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**THE PATRONAGE AND COLLECTING OF JAMES BRYDGES, FIRST**

**DUKE OF CHANDOS (1674-1744)**

**Vol.I**

Susan Jenkins

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.  
September 2001.

51,416 words

The role of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos (1674-1744) as an important patron of the arts in the early eighteenth century has been overlooked and misrepresented by scholars, encouraged by the destruction of his principal monument, Cannons, the country house which was pulled down after the Duke's death and whose contents were sold in 1747. The Duke's activities ranged from architectural projects such as the building and furnishing of Cannons in Edgware and building projects in Bath, Bridgwater and London, to the collecting and commissioning of works of art, books and sculpture and musical patronage. Chandos's patronage became linked with the debate about taste, consumption and luxury which developed in the eighteenth century, encouraged by a fellow-patron, Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington. The significance of Chandos as a patron has been ignored at the expense of the Earl of Burlington. This thesis offers a re-examination of Chandos's activities through a thorough investigation of archival sources, particularly in the Huntington Library, Pasadena. It offers a re-assessment of the Duke's significance as a patron and suggests that he was part of a circle of noblemen who sought to present themselves as Augustan patrons of the arts in the new Augustan age, who were interested in the development of Palladianism and the re-introduction of Italianate taste into England. It argues that Chandos was thus one of the leaders at the forefront of innovations in art and architecture in England.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


I would like to thank Michael Liversidge for his guidance with my research and the GNS Fund of the History of Art Department, at the University of Bristol, for the scholarship which funded it. I would also like to thank Dr. Brian Allen of the Paul Mellon Centre, London for the grant of an Andrew Mellon Fellowship attached to the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven for the academic year 1997-98.

## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED: 

DATE: 27/09/01

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## INTRODUCTION

### **James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos, “...by every virtue grac’d...”: reputation and critical fortunes**

Described by one panegyrist as “England’s Apollo”, James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos (1674-1744) was an outstanding patron of the arts in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> His patronage attracted poetic tributes such as Charles Gildon’s verses of 1717, which proclaimed that:

The Arts in him have now a patron found,  
To them his Bounty does diffuse around.<sup>2</sup>

As an architectural patron he consulted important eighteenth-century architects such as William Talman, James Gibbs, John James, Sir John Vanbrugh and Edward Shepherd. As an artistic patron he commissioned work from the great painters of his time, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Michael Dahl, Antonio Bellucci and Sir James Thornhill. His interest in music and literature led him to support George Frederick Handel (who lived with him at Cannons from 1717-1719) and John Gay who produced a poetic tribute that identified him as one of the most important patrons of the early eighteenth century. Gay’s biographer shows how the poet linked Chandos with Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington and praised them both as “enlightened patrons... and patriotic heroes... striving to domesticate a taste for Continental art”.<sup>3</sup>

Censure will blame, her breath was ever spent  
To blast the laurels of the Eminent.  
While Burlington’s proportion’d columns rise,  
Does he not stand the gaze of envious eyes?  
Doors, windows are condemn’d by passing fools  
Who know not that they damn Palladio’s rules.  
If Chandos with a lib’ral hand bestow  
Censure imputes it all to pomp and show:  
When if the motive right were understood,  
His daily pleasure is in doing good.<sup>4</sup>

Gay's tribute shows that contemporaries recognised Chandos as an important patron of the arts, but that even by 1720 he had a mixed reputation for his patronage. A letter from Sir John Vanbrugh to the Duke of Newcastle in the same year reinforces this view. Vanbrugh comments that "to deal justly with his Magnificence, we found Nothing at all in it Ridiculous or Foppish as many People have Represented".<sup>5</sup>

Chandos's reputation was further damaged by Alexander Pope's poem Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington Occasion'd by his publishing Palladio's Designs of the Baths, Arches, Theatres &c of Ancient Rome published in 1731 (see Chapter 2).<sup>6</sup> This poem was originally conceived as the frontispiece to the second volume of Burlington's Fabbriche antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, Vicentino, a work which was never published. Pope describes the house and grounds of an aristocrat called Timon who built an extravagant, but tasteless, country residence. The poem was immediately interpreted by contemporaries as a satire on Cannons and the Duke of Chandos, a view which was supported by Dr Johnson in his The Lives of the most eminent English Poets of 1753: "By Timon he was universally supposed and by the Earl of Burlington, to whom the poem is addressed, was privately said, to mean the Duke of Chandos, a man perhaps too much delighted with pomp and show".<sup>7</sup>

The Duke of Chandos's reputation for tasteless extravagance has obscured his achievements as a patron. The issue of extravagance or "luxury" was particularly topical in English society at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which modelled itself on the Rome of Augustus Caesar (27 B.C. to 14 A.D.) and believed that "luxury" had caused the downfall of the Roman Empire. According to Christopher Berry, the early eighteenth century "was the period when the debate as to the meaning and value-laden status of luxury came into prominence, a time when "luxury" became an omniscient explanation-cum-scapegoat for various social ills."<sup>8</sup> Berry shows that according to the Roman historian, Livy, private luxury was a self-indulgence that would lead to the corruption of the ideal of public service and the decline of the state.



Concern about the ill effects of luxury and extravagance in eighteenth century England stemmed from the political upheaval of the Glorious Revolution and the rise to power of a self-made Whig oligarchy. Contemporaries feared that the self-indulgent excesses of the new oligarchy would lead to the collapse of liberal, democratic rule in England, repeating events that had led to the fall of Rome and ensuring that Augustan England shared the fate of Augustan Rome. The contemporary English debate focussed on the search for acceptable standards of conduct and discrimination between beneficial luxury and the luxury of excess.<sup>9</sup> Commentators encouraged patrons to act for the national and public good. One important focus for this was the “building, furnishing and equipping of aristocratic country houses”.<sup>10</sup>

The most important thinker to influence the debate on luxury was the philosopher-earl Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713).<sup>11</sup> Lord Shaftesbury’s Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design (written in 1711) argued for the creation of a national taste exercised by gentlemen-connoisseurs, who were informed by the model of Italian art.<sup>12</sup> Under British constitutional government, where great men exercised power and patronage, they had a moral duty to cultivate this “right Taste” which would contribute to the development of England’s national greatness. These men should reject the backward-looking architectural style of the Baroque and spend their money on enlightened Palladian neo-classical architecture:

When a great Man builds his country-house, he will find little Quarter from the Publick, if instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises, at vast expense, such a false and counterfeit Piece of Magnificence as can be justly arraigned for its Deformity by so many knowing Men in Art and by the whole People.<sup>13</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was sympathetic to Lord Shaftesbury’s views. His library contained a copy of the Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury and he saw himself as one of Shaftesbury’s “great men”, building a “beautiful pile”, in the belief that he was offering a tribute to the new national school of Palladian architecture.<sup>14</sup>

Shaftesbury's views were challenged by Bernard Mandeville, a Dutch doctor of medicine and writer of socio-political tracts who came to England in the 1690s. In his controversial The Fable of the Bees (Vol.1) written in 1714, Mandeville argued that indiscriminate expenditure of any kind, for any purpose, would contribute to national greatness.<sup>15</sup> He acknowledged that conspicuous consumption created vain and greedy men, and that commercial activity was inconsistent with the practice of virtue, but he maintained that prosperity and economic growth depended on luxurious consumption and that those with higher incomes should spend them on luxury goods:

The Root of Evil, Avarice  
That dam'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,  
Was Slave to Prodigality,  
That noble Sin; whilst Luxury  
Employ'd a Million more:  
Envy it self, and Vanity,  
Were Ministers of Industry;  
Their darling Folly, fickleness,  
In Diet, Furniture and Dress,  
That strange ridic'lous Vice, was made  
The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade.<sup>16</sup>

The Fable of the Bees had many critics, who, like John Dennis, objected to the way Mandeville had removed the moral dimension from luxury:

When there is a general contention who shall out do and outshine his neighbour in the pomp and splendour of it: in the pomp and splendor of buildings, furniture, gardens, apparel, equipage and sumptuous table... then riches, the food and support of luxury are fought for with insatiable avarice and to obtain them, the most solemn obligations are infringed, the most sacred truths violated.<sup>17</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was building Cannons at the height of the debate about taste, luxury and the right way to spend money, which is why the impact of Pope's Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington was so significant. The poem destroyed Chandos's reputation as a patron of the arts and ensured that he is remembered as a man lacking in taste. Lord Burlington must bear the responsibility for the demise of the Duke of Chandos's reputation as a patron of the arts. He encouraged

Pope to develop the poem that was dedicated to him in a way that implicates him in seeking to destroy a rival patron.<sup>18</sup>

The many interests and activities shared by the Duke of Chandos and Lord Burlington seem to have fostered rivalry rather than friendship.<sup>19</sup> Both men were patrons of Handel and founder subscribers to the Royal Academy of Music in 1719. Their families were linked through the marriage of Chandos's second son, Henry Brydges, (who became the second Duke) to Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of Burlington's brother-in-law Charles, third Earl of Ailesbury, in 1728.<sup>20</sup> Chandos knew Burlington sufficiently well to correspond with him about the gift of a dog in 1725.<sup>21</sup>

The most important common bond between the two peers was their interest in architecture and architectural patronage. They were both part of a circle of amateur architects which included Dr Henry Aldrich of Christ Church College, Oxford, Dr George Clarke (Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford and Chandos's travelling companion on his tour of the Netherlands in 1706), Robert Benson, first Baron Bingley (builder of Bramham Park and patron of the architects John Wood and Giacomo Leoni) and Lord Herbert (who became 9th Earl of Pembroke).<sup>22</sup>

Chandos and Burlington were equally involved both in the study and practice of architecture. Chandos's library contained a number of architectural books including editions of Vitruvius, Serlio, Alberti and Palladio. His interest in Burlington's architectural ideas is demonstrated by his ownership of a rare copy of Burlington's *Fabbriche antiche* (London, 1730).<sup>23</sup> Both noblemen carried their interest in architecture beyond the library. Lord Chesterfield criticised the Earl of Burlington for his practical involvement in architecture, writing to his son:

You may soon be acquainted with the considerable parts of Civil Architecture, and for the minute and mechanical parts of it, leave them to masons, bricklayers, and

Lord Burlington, who has, to a certain extent, lessened himself by knowing them too well.<sup>24</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was also guilty of a practical approach, asking his cousin,

William Brydges, Master Surveyor of the Ordnance at the Tower of London, in 1713:

what Instruments you wd advise me to put in one of ye mathematical cases. As I am upon making alteracons here I have frequent occasion to be drawing lines & want such an one very much...<sup>25</sup>

Lord Burlington's architectural activities have been the subject of considerable scholarship, whereas the Duke of Chandos's architectural involvement has been largely overlooked and even derided. It is ironic that the demise of Chandos's reputation for patronage, which began with Lord Burlington's connivance in the eighteenth century, has been perpetuated by scholars who have focussed on the "Architect Earl" (Burlington), thereby overlooking the contribution of other eighteenth-century patrons.<sup>26</sup> Research has allocated Lord Burlington a pivotal place in the history of English architecture as the founder of the Palladian school, whilst criticising the Duke of Chandos for tasteless extravagance, although the tide of scholarship may now be turning against Lord Burlington.<sup>27</sup>

A summary of the historiography shows the relative positions of Lord Burlington and the Duke of Chandos in the history of patronage. Howard Colvin identifies Lord Burlington as the founder of an English national school of architecture:

It was under his direction that Palladianism became the national style of Georgian England, triumphing over the insular Baroque of Wren and Vanbrugh to give Europe an equally insular premonition of the neoclassicism that was eventually to prevail everywhere over the Baroque and the Rococo. Taking an initiative that in any other European state would have been the prerogative of the ruler, he was able both to fill the Office of the King's Works with his nominees and to build up a circle of like-minded gentry who propagated his architectural gospel in the country. By the time of his death in 1753, what for him had been a highly intellectual interpretation of the architecture of classical antiquity, studied largely through the drawings of Palladio, had become a vernacular style.<sup>28</sup>

Rudolph Wittkower believed that Lord Burlington's influence had led to a:

Renaissance in arts such as England had never seen before... all the arts - painting, sculpture, architecture, music and literature - not least through Burlington's activities were united and reborn in a spirit which emulated the ancients.<sup>29</sup>

But Wittkower rejected the Duke of Chandos's claims as a patron of the arts:

Neither his collections of pictures and books nor his buildings betray an educated or discriminating mind. Only his love for music and his patronage of Pepusch and Handel seem to have sprung from genuine enthusiasm and understanding. His pictures were acquired by agents on whom he relied, and, with the exception of Cannons and Bath, he used second and third rate architects for his various building ventures... In Cannons, where he set out to appear as a great Maecenas of the arts he used in quick succession the services of William Talman, John James and James Gibbs and he asked even Vanbrugh for advice; but nowhere in the published correspondence is there any sign of real appreciation of artistic problems. In my opinion the claim that Chandos was a sincere patron of the liberal arts gives him too much credit nor do I share the authors' view that the architecture of Cannons expressed the new Palladian idiom.<sup>30</sup>

Scholars have used judgments about his taste to dismiss the Duke of Chandos's patronage. Francis Watson, for instance, in his article 'English Villas and Venetian Decorators', states that:

There is no doubt Venetian wall painting did not fit in with English Palladianism and English taste. I suspect the reason why we employed it so lavishly at places like Cannons and Moor Park was that they were being built...for people in whom there was a very distinct trace of vulgarity.<sup>31</sup>

The architectural historian, Kerry Downes suggests that Chandos's taste was "uninformed and unsure" and doubts the importance of Cannons, which became "with the destruction of the original, a myth which has persisted even in spite of modern research".<sup>32</sup> To Downes, Cannons is an example of the old-fashioned Baroque style "to some extent because it fits nowhere else".

But Cannons was not a Baroque mansion. It was built during a period of transition in English architecture. The number of different architects employed from 1713-1723, suggests that Chandos assumed overall responsibility for its design and wished to keep up with innovations in architectural style. According to Dudley Ryder, (a young lawyer who visited in 1715), the Duke was "changeable and fickle" because he had: "just begun to destroy the form of his parterre after a great expense laid out

upon it and... had pulled down the whole side of his house that he had but just built up and he's now built it up again because it did not please his fancy."<sup>33</sup> Chandos's complete involvement in the architectural development of Cannons is confirmed in his letter deferring to the "good taste" of his friend and fellow amateur-architect, Lord Bingley. He wrote to confirm that:

I have agreed to alter the Design I had form'd & instead of breaking the Entablature I propose to carry it streight & make it project over the middle part of the House where the Pillars are. These too (instead of making them semi collums) I intend to make almost entire Collumns: but for ye Rusticate Pillaster I never heard of any Place where such a Design hath been executed & I confess I cannot bring my self to like it from ye view I have had of it on Paper I should think it more proper for a Situation near a River than such an One as mine is.<sup>34</sup>

In 1714, when building work at Cannons commenced, the Palladian movement in England had not yet begun. The Duke of Chandos, however, kept abreast of architectural developments through his brother-in-law Richard Child (Viscount Castlemaine from 1718 and First Earl Tylney from 1731), who had commissioned the founder of the new movement, Colen Campbell to build his great Palladian mansion, Wanstead House (from 1715-22).<sup>35</sup> Giles Worsley believes that the Duke of Chandos struggled to update Cannons in line with Campbell's architectural innovations, suggesting that he rejected the Italianate facade designed by Gibbs for Cannons because: "nothing could have contrasted more strongly with Campbell's message in Vitruvius Britannicus" and proposes that: "Gibbs's dismissal from Cannons in 1719 was influenced by this as was undoubtedly the case at Burlington House".<sup>36</sup>

Contemporary visitors to Cannons such as John Macky and Daniel Defoe commented on the extravagance of the house, but did not consider it to be old-fashioned. According to Defoe: "the whole structure is built with such a profusion of expence and all finish'd with such a brightness of fancy, goodness of judgment; that I can assure you, we see many palaces of sovereign princes abroad, which do not equal it".<sup>36</sup> A French tourist who visited in 1728 agreed with him that: "Cannons passe pour

la plus belle et la plus ornée de toutes les maisons de campagne autour de Londres” and considered it a good example of “le goût italien”.<sup>37</sup>

The Duke was also responsible for a number of other building and architectural projects in Bath, Bridgwater and London, and developed a significant collection of books and works of art. He was an enlightened and active patron and collector, who embraced new ideas and sought to position himself at the forefront of patronage in the Augustan age as a great ‘Apollo of the arts’. Although contemporaries acknowledged his role, his position has subsequently been marginalised, because of the dispersal of his collection and the piecemeal sale of the fabric of Cannons as payment to creditors on the Duke’s death.<sup>38</sup>

This study re-appraises the Duke of Chandos as a patron and collector in the first half of the eighteenth century and reassesses his importance. It questions the prevailing interpretation of Chandos as the epitome of bad taste through the analysis of a wide range of documentary sources and contemporary accounts and reconsiders the Duke’s part in the formation of a national English architectural taste. In conclusion, it re-establishes Chandos’s position as an Augustan patron of the arts and contemporary Maecenas who, with Lord Burlington could be justly hailed as an “enlightened patron and patriotic hero striving to domesticate a taste for continental art”.<sup>39</sup>

The Duke’s obituary in the Gentleman’s Magazine in August 1744 provides a more generous assessment of his patronage than recent scholarship:

And is he gone? The gentlest, noblest mind,  
The lover and the love of human kind.  
Chandos whose wealth by every virtue grac’d,  
Showed how Heaven’s bounty shines when justly placed.  
So true a judge, a patron so direct,  
A hand so generous, so true a heart.  
All who could feel its warmth, his power confessed,  
And all who felt it, own such greatness blessed.

Now let the Muse, who feels his absense most  
Deplore his virtues or example lost.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C.Gildon: Cannons: or the Vision. A poem address'd to the right honourable James Earl of Caernarvon, London, 1717: "Apollo was the Bridges then of Greece,/ Englands Apollo, Bridges now shall rise..."

<sup>2</sup> C.Gildon op.cit.note 1.

<sup>3</sup> D.Nokes: John Gay. A Profession of Friendship, Oxford, 1995, p.300.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in D.Nokes, op.cit.note 3, ps.300-301, Poems on Selected Occasions: Mr Pope's welcome from Greece, Epistle IV To the Right Honourable Paul Methuen Esq., published June 1720, lines 65-74.

<sup>5</sup> G.Webb and B. Dobrée: The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh Vol 4 Letters, London, 1928, p.126, 15th September 1720.

<sup>6</sup> John Butt (Gen.Ed.): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope vol.iii (ii) F.W.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, ps.134-156.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Johnson: The Lives of the most eminent English Poets, London, 1794, Vol. III, ps.152-3.

<sup>8</sup> C.Berry: The Idea of Luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation, Cambridge, 1994, p.126, p.142. Berry notes that according to Livy's History (II), private luxury was a self-indulgence which led to the emasculation of virtue, the corruption of the ideal of public service and the decline of Rome. For a history of the debate over luxury see J.Sekora: Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought from Eden to Smollett, Baltimore and London, 1977 and J.Brewer (Ed.): Consumption and Culture in C17th and C18th: A Bibliography, Los Angeles, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> J.Brewer and S.Staves (Eds): Early Modern Conceptions of Property, New York, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> J.Lubbock: The Tyranny of Taste. The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960, New Haven and London, 1995, p.xiii.

<sup>11</sup> For more information on Lord Shaftesbury's ideas see T.Horne: The Social Thought of Bernard Mandeville. Virtue and Commerce in early eighteenth



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century England, London and Basingstoke, 1978; P.Ayres: Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, Oxford, 1999; B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon. Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury: Second Characters or the Language of Forms, Cambridge, 1914; L.Klein: The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness, Moral discourses and cultural politics in eighteenth century England, Cambridge, 1994 and R.Brett: The Third Earl of Shaftesbury. A study in eighteenth-century literary theory, London, 1951.

<sup>12</sup> For a history of the publication of this Letter see K.Downes: 'The Publication of Shaftesbury's Letter concerning Design' ps.519-23 in Architectural History, Vol.27, York,1984.

<sup>13</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, fifth edition, 1732, p.402.

<sup>14</sup> For Chandos's library see British Library manuscript PR2.A.39: "A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the most Noble and Learned James Duke of Chandos lately deceas'd consisting of the greatest variety of books in all branches of Polite literature" sold by Mr Cock 12<sup>th</sup> March 1746-7 and 29 following evenings. According to P.Ayres op.cit.note 11, p.xiii, the first biography of the third Earl of Shaftesbury (died 1713) was written by his son, the fourth Earl and published in. T. Birch (Ed.): A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical ix, London, 1739, ps.179-86 and reprinted in B.Rand (Ed.)op.cit.note 11.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the economic significance of Bernard de Mandeville's ideas see: H.Landreth: 'The economic thought of Bernard Mandeville' in History of Political Economy, Vol.7, no.2, North Carolina, 1975, ps.193-208. Landreth points out that the work was issued in different versions, in 1705 an anonymous six-penny quarto entitled The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves Turn'd Honest went virtually unnoticed, but reappeared in 1714 as part of The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits (Vol.1). The 1723 edition was the first to receive public notice and was denounced. In 1729 Mandeville published a series of six essays in dialogue form which he called The Fable of the Bees,(Vol.2) and in which he attacked Lord Shaftesbury. See T.Horne op.cit.note 11, p.39.

<sup>16</sup> B.Mandeville The Fable of the Bees quoted in H.Landreth op.cit.note 15, p.196.

<sup>17</sup> J.Dennis:Vice and Luxury Public Mischiefs or Remarks on a Book entitled Fable of the Bees, London, 1724. p.27, quoted in T.Horne, op.cit. note 11, ps.79-80.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of Lord Burlington's involvement in composing the poem see Chapter 2. Contemporaries believed Burlington to have been involved in Chandos's downfall as indicated in a poem quoted in T.Gilmore: Early

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Eighteenth-Century Essays on Taste, New York, 1972, p.34: “Of Good Nature. An Epistle humbly Inscrib’d to His G---ce the D-ke of C...s”. which includes the line “And B-l-n himself be stab’d by Thee”.

<sup>19</sup> This rivalry was consistent with Burlington’s attitude according to P.Ayres: Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth Century England, Cambridge, 1997, p.121: “Burlington was also a (less intimate) friend of Oxford. The interests he shared with Burlington, rather than bringing them closer, created a form of rivalry”.

<sup>20</sup> Lord Burlington designed a house for Lord Bruce at Tottenham Park, Wiltshire in around 1721, see J.Harris: The Palladian Revival, Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick, New Haven and London, 1994, p.86.

<sup>21</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 26 f.184, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Burlington dated 6th July 1725: “I found your Lordship had been so good as to send the Dog you were pleased to mention to me. I am much concerned at the trouble I have occasion’d you and the more so because I find we much mistook one another. The sort of dog I desired was one of the little breed of greyhounds of which I remember Lord Carleton had a great many perpetually lying in the winter time before his fire in the parlour...”

<sup>22</sup> See J.Harris op.cit.note 20, p.18 and H.Colvin: ‘What we mean by amateur’, ps.4-6 in G.Worsley (Ed.): Georgian Group Symposium, 1993: The Role of the Amateur Architect, London, 1994. Studies of individual patrons include A.Bean: ‘The Patronage and Architectural Activities of Dr George Clarke (1661-1736)’, unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 1972 and D.Crellin: ‘Robert Benson, 1st Lord Bingley (1676-1731) as Architectural Patron and Amateur’, unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 1991.

<sup>23</sup> For a comparison of the libraries of Lord Burlington and the Duke of Chandos see J.Carré: Lord Burlington (1694-1753): le connaisseur, le mécène, l’architecte, Clermont Ferrand, 1993, p.524, Appendix VII: ‘La bibliothèque architecturale de Burlington’ and British Library manuscript PR2.A.39. According to T.Connor: ‘Lord Burlington and his publications’, in Papers given at Georgian Group Symposium, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, May 1982: Lord Burlington and his Circle, ps.52-59, p.57: “according to Vertue... Burlington never intended to part with more than 20 copies... the circulation of the Fabbriche Antiche was intentionally limited”. See also C.Hind: ‘The Amateur Architect and his Library’ in G.Worsley (Ed.): Georgian Group Symposium, 1993 op.cit.note 22, ps.33-39, which analyses the type and quantity of architectural books in the libraries of eleven amateur architects.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in J.Harris op.cit.note 20, p.19. The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield to his son.

<sup>25</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol 10, f.6, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Brydges of the Tower dated 12th December 1713.

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<sup>26</sup> Studies of Burlington's architectural significance include R. Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism, London, 1974, p.179; J. Lees-Milne: Earls of Creation. Five great patrons of eighteenth-century art, London, 1962; J. Carré op.cit.note 23; H. Colvin: 'Lord Burlington and the Office of Works', in Georgian Group Symposium, London, 1982 op.cit.note 23, ps.51-59; T. Connor op.cit.note 23; H. Colvin: 'Introduction' in T. Barnard and J. Clark (Eds): Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and life, London, 1995, ps.xxiii-xxix, p.xxviii re-examines the "old idea (propagated by Christopher Hussey) that Palladianism was thought up by Lord Burlington in his private 'academy' as the architectural expression of a 'Whig ideal' founded on Platonism and Protestantism".

<sup>27</sup> See T. Mowl and B. Earnshaw: An Insular Rococo. Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England 1710-1770, London, 1999, ps.33-34: "What makes Burlington's one-man neo-Classicism so unsatisfactory as a movement was its timing: he came roughly forty years too soon to be a scholarly or convincing neo-Classical architect and he was personally far too impatient and superficial a scholar to want to extend the existing knowledge base... He was an arrogant aristocrat in a hurry. Palladio was a short cut to the Roman past... The flaw at the heart of Burlington's architectural work was that he was content to recreate ancient Roman interiors by cannibalising parts of the exteriors of Roman public buildings".

<sup>28</sup> T. Barnard and J. Clark (Eds): op.cit.note 26, p.xxiii.

<sup>29</sup> R. Wittkower op.cit.note 26, p.179.

<sup>30</sup> R. Wittkower reviewing the biography of Chandos: C. & M. Collins Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Oxford, 1949 in Review of English Studies, Vol.II, No.6, London, April 1951, p.185.

<sup>31</sup> F. Watson: 'English Villas and Venetian Decorators' in R.I.B.A. Journal LXI, March 1954, London, ps.171-77, p.171.

<sup>33</sup> W. Matthews (Ed.): The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-16, London, 1939, Saturday September 17th, 1715, p.100.

<sup>34</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.16, f.270 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Bingley, 3rd September 1719.

<sup>35</sup> For Wanstead House see A. Marks: 'Assembly at Wanstead House by William Hogarth' in Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, Vol.77, No. 332, Philadelphia, Spring 1981, ps.1-16, and F. Kimball: 'Wanstead House, Essex' in Country Life, No.1924, Vol.LXXIV, 2nd December 1933, ps.605-606. For the rise of Palladianism see, B. Arciszewska: 'A Villa Fit for a King: the Role of Palladian Architecture in the Ascendancy of the House of Hanover under

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George I' in Canadian Art Review (RACAR), XIX 1-2, Victoria, British Columbia, 1992, ps.41-58.

<sup>36</sup> G.Worsley: Classical Architecture in Britain, the Heroic Age, New Haven and London, 1994, p.118.

<sup>37</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds): Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1962, Vol II p.7.

<sup>37</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library manuscript 86 NN 2.

<sup>38</sup> The Duke of Chandos died in July 1744. The principal sales of the fabric of Cannons were Yale Center for British Art, SC125: "A Catalogue of all the materials of the Dwelling-House, Out-Houses &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos deceas'd at his late Seat call'd Cannons, near Edgware in Middlesex... Which will be sold by Auction by Mr Cock, on Tuesday the 16<sup>th</sup> of June and the eleven following Days (at Cannons aforesaid)" [hereafter referred to as Catalogue I] and London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13: "A Catalogue of all the Genuine Houshold Furniture &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos... Which will be sold by Auction by Mr Cock, On Monday 1<sup>st</sup> June 1747" [hereafter referred to as Catalogue II].

<sup>39</sup> D.Nokes op.cit.note 3, p.300.

<sup>40</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle, Volume XIV, August 1744, London, p.446.

## THE DUKE OF CHANDOS AND THE EPISTLE TO LORD BURLINGTON

The early eighteenth century provided a climate of peace, prosperity and political stability that contemporary theorists believed would encourage the arts to flourish in England and establish the nation's supremacy in a new Augustan age. England had "her models yet to seek" in the development of a national taste, which led to debates about what constituted good taste and about extravagance or 'luxuria' and 'propriety' or the right architectural models.<sup>1</sup> The Whig philosopher, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury argued that propriety in architecture was represented by the classical style, the choice of a democratic free people who followed the example of Augustan Rome.

As for architecture...since the genius of our nation has hitherto been so little turned this way, that through several reigns we have patiently seen the noblest public buildings perish...under the hand of one single court architect...It is the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the noblest subjects for architecture; our Prince's Palace and our House of Parliament...Nor do I fear that when these new subjects are attempted, we should miscarry as grossly as we have done in others before. Our State in this respect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our Church, in having waited till a national taste was formed, before these edifices were undertaken...Hardly, indeed, as the public now stands, should we bear to see a Whitehall treated like a Hampton Court, or even a new cathedral like St Paul's...Even those pieces too are brought under the common censure, which, though raised by private men, are of such a grandeur and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country house according as he fancies: but when a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the public, if instead of a beautiful pile he raises, at a vast expense, such a false and counterfeit piece of magnificence as can justly be arraigned for its deformity by so many knowing men in art...<sup>2</sup>

The period of the Duke of Chandos's activity as a patron of the arts was one of heightened debate concerning architectural style and taste. Unfortunately for the Duke his reputation was destroyed by a poem dedicated

to a rival patron, Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, by Alexander Pope entitled Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington Occasion'd by his publishing Palladio's Designs of the Baths, Arches, Theatres &c of Ancient Rome, first published in 1731.<sup>3</sup> The poem describes the villa and grounds of a nobleman named Timon, whom Pope portrays as the exemplification of extravagance and tastelessness. Chandos's contemporaries immediately concluded that Timon was modelled on the Duke, a view that was confirmed by Dr Johnson in The Lives of the most eminent English Poets.<sup>4</sup> Until this incident Chandos and Burlington had been considered together as the pre-eminent patrons of the day. Their names were frequently linked in poetic tributes to early eighteenth-century patronage and taste, for instance by Edward Young in 1725:

Belus with solid glory will be crown'd  
But builds himself a name; and to be great  
Sinks in a Quarry an immense Estate  
In costs and grandeur Ch-dos he'll outdo  
And B-l-ton, thy Taste is not so true.<sup>5</sup>

Of Taste is Pope's response to Lord Shaftesbury's reflections on the development of a national taste and the role of the patronage of great men. In the poem he sets out to establish his patron Lord Burlington as the heir to Caesar Augustus's architect, Marco Pollio Vitruvius, reinforcing Burlington's primacy in Palladian terms over any claims Chandos may have had to architectural authority or to his house, Cannons as a model of classical design.<sup>6</sup> Chandos's subsequent biographers have not questioned Dr Johnson's view that the Duke was the model for Timon and have refused to re-examine the debate that condemned the Duke, claiming that "the Duke of Chandos's house and grounds were described so particularly, that no one ever did and could mistake".<sup>7</sup> In order to assess the significance of Chandos's patronage it is

necessary to analyse the criticism of the Duke in the poem and to understand it in the context of the architectural politics of the day. For this reason, it is important to look at the issues surrounding the poem and consider to what extent the behaviour of Timon really was based on the Duke of Chandos.

The poet Alexander Pope and his friend and patron Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington had a close relationship, according to the architectural historian Rudolph Wittkower because “Pope was very close to the Earl’s heart and among the many signs of his generous friendship toward the poet, Burlington paid for the interior fittings of his house at Twickenham”.<sup>8</sup> Eight months before it was printed, on 4th April 1731, Pope sent Burlington the manuscript of the poem Of Taste. His accompanying letter indicates that Burlington had already seen the poem in an earlier state.<sup>9</sup> It had been under discussion between them as the potential preface to Burlington’s projected second publication of Palladio drawings (to follow the first one, Fabbriche antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, Vicentino, of 1730), a volume that was never published. Pope’s sympathy with Lord Burlington’s views on architecture is indicated in a letter to his patron in which he explains that he had added some lines “toward the End of the Common Enemy, the bad Imitators and Pretenders, which perhaps are properer there than in your own mouth”. Lord Burlington had seen the poem in different drafts before it was finally published on 14th December 1731 under the title of Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington. The poem’s immediate popularity led to its being republished on 6th January 1732 with the new title Of False Taste, followed by a third edition on 13th January 1732.

At first reading, Of Taste appears to follow in the tradition of seventeenth century country house poems such as Ben Jonson's To Penshurst and Andrew Marvell's Upon Appleton House.<sup>10</sup> But in fact it offers an examination of the new Palladian rules of taste championed by Lord Burlington including utility, convenience, durability and beauty.<sup>11</sup> According to Pope, taste is not a commodity that can be bought and wealth often induces a lack of taste. Taste comes instead from understanding and sense:

Is it less strange, the Prodigal should waste  
His wealth, to purchase what he ne'er can taste?  
Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats;  
Artists must chuse his Pictures, Music, Meats<sup>12</sup>

Heav'n visits with a Taste the wealthy fool,  
And needs no rod but Ripley with a rule<sup>13</sup>

Something there is more needful than Expence,  
And something previous ev'n to Taste - 'tis Sense  
Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heav'n.<sup>14</sup>

Pope depicts Lord Burlington as the arbiter of such 'true' taste and as setting an example in erecting buildings in a true Palladian style:

You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,  
And pompous buildings once were things of Use.<sup>15</sup>

But according to Pope, imitation of this, without understanding, could only lead to mistakes:

Yet shall (my Lord) your just, your noble rules  
Fill half the land with Imitating Fools;  
Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,  
And of one beauty many blunders make.<sup>16</sup>

The central figure in Of Taste is Timon, a patron without understanding or sense, an unusual choice of character for a poem that sought to destroy the Duke of Chandos's reputation as a patron. Timon was an Athenian nobleman in fifth century B.C., described by Lucian and Plutarch, who was renowned for



his liberality and his patronage of poets and painters. In a fate which partly prefigured that of Chandos himself, Timon loses all his wealth and is deserted by his friends, becoming a misanthrope and turning against Athens. Eighteenth-century interest in the story may have been inspired by its cautionary message against the abuse of money in an age of new wealth and its renewed popularity by Thomas Shadwell's play The history of Timon of Athens, the Man Hater, which was written in 1678 and frequently revived from 1701-1737, and new editions of The Works of Shakespeare by Pope's friend Nicholas Rowe (1709-10) and Pope himself (1723-25).<sup>17</sup> Dr. Johnson summarised the moral lessons of Timon's story: "The catastrophe affords a very powerful warning against the ostentatious liberality which scatters bounty but confers not benefits and buys flattery but not friendship".<sup>18</sup>

Of Taste takes us on a tour of "Timon's Villa", which was identified by contemporaries as the Duke of Chandos's country seat, Cannons. He describes a house:

So proud, so grand, of that stupendous air  
Soft and agreeable come never there<sup>19</sup>

where pride and vanity were put before utility and good Sense, and

all cry out, 'What sums are thrown away!'<sup>20</sup>,

creating a tasteless and inconvenient pile. Everything was oversized, out of scale, not conforming to the natural laws of what looked right in the setting and hence unnecessarily extravagant:

...his building is a Town,  
His pond an Ocean, his parterre a Down<sup>21</sup>

This had the result of dwarfing the owner and making him look ridiculous, instead of magnificent:

Who but must laugh, the Master when he sees,  
A puny insect, shiv'ring at a breeze!<sup>22</sup>

Nature had been perverted too in the design of the garden “the suff’ring eye inverted Nature sees” (119), with its walled prospect “On ev’ry side you look, behold the Wall!” (114), the “Summer-house, that knows no shade” (122), the “Fountain, never to be play’d” (121) and the distortion of Nature, “Trees cut to Statues,/ Statues thick as trees”(120). Everything about the design of the exterior and interior of the house had been created for show, to aggrandise the owner, who has adopted a suitably “majestic mien”(127). Even the Library, inconveniently situated at the end of the Terrace, “up ten steep slopes (131) is a place not of study, but of pretentious display, full of “Books, not Authors” (134).<sup>23</sup> The Chapel displays none of the attributes of a traditional house of worship, participants being summoned by the silver bell to “all the Pride of Pray’r” (142) and condemned to listen to unsuitable “Light quirks of Musick, broken and uneven” (143) and to stare at painted ceilings,

Where sprawl the Saints of Verrio or Laguerre,  
On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,  
And bring all Paradise before your eye.<sup>24</sup>

Dinner is “A solemn Sacrifice, perform’d in state” (157) attended by “A hundred footsteps scrap[ing] the marble Hall” (152), but despite the magnificence and the profusion of food, it leaves the diner unsatisfied, sick of his host’s “civil Pride from Morn to Eve” (166).

Of Taste satirises the vainglory of this display and expense, which makes the owner look ridiculous and brings no lasting benefits. The poem predicts that Timon will see:

Deep Harvest bury all his pride has plann’d,  
And laughing Ceres re-assume the land.<sup>25</sup>

because he has failed to understand that

‘Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expence,  
And Splendor borrows all her rays from Sense.<sup>26</sup>

and therefore deserves to see his projects founder. The prediction is made all the more poignant by the fact (unknown to Pope in 1731) that Cannons was to meet such a fate after the Duke's death, when the house and all its contents were sold in 1747 and the building later demolished.

Contemporaries were quick to identify the figure of Timon as the Duke of Chandos, and Timon's Villa as Cannons. Pope's friend and correspondent Aaron Hill explained that "at first, and second reading, I was, myself, mistaken in your purpose; and fell into the general construction, that has been put upon the character of Timon", admitting that he expected his friend "would have foreseen, that the unlucky name of Timon, would be applied, as it has since been".<sup>27</sup> As Hill pointed out, life at Cannons was sufficiently well known that details in the poem would prompt the association, for instance "Two or three other likenesses concurr'd in the character, such as the hundred foot-steps, the exact number of his domesticks, for some years at Canons, and the pomp of the chapel and its musick; for whether jiggish, or solemn, never struck the inquiry of a thousand, who remembered the Duke's magnificence, chiefly by that circumstance". But he adds, "I am of opinion, that the Duke himself can never be among the mistakers. It is with taste, as it is with genius; a man who feels he has either, will never too lightly believe it is questioned, by another, whom he knows to possess it".

Pope strongly denied that Of Taste was an attack on the Duke of Chandos. However, his protestations may have been false as he was an accomplished liar who "shrank...from owning up to his more questionable impulses...in a nature that had to throw dust in people's eyes, had to mislead, had to lie...[who has been] characterised as 'the most untruthful man of his age'".<sup>28</sup> His first denials were in the form of two unsigned letters "To J.G. Esq" dated 16th and 19th December 1731, which were published in the Daily

Post-Boy on 22nd December and the Daily Journal on 23rd December 1731, signed by William Cleland, but now believed to be by Pope.<sup>29</sup> The author professed himself “astonished at the Complaints occasion’d by a late Epistle to the Earl of Burlington; and... should be afflicted were there the least just Ground for them”. He categorically denied the “malicious Application of the Character of Timon, which...they would impute to the Person the most different in the World from a Manhater, and the Person whose Taste and Encouragement of Wits have ever been shewn in the highest Place...Why, in God’s Name, must a Portrait apparently collected from twenty different Men, be applied to one only?”

The second letter, published in the Daily Journal on 23rd December 1731, emerged from a postscript in the Daily Post-Boy, and stated: “I thought no Mortal singly could claim that the Character of Timon, any more than any Man pretend to be Sir John Falstaff. But the Application of it to the D.of Ch. is monstrous; to a Person who in every particular differs from it. Is his Garden crowded with Walls? Are his Trees cut into Figures of Men? Do his Basons want Water? Are there ten steep Slopes of his Terrass? Is he piqued about Editions of Books? Does he exclude all Moderns from his Library? Is the Musick of his Chappel bad, or whimsical, or jiggish...I am sick of such Fool-Applications”.

Pope wrote to Lord Burlington on 21st December 1731 to ask for advice on how to handle the incident. He complained angrily that “Either the whole town then, or I, have lost our Senses; for nothing is so evident...as that the Character of Timon is collected from twenty different absurditys & Improperities: & was never the Picture of any one Human Creature”.<sup>30</sup> Pope’s next letter to Burlington on the subject in January 1732, coincided with the publication of the third edition of the poem and expressed his exasperation that

“a Character belonging to twenty shou’d be applied to one” and reassured Burlington that Chandos believed “My Innocence, [and] Their Malignity”.<sup>31</sup> He also declared his innocence of an attack on Chandos in other private letters, including one to Aaron Hill on 22nd December 1731, declaring:

For, if there be Truth in the World I never imagin’d the least Application of what I said of Timon could be made to the D.of Ch-s, than whom there is scarce a more blameless, worthy and generous, beneficent Character, among all our Nobility...I am certain, if you calmly read every Particular of that Description, you’ll find almost all of ‘em point-blank the Reverse of that Person’s Villa...If it gives the Duke one Moment’s Uneasiness, I should think myself ill paid, if the whole Earth admir’d the Poetry; and...would rather never have written a Verse in my Life, than that any one of ‘em should trouble a truly good Man.<sup>32</sup>

Pope wrote to Hill again on 5th February 1732, insisting that “many Circumstances you have heard, as Resemblances to the Picture of Timon, are utterly Inventions of Lyars; the Number of Servants never was an Hundred, the paintings not of Venio (sic) or La Guerre, but Belluci and Zaman; no such Buffet, Manner of Reception at the Study, Terras &c all which, and many more, they have not scrupled to forge, to gain some Credit to the Application.”<sup>33</sup>

A manuscript attributed to Pope of around February 1732, entitled A Master Key to Popery and subtitled A True and Perfect Key to Pope’s Epistle to the Earl of Burlington, analyses the poem in a satirical manner, pretending to uncover the poet’s malicious intentions.<sup>34</sup> It points out that a number of people have ascribed an appalling character to the Duke of Chandos: “A Proud, haughty Man, with no other Idea of Greatness but Bulk and Size, but himself a little contemptible Creature. His House consists of Unequal Parts...His Gardens are choak’d up with Walls...which destroy all Appearance of Natural Beauty...his Books chosen for their Printers or Binders...his Dinner...a solemn, formal, troublesome thing...and upon the whole with so much Pride & affected State, as to make every man Sick both of his Dinner & of him”. But the author suggests that the real character of the Duke is very

different from this satirical portrait: he is “the most Charitable...one of the most Learned of our Nobility...one of the sincerest Worshippers of God ...and one of the most hospitable and hearty Lovers of his Neighbour”. The author then makes a visit to Cannons only to find a very different picture from that painted in the poem: “I asked for the Dean, there was no such Man...no Study opening on a Terras, but up one pair of stairs...In the Garden, no Walls crossing the eye, no large parterre at all, no little Cupids, no Lake to the North, no cut Trees...in a word, no one Particular resembling: only what is common to all great Men, there was a large House, a Garden, a Chappel, a Hall and a Dinner”.

Pope wrote to apologise to the Duke of Chandos himself on 22nd December 1731.<sup>35</sup> The Duke said that he accepted that Pope was innocent of any attempt to satirise him, and regarded the scandal surrounding the publication as another illustration of the ill will borne towards him by the Town: “For my own part I have received so many instances of the will they bear me, that I am as little surprized as I am affected with this further proof of it”.<sup>36</sup> Separately, however, he admitted to his agent, Anthony Hammond that the Timon passage might have been directed at him: “I am not so ignorant of my own weakness, as not to be sensible of it’s Justness...in some particulars, but I have received from ye Author two letters on this subject in which he utterly denies that I was ye object he had in view or that he had any manner of design to paint me out in ye light that description gives”.<sup>37</sup>

The Duke claimed to be worried about the damage the publicity might do to Pope’s reputation and wanted to play down the controversy surrounding it, commenting to Hammond: “I find by ye advertisements Mr Welsted is publishing some remarks upon it...I should be very sorry if he endeavour’d on my account to hurt Mr Pope...I desire you’ll acquaint him I make it my request

that he will forbear printing anything on my behalf that may tend to ye prejudice of a Person, who from what he has writ, I ought to believe neither hath, nor had any ill will towards me”.<sup>38</sup> Pope’s many opponents, however, wanted to capitalise on the opportunity the poem’s publication gave them to embarrass him. As Lord Orrery wrote on 27th December 1732: “The Censures on Mr P...are universal & severe, None to take his part, & All out of Envy or you may suppose Judgement, running him down”.<sup>39</sup>

Grub Street writers such as Chandos’s protégé Leonard Welsted and Matthew Concanen sought to avenge long-standing grudges against the poet.<sup>40</sup> Welsted responded to Pope with Of Dulness and Scandal. Occasion’d by Characters of Lord Timon, In Mr Pope's Epistle To The Earl of Burlington, published on 3rd January 1732 (and in the Grub-Street Journal of 6th January 1732) and followed it up with another sally against Pope in Of False Fame on 10th February 1732. Welsted and his allies also charged Pope with ingratitude towards a patron, claiming that he had received £500 from Chandos for copies of The Iliad. Pope denied this, affirming that the Duke was merely a subscriber and paid no more than the going rate for his volumes.<sup>41</sup>

The reputations of both Pope and Chandos suffered through the publication of Of Taste. An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington. Pope declared that he must be more careful with his satirical portraits in the future and Lady Betty Germain commented to Dean Swift: “I met with your friend Pope ...he complains of not being well and indeed lookt ill, I fear his wit nor sense does arm him enough against being hurt by Malice and that he is too sensible of what fools say, the run is much against him on the Duke of Chandos account but I believe their rage is not kindness to the Duke but glad to give it vent with some tolerable pretence”.<sup>42</sup>

A literature has grown up around Pope's claim that "the Character of Timon is collected from twenty different absurdities and Improprieties & was never ye picture of any one Human Creature"<sup>43</sup> to examine other potential satirical targets of Pope's wit.<sup>44</sup> Lord Hervey (Pope's "Lord Fanny") made the unlikely suggestion that the poet: "designed ridiculing Lord Burlington as much as he does the Duke of Chandos. It is astonishing to me that he is not afraid that this prophecy will be verified which was told to him a year ago: 'In black and white whilst satire you pursue/ Take heed the answer is not black and blue'".<sup>45</sup> It is, however, inherently unlikely that Pope intended the poem as a satire on the friend and patron to whom it was addressed and with whom he discussed its composition. Other potential targets of Pope's satire include Sir Robert Walpole, whose extravagance was legendary and who reputedly spent £200,000 rebuilding Houghton Hall, in Norfolk. His relationship with Pope had deteriorated to such an extent that it has been suggested that Pope "had declared war" on Walpole and that the latter, knowing himself to be the real target of Pope's satire, orchestrated a campaign to deflect attention away from himself onto the Duke of Chandos.<sup>46</sup> Pope lends some credibility to this claim, asking in A Master Key to Popery: "Why...for God's sake may not this be Sir Robert? are not his works as great as any man's? Who has more Groves nodding at Groves of his own plantation?...who has rival'd his Dinners?...Has he not a Large Bufet? Has he not a hundred, nay near five hundred Servants?"<sup>47</sup>

Pope indicated in A Master Key that Blenheim shared some of the features of Timon's Villa: "I know that the Building describ'd to be so huge, so like a Quarry, such a Heap, &c. is the Immortal castle of Blenheim".<sup>48</sup> After his visit there in 1717 Pope described it as "so great a thing with so much littleness in it...it is the most inhospitable thing imaginable and the most selfish...In a word, the whole is a most expensive absurdity...the Duke of



Shrewsbury gave a true character of it, when he said it was a great Quarry of Stones above ground".<sup>49</sup>

Two further candidates are suggested for Timon's Villa, Lord Bolingbroke's seat at Dawley near Uxbridge ("A gaping Triton spews to wash yr face, is the exact Description of the bufet at Dawley") and Belvoir Castle ("I am very sure that all he says of the Chappel, its Painting & its Musick, is to be apply'd to his Grace the Duke of R-tl-d's at Be-ir Castle). Timon's Villa has thus been persuasively compared with Cannons, Blenheim, Houghton, Dawley and Belvoir Castle.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the potential number of candidates for Timon's Villa, however, contemporaries immediately identified it with Cannons and its occupant with the Duke of Chandos. Contemporary criticisms of Chandos's character focussed on his pride, extravagance, mock-learning and self-aggrandisement, which were some of Timon's greatest failings. The poet John Gay (who was patronised by Chandos) referred to his reputation for "pomp and show".<sup>51</sup>

Thomas Hearne, Librarian of the Bodleian in Oxford, wrote in 1725:

I am inform'd, by one that knows full well that the present Duke of Chandos is one of the proudest Men living (he is a Man, said the Gentleman, of intolerable Pride) and but a very poor Friend to Scholars, notwithstanding what he hath now and then pretended. He hath a good collection of Historical Mss, wch belonged to Sir James Ware, but he is one of those neither makes use of Mss they have themselves, nor let others that are able to make use of them.<sup>52</sup>

Dean Swift, similarly angry at his failure to persuade Chandos to part with the Clarendon manuscripts in his collection wrote:

James Brydges and the Dean had long been friends  
James is be-duked and so their friendship ends;  
And sure, the Dean deserves a sharp rebuke,  
From knowing James, to boast he knows a Duke.

Yet since just Heaven the Duke's ambition mocks,  
Since all he got by fraud is lost by stocks,  
His wings are clipped, he tries no more in vain,  
With bands of fiddlers to extend his train.

Since he no more can build, and plant, and revel,  
The Duke and Dean seem more near a level.  
Owest thou not a Duke - my good Duke Humphrey  
From bailiff's claws thou scarce could'st keep thy - - free.

A Duke to know a Dean? Go, smooth thy crown,  
Thy brother, far thy better, wore a gown.  
Well, but a Duke thou art, so pleased the King,  
Oh! Would his Majesty but add a string".<sup>53</sup>

Chandos acknowledged his vulnerability to personal attack in a letter to his agent Anthony Hammond in 1732: "I am not so ignorant of my own weakness as not to be sensible of its Justness...in some particulars".<sup>54</sup> He also knew that he was unpopular, "having received so many instances of ye will they [the Town] bear me".<sup>55</sup> However, as Pope's friend Aaron Hill pointed out, he remained confident of his taste, since "a man who feels he has either [taste or genius] will never too lightly believe it is questioned by another, whom he knows to possess it".<sup>56</sup>

Chandos also attracted some encomiums. Pope's motivation in describing the Duke as "a Great Man who is Beneficent"<sup>57</sup>; "a worthy peer", "the best-natured Man...the most Affable...the most Charitable...the most Learned...one of the sincerest Worshippers of God,...one of the most hospitable and hearty Lovers of his Neighbour" is a transparent attempt to re-ingratiate himself.<sup>58</sup> But poets praised him as a munificent and discerning patron. Leonard Welsted referred to "Chandos Taste"<sup>59</sup> and Mr Gerard, author of *An Epistle to the Egregious Mr Pope* extolled "Great Chandois stream of bounty", who, "high Soul, forgets as he bestows".<sup>60</sup> The Duke's reputation, both personally and for his patronage, was mixed, but he was recognised by contemporaries as a man who aspired to be a great patron. The criticisms he

attracted were no worse than many other great men in his position had to suffer. But his reputation was so definitively destroyed by Pope's poem that it suggests that it was part of a campaign against him, sponsored by his patronal rival, the Earl of Burlington.

Lord Burlington was clearly very involved in the composition of Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington. Pope explained in a letter to the Earl that he had included some lines in the poem "toward the End of the Common Enemy the bad Imitators and Pretenders which are properer there than in your own mouth".<sup>61</sup> As John Newman has suggested "Pope's Epistle of 1731 is the one coherent statement in Burlington's own lifetime, which, though not in his own words, must closely reflect his ideas and ambitions. It deserves the most careful reading."<sup>62</sup>

A number of pamphlets and prints relating to the poem also bear witness to Lord Burlington's pivotal role in the destruction of the Duke of Chandos's reputation. The first of these, a print attributed to William Hogarth, was the frontispiece to one of the Grub Street pamphlet attacks on Pope: A Miscellany on Taste published on 15th January 1732.<sup>63</sup> In Taste, or Burlington Gate, Pope is depicted as a plasterer "whitewashing and bespattering" anyone walking beneath him, particularly the Duke of Chandos. Chandos's coach appears labelled in the key: "not a Dukes Coach as appears by ye Crescent at ye corner" (a reference to the disclaimers Pope had issued denying that Timon portrayed the Duke)(Figure 1). William Kent (Lord Burlington's protégé), is positioned at the highest point of the gate, at the pinnacle of taste and Lord Burlington appears as a labourer standing by to lend Pope a hand. The print is a satirical attack on Lord Burlington's position as an arbiter of taste, representing the Duke of Chandos as a victim of Pope (who is splashing whitewash on him), and his helpmate Lord Burlington. It suggests that Pope is

“whitewashing” or painting over his original meaning in Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington, implying that the poem was published as an attack on the Duke of Chandos. A second print, which appeared as the frontispiece to a pamphlet entitled Ingratitude: To Mr Pope Occasion'd by MS handed about under the Title of Mr Taste's Tour from the Land of Politeness, to that of Dulness and Scandal, printed in 1733 was more prosaic in its subject matter. The print depicts Pope being held under the arm of one noble, whilst another laughs and a third (possibly Chandos) urinates on him.<sup>64</sup> (Figure 2)

Both these prints illustrate the link between the Earl of Burlington and the Duke of Chandos and their shared role in the contemporary debate regarding the formation of a national taste. Both peers were important figures in the debate, but with Pope's help in Of Taste, Lord Burlington succeeded in presenting himself as the arbiter of taste and propriety and ensuring that the Duke of Chandos was remembered as its antithesis, an exemplification of luxury. The poem represented Lord Burlington's claim to the inheritance of the third Earl of Shaftesbury in forming a national school of architecture as the new Vitruvius of a new Augustan age. Philip Ayres explains how:

In publishing his Epistle to Burlington Pope designed to effect something more specific and immediate than the minute dissection of false taste and vanity of expense and the promotion of positive artistic and moral values which are the primary and obvious purpose of the poem. The more immediate - the more political - project behind the work only emerges in the final verse-paragraph, addressed directly to the Earl of Burlington:

You too proceed! Make falling Arts your care,  
Erect new wonders, and the old repair,  
Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,  
And be whate'er Vitruvius was before:  
Till Kings call forth th' Idea's of your mind,  
Proud to accomplish what such hands design'd,  
Bid Harbors open, public Ways extend,  
Bid Temples, worthier of the God, ascend;  
Bid the broad Arch the dang'rous Flood contain,

The Mole projected break the roaring Main;  
Back to his bounds their subject Sea command,  
And roll obedient Rivers thro' the Land;  
These Honours, Peace to happy Britain brings,  
These are Imperial Works and worthy Kings.

The message of these lines seems adequately clear: Burlington as the leading force within English Palladianism... has demonstrated his qualifications to take the leading role in a new era of public works... thoroughly almost literally Burlington was identified with Vitruvius by an admiring circle whose dominant frame of mind was Roman people engaged in discovering and recreating a lost Britannia Romana.<sup>65</sup>

The poem thus effectively carried out the original purpose of both poet and patron, which was to reinforce Burlington's primacy as a true patron of classical architecture, exemplified by the ascendancy of the Palladian style, over any claims that his rival, the Duke of Chandos may have had to architectural authority or that Cannons could have had as a model of classical design or taste.

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<sup>1</sup> A.Ashley Cooper: 'A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design' in B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon.Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury:Second Characters or the Language of Forms, Cambridge, 1914, p.24: "She has her models yet to seek, her scale and standard to form, with deliberation and good choice".

<sup>2</sup> A.Ashley Cooper op.cit.note 1, ps.21-22.

<sup>3</sup> The first edition of the poem was published on 13th December 1731, the second on 6th January 1732 as Of False Taste, the third edition on 13th January 1732 and a revised edition in The Works of Pope in 1735 as Of the Use of Riches. For this analysis I have used the text of Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, from J. Butt (Gen.Ed.): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope vol.iii (ii) F.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, ps.134-156.

<sup>4</sup> Dr S.Johnson: The Lives of the most eminent English Poets, London, 1794, Vol. III, ps.152-3.

<sup>5</sup> E.Young: The Universal Passion, Satire I to his Grace the Duke of Dorset, London, 1725, p.9.

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<sup>6</sup> P. Ayres: 'Pope's Epistle to Burlington: The Vitruvian Analogies' in Studies in English Literature, Vol.30, 1990, Houston, Texas, ps.429-440, ps.429-30.

<sup>7</sup> W. Bowles (Ed.): The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq London, 1806, Vol.VIII, p.230n.

<sup>8</sup> R. Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism, London, 1974, p.179.

<sup>9</sup> Chatsworth House Archive, Manuscript 143.17. See also M. Mack: The Last and Greatest Art. Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope, London and Toronto, 1984, p.157.

<sup>10</sup> See G.Hibbard: 'The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century' in M. Mack (Ed.): Essential articles for the study of Alexander Pope, Hamden, 1964, ps. 401-437.

<sup>11</sup> See W.Gibson: 'Three Principles of Renaissance Architectural Theory in Pope's Epistle to Burlington' in M.Mack and J.Winn (Eds): Pope: Recent Essays by Several Hands, Brighton, 1980, ps.352-371 and C. Beaumont: 'Pope and the Palladians', in Texas Studies in Literature and Language (17), Austin, Texas, 1975, ps. 461-79, p.462.

<sup>12</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 3- 6.

<sup>13</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 17-18.

<sup>14</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 41-43.

<sup>15</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 23-4.

<sup>16</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 25-28.

<sup>17</sup> See H.Oliver: Timon of Athens, The Arden edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, Welwyn Garden City, 1959, p.152 and G.Wilson Knight: 'Timon of Athens and its Dramatic Descendants' in A Review of English Literature Vol.2, no. 4, October 1961, London, ps.9-18.

<sup>18</sup> Dr S.Johnson (Ed.): The Plays of William Shakespeare, Vol.6, London, 1765, p.276.

<sup>19</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 101-2.

<sup>20</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 100.

<sup>21</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 105-6.

<sup>22</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 107-8.

<sup>23</sup> Evidence suggests that Chandos was a bibliophile. The library at Cannons was a large room (58'6" long x 23' 6" wide) on the second floor, according to the Inventory of 1725 (Huntington Library manuscript, ST 83). According to

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L. Stewart: The Rise of Public Science, Rhetoric, Technology and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain, Cambridge, 1992, p.155, on 26th September 1715, Chandos gave an instruction to his agent Anthony Hammond, to purchase books for him. The catalogue of the Duke's library is in the British Library PR.2A.39.

<sup>24</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 146-8.

<sup>25</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 175-6.

<sup>26</sup> Epistle IV to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington op.cit.note 3, lines 179-80.

<sup>27</sup> G. Sherburn (Ed.):The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Oxford, 1956, Vol.III, p.261, letter from Aaron Hill to Pope, dated 23rd December 1731.

<sup>28</sup> L.Kronenberger (Ed.): Alexander Pope. Selected Works, New York, 1948, p.xix-xx.

<sup>29</sup> G. Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, ps.254-6.

<sup>30</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, p.259.

<sup>31</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, p.266.

<sup>32</sup> G. Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit. note 27, p.260.

<sup>33</sup> G. Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit. note 27, p.268.

<sup>34</sup> See J.Butt (Gen.Ed) op.cit. note 3, Appendix C: 'A Master Key to Popery', ps.175-188 and J. Butt: 'A Master Key to Popery' in J.Clifford and L.Landa (Eds): Pope and his Contemporaries: Essays presented to George Sherburn, Oxford, 1949, ps.39-44.

<sup>35</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit. note 27, p.262, as indicated by the Duke's reply on 27th December.

<sup>36</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit. note 27, p.262.

<sup>37</sup> G.Sherburn: 'Timon's Villa and Cannons' in the Huntington Library Bulletin No.8, October 1935, Cambridge, Mass. ps.131-151. A letter from the Duke of Chandos to Anthony Hammond, dated 1st January 1732, p.140.

<sup>38</sup> G.Sherburn op.cit.note 37, p.140.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in K.Mahaffey: 'Timon's Villa: Walpole's Houghton' in M. Mack and J.Winn (Eds.) op.cit.note 11, p.348.

<sup>40</sup> See D.Fineman: Leonard Welsted: Gentleman Poet of the Augustan Age, Philadelphia, 1950 for the five year battle between Welsted and Pope from 1728-1732.

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<sup>41</sup> See P. Rogers: 'Pope and his Subscribers' in Publishing History, 3, 1978, Cambridge, ps. 7-36, p.13.

<sup>42</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, p.327. Letter from Alexander Pope to Caryll dated 29th March 1732, p.316, p.423 and H.Williams (Ed.), The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, Vol .IV, no. 4806, Oxford, 1965, dated 11th January 1732.

<sup>43</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, Letter from Pope to Burlington dated 21st December 1731.

<sup>44</sup> Chief among these are K. Mahaffey op.cit.note 39; M.Mack: The Garden and The City. Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope, 1731-1743, Toronto and London, 1969, Appendix F: 'Sir Robert Walpole and Houghton as 'Timon' and His Villa' ps.272-77; M.Brownell: Pope and the Arts of Georgian England, Oxford, 1968, Appendix C. ps.381-83: 'Where was Timon's Villa? Profiles of Blenheim and Houghton' and P. Rogers: 'Notes and Comments. Timon's Villa Again' in the British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies, 11, no 1, Spring 1979, Oxford, ps. 63-5, who suggests, ps.63-64: "some of the details by an odd freak fit most snugly the gardens at Chatsworth...the facts.. surely prompt a strong suspicion that Chatsworth was one of the models".

<sup>45</sup> See Earl of Ilchester (Ed.): Lord Hervey and his Friends, 1726-38, London,1950, ps.124-5. A letter from Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox, dated 21st December 1731. This is a view examined by J.Ferraro in 'Taste and Use: Pope's Epistle to Burlington' in British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies, 19, No.2, Oxford, 1996, ps. 141-156.

<sup>46</sup> M. Mack op.cit.note 44, p.172 and K.Mahaffey op.cit.note 39, p.319.

<sup>47</sup> See J.Butt (Gen.Ed.)op.cit.note 3, p.186.

<sup>48</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed.) op.cit.note 3, p.187.

<sup>49</sup> G. Sherburn (Ed.)op.cit.note 27, Vol.1, p.432, Letter IX, September 1717: "Letters to Several Ladies".

<sup>50</sup> M.Brownell op.cit.note 44, Appendix C. He argues that Blenheim was a more extravagant project, costing £300,000 compared to £200,000 for Houghton and that Blenheim was on a much larger scale than Houghton with a frontage of 850 feet as opposed to Houghton's 450 feet.

<sup>51</sup> V. Dearing (Ed.): John Gay. Poetry and Prose, Oxford, 1974, Vol.1, p.216, 'Poems on Several Occasions, Epistle to Lord Methuen', line 72.

<sup>52</sup> C. Doble (Ed.) Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Vol IX, Oxford, 1914, p.68, dated 11th December 1725.



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<sup>53</sup> J. Robinson: The Princely Chandos. A Memoir of James Brydges, London, 1893, p.180, following a letter from Swift to the Duke dated 31st August 1734. H.Williams (Ed): The Poems of Jonathan Swift, Oxford, 1937, p.678.

<sup>54</sup> G.Sherburn op.cit.note 37, a letter dated 1st January 1732.

<sup>55</sup> G.Sherburn (Ed.) op.cit.note 27, p.262, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Pope, 27th January 1731.

<sup>56</sup> G.Sherburn(Ed.) op.cit.note 27, p.261, a letter from Aaron Hill to Pope, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1731.

<sup>57</sup> See note 9, a letter from Pope to Lord Burlington dated 27th January 1732.

<sup>58</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed.) op.cit.note 3, Appendix C, p.185.

<sup>59</sup> Published in J.Guerinot: Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope, 1711-1744, London, 1969, p.214 from Leonard Welsted: 'Of False Fame. An Epistle', published on 3rd February 1732.

<sup>60</sup> Published in J.Guerinot op.cit.note 59, p.245, published in 12th-14th February 1734, London Evening Post.

<sup>61</sup> See note 9, p.2.

<sup>62</sup> See J. Newman: 'Concluding Remarks' in Papers given at Georgian Group Symposium at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, May 1982, p.102.

<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of this see R. Paulson: Hogarth: Volume 3: Art and Politics, 1750-1764, Cambridge, 1993, ps.521-2 and R. Paulson: Hogarth's Graphic Works, New Haven and London, 1970, revised edition, Vol 1, ps.299-300 and F.Stephens and E.Hawkins: Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Political and Personal Satires, Vol II, 1689-1733, London, 1873, p.751. See D.Bindman: Hogarth and his Times, London, 1997, p.45 and p.110 for a description of Hogarth's relationship with Burlington and his satire on the failings of the leaders of taste.

<sup>64</sup> See F. Stephens op.cit.note 63, p.808.

<sup>65</sup> P.Ayres op.cit.note 6, ps. 429-30.

## ‘COUNTERFEIT MAGNIFICENCE’?

### CANNONS AND TIMON’S VILLA: THE BUILDING, DECORATION AND GROUNDS OF CANNONS

#### 1. Introduction

Where all cry out, ‘What sums are thrown away!’  
So proud, so grand, of that stupendous air  
Soft and agreeable come never there.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporaries of the Duke of Chandos identified the figure of Timon in Alexander Pope’s Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington Occasion’d by his publishing Palladio’s Designs of the Baths, Arches, Theatres &c of Ancient Rome (1731) with the Duke of Chandos and associated Timon’s Villa with Cannons. In Chapter Two we saw how Pope portrayed Timon’s Villa as an extravagant palace constructed to satisfy the self-aggrandisement of its owner. It was presented as a travesty of taste, built in an imitative style that lacked any understanding of the new architectural principles of Palladianism. Pope complained to Lord Burlington of the misapplication of Palladian designs:

Yet shall (my Lord) your just, your noble rules  
Fill half the land with Imitating Fools;  
Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,  
And of one beauty many blunders make.<sup>2</sup>

The criticisms of Timon’s Villa voiced in Of Taste focus on its lack of a clear architectural style, its ignorance of the rules of Palladian architecture, its tastelessness and its extravagant use of expensive materials. The association of

these criticisms with Cannons stems from the lack of any detailed examination of its building and decoration, partly explained by the disappearance of physical evidence after the sale of the house, fixtures and fittings in 1747.<sup>3</sup> Cannons receives a passing reference from certain architectural historians, who briefly mention its architectural style and contradict each other. Rudolf Wittkower's view was that "with the exception of Cannons and Bath, [the Duke] uses second and third rate architects for his various building ventures.... he set out to appear as a great Maecenas of the arts... but nowhere... is there any sign of real appreciation of artistic problems".<sup>4</sup> Kerry Downes considers that Cannons belongs to the "history of English Baroque... to some extent because it fits nowhere else".<sup>5</sup> He suggests that it "symbolises, if with a certain bathos, the end of the era that began with Chatsworth".<sup>6</sup> Terry Friedman proposes that the house was the product of a taste "committed to the classical tradition but [which] preferred not to subscribe to Palladian doctrine".<sup>7</sup> Giles Worsley argues that Cannons was an attempt to adapt to Palladian architectural innovations as illustrated in Colin Campbell's recently published Vitruvius Britannicus.<sup>8</sup>

The examination of Cannons that has taken place to date misrepresents the place of the Duke of Chandos and Cannons in the patronage, architectural and gardening history of the period. This chapter presents new information about Cannons and provides a re-evaluation of the house and the Duke's role as an architectural patron. It looks firstly at the development of Palladianism in early eighteenth-century England and analyses the extent to which the Duke understood Palladian architectural principles and tried to introduce them at Cannons.<sup>9</sup> It seeks to determine whether Chandos's contemporaries were justified in identifying his country house as Timon's seat.

The Duke of Chandos acquired Cannons in May 1713 on the death of Warwick Lake, the uncle of his first wife, Mary. He decided to build a new house to replace the original Jacobean structure designed by John Thorpe in 1606-8.<sup>10</sup> In the same year, he was forced out of the lucrative post of Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad, which he had occupied since 1705, because of questions over the accounts, and married his wealthy cousin, Cassandra Willoughby.<sup>11</sup> When his father died in October 1714, his succession to the title of Earl of Carnarvon provided an additional incentive to build an impressive country residence that would reflect his new status and supply a platform to support his search for employment at Court.

The construction of Cannons was part of the building boom that took place in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and resulted in the appearance of almost one hundred new houses.<sup>13</sup> This boom was inspired by the ambitions of a new, monied, self-made Whig oligarchy, empowered by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and ennobled by George I in 1714, which sought to establish itself as landed gentry. The Duke of Chandos was part of this wealthy and powerful group of Whig country house owners, which sought to curb the powers of the monarchy and for whom Palladianism represented a return to the architectural and political principles of Imperial Rome.<sup>14</sup>

Palladianism derives its name from the architect Andrea Palladio of Vicenza (1508-1580), who was responsible for the revival of interest in classical architecture in sixteenth-century Europe.<sup>15</sup> Palladio based his architecture on a study of the work and publications of Caesar Augustus's architect, Marcus Vitruvius Pollo (particularly his great architectural treatise De architectura libri decem (24 B.C), which he published in a number of books, including Le antichità di Roma (1554) and Quattro libri dell'architettura (1570).<sup>16</sup> The Quattro libri was Palladio's most influential

work based on the architecture of Ancient Rome, proposing an architectural theory founded on the architectural principles of order, proportion and architectural harmony. Palladio:

For the most part... sought in Roman architecture ways of organizing and of integrating complexes of spaces and masses... these lessons were simply a stimulus for the formulation of principles not manifest in ancient design which may be defined as follows:

1. Hierarchy, or the systematic build-up from dependent parts to a focal core.
2. The integration by proportionality, in three dimensions, of part to part and part to whole.
3. The co-ordination of exterior and interior design by representing the interior organization on the facades and by consistency in the proportional system.<sup>17</sup>

Palladio also adopted principles which had been central to Vitruvius's architecture of "utility or convenience, duration and beauty" and the idea of 'decorum' or 'propriety', which maintained that proper consideration should be given to applying a consistent and appropriate scale and decoration throughout a building.<sup>18</sup> According to Palladio, a building required a perfect mathematical ratio for all its parts to achieve symmetry and harmonic proportions.

Palladio had a significant impact on architecture in England. The seventeenth century neo-Palladian court architect, Inigo Jones (1573-1652), sometimes referred to as 'Vitruvius Britannicus' or the 'British Vitruvius', studied Roman ruins both in the original and from Palladio's Le antichità di Roma and used Palladian principles in the design of a number of influential buildings in England including the Banqueting House, Whitehall and the Queen's House, Greenwich.<sup>19</sup> The influence of Inigo Jones and Palladianism was revived in the eighteenth century by the philosopher-earl Anthony Ashley

Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), who proposed turning away from Baroque architecture to Palladianism in his Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design (1712).<sup>20</sup> Shaftesbury believed that Britain could be transformed into “the principal seat of arts” with the formation of a “national taste” based on a return to Inigo Jones’s Palladian revivalism. He advocated building on a grand scale:

The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country house according as he fancies...when a great Man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if, instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises, at a vast expense, such a base and counterfeit Piece of Magnificence, as can be justly arraign’d for its deformity by so many knowing men in art, and by the whole people, who, in such a conjuncture readily follow their opinion.<sup>21</sup>

Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, was one of the leading figures in the establishment of Palladian architecture in England and an important rival to the Duke of Chandos. He used his influence with the Whig administration of Sir Robert Walpole to support a number of architects and publications that engineered the rise of Palladianism and enabled it to become the dominant architectural style in early eighteenth century England.<sup>22</sup> Lord Burlington was the first to publish Palladio’s drawings of Roman baths in his Fabbriche antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, Vicentino (1730).<sup>23</sup> In the text he prefigured the concerns expressed by his close friend Alexander Pope in Of Taste (1731) by attacking the ‘ignoranti Pretenditori’ who claimed to follow Palladian principles, but who did not understand them. Of Taste was originally intended as the preface to Burlington’s second publication of Palladio drawings (which was never produced) and was written against “ye Common Enemy, the Bad Imitators & Pretenders” who corrupted the classical rules of Palladianism.

The early development of Palladianism in England was facilitated by the architectural and publishing activity of one of Burlington's protégé's, the Scottish architect Colen Campbell (1676-1729). Burlington helped Campbell to publish his three volume Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect (1715, 1717, 1725), which became an important manifesto for eighteenth-century English Palladianism.<sup>24</sup> In it, Campbell set out his architectural vision, which was exemplified in the design for Wanstead House in Essex (commissioned by the Duke of Chandos's brother-in-law, Sir Richard Child and built from 1715-1720).<sup>25</sup>

Palladianism thus became established as the main architectural style in England in a gradual process from about 1715-1730. The introduction of this new style also led to innovations in interior decoration and landscaping. The Duke of Chandos played a part in this process, although his role has been overshadowed by the influence of the Earl of Burlington. Chandos was, however, both interested in and involved in the development of the new style. He subscribed for two copies of each of the three volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus and he counted among his close friends and correspondents influential figures in the development of Palladianism such as George Clarke, Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford (with whom he travelled to the Netherlands in 1706) and Robert Benson, first Baron Bingley, who helped to shape the development of Cannons.<sup>26</sup>

We will examine the part played by the Duke of Chandos in the establishment of Palladianism in England by looking at the building, decoration and grounds of Cannons and seeking to understand the nature of his achievement. Did Cannons violate all architectural rules as Pope claimed in Of Taste, or did it help to establish the ascendancy of a new style and architectural vocabulary in which Chandos played a critical role?

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<sup>1</sup> Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington lines 100-102 from J. Butt (Gen.Ed.): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope vol iii (ii) F. Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, p.147.

<sup>2</sup> J. Butt (Gen.Ed.) op.cit.note 1, ps.139-40, lines 25-28.

<sup>3</sup> Yale Center for British Art, SC125: "A Catalogue of all the Materials of the Dwelling-House, Out-Houses &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos deceas'd at his late Seat call'd Cannons, near Edgware in Middlesex... Which will be sold by Auction by Mr Cock, on Tuesday the 16th of June 1747 and the eleven following Days (at Cannons aforesaid)" [hereafter referred to as Catalogue I] and London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13: "A Catalogue of all the Genuine Houshold Furniture &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos... Which will be sold by Auction by Mr Cock, On Monday 1st of June 1747" [hereafter referred to as Catalogue II].

<sup>4</sup> R. Wittkower in Review of English Studies, Vol. II, No.6, London, April 1951, p.185.

<sup>5</sup> K. Downes: English Baroque Architecture, London, 1966, p.88.

<sup>6</sup> K. Downes op.cit.note 5, p.89.

<sup>7</sup> See T. Friedman: 'The Palace of the Princely Chandos' in M. Airs (Ed.): 'The Early Eighteenth Century Great House', University of Oxford Department for Continuing Education, Papers given at a conference, 12th-14th January 1996, ps. 101-120.

<sup>8</sup> The three volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus by Colen Campbell were published from 1715 to 1725. G. Worsley: Classical Architecture in Britain. The Heroic Age, New Haven and London, 1995, ps.118-9: "In his design of about 1716 for the south front of Cannons House, Middlesex, Gibbs proposed a facade that equalled St Mary le Strand in its Italianate complexity with giant pilasters and round-headed windows leaving virtually no wall at all. Nothing could have contrasted more strongly with Campbell's message in Vitruvius Britannicus and it would be interesting to know whether Gibbs's dismissal from Cannons in 1719 was influenced by this as was undoubtedly the case at Burlington House. The executed design by John Price, while perhaps retaining elements of Gibbs - the central round-headed windows recall those of St Mary le Strand - follows Campbell's strictures on the spacing of windows and may look to John Webb's Greenwich Palace for the side ranges".

<sup>9</sup> See R. Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism, London, 1974, ps.178-181.



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<sup>10</sup> J.Summerson (Ed.): 'The Life of John Thorpe' in The Walpole Society, Oxford, Vol.XL, 1966, ps.5, 56, Plates 20 and 104.

<sup>11</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol 9, f.217, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond, dated 4th October 1713: "I have married Mrs Willoughby My Ld Middletons sister. Her fortune was 23000 but her other qualificaons are so much more abundantly valuable".

<sup>12</sup> Correspondence in the Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.13, f.8 indicated Chandos's ambition. A letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> October 1715 to Madame?: "si la dismissal du Duc de Somerset causera des promotions du Grand Seneschall (le Dc de Devon) du Chambellan ou des quelqu'uns des Gentilshommes en premier de la Chambre du Roi il n'y a personne que s'estimera plus heureux que moi a y être admis". This is consistent with the practice of great men, for instance the third Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, where, according to C. Saumarez Smith: The Building of Castle Howard, London and Boston, 1990, ps.16-17: "the plans for Castle Howard were made at exactly the moment when he was looking for promotion at Court. Building a great house was a means of drawing attention to his capabilities, of demonstrating his potential usefulness as an ally of the king".

<sup>13</sup> See C.Saumarez Smith: 'Supply and Demand in English Country House Building 1660-1740' in Oxford Art Journal, Oxford, 1988, No.11, Vol.2, ps.3-9.

<sup>14</sup> H-W Kruff: A History of Architectural Theory, from Vitruvius to the present, (translated by R.Taylor, E.Callander and A.Wood), London, 1994, p.236. Also see R.Wittkower, op.cit.note 9, ps.178-181.

<sup>15</sup> J.Ackerman: Palladio, Harmondsworth, 1966.

<sup>16</sup> Vitruvius dedicated his influential architectural text De architectura libri decem to Caesar Augustus in 24 B.C. See I.Rowland (translated): Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture, Cambridge, 1999. The ten books covered a range of subjects which included the education of an architect and architectural principles (Book I); public architecture (Book V); domestic architecture (Book VI) and interior decoration (Book VII). H.Warren (Ed) M.Morgan (translated): Vitruvius. The Ten Books on Architecture, Harvard and London, 1914. Book I, Chapter II, ps.14-15 describes the important Vitruvian principle of "propriety": "Propriety is that perfection of style which comes when a work is authoritatively constructed on approved principles...Propriety arises from usage when buildings having magnificent interiors are provided with elegant entrance-courts to correspond; for there will be no propriety in the spectacle of an elegant interior approached by a low, mean entrance... There will also be a natural propriety in using an eastern light for bedrooms and libraries, a western light in winter for baths and winter apartments and a northern light for picture galleries and other places".

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<sup>17</sup> J. Ackerman, op.cit.note 15, p.27, p.182. Palladio published Le antichità di Roma in 1554 which was a list of monuments of Ancient Rome.

<sup>18</sup> C.Beaumont: 'Pope and the Palladians' in Texas Studies in Literature and Language, Austin, Texas Vol.XVII, Number 2, Summer 1975, ps.461-479, p.462.

<sup>19</sup> H-W Krufft op.cit. note 14, p.236.

<sup>20</sup> For a history of the publication of this Letter see K.Downes: 'The publication of Shaftesbury's 'Letter concerning Design' in Architectural History, Vol.27, York,1984, ps.519-23.

<sup>21</sup> A.Ashley-Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times. Letter concerning design to Lord Somers March 1712, 5th edition, 1732, p.402.

<sup>22</sup> H. Colvin: 'Lord Burlington and the Office of Works' in Papers given at Georgian Group Symposium, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, May1982, ps.51-59.

<sup>23</sup> J. Ackerman op.cit. note 15, p.171: "The Imperial baths came closest to Palladio's ideal. Actually they were the only class of ancient structure that could stimulate solutions to many of his planning problems, which was one reason why he prepared for publication a graphic survey of all the baths in Rome (published in part from his drawings, but only in 1730)."

<sup>24</sup> See P.Breman and D.Addis: Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus, New York, 1972, ps.vi-vii and T.Connor: 'The making of Vitruvius Britannicus' in Architectural History Vol. 20, York, 1977, ps.14-30.

<sup>25</sup> H-W. Krufft op.cit.note 14, p.237.

<sup>26</sup> For the influence of George Clarke and Robert Benson, Lord Bingley see J. Harris: The Palladian Revival, Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick, New Haven and London, 1994, ps.7-11 and T.Connor in Architectural History, op.cit.note 24, p.19. Krufft op.cit.note 14, p.238 records that only 300 people subscribed for a copy of the first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus.

## **2. The Building of Cannons**

Cannons was created as a residence to rival the most splendid in Europe and inspired poetic tributes:

O'er all the Waste, a blooming change prevails,  
A Desart rising to a grand Versailles.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporaries described its magnificence:

The whole structure is built with such a Profusion of Expençe and finished with such a Brightness of Fancy and Delicacy of Judgment that many sovereign Prince's Palaces abroad do not equal it.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke of Chandos referred to Cannons self-deprecatingly as “my little building”<sup>3</sup>; however, it was anything but that. After his death, Charles Bruce, third Earl of Ailesbury (Lord Burlington's brother-in-law and father-in-law to Henry, second Duke of Chandos), admitted what many had probably secretly felt:

I think that Cannons was always too big a House for the family, and indeed for any family that has the biggest Estate, but still more strongly where the Estate is not great and the incumbrances are very great...<sup>4</sup>

The first house at Cannons was built circa 1606-8 by the architect John Thorpe, for Sir Thomas Lake, (James I's Latin Secretary). The three surviving plans by Thorpe show that the original building was a square block built around a large internal courtyard.<sup>5</sup> (Figures 3, 4 and 5) The Duke of Chandos took over this house in May 1713, on the death of Warwick Lake, the uncle of his first wife. He moved in and began to build a new house to replace the original Jacobean structure, at times remodelling and incorporating parts of the old one.

Contemporaries recognised how difficult it was to transform a simple Jacobean house into a Palladian palace. According to Roger North, writing circa 1695:

It is observable, that this work of mending old requires much more art and invention, than designing new houses... in regulating the old, every corner and place demands a distinct consideration, how the best conversion and application may be... there is more art to cover faults, than to compose perfections.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed the inherent difficulties in the project may account for some of the criticism voiced by visitors to Cannons. Edward Gascoigne, for instance, remarked after his visit in 1728 that the hall “so much talkd of is finely finish’d...but so low that ‘tis no Room. The Chimneys fine, with Stucco & Marble but too big for the height”<sup>7</sup> and Sir John Vanbrugh commented the “fronts v. fine...But the inside is of poor Invention”.<sup>8</sup>

The final appearance of Cannons can be established from floor plans in the Inventory of 1725 and engravings of the south and east fronts dated 1720. (Figures 6, 7 and 8) Although interior decoration and work continued until 1723, the exterior elevations were sufficiently advanced for the Duke’s architect John Price to produce two engravings of the south and east fronts, signed “John Price Architect Built Anno 1720”. Further information is provided by building accounts, travellers’ descriptions, sale catalogues and the Inventory.<sup>9</sup>

The new Cannons was a three storey courtyard building, approximately 147 feet wide and 123 feet deep (according to the Inventory). Visitors described the impressive approach to the house up the main eastern avenue from Edgware, which “fronts an Angle of the House, and thereby shewing you two Fronts at once, makes the House seem at a Distance the larger”.<sup>10</sup> The four facades were dominated by two main floors topped by a low attic storey and

entablature. The east and south fronts, which were the principal facades, were composed of a central attached Portland stone portico of six fluted columns (four Ionic half columns and two three quarter columns) and side sections of Portland stone.<sup>11</sup> The vertical thrust of the central Ionic pilasters was continued through the attic storey with pilasters, each of which was topped by a statue. The west and north fronts received similar treatment, except that the central section of the north front (which contained the Library and Dining Room) broke forward nine feet and the sections at either side of the Portland stone central section were built of grey stock brick.<sup>12</sup> The new house was simple, classicising and magnificent, topped by statues and urns.<sup>13</sup> The chapel adjoined the north west corner via two colonnades and the service courts, the stable and office courts, were situated to the west.<sup>14</sup>

Chandos's correspondence with his architects refers to a number of drawings, of which only a few have been identified. William Talman, for instance, produced at least twelve plans for the new building, but none of these has been found. Drawings attributed to John James survive for St Lawrence, Whitchurch (c.1714), and for the north front of Cannons.<sup>15</sup> (Figures 9 and 10) Two floor plans, formerly believed to relate to Cannons, have been reinterpreted as designs for Chandos's house in Cavendish Square, London.<sup>16</sup> (Figure 11) A further drawing, attributed to Sir James Thornhill, inscribed "East Front" and annotated January 15th 1716/17, has been identified as a design for the north front.<sup>17</sup> (Figure 12) Undated designs by James Gibbs for the south and west facades survive in the Ashmolean museum<sup>18</sup> (Figures 13, 14 and 15) and there are three drawings by him for the chapel in the London Metropolitan Archive.<sup>19</sup> (Figures 16 and 17) John Price drafted the elevations of the south and east fronts, which were engraved by Hendrick Hulsbergh and inscribed: "J.Price Delin:" and "John Price Architect Built Anno 1720".(See Figures 7 and 8) These engravings were modified sometime before 1739 for

their inclusion in Badeslade and Rocque's fourth volume of Vitruvius Britannicus.<sup>20</sup>(Figure 18)

The Duke commissioned five successive architects to work at Cannons. The first of these was William Talman, who began work in 1713. Talman may have been chosen because of his connections (he was a former Comptroller of Works), and his reputation (he designed the influential south and east fronts of Chatsworth House in Derbyshire from 1687-1696).<sup>21</sup> In addition, Chandos, a noted bibliophile, may have made contact with the architect because he knew his son, John Talman, and was attracted by his claim that he was "still collecting by his son abroad, the most valuable Collection of Books, Prints & Drawings &c as is in any one Person's hands in Europe".<sup>22</sup>

Cannons presented some of the problems that Talman had encountered at Chatsworth, in that it required refacing range by range.<sup>23</sup> Talman drew up about twelve plans for the Duke (now lost), from 22nd July to 19th November 1713, for which he received £1600. Chandos, however, found the plans "indifferently drawn that they were hardly of any use, being true in no respect of proportion whatever, either as to the outside of the house or the inside of the several chambers".<sup>24</sup> The architect's only contribution to Cannons was the erection of two unsatisfactory outhouses (which were completed by December 1714). He was dismissed under threat of a lawsuit if he refused to return the sum of £80 which the Duke claimed was an overpayment for his travelling expenses.<sup>25</sup>

Talman was replaced as architect by John James, whom Chandos had first consulted in November 1713.<sup>26</sup> James was one of the architects working at Greenwich Hospital, the translator of a number of architectural and gardening treatises, and Surveyor to the Church Commissioners from 1711.<sup>27</sup> He was also part of Chandos's circle of architectural patrons and friends which included

Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley and George Clarke, Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford.<sup>28</sup> James was paid "by the great"(inclusive of labour and materials) for designing the west and north ranges of Cannons and building parts of the kitchens and stables, as well as modifying the medieval churchtower at St.Lawrence, Whitchurch, a role for which he was equipped through his appointments for the Church Commissioners and as Assistant Surveyor at St Paul's Cathedral (from 1715).<sup>29</sup> The Duke, however, still complained:

Upon seeing t'other day the church I fear it is not design'd so well as it ought to have been, for height, as it is to be but 20 foot high... There are I think very great defects in the stairs which lead to it.<sup>30</sup>

Chandos kept James under constant pressure to supply drawings and redraft them in line with his own views. The Duke made requests to the architect in July and August 1714 for drawings of the north and west ranges, which he then redesigned to offer a more attractive facade with more light:

especially relating to the corridors, which if they were made to joyn in a streight line to the corners of the house (instead of coming to the middle part with a sweep as at present design'd) I believe it would be better in regard it would give a better view to the eye, the whole front being by that means seen & the lower rooms would have a better light; but then the windows of the servants part should be altered and made answerable those on the other side. How far this is practicable you will best judge.<sup>31</sup>

By September 1714, the Duke was asking for the drawing of the south front, writing to James:

I received the two uprights you sent me of the north & west fronts, but I was in hopes to have received likewise one of the main front of the house...that I may see how the pilasters & architrave will suit with the pinnacles, which I propos'd should be kept up over the several windows as the figure of the house now is, only reducing them, if possible, to such a form as may in some manner resemble an attick story, by which means each pinnacle may be contriv'd to be a good square garret room within. I must likewise by all means contrive to have the morning sun come in to my study & dressing room. It is so refreshing & reviving I cannot help coveting it, & therefore desire there may be two windows (one in each) to

the court, & that middle part of the gallery of communication (which is to let it in) left open upon pillars, which will I think too be an advantage to the court.<sup>32</sup>

This drawing had still not arrived by the beginning of October and there were problems with the plan of the ground floor, the upper half storey and the attic floor.<sup>33</sup>

By March 2nd 1715 Chandos had turned for advice to Sir John Vanbrugh, James's superior at Greenwich Hospital and Comptroller of the Office of Works. The Duke asked him to make proposals for the south front of Cannons and told James that he intended to choose between the designs of the two architects.<sup>34</sup> In April 1715 he informed James that he was going to replace his proposals for corner pilasters with smooth brick and instructed him to consult Vanbrugh, who would explain the details of the alterations to him.<sup>35</sup> He argued:

There are several alterations which I think will be necessary to be made in that part of Cannons you have been concern'd in...especially that part of them which relates to the taking away the corner pilastors & finishing them with smooth bricks, by which we shall not be confined in any thing we should have a mind to do to the other fronts.<sup>36</sup>

He also complained to James about other design details proposed by him and asked Vanbrugh again for advice in April 1715 about the north front of the house.<sup>37</sup>

The complications of consulting two architects may have contributed towards the decision to pull down the north front of the house. This was noted by Dudley Ryder, a young lawyer who visited Cannons in September 1715, whose sources at the local inn in Edgware informed him that the Duke was:

very changeable and fickle...[because he] had just begun to destroy the form of his parterre after a great expense laid out upon it and that he had pulled down the whole side of his house that he had but just built up and has now built it up again because it did not please his fancy.<sup>38</sup>



There is no further record of Vanbrugh's involvement at Cannons and we do not know what fee he commanded for his advice, apart from a hogshead of claret that the Duke sent him as a goodwill gesture. He did have the satisfaction, however, of criticising the decisions taken by Chandos to his patron at Claremont, the Duke of Newcastle, following his visit to Cannons in September 1720:

He [the Duke of Chandos] has done great things since I was there both in Building and Gardening in which I do Assure you, he has sav'd nothing by not letting me be his Architect; For I had Cutt him out less Expence, And you may be Sure (I think), a Better house. His Fronts however, are very fine, and all of Stone. But the inside is of poor Invention. He talk'd to me of your Graces New Room at Claremont... I have however done all I can to prevent his coming till 'tis quite done; that it may Stair in his face, And knock him downe at Once.<sup>39</sup>

John James continued working on Cannons until the end of 1715. By this time he had been involved with the project for two years and had received a total of £6000 from the Duke.<sup>40</sup> However, Chandos was not happy with the results, complaining in December 1715 that the pace of work was very slow and that the chimneys smoked.

I was in hopes after ye promise you made me of attending ye work that's going forward here a little better than you had done that I sh'd have heard of your having been down before this time but as you have not I must remind you of it by these & acquaint you that ye Hall & little room before ye New Parlour are just as they were when you were here last about a month ago & which is ye same condition they had been in for 6 months before & yet till these are finish't you say ye paving cannot be laid tho' I don't see what hinders ye paving of ye place where ye staircase is except ye want of paving stone...I make no question after having been so often assured it by you but that it is all ready prepar'd & I must once more desire that you will look after this concern with more care than you have hitherto shown since you undertook it or that you will act so fair a part as to let me know you cannot that I may see for some body else who will...I had forgot almost to tell you that every one of ye new Chimneys smokes so intolerably, there's no staying in ye rooms, which is another very sad instance both of your care & contrivance.<sup>41</sup>

By August 17th 1716 James had been replaced at Cannons by the Scottish architect James Gibbs.<sup>42</sup> Gibbs was a Jacobite Tory who had trained under Carlo Fontana in Rome, returning to England in 1709. His English patrons included Tory magnates such as John, Earl of Mar and Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, for whom he designed the chapel and library at Wimpole Hall and Lord Burlington who employed Gibbs on his Piccadilly townhouse in 1715-16 and at his Villa at Chiswick. Lord Mar wrote to him in April 1716: “He supposes that you have enough work upon your hands in Piccadilly [on Burlington House for Lord Burlington], Herfordshire [Cannons] and at Richmond [probably Sudbrook in Petersham for John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll]”.<sup>43</sup>

Gibbs produced drawings for the south and west facades of Cannons and three drawings for the chapel, which he built and which was consecrated on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1720.<sup>44</sup> (See Figures 16 and 17) Gibbs was proud of the Chapel which he described as “the finest in England, both as to its design and Ornaments”, where “worship [was] perform’d...with the best musick, after the manner of the chappell royal, which is not done in any other noble mans chapel in Britain”.<sup>45</sup> It was attached to the north west corner of the house by two colonnades.<sup>46</sup> (Figure 19) The drawings show that it was a single space with five windows on either side of the nave. The family pew was at the west end and was entered from the floor above. It was decorated with gilded plasterwork by Italian craftsmen, Giovanni Bagutti and Giuseppe Artari, stained glass windows by Joshua Price and ceiling canvasses by the Venetian painter, Antonio Bellucci. The organ at the east end was framed by Ionic fluted piers beside a Venetian opening.<sup>47</sup>

Gibbs also precipitated the important decision that the facade of Cannons should be finished with a straight entablature and not a split pediment,

following the advice of Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, to whom the Duke wrote in September 1719:

I am under great obligations to your Lordship for the obliging concern you are pleas'd to express for my success in what I am doing at Canons. Mr Gibbs was certainly very much in the right to apply himself to your Lordship, whose judgement, he knows very well, I have the greatest opinion of & to whose good taste I shall always readily submit my own: accordingly I have agreed to alter the design I had form'd &, instead of breaking the entablature, I propose to carry it streight, & make it project over the middle part of the house, where the pillars are. These too (instead of making them semi collums) I intend to make almost entire collumns: but, for the rusticated pillaster, I never heard of any place where such a design hath been executed, & I confess I cannot bring my self to like it from the view I have had of it on paper; I shou'd think it more proper for a situation near a river than such an one as mine is. By the time your Lordship returns I hope my little building will be advanc'd so far as for one to be able to make a guess what appearance it will have; & if it shou'd be such an one as is displeasing to your Lordship I shall pull it down with more satisfaction than I carry it up: there being nothing I covet more than the honour of your approbation not only in this but every thing else I undertake.<sup>48</sup>

Friedman argues that Gibbs played a decisive role in the architectural design of Cannons, but that the final design for the south front represented a weakening of his vision, including important changes such as the Order of columns (from Composite to Ionic), the pediment and balustrade (which became an attic storey) and the omission of giant pilasters except at the corners.<sup>49</sup>

Gibbs was replaced at Cannons by John Price, the Duke's surveyor at Cavendish Square.<sup>50</sup> Price published the earliest surviving engravings for the east and south fronts of Cannons, inscribing them "John Price Architect Built Anno 1720". (See Figures 7 and 8) His late involvement in the project and the small amount that he was paid for his work suggest that he claimed greater credit for his role at Cannons than he deserved.<sup>51</sup> He was not responsible for the completion of the building work and the interiors, which was supervised by the surveyors Christopher Cass (Kit Cash), Thomas Fort and Edward Shepherd. Fort began work at Cannons in April 1720 and had earned "upwards of £7000"

by April 23rd 1723.<sup>52</sup> However, by June 1722, Chandos was complaining once again about the slow progress, writing:

The summer advances now very fast, I don't find much expedition us'd in the Works here. All that the Masons have done this week is putting up a couple of obalisks and finishing the Frize of the summer house the Steps are not yet begun upon to be set, nor do I see any great progress made in the Hall or towards finishing the Staircase, nor can I expect it will be otherwise whilst you omit coming here to see how it goes on and to give directions where they are wanting and surely the allowance I make you for your pains will very well deserve you being here at least once a week...The joiners cannot go on with the rooms below stairs for want of orders and Materials, boards they want very much I repeat my desire to you, that you come as soon as you are able and take effectual care these complaints are remedy'd.<sup>53</sup>

In February 1723, the surveyor Edward Shepherd was instructed to oversee the final stages of the building and interior work.<sup>54</sup> Fort had some problems finishing the Summer house and Saloon, which led the Duke to write in June:

Upon looking over the works when I came down hither I find by the joyner you have directed an alteration to be made in the Opening between the Pediments over the several Doors in the Saloon, Vizt to take away the Pannel that is at present Walnut Tree and make instead thereof one entire one of the Mahogani wood I can't see to what Purpose this Direction is given, in my Opinion (considering especially there will probably be a small Bust in each Opening) it is much better as it is; the Alteration will be an Expense and what is worse at this juncture create a Delay in the finishing this Room, for Mr Bull tells me 'twill require a months time to make this alteration; upon this I have ordered him to let it alone and go on as fast as he can with finishing the Rooms. I desire too you'l let me have an account of all the Mahogani wood I have had, there have been great Quantities bought in, it hath been used in no Room but the Saloone... I can't learn what sort of finishing is proposed for the Summer House, nor have I ever seen a Design for it tho' I think it but reasonable I should be made acquainted with it...<sup>55</sup>

By October 1723 John Gilbert, the Duke's Groom of the Chambers, was ordered to "go through the rooms and take a view of what is wanting of Joiners Carpenters Smiths &c work" and Bull the joiner promised that "everything shall be done of his work in the House, except the hand rail to the Great Staircase".<sup>56</sup> All the work was completed some time before June 19th 1725, when Gilbert compiled the Inventory of "his Grace the Duke of Chandos's seat

att Cannons". It had taken a little over ten years to achieve, but Cannons was finished and Chandos had a magnificent residence to outshine his peers and "express the genius and opulence of the possessor".<sup>57</sup>

The surviving evidence for the construction of Cannons makes it difficult to analyse its success as a building, including the quality of its planning and layout. Visitors such as the architect Sir John Vanbrugh, who criticised the lowness of the hall and the "poor Invention" of the interiors, had other motives (Vanbrugh was writing to a client). Few accounts survive that describe the way the house was used, although visitors such as the Duke's relative, William Brydges, were amazed by its "grandeur and order".<sup>58</sup> A set of instructions to servants indicates that a visitor to Cannons would alight in the Great Court and enter the house through the south entrance into the marble Great Hall, where he would be met by the footman. If the visitor was a stranger "of the better sort & come to see the Duke he is to carry them into the Tapestry Room [on the ground floor] & give notice thereof...[to] acquaint the Duke therewith".<sup>59</sup> The marble Great Hall was separated from the Great Staircase by pairs of fluted white veined marble Corinthian columns. Visitors would be entertained in the main Dining Room on the north side of the ground floor (accompanied by the Duke's musicians in the adjoining Music Room) or be conducted up the Great Staircase (illuminated by a "grand Portland stone venetian window, ornamented with Corinthian pilasters fluted") to the principal state rooms on the first floor, which were the Saloon (on the south front) or the Library (on the north front).<sup>60</sup> The first floor contained suites of rooms including Bedchambers, Dressing Rooms and Closets accomodating the Duke and Duchess of Chandos (north east and south east corners) and Lord and Lady Carnarvon (south west corner). The Servants' quarters were on the north west corner of the house, leading to the service court. At the Duke's insistence Cannons was also equipped with amenities, running water and water closets.

Contemporaries praised Cannons and linked it with Wanstead House:

There are two fine Palaces, the one built by the Duke of Chandos, Ten Miles off, called Cannons; the other by the Lord Castlemain [Chandos's brother-in-law] at Wanstead, five miles off, which are inferior to few Royal Palaces in Europe.<sup>61</sup>

Such contemporary critical acclaim indicates its importance as a building and as a monument to the architectural patronage of its founder. Cannons was an expression of the Duke's architectural genius, an appreciation of which has been undermined by the disappearance of the house, the neglect of architectural historians and a misunderstanding of the motivation underlying the Duke's architectural patronage. Rather than lacking a clear architectural style, exemplifying an ignorance of Palladian architectural rules and glorifying tasteless extravagance, Cannons can be understood in quite another light, as the Duke of Chandos's personal response to Colen Campbell's architectural innovations for his brother-in-law at Wanstead. Cannons was one of the most magnificent, high-profile and influential buildings of the period, an important transitional house that helped to establish the supremacy of the Palladian style in England in the second decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

Chandos invited a number of architects to work at Cannons because he saw no need to commit to one individual (unlike Sir Richard Child's dependency on Colen Campbell).<sup>63</sup> He had confidence in his own abilities to realise the building of a great house, a confidence that grew out of the typically sceptical attitude towards the architectural profession, articulated by the Duchess of Marlborough, who claimed in 1732 that she knew of no architects:

that are not mad or ridiculous and I really believe that anybody that has sense with the best workmen of all sorts could make a better house without an architect than any has been built these many years. I know two gentlemen of this county [Oxfordshire] who have great estates and who have built their houses without an architect, by able workmen that would do as they directed which no architect will, though you pay for it.<sup>64</sup>

The extent of the Duke's personal control of the rebuilding of Cannons is indicated in a letter to the artist Sir Godfrey Kneller of December 1713 in which he states: "I shall make great alterations in my house, whereby the rooms will come to be much alter'd".<sup>65</sup> In 1719, he indicated his reliance on the advice of his friend and fellow amateur architect, Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley, proclaiming his willingness to "pull it down with more satisfaction than I carry it up", if his Lordship did not approve of the new proposals.<sup>66</sup> He frequently modified the ideas of his architects in line with his own architectural views. Important architectural changes in the design of the elevations and interiors, for instance, took place from 1714-1715, when the Duke decided that the internal corridors of the house should join the corners of the building in a straight line, instead of "coming to the middle with a sweep".<sup>67</sup> He considered that this would give a "better view to the eye" and allow the whole front to be seen. At the same time he ordered important modifications to be made to the south front, which involved pulling down the facade and removing the corner pilasters and architraves. Finally, in September 1719, the Duke decided against any kind of pediment for the building, determining to "alter the design I had form'd and instead of breaking the entablature, I propose to carry it streight and make it project over the middle part of the house, where the pillars are".<sup>68</sup>

Each of these modifications saw Chandos moving away from a Baroque architectural vocabulary towards a simpler, classicising Palladianism. Cannons was the product of an architectural vision developed by the Duke which exemplified contemporary architectural practice and sought to incorporate such Palladian details as the symmetrical courtyard, the forward projection of the central loggia, Venetian windows, the straight entablature (which Palladio

reserved for urban palazzi rather than villas) and the use of elegant Ionic pilasters for the central portico. It was built in a period of transition from Baroque to Palladian architecture and its evolving design reflects the Duke's response to the architectural changes of the period from 1713-1723. Chandos, far from being a patron who corrupted the proprieties of Palladian design was in fact a pioneer who contributed significantly to the establishment and triumph of the new national aesthetic in early Hanoverian architecture.

Despite the damage that Pope inflicted on the Duke's reputation, Cannons was a testimony to his longstanding interest in architecture. Chandos was a considerable architectural patron, part of a circle of architectural patronage that included friends and relatives such as Richard Child, first Earl Tylney, Robert Benson, first Baron Bingley, and George Clarke. The Duke was contemporaneously involved in building projects throughout England, including in Cavendish Square, London and in Bridgwater and Bath, where he sought to encourage innovative ideas.<sup>69</sup> As an architectural patron he conformed with the views of the influential Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, who argued that:

The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country house according as he fancies: but when a great Man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if, instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises, at a vast expense, such a base and counterfeit Piece of Magnificence as can justly be arraigned for its deformity by so many knowing me in art<sup>70</sup>

The Duke of Chandos kept up to date with architectural developments by subscribing to architectural volumes such as Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (the first volume of which was published in 1715) and James Gibbs's A Book of Architecture containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments (1728).<sup>71</sup> His extensive library of architectural works included several editions of Vitruvius, among them Architettura di Vittruvio, (Venice,



1556) and Claude Perrault's Architecture de Vitruve, (Paris, 1684); works by Palladio and other Renaissance masters: I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura by Palladio (Venice, 1577), L'Antichità di Roma by Palladio (Venice, 1555) and Giacomo Leoni's English version Palladio's Architecture (London, 1715); Magni Opera by Alberti (Venice, 1507); Tutte l'Opera d'Architettura & Prospetiva by Sebastiano Serlio (Venice, 1619) and Vincenzo Scamozzi's Architecture (Amsterdam, 1661). His works of contemporary architecture included a copy of Lord Burlington's Designs: Fabbriche Antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, Vicentino, (London, 1730),<sup>72</sup> and Isaac Ware's Plans, Elevations &c of Houghton, Seat of Sir Robert Walpole, (London, 1735).

Daniel Defoe recognised the Duke of Chandos's achievement at Cannons, claiming:

Tho' many of the palaces in Italy are very large fine buildings, yet I venture to say, not Italy itself can show such a building rais'd from the common surface by one private hand.<sup>73</sup>

Amidst the widespread praise of Cannons there was also some criticism of its extravagance. A French visitor wrote in his journal:

C'est une depense immense mais employé avec le plus mauvais goût du monde... Il semble qu'on ait recherché avec plaisir à faire de la depense sans se soucier de la distribuer avec quelque intelligence.<sup>74</sup>

But Cannons was not an architectural aberration. It was a transitional house built in the period 1713-23, when Palladian ideas were developing and becoming established in England. The Duke of Chandos was an informed and interested patron, part of a circle of discerning patrons and progressive architectural thinkers, closely involved with the building of Wanstead House, who attempted to incorporate new architectural ideas into his own building at Cannons as he became aware of them, in order that Cannons could assimilate the stylistic and theoretical innovations of Palladianism. Despite his criticisms,

the architect Sir John Vanbrugh was grudgingly complimentary about the house, following his visit to Cannons in 1720. He commented reluctantly: “To deal justly with his Magnificence, we found Nothing at all in it Ridiculous or Foppish as many People have Represented”.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S.Humphreys: Cannons. A Poem. Inscib'd to His Grace the Duke of Chandos, London, (1728). Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB F Box 11 (25b) June 13<sup>th</sup> 1728: “By his Graces Bill on Ditto [Mr Peters] payable to Samuel Humphrys for his Poem called Cannons 20- -“.

<sup>2</sup> The Foreigner's Guide, London, 1729, quoted in T.Friedman: James Gibbs, New Haven and London, 1984, p.113.

<sup>3</sup> See C.& M.Collins Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges First Duke of Chandos, Oxford, 1949, p.140, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, 3rd September 1719.

<sup>4</sup> Buckinghamshire Record Office, D63/8/4/10. Letter from the third Earl of Ailesbury to Lydia, Third Duchess of Chandos, dated 3rd July 1745.

<sup>5</sup> J.Summerson (Ed.): ‘The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe’ in The Walpole Society, Vol.XL, Oxford, 1966, ps.5 and 56, Cat.no.T43, T44, and T224, plates 20 and 104.

<sup>6</sup> H. Colvin and J.Newman (Eds): Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture, Oxford, 1981, p.35.

<sup>7</sup> In T.Friedman op.cit.note 2, p.113, Leeds City Archive GC/F6/12b ps. 147-8, the diary of Sir Edward Gascoigne.

<sup>8</sup> See G.Webb and B.Dobrée (Eds): The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, London, 1928,Vol. 4, p.126, No. 117, Sir John Vanbrugh to the Duke of Newcastle, 15th September 1720.

<sup>9</sup> See Introduction to Chapter 3, note 3 for full reference to Sale Catalogues. The Inventory is Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST83: “An Inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's Seat at Cannons Taken June the 19<sup>th</sup> 1725” by John Gilbert, the Duke's Groom of the Chamber.

<sup>10</sup> J.Macky: A Journey through England in familiar letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad, London, 1732, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Vol.II, p.6.

<sup>11</sup> See note 9, Sale Catalogue 1: “A Catalogue of all the Materials of the Dwelling House Out-Houses &c...16th June 1747 and 11 following days”p.55: “The Grand East Front of the Building. (67) The middle part about 64 ft consisting of 4 Ionic half columns, and two 3 quarter ditto, with the

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entablature, finely enrich'd window stools, with trusses to all the windows, and keystones carv'd with mask'd heads &c and an attic story over ditto, with fluted pilasters and dental Cornish, all of Portland stone... (68) The North side of ditto, in length about 30 ft, consisting of one Ionic plain pilaster, with base, capital and sub plinths, the architrave and Cornish enrich'd and plain frieze, with an attic story over ditto keystones to all the windows, and trusses under ditto, carv'd... (69) Ditto on the South side at ditto... On the Top of the Grand East Front (60) Two fine large lead vases on Portland stone plinths, (61) A large emblematical statue in lead... (62) Ditto of secrecy, with a crown at her foot, (63) Ditto representing Truth with a torch and a book (64) Ditto representing strength and unity (65) Ditto of Fortitude with a sword leaning on a pillar, (66) Ditto of Mars, with thunder in his hand". p.60: "On the Top of the grand South Front. (54) A pair of fine large lead vases on the west end of ditto on Portland stone plinths, (55) Ditto on the other end on ditto, (56) A large lead statue, representing Conquest with a crown and sword on ditto, (57) Ditto of Symmetry or Proportion with a crane (58) Ditto of Concord with a stork on her shoulder (59) Ditto of Liberty (60) Ditto of Providence (61) Ditto of Learning. The Middle Part of the Front of Portland Stone (62) About 70 ft wide ornamented with 4 Ionick half columns, and 2 three quarter ditto, with capitals base plinth and sub plinth the architrave freeze and cornice fully enrich'd with an attic story over ditto with fluted pilasters architraves to all the windows with key-stone and spandrel carv'd in a grand and genteel taste... (63) The east end of ditto, with three windows in front the whole about 38 ft wide enrich'd and ornamented as before... (64) the west end ditto.."

<sup>12</sup> See note 9, Sale Catalogue 1: "A Catalogue of all the Materials of the Dwelling House Out-Houses &c... 16th June 1747 and 11 following days", p.45: "The West Front of the Great House (64) The middle part of the said front, of Portland stone, about 43 ft wide, adorn'd with 4 pillasters, semicircular windows, with key-stones, &c and an attick story over ditto... (65) the south end of ditto, of grey stock bricks, about 40 ft wide, with red arches ornamented with a balustrade on the top, on a dentile Cornish of Portland stone, with window stools, carv'd facia's and plinth of ditto all included in the brick work... (66) Ditto at the other end". p.49: "On the Top of the great House North Front... (62) The right hand side of the front of grey stock bricks and Ionic Cornish, capitals and bases (to stucco pilasters) with an attic story over ditto, the pilasters and coping of Portland stone, with window stools to the principal story, carv'd with lions faces and stone cills to the rest of the windows, all the stone included in the brick work... (63) Ditto on the other side at ditto (64) the middle part of the front which breaks forward about 9 feet, rustick, with impost and keystones over windows and doors and plain Cornish and attic story and plinth over ditto all of Portland stone".

<sup>13</sup> See note 9, Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83: "Statues att the Top of the House: West Front: Courage represented by Hercules with his Club & a Lyons Skin for a Garment; History with a Table & pen in her hand writing the Works of Truth; Conduct in Armour wth Sword & Shiled shewing that it ought to be use with Conduct; South Front: Conquest wth the Sword Scepter

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& Crown wth the rule and compass; Concord wth the Stork to ye Breast; Liberty wth the Scepter; A man wth a Sword & hand over ye point; Learning an Old Man wth an Owle. East Front: A Youth holding ye glass of Equity in his hand; The Emblem of Sincerity a woman wth her Armes crost & her hands expanded on her breast wth a crown at her Feet; The Mistery of Learning. A Woman wth a Book in ye Right hand & a burning Torch in ye Left; Union or Zeale The Roman Battle Axes wth Twiggs ty'd together wth wch shows when the people of Rome are united in one Body they are like so many Twiggs or Arrows wch will Support a Great weight in the other hand is a dish wth fire burning in it; Fortitude wth the Sword and Pillar; The God of War wth Thunder in one hand & Declarations in the other. North Front. Honour wth the Launce; Plenty wth the Staff & Cornicopia; Prudence wth Glass & Serpent on her Arm; Abundance wth Cornicopia's of Fruit & Medalls; Astronomy wth the Globe and Mercury; Victory wth the Lyon curb'd, Scepter & Crown".

<sup>14</sup> The chapel is described in Sale Catalogue 1 (see note 9), ps.30-31. Ian Dunlop corrects Collins Baker's identification of the location of the chapel in I. Dunlop: 'Cannons, Middlesex, A Conjectural Reconstruction' in Country Life, Vol.CVI No.2763, 30th December 1949, ps.1950-1954.

<sup>15</sup> S. Jeffery: 'English Baroque Architecture. The Work of John James', unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1986, p.178. The design for St Lawrence, Whitchurch is illustrated, Plate 8 and is contained in the Huntington Library Stowe Maps and Plans Box 15. The design for the thirteen-bay north front of Cannons with ten Doric pilasters by James is in the London Metropolitan Archive: Stowe collection Acc 262/50/59. Jeffery suggests that it is one of the "uprights" sent to Chandos in August or September 1714 (see later).

<sup>16</sup> S. Jeffery, op.cit.note 15, Appendix 2, No. 35, ps.296-7. According to Jeffery the plans show the ground and first floors of a house that is 13 bays long on the front to the court and 11 bays long on the garden front, (190 feet and 150 feet), which is the wrong size for Cannons. The drawing is in the London Metropolitan Archive: Stowe collection Acc 262/71/4.

<sup>17</sup> S.Jeffery, op.cit.note 15, p.180, suggests that although the drawing in the London Metropolitan Archive: Stowe collection Acc 262/71/5, is annotated "East front" and appears to be by Thornhill, it is a thirteen-bay facade (whereas the east front of Cannons was an eleven-bay facade) and it may be a belated design for the north front representing a plain brick facade.

<sup>18</sup> See T. Friedman op.cit.note 2, p.315. Ashmolean Museum Gibbs Collection Vol.1, f.27-v and Vol. IV, f.12 are identified by Friedman as drawings of the south and west front of Cannons. Friedman illustrates Ashmolean Museum Gibbs Collection Vol.1 f.27 recto on page 110 as the south elevation. The Ashmolean Museum catalogues these as designs for the Earl Fitzwilliam's house.

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<sup>19</sup> London Metropolitan Archive, Stowe collection Acc 262/50/60-61.

<sup>20</sup> See J.Badeslade and J.Rocque: Vitruvius Britannicus, Vol. IV, London, 1739, plates 24-5, 26-7, 28-9. These plates were produced by George Foster, John Wilcox and Henry Chappelle. Modifications include the addition of extra urns on the parapet of the south front and the insertion of three round windows in the central bay of the attick storey in place of rectangular ones. The Duke did not have a copy of this volume of Vitruvius Britannicus in his library, although he had the first three volumes and an additional volume of the third. (See Sale catalogue of his library British Library PR2.A.39, lots 4210 and 4240). The sale took place on 12 March 1746-7 and 29 following evenings. Chandos was a subscriber to the 1715, 1717 and the 1725 volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus, being marked down for two copies of each. The south elevation of Cannons was also published in Britannia Illustrata, London, 1740, tom.11 with an earlier dedication by Jos. Smith, dated 1731.

<sup>21</sup> M.Whinney: 'William Talman' in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.XVIII, London, 1955, Nos.1-2:, ps.123-139, p.132.

<sup>22</sup> J.Harris: William Talman: Maverick Architect, London, 1982, p.19. Chandos made contact with Talman's son, John Talman. See G. Parry (based on the work of the late H.Macandrew): 'John Talman's Letter Book' in The Walpole Society, Vol.LIX, Oxford 1997, p.83, Letter No.44.

<sup>23</sup> S. Jeffery op.cit.note 15, p.173.

<sup>24</sup> C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.115, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to John James dated 13th January 1715 asking James's advice in the argument between the Duke and Talman.

<sup>25</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.11, f.161, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to William Talman, dated 9<sup>th</sup> December 1714: "I desir'd Mr Zollicoffe to wait on you for ye ballance of ye 1500£ advanc't you for ye works at Cannons... rather than be at ye trouble of a law suit I am willing to allow you twenty pounds of ye 100£ for ye trouble you say you have been at... I desire you will send me ye remaining 80£."

<sup>26</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 9, f.242, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to his cousin Mr William Brydges head of Ordnance at the Tower of London dated 8th November 1713: "I shall have down with me one day next week Mr James from Greenwich to give me his thoughts about ye alteracons I propose to make at Cannons & as I have no plans of ye present house so good as those you had taken of it I desire you will please to send me those by ye bearer".

<sup>27</sup> John James translated Andrea del Pozzo's Rules and Examples of Perspective, proper for Painters and Architects, (Rome, 1693-1702) in 1693, a

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second edition came out in 1707. In 1708, he translated Claude Perrault's A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns of Architecture, (Paris, 1683) and in 1712, A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville's The Theory and Practice of Gardening, (Paris, 1709). The Duke of Chandos and his cousin George Brydges of Avington subscribed to the latter.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley was a Treasury Commissioner in 1710, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1711. For information on his life and patronage see D.Crellin: 'Robert Benson, 1st Lord Bingley (1676-1731) as Architectural Patron and Amateur', unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 1991 and T.Collick: 'The patronage of Robert Benson 1675-1731' in Architectural Review, Vol.138, no. 826, December 1965, London, and D. Linstrum: West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture, London, 1978. For details of the life and patronage of George Clarke see A.Bean: 'The Patronage and Architectural Activities of Dr George Clarke (1661-1736)', unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 1972.

<sup>29</sup> See S. Jeffery op.cit.note 15, Appendix 2, No.37, p.299 and No.25 p.284-286. Also plate 8 is a drawing by James for St Lawrence, Whitchurch in the Huntington Library, Stowe Maps and Plans, Box 15.

<sup>30</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit note 3, ps 223-4, note 24, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to James, in September 1714.

<sup>31</sup> See C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.118.

<sup>32</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.10, f.221, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to John James, dated 7<sup>th</sup> September 1714.

<sup>33</sup> See C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.120: "The plan the foreman had of ye ground floor it seems is quite spoilt & broke & upon my showing him mine he apprehends he has gone wrong in some particulars for ye Plan of ye upper half story neither he nor I ever had one. I therefore desire you'l bring one with you. The upright of ye best front, you promist me a fortnight ago... The plan of the attick story is also wanted... I desire you will not fail to bring two with you on Monday, one for the workmen to work by, & the other for me to keep with the other plans. They are at a loss about the stairs to the attick story, & I can't but think it may be contriv'd so as that there may be a little rounding stairs made to lead up to that story above, & yet not depend wholly upon that little back stairs by the new gallery for the only one to carry one up to the wardrobe".

<sup>34</sup> See S.Jeffery op.cit.note 15, p.176, the Duke of Chandos to John James, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1715: "Since you was prevented from coming to Cannons yesterday I shall be glad to see you there on Friday next & desire you'l bring along with you not only ye draughts of ye stable buildings but ye draught also of ye Alterations you propose to make in ye Front for that part of ye house that faces

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ye new Church & ye Uprights thereof [the south front]. I have seen a draught of Sr John Vanbrugh for ye same & sh'd be glad to compare them & see wch pleases me best before we set to work”.

<sup>35</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.122, April 1715, the Duke of Chandos to John James.

<sup>36</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit. note 3, p.122, April 1715, the Duke of Chandos to John James.

<sup>37</sup> See C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, ps.122-3. Chandos wrote to John James on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1714:“about the pilasters at the angles, which I now plainly see to be a great misfortune, in regard they enforce a necessity of making all the fronts in some measure correspond to them, as appears from the cornish you have been oblig'd to run up on the north side”. Also, p.121, note 6, Chandos to Sir John Vanbrugh, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1715: “I entreat you will order ye Several Uprights of ye three fronts to be perfected as soon as may be. The upright of the stable front [the west front](already finisht) I think must continue as it is, except the pilasters at the angle of each corner, which we agreed should be taken away & finisht up with a smooth brick. In like manner the architraves, in lieu whereof I agree with you in opinion that an handsome brick fascia will be abundantly better; the three remaining fronts I mentioned I desire may be as plain brick work as possible...you'l please to consider whether it would not be better to take away the stone plints under the several windows & not to plaister over the brick fascia, since if you judge that manner of finishing will look well, certainly true stone will be much better, & not an expence greater than I am willing to be at...I find there will be a necessity of finishing the north part if possible this summer, that I may have the use of the rooms I propose for my own conveniency, & accordingly I beg you will turn in your thoughts what disposition will be most proper to give that end, that when we come next year to finish the great hall, there may be no necessity of pulling down”.

<sup>38</sup> W. Matthews (Ed.): The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716, London, 1939, p.100, Saturday September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1715.

<sup>39</sup> G.Webb and B. Dobrée (Eds): The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, London, 1928, Vol. 4, p.126, No 117, Vanbrugh to the Duke of Newcastle, 15th September 1720.

<sup>40</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.118. These payments were “by the great”, including fees, payments to men and supply of materials, broken down: 23rd August 1714: £500; 5th June 1715: £1500; 12th September 1715: £760; 13th October 1715: £1890; 31 December 1715: £1350.

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<sup>41</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.12, f.220, letter from the Duke of Chandos to John James, dated 27<sup>th</sup> December 1715.

<sup>42</sup>See C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.124. Total payments of £5,500 were made to Gibbs, broken down as follows: 17 August 1716 £1500; 31 October 1716 £500; 8 February 1717 £1000; 2 March 1717 £500; 22 August 1718 £500; 1 December 1718 £500; 27 May 1719 £1000.

<sup>43</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, Vol.II, London, 1904, p.93 April 16th 1716.

<sup>44</sup> T.Friedman op.cit, note 2, p.315, has identified drawings for the south and west facades of Cannons in the Ashmolean Museum, Gibbs Collection Vol. IV, f.12 and Vol.1, f. 27- verso. Friedman illustrates Ashmolean Gibbs Collection Vol. 1. f.27 recto on p. 110 as the south elevation, although the Ashmolean catalogues these as designs for the Earl Fitzwilliam's house. The designs are very close to the drawing by William Talman published in J. Harris, op.cit.note 22, plate 60, which Harris suggests is a design for the Duke of Newcastle either for Haughton or Welbeck. The design for the chapel at Cannons and sections towards east and west are in the London Metropolitan Archive: Stowe collection Acc 262/50/60-61. For the inauguration of the chapel see C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.126.

<sup>45</sup> Manuscript in Sir John Soane's Museum, London: AL-39A "The Gibbs Manuscript: 'A few short cursory remarks on some of the finest ancient and modern buildings in Rome etc'", undated, begun before 1709, Vol.26, f.87, see T.Friedman op.cit.note 2, p.333.

<sup>46</sup> C.Collins Baker op.cit note 3, p.144 says that the chapel is attached to the north-east corner of the house as indicated in a plan of the "North Offices, second floor and Chapel" in the Inventory of 1725, Huntington Library Stowe MS 83. But S. Jeffery op.cit.note 15, p.300 and I. Dunlop op.cit.note 14, argue that it was attached to the north-west corner. Gibbs was working on Lord Harley's chapel at Wimpole Hall in 1719.

<sup>47</sup> See Terry Friedman op.cit.note 2, p.53.

<sup>48</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.16 f.270, a letter from Duke of Chandos to Lord Bingley dated 3rd September 1719

<sup>49</sup> T.Friedman op.cit.note 2, p.111.

<sup>50</sup> Gibbs returned to work at Cannons in 1735 when the Duke needed to enlarge the muniment room at St Lawrence, Whitechurch, after the death of Duchess Cassandra. See C.Collins Baker op.cit. note 3, p.414 and London



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Metropolitan Archive: Stowe collection Acc 48/81 a & b the Duke of Chandos wrote to James Farquharson 1st December 1735: “As for the additional building you mention, I believe I shall in time be under a necessity of doing something of that sort and I have wrote to Mr Gibbs upon it...I sent Mr Gibbs sometime ago a plan of wt I intended desiring him to take a survey of the Ground and let me know his opinion”.

<sup>51</sup> See C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.143. Price probably supervised the alterations to the facade agreed in 1719, but the two payments to him in April 1721 and May 1722 of £338 4s.8d and £300 respectively, suggest that his role was limited.

<sup>52</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.146.

<sup>53</sup> Northamptonshire Record Office Letter Book Box 22 f.261, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Thomas Fort dated 18th June 1722.

<sup>54</sup> C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.146.

<sup>55</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.21, f.220-221, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Fort dated 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1723. Also ST 24 f.24, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1724: “That Mr Shepherd Surveyor take a view of Bull joiners work at the Summer house and see of the work actually put up what is good & fit to remain as likewise of the work not put up what is good & fit for use and settle his Bill for the same...That Mr Shepherd likewise give in a proposal for finishing the Summer house in the best and cheapest manner he can”.

<sup>56</sup>Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 24, f. 256, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1723: “That against next Monday Mr Gilbert Groom of the Chambers go through the rooms and take a view of what is wanting of Joyners Carpenters Smiths &c work to the finishing them that orders may be given for the doing it with all speed”, f.259, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1723: “Mr Bull joyner promises everything shall be done of his work in the House, except the hand rail to the Great Staircase within one month from this day and if it is not he agrees not to be paid any part of his Bills these two years & to the contrary His Grace promise if it is he shall be paid at the months end”.

<sup>57</sup> P. Rogers (Ed.): Daniel Defoe, Major Single Works: A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, Harmondsworth, 1971, p.354.

<sup>58</sup> Hereford Record Office A 81/IV William Brydges description of his visit to Cannons, undated.

<sup>59</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Miscellaneous Box 1 (7): Storekeepers' & Usher of the Hall's Instructions [dated on folder by archivist Mar 10<sup>th</sup> 1740/1]

<sup>60</sup> See note 9, Sale Catalogue 1, p.44 “On the Marble Stair Case (52) A grand portland stone venetian window, ornamented with corinthian pilasters fluted

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architrave, freeze, and Cornish, pedestals and balustrade, supported by 4 Ionic pilasters, all the stone of ditto... ”

<sup>61</sup> J.Macky op.cit.note 10, Vol.2, p.4.

<sup>62</sup> For the origins of English Palladianism see R.Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism, London, 1974, especially ps.178-181.

<sup>63</sup> Wanstead House was built for Sir Richard Child (created Viscount Castlemaine in 1718 and Earl Tylney of Castlemaine in 1731) from 1715-1720 and was destroyed in 1824. See F.Kimbell: ‘Wanstead House, Essex’ in Country Life, Vol.74, December 1933, London, ps.605-7, and A.Marks: ‘Assembly at Wanstead House by William Hogarth’ in Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, Spring 1981, Vol.77, Number 332, Philadelphia, ps.2-16, and J.Macky op.cit note 10, Vol.I, p.26. For a discussion of the importance of Wanstead House in the history of the development of English Palladianism see: P.Breman and D.Addis: Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus, New York, 1972, p.vi-vii: “Campbell uses the house... as a platform from which he propagates an approach to building, an architectural programme, firmly based on his own brand of Palladianism” and H-W.Kruft (R.Taylor, E.Callander and A.Wood translated): A History of Architectural Theory, from Vitruvius to the present, London, 1994, p.237.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of the development of the architectural profession, see F.Jenkins: Architect and Patron, London, 1961.The Duchess of Marlborough, quoted Jenkins, p.45. For a discussion of the importance of the amateur architect see: G.Worsley (Ed): The Role of the Amateur Architect. Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium,1993, Tonbridge, 1994.

<sup>65</sup> C. Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.116.

<sup>66</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.16, f.270, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Bingley dated 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1719. Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, was a relative of William Benson, a minor Palladian architect who replaced Wren as Surveyor of Works in 1717.

<sup>67</sup> See C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, p.223-4.

<sup>68</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.16, f.270, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Bingley dated 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1719.

<sup>69</sup> For details of these projects see C.Collins Baker op.cit.note 3, ps.221-235 (for Bridgwater); ps.265-336 (for Cavendish Square and Bath). For innovations in Bath see T.Mowl and B.Earnshaw: John Wood. Architect of Obsession, Huddersfield, 1988, p.9. Chandos insisted Wood install water closets in all his buildings.

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<sup>70</sup> A. Ashley-Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times. Letter concerning design to Lord Somers, March 1712, 5th edn, London, 1732, p.402.

<sup>71</sup> For the contents of Chandos's library, see the British Library Manuscript PR2.A.39, a copy of "A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the most Noble and Learned James Duke of Chandos.... The sale took place on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1746-7 and 29 following evenings.

<sup>72</sup> Lord Burlington's Fabbriche Antiche diseguate da Andrea Palladio, Vicentino, London, 1730 was the volume that inspired Alexander Pope's poem Of Taste, An Epistle to the Right Honourable Earl of Burlington, Occasion'd by his Publishing Palladio's Designs which was intended to accompany the publication of the second volume, which was never published. In the preface to Fabbriche Antiche Lord Burlington attacks the 'ignoranti Pretenditori', who misunderstand architectural rules. According to T.Connor: 'Burlingtonian Publications' in Papers given to the Georgian Group Symposium, Victoria and Albert Museum, 22nd May 1982, Lord Burlington and his Circle, ps. 52-59, Burlington limited circulation of his Fabbriche Antiche and did not want to part with more than 20 copies of this publication.

<sup>73</sup> G. Cole and D. Browning (Eds): Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1962, Vol.2, p. 6.

<sup>74</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library Manuscript 86 NN2 f.139.

<sup>75</sup> G. Webb and B. Dobrée (Eds): op.cit. note 8, Vol.4: Letters, p.126, No.117.

### 3. The Decoration and Furnishing of Cannons

Visitors to Cannons in the 1720s admired the architecture of the building and the magnificent grounds. Those who were admitted inside were overwhelmed by the richness of the interior furnishings and decoration. Contemporaries described how the house had been

built with such a profusion of expence and all finish'd with such a brightness of fancy, goodness of judgment; that I can assure you, we see many palaces of sovereign princes abroad, which do not equal it.<sup>1</sup>

Despite admiration for the decoration there was also concern about its extravagance which was inspired by the debate about luxury, a subject that lay at the heart of Alexander Pope's criticism of Timon's Villa in Of Taste.<sup>2</sup> To Pope, Timon's interior decoration displayed inappropriate extravagance, for instance in the chapel, where

On painted Cielings you devoutly stare,  
Where sprawl the Saints of Verrio or Laguerre,  
On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,  
And bring all Paradise before your eye.

Likewise, in the Dining Room

The rich Buffet well-colour'd serpents grace,  
And gaping Tritons spew to wash your face.  
Is this a dinner? this a Genial room?  
No, 'tis a Temple, and a Hecatomb.<sup>3</sup>

Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury called for the nobility to set an example to the public and build magnificently.<sup>4</sup> Whilst responding to Shaftesbury's

challenge, the Duke of Chandos laid himself open to criticism for his extravagant use of expensive materials in an age that modelled itself on Augustan Rome.<sup>5</sup> According to Cicero: “The Roman people hate private luxury, but love richness and splendour in their public buildings (*publica magnificentia*)”.<sup>6</sup> Augustan England believed that the decline of Rome was heralded by the rise of luxury. “The private world of luxury grew with the collapse of the Senate’s authority and reached its peak in the time of Lucullus, Pompey and Caesar. The original idea of rest and relaxation on one’s own plot of land...degenerated into a vulgar display of wealth and became a vehicle for self-glorification”.<sup>7</sup>

Despite eighteenth century concerns about ‘luxury’, contemporary thinkers argued that private buildings should be well decorated. Their views derived from Vitruvius, who argued that the interior of a building should be appropriate to its architectural grandeur and function.<sup>8</sup> For Vitruvius the most important principle in decoration was ‘propriety’, namely:

that perfection of style which comes when a work is authoritatively constructed on approved principles...Propriety arises from usage when buildings having magnificent interiors are provided with elegant entrance-courts to correspond; for there will be no propriety in the spectacle of an elegant interior approached by a low, mean entrance.<sup>9</sup>

The status of the owner played an important part in determining what was appropriate, for instance:

men of rank who, from holding offices and magistracies, have social obligations to their fellow citizens, [require] lofty entrance courts in regal style and most spacious atriums and peristyles, with plantations and walks of some extent in them,

appropriate to their dignity. They need also libraries, picture galleries and basilicas, finished in a style similar to that of great public buildings, since public councils as well as private law suits and hearings before arbitrators are very often held in the houses of such men.<sup>10</sup>

The Vitruvian principle of suitability or 'decorum' was developed by Renaissance theorists such as Lomazzo, who influenced eighteenth century English writers.<sup>11</sup> John Elsum, writing in The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner (1704), was prescriptive in his recommendations about how an interior should be decorated, setting out details concerning what scenes should be painted and where they should be positioned. Elsum recommended that the ceilings of palaces should be painted with scenes of the four cardinal virtues, the Triumphs of Julius Caesar and fables of poetry ("which may be apply'd to the Character of the Prince or some of his Ancestors") and that libraries should be decorated with images of the seven liberal arts and Apollo and the Nine Muses. Halls and parlours should be decorated with the four elements and banqueting scenes, whereas in palaces and other public buildings "all Prince-like and Heroick Actions may reasonably be represented", including scenes from Virgil's poem The Aeneid and images of prosperity and plenty.<sup>12</sup>

The main sources of information for the interior decoration of Cannons are the Inventory of 1725, the sale catalogues and visitors' descriptions.<sup>13</sup> The Inventory in particular describes the complex iconography of the ceiling canvases (it lists moveables and therefore does not describe any decoration on plaster) which were commissioned by the Duke to decorate all the principal rooms. Consistent with John

Elsum's instructions in The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner, the subjects were taken from classical mythology, especially scenes from the lives of classical heroes and gods such as Aeneas and Apollo. The canvases were inset into elaborate gilt plaster surrounds in the ceiling by the Italian plasterworkers Giovanni Bagutti and Giuseppe Artari.<sup>14</sup>

The Duke of Chandos selected the artists to work at Cannons personally and established the iconographical programme for the painted decoration with them. The first artists he approached were traditional Baroque painters whom he already knew, such as Sir Godfrey Kneller, Louis Laguerre and Sir James Thornhill. He also commissioned other artists who had newly arrived from Italy such as William Kent, Henry Trench, Antonio Bellucci and Francesco Sleter, developing with them a decorative programme of scenes which were significant to him.<sup>15</sup>

The Great Hall and Great Staircase of a Palladian villa was the central ceremonial space which was dedicated to establishing the owner's authority and social status.<sup>16</sup> The "grand Marble Hall and Staircase" at Cannons was the first area into which visitors were conducted and its rich decoration indicated its functional importance in proclaiming the merits of the Duke of Chandos. The Hall was constructed of marble. It was lined and paved with blue and white marble, contained marble chimneypieces and doorways and had a marble colonnade of "white and vein'd marble Corinthian columns fluted".<sup>17</sup> The painted decoration comprised "three ceiling

Pieces, in 2 colours on canvas; Six histories in ditto round the hall; a large picture of the Duke of Marlborough” and a “ceiling piece on canvas” and it was further furnished with a terracotta bust of Oliver Cromwell, an antique marble bust of Plato and an equestrian portrait of the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>18</sup>

The Inventory describes the painted decoration of the Great Hall and Staircase, which it attributes to Francisco Sleter.<sup>19</sup>

In the Great Hall:

The Subject is Virtue receiving ye Lawrell from Glory, accompanied wth Merit, Labour wth the book, Honour wth the Launce wth two philosophers. On the two Sides the Study of Geography and Warr; In the Ceiling four small Ovalls, Study wth a pen and book, Vigelance wth the cock, Intelect wth a torch and Eagle; Mercury wth the Lyon & naile. The Sides, Copernicus, System wth four other Systems, the other side representing Warr<sup>20</sup>

In the Great Staircase:

The Subject, the Triumph of Victory, Reason wth the Lyon [&] Curbs, Victory with the Helmet, Hercules, Virtue Justice & Truth; To Inchain ye Victims Venus, Terrour, Pride and Envy.<sup>21</sup>

Chandos first offered the commission to paint the Staircase to the long established artist Sir Godfrey Kneller, (from whom he had commissioned a number of portraits) because, as he explained to him

You had been so good as to say you wo’ld let Cannons carry down to Posterity a Memoriall of Your Ability and great Genius. The Stair Case is now plaistering and as it is that part of the House I wo’ld desire should be painted by you I should be glad if you would give your self the trouble of going down to view it and see whether the Disposition they are making is what will suit best to the Design you intend for it that in case it sh’ld not you might give timely directions for the better ordering it...my Chariot shall attend your command.<sup>22</sup>



Kneller did not accept the commission and died in October 1723. The accounts conflict about who painted the Staircase. John Macky, who visited Cannons before it was completed, claimed that it was the Venetian painter, Antonio Bellucci.<sup>23</sup> A subsequent visitor noted in August 1724 that Sir James Thornhill was responsible for its decoration, recording that the

Hall [was] adorned with white marble Corinthian fluted Pillars and painting in stone and natural Colours [and] The Staircase and Salloon above are painted by Sr Js Thornhill, the Rest by Legar and Balucchi [sic]. All the Cielings are adorned with carving and paintings.<sup>24</sup>

This attribution was supported by the antiquarian and diarist, George Vertue, who described

the Hall richly adornd with marbles Statues bustos. a hd of Oliver Cromwell... the staircase and ceiling of Thornhill.<sup>25</sup>

The Inventory however, states that the Great Hall and Staircase ceiling were painted by the Venetian artist, Francesco Sleter, who designed the windows for the private chapel at Cannons.<sup>26</sup>(Figure 20) It seems reasonable to accept the Inventory's attribution since it was made by an informed member of the Duke's household soon after the work was completed and visitors may have mistaken Sleter for the better-known Thornhill or Bellucci.<sup>27</sup>

The walls of the Great Staircase were painted plaster and were therefore not mentioned in the Inventory, which only listed moveable items. A drawing by Sir James Thornhill inscribed "D.Chands...at Canons" for a scheme relating to Dido and

Aeneas may be a design for the Great Staircase, but there is no evidence that this scheme was executed.<sup>28</sup> Three designs of the same subject by Thornhill appear to be closely related to this scheme (Figures 21, 22 and 23) as well as an oil sketch set in an architectural framework of fluted Corinthian columns, with a cartouche topped with a ducal coronet.<sup>29</sup> (Figure 24) Five additional drawings and oil sketches have also been related to this putative commission for Cannons.<sup>30</sup> (Figures 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29)

The Inventory of 1725 is the most detailed and reliable source for the iconography of the painted decoration at Cannons. It describes the complex scenes of the ceiling canvases, room by room, indicating how frequently the subject matter was inspired by mythological figures, but arguing against a unifying narrative.

The most important of the mythological figures to appear on the ceilings at Cannons was the sun god Apollo. Apollo was one of the twelve gods of Mount Olympus, the son of Zeus (Jupiter) and Leto (Latona) and the twin of Artemis (Diana). He was the leader of the Muses, god of music and patron of the arts, whose imagery had been appropriated most famously by Louis XIV, the “Sun King” in the decorative scheme at the palace of Versailles.<sup>31</sup> The Duke of Chandos’s use of imagery associated with Apollo at Cannons represented his claim to an immortal reputation as the “Apollo of the Arts” of his generation, a title otherwise associated with his rival, the third Earl of Burlington.<sup>32</sup> In a poetic tribute to Cannons, the Duke was proclaimed “England’s Apollo”:

From great Apollo all these Wonders rose...  
Apollo was the Bridges then of Greece

England's Apollo, Bridges now shall rise  
The riming sons of Vogue he shall despise.<sup>33</sup>

The figure of Apollo appears at Cannons in the centre of the ceilings of the Saloon on the south front and the Library on the north, the two most important rooms on the principal (first) floor.<sup>34</sup> The Saloon was painted by Sir James Thornhill who depicted Apollo surrounded by the seven muses and the seven liberal arts, a composition recommended by John Elsum in The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner (1704).<sup>35</sup> In the Library on the north front, the Venetian artist, Antonio Bellucci painted Apollo as the god of wisdom, overseeing the instruction of youth in industry and science, in a complex scene which

Represents in ye middle the seven liberal Arts and Sciences wth the Temple of Honour & Mercury offering the genius of Youth to eternity who offers him ye proper Emblem wch is a ring of Gold, a Grecian Teaching Youth ye Work of Truth & Time & Honour takeing Industry by ye hand for her and youths instruction, The West End, Industry receiving ye Crown and ye Laurells wth ye Genius at ye Temple of Honour, Honour wth the lance & Shield Crown'd wth Laurells wth Musick and singing and Mathematicks, On ye Steps of Do over ye Temple Apollo ye God of Wisdom wth his harp, under him Cupid flying wth abundance pouring on Honour Medalls etc wth proper Emblems, East End on ye Steps, Minerva at ye porch of ye Temple wth a Launce Trampling on two fiends and piercing one of their breasts from wch blood flows and surprises two youths, but Zeale Encourages them in virtue & to shun Vice..Sevl fiends shivering to corrupt Youth by Useing ye Stratagemms of Vice, Youth Learning Navigation wth proper Instruments.<sup>36</sup>

Images of Apollo's life decorated several rooms on the ground floor. In the Family Room he appeared driving the sun's chariot in a ceiling commissioned from Henry Trench, an artist patronised by the third Earl of Shaftesbury in Naples.<sup>37</sup> In the Dressing Room Giuseppe Grisoni showed him "as being ye god of Wisdom, Musick &

Learning”, receiving gold chains and medals from Abundance and dispensing them to students of the arts and sciences.<sup>38</sup> He appeared again in the Dining Room, with the five senses and four seasons painted by Symms, and again on the Backstairs in scenes with Diana and Callisto painted by Louis Laguerre.<sup>39</sup> The use of imagery associated with Apollo at Cannons was significant in a number of ways. It helped to reinforce the importance of the Duke of Chandos’s patronage of the arts and implied that he had attained immortal status through his promotion of them.

The other significant figure from classical mythology to appear at Cannons was Aeneas, the Trojan hero of Virgil’s poem The Aeneid, who became immortal when he fulfilled his destiny by founding Rome. Whereas Apollo was already a god, Aeneas was created a god through his heroic actions. Imagery from The Aeneid associated Chandos’s activities with classical heroism and presented him as the immortal founder of a noble and long-lived dynasty. Aeneas appeared in the decoration of Lord Carnarvon’s Bedchamber, where Venus was watching Vulcan forge arms for Aeneas (a reference to the Duke’s military background as Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad).The poets reassured Chandos that his reputation as a patron made him immortal, like Aeneas

The Muse assures thy immortality...  
The Muses patron in a barbarous Age  
The Muses sons shall for thy Fame engage...  
To sing of ancient Arts by thee restored.  
Of Antique Heroes they shall speak no more  
Upon the Trojan or the Latian shore  
Of Gods and demi gods no more shall tell  
Nor with vain fables all their volumes swell

But true examples to the Nations give  
For great Caernarvan in each page shall live  
To thee each Bard his annual lays shall bring  
And lo Cannons! To Bridges sing!<sup>40</sup>

Other subjects commissioned for the ceiling decoration at Cannons were consistent with the Vitruvian idea that specific decoration was appropriate for certain spaces. For instance, the Buffet Room painted by Charles Symms complemented the depiction of the five senses in the Dining Room with:

Ariadne & Bacchus offering Her Grapes wth cupids round them & proper Emblems. The four Corners are Calcinus rideing on an Ass wth Bacchanalians, Satyrs & Musick.<sup>41</sup>

The Bedchambers were appropriately painted with scenes of marriage and sleep. Their Grace's Chamber was decorated with the "History of Endymion and Diana with Morpheus ye God of Sleep attending and day Ascending", whilst the Green damask bedchamber was painted by Laguerre with the

Marriage of Cupid & Psyche Hymen wth a burning Torch in his Left hand & Mercury offering Psyche up to Cupid before Jupiter, Juno, Mars Venus Minerva Hercules & Dejanira with Pann & Cyrinx &c.<sup>42</sup>

The anteroom to the Saloon on the south front was decorated by Francesco Sletter with a scene proclaiming the valour, fame, patriotism, honour and virtue of the Duke:

Eternity Embraceing ye Eagle the Eagle on her nest supported by Fortitude and Prudence Honour and Valour wth boys att their feet wth their proper emblems Fame sounding the Glory of the prince to whom those virtues belong, four shields do one wth a Laurell and a Crown of Myrtells representing the love of the countrey one shield with a statue in her hand and a pyramid representing the Honour due to the Prince one ditto wth a dogg representing Fidelity or Truth one ditto wth a bundle of sticks and cornicopia shewing abundance or Concord.<sup>43</sup>

The effect of the painted decoration set into gilt stucco frames crafted by Giovanni Bagutti and Giuseppe Artari helped to create a rich and opulent interior at Cannons. The Inventory indicates how many rooms were painted and which decorative artists were involved. The entire west wing on the principal floor was painted by Louis Laguerre, whose work survives in decorative schemes at Hampton Court Palace, Blenheim Palace, Chatsworth House and Burghley and who had worked for Duchess Cassandra's family at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire. Laguerre had started work at Cannons by July 1716 as the Duke wrote to Lord Cowper:

I should be under great concern if on any accot of mine ye business YL is pleas'd to employ Mr Laguerre about sho'ld come to suffer. I told his son some time ago I was not in such hast as to desire he sh'd leave YL's service & that I w'd not only willingly stay till he had done all you had occasion for him to do but that I hoped he w'd spend so much time ab't it & be so successful with it as to deserve YL's approbation of his work without which I have told Mr Laguerre himself he must not expect to be employed by me.<sup>44</sup>

Laguerre decorated Her Grace's Dressing Room (Inventory Number 50); Their Graces Bed Chamber (51); Her Grace's Closet (52); The Green Damask Room (30); the Landing Room (29); Lord Carnarvon's Dressing Room and Bed Chamber (31 and 33) and the side staircase on the west wing (58) before his death in April 1721.<sup>45</sup>

The rest of the principal floor was decorated by Venetian artists Antonio Bellucci and Francesco Sleter, with the notable exception of the Saloon which was painted by Sir James Thornhill. The taste for Venetian artists in England was initiated by the Duke of Manchester in 1707 and Bellucci, who arrived in October 1716, was an

important decorative painter with a substantial reputation for his work in Venice, Vienna and Dusseldorf.<sup>46</sup> He decorated the Library with “the seven liberal Arts”; the Duke’s Dressing Room with a ceiling piece “Representing time taking Fortune by the fore lock”; the Duke’s Cabinet with Galatea and the fruits of the sea; the Best Dressing Room with

The judgment of Paris the Royall shepherd in giving the Golden apple to the greatest beauty & for wch 3 contended viz Venus Juno & Minerva, Venus promises success in love, Juno wit & Strength Minerva success in arms but he gave ye apple to Venus as being the greatest beauty.

and the Drawing Room in the south east corner with “peace and Justice wth the four elements in Little Shields”.<sup>47</sup> The only surviving canvasses by Bellucci for Cannons were painted for the private chapel and after the Duke’s death were installed in the church of St Michael and All Angels, Witley Court, Worcestershire.<sup>48</sup> (Figures 30, 31, 32 and 33) Sleter’s work appears in two rooms, the Best Chamber painted with scenes of “Love or Marriage” and the Ante Room to the Saloon which showed “Eternity Embraceing ye Eagle the Eagle on her nest supported by Fortitude and Prudence...”<sup>49</sup>

Other individual rooms were painted by artists who were not as well established. Before commissioning William Kent, Lord Burlington’s protégé (who had returned from Italy in 1719), the Duke of Chandos wrote to his agent, Henry D’Avenant in Genoa for information about him.<sup>50</sup> Kent was subsequently commissioned to paint the ceiling of a small closet with a scene of Jupiter and Leda, which he described to his patron in Lincolnshire as among “ye greatest works in England”:

I was in hopes to see you before this but I have had ye good fortune to be

introduc'd into good besnese [sic] which I know you'll amongst the rest of my good friends be glad, to here, I am at present upon ye greatest works in England. Lord Burlingtons Ld Duck Shandoes [sic] & Lord Castellmaines, untill I have fix'd these work a little I am afraid shall not be at liberty to come into ye north.<sup>51</sup>

Visitors described the overall effect of the interiors at Cannons.

The Salon when finished is to be supported by Marble Pillars and painted by Paulucci [sic]; as is the great Staircase, which is all of Marble; most of the Steps are already laid, of a great Length and all of one piece of Marble; this Staircase leads you into the Royal Apartments fronting the Parterre and grand Canal and consists of a Suite of six noble rooms well proportioned, finely plaister'd and gilt by Pargotti; and the Cielings painted by Paulucci; from these Apartments you go into my Lords dressing room and Library, fronting the Gardens, and from thence you descend by another fine pair of Stairs (which I cannot call back Stairs, all painted by Legarr and balustraded to the Top of the House with Iron).<sup>52</sup>

As the account indicates, the rich effect was created partly by the painted ceilings and partly by the use of expensive materials in the construction and furnishing of the house, such as Italian marbles, mahogany and walnut veneers and velvet and gold furnishings. Daniel Defoe commented that: "the Duke spared no cost to have everything as rich as possible".<sup>53</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was involved in designing the interiors at Cannons, in which he may have been assisted by John Talman, son of his first architect, William Talman, who was an important figure in the development of English taste.<sup>54</sup> Talman, in common with the third Earl of Shaftesbury, "wou'd have ye world admire us for Polite people in Arts".<sup>55</sup> He was

extreamly desirous to awaken our Spirits yt at last we may see that it is for ye honour of a Nation to encourage arts, especially when we have money to do it.<sup>56</sup>

His ideas about interior decoration were expressed in his plans for a new royal palace



at Whitehall, (a project in which Shaftesbury was interested) which he believed should be furnished with

many curiosities... bought up before hand, as rich marbles, pillars of various dimensions & colour'd marbles, Busto's, bassirelievi, statues, tables of Porfiry &c.<sup>57</sup>

He designed "interiors showing the display of busts, paintings and baroque furniture and the installation of an Italianate chimneypiece...[making him] the first Englishman to envisage an architect-designed interior for the display of works of art".<sup>58</sup>

John Talman's experience in Italy made him an important figure in the development of the Palladian style of domestic decoration and furnishing in England and it is possible that he was involved in the provision of marble and statuary for Cannons.<sup>59</sup> Chandos made extensive use of imported Italian marbles throughout Cannons for flooring, architraves, dado, columns, chimneypieces and door surrounds, particularly in the "Marble Hall and Staircase" which was an indication of conspicuous consumption in an era when "the employment of foreign marble was by its expense restricted".<sup>60</sup> According to the Sale catalogues the Hall was paved with marble, with a "magnificent Italian marble chimney piece," doorways, architrave and dado of marble and a colonnade of "white and vein'd marble Corinthian columns fluted with base and capital 12 foot 6 inches high".<sup>61</sup> The Staircase had marble steps and marble dado.<sup>62</sup> The Marble Parlour next door was paved with black and white marble and furnished with an elaborate marble buffet table.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the Marble Bathing Room was paved with black and white marble and decorated with "290 foot of fine Italian white and

vein'd marble in Architraves, panels, window stools &c".<sup>64</sup> The use of marble represented the revival of a material associated with Augustan Rome, the visible sign of Rome's new 'auctoritas', particularly after Julius Caesar opened up the quarries at Carrara.<sup>65</sup> Marble remained a luxury material to the Romans, even though "our vision of Roman architecture invariably conjures up marble pavilions and palaces but in fact marble was never a prime building material... Actual marble was not easily obtained; it was costly to quarry and to transport", however the "influx of wealth...enabled some wealthy men to import exotic marbles for porticoes and the interior of their mansions".<sup>66</sup>

The Duke intended the fixtures and fittings at Cannons to be the latest designs by the best craftsmen. He asked his agent in Italy in 1715 to procure copies of the door and chimney designs made by the Carraran sculptor Giovanni di Isidoro Baratta for King Frederick IV of Denmark: "knowing how much that hand exceeds any of ye like kind here".<sup>67</sup> He soon decided that he preferred a cheaper option, asking for modifications:

what I cd have them for without ye ornamental carving plac't round em wch I suppose is ye cause of their dearness besides I think there is an air of noble greatness in that wch is plain & simple wch that sort of work of art does but efface.<sup>68</sup>

The remainder of the materials used to finish the interior enhanced the rich effect. A French visitor described the combination of marbles and precious woods:

L'Escalier du Chateau est tout de marbre blanc dans noiau comme sont la plupart des escaliers de Londres. Les lambris du vestibule sont aussi de marbre. Tous les

chambranles des portes sont de marbre, de bois de noyer ou de pieces de raport.<sup>69</sup>

Expensive woods such as walnut and mahogany were used to panel rooms and veneer floors and staircases. The Duke wrote to his Surveyor, Thomas Fort to complain about

the alteration [ordered by Fort] to be made in the Opening between the Pediments over the several Doors in the Saloon, Vizt to take away the Pannel that is at present Walnut Tree and make instead thereof one entire one of the Mahogani wood I can't see to what Purpose this Direction is given, in my Opinion (considering especially there will probably be a small Bust in each Opening) it is much better as it is...I desire too you'l let me have an account of all the Mahogani wood I have had, there have been great Quantities bought in, it hath been used in no Room but the Saloone...<sup>70</sup>

The use of costly building materials was complemented by the provision of magnificent en suite furnishing fabrics and expensive furniture.

The French visitor was once again impressed:

Les meubles en sont magnifiques presque tous de velours avec de la broderie. C'est une depense immense mais employé avec le plus mauvais goût du monde.<sup>71</sup>

The Sale Catalogue describes:

all the genuine Household Furniture...consisting of rich gold and silver tissue, brocades, Velvet, Damask, chintz and other Beautiful Furniture in Beds, Hangings, Window Curtains, Chairs and Settees...An exceeding fine set of Tapestry; made at the Goblines; Glasses of all Sorts, in the most magnificent Taste; several rare Pieces of Japan, in Cabinets, Chests, Screens &c, Tables of Oriental Jasper, fine Italian Marble &c gold, Needle-work and Persia Carpets...<sup>72</sup>

The most elaborate hangings at Cannons were reserved for the Bedchambers and the rooms on the principal storey, in keeping with their importance as spaces for reception and display.<sup>73</sup> These were made of imported Italian damasks and velvets, woven with gold and silver thread. The State Bedchamber was the most splendid room, hung with:

rich crimson flowered velvet furniture on gold tissue ground bordered with green damask ground brocade with gold and silver lining of green satin with border of

needlework on white, vases with carved and gilt ornaments and plumes of feathers, cornishes and coronets covered with gold tissue and ermine, valens embellished with deep gold fringe and knotting, tester embroidered with gold, silk and colour and head board decorated in the same beautiful manner, with his grace's arms, ducal coronet and other elegant ornaments.<sup>74</sup>

The Duke was careful to order the best fabric, writing to his agent in 1719 to make sure that the velvet was "a real Silver and gold Ground".<sup>75</sup> He wished to order tapestry hangings of the best quality, rejecting gold embossed pieces "which tarnishes presently & never looks well afterwards" in favour of "some new made all of silk at ye Gobblins".<sup>76</sup> He purchased and commissioned a number of English, Flemish and French hangings, including work from the Soho tapestry manufacturer, Joshua Morris, who went bankrupt in 1729.<sup>77</sup> These tapestries were hung in the grandest reception rooms. The State Bedchamber for instance, was furnished with three pieces: "of landscape and historical tapestry five ells flemish deep of most exquisite beauty, bordered with festoons of flowers &c excellently copied from Baptist [the French Huguenot flower painter Jean Baptist Monnoyer] and heightened with gold and silvr at 20 shillings per ell Flemish".<sup>78</sup>

The completion of the interiors at Cannons included the provision of magnificent furniture made with silver, gold or marble.<sup>79</sup> Silver locks and light fittings were installed in the Saloon, the Drawing Room and Lord Carnarvon's Dressing Room, which co-ordinated with the decorative scheme.<sup>80</sup> Carved and silvered cornices in the State Bedchamber complemented the rich silver tissue ground of the crimson flowered velvet window curtains and bedhangings and the silver lace and silver-

fringed valences.<sup>81</sup> Gilt gesso mirrors and tables were supplied by the royal furniture maker, James Moore.<sup>82</sup> Other items of furniture purchased by the Duke included inlaid marble and mosaic tables such as the one purchased for the Drawing Room, which was a:

Most magnificent large sideboard table 5 foot by 3, inlaid with a variety of curious Italian stones, so beautifully disposed as to exhibit birds, fruit, flowers and insects and supported by a frame elegantly enriched with figs, festoons, mask, shells and other ornaments richly carved and gilt.<sup>83</sup>

Among his most expensive purchases were seven walnut book cases lining the gallery leading to the library, decorated “with philigree work and glass doors” at a cost of £500.<sup>84</sup> The most expensive pieces of furniture, however, were the beds, which were always the most costly items because of the price of the hangings.<sup>85</sup> The State Bedchamber was furnished with:

A rich flowerd Velvett (wth a gold ground) bed two pair of window curtains borderd wth rich green and gold brocade trimmd wth a rich green & gold fringe and gold brocade four Elbow chairs 8 back stools 2 square do a Down bed... a pr of pillow & quilt Embro wth gold

valued at £844 in 1725.<sup>86</sup>

Visitors commented on how splendid the interiors at Cannons were. Daniel Defoe is typical of many:

the lodgings are indeed most exquisitely finish'd and if I may call it so, royally furnish'd.<sup>87</sup>

Cannons was described as a “prodigy of a building” and one which “passe pour la plus belle et la plus ornée de toutes les Maisons de Campagne autour de Londres...dans le goût italien”.<sup>88</sup> It therefore attracted the criticism for its extravagance of the kind

levelled by Pope at Timon's Villa in Of Taste, which, the poet believed sought to impress with no respect for good taste and sense because

'Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expendence  
And Splendor borrows all her rays from Sense.<sup>89</sup>

To most of the Duke of Chandos's contemporaries, however, Cannons was a magnificent building whose interiors were appropriate to the status of a Duke and the architecture of the house. According to the poet, Samuel Humphreys, Cannons displayed:

A chaste Magnificence and just Design,  
She saw Perfection reign in every Part;  
And own'd the Palace had exhausted Art.<sup>90</sup>

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1. G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds): Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1962, Vol.2, p.6.

2. For a summary of the debate see the introduction to N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. Plumb (Eds.): The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England, London, 1982. At its simplest level, this debate revolved around contemporary awareness of a change in the social order wrought by the political changes of the Glorious Revolution and the social and economic opportunities offered by the rise in credit. The old Tory landed interest saw its supremacy threatened by Walpole's new monied men. Seeing their natural place in the political and social hierarchy usurped by newcomers, they sought to maintain social distinctions by arguing that there was a right way to spend money - with taste and without 'luxury' - which was only appreciated by the few. They harnessed the debate on luxury which

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had its roots in Plato and the classical tradition to argue that new money was corrupt and would lead to the destruction of the state. For an analysis of this debate see: P.Harth (Ed.): Bernard Mandeville: The Fable of the Bees, London, 1970; P.Earle: The World of Defoe, London, 1976; J.Barrell (Ed.): Painting and the Politics of Culture, Oxford, 1992; J. Pocock: The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition, London, 1975; I. Kramnick: Bolingbroke and his Circle. The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole, London, 1968; A.Bermingham and J.Brewer (Eds.): The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800, London, 1995; C.Berry: The Idea of Luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation, Cambridge, 1994; J.Sekora: Luxury. The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett, London, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol iii (ii) F.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, ps.134-156: Epistle IV lines.45-49 and lines.153-156.

<sup>4</sup> B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury: Second Characters or the Language of Forms: A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design, Cambridge, 1914, p.22.

<sup>5</sup> For the way in which Augustan Britain modelled itself on Augustan Rome see P.Ayres: Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England, Cambridge, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> P.Zanker: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, Ann Arbor, 1988, p.135.

<sup>7</sup> P.Zanker op.cit.note 6, p.25.

<sup>8</sup> H.Warren (Ed.), M.Morgan (translated): Vitruvius. The Ten books on Architecture, Harvard and London, 1914, p.14. E.Gombrich: Symbolic Images.Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, II, London, 1971, see the introduction.

<sup>9</sup> H.Warren (Ed.), op.cit.note 8, p.14.

<sup>10</sup> H.Warren (Ed.) op.cit.note 8, p.181.

<sup>11</sup> E. Gombrich op.cit.note 8, see the introduction.

<sup>12</sup> J.Elsum: The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner, London, 1703, Chapter XXVI, ps.79-84. John Dryden's translation of Virgil's The Aeneid into English in 1696 helped renew its popularity.

<sup>13</sup> See Introduction to Chapter 3, note 3 for full reference to Sale Catalogues.

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<sup>14</sup> The Architecture of A.Palladio: in Four Books was translated by Giacomo Leoni, the first volume was published in 1716, see H-W.Kruft, (R.Taylor, E.Callander and A.Wood translated): A History of Architectural Theory, from Vitruvius to the present, London, 1994, p.240. In the second edition, published in 1721, p.62: the second book “containing the designs of several Houses which he has built either in town or in the country” describes how: “the rooms of the second order are ceil’d all painted as well as those of the first Story and set off with very rich Ornaments of Fretwork”. For the work of the plasterers and stuccoists see: A.Laing: ‘Foreign Decorators and Plasterers in England’ in C.Hind (Ed.): The Rococo in England. A Symposium, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1986: p.42. Laing assesses how architects such as James Gibbs worked with the decorative plasterers. G.Beard: Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England, 1660-1820, London, 1981, p.244 and G.Beard: ‘Bagutti of Bologna’ in Apollo Magazine, Vol.XCVII, No.135, new series, May 1973, London, ps.489-49 and G.Beard: ‘Italian Stuccoists in England’ in Apollo Magazine, Vol.LXXX, No.29, new series, July 1964, London, ps.48-56. C.& M.Collins Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts, Oxford, 1949, p.149 shows that Chandos had an outstanding debt to Bagutti of £650 as late as May 1725. Northamptonshire Record Office “Ledger containing accounts of Chandos Household 1720-23”(Box 22) the following payments are noted to “Mr Bagutti: 17th August 1721 By ye bill sign’d by His Grace for Fretwork & gilding £256; 18th December 1721: By ye bill for Fret Work in ye 6 rooms one pair of Stairs £630; 21st September 1722: By yr bill for five Ceiling below, two of Painting & 3 all Frett Work & for Gilding in the Bed Chambr and in ye room next to ye Salloon, & 4 Ceilings one pair of Stairs, two chimneys the Water Closit next to it and the Chimney in ye smoking room £700; By ye Bill for Fret Work & Gilding Ceilings and Chimneys £912.”

<sup>15</sup> For a description of the work of early eighteenth century decorative painters see E.Croft-Murray: Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837: The Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Vol. II, Glasgow, 1970.

<sup>16</sup> B.Ariczewska: ‘A Villa Fit for a King: The role of Palladian Architecture in the Ascendancy of the House of Hanover under George I’ in Canadian Art Review (RACAR) Vol.XIX, 1-2, 1992, Toronto, ps.41-58 p.46

<sup>17</sup> See note 13, Catalogue I, p.35-6.

<sup>18</sup> See note 13, Catalogue I, p.31-32. “Three ceiling pieces, in 2 colours on canvas”, “Six histories in ditto round the hall”, “A large picture of the duke of Marlborough, by Signior Francisco, on the stair-case” and , ditto in “The grand Marble Hall and Stair Case”.



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<sup>19</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 83, Inventory compiled by John Gilbert, the Groom of the Chamber in 1725.

<sup>20</sup> See note 19. The Hall , Inventory Number.65 was “painted by Senior Franciscocoe”.

<sup>21</sup> See note 19.The Staircase, Inventory Number 66.

<sup>22</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.22, f.168, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Sir Godfrey Kneller, dated 8<sup>th</sup> February 1723.

<sup>23</sup> J. Macky: A Journey through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad, London, 1722, second edition, Vol.2, p.8: “The Salon when finished is to be supported by Marble Pillars and painted by Paulucci [sic]; as is the great Staircase, which is all of Marble...”

<sup>24</sup> Yorkshire Archaeological Society Ms 328, Wyndham Knatchbull’s diary, 1724, quoted in T.Friedman and D.Linstrum: ‘Country Houses through Georgian Eyes’ in Country Life, Vol.CLIII, 1 February 1973, London, ps.268-70.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Vertue Note Books’, V in The Walpole Society, Vol.XXVI, Oxford, 1938, p.94.

<sup>26</sup> See E.Croft-Murray, op.cit.note 15, p.277. Sleter’s designs for the windows of the chapel (which were painted by Joshua Price), were hung in the Duke’s London residence at St James’s Square. According to the Inventory compiled by John Gilbert in 1725 (Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 83): “Twelve Scripture pieces of painting being the Designs for ye Chapell windows at Canons by Senior Francisco” were hung in the Drawing Room (Inventory Number 32) and were valued at £132. The architectural historian, John Harris owns an oil sketch by Sleter of Perseus and Andromeda, on the back of which is annotated “Cannons”.

<sup>27</sup> See J. Simon: English Baroque Sketches: The Painted Interior in the Age of Thornhill, Exhibition at Marble Hill House, 11 May-7 July 1974, catalogue numbers 45-47. Simon suggests that the plasterwork of the Hall and Staircase was painted in grisaille by an unknown artist.

<sup>28</sup> See J.Simon op.cit note 27, catalogue number 45. The sketch is a drawing in pen and brown ink over pencil in a private collection.

<sup>29</sup> Two sketches in the Courtauld Institute Galleries by Sir James Thornhill have been associated with the scheme: No. 2223: Four decorative panels enclosing sculptural decoration three of them with the ducal crown and No.2237 (Figure 21). Also Courtauld Institute Galleries, Numbers 776 (Figure22) and 2233 (Figure 23). See illustration in E. Croft-Murray: Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837, Vol.I, Feltham, 1962, plate 134 and J. Simon op.cit.note 27, catalogue number 46 (Figure

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24). This relates to the description by Wyndham Knatchbull of the “white marble Corinthian fluted Pillars in the Hall” quoted note 24 and to the “Ten Cullumns with Carv’d Capitalls” and “Eight pillasters and six half pilasters” in the Great Hall mentioned in the Inventory compiled by John Gilbert in 1725 (Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83, Inventory Number 65).

<sup>30</sup> These are a drawing by Thornhill in the Victoria and Albert Museum (E.218-1949), inscribed “Dido falls in love wth Aeneas in ye Temp of Juno”, (Figure 25) another drawing in the British Museum showing the meeting of Dido and Aeneas (1964-12-12-14) (Figure 26) and an oil sketch in the Victoria and Albert Museum (P.2-1947), (Figure 27) showing the meeting of Dido and Aeneas and an Assembly of the Gods as a wall and ceiling design flanked by Corinthian pilasters. Paired with this oil sketch is another in the Victoria and Albert Museum (P.1-1947), (Figure 28) depicting the birth and apotheosis of Venus within a similar architectural setting, which may have offered an alternative design to the Dido and Aeneas subject. This oil sketch may have been worked up from a staircase design which follows it very closely in composition, (Tate Gallery, Oppé Collection, TO 8143), (Figure 29) but adds an extra panel depicting Neptune riding across the sea astride his steeds, trident raised and showing the direction of the staircase’s ascent. For a discussion of the Tate design see: A. Lyles and Robin Hamlyn (Eds.): British watercolours from the Oppé collection: with a selection of drawings and oil sketches, published on the occasion of an exhibition held at the Tate Gallery 10th September to 30th November 1997 and elsewhere, London, 1997, p.42, catalogue number 3.

<sup>31</sup> Apollo was also the god of medicine, music, poetry, eloquence, prophecy, mathematics and science. For the imagery of Apollo at Versailles, see P. Lemoine and M. Delahaye (translated): Versailles and Trianon. Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon, Paris, 1990, p.35 which describes the Salon d’Apollon, decorated by Charles de la Fosse with Apollo on his chariot, accompanied by the figure of France and procession of the seasons and allegories of the Four Continents in the corners. Lemoine points out that the decoration of the King’s State Apartments is based on the solar myth theme borrowed from the Planets Apartments in the Pitti Palace, Florence (see M. Campbell: Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace, New Jersey, 1977).

<sup>32</sup> Rev. J. Dallaway and R. Wornum (Eds.): Anecdotes of Painting in England with some account of the principal artists...collected by the late George Vertue...published from his original manuscripts by Horace Walpole, Vol. III, London, 1849, p.776.

<sup>33</sup> C. Gildon: CANNONS: or the Vision. A poem address’d to the right honourable James Earl of Caernarvon, printed for J. Roberts, London, 1717, p.18.

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<sup>34</sup> See Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Saloon (Inventory Number 39) Library (Inventory Number 49).

<sup>35</sup> See J.Elsum: The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner, London, 1704, Chapter XXIV, p.82: "What Pieces are fittest to adorn a Library 4. The 7 Liberal Arts; 5. Apollo and the Muses". For a description of the scene, see the Inventory of 1725: "Salone No 39: the middle piece being Apollo and the Muses the seaven circles being the seaven liberall Arts the Six shields representing Peace plenty temperance fortitude justice & Prudence". The work was valued at £500, (more than the £350 valuation placed on Bellucci's work in the Library), although a payment of £300 to Thornhill for his work at Cannons is all that has so far been identified in the Duke's accounts (according to C.Collins Baker, op.cit.note 14, p.163, note 2).

<sup>36</sup> For the introduction of Venetian artists into England see B.Allen: 'Venetian Painters in England in the earlier Eighteenth Century' in M.Liversidge and J.Farrington (Eds.): Canaletto and England, London, 1993, ps.30-37. Also C.Gilbert: 'A nobleman and the Grand Tour. Lord Irwin and Marco Ricci' in Apollo Magazine, Vol. 83, no.51 (new series), May1966, ps.358-363; J. Daniels: 'Sebastiano Ricci in England', in Biennali d'arte antica/Udine: Atti del congresso internazionale di studi su Sebastiano Ricci il suo tempo, 1975, ps. 68-82, Milan 1976. For a full description of the scene painted by Bellucci see the Inventory, Huntington Library, Stowe Manuscript 83, 19th June 1725: The Library Inventory Number 49.

<sup>37</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: The Family Room, Number 68. For Henry Trench see J.Ingamells (Ed.): A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy 1701-1800, New Haven and London, 1997, ps. 950-952. Trench carried out drawings for the third Earl of Shaftesbury in Naples and Shaftesbury wrote that he was "satisfy'd by good Testimony of Mr Thrences's Sobreity and Industry and by what I have seen in his hand, of his ability and improving Genius in Design". Trench worked on draft frontispieces and headpieces for the second edition of Shaftesbury's Characteristicks published in 1714 and knew William Kent in Rome. He came back to England in 1718 and left for Italy again in 1723.

<sup>38</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83, Inventory:The Dressing room, Number 74. For Giuseppe Grisoni see E.Croft Murray op.cit.note 29, ps. 214-5. Grisoni was employed by William Talman's son, John see T.Friedman: 'The English Appreciation of Italian Decorations' in The Burlington Magazine, Vol.CXVII, no.873, December 1975, London, ps.841-847. For the Inventory description see the Dressing Room: "Abundance wth ye Cornicopia of Medalls & a Lyon by her wch is an Emblem of Fortitude. She gives Apollo chains of gold & Medalls as being ye god of Wisdom, Musick & Learning who disposes of them to ye Studts of Arts & Sciences, Beneath are Geography wth a Globe & Compasses, Architecture wth a front of building, Painting

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with a pencill & pallat & Musick wth ye Bass Viol by Abundance is Minerva with a shield & helmet & Hercules shewing Virtue by his strength to overcome Vice & Victory Crowning Arts & Sciences wth Laurells of Honour; at ye West End is Cibell drawn by Lyons, Ceres making an Offering of Corn & Bacchus pressing ye Grapes to shew ye Abundance of Bread & Wine at ye Bottom is Neptune with a Triton & River God offering pearles in a Shell &c: at ye West End is Fame sounding the trumpet of Arts & Sciences and the Abundance of Plenty to the Encouragers thereof”.

<sup>39</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: Dining Room, Number 77; Backstairs Number 58. See E.Croft-Murray, *op.cit.* note 28, p.276. Charles Simon (Symms, Symons, Symonds) was apprenticed to the scene painter John Devoto. See the Inventory description for the Dining Room: “Hearing is one. Listening to ye Sound of a Trumpett. Seeing Cibell ye Earth in a Charriott drawn by two Lyons looking up to Apollo pointing wth her Scepter to ye Abundance of ye Earth who is Strowing figgs &c. Feeling a Man Embracing a Woman Languishing on each other. Tasting a Woman Sitting wth an Apple in her hand. Smelling a Woman smelling to a Rose, The four Corners ye four Seasons Two small pannells in blue the one represents Apollo wth his Bow Drawn Shooting the serpent Python ye other Apollo fleeing Marseus alive ty’d to a tree for continueing to play wth him on the Harp”. For the backstairs painted by Laguerre see J.Macky *op.cit.* note 23, p.8: Over the Ante room door (presumably the Waiting Room Inventory Number 57 on the second floor) were “Apollo and Calisto”, with, on the west side of the stairs, “ye Judgment of Hercules between Virtue and Vice [with] Under Do ye History of Thomiris Queen of Scythia [and] Apollo & Diana fronting the stairs”. “On ye south side of ye stairhead over ye Door is Piramus & Thisbe, On Do side Achilles drest in Maidens habbet being in Love to Remain wth his Lover. South side two Statues of Bacchus & Ceres in stone colour, East Do Minerva in Stone Colour”.

<sup>40</sup> C.Gildon: CANNONS: or the Vision, *op.cit.* note 33, p.26.

<sup>41</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: Buffet room Number 78; Dining Room Number 77.

<sup>42</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory : Their Grace’s Chamber, Number 51; Green damask bedchamber, Number 30.

<sup>43</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: Anteroom to Saloon, Number 40.

<sup>44</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.14, f.120 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Cowper dated 20<sup>th</sup> July 1716.

<sup>45</sup> For a description of Laguerre’s work, see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory Numbers 58 (the Staircase), 52 (Her Graces Closet), 51 (Their Graces

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Chamber), 50 (Her Graces Dressing room) , 30 (The Green Damask room), 29 (the Landing room), 31 (Lord Carnarvon's Dressing room) and 33 (Lord Carnarvon's Bedchamber).

E.Croft-Murray, op.cit.note 29, p.251 considers that Laguerre's work at Cannons took place "All before 1715". This is unlikely because of delays in the building work.

Chandos was in contact with Laguerre as early as December 1713 (see below), but the "battles" were probably canvasses rather than painted ceiling decoration.

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol. 9, f.281, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Sir Godfrey Kneller dated 7th December 1713: "I do intend to have Mr La Guerre do ye battles for me, but as I shall make great alterations in my house, whereby ye rooms will come to be much alter'd I cannot yet send him ye dimensions".

According to 'Vertue Note Books', IV in The Walpole Society, Vol. XXIV, Oxford, 1936, p.196 Laguerre produced a "sketch drawing for the Earl of Carnarvons work at Cannons- about 1715" on the back of a sketch of his scheme for the Duke of Devonshire's staircase in London of 1704.

<sup>46</sup> For the taste for Venetian artists in England see note 36.

<sup>47</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83, Inventory: Dressing Room, Number 47; Cabinet, Number 44: "A ceiling piece by Mr Bellucha. The middle piece representing Galatea four shells to do representing the fruits of sea" The Library, Number 49. The Best Dressing Room, Number 42; The Drawing Room, Number 41.

<sup>48</sup> See A.Laing op.cit.note 14, also F.Watson: 'A Venetian Settecento Chapel in the English Countryside' in Arte Veneta VIII, Venice, 1954, ps.295-302 and J.Daniels: Sebastiano Ricci, Sussex, 1976, p.38.

<sup>49</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: Best Chamber, Number 43; Ante Room, Number 40.

<sup>50</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.18, f.194, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 4th November 1720: "My Ld Burlington hath brought over Mr Kent an English painter who hath studied for these twelve years in Italy. He is painting two or three Cielings for me, I shou'd be glad to know whether he was Esteemd in Italy".

<sup>51</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory: Small Closet, Number 36. Lincolnshire Record Office, 2MM/B/19A, 3rd June 1720, a letter from William Kent to Burrell Massingberd.

<sup>52</sup> J. Macky, op.cit.note 23, p.8.

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53 G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.) op.cit.note 1, p.6.

54 See T.Friedman: 'Foggini's Statue of Queen Anne', in Kunst Des Barock in der Toskanen: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici, Munich 1976, ps.46-56, p.51, note 29: "in 1715, marble chimneypieces and doorcases were ordered from Baratta for the 1st Duke of Chandos's seat at Cannons Park, Middlesex". Talman's putative involvement is based on his suggestions that a monument to Queen Anne should be commissioned from the sculptor Foggini and his involvement with sculptors in Rome and Florence, quoted in G.Parry (based on the work of H.Macandrew) 'John Talman's Letter Book' in The Walpole Society, Vol.LIX:, Oxford, 1997, p.83. For Talman's importance in the development of Italian taste in England see: T.Friedman: 'The English Appreciation of Italian Decorations', op.cit.note 38.

55 T. Friedman op.cit.note 38 p.84.

56 T. Friedman op.cit. note 39, p.88.

57 T. Friedman op.cit.note 39, p.88.

58 The Walpole Society op.cit.note 45, p.11, plates 9 and 11. Also J.Harris: 'John Talman's Design for his Wunderkammern', in Furniture History, Vol. XXI, London, 1985, ps.211-214.

59 See note 54.

60 M. Jourdain : English Interior Decoration 1500-1830. A Study in the Development of Design, London, 1950 p.66.

61 See note 13, Sale Catalogue 2, p.35.

62 See note 13, Sale Catalogue 2, p.44.

63 Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory, Number 64. Sale Catalogue 2 (see note 13), p.6, lot 54: "A beaufet 9 feet 5 inches high by 4 feet 3 inches wide the front and back and shelves of white and vein'd marble with a gilt shell and small marble cistern".

64 See note 13, Sale Catalogue 2, p.11, lot 61. (Inventory Number 72),

65 A.McKay: Inside the Ancient World.Vitruvius, Architect and Engineer, Basingstoke and London, 1978, ps.44-45.

66 A.McKay op.cit.note 65, ps.42-3.

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<sup>67</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 57, Vol. 12 f.90, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to his agent Henry D'Avenant in Genoa, 21st August 1715: "copies of ye designs Baratta made for ye King of Denmark doors & chimneys I expect with much impatience & knowing how much that hand exceeds any of ye like kind here I have defer'd finishing my new rooms for this year in hopes to be furnisht early in ye spring with what I shall have occasion of that sort by yr friendship from Florence".

The sculptor Giovanni Baratta (1670-1747) was a pupil of the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini and the Roman sculptor Camillo Rusconi and his work had been acquired by Frederick IV, King of Denmark after a visit to the sculptor's studio in 1709. See J.Turner (Ed.): The Macmillan Dictionary of Art, Vol. 3, London, 1996, p.198.

<sup>68</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12, f.155, 16th October 1715, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Henry D'Avenant. D'Avenant despatched three models of doors and one of a chimneypiece, to Chandos, but he felt they were too expensive. Also ST 57, Vol. 12, f.174, 1st November 1715 to D'Avenant: "the designs you were so kind to send me of Baratta's for Doors & Chimneys I find to be so dear that it wd cost me a prodigious sum to furnish an house accordingly. However I think to be at the expense for a couple of rooms & will take ye liberty soon to send you ye dimensions of 'em but I wd entreat you'l let me know ye price of marble in ye black & ye price of ye Workmanship for I am told this work is cheaper in England than in Italy & for it will be much easier to have it over in block wch I presume is sold by ye foot".

<sup>69</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library Manuscript 86 NN2 f.139.

<sup>70</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.21, fs.220-221, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Thomas Fort, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1723.

<sup>71</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum Manuscript 86 NN2 f.139.

<sup>72</sup> See note 13, Sale Catalogue 1, title-page.

<sup>73</sup> For an analysis of the hierarchy of rooms see: H. Murray Baillie: 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces' in Archaeologia, Vol CI, 2<sup>nd</sup> series Vol.LI, 1967, Oxford, ps.169-199. See C.Saumarez Smith: 'The Role of the Bedroom in the English Country House, 1700-1740' in M.Chilton (Ed.): The Bedroom from the Renaissance to Art Deco. Edited lectures of the Decorative Arts Institute, published by the Decorative Arts Institute, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1995, ps.100-117, ps.104-5.

<sup>74</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory, Number 43. See note 13, Sale Catalogue 1 p.42, values the bed at £50. The Inventory values the bed and en suite curtains and furniture at £844. See S.Jenkins: 'The Duke of Chandos and the upholstered room at Cannons: How fine fabrics furnished rooms in the early

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eighteenth century' in Apollo Magazine, Vol.CXLVII, January 1998, London, ps.10-12.

75 Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol. 16, f.123, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Cantillon, 30 March 1719: "Pray is the Velvet you send me a real Silver and gold Ground or only a silver colour'd & Gold colour'd Ground: I ask because it makes a vast difference in the rate of customs" probably relates to Genoese fabric because in ST57, Vol. 12 f.307 in a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Cantillon dated 14 March 1716 the Duke thanks him "for your friendship in offering to accomodate me with some damask furniture by ye means of your correspondent at Genoa".

76 Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol. 15, f.16. In a letter to his agent, Mr Cantillon, of August 1717, he expressed his dislike for certain hangings and his intention to commission a set from the Gobelins: "The sort of Hangings you mention were propos'd to me but I did not know they belong'd to Mr Pye. I thought them too dear and did not like ye gold embossing which tarnishes presently & never looks well afterwards. I return you many thanks for your offer of helping me to them but had rather get some new made all of silk at ye Goblins & will trouble you to bespeak some for me when my new rooms are so far finisht that I can be sure of ye dimensions".

77 The Duke's accounts indicate payments to Morris totalling £220 11 shillings in 1721/2. Northamptonshire Record Office Ledger Box 22: Chandos household accounts, 1720-3 f.97 28th November 1721/2 "to Jos Morris in full for Tapestry attested by Mr Zollicoffre £41; 2nd February 1721/2 To Do on Her Graces bill on Mr Zollicoffre for 10 yards narrow Tapistry £10 10s.; f.114 14th February 1722 To Jo Morris Tapmaker in full £112; f.115 15th March 1722/3 to Mrs Elderfeild in full for Mastr Morris's board to Xmas past £16 1s; f.117 23rd May 1723 To Jo Morris in full of a bill for Tap £41"

For information on Morris see G.Jackson-Stops (Ed.): The Treasure Houses of Britain, National Gallery of Art, Washington and New Haven and London, 1985, p.212, catalogue number 137 and F.Shephard (Gen.Ed):Survey of London: The Parish of St Anne, Soho, Vol.34, London, 1966, Appendix I: The Soho Tapestry Makers, p.516. Ronald Paulson suggests that Morris was still working at Cannons in 1727 and commissioned the Element of Earth tapestry Cartoon design from Hogarth for Cannons. See R.Paulson: Hogarth : The Modern Moral Subject 1697-1732, Vol 1, New Brunswick and London, 1991, ps.155-6. The Cartoon was the subject of a lawsuit described by R. Paulson in Hogarth, His Life, Art and Times, New Haven, 1971, p.s 487-88, Appendix D.

78 See note 13, Sale Catalogue 1 p.42. (Inventory Number 43).

79 G.Cole and D. Browning (Eds.) op.cit.note 1, p.6.



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<sup>80</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory, Number 39; Drawing Room, Number 41; Lord Carnarvon's Dressing Room, Number 31.

<sup>81</sup> See note 13, Sale Catalogue 1 p.21.

<sup>82</sup> For more information on James Moore, see R.Edwards (Ed.): The Dictionary of English Furniture, Vol. 2, Woodbridge, 1954, ps.369-70. Northamptonshire Record Office 1720-23 Ledger containing accounts of Chandos household, (Box 22), f.99, 24th November 1721: "To Jo Moor Cabinetmaker in full to 26th Jany last £39; f.108 10th August 1721 to Ja Moor Cabinet maker in full £56".

<sup>83</sup> See note 13, Sale Catalogue 1, p.21. (Inventory Number 41).

<sup>84</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory, Number 48.

<sup>85</sup> See S.Jenkins, op.cit.note 74, p.11.

<sup>86</sup> See S.Jenkins op.cit.note 74, p.11 and note 13. (Inventory Number 43),

<sup>88</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.) op.cit.note 1, p.7.

<sup>88</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum Manuscript 86 NN2 f.139.

<sup>89</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed.), op.cit.note 3, p.154, lines 179-80.

<sup>90</sup> S.Humphreys: Cannons. A Poem, London, 1728, lines 112-14.

#### 4. The Gardens at Cannons

Cannons was one of the greatest country houses to be constructed in the second decade of the eighteenth century and its builder, the Duke of Chandos was determined to create a magnificent setting for his new palace. The Duke was also a keen horticulturalist and studied developments in garden theory which he could put into practice from the writings of practitioners and theorists such as Stephen Switzer and Richard Bradley.<sup>1</sup> In approaching the building and landscaping of Cannons Chandos followed the advice of Switzer who noted

When you first begin to build and make Gardens, the Gardener and Builder ought to go Hand in Hand and to consult together.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke's vision informed both the design of the house and the gardens at Cannons which were created contemporaneously to provide a setting for the house which complemented its scale and magnificence.<sup>3</sup> This symbiotic approach was consistent with contemporary practice which saw the simultaneous evolution of buildings and grounds at Hampton Court, Chatsworth, Studley Royal, Wrest Park, Wanstead House and Stowe.<sup>4</sup> Contemporary descriptions indicate that the scale and invention of the gardens at Cannons outstripped their rivals, with the "sum of the House, Courts and Gardens" totalling 105 acres.<sup>5</sup> The only grounds of the size to rival Cannons were those of Chandos's brother-in-law at Wanstead, according to Daniel Defoe who visited in 1725:

the gardens are so well designed and have so vast a variety and the canals are so large that they are not to be out done in England; possibly the Lord Castlemains at Wanstead may be said to equal but can not exceed them...the inside of the house is as glorious as the outside is fine.<sup>6</sup>

The early eighteenth century was a period of transition in garden theory which increasingly looked back to classical models. The Whig philosopher, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, played an influential part in the development of both disciplines. In his essay The Moralists (written 1709, published 1711) he criticised the “formal Mockery of princely Gardens”, advocating a move away from formal garden design towards a natural approach which consulted the “Genius of the Place”, (or ‘genius loci’, from Virgil’s The Aeneid) and the natural laws of harmony, order and proportion:

Your Genius, the Genius of the Place and the Great Genius have at last prevail’d. I shall no longer resist the passion in me for things of a natural kind; where neither Art, nor the Conceit or Caprice of Man has spoil’d their genuine Order by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude Rocks, the mossy Caverns, the irregular unwrought Grotto’s, and broken Falls of Waters, with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with the Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of princely Gardens.<sup>7</sup>

The architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner explained the far-reaching importance of Shaftesbury’s essay, which was written as a dialogue between a sceptic and a philosopher, “a wealthy man living in the country and spending his time in edifying conversation and solitary walks – a consciously Horatian ideal *procul negotiis*”, and anticipated the development of the English landscape garden.<sup>8</sup>

The other significant figure in the development of English landscape design at this period was the poet Alexander Pope. Pope was influenced by Lord Shaftesbury's ideas in his praise of unadorned nature and his support for the Horatian conceit of blissful retirement. He argued that all good art should be based on the imitation and study of nature informed by ancient examples, writing in 1713:

There is certainly something in the amiable simplicity of unadorned nature that spreads over the mind a more noble sort of tranquillity and a loftier sensation of pleasure than can be raised from the nicer scenes of art... This was the taste of the ancients in their gardens [he gives as examples Virgil's description of the garden of old Corycian and Homer's of Alcinous]...How contrary to this simplicity is the modern practice of gardening?... I believe it is no wrong observation that persons of genius and those who are most capable of art are always most fond of nature [and] chiefly sensible that all art consists in the imitation and study of nature".<sup>9</sup>

Pope expressed his views on landscaping to Lord Burlington in a well-known passage on garden design in the 'natural' manner in his poem Of Taste (1731). He argued that the owner Timon had failed to "Consult the Genius of the place In all" in his landscaping and that

No pleasing Intricacies intervene,  
No artful wildness to perplex the scene:  
Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,  
And half the platform just reflects the other.  
The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,  
Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as trees<sup>10</sup>

Timon had destroyed the natural beauty of the location in his artificial attempt to impress and instead of creating a grand setting, he had made himself and his Villa ridiculous. He had perpetrated

a violation of nature and a perversion of her good ends in a garden... [whereas] man in the garden (God's garden) must inhabit a scene of order in which he exhibits good sense, self knowledge and a keen and reverent responsiveness to the God-endowed attributes of the natural world.<sup>11</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was influenced by the views put forward by Lord Shaftesbury and Alexander Pope in his design for the gardens at Cannons. His rhetoric suggests that he identified with Shaftesbury's philosopher in The Moralists and saw the creation of a garden as a place of Horatian retirement from the burdens of the world, claiming on two separate occasions:

The garden I have made at Sion hill hath made retirement so pleasing to me that I should gladly withdraw from business when I cease being paymaster of ye foreign forces<sup>12</sup> [and] I am grown already so much (and am growing so every day more and more) a country gentleman that so far from having any Interest at Court I have hardly any acquaintance there.<sup>13</sup>

The original appearance of the gardens at Cannons can be reconstructed from travellers' descriptions, building accounts and early plans of the estate. Two eighteenth-century drawings of the estate and two eighteenth-century maps survive.<sup>14</sup> (Figures 34, 35, 36 and 37) The most detailed of these is also the earliest, a drawing of Cannons by a French visitor in 1728, which shows the house and courtyards in the centre, surrounded by gardens, water features and parkland, and approached by avenues from Edgware, Stanmore and Whitchurch. (Figure 34)

The house at Cannons was situated on a ridge with land falling away on three sides, a location which afforded good views, particularly towards Harrow-on-the-Hill in the south-west. The estate was adjacent to Edgware with access to London along

the Edgware Road to the south-east. The main approach to the house was up the principal eastern “spacious and majestick” avenue, which led from Edgware and was angled so that it gave the visitor a view of the south and east fronts simultaneously.<sup>15</sup>

John Macky, who visited in 1722, described the impressive approach:

You ascend the great Avenue to Cannons from the town of Edgar, by a fine Iron Gate, with the Duke’s Arms and Supporters on the Stone Pillars of the Gate, with Balustrades of Iron on each Side and two neat Lodges in the Inside; this Avenue is near a Mile long and Three Coaches may go a-breast; in the middle or half Way of this Avenue is a large round Bason of Water not unlike that on the great Road through Bushy Park to Hampton Court. This Avenue fronts an Angle of the House, and thereby shewing you two Fronts at once, makes the House seem at a Distance the larger.<sup>16</sup>

Other visitors described how this avenue was “planted with two double rows of trees and the middle walk broad enough for a troop of horse to march in front”<sup>17</sup> and lit by lanterns standing on obelisks.<sup>18</sup> All four avenues radiating out from the house were planted with elm, yew and chestnut trees with groves of woods on either side, creating an approach that contemporaries described as “extreamly magnificent”.<sup>19</sup>

The gardens were planted around these four great avenues.<sup>20</sup> The Inventory describes the large ‘Pleasure Garden’:

The whole ground being 83 acres, makeing it wth Terrass, Sloaps, grass platts & Gravell Walks, One large pond, One Bason, two lesser ditto, Two Stews, planting 2 Wildernesses wth variety of Trees Border’d wth Hedge Ews plantations in the Sevll Angles of that part call’d the West Field of Elms &c wth a Border of Standard Ews all round the Borders filld up wth Ever Greens, planting of Standard & Wall Fruit Trees wth Variety of Physicall Herbs & plants in ye physick Garden planting the Walls of the Old and part of the new Ground wth the best fruit Trees of Divers kinds”.<sup>21</sup>

The main garden was situated before the east front, which was approached up the great avenue from Edgware. It consisted of a Grand Terrace, directly in front of the house, bordered by an iron palisade 120 feet long, with three sets of eight Portland Stone steps leading down to the parterre.<sup>22</sup>

No drawings for the parterre survive, nor is there any correspondence to prove that John James, architect at Cannons in 1715, was directly involved in the Duke's decision in September of that year "to destroy the form of his parterre after a great expense laid out upon it" at the same time as he pulled down a side of the house.<sup>23</sup> But Chandos, who was interested in James's ideas on garden design and subscribed to his translation of A.J.Dezallier d'Argenville's The Theory and Practice of Gardening (first published 1709, translation published 1712), was clearly influenced by the views of his architect. James describes how:

A Parterre is the first Thing that should present itself to Sight and possess the Ground next the Fabrick as well on account of the Opening it affords the Building as for the Beauty and Richness wherewith it constantly entertains the Eye when seen from every Window of the House [and] As the proper place for Parterres is near the Building, their Breadth should be that of the whole Extent of the Body of the House, or somewhat more: or to their length, it should not exceed such a proportion, but that the Eye, when near the Building, may discover all the Embroidery and Compartiments.<sup>24</sup>

The parterre at Cannons extended the length of the east front of the house and was ornamented with a number of gilt lead statues which led the eye down to the Great Basin and Canal. A visitor described how:

the Parterre hath a row of gilded Vases on Pedestals, on each side down to the great Canal and in the middle, fronting the canal, is a Gladiator, gilded also; and

through the whole Parterre, Abundance of Statues, as big as the Life, regularly disposed.<sup>25</sup>

The north, south and west garden fronts were less formal in layout. The north garden was planted with woods of oaks and yews dissected by avenues, which opened onto clearings with basins and fountains.<sup>26</sup> One of these clearings, marked on the plan of 1728 to the north east of the house, contained a “large equestrian statue gilt of the late King George [I] on a Portland stone pedestal, about 13 feet high” and another housed an elaborate

banqueting house ornamented, on the outside, with Corinthian pilasters, architrave frieze, and Cornish, impost, circular architraves and stools with trusses to all the windows; a balustrade all round the principal story, the upper part of the building adorn'd with arches, niches, carv'd Cornish, and a moulded dome on the top of ditto, all of Portland stone.<sup>27</sup>

The north garden also contained the greenhouse garden, the three walled kitchen gardens, the orchard, physick garden and hot house.

The planted gardens surrounding the house were separated from the outlying parkland by iron railings and by the innovation of a fosse or ‘ha-ha’.<sup>28</sup> The expression ‘ha-ha’ was introduced into England by John James in his translation of Dezallier d’Argenville’s The Theory and Practice of Gardening, where he also noted that “Grills of Iron are very necessary Ornaments in the Lines of Walks, to extend the View and to shew the Country to Advantage”.<sup>29</sup> According to one visitor, the use of such iron grills at Cannons afforded the



greatest Pleasure of all...that the Divisions of the whole being only made by Balustrades of Iron and not by Walls, you see the whole at once, be you in what part of the Garden or Parterre you will.<sup>30</sup>

The gardens were also ornamented with a significant amount of statuary distributed throughout the walks, terraces and parterres, much of it gilded. The most prominent piece of gilt statuary was the equestrian figure of George I already noted, but the Inventory lists “39 Gilded Vauzes on Pedistalls and alcove sett in North front at £5 each” and “58 Potts between the Trees and on the Steps in gold and Vermillion at £3 10s each”, which must have been a dazzling sight. Contemporary garden designers favoured deploying sculptures to exemplify the “most publick and durable memoirs of Virtue, Honour and Valour”, arguing that “the Grace and Majesty they give a Country Seat is very great; Modern as well as Ancient Romans”.<sup>31</sup> In addition to the vases and urns for the terraces, there were a number of classical and contemporary figures. The Spinario, (a “Roman Youth pulling a thorn out of his Foot”) and the “Venus naked sitting and washing her Feet” were situated at the ends of the North and South terraces respectively. The figure of Apollo (who featured prominently in the interior decoration of the house) appeared on the “Steps next the Gardiners Steps” with his harp, accompanied by Diana and again on each side of the Canal (“the end next the pond”), in pursuit of Daphne (on the south side) and with Daphne as she transformed into a laurel tree (on the north side).<sup>32</sup>

Some of the statues were standard models supplied by the workshops of John Nost and Andrew Carpenter, particularly the vases and figures for the balustrade of the

house.<sup>33</sup> Others, however, were imported from Italy. The Duke originally planned to put the marble statues of Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough by Giovanni Baratta in the Saloon at Cannons, but the Inventory shows that they were installed in the Pleasure Garden.<sup>34</sup> He was also interested in buying one statue by Giambologna's partner, Pietro Francavilla and turned down a set of twelve because

they are too dear for my purse & besides I don't think our climate is proper for them. They honycomb presently in it. I think you say ye cheapest ye twelve will come at will be 1200£ sterl.<sup>35</sup>

The most celebrated and expensive feature of the gardens at Cannons, was its system of waterworks with basins, reservoirs, canals and fountains. The Duchess of Marlborough's architect at Blenheim Palace, Nicholas Hawksmoor, wrote to confess:

I cannot but own that the water at Cannons, the Duke of Chandos's is the main beauty of that situation and it cost him dear, but your Grace may have a Greater Beauty with much less Expencc.<sup>36</sup>

The Duke was a Fellow of the Royal Society from 1694 and personally encouraged experiments in water engineering which could be applied to the gardens at Cannons.<sup>37</sup> He funded the experiments of his chaplain, John Theophilus Desaguliers and fellow scientist John Lowthorp, both Fellows of the Royal Society into the diameter and composition of piping for water.<sup>38</sup> Desaguliers and Lowthorp designed an extensive system of waterworks at Cannons which required water to be piped from Stanmore and was the envy of the surrounding countryside.<sup>39</sup> The reservoirs and basins were under construction from 1720-22, including the Great Lake or Basin on the east front, the octagon basin on the Grand Avenue (from Edgware), the upper and lower reservoirs,

canals in the west avenue and an oval fountain basin in the north garden.<sup>40</sup> A visitor described how

The Canal runs a great Way, and indeed one would wonder to see such a vast Quantity of Water in a Country where there are neither Rivers nor Springs. But they tell me, that the Duke hath his Water in Pipes from the Mountains of Stanmore about Two Miles off.<sup>41</sup>

There were few garden buildings at Cannons, but the most important of these was the “banqueting house” in the park which faced the north front of the house. It was an elaborate structure ornamented with Corinthian pilasters of Portland stone, which, according to one visitor “est dans l’endroit le plus élevé du jardin et luy sert de Belvédère”.<sup>42</sup>

The grounds of Cannons were celebrated for the magnificence of their gardens, the profusion of their gilded statues and their extensive system of lakes and water features. The Duke’s personal vision helped to shape their design. He was determined to create an impressive setting for his country residence, where he could retire (so he claimed) from the exigencies of court life, writing in 1717

Ye foot affairs are at present upon are so uncertain & there are so many very discouraging reasons against any thoughts of that nature that I believe I shall rather desire to spend my days at Cannons with my family & books than engage again in such disorderly & factious times as we are like to see<sup>43</sup>

The idea of the garden as an environment of repose and reflection away from civic life was a classical one inspired by Virgil and Horace.<sup>44</sup>

Chandos was also keenly interested in horticultural developments, in the discovery of new plants and gardening theory. His correspondence records his efforts to discover better products for his garden, writing in 1718

I am told there is a particular sort of Grass in your Parts wch thrives exceedingly, a neighbour of mine hath sown some ground with it & finds it turns very much to Account having mowed it three or four times in a year the name of it he could not tell me but saies it grows very high & strong; if you have any such about you I should be very glad if you'd send me over a Quantity of its seed as also of the best Melon seed.<sup>45</sup>

His library was well stocked with the latest horticultural volumes, including his gardener, Richard Bradley's New Improvements of Planting and Gardening (1717-18), the third volume of which was dedicated to Chandos; Stephen Switzer's Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardner's Recreation (1717) and Batty Langley's New Principles of Gardening (1728).<sup>46</sup> (Figure 38)

John James recommended in The Theory and Practice of Gardening that “a man that has Wealth and would plant a handsome Garden [should]...chuse a Person whose Ability in gardening has been already tried by a number of good Performances” because it was important to “form a right Taste of what concerns the general dispositions of gardens and designs for Parterres, Grass Plots, Groves, Arbour-Work, Cascades” and “a fine garden [is] no less difficult to contrive and order well than a good building”.<sup>47</sup> Chandos employed a number of experienced gardeners, the first of whom may have been the royal gardener, George London, who collaborated with

William Talman. London died in December 1713 but his pupil, Stephen Switzer, claimed that his: “very last [undertaking] was that noble Design of the Right Honorable present Earl of Carnarvon.”<sup>48</sup> Garden historian David Jacques agrees with Switzer, suggesting that:

the use of water on the approach, the complex programme of statuary on the parterre, and the railings instead of ha-has ....[are] an indication that George London is more likely to have set out the Cannons garden than anyone from the next generation of designers.<sup>49</sup>

John James was employed as architect at Cannons in 1715 whilst the parterre was being redesigned and it is likely that he simultaneously advised on the gardens, which conformed to his perfect model. He proposed that gardens should not be too large, but be nicely proportioned to the house, that there should be a descent of at least three steps from the house to the garden, that the parterre should be adjacent to the house, set off by groves and palisades at the sides, that the principal walk should be in front of the building and that the garden walls should be pierced with grilles “to extend the view and shew the country to advantage”.<sup>50</sup> James was responsible for the introduction of garden innovations into England which included the fosse or ‘ha-ha’ and iron grilles which appeared extensively at Cannons.

Chandos wrote to the gardener Richard Bradley after the publication of his New Improvements of planting and gardening (1717-18) desiring that “I may have ye little knowledge in gardening and planting improved by your conversation”.<sup>51</sup> He employed Bradley at Cannons but fell out with him in 1719, complaining about his performance on the physick garden, hot house and “little Bason”.

your carriage & management of the concern you undertook at Cannons hath been such as give me reason to apprehend there was more foundation of the reports wch have been spread abroad to your prejudice than I cou'd have thought possible.. You may remember it was wth a good deal of Reluctancy I enter'd upon this Project of a Physick Garden & Hot House you assur'd me at first the Expencc would not be above 200£...I am told you have covenanted to pay 24 sh pr rodd for Garden walling whereas at this instant I pay but 19 for house walling...Nor hath your care or inspection over these matters been more commendable than your Agreemt. I think it is above a month since you have been down there whereas the Ananasses ought to have been above that time ago brought into the hot house...The Elms wch I ought to have seen two months ago at Canons I have heard nothing of yet...The little Bason you orderd to be made in ye Garden is done after so unworkmanlike & unskilful a manner yt ye Earth is all fallen in & it must be made anew over again.<sup>52</sup>

Bradley's successor, Tilleman Bobart was employed at Cannons during the period 1721-1724, when much of the landscaping of the grounds was taking place.<sup>53</sup> Bobart was instructed to "make a Draught of the Visto design'd to Pears Wood according to the rules of Perspective that the Walk may appear as wide at the end of it when finish'd as at the House" and "to make a Design for the Bason which is to be at the end of the avenue in the west field & of the Canals to be made out of the old road".<sup>54</sup> But Bobart was being pursued by his former employer, the Duchess of Marlborough.<sup>55</sup> The Duke's relationship with subsequent gardeners was unsatisfactory. Thomas Knowlton left after a year to work for Lord Burlington at Londesborough and Alexander Blackwell left in unhappy circumstances.<sup>56</sup>

The period during which the gardens at Cannons were being landscaped was one of transition in garden design which led to the emergence of the English landscape garden.<sup>57</sup> The creators of such landscapes "used their gardens to express personal ideals which embodied their political, artistic, literary or family-oriented aspirations... expressed in a comprehensive iconographic program which included garden buildings,

monuments, statues and inscriptions".<sup>58</sup> The ideas behind the developments in landscaping derived from a revived interest in the classics and a belief that the Ancients understood Nature and should be imitated, both in architecture and garden design. The Duke of Chandos played an important role in this period of transition, adopting innovations in landscaping to complement the innovations of Palladian architecture in the design of his house and gardens at Cannons.

By 1744 the gardens at Cannons had fallen into disrepair, as Horace Walpole explained:

[Cannons] was always the great standard of bad taste: 'tis now the ruins of it. The garden is demolished, as if to contradict Pope's Epistle. An old domestic that showed us the house lamented extremely the evergreen hedges; and told us a man had come from over the water and brought my Lord Duke a plan for laying it all open – and added the nobility are often drawn into these projects.<sup>59</sup>

In their prime, however, they were much admired and visited by contemporaries who described how

The Disposition of the Avenues, Gardens, Statues, Painting and the House of Cannons suits the Genius and Grandeur of its great Master.<sup>60</sup>

and how the approach up the main avenue from Edgware:

gives you the view of two fronts, join'd as it were in one, the distance not admitting you to see the angle, which is in the centre; so you are agreeably drawn in, to think the front of the house almost twice as large as it really is.<sup>61</sup>

Their importance has been overlooked not only because of the destruction of Cannons itself, but also because of an absence of visual records of the grounds, in striking contrast to the engravings and paintings which commemorated other gardens such as Wanstead and Chiswick House.<sup>62</sup> Despite his evident practical interest in landscaping and horticulture, Chandos showed no interest in landscape as an art form, nor did he

commission paintings to celebrate and advertise the importance of his gardens at Cannons.<sup>63</sup> Documentary analysis of the gardens indicates that they were magnificent and extensive, consistent with the scale of the house and informed by the Duke's interest in contemporary garden theory. In contrast to the extravagant gardens of Timon's Villa which were created for show, where "all cry out, "What sums are thrown away" and where "the suffering eye inverted Nature sees", the gardens at Cannons were well-laid out with a splendid parterre, ha-has and iron grilles to open up the view.<sup>64</sup> Chandos followed the vision described by Stephen Switzer that the "Beauty of rural and extensive gardening" could be achieved by variety, when "all the adjacent country [is] laid open to view and the eye should not be bounded with high walls".<sup>65</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> See B.Henrey: British Botanical and Horticultural literature before 1800, Vol.II, London, 1975, ps.325-329, ps.435-439.

<sup>2</sup> S.Switzer: Ichnographia Rustica, Vol.II, 2nd edition, London,1742, p.154. The Duke of Chandos owned a copy of the first edition of Ichnographia Rustica (1718) according to British Library Manuscripts PR2.A.39: “A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable library of the most Noble and learned James Duke of Chandos lately deceas’d... sold by Cock 12<sup>th</sup> March 1746-7 and 29 following evenings”. For the influence of this edition see N. Pevsner: ‘The Genesis of the Picturesque’ in Architectural Review Vol.96, 1944, London, ps.13-20, ps.18-19.

<sup>3</sup> Chandos’s concerns for the estate began before he inherited in 1713. He asked his relatives, the Lakes, to stop cutting down timber. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript, ST 57, Vol. 7, f.7, Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mrs Lake, dated 4th May 1712: “had not only not ye power of falling any timber but cannot so much as cut down any wood even for fire wood”.

<sup>4</sup> For a description of the gardens at Studley Royal see T.Richardson: ‘Studley Royal, Yorkshire’ in Country Life, Vol.CXCI, no.19, 8th May 1997, London, ps.51-54. For Wrest Park see L.Cabe Halpern: ‘The Duke of Kent’s garden at Wrest Park’ in Journal of Garden History, Vol.15, Number 3, Autumn 1995, Philadelphia, ps.149-178. For Wanstead House see I.Dunlop and F.Kimball: ‘The Gardens of Wanstead House, Essex’ in Country Life, Vol.CVIII, no.2793, 28th July 1950, London, ps.294-298. For Stowe see M. Gibbon: ‘Stowe, Buckinghamshire: the house and garden buildings and their designers’ in Architectural History, Vol. 20: 1977, York, ps.31-35: and G.Clarke: ‘Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham’s gardening programme and its iconography’ in Apollo Magazine, Vol.XCVII, no.136 new series, June 1973, London, ps.558-571. For Hampton Court see M.Batey and J.Woudstra: The Story of the Privy Garden at Hampton Court, London, 1995 and S.Thurley: ‘William III’s Privy Garden at Hampton Court Palace: Research and Restoration’ in Apollo Magazine, Vol.CXCII, no.403, September 1995, London, ps.3-22.

<sup>5</sup> See London Metropolitan Archive: Acc 262 Stowe 72/1: “A Table of References. Estates in the mannour of Stanmore Parva”, undated. Also see F.Marcham: ‘The Duke of Chandos and Cannons’ in Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, New Series, Vol.7, London (1937) ps.621-5 who dates this table to 1717. By 1710 the gardens at Hampton Court measured 58 acres. Colen Campbell claimed that the 100 acre gardens at Boughton House, Northamptonshire were the largest in England in Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume III, London, (1725), p.10.

<sup>6</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.): Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1962, Volume II, p.7.

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<sup>7</sup> A. Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury in The Moralists, quoted in N. Pevsner op.cit.note 2, p.14.

<sup>8</sup> N. Pevsner op.cit.note 2, ps.14-15.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Pope in The Guardian, dated 29 September 1713, quoted in N.Pevsner op.cit.note 2, ps.16-17.

<sup>10</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed.): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope Vol.iii (ii) F.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, p.134-156: Epistle IV, ps.147-9 line57 and lines 105-110.

<sup>11</sup> P.Martin: 'The Garden and Pope's vision of Order in the Epistle to Burlington' in Durham University Journal, Vol.63 (3),Durham, June 1973, ps. 248-259, p. 253.

<sup>12</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57 Vol.4, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Duke of Marlborough dated 21<sup>st</sup> June 1710.

<sup>13</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.19, f.227 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Henry D'Avenant dated 21<sup>st</sup> October 1721.

<sup>14</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum National Art Library manuscript 86 NN 2, a drawing of the immediate layout of the gardens by a French visitor of 1728 (Figure 34); Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 135 map probably circa 1740 with sketch on the back (Figure 35). John Rocque's map of the County of Middlesex of 1754 (Figure 36) and Josiah Phipps' "Plan of an Estate called Cannons in the Parish of Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex", 1800 (Figure 37) in the R.I.B.A.Library, Portland Place, London.

<sup>15</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.), op.cit.note 6, p.7. For a discussion of avenue planting see S.Couch: 'The Practice of Avenue planting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Garden History, Vol. 20 No 2, Autumn 1992, Oxford, ps.173-200.

<sup>16</sup> J.Macky: A Journey through England in Familiar letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad, Vol. II, London, 1732, 5th edition, p.6.

<sup>17</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.) op.cit.note 6, p.7.

<sup>18</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum 86.NN.2, op.cit.note 14.

<sup>19</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.) op.cit.note 6, p.7.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of avenue planting see S.Couch op.cit.note 15.

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<sup>21</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83 Inventory compiled by John Gilbert, dated 19th June 1725. London Metropolitan Archive: Acc 262 Stowe 72/1 lists the “Sum of the Pleasure Garden” as 91 acres.

<sup>22</sup> For details of the garden see Introduction to Cannons, note 3, Sale Catalogue [I]: “A Catalogue of all the Materials of the Dwelling-House, Out-Houses &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos..sold by Mr Cock On Tuesday the 16th June 1747 and the Eleven following Days”.

<sup>23</sup> W. Matthews (Ed.): The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-16, London, 1939, p.100.

<sup>24</sup> A.J. Dezallier d’Argenville: La theorie et la pratique du jardinage, Paris, 1709, translated by John James: The Theory and Practice of Gardening, London, 1712. This quote taken from the 1728 edition, Pt I, p.17.

<sup>25</sup> J. Macky op.cit.note 16, p.9. See Introduction note 3, Sale Catalogue [II], p.22: “A leaden statue of a Shepherd and his Dog, on a Portland stone pedestal, on the side of the steps going down to the parterre. Its Companion, a Shepherdess with a Lamb on the other side”.

<sup>26</sup> Features of the north garden are suggested by the Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 63 garden accounts, ST 83 Inventory and Victoria & Albert Museum manuscript, 86 NN2 op.cit.note 14. These refer to an “ovall fountaine bason in ye north garden” and a new grill. It was adjacent to the Green House garden as there was a “walk in ye north garden by ye west wall of ye Green House Garden”.

<sup>27</sup> See S.O’Connell: ‘The Nosts: A revision of family history’ in Burlington Magazine Vol. CXXIX, no.1017, December 1987, London, ps.802-805. This statue was apparently the prototype figure made for the Duke of Chandos, modelled by C. Burchard in 1716 and cast and gilded by John Nost. It was moved to Leicester Fields in 1748 and sold off for £16 in 1872. C.Doble (Ed.):Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Vol. VII, Oxford, 1906, p.401, 16th September 1722, recorded its arrival: “Near a Fortnight since, a Statue of his Majesty (K.George), cast in Piccadilly, was purchased by the Duke of Chandos, to be set up at his Seat at Edgworth”. For the banqueting house see Introduction note 3, Sale Catalogue [I] ps.37-38.

<sup>28</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83, the Inventory mentions a number of “lights” or ha-has, “two lights and one pr of Gates looking on the Edgworth Bason and Stews 59 foot”; “One Light out of the old ground to the Physick Garden 70 foot”; “Two do from the old ground to the king on horseback 70 foot”; “Two lights from the wood calld the Spinnee views of Harrow 32 & 22”. ST 63, Vol.1, Gardening Accounts, December 1721 shows that the Duke paid £17.16 s for a “Foss in the Grand Avenue being intended Octagon Basin”.

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<sup>29</sup> J. James, op.cit.note 24, p.28.

<sup>30</sup> J. Macky op.cit. note 16, p.10.

<sup>31</sup> S.Switzer: Ichnographia Rustica, (1718) op.cit.note 2, p.311.

<sup>32</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83, Inventory.

<sup>33</sup> See S.O'Connell op.cit.note 27. See Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 83, the Inventory for the statuary on the balustrade of the house.

<sup>34</sup> For discussions of the statues by the sculptor Giovanni di Isidoro Baratta see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.17, f.348 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant dated 9th February 1721: "now I mention Baratta I shall take it for a particular favour if you can secure the two marble statues he made for my ld Duke of Marlborough tis pity they should not be in England & I have my Lady Dutchess's consent to bring them over. I am very willing to pay the remainder of what is owing for them & to be at the expence of such Pedestals as these statues will require & deserve".

ST 57, Vol. 19, f.48 to Mr D'Avenant on 24th April 1721: "enclosed are the two disticks I should choose to have engraven under the two statues"; ST 57, Vol.19, f.227 to Mr D'Avenant on 21st October 1721: "I hope I shall have them soon over by Christmas I expect my Saloon will be finisht where I have design'd two places for them". ST 57, Vol. 21 f. 65 to Duchess of Marlborough 20th September 1722 "they are two Statues representing Fame & Glory but neither of ym I believe hath been cut after any Picture of my Lord Dukes ...they ly at present cas'd up till ye Place I design for ym is prepar'd to receive ym"

British Library Add 61463 to Duchess of Marlborough 19th April 1724 "I hope your Grace will do me ye Justice to believe it is with much concern I find it not in my power to comply with your Commands in relation to ye two marble figures I have at Cannons".

<sup>35</sup> For Francavilla see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12, f.90 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant dated 21st August 1715. The Duke was interested in buying an individual statue by Francavilla for 200 Guineas.

<sup>36</sup> E.Malins: English Landscaping and Literature, London, 1966, p.41 and British Library Add MS 9123 f.158.

<sup>37</sup> See L.Stewart: The Rise of Public Science. Rhetoric, Technology and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain, Cambridge, 1992, ps.138, 157, 214-7, 229, 234-5.

<sup>38</sup> Chandos appointed John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744) as his private chaplain in 1716. In 1719 he was appointed rector of St.Lawrence,

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Whitchurch. For details of his work for Chandos see L.Stewart, *op.cit.*note 37. Desaguliers conducted experiments at Cannons. Chandos's library contained Desaguliers's Physico Mechanical Lectures (1717) and his Hydrostaticks (1718).

<sup>39</sup> J.Macky, *op.cit.*note 16, ps.5-6.

<sup>40</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 63, Garden accounts f.9v 5<sup>th</sup> March – 10<sup>th</sup> March 1722: "A Making drains and water Courses to bring water in ye horse pond and ye Circular basin and ye Great Lake in Partere Garden" and f.132 20-25<sup>th</sup> November 1721: "making new water courses from below Col Dobins's to bring water to ye summer house and so to intended Octogan basin".

<sup>41</sup> J.Macky *op.cit.*note 16, p.8.

<sup>42</sup> See Introduction note 3, Sale Catalogue [I] p.37-38 and Victoria & Albert Museum manuscript 86 NN 2.

<sup>43</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.14, f.316,a letter from Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond, 6th January 1717.

<sup>44</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.19, f.227, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Henry D'Avenant,: "I am grown already so much (& am growing so every day more & more) a Country Gentleman, that so far from having any Interest at court I have hardly any acquaintance there".

<sup>45</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.16, f.66, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Consul Purnell dated 7<sup>th</sup> December 1718.

<sup>46</sup> For the Duke's library see British Library Manuscripts PR2.A.39.

<sup>47</sup> J. James: The Theory and Practice of Gardening, pt I, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1728, ps.16-17.

<sup>48</sup>.S. Switzer: The Nobleman's, Gentleman's and Gardener's Recreation, London, 1715, p.84.

<sup>49</sup> Unpublished paper by D.Jacques: Canons Hall, Edgware, as part of Study Day: 'The Gardens of Canons', Friday 30th May 1997 given by the London Historic Parks and Gardens Trust.

<sup>50</sup> For a summary of James's ideas, M.Hadfield: 'John James and the Formal Garden in England' in Connoisseur, Vol. CXLIII, London, February 1959, ps.20-22.

<sup>51</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol.15, f.25, letter to Richard Bradley from Duke of Chandos, dated 7th September 1717.

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<sup>52</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol. 16, f.407 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Richard Bradley dated 16th December 1719.

<sup>53</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 63 f.2v Garden accounts 8<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> January 1722 describing turfing of East terrace and forming slopes.

<sup>54</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 24 Vol. 1 f.125 8<sup>th</sup> September 1722 and f.14, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1721.

<sup>55</sup> See British Library Add.MS 61463, f.34, letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Duchess of Marlborough dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1721: "I have acquainted Bobart with your Grace's commands and have told him, that unless he speedily complies with them, he must leave my service", and f.36, 14<sup>th</sup> August 1721: "as to his being my servant...no privilege of mine shall ever protect Him or any one else in an affair where my Lord Duke or yr Grace is concerned".

<sup>56</sup> For Knowlton see A.Chater (Ed.):B.Henrey: No ordinary gardener: Thomas Knowlton 1691-1781, London, 1986, ps.43-45. For Blackwell see B.Henrey op.cit.note 1, p.236.

<sup>57</sup> See N. Pevsner op.cit.note 2.

<sup>58</sup> K.Rorschach: The Early Georgian Landscape Garden, Yale Center for British Art, Exhibition Catalogue, 1983, p.6.

<sup>59</sup> W.Lewis (Ed.): Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vol.30, p.61, letter to C.H.Williams, dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1744.

<sup>60</sup> J.Macky. op cit.note 16, p.5.

<sup>61</sup> G.Cole and D. Browning (Eds.), op.cit.note 6, p.7.

<sup>62</sup> For views of Chiswick House, for instance, painted for Lord Burlington see J.Harris: The Palladian Revival, Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick, New Haven and London, 1994, ps.101 and 103, catalogue numbers 27 and 29.

<sup>63</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83: the Inventory of 1725 mentions few landscapes at Cannons, including "A small landskip" by Mrs Verelst in His Grace's Dressing Room (Inventory Number 50); "Summer wth Landskip by Franciscoe Biollourt... Winter ditto" in the Picture Room (Inventory Number 69). The Inventory also shows that the house in St James's Square was hung with a few more landscapes including: "Seven Pieces of Landskip" in Their Graces Chamber and Closet on the second floor (Inventory Number 28); a landscape with figures in His Grace's Cabinet (Inventory Number 42) and a Landscape in the Picture Room (Inventory Number 47).

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<sup>64</sup> For Alexander Pope and his attitude to gardening see N.Pevsner *op.cit.*note 2.

<sup>65</sup> S.Switzer *op.cit.*note 2, Appendix to volume iii, p.162.

## 5. Conclusion

Cannons was the Duke of Chandos's most important statement as a patron of the arts. It was his response to the third Earl of Shaftesbury's call for private men to set an example to the public by constructing buildings "of such a grandeur and magnificence as to become national ornaments".<sup>1</sup> Visitors described how "the inside of the house is as glorious as the outside is fine" and contemporaries immediately concluded that it was the model for Timon's Villa in Pope's poem Of Taste (published in 1731).<sup>2</sup>

The criticisms that Cannons lacked a clear architectural style and displayed an ignorance of the rules of Palladian architecture are understandable. The architectural design of the house began before the first volume of Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus was published in 1715 and before Lord Burlington's revival of Palladian ideas in England took hold.<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Chandos tried to keep pace with the new architectural developments and build a monument to his family that rivalled that of his brother-in-law at Wanstead House, a building which he knew well and which influenced his designs.<sup>4</sup> He modified his vision for Cannons in expensive and startling changes of architectural direction such as pulling down the entire north front of the house, as Palladianism became established. He was clearly an informed and interested patron, part of a circle of discerning and progressive architectural thinkers such as his brother-in-law Richard Child, first Lord Tylney, Robert Benson, first Baron Bingley and George Clarke. Although Cannons cannot be held up as a great example of Palladian architecture, Chandos's architectural vision created



a transitional house, which incorporated changes into the building programme as he became aware of architectural innovations. Grudging acceptance of the Duke's vision was accorded by the architect Sir John Vanbrugh following his visit there in 1720, who commented: "To deal justly with his Magnificence, we found Nothing at all in it Ridiculous or Foppish as many People have Represented."<sup>5</sup>

Criticisms of Cannons' tastelessness and the extravagant use of expensive materials at Cannons are also understandable. Visitors' descriptions and the Inventory of 1725 record the opulence of the interiors and furnishings. Horace Walpole lamented just after the Duke's death in July 1744: "[Cannons] was always the great standard of bad taste: 'tis now the ruins of it".<sup>6</sup> But the Duke furnished his country house in keeping with his status as a great man and his correspondence records his wish to curb extravagance.<sup>7</sup> His contemporaries considered that Cannons conformed to Vitruvian propriety and was decorated in a style that was appropriate to the scale of the building and the status of the owner. In addition, by introducing "le goût italien" associated with the philosophy and interests of John Talman, Cannons anticipated the style of Palladian interiors designed by William Kent for Houghton Hall in Norfolk.<sup>8</sup>

Cannons was thus a bold attempt to produce a building on a grand scale in which Chandos sought to fulfil his obligation as a great man who

when [he] builds... will find little quarter from the publick, if instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises, at a vast expense, such a base and counterfeit Piece of Magnificence, as can be justly arraign'd for its deformity.<sup>9</sup>

Significant elements of its architecture and decoration suggest that it conformed to the "prevailing tendency to recollect Roman antiquity in early Georgian

buildings, their contents and their gardens [which] is both a reflection of the rule of taste and a quest to make tangible that political and class affinity with the Roman oligarchy”, thus testifying to the Duke of Chandos’s Whig political beliefs and support for Robert Walpole’s regime.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A.Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times. Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design, March 1712, London, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 1732, p.402.

<sup>2</sup> G.Cole and D.Browning (Eds.): Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain, Vol.II, London, 1962, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> R.Wittkower: Palladio and English Palladianism, London, 1974, ps.178-181.

<sup>4</sup> See H-W.Kruft (R.Taylor, E.Callander and A.Wood translated): A History of Architectural Theory, from Vitruvius to the present, London, 1994, p.237: “Wanstead House in Essex, which was built to [his] plans, did indeed become one of the prime models for the English Palladian country house. It was commissioned by Sir Richard Child, who was born into a Tory family, but joined the Whigs and signalled his change of allegiance with his commission to Campbell. The latter published all three stages of his design for Wanstead.”

<sup>5</sup> G.Webb and B.Dobrée (Eds): The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, Vol.4, London, 1928, p.126 Number 117, Sir John Vanbrugh to the Duke of Newcastle, 15th September 1720.

<sup>6</sup> W.Lewis (Ed.): Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence, Oxford, 1961, Vol. 30, p.61, letter from Horace Walpole to C.H.Williams 17th July 1744.

<sup>7</sup> See Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts St 57, Vol.12, f.155, letter from the Duke of Chandos to his agent Henry D’Avenant, dated 16th October 1715: “as to ye Mosaick table I have quite laid aside ye thoughts of it I wd no more give 2000£ for one than I wd desire to live 2000 years to enjoy ye sight of it”.

<sup>8</sup> T.Friedman: ‘The English Appreciation of Italian Decorations,’ in the Burlington Magazine, Vol.CXVII, no.873, December 1975, London, ps.841-847, p.841: “This article is concerned with Talman’s use of contemporary Italian art and suggests that he is a figure of considerable consequence in the English development in the decade of 1710 towards an Italian-inspired style of domestic decoration and furnishing which led to the creation of the Palladian style.”

<sup>9</sup> A.Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury op.cit.note 1, p.402.

<sup>10</sup> P.Ayres: Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England, Cambridge, 1997, p.130.

**THE DUKE OF CHANDOS AS AN AUGUSTAN PATRON OR MAECENAS OF  
THE ARTS**

While over Arts unrivalled you preside,  
And to Renown the rising Genius guide;  
While Merit from Obscurity you raise,  
And call forth modest Vertue into Praise.....

.....

Then, Chandos, take the Muses to thy Care;  
Their ruined Temples, O! Do Thou repair,  
Their antient Honours let thy Power restore,  
And bid them mourn their Halifax no more.  
A Race of happy Years does Heaven ordain,  
And give th' Assurance of a peaceful Reign;  
If you vouchsafe to lend the timely Aid,  
Nor Greece nor Rome shall Britain's sons upbraid.....

.....

With antient Worthies, Chandos, shalt thou Live  
In Verse, if I a living Verse can give.....

.....

To us in Arts shall yield, to us in Song,  
And distant Nations prize the British Tongue.

(L.Welsted: An Epistle to his Grace the Duke of Chandos, 1724)<sup>1</sup>

The reputation of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos as a patron of the arts has suffered from the way in which he has been characterised as lacking in taste and out of touch with eighteenth century artistic and architectural developments. The evidence of his patronage, however, contradicts this view and suggests that he was a considerable patron of the arts modelled on the precedent of Augustan Rome; a leader of the classical revival taking place in the liberal arts from about 1700 and politically positioned at the forefront of cultural trends, as he used his patronage in an effort to align himself with the Whig regime of Sir Robert Walpole. The fact

that his earliest and most important patron, the Duke of Marlborough, was portrayed as Caesar Augustus and described as such by Chandos, lends support to his claim to be a Maecenas of the arts.<sup>2</sup>

Early eighteenth-century England has become known as “Augustan England”, a term which “originated around 1700 and claimed kinship with the high civilisation of Augustan Rome”.<sup>3</sup> A number of studies have examined the revival of interest in the reign of Caesar Augustus from around 1700 and drawn the conclusion that “the British century from 1688 must rank as outstanding in the degree to which its cultural and political elite appropriated and assimilated classical and particularly Roman, habits of mind”.<sup>4</sup>

The parallels between Augustan Rome and Hanoverian England were apparent to the educated eighteenth century gentleman. Both eras were believed to have ushered in a golden age of peace, prosperity and artistic patronage, encouraged by enlightened rulers, after a period of protracted warfare associated with political and economic dislocation. Howard Weinbrot has shown that eighteenth century admiration for the age of Augustus fell into three categories; firstly for the restoration of political stability through his sole governance and control of the Senate; secondly, for the encouragement of great art and artists and thirdly for the increased prestige and wealth of Rome.<sup>5</sup>

Gaius Julius Octavianus, known as Caesar Augustus, brought peace to Rome as ruler of the Roman Empire from 27 B.C. to 14 A.D., through his defeat of Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., for which he was rewarded with the title “Augustus” (worthy of honour) in 27 B.C. Although Augustus was careful not to upset the political balance and presented himself as “*primus inter pares*”, rather than king, he saw himself as the second founder of Rome, laying the foundation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Patronage played a vital role in establishing Augustus’s new dynasty, where “the complex interrelationship of the establishment of monarchy, the transformation of society and the creation of a whole new method of visual communication” were intertwined.<sup>6</sup> Augustus created an imperial mythology which he used as the basis for a programme of cultural renewal founded on ‘*publica magnificentia*’ and classicism which led to a change in the whole outward appearance of the city of Rome.<sup>7</sup>

In 14 A.D. Augustus recorded his achievements in the “*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*” (“Things Achieved”), which was a catalogue in testamentary form (surviving on the walls of the Temple of Roma and Augustus), proclaiming the successes of his rule including his building programme of temples, aqueducts, bridges and roads, (particularly the Via Flaminia which

led from Rome to Rimini).

The scale of Augustus's building campaign amounted to the replanning of Rome and overshadowed any previous building initiatives. Although it was presented as the completion of projects inspired by Julius Caesar, the chief result of the building scheme was the glorification of Augustus himself. "After his victory over Antony, Augustus and his advisers were able to concentrate on a systematic programme for the rebuilding and adornment of Rome and on the creation of a convincing propaganda art which would express the new regime".<sup>8</sup> Among the buildings erected during this period were the marble Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill in 28 B.C. (Apollo was Augustus's patron deity); the Ara Pacis altar (13 - 9 B.C.) decorated with scenes from the Aeneid to commemorate Augustus's return from the western provinces and the Forum of Augustus (completed in about 2 B.C.) which was "a great dynastic sculpture gallery of the heroes of Roman history and the ancestors of the Julii".<sup>9</sup> Augustus saw the rebuilding of Rome as one of his greatest achievements, claiming to have found a city made of brick and left it made of marble.

Alongside the Roman expansion in building and town planning went developments in water engineering. Agrippa, one of Augustus's chief ministers, (and his son-in-law), was made "curator aquarum publicarum" in 33 B.C., with responsibility for Rome's water supply, until his death in 12

B.C. He initiated an important programme of repairing and building new aqueducts, providing Rome with seven hundred new basins, five hundred fountains and one hundred and thirty distribution points, thereby ensuring the city a constant water supply and an efficient waste disposal system. The architect Vitruvius contributed to the programme by proposing the use of a newly-designed lead pipe (a quinarius) which assisted repairs to the existing system.<sup>10</sup>

The Augustan building programme made a considerable impact on eighteenth century England and translations of the De architectura libri decem, (Ten Books on Architecture, published in 24 B.C. by Augustus's architect, Marcus Pollio Vitruvius and dedicated to the Emperor), provided the foundation for the eighteenth century revival of classical architecture through the mediation of Palladio.

Augustus was supported by two important statesmen-patrons, Maecenas and Agrippa. Caius Cilnius Maecenas was Augustus's political mentor and adviser, who managed affairs in Rome, whilst Agrippa fought in the field. Maecenas was one of the most significant patrons of the Augustan era, and he is particularly renowned for his patronage of the poets Horace and Virgil. He encouraged Virgil to write the epic poem the Aeneid, which was published posthumously in 19 B.C. at the Emperor's insistence. The poem is an allegory of Augustan rule, describing the foundation of Rome,

which enjoyed a revival in the eighteenth century, partly resulting from John Dryden's translation published in 1696.

Historians who praise or condemn Maecenas choose the same themes for which the Duke of Chandos was acclaimed and criticised. Maecenas was notorious for his luxury and:

was enormously rich... a man of taste in literature and the arts and a discriminating connoisseur... It was of inestimable advantage to Augustus that there should be in the capital a brilliant man like Maecenas who kept open house on a scale of great magnificence... His splendid house on the Esquiline Hill formed precisely such a centre, partly social, partly literary and artistic and partly political.<sup>11</sup>

Descriptions of the house indicate that it was elaborately decorated, the: "roof shone with gold; the walls were of the finest marble; the floor answered to the grandeur of the ceiling and furniture was equally superb with the whole".<sup>12</sup> The building attracted criticism from the stoic philosopher Seneca, "who most censured him...with having been too expensive in his buildings and furniture, too profuse in his table, too extravagant in his dress".<sup>13</sup>

The reign of Augustus was thus seen as a golden age that was worthy of emulation. It was an era of peace and architectural, artistic and literary achievement which provided important foundations for succeeding centuries. Augustan Rome had a significant influence on eighteenth century England: "it is hardly too much to say that the Augustan model became the



main cultural pattern for the English educated classes throughout the period between the Civil War and the French Revolution; it was a pattern not only for literature and the arts, but for a very wide range of psychological, moral, social and national attitudes".<sup>14</sup>

Augustan England, like Augustan Rome, benefitted from a unique confluence of political factors favourable to artistic patronage. Just as Augustus had united Rome under his sole leadership with the "Pax Romana", so England became a newly unified and peaceable nation with the "Pax Britannica", after the Act of Union of 1707 and the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 marking the end of the War of Spanish Succession. In 1714, Great Britain saw the accession of a new monarch and ruling dynasty (George I was the first of the Hanoverian line) and the new Whig governing party came to power in 1715, whose political rhetoric was derived from Augustan precedents.

England embraced Augustan tradition in a number of ways. In the field of literature, classical authors had long been standard schoolroom texts, but they became significantly more popular in the period from 1680-1780, with the production of over twenty versions of Horace and the adoption of Augustan poetic forms by poets such as Alexander Pope in his Imitations of Horace, published in 1733.<sup>15</sup> Augustus's architect, Vitruvius, supplied the theoretical basis for eighteenth century architecture in Colen Campbell's

three volume work, Vitruvius Britannicus, (published in 1715, 1717 and 1725), a work which was “generally regarded as a Whig manifesto”.<sup>16</sup> Other publications of the same period indicate contemporary interest in the classical world, such as David Humphreys’ translation of Bernard de Monfaucon’s Antiquity Explained, (the first volume of which appeared in 1721) and other works of antiquity and Romano-British archaeology published by the newly founded Society of Antiquaries (founded in 1717).<sup>17</sup>

The Whig philosopher, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury provided an aesthetic manifesto for the new movement in his Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times: In Three Volumes, including A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design (written in 1711, first published in 1732) in which he reinforced the connection between classical learning, nationalism, Whig politics, art and contemporary taste and virtue. He expressed his views in a separate unpublished letter of about the same period to his friend Sir John Cropley:

My own designs you know run all on moral emblems and what relates to ancient Roman and Greek history, Philosophy, and Virtue. Of this the modern painters have but little taste. If anything be stirred, or any studies turned this way, it must be I that must set the wheel agoing and help to raise the spirit... My charges turn wholly, as you see, towards the raising of art and the improvement of virtue in the living and in posterity to come.<sup>18</sup>

Shaftesbury equated a free, Whig Britain with a society in which the arts would flourish, adding: “When the free spirit of a Nation turns it-self this way, Judgments are form’d; Criticks arise; the public Eye and Ear Improve,

a right Taste prevails and in a manner forces its way".<sup>19</sup> He advocated a national public building programme and encouraged architectural patronage: "Twould be of no small advantage to 'em during their Life; and would more than all their other Labours procure 'em an immortal Memory".<sup>20</sup>

Shaftesbury's views influenced the writer and artist Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745) who wrote in 1715:

No nation under Heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans than we. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of taste, a love of liberty...which we inherit from our ancestors...Greece and Rome had not Painting and Sculpture in their perfection till after they had exerted their national vigour in lesser instances.<sup>21</sup>

He implies that the climate in England was now propitious for the encouragement of a British national art to rival that of the Greeks and Romans.

According to William Stukeley, himself a founder member of the Society of Antiquaries, the circle of enlightened Augustan patrons included: "Thomas Ld Pembroke, Heneage Earl of Winchelsea, Sr Isaac Newton, Dr Hallye, Mead, Sr Hans Sloan, Ld Oxford,...John Bridges, D.of Argyle...Dr Arbuthnot...Sr Godfrey Kneller & in short with the whole sett of learned men & vertuoso's".<sup>22</sup>

James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos, was part of the intellectual and

political circle receptive to Shaftesbury's views and his patronage was informed by his identification with Whig ideology and his acceptance of Augustan values. He was a political animal and used his patronage and collecting both to demonstrate his loyalty to the regime and in the hopes that it would benefit his family. He made clear, after leaving his post as Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad in 1713 that he was seeking a new office, writing in September 1714: "I have had ye good fortune to decline ye offers which have been made me in such a manner as has preserv'd me ye king's good opinion who I believe is satisfy'd he may depend upon me (tho' out of an Employment) perfectly attached to his service as long as it is consistent with that of my Country".<sup>23</sup> By 1723, still out of office although he had received a dukedom, Chandos was trying to befriend Robert Walpole by offering him works of art, one of which Walpole accepted.<sup>24</sup>

The clearest indication that Chandos sought to identify with Augustan values was his attempt to present himself as an Augustan patron by strategic commissions to create a specific self-image. He staked his claim as a leader of the classical movement in two important works commissioned before 1720, in which he is depicted as a Roman statesman. The first of these commissions was his funerary monument for the church of St Lawrence, Whitchurch in Stanmore by Grinling Gibbons and the second, the double portrait with his second wife Cassandra, painted by Herman van der Myn and completed in about 1719.

Chandos timed the commission of his funerary monument for St Lawrence, Whitchurch to coincide with the rebuilding of the church by John James and James Gibbs, which took place from 1714.<sup>25</sup> He had only inherited Cannons in 1713 from his first wife's uncle, Warwick Lake, but by paying for the remodelling of the local church and erecting his family pew and monument there, he effectively made the church part of his family estate. The monument was moved into its existing location in 1735 when James Gibbs and Gaetano Brunetti were commissioned to design and decorate a new "muniment room".<sup>26</sup> (Figure 39)

The commission to carve the statues was given to Grinling Gibbons, "Master Sculptor and Carver in Wood to the Crown", who charged £350 and produced a statue that, according to Chandos, was unsatisfactory and too expensive.<sup>27</sup> A letter from him to Gibbons dated 10th January 1718 complained:

I think ye demand you make for ye monument and statues to be excessive high, however since you say you have never yet in any dealings you have had had any abatement made you in your prices I have directed Mr Zollicoffre to pay you ye £350 remainder of your bill. You'll forgive me if I can't but add that I believe there never was so much reason from ye workmanship to allow of an abatement as in this case from ye judgment of every one who has seen ye figures.<sup>28</sup>

The monument is a restrained and classicising work in grey and white veined marble with the three figures of Chandos and his two wives flanked by columns topped with funerary urns and surmounted by a tympanum.

Chandos is represented as an Augustan statesman, wearing Roman military dress and his wives are dressed as Roman matrons or vestal virgins.<sup>29</sup> His left hand rests on his sword, a noble gesture suggesting his preparedness to defend the state (and perhaps alluding to the military origins of his wealth). He wears a periwig, rather than the short classical haircut soon to become popular in portrait busts,<sup>30</sup> which was an indication of his social standing, as such headwear was “too expensive for the ordinary man”.<sup>31</sup> (Figure 40)

This work represents a new departure for eighteenth-century English sculpture, based on the precedent of Ancient Rome. Up to this date very few statues had shown the sitter in military costume, with the notable exception of Grinling Gibbons’s statue of James II (dated 1686), now in Trafalgar Square. (Figure 41) The essayist and statesman, Joseph Addison explained the growing fashion for Roman dress:

Great Masters in Painting never care for drawing People in the fashion: as very well knowing that the Head-dress or Periwig that now prevails and gives a Grace to their Portraits at present, will make a very odd Figure and perhaps look monstrous in the Eyes of Posterity. For this reason they very often represent an illustrious person in a Roman Habit or in some other dress that never varies.<sup>32</sup>

And, as Margaret Whinney has commented, “after about 1720 almost the only monuments showing men in their own dress are those of lawyers and divines...All members of the aristocracy and many professional men now appear on their tombs in Roman dress, and often, whether it is appropriate or not, in Roman armour”.<sup>33</sup> Richard Brilliant has indicated that the “cuirass

statue was a Greek invention, quickly adopted by Roman generals to honour themselves after successful campaigns against the Greeks... the tradition of the cuirass statue as a triumphant image persisted throughout the Roman Empire".<sup>34</sup> The most celebrated cuirass statue was that of Augustus from his wife's villa at Prima Porta in Rome, now in the Vatican Museum, showing the Emperor addressing the army with his right hand raised, and a complex iconography of scenes on his breastplate referring to the establishment of peace and his role as restorer of world order.<sup>35</sup> (Figure 42)

Other Augustan features of the Chandos funerary monument include the tall urns surmounting the columns. Ancient Romans were cremated and thus cinerary urns played a significant role in classical funerary art. The two statues of Chandos's wives Mary and Cassandra are clad as Roman matrons or vestal virgins guarding the sacred domestic flame, with their heads covered, dressed in similar costume to the statue of the vestal virgin from the House of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum Romanum, mid-second century A.D.<sup>36</sup> (Figures 43 and 44)

Chandos's monument makes an interesting comparison with a work of circa 1699, commissioned by Sir Josiah Child from John Nost (Child was Chandos's father-in-law through his second wife). The monument is still in situ in the church of St Mary, Wanstead, where Chandos would almost certainly have seen it. (Figure 45) Superficially, the two sculptures have

certain similarities. They share the same basic design of three figures set in a tripartite structure defined by columns, topped with funerary urns, the central standing male figure in classical dress framed by swagged cloth suspended from a tympanum, flanked by two grieving female figures.

The structural similarities of the two funerary monuments, however, belie the stylistic divergences. Child's monument is a Baroque statement with a split pediment, trumpeters and exaggeratedly swagged fabric, which provides a striking contrast to the restrained simplicity of the monument in St Lawrence, Whitchurch. Gibbons's work represents a later stage in the development of eighteenth century tomb design, where, according to Margaret Whinney:

The combination of antique and Baroque can most clearly be seen. Elaborate architectural settings still appear, though they become less frequent as the century progresses, but the architecture itself in conformity with the new Palladian fashion, is far more restrained. Twisted columns disappear, pediments are straight rather than curved and... swags and trails of naturalistic flowers... too eventually vanish.<sup>37</sup>

In their study entitled Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument, Sculpture as Theatre, David Bindman and Malcolm Baker examine the social and political context of such commissions, pointing out that a: "large figural monument in a country church might proclaim the power of a landowning family or dynasty, its wealth, its immemorial title to property or its dominant position in the community".<sup>38</sup> They speculate on the likely appearance of Timon's funerary monument: "One would imagine



Timon's monument, if it had existed, to have been as massive as the Duke of Newcastle's [in Westminster Abbey] with a similarly conspicuous show of variegated marbles and an absurdly laudatory epitaph extolling him as a great military hero and man of exemplary virtue and benevolence".<sup>39</sup> They also investigate the underlying political motivation behind the commissioning of such a monument, concluding that, although its "function... was in a sense self-evident: it was there to commemorate the dead with appropriate dignity...the monument lives on for future generations for whom it might have one or more of several roles: recording an obligation, building or restoring family prestige, promoting a political cause...".<sup>40</sup> They suggest that "all monuments in the period made the claim, in one way or another, that the deceased was of exceptional or exemplary virtue... very few were set up without an ulterior motive".

The second important commission of the period before 1720, with which Chandos sought to establish himself as an Augustan figure, was the unusual double portrait of the Duke and his second wife, Cassandra, by the Dutch artist, Herman van der Myn, of which only half survives.<sup>41</sup> (Figure 46) The work was completed in around 1719 and may have been painted to celebrate his elevation to the Dukedom.<sup>42</sup> The surviving section shows Chandos seated on a carved wooden throne wearing Roman civic dress with a bowl of fruit at his feet and the ducal coronet on a table at his right elbow. As John Kerslake has discovered, the painting was originally a double

portrait that hung over the mantelpiece in the Best Dressing Room at Cannons (Inventory Number 42).<sup>43</sup> It was described by Horace Walpole following a visit there in 1744:

His late lady was a great painter: there is an admirable picture of her, drawing the Duke's portrait, by one Vandermine. He is in a Roman habit with buskins and cerulean stockings.<sup>44</sup>

The portrait of the Duchess has not survived, but we can assume that her costume corresponded to that of the Duke and that she was probably dressed as a Roman matron. The composition is unusual in that it portrays her in the act of painting, an activity which occupied a substantial amount of her time, judging by the number of copies of paintings by her hand in the Inventory at Cannons of 1725. The choice of activity for the Duchess may also have been influenced by the rise in status of painting as a social activity, encouraged by the eighteenth century admiration for Roman practice where: "the art of portraiture was highly developed [and] family portraits retained a role of social importance" and "easel-painting [was] considered a respectable, if eccentric hobby for the upper classes".<sup>45</sup>

The composition of the double portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Chandos was unique in Van der Myn's oeuvre, although he was an unusual artist with a mixed reputation.<sup>46</sup> The antiquarian, George Vertue, dismissed him as a painter who:

got the reputation of being a very Laborious neat Painter, even to the smallest trifles in pictures, habits as in the embroiderys brocades frings silks stuffs laces...& other small minute things that over powerd in his

portraits... by this means he thought to delude our Nobility & Gentry whose pictures he painted.<sup>47</sup>

As Mary Beal has shown in her examination of Van der Myn's portrait of Carew Hervey Mildmay, his paintings were frequently iconographically sophisticated and layered with different levels of meaning.<sup>48</sup>

Kerslake believes that the double portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Chandos was based on medieval portraits of kingship such as "Richard II in his coronation chair" at Westminster Abbey, making it, "for its date, somewhat old-fashioned".<sup>49</sup> This is a misreading of the iconography, which comes from the antique, deriving its imagery not from medieval sources, but from Augustan Rome. The painting bears more relation iconographically to the "stoic portrait type" exemplified by John Closterman's Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Hon. Maurice Ashley-Cooper clad in classical togas, dated around 1700-1702 (now in the National Portrait Gallery, London), than to the image of medieval kingship exemplified by Richard II on the coronation chair.<sup>50</sup>

Herman van der Myn was not the only portraitist commissioned by the Duke to paint his portrait, but the other surviving portraits present him as a more conventional figure. Chandos's correspondence shows that he patronised a number of artists, including Sir Godfrey Kneller, Jonathan Richardson the Younger and Michael Dahl.<sup>51</sup> The Kneller family portrait of

1713 (now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa), established the facial and figural type for the impressive portrait by Dahl of Chandos in ducal robes (this was the prototype for the engraved portrait by J.Simon published in 1722).<sup>52</sup> (Figures 48, 49 and 50) These portraits are all conventional portrait types which show traditional attributes of status such as the curtain or columnar backdrop and robes of state.

The two main commissions examined above are significant exemplars of the Duke of Chandos's patronage. The Roman-style statue commissioned from Grinling Gibbons for St Lawrence, Whitchurch and the unusual double-portrait by Herman van der Myn represent the Duke's political manifesto, his bid to advertise his allegiance to the new Whig government; his campaign for office and a statement of his self-image as an Augustan statesman. Whilst Chandos's commissions make a clear statement of his political affiliations, they also exercise a restraint notably absent from Sir Robert Walpole's programme of statuary self-aggrandisement at Houghton Hall, where he imaged

himself as a Roman in his busts and in the iconography of the interior of his own house. Outside at the apex of the central pediment there is a statue of Walpole in the guise of Cicero.<sup>53</sup>

and where a marble bust of Walpole by the Flemish sculptor Michael Rysbrack positioned over the fireplace in the Stone Hall led: "Walpole [to] preside over a company of Roman emperors in the form of portrait busts on pedestals, none as highly placed as himself".<sup>54</sup>

For the Duke of Chandos to succeed as an Augustan statesman and Maecenas of the arts, he needed to distinguish himself as a literary patron and rise to the challenges imposed on him by patronage:

Why do no Virgil's now adorn the Age,  
But that no Patrons in their cause engage?  
Be thou Maecenas, and thou'lt soon inspire  
The British Bards with more than Mantuan Fire.<sup>55</sup>

Augustan Rome was renowned for its literary patronage. Maecenas was the most important patron of the age, ruler of Rome in Augustus's absence, patron of Virgil (and dedicatee of the Georgics) and of Horace (who dedicated Satires 1, Epodes, Odes 1-3 and Epistles 1 to him).<sup>56</sup> Literary patronage played an important role in Augustan England and was frequently linked to political patronage.<sup>57</sup>

There were two main forms of literary patronage in the period, the first required the patron to accept a dedication in exchange for a small financial reward and the second involved his supporting a writer by subscribing to one or more copies of a publication.<sup>58</sup> Chandos accepted a number of dedications and was also one of the most enthusiastic subscribers of his age, with a total of about one hundred subscriptions to his name, although from about 1732 he turned down most applications made to him.<sup>59</sup> Both Chandos and Lord Burlington paid for fifty copies each of John Gay's Poems on

Several Occasions, published in 1720, which led Gay to immortalise

Chandos in the poem: Epistle to Paul Methuen Esq:

If Chandos with a lib'ral hand bestow  
Censure imputes it all to pomp and show:  
When if the motive right were understood  
His daily pleasure is in doing good.<sup>60</sup>

The Duke also ordered twelve copies of Pope's translation of Homer's Iliad, one volume of which he presented to George I's mistress, Baroness Kielmansegge, in 1718.<sup>61</sup> Pope was notoriously reluctant to be tied to one patron, but he acknowledged his debt to Chandos in the preface: "I could say a great deal of the Pleasure of being distinguish'd by the Earl of Carnarvon, but it is almost absurd to particularize any one generous Action in a Person whose whole life is a continued series of them".<sup>62</sup>

Chandos also patronised Pope's literary enemy, the 'Grub Street' poet Leonard Welsted, writing to his agent Anthony Hammond in 1718 to ask about the poet's reputation:

I would desire the favour of you if it falls at any time in your way to see Sir Richard Steel that you woud endeavour to find out from him what character Mr Leonard Welsted is of and what opinion he hath of him. I have a particular reason for desiring to be informed of this matter but woud by no means have it asked so as for him to imagine your enquiry proceeds from my request.<sup>63</sup>

Steel apparently responded that Welsted was "a promising genius" and Chandos decided to extend his patronage to him in an association that lasted for over ten years.<sup>64</sup>

Among his other activities, Welsted was an aspiring classicist, whose volume Epistles and Odes &c on Several Subjects of 1724 “comprises something very like an explicit Augustan manifesto. The dedicatory dissertation ‘On the Perfection of the English Language’ the ‘Epistle to the Duke of Chandos’ and the translations from the end of Ovid’s Metamorphoses Book XV, including passages on the deification of Julius Caesar and on the reign of Augustus, all reinforce one another in the delineation of an Augustan literary ideal”.<sup>65</sup> Chandos fulfilled Welsted’s vision of the enlightened Augustan patron and he celebrated him in his An Epistle to his Grace the Duke of Chandos of 1724, as an unrivalled patron of the arts in England, who, through his discerning patronage and support, would ensure that Britain attained the former artistic glories of Greece and Rome:

With antient Worthies, Chandos, shalt thou Live  
In Verse, if I a living Verse can give...<sup>66</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was also an enthusiastic collector of books and manuscripts, which he acquired through agents like the dealer Reinier Leers of Rotterdam, and housed in his magnificent library at Cannons. He was proud of his library which he described as his “museum at Cannons 60 foot long & 24 wide”, which was admired by his grandson who visited in about 1744 as “as prodigious large and high room as ever I saw & a vast many books in it all in a parcell of fine Book cases”.<sup>67</sup>

The foundation of Chandos's collection was his acquisition of the library of Edward Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon in June 1709.<sup>68</sup> He acquired books and manuscripts throughout his life and by the time the collection was sold off after his death, many additional volumes had been purchased that reflected his interest in antiquity.<sup>69</sup> His correspondence contains many orders for classical texts, including: "Codere Legum antiquarum", the *Antiquites de Paris*, "Byzantine History and ye set of ye Classicks [including] Plutarck", "Sully of ye Junti", "the Roman Authors in asum Delpheni with Burmannus's Arbiter" and a translation of "Tully de Senectute".<sup>70</sup> He expressed his enthusiasm for Tully in a paternal instruction to his son:

I hope you are master enough of Latin to be able to tast it in its original language. In this its beauties appear with much greater force than ye best translation I have ever seen comes up to... Above all let me recommend to your remembrance that admirable saying of his: "Conscientia bene acta vitae multorum benefactorum recordatio jucundissima esta.... But what that excellent Philosopher means by that sentence I take to be that of all the pleasures incident to old age none affords so true and delightful a satisfaction as ye remembrance of ye good things one has done in ye course of a well spent life."<sup>71</sup>

A Maecenas of the arts was expected to patronise all the liberal arts, not only literature. Paul Zanker has shown how Caesar Augustus used the liberal arts to influence the political and societal transformations experienced by Rome and the Roman people, by creating "through visual imagery a new mythology of Rome, and, for the emperor, a new ritual of power".<sup>72</sup> Augustan England recognised the importance of patronage in the



political process and sought to emulate Augustan Rome by encouraging the liberal arts. The Augustan philosopher, the third Earl of Shaftesbury believed that the rise in public interest in the arts would lead to the development of a “national taste” which would “render united Britain the principal seat of arts” and increase national prestige.<sup>73</sup> But he also believed that Britain had “her models yet to seek” before she could truly develop a national taste.<sup>74</sup> For Shaftesbury, Britain should seek her “models” in Italy, particularly in music:

I can myself remember the time, when, in respect of music, our reigning taste was in many degrees inferior to the French. The long reign of luxury and pleasure under King Charles the Second, and the foreign helps and studied advantages given to music in a following reign could not raise our genius the least in this respect. But when the spirit of the nation was grown more free... we no sooner began to turn ourselves towards music, and enquire what Italy in particular produced than in an instant we outstripped our neighbours the French, entered into a genius far beyond theirs and raised ourselves an ear, and judgement, not inferior to the best now in the world.<sup>75</sup>

The example of Augustan Rome was often cited in the debate over musical patronage in early eighteenth century England. Nationalist critics believed that the taste for Italian opera (first performed in England in 1705) was damaging to Britain.<sup>76</sup> They claimed that indulgence in such “luxury” had led to the downfall of Republican Rome. In his An Essay on the Opera’s after the Italian Manner, (London, 1706), John Dennis argued:

...we could easily make it appear that Plato and Cicero are of the same Opinion: but what need can there be of Authorities, when we can shew by Experience what influence the soft and effeminate Measures of the Italian Opera have upon the Minds and Manners of Men?... ‘Tis

impossible to give any reason of so great a Difference between the antient Roman and the modern Italians, but only Luxury; and the reigning Luxury of modern Italy is that soft and effeminate Musick which abounds in the Italian Opera [and]...while the English Arms are everywhere Victorious abroad, the English Arts may not be vanquish'd and oppress'd at home by the Invasion of Foreign Luxury.<sup>77</sup>

The third Earl of Shaftesbury disagreed with this view. He attributed the decline of ancient Rome to the luxury of the theatre, and, quoting Horace's Epistles, argued that opera set a good example to the public as it frequently dealt with the downfall and tragedy of great men:

...The Theater [is] vulgar, miserable, barbarose; and is directly that which corrupted the Roman Stage...Read but the passage of Horace to Augustus in his exquisite Satyr, for it was more than a Critique upon the Roman Stage...the Romans had a Genius for Tragedy cou'd they have cultivated it and kept their Ear. But they ran all into Eye...'Twas no wonder indeed that the Roman People shou'd soon come to the Taste of Tragedy: for they were free and popular and had the true foundation of a Taste in this kind... For Tragedy opens the inward Scene of the Palace and shews us the Misfortunes and Miserys of the Great...our best Tragedy at last melt into Opera, which Union will be a kind of reviving the antient Tragedy in all its noble Orders of Musick and contrived harmony.<sup>78</sup>

The Duke of Chandos supported the Earl of Shaftesbury's views on opera and was proclaimed by contemporaries to be "the great Maecenas" of the age due to his musical patronage.<sup>79</sup> His involvement in music proved to be his most enduring legacy because of the celebrated "Chandos Anthems", which were composed by George Frederick Handel during his stay at Cannons from 1717-1719.<sup>80</sup> Handel's first biographer commented on the importance of patronising the great composer:

Whether Handel was provided as a mere implement of grandeur, or chosen from motives of a superior kind, it is not for us to determine... the having of such a Composer, was an instance of real magnificence such as no private person, or subject; nay, such as no prince or potentate on the earth could at that time pretend to.<sup>81</sup>

As well as the eleven surviving anthems, Handel composed at least two other works for Chandos, including the opera Acis and Galatea (spring 1718) and his first English oratorio, originally called Hamon and Mordecai, but first publicly performed in 1732 as Esther.<sup>82</sup> Some of Handel's pieces were composed for the Duke's private orchestra at Cannons, managed by the master of music, Dr Johann Pepusch, which comprised up to twenty-four performers in February 1719.<sup>83</sup> Handel, Pepusch and Nicola Haym all wrote anthems and cantatas performed by the concert for visitors to Cannons.<sup>84</sup>

Visitors described how impressive the music was at Cannons. In May 1718 one of them wrote:

Since my last I have been at Canons with E.of Carnarvan who lives en Prince & to boot is a worthy beneficent man. I heard [a] sermon at his paroch church which for painting and ornament exceeds every thing in this Country he has a Choorus of his own, the Musick is made for himself and sung by his own servants, besides which there is a little opera now a making for his diversion whereof the musick will not be made publick. The words are to be furnished by Mrs Pope & Gay, the musick to be composed by Hendell, It is as good as finished.<sup>85</sup>

According to another source:

His musick also play when he is at table and I must say that few German sovereign princes live with that magnificence, grandeur and good order... the dining room [is] very spacious... & at the end of it a room for his musick, which performs both vocal and instrumental, during the time he is at table.<sup>86</sup>

Cannons provided a particularly appropriate backdrop for a celebration of the muse of music. The ceilings of the Saloon and Library, (Inventory Numbers 39 and 49), which were the principal rooms on the first floor, were decorated with scenes from the life of Apollo, leader of the gods and god of music (whose worship was encouraged by Caesar Augustus), commemorating the Duke of Chandos, the Apollo of the arts of his generation.<sup>87</sup>

The Duke was also involved in bringing opera to a wider audience. He was one of three subscribers to give £1000 towards the foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1719, which aimed to establish a regular season of Italian opera and to which Handel was appointed as Master of Music.<sup>88</sup> When the Academy closed after nine seasons in 1728, Chandos became involved with its successor, the Opera of the Nobility founded in 1734 by Lord Delawarr.<sup>89</sup> The Duke was thus a significant patron of the opera, although he may not have had in mind the model advocated by Daniel Defoe in Augusta Triumphans:

We have observed that the Greeks and Romans with all their Wisdom were wont to interest their great Officers of State in the Conduct and Management of publick Plays and Representations...it was their Custom to bring Home with them whatever was late or curious in foreign Countries, and to enrich these publick Shews with all the Wonders of Art and Nature.

Such Shews and Representations would be the Credit and Ornament of a Nation, and must deserve our highest Praise, were they carried on with the same Spirit and Design, as were those by the Patrons of Rome and Greece. Would our Gentlemen, like those, after they had used their Endeavours for the publick Safety, study to make those Pleasures and Entertainments as elegant as possible, and exhibit them to the People

Gratis? For this was the Practice of the generous antients; nay, many private Patricians have not only obliged the Age in which they liv'd, but gratified Posterity, by erecting at their own Charge, Theatres and Amphitheatres, built of the most polish'd and strongest Marble...<sup>90</sup>

The Duke of Chandos modelled his patronage on the interests of a Roman patron. He saw himself as a leader of the classical revival taking place in England and self-consciously fashioned himself into an Augustan Maecenas, to the Duke of Marlborough's Augustus. His behaviour was symptomatic of the way in which English patrons of the new Augustan age were resurrecting the traditions and obligations of patronage of the ancient world. His self-image as a Roman statesman, exhibited in his funerary monument by Grinling Gibbons in St Lawrence, Whitechurch and the double portrait by Herman van der Myn are the context in which his artistic and architectural patronage can be interpreted. Chandos was a new Maecenas of the arts leading the classical revival taking place in Augustan England and thereby expressing his affiliation with the Whig party. His Virgil was the second-rate poet Leonard Welsted who commemorated him as an enlightened patron of the arts ushering in a new Augustan age:

While over Arts unrivalled you preside,  
And to Renown the rising Genius guide;

.....

If you vouchsafe to lend the timely Aid,  
Nor Greece nor Rome shall Britain's Sons upbraid

.....

To us in arts shall yield, to us in song,  
And distant Nations prize the British Tongue.

.....

Thy smiles already in the Dawn I see,  
And England many Pollios boast in Thee;<sup>91</sup>  
To every Art thy generous Cares extend,  
But, chiefly, shalt thou be the Poet's Friend.  
Th'approaching times my raptured Thought engage;  
I see arise a New Augustean Age.

(L.Welsted: An Epistle to his Grace the Duke of Chandos, 1724)<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L.Welsted: Epistles, Odes &c written on several subjects, London, 1724.

<sup>2</sup> See P.Ayres: Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England, Cambridge, 1997, ps.66-68. Also, Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 57, Vol.3, f.62, letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Duke of Marlborough dated 16<sup>th</sup> September 1709 (after the battle of Mons): "to attack and defeat an army strongly posted and Intrench'd & superior in number to his own, was a Felicity, which, as I remember happend to Caesar but once in ye course of so many wars and his writings show how much he valued himself upon that achievement".

<sup>3</sup> B.Ford (Ed.): The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, Vol 5, Cambridge, 1991: A.Humphreys: 'The Augustan Age', p. 3. Augustus was not always viewed as a hero. For an analysis of eighteenth century attitudes see: H. Weinbrot: Augustus Caesar in 'Augustan' England, Princeton, 1978; H.Erskine-Hill: The Augustan Idea in English Literature, London, 1983; J.W.Johnson: 'The Meaning of "Augustan"' in Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol.19, 1958, Oxford, ps. 507-22; F.Turner: 'British Politics and the Demise of the Roman Republic 1700-1939' in The Historical Journal, Vol.29, September 1986, Cambridge, ps.577-99; J.Sambrook: The Eighteenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1700-1789, London, 1993 and I.Ehrenpreis: Literary Meaning and Augustan Values, Charlottesville, 1974.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Ayres: op.cit.note 2, p.165.

<sup>5</sup> H.Weinbrot op.cit.note 3, ps.234-41.

<sup>6</sup> P. Zanker: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, Ann Arbor, 1988, p.4.

<sup>7</sup> P.Zanker op.cit.note 6, p.101, p.336.

<sup>8</sup> D.Strong: Roman Art, London, 1976, p.42.

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<sup>9</sup> M.Henig (Ed.): A Handbook of Roman Art, Ithaca, 1983, p.32.

<sup>10</sup> A.McKay: Inside the Ancient World. Vitruvius, Architect and Engineer, Basingstoke and London, 1978.

<sup>11</sup> C.Firth: Augustus Caesar, London 1923 p.238.

<sup>12</sup> From The Life of Maecenas written in French by M.Richer, (R.Schomberg translated) M.D., 1748, p.71.

<sup>13</sup> The Life of Maecenas, op. cit. note 12, p.85. According to P.Ayres op.cit.note 2, p.55: "Stoicism is an important contributing element behind the Roman spirit of eighteenth-century England".

<sup>14</sup> I.Watt: The Augustan Age: Approaches to its Literature, Life and Thought, Greenwich, Connecticut, p.18.

<sup>15</sup> For a full list of works written by Alexander Pope see Sir L. Stephens and Sir S.Lee (Ed.): The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.XVI, Oxford, reprinted 1973, ps.124-126.

<sup>16</sup> See P.Ayres op.cit.note 2, p.116.Chandos subscribed to two copies of the second volume of Vitruvius Britannicus published in 1717 and two copies of the third volume published in 1725.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of the significance of the discoveries made in Romano-British archaeology see P.Ayres op.cit.note 2, Chapter 3.

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated 16th February 1712 from third Earl of Shaftesbury to Sir John Cropley quoted B.Rand (Ed.): The Life, Unpublished Letters and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, London and New York, 1900, ps.468-9.

<sup>19</sup> B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury Second Characters or the Language of Forms, Cambridge, 1914: 'A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design', p.23.

<sup>20</sup> See P.Ayres op.cit.note 2, p.159, who says that the popularity of Shaftesbury's Characteristicks was such that it ran into 11 editions in English by 1790.

<sup>21</sup> J.Richardson: An Essay on the Theory of Painting, London, 1715, quoted in M.Whinney: Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830 revised by J. Physick, second edition, London, 1988, p.144.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in P.Ayres op.cit.note 2, p.89.

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<sup>23</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 11, f.10 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Philpott 29 September 1714.

<sup>24</sup> A. Moore: Houghton Hall, The Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage, London, 1996, p.53. Walpole accepted Bathsheba bringing Abishag to David by Adriaen van der Werff, now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (SHM 1064). Chandos also tried to interest Walpole in four Cartoons by Raphael of the Creation, which he declined. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 24, f.8 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Gibson, 30th March 1724: "I hear Mr Walpole is making a noble collection of Pictures & as I have never a Room large enough to hold 'em if he hath a mind to 'em they shall go at the Price they cost me which was I remember about 1200 pounds tho the virtuosi judge em worth abundance more".

<sup>25</sup> See S. Jeffery: 'English Baroque Architecture. The Work of John James', unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1986, ps.284-6. Jeffery says that John James was responsible for the preliminary design in 1713, but that another architect, possibly James Gibbs made the later additions to the north side of the church. The monument was moved to its present location after the death of Duchess Cassandra in 1735 when Gibbs was commissioned to design another room:

<sup>26</sup> See London Metropolitan Archive: ACC 28/81 a&b: Letter from the Duke of Chandos to his steward James Farquharson dated 1st December 1735: "As to Mr Brunetti I am glad to hear he will have finisht his designs for the new Monument room..."

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 19: Letter from the Duke of Chandos to James Farquharson dated 6th November 1735: "I like very well what you say Mr Brunetti proposes with regard to ye finishing the Monument room... to have ceiling ornamented with fretwork after the manner of the rooms at Cannons... I don't intend to have any of the Marble Escochions removed out of the little room (where they now are) into the new one, excepting the Monument for my self & Wives and I should be glad Mr Brunetti would give me his thoughts whereabouts & in what manner he would advise the three figures and the marble shrine (where the coffins are to be) to be placed; if it was not that the three figures are made to stand over the frontispiece of the Tomb where the three Escochions are (one of wch vizt that for my first wife, has an inscription already on it and there is another preparing to be engraved on that of the late Duchess) I should think the best way would be to place it in the middle of ye room, but as these figures are made to stand upon the top of one of the ends of the Shrine it will not I doubt if it should be placed in the middle of the room have so good an effect I don't know whether it will not make the best appearance if the present monument be removed entire as it now stands and placed against ye wall of the new room opposite to the door".

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 19 Letter from the Duke of



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Chandos to James Farquharson dated 1st January 1736: "I send you inclosed the several plans I have had given me for the building the monument room but which of them were Mr Gibbs's I really cannot tell; however if they will be any guide to Mr Brunetti I shall be very glad; I say a guide because I would not by any means he should have so much regard to these, as in any ways to constrain his own fancy and I shall be very glad to see his design wch I dare say I shall choose before any other".

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. Collins Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges First Duke of Chandos, Oxford, 1949, p.413 discusses the attribution of the statue and believes that it was carved by Grinling Gibbons. Huntington Library K.Esdaile archive notes that according to Rupert Gunnis from the bills the statue was not carved by Gibbons or his yard, but may have been carved by Andre Carpentiere after Gibbons' design.

<sup>28</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol.15 f.103 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Grinling Gibbons dated 10<sup>th</sup> January 1718.

<sup>29</sup> Vestal Virgins were devoted to the Latin goddess Vesta. The position was very prestigious, the four to seven virgins (the number varied over time) were guardians of an ever-burning sacred fire, which was a sacred symbol of home and family life. Watching the fire was the duty of unmarried women, hence the order of virgin priestesses, the vestals who tended the fire. Augustus, who became 'pontifex maximus' in 12 B.C., built a new Aedes Vestae near his palace in the Area Apollinis. The virgins were guardians of the seven sacred objects on which the stability of Roman power depended. There are a number of statues of the virgins which show them wearing a long sleeveless tunic (stola), girdled by the zona immediately below the breast. The outer garment is an ample palla, wrapped round the body in a great variety of folds and sometimes brought over the head like a hood. The head is closely bound by vittae or rope-like twists of woollen cloth.

<sup>30</sup> See M. Whinney: op.cit.note 21, p.166 illustrated plate 109, Michael Rysbrack's bust of Daniel Finch, 2d Earl of Nottingham of 1723 now in Ayston Hall, Leicestershire.

<sup>31</sup> See D.De Marly: 'The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture', in The Burlington Magazine, Vol.CXVII, No.868, July 1975, London, ps.443-451, p.448.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in D.De Marly op.cit.note 31, p.443. Addison The Spectator No.129 London, 28th July 1712.

<sup>33</sup> M. Whinney op.cit.note 21, ps.143-4.

<sup>34</sup> R.Brilliant: Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine, London,1974, p.112

<sup>35</sup> M. Henig (Ed.) op.cit.note 9, p.85.

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<sup>36</sup> See P.Zanker op.cit.note 6, p.165: "Married women also had a special form of dress that was meant to reflect the new spirit of morality in Rome. This was the stola, a long sleeveless overgarment with narrow shoulders which became the symbol of female virtue and modesty. For the dignified matron wearing the stola was not only an honour but a protection from unwanted attentions".

<sup>37</sup> M.Whinney op.cit. note 21, p.148.

<sup>38</sup> D. Bindman and M.Baker: Roubiliac and the Eighteenth Century Monument. Sculpture as Theatre, New Haven and London, p.2

<sup>39</sup> D. Bindman and M. Baker op.cit. note 38, p.6.

<sup>40</sup> D. Bindman and M. Baker op.cit.note 38, p.1.

<sup>41</sup> See J.Kerslake: Early Georgian Portraits, Vol.1, London, 1977, ps. 36-7.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the portrait see J.Kerslake: 'The Duke of Chandos's Missing Duchess: A Portrait by Van der Mij n at Beningbrough' in National Trust Studies, London, 1981, ps.139-149.

<sup>43</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83: "An Inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's Seat att Cannons taken June the 19th 1725 by John Gilbert".

<sup>44</sup> W. Lewis (Ed.): Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Oxford, 1961, Vol 30, p.61.

<sup>45</sup> K.Chisholm and J.Ferguson: Rome: The Augustan Age. A Source Book, Oxford, 1981, p.187 and 208.

<sup>46</sup> For the work of Herman van der Myn see A.Staring: 'De Van Der Mijns in Engeland' in Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek No.17, The Hague,1966, ps.201-245.

<sup>47</sup> 'Vertue Note Books', Vol.III in The Walpole Society, Vol.22, Oxford, 1934, p.34.

<sup>48</sup> See. M. Beal: 'Bolingbroke and Mildmay in 1733: An allegorical portrait by Herman van der Mij n', in British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies, 21, Southampton,1998, ps.55-72.

<sup>49</sup> J. Kerslake op.cit note 42, p.139.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of this portrait see D.Solkin, Painting For Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England, New Haven and London, 1993, ps.20-26.

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<sup>51</sup> Chandos correspondence and diaries, quoted C.&M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 27, ps.27 and 40 describes how Mary, the first Duchess sat to Dahl in August 1697 and the first Duke went to view the work and how he sat to Thomas Hawker in 1700.

<sup>52</sup> For the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller see J. Stewart: Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait, Oxford, 1983, p.64, catalogue number 147. For the portrait by Michael Dahl see Christie's King Street Sale of British Pictures 11<sup>th</sup> July 1997, lot 7.

<sup>53</sup> P.Ayres, op.cit.note 2, p.49.

<sup>54</sup> P. Ayres op.cit.,note 2, p.72.

<sup>55</sup> C.Gildon: Canons. A Vision, London, 1717, p.3 (British Library 992.h.3).

<sup>56</sup> S.Hornblower and A.Spawforth (Ed.): The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilisation, Oxford, 1998, p.439.

<sup>57</sup> P.Langford: A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783, Oxford, 1989, p.47 discusses Robert Walpole's propaganda campaign involving a well-organised and heavily subsidised government press.

<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of literary patronage see J.Carré: 'Burlington's Literary Patronage' in British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol. 5, Number 1, Southampton, 1982, ps.21-32; D.Griffin: Literary patronage in England, 1650-1800, Cambridge, 1996 and P.Korshin: 'Types of Eighteenth-Century Literary Patronage' in Eighteenth-Century Studies, No. 4, Philadelphia, 1994, ps.453-473.

<sup>59</sup> See J.Carré op.cit.note 57, p.28. Apparently, Lord Burlington was among the most enthusiastic subscribers of his age as his name is found in more than 100 lists, along with the Dukes of Queensberry, Chandos and the Earl of Granville. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.42, f.304 letter from the Duke of Chandos to John Wood of Bath turning down the architect's application to finance his book: The Origin of Building (which was published in 1741), because he was resolved to "subscribe to no more books".

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in D.Nokes: John Gay: A Profession of Friendship, Oxford, 1995, p.300, lines. 165-74.

<sup>61</sup> Pope translated the first four books of the Iliad of Homer in 1715, the next three volumes appeared in 1716, 1717 and 1718 and the last two in 1720. According to B.Williams: The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760, Oxford, 1987, p.152, Baroness Kielmansegge, later Duchess of Kendal, was one of the three mistresses of George I. Chandos subscribed to twelve sets of Pope's Iliad, according to F.Bateson in J.Butt (Gen.Ed): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope

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F.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope. Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, p.150, note 139-40. However, Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 11, f.210 Chandos wrote to Mr Harcourt: “thanks for for your oblidging present of Mr Pope’s translation of ye first book of Homer..... I entreat you will subscribe for 10 sets for me”. Huntington Library, Stowe MS 57, Vol.11, f.314, Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Madam Kielmansegge dated 28th August 1718: “I was under the greatest confusion upon the Rect of the Honour of your ladyships I did not know til then that the 4th volume of Pope’s Homer had been sent to Hampton Court, having ordered it to be put up and given me the first time I went thither that I might have had the pleasure of presenting it my self to your fair hands”.

<sup>62</sup> See D.Fineman: Leonard Welsted: Gentleman Poet of the Augustan Age, Philadelphia, 1950, p.4.

<sup>63</sup>Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.15 f.166 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond dated 4th April 1718.

<sup>64</sup> D.Fineman op.cit.note 62, p.2. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 16 f.79, Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Sunderland, dated 30th December 1718, asking him to appoint Leonard Welsted as one of the managers for drawing the lottery. For Anthony Hammond see C.& M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 27, p.77.

<sup>65</sup> H.Erskine-Hill: op.cit.note 3, p.241.

<sup>66</sup> L.Welsted: ‘An Epistle to his Grace the Duke of Chandos’, op.cit.note 1, page 47, lines 79-80.

<sup>67</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12, f.118, Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Anthony Hammond, dated 26th September 1715 and description of Cannons in Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 12 (68).

<sup>68</sup> See C. & M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 27, p.65, also S. Lee (Ed.):The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.XXVIII, London, 1891, p.385 and 389-393. Edward Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon (who died in 1709) inherited the library of his father who was a great bibliophile.

<sup>69</sup> British Library Manuscript PR2.A.39, “Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the most Noble and Learned James Duke of Chandos”, compiled by the auctioneer, Christopher Cock, the sale took place on 12 March 1747.

<sup>70</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 13, f.8 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond, dated 30th October 1715 “Codere Legum antiquarum &c” Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12, f.225 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to

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Mr Hammond dated 1st January 1715: "Byzantine History.."; Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 14, f.121 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Davenant dated 19th July 1716 "Sully"; Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.14, f.316 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond dated 6th January 1717: "The Roman authors"; Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.14, f.104 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to his son, Lord Chandos, dated 25th June 1716 recommending "Tully de Senectute".

<sup>71</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 14, f.104 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to his son, Lord Chandos dated 25 June 1716.

<sup>72</sup> P.Zanker op.cit.note 6, p.4.

<sup>73</sup> B.Rand (Ed.) op.cit. note 19, ps.20, 22.

<sup>74</sup> B.Rand (Ed.)op.cit.note 19, p.24.

<sup>75</sup> B.Rand (Ed.) op.cit.note 19, p.20.

<sup>76</sup> P.Rogers: Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England, London, 1985 says T.Clayton's Arsinoe was the first English opera performed at the Haymarket theatre in 1705.

<sup>77</sup> J.Dennis: 'An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner, which are about to be establish'd on the English Stage: With some Reflections on the Damage which they may Bring to the Publick', London,1706 in E.Hooker (Ed): The Critical Works of John Dennis, Baltimore, 1939, 2 vols,Vol.1, ps.384-5.

<sup>78</sup> T.McGeary: 'Shaftesbury on Opera, Spectacle and Liberty' in Music and Letters, Vol.74, No.4, November 1993, Oxford, ps.530-541. A letter of 19<sup>th</sup> February 1709 from the Earl of Shaftesbury to a French Huguenot friend, Pierre Coste prompted by Coste sending him a copy of Ragueuet's: Parallèle des italiens et des francois en ce qui regarde la musique et les opera, Paris, 1702. See also T.McGeary: 'Shaftesbury, Handel and Italian Opera' in Handel-Jahrbuch, 32, Jahrgang 1986, Leipzig, ps.99-104.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in O.Deutsch: Handel. A Documentary Biography, London, 1955, p.449 The Daily Post, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1738, obituary notice for Samuel Humphreys, author of Cannons. A Poem, Inscib'd to His Grace the Duke of Chandos, London,1728 to whom Duke gave £20: "The admired Mr Handel had a due Esteem for the Harmony of his Numbers; and the great Maecenas, the Duke of Chandos showed the regard he had for his Muse, by so generously rewarding him for celebrating his Grace's Seat at Cannons".

<sup>80</sup> For the prospective timing of Handel's stay at Cannons, dating from his departure from Burlington House and a discussion of the Chandos Anthems, see G.Beeks:

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'Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon' in P. Williams (Ed.): Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, Tercentenary Essays, Cambridge, 1985, ps.1-20.

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.15, f.54, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Dr Arbuthnot, dated 25th September 1717: "Mr Handle has made me two new anthems very noble ones & Most think they far exceed ye two first. He is at work for 2 more and some overtures to be plaied before ye first lesson".

<sup>81</sup> J.Mainwaring: Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel, London, 1760, p.96.

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of Acis and Galatea (whose lyrics were written by John Gay) and Esther see G.Beeks op.cit. note 80, ps.12-17. O.Deutsch op.cit.note 79, p.109 questions the date for Esther, which was supposed to have been performed on 29th August 1720 at the opening of Cannons chapel, according to C.& M.Collins Baker op.cit. note 27, p.126. Quoted in Deutsch p.288: Daily Journal 19th April 1732: "Never Perform'd in Publick before... will be perform'd Esther an Oratorio, or Sacred Drama.As it was compos'd originally for the most noble James Duke of Chandos, the Words by Mr Pope and the Musick by Mr Handel".

<sup>83</sup> H. Williams (Ed.): The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, Oxford, 1965, 5 Vols, Vol. 2, p.339, letter from Dean Swift to Edward Harley, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1720: "I have the honour to be Captain of a Band of Nineteen Musicians (including boys) which I hear about five less than my friend the D.of Chandois".

<sup>84</sup> For details on Nicola Haym see G. Beeks op.cit.note 80, p.3 he was a cellist, composer and librettist who served the Duke of Bedford as chamber musician from 1710-11. British Library Add Ms 62651 Nich Haym: "6 anthems with instruments for 1,2,or 3 voices composed by Nicolino Haym of Rome for the use of Witchurch and humbly dedicated to the Rght Hon the Earl of Carnarvon, Cannons, the 29th September 1716. To the Rght Hon The Earl of Carnarvon, My Lord, Seeing yr Lordships pleasure was, after having built your new church, to have Musick there on Sundays and since no Anthems were all ready made wherein all your musick could be employed; I thought tho' without a direct command from your Lordship, I could not better employ my time while at Cannons than in composing 6 anthems with Instruments for the said purpose".

Hereford Record Office A81/IV: William Brydges of Tiverton described his visit to Cannons: "Upon Saturday last my nephew and I did goe to Cannons, where we were kindly received and generously entertained. I never saw so much grandeur and order in any family. Nothing was irksome but late hours...After supper we drank two or three glasses of wine whilst the Musicall Instruments were tuned and then we were entertained with a Concert for an hour or more, then took a glass of wine and a pipe and soe to Bed and by this time 'twas between one and two of the clock".

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<sup>85</sup> Quoted in G.Beeks op.cit note 80, Sir David Dalrymple to Hugh Campbell, third Earl of Loudoun, in a letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> May 1718.

<sup>86</sup> J.Macky: A Journey through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman there to His Friend Abroad, 2 vols, first edition, 1722, Vol.2, p.5.

<sup>87</sup> See Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 83, Inventory of 1725. The Saloon (Number 39) painted by Sir James Thornhill was: "middle piece being Apollo and the Muses the seaven circles being the seaven liberll arts" and the Library (Number 49) painted by Antonio Bellucci: "ye middle the seven liberal arts and sciences wth the Temple of Honour & Mercury offering the genious of Youth to eternity...over ye temple Apollo ye God of Wisdom with his harp."

<sup>88</sup> E.Gibson: The Royal Academy of Music 1719-28, New York and London, 1989, p.319. The other two subscribers for £1000 were the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Burlington. See E.Gibson, Table 1. The Academy had 15-20 Directors, who were voted for by the subscribers. The Duke's son John, Marquis of Carnarvon became a Director from 1723-4 before his death in 1727.

<sup>89</sup> E.Gibson op.cit.note 88, p.104.

<sup>90</sup> D.Defoe: Augusta Triumphans: or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe, London, 1726 quoted in E.Gibson op.cit.note 88, ps.383-4.

<sup>91</sup> See K. Galinsky: Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction, Princeton, 1996, ps.179-187. Vedius Pollio was one of the richest men in Rome and when Augustus clamped down on excessive outward architectural ostentation, Pollio bequeathed his house to Augustus who pulled down the showy abode and replaced it with public gardens and the Portico of Livia. According to Ovid: "there used to be a huge building.... This place was razed not because the owner was accused of striving for kingship, but because it seemed to do harm through its luxury. Caesar took it upon himself to tear down such an enormous building and to destroy the riches of which he had become the heir".

<sup>92</sup> L.Welsted, op.cit.note 1, lines 37-44.

## THE DUKE OF CHANDOS AS A COLLECTOR

Eighteenth-century Augustan England was emerging from a period of social and political transformation and searching for new models of behaviour.<sup>1</sup> The new Augustan age believed that the right “models” came from Augustan Rome and adopted classicism as the pattern for good taste, whilst attacking luxury and extravagance as threats to society.<sup>2</sup> Theorists condemned luxury and sought to establish standards of ‘good taste’. The activity of collecting was a way of displaying taste, reinforcing social distinctions and demonstrating political affiliations.<sup>3</sup> Collectors could show that they were educated gentleman-connoisseurs and Augustan Whigs by following the example of Maecenas, who was “enormously rich... a man of taste in literature and the arts and a discriminating connoisseur”.<sup>4</sup> They had the responsibility to collect with taste because

Vast Libraries ill-chosen are rather Rubbish than Curiosities; and numerous collections injudiciously made are the sport and contempt of the painter and a reflection on the owner.<sup>5</sup>

The rise of a moneyed oligarchy after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 led thinkers such as Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury and his follower Jonathan Richardson the Elder, to argue that it was important for a gentleman to learn about:

Those noble Arts of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting [which] do not only adorn the public, but have also an influence on the minds and Manners of men, filling them with great ideas and spiring them up to an Emulation of



worthy Actions.<sup>6</sup>

They believed that money alone could not lead to connoisseurship or guarantee good taste. Works of art could only be appreciated by cultivated men who had studied to become respected for their connoisseurship. In his Two Discourses (1719), Jonathan Richardson explained the distinctive attributes of a connoisseur, who could judge the qualities of a picture and recognise the authorship of a work, through an understanding of the history of painting.<sup>7</sup> But, Richardson complained:

so few here in England have consider'd that to be a Good Connoisseur is fit to be part of the Education of a Gentleman.... There are so few Lovers of Painting; not merely for Furniture, or for Ostentation, or as it Represents the Friends, or Themselves; but as it is an Art capable of entertaining and adorning their Minds.<sup>8</sup>

Shaftesbury argued that the ruling Whig oligarchy had a duty to encourage the arts and make Britain their “principal seat”.<sup>9</sup> The public needed to be “knowingly guided and directed” by enlightened connoisseurs as the monarchy no longer played an active role in the formation of taste.<sup>10</sup> The relative lack of strong royal involvement in the arts combined with the philosophical encouragement to connoisseurship as a patriotic duty led individual nobles to build important private collections in the early eighteenth century. Among these were the Duke of Chandos who collected paintings and books; his brother-in-law Richard Child, first Earl Tylney, collector of fine art for Wanstead House in Essex.<sup>11</sup>; Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke sculpture collector for Wilton House;<sup>12</sup> Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, collector of manuscripts;<sup>13</sup> Richard Mead noted collector of

sculpture and books<sup>14</sup> and Sir Robert Walpole who was building a “noble collection” for his new country seat, Houghton Hall in Norfolk.<sup>15</sup>

The Duke of Chandos viewed his collecting activity as the fulfilment of a patriotic duty, influenced by the Earl of Shaftesbury and his friendship with Jonathan Richardson the Elder.<sup>16</sup> Correspondence between the Duke and his agents discussed potential purchases and helps explain what he acquired. Some of these acquisitions of paintings, books, manuscripts, statuary or objets d’art are recorded in the Inventory of 1725 which details the contents of Cannons and St James’s Square. Other purchases of books, paintings and possessions are recorded in the sale catalogues drawn up after the Duke’s death.<sup>17</sup>

The Duke was a literary Maecenas, a patron of poets and a collector of books and manuscripts, who formed one of the most important collections in early eighteenth-century Britain. He described how he had “no greater ambition than to spend my days at Cannons with my family and books” and wrote into his will that his collection should remain in perpetuity at Cannons, where he built a new library to house them:<sup>18</sup>

I am now building a museum at Cannons 60 foot long & 24 wide wch will require a much larger collection to fill than I yet have..<sup>19</sup>

The Duke’s grandson described it as:

as prodigious large and high room as ever I saw & a vast many books in it all in a parcel of fine Book cases.<sup>20</sup>

The foundation of Chandos's collection was his acquisition of the library of Edward Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon in June 1709. A friend wrote to express his approval:

I heartily congratulate your fortunate purchase of my Ld Clarendon's Library it being a Treasure which money could not otherwise have reached. And it is not only upon yr own Acct but for the sake of the publick since it is an invaluable losse when such Noble collections are once scattered.<sup>21</sup>

The Duke studied the sales catalogues of individual collections and bought "only...valuable or usefull books" in which he was interested.<sup>22</sup> Many of these were works related to the classics such as Ovid's Opera, (London, 1689), Marolle's Oeuvres de Virgile en Latin & François, (Paris, 1662), and descriptions of antiquities such as Du Boulay's Le Tresor des Antiquitez Romaines (Paris 1650), and William Baxter's Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum (London, 1719).<sup>23</sup> He also acquired new works of classical antiquity and archaeology which were recommended to him. The Welsh scholar, William Wotton sent Chandos a copy of Edward Llwyd's Archaeologia Britannica, (London, 1707), remarking that it was an "entirely new acquisition to ye Commonwealth of Learning tho' like other Jewells it can be usefull but to a very few members of that Republick".<sup>24</sup>

Chandos was also interested in political material. He acquired part of the set of Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons from Lord Clarendon's

collection and he proceeded to transcribe the missing volumes, proclaiming “I shall have the completest of any Gentleman in the kingdom”.<sup>25</sup> Religious texts were more problematic. The Duke wrote to his agent that he would keep the Italian and Spanish books in a consignment:

but for ye Reformers books you may dispose of them or change them for others as you please. I think I am so well fixt in ye principles of my Religion as not to want them. If I was not so already, I fancy I c'd hardly bring myself to spend all my time in reading old books for no other end & with no other view than to qualify me with a temper of mind to burn for it.<sup>26</sup>

He did, however, purchase a splendid Bible, printed by George I's printer, John Baskett. It was one of only three printed and was bound in purple velvet with his Grace's arms engraved on a silver plate (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).<sup>27</sup>

Part of the Duke's important collection of manuscripts was also acquired from Lord Clarendon. The Irish manuscripts, which had belonged to Irish historian and antiquary, Sir James Ware, were sufficiently important for Dean Jonathan Swift to press for their repatriation.<sup>28</sup> Ware's collection had also contained important manuscripts of ancient history, which Chandos was purported to be transcribing.<sup>29</sup> Difficulties with this project led Thomas Hearne to complain:

I am inform'd by one that knows full well that the present Duke of Chandos is one of the proudest Men living (he is a Man, said the Gentleman, of intolerable Pride) and but a very poor Friend to Scholars, notwithstanding what he hath now and then pretended. He hath a good Collection of Historical Manuscripts which belonged to Sir James Ware, but he is one of those neither makes use of manuscripts they have themselves, nor let others that are able to make use of them.<sup>30</sup>

The Duke looked after his collection, requesting the manufacture of proper presses for the transportation of new acquisitions and arranging for the careful cataloguing of his library.<sup>31</sup> His behaviour emphasised the importance that these works had for him.

Chandos's collection of books and manuscripts reflects the rise in interest in the classics, antiquity and Roman and British archaeology, which marked the Augustan age in England.<sup>32</sup> His collecting activities strengthened his claim to be the "Maecenas" of the arts of his generation, and demonstrated his political intelligence. Where his book collection sought to keep up with developments in the "Commonwealth of Learning", his collection of pictures, included "right models" which would improve the national taste:

If our Nobility and Gentry were lovers of Painting and Connoisseurs, a much greater Treasure of Pictures, Drawings and Antiques would be brought in, which would contribute abundantly to the Raising and Meliorating our Taste as well as the Improvement of our Artists.<sup>33</sup>

The Duke was influenced by the theories of his friend, Jonathan Richardson the Elder.<sup>34</sup> Richardson described how to distinguish an original work of art from a copy and insisted that "one Man may be as Good a Judge as Another if he applies himself to it".<sup>35</sup> He also believed that a national school of British painting was finally emerging, inspired by Raphael. Many of the Duke's opinions about painting and connoisseurship expressed in his correspondence, read as if they have issued from Richardson's Two Discourses: I. The Connoisseur: An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting, shewing how to judge of the Goodness of

a Picture; of the Hand of the Master; and whether 'tis an Original or a Copy and II.  
An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur; Wherein is shewn the  
Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of it. (London, 1719).

Chandos treated the attribution of a painting seriously:

A Picture ought to be as tenderly handled as a lady and the least question upon them casts a stain upon their Reputations which is hardly ever washed off.<sup>36</sup>

He sought to buy the best works possible for his collection, and to distinguish originals from copies, a concern expressed in a detailed correspondence with his agent in Genoa, Henry D'Avenant, relating to a copy of Raphael's Leo X and two cardinals:

ye Copy after Raphael by Andrea del Sarto for a copy by so eminent an hand is equal to an Original, I make no question but you'l be sure you are not mistaken in your opinion of those you buy for there are admirable copiers in Italy & it Swarms more with such pictures than Originals & so well done that ye best connoisseurs are often impos'd upon I cannot forbear acquainting you with my fear of this very piece & ye more since Raphael & Andrea del Sarto were contemporaries between whom it is not usual to see such friendship as for one (especially great Masters) to condescend to copy ye work of another (letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> May 1716).

I confess I am for buying none which are not of the best hand and excellently well done of their kind... I am much oblig'd to Gabiani for his being willing to part with his Copy of the Venus and the Duke of Parma's Correggio but I confess the very sound of a copy shocks me and where the Originals are in being but not to be had the Copy gives one more uneasiness than pleasure unless where the copy is by an eminent hand such as the Andrea del Sarto in which case the copy is as valuable as the original...(letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> August 1716).

I was pretty much surpris'd to find by the Favour of yours of ye 31st Inst there had been any doubt made, whither the copy you sent me over of Raphael's Pope Leo 10th & 2 Cardinalls was the same that Andrea del Sarto made and

which Vasari speaks of in his Account of the Painters...I wish you cou'd inform me whither ever any other copy was made of it and how the Original came to be in the D.of Parma's Gallery for as I take it it was painted for and given to the D. of Florence...(letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1716).<sup>37</sup>

Although Chandos sought to distinguish between a copy and an original work, he agreed with Jonathan Richardson that: "A copy of a very good picture is preferable to an indifferent original; for there the invention is seen almost intire and a great deal of the expression and disposition and many times good hints of the colouring, drawing and other qualities".<sup>38</sup> He was delighted by his purported del Sarto copy after Raphael and admitted:

I had the pleasure of receiving the Andrea del Sarto it is by far the capital piece of my small collection and wou'd make one of the greatest ornaments to any in the kingdom... Raphael's first manner just after his leaving Perugino's school was so stiff and dry that except the Pieces are of the best of that manner, I shou'd not be very fond of them notwithstanding the greatness of his name ... Bassano was a very good hand (I mean the chief of them). I have one which was King William's and sold at his Auction at Loo...I am apt to think... I shall by degrees have a better collection and more numerous than any in England and at a little expence considering the value of them.<sup>39</sup>

Jonathan Richardson's influence can be seen in Chandos's connoisseurial approach to collecting. The Duke made light of his connoisseurship, but he was knowledgeable about art history, knew which artists were contemporaneous and wanted to build up a collection of which he could be proud, formed of the best examples of work by the most distinguished masters. He could identify different artistic hands and periods and recognised that the provenance of a work added distinction to the piece (and the collector). These were the skills of a virtuoso, which the third Earl of Shaftesbury advocated as the aspiration of a gentleman:

I am persuaded that to be a Virtuoso (so far as befits a Gentleman) is a higher step toward the becoming a Man of Virtue and good Sense than being what in this Age we call a Scholar.<sup>40</sup>

Such skills were important to the Duke in forming his collection.

Chandos's personal preference was for Dutch and Flemish old master paintings, particularly cabinet pictures from the golden age of Dutch art. His taste for such works conformed to collecting patterns of the period and probably originated during his visit to the Netherlands with George Clarke in 1706.<sup>41</sup> The artists who were best represented in the collection were Rubens and Van Dyck, but the Duke also owned works by John Baptist Closterman, Jacques Courtois, Gerrit Dou, Melchior D'Hondecoeter, Quentin Matsys, Cornelis van Poelenburgh, Herman van der Myn, Gotfried Schalken, David Teniers the Younger, Willem van de Velde, Maria Verelst and Adriaen van der Werff. George Vertue remarked on some of the Netherlandish paintings he saw on a visit to Cannons in 1730:

small picture a Dutch kitchen a woman asleep..David Tenieres... of Gerard Dou. boys at School old master...of Gerrard Dou. A Gentleman Setting in a Study playing on the Violin...of Gerrard Dou. a Lady playing on a Virginal...Dou a woman with a basket of flowers &c fruit.<sup>42</sup>

As Vertue observed, Chandos enjoyed the *fijnschilder* work of Rembrandt's master Gerrit Dou and of David Teniers. He acquired Dou's A Market; The Schoolmaster and A Gentleman playing on a Violin with the help of his neighbour in St James's Square, Sir Matthew Decker, who himself purchased them on Chandos's death (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).<sup>43</sup> The Duke's



Dutch Kitchen scene by David Teniers was bought by Lord Westmoreland and to accompany his View of the Duke of Tuscany's Closet by Teniers, Chandos bought a copy of: Davidis Teniers Antwerpiensis Pictoris et Acubiculis Principis Leopoldo Guil. Archiduci & Johan Austriaco Theatrum Pictorium (Antwerp, 1673).<sup>44</sup>

Chandos's collection of works by Adriaen Van der Werff was built up following his visit to the Netherlands, where he may have met the artist, whom he used as an agent.<sup>45</sup> Although Van der Werff's reputation has diminished, in 1700 "no painter satisfied the popular demand for small, beautifully finished Dutch pictures better" and he was known by contemporaries to be "the greatest art star in the Netherlandish firmament of artists", fetching the highest prices for Dutch art in the period.<sup>46</sup> In 1709 the Duke was negotiating to acquire Van der Werff's The Death of Socrates, learning from his dealer:

J'aurais quasi oublié de vous dire un sujet qui m'a fait aller a Rotterdam.... le tableau que vous demandez de la main du Chevalier Van der Werff et qui devrait représenter la mort de Socrate. J'ai bien eu de la peine; mais à la fin il m'a donné la main (gage sûr d'un bon Hollandois) qu'il s'en chargerait.<sup>47</sup>

Chandos was proud of his Van der Werff pictures, which he hung in his cabinet, writing in 1713:<sup>48</sup>

Your picture of Van der Werff came long since safe to my house & it is indeed in ye opinion of all who have seen it ye finest finisht piece wch ever came over. I shall very carefully observe his directions & not suffer it to be clean'd by any hand here in England...The picture of Mr Van der Werff is admir'd every day more & more & it is indeed a masterpiece fit for ye Cabinet of any Prince, by far too good for my poor Collection.<sup>49</sup>

The Duke also patronised Netherlandish portraitists, sitting to Herman van der Myn for an unusual double portrait with Duchess Cassandra in 1719.<sup>50</sup> The Verelst family (particularly Maria Verelst), was responsible for at least seventeen of Chandos's family portraits, including a double portrait of the Duke and Duchess and of their two sons.<sup>51</sup> Maria or Simon Verelst's flower pieces and landscapes also decorated Cannons and St James's Square.<sup>52</sup>

Chandos acquired other decorative Dutch and Flemish works including battle scenes and seascapes, subjects which he may have been inspired to buy following his career as Paymaster-General to the Forces Abroad. These included Jan Brueghel's Vulcan shewing Venus the armor of Lewis XIV and large-scale battle scenes such as Jan Wyck's Battle of the Boyne (in the Eating Room at Cannons, Inventory Number 64); a pair of battle scenes by Jacques Courtois, (in the Picture Room, Inventory Number 69); a Sea fight by Willem Van de Velde in the Library at Cannons (Inventory Number 49) and paired seapieces by Ludolf Backhuysen.<sup>53</sup> According to Vertue, Chandos also commissioned copies of these works:

Mr Robert Woodcock...had a mighty inclination to drawing. particularly sea peices...sett himself to Copping little peices after VandeVelde...in about 2 years has copyd near 40 peices of Vande Velde bigger & small. By which means he was lately been able to compleat a peice for which the Duke of Shandos paid him 30.guineas.<sup>54</sup>

The Duke's personal preference was for Netherlandish painting but, consistent with eighteenth century collecting patterns, he acquired a significant

number of Italian works.

Italy remained the single most important source of high quality works. Equally, the preference for painters working in the first half of the seventeenth century remained extremely strong... The central core...was...still the Italian Baroque – particularly artists like Guido Reni and Carlo Maratti – the classicism of the Franco-Italians Claude, Gaspard and Nicholas Poussin matching this.<sup>55</sup>

During the eighteenth century over forty percent of paintings purchased for English collections were Italian; twenty percent French and twenty percent from the Netherlands.<sup>56</sup>

Chandos recognised that an important picture collection must include “right models” from Italy and he instructed his agents to find good quality works by the best Italian Old Masters, writing in 1716:

I did not observe in Abbot Salvini’s collection any pictures of ye most celebrated hands & I confess I wd not willingly purchase any but wt were such as Raphaels (if to be had at an easy rate), Titian, Correggio, Paul Verones, hanniball Carrachio, Albani, guido reni, Old palma, tintoret, leonardo da Vinco & any of ye allow’d famous Masters of these I wou’d desire only such as are pleasing subjects that one can with delight behold ye design as well as contemplate ye ability of ye workmen.<sup>57</sup>

According to Jonathan Richardson, Raphael was the most important Italian Old Master, whose example would lead to the rise of a national school of painting in England, a view he put forward in The Theory of Painting (1715) and An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy &c with Remarks (1722).<sup>58</sup> Richardson referred to Raphael’s Cartoons for the Acts of the Apostles tapestries as “supreme examples of invention, expression,

composition and of coloring...[and] promoted Raphael's merits in all of his theoretical essays on painting and connoisseurship".<sup>59</sup>

The Duke of Chandos may have owned two sets of copies of the Acts of the Apostles Cartoons. He bought one set (which hung in Her Grace's Dressing Room at Cannons), from Baron Kielmansegge, George I's Master of the Horse, who had commissioned them from the Huguenot artist Joseph Goupy; the other set was painted by Sir James Thornhill.<sup>60</sup>

Chandos also acquired a set of copies after Raphael's cartoons of the Creation for the Saloon at Cannons, described in the Sale Catalogue as:

A cartoon of God breathing life into Adam by Raphael, Ditto of the marriage of Adam and Eve, Ditto of God showing Adam the forbidden fruit, A large ditto of Adam and Eve in contrition after eating ditto, A large ditto of Adam giving Names to the wild beasts, by Raphael<sup>61</sup>

He unsuccessfully tried to sell them to Sir Robert Walpole:

I have likewise four Cartoons of Raphael which I designed for my salloone here but the Surveyor mistook the dimensions & hath not left space enough in the finishing to contain 'em by some feet, the subject is the Creation & they are very large I hear Mr Walpole is making a noble collection of Pictures & as I have never a room large enough to hold 'em if he hath a mind to have 'em they shall go at the Price they cost me which as I remember now was about twelve hundred Pounds tho' the Virtuosi judge 'em worth abundance more.<sup>62</sup>

Chandos also owned works by or after Raphael, for instance The Virgin, Our Saviour and St John which was bought by the collector Sir John Chapman after his death.<sup>63</sup>

The Duke acquired important works by other Italian Old Masters including paintings attributed to Giovanni Bellini, Titian and Veronese. He was selective in his purchases:

The Duke's preferences were clearly stated; he was keen to own a painting by Raphael, but not one from his early period soon after he had left Perugino, when his work was 'so stiff and dry'; he was also eager to acquire examples of Titian, Correggio, Tintoretto, Albani, Palma Vecchio and Guido Reni. He was interested, too, in works by Rubens, Claude, Poussin, Carracci, Gerard Dou and modern painters such as William van Mieris.<sup>64</sup>

Chandos acquired only one work attributed to Correggio, a Jupiter and Leda, but up to twenty works said to be by Titian and Guido Reni, including a Dead Christ by Titian. Some of these works have been reattributed, but can still be identified. The Boy bitten by a Lizard, for instance (acquired by the Duke as a Guercino), is now given to Caravaggio and is in the National Gallery in London.<sup>65</sup>

Despite Chandos's antipathy towards prints and drawings (he claimed "I have no great taste for that sort of Curiosities, the pleasure of which is not continually before ones eyes"), he bought five statuary drawings by Michelangelo (valued in the Inventory at £250) and a number of Italian prints, including thirty-three historical prints after Carlo Maratti and seven further prints after Raphael, Annibale Carracci and Sebastien Bourdon.<sup>66</sup>

Chandos was also one of the important early collectors of works by the seventeenth century French artist, Nicolas Poussin.<sup>67</sup> The Duke and his circle owned half of the approximately fourteen paintings by Poussin in England between

1716 and 1744.<sup>68</sup> Chandos had already begun negotiations to import works by Poussin before the official lifting of import restrictions at the end of the Franco-British war in 1716, but he renewed his efforts immediately after the signing of the Treaty of St Germain.<sup>69</sup> A letter of May 1713 to his nephew, William Leigh refers to:

ye pieces mentioned in ye enclos'd paper if I c'd have them at ye rates set down or cheaper provided it is certain they are originally & no doubt made of ye hands wch drew them especially that of Raphael: Fuite en Egypte, Poussin 2000<sup>70</sup>

The other works marked on the paper for acquisition were Raphael's Nostre Seigneur et la Magdelaine; Andrea Schiavone's Christe en agonie; Michelangelo's Descente de la croix and Domenichino's Assomption de la Vierge.<sup>71</sup>

Rumours, misleadingly denied by the Duke, associated him with attempts to acquire Poussin's Seven Sacraments. In February 1716 he wrote to his agent in Rotterdam:

J'en oui dire que vous avez 2 ou 3 pieces de Nich Poussin. Faites moi je vous prie savoir les sujet & le prix comme aussi le dernier prix des 7 Sacremts si vous songez à les vendre<sup>72</sup>

In July, he wrote to his agent in Genoa:

I was much surprise at what you wrote me that Sr Andrew Fountain sh'd say I had bought Mr Meyer's 7 Sacraments of Poussing for 7000£ I have not a purse large enough to make such sort of purchases nor were they ever offer'd me or did I ever give commission to bid any sum for them.<sup>73</sup>

However, the Duke did buy Poussin's The Choice of Hercules (now at Stourhead in Wiltshire) and two other Bacchanalian scenes and he commissioned a copy of

Poussin's The Death of Sapphira (now in the Louvre) from the Huguenot artist Joseph Goupy.<sup>74</sup> Works by another Huguenot artist, Louis Laguerre, were probably commissioned or acquired from the artist whilst he was working on the decorative scheme at Cannons.<sup>75</sup>

The Duke's collection also contained a number of portraits. For Jonathan Richardson this was the way to achieve immortality:

And thus we see the Persons and Faces of famous Men, the Originals of which are out of our reach, as being gone down with the Stream of Time, or in distant Places: And thus too we see our Relatives and Friends, whether living or dead, as they have been in all the Stages of Life. In Pictures we never dye, never decay, or grow older.<sup>76</sup>

Some of the portraits were images of famous men. Chandos owned portrait heads by Holbein including portraits of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Cromwell and Erasmus.<sup>77</sup> He also possessed historic royal portraits such as Cornelius Johnson's King Charles I, copies of Van Dyck's King James I and King Charles I in three attitudes and Peter Lely's Duke and Duchess of York.

Chandos had a personal connection with some of these famous men, for instance his patron, the Duke of Marlborough, whose equestrian portrait hung on the Great Staircase at Cannons (now in the Royal Hospital, Chelsea).<sup>78</sup> The positioning of the portrait of Marlborough was a political gesture, as Chandos demonstrated in his description of the political allegory

in a second portrait of Marlborough which he owned. This was painted:

Just after his disgrace, upon ye alteration of ye Ministry towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign, wch was ye Occasion of Sr Godfrey Kneller's Fancy in placing ye Figures of Britannia Lugens [weeping] and the Eagle drooping in the side.<sup>79</sup>

Such political significance also attached to the Duke's acquisition in 1715 of a canvas portrait bust of Oliver Cromwell (hung in the Library, the most important room at Cannons) and to portraits of monarchs under whom he had served (two portraits of Queen Anne, a gilt statue of George I in the garden and two portraits of King George and Prince Frederick are listed in the Inventory).<sup>80</sup>

Chandos also commissioned portraits of himself and his family which would immortalise his dynasty. As Jonathan Brown argues:

Since antiquity, portraits of rulers have reflected the aspirations, ideals and pretensions of those in power. Because these images epitomise a ruler's self concept, they are valuable sources for understanding the personalities and programs of the sitters.<sup>81</sup>

Few of the portraits commissioned from Van der Myn, Dahl, the Verelst family Kneller, Hawker or Richardson survive, but in those that do (particularly the works by Herman Van der Myn and Michael Dahl) it is clear that the Duke sought to be remembered as a noble Augustan senator.

The political agenda apparent in Chandos's picture collection extends to his collecting and exhibiting of statuary. He did not aspire to build up a



collection of antique sculpture comparable to that of Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House; however, certain individual pieces had a significance for him beyond their simple connoisseurial value.<sup>82</sup> In 1723 he turned down the offer of a collection of marbles, writing to his agent Henry D'Avenant in Italy that he was: "much obliged to you Sir for the offer you are pleased to make me of your marbles, but if my Lord Pembroke hath a mind to them I shall be very far from designing to interfere with him since I must own I have not Money to lay out on these curiosities" and he later also turned down D'Avenant's intended present of a sarcophagus.<sup>83</sup> However, he argued with Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough over two statues by the sculptor Giovanni di Isidoro Baratta (originally commissioned by the Duke of Marlborough), which he intended to place in the Saloon at Cannons and which, although he claimed that they represented "Fame" and "Glory", Sarah insisted were the Duke of Marlborough and Queen Anne and should be sent to Blenheim Palace.<sup>84</sup> Chandos held firm and the statues remained at Cannons until the sale of 1744, where they were identified as the figures of Marlborough and Queen Anne.<sup>85</sup> Clearly, these pieces were important to him because of their subject matter, the sculptor and their intended location.

Three other works of political significance that were placed in prominent positions at Cannons were two busts of Oliver Cromwell in the

Great Hall and the Library and a bust of Plato (said to be an antique marble) in the Great Hall.<sup>86</sup> By the early eighteenth century, Cromwell was no longer viewed as a regicide, but as a Whig hero, whose rule had led to important constitutional changes and the reign of a monarch limited by parliamentary intervention.<sup>87</sup> Plato of Athens, the philosopher who wrote The Republic, believed that the virtuous individual was produced by the virtuous state and the ruler and citizens must work together for the common good.<sup>88</sup> By displaying images of Cromwell and Plato in the most important locations in his house, Chandos was publicly affiliating himself with Whig politics.

The only statue of Chandos himself appears to be the funerary monument by Grinling Gibbons for St Lawrence, Whitchurch (see Chapter 4). The Duke stopped short of the statuary self-aggrandisement exhibited by Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton Hall, where he was portrayed “as a Roman in his busts and in the iconography of the interior of his own house”.<sup>89</sup>

The Duke was celebrated for his collection of paintings and books, but he also acquired a number of fine objects for his collection. Among the many examples of expensive curiosities, he owned “286 copper medals of Louis XIV and his battles”; “A fine wrought Dish, with figures in basso relievo representing the History of Joseph”; “A Fine large Cabinet, most beautifully embellished with

Lapis Lazuli, agate, and Italian stone and brass ornaments gilt with water gold on a gilt frame” and a number of scientific instruments such as “A Newtonian reflecting telescope”.<sup>90</sup> Pride of place in the collection, however, was given to Grinling Gibbons’s limewood carving of the Stoning of St Stephen, described in the sale catalogue as “A most matchless carving in wood, by the famous Gibbonns, of the stoning of St Stephen in a walnut-tree case” (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>91</sup> This impressive piece was much admired in its day and was displayed in the Library at Cannons.<sup>92</sup> Other important pieces of furniture, silver and porcelain, were acquired to furnish the Duke’s houses.<sup>93</sup>

The architectural historian Rudolf Wittkower cast doubt on the Duke of Chandos’s credibility as a patron and collector:

Neither his collections of pictures and books nor his buildings betray an educated or discriminating mind...His pictures were acquired by agents on whom he relied...In my opinion the claim that Chandos was a sincere patron of the liberal arts gives him too much credit.<sup>94</sup>

Chandos’s correspondence clearly contradicts this view. Like any collector, he was motivated by a number of different factors, not all primarily concerned with the quality of the works of art. He was competitive, aiming to:

have a better collection and more numerous than any in England and at as little expence considering the value of them.<sup>95</sup>

He wanted to outstrip his rivals:

the Fiamingo is a fine Masterly Piece but the Guercino surpasses any thing by far I had before and these two with the Andrea may pass for three as Capital Pieces as are in any of our collections in England.<sup>96</sup>

He also wanted to use his collection as a social and political tool, presenting works of art to Sir Robert Walpole (a painting of Bathsheba bringing Abishag to David by Adriaen Van der Werff),<sup>97</sup> to the Duke of Marlborough (a Van Dyck) and to King George I (a portrait of the Elector of Hanover) in the hope of receiving favours.<sup>98</sup> He admitted that it was difficult to build a collection whilst reliant on others, writing to his agent, Henry D'Avenant in 1723:

I am fully satisfied of the value of the Pictures you were so kind to buy for me and yet so different are Peoples Tasts that I confess had I first seen some of them I should not have been so fond of their Purchase & even those which you esteem the best of the Collection I mean the Cartoons of Raphael & the Drawings of Michael Angelo (which last are allowed by all to be the Pieces truly fine of their kind) I should not be unwilling to part with & therefore as they will not be hung up in my Salloon before next May if there should be any one betwixt this & then you would oblige with them, they shall be at their service for one hundred pounds less than they cost me.<sup>99</sup>

However, he gave his agents clear instructions about what to buy based on his extensive knowledge of art.

The Duke of Chandos's collection served to consolidate his position as an Augustan Maecenas of the arts. He spent significantly, but collected carefully, acquiring the right 'models' of Italian art and literature that could help form the national British taste.<sup>100</sup> His paintings included works attributed to Raphael, Titian, Correggio and Michelangelo. His books and manuscripts were concerned with ancient history, archaeology and antiquities. The Duke demonstrated support for the Whig regime, whilst revealing an interest in works of art that went beyond their value as a political bargaining tool or as a status symbol. He was a connoisseur,

informed by the views of the third Earl of Shaftesbury and Jonathan Richardson the Elder, who understood the duty of a great man to collect, but who could also admit his simple enjoyment: "I confess pictures are so entertaining as well as valuable ornaments to a house".<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See P.Ayres: Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England, Cambridge 1997.

<sup>2</sup> B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury: Second Characters or the Language of Forms, Cambridge 1914, 'A Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design', ps.22-24 "When the free spirit of a nation turns itself this way, judgements are formed; critics arise; the public eye and ear improve; a right taste prevails, and in a manner forces its way...She has her models yet to seek, her scale and standard to form..."

<sup>3</sup> I.Pears: The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768, New Haven and London, 1988, p.160: "collections of paintings were little more than another form of conspicuous consumption, a display of opulence which gave a visible indication of wealth and thus converted money into a social or political asset."

<sup>4</sup> C.Firth: Augustus Caesar, London, 1923, p.238.

5. B.Buckeridge: The Art of Painting and the Lives of Painters done from the French of Monsieur De Piles, London, 1706, the dedication, no page numbers.

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6. G.Berkeley: An Essay towards preventing the ruine of Great Britain, London, 1721, p.19.
7. C.Gibson-Wood: 'Jonathan Richardson and the rationalisation of Connoisseurship', in Art History, Vol.7, No.1, March 1984, London, ps.38-56, p.39.
8. J.Richardson: A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur, London, 1719, p.8.
- <sup>9</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury in A Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design, op.cit.note 2, p.20.
- <sup>10</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury in A Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design, op.cit.note 2, p.22. For a discussion of the declining role of royal patronage see M.Foss: The Age of Patronage: The Arts in Society 1660-1750, London, 1971.
11. F.Kimball: 'Wanstead House, Essex' in Country Life, Vol.LXXIV, No.1924, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1933, London, ps.605-7: and A.Marks: 'Assembly at Wanstead House by William Hogarth' in Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, Vol.77, No. 332, Spring 1981, Philadelphia, ps.1-16.
- <sup>12</sup> P.Ayres op.cit.note 1, ps.133-4.
13. J.Harris: 'Harley, the Patriot Collector' in Apollo Magazine, Vol.CXXI, No.283, new series, September 1985, London, ps.198-204.
14. M.Webster: 'Taste of an Augustan Collector: The Collection of Dr Richard Mead Pt I' in Country Life, Vol.CXLVII, No.3804, 29th January 1970, London, ps.249-251 and Pt II, Vol.CXLVIII, No.3831, 24th September 1970, ps.765-7. Also see R.Meade: In the Sunshine of Life. A Biography of Dr Richard Mead, Philadelphia, 1974.
15. A.Moore (Ed.): Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress and Heritage, London, 1996.
- <sup>16</sup> The Duke knew Richardson personally and commissioned a portrait of the Duchess of Chandos from him which was hung in the Best Dressing Room at Cannons (ST83 Inventory Number 69). Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.57, f.87, a letter to Sir Robert Maude dated 26<sup>th</sup> July 1743: "You are

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very obliging in the notice you take of my Picture which was drawn by Richardson”.

17. Most of the Duke of Chandos's correspondence is in the Huntington Library, California among the Stowe papers, particularly ST 57, letters to several persons and ST 58, letters from several persons. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83: "An Inventory of his Grace the Duke of Chandos's Seat at Cannons Taken June the 19th 1725" by John Gilbert, the Groom of the Chambers and London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13: "A Catalogue of all the Genuine Household Furniture &c of His Grace James Duke of Chandos...Which will be sold by Auction by Mr Cock, On Monday 1st June 1747". Also Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library 86-00-18/19: "Duke of Chandos's sale of Pictures". Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford DR 671/93 Sale Catalogue, Cavendish Square, 16<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> February 1747. British Library Manuscript PR 2.A.39 "A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the most Noble and Learned James Duke of Chandos lately deceas'd consisting of the greatest variety of books in all branches of Polite literature". Sale by Cock's, 12th March 1747 and 29 following evenings.

18. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.14, f.316, letter from the Duke of Chandos dated 6th January 1717. Stowe Manuscripts STB Personal Box 4 (1) 13<sup>th</sup> July 1743: "I give to my Son...all my Plate and Books...my will and meaning is that my Books and Mss shall be kept at my Capitall Seat called Cannons and I give the use of my said Books and Mss to my said Dear Son for his life and after his decease that they go and remain to such person as shall enjoy my estate...my will and desire being that the said Books and Mss shall be and remain at my said seat called Cannons and be enjoyed by such person or persons of my name or blood as shall be owner or owners for the time being of my said Capitall Seat called Cannons."

19. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.12, f.118, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond dated 26th September 1715.

20. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 12 (68): A description of House of Cannons: The acct of Cannons.c.1744.

<sup>21</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 58, Vol.4, f.39, letter from W. Wotton to the Duke of Chandos, dated 7th June 1709.

<sup>22</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12 f.285, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hammond dated 22nd February 1716.

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23. See British Library Manuscript PR2.A.39, the Sale Catalogue of Chandos's library, see note 17.

<sup>24</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 58, Vol. 5, f.79 Letter from William Wotton to the Duke of Chandos, dated 8th January 1710.

25. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.16, f.382, letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Earl of Clarendon, dated 20th November 1719: "your goodness in furnishing me with the Journals of the House of Lords which were wanting in my collection & of which there are still two volumes (viz the two first of K Ch ist) which I have not: if you cou'd, My Lord help me to those two I shou'd be much oblidge to you for they wou'd entirely compleat the whole set. I have had put up in boxes those Journals of the Lords which belonged to ye Lordp above these 4 months in order to send them to you as soon as I shou'd hear you were come to town; I intreat your acceptance of them & yt you'l permit me to do the same by those of the Commons & ye Rotula Parl as soon as I shall have got them transcribed. Such valuable Curiositys sho'd not go out of the Familys they originally belongd to & 'tis with great Pleasure I become an Instrumt of returning these to your Lordshp." ST 57, Vol.16, f.401 letter to the Earl of Clarendon, 4th December 1719: "I beg leave to enclose to ye Lp a list of some Journals & rolls which are still wanting to compleat my collection & which if I can get I shall the compleatest of any Gent in the kingdom. I shall be very much oblidge to yr Lordsp if you'l be so good as to lend them me if you have them, or let me know where I may come at them if they are not in yr Library". The sale catalogue of the Duke of Chandos's books (op.cit.note 17) indicates that the Duke owned 55 volumes of Journals of the House of Lords 1640-85 and 72 volumes of the House of Commons 1641-98 and 24 volumes of minutes of the House of Lords 1719-43.

26. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.12, f.241 letter to Mr Hammond, 22nd January 1716.

27. The Bible is extant in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: E-245D (PML 23768,9). It was printed by John Baskett at the Clarendon Printing House, Oxford, 1717. It is described in the sale catalogue of the Duke of Chandos's books: (British Library Manuscript PR 2.A.39: lot 4121): "The Holy Bible, printed on Vellum, ruled and bound in Purple Velvet with Silver Clasps and his Grace's Arms engraved on a Plate of Silver, wash'd with Gold on the Sides, in 2 Volumes, Oxford, by John Basket , 1717. 72.9s.0d."

28. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST58 Vol.7, f.62, letter from William Pate to the Duke of Chandos, dated 16<sup>th</sup> November 1710 : "Sir Andrew Fountaine tells me My Ld Pembroke is very desirous of seeing yr collection of Irish Mss so it



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will not be amiss to Expedite ye taking ye Catalogue". ST 57, Vol.11, f.143, letter to the antiquarian John Anstis from the Duke of Chandos, dated 2nd December 1714: "You may peruse Sr Ja Ware's Collection whenever you please & I shall think my self fortunate to be able at any time to contribute in this or any thing else". H.Williams (Ed.): The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, Oxford, 1965, Vol.4, p.250 letter from Dean Swift to the Duke of Chandos dated 31st August 1734, requesting a return to Ireland of manuscripts collected by the second Earl of Clarendon whilst Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1685-6, which he had acquired from the Irish historian and antiquary, Sir James Ware. Chandos did not reply and on 7th October 1734 (ps.258-9) Swift wrote asking Mrs Pendarves to approach the Duke, (ps.269-70) Lady Betty Germain writes that she does: "not know Chandos well enough to approach him about the return , yet few people wo'd care to part with what must enhance the Value of his Library; but if he succeeds the Duke of Dorset [as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland] for certain he will be easily persuaded to make a compliment of them to your Kingdom."

<sup>29</sup> C.Doble (Ed):Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Vol VII, Oxford, 1906 p.366, 23rd May 1722: "Mr West of Balliol College tells me that the Marquis of Carnarvon informs him that his Father, the Duke of Chandos is going to have Transcripts taken of all his MSS of antient history (such, I mean, as are not printed) that belonged to Sir James Ware.

<sup>30</sup> C.Doble (Ed) op.cit.note 29, Vol. IX, p.68, 11th December 1725.

31. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57 Vol.12, f.241, letter to Mr Hammond, 22nd January 1716: "There must be great care taken in ye putting them up & proper presses made to hold them". ST 58 ,Vol.5, f.79, letter from W.Wotton to the Duke of Chandos dated 8th January 1710: "Mr Hammond writes me word that you have employed Mr Lowthrop to put yr Library in order which I am very glad of. If he makes an Index according to Thuanus Library ye Catalogue of which was drawn up (if I misremember not) by ye famous Ismael Bullialdus it will be a very usefull work to yourself & yr friends."

<sup>32</sup> See P.Ayres op.cit.note 1, ps.30-47.

33. J.Richardson: Discourses II, op.cit.note 8, p.57-8.

34. A.Meyer: Apostles in England. Sir James Thornhill and the Legacy of Raphael's tapestry Cartoons, Exhibition catalogue, Columbia University, New York, 1996, ps.47-49, shows how Jonathan Richardson in The Theory of Painting (1715): "time and again summoned the Cartoons as supreme examples of invention, expression, composition and... of coloring...Richardson promoted Raphael's merits in all of his

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theoretical essays on painting and connoisseurship”.

35. See C. Gibson-Wood op.cit.note 7, p.41.

36. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.13, f.46, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant, dated 22nd September 1716.

37. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57 Vol.13, f.36, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant, dated 7th August 1716: “I confess I am for buying none which are not of the best hand and excellently well done of their kind...I am much oblig’d to Gabiani for his being willing to part with his Copy of the Venus and the Duke of Parma’s Correggio but I confess the very sound of a copy shocks me and where the Originals are in being but not to be had the Copy gives one more uneasiness than pleasure unless where the copy is by an eminent hand such as the Andrea del Sarto in which case the copy is as valuable as the original...”

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.13, f.46, letter from Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant, dated 22nd September 1716: “I was pretty much surpris’d to find by the Favour of yours of ye 31st Inst there had been any doubt made, whither the copy you sent me over of Raphaels Pope Leo 10th & 2 Cardinalls was the same that Andrea del Sarto made and which Vasari speaks of in his Acct of the Painters. A Picture ought to be as tenderly handled as a Lady and the least question upon them casts a stain upon their Reputations which is hardly ever wash’d off... I wish you cou’d inform me whither ever any other copy was made of it and how the Original came to be in the D.of Parma’s Gallery for as I take it it was painted for and given to the D of Florence...”

Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.14 f.50 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant dated 17th May 1716: “ye Copy after Raphael by Andrea del Sarto for a copy by so eminent an hand is equal to an Original, I make no question but you’ll be sure you are not mistaken in your opinion of those you buy for there are admirable copiers in Italy & it Swarms more with such pictures than Originals & so well done that ye best connoisseurs are often impos’d upon I cannot forbear acquainting you with my fear of this very piece & ye more since Raphael & Andrea del Sarto were contemporaries between whom it is not usual to see such friendship as for one (especially great Masters) to condescend to copy ye work of another”.

<sup>38</sup> J.Richardson: An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting, in The Works, London, 1719, p.226.

39. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.13 f.36, letter from Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant, dated 7th August 1716

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<sup>40</sup> P.Ayres: Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, 2 Vols, Vol.1, Oxford, 1999, p.xxvi from Soliloquoy: or, Advice to an Author.

41. For an analysis of the place of Dutch genre painting see H.Mount: 'The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England, 1695-1829', unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge, 1991.

42. 'Vertue Note Books' Vol.III, in The Walpole Society, Vol. 22, Oxford, 1934, p.136.

43. Decker bought back works from Chandos's collection see V&A Manuscript 86-00-18/19, lots 58: A Market by Gerrit Dou; Boys at School by Gerrit Dou and A Gentleman playing on a Violin by Gerrit Dou. See H.Gerson and J.Goodison: Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge. Catalogue of Paintings, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1960. catalogue number 33, Gerrit Dou: The Schoolmaster and catalogue number 365\* 36 Willem van Mieris: The Market Stall. These works were bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Matthew Decker's grandson, the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam, founder of the Museum.

<sup>44</sup> For the painting see V&A Manuscript 86-00- 18/19. For the book see British Library PR2.A.39, lot 115 first night of sale 12<sup>th</sup> March 1747.

<sup>45</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol 14 f.293, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Senserf, dated 10th December 1716: "I see that ye Chev.Van der Werf & Mr Flink think ye picture that came to you from France to be very good, I am much oblig'd to them for ye trouble they have given themselves in taking such observacon."

<sup>46</sup> S.Slive: Dutch Painting 1600-1800, New Haven and London, 1995, p.308.

<sup>47</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST58, Vol.5, f.25: Letter from Steinghers to the Duke of Chandos dated 1st November 1709.

<sup>48</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83, Inventory shows that A Dutch Market piece by Van Der Werff was hung in His Graces Cabinet (No.42), in St James's Square.

49. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.10, f.49 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Walter Senserf, dated 15th January 1714 and ST 57, Vol. 9, f.267 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Senserf, dated 24th November 1713:

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“Your picture of Van der Werff came long since safe to my house & it is indeed in ye opinion of all who have seen it ye finest finish’t piece which ever came over. I shall very carefully observe his directions & not suffer it to be clean’d by any hand here in England”..

<sup>50</sup> See J.Kerslake: ‘The Duke of Chandos’s Missing Duchess: A Portrait by Van der Mijn at Beningbrough’ in National Trust Studies, London,1981, ps.139-149.

<sup>51</sup> For the Verelst family of Dutch painters see J.Turner (Ed.)The Dictionary of Art, London, Vol.32, ps.244-5. Pieter Verelst was a pupil of Gerrit Dou. For the works by the Verelsts belonging to the Duke of Chandos see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83 Cannons Inventory which includes: Lord Carnarvon and Ld Henry Bridges half Length; Lord Castlemain’s two children; Lady Castlemain a three quart; Duke & Dutchess of Chandos; Mrs Dawson  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; Mrs Chamberlain; Mrs Lee; Mrs Burcher; Duke of Chandos  $\frac{1}{2}$  Length; The Dutchess of Chandos whole length; Lady Chandos whole length; Sir Frances Barnett & his Lady; Lord Chandos; Sr Jn Bruges; Lady Bruges; Mr Frances Bruges half Length; Dutchess of Chandos.

<sup>52</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST83 Cannons Inventory ‘A Flower piece’ in His Grace’s Dressing Room, Number 50 and ‘A Small Landskip ditto’.

<sup>53</sup> For the paintings by Ludolph Backhuysen see Sale Catalogue V&A Manuscript 86-00 18/19. lots 65 and 86.

<sup>54</sup> See ‘Vertue Note Books’, Vol.III op.cit.note 42, p.23.

<sup>55</sup> I.Pears op.cit.note 3, p.166.

<sup>56</sup> I.Pears op.cit.note 3, p.210, Table 2: “Proportion of pictures coming from three main sources, 1722-74”.

<sup>57</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.14, f.121, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D’Avenant, dated 19th July 1716

<sup>58</sup> See A.Meyer, op.cit.note 34.

<sup>59</sup> A.Meyer op.cit. note 34, ps.47-49. For a discussion of the Cartoons after the Acts of Apostles see J.Shearman: Raphael’s Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, London, 1972.

<sup>60</sup> B.Robertson: ‘Joseph Goupy and the Art of the Copy’ in Bulletin of Cleveland

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Museum of Art, Vol. LXXV, No. 10, December 1988, Cleveland, ps.355-83, p.260. Goupy's copies of the Raphael Cartoons in gouache over graphite on parchment were commissioned in 1717 by Baron Kielmansegge, George I's Master of the Horse. According to 'Vertue Note Books, Vol.III, op.cit.note 42, p.136, Chandos bought the copies for £300. Six of these copies were sold at Sotheby's London, Old Master Drawings 19th June 1973, lots 284-289. The Yale Center for British Art, collection of Prints and Drawings owns The Death of Ananias. See also: The Quiet Conquest. The Huguenots 1685-1985, Exhibition catalogue, Museum of London, 1985, p.202. A.Meyer op.cit.note 34 suggests that Chandos may also have owned a half-size set of copies of the Acts of the Apostles cartoons painted by Sir James Thornhill between 1729-32 and now in the collection of Columbia University. She believes that Chandos intended to hang these Cartoons in place of the over-sized Creation Cartoons in the Saloon at Cannons, but admits that her theory is speculative because "the paintings seem to have gone unrecorded while at Cannons".

<sup>61</sup> London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13: "A Catalogue of all the Genuine Household Furniture &c of his Grace James Duke of Chandos... sold by Auction by Mr Cock, on Monday the 1st of June 1747 and the ten following days", p.32, lot 18, the Cartoons had been hung in the Saloon at Cannons.

<sup>62</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.24, f.8 Letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Gibson 30th March 1724.

<sup>63</sup> V&A Manuscript 86-00-18/19, lot 29, sold for £12.12s. See I.Pears op.cit. note 3, p.92, Chapman was a close friend of the dealer Robert Bragge and lived in St James's.

<sup>64</sup> See D.Sutton: 'Augustan Virtuosi' in Apollo Magazine, Vol. CXIV, No.237, new series, November 1981, ps. 313-27 and ps.328-39, p.319.

<sup>65</sup> The Getty Provenance Index has details of works formerly in the Duke of Chandos's collection, including James Anthony Arlaud's copy of Michelangelo's Jupiter and Leda (Br-483) which was sold by the Earl of Bessborough in April 1807; Veronese's A Historical Picture of King David on his Death bed, with attendants sold in September 1813 (Br-1147); Salvator Rosa's Jason pouring the Liquor of Enchantment upon the Dragon sold by the Earl of Bessborough in June 1823 (Br-12300), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

<sup>66</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol.13, f.46, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant dated 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1716. London Metropolitan Archive Acc 262/13 Sale Catalogue 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1747, p.17 Number XVII: Smoking Room.

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<sup>67</sup> See E. Waterhouse: 'Poussin et l'Angleterre jusqu'en 1744' in A. Chastel (Ed.): Nicolas Poussin, Vol. I, CNRS Colloques Internationaux, Paris, 1960, ps.283-295.

68. See E. Waterhouse op.cit.note 67.

69. E. Waterhouse op.cit.note 67.

<sup>70</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.9, f.102, letter from the Duke of Chandos to William Leigh, dated 26th May 1713.

<sup>71</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson Manuscript D903 f.1.dated circa 1740 by the Library, in a volume inscribed "a Coll Ducis Chandos 10.II.1748".

<sup>72</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.12, f.271, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Jacques Meyer at Rotterdam, dated 17<sup>th</sup> February 1716.

<sup>73</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57 Vol.14, f.121 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant dated 19th July 1716.

<sup>74</sup> For The Choice of Hercules see A. Blunt: The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. A Critical Catalogue, Aberdeen, 1966, p.116, catalogue number 159, sold to Sir Richard Hoare in the sale of 1747. For Goupy's copies see B. Robertson op.cit.note 60, p.360 and p.380 note 54. The original work is in the Louvre, it was engraved by J. Pesne. Robertson suggests that Goupy copied the work from an engraving made for the Duke circa 1720. It was apparently painted for the Duke to compensate for his high fees. See C. Grundy: 'Documents relating to an Action brought against Joseph Goupy in 1738' in The Walpole Society, Vol. IX, Oxford, 1921, p.80. Goupy's copy was sold at Sotheby's, London, 19th June 1973, lot 290.

<sup>75</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 83 An Inventory of his Grace the duke of Chandos's House in St James's Square: His Graces dressing room No.43: "a picture over ye chimney by Legar valued at 5. London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13: "A Catalogue of all the Genuine Household Furniture &c Of His Grace James Duke of Chandos: Numb II The little Saloon, One Pair of Stairs: "A large picture of our Saviour at Emaus, by old Laguerre"..

<sup>76</sup> J. Richardson: An Essay on the theory of Painting, London 1715, p.9

<sup>77</sup> V&A Manuscript 86-00-18/19, lots 67; 88; and 164 .

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<sup>78</sup> The portrait of the Duke of Marlborough by John Closterman is now in the Royal Hospital Chelsea see M.Rogers: 'John and John Baptist Closterman: A Catalogue of their Works' in The Walpole Society, Vol. XLIX, Oxford, 1983 ps.224-279, catalogue number 66, p.253. The portrait is ascribed to John Closterman in the Inventory of Cannons (Huntington Library, Stowe Manuscripts ST 83) and to Francis Sleter in the Sale Catalogue of 6 June 1747 (see note 17). The painting in question is almost certainly the allegorical portrait of the Duke of Marlborough now in Chelsea Hospital, inspired by the lost equestrian portrait by Rubens of the Duke of Buckingham. The work was painted in around 1705. There are no details of the commission, but it may have been painted for the Duke of Marlborough and sold out of the collection by the Duchess of Marlborough who did not like Closterman. The Duke of Chandos probably owned the Chelsea Royal Hospital portrait rather than a copy. The Inventory probably refers to a copy of the equestrian portrait of Charles V after Titian, which it attributes to Rubens.

<sup>79</sup> J.Stewart: 'Chandos, Marlborough and Kneller: Painting and "Protest" in the Age of Queen Anne' in Bulletin of the National Gallery of Canada, 17, Ottawa, 1971, ps.24-31. The portrait was painted by Kneller and signed and dated 1712.

<sup>80</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.12, f.118, f.246 letter from Duke of Chandos to Anthony Hammond dated 26th September 1715 regarding three pictures on offer, including the head of Cromwell. On 23rd January 1716 he wrote to Hammond to complain that he had not yet "received that of Oliver Cromwell". (Cromwell's head was hung in the Library Inventory room number 49). According to ST 83 the Inventory, a portrait of Queen Anne by Godfrey Kneller hung in the Beaufett (Inventory Number 78) and His Graces Gallery (Inventory Number 48) at Cannons; portraits of King George and Prince Frederick hung in The Dining Room (Inventory Number 48) at the Duke's house in St James's Square.

<sup>81</sup> J. Brown: 'Enemies of Flattery: Velazquez' Portraits of Philip IV' in R.Rotberg and T.Rabb (Eds.): Art and History. Images and their Meaning, Cambridge, 1988, p.137.

<sup>82</sup> For the Pembroke collection see P.Ayres op.cit.note 1, ps.133-4 and for a contemporary description of the Earl of Pembroke's collection see C.Creed: The Marble antiquities of the Right Honble the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, London,1731.

<sup>83</sup>Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 57, Vol. 23, f.265 and f.329 15th May 1723 and 9th September 1723.

<sup>84</sup> For background see T. Friedman: 'Foggini's Statue of Queen Anne' in Kunst

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Des Barock in der Toskanen: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici, Munich, 1976, ps.31-56 and H.Honour: 'English Patrons and Italian Sculptors in the first half of the eighteenth century' in Connoisseur, Vol.CXLI, No.570, May 1958, London, ps. 220-226. Also see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol .18, f.194, 4th November 1720, f.228; ST 57,Vol. 19, f.48, f.227; ST 57,Vol.21 f.65, 20th September 1722. Chandos's final communication with the Duchess on the subject was ST 57, Vol. 24 f.34, 19th April 1724 where he wrote to her: "I find it not in my power to comply with your command". Also British Library Add.Ms 61463 f.13, 16<sup>th</sup> January 1721 and f.40.

<sup>85</sup> London Metropolitan Archive Acc 262/13 Sale Catalogue op.cit.note 17, p.39 nos 9-10: "A fine large marble statue of Queen Anne, cut at Rome, on a marble pedestal enriched with basso relievo's and other emblematic ornaments" and "The Duke of Marlborough, its companion".

<sup>86</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscript ST 83 , Inventory in the Great Hall (Inventory Number 65) : "Plato's head cutt in marble" and "Oliver Cromwells Do in Stone" and in the Library (Inventory Number.49) "Oliver Cromwells head".

<sup>87</sup> H.Weinbrot: Augustus Caesar in 'Augustan' England, Princeton, 1978, ps.234-41.

<sup>88</sup> S.Hornblower and A.Spawforth (Eds): Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford, 1996, ps.1190-93.

<sup>89</sup> P. Ayres op.cit.note 1, p.72.

<sup>90</sup> See Sale Catalogues op.cit.note 17. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust DR 671/93: "286 copper medals" p.20; "fine large wrought dish" p.25; "fine large Cabinet" p.13: London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13 "Newtonian telescope", p.32.

<sup>91</sup>. See London Metropolitan Archive Acc.262/13 op.cit.note 17, p.25. The piece is now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Furniture and Woodwork Department Accession Number 446-1898.G.Gibbons: The Stoning of St Stephen. See D.Esterly: Grinling Gibbons and the art of carving, V&A Publications, London, 1998, ps.8-10.

<sup>92</sup>. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 83 (Inventory Number 49).

<sup>93</sup> See Sale Catalogues op.cit. note 17 for the Duke's collection, particularly Shakespeare Birthplace Trust DR 671/93 detailing the "Fine old China, Japan, &t of Mr Fountaine's".



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94. R. Wittkower in Review of English Studies Vol.11 No 6, April 1951, London, p.185.
95. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.13, f.36, letter from Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 7th August 1716.
96. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.13, f.46, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 22nd September 1716.
- 97 The painting is now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Number 1064, see A.Moore op.cit.note 15, p.53. H.Walpole: Aedes Walpolianae: Or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton Hall in Norfolk, London, 1752, p.70: "Bathsheba bringing Abishag to David: an exceeding high-finish'd Picture in Varnish, by Vanderwerffe; a Present to Lord Orford, from the Duke of Chandos. 2 Feet 10 Inches high, by 2 Feet 3 Inches wide". Walpole hung the painting in the Cabinet at Houghton Hall.
98. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.10, f.228, letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Duke of Marlborough, dated 8th September 1714: "ye picture of Van Dike... I entreat Y.G. will do me ye honr to let it hang amongst Yr colln which will be a great addition to ye many favrs your Goodness has already bestow'd". ST 57, Vol.14, f.43, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 3rd May 1716: "Ye late elector Picture being put on board... ye king has askt thereupon twice or thrice... I find he wishes for it & sh'd be v sorry to undergo ye mortification of a disappointment". ST 57, Vol.14, f.121, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 19th July 1716: "Picture of ye late Elector which is very well drawn and was an acceptable present to his Majesty".
- 99 Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57 Vol.23, f.329 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D Avenant dated 9th September 1723.
- 100 I.Pears op.cit.note 3, p.226, Table 2 shows that Chandos owned works by fourteen out of the seventeen artists whose pictures fetched the highest prices at auction from 1711-59. The artists were Rubens, Veronese, Claude, Tintoretto, Giordano, da Cortona, Poelenburg, Maratti, Van Dyck, Weenix, Raphael, Correggio, Reni, Poussin, Teniers, Le Nain and Brill.
101. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol.18, f.194, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 4th November 1720.

## THE DUKE OF CHANDOS AND PUBLIC ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE

When Caesar Augustus became ruler of Rome from 27 B.C., he began a programme of cultural renewal based on “publica magnificentia” and classicism.<sup>1</sup> The political changes taking place in Augustan Rome were complemented by a public building programme that saw a Rome built in brick transformed to marble.<sup>2</sup> Augustus justified this extravagant programme by emphasising that it was for the glory of the state, for public magnificence, rather than private luxury. However, the main beneficiaries were Augustus and his regime.<sup>3</sup>

The patronage of public building projects was an important means for eighteenth-century patrons to demonstrate their affiliation with the legacy of Augustan Rome and their support for the new Whig political regime.<sup>4</sup> Caesar Augustus and his architect Marcus Pollio Vitruvius were responsible for an extensive programme of public works in Rome, including the construction of the Forum Romanum (2 B.C.) and road, bridge and water engineering. Vitruvius dedicated his influential treatise on architecture, De architectura libri decem (Ten Books on Architecture) to Augustus in 24 B.C. In the preface to Book I he praised Caesar’s public patronage:

I observed that you cared not only about the common life of all men and the constitution of the state, but also about the provision of suitable public buildings; so that the state was not only made greater through you by its new provinces, but the majesty of empire was also expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings... you have such regard to public and private buildings that they will correspond to the grandeur of our history and will be a memorial to future ages.<sup>5</sup>

Eighteenth-century commentators renewed the call for the patronage of public works. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury believed that a new 'national taste', demonstrated by the commissioning of two new public buildings (the Houses of Parliament and a new royal palace), would sweep out the gothic architectural style, which symbolised for him of an era of absolute monarchy and political repression before the Whig Revolution.<sup>6</sup> He believed that this new taste for public buildings would be developed by the people themselves:

Almost every one now becomes concerned and interests himself in such public structures...[because]... When the free spirit of a nation turns itself this way, judgments are formed; critics arise; the public eye and ear improve; and a right taste prevails, and in a manner forces its way".<sup>7</sup>

Alexander Pope supported Lord Shaftesbury's call for a programme of public building, but believed that it could only originate through the enlightened patronage of private individuals, such as his patron, Lord Burlington. Pope encouraged Burlington to:

Erect new wonders, and the old repair,  
Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,  
And be whate'er Vitruvius was before.<sup>8</sup>

Cannons was a private palace built by the Duke of Chandos as a 'national ornament'.<sup>9</sup> But the Duke's architectural patronage was not limited to one grand private statement which would have laid him open to the criticism of luxury. He was interested in projects of 'publica magnificentia', including works that benefited a wide section of the community. These were public works such as the construction of the 'Public Building' in Cambridge, the provision of water and

roads and the building of new streets and squares in London (in Cavendish and St James's Squares) and in Bath and Bridgwater.

Chandos responded to the call for the patronage of public works in 1720 when he donated £800 towards the construction of the Public Building at Cambridge University, designed by one of the Duke's architects at Cannons, James Gibbs and completed in 1730. (Figures 54 and 55) The project originated with George I's gift of Bishop Moore of Ely's 30,000 volume library to the University in 1715, followed by a £2,000 donation for building work in 1720. The new building was intended to include a library to house the new acquisitions.<sup>10</sup>

The Public Building lay at the heart of the University and its purpose was to centralise the University's scholastic, ceremonial and administrative functions. Gibbs's design proposed three attached blocks: the Senate or Commencement House to the north; the Royal Library to the west and the Consistory and Register Office to the south. Following arguments within the University, the scheme was constructed with modifications. The most striking of the new buildings is the Senate House, which was constructed in white Portland stone with giant Corinthian columns, topped with a pediment and balustrade, amalgamating the two classical building types of basilica and temple. (Figure 56) Terry Friedman has explained: "the Public Building was associated with no particular college but represented the equivalent of a civic centre (such as Michelangelo's Campidoglio at Rome)".<sup>11</sup> The Duke of Chandos's immediate and significant response to the

University's call for funds (he was the second largest donor after the king in 1720) signifies his enthusiasm for the project and his wish to be recognised as a patron of public works.<sup>12</sup>

The Duke's support for the building of libraries was a way to patronise public works, inspired by his interest in book collecting and the importance to him of his library at Cannons. He donated £500 to Glasgow University for the foundation of a library, that would "be of real service to the University and likewise preserve the Memory of his Graces favour to the University".<sup>13</sup> His patronage in Scotland, which was partly gratitude for hospitality to his sons on their visit in 1720 and partly a quest for recognition, also led him to endow a chair at St Andrew's University because he believed that:

The Gentleman who is chosen into this Chair and his successors can never fail, by the Improvement their Abilities will make in this Science, to transmit my name down with great advantage to Posterity.<sup>14</sup>

Augustan Rome and Roman Britain saw the construction of new towns which included public and administrative buildings such as baths, forums and basilicas that conveyed important political and social messages.<sup>15</sup> The Duke of Chandos was not a patron of public works of the stature of Caesar Augustus, but he was involved in projects of great significance to the towns in which they were constructed. Following the precedent of Augustan Rome, Chandos sought to benefit from his involvement in these works.<sup>16</sup> But the commercial aspects of his building programme should not obscure its importance. His activities in the Roman town of Bath, for instance, were less important for the details of his

patronage (the construction of rent-paying lodging houses), than for the fact that he employed as his architect John Wood the Elder, to whose family can be attributed the building of eighteenth-century Bath.<sup>17</sup>

Chandos may have met Wood through his involvement with the Cavendish estate (Wood leased a piece of land from the estate in 1721), or through mutual acquaintances, such as the Duke's surveyor Edward Shepherd or his friend, Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley, for whom Wood worked at Bramham Park in Yorkshire. Wood was not Chandos's first choice of architect, although he later claimed that he employed Wood because:

I was inclining to encourage a young man just coming into the world and employ him in a Place where if he performed well he could not fail of getting a great deal of business of the like kind.<sup>18</sup>

Wood was an original and eccentric architect, later prone to "wildly unscholarly speculations from the lunatic fringe of English antiquarian thought".<sup>19</sup> He became notable for his enthusiasm for Palladian classicism, his interest in Celtic prehistory and his obsession with freemasonry and the significance of the First Temple at Jerusalem, built for King Solomon.<sup>20</sup> He had already begun to develop and circulate his plans for the Roman future of Bath by the end of 1725, in which he may have tried to interest the Duke of Chandos.<sup>21</sup> In his Essay Towards a Description of Bath he described his plans to revive the glories of Rome:

In each Design I proposed to make a grand Place of Assembly, to be called the Royal Forum of Bath; another Place, no less magnificent, for the Exhibition of Sports, to be called the Grand Circus; and a third Place... for the Practice of medicinal Exercises, to be called the Imperial Gymnasium of the City, from a

work of that Kind, taking its Rise at first in Bath, during the Time of the Roman Emperors.<sup>22</sup>

Wood returned to his native Bath to work on two projects, the canalisation of the Avon between Bristol and Bath and a “Court of Houses” for the Duke of Chandos, for which he signed a contract in 1727.<sup>23</sup> Wood described how:

I... resolved to become an Undertaker myself of two considerable Works that then presented themselves to me. The first was a Court of Houses for his Grace James late Duke of Chandos; the second was a large Canal for completing the Navigation of the River Avon... For part of the former I entered into a Contract the 23<sup>rd</sup> January.<sup>24</sup>

The “Court of Houses” were four lodging houses that were to be built on land leased by Chandos on the site of St John’s Hospital and the Cross Bath.<sup>25</sup> The Duke’s second cousin, William Brydges of Tyberton, discussed the rumour that Chandos had used a Quaker banker agent, Richard Marchant, to buy a plot of land “for £2500 and desires to build a house here, or a square or God knows what”.<sup>26</sup>

The Duke described his plans for the court to be “a square of three sides and the fourth lye open to the road and the prospect of the country over it”.<sup>27</sup> To achieve this he needed to buy specific plots of land adjoining St John’s Hospital, particularly:

the house where the Old Batcjellor lives and which has the back Door into Mrs Phillips’s Garden... I must confess I am mighty desirous to have this House, for without it the design I have laid cannot be handsomely executed and it will always be a botch in what else may one day be turned into a beautiful square... I shall want after this nothing but Chivers Garden to render the whole very compact and to make it one of the prettiest convenient Places all thereabouts.<sup>28</sup>

He intended to provide superior lodgings with facilities to include bedrooms with en suite dressing rooms and built-in water closets on every floor, for which he could charge an appropriate rent.<sup>29</sup>

Chandos was unable to buy all the land that he required. John Wood's vision for the Court of Houses had to be modified:

Before the Westward Rooms of the Hospital there was to have been a regular Arcade, instead of the antient Colonnade, consisting of nine Apertures to answer the six windows of the six rooms and the three Gates of the three passages; and the three middle Apertures were intended to advance before the rest, to make the Basis of a Frontispiece in the Centre of the West Side of the Building: This Frontispiece was to have been finished with a Pediment; and in the Tympan of it I proposed to place the Figure of the Head of St John the Baptist, together with several other Ornaments that embellished the old Frontispiece, or rather Tower, in the Center of the East Side of the Building".

Wood's plan would have created an integrated and elegant square. But the land available led him to construct instead four plain adjoining buildings, topped by an entablature. These were occupied by landladies Mrs Phillips, Mrs Degge, Mrs Jones-Robertson and a Mr Carey. (Figure 57) The houses were large: Mrs Phillips's, for instance, contained 64 rooms, made up of 30-34 lodging and dining rooms that could be rented for 10 shillings a week each, 12 garrets (rented for 5 shillings per week) and 3 pantries (rentable for 5 shillings per week).<sup>30</sup>

Building work took place amid continuous interventions from the Duke of Chandos, who had warned Wood what was expected of him:<sup>31</sup>

I desire therefore you will stay till the whole is finished and keep the men close to their work; for upon the well doing of this will depend in a great measure your being employed in other business hereafter.<sup>32</sup>



The extent of the Duke's involvement appears in a letter to Wood in July 1728:

..a letter from Mr Theobald which brought with it a Plan you propose for building the House Mrs Jones lives in and which he says you tell him you can build for 600£ by reason your Materials [and] Workmen are at hand... I send you down the Plan again that you may explain some things in it I want to be apprised of, and desire you'll insert in each Room what use you propose it for. I do not find it specified upon the Plan whether the whole Building is upon a levell, and as I remember that part of it towards the Burrough Wall is a great deal higher than the other part of the building, though in the New Building this may be easily altered. I find you make the cellar and Parlour Storys the same, by which means you lose the best room in the House which at present seems to be intended for the Kitchen and as you have made the coming into the House the room opposite to the Kitchen you lose by that means the best Parlour in it; whereas if that Door and the Door which leads into it were stopt up & the Entrance into the House made by the Great Stairs, it wou'd be abundantly more convenient. You don't say neither in what manner you propose to build the Out Walls, whether of Ashlar or of rough Stone, whereas I wou'd by all means have the fronts towards the Garden and the Borrough Walls of Ashlar. I do not likewise understand what you mean by Stove Pipes for conveying the Water down. I have never seen any, but presume it must be from the New Invention, but as they cannot be all on one Piece and must be joined together, great Care must be taken in setting the Joints so close that the Water may not force its way through. I see there is no contrivance for Water Closets without which no House can be perfectly convenient, you'll therefore contrive these and insert them into the Plan when you send it up. You say too, Mrs Jones will take a Lease for 21 years at 70£ a year and furnish the house herself but I think this is too little for a House that contains 28 rooms which according to the Bath way of reckoning will let for 14£ a week for the Seasons.<sup>33</sup>

The Duke's relationship with Wood is typical of his combative dealings with architects, who had to endure a mixture of complaint and interference. His complaints range from bad workmanship (the roofing needing replacing for Mrs Phillips's house) to failure to follow instructions (the omission of water closets) and ignorance<sup>34</sup>. In a letter of September 1728 he states:

indeed could I have imagined that I had been used in so vile and shamefull a manner by you...you should never have been employed by me again. By the complaint there is of the Water Closets smelling so abominably... tis a sure sign that it is the effect of yr Ignorance and had they been contrived with Cess

pools just above the Drain (which is the manner of building them every where else) they would not have been subject to this inconvenience.<sup>35</sup>

Chandos was concerned to achieve good sanitation for his lodging houses.

He wrote to his tenant, Mrs Phillips:

There are likewise water closets to be made on every floor and for the Rooms over the Hospital there will be one under each side of the stairs.<sup>36</sup>

He worried that Wood had ignored his instructions to provide these facilities, particularly as invalid lodgers taking the spa waters at Bath required such conveniences.

The Duke delivered his verdict on Wood's achievement at Bath to the Bishop of Llandaff in 1730:

As to Mr Wood I have employ'd him in building four houses at ye Bath two of 'em very large. He undertook 'em upon articles by ye great the outside work is very well perform'd but as for ye inside it is generally agreed by those who have lodged in ye 3 first that no work can be worse done and I have been grossly impos'd on by him but I don't attribute this to his want of capacity or understanding his business or to his want of honesty but surely to a want of due care in making his agreement...<sup>37</sup>

The conclusion of Wood's work and the Duke of Chandos's contribution to the development of Bath, however, were more important than Chandos acknowledged. The Duke had commissioned and supported the novice architect who went on to attempt the rebuilding of Bath as a new Rome.<sup>38</sup> (Figure 58) Chandos's St John's Hospital lodging house buildings, were John Wood's first commission in Bath and

mark a very important stage in the architectural history of the city for in their scale and character they are superior to any of the buildings immediately preceding them.<sup>39</sup>

Patron and architect, Chandos and Wood, had succeeded in “triumphantly asserting, perhaps for the first time in Bath, the classic principles of modern architecture”.<sup>40</sup>

Wood went on to attempt the reconstruction of a Roman city, progressing each of the projects described in his ‘Essay’ of 1725 (a Place of Assembly, a Royal Forum, a Grand Circus and an Imperial Gymnasium) building a second set of Assembly Rooms for Humphrey Thayer and Mrs Lindsey (which opened in 1730), Queen Square (from 1728-36) and King’s Circus (the foundation stone of which was laid just before the architect’s death in 1754).<sup>41</sup>

The Duke’s involvement in Bridgwater in Somerset also led to the building of a new town. He acquired the manor and lordship of Bridgwater in March 1721 and hoped to exploit local trade opportunities facilitated by Bridgwater’s canal communication with the Bristol Channel.<sup>42</sup> In 1722 he requested a plan “of ye whole town that I may see ye disposition of ye several streets” and examined a number of schemes before deciding that the best solution would be to build a square (King’s Square, which was not built until 1807) and run his new Castle Street along “till it comes up to open directly into the middle of the square. This looks to me more beautiful”.<sup>43</sup>

The new street (called New or Castle Street) was intended as “an improvement both ornamental and advantageous to the town”.<sup>44</sup> The Duke’s surveyor, Thomas Fort drew up the plan for the street, which had six houses on either side. In February 1722 Chandos sent Fort down to Bridgwater to mark out the ground and negotiate with local residents who wanted to lease building plots.<sup>45</sup> Fort’s success left the Duke with only four houses to build, at a cost of £200 each, which were constructed by a local builder, Benjamin Holloway.<sup>46</sup>

As Bridgwater grew, the Duke negotiated the building of another street, requesting:

an upright of the Houses they propose to build for I would have the whole Street (which by the Plan I have by me is made out for 31 houses) to be built all in one Style of Building.<sup>47</sup>

By 1727 he expressed:

my intention is to finish the new Street which wants two houses on the North side and four on the South side as also the two back Lanes of which the north back lane will afford room enough according to my Plan for the matter of 35 small houses and the south Lane near 26.<sup>48</sup>

The Duke of Chandos made Bridgwater into a new town, including streets of new houses, a warehouse and custom house. He did not achieve his objective of stimulating trade, however, nor did he recuperate his estimated £15,000 outlay.<sup>49</sup> From 1728 he was seeking to sell his interests there and when he did so in 1734, he left a new town of careful architectural homogeneity, not the flourishing commercial enterprise that he had intended.

Chandos's contribution to the development of Augustan London was also significant although affected by financial problems. He intended to build the north side of Cavendish Square, but had to cut back after heavy financial losses in the South Sea Bubble of 1720. The Duke admitted in 1721:

the loss I have received by the suddin and great fall of South Sea Stock hath obliged me to manage with more economy and better husbandry than I ever thought I should have occasion to have done in like manner as I have put aside the thought of Building an house in town.<sup>50</sup>

Chandos had planned to build himself a large town house on the north side of Cavendish Square by leasing a plot of land from the Portland estate. (Figure 59) The land belonged to Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and his wife who were building a "very spacious and noble Square, and many streets that are to form avenues to it."<sup>51</sup> Negotiations between Chandos and the Portland estate took place from 1717 to 1723.

Progress in the negotiations shows how the Duke's plans changed.<sup>52</sup> In 1720 he demanded the best land and the lowest rent, threatening otherwise develop his new house in St James Square (acquired in January 1720):

without which 'twil be too great an Impudence in me to layout so considerable a sum as the building an House on that Ground will cost me... my going into St James's Square will depend upon the Resolution my Ld Harley takes upon this offer.<sup>53</sup>

In 1721 he wanted more land, promising to:

begin building immediately if he may be accommodated with more ground backward and I believe may be brought to take all the ground in Chandos Street.<sup>54</sup>

By September 1722, however, he could no longer afford to build a great house and he asked his lawyer whether the lease prevented him from building more than one house on the plot.<sup>55</sup> The articles for the lease were drawn up in September 1723, in which Lord Oxford:

agreed to let me have the whole first part of the Ground fronting the Square vizt 320 feet wide & 430 feet deep upon my surrendering to them as much of the Ground as lies North.<sup>56</sup>

The first design for a building on the Cavendish Square site was put forward by the Florentine architect, Alessandro Galilei.<sup>57</sup> Galilei, employed by the Duke of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire in 1719 and befriended by Thomas Hewett (appointed Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works in 1721), had designed a new royal palace in 1716-18, which he hoped Hewett would present to the king.<sup>58</sup> (Figure 60) These plans may have encouraged Chandos to approach the architect. In January 1719 Galilei wrote that:

ho fatto li desegni per un palazzo per il Conte di Carnarvon che e rinomato il piu ricco signore de questo paese. Que le fabbriche si terminano molto presto et vanno avanti con grandissima celerita perche quelli non mancano di denaro.<sup>59</sup>

Galilei's projects in England did not flourish and he returned to Florence in August 1719.

The Duke's architect at Cannons, John Price, published his proposal for the Cavendish Square site as an engraving in 1720. The design, captioned: "The Elevation of a New House Intended for His Grace Duke of Chandos in Mary Bone Fields Design'd by John Price, Architect", bears a close relationship to

Price's engraved elevations for the east and south fronts of Cannons published in the same year. (Figure 61)

In 1721, Chandos cut back on the scale of the building and consulted Lord Harcourt's surveyor, Edward Wilcox, writing to the former:

I have taken the liberty to trouble you with the Plans made for the house I had thoughts of building in the New Square. If yr lordship will do me the Honr to countenance me so far as to prevail with Mr Wilcox to look them over and reduce them into a less expensive compass such an one as would not exceed 8 or 10,000 I shall alwaies deem it as a particular favour.<sup>60</sup>

In 1723, the Duke finally commissioned Edward Shepherd, his surveyor at Cannons to build two smaller houses on the east and west sides (number 9 on the corner of Harley and Chandos Street and number 16) writing to him:

I send you enclosed the last Plan of the house you drew for me, in which I have made considerable alterations both in the length and Breadth, especially in the Disposition of the rooms, in order to render it more convenient. I am sensible this would make it more expensive and if it was not that I proposed by the alteration I have made in the Inside to render it unnecessary to have any more than an attick Story of 12 or 14 foot high over head and this on the other hand will I hope make the change a great deal less. Pray will you draw out a fair plan of it and let me have it if possible on Monday night... I wish you could finish a design for the Attick Story above and to make it as convenient and as many rooms as you can allowing one side to make a handsome apartment.<sup>61</sup>

In 1725 the Duke was sourcing wood to wainscot three or four rooms.<sup>62</sup> By May 1726, Shepherd only needed £1000 to complete both houses and he was released from his contract on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1729.<sup>63</sup> (Figure 62)

The house on the eastern side of the square was sold to Governor Adams in 1730 for £3400.<sup>64</sup> The western house, however, required further work.<sup>65</sup> By 1731

Chandos was writing anxiously to his steward, James Farquharson:

relating to ye house in Cav Sq if I am to finish ye house & Offices (wch you know will come to about 600£ more than ye 1800£ already agreed for the very finishing will cost me 2400£ and when this is added to ye charge I have already been at for guilding ye outside you'll easily see I cant be a saver if I sell it for less than 5000£ and if I am to add 30 feet of ground to this house as was done to ye other I am determind not to part with it under that price and rather than do so I think to fit it up for my own living in and sell ye house I have in St James Square.<sup>66</sup>

The Duke commissioned the painter Gaetano Brunetti to paint the staircase ceiling before he occupied this house with Duchess Cassandra in 1735.<sup>67</sup> It remained in his possession and was sold after his death.<sup>68</sup>

Chandos did not fulfil his ambition to build a ducal residence in Cavendish Square, although he continued to look at ways of developing the site, instructing John Wood to look at a plan for “a House for that middle part of the Ground” where he “might have an opportunity of showing what the Bath stone wou'd do in Town”.<sup>69</sup> His main town house remained the former residence of the impeached Jacobite James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, in St James's Square (numbers 9-11), which occupied the largest frontage onto the square (119'6").<sup>70</sup> Chandos undertook minor work to the fabric and commissioned the Venetian artist Antonio Bellucci to paint two ceilings (in the Visiting Room and the Picture Room), but by 1724 his financial difficulties led him to try to sell it to Sir Robert Walpole.<sup>71</sup>



In 1732 he considered approaching the architect and author of An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture, (1728) Roger Morris:

...who is now I hear grown a great builder...about selling or dividing my house in St James's Square as also that in Cavendish Square as he has obligations to me and perhaps may be enduced thereby to serve me in this affair.<sup>72</sup>

He finally sold Chandos House in January 1735 to the builder Benjamin Timbrell who pulled it down to build three new houses.<sup>73</sup>

The Duke of Chandos did not achieve his architectural ambitions to build Augustan London in the image of Augustan Rome, but his pioneering role in hydraulic engineering showed that his determination to follow Vitruvius's example.<sup>74</sup> The Duke was responsible for "a considerable part of this new development" in London's water supply, and encouraged scientific experiments into water pressure and the development of new pipes.<sup>75</sup> He was patron of the natural philosopher John Theophilus Desaguliers (whom he commissioned to conduct experiments for the ornamental waterworks at Cannons, whilst employed as chaplain at Cannons from 1716 and rector of St Lawrence,Whitchurch from1719).<sup>76</sup> Desaguliers dedicated his translation of Edmé Mariotte's The Motion of Water to the Duke in 1718, in which he compared him with Augustus:

Among the Arts and Sciences, which Your Lordship has always cherish'd and countenanc'd, Experimental Philosophy... has met with so much Encouragement...so when Virgil's Shephcrd had been restor'd to his Flocks by the Favour of Augustus, he does not think it enough to say... Deus nobis haec otia fecit: But adds... Illus Aram Saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus. I should be tempted to apply the Poet's Character of that Emperor to Your Lrdship, were I not assur'd that no one who has heard of Your name, can be a Stranger to Your excellent Qualities.<sup>77</sup>

Desaguliers was also involved in advising on the Duke's projects for reservoirs in London, particularly on the diameter and routing of the pipes and on the development of a water pumping machine that could raise water to fill the reservoirs.<sup>78</sup> In March 1725, Chandos leased a plot of land north of Cavendish Square to the York Buildings Company, so that they could build a reservoir to provide water to the neighbouring squares.<sup>79</sup> (Figure 63) The Marylebone Basin was built by 1726, followed by another reservoir for St James's Square, in 1727 (also administered by the York Buildings Company). (Figure 64)

There were rumours that the Duke of Chandos had ambitions in other area of Roman engineering, namely road building. A contemporary newsletter commented:

Some say that Carnarvon on account of his having ground to build in St James's Park is to pave the highway from Devonshire House to Hyde Park Corner and to allow 100 per annum for maintaining and repairing it.<sup>80</sup>

In addition, he was reported to be purchasing all the land to the north of his prospective great house in Cavendish Square, as far as Cannons, so that he could ride through his own property. The rumour was unfounded, despite the Duke's admission to Henry Portman in 1719 that he had "for some time past enjoyed the benefit of a very convenient passage out of town through the park to my house in the country".<sup>81</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was an active patron of public architectural projects, but the legacy of his patronage has been distorted by misrepresentation. In 1734

his unexecuted plans for Cavendish Square attracted a bitter attack in Benjamin Ralph's A Critical Review of Publick Buildings, which was dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. Ralph praised Burlington's contribution to architecture:

I always intended to inscribe these papers to the greatest genius and most finish'd judge... You my lord, have... a natural right to all acknowledgment of this kind 'tis owing to you that taste and elegance are so much the fashion... Folly in building is one of the most lasting reflections of a man's character is because 'tis not only universally known in his own time, but is often perpetuated thro many generations.<sup>82</sup>

He also explained the importance and rarity of architectural taste in his Preface:

Being An Essay on Taste:

Nothing is so common as the affectation of taste and hardly anything is so seldom found... no one can properly be stiled a gentleman who has not made use of every opportunity to enrich his own capacity and settle the elements of taste.

before launching an attack on the Duke of Chandos by criticising the unfinished north side of Cavendish Square:

here we shall see the folly of attempting great things before we are sure we can accomplish little ones. Here 'tis the modern plague of building was first stayed, and I think the rude unfinished figure of this project should deter others from a like infatuation... I am morally assur'd that more people are displeas'd at seeing this square lie in its present neglected condition than are entertained with what was meant for elegance or ornament in it... It is said the imperfect side of this square was laid out for a certain Nobleman's palace which was to have extended the whole length and that the two detach'd houses which now stand at each end of the line, were to have been the wings; I am apt to believe this can be no other than a vulgar mistake, for these structures, tho' exactly alike could have been no way of a piece with any regular or stately building and 'tis to be presum'd this Nobleman would have as little attempted any other as he would have left any attempt unfinished.<sup>83</sup>

The Duke of Chandos was unable to achieve his ambitious architectural programme of public works because of financial problems, but he looked for

opportunities to promote “publica magnificentia” rather than simply build statements of private luxury.<sup>84</sup> As an Augustan patron he played a decisive early role in the architectural development of Bath and Bridgwater and as a new Vitruvius, supported critical experiments in the provision of water engineering and sanitation for London. Chandos made an important contribution towards “promoting the Publick Good” in his encouragement of important technological advances and in his support for public works.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. Zanker: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, Ann Arbor, 1988, p.336.

<sup>2</sup> A. McKay: Inside the Ancient World. Vitruvius, Architect and Engineer, Basingstoke and London, 1978, p.21.

<sup>3</sup> T. Cornell, M. Crawford, J. North: Art and Production in the World of the Caesars, Milan, 1987, p.18: “public works were seen as a way of enhancing the personal standing of the individual politicians and generals who sponsored them”.

<sup>4</sup> See P.Ayres: ‘Pope’s Epistle to Burlington: The Vitruvian Analogies’, in Studies in English Literature (30), 1990, Houston, Texas, ps. 429-444.

<sup>5</sup> Preface to Book I of Vitruvius’s De architectura libri decem quoted in P.Ayres, op.cit.note 4, p.434.

<sup>6</sup> A. Ashley Cooper: ‘A Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design’ in B.Rand (Ed.): Rght Hon.Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury: Second Characters or the Language of Forms, Cambridge, 1914, p.21.

<sup>7</sup> A. Ashley Cooper, op.cit.note 6, p.22.

<sup>8</sup> J.Butt (Gen.Ed.): The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope Vol.iii (ii) F.Bateson (Ed.): Alexander Pope: Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), London, 1961, p.155, Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, lines 192-194.

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<sup>9</sup> A. Ashley Cooper, op.cit.note 6, p.22.

<sup>10</sup> T. Friedman: James Gibbs, New Haven and London, 1984, ps. 225-23.

<sup>11</sup> T. Friedman op.cit. note 10, p.226.

<sup>12</sup> T.Friedman, op.cit.note 10, p.225 discusses the fundraising for the project, which cost £13,000 to build from 1722-30. In 1720 George I gave £2,000, the Duke of Chandos £800 and the Earl of Anglesey £500. In 1725 Robert Walpole gave £300 and in 1728 George II contributed a further £2,000.

<sup>13</sup> Scottish Record Office GD 220/856/3-5: Letter from the Duke of Montrose to the principal of the College of Glasgow, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1726: "In pursuance of the Power given to me by the Duke of Chandois, I have this day sign'd a Paper appointing the Use for which the money given by his Grace to the College of Glasgow shall be applied and I hope it is done in such a manner as will be of real service to the University and likewise preserve the Memory of his Graces favour to the University, but in regard that the money with the Interest thereof may not perhaps at present be sufficient for defraying the charges of the Building intended, I think it proper to... delay the building of the Librery [sic] for a certain time not exceeding three years in case you shall find that the five Hundred Pounds, with the by gone Interest already due thereupon is not sufficient for building a House of the Quality and dimentions requisite".

<sup>14</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST57, Vol. 23, f.5 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Duke of Atholl, dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1722. The chair was originally of Eloquence, but changed in 1720 to Anatomy and Medicine.

<sup>15</sup> S. Frere: Britannia. A History of Roman Britain, London, 1967, p.231 explains how the Britons and Celts were not originally town dwellers, but the Roman occupation and construction of towns with the provision of prestigious public buildings such as baths, temples, forums and basilicas were both a way of providing the indigenous population with services and controlling them.

<sup>16</sup> L. Stewart: The Rise of Public Science. Rhetoric, Technology and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain 1660-1750, Cambridge, 1992, p.216 states that Chandos's motivation was "a history of much greed and just as much skulduggery as financial imaginations could devise" in the context of Chandos's motivation and interest in natural philosophy and science.

<sup>17</sup> See: T. Mowl and B. Earnshaw: John Wood. Architect of Obsession, Bath, 1988.

<sup>18</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.31, f.175, a letter from the Duke of Chandos dated 4<sup>th</sup> April 1728 to Mr Theobald. According to C.&

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M.Collins Baker: The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos, Oxford, 1949, p.300, Chandos first asked Edward Shepherd and John Strachan of Bristol for plans and estimates. According to W. Ison: The Georgian Buildings of Bath from 1700-1830, Bath, 1948, p.126, William Killigrew was the first architect to be employed on the project (he had built a new chapel for the hospitallers in 1723).

<sup>19</sup> H.Colvin (Ed.): A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, New Haven and London, 1995, 3d edition, p.1074.

<sup>20</sup> See E. Harris: 'John Wood's system of architecture', Burlington Magazine, Vol.CXXXI, no.1031, February 1989, London, ps. 101-107.

<sup>21</sup> T. Mowl and B.Earnshaw op.cit. note 17, p.29, quoting a letter from the Duke of Chandos to John Wood, dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1726 returning plans to Wood. These may have been early plans for Chandos's buildings in Bath.

<sup>22</sup> J.Wood: An Essay Towards a Description of Bath in four parts, London, 2d edition, 1749, Vol.1, p.232.

<sup>23</sup> J.Wood op.cit.note 22, Vol. 2, p.24.Wood described how he "resolved to become an Undertaker myself of two considerable Works that then presented themselves to me. The first was a Court of Houses for his Grace James late Duke of Chandos, the second was a large canal for compleating the Navigation of the river Avon... For part of the former I entered into a contract the 23<sup>rd</sup> January".

<sup>24</sup> John Wood op.cit.note 22, Vol. 2, p.241.

<sup>25</sup> For more detail see T.Mowl and B.Earnshaw op.cit.note 17, ps.29-33 and C.& M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 18, ps.300-328.

<sup>26</sup> Hereford Record Office K12/44, letter from William Brydges to Francis, at Bath, dated 16<sup>th</sup> August 1726: "lodged at Mrs Shirston's near the Cross Bath... He has chanced on a clean sweet house and very civil and obliging landladies, two old maids. It is said that [the Duke of Chandos] has bought the house he is lodged in, and several other houses and gardens near it for £2500 and desires to build a house here, or a square or God knows what. Marchant the quaker has been the transacting agent but all people are positive it has been done for the Duke". Chandos paid £3250 for the site according to R.Neale: Bath 1680-1850. A Social History, London, 1981, p.119.

<sup>27</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.28, f.244, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Marchant dated 30<sup>th</sup> July 1726.

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<sup>28</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.28, f.225, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Marchant, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1726.

<sup>29</sup> R.Neale op.cit.note 26, p.40 explains Chandos's calculations that his landladies could charge 10 shillings for a room and 5 shillings for a kitchen or garret. He estimated that Mrs Phillips could earn £520 for a 20 week season.

<sup>30</sup> C.& M. Collins Baker, op.cit. note 18, ps.302-3.

<sup>31</sup> For accounts of the work see Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST12, Vol.4, f.46 to John Wood: "To cash for the amount of the Original Articles Mrs Phillips's House X2400... To ditto for rebuilding the hospital £100. To ditto for 190 ½ square feet of building over the Hospital more than is mentiond in the articles at ten shillings a foot £95.5. Total: £3139.2.9".

f.46 "1728: to cash for the original articles for Mrs Degges House £2500... To ditto for Mr Careys vaults and the Rooms over them £150... To ditto for building Mrs Robertsons House £970. Total: 4907.4.2 ¾."

f.49 "by cash abated upon the balance of account for Mrs Phillips's House £10.6.5. Deducted for deficiencys in Mrs Phillips's House £15.19.10. Mr Shepherds deduction for old doors casements sashes & Pan tyle for wainscot that is wanting & for rustick basement amounts to £21.4.4. By balance paid to John Wood £4500.7.9."

<sup>32</sup> R.Neale op.cit.note 26, p.136

<sup>33</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 32, f.31, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to John Wood, dated 4<sup>th</sup> July 1728.

<sup>34</sup> For complaints about roofing see C.& M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 18, p.313.

<sup>35</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.52 f.172 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Wood, dated 24<sup>th</sup> September 1728.

<sup>36</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.30 f.290 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mrs Phillips, dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1727.

<sup>37</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.36, f.47, letter from the Duke of Chandos to the Bishop of Llandaff, dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1730.

<sup>38</sup> B.Cunliffe: The city of Bath, Gloucester, 1986, p.122: "Wood was proposing to create a new Rome suited to the manners and susceptibilities of his time – a great Palladian city".

<sup>39</sup> W. Ison, op.cit. note 18, p.126.

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<sup>40</sup> C.& M.Collins Baker, op.cit.note 18, p.310.

<sup>41</sup> For a description of Wood's intentions for Bath see his description in Essay Towards a Description of Bath quoted in note 22. For a general description of Wood's building work in Bath see R. Neale, op.cit.note 18, ps.186-199.

<sup>42</sup> C.& M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 18, ps. 221-235. These commercial activities were to be a cloth mill set up by Devon clothiers, a glass factory, a soap works and a distillery.

<sup>43</sup> See R.Dunning (Ed.): A History of the County of Somerset, Vol.VI, Oxford, 1992 and Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.21, f.57, letter from Duke of Chandos to Mr Payne dated 20<sup>th</sup> September 1722.

<sup>44</sup> Northampton Record Office Box 22: Letter Book of the Duke of Chandos November 1721 to June 1722, f.2, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Hoar, dated 9<sup>th</sup> November 1721.

<sup>45</sup> Northampton Record Office Box 22: Letter Book of the Duke of Chandos November 1721 to June 1722, f.93, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Major Crosby dated 5<sup>th</sup> February 1722.

<sup>46</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.21, f.57, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Payne, dated 20<sup>th</sup> September 1722: "I am persuaded as you observe it 'd have been more for my Interest to have built ye whole street myself but... I am willing however to build ye remaining four houses".

<sup>47</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.28, f.289, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Oldmixon, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1726.

<sup>48</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.30, f.49 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Cope dated 6<sup>th</sup> June 1727.

<sup>49</sup> R. Neale op.cit. note 18, p.130, estimates that the Duke only made a return of £450 per annum on the estate.

<sup>50</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 17, f.348 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr D'Avenant, dated 9<sup>th</sup> February 1721.

<sup>51</sup> T. Friedman op.cit. note 10, p.206, quote from the Weekly Medley, 1719.

<sup>52</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey, Vol.V, London, 1899, p.550, letter from Edward Harley to Lord Harley dated 26th December 1717. Lord



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Oxford wrote that Lords Dartmouth, Carnarvon, Harcourt, Bingley, Bathurst and Carleton were interested in acquiring land to develop Cavendish Square.

<sup>53</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.17, f.65 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Auditor Harley, dated 26th April 1720 asking for an answer to his letter and ST 57 Vol.16, f.207 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Auditor Harley dated 4th July 1719: "I have almost finisht the Wall about the ground I have taken of Ld Harley and were ye 2 points settled wch I was in hopes wou'd have been before this time I don't know but you might see the House up before the end of the summer. Wt I mean sir is the ground rent reduct .. and ye road way turnd".

<sup>54</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission op.cit.note 52, Vol.V, p.617, letter from Edward Harley to Lord Harley, dated 6<sup>th</sup> March 1721.  
Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.17, f.121 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Auditor Harley, dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1720: "It was certainly the agreement between us that the ground I have taken should extend in length 950' & begin to be computed from the bound of Ld Harleys ground and not remain in my Lds power to place it as much more forward in the square as he pleased... you were pleased to give me an hint that the ground was Crown land & that I might perhaps by my Interest obtain a grant from the king and then should be allowed to enlarge my garden backwards as much as I would".

<sup>55</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.23, f.71, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr P. Williams, dated 14<sup>th</sup> September 1722: "I desired Mr Zolicofre to leave the lease of the grounds I have taken from Ld Harley with you my reason for it is to desire you will peruse it & let me have yr opinion (which Mr Philpott shall wait on you to morrow or Saturday for the enclosed queries. The Lease of the Ground in Cavendish Square granted by the Ld & Lady Harley to the Dk of Chandos stipulates that there shall be one house built thereupon by the Ld Dk within such a terms led space of time. Qu: Whether the Lease stipulating that one House shall be built by the Duke is a restriction from his building more than one & whether that piece of Ground being leased to him for a long number of years he may not convert the whole piece into street?" ST 57, Vol.23, f.72 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr P Williams, dated 19<sup>th</sup> September 1722: "I am exceeding glad to understand I have it in my power to make such use of that ground, since it will prove so great an advantage to my family".

<sup>56</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.23, f.333, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Harcourt, dated 13<sup>th</sup> September 1723.

<sup>57</sup> For information on Galilei see A.Placzek (Ed.): Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architects, New York and London, 1982, Vol.2, ps.145-149.

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<sup>58</sup> See E.Kieven: 'Galilei in England', Country Life, Vol. CLIII, No. 3944, 25<sup>th</sup> January 1973, London, ps. 210-212.

<sup>59</sup> I. Toesca: 'Alessandro Galilei in Inghilterra', English Miscellany, No 3, 1952, Rome, p.201, p.213 No.10. Toesca points out that the design could possibly be a design for Cannons, but there is no other reference to Galilei's involvement at Cannons and the building work there was already very advanced.

<sup>60</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, ST 57, Vol.17, f.356 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Harcourt, dated 16<sup>th</sup> February 1721.

<sup>61</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 21, f.316 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Edward Shepherd, dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1723.

<sup>62</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.26, f.297, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Willis, dated 6<sup>th</sup> September 1725: "I am also upon building a house in Town and if you have any sort of wood of a whiteish or light colour and well vein'd fit for wainscoting I shall be very glad if you'l give yrself the trouble to send me over such a number of Planks as wou'd be sufficient to wainscot three or four rooms".

<sup>63</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 28, f.117 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Gibson, dated 18<sup>th</sup> May 1726. Shepherd needed £1000 to finish the houses, "in regard Mr Shepherd ..will have occasion of 1000 to finish the Houses he hath built for me in Cavendish Square" followed by f.196, a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Gibson dated 7<sup>th</sup> July 1726: "I hope Mr Symmonds will not make any further difficulty to advance Mr Shepherd (who is the Surveyor & carries on the buildings I Cavendish Square) the Sum he desires. There will not be occasion of the whole at once and if he can have but 400£ at present he will be enabled to proceed in finishing the two which I have covered in and before this sum can be expended it is reasonable to imagine the purchase will be completed". For the completion of Shepherd's contract in Cavendish Square see C.& M.Collins Baker, op.cit.note 18, p.273.

<sup>64</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 37, f.71 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Woodson, dated 15<sup>th</sup> June 1730: "I have... a House in Cavendish Square which I have lately built and finished and believe I may venture to affirm there is not a stronger and better built House in the Town. There is a handsome garden belonging to it and at the end a Coach house and stabling for 10 or 14 Horse. I should be glad if you could help me to a Purchaser for it and would let it go at 4000".

<sup>65</sup> T. Mowl and B.Earnshaw op.cit.note 17, p.14 says that John Wood did not take up the Duke's offer to work on the house. C.&M.Collins Baker op.cit.note 18,

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suggests that Wood was involved, ps.272-276. The correspondence quoted suggests that Wood was involved on a later development.

<sup>66</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts, STB Box 14 (55), letter from the Duke of Chandos to his steward, James Farquharson, dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1731. ST30: 28<sup>th</sup> January 1732: “pd Morris Stevens painter in full of his bill for painting at your Graces Westward house in Cavendish Square.”

<sup>67</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 19 To J. Farquharson steward, f.22: “I am mighteily pleased to hear that Mr Brunetti will have finisht so soon what he is about in Cavendish Square pray do you mean that ye whole will be done by Xmas so as that the Scaffolding may be taken away and ye hall cleared out.”

STB Box 19, f.23 (16) 29<sup>th</sup> November 1735: “it was a very agreeable piece of news to me to hear I shall have the purchase money for the house in St James’s Square paid me so soon as Lady day; but it is a very great Surprize to me to understand the bills for work done about Cavendish Square come to such an immense sum of money as to upwards of 1600£. You know very well the first Estimate Mr Timbrell gave me (and for which he undertook by Parole the work should be done) came but to 500£ nor can I recollect that any new work was added to it but the building the Chaplains room and the Porters room over it together with a large Vault for Wine under the Garden another for Coals opposite to the Kitchen and that long passage in which the Servants are to dine together with what other jobs were done in the inside of the house in fitting it up against we came into it... Mr Timbrel has acted very unworthily by me in this affair... It is likewise a pleasure to me to hear the Staircase & hall will be entirely finisht by Xmas.”

STB Box 19, letters from Duke of Chandos to James Farquharson, steward dated 18<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> December and 16 December 1735 regarding Mr Haudoroy finishing the ceiling gilding.

<sup>68</sup> Harrow Reference Library A3/28: “Copy of Act for resting part of the settled estates of... Henry Duke of Chandos in Trustees for raising money to discharge Incumbrances... sell unto the said Joseph Taylor and Jn Howell their Heirs and Assigns All that new erected Messuage Tenement or New built House with the Appurtenances situated standing and being at the west end of the North side of Cavendish Square on a piece or parcel of Ground containing 50’ in front towards Cavendish Square and in depth on the East and West side of the said House 211 feet and all Houses Outhouses Stables Yards Gardens ways waters watercourses easements profits commodities and Advantages thereto belonging situate...and all that and those other Piece and pieces... were formerly part and parcel of certain Fields there called the 10 acres field.. the whole ground containing in Depth from South to North 1925’ or thereabouts...1395’ little more or less

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..demised by the sd James later Duke of Chandos..unto the Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames Water in the York Buildings from 24 June 1725 for 99 years..except and reserved out of the sd grant one messuage or tenement erected at the E.end of the N.sideof Cavendish Square...containing in front towards the said Square 8' and 8" in depth 195' or thereabouts which had been therefore sold and conveyed by said James late Duke of Chandos unto Adams Esq."

<sup>69</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 32, f.49 letter from the Duke of Chandos to John Wood, dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1728: "Mr Theobald told me you were desirous to have the Plan sent you down for a Building in Cav Sq that you might have an opportunity of showing what the Bath stone wou'd do in Town. I send you down therefore inclosed a Plan, of a House for that middle part of the Ground which belongs to me & which if I find can be done at no great expence I do not know but I may be tempted when I sell my house in St James's Sq to put in execution. I shou'd tell you there is to be but a cellar story ten foot high viz four foot in the ground and 6 foot above it. A Parlour or Principal Floor 18 feet high and an Attick 10 foot high over it, but neither over the Library nor the building on the other side which answer it is there to be any building. Pray let me know as soon as you can what you wou'd undertake to finish such a building for I shou'd tell you I wou'd have it finished with nothing but plain strong deal wainscot painted...exclusive of the library and principal doors for which I have wood of sorts ..just now arrived from Virginia".

<sup>70</sup> F.Sheppard (Gen.Ed): Survey of London, Vol XXIX: The Parish of St James Westminster. Part One. South of Piccadilly, London, 1960, ps.118-125. Chandos failed to buy it at auction on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1719 for £7500, but secured it on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1720 for £10,000.

<sup>71</sup> F.Sheppard op.cit.note 70, p.122. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 24, f.8 a letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Gibson, dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1724:"as I propose to build on part of the Ground I am buying I intend to sell my House in St James's Square & perhaps Mr Walpole may be inclined to buy it for himself or Lord Walpole".

<sup>72</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 13 (16) letter from the Duke of Chandos to his steward, James Farquharson dated 19<sup>th</sup> January 1732. STB Box 13 (60) letter from the Duke of Chandos to Farquharson dated 21<sup>st</sup> October 1731: "ye house in St James's Square... is abundantly too bigg for me and I am determined either to sell it outright or divide it into two if I do ye first I shall hope it will bring me 12 or 14000£ with ye furniture if ye latter I shall have a house big enough to live in and likewise another to sell wch will yield me according to ye rate ye houses sell at in ye Square 5000£ Mr Walker has made out a plan for such a division and I wish you would talk with him upon it & ye expense of executing it".

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<sup>73</sup> F.Shepphard op.cit.note 70, p.122.

<sup>74</sup> See A.McKay op.cit.note 2, p. 57. Book 8 of Vitruvius's Ten Books on architecture deals with hydraulic engineering. Vitruvius and the curator aquarum publicam M.Vipsanius Agrippa helped to design a new lead pipe (quinarius) and to repair the water supply to Rome. In 33 B.C.Agrippa built the Julian aqueduct into Rome. It is estimated that the water supply to Rome increased 75% because of these new water works.

<sup>75</sup> L.Stewart op.cit.note 16, p.328.

<sup>76</sup> Nicholas Hawksmoor wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough: "I cannot but own that the water at Cannons, the Duke of Chandos's is the main beauty of that situation and it cost him dear, but your Grace may have a Greater Beauty with much less expence", quoted in E. Malins: English Landscaping and Literature, London,1966, p.41. For information on John Lowthorp see L. Stewart op.cit.note 16, p.235, note 67. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 28, f.9, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1720: "Mr Lowthorp's Calculation and thoughts upon the Jet d'Eaux proposed in the garden at Cannons". L.Stewart, p.328: "From the beginning, Desaguliers was involved in the scheme to expand the water resources of the ... metropolis... A considerable part of this new development was in the hands of the Duke of Chandos. In 1719 Desaguliers reported on his calculations on the capacity of the Cowley stream, a branch of the Uxbridge river".

<sup>77</sup> J.Desaguliers (Ed.): The Motion of Water, and Other Fluids.Being a Treatise of Hydrostaticks. Written originally in French, by the late Monsieur Marriotte, Member of the Royal Academy of Paris, London, 1718, Dedication, p.iv. For information on Desaguliers see L.Stewart, op.cit.note 16, ps.214-6, p.337 shows how Desaguliers was required by the Duke to conduct experiments to free water supply from vapour locks and experiment on different types of pipes including elm, copper, lead and iron.

<sup>78</sup> L. Stewart op.cit.note 16, p.337. For instance the "Newcomen" steam engine.

<sup>79</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 25, f.290 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Lord Oxford 20 March 1725: "I have discourst with the Gentlemen of the York Buildings Co and find 'em disposed to take the Ground adjoining to Marybone Fields upon the foot of the latter proposal viz the whole Ground in length containing 1395 foot and 200 ft in breadth which Breadth is to be middle of the 340 feet which the whole width contains whereby there will be 70 feet on each side reserved for yr Lrdship & me to build on I believe they'l come up to 300 p ann rent. ST 57, Vol.25, f. 213 letter from the Duke of Chandos to Colonel Samuel Horsey dated 30th July 1725: "the E of Oxford and I have this morning executed the

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Lease to the YB Company of the ground in Cavendish Square so that this being finisht I am very desirous to make an end of the other proposal viz that of selling outright to the company my share of the reservoir and also the piece of ground they are about taking of me of 50 feet in depth and 100 in length”.

For a history of the York Buildings Company see H.Dickinson: The Water Supply of Greater London, London, 1954 and D.Murray: The York Buildings Company, Glasgow, 1883. The company was originally the Thames Water Supply Company, their waterworks were on the site of Old York House in the Strand. In October 1719 the company was newly constituted and the Duke of Chandos was chosen as Governor. The new company: “ordered and enacted that this company in order to improve their undertaking of raising Thames Water in York buildings for the better supplying of the inhabitants of this part of London and Westminster” issued a subscription for £1.2million. The Basin can be seen on a map of 1746 by John Rocque. P.Thorold: The London Rich. The Creation of a Great City from 1666 to the Present, Bury St Edmunds, 1999, p.93, describes the failure of the reservoir and that it was demolished in the 1760s.

<sup>80</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission op.cit. note 52, p.541, dated 26th November 1717.

<sup>81</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.16 f.132, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Henry Portman, dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1719. The rumour was noted in J. Summerson: Georgian London, London, 1945 p.46.

<sup>82</sup> B. Ralph: A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues and Ornaments, London, 1734, ps.106-7.

<sup>83</sup> B.Ralph op.cit.note 82, p.10.

<sup>84</sup> The Duke’s correspondence comments on the state of his finances. Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol.32 f.44, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Mr Wallis, dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1728, where he explained “the rental of my estate is 17,000£ including £300 a yr for Lady Carnarvons jointure”. STB Box 13 (68), letter from the Duke to his steward James Farquharson, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1731: Income about 7200£ p.ann in net money, but 520£ p ann deducted which is interest of 13000£ at 4% for purchase of estate at Shaw, Berkshire; aims to save 3000£ and make income within 3700£ by living at Cannons; weekly charges of 30£ per week; Servants cost 500£ per ann; debts to Mr Gibson and 40000£ for Bridgwater. ST 57, Vol.32 f.59, letter from the Duke of Chandos to John Drummond dated 15<sup>th</sup> July 1728 about the: “idle malicious story of the Duchess of Marlborough’s having made a seizure of all my Goods for no less a debt than a sum of 80000£ I cannot but admire the malice of mankind... for which there is not the least foundation of truth or probability... I have been so accustomed to

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this kind of usage in the world that this fresh Instance of their disposition towards me”.

<sup>85</sup> L. Stewart op.cit.note 16, p.16 shows how “Promoting the Public Good” became part of the rhetoric of the rise of science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

## CONCLUSION TO THE PATRONAGE AND COLLECTING OF JAMES BRYDGES, FIRST DUKE OF CHANDOS

The Duke of Chandos rose to the challenge to become an active patron of the arts in the early eighteenth century:

The Pleasure of Protecting Arts be yours  
A Royal care, and worthy of your Name,  
The justest and most glorious Road to Fame.<sup>1</sup>

But his patronage destroyed rather than enhanced his reputation. The main reasons for the misrepresentation and neglect that his activities have suffered involve the success of the campaign that aimed to vilify his achievements, followed by the destruction of the greatest monument to his patronage, Cannons, and the lack of visual records of his architectural projects.

In contrast to the numerous engravings and paintings that immortalise Lord Castlemain's house at Wanstead or Lord Burlington's at Chiswick, Cannons went almost unrecorded (with the exception of the engravings of the south and east elevations).<sup>2</sup> This surprising oversight has contributed to the neglect of a building that was celebrated during the Duke's lifetime. William Brydges described his visit to his relations at Cannons:

Upon Saturday last my nephew and I did goe to Cannons, where we were kindly received and generously entertained. I never saw so much grandeur and order in any family. Nothing was irksome but late hours. Between eleven and twelve we went to Chapell. About two of the clock we were sent for to his Lordship in his Library, staid there till Dinner (which was about an hour) and after Dinner were entertained with ingenious conversation, generous wine and a pipe until between nine and ten. Then went to supper. After supper we drank two or three glasses of wine whilst the Musicall instruments were tuned and then we were entertained with a Concert for an hour or more, then took a glass



of wine and a pipe and so to Bed, and by this time 'twas between one and two of the clock.<sup>3</sup>

Cannons was described as 'royally furnished' and was considered a sufficiently important location to host the Duke of Lorraine during his short visit to England in 1731. Chandos wrote to his steward to make preparations:

I hardly believe ye Duke of Lorrain will come to Cannons I hear his stay is not to be above ten days or a fortnight and there will be diversion enough cut out for him for that time without this, however I shall be very glad to have ye house put in order and ye furniture put up for should such an accident happen as his coming to see it I should as you observe be very sorry not to have it seen to ye best advantage. I am glad to hear ye Gardens are in such good order...<sup>4</sup>

Cannons also attracted so many other visitors that the Duke issued his servants with special instructions on how to deal with them. He ordered that

When the Steward is at home the House be shewn to no person whatever without his Leave and at other times that it be not shown to any but such as have the appearance of Gentlepeople.<sup>5</sup>

And

That for the future no person be sufferd to pass thro the Gates but the Gentlemen who live at Stanmore My Ld Essex My Ld Dalkeith Ld Chief Justice Raymond Mr Bucknal Mr Cooper & Capt Burden and to every other person who comes that answer be given that the road is now as good as the avenues...that when any company comes to see the House or Gardens if they are in Hackny coaches such coaches shall not be sufferd to come within the Gates but the company shall alight and walk up.<sup>6</sup>

The Groom of the Chambers was to "suffer no body to come into ye rooms but whom he goes along with himself, he being answerable for ye furniture and keeping it in good order" and the Library should not be "shewn to any person whatever for the future nor the House upon a Sunday".<sup>7</sup>

Very little information remains to testify to the importance of Cannons and its 105 acres of pleasure gardens as an architectural masterpiece. Chandos omitted to commemorate his projects visually, failing to deploy a form of propaganda in support of his patronage that would have provided vital evidence about the building after his death and its destruction.

The Duke's reputation was further undermined by the politics of eighteenth century patronage and Lord Burlington's campaign against him. But despite Pope's satire, Chandos's correspondence shows that his activities were informed by contemporary Whig philosophy, a belief that Augustan Rome provided the right model for Augustan England and support for the regime of his "great Friend & Benefactor" Sir Robert Walpole.<sup>8</sup> He agreed with Lord Shaftesbury that

We are now in an Age when Liberty is once again in its Ascendant... 'Tis with us at present, as with the Roman People in those early Days when they wanted only repose from Arms to apply themselves to the Improvement of Arts and Studys.<sup>9</sup>

And that encouragement of the arts would be:

Much to the Honour of our Nobles and Princes... 'Twould be of no small advantage to 'em during their Life; and wou'd more than all their other labours procure 'em an immortal Memory.<sup>10</sup>

This examination of the patronage and collecting of the Duke of Chandos argues for a re-evaluation of his reputation as a patron. As his entry in the Dictionary of National Biography shows, his spending on architecture and music has always been recognised, but not his leading role in the introduction and establishment of the new taste for Palladianism in England.<sup>11</sup> He was not the

tasteless collector portrayed in Of Taste, but an influential figure at the centre of eighteenth century patronage, builder of a celebrated house and supporter of public architectural projects, worthy to be hailed by contemporaries as the ‘Apollo’ and ‘Maecenas’ of the age:

From Great Apollo all these Wonders rose  
Wisely he chose and cherished whome he chose

...Apollo was the Bridges then of Greece  
Englands Apollo, Bridges now shall rise

...Bounteous as Cimon, as Maecenas sage  
Born to reform the Follies of an Age.  
Of Heroes fertile Rome no more shall plead  
The hoary Honours of her Patriots Dead,  
But veil the Honours of her Reverend Head.  
Athens and Lacedaemon shall no more,  
Be proud of all the Demi Gods they bore,  
But shall Augusta’s greater Son adore.  
For while Illustrious Bridges shall remain  
Their Ancient Worthies they shall Urge in Vain.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C.Gildon: Canons: Or, the Vision. A Poem Address’d to the Right Honourable James Earl of Caernarvon, London, 1717, p.3 lines 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> Wanstead House, whose architect was Colen Campbell is engraved in a number of plates in the three volumes of Campbell’s Vitruvius Britannicus. For a summary of these see P.Breman and D.Addis: Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus, New York, 1972, p.24.

For views of Chiswick House painted for Lord Burlington see J.Harris: The Palladian Revival, Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick, New Haven and London, 1994, ps. 101 and 103, catalogue numbers 27 and 29.

<sup>3</sup> Hereford Record Office A81/IV.

<sup>4</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts STB Box 14 (55), letter from the Duke of Chandos to his steward, James Farquharson dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1731.

<sup>5</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST24 f.54, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1724.

<sup>6</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST24, f.102, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1726.

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<sup>7</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST24, f.185, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1731 and STB Box 15 (1) letter from the Duke of Chandos to his steward, James Farquharson dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 1731.

<sup>8</sup> Huntington Library Stowe Manuscripts ST 57, Vol. 56 f.8, letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 1742.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks (I,118) quoted in P.Ayres: Anthony Ashley Cooper third Earl of Shaftesbury: Characteristicks of Men, Manners Opinions, Times, Oxford, 1999, Vol.1, p.xxi.

<sup>10</sup> A.Ashley Cooper: Characteristicks (I,118.9) quoted in P.Ayres, op.cit.note 9, p.xxi.

<sup>11</sup> L. Stephens (Ed.): The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.VII, London, 1886, ps.162-3.

<sup>12</sup> C.Gildon op.cit.note 1, ps.18-19.

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(Source: Original in Westminster Archive, Box 37, number 19a, illustration from P.Thorold: The London Rich. The Creation of a Great city from 1666 to the Present, Bury St Edmunds, 1999, p.95).



*A. P-pe a Plasterer white washing & Bespattering*     *D Taste*  
*B. any Body that comes in his way*                     *E a standings*  
*C. not a Duker Coach as sweats by it's Crest at one Corner*     *E a Labourer*

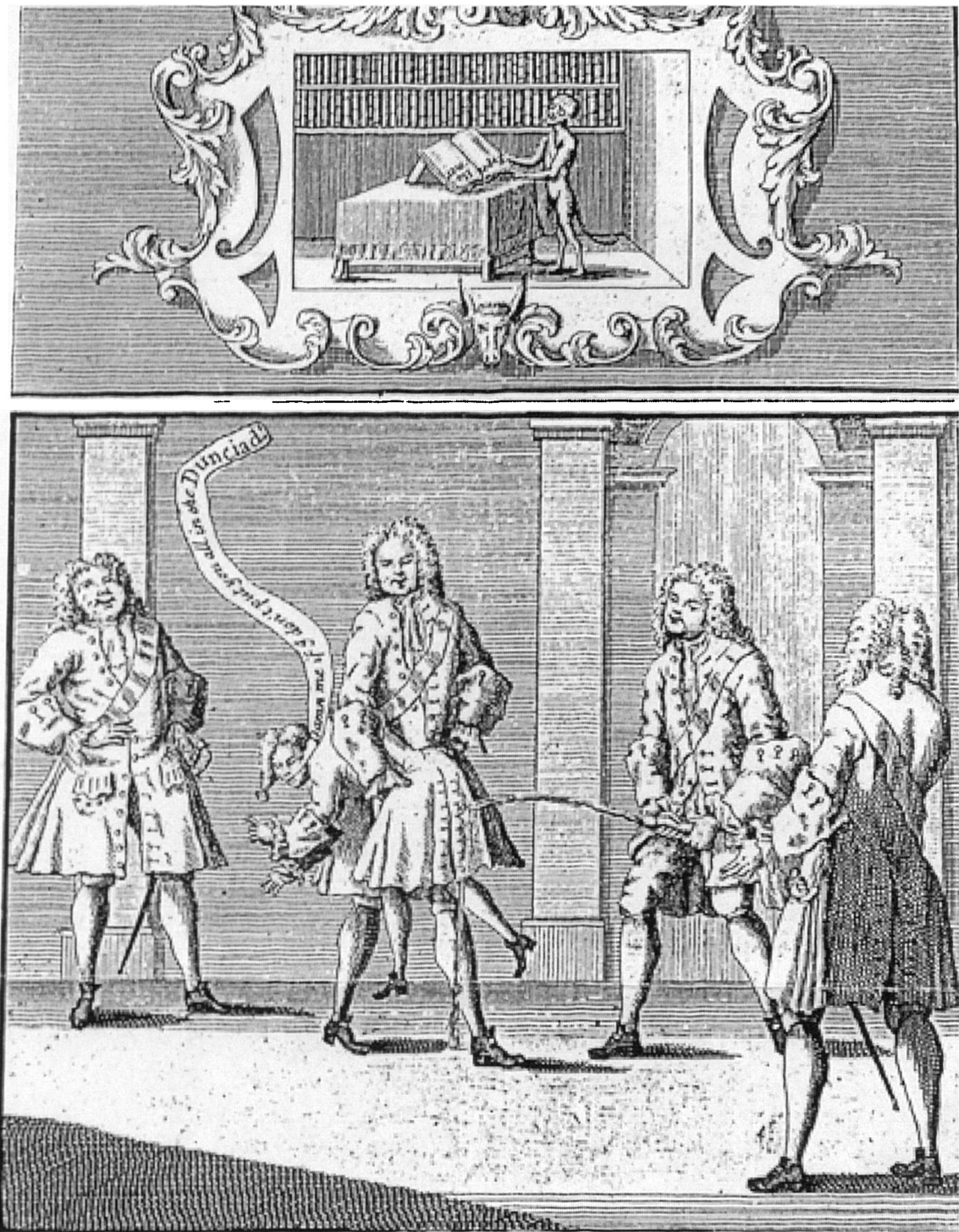


FIGURE 2

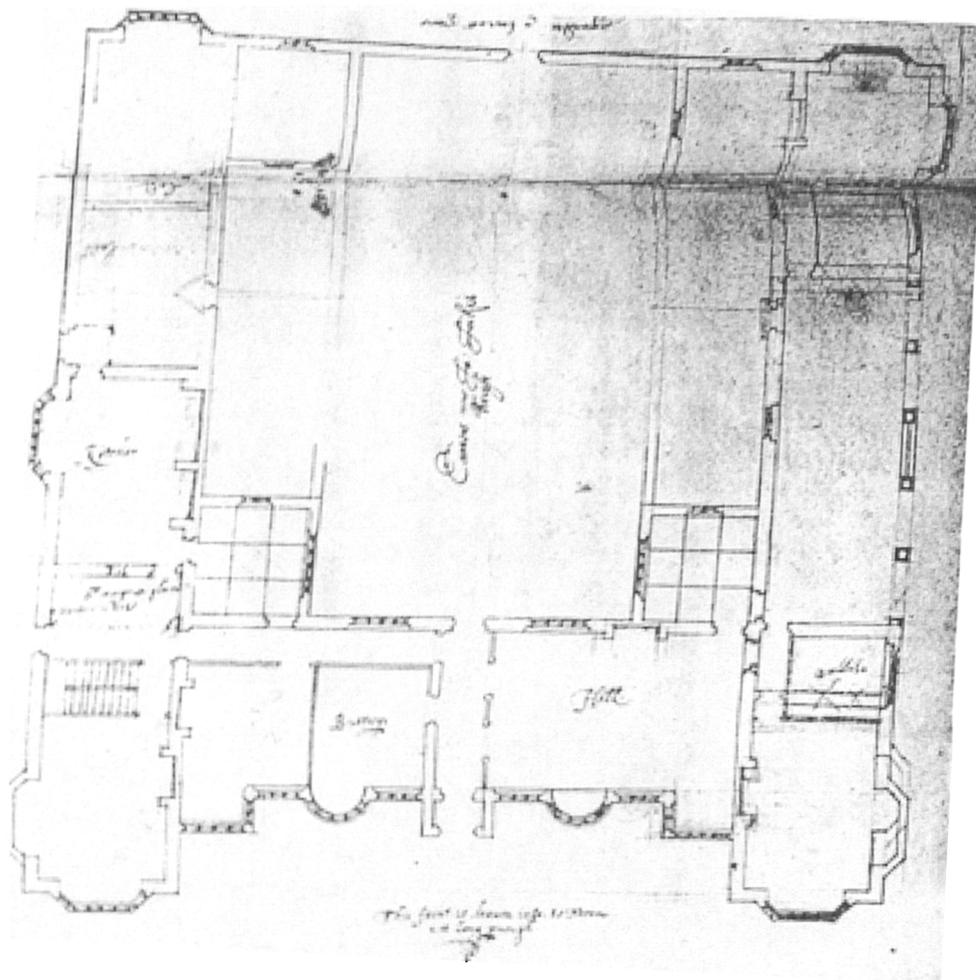


FIGURE 3

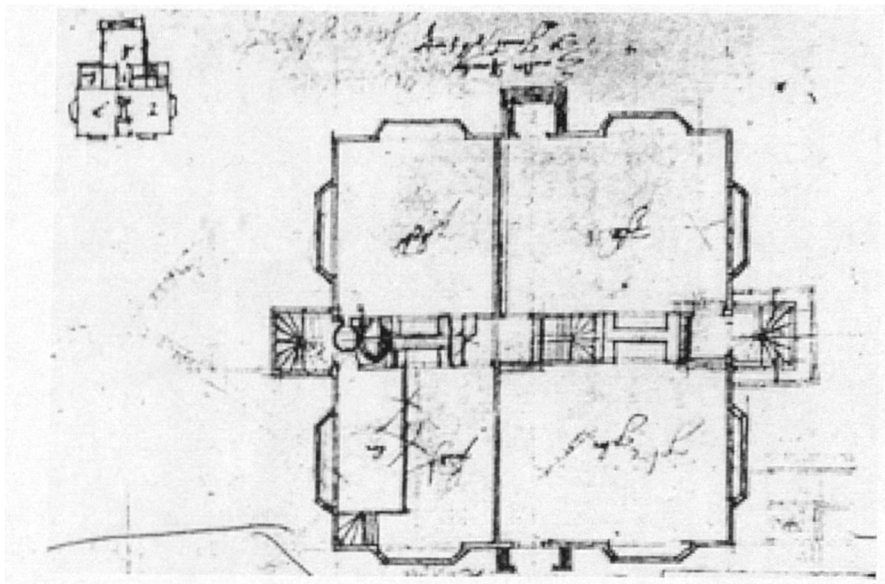


FIGURE 4

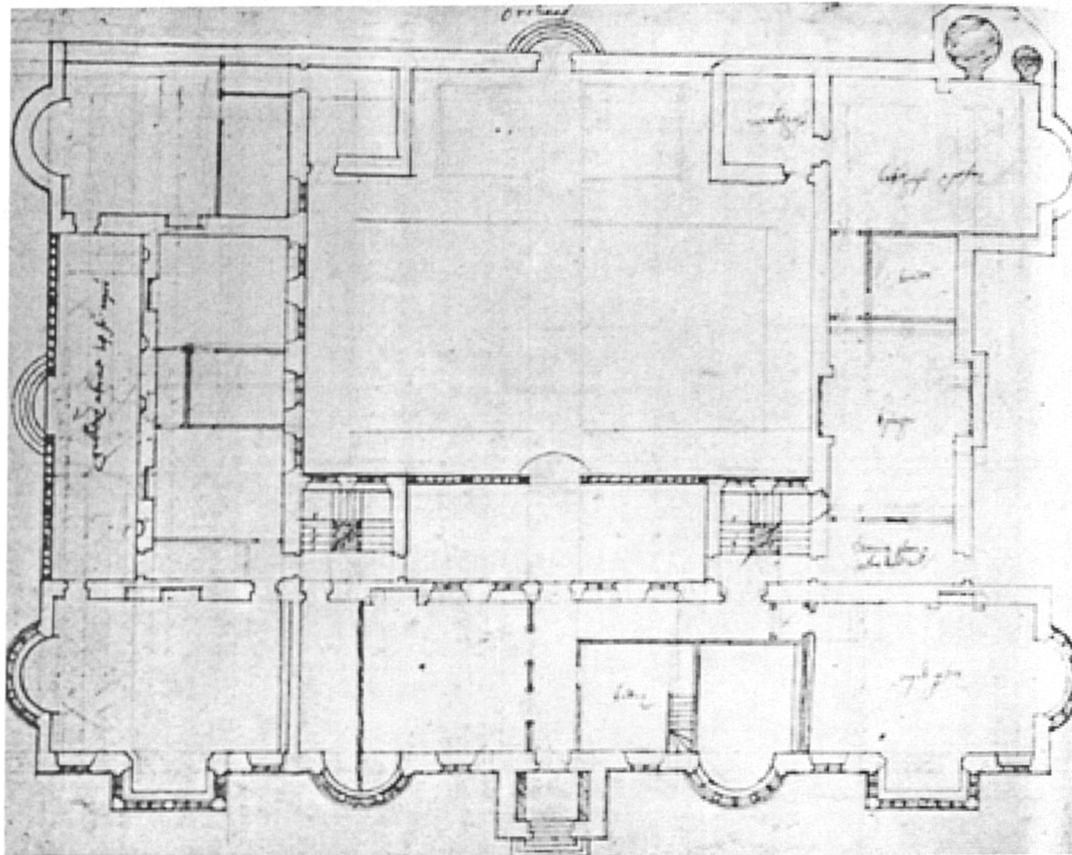
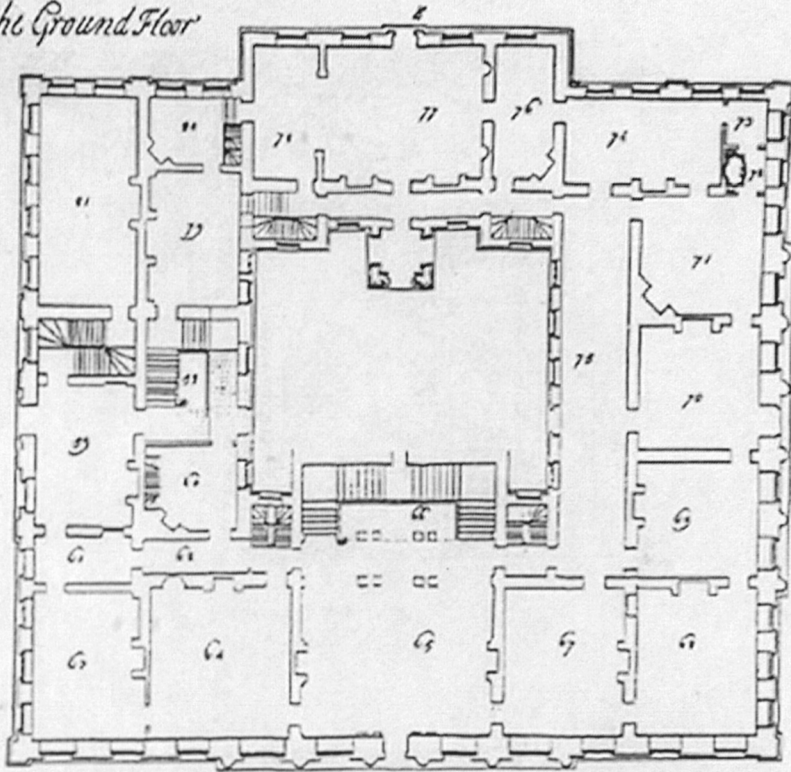
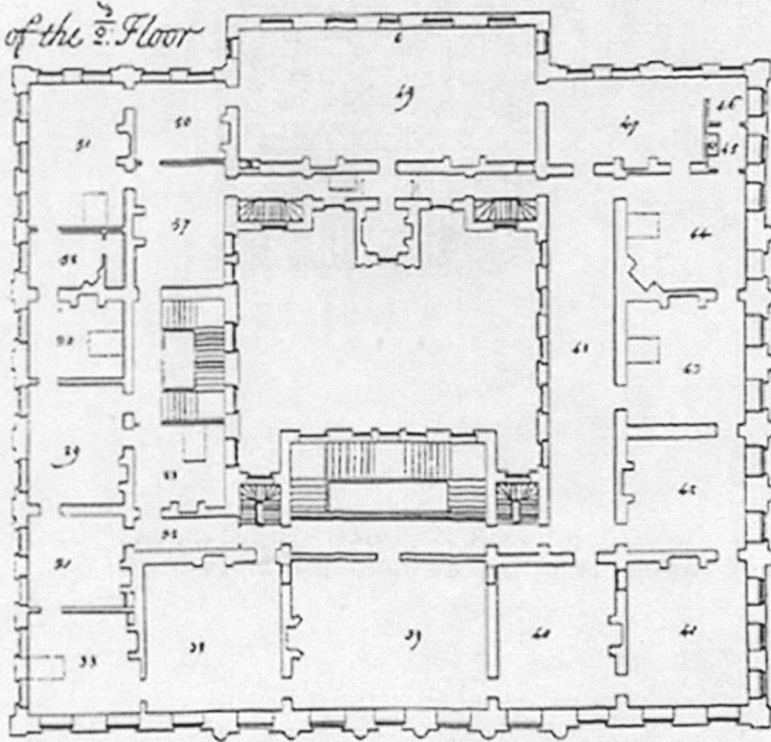


FIGURE 5

*Plan of the Ground Floor*

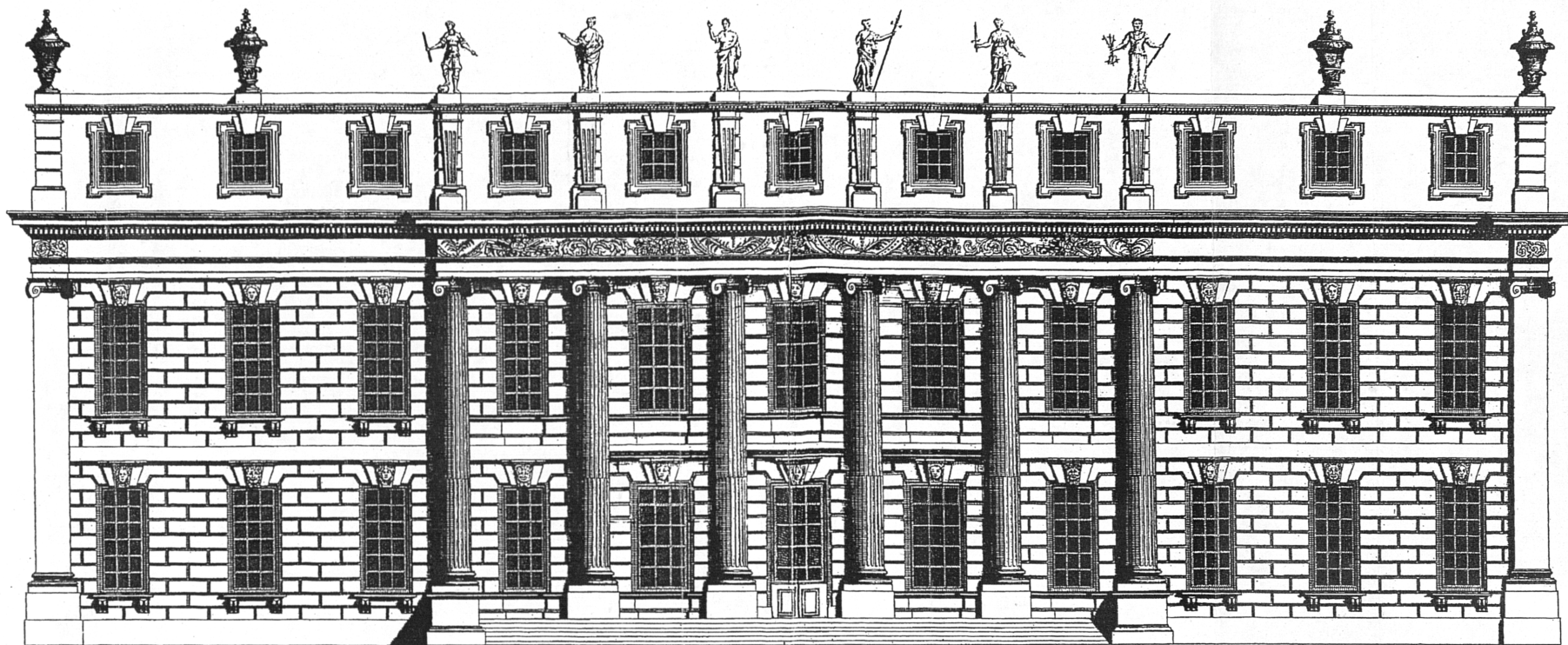


*Plan of the 2<sup>d</sup> Floor*



A Scale of Feet

FIGURE 6



*The East Front of Cannon's in Middlesex, the Seat of his Grace James Duke of Chandos, &c.  
 To whom this Plate is most Humbly Inscrib'd by his Graces most Obedt. Servant John Price, Architect. Built, Anno 1720.*

*J. Price Delin.*

*J. Wallbridge Sculp.*

BR. PL. 26-27

FIGURE 7



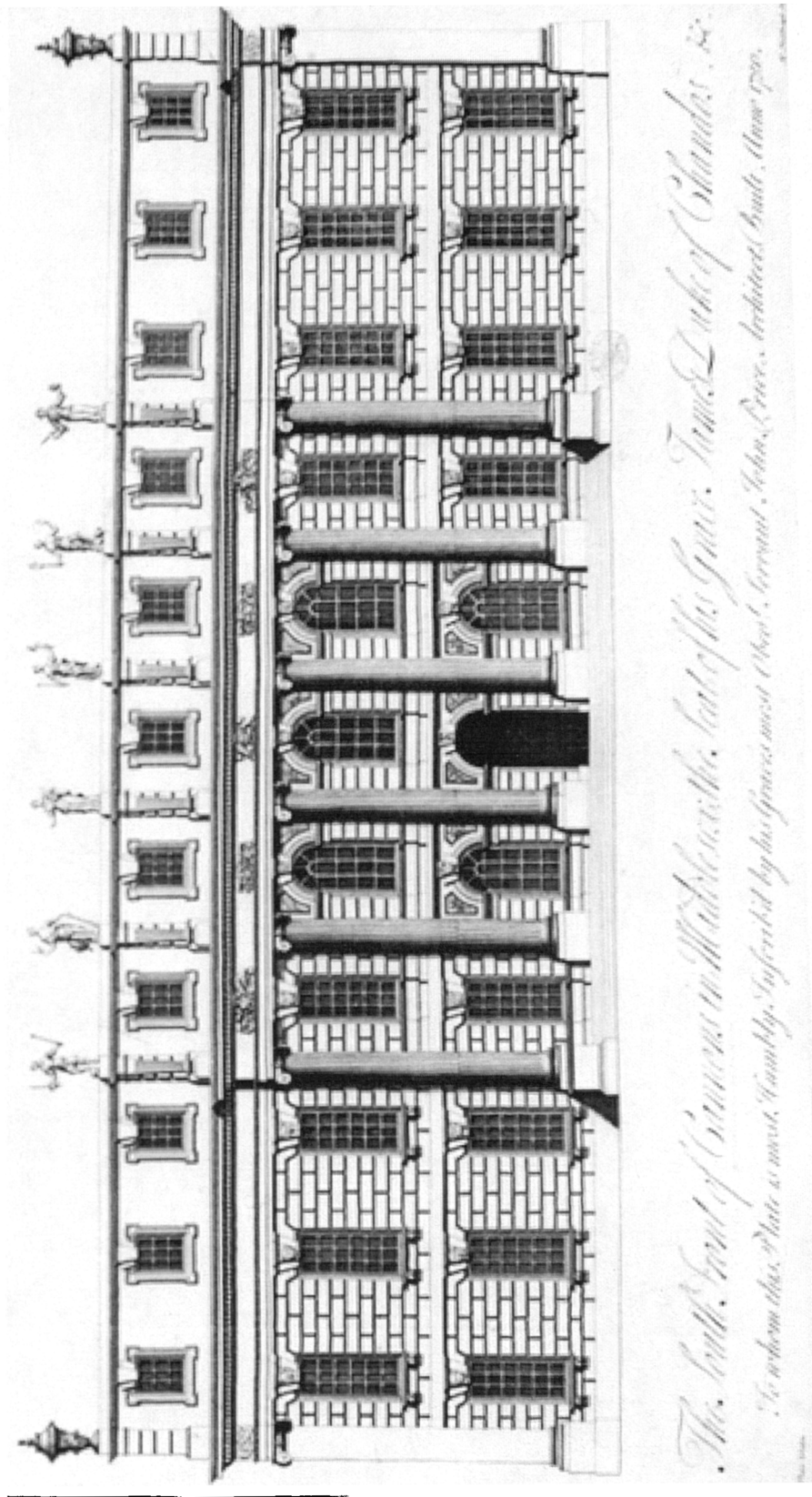


FIGURE 8

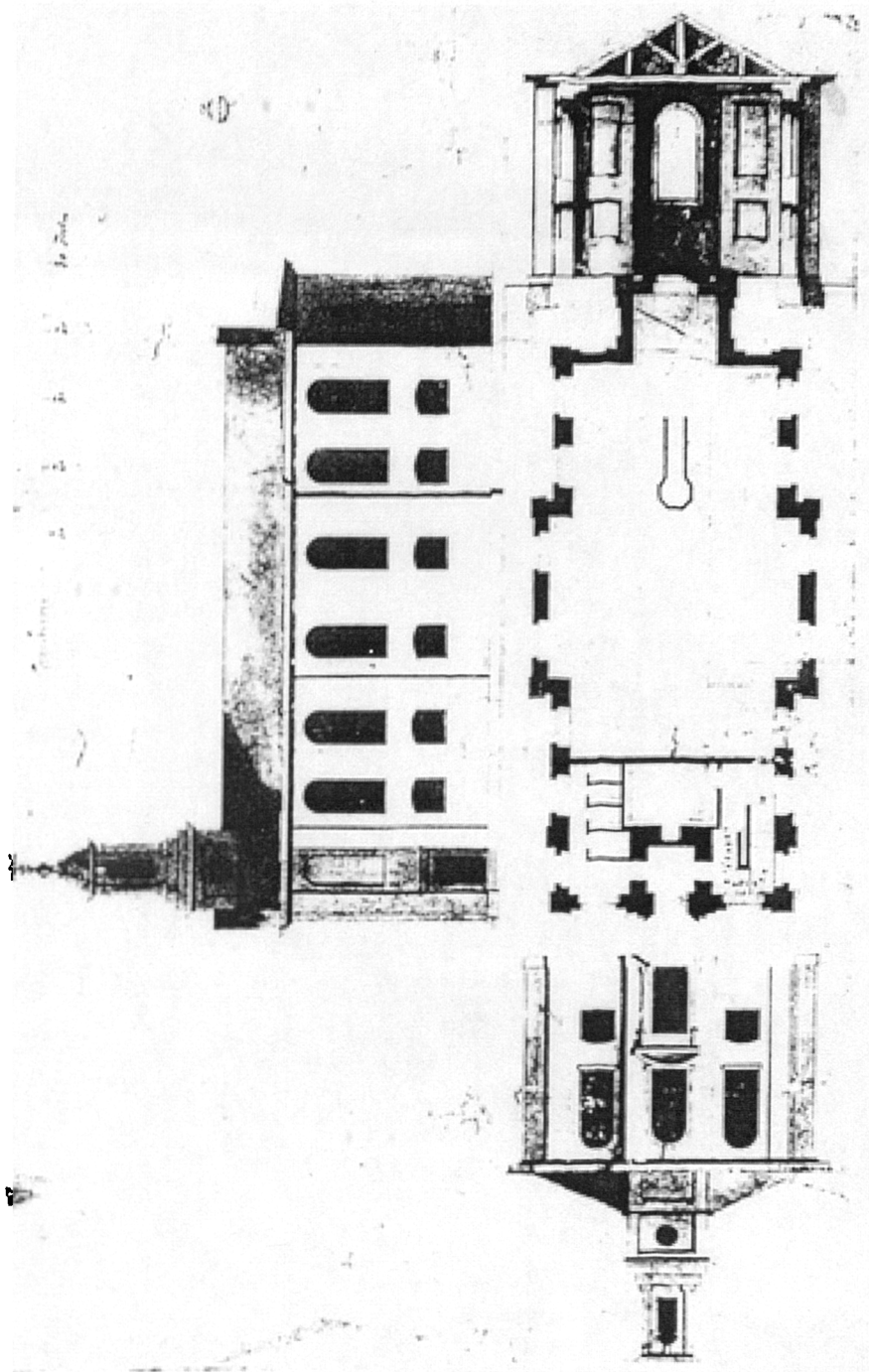


FIGURE 9

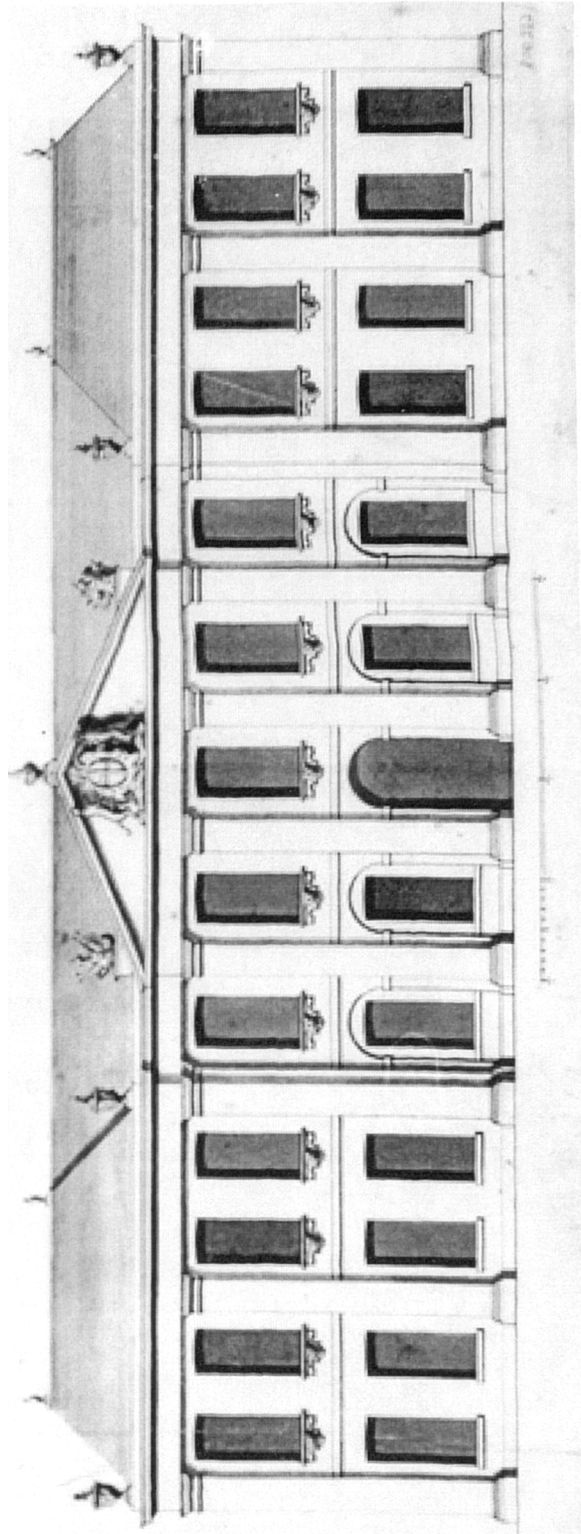


FIGURE 10

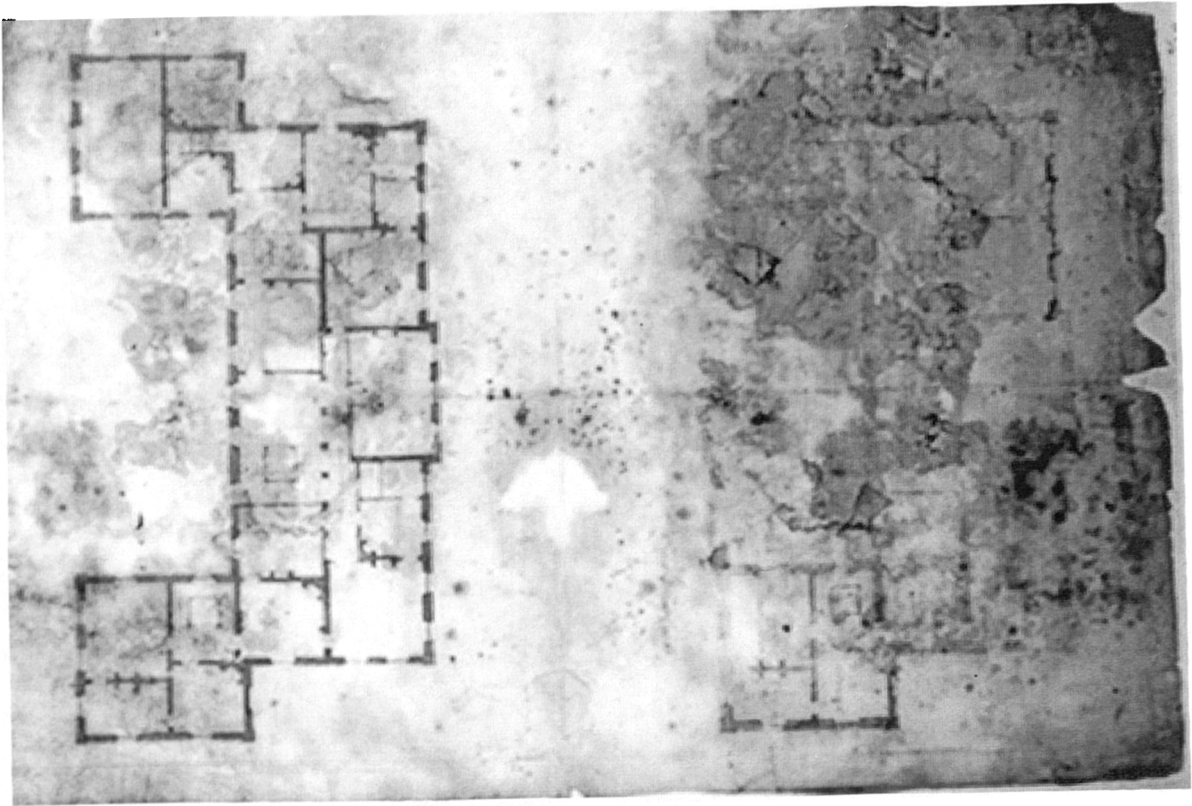


FIGURE 11

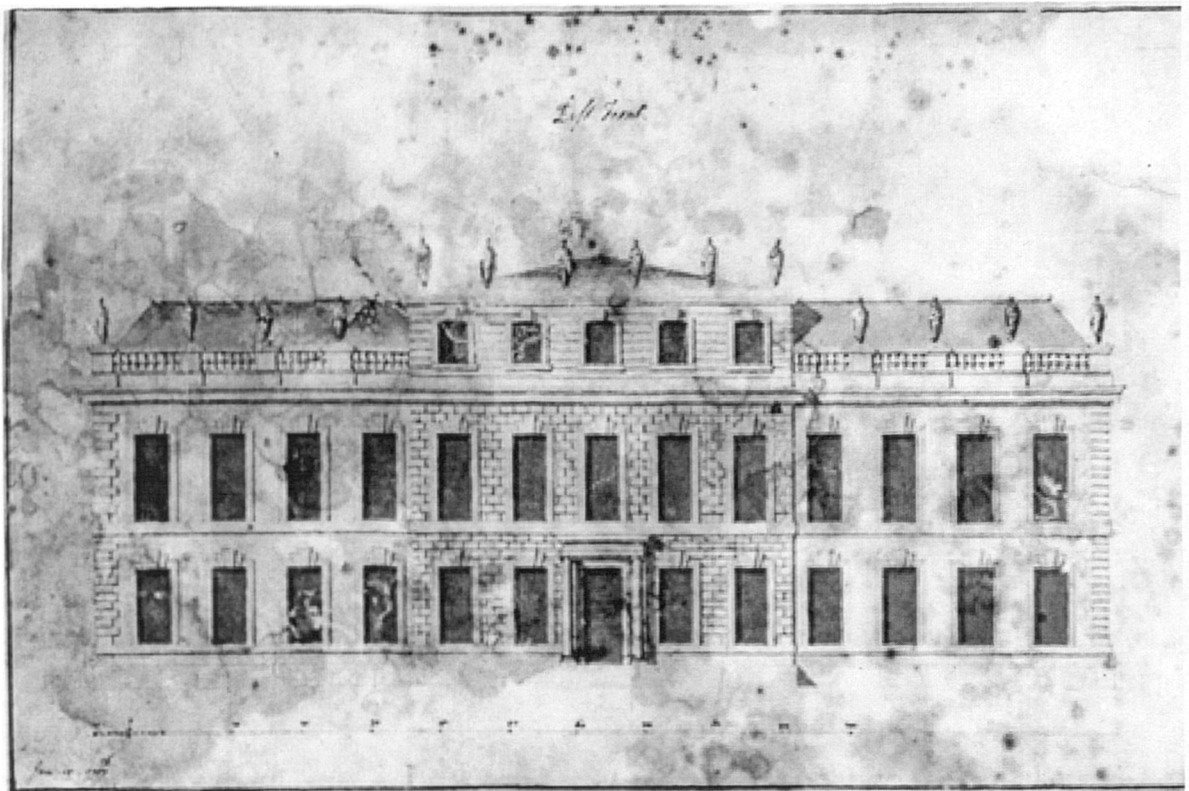


FIGURE 12

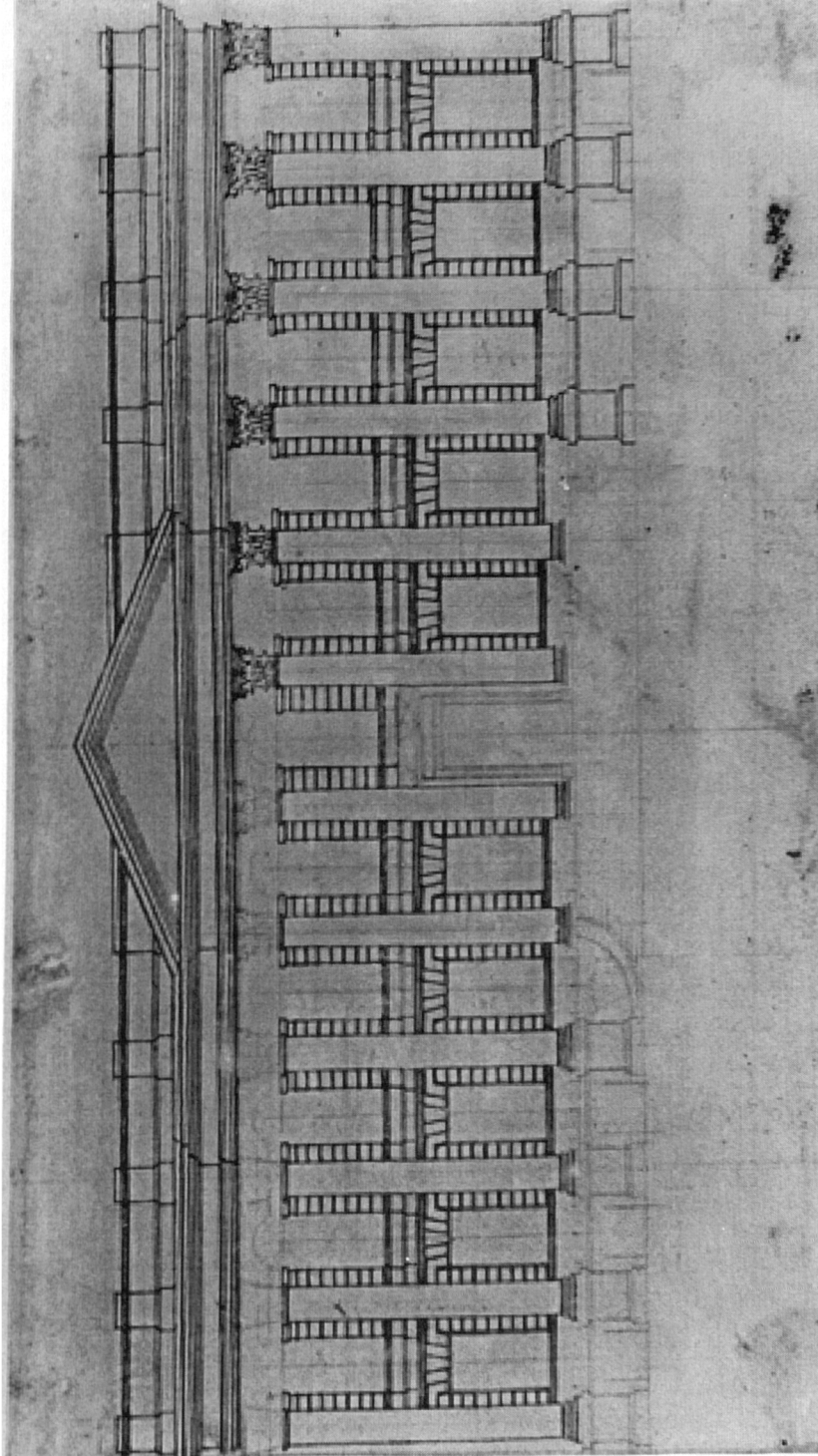


FIGURE 13

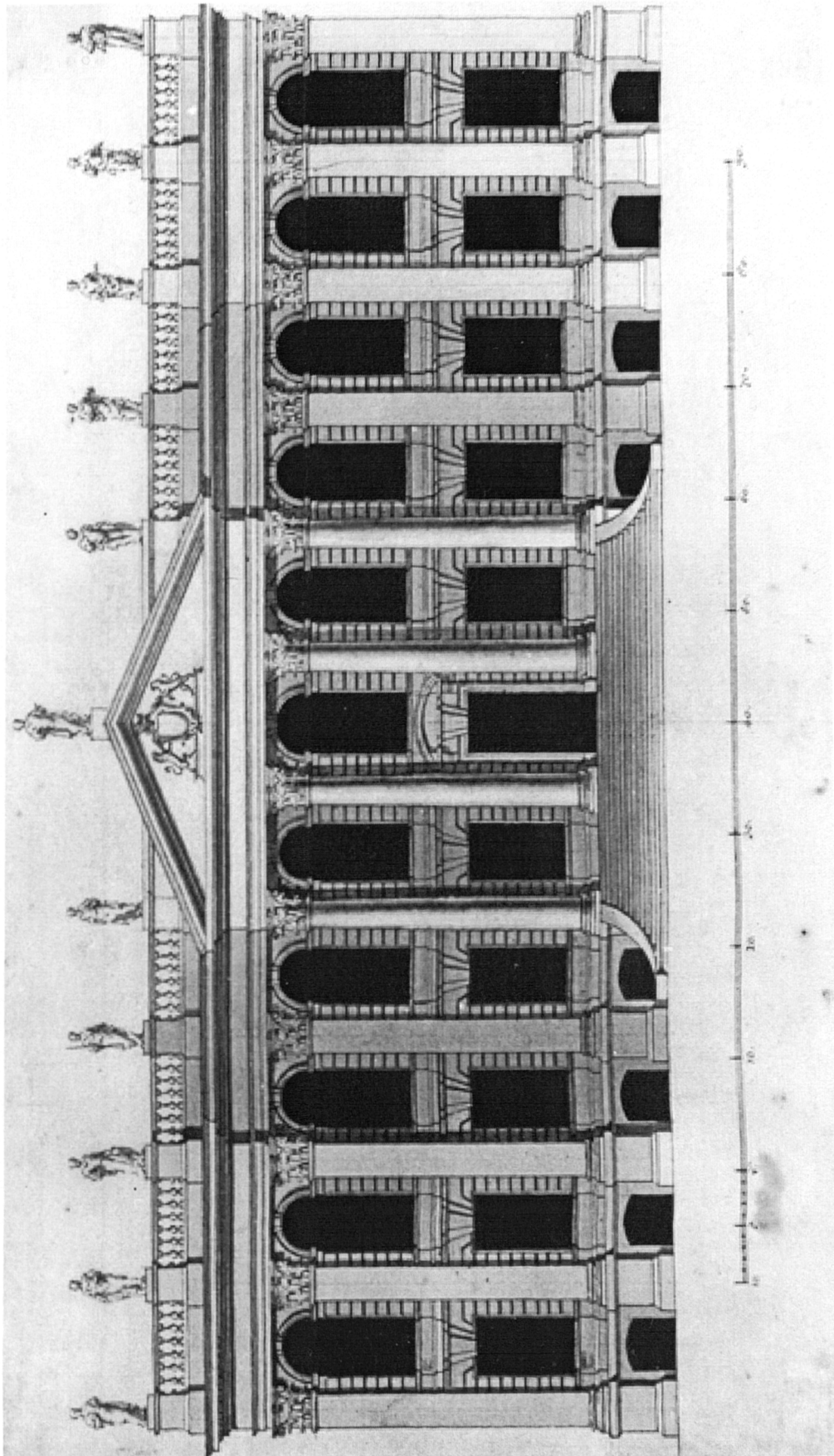


FIGURE 14

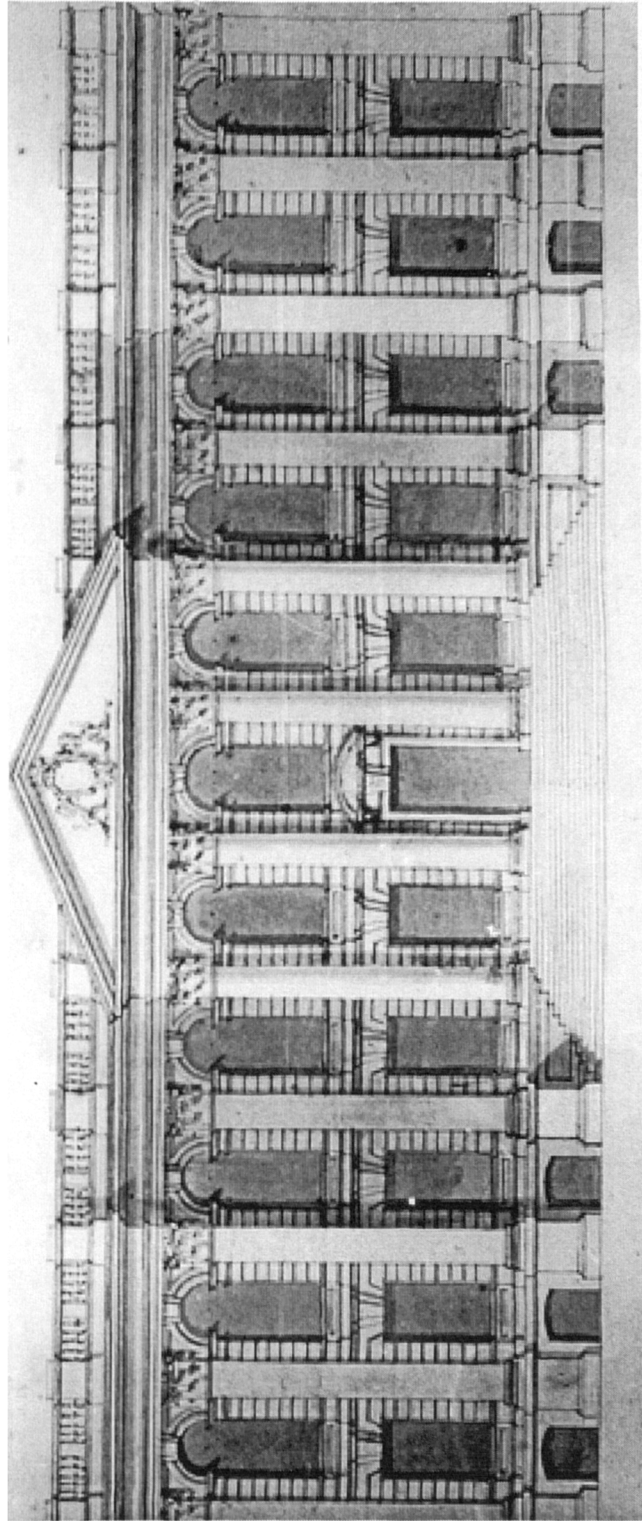


FIGURE 15



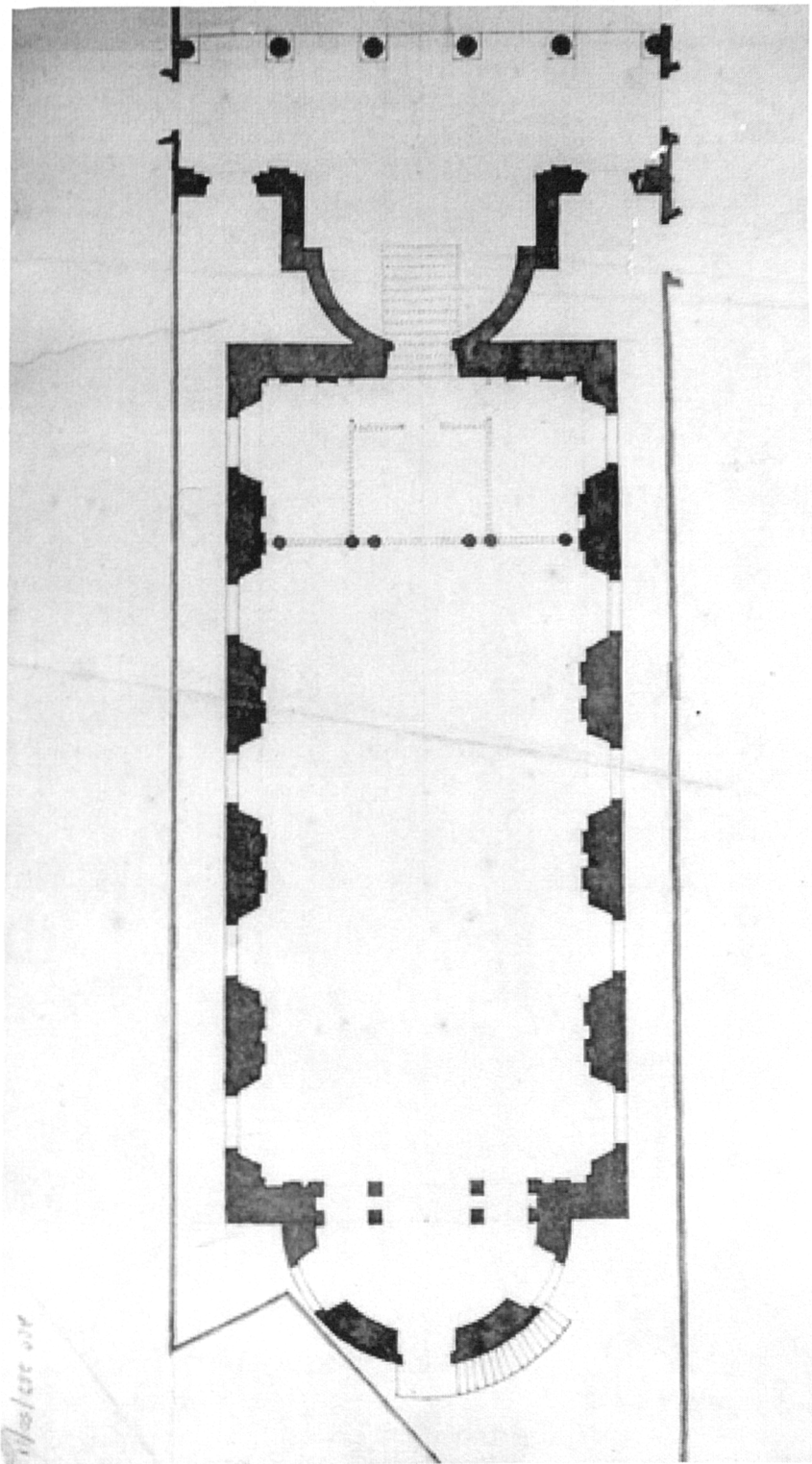


FIGURE 16

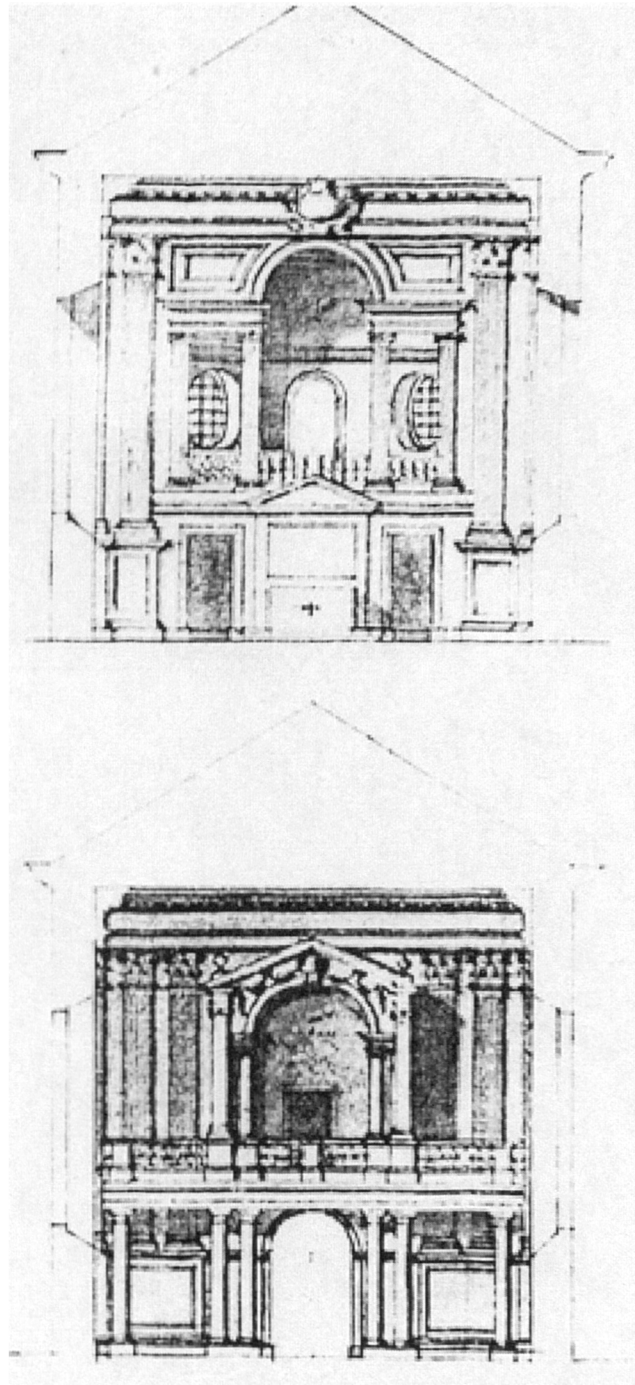


FIGURE 17

*North Office. Second floor.*

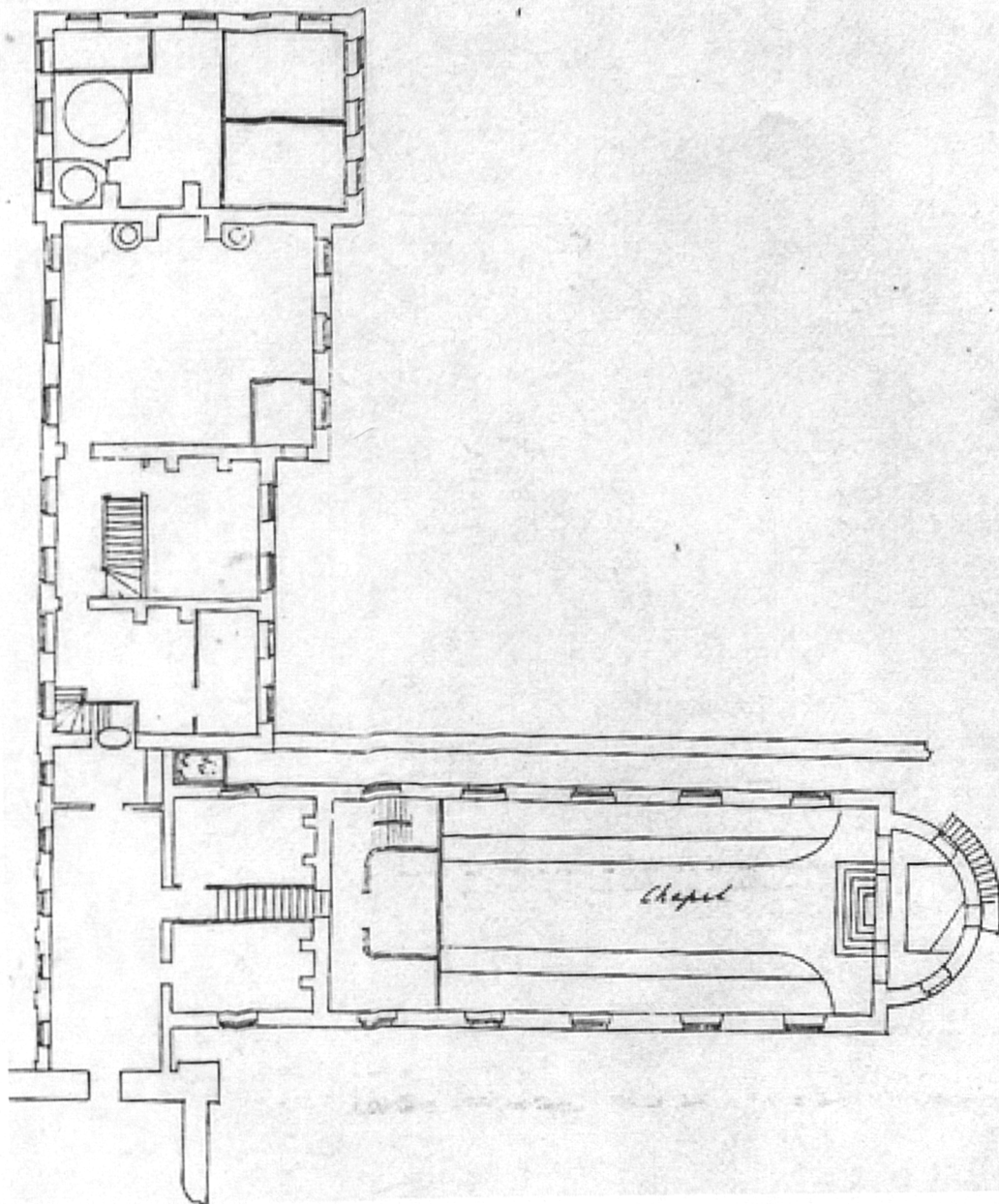
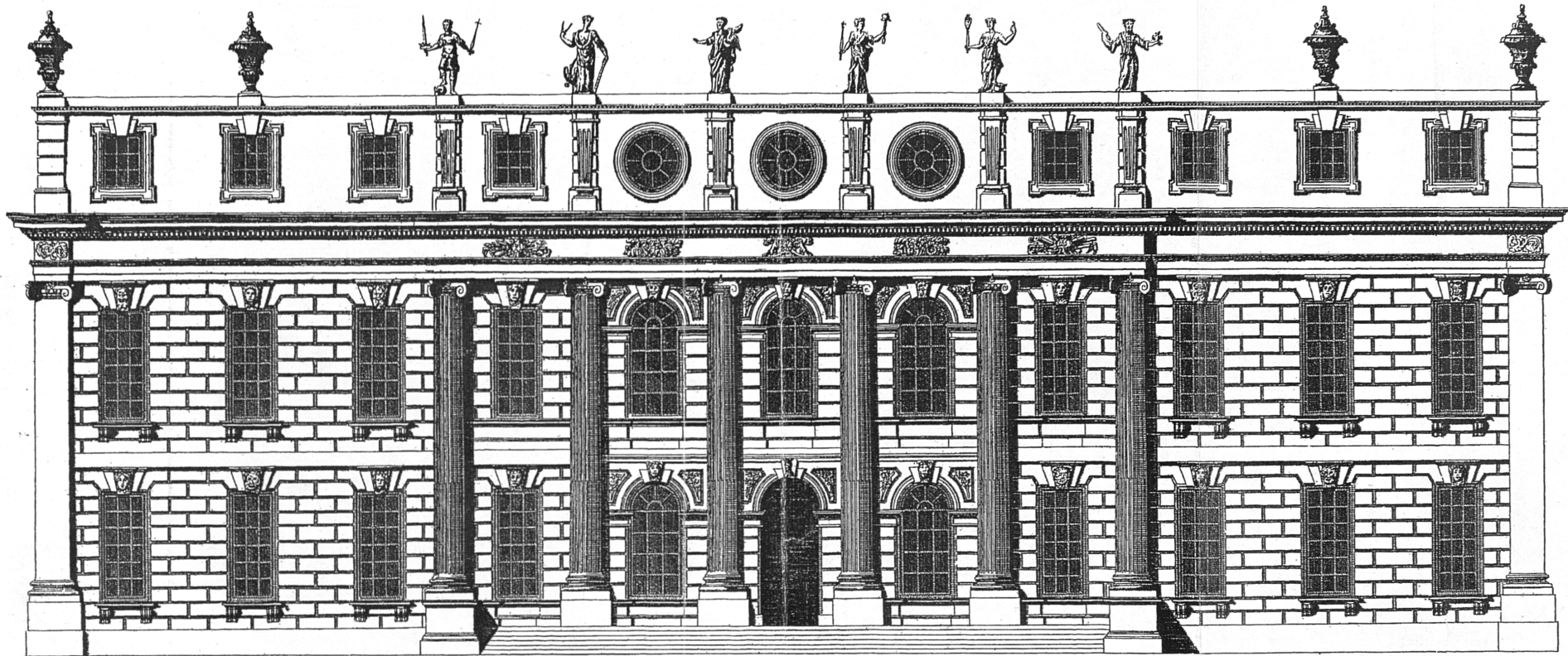


FIGURE 19



*Cannon in the County of MIDDLESEX One of the Seats*

*of His Grace James Duke of Chandos &c.*

*To most Humbly Dedicated by His Grace's most obedient humble Serv.<sup>ts</sup> Geo. Taylor John Mox & Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Chappell 1739.*



FIGURE 20



FIGURE 21



FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23





FIGURE 24



FIGURE 25



FIGURE 26

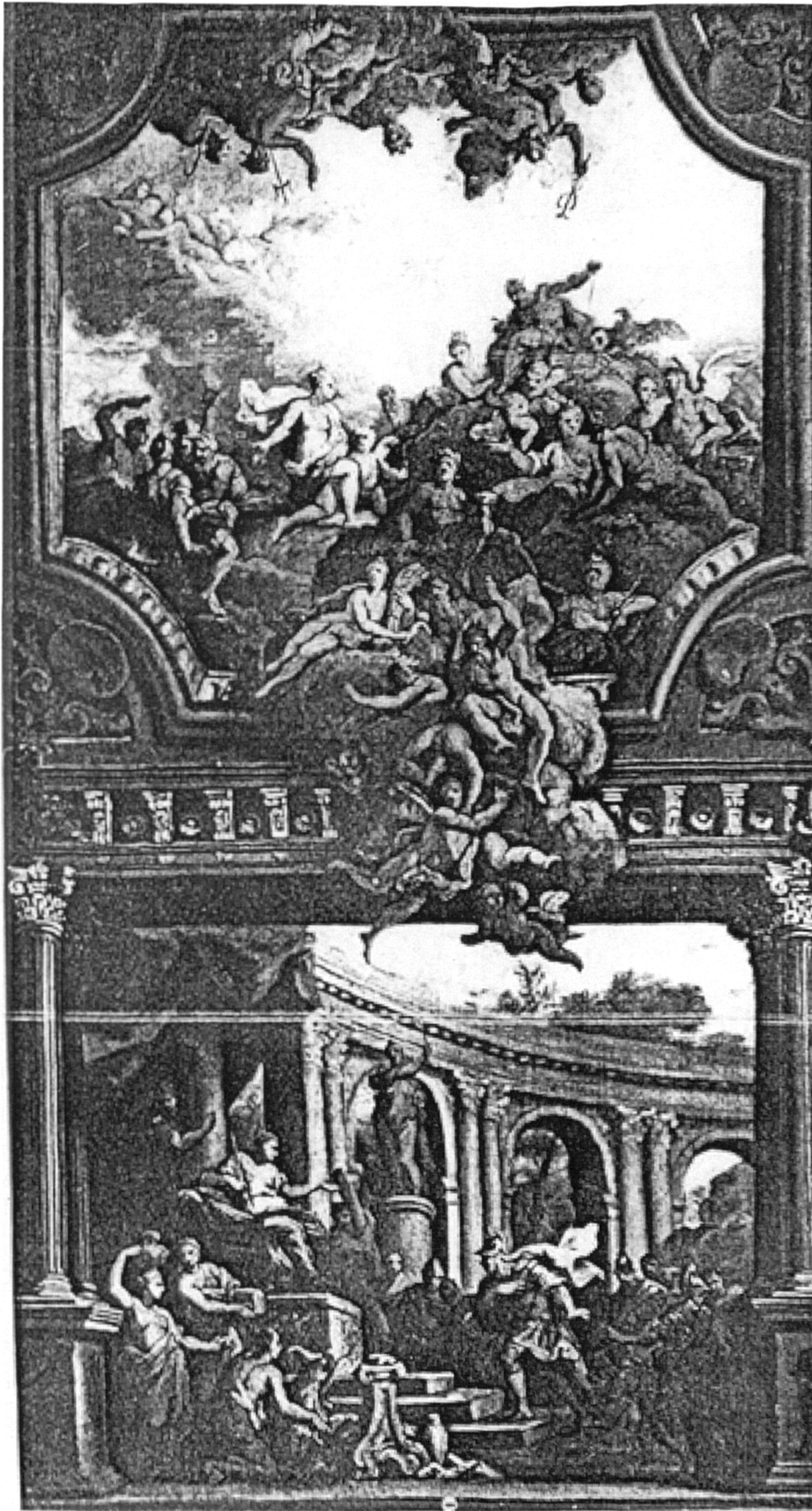


FIGURE 27

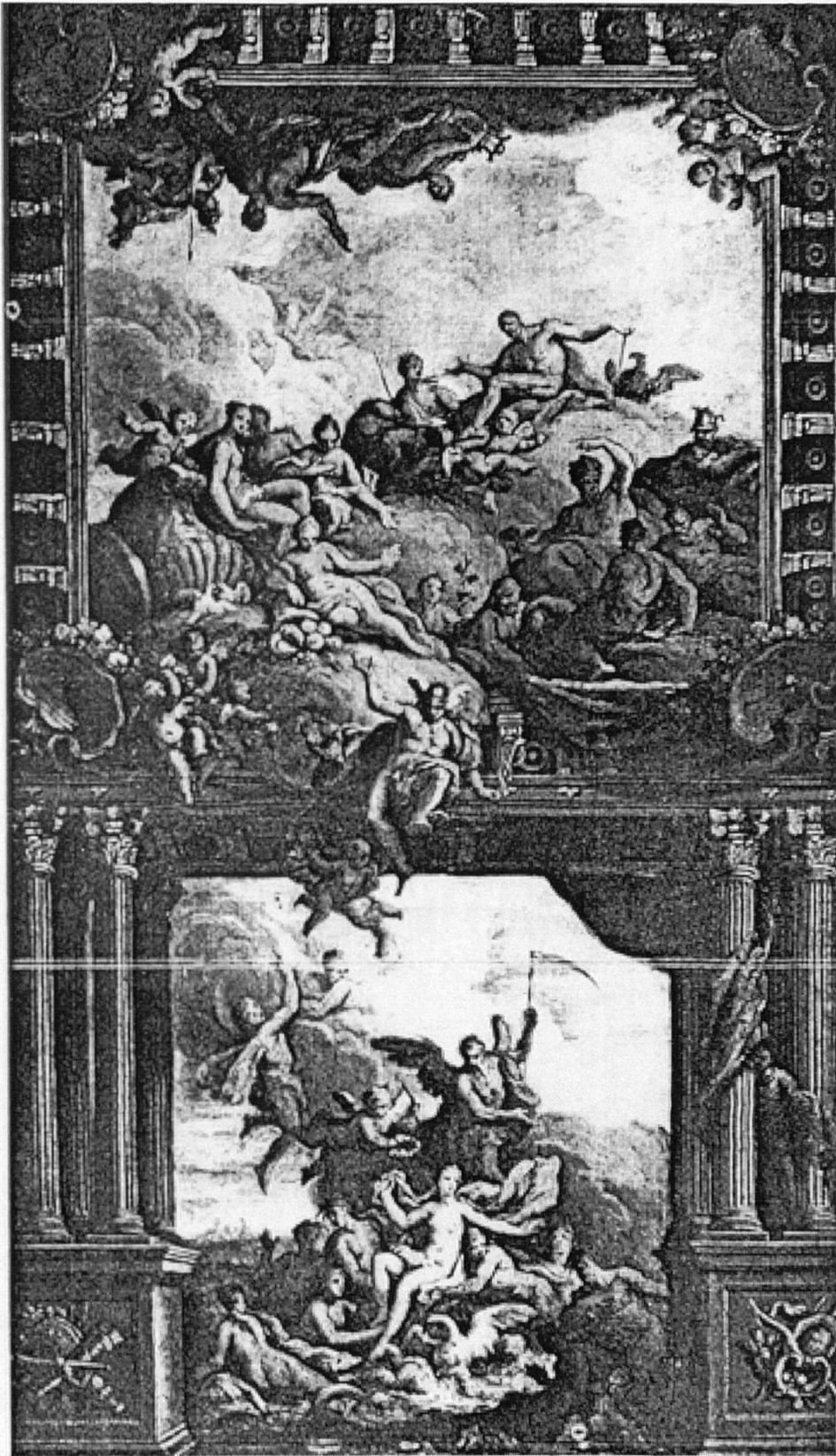


FIGURE 28

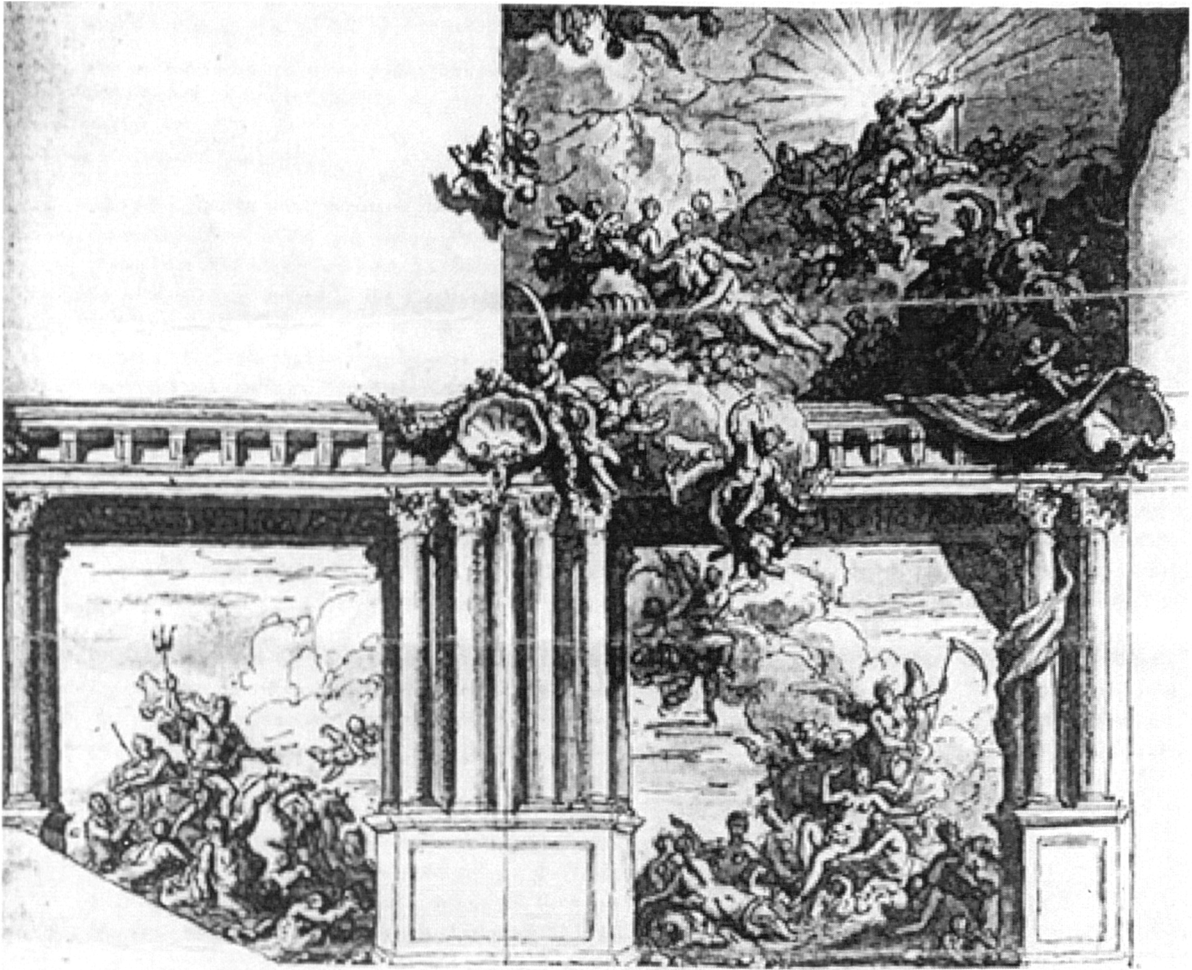


FIGURE 29



FIGURE 30



FIGURE 31





FIGURE 32



FIGURE 33

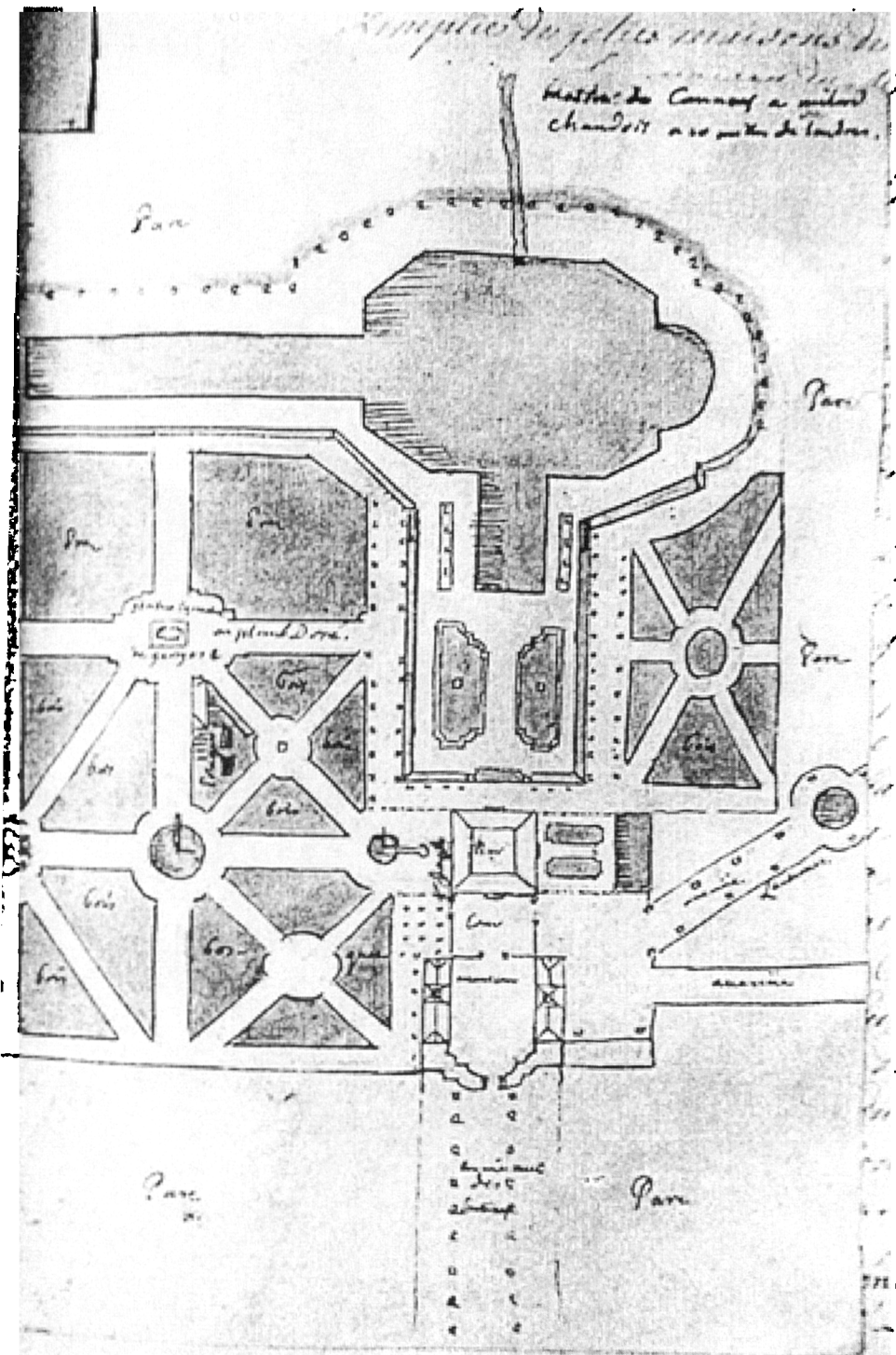


FIGURE 34

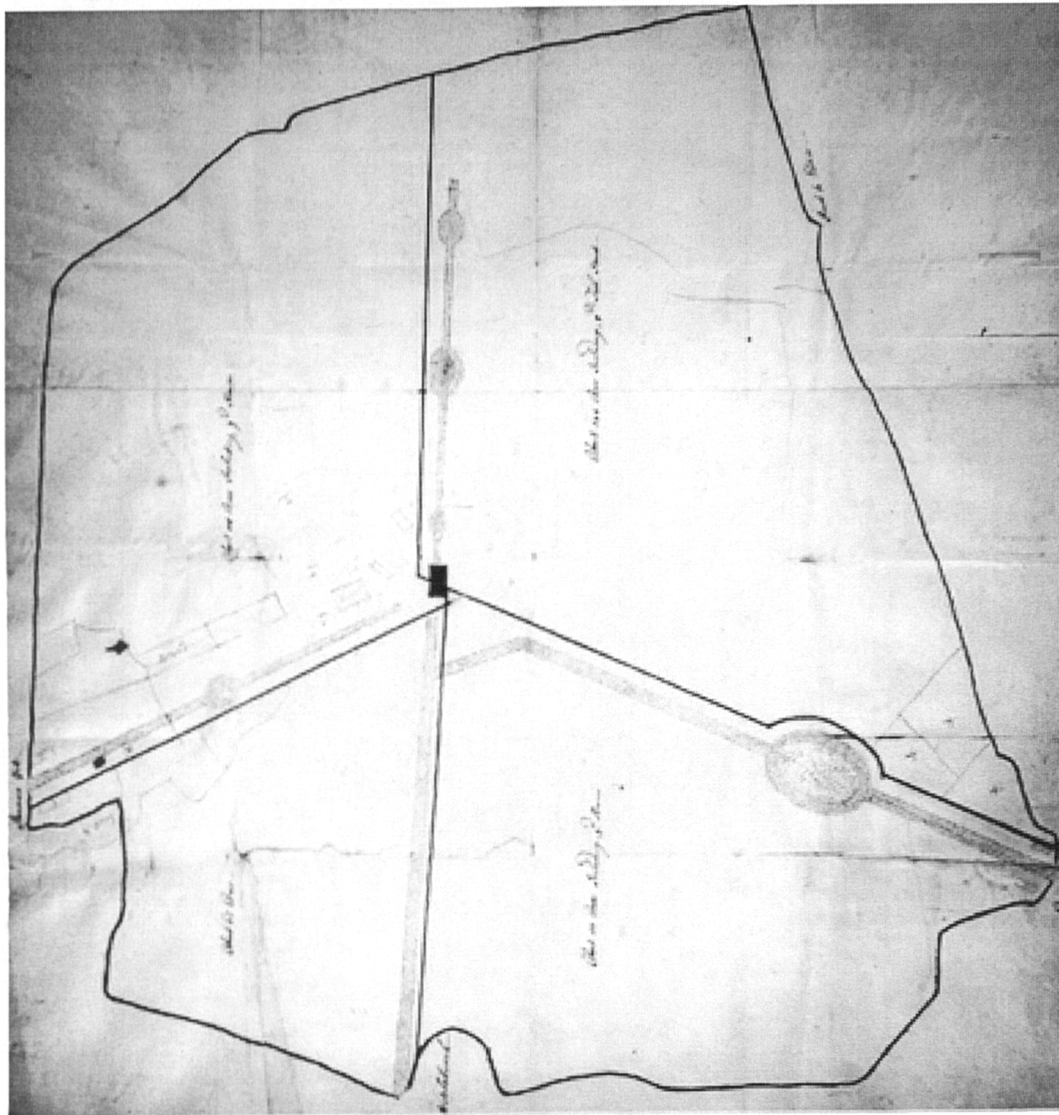


FIGURE 35

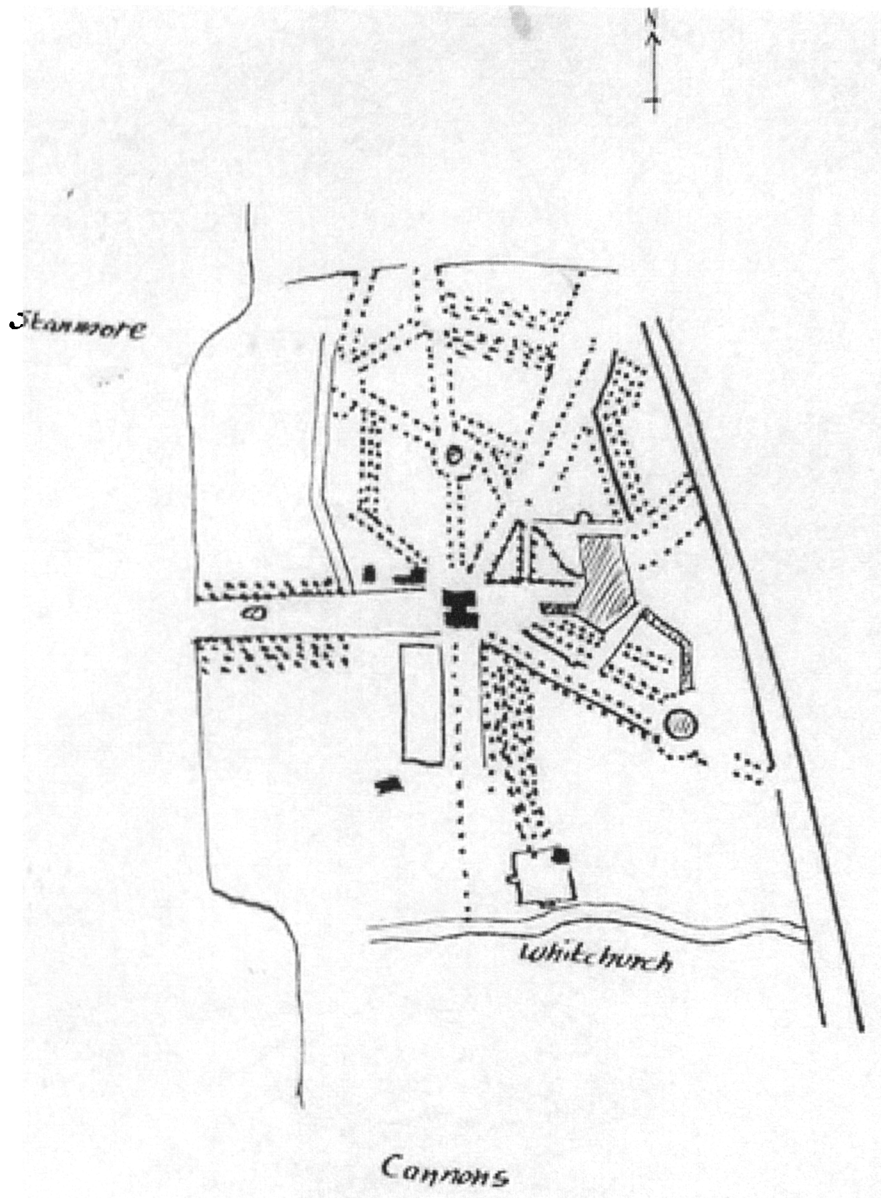


FIGURE 36

NEW  
**IMPROVEMENTS**  
 OF  
**Planting and Gardening,**  
 BOTH  
 Philosophical and Practical;  
 Explaining the  
**MOTION** of the **SAPP**  
 AND  
**GENERATION** of **PLANTS.**

With other Discoveries never before made Publick, for the Improvement of Forest-Trees, Flower-Gardens or Parterres; with a New Invention whereby more Designs of Garden Plants may be made in an Hour, than can be found in all the Books now extant. Likewise several rare Secrets for the Improvement of Fruit-Trees, Kitchen-Gardens, and Green-House Plants.

Adorn'd with COPPER PLATES.

The Third and Last PART.

By **RICHARD BRADLEY**, Fellow of the  
**ROYAL SOCIETY.**

**LONDON:** Printed for **W. Mears** at the *Sign of the Lamb*  
 without Temple-Bar. **MDCCXVIII.**



To the Right Honourable  
**JAMES**  
**EARL of Caernarvon,**  
 Viscount **WILTON,**

FIGURE 38



FIGURE 39

Plan

of an Estate called

CANNON'S

in the Parish

of LITTLE STAMMERE

in the County of

MIDDLESEX

by Josiah Phipps, Surveyor

1800

LORD TEMPLE

LORD TEMPLE

LORD TEMPLE

Great Stammer Moor

House

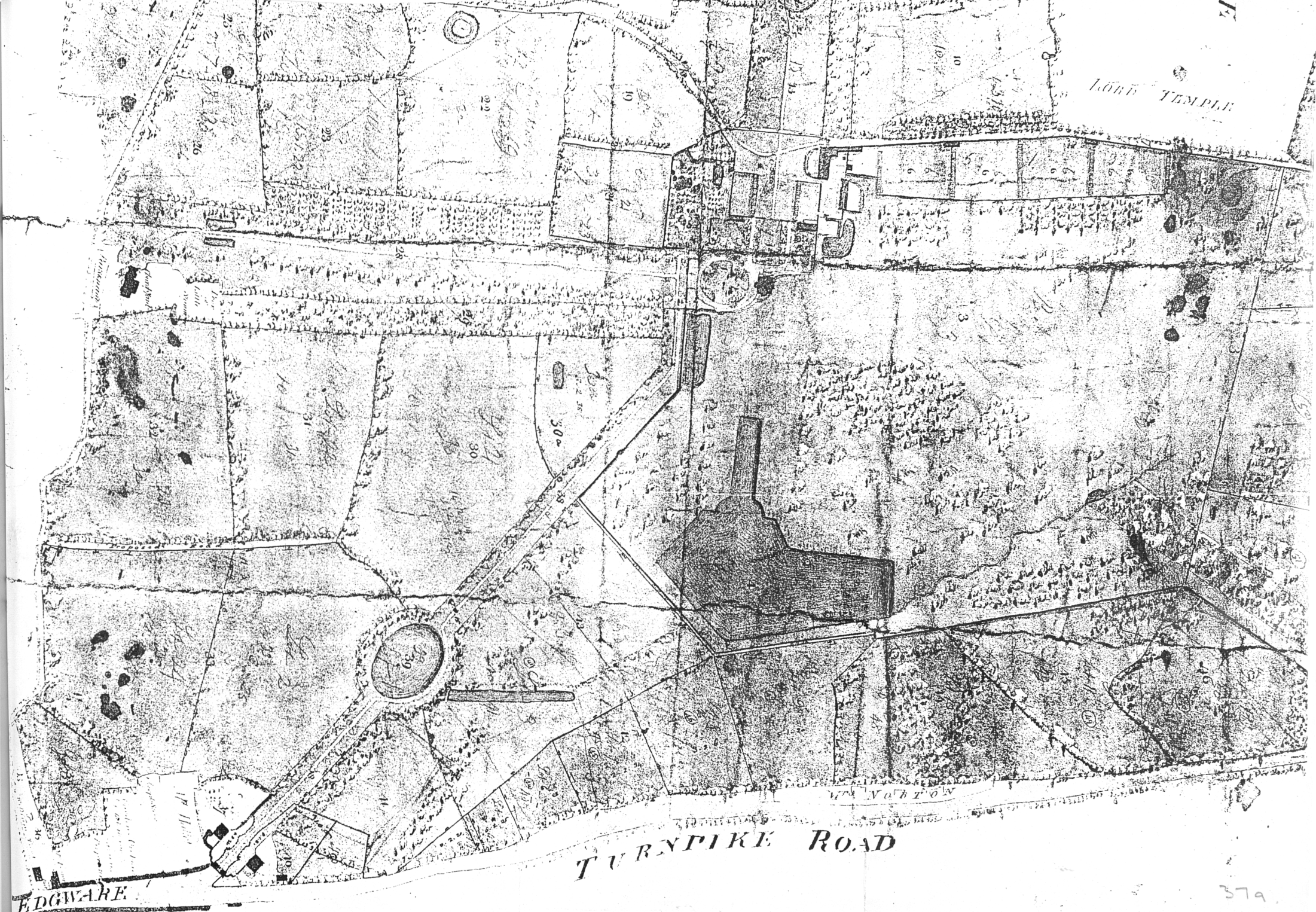
Little Stammer







FIGURE 40



TURNPIKE ROAD

EDGWARE

LORD TEMPLE



FIGURE 41



FIGURE 42

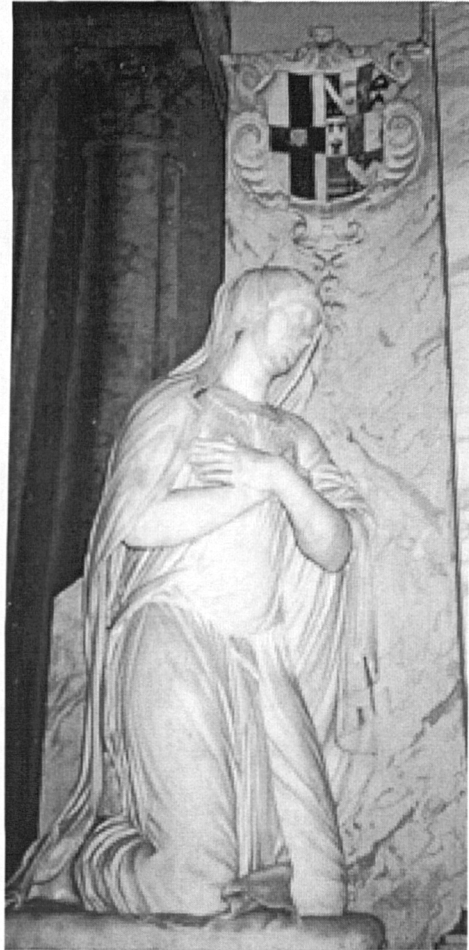


FIGURE 43



FIGURE 44



FIGURE 45



FIGURE 46





FIGURE 47



FIGURE 48



FIGURE 49



*The most High & Puissant Prince*  
*Marquis & Earl of Caernarvon, Viscount*  
*Baron Chandos of Sudley Castle, in*  
*Custos Rotulorum of the Counties of*  
*of the City of Hereford, Corporation of*  
*County of Radnor, Governor of y<sup>e</sup> Tower*  
*Honourable*



*James Bruges Duke of Chandos,*  
*Chandos of Wilton, in Herefordshire,*  
*Gloucester Shire, Lord Lieutenant, and*  
*Hereford and Radnor, High Sheriff of*  
*Leominster, & of Cantemelinis, in the*  
*Company & one of his Majesty's most*  
*privy Council, 1722.*

FIGURE 50



FIGURE 51



FIGURE 52



FIGURE 53

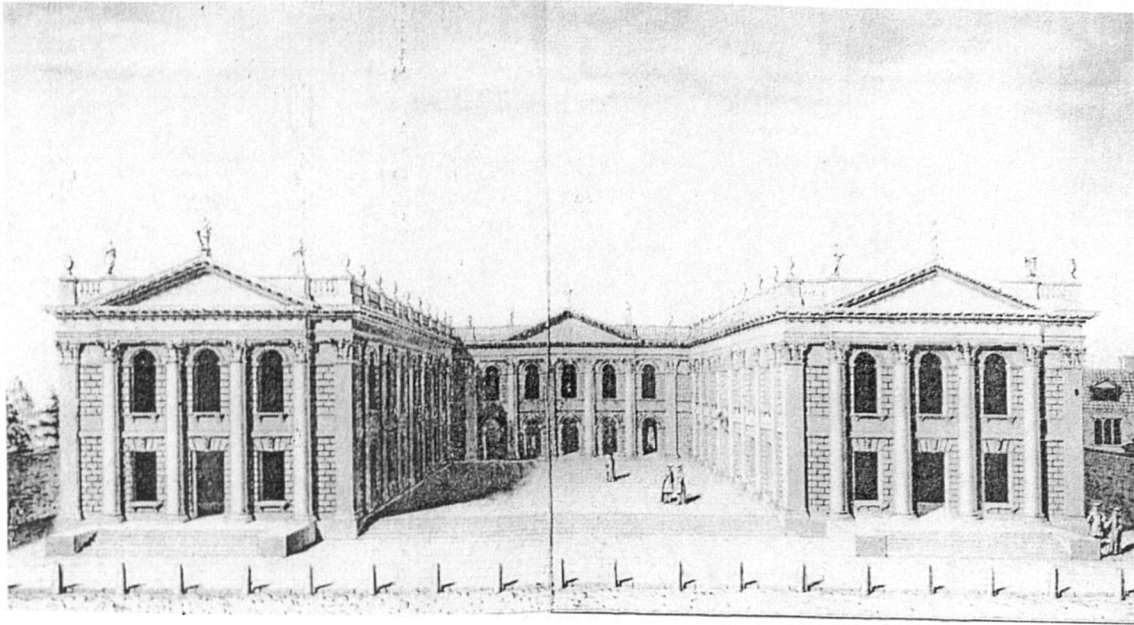


FIGURE 54



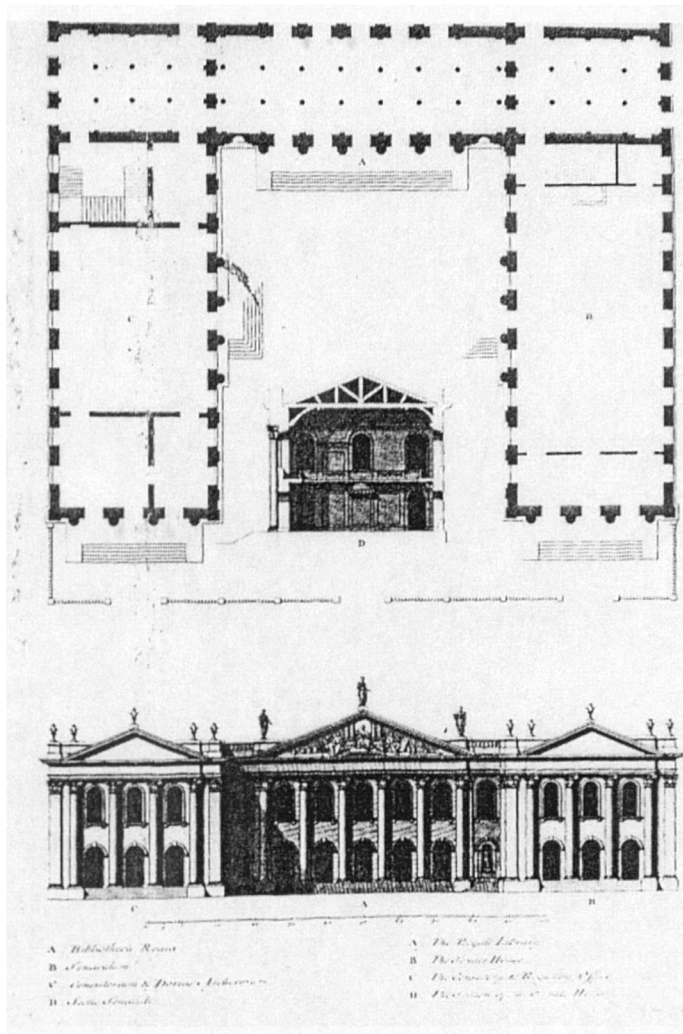


FIGURE 55

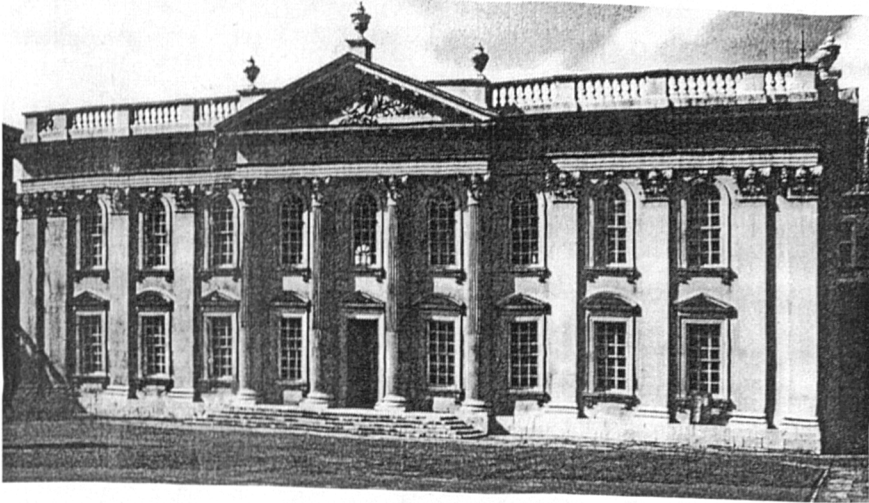


FIGURE 56

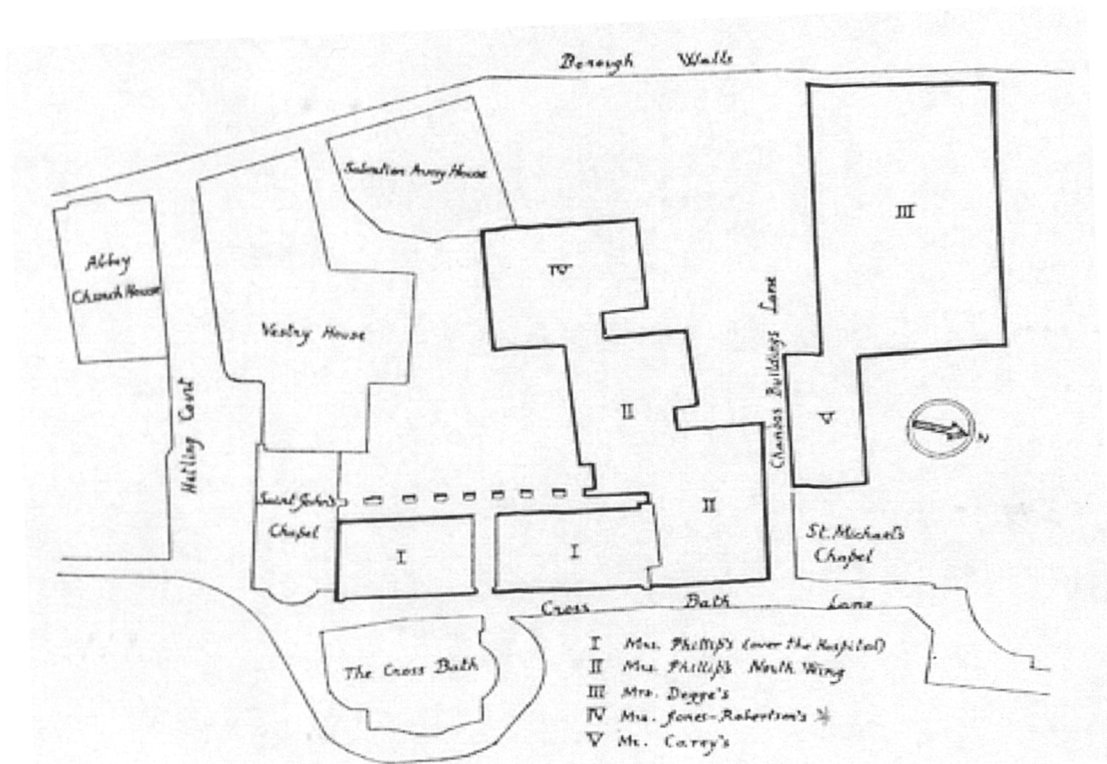


FIGURE 57

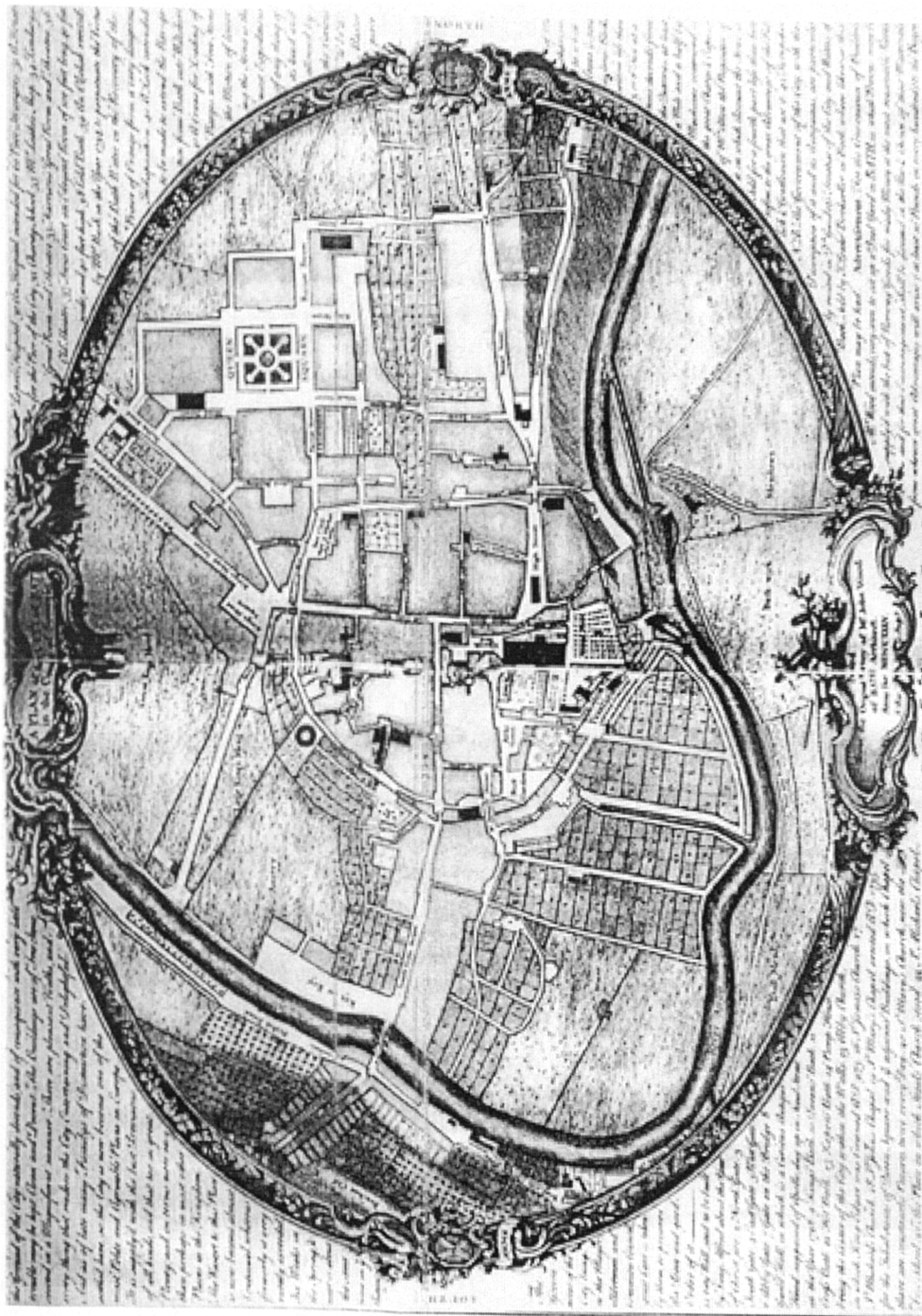


FIGURE 58

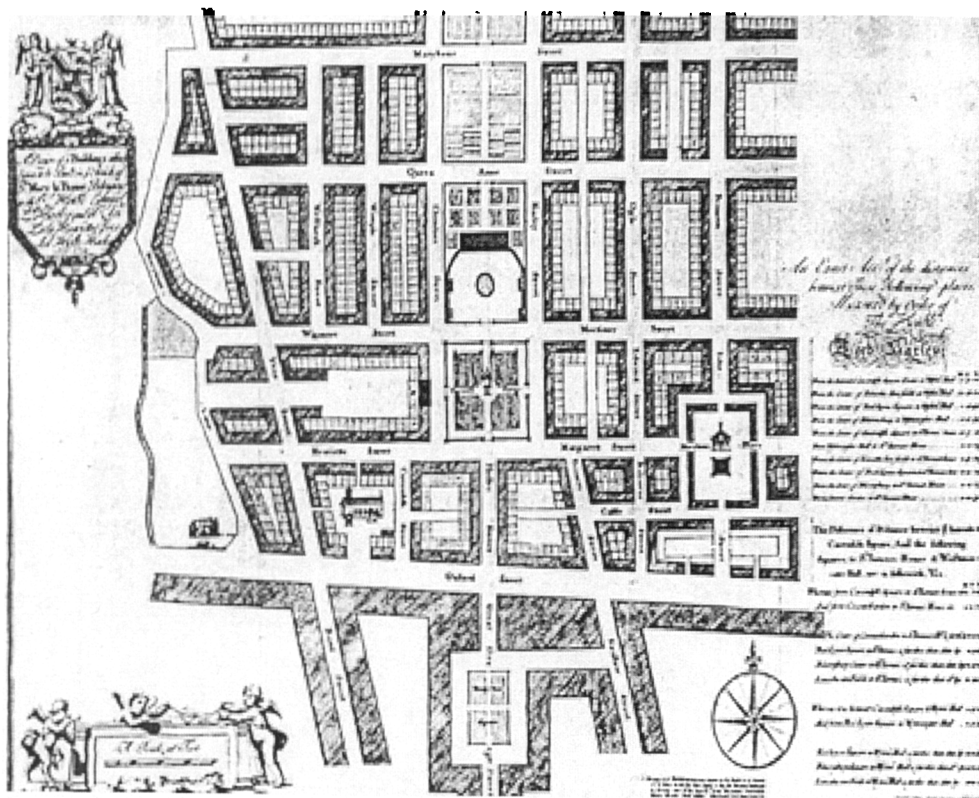


FIGURE 59

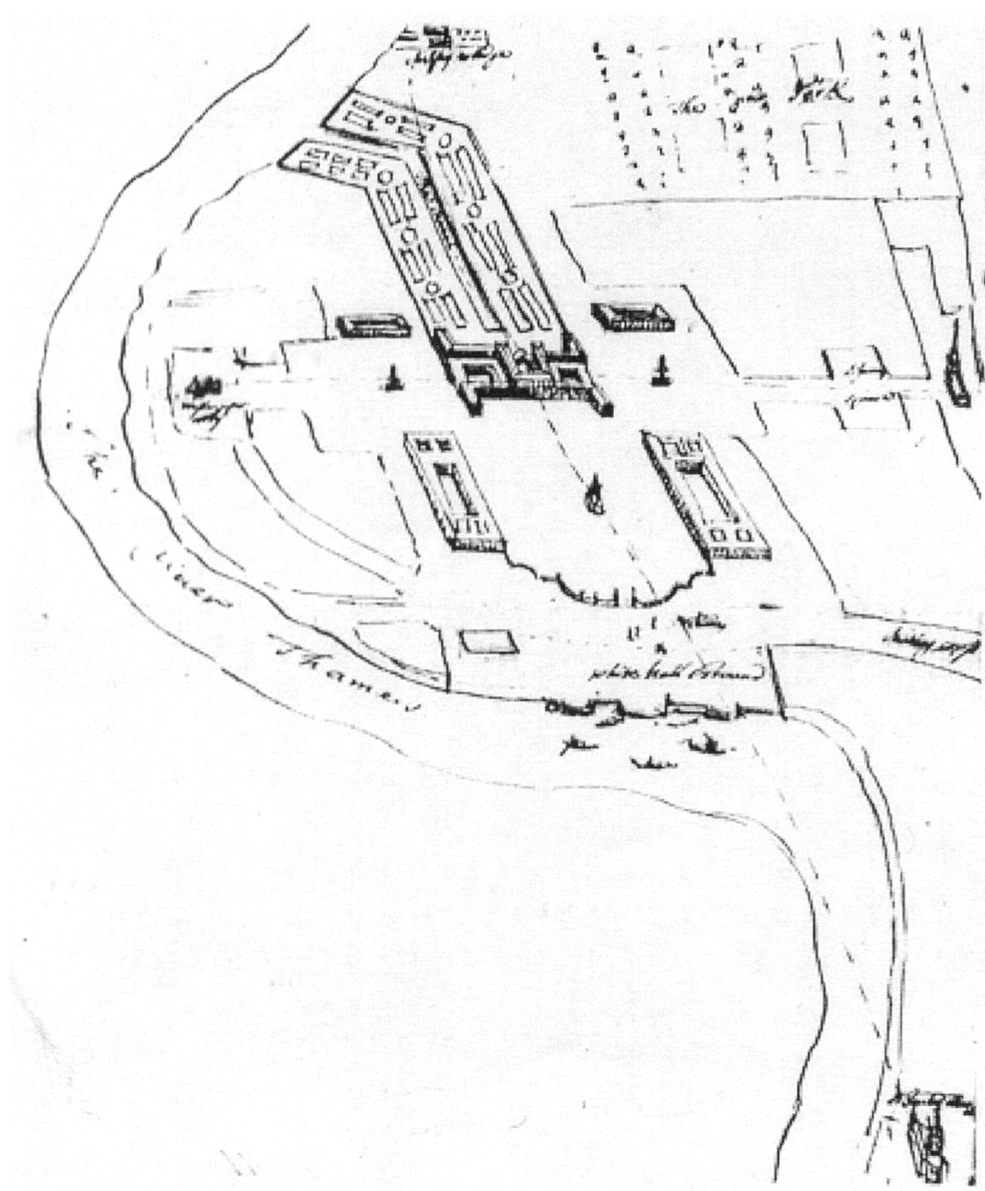
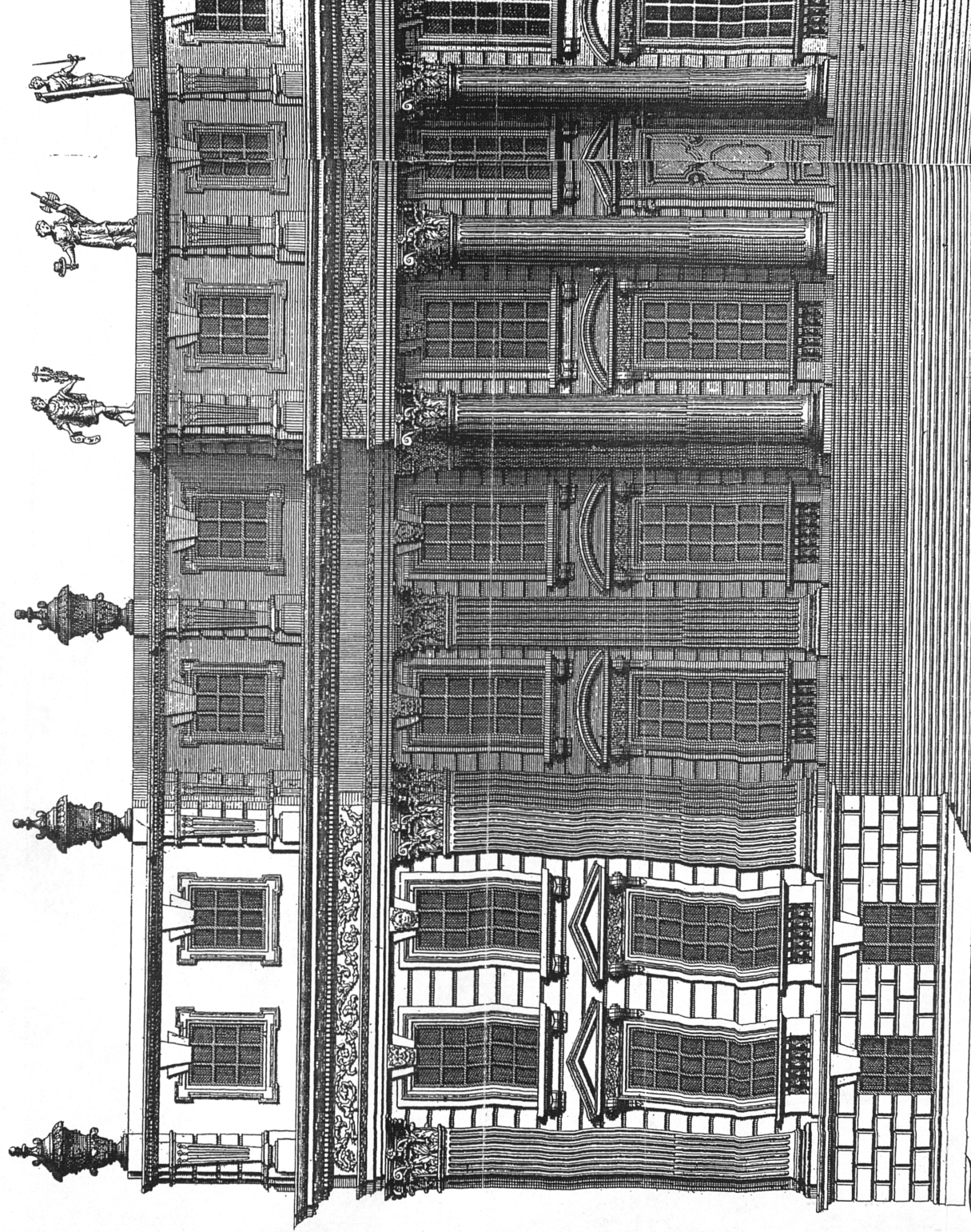


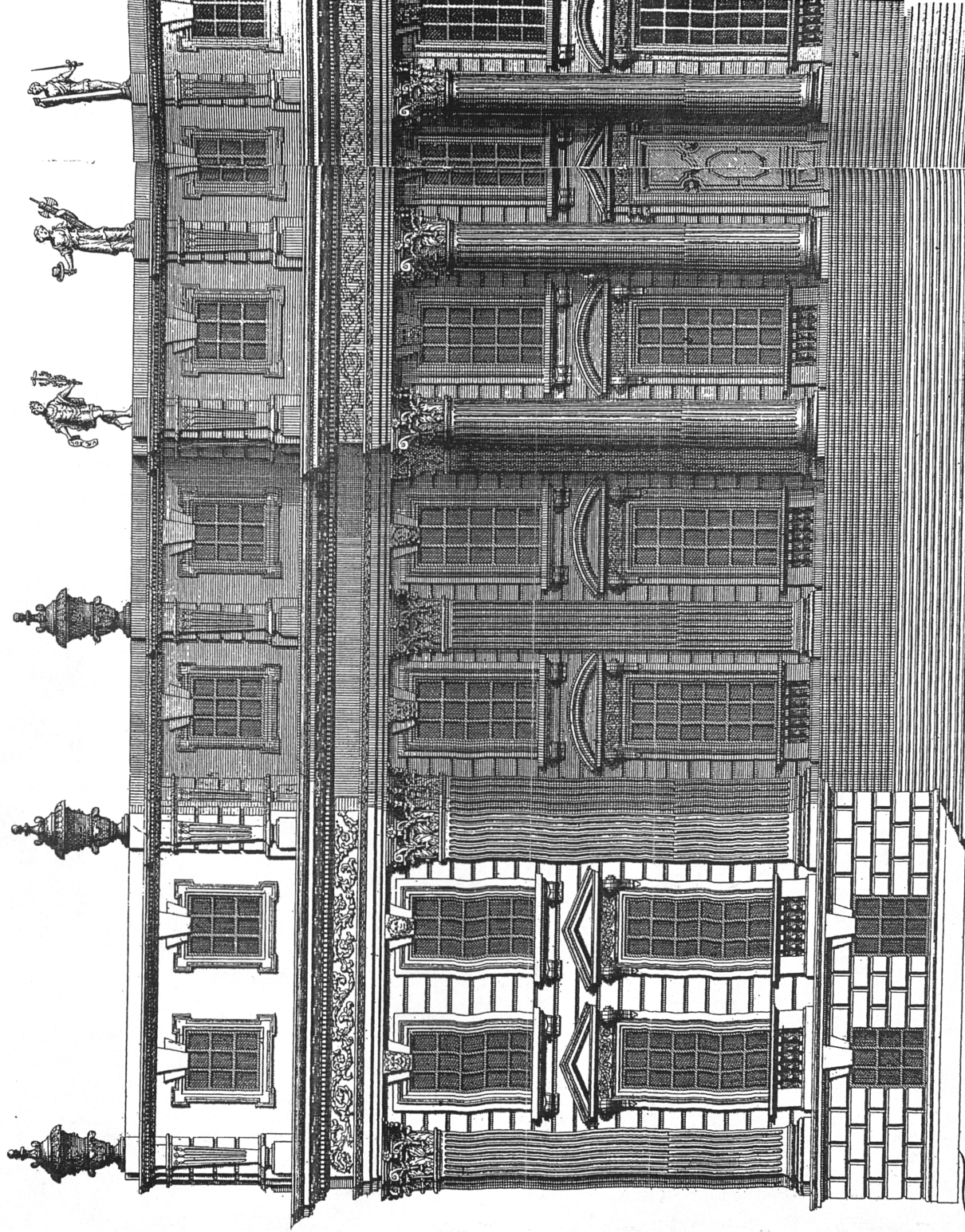
FIGURE 60



*The Elevation of a New House Intended for His Grace of Devon*  
*Design'd by John Price, Architect*  
*Is most humbly Inscribed To her Grace the Duchess of Devon*

*J. Price Invenit. & Del.*

FIGURE 61



*The Elevation of a New House Intended for Mrs Grace & Co  
Designed by John Price, Architect  
Is most humbly Inscribed to her Grace &c*

*J. Price Inven: & Del:*





FIGURE 62

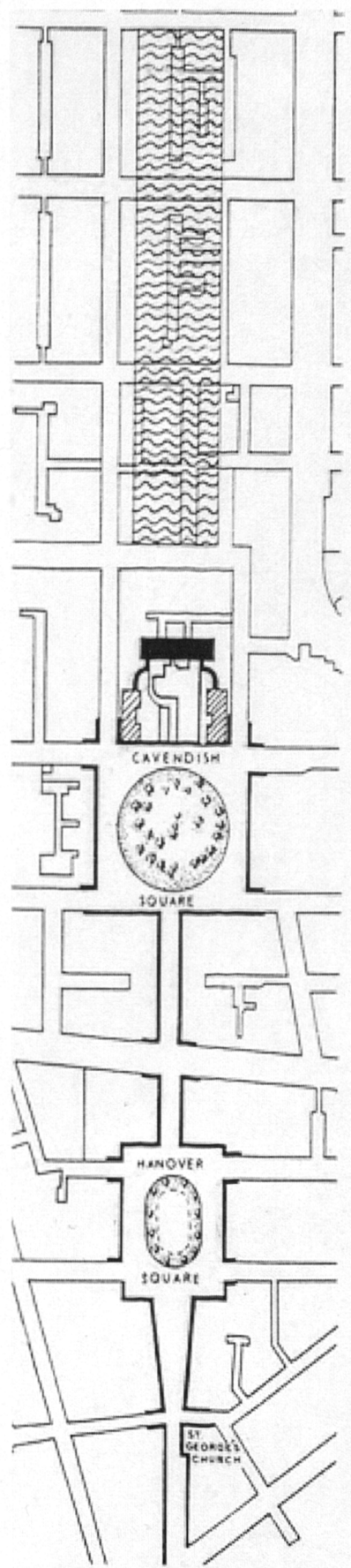


FIGURE 63

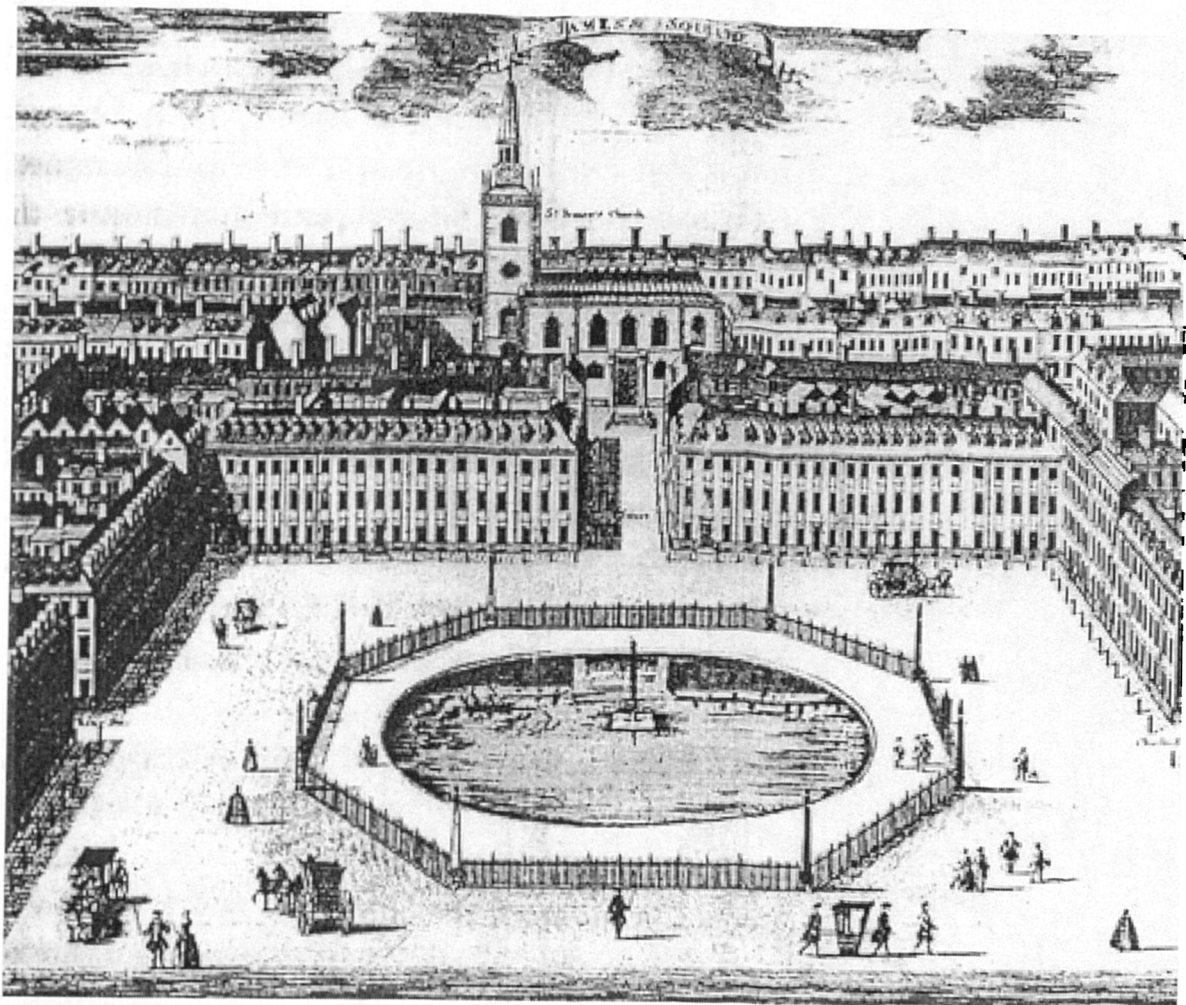


FIGURE 64