. 1).

The history of Sir John Soane's astylar State Paper Office (designed 1829–30, executed 1831–32) has been thoroughly dealt with in recent years by the Archivist of the Sir John Soane Museum, Susan Palmer.<sup>4</sup> In her paper on the New State Paper Office, she rightly notes an Italian influence in the building: 'The seventy-six-year-old architect took his inspiration from Vignola's Villa Farnese at Caprarola and came up with a completely astylar building.'<sup>5</sup>

Dorothy Stroud also observed that the design appears to be based on the Villa Farnese:

‘The Source of his inspiration stemmed from Vignola’s Villa Farnese at Caprarola by which he had been greatly impressed when he had visited it as a student some fifty years before, and of which a number of engravings were in his library.’<sup>6</sup>

It is certainly true that elements of the New State Paper Office referred to features of Vignola’s Villa Farnese.<sup>7</sup> The entrance door is clearly derived from Vignola’s work, and the elevations to St James’s Park have a similar rhythm to the Villa Farnese. But the overall design is no more solely derived from the Villa Farnese than the Pall Mall front of Barry’s Travellers’ Club is solely derived from the Palazzo Pandolfini.

What is important in understanding the full implications of the emergence of a palazzo style at this time is the fact that Soane, who had been previously working on the restoration of the Banqueting House, explicitly stated that the design was not simply taken from the Italian Renaissance architecture of Vignola and Palladio but also ‘from the architecture of . . . Inigo Jones, Sir C Wren, etc.’<sup>8</sup> Jones’s Banqueting House was clearly very much on

Soane’s mind when undertaking the designs for the New State Paper Office. Soane had been restoring the building between 1829 and 1833, largely by re-facing the stonework, opening blocked windows and undertaking major repairs to the roof.<sup>9</sup> Elements of Jones’s Banqueting House played a direct role in his composition, most obviously in the prominence given to the rusticated basement and in the details of the some of the window architraves.<sup>10</sup>

It must also be remembered that it was the Banqueting House and not his Grand Tour which represented one of Soane’s first encounters with Italian Renaissance classicism. In 1772 the Banqueting House was undergoing repair and by gaining access to the scaffolding Soane completed a measured drawing of Jones’s principal elevation, a drawing which won him the Royal Academy Silver medal and which he would later have copied for use in his Royal Academy lectures (Fig. 2). Therefore for Soane the classicism of Inigo Jones was as much a shaping force in his early experiences with architecture as the palazzi of Italy. Indeed when he later sought examples of astylar architecture with which to instruct his pupils in how they may, ‘without the aid of sculpture, columns and costly

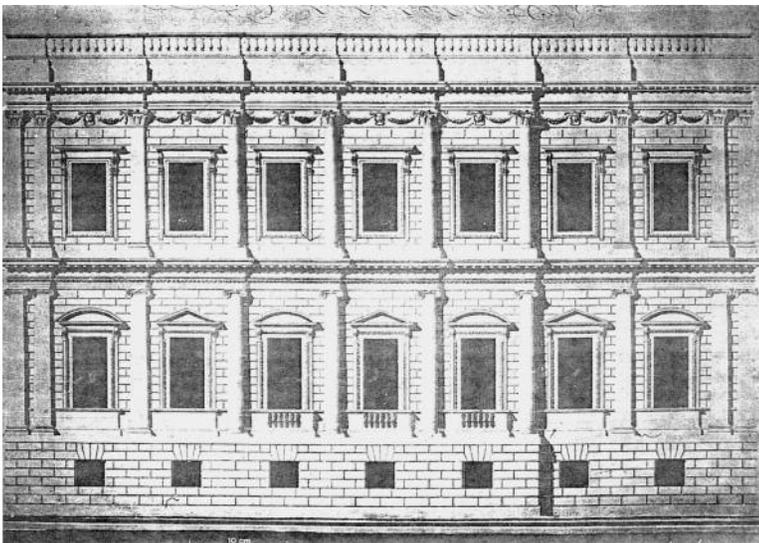


Fig. 2. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, a measured drawing which gained Soane the Royal Academy Silver Medal in 1772. (By Courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane’s Museum)

Fig. 3. The Queen’s Chapel,  
St James’s Palace, London.  
(David McKinstry 2013)



materials, please the eye, and even satisfy the minds of those who possess elegant fancy, classical taste, and sound judgement’, it was the buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which he turned to, not the works of Palladio or Vignola: ‘The following examples will be sufficient to establish this important truth: the front of General Wade’s house, by Lord Burlington, and the lawn front of Wilton house, and Lindsey House in Lincoln’s Inn Fields, the admired work of Inigo Jones.’<sup>21</sup> Soane considered the buildings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century to provide an ideal model for achieving successful astylar classicism: ‘In these buildings by Lord Burlington and Inigo Jones there are no prominent features, no richness of materials, yet the effect is more than satisfactory, whereas on the other hand, if columns are disproportioned...the whole is uninteresting.’<sup>22</sup>

The qualities which Soane admired in Lindsey House, at that time believed to be the work of Jones, would become some of the common characteristics of the astylar Renaissance revival in the 1840s and 1850s:

‘The latter mansion, with its plastered front, and its common red tiled roof, forms a certain harmony and fitness in its parts, commands attention and excites pleasurable sensations in the mind of the spectator. . . In this work of our great architect, the roof, in quantity,

is just what it should be; even the chimney shafts contribute to the beauty of the building... It must be observed that in many modern buildings the roofs and chimney shafts are not considered of so much importance in the effect of a composition as they formerly were...’<sup>23</sup>

Stucco, tiled roofs and compositional chimney shafts were all elements which were used by Barry in the Reform and Travellers’ Clubs and would become conspicuous elements of the palazzo lexicon throughout England. They also form elements in Soane’s own design for the New State Paper Office. Further similarities between the State Paper Office and the work of Inigo Jones can be seen through a comparison of the Queen’s Chapel, St James’s Palace, and Soane’s design, where the cornice, prominent chimneys, plain plastered string course, window treatment and quoins all seem to arise from a similar aesthetic approach to designing a modest but important building (Fig. 3).

It therefore appears that Soane was not basing his design on any one Renaissance building, but was aiming for a synthesis of astylar forms. For example, Soane made one drawing which further referenced the Italian Renaissance beyond Vignola, although it was not incorporated into any subsequent design. This showed a heavily bracketed *cornicione* with busts sketched in each recess and the following note:

‘Query Busts in Cornice If Shields-Trophies/&c are admissible in the Metope of the Doric order why not have busts of illustrious persons whose labours are supposed to be deposited with the Walls of this Edifice 6 May.’<sup>14</sup> This proposal seems to echo the use of the same device in Siena, where the busts of Popes are set into the clerestory cornice to the nave of the Duomo and those of Roman emperors appear in the cornice of the Palazzo Spannocchi.

However, when his astylar design was threatened by compromise, it was to Wren and Jones that Soane turned for defence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Goulburn, possibly influenced by Henry Bankes, MP, took against the astylar proposal, and ‘In the course of an interview with the surveyor general, scribbled on Soane’s drawings his own idea for rows of small pilasters set between the windows on the two principal storeys.’ With predictable anger Soane protested to the Surveyor General:

‘Let me conjure you my Dear Sir to exert all your power to prevent the erection of such a monument of folly...from disgracing the Metropolis of the Empire. I trust you will listen to my prayer which is for the cause of Architecture and to prevent the reproach of Foreigners on our National taste’.<sup>15</sup>

The requested pilasters can still be seen on Soane’s astylar ‘Elevation Next the Park’, drawn in pencil over Soane’s proposed design of 20 June 1829, together with pencil amendments to the string-course between the ground and first floor widened into something equating to an entablature for the lower run of pilasters. Soane’s proposed chimneys have also been crossed out, with a note that there were to be no chimneys running up between the windows; they would of course have looked extremely odd surmounting the top of the requested pilasters.<sup>16</sup> A drawing completed on 24 June 1830 shows the west elevation with the pilasters added and the chimneys removed, turning his astylar proposal into something more akin to a conventional Palladian design, rather in the manner of John Nash. However the bracketed *cornicione*, which the Office

of Works had not commented on, is retained, which meant the elevation still displayed something of its original character.

As seen in the aforementioned letter to the Chancellor, Soane did not approve of this interference and saw it as damaging his innovative concept. He executed two sheets of drawings showing his astylar design, the Office of Works’ requested revised design, and Inigo Jones’s Banqueting House. Beneath the astylar design he wrote: ‘Part of the exterior of a design for the new State Paper Office imitated from the Architecture of Vignola, Palladio, Inigo Jones, Sir C. Wren etc. by a professional architect. Estimated expense of the building £17,600 1800 fittings.’<sup>17</sup> Beneath the Office of Works’ preferred design he wrote: ‘Part of the exterior of the proposed new State Paper Office according to the dilettanti architecture of the present day. Estimated expense of this plan £21,500 1800 fittings.’<sup>18</sup> The drawing of the Office of Works’ preferred design superimposed over an elevation of the Banqueting House was annotated as ‘The Classical Architecture of Inigo Jones compared with the dilettanti architecture of the present day’.<sup>19</sup>

Although Jones’s Banqueting House displayed two storeys of pilasters in the manner requested of Soane by the Office of Works, the comparison between the vigour of Jones’s design and the compromised nature of the design requested by the Office of Works is clearly intended to reflect unfavourably on the latter. This attack was sustained in one of Soane’s Royal Academy lecture illustrations which shows his astylar design of the park elevation in perspective with an inset of the Office of Works’ revised scheme superimposed over the Banqueting House and the scathing text: ‘An idea for the exterior of the new State Paper Office in imitation of Whitehall Chapel [the Banqueting House] concocted from the suggestions and commands of a committee of taste’.<sup>20</sup> This is then followed by a quotation from Cicero’s ‘De Oratore II’, ending ‘quod enim ipsi experti non sunt, id docent ceteros’.<sup>21</sup> Clearly for Soane the ‘imitation’ of the Office of

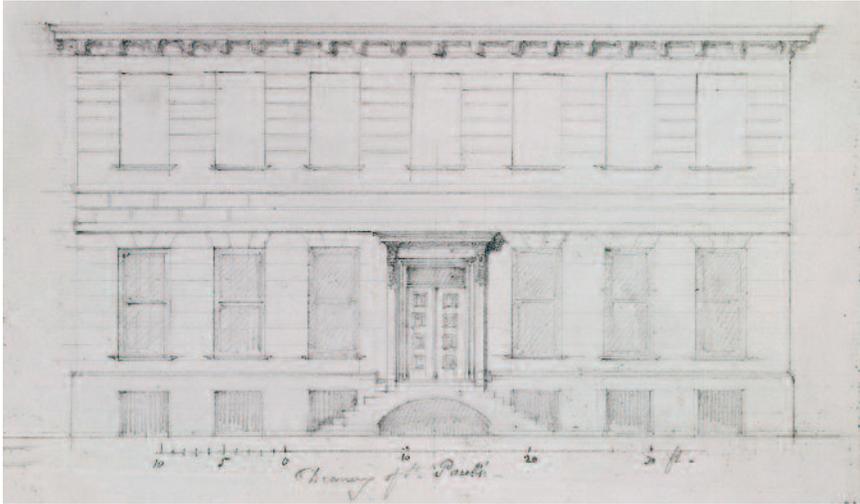


Fig. 4. The façade of Wren’s St Paul’s Deanery, London, drawn by Cockerell in the 1830s and included in his ‘*Ichnographia Publica*’. (© *Royal Institute of British Architects*)

Works owed nothing to a true understanding of Jonesian architecture which he considered to embody ‘lightness with solidity, elegant decoration with classical simplicity, and majesty and dignity with correct taste’.<sup>22</sup>

#### CHARLES ROBERT COCKERELL

Soane’s use of the Banqueting House to illustrate the inadequacies of the Office of Works’ amended scheme is important, since it represented a wider development amongst architects of the 1830s. As the Greek Revival began to fall from favour, some architects re-examined the classicism of the English seventeenth century in much the same way as others were looking to the architecture of the Tudor and Elizabethan eras to provide a basis for a national tradition. Charles Robert Cockerell is one notable example of this, being interested in both the monumental architecture of Wren and Vanbrugh and the modest astylar buildings of the seventeenth century.

This sensibility can best be seen in his comprehensive ‘*Ichnographia Publica*’, a collection

of sketches which he compiled for private use from about 1825 onwards. These contained many drawings of the City Churches and of Wren’s major secular buildings such as would later be seen in Cockerell’s ‘Tribute to Sir Christopher Wren’ of c.1838.<sup>23</sup> However, they also contained more modest examples of seventeenth-century secular buildings, the essence of which would later be expressed in some of Cockerell’s commercial architecture. His elevation of ‘The Entrance Façade of a Building’ undertaken in the 1830s shows the Deanery of St Paul’s Cathedral. The prominent cornice, bands of rustication, and the way in which the entrance door forms the chief architectural note of the astylar façade all point to features which would become part of the nineteenth-century palazzo manner (Fig. 4). Similar elements are emphasised in his drawing of Merchant Taylor’s School and many of his drawings of seventeenth century churches relate to their cornices, balustrades and ball or urn finials, features which he would experiment with on his preliminary designs for buildings such as the Carlton Club and the Royal Exchange. Likewise many of the sketches of entrance archways, doorways and window

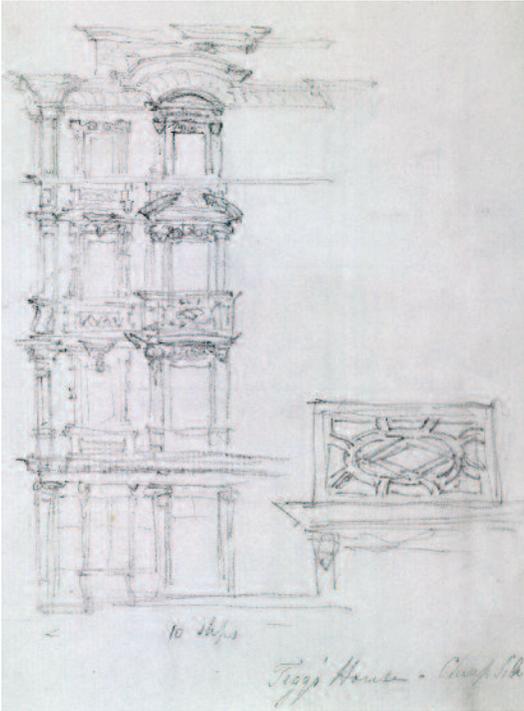


Fig. 5. Part-facade and details of 'Thomas Tegg's House', 73 Cheapside, City of London. Drawn by Cockerell in the 1830s and included in his *Ichnographia Publica*.  
(© Royal Institute of British Architects)

treatments are typical of the aedicule treatment of doorways and windows chosen for later commercial palazzo commissions.

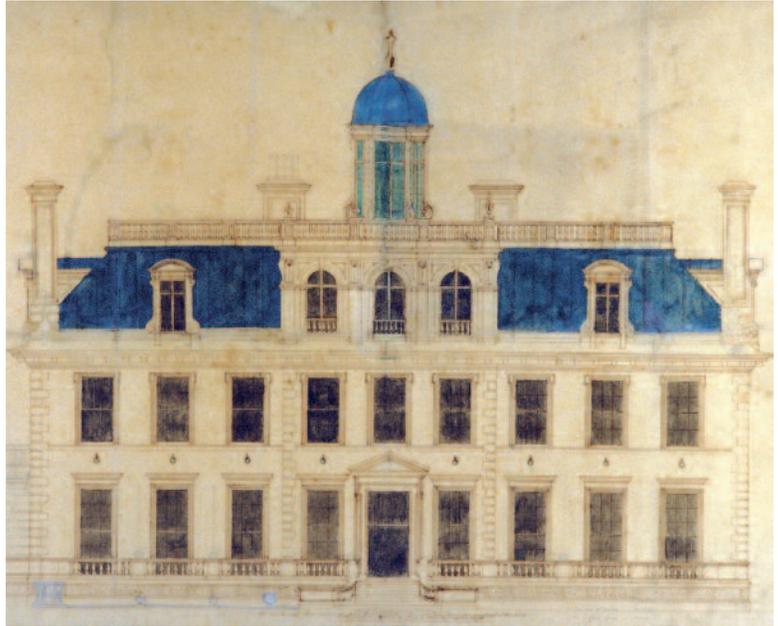
In looking at Cockerell's sketch of 'Thomas Tegg's House' (No. 73 Cheapside, originally built for Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London in 1668) it is hard not to see the parallels between the Baroque richness of a seventeenth-century citizen's town house and the similar devices employed in the embellishment of nineteenth century commercial and club buildings (Fig. 5).<sup>24</sup> Of course these parallels stem in part from a shared model, that of the Italian Renaissance palazzo. As seventeenth-century architects emulated the domestic ornament and architecture of northern Italy, it is not surprising that

their work should bear a resemblance to that of nineteenth-century architects following the same route. But it must be remembered that, as with Soane and the Banqueting House, Cockerell developed his knowledge of the palazzo manner not only from original Italian models but from the seventeenth-century classical architecture of London. In this sense his *Ichnographia Publica* is essentially a Grand Tour sketchbook, with the country visited being the London of Wren and his contemporaries rather than the Italy of Palladio and Vignola. Again, as with Soane, Cockerell was conversant with seventeenth-century English fabric in a working capacity, having acted as Surveyor to St Paul's Cathedral.

#### SIR CHARLES BARRY

Perhaps the architect most popularly associated with the practice of Renaissance classicism in nineteenth-century England is Charles Barry. His first Italianate building in England was the villa he designed for Thomas Attree in Queen's Park, Brighton, designed and completed 1825–1830. This building was more akin to the genuine work of Palladio on the Veneto than it was to Palladianism as introduced by Inigo Jones, yet within a few years Barry would emulate seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century architecture directly rather than following strictly Italian models. This can be seen most explicitly in his extensive work at Cliveden in 1851, which he remodelled in a manner partly based on the William Winde design of 1666 and more directly on the river elevation of the Great Gallery of Somerset House as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Furthermore, this direct Jonesian reference was generally known to the public. In 1870, John Marius Wilson's *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* described Cliveden thus: 'The present mansion is after a design by Barry, with a centre in imitation of Inigo Jones' old Somerset House; and presents an appearance at once simple and imposing'.<sup>25</sup>

Fig. 6. The South Façade of Kingston Lacy, Dorset (known as Kingston Hall until c.1840) as remodelled from 1835 by Charles Barry. The triangular pediment to the central ground floor window/door was altered to a segmental pediment in execution. (© National Trust Images)



Barry too became familiar with seventeenth century English classicism through working with original fabric. His immersion in Jonesian classicism was largely thanks to William John Bankes, for whom he remodelled Roger Pratt’s Kingston Lacy (then attributed to Jones) between c.1835–46 (Fig. 6). Originally built in 1663–1665 the house was a well-documented example of Restoration architecture. Pevsner disapprovingly notes that ‘What Barry did, no doubt on orders, was at one and the same time to restore the house’s original character (replacing the balustrade and cupola) and to take it away again by a typically Victorian and Barryesque heightening of that character.’<sup>26</sup> But Barry’s work at Kingston Lacy was much more than simply an exercise in ‘heightening of character’. Directed by the considerable connoisseurship of Bankes, what Barry effectively achieved was a comprehensive reworking of the Jonesian manner to create a dramatic setting for Bankes’s collection of Italian art.

One of the most sustained pieces of Jonesian classicism inside the house is the uppermost flight of

the staircase, possibly intended ‘to look like a survivor from the original house’.<sup>27</sup> That Barry’s emulation of seventeenth century devices was not entirely due to the influence of Bankes can be seen by the fact that he had already used Jonesian prototypes for his staircase in the Travellers’ Club a few years earlier. Professor David Watkin has noted that this ‘recalls the work of Inigo Jones and his seventeenth-century followers, Pratt, May and Webb. The richly carved woodwork in Wren’s city churches is recalled by the broad swirling curves of carved acanthus leaves in the great triangular panel which fills the side of the lower flight of the staircase.’<sup>28</sup> The staircase at Kingston Lacy further exclaimed its Jonesian credentials with the addition of a bronze statue of Jones’s patron Charles I, flanked by statues of William Bankes’s seventeenth century ancestors, the arch-Royalists Sir John and Lady Bankes.

For Bankes, as for so many others of the period, there was no contradiction in remodelling original work while at the same time referencing the spirit of the original work being altered. In this sense



Fig. 7. South elevation of Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, showing Charles Barry's new family wing on the right. (Morris's *Seats of Noblemen and Gentleman*, 1880)

architects of the 1830s and later followed a tradition of undertaking alteration as a dialogue with the past. Several features at Kingston Lacy point to this sensibility. The windows to the west elevation were altered under the direction of William Bankes, and replicate Pratt's original glazing pattern which had been lost in the eighteenth century. The cupola was reinstated, having been removed in the 1730s. The interiors were remodelled significantly, but the sources for their remodelling were original designs by Jones and Webb. John Cornforth notes:

‘William Bankes's discussions with himself about the house, carried on in his notebook and by later letters, are almost overwhelming in their detail, but what is impressive about them is his research on English architecture in order to get details correct, and his creative memory for what he had seen in France and Italy. Not unreasonably, he associated the original designs for the house with Inigo Jones; so he studied buildings by Jones and Webb, copying details from them or getting confirmation for his own ideas from them. Thus the South Terrace and the ceiling of the

dressing room at the north-east corner were both taken from the Queen's House at Greenwich; the idea of the low entrance hall was confirmed by what he saw at Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, and the detail of the loggia on the east front was related to York Stairs in London. He went to Wilton House, Wiltshire, as well as Tregothnan, Cornwall, the core of which was contemporary with Kingston Lacy, and he made a special journey to Lees Court in Kent, where he found the design of the drawing-room ceiling. He only knew Coleshill from prints, but he sent Barry to look at it.’<sup>29</sup>

One of the decorative elements of the house refers to the Pratt original in a literal sense. This is a Lorandini stove in one of the corridors. Constructed of Carrara marble, it contains a Marochetti bronze medallion supposedly based on the work of Jean Goujon at the Hotel Carnavalet, Paris. This medallion depicts two putti supporting the Bankes coat of arms. The sinister putto holds a depiction of Kingston Hall in its original state and the dexter putto holds a copy of Pratt's plan for the principal floor.<sup>30</sup> This slightly startling fusion embodies the major sources for the

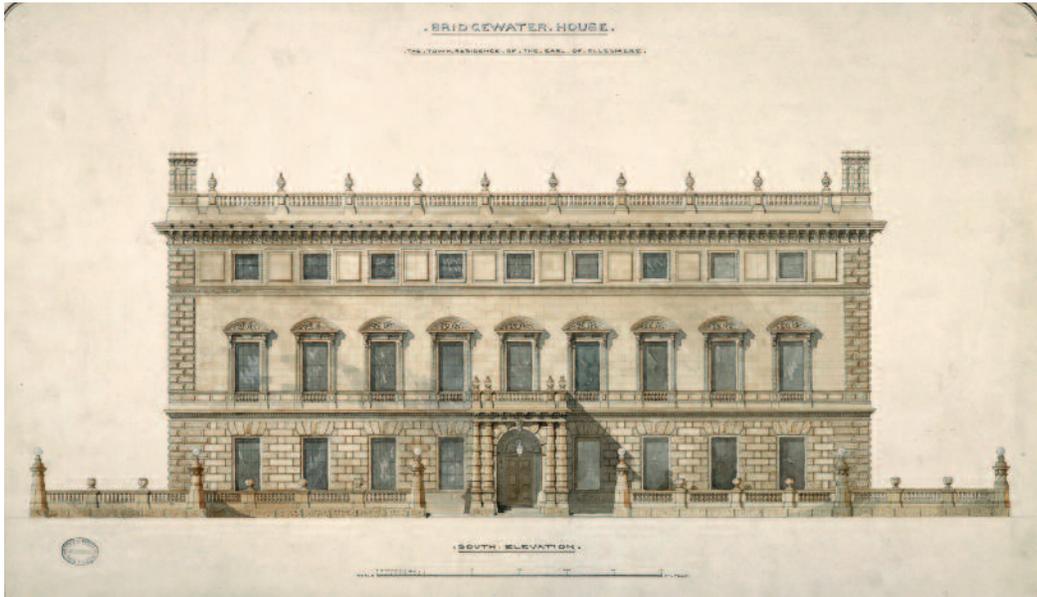


Fig. 8. South Elevation of Bridgewater House as executed by Charles Barry.  
(RIBA Library Drawings & Archives Collections)

English Italianate of the nineteenth century: modern technology, replicated sixteenth-century Renaissance decoration, and what was believed to be the architecture of Inigo Jones.

The Bankes-Barry collaboration formed part of Barry’s architectural education. Like Cockerell, he had returned from Italy and found his attention directed to the study of classicism as seen by seventeenth-century English architects. This immersion in the work of Jones, Webb *et al* was to inform his treatment of classical buildings as much as his study of the buildings on Florence and Rome. Barry’s son was later to note the strength of the Jonesian influence on his father’s classicism, showing how the architect frequently turned to Jones for legitimisation of the use of certain classical forms. The new wing to Trentham (Fig. 7), designed in 1834, was derived from both Italian and Jonesian sources: ‘A Palazzino in itself, with an engaged order, not altogether unlike his favourite Banqueting-house at Whitehall’.<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, according to Alfred Barry’s account it

was the work of Inigo Jones more than original Italian models which gave Barry the assurance to revive Renaissance forms which had been seen as illiterate by the English architects of his boyhood:

‘Two of Bramante’s palaces at Rome, the Cancelleria and the Palazzo dei Rei d’Inghilterra, at first pleased him much by their general character of solidity and breadth. . . But his great objection was to the use of two orders, even when they were in low relief, and when the unity of the height was preserved by the importance of the upper cornice. The best examples of North Italy could not reconcile him to this ‘piling of house upon house.’ In later days the beauties of the Banqueting-house at Whitehall so prevailed with him, that he frequently used order upon order in his own designs. . . But at Rome this expedient would have shocked him as barbarous.’<sup>32</sup>

Therefore it was Inigo Jones’s Banqueting House which reconciled Barry to one of the most conspicuous devices in Renaissance architecture, a conviction that was not given by observing ‘the best examples of North Italy’.

The work of Jones appears to have achieved a similar effect in changing Barry’s attitude to rustication; rusticated quoins and columns would later feature prominently in his work at Bridgewater House, the porch of which uses very similar columns to the York Water Gate (Fig. 8):

‘To rustic work he had at first a great aversion. In substruction it might be tolerated, but elsewhere its employment seemed to him indefensible, and a rusticated column monstrous. His admiration for Sanmicheli’s works, especially that at Lido, first shook his determination; at home his delight in the work of Inigo Jones carried on the process of conversion ; and he himself afterwards used what at this time [his time in Italy] he would have proscribed.’<sup>33</sup>

In remodelling the Board of Trade in Whitehall, opposite Jones’s Banqueting House, Barry once again found legitimate precedent in Jones for the use of a device which he was not instinctively drawn to:

‘The question next arose, whether the entablature should be broken or not. Barry’s objection to engaged columns has already been mentioned. Here, however, such an arrangement was forced upon him, and the question was, how the impropriety could be best alleviated. He had begun to think of breaking entablatures (which in days of classical purism would have shocked him), partly from the example of Inigo Jones’s Banqueting-house, partly from his Gothic studies, and the tendency to vertical lines which they fostered.’<sup>34</sup>

Even when considering his competition entry for the new Palace of Westminster, which had specified an Elizabethan or Gothic design, Barry had the work of Inigo Jones in mind:

‘But, if he could have had a site to his mind, and had been left free to choose his style, there is little doubt that he would have preferred Italian. The example most frequent in his thoughts was Inigo Jones’ grand design for the Palace at Whitehall; his own general ideas were manifested in the great design for the New Public Offices, which was the last important work of his life. He actually prepared some sketches and studies for an Italian design, in defiance of the instructions to the competitors.’<sup>35</sup>

By the 1830s it was not just practising architects but also architectural critics who began to examine the life and work of Inigo Jones as a means of understanding, and often legitimising, the place of Roman and Italian classicism within the national cultural and architectural canon. This renewed interest in Jones’s biographical details ran parallel to the antiquarian interest in English cultural figures of the ‘Olden Time’, his contemporaries Jonson and Shakespeare being two such examples.<sup>36</sup>

#### ALLAN CUNNINGHAM: JONES AND THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

The later interest in Jones as a designer of masques, and as a figure connected to English literature, grew from the reassessment of his architectural work in the 1830s by antiquarians and critics. In 1831 the poet and biographer Allan Cunningham published the ‘Architects’ volume of his series on the *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Palladian architects feature considerably, the full list of British architects comprising William of Wykeham, Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, James Gibbs, William Kent, the Earl of Burlington and Sir William Chambers. The chapter on Jones is interesting in its attempts to establish him as part of a national architectural narrative and a starting point for the Palladian classicism which would become the uniting theme in Cunningham’s pageant of English taste.

What Cunningham attempts to achieve through his account of Jones is legitimisation of the use of Italianate architecture in England by claiming it as an organic and logical national style. Cunningham informs the reader that:

‘The stately Gothic architecture had fallen into discredit from the era of the Reformation; it was looked upon as a thing polluted by the superstitions of Rome — and was moreover too costly for a church which had been much impoverished as well as purified. The Tudor

Architecture, (as it is usually called,) which had been gradually becoming predominant in England, has been regarded as the illegitimate offspring of the Grecian and Gothic, and it certainly has a little of either character; inferior in elegance to the one, and in magnificence to the other, but more than uniting the domestic accommodations of both.<sup>37</sup>

Cunningham avoids making Jones the sole advocate of classical taste in England, possibly because it is difficult to explain how an architect at the Stuart Court can be seen as replacing Gothic architecture ‘polluted by the Superstitions of Rome’ with something more appropriate to post-Reformation England. Instead he understands Jones within what he sees as a continuing classical trend in English architectural history:

‘From the time of the decline of the Gothic, our acquaintance had commenced with the pure models of Greece and Rome; the diffusion of learning, consequent on the discovery of printing; the visits which many of our noblemen paid to Italy — and the encouragement extended to Italian architects by Henry the Eighth, — all conducted to render classic designs popular. But the Reformation only took place in part. . . our sturdy English prejudices made us cling to our old style, and the innovators were glad to compound by mingling Grecian with Gothic, and both with the grotesque designs of the Tudors.’<sup>38</sup>

Where Jones was most useful in Cunningham’s conception of the architectural narrative of England was in providing a national and historical legitimacy for the synthetic classicism which was so popular towards the end of the Georgian era, and which was to develop into the Italian Renaissance models of the mid nineteenth century. Cunningham reports that finding no appetite for pure classicism upon his return to England:

‘Inigo compounded, and for some time persevered in, what the wits of the succeeding age nicknamed “King James’s Gothic.” . . . He desired to exhibit something striking and new; and it must be acknowledged by all who will look at some of these structures, dismissing all preconceived notions of architecture from their minds, that they are splendid and massive, and present an image of stability, which too few of our public edifices possess.’<sup>39</sup>

The desire for ‘splendidness’, ‘massiveness’ and ‘stability’ in public edifices which was emerging in the 1830s complemented the increasing use of Renaissance forms, or a synthesis of those forms with Grecian and Roman models and saw Italianism, as developed by Barry and Cockerell, become a favoured manner of achieving these effects in clubs, banks and commercial architecture generally.

As the Greek Revival was increasingly questioned as a tenable solution to modern architectural requirements, the evocation of Inigo Jones provided an English tradition which could be returned to in an attempt to resume an organic national classicism free from the strictures of the more exactly archaeological forms which had been prevalent in the earlier part of the nineteenth century:

‘The genius of Inigo, however, loved less the simple majesty of the Grecian school than the picturesque splendours of Palladio: and it must be confessed, that for domestic purposes, at least, the varied combinations which the revival of architecture in Italy permitted, are far more suitable to us than the severer simplicity of Athens. The columns, rank over rank, the recesses, the arcades, the multiplied entablatures, the balustrades, and tower above tower, of the modern architecture, must not be looked upon as the innovations of men who went a devious way without a purpose: these changes were in truth conceded in obedience to the calls of climate, of customs, of religion and of society, and were Pericles raised from the dead, he could not but acknowledge that windows are useful for light, and chimneys necessary for heat in Britain.’<sup>40</sup>

Cunningham clearly considered that the architecture of Jones could provide a model, or at least a starting-point, for formulating a practical contemporary version of Palladianism, lamenting that:

‘There is no complete architectural collection of the designs of this eminent architect; but this is a reproach which it is in vain to reiterate. Such an undertaking would ruin a private individual; and a country which has a spirit for so many things, has thus yet shown little for the preservation of its architecture, either Grecian or Gothic.’<sup>41</sup>

JONES REDUX

Despite the lack of a complete collection of the work of Jones, the seeds of Jonesian classicism had been regenerated. In the 1820s John Goldicutt published an illustrated pamphlet entitled 'Heriot's Hospital Edinburgh. The design of the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones'<sup>42</sup>. This work brought what were then supposed to be Jonesian interiors to the public attention. The first plate was a medallion portrait of Jones (Fig. 9). Goldicutt had composed this from a mixture of sources and what it shows is a profile portrait of Inigo Jones taken from a cameo in possession of the Hospital, framed by a section of the carved foliage over the chimneypiece in the Council room, surrounded by foliate decoration 'after Jones'.

A similar, if even more laudatory, tribute can be seen in the work of 26-year-old John Turner. In 1832 he completed a measured drawing of the York Water Gate showing its plan, sections and elevations. He ornamented the drawing with a Baroque cartouche framing a bust of Inigo Jones being crowned with laurels by two cherubs (Fig. 10). The result of

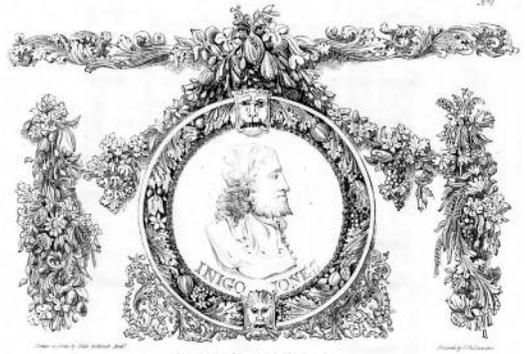


Fig. 9. Cameo of Inigo Jones from Goldicutt's *Heriot's Hospital*, 1826. "The best drawn from a small cameo in possession of the hosp'l ' with 'Specimen of carved foliage selected from the chimney piece in the council room' by John Goldicutt Archt. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

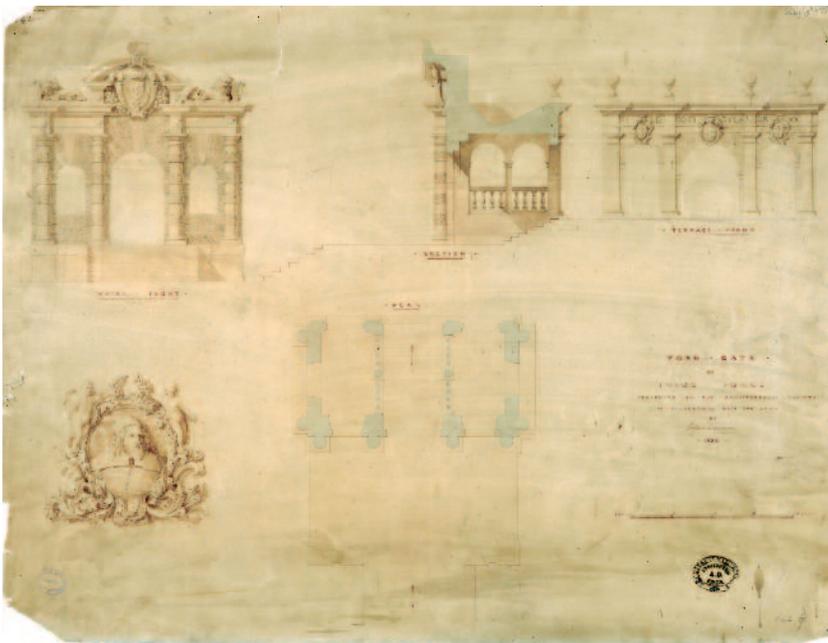


Fig. 10. Measured drawings of the York Water Gate, London with portrait bust of Inigo Jones. John Turner, 1832. (© Royal Institute of British Architects)



Fig. 11. ‘A composition from the works of Inigo Jones’, William Tite, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1854.  
(© *Royal Institute of British Architects*)

Jonesian re-evaluation of the 1820s and 1830s meant that by the end of the 1840s Inigo Jones was becoming firmly established in the British art-historical canon. In 1849 the Art-Union of London offered new members silver or bronze medals carved by Charles Frederick Carter.<sup>43</sup> It carried a profile of Inigo Jones on one side and the main elevation of the Banqueting House on the other. Other medals in the series included Sir Francis Chantrey, William Hogarth, Sir John Vanbrugh and John Flaxman.

Consequently, Jonesian hagiography would develop steadily into the mid nineteenth century, reaching its apotheosis in Sir William Tite’s ‘Composition of the Works of Inigo Jones’ (Fig. 11) of 1854, which followed in the tradition of Cockerell’s

‘A Tribute to Sir Christopher Wren’ (1838). Unlike Cockerell, Tite included buildings which he must have known post-dated Jones’s life by many decades. It is the spirit of Jonesian architecture which Tite was seeking to encapsulate rather than his personal opus. The Tite drawing is highly revealing of mid nineteenth-century attitudes to Jones, and, significantly, contains Welsh and Scottish buildings alongside English. What had originated as a biographical interest in Jones was being expanded into a Jonesian ‘School’ of British architecture which was seen as continuing to thrive and develop even after the death of its instigator, and to which mid nineteenth-century architects could hope to become the legitimate heirs.

NOTES

- 1 C.P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*. (Cambridge, 1957), p. 156.
- 2 Quoted by Annette Peach, 'Alexander, Daniel Asher (1768–1846)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford, 2004).
- 3 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 66–7.
- 4 Susan Palmer, 'Sir John Soane and the Design of the New State Paper Office, 1829–1834' (Paper presented at 'Archivaria 60: First International Conference on the History of Records and Archives' at the Association of Canadian Archivists, Ottawa, Spring 2005).
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.
- 6 Dorothy Stroud, *Sir John Soane, Architect* (London, 1996), p. 236.
- 7 Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/1/50: 'This door &c is in its proportions like Vignola's book' (r).
- 8 Sir John Soane Museum, London, annotation to drawing 'Contrasted Designs: design No 1' for the New State Paper Office, 82/1/1 (r).
- 9 J. Mordaunt Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works VI*, (London, 1973), pp. 547–548.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 569.
- 11 Sir John Soane, 'Royal Academy Lecture VI', reproduced in David Watkin, *Sir John Soane, Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 574.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/1/45 (r) [Note: the drawing is dated at the bottom 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1830, so this comment was presumably added three days later].
- 15 Soane Museum Correspondence Div. XI K (2) (r).
- 16 Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/21/1, (r).
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Sir John Soane Museum, London, 16/2/2, (r).
- 21 *Ibid.* ['They instruct the rest as to what they themselves are not expert in'] (r).
- 22 Sir John Soane, 'Royal Academy Lecture V', reproduced in Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 562.
- 23 Also of interest is his 'Ichographica Domestica', largely concerning private houses, with reference to work he believed to be by Jones, such as Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire: John Harris, 'Cockerell's Ichographica Domestica', *Architectural History*, 14 (1971), pp. 5–29 and 113–137 (plates).
- 24 One imagines that, as with his choice of architecture, Turner's politics would have been looked on approvingly by many of Cockerell and Barry's clients of the 1830s. He was a loyal Monarchist yet pro-conventicle, a Tory yet a self-made merchant with no landed ambitions, greatly devoted to charitable causes in the City, and a successful civil servant.
- 25 John Marius Wilson, *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London and Edinburgh, 1870–1872), p. 453.
- 26 John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings of England; Dorset*. (Harmondsworth, 1972) p. 245.
- 27 John Cornforth, 'Kingston Lacy Revisited- IV', *Country Life*, June 12, 1986, p. 1676.
- 28 David Watkin, 'The Travellers' Club and the Grand Tour, Correcting Raphael...' *The British Art Journal*, 1 (1) (Autumn 1999), p. 60.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 1674.
- 30 National Trust Collections, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, 1257595.2.
- 31 Rev. Alfred Barry, *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., F.R.S., &c., &c.* (London, 1867) p. 97.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 36 Peter Cunningham, *Inigo Jones: A Life of the Architect, Remarks on some of his Sketches for Masques and Dramas by J.R. Planché Esq., and Five Court Masques; Edited from the Original MSS. of Ben Jonson, John Maston, etc. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., Accompanied by facsimiles of Drawings by Inigo Jones; and by a portrait from a painting by Vandyck*. (London 1849).
- 37 Alan Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, IV. (London, 1831) p. 80.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- 42 John Goldicutt, *Heriots' Hospital Edinburgh. The design of the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones*. (London, 1826).
- 43 The Art Union of London was established in 1836 'to aid in extending the Love of the Arts of Design within the United Kingdom, and to give Encouragement to Artists, beyond that afforded by the patronage of individuals': Peter Cunningham, *Hand-Book of London* (London, 1849), p. 32.