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GEORGE WHITMORE AND THE CIVIL WORKS IN CORFU AND MALTA PART II

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In a previous article in this Journal I discussed the architectural achievements of Col. George Whitmore (1775–1862) in Malta and Corfu between 1812 and the death of Governor Maitland in 1824, when his Civil Works command with its financial allowances were restricted to Malta. Major-General Sir Frederick Adam (1781–1853), already commanding the military, now became the second Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He wanted Whitmore to continue there, but he was only authorised to maintain an oversight of Corfu's fortifications (Fig. 1).¹ This article discusses Whitmore's later work in both islands and subsequent developments in architecture and art education.

Frederick Adam had served with Lord William Bentinck (1774–1839) in Sicily and Spain, losing the use of an arm, and at Waterloo had played a crucial part in Wellington's victory. His first wife having died in Sicily, he married Nina Palatiano, a local noblewoman, in Corfu and established friendly relations with the Ionian gentry. They were criticised by the British Resident in Cephalonia from 1822, Col. (subsequently General Sir) Charles Napier (1782–1853), as corrupt landlords who exploited their peasants and the courts of justice. Prevented from returning after accompanying his sick wife to England, Napier published his *apologia* in 1833, condemning Adam for boundless extravagance and citing as needless a highway in Corfu and his multiple residences: the completed Palace, his country house,



Fig. 1. Lt. General Sir Frederick Adam, KCB, GCMG, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands from 1824–32. Bronze by Professor Pavlos Prosalendis 1832, erected before the Palace in Corfu.
(Author's photo)

and another in Zante. On leaving Corfu in 1832 Adam obtained the East India Company Governorship of Madras from 1831–37, succeeding Lord Bentinck who had become Governor General in Calcutta.²

THE LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER'S VILLA IN CORFU

This country house, *Mon Repos* then called *Casino*, has puzzled architectural historians, and in the absence of other evidence has been attributed to Whitmore as architect by default. V.E.F. Kyriaki could only locate the Estimates for its construction by Captain Harper RE, dated June 1828. But Whitmore, by then in Malta, referred to 'the country house that lovely seat of promise (for) which Sir Thomas (Maitland) at first was so anxious I should occupy with his residence, and how many Doric pavilions did I not build on paper to decorate the olive groves Sir Fred. Adam remained long enough in command to see a pretty design completed and how much care, thought and contrivance were expended on it Here we have classic porticos, an octagonal hall lighted from above, very commodious apartments and the loveliest

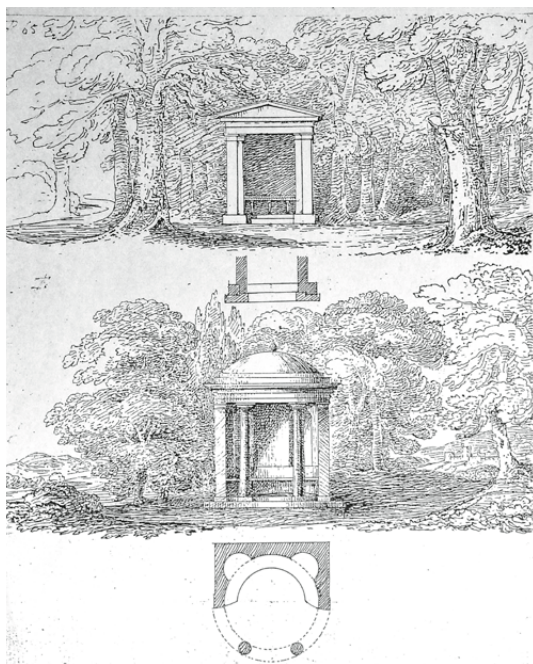
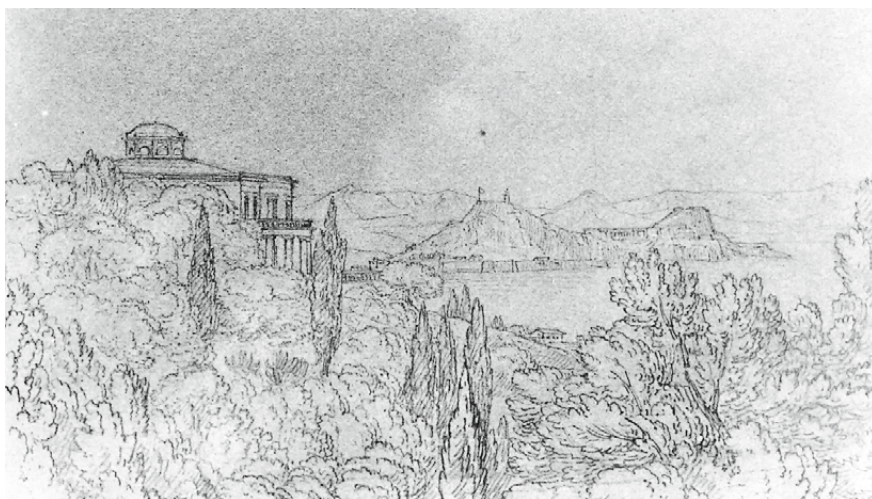


Fig. 2. Doric garden seats by General Sir George Whitmore KCH. Drawn in pen and ink in his treatise on villa designs, 1847 revised 1857. (*Gloucestershire Archives, D45 F49 p.62*)

Fig. 3. View over Garitsa Bay from *Mon Repos* to the Old Fort and Corfu town. Pencil sketch by Whitmore on his short visit in 1834. (*Gloucestershire Archives, D45 F39 Sketchbook 5*)



view in Nature.' Whitmore returned in 1834, sent by the Ordnance Board in a steamer to assess the situation of his Vido island fortification for which Lord Nugent, Adam's successor, had stopped the annual payments. He was shocked to see the state of the villa and its grounds, turned over to the School of Art with three plaster casts, when he called on the Professor of Sculpture, his friend Pavlos Prosalendis, who had been relegated with his family to the attic.³

On this short visit Whitmore only had time for two accomplished sketches (Figs. 2 and 3); one of the Esplanade towards the New Fort and his Maitland Rotunda, and the other from the Kardaki headland with this villa and the view over Garitsa Bay to the Old Citadel and Corfu town: all buildings in

whose design he had been involved. At Kardaki he had excavated the Greek Doric temple revealed by watercourse damage in 1823 and provided William Railton with his published account, a version of which was included in the final appendix volume for Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* in 1830.⁴

Further evidence for Whitmore's probable production of at least the initial plans for *Mon Repos* lies in a manuscript of 1847, revised in retirement at Charlton, above Woolwich, in 1857. Its rather flippant title – 'Architectural and Horticultural fancies and experiences: Castles in the Air constructed from my own experiences and observations' – may account for it being ignored other than by Sir Howard Colvin. It is a considered

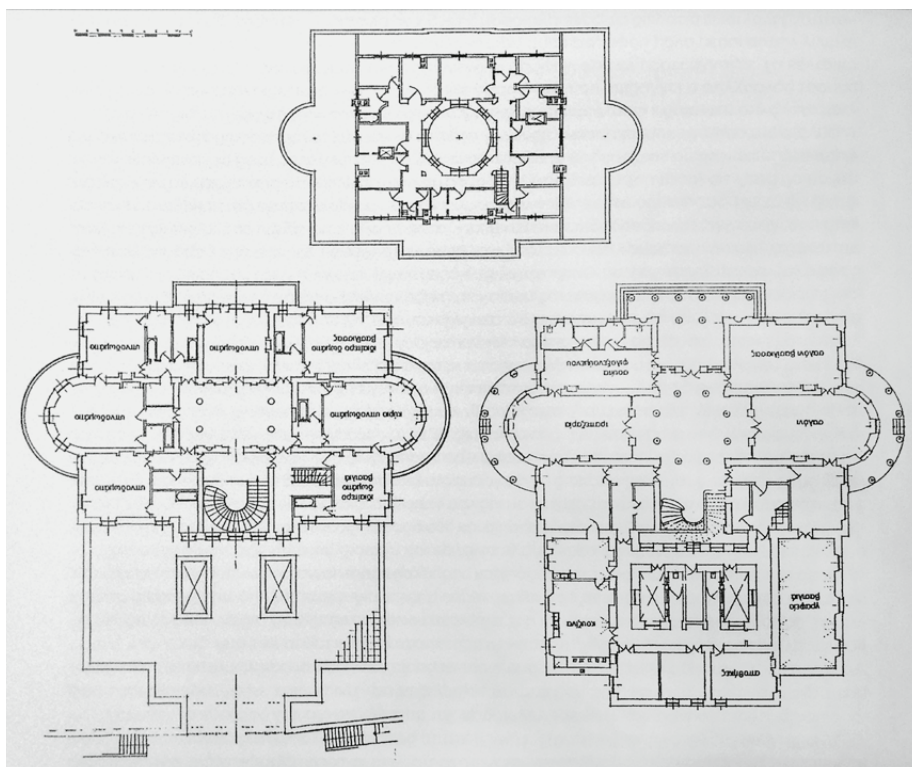


Fig. 4. Plans of *Mon Repos* in 1955. Note that the large ground floor rear service extension, built into the hillside, was a subsequent addition. (V.E.H. Kyriaki, 2006, p.99: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports Receipts Fund)



Fig. 5. West and entrance fronts of *Mon Repos*, Corfu.
(Author's photo)



Fig. 6. Central hall and staircase, *Mon Repos*, Corfu.
(Author's photo)



Fig. 7. Cupola and upper hall, *Mon Repos*, Corfu.
(Author's photo)

treatise on the design of villas, with retirement spas like Cheltenham in mind as experienced by Whitmore. Designs are outlined for sites of two, six and nine acres with neat plans of their grounds and garden buildings but no floor plans. He argued that the 'first class villa' should have a portico before its vestibule leading to a square hall with niches for statuary, topped by an octagon crowned and lit from a cupola. The hall should lead directly into the saloon with any corridor to a drawing room and library on its right and left. The height of the principal room should determine that of the whole floor to avoid different levels in the chamber floor above. Bow windows are recommended and a convenient rather than a parade staircase to this floor. The attic should have its own stair door from this level and dressing closets should be linked to their bedrooms as well as access passages of their own.⁵

Mon Repos (Figs. 4–7) meets all these specifications with a Grecian portico to its vestibule, and then a square hall with niches alternating with doors to its bow-windowed reception rooms. The octagonal cupola is supported on Ionic columns with an entablature and palmetted frieze. A leisurely staircase beyond the hall rises to the chamber floor landing with separate access to the attic and dressing rooms. Unless he only noted all this in 1834, Whitmore must surely have drawn up such a plan in the 1820s. Even Captain Harper's Estimate still coincides with Whitmore's some years before in Malta, but Adam's role is also commended. Although Kyriaki has drawn comparison with centrally planned Palladian Venetian and English country houses, they bear only a superficial resemblance to them, and the arcaded town houses of Captain Harper and Ioannis Chronis are quite different. Chronis, a young trained Greek architect, was given the use of the Corfu Palace by Adam to exhibit his work. He was to design the Neoclassical Ionian Bank, founded in 1839, the separate Legislative Assembly building of 1853, and to rebuild the Capodistrias mansion.⁶

THE ROYAL NAVAL HOSPITAL AT BIGHI

Whitmore's most significant architectural design for Malta was his last, but was also the first of a series of substantial new specialised British buildings to meet functions beyond those of the Order of St John's previous structures after thirty years' vacillation using these old buildings. Baili Bichi's Baroque villa, designed in 1675 by Lorenzo Gafa (1639–1704), dominated its Grand Harbour headland opposite Valletta. Commissioner Cameron acquired the site in 1801 and in 1804 the Fleet's physician, Dr. Snipe, inspected it with the Civil Commissioner, Admiral Ball, and recommended it to Nelson for the Mediterranean fleet's hospital. But the old Birgu Armoury and the Slaves' prison were used instead. The project even stalled after Whitmore drew up his designs in 1824–26, taking into account current British hospital specifications. Salvatore Xerri and Giuseppe Bonavia were commissioned to estimate the costs of further acquisitions for the Bighi site. Then in 1827 Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Codrington (1770–1851) returned from victory at Navarino and criticised the inadequate facilities for his sick and wounded men who had to be put up in Fort Ricasoli.⁷

In January 1829 the next Commander in Chief Mediterranean, Vice-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm KCB (1768–1839), signed off his approval on Whitmore's plans and Bonavia's construction estimates, and the site was transferred to the Royal Navy. With Whitmore returning to England that October, the Chief Secretary called for 'action'. Salvatore Xerri (1777–1830) was transferred from the Civil Works to the Navy on 1 November 1829 to supervise the project, but he died a few months later, when Gaetano Xerri (1783–1853) took over. The foundation stone of 1830 acknowledges Whitmore as designer 'in concert' with Vice-Admiral Malcolm and Captain C.B. Ross, the Dockyard Commissioner, and is signed by Gaetano Xerri as architect and Jos. B. Collings as Clerk of Works. Whitmore noted that a plaster cast of the architect, presumably himself, had been installed in a niched recess.⁸

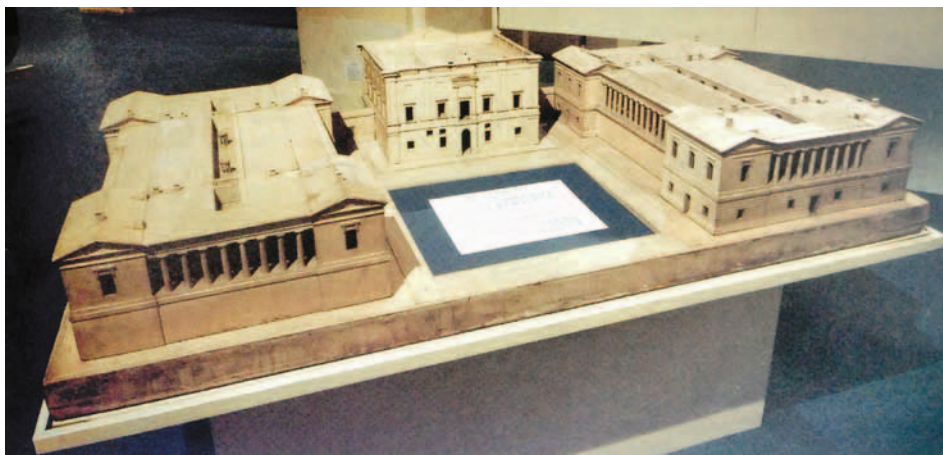


Fig. 8. Architectural model from Whitmore's design for the Royal Naval Hospital at Bighi, Malta, c.1826–29, showing his intended level *cour d'honneur* between the ward pavilions and the original Villa Bichi. Made for the Admiralty in London, it passed to the United Services Museum then the National Maritime Museum who donated it to the new Maritime Museum in Malta after 1979. (*Malta Maritime Museum*)

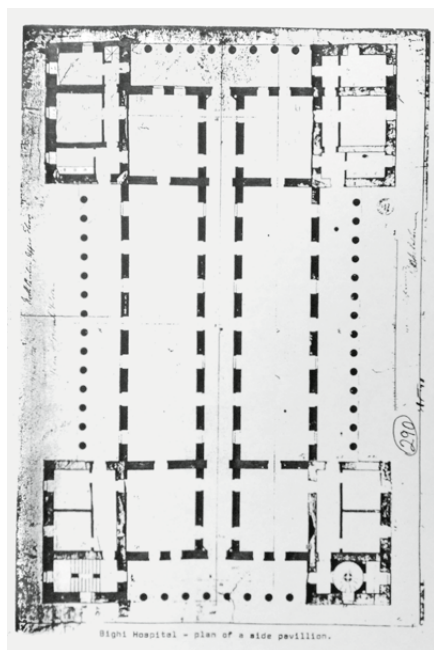


Fig. 9. Plan of ward pavilion, RN Hospital, Bighi, designed by Whitmore 'in concert' with the naval authorities in Malta and built 1829–32. (*K. Borg, 1982. p.47*)

Whitmore first 'de-baroqued' the villa's facades, divesting its windows of their shell mouldings and the Baili's cartouche, and reforming it as a Doric Neoclassical front. A common rusticated basement linked the villa with two Grecian *stoa*-like pavilion wings to contain the men's wards. These were to form a level *cour d'honneur* towards the entrance above Kalkara. Each pavilion contained two long wards with a well-aired central space and opened onto Doric colonnaded terraces on stylobates above the basements, with corner blocks for staircases and other facilities. The original model provided for the Admiralty survives, made in sections with removable roofs that reveal the rooms below, the form of roof timbers, and alternative treatments for the basement links. It displays Whitmore's intention to level the steeply rising ground behind the villa and to provide the pavilions with appropriate stylobates within a courtyard level with the villa's ground floor (Figs. 8–9).⁹

Although the imposing Grecian Grand Harbour frontage was achieved, back in London Whitmore was concerned to learn that the rest was being

‘botched’ by the Maltese *capo-maestro* now in charge who, he claimed, ‘knew as much about architecture as of flying’. This was probably Gaetano Xerri who had been one of Giorgio Pullicino’s students and supervised the construction to completion in 1832. Whitmore was also severely mortified at the response of Sir Bryan Martin, a Lord of the Admiralty, when he waited on him to complain:

‘I excused my interference under the anxiety every parent was supposed to feel for his own child. Sir Bryan received me churlishly and when I observed that the conduct of a building having any pretension to architectural merit required a better supervisor, his Lordship interrupted me by saying that he did not want *architecture* and should immediately write to Malta and order its suppression. I believe, however, that the Hospital is completed in accordance with my design, but instead of building (down) to its own extent the crown of the hill on which it stands, the pavilions are built on the slope of the eminence this occasioning a very disproportionate stylobate or basement.’

A bridge had to be built with another Doric entrance to access the villa’s *piano nobile*, containing the officers’ and doctors’ rooms, because its ground floor was so far below the hilltop courtyard. (Fig. 10)¹⁰

This criticism, confirmed at Whitmore’s 1834 visit, could probably have been more appropriately levelled at the Admiralty which, through Mr. Collings, kept a daily check on the expenditure and must have stopped the courtyard levelling. Topping out was celebrated on 28 October 1831 and the villa conversion was completed by June 1832 and the lofty ward pavilions, fitted with fireplaces and glazed windows, ready for use that July. The total cost was £22,771, 3s, 10d. The design and visual impact of the new building gained immediate and lasting praise from Thomas MacGill and the writers of subsequent *Guides* to the islands; the London Missionary Society’s representative, S.S. Wilson, noted that ‘the only purely architectural erection is the Naval Hospital, near the mouth of the Grand



Fig. 10. RN Hospital, Bighi, from the Grand Harbour, Malta. Lithograph by Michele Bellanti, 1844.
(Dr. Albert Ganado Melitensia collection)



Fig. 11. Reception room, House of Catalunya, Valletta, as furnished for Whitmore's family use.
Watercolour in album signed by Isabella Whitmore (nee Stoddart) c.1820s.
(Mrs. Pamela Whitmore and Nicholas de Piro)

Harbour, built within the last ten years. It was built by the indigenous islanders, after English designs and under English surveillance ... [and is] the chastest piece of architecture in the island.¹¹

THE CULTURAL MILIEU OF EARLY BRITISH COLONIAL MALTA

In Malta Whitmore and his family actively participated in the sociable life of the other expatriates, including dramatics at the Manoel Theatre, which he had remodelled and oversaw with his son-in-law Nicholas Nugent, the Controller of Land Revenue. Their Valletta residence fronted Marsamxett harbour just below that of Sir John Stoddart, who presided at the Vice-Admiralty court before becoming the second Chief Justice, and

for whom Whitmore may have designed the court room in the ex-Grand Master's Palace. The *Casa Leoni* near Santa Venera was Whitmore's summer residence. His eldest son, George St. Vincent Whitmore, also a Royal Engineer, married Stoddart's daughter, Isabella, a proficient watercolourist whose interior views demonstrate the furnishing and decor their father advocated in order to bring the Knights' bare halls to English standards of comfort. Other family members were also topographical *vedutistas*. (Fig. 11)¹²

Much changed when the Marquess of Hastings (1754–1826) succeeded Maitland in 1824. Retiring as Governor General of India, his expectations of commanding the Ionian Islands, and even the North African consulates and the Neapolitan embassy, were disappointed. But he entertained with viceregal formality on borrowed silver plate and held court



Fig. 12. The Upper Barracca, Valletta, decked out as a pleasure garden to Whitmore's design. Watercolour by Whitmore c.1820s. (*Gloucestershire Archives, P45 F8 Sketch Album no.6, p.15*)

in the Governor's palaces. Whitmore got on well with him socially, but the Ordnance Board did not. During the *Santa Venera festa*, the Hastings family 'condescended' to visit *Casa Leoni* where Whitmore embellished the formal gardens with 'profusely lit jets and all with coloured lights. We had a military band, fireworks and a supper for which an extra temporary room had been constructed. The Royal Family professed themselves pleased and left early.' He designed an even more elaborate display in the Botanical Gardens to celebrate Hastings' charity to a stricken village and showed in a sketch how the Upper Barracca had been arrayed as a pleasure garden. (Fig. 12) Whitmore was also required to extend the summer palace at San Anton with a new guest wing, chapel and greater gardens, and to redecorate the Valletta palace. Giorgio Pullicino (1779–1851) was subsequently commissioned to make

two drawings of this palace interior and an inventory of the works of art in all the palaces.¹³

A prominent British resident was the Rt. Hon. John Hookham Frere (1769–1849), a retired diplomat on a substantial pension who had sought a warm dry climate for his sickly wife, the Dowager Countess of Erroll. From 1821 their Valletta residences were the *Casa Correa de Sousa*, opposite the Manoel Theatre, and a villa at Pieta overlooking Msida creek and Manoel Island. Frere came from an East Anglian squire's family, well educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the law. He was proficient in ancient and modern languages, and had translated Aristophanes's plays. In February 1822 he was admitted to the Maltese Masonic Lodge of St John and St Paul, becoming its treasurer in 1823. In 1824 George St Vincent Whitmore was elected Worshipful Master of the Lodge and regularly re-elected until he

left Malta in 1832. In 1824 Hastings appointed Frere to chair the University council, serving until 1833 when he was made a *Cavaliere* of the Order of St Michael and St George, and to preside over the new House of Industry for training young women. In 1831 Frere had also been appointed to lead the body running the recently commissioned *Biblioteca* (now the National Library) where he made friends with Canon Giuseppe Bellanti (1787–1861), who established the Library, and his brother Michele (1807–83), who was to become the third Professor of Drawing and Director of the *Scuole del Disegno* in 1852.¹⁴

Frere's interest in languages and literature and his encouragement of medical education and expertise led to a wide circle of Maltese and other intellectuals, writers and physicians, and he became an honorary member of the Agrarian Society in 1834 and the Maltese Medical Association in 1843.

They included several professors and members of the University council, and Frere arranged for those translating the Bible into Maltese to use the Church Missionary Society's printing press. He assisted the impoverished republican, Mikiel Vassalli (1737–1823) with his first *Maltese Dictionary*. Whitmore knew Frere well and dined in the company of Sir Humphrey Davy's brother John (1790–1854), a military physician who founded and researched in the military hospital's pathological laboratory; he subsequently published a pioneering study of Malta and the Ionian Islands. Italian exiles included Gabrieli Rossetti (1783–1854) and Dr. Giuseppe-Maria Stilon (1785–1848), employed as a naval physician and personal physician to the Governor and Frere. Stilon also provided a free service to the families supported by the Ladies' Charitable Society, founded in 1822 and later led by Lieut. Governor



Fig. 13. Sarcophagus for the Dowager Countess of Errol and later the Hon. John Hookham Frere PC. designed by J.H. Frere in 1832 with a Latin inscription drafted by his brother, William, Msida Bastion Cemetery, Malta. (*Author's photo*)

Ponsonby's wife, Lady Emily, and a group of British women. Frere's sister, Susan, provided a soup kitchen for the local poor.¹⁵

In 1832 Frere's younger brother visited Malta with some younger family members whose letters home provide a vivid account of this socio-cultural milieu. William (1775–1836) combined work as an East Anglian judge with, from 1812, the first Mastership of Downing College, Cambridge, one of the largest Greek Revival architectural projects in England. The Countess of Errol had just died and Frere was making Pieta his sole residence. William actively supervised the erection of her tomb in the Msida bastion cemetery allocated for Protestant burials from 1806 (Fig. 13). The large sarcophagus is topped with simulated matting scrolls, for which the Carrara marble was shipped from Livorno, and William drafted its long Latin inscription. John Frere

probably designed the tomb, as he did the similar sarcophagus for Susan, who died in 1839. In 1840 Frere designed a severely symbolic monument to Waller Rodwell Wright (1775–1826), the pioneer of Freemasonry in Malta and President of the High Court of Appeal. Its pyramidal form follows both antique models such as the pyramid of Cestius at the Porta San Paolo in Rome and similar monuments designed by Canova. (Fig. 14).¹⁶

Although his eldest son remained in Malta until 1832, Whitmore had already left at the end of 1829, so it is not clear who might have designed the elaborate Neoclassical terraced and balustraded gardens above the Pieta villa and its Grecian Doric belvedere temple, which Frere complained to William was costing £15 without naming the architect. (Fig. 15) Ellul proposed Giorgio Pullicino, who had drawn a project for the new Grecian entrance for the



Fig. 14. Monument to Chief Justice Waller Rodwell Wright (1775–1826), founder of the Freemasons' Lodge in Malta. Designed by J.H. Frere in 1846 and restored in 2002, Msida Bastion Cemetery, Malta. (*Author's photo*)



Fig. 15. Doric belvedere, *Villa Frere* garden, Pieta, Malta, designed by an unknown architect for Frere soon after 1832. (Author's photo)

University where he taught drawing. However, Canon Panzavecchia, its Secretary, recorded Whitmore as its actual designer. (Figs. 16 and 17) The sculpted heads over Frere's garden cisterns were by a Maltese craftsman 'born a builder and carver in stone'. Frere could have commissioned another Royal Engineer officer or one of the Civil Works *periti*. Giorgio Grognet de Vasse (1774–1862) was a regular acquaintance with architectural pretensions who took a particular interest in the sea-level cavern that emerged during the garden's excavations. He imagined this provided evidence for the River Styx and supported his identification of Malta as the legendary Atlantis, published in his book *Epilogo del Atlantide*. But by then Dr. Stilon, who had worked closely with Whitmore during the plague crisis of 1813, had set a trap exposing Grognet as a pedlar in faked antiques, and Whitmore had warned Captain William Smyth RN (1788–1865), a keen antiquary, to cease giving credence to any such 'discovery' in his publications.¹⁷

Whitmore's interest in archaeology and antiquities went beyond his Corfu excavations and exposing fraudsters. Soon after arriving he recorded picnics with a naval officer, Lt. Corner, 'to ransack old graves near Citta Vecchia (Mdina).' Like William Frere he crossed to Gozo to view the Neolithic 'Giant's Tower', then considered Phoenician, which was being unearthed by Magistrate James Somerville and Col. John Otto Beyer, the Lieutenant Governor, who had previously been one of the first British Residents in Ithaca, accommodating travellers in search of Ulysses. Captain Smyth published a notice of their findings in *Archaeologia* in 1829 and was to undertake the considerable task of surveying, unearthing and transporting the substantial masonry from the Roman city of Leptis Magna in North Africa. This had been offered to the Prince Regent by the Pasha of Tripoli and was partially re-erected by Wyatville as a 'Temple of Augustus' at Virginia Water on the edge of Windsor Great Park. Whitmore had sought this task, but Maitland had directed Col. de

Bosset to undertake it. De Bosset had previously been removed from Parga on the Greek mainland for delaying its handover to Ali Pasha, the local Ottoman ruler, and Turkey. He refused to proceed without the necessary funds and RE personnel. So Maitland had him dismissed from the army and his commission. However, Whitmore was given a different special duty to proceed to Rome with another officer to collect the archive of the last Stuart, Cardinal Henry of York (1725–1807). This had been donated

to the Prince Regent by Pope Pius VII in thanks for British help in repatriating most of the ancient sculpture and paintings requisitioned by Napoleon from the Papal States under the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797. During his diplomatic mission to London Canova had inspected the ‘Elgin Marbles’ and advised against their ‘restoration’ and, on returning to Rome, he had donated four of his own works to the British politicians and diplomats who had been particularly helpful.¹⁸

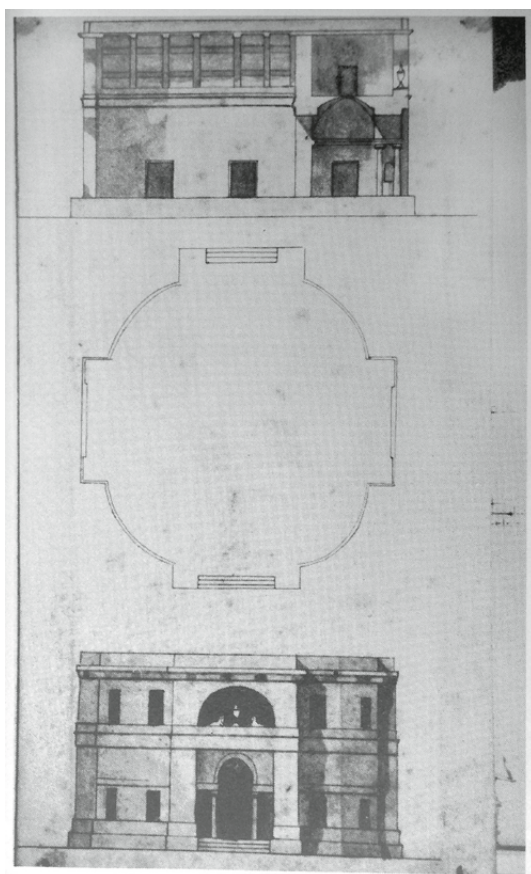


Fig. 16. Projected design for the new Grecian entrance hall of the University of Studies in St Paul's Street, Valletta, by Giorgio Pullicino c.1824 (recto of a later watercolour). (*J. Azzopardi (ed.) 1989, Cat. no.59, pp. 106 and 137: Mdina Cathedral Museum, Malta*)



Fig. 17. The new Doric entrance to the University of Studies, topped by the Royal Arms and installed in 1826, attributed to Whitmore by the University Secretary Canon Panzavecchia.
(*Author's photo*)

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE IN MALTA

WITHOUT A ROYAL ENGINEER IN COMMAND

After Governor Hastings died at sea in 1826 his body was brought back to Malta. Whitmore offered to design a monument, but his widow declined and subsequent arrangements were prolonged. The Acting Governor Lt. Col. A.G.Woodford corresponded with Earl Bathurst in London, recommending a site below St John's cavalier above the bastion which could then become a public

walk, and the Civil Works *Capo Maestro* Salvatore Xerri provided Estimates for a memorial slab within railings. Subsequently a simple Neoclassical canopy was erected, reputedly designed by the Scottish architectural historian James Fergusson (1808–1886). John G. Lough (1798–1876) was commissioned to sculpt the semi-reclining senatorial figure of the late Marquis in marble which, after exhibition at the Royal Academy, was shipped to Malta in December 1848. (Figs. 18 and 19) In 1830 Whitmore took his



Fig. 18. Monumental figure of the Marquess of Hastings, Governor of Malta 1824–26, in Carrara marble sculpted by John Graham Lough and exhibited at the RA in London before its erection, within a Neo-classical canopy attributed to James Fergusson, in Malta in 1848 below St John's cavalier, Valletta. (Author's photo)



Fig. 19. Monument to the the Marquess of Hastings, Governor of Malta 1824–26, with its neo-classical canopy attributed to James Fergusson housing his reclining figure by John Graham Lough, erected within railings in the garden below St John's cavalier. (Author's photo)

first opportunity for a Grand Tour through France to Italy. In Rome he was impressed by Thorvaldsen's sculpture, viewed in his studio and at Carrara, considering it 'more sublime' than Canova's 'more feminine touch'. He also criticised the proportions of the Pantheon and Michelangelo's Medici sculpture in Florence for 'its distortion and extravagance. How different from the dignified repose of Greek sculpture!' He made a plan of La Scala, Milan, and noted the dimensions of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza. Visits to Pompeii and Paestum were the closest he ever got to the actual temples of Sicily and the Greek mainland.¹⁹

Two years later both Lieut. Governor Ponsonby and Sir Frederick Adam were in London, where the former tried to get Whitmore reappointed to Malta and both successfully lobbied to obtain him a Knight Commandership of the Hanoverian (Guelphic) Order. Both Maitland and Hastings had died before implementing their promises, and he no longer qualified for the Order of St Michael and St George. Disappointed at the lack of recognition for all his civil work with little financial reward or status from the titled military and aristocratic grandees he had served, Whitmore felt this honour now gave him 'a lawful position in the world'.²⁰

It seems significant that in 1833 Ponsonby looked to Thorvaldsen in Rome for the satisfactory completion of the next major Neoclassical monument erected in the Upper Barracca. Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham had died in post as Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean, and was interred under a great sarcophagus in Msida bastion cemetery. His monument was commissioned from Ferdinand Dimech in a three part composition: a bust modelled from his smaller one from life, placed on a *cippus* with a bas-relief of his victorious naval engagement in 1813 modelled by R.C. Sconce, and an inscribed plinth. Ponsonby despatched Dimech, presumably with casts of these models, to Thorvaldsen in Rome asking him 'to modify the bust and make it his own work'. He obliged by arranging for J.B. Biliowsky to

carve it in marble, and in June 1834 Dimech was sent to collect the completed works and ship them back in the Governor's yacht, the Lady Emily, and erect them. (Fig. 20) Ponsonby died two years after his resignation in 1836, and was himself commemorated by a tall Doric column surmounted by an urn, essentially an enlargement of Whitmore's earlier memorial to Captain Edwards in the Upper Barracca. Only its base survived a later lightening strike.²¹

Major General Sir Henry Bouverie's



Fig. 20. Monument to Vice Admiral Sir Henry Holtham, KCB, GCMG, C in C Mediterranean, Upper Barracca, Valletta, designed by Ferdinand Dimech and R.C. Sconce with a marble bust sculpted by J. Biliowsky under Thorvaldsen's direction in Rome in 1833–34. (Author's photo)

Governorship coincided with Austen and Lewis's Royal Commission of Enquiry of 1836 into aspects of the Maltese administration and judicial system. Although Commissioner Ball had tried to appoint Maltese candidates to some of the senior posts, by then British judges and other heads of Departments had increased from 10 to 28, consuming 35 per cent of annual government salaries. Some of the Maltese nobility with others had never ceased to campaign for a *Consiglio Popolare* in a regime dominated by this colonial elite, and demands for a representative council had been presented to the British Parliament by Giorgio Mitrovich. Several posts were abolished including those of the Chief Justice (Stoddart), the Attorney General and the Treasurer. Bouverie tried to combine those of Land Revenue and Public Works and in 1837 recommended seeking a North Italian Professor to found a chair of Civil Architecture and Land Surveying at the University, but nothing came of these. Frere shared the commissioners' criticism of Maltese exclusion from the official ruling hierarchy and their advocacy of press freedom as long as the authors were not anonymous, and supported Sarah Austen's pioneering establishment of a set of local schools.²²

When Whitmore was relieved of his joint command of the Royal Engineers and Civil Works this arrangement was not renewed. Salvarore Xerri was briefly in charge but soon died. However Gaetano Xerri, who had erected the Naval hospital, was not appointed Superintendent. Richard Lankesheer (1803–41) was a proficient cabinet-maker who had been sent out to meet Governor Hastings' request for a craftsman to refurnish his residences and state rooms and instruct local carpenters. After Hastings' death in 1826 he was assigned to the Civil Works and subsequently preferred over the Maltese civil artificers/*periti*, much to their resentment. As Superintendent his first major project following the Royal Commission was a new civil prison in 1837, which he based on the British plans, which were subsequently revised to follow Sir Charles Barry's

designs for Pentonville Prison. Even so, Lankesheer's costings proved severely inadequate because he had assumed that stone excavated from the site would be suitable building material. Much worse was to follow.²³

THE SAGA OF ST PAUL'S CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND ITS AFTERMATH

British Protestants in Malta resented that their only available place of worship was in a converted room of the Governor's Palace. S.S. Wilson, a congregationalist missionary, complained of this 'lasting disgrace of our country'. Governor Hastings directed Whitmore to design a new 'Protestant' Church of England and this had a portico of eight Ionic columns. His Estimates were first approved in 1826. A site by the old prison near the Marina gate was cleared for the foundations of his Greek cross plan. But from London Earl Bathurst demanded revised estimates when deeper foundations were found necessary and, to Whitmore's chagrin, work was suspended and the site reverted to commercial use after Hastings died. Various proposals to deconsecrate one of the Knights' chapels for Protestant use always aroused local Catholic opposition.²⁴

It took the convalescent visit of the Dowager Queen Adelaide in 1839 to revive the project and her donation, twice, to realise it with no call on government funds. Lankesheer was asked to make a new design with disastrous results. According to Clement Sconce, the Admiralty's Agent Victualler:

'a cabinet maker was chosen to design and execute the work. Well, some cracks, splits and crushings began to appear in the columns of the portico before half the pediment was built upon it. The Admiralty engineers were summoned to survey and pronounce The portico must all be immediately pulled down The columns within the church, for the support of the gallery and the roof, must come down too. Captain



Fig. 21. The 'west' front of St Paul's Church of England (later co-cathedral), Valletta, redesigned in Malta by William Scamp and erected under W.L. Arrowsmith as Superintendent of Civil Works from 1840–44. Lithograph by Michele Bellanti in 1844. (*Dr. Albert Ganado Melitensia collection*)

Brandreth and Mr. Scamp, who is a first rate fellow, say they never saw ... such an exhibition of ignorance What a disgrace The Maltese are laughing at us.'

William Scamp (1801–1872), the Admiralty's dockyard architect and engineer, who was in Malta to design the first dry dock and the Naval Bakery, was called on to save the project. From 1824–37 he had been Wyatville's clerk of works at Windsor Castle. He redesigned and built St Paul's pro-cathedral, with a dominant spire on its own foundation, on the site of the past Auberge of the German Langue, previously Stoddart's residence, just above where the Whitmores had lived. (Fig. 21) Well before its completion in 1844 Lankesheer had died, probably of suicidal shame, to be commemorated by another Neoclassical sarcophagus in Msida bastion cemetery.²⁵

After such embarrassment Governor Bouverie sought to appoint Gaetano Xerri, who was already acting Superintendent of Civil Works, but was thwarted by the Secretary of State's prior appointment from London of William L. Arrowsmith, who was to play an active role in erecting St Paul's, completing the civil prison and the initial designs for an iron-framed covered market in Valletta. Arrowsmith was a capable architect/engineer, although Bouverie found him 'too ambitious' and his nemesis followed under the next Governor.²⁶

Major General Sir William Reid (1791–1858), Governor from 1851–58, had won Wellington's praise in the Peninsular war and had been Governor of Barbados, and subsequently Bermuda and the Windward Islands, before resigning to take command of the Royal Engineers at Woolwich.



Fig. 22. Doric ablutions exedra, possibly designed by Whitmore and subsequently erected by the RE in the mid 1830s between the Vendome cistern and the Perellos fountain for use of the Pinto Barracks in Lower St Elmo, Valletta. (*Author's photo*)

He had then been proposed by Henry Labouchere MP, President of the Board of Trade, to chair the Executive Committee of the 1851 Great Exhibition. The RE Corps of Miners and Sappers were called in for its construction with Fox and Henderson, of Smethick and Chelsea, as the primary contractors for the Exhibition building. Subsequently Captain (later Sir) Francis Fowke RE, who had built a barracks for Reid in Bermuda, was responsible for both the National School of Design at South Kensington and the first galleries of what became the Victoria and Albert Museum. Fox and Henderson were contracted for the ironwork of new buildings in Malta. When their gas company was also engaged, Arrowsmith was found to have become a secret partner in the firm with the promise of a quarter of its profits and, as a government officer, was suspended for misconduct in 1855. Reid declared that the post of Civil Works superintendence should be 'reserved for the Maltese' and this was maintained when it became the Public Works Department,

although some major projects were initiated from designs by British and other European architects and engineers.²⁷

The Royal Engineers remained responsible for the enlarged Maltese Neo-Baroque city gates of the 1850s, for new lines of defence, and for several substantial, and at Mtarfa Piranesian, new barracks. But even though the prominent Neoclassical garrison chapel, erected in front of the Upper Barracca in 1854, has a pedimented front it has no colonnaded portico, only a Doric porch. By contrast the great new garrison chapel of St George, built in the 1840s in Corfu's Old Fortress, has a Grecian Doric portico of six giant columns. In Malta the era of Grecian Doric designs had ended with one exception after Whitmore's departure. The Doric colonnaded exedra, an ablution block below the cistern in the Vendome bastion for the barracks in Lower Fort St Elmo, appears by its absence from a plan of the adjoining Perellos fountain to have been erected after 1836. (Fig. 22) This would have been

a Royal Engineers project within the fortifications, and could have been by Whitmore, but was delayed in execution, or by another RE officer or a Maltese artificer. Ellul's attribution to Pullicino seems unlikely because he had only worked for the RE during the Plague emergency of 1813 and it was only his students who entered the Civil Works.²⁸

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MALTESE
SCUOLE DEL DISEGNO, THE ROLE OF GIORGIO
PULLICINO, AND ITS LATER ASSOCIATION
WITH SOUTH KENSINGTON**

The University of Studies, re-established by Commissioner Ball in 1800, with Canon F.S. Caruana (1759–1847) as Rector, was essentially a government Department of Education incorporating three distinct components, subsequently reduced to two. The professional courses of Law, Medicine and Theology formed, with Arts, the core of what became the Royal University of Malta. The *Scuole del Disegno* was directed by Michele Busuttill (1762–1831) as Professor of Drawing, in whose studio Pullicino had worked before his studies at the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome, and appointment in 1803 to assist in teaching basic architectural and other drawing. After 181, when Canon Caruana ceased to be Rector, the school was effectively treated as part of the third component: the Lyceum, a secondary grammar school. When Governor Hastings sought to raise the status of the University element through Frere's chairmanship of its council from 1824, and its new Grecian entrance, the other components of the art school and Lyceum remained as one.²⁹

After Peter Paul Caruana (1793–1852), whom Maitland had enabled to study in Rome from 1819, succeeded Busuttill as Professor/Director in 1831, the *Professore* were even redesignated as *Precettore del Disegno* of the Lyceum. Despite Rector Rosignaud's extensive report on the entire sector, following

the 1836 Commission, and the termination of staff prior to its new *Statuto Fondamentale* in 1839, the curriculum and procedures at the *Scuole del Disegno* remained the same although Giorgio Pullicino was then retired. It was a school of drawing making use of antique casts and later Neoclassical sculpture including Canova's lion, with painting as the ultimate goal of those who graduated as artists.³⁰

Although Pullicino introduced Anatomy and Drawing from the Nude in 1803 he soon had to teach such classes at his home studio and was restricted to formal drawing and from 1834 to Architecture comprising civil architecture, perspective, ornament and the elementary geometry needed for understanding architectural models. His examining panel included Calcedonio Bonavia, Whitmore's Assistant Engineer in the RE corps, and Giuseppe Hyzler (1787–1858), who was running his own art school on Nazarene principles after returning from the *Accademia di San Luca*. It was not a Faculty of Architecture but more related to land surveying and constructional drawing.³¹

In 1830, well before retiring, Pullicino applied for a vacancy in the twelve *Periti Agrimensori* and was admitted with a licence to practice as an architect and land surveyor after an examination by the senior *perito*. He was to earn a reputation for arbitrating in land disputes and, until he died in 1851, set up his studio at No. 117 St Paul's Street for the sale of his local views in a variety of oils, watercolours and pen and ink taking after his long deceased uncle, Alberto (1719–1759), whose accomplished views in oils 'painted after nature' had superseded conventional 'bird's eye' panoramas. By contrast several of Giorgio's contemporaries, Massimo Gauci (1775–1854), P.P. Caruana, and Michele Bellanti, had taken the opportunity to learn lithography, in England, Italy and France respectively, with its potentially lucrative opportunity for reproducing a wider range of pictorial subjects.³²

Pullicino's attempts to win ecclesiastical commissions were disappointing. In 1804 his design



Fig. 23. Spencer Monument commissioned from Giorgio Pullicino in 1831 as originally erected at Corradino overlooking the Grand Harbour, Malta. Lithograph by Michele Bellanti in 1844.
(Dr. Albert Ganado Melitensia collection)

for replacing the Dominican church of Porto Salvo lost to Antonio Cachia's conventional twin-towers. And in the 1830s he failed to win a small church commission in Luqa, and his busy Baroque-cum-Roman Neoclassical design to replace Mosta's parish church was also unselected. The winner was Grognet's great Pantheon rotunda with its gross anthemion ornamentation and giant Ionic portico. However Pullicino was commissioned to design the memorial to Captain the Hon. Sir Robert Spencer RN (1791–1830), a cousin of Lt. Governor Ponsonby. He had served in the Mediterranean since 1815, had a large house in Valletta, and died aboard his ship off Alexandria. The tall Romano-Egyptian obelisk was erected in 1831 on the Corradino heights, a landmark for shipping depicted in one of Bellanti's lithographs. (Fig. 23)³³

On 1 Dec. 1852, soon after the deaths of both Pullicino and Caruana, Michele Bellanti was appointed Professor of Drawing and took the *Scuole del Disegno* in a new direction. He had just completed two accomplished altarpieces for Mdina's Carmelite Priory church, adopting the Puristic principles taught by Tommasi Minardi (1787–1871), the influential Professor of Painting at the *Accademia di San Luca* since 1825. Far from ancient Neoclassicism, Raphael was now the approved model, and since 1810 even earlier forms of Italian Christian art had been advocated in Rome by Frederick Overbeck (1789–1869) and his Nazarene disciples from Vienna. Imbibed in Rome and taught in his private painting school in Malta, Giuseppe Hyzler (1787–1858) set out to practice their principles in 'de-baroquing' and redeccorating the

ex-Jesuit church beside the University of Studies and the chapel of the French Langue in St John's.³⁴

In 1845 Minardi had provided Hyzler with a testimonial, so he may have been hoping to succeed Caruana at the *Scuole del Disegno*. About the time of Bellanti's appointment a *Relazione* was submitted, probably by Hyzler, condemning the first fifty years of teaching at the School. It execrated 'Barochismo', 'the stench of Voltarianismo', and 'the return to paganism' with its 'craze for the Antique' and the use of statues and 'polished drawings' instead of 'the graceful narrative.... in the works of Raphael'. Mechanical exercises learnt in Malta had to be unlearned totally in Rome to 'try a different style, another method.' The target was just the kind of bravura nude figure drawing from life and casts exemplified in the earlier generation of works by Busuttil and Caruana and Pullicino's Roman prize drawings.³⁵

Under Bellanti, however, the School took a different direction when, with Lieut. Governor Reid's support, he applied for the *Drawing Class Manuals* followed by those of *Practical Geometry* and *Perspective* produced for the new English Head and Branch Schools of Design emanating from Sir Henry Cole at South Kensington. Responding to a British directive, Reid also established a new Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, with the support of Maltese patrons, in Valletta's *Palazzo de la Salle*. Although he soon introduced afternoon classes, it was not until 1862 that Bellanti was able to establish 'three complimentary disciplines' of figure drawing, perspective, and *chiaroscuro*. Pullicino's son, Giovanni Battista (1815–1901), had taken on his father's teaching after 1839 and was to achieve renown as 'Il padre della Matematica in Malta'. But only in 1851 were Architectural Design and Landscape Surveying formally established in the School's curriculum.³⁶

GEORGE WHITMORE'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER IN THE ROYAL ENGINEERS

Whitmore found retirement in Cheltenham boring. He turned down several unrewarding appointments but the destruction of his coal mine at Pucklechurch (Gloucestershire) by fire was a financial catastrophe and he needed reemployment. Reception of his knighthood gave recognition to his work in Malta and Corfu, and in 1834 he was commissioned to return to Corfu and investigate the ongoing implementation of his fortification designs for Vido Island from which Lord Nugent, Adam's successor, had withdrawn the annual payments. Although Whitmore was disappointed with the unlevelled setting of his Naval Hospital in Malta and the state of the Maltese stone used in Corfu, his 'plantations' in the Esplanade and the roads and aqueduct of Adam's era were in good order. At the Palatiano residence he found Lady Adam's mother alone with her daughter's shrouded portrait. Lord Nugent personally recommended a substantial grant to Whitmore from the Ionian chest in apparent recognition for his unpaid civil work in Corfu. But back at the Ordnance Board in London he discovered that this letter concluded with a diatribe accusing the Royal Engineers of extravagance and mistreatment of the Esplanade. However he was gratified to learn that Nugent had already been recalled and himself appointed President of a Board of Engineers to plan the completion of Corfu's defences.³⁷

Later that year Whitmore took command of the Royal Engineers' Western District based in Plymouth, with quarters in the Citadel on the Hoe and the chance for amateur dramatics again and an enjoyable social life. He was invited to report on the rebuilding of the British Ambassador's residence in Pisa, after a fire, on the strength of his building experience in Corfu. After buying a house in Notting Hill to be nearer his married children in 1839, in the following year, as a Major General, he was appointed Assistant Commandant, and in 1846 Commandant, of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where

he had begun his own military education with expert tutelage from the artist Paul Sandby, chief drawing master from 1768–96. During his time as Commandant the Academy moved into large new site with 144 cadets. Whitmore took a personal interest in the young cadets, who were no longer on the military ‘muster roll’ but regarded as students, with the senior cadets allocated their own rooms, and sports facilities replacing their reputation for loutish drunkenness and bullying their juniors.³⁸

While he was at the Royal Military Academy the Whitmores lived in large mansions on Woolwich Common followed by Blackheath Road, Charlton, which then graced the rural uplands between Woolwich and Shooters Hill. With two of his daughters he and Cordelia ran a substantial household of domestic servants, a gardener and a coachman. Retiring in 1854 as General Sir George Whitmore KCH, RE, he continued to reside with several of his family at Charlton. They went out sketching and he wrote his *Memoirs* and revised his treatise on villa design, which includes the description matching *Mon Repos* in Corfu. After his death in 1862 he was commemorated, with his eldest son and other family members, in a set of brass plaques in Lower Slaughter’s parish church.³⁹

CONCLUSION

Despite the lacunae associated with some of his Maltese works and their undocumented attribution to Giorgio Pullicino, the career and architectural achievements of George Whitmore whilst commanding the Royal Engineers in Colchester, Malta and the Ionian Islands shed a significant light on both the largely self-taught architectural expertise of the Royal Engineers and the use made of it in the absence of other British professionals by the Governors of these newly British territories, experienced military men, over several decades after the Napoleonic wars. It also demonstrates

the importance of the examples provided in the illustrated volumes published by the Society of Dilettanti that reintroduced Grecian forms of Neoclassical design to the central Mediterranean still dominated by Baroque and Roman forms of Classicism. Whitmore’s architectural reputation rests on his designs for the Royal Naval Hospital in Malta and the Palace, Rotunda, and probably the initial plan of the *Mon Repos* villa in Corfu. To these may be added several monuments and porticoes in Valletta and San Anton. His innovative use of Grecian forms was emulated with Philhellenic dedication by his fellow Royal Engineer, Captain Kennedy, in Cephalonia and by the Neoclassical architect John Chronis.⁴⁰

Thanks to the edited publication of Whitmore’s *Memoirs* by Pamela Whitmore and Joan Johnso, and the thorough documentary research of Jordan Dimacopoulos and Sissi Kyriaki on Corfu, and Albert Ganado, Malcolm Borg, Michael Ellul, Donald Sultana, Paul Cassar, Teresa Vella, Hilary Spiteri and others in Malta, this major contribution to British architecture overseas has been revealed. My aim has been to bring this disparate material together, assisted by further documentary research drawn from Whitmore’s own writings and sketches, the records of the Royal Engineers in Malta, the letters of the Chief Secretaries and other Malta Government officers, and the publications of their contemporaries. These provide a more comprehensive account which permits a revision of prevailing misattributions and an interpretation of some developments at the *Scuole del Disegno* for which the records are sporadic. With Whitmore’s departure and the termination of his joint command of the RE and Civil Works, the prevailing use of Grecian forms for new buildings ended in Malta. A remarkable stylistically eclectic period of architectural innovation ensued, dominated in the Public Works by the career of E.L. Galizia (1830–1907) who moved up from a departmental apprenticeship to W.L. Arrowsmith from 1846–48

to his most creative years from 1865 to the 1880s designing the new public cemeteries, Neo-Gothic churches and Neo-Byzantine houses and other public works.⁴¹ But that is another story.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 For Part 1 see D.M. Boswell, ‘Grecian Doric returns to the Central Mediterranean: the achievement of Colonel George Whitmore and the Royal Engineers’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 29 (2021). The Civil Works Department was officially designated in National Archives of Malta: *Blue Book* (1821) pp. 45–46.
- 2 For the troops’ rumour of Adam’s liaison see Letter of 10 Nov. 1823 in B.H. Liddell Hart (ed.), *The Letters of Private Wheeler 1809–1828* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1951) p. 228. Appointed to Madras in 1831, Adam left Corfu in 1832. See: C.F. Napier, *The Colonies-treating their value generally-of the Ionian Islands in particular* (London, 1833). The villa at Zante dated from the Venetian era: see R. Sargin, ‘Neoclassical villas in Zakynthos’, *Pheriplous*, vols. 13–14 (Akrotiri, 1987). The Adams eventually retired to Florence with an adopted Greek ‘niece’ who married a Greek artist and, as Margherita Mignoty, hosted a salon and published on Italian history and current affairs: G.A. Treves, *The Golden Ring: the Anglo-Florentines 1847–1862* (London, 1959) pp. 126–28.
- 3 J. Johnson (ed.), *The General: the Travel Memoirs of General Sir George Whitmore* (Gloucester, 1987) p. 85. V.E.F. Kyriaki, *The Mon Repos Villa in Corfu* (in Greek) (Athens, 2006) pp. 50–52 and 115–23 reproduces the Estimates by Captain Harper RE of 30 June 1828 for building ‘a country house for the Lord High Commissioner’ totalling £4,455, 2s, 3 1/2d, and lists other RE officers on the station. Prosalendis greatly impressed Whitmore by his expertise and dedication to teaching at the Ionian Academy founded by Lord Guilford.
- 4 Both sketches are in Gloucestershire Archives, D45 F56. For Whitmore’s excavations see Johnson *The General*, p. 73; Whitmore (P. Whitmore typescript) pp. 6, 5–9, 86; *Gazetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie*, no. 278 (14/16 April 1823); W. Railton, ‘Description of a newly discovered temple at Cadachio is the island of Corfu’ in C.R. Cockerell *et al* [sic]. *Supplementary to the Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece, Sicily etc.* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, vol. 4. (London, 1830).
- 5 Gloucestershire Archives D45-F49 from which these references originate.

- 6 H.M.Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (London, 2008), p. 1112. V.E.F. Kyriaki (2006), pp. 36–37, 42, 46–47 and 91–99 reproduces a series of later plans and elevations of the villa from 1936–89, photographs and a few prints from its century as a Greek royal residence, and the original designs of town houses by Harper and Chronis in the later 1820s and 30s. See also A. Agoropoulou-Birbili, *The Works of the Kerkyan Architect, John Chronis* (in Greek), (Corfu, 1983). In 1921 the villa was the birthplace of Prince Philip of Greece, subsequently HRH the Duke of Edinburgh. *Ioannis Chronis*, an exhibition arranged and published in Greek by T.E.E. (Corfu, 1997)
- 7 However Jonathan Coad states that, as C in C Mediterranean, Codrington had already lodged this complaint before he sailed for Greece: *Support for the Fleet: Architecture and Engineering of the Royal Naval Bases, 1700–1914* (Swindon, 2013). See also M. Buhagiar, ‘The Artistic Heritage’ in G. Bugeja, M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini (eds.), *Birgu: Malta’s Maritime City*, vol. 2 (Malta, 1993) pp. 450 fn.93; Johnson, *The General*, pp. 76–77; J.G. Coad, ‘Malta’ in *The Royal Dockyards 1600–1859*, (London, 1989) pp. 35–52; K. Borg, *Neoclassical architecture in Malta in the Nineteenth Century*, (BE and A Dissertation, University of Malta, 1982) pp. 45–47; M. Borg, *British Colonial Architecture in Malta in the Nineteenth Century* (Malta, 2001) pp. 26–31; K. Harland, ‘the establishment and early years of operation of the Royal Naval Hospital at Bighi, Malta, 1800–1850’ in T. Curtis and T. Gambin (eds.) *De Triremibus: Festschrift in Honour of Joseph Muscat* (Malta, 2005), pp. 659–78. In 1832 a Doric colonnade, 710 feet long, was erected between Fort St Angelo and the site of Scamp’s Naval Bakery but was demolished after 1979 to restore the facades of the Order’s houses. See J. Bonnici and M. Cassar, *The Malta Harbour and its Dockyard* (Malta, 1994), pp. 42–49 for photographs of this and the various old buildings of the Order used as naval hospitals.
- 8 See n.7 and T. MacGill, *A Handbook or Guide for Strangers visiting Malta* (Malta, 1839) pp. 78–79. Coad (2013) p. 427 refers to Whitmore’s plans: National Archives (TNA) ADM 106/2044, 19 April 1824 and 1826, followed by Bonavia’s plan drawn for the fee of £25, 16d, 8p. with Estimates acceptable to the Inland Revenue Office in London – another example of the specification of Whitmore’s own designs as different from those produced by his office.
- 9 The multipart model was in the store of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, passed on from the United Services Museum. At this author’s suggestion it was a notable foundation gift to the new Maltese Maritime Museum. The derelict hospital was restored for the headquarters of Heritage Malta and its Department of Conservation and the concealed Baroque ornamentation of the facade left revealed as an architectural palimpsest. The plans, signed off by Vice-Admiral Malcolm, were in the attic of the National Museum but may now be in the National Archives of Malta.
- 10 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 76–77 and M. Ellul, ‘Giorgio Pullicino (1779–1851) Architect and Painter: a biography’ in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *Giorgio Pullicino (1779–1851) Architect and Painter* (Malta, 1989) pp. 57–63. Ellul took offence at this disdainful reference to Xerri, having also asserted that an officer commanding the Royal Engineers would only be signing off the designs of his Maltese subordinates. But the ways in which Whitmore’s carefully proportioned design was spoilt are only too clear on site. J. Coad (2013) pp. 370–372, outlines the hospital’s prehistory, replacing one in Minorca when the island was returned Spain after 1814–15, and Figure 16.39 includes a plan of 1863 which shows how the hospital’s capacity for patients was expanded to 244 when medical and other staff housing was built on this hillside, thereby freeing Villa Bighi for officer patients with the dispensary and chapel. A sea-water bath house was also built below the hospital at the harbour’s edge and lift access provided even later.
- 11 Johnson, *The General*, p. 82; K. Harland (2005) p. 670–73; M. Borg (2001) pp. 26–31 and S.S. Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek Mission or Sixteen Years in Malta and the Ionian Islands with remarks on the religious opinions, moral state, social habits, politics, language, history and Lazzarettos of Malta and Gozo* (London, 1839) p. 24. The hospital’s inauguration was celebrated

- in the *Malta Gazette* on 24 March 1832 with an illustration in the *Malta Penny Magazine*.
- 12 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 32, 43 and 73 and D.M. Boswell (2021) pp. 176–77.
 - 13 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 69–72. Ellul (1989) pp. 42–45 describes the inventory of paintings in the Governor's palaces commissioned from Pullicino in 1826 and two untraced drawings in 1834 of the Great Hall of St Michael and St George which had already been depicted as reproduced in T. Vella, *Charles Frederick de Brocktorff: Watercolours of Malta at the National Library, Valletta*, vol. 2 (Malta, 2008) p. 137.
 - 14 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 74 and 82; P. Cassar, 'John Hookham Frere in Malta', *Melita Historica*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Malta, 1984) pp. 49–73; D. Sultana, *The Journey of William Frere to Malta in 1832 preceded by a sketch of his life and of the Frere family with particular reference to John Hookham Frere* (Malta, 1988) pp. 66, 72, 74 and 106; and T. Vella (2008) p. 172. For the Valletta house see V.F. Denaro, *The Houses of Valletta* (Malta, 1967) pp. 52–55. Built to Stefano Ittar's design in the last years of the Order, the Library was fitted out for use under Sir Hildebrand Oakes, whose portrait hangs in the reading room above the royal arms and the fluted Doric screen. Canon Bellanti was the librarian from 1812–38 and became Dean of the Cathedral Chapter. Whitmore's Garrison Library was housed there until 1853 when it was transferred to the Main Guard where Colvin referred to it: see D.M. Boswell (2021) p. 171 and A.E. Abela, 'The National Library of Malta' in *A Nation's Praise: Malta: People, Places and Events*, (Malta, 1994) p. 69.
 - 15 Dr. Paul Cassar (1984) describes Frere's intellectual network as do D. Sultana (1988), Whitmore (P. Whitmore's typescript) pp. 26–65, and P. Vassallo, 'John Hookham Frere and Gabrieli Rossetti: a friendship forged in Malta', *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 17, no. 6. See also J. Davey, *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta etc.* (London, 1842); L. and J. Hamburger, *Troubled Lives: John and Sarah Austen* (Toronto, 1985) pp. 104–5. Vassalli was buried, followed by his widow, in Msida bastion cemetery, an outlaw from the Roman Catholic Church.
 - 16 Sultana (1988) pp. 9, 13–15 and 102. The college with its new lodge was designed by William Wilkins (1778–1839), whose *Antiquities of Magna Graecia* was published in 1807. For Downing College's original plan see: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *Cambridge* (London, 1959) p. 58; R.W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins, 1718–1839* (Cambridge, 1959); T. Rowle, *Cambridge Architecture* (London, 1985) p. 140–3; J.M. Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical attitudes in British Architecture 1760–1870* (London, 1989) pp. 103 and 195; and C. Ceserani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the making of Modern Archaeology* (Oxford, 2012) pp. 159–61. Wilkins' grand Doric Propylaeum was never built. After severe vandalism the monuments of Frere and his sister have been restored by Din l-Hat Helwa as has that of Waller Rodwell Wright: see N. Welsh, *The Msida Bastion Cemetery of Rest* (Malta, 1995). W. Bro. A.M. Broadley, *The History of Freemasonry in the District of Malta from the year 1800 to the present time* (London, 1880) p. 21 illustrates Frere's design for Wright's monument.
 - 17 Sultana (1988) pp. 15, 137–38 and 144 cites the influence of the antiquary Sir William Gell, then residing in Naples, on Frere's garden design. Ellul (1989) pp. 64 and 137, proposed Pullicino because of possible University links. Garden researchers have not found the architect: C. Congreve, 'Villa Frere, Malta', *Country Life*, July (London, 1930); E. Said, 'The picturesque grounds of the Villa Frere in Pieta', *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Malta, 2013). P. Cassar (1984) pp. 64–65 details the sea-level cavern and Grognet's involvement. Whitmore (P. Whitmore's typescript) pp. 6, 85–9, 88 relates Grognet's trade in fakes and M. Agius-Vadala, *Giuseppe-Maria Stilon: a profile* (Malta, privately circulated 1984) this exile's biography. For the University entrance see Ellul (1989) pp. 64 and 131 and *Fondo Panzavecchia*, vol. 84. F.143. Canon F. Panzavecchia then became the first Director of Education from 1844–49 and produced a Maltese Grammar and Dictionary for school use, see D. Marshall, *History of the Maltese Language in Local Education*, (Malta, 1971).
 - 18 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 32–33 and 73–74; Whitmore (P. Whitmore typescript) p. 2/83 of Book Sultana (1988), pp. 121 and 124, illustrates Smyth's published view of *Gigantija* and another drawing commissioned by Frere. See also W. St Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (Oxford,

- 2002 edn.) pp. 149 and 223–25; C. Pietrangeli, ‘Ambassador Extraordinaire’ in *Canova* (Venice, 1992) pp. 56–59. Corner was Magistrate for the Ports and Intendant of the Marine Police and had a substantial art collection and library sold after his death in 1818: see A. Ganado, ‘Giovanni Schranz (1794–1882) a biography’ in G. Bonello (ed.), *Celebrating 200 years of Schranz* (Malta, 2017) pp. 284 and 331, n. 24. Contrasting assessments of de Bosset’s saga are presented in Johnson, *The General*, pp. 49–50 with Whitmore’s dismissal of his antiquarian plagiarism and ignorance of architecture and his inactivity at Parga so that Adam and Whitmore were sent to effect its Greek evacuation. De Bosset published his own *apologia* in 1818, *Proceedings in Parga and the Ionian Islands with a series of correspondence and other justifying documents*, after getting to London where he sought a pension for retirement to his native Switzerland. He had recruited Swiss troops from the defeated French in Spain, brought them to join Rolle’s regiment in Sicily and then to take Santa Maura for the British. Given charge of Cephalonia by General Oswald, he failed to meet Maitland’s approval after 1814.
- 19 Johnson, *The General*, p. 73; K. Borg (Malta University, 1982) p. 36; T. Vella (Malta, 2008) p. 79. For the subsequent monument, see A. Ganado and A. Espinosa Rodriguez, *An Encyclopaedia of Artists with a Malta Connection* (Malta, 2018) p. 367; R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1661–1852* (London, 1951 2nd. ed.) pp. 142–44. Lough had studied at the RA and in Rome from 1834–38 and had recently sculpted statues of the Prince Consort and the Queen for London’s Royal Exchange. Fergusson was a Scottish architectural historian, author of *Modern Styles of Architecture* (London, 1862) and a severe critic of Grognet’s Mosta church. Whitmore’s Grand Tour with his specific evaluations are discussed in J. Johnson, *The General*, pp. 137–38, 140–45, 151, 172, 179, 192 and 195.
- 20 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 81–82.21.
- 21 M. Ellul, ‘The monument to Sir Henry Hotham: in quest for a sculptor’ in S. Sorensen and J. Schiro (eds.), *Thorvaldsen’s Visit: based on the unpublished Diary of Peder Pavels* (Malta, 1996) pp. 101–04; G. S. Bunbury (ed.), *Life and Letters of Robert Clement Sconce, formerly Secretary to Admiral Sir John Duckworth* (London, 1861) pp. 193–94. Dr. Albert Ganado notes that the Malta Librarian, Cesare Vassallo, in his *Giornale* of 1845, recorded Giuseppe Hyzler as designer of Ponsonby’s column, (Neo-classicism from a Nazarene!). Ellul, (1989) pp. 76–77, states that Giorgio Pullicino’s son Raffaello (1827–c.1872), a surveyor in the Land Revenue Department, produced a design for its restoration after 1854 but it has remained a truncated base.
- 22 G.A. Pirota, *The Maltese Public Service, 1840–1940: The Administrative Politics of a Micro-State* (Malta, 2001), pp. 141–42 and 172–73; L. and J. Hamburger, (1985) pp. 104–06. M. Borg, (2001) p. 155 and Appendix 3:7 provides the text of Bouverie’s letter to Lord Glenelg on 29 Sept 1837, seeking a well qualified and independent person ‘conversant with the professional habits and the language of the workpeople with the mode of building and executing other kinds of work practised in Malta.’ It is notable that when Stoddart’s post was terminated without a substantial pension from the Government of Malta, he lobbied opposition MPs to support his case, but when Whitmore was summoned to attend a House of Commons’ Committee of Enquiry seeking to reduce expenditure on the military defence of Malta he reacted against its extension by the Radical Joseph Hume and others to an attack on the salaries of Governors and their employees: see J. Johnson, *The General*, p. 88.
- 23 Borg, (2001) pp. 53–59. Lankesheer’s appointments were made in National Archives of Malta, CSG letters 28 Dec. 1826 and 18 Feb. 1830.
- 24 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 76–77; A. Bonnici, ‘Thirty years to build a Protestant church’, *Melita Historica* vol. 1 no. 2 (Malta, 1972) pp. 182–191; S.S. Wilson (1833), p. 23. Vella, (2008), p. 133 reproduces the furnished chapel plan for the converted room in the Palace. From April to October 1825 a series of National Archives of Malta CSG letters relate to Whitmore’s church Estimates, site valuation, building approval, and a final call for a revised estimate. Valletta house plans with one of the old Knights’ hospital with Whitmore’s dispatch of 2 Nov. 1825 may also be related: see NA (Kew), MPH 1/912/29–31.
- 25 Johnson, *The General*, p. 76; M. Galea, ‘Queen Adelaide in Malta’, *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 13,

- no.2 (Malta, 2007); G.S. Bunbury (ed.), (1861) vol. 2, pp. 131–32; C. Thake, *William Scamp (1801–1872: an Architect of the British Admiralty in Malta)* (Malta, 2001) pp. 56–87. Scamp was also critical of the local workmen’s habits and lack of knowledge of how to build pitched roofs. M. Caruana and A.G. Littlejohn, ‘St Paul’s Anglican pro-cathedral in Malta’, *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Malta, 1998), figs. 34 and 36 reproduce elevations of Lankesheer’s church with its central steeple front based on Gibbs’s St Mary-le-Strand and St Martin-in-the-Fields. Capt. Roland Henry Brandreth RE was from 1837 Director of Engineering and Architectural Works, i.e. head of the Admiralty Works Department which was staffed from the Board of Ordnance by RE officers: See P. Guillery (ed.) *Woolwich, vol. 48, Survey of London* (Swindon, 2012), p. 101 and J. Coad (2013), Fig. 11.17, p. 243; TNA ADM 1040/1285.1 for the Naval Bakery which was built from 1842–44.
- 26 For Civil Works completed and subsequent projects of W.L. Arrowsmith see M. Borg, (2001) pp. 55–57, 63–65, 108 and 121.
- 27 Borg (2001) pp. 109 and 130–33. In 1839 Reid had already been involved with Malta in a scheme, never implemented, to relieve its population pressures by taking men and their families on contracts to work in Bermuda’s plantations after the abolition of slavery: see C.A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: a study in nineteenth century migration* (Melbourne, 1954) pp. 47–48. Although appointed as Civil Governor without command of the armed forces, he immediately used his RE expertise to set in train a major review of the defence works to increase their scale of armament: see H.I. Lee, *Malta 1813–1914: A Study in Constitutional and Strategic Development*, (Malta, 1973) pp. 150–52. For fuller data on Governor Reid’s career and the role of the Royal Engineers in 1851 etc. see: W.Porter, *History of the Royal Engineers*, vol. 2 (London, 1889) pp. 48–50 and 449–56 and his DNB entry. See also J. Physick, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: the history of its building* (Oxford, 1982) pp. 26–30 and Chs. 3–7, and H. Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Art, Science and Productive Industry: a History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London, 2002) pp. 17, 76, 87 and 90.
- 28 Ellul, (1989) p. 66 found this fountain plan dated 1836 at the NA (Kew). The only published plan of this exedra in Lower Fort St Elmo is in S.C. Spiteri, *British Military Architecture in Malta* (Malta, 1996) pp. 178–79. For the chapel see Borg (1982) pp. 99–100 and Plates 9 and 10.
- 29 A.P. Vella, *The University of Malta: a bicentenary Memorial* (Malta, 1969) pp. 63–64; Ellul, (1989) pp. 13–29, 37–39, 64–66 and 137 and H. Spiteri, *Academic and Artistic Training in Early British Malta* (Malta, 2011) pp. 21–40 and 128–29. As Rector, Canon F.S. Caruana was instrumental in establishing the *Scuole del Disegno* but diverted elsewhere after 1822 as Archdeacon and then Bishop of Malta from 1831–47. For the Busuttills see S. Debono and B. Scicluna (eds.), *The Busuttill Family: a legacy of three generations* (Malta, 2010).
- 30 H. Spiteri, (2011) pp. 33–40, 50–60, 63–64, 129 and 170. The first casts were obtained between 1803–09. Those surviving carry undated plates of M. Gherardi in Rome but also include examples from the Parthenon frieze in London which were probably ordered directly like those obtained by Prof. Prosalendis for Corfu.
- 31 Ellul, (1989) pp. 36 and 39.
- 32 Ellul, (1989) p. 45; A. Espinosa Rodriguez, ‘The Art of Giorgio Pullicino’ and ‘Catalogue of Entries’ in J. Azzopardi (ed.), (1989) pp. 83–137. For Alberto Pullicino see: D.M. Boswell, ‘Alberto Pullicino: his Life and Times in Eighteenth Century Malta’, *Melita Historica*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Malta, 1987); ‘Malta’s Canaletto: Alberto Pullicino “a painter after nature” and his circle’, *Apollon*. Dec. (London, 1990) and “The significance of Alberto Pullicino’s Urban Harbour Views’, *Treasures of Malta* vol. I no. 3 (Malta, 1995). For Gauci see: J. Attard Tabone, ‘A portrait of Massimo Gauci: a case of mistaken identity’, *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Malta, 2004). For Caruana and Bellanti see: A. Ganado, ‘Pietro Paolo Caruana; the first lithographs produced in Malta’ in M. Buhagiar, *Proceedings of History Week 1981* (Malta, 1982) and A. Ganado, ‘Michele Bellanti (1817–1883): a Gifted Maltese Artist’ in W. Zammit (ed.), *The Bellanti Family: contributions to Art and Culture in Malta*, (Malta, 2010).
- 33 Ellul, (1989) pp. 48–50 describes Pullicino’s church designs, and L. Mahoney, *500 Years of Architecture in Malta* (Malta, 1996) p. 213

- reproduces the Mosta west front elevation which is discussed in comparison with Grognet's very different rotunda by D.de Lucca and H. Bonnici, 'Urban development in Mosta' in L.J. Scerri (ed.), *Mosta in the Heart of Malta* (Malta, 1996) pp. 68–76. Bishop Caruana's absence from this church's consecration celebrations has been assumed to imply that he favoured Pullicino's longitudinal plan. For the Spencer obelisk see Ellul, (1989) pp. 56–57 and *Malta Government Gazette*, 23 June, (Malta, 1831).
- 34 M. Buhagiar, *The iconography of the Maltese Islands 1400–1900* (Malta, 1987) pp. 168–69; T. Vella, 'Michele Bellanti: a Life in Art', in W. Zammit (ed.) (2010) pp. 117–10; A. Ganado, 'The dismantling of de Rowan's monument in the Conventual Church of St. John', *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 14 no. 3 (Malta, 2008) and A. Espinosa Rodriguez, 'The Monument of the Count of Beaujolais', *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 6 no. 3 (Malta, 2000). Bellanti's only major architectural design was a substantial semi-Gothic residence for his son at No. 242 Tower Road, now demolished with most of Sliema's fine seafront houses.
- 35 H. Spiteri, (2011) Appendix 5, pp. 173–76: *Relazione dello stato delle Scuole del Disegno nell' Università de Malta, dal 1802–1850*, NAM GMR71. I am grateful to Joyce Darby for her translation. Ellul, (1989) pp. 33–34 notes that architecture teaching was also criticised and Cutajar, who attributes the report to Hyzler, also describes his painting style and the Nazarene influence on a generation of sometimes mediocre altarpiece painters. See D. Cutajar and F. Fiorentini, 'Trends and influences in Maltese Art 1800–1964' in V. Mallia-Millanes (ed.), *The British Colonial Experience: the Impact on Maltese Society* (Malta, 1988) pp. 235–38. See also K. Andrews, *The Nazareners: a Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome* (Oxford, 1954); M. Buhagiar, (1987) pp. 168–69; M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini, *Mdina: the Cathedral City of Malta*, 2 vols, (Malta, 1996) pp. 660–666 illustrates their marble memorial ledgers in the cathedral floor, and A. Ganado and A. Espinosa Rodriguez, (2010) pp. 334–36. For Pullicino's academic prize winning drawings from life and those of Peter Paul and Raffaele Caruana from life and casts see: Ellul, (1989) pp. 22–23 and 26–27 and H. Spiteri, (2011) pp. 96–108.
- 36 Joseph Attard Tabone kindly sent me copies of this correspondence between the Government in Malta and Sir Henry Cole dated 29 Nov., 3 Dec., and 31 Dec. 1852 from NAM CGS/01/52 Reid vol.16.2255/Educ/1852. See also M. Ellul (1989) pp. 75–76 ; H. Spiteri, (2011) pp. 52 and 130 and P. Agius, *150th Anniversary (1852–2002) – Malta Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce* (Malta, 2002). Bellanti retired in 1877. See also H. Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work*, 2 vols (London, 1884) and accounts of the curriculum and architectural forms of British art school developments in D.M. Boswell, 'Arts with Crafts: a new School of Art for Leeds' in C. Miller (ed.) *Behind the Mosaic: one hundred years of Art Education* (Leeds, 2003) and G. Tyack, 'The Architecture of Art Education' in E. Gillin and H.H. Joyce (eds.), *Experiencing Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2019).
- 37 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 79–80 and 82–89.
- 38 Johnson, *The General*, pp. 92–93 and P. Guillery (ed.), (Swindon, 2012) pp. 144 and 426–27.
- 39 Whitmore refers to his appointment as Lieut. Governor of the RMA and as successor to the Master General and he is also referred to as the Commandant. However, because there were similar titles for those in command of the RA barracks and in overall charge of Woolwich, it is not easy to determine to whom the official 'Governor's Houses' were allocated. Whitmore seems to have found his own residences but they were probably officially funded. The census returns for 1851 and 1861 list his household. His daughter's sketches record their excursions in Kent without identifying their actual house in Charlton. The next generation reclaimed their ancestral home, Lower Slaughter Manor in the Cotswolds, and commissioned Pugin's disciple, Benjamin Ferrey, to rebuild St Mary's church except its Norman north aisle, in 1866–67. They enlarged the manor house in 1891 and added a National School and other village buildings to the designs of Edmund B. Ferrey: See D. Verrey and A. Brooks, *Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds* (London, 2002), pp. 461–63.
- 40 Borg (2001) pp. 86–95 and C. Thake, 'Emanuele Luigi Galizia (1830–1907): Architect of the Romantic Movement', *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 4 no. 3 (Malta, 2000). Kennedy's buildings are discussed and reproduced in D.M. Boswell (2021), Figures 19–21.