A Local Phenomenon: An Analysis of Regular Architecture in the Localities of England 1660-1770.

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Acknowledgments

To state that this thesis has been written during a difficult period is an understatement. While the lockdown period focused my own study, the COVID-19 pandemic has led to immeasurable pain and loss for many in far more unfortunate positions than myself. It should be noted that the fact this thesis could be completed is testament to the selflessness and dedication of key-workers and, in particularly, NHS staff across the country. This said, there are certain individuals without whom this thesis would not have been completed.

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Limitations

This thesis was written during the COVD-19 pandemic and, while every effort has been made to locate sources for research, many works have not been available. As such, the discussions had within this thesis have been tailored towards the literature and primary sources that were accessible. I have come away from this processes with a renewed appreciation for the internet.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore the extent to which the use of 'regular' forms of architecture, in the localities of England, can be used to create the idea of a single national development. In order to assess this notion, four settlements will be examined individually, followed by a comparison. The central question that this thesis asks is whether we should view the transition to regular forms as a singular notion when the nuances of towns' individual experiences are considered. A major stimulus for this research is Peter Borsay's thesis *The English Urban Renaissance* which examines the architecture and society of urban England between 1660 and 1770. Borsay concludes his work with a reference to how the 'local renaissance' of each town contributes to the idea of a 'mainstream continental culture'.[1] The following research debates whether this is a useful position from which to view the changing architectural scene within society as towns experience this development in different ways.

The need for studies based around how local artisans 'cull classical vocabulary' and diverge from theoretical book-based practice has been recognised. Barbara Arciszewska's introduction to *Articulating British Classicism* makes clear how a dichotomy of good architecture that adheres to 'anachronistic concepts of stylistic…purity' and bad architecture that focusses on 'contemporary 'decorum'' is an outdated notion.[2] As shall be explored, local architectural nuance is based on local craftsmen and their exposure to forms of architecture more so than any conscious attempt to break away from a 'classical' mould.

The wider impact of Andrea Palladio here is of note. The political importance of Palladio in England during this period, with relation to the dominant Whig party after 1715, had a clear impact on architecture. As has been discussed in many writings, the classical theme was a central part of Whig ideology and, by extension, Vitruvian architecture was interpreted as a reflection of this same classical civic virtue; Palladio, who followed this canon of architecture, can be seen to have transmitted these ideas onto the modern world.[3] So, by taking inspiration from Palladio, craftsmen who

[1] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p. 320.
[2] Barbara, Archiszewska, 'Classicism: Constructing the Paradigm in Continental Europe and Britain', in Barbara, Archiszewska, and Elizabeth, McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture* (Routledge: London, 2004), pp. 17.
[3] Patrizia, Granziera, 'Neo-Palladian Architecture and its Political Association: The Contribution of Venice to Eighteenth-Century British Art', *Mediterranean Studies,* Vol. 13 (2004), pp. 147-163.

develop architectural treatises are following popular political beliefs and embodying these in their work. Yet, as will be explored, to pass this same thought process onto those who use, and warp, aspects of these works is unhelpful as this assumes the mind-set of the craftsperson. Due to these assumptions, this thesis will not be concerned with the extent to which craftsmen adhere to Palladian principles but rather whether the influences of their own work can be seen within the locality and elsewhere.

It is, however, worth noting the investigation that has already been done into craftsmen's divergence from Palladian norms. Specifically, Elizabeth McKellar counters Summerson's traditional view that 'Palladian taste represents a norm to which classical architecture in this country returned over and over again' describing it as 'misleading and over simplistic'.[4] McKellar's argument that the linear view towards the dissemination of ideas from Jones through to Webb, Burlington and so on is highly applicable to the arguments made throughout this thesis. The choices of architectural forms in the cases examined are far from being solely based upon architectural theory. As will be discussed, while forms are inspired by some significant architects, other factors are at play: prices, expertise, availability of materials to name just three. McKellar effectively challenges Summerson and presents an alternative way of examining town house architecture of this period. Despite focusing upon the capital, McKellar's work can be applied to the cases examined below and arguments forming part of this thesis are derived from this same mindset which she creates.

The role of print has a central role to play in the dissemination of forms during this period and is a notion recognised by many early modern historians. Undoubtedly printed architectural works would have impacted the development of local architecture due to their widespread popularity; these include John Leeke's translation 'The Regular Architect…' derived from the works of Giacomo Barozzio Vignola. As Elizabeth Einstein has noted, the standardisation of such printed works, not only within the discipline of architecture, aided both the formulation of ideas and their spread.[5] The role of print is important here, yet, it will not be discussed in depth as part of this thesis. A strong force behind this decision has been the current restrictions on access to archives during the COVID-19 pandemic as, to fit with the discussion of this thesis, research would need to be undertaken examining inventories of craftsmen which are

[4] McKellar, Elizabeth, *The Birth of Modern London* (MUP, London: 1999), p. 159
[5] Elizabeth, Einstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (CUP: Cambridge 1983), p. 52-5.

held by various archives and county libraries. As this is currently not possible, discussion surrounding printed materials shall be limited.

Broadly speaking, the academic analysis of architecture falls into one of two camps: the artistic and the social. The artistic insight into the development of architecture within the England centres around the use of forms and the relatively linear progression from the regionalised traditions of the medieval and early modern period into the Georgian, Victorian and Modern. These analyses are, of course, extremely beneficial. The use of different architectural forms by different architects and master craftsmen in various locations can be informative as to the mind-set of those designing and their own interpretation of architectural theory. Ultimately, an artistic analysis offers a medium by which to look at the mind of the creator and, in turn, examine the life and experiences of this person. Assumed by this notion is the direct influence between architect, or master builder, and consumer. Given the varied nature of architecture during this period, it should not be taken for granted that the creator's intentions are represented in the final design. An artistic perspective often fails to inform us of others acting in that society and the buildings reception by the lay-persons of the architectural sphere. It would be naive to believe that the development of architecture is confined to the actions of only architects and while some understand the origin of forms, many do not. Unlike most art forms, the development of architecture is depended on the actions of many. Architects, masons, joiners, lawyers, investors and speculative buyers all contribute to the direction of a development. Within private dwellings built in this period, the decision of craftsmen to include certain features should not be extended to suggest that speculative buyers and patrons knew the historical origins of these forms and to claim so would be unfounded. With particular reference to Bath, while it would be easy to assume that John Wood's Druid ideals for the city, as espoused in *The Origin of Building,* are directly transmuted onto his designs, there is little to suggest that residents understood these references in his architecture.

The social analysis is perhaps more useful to this discussion. An understanding of how people develop is reflected in the manner in which they live. The growth of ideas surrounding civility during the Georgian period, codified through rules of social interaction among the polite, are widely reflected in building practices. The prominence of street-facing dining and drawing rooms emphasises the importance of entertaining and, by extension, the need for these rooms to be decorated. Thus, as this period progresses, the inclusion of elaborate features within the houses of the middling sorts

becomes ever more common as this decoration becomes expected of a house that conforms to contemporary fashions. However, to assume the aspects of 'high classicism' accurately reflect societal developments during this period ignores the relationship between architect, patron and buyer. It is the intention of this thesis to examine the relationships between these sets of individuals in the development of town architecture in order to gain a wider perspective as to whether the notion of a uniform national movement towards regular forms is an appropriate position from which to view this period.

Terms

The term 'vernacular', referring to architecture that not polite, is commonly used in this area of study. Adaptations of forms differ between buildings as well as regions. Within the historiography of this field, a haphazard approach to building during the early 18th century has been pejoratively dubbed 'vernacular'. This term has been included as a bi-word for misuse or ignorance and, in John Summerson's case, the degradation of classical principles.[6] As such, for the purpose of this thesis the term 'vernacular' shall be avoided both due to these negative connotations as well as it's redundancy as the vast majority of the architecture examined could be described as 'vernacular'.

Similarly, the term 'classical' will have a limited usage as part of this thesis. A key consideration of this study is the understanding that is held by local craftsmen as to the forms they are utilising. To describe the forms that appear within this study as 'classical', a term shortened from classically inspired, suggests that reflections of ancient civilisations are intentional. In many cases, there is little evidence to suggest that this link is conscious. The term itself was not applied to architecture before the 18th century and, owing to this, is unhelpful when referring to contemporaries. Central texts, including Summerson's *Classical Language of Architecture*, create a rule book mentality towards architecture that disallow the nuance that is visible in local projects which break away from treatises. The discourse surrounding the 'problems raised by 'artisan' practices' and, in turn, the appropriate terminology to use when the intensions of craftsmen are examined has been well covered in the work of McKellar and

[6] John, Summerson, 'The Case for a Theory of 'Modern' Architecture', in *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (Thames and Hudson: London, 1990), p. 259.

Arciszewska.[7] This thesis is less concerned as to whether certain forms are classical in their origin; rather, the perception of forms by both craftsmen and patrons is a central point of discussion. As such, in order to avoid confusion and to facilitate a discussion as to the origin of these mind-sets, the term 'classical' shall be avoided.

Finally, the term 'Georgian' has tended not to be used when referring to forms of architecture as part of this study. Aside from the fact that nearly all of the architecture cited falls within the 'Georgian era', rendering the term superfluous, the periodisation of architectural terms through monarchical reign, I believe, is an unhelpful way to view any architectural transition. For this same reason, I have not used the terms 'William and Mary' or 'Queen Anne'. While perhaps the 'Long 18th Century' would be a better term to describe the period of this study, the periodisation of architectural forms is not intended to consume part of this thesis and, as such, has been avoided.

Rather than use the terms 'vernacular', 'Georgian' or 'classical' to refer to architecture, I have instead opted for the use of 'regular'. The term 'regular' is appropriate here as it portrays the existence of forms, for which there is no specific origin, which are replicated in a pattern nationally with a certain degree of uniformity. Although focussed on a different sections of society, Matthew Walker uses the term 'The 'Regular' Architect' as part of his analysis of Sir Christopher Wren and Roger North.[8] The necessity of this term is seen in Roger North's *Of Buildings* through his assertion 'Let us now venture upon that which is knowne by the name of Regular, in the Italian and Greek manner' which separates the form of architecture 'Regular', from its origin 'Italian and Greek'.[9] Different architectural forms do vary considerably depending on the input of individuals and geographical location. This indefinite term is required in order to broaden perspectives as to what these features are rather than to pigeon-hole forms as 'classical'.

Case Studies

As a major premise of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the transition to regular forms of architecture is a national phenomenon, it is important to vary the towns

[7] Barbara, Archiszewska, and Elizabeth, McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture* (Routledge: London, 2004), *passim*
[8] Matthew, Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (OUP: Oxford, 2017), pp. 10-13.
[9] Roger, North, *Of Building, Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, Howard, Colvin, and John, Newman (eds.) (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1981), p. 115.

studied both geographically and demographically. As such, the settlements that have been chosen for analysis all vary in both of these respects and, similarly, all witness a dramatic change to their built environment between 1660 and 1770.

The towns of Berwick-Upon-Tweed (Berwick), Warwick, Blandford Forum (Blandford) and Bath all demonstrate the impact of regular architecture on the English urban landscape. Throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries these towns developed largely independently, as a result of various stimuli, grew to be respected for their regular forms and, in the following century, added to a notion of 'aesthetic dominance' that formed part of this national phenomenon.[10] Despite being situated distances of over four hundred miles apart and with drastically different histories, a cross examination of these settlements highlights the features of regular designs which became a staple of English building; this led to a new national form, which extended to British architecture in Scotland, Ireland and America.

As stated, the premise of this thesis is to focus on the importance of local study before applying this to a national phenomenon. To draw on a crucial part of the historiography, Peter Borsay's 'The English Urban Renaissance' is central to an understanding the links between architecture and society in this period as well as how the forms utilised by local craftsmen which, in his eyes, combine to create national phenomenon.[11] Yet, the evidence used to support Borsay's thesis of an 'urban renaissance' is largely taken out of context. By arraigning his thesis thematically, it is easy to choose features of settlements that support this national model while simultaneously ignoring features of these same settlements which are lacking. Borsay is certainly clear that the development of society is shown through a plethora of human activity, yet, if this activity is lacking in certain areas can the same smooth argument of an 'English Urban Renaissance' be made? Is the social metropolis of Bath truly comparable to the borderlands of Berwick? This thesis seeks to examine the four settlements, first within their own right then followed by comparison, to assess this notion. The key question to be asked of this, when the entirety of a town's architectural make-up and development is assessed, is whether these processes of development are comparable.

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[10] Alec, Clifton-Taylor *Six More English Towns* (BBC: London, 1981); Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p. 101.

[11] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), *passim*

Chapter 2: Bath

Introduction

Bath is undoubtedly one of the finest examples of regular architecture within England. From the turn of the 18th century, the city witnessed some of the largest and grandest design schemes outside of London and has since been viewed as a provincial capital in an architectural sense.[12] Reflective of the social development within the city during the early 18th century, the houses and squares designed remain popular destinations for historians and tourists alike and their architecture recorded and analysed countless times in academic writings.[13] Despite the city's status as a highpoint of regular architecture within England, Bath is often written about in a detached and isolated manner in comparison to architectural schemes elsewhere in the country; this is owing to its quasi-metropolitan status.[14] Existing analyses of Bath mostly examine the strict aesthetics of the city's architecture. Famously, Walter Ison's *The Georgian Buildings of Bath* provides the most comprehensive analysis of the city's architecture to date and, crucially, it is published before the 'Sack of Bath' during the latter quarter of the 20th century.[15] Peter Borsay's analysis of Bath, an argument distilled from his larger *The English Urban Renaissance*, provides an similarly invaluable social evaluation of the city during its architectural transition.[16] As valuable as these works are, it is vital to see Bath in the context of architectural change across England. The following chapter aims

[12] Charles, Robertson, *Bath: An Architectural Guide* (Faber: London, 1975), p. 11.
[13] Peter, Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath 1700-2000: Towns Heritage and History* (OUP: Oxford, 2000), *passim*,
[14] Of the numerous guides to Bath and architectural studies that have so far been published, the vast majority examine only Bath and widely refer to the city as exceptional.
[15] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004); Adam, Fergusson, *The Sack of Bath* (Persphone: London, 1973)
[16] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989)

to analyse the various influences upon Bath's built environment in order to facilitate a comparison with other settlements rather than examining the city as an architectural anomaly.

The influence of John Wood the elder, with references to Bath's Druid history through his designs, detaches Bath's regular architecture from the wider use of these same forms sweeping the country. Queen Square, The Kings Circus and The Royal Crescent all contain varied references to Bath's Druid history through various symbolic features. As such, the relationship between some of the city's most influential figures and its existing Roman history, evidenced by the baths and the scale of regular architectural developments, combine to create the Bath's history. However, it is comparable to other towns that witness a similar transition and Wood's writings are not the only perspective on architecture within the city.

Given the comparative size of Bath to the other studies as part of this research, focus has largely been narrowed to a few developments within the city that encapsulate the thought processes behind Bath's architecture; most prominently, John Wood's 'Queen Square' (1728) as well as 'Kingsmead Square' (1730s) and 'Beaufort Square' (1730s) both designed by John Strahan.

John Wood's Perspective

As Bath's most proclaimed architect, an understanding of John Wood the elder's thought processes behind architecture is central to how large parts of the city develop and indicate why regular forms appear within Bath.

Following his childhood in Bath, there is evidence to suggest that Wood worked in both Yorkshire and London for a number of years on Braham Park (1722) and the Cavendish-Harley estate in Marylebone, London (1717).[17] It was while working on Braham Park that Wood in 1725 started to develop his plans for Bath.[18] Changes had already been approved to Bath's layout by 1707 to widen streets and to make the city 'clean and light' and it was seemingly this announcement that drew Wood to consider

[17] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 1140-1142; John, Wood (Elder), *Choir Gaure, Vulgarly called Stonehenge, on Sailsbury Plain* (1747)
[18] Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 1140-1142.

working in the city.[19] Although there is little evidence to point to why Wood started to draw up plans for Bath so early, especially prior to gaining any permission or securing any land for such a venture, his personal ties to the city and social connections to Edward Harley, Member of Parliament for Bath, show that work in the city would not have been an entirely random choice. Importantly, there is little in Wood's life before the mid-1720s that would indicate his interest in Bath's history that would later appear and would influence so much of his work.

Wood's obsession with history, espoused through his written works, comprises a central feature of his designs and frames how he envisages Bath architecturally. His first two theses explore the history of architecture, as he perceives it, as well as the prominence of Bath historically. *The Origin of Building*, published in 1741, was swiftly followed by *An Essay Toward a Description of Bath* in 1749 and outlines Wood's obsessional aim to create an architectural history originating with God and Moses.[20] His 'superstructure' places the Tabernacle at the centre of this architectural system.[21] Wood then ties this theory into his own connections to Freemasonry within Bath and the assumed relationship in this period between Freemasonry and Druidism. Although published later, elements of William Preston's writings on the existence of Freemasonry among the early Britons draw this connection by describing how 'In conformity to the ancient practices of the fraternity, we learn that [Druids] held their assemblies in woods and groves, and observed the most impenetrable secrecy in their principles and opinions'.[22]

For Wood, the Tabernacle symbolises the beauty that is found in nature and the importance of everlasting truths. As these building forms are derived from nature they are, in essence, God's creations and this construction, as the first architectural creation, is God's direction to man in the ways of building. By extension, the base and capital of a column are representative of the root and head of a tree and the open air pillars of the Tabernacle are founded in the shape of growing branches.[23] As a result, Wood

[19] Trevor, Fawcett, *Paving, Lighting, Cleansing: Street Improvement and Maintenance in Eighteenth Century Bath* (Building of Bath Museum: Bath, 1994), pp. 6-11.
[20] John, Wood (Elder), *The Origin of Building: Or, the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (1741); Wood (Elder), John, *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath* (1749)
[21] John, Wood (Elder), *The Origin of Building: Or, the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (1741), p. 90.
[22] Preston, William, *Illustrations of Masonry* (1772), p. 27.
[23] Eileen, Harris, 'John Wood's System of Architecture', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 131, No. 1031 (Feb, 1989), p. 104.

disregards the work of Vitruvius as, by developing his architectural treatise for Caesar Augustus, Vitruvius is falsifying history and plagiarising prophetic books.[24]

For Wood, numbers and mathematical proportions are central to his 'superstructure'. Despite these forms originating with the Jews, the Greeks attention to proportion, he believes, constitutes a closeness to God that allows them to be considered perfect. As such, Wood's attention to mathematical form can be derived from the works of Pythagorean principles.[25]

In order to provide a direct link to ancient principles, Wood takes the idea of King Bladud, the legendary King of Britain as well as founder of Bath, and portrays him as a historical figure rather than a myth. Despite being too heavily burdened with history to be of any practical value to any architect, these works set out Wood's ambitions for Bath, what he aimed for within his designs, and the weight that is given to historical accuracy.

While these writings emphasise Wood's attention to historical purity within architecture, to on one hand insist for honesty within the orders while also twisting the myth of King Bladud into reality seems hypocritical and even paradoxical. Wood uses the metaphor of his ideas within his architecture rather than his written word. Clearly, the architecture that Wood designs for Bath is not modelled on or reflective of the Tabernacle, but his desire to use forms consistently and accurately shows his commitment to the ethos of his writings and the result is a new and regular form of large scale architecture. The impact of these beliefs are seen in his designs for Queen Square and The King's Circus though his utilisation of regular forms combined with symbolic imagery in order to create architecture which conforms to his own, somewhat warped, perspective on what Bath's architecture should be. This mind-set is certainly unique for an established architect of this period, yet, despite Wood's heavy attention to Druid history, his use of forms which adhere to developing social norms show that his writings are more principled that his designs.

Queen Square

Queen Square, constructed between 1728 and 1736, was John Wood's first large development within Bath and lit the touch paper for regular architectural projects within

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., p. 106.

the city over the following 150 years. Despite initial opposition from the city's council, resulting in a site location as outside of the existing city centre, the immediacy with which other regular squares appeared is indicative of the popularity of this type of project.[26]

Queen Square is a reflection of the changes that Bath had undergone but the connection between regular architecture and civility remains vague. The importance of social status among the wealthy in Bath during this period led to the necessity of impressive social surroundings.[27] By extension, given Bath's existing Roman history, the use of regular forms to emphasise a connection to a 'civilised' society seems logical.

In Wood's writings even, the founder of Bath, King Bladud's supposed links to ancient Greece would give prominence to his ornate regular designs.

Figure 1: Queen Square, Bath (1728-36)

Queen Square Architecture

The North side of Queen Square is the most ornate featuring its palatial façade. Consisting of seven houses grouped together with a central section of five bays with symmetrical wings either side; this stretch dominates the square at its highest point. Designed fifteen years before the publication of Wood's first written work, there are conflicting views as to the intentions within his designs.[28] A prominent theory is that the design appeased the gentry by constructing a façade that gives the impression of a

[26] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), p. 1141.
[27] Neil, McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth Century England', in Niel, McKendrick, *et al., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa: London, 1982), pp. 9-34.
[28] Michael, Forsyth, *Bath* (Yale University Press: London, 2003), pp. 135-140.

larger country house while containing many small, yet grand, separate dwellings.[29] From a social status perspective, this allowed for the appearance of opulence and grandeur close to the social hub of the city centre. This wing is designed with the two sets of heavily recessed doors either side of the central block in order to give the impression of a central entrance. The central portico and acroterion adds to this aspect of unity and creates the image of a single unit rather than multiple sections combined.

Yet, while this approach is understandable from visual and social perspectives, taking Wood's written work into account it seems unlikely that the perspectives of the wealthy were Wood's defining influences here. Wood researched his written works for years prior to their publication and his attention to the mathematical recreations of Druid sites conducted during the 1720s, of which Stonehenge was a notable example, indicates his attention to purity of architecture prior to the 1740s rather than folding to the aesthetic demands of the upper echelons of society. Wood's close attention to the 'historically accurate' use of the Corinthian Order here is not a surprise and the use of a plain pediment is certainly reflective of Wood's commitment to keeping his designs free from vanity and over embellishment. Regular architecture frequently included applying the orders, or elements of the orders, as a part of house design. The distinction to draw here is how the designs of Queen Square separate themselves from the 'classical tradition'. While the finished designs of the square can be associated with this tradition, his mind-set cannot. Owing to this separation of architecture and mind, attention should be directed away from analysing whether these designs fit with tradition and, instead, focus on understanding their significance as a stand-alone project before attempting to associate them with another.

It is no coincidence that the tall windows on the first floor are designed as 'tabernacles' with moulded architraves. Demonstrated within the plates of *The Origin of Building*, Wood designs window architraves in this same manner and incorporates plain pediments in order to show a direct lineage of his own architecture to that of the Jews. These two features are used in his elevation of a 'cottage', despite using the Doric rather than the Corinthian order, in an attempt to replicate the Tomb of Zachariah, the architectural features of which were ultimately derived from the Tabernacle.[30] As such,

[29] Ibid.
[30] Elevation of a 'cottage' by John Wood, 'composed of twelve Pillars, sustaining a pyramidal Roof', in the manner of the Tomb of Zachariah and ultimately derived from the Tabernacle. *The Origin of Building* (1741), pl. 9.

there are visible links between Wood's theoretical designs, as shown in *The Origin*, and those present on Queen Square rather than a simple desire to display opulence.

For Wood, architecture needs to adhere to defined principles and show a clear lineage back to original sources; anything other than this is a heinous misuse of both mathematical principle and historical precedent. Crucially, Wood's obsession with deriving these rules from ancient Jewish architectural practices indicates his desire for architecture to remain the work of God. As the Tabernacle was laid out by Moses, considered the first architect and town planner, architecture that replicates these proportions stays close to God by the nature of Moses' divine instruction.[31] Yet, by focussing on the druid origins of this architecture, Wood is able to tie the regular architectural tradition to the ancient Britons.

As the designs of Wood progress, notably with the construction of the Circus between 1754 and 1768, so too do his efforts to keep architectural forms pure in accordance to their Jewish origin as well as, somewhat paradoxically, reinforcing their English heritage. The surveys that Wood had undertaken some thirty years earlier are used to add a further attachment to Druid history in the Circus. Measuring 318 feet in diameter, The Circus mimics the size of Stonehenge to within 7 feet.[32] Moreover, The Circus is laden with references to the Druids, from Wood's belief that their ensign was a circle to the use of acorns as acroterions as a reference to the pigs once owned by King Bladud that would feast on them.

Looking at the development of Wood's own designs between Queen Square and The Circus, as well as his two sets of essays that codified his ideas between these years, for the architect who arguably had the greatest architectural impact on Bath for centuries, intellectual and aesthetic purity lay at the forefront of his mind rather than social demand. Despite these buildings notoriety as some of the most lavish within the city, Wood's projected ambition was to keep his use of forms relevant through their use of mathematical principle. However, to take Wood's interpretation of architectural development as universal would be to undermine the variety that is present in Bath's architecture. While Wood is undoubtedly Bath's most renowned architect, his thoughts are by no means indicate as to the thought processes of others or even Bath as a whole. What they indicate is the difference in perspective between architect and society.

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[31] *The Origin of Building* (1741), p. 105.
[32] Tessa, Morrison, 'The Vitruvian Stonehenge: Inigo Jones, William Stukeley, and John Wood the Elder', in *The International Journal of Critical Cultural Studies*, Vol. 11, Is 3 (USA: 2014)

John Strahan

Telling of Bath's architectural transition is how Queen Square is perceived by other contemporary architects. John Strahan designs two squares just a few years following the start of work at Queen Square that adhere to certain principles espoused by Wood while disregarding others. Significantly, Strahan adopts the uniformity that is seen Queen Square but ignores Wood's attention to historical purity and his 'superstructure'.

Strahan had previously been working in Bristol under the timber merchant John Hobbs who commissioned Strahan to design a new quarter of the city which would include two squares as well as Monmouth Street and Avon Street. Along a similar vein to the outlook of Wood, Hobbs' vision had been to lay out 'Some Meadow and Garden Ground on the West Side of the Body of the City of Bath into Streets for Building' and, by the nature of Strahan's designs for houses around a square, the intention here was to create a new type of living environment which differentiated itself from the existing medieval shambles which dominated the city centre.[33] Strahan's approval from the city to use land closer to the centre a little more than two years following the beginning of construction at Queen Square is emblematic of public support, shown through the immediate rental agreements that are made following the construction of the two squares, and highlighting a move away from Bath's existing irregular architecture.

Kingsmead Square and Beaufort Square received scathing criticism from John Wood on account of their designs; this is once again telling of the contrasting opinions surrounding architecture with Bath. Strahan's works here are built chronologically parallel to Wood's Queen Square and, on paper, these developments share many characteristics.[34] As a reflection of the fashionable trend in this period, they are all designed as Squares, they are all facilitated though long term leases of land and the houses within them are designed speculatively. Contemporarily, Beaufort Square was known as the 'Beaufort Buildings' with later addition of the term 'Square' presumably to adhere to the emerging social norm. While both architects employ regular features

[33] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), p. 992; Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004); Adam, Fergusson, *The Sack of Bath* (Persphone: London, 1973), p. 212.
[34] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 992-3.

within their designs, they differ greatly: most notably through Strahan's lack of complete uniformity. Having said this, they are all distinctly regular.

Figure 2: Beaufort Square, Bath (1730s)

Beaufort Square is significantly smaller and less ornate than the works of Wood. Constructed around the Theatre Royal, the houses are a mixture of two and three story buildings with few ornaments. Notable features of regularity throughout the square are segmental pediments above the door cases and the use of sash windows. Some houses have 'eared' architrave surrounding the windows while about half have the entablature of the Doric Order, or triglyphs, surrounding the roof line. Along similar lines, Strahan's designs for Kingsmead Square show aspects of regularity with a mix of features. This time, the individual doorways are topped with pointed pediments and the only other noticeable addition, to what is a comparatively plain façade, are two sets of string cornice separating the first two floors with continuous entablature along the roof line. Despite notable aesthetic differences, there is one consistent thought process behind Strahan's designs. At the most basic level, there is an understanding of regular building practices and an appreciation that regular features were *à la mode*. Yet, while regular features are included, we should not over-estimate Strahan's intentions as the mixed, and perhaps even capricious, use of forms shows little understanding of their

origin or historical precedent. While this may have been stifled by lack of funds, it is far more likely that Strahan was concerned with purely the visual aspects of his designs and the social connotations of these forms rather than historical accuracy: unlike Wood.

Wood's reaction to Strahan's designs for Beaufort and Kingsmead squares, describing the architecture as 'piratical', shows the conflicting values between these two architects and the fundamental differences in the mind-set behind their designs.[35] Within his *Essay Toward a Description of Bath*, Wood sets out his scathing view of Strahan's works:

'This Controul, so unnatural to the Taste of Mankind in general, drove the Capricious, as well as some of our poorest Workmen, to exercise their Building Faculties in King's Mead Square, and Beaufort Buildings; the Houses whereof bear the strongest Testimony of this Evident Truth…and therefore Beaufort Buildings have a Sort of Regularity to recommend them; but the Houses in King's Mead Square have nothing, save Ornaments without Taste, to please the Eye.'[36]

Figure 3: Kingsmead Square, Bath (1730s)

From Wood's perspective here, there is a distinct difference between his own architecture and that of Strahan and, unsurprisingly, he favours his own. While part of this criticism is due to the fact Strahan is Wood's direct rival, his criticism that Strahan's squares do not reflect the '*taste of mankind'* is reflective of the lack of historical precedent shown, yet, his appreciation that the designs show a '*Sort of Regularity*'

[35] John, Wood (Elder), *The Origin of Building: Or, the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (1741), p. 341
[36] John, Wood (Elder), *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath* (Bath: 1742)

portray Wood's understanding of alternate theories of architecture. Within the *Essay,* Wood even goes as far as to commend aspects of Strahan's work by observing that, despite his criticism, '*they* [the buildings of Beaufort Square] *far exceed the common Buildings of any Place that I have yet seen'*.[37] By criticising Strahan's work for its lack of historical appreciation but commending it for its regularity, Wood is drawing a distinction between his own architecture and that of his rival while, albeit in a small way, expressing an appreciation for both. Clearly, not all of Bath can be designed with the same expense that is seen at Queen Square, yet, despite acknowledging that Strahan's works are superior to others, Wood is still reluctant to accept them as in any way good. This analysis is evidence of a dividing line between architecture perceived as an artistic development to the urban environment and architecture as a social change.

Contemporaneously, the idea that there is a 'better' and a 'worse' in this sense is unhelpful but the existence of this mind-set is telling of a mixed attitude to what 'regular' architecture is; emblematic of why 'classical', implying a conscious link to ancient architecture, blurs the issue. While existence of work in Bath by Wood and Strahan shows differing opinions on how architecture should be perceived, the societal change that occurs in the city shows that form triumphs over historical precedent and to claim that the ancient origins of architecture create a fashionable environment is not a firm link.

Society

The Georgian development of Bath, specifically the connections between society and architecture, are largely concerned with the work of three men: Ralph Allen, John Wood and Beau Nash.[38]

Ralph Allen

Allen, having met Wood in Yorkshire while Wood was acting as a road surveyor, held sway in Wood's decision to move to Bath as well as the use of stone from his quarries.[39] Allen's 'Town House' (1727) was one of the first regular building within Bath and utilised the iconic 'honey-coloured' Bath stone which was to be incorporated in

[37] John, Wood (Elder), *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath* (Bath: 1742)
[38] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), pp. 27.
[39] Peach, Robert, *The Life and Times of Ralph Allen of Prior Park* (Ulan: London, 2012)

buildings across the city.[40] Although the architect of this house is disputed, with accounts of the 19th century crediting Wood but more modern accounts calling this into question, the impact that this development had on Allen's ability to market his stone, which would be used across Bath, was sizable. The visible evidence of this lies in the uniformity that is still seen within the stone in Bath. Wood's later designs for Prior Park (1742), Allen's country estate on the edge looking over Bath provided the perfect form of advertising for Allen's quarries. Moreover, Wood's use of this stone for his early work in Queen Square, and various smaller developments prior to this, helped to cement Allen's visual and personal impact upon the city. As such, Allen's social connections to Wood resulted in the use of specific building materials that would become a central facet of Bath's regular architecture.

Beau Nash

Beau Nash's personal impact upon the architecture of Bath is significant as the intertwined nature of Bath's social scene and its architectural transition place Nash with considerable influence. Nash ultimately created the social climate that facilitated Wood's and Strahan's architectural vision. Bath's reputation for its healing waters that attracted travellers was already widely known by this period but the image of Bath during the early 18th century altered dramatically as Nash pioneered transition from a small market town into a vibrant international resort and social hub. While the formal relationship between Nash and Wood is relatively vague, and non-existent for Strahan, informally there is much to suggest that Wood's designs for Bath were influenced though his relationship with Nash and the impact that he had on Bath's entertaining culture.

Oliver Goldsmith's biography of Nash, first published in 1762, lays out a chronological history of Nash's life and his relationship with Wood.[41] Although only mentioned a handful of times within this work, there are several incidences which suggests Wood's close relationship with Nash beyond both men being renowned within the city. A close friend of Nash, named only as 'Miss Sylvia S', stayed with Wood for a period of time in his house on Queen Square where Nash would visit regularly. Having had a troubled time in London which resulted in a sudden move to Bath, Nash's

[40] Forsyth, Michael, *Bath* (Yale University Press: London, 2003)
[41] Oliver, Goldsmith, *The Life of Beau Nash* (1762), pp. 35-7.

recommendation to her was to stay with Wood indicating a close and trusting relationship between the two men. This same notion of friendship is expressed thought the architectural symbolism present within the obelisk erected in the centre of Queen Square that had been dedicated to the visit of the Prince of Wales. The monument was unveiled by Nash, and even funded by him, in 1738.[42] Given Wood's own position as Bath's most prized architect and Nash as the city's social orchestrator, it is relatively unsurprising that the building developments that appear in Bath after 1730 reflect both the rules espoused by Nash and the some of the regular architectural principles believed in by Wood.

The relationship between regular architecture and the social structure within Bath can be traced further back to before Wood's early designs of the 1720s. Following Nash's arrival in Bath in 1704, the additions to or construction of public buildings within the city become increasingly regular as public shows of entertainment and social development become more common. From a health perspective, upon his arrival, one of Nash's first orders was to ensure that the waters of the city remained clean following threats from a disgruntled physician who had threatened to pollute them.[43] Nash's subsequent connections to maintaining the city, and the social connotations of these societal developments, become tied to the idea of regularity within building design as well as the regularity of daily public life. In 1751, a marble statue of Beau Nash was erected in the Pump Room of Bath through a donation by local inhabitants and Nash's hand rests upon a plan of the General Hospital on top of a plinth.[44] Although the building work was only finished by 1742, the idea of a central hospital in Bath, to care for those who were visiting in order to make use of the healing waters of the city, had been developed by Nash and Wood as early as 1716.[45] Upon its completion, the hospital would one of the grandest buildings within Bath, eclipsed only slightly by Queen Square that had been finished a few years prior, a surprising feat given that almost all of the finance dedicated to the building was donated by residents. Adorned with a large

[42] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), p. 129.
[43] Peter, Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath 1700-2000: Towns Heritage and History* (OUP: Oxford, 2000), p. 62.
[44] *The Bath and Bristol Guide: Or the Tradesman's and Traveller's Companion* (Bath: 1753), 3rd edn. [1755], reproduced (Bath, 1969), p. 21.
[45] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), p. 88.

portico atop columns of the ionic order, considerable expense was made to ensure the grandeur of a building that would ultimately house the poor and sick.

The interrelationship here between Nash, The General Hospital and the use of regular architectural forms is emblematic of how societal change, patronage and aesthetic demands combine to further develop architecture in this period. At the turn of the 17th century, the vast majority of tourism to Bath was based around the healing waters from the springs and any businesses operating around this attraction brought money into the city. The opulence dedicated to the architecture of a hospital shows the importance of health to society within Bath as well as the development of modern practises of care. The need for grandeur within architecture to portray this modern outlook pushes architectural designs forward, allowing for experimentation and, ultimately, the development of regular architecture to occur within Bath. This being said, as will be discussed later, regular architecture emerges in different locations in parallel in the particular context of each place.

Assembly Rooms

The same relationship can be seen within the social scene of Bath, of the first large scale regular buildings within the city, the vast majority were for public use. The first assembly room was built only two years after Nash's arrival in Bath, for Thomas Harrison, as a profitable speculation by Nash himself.[46] The Lower Rooms, as they were known, became larger as the popularity of this form of socialising increased with the addition of a larger ballroom in 1720 and an enlarged suite in 1749.[47] Demolished in 1933, the rooms appear in many lithographs from the 19th century and show a large but relatively simple building with a front composed of three bays, all equal in size, with each containing two tall arched sash windows. The additions added by William Killigrew some 30 years later are far more elaborate with what was described in The New Bath Guide as a 'very fine stucco ceiling'.[48] The transition from a relatively simple assembly room of the 1720s into a much grander and larger building of the 1750s shows

[46] Oliver, Goldsmith, *The Life of Beau Nash* (1762), pp. 20.
[47] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), pp. 49-54.
[48] *The New Bath Guide: Or Useful Pocket Companion* (Bath, 1792), in Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), p. 49.

the importance of public architecture to the social scene and the public endorsement of regular designs.

Given the emergence of assembly rooms elsewhere, in large cities similar to Bath, the importance of these rooms is seen on a national scale; moreover, the architectural similarities show the exchange of ideas between these settlements. Burlington's Assembly Rooms in York (1730) include a façade that is similar to that of the Lower Rooms in Bath. Both constructions contain a central portico flanked by two wings with a single sash window in each. This addition to Bath was most likely added in 1749 following a redevelopment. As well travelled many residents of Bath were, they were aware of the fashionable architecture to in this case and, despite renovations in 1720, further additions were made in 1749 to maintain Bath's modern social image.

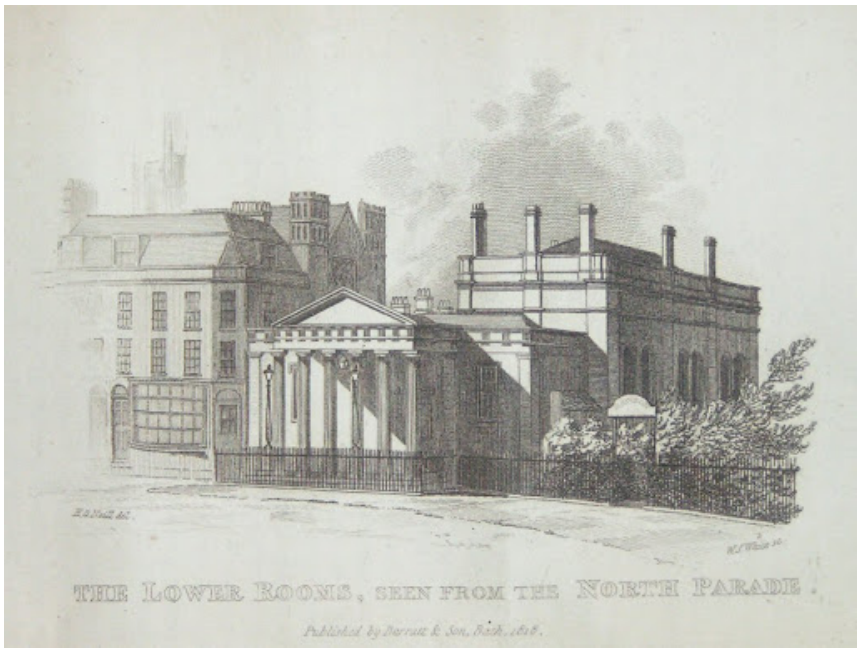

Figure 4: The Lower Rooms, Bath, (1749) Print by H. O'Neill (1818)

Without this push from social factors, it is hard to see how architecture within Bath would not have developed at the rate which it did. What then becomes notable is the transition of these elaborate forms of architecture from the public setting into the private. The buildings of St John's Court (1720), comprising of houses designed by both John Wood and Thomas Greenway, are constructed shortly after the first assembly room and are significantly more uniform than what had come before. Richly decorated with string cornice with large sash windows, these houses are some of the first examples of regular architecture in private houses within Bath. It is surely of little coincidence,

therefore, that the most richly decorated house within this set was first occupied by Beau Nash upon its completion in 1720.

Houses

Houses built in the centre of Bath as little as ten years earlier show how quick the transition is from the use of eclectic architectural forms through to uniform and regular designs. Both Broad Street (1709) and Green Street (1713) are reflective of the transitional period showing what Ison describes as 'Renaissance mouldings and details used in conjunction with steep gabled roofs and without any assured sense of scale or proportion'.[49] This transition is also apparent to Wood in his description of Bath as he comments that the houses of Broad Street have a 'heterogeneous appearance which is absent from the latter thoroughfares' which would soon appear in the northern part of the city.[50]

Examining the of the dates of Bath's social rejuvenation under Beau Nash and the early architectural evidence, it is clear that the city's social changes at the turn of the century were intricately linked to the development of its architecture.

The development of social protocol also had a dramatic effect on architecture through changing private behaviour. As well as allowing for social cohesion among the wealthy and outlining the rules for evening dancing in Bath's assembly room, these social guidelines spread into the private lives of the middling sorts and upper echelons of society through changing behaviours. These rules dictated expected levels of dress, the etiquette of communication, and the importance of social stature in public settings.[51] The increasingly uniform use of architecture within private houses in Bath is reflective of this social change and as the rules of social behaviour become codified in public, the private setting also begins to change and the environment adapts to these rules.

Frank Brown's mathematical analysis of the changing functions of rooms bolsters this transition though his attention to the development of the parlour and hall within the house during the 17th century.[52] Although his research is London based, it's

[49] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), p. 119.
[50] John, Wood (Elder), *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath* (1749)
[51] Oliver, Goldsmith, *The Life of Beau Nash* (1762), pp. 20-21.
[52] Frank, Brown E., 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 28, No. 3 (July, 1986), pp. 558-590

implications can certainly be seen in Bath's architecture at the beginning of the 18th century. Both the larger and smaller dwelling's within Queen Square contain parlours and withdrawing rooms for private entertaining. The construction, in many cases, of an 'L Shaped' plan so as to keep the service rooms and staff living quarters away from sight at the back of the house shows not only the accepted transition towards entertaining and private spaces within a house but also a space, accessible from the street, where one could boast though methods of conspicuous consumption, the ownership of luxury goods.

Despite being constructed speculatively, the size and decoration of the rooms clearly shows their purpose. Within Queen Square, the frequent appearance of wooden panelling, marble fire surrounds and 'egg and dart' cornice in first floor drawing rooms, notably the most decorated part of the house, shows the importance of dedicated spaces for entertaining away from the day-to-day functions of the house. Regardless of the fact that the sizes of the houses on the square change, the south façade containing some double-fronted dwellings with a parlour either side as well as some with only a single front room for entertaining, the prevalence of decorative features within these rooms remains constant.

Within the houses on Kingsmead Square the same principles apply, although unsurprisingly, the internal features are less ornate given the comparatively less expensive nature of the development. The fact that both Strahan's and Wood's houses, despite being occupied by members of the middling sorts and the upper classes respectively, both contain these layouts which revolve around entertainment which shows the importance of social stature through entertaining across these echelons of society.

Hentie Louw's analysis of the remarkably quick development of the sash window and its significant widespread usage, over the course of as little as 15 years, indicates the significance of windows in the development of architecture and their popularity following the restoration.[53] Taking both of these works into account with reference to Bath, the use of sash windows by Strahan and Wood are taken for granted, however, their inclusion represents the forward thinking and 'modern' aspects of this architecture as well as a move away from the medieval building practices of the city

[53] Louw, H, 'The Origin of the Sash Window' *Society of the Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, Vol. 26 (1983), pp. 49-72, 144-150.

centre. Following on from what has been discussed above regarding the differences between the works of these two architects, the fact that they both utilise sash windows indicates a similarly modern outlook. After all, sash windows had only been incorporated into Whitehall, Kensington Palace and Hampton Court at the end of the 17th century.[54]

Interiors

It is at this point, upon examining the interiors of houses across Bath from the 1720s and 1730s, that the beginnings of conspicuous consumption within internal architectural features can be seen. Although many of the incidentals of Georgian consumption; furniture, wall paper, cutlery, glass, along with a myriad of other objects will, of course, no longer be within these houses, many of the more fixed fittings within private spaces for entertaining remain and portray the efforts of residents to impress as well as appearing fashionable.[55] Aside from purely the architectural sphere, nationally the consumer revolution has been recognised as early as the 17th century with new consumer tastes and increased disposable income.[56] As such, an early form of elasticity of demand had developed, driven by 'envy, love of luxury, vanity and vaulting ambition'. [57] Ultimately, across the market of luxury items, 'the idea of self-improvement through spending implied genuine social mobility' and, by the nature of this distinction, everyone with means should attempt to emulate their betters in society.[58] This notion extents to the inclusion of regular features within Bath as aspects are expected within the houses of the wealthy and middling sorts, even if so in a restrained manner, rather than being reserved for the landed gentry.

This development to the interior layout of houses within Bath shows how important a change of societal rules is to the development of a town's architecture. As the case study with the firmest rules surrounding social engagements as part of this thesis, it is clear how closely Bath's architecture is affected by this change.

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Neil, McKendrick *et al., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa: London, 1982), p. 12.
[56] McKendrick, Neil, *et al., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa: London, 1982), p. 12.
[57] Appleby, Joyce, 'Ideology and Theory: The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England' *The American History Review*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (Jun., 1976), p. 505.
[58] Ibid., p. 515.

Printed Materials and Craftsmen

Within the architectural sphere the increase in both building manuals, allowing craftsmen to advertise their talents shows a move to facilitate social imitation by offering a range of products. Within Bath, one of the most recorded tradesman to utilise this development in consumer tastes was William Salmon who had followed his father into the woodwork trade to become a carpenter and joiner.[59] Born and living in Colchester, he visited Bath regularly to do work on the various new developments of the 1730s-1750s.[60] Within his work *Palladio Londinensis* (1734) Salmon takes the rigid rules of Palladio and converts them into a practical guide for the use of craftsmen.[61]

Including use of the orders, fire surrounds, cornice, architrave and pediments, Salmon's publication allowed for both the craftsmen to visualise how to construct these forms as well as for the consumer to choose what internal features they desired. Interestingly, various aspects of this work contain suggested prices for craftsmen to charge, as well as the types of work they could charge for, with the ends of certain chapters even headed 'The Price'.[62] When discussing balustrading for staircases, it is Salmon's opinion that 'If circular or ramping allow the price double, or otherwise double measure, and this a rule for all circular works in general'.[63] Not only does this increase in price reflect the increased workmanship needed to create circular balustrading but also the view of circular workmanship as a higher level of luxury item. So, by the nature of this work being charged at a higher price to the consumer, such an item could be used to differentiate one from others on the basis of cost which ultimately reflects the culture of conspicuous consumption.

The same can be said of Salmon's views on how to price mouldings as he states that 'All mouldings whatever that are not wrought with common plains, but worked by hand as import mouldings, bafes, architraves, pilafters, columns, cornices, etc. are to be measured in fuperficial feet, and to allow for the same from 12d. to 18d. per yard'.[64] The principle behind this is logical, that more intricate features require more work and are, therefore, more expensive. The range of price expressed here also allows for

[59] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 893-4.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), *passim*.
[62] Ibid., p. 47.
[63] Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), pp. 44-7.
[64] Ibid., p. 47.

craftsmen to value their own work and, in some situations, stipulate the market value based on their own opinion.

This publication shows the importance of economics in the development of regular forms. Put concisely, more intricate forms require more work and are, therefore, more expensive. This notion plays directly into the concept of conspicuous consumption as the social importance of a regular form is based on its price when compared to another. Despite these forms originating in Salmon's adaptations of Palladio, the product chosen by the consumer is based on price rather than any notion of historical relevance. This is the break in the chain of information that renders why these patrons cannot be thought to have held an understanding of 'classical' architecture due to their choice of regular forms.

Equally as important is Salmon's intention for his works to be viewed and used by a wide variety of craftsmen. While there was some overlap of trade specialisms, the inclusion of carpentry, masonry, plaster work, plumbing, paving, metal working, glass making and brick laying shows his ambition to not only inform but to do so on a large scale. Salmon's acknowledgement in the preface of his work that much of his work was inspired by the work of William Halfpenny, the renowned author of a series of architectural manuals, shows a lineage and a continuation of methodology that can only add to the increasingly uniform nature of designs.[65]

An examination of the interiors Queen Square shows this theory. Ison's plate of the inside of No. 24 Queen Square *'Staircase, view looking from first half landing towards entrance arch c. 1730'* shows the inclusion of features that Salmon describes and indicates the impact of conspicuous consumption upon decorative interiors.[66] The staircase photographed would have led from the entrance through to the first floor parlour, as such, this is an area of the house that would have been visible to those being entertained. As a consequence, efforts have been made to include features that would have been more expensive to purchase so as to impress these guests. The lack of such intensely decorative features in personal areas of houses, including bed chambers for example, reflects the enhanced importance given to the opinions of outsiders while they were being entertained. The staircase is constructed out of oak with identical turned

[65] Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 467-8.
[66] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), pl. 119 a.

balusters supporting an upward curving handrail leading to landing newels designed as Doric columns.[67] Equally, Doric pilasters can be seen as part of the oak panelling in the background. The proportions for these exact pieces of work are listed in Salmon's writings along with more and less decorative options for these same features.[68] It should be noted that while the use of Salmon's writings when providing additions to these houses has not been recorded, his influence within Bath certainly has been documented and the additions themselves bear close resemblance to what is outlined in *Palladio*

119 *a*. No. 24 Queen Square. Staircase, view looking from first half-landing towards entrance arch. *c*.1730
b. No. 15 Queen Square. Staircase hall, view looking from gallery landing. *c*.1730

Londinensis.[69]

Figure 5: Ison's Plates for No. 24 and No. 15 Queen Square

[67] Ibid., p. 188.
[68] Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), p. 80-81.
[69] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), pp. 187-196; Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), *passim*.

Within similar houses on the same square, significant variation can be seen to illustrate attempts by those who rented these properties to differentiate themselves from others on the basis of purchasing power. No. 15 Queen Square contains a similar interior to that of No. 24 but with noticeable increased embellishments. While the staircase is still constructed out of oak, some of the turned balusters contain spiral detailing running up the shaft of the column, while others contain regular fluting, and these two variants are alternately spaced. Equally, the principal landing newel is designed as a Corinthian column. Once again, the Salmon stipulates that the carpenter should 'allow the charge double' for wood work of this nature that is more intricate and requires more time and effort than that of the Doric order.[70] The same argument can be made with regard to the plasterwork visible in both houses with No.15 showing heavily embellished stucco-work decoration in comparison to the relatively modest continuous cornice of No. 24.[71]

The notion that greater levels of workmanship, with reference to both detailing and time, are more expensive is hardly surprising. The prices laid out by Salmon are almost certainly derived from these factors and intend to give a rough estimate of the market value of tradesmen's work while also taking into account the cost price of the materials used. What is more interesting is the reasons why people chose to include regular features within their houses and, within that, what features they finally chose. While the preface to Salmon's work contains reference to Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola as 'celebrated architects' and his intention to condense their work into easily usable guide, as discussed, we should be careful to assume that this understanding is passed from the works of those such as Salmon, through to craftsmen and ultimately onto their clients.[72]

The additions of Doric pilasters in No. 24 Queen Square clearly don't contain the correct entablature as outlined in Salmons' work and, with reference to No. 15, while the capital of a Corinthian column is used as part of the stair rail, there is little else to point to an understanding of that Order. While there is an appreciation for what is aesthetically pleasing, it is a stretch to claim that there is a wider understanding of

[70] Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), p. 43
[71] Walter, Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath: From 1700 to 1830*, (Spire Books: Reading, 2004), p. 188.
[72] Salmon, William, *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building in Three Parts* (1734), p. I.

architecture simply because of the inclusion of certain architectural features. Given that the façades of many of the developments within Bath are designed with rigid uniformity, the opportunity for physical displays of wealth became central to the interior areas of a house dedicated to entertaining.

Conclusion

The progression of architecture within Bath owes much to the development of conspicuous consumption at the turn of the 18th century and, ultimately, the ability for the city to become a focal point of regular architecture within England is as much a point of an economic development as a cultural one. The influence of some of Bath's early actors, namely Nash, Wood and Allen is indisputable. These three names become synonymous with the transition of the city from a relatively insignificant county town into one of the most iconic cities in the country, yet, aspects of their influence should not be over-exaggerated.[73] John Wood designs only a fraction of the buildings within Bath and, in the early years of the city's development, he is by no means the only architect that is experimenting with regular architectural forms. The use of architecture as a form of social emulation is vital to the progression of Bath's architecture and Wood's designs, as some of the most lavish within the city, naturally place these works at the top of this scale. The differences between the uniform, yet reserved, architecture of Strahan's squares and the grand designs of Wood illustrate the varied forms that regular features can take within the same location while experiencing the same development in society. The relatively large collection of written architectural works shows how some were conscious about the historical relevance of 'classical' architecture to Bath, however, this notion is not indicative of all who participated as part of Bath's social culture.

Having studied Bath as the premier regular town of this study, other less celebrated towns, although equally significant, shall now be examined in order to understand the urban architecture of England in this period more completely.

[73] Peter, Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath 1700-2000: Towns Heritage and History* (OUP: Oxford, 2000), pp. 1-16.

Chapter 3: Warwick

Introduction

At the turn of the 18th century, Warwick was a thriving county capital economically and culturally. Featuring on the cover of Borsay's 'English Urban Renaissance', owing to the catastrophe of a fire, the town is a key example of his argument of the rebirth of provincial towns in this period.

Warwick presents a unique example of a settlement which experienced a complete transformation of its built environment at the turn of the 18th century. Facilitated by The Great Fire of Warwick in the afternoon of 5th September 1694 which decimated the town centre, Warwick was rebuilt into a provincial town utilising regular architecture throughout. Through this process, Warwick provides an insight into how a town approached a complete redevelopment in the 1690s and, by extension, changing theory behind architectural design.[74] Histories of the town's architecture are dominated by a few key actors, namely the Smith family and the Hurlbutt brothers, who designed many of the houses in Warwick, providing a template for others to follow. Despite some Victorian additions to the town, mainly to the surrounding walls of the castle, the town remains in much the same way as it was reconstructed demonstrating that this form of housing has suited subsequent users.

As with research into the architecture of any settlement during the early modern period, the interrelation between society and architecture is paramount. The resurgence of the county town following the Civil War had a major impact on the demographic of Warwick with a rising culture of sociability and conspicuous consumption providing an incentive for the gentry to own residences within the modern town.[75] Having suffered greatly during to the war with high levels of poverty and continuous industrial

[74] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989); Borsay acknowledges here that Warwick played a significant inspiration behind his wider thesis as well as both beginning and concluding his work by using Warwick as an exemplar of his arguments; Christopher, Chalkin W., 'The Making of Some New Towns c.1600-1720', in Chalkin, Christopher W., and Havinden, Michael A. (eds.) *Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800* (Prentice Hall: London, 1974); Alec, Clifton-Taylor, *Six More English Towns,* (BBC: London, 1981).

[75] Adrian, Green, 'The Big House in the English Provincial Town', in Catherine, Armstrong and, John, Hicks, *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited* (Cambridge Scholars: London 2018)

decline, the blossoming of the local economy allowed for the built environment to become elaborate and reflective of this socio-economic development.[76] This transition is seen to such an extent that the luxury economy overtook that of the of the traditional industries.[77] The new Warwick could be rebuilt to consolidate its function as a provincial hub at the turn of the 18th Century. From the designs of the houses themselves to the broader layout of the town, Warwick stands as evidence of a single attitude to town planning and can provide an invaluable perspective on contemporary attitudes towards how a town should look and the functions that it should serve; at the forefront of which stands regular architecture.

Positioned outside of the capital, yet close enough to still maintain regular links, Warwick provides a different angle from which to view the development of regular architecture from that of the other settlements within this study. London had a sizable impact on the town's formation but there are significant local actors at work. The following chapter seeks to explain the factors that led to the regular rebuilding of the town, where those influences were derived from, and the persons with influence whose standpoint on architecture was ultimately made manifest in the building fabric. By examining the architects, master-craftsmen, gentry, middling sorts and professionals, a greater understanding can be gained of how the city was formed and the interrelationships that facilitated its reformation. By 1704, at the dissolution of the Fire Court, Warwick was unrecognisable from the settlement that been badly damaged by war. A thoroughly modern town had been created out of the ashes of 1694 which still today is cited as some of the finest 18th century architecture in the midlands.[78]

The Growing Foundations of a Fashionable Town

Military

As important the process of rebuilding is to Warwick, of equal importance are the factors that led to this process aside from simply the fire. Warwick's military role as part of the civil war left much of the town materially damaged and in need of

[76] Ann, Hughes, Politics, *Society and Civil War in Warwickshire: 1620-1660* (CUP: London 2002)
[77] The collation of information visible in: Borsay, Peter, 'A County Town Renaissance: Warwick 1660-1760', in Borsay, Peter, and Proudfoot, Lindsay, *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (OUP: London, 2002), pp. 151-170; from *VCH Warwickshire, vol. VIII, pp. 505-7;* PRO, E.179/259/7
[78] Alec, Clifton-Taylor, *Six More English Towns,* (BBC: London, 1981), p. 36.

rejuvenation. This was further cemented through the relative insignificance of the county town in the early and mid 17th century.[79]

As part of the impact of the Civil War on Warwick, according to the memoirs of the Warwickshire gentleman Richard Bulstrode, cannons were drawn up and fired from the church steeple between the Royalists forces in the town and the Parliamentarians within the castle walls.[80] As a result, many of the buildings between St Mary's church and the north-western castle walls, were damaged along the current lines of Castle Street and Church Street. Similarly, the parliamentarian use of the castle to house prisoners in both 1642 and 1651, as well as maintaining a 300 strong garrison between 1643 and 1660, soiled much of the castle's decorative interior.[81] Due to the ongoing nature of the war, the only substantial rebuilding projects undertaken before 1667 were those to repair the defensive elements of the castle: the drawbridge was repaired and platform additions were added to Guy's tower to incorporate guns facing north over the town.[82]

Even before the fire of 1694 Warwick's built environment had faced challenges, largely arising from the war, throughout the preceding 50 years which had stunted any considerable development within the town. The result here is a lack of improvement to Warwick until the town was no longer garrisoned following 1660. Aside from the connotations of this date with regards to the Restoration, it is only after the town is free from the effects of war that signs of a rejuvenation are visible in architecture; especially given the small time period between the ending of the civil war and the fire. Had this period been any larger, given the economic growth of the 1680s, it is unlikely that a fire would have been as devastating given the emergence of dwellings constructed from brick. Ultimately, the various effects of war stifled any developments that could have reduced the catastrophic nature of the fire; effects which had such a dramatic impact on how Warwick was rebuilt.

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[79] Ann, Hughes, Politics, *Society and Civil War in Warwickshire: 1620-1660* (CUP: London 2002); Borsay, Peter, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), pp. 3-37.
[80] Frances, Greville E., Countess of Warwick, *Warwick Castle and Its Earls: From Saxon Times to Present Day* (Hutchinson: London, 1903), pp. 692-4.
[81] *T.B.A.S*. liv. 51-52, in William, Stephens B., *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8, The City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick* (Victoria County History: London, 1969), pp. 452-475.
[82] William, Stephens B., *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8, the City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick* (Victoria County History: London, 1969), pp. 452-475.

Agrarian and Trade Economy

The Civil War had also led to a slump in Warwick's economy, especially with regard to agriculture, that hungover into the Restoration period. Prior to the beginning of the 'urban renaissance', despite being the county town, Warwick was relatively isolated from the surrounding villages in Warwickshire, and indeed the rest of the country, with regards to trade; the notable exception from this being the gentry. Between 1637 and 1681 road carrying services between London and Warwickshire, the principal destination of which was Warwick, increased by as little as 0.5 of a service per week from 12.5 to 13 services. When this is compared to the doubling of services from 13 to 26 between 1681 and 1715, the period of economic stagnation for the county town during the middle of the 17th century becomes apparent.[83] Similarly, in 1637 this transport only served four towns within Warwickshire – Coventry, Kineton, Nuneaton and Warwick, however, by 1715 this number had more than doubled with transport serving over ten towns.[84] The significance of this data is in its portrayal of how the economic importance of Warwick, as well as other county towns, increased after the restoration.

The development of trade here within a county town allowed Warwick to become the regional capital of the county in both name and economic prominence. As Alan Everitt shows, the county and country met in the town, facilitating trade and commerce.[85] The growing interaction between villages including Compton Verney, Walton, Charlecote and the town of Warwick, following the war, demonstrates the social interconnections that grew between these settlements. The increase in internal trade between various types of countryside, producing different commodities, was facilitated by the trading grounds that market towns offered.[86] Alongside this change came the demise of localised markets as the importance of the regional market grew. The drastic reduction of markets from 1500 in the middle ages through to 750 in the 17th century enabled the formation of a county community and, ultimately, a

[83] John, Chartres A., 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Feb., 1977), p. 77.
[84] John, Chartres A., 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Feb., 1977), pp. 78
[85] Alan, Everitt, 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 29 (1979), pp. 89.
[86] Ibid., p. 90.

relationship with the county as a whole as markets became fewer in number but larger in size.[87]

The decision, following the fire in 1694 but likely also due to the series of rich harvests in the previous decade, to clear the shambles in the market place of Warwick would have been made on an account of the growing importance of this space for trade as much as it was to improve the aesthetics of the town.[88] By removing the medieval houses in the centre of the square, the area for trading would have increased by roughly five fold; a decision that both facilitated and accommodated the importance of Warwick as a trading centre of the county.

This brief period of economic growth would go on to have a dramatic impact on how Warwick would be rebuilt. Although before 1694 this is only seen in the architectural fabric of the town in a limited way, the economic foundations are formed that would enable Warwick to be rebuilt as a fashionable county hub as the trading of goods within the county becomes centred and the wealthy are drawn into the town. This increased wealth in Warwick is central to its construction as a regular town as individuals have the financial capability to rebuilt houses with adherence to the Fire Act.

Professionals, Gentry and Leisured Life

The growth of professionals, largely of the middling sorts, either operating or living within Warwick, had a strong impact on the town's architectural development.[89] The growing economic climate following the war, coupled with the rise in importance of Warwick as a centre of trade, allowed for a social hub to emerge. From this, the foundations of conspicuous consumption within county society began to appear within towns as well as country estates. Both the numbers of trades and those practising them increase substantially after the Restoration.[90] Borsay calculates that as many as 14 watch makers were practising in Warwick by the mid-18th century with numbers

[87] Alan, Everitt, 'The Primary Towns of England', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (Feb. 1975), p. 272.
[88] Speed, John, *Map of Warwicke* (1676)
[89] Peter, Styles, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century West Midlands History* (Kineton, 1978), pp. 157, 170-4.
[90] Alan, Everitt, 'The Primary Towns of England', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (Feb. 1975), p. 272-3

potentially higher as many people lent their hands to watch making as a secondary trade.[91]

The clockmaker Nicholas Paris, of Jury Street, was also a gilder, gunsmith, fire-engine and water-pump maker, wrought-iron smith and general blacksmith.[92] The diversity of trades shown here indicates the variety of demand for luxury goods within the town. Equally, the purchasing habits of the gentry visiting Warwick show the increasing reliance upon the town for luxury goods for their estates within the county. Sir Charles Mordaunt of Walton Hall regularly made use of the town's trades with regular payments in the 1690s to the apothecary John Bradshaw for medicine, George Tongue the book seller as well as mercers and tailors operating from Warwick.[93] The account books of William Lucy of Charlecote Park similarly record bills for haberdashers, wine merchants, chandlers, braziers, as well as for china and textiles.[94] The fact that both of these members of the gentry travelled to Warwick, around 9 miles each way, from their estates is telling of the importance of the town. Both Walton and Charlecote are significantly closer to Stratford-Upon-Avon, a town of similar size to that of Warwick, but Stratford lacked the architectural and social status in this period with a far smaller Assembly room and no formal Racecourse, as space for socialising, prior to 1755.

The social development of Warwick is most visible in the actions and pastimes of the gentry. Along with the necessity of visiting Warwick for luxury goods came the ability to engage in conspicuous consumption at high status events across the town. Horseracing had occurred in Warwick since at least 1694 but the official racecourse was founded in 1707. The course was the first to be opened in Warwickshire and a little over 20 years later, almost all of the county's gentry were in attendance.[95] Similarly, one of the most prominent buildings within the town, prior to the fire, was the assembly room located at the heart of Warwick on Market Cross, equidistant from the Castle and The Church of St Mary, the extensive popularity of which afforded its refurbishment in

[91] Peter, Borsay, 'A County Town Renaissance: Warwick 1660-1760', in Peter, Borsay, and Lindsay, Proudfoot, *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (OUP: London, 2002), pp. 151-170.
[92] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p.37; Wilfred, Seaby A., *The Paris Family of Warwick: 1670-1750* (Warwick: 1979)
[93] Warwickshire CRO, CR.229, Box 2/2; CR.1368, I, fo. 17; iv, fos. 42, 44-5, 74
[94] Warwickshire CRO, 'Personal Account Book of Dr William Lucy' (1722-3) L6/1257.
[95] Borsay, Peter, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p. 202.

1694, largely to repair fire damage, as well as to be substantially rebuilt between 1724-1731. Given that on average for a provincial town in England around 4% of the town's demographic were members of the gentry, by 1661 this figure for Warwick was 20% rising to around a third of the town's population by the mid 18th century. These figures are not only representative of Warwick's transition from an isolated town into a regional hub but also the sway that this section of society would hold over the town's development.

As such, the increasing numbers of professional trades catering for the gentry, which in turn increased the level of interaction between the members of the wealthy elite with the town, created the right social dynamic for Warwick to be rebuilt as a regular town after 1694. As will be discussed, the rigor of the Commission in their application of the Fire Act is a clear extension of this emerging culture of fashion and the end result is architecture of which the intention is to satisfy this new society.

The Emerging Architectural Themes

The desire to be part of the fashionable community within the county town became a driving factor behind the redevelopment of Warwick in the 1690s with marked differences both in the layout of the town and in the designs of individual dwellings. Yet, despite the strong visual break from the past in the town's rebuilding, there are indications of a desire for a town comprised of modern architecture before the fire. The architectural theory that was put into practice at the turn of the 18th century was already endorsed by the gentry but was ultimately facilitated by the fire itself. Surviving fragments of Warwick show the existence of themes centred around regularity before the fire as well as the organic nature of the medieval town. Similarly, the difference between the medieval town and the rebuilding are indicative, and revealing of, changing attitudes at the culmination of the 17th century.

The Town's Proximity to the Castle

The topographical relationship between Warwick Castle and the Town, as well as how this relationship changes following the fire, shows how the town begins to develop its fabric around social codes. This is reinforced by the relationship between Lord Brooke as the dominant landowner and his attitude towards Warwick becoming a suitable antechamber to suit a provincial residence.

As part of the rebuilding of Warwick following the fire, no dwellings were built close to the land surrounding the castle. Despite the fire reaching and destroying buildings close to the north western side of the castle, the land remained unused for building before further castle walls were added in the 19th century. This decision bares major differences to the previous organic layout of the town which had seen the castle and town as a conglomerate. Mill Street, a road surviving almost entirely unchanged from the medieval town is indicative of this previous layout. The street runs from the outskirts of the town, through to the old mill, up to the edge of the south east corner of the walls and less than 40 metres from the state rooms. The old castle bridge, positioned at the south end of Mill Street had brought visitors close to the castle walls. As a result, one of the primary entrances to the town, causing a high foot-fall, led through the private grounds of Warwick's wealthiest landowner. The bridge is last recorded being used in 1545 before falling into ruins and being swept away at some point in the early 17th century. Unsurprisingly, when a new bridge was built between 1790-1793 it was constructed around 200 metres further upstream away from the castle.[96]

This decision to not use land originally occupied by dwellings prior to the fire is a conscious choice to distance the Castle from the Town. While Peter Borsay points to Versailles as the origins of this notion, on a national and local level this is in keeping with how estates were designed. Contemporarily, nearby Honington village is at least half a kilometre from the Hall. In this respect, the fire of 1694 present a unique opportunity to change the relationship between town and castle which Fulke Greville, 5th Baron Brooke (1643-1710), was quick to capitalise on.

While the rebuilding of the bridge is outside of the period, the mind-set behind its positioning was created by the actions of Lord Brooke, who was heavily influential in the rebuilding of Warwick. As a testament to his control, he attended 50 out of the 86 recorded sessions of the Fire Court.[97] When Warwick Castle is viewed as a country house with a supporting town, rather than just a monument in itself, the attitude here is understandable; a transition that Brooke was instrumental in creating. Following the Civil War, the castle had undergone major changes in order to fashion it as an opulent house rather than a medieval fortress. The master carpenters Roger and William

[96] William, Stephens B., 'The borough of Warwick: Introduction, the medieval town', in A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8, the City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick (London, 1969), pp. 418-427.
[97] Warwickshire CRO, CR.1618, WA.4 (Fire Records)

Hurlbutt had been commissioned by 4th Lord Brooke to remodel the state rooms following their disrepair while the castle had been used by Parliamentarians during the war. Both born and working in Warwickshire during the 1680s and 1690s, the Hurlbutt brothers were sent to Dorset by Lord Brooke in order to see the state rooms at Kingston Lacy which had recently been designed by Sir Roger Pratt for Sir Ralph Bankes to replicate similar forms for Warwick Castle.[98] As discussed earlier, the decision here to transition Warwick Castle into a country house that was detached from the town, likely in order to create an element of privacy, is symptomatic of many of the country houses of this era.

The conscious decision by Lord Brooke to alter the proximity of the town indicates the importance of a growing awareness of dedicated spaces, or more specifically, the difference between a private space and a space for entertaining as well as the notion of status. By restricting the building of houses close to the castle, and removing the use of the bridge on Mill Street, Lord Brooke was removing the ability for those who were unwelcome to come onto his private land. As, to touch upon something previously discussed, attitudes of conspicuous consumption increase towards the end of the 18th century, so too does the notion of public and private displays of this concept. By separating the public and the private, Lord Brooke is adhering to these social principles and reinforcing the notion that, both within the gentry and the middling sorts, there is a growing classification of spaces. These spaces consist of: a private space within a dwelling, an entertaining space within a dwelling, and a public space outside of the individual private sphere in order to engage conspicuous consumption.[99]

Early Emergence of Regular Architecture

The most noticeable aspect of medieval Warwick was the proximity within which dwellings were built to one another. Having grown organically over the preceding centuries, little attention had been paid to the layout of the town resulting in eclecticism with in the case of town planning as well as building design. During the rebuilding

[98] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp.548-9.
[99] Frank, Brown E., 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 28, No. 3 (July, 1986), pp. 558-590; Neil, McKendrick, *et al., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa: London, 1982)

process little of the road plan layout could be changed; the majority of the houses destroyed were privately owned with the main exception being those directly in front of St Mary's church which were removed to create a square.[100] As such, the building fabric and placement upon the land itself was the most important change here. Surviving maps from the early 17th century show the existence of two rows of shambles within the market place of the town.[101] Despite being unaffected by the fire, the decision was made to remove these buildings in order to create a larger area for trade and commerce. Decisions such as these are not unusual throughout Warwick, despite the fire not affecting every corner of the town, the event was used in order to conduct a complete renewal rather than repairing parts of the existing fabric that were left intact. An entry in the Commissioners' Order Book from 5th September 1694 states that:

> *'..a sudden fire, which broake out about two of the clock in the afternoon on the fifth of this instant September, in the western part of the towne of Warwick, which by the violence of the wind was soe swiftly carried through the principall parts of the same that noe opposition could be made to hinder the fierceness of its progress, till it had in few hours consumed almost all of the Highstreet, the Church Street and the Sheepstreet intirely, part of the Jury Street, Newstreet, and many buildings about the Market House, together with the great and antient church of St Maryes and severall other buildings on other parts of the towne…'* [102]

Yet, despite the fire only consuming part of Jury Street, all but a handful of buildings were either removed or rebuilt.[103] The houses that remain on both Jury Street and High Street give a strong indication as to the pre-existing nature of both streets. Constructed out of wattle and daub with exposed timber framing, the medieval buildings jetty out into the street which considerably reduced street width at the west end of the town. As well as presenting a considerable fire hazard, by the late 17th Century these medieval buildings didn't conform to the demands of fashionable society, especially within

[100] Warwickshire CRO, CR. 1618, WA.4, 'An Estimate of the Loss Sustained in and by the Late Fire of 1694'; Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)
[101] Speed, John, *Map of Warwicke* (1676)
[102] *Commissioners' Order Book* (6th September 1694)
[103] Warwickshire CRO, CR. 1618, WA.4, 'An Estimate of the Loss Sustained in and by the Late Fire of 1694'

towns that were collectively seeking to heighten their status such as Warwick.[104] Despite still being within the town boundary, it is likely that houses including 37 Jury Street and 41-41 High Street were far enough away from the town square and market place to be ignored during the rebuilding after 1694.[105]

During this period, a few notable buildings were constructed within Warwick that provide a blueprint for the rebuilding that would occur following the fire. The Marble House, situated on the west side of the town, contains a combination of medieval Gothic and Renaissance Classical architecture. Incorporating shaped gables and protruding mullioned windows, there are clear aspects of regularity despite the clear aesthetic difference between these forms and those whichappear in large numbers in Warwick after 1694. Despite these differences, the inclusion of regular features within a provincial town house of this period indicates the importance of this architectural theory outside the realm of country estates. The Marble House shares many of these characteristics with larger contemporary estates, including Montacute House in south Somerset, despite the house occupying a significantly smaller plot. Indicative of regular features entering into the architecture of the middling sorts within towns, The Marble House shows the underlying attention to include regular features in dwellings outside of those occupied by the gentry as early as the beginning of the 17th century.

Regular Architecture Pre-1694

Within the centre of Warwick, three large developments were undertaken during the late 17th century, prior to the fire, the architectural merits of which are applied to buildings across the town after 1694.

The Market Hall was built following the Civil War in order to shield market traders from the weather. Positioned in the centre of the town, with the upper floor designed for use as a meeting room, the Market Hall needed to be constructed in a fashionable design for the period.[106] Designed by William Hurlbutt and constructed out

[104] Peter, Borsay, 'A County Town Renaissance: Warwick 1660-1760', in Borsay, Peter, and Proudfoot, Lindsay, *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (OUP: London, 2002), pp. 151-170.
[105] The act itself contains no reference to the remit of the Fire Court geographically, however, given the attention the centre of the town it can be safely be assumed that the fashionable area between East Gate and West Gate.
[106] Archaeology Warwickshire (2006). *Archaeological Assessment of the Market Hall, Market Place*. Warwick: Warwickshire County Council, Report 0643.

of local ashlar sandstone, the same as that used for The Marble House, the hall incorporates a mixture of regular features with Doric pilasters supporting a continuous cornice; sash windows are used throughout and from every perspective the building is uniform.[107] Given its placement and importance in public life, the inclusion of these features is unsurprising, yet, this is likely the first occasion in which these details are used within Warwick. Given the lack of building projects undertaken during the Civil War years as well as the differences between The Marble House and Market Hall, their construction dates being 30 years apart, the contrast is clear. The removal of mullioned widows with the replacement of sash, a flat fronted façade and an angular roofline to replace Dutch gables is emblematic of a wider trend seen across the country in the development of regular forms. This being said, from a localised perspective, the inspiration in design taken from a few buildings and applied to the rest of Warwick is notable.

Figure 6: Market Hall, Warwick (c.1690)

Secondly, the Shire Hall containing the courts for the county was rebuilt between 1676 and 1680 by William Hurlbutt who also oversaw the hall's completion. The hall was badly damaged by the fire, rebuilt in some form after, but completely remodelled

[107] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 548-9.

between 1753-8 by William and David Hiorne.[108] The original Shire hall was a regular building utilising giant pilasters of both the Corinthian order, for the protruding portico, and the Ionic order. The three sets of widows either side of the central portico were dressed with broken triangular pediments. Given its relatively short existence as it was originally constructed, 1680-1694, little is known about the original building. One of the only surviving drawings is by Nicholas Hawksmoor, in a sketchbook dated between 1680-83, in which both the Market Hall and The Shire Hall appear.[109] These are the only buildings in Warwick to appear in this book and feature alongside others of a similar date in both Bath and Oxford.[110] On the basis of inclusion and comparison, Hawksmoor's sketches grant these buildings significance. Despite only being a young architect by 1680, these buildings are the anomalies within Warwick by this date and Hawksmoor's attention to this indicates a wider appreciation. The oversized pilasters that are included in at Market Cross, constructed by the Smiths following the fire, show a strong connection to the Shire Hall.

Figure 7: Hawksmoor's Sketch of The Shire Hall, Warwick (c.1680-3)

[108] Ibid., pp. 520-22.
[109] Kerry, Downes, *Hawksmoor* (Zwemmer: London, 1979), p. 2.
[110] Ibid.

Last, and most significantly, Landor House, completed in 1693, was the first private house in Warwick to be built in a regular manner and sets a trend for many of the streets that are built ten years later. Constructed out of brick with sash windows, string cornice, symmetrical protruding wings, block cornice along the roofline and segmental pediment above the door, the house provides a strong visual blue print for later streets in Warwick. Equally, the inspiration behind Landor House is seen within other country estates within the county. Honington Hall, completed in 1682, bares strong resemblances to Landor House with the same proportions, quoining, roofline cornice and attic windows. Given the increased interaction between town and country, as previously discussed, the reflection of ideas across the area is clear. The Parker Family, owners of the hall, were known to socialise with the Mordaunts of Walton and Lucy's of Charlecote all of whom are listed on the roll call for Warwick Races.[111] Similarly, Wellesbourne Hall, completed at much the same time as Landor House, contains these same features within a similar sized house. Landor House had been designed by Roger Hurlbutt, contracted by a Dr William Johnson, who had been commissioned across the county to do work for various country residences, the most significant of which was a complete rebuilding of Ragley Hall.[112] As such, the interaction between town and county architecturally is hugely significant and the direction of ideas from country house to town house has a sizable impact on how Warwick would be rebuilt following the fire.

Figure 8: Wellesbourne Hall, Wellesbourne (c. 1700)

[111] Warwickshire CRO, CR.229, Box 2/2; CR.1368, I, fo. 17; iv, fos. 42, 44-5, 74; 'Personal Account Book of Dr William Lucy' (1722-3) L6/1257.
[112] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), p. 549; Peter, Leach, 'Ragley Hall Reconsidered' *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 136, No. 1, (1979), pp. 265-268.

Figure 9: Landor House, Warwick (1692-3)

Figure 10: Honington Hall, Honington (1682)

The Impact of the Fire and the Rebuilding of Warwick

The Fire

The Great Fire was the key to allowing a modern and fashionable town to be built at Warwick. Prior to this, the wants and wishes of the gentry, Lord Brooke included, had largely been limited to what they were able to change due to land ownership resulting

in relatively minor alterations to the town's public buildings. Between East Gate and West Gate, demarcating the two edges of the city, there were only two entirely regular buildings, Market Hall and the original Shire Hall, which were both built before 1694. Despite the extensive records within the town's archives outlining the rebuilding process, the extent to which medieval dwellings were modified to conform to more modern standards of living prior to the fire has not been recorded. However, given that many of the substantial medieval buildings still remaining, 37 Jury Street, 25 Market Place and The Lord Leycester Hospital, had not been changed indicates the lack of adaptations elsewhere.[113] What is noticeable is that, according to the Hearth Tax records of the 1660s and 1670s, the streets that were most damaged by fire contained the highest number of hearths per tenement as well as the greatest proportion of residents with a formal mark of status.[114] The wealth and status of the residents living on these streets had a considerable impact on the nature of rebuilding given the elements of freedom that were granted by the court within certain aspects of construction; these residents had the means by which they could afford to both adhere to the court's instruction as well as ensure a high quality of workmanship.

The fire was started by a spark being carried up the High Street and, given the tightly packed nature of the town along with the flammable building construction, the fire quickly spread with the wind east into the centre of the town.[115] The flames carried through Castle Street, Market Street and High Street. The path of the fire was halted at points where thick stone walls were incorporated into buildings around the town. From the west, the walls on the edge of The Lord Leycester Hospital stopped the outskirts of the town from begin affected; equally, the thick stone used in St Mary's Church and The Lord Leycester Hotel hampered the spread of the fire. As a result, the centre of Warwick was either destroyed or damaged with 157 houses affected and damages amounting to between £40,000 and £60,000.[116] Due to the gap at the end of Castle Street, Warwick Castle remained unaffected by the fire. The most documented damages

[113] Albeit that there are significant Victorian additions to 37 and 25 but even so these are generally mock Tudor.
[114] Peter, Borsay, *A County Town in Transition: The Great Fire of Warwick 1694* (2002), p. 154; Warwickshire CRO, QS /11/3, 5, 50.
[115] *Commissioners' Order Book* (6th September 1694)
[116] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p. 90.

were those to St Mary's Church where, despite stopping the fire from spreading, the church had succumbed to the flames destroying the nave and tower.[117]

The Rebuilding of Warwick

The rebuilding of Warwick allows us to see a snapshot of building and thought processes which culminate in a regular town. Within the rebuilding strategy, there are various facets and phases that take place over the ten years following the fire. The majority of the reconstruction took place in as little as two years with the notable exception being St Mary's Church which, owning to the collapse of a tower, was only completed by 1704. Ultimately, the development of Warwick was completed in under a decade.

Affecting the most important areas of Warwick, including the headquarters for the commission and the county offices, the drive from the gentry and town officials to both structure and commence building was sizable. A nation-wide brief to raise money was issued almost immediately as well as a private act of Parliament to instruct a court and commissioners, which received royal assent on 11th February 1695, and the first Fire Court, heavily modelled on that of London, convened on 29th April 1695.[118] These first few steps were crucial to ensuring how Warwick was to be rebuilt. The act of Parliament laid out the parameters of the project and gave the commission power to enforce rules and regulations on how individual landowners were able to rebuild their properties.[119] Had the fire decimated the outskirts of Warwick rather than the economic and political heart of the town, it is hard to imagine that such quick action would have been taken, let alone an act of parliament. The court itself was made up of 35 different men from across Warwick, however, the central figures were all members of the upper echelons of the Warwick gentry; crucially, William Bolton (Lord of the Manor), William Colmore (MP), Sir Henry Puckering (owner of the Priory Estate) and Lord Brooke of Warwick Castle were all influential members.[120] With the Fire Court consisting of this make up, the development of Warwick was destined to become the model town for the gentry; a suitable town to be connected to the castle for Lord Brooke

[117] Phillip, Chatwin B., 'The Rebuilding of St Mary's Church, Warwick' *TBAS* (1944)
[118] 'Act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick', in 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)
[119] Ibid.
[120] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)

and a fashionable meeting place for others. To achieve this, efforts were made to remove unwanted premises from the centre of the town; initially those which threated to cause another fire or those engaged 'noysom trades'.[121] Naturally, the definitions of what such trades were came under the jurisdiction of the court and as unfashionable trades reappeared, despite not being pungent, were removed all the same. The previous year the tallow chandler Richard Good was ordered to cease the construction of his workshop as his trade created 'annoyance to the same' indicating that despite the rigid uniformity installed by the court, many decisions still lay at the discretion of a handful of individuals.[122] Following his removal, the land was swiftly occupied by Nicholas Paris to be used for a variety of luxury trades seemingly more akin to the desires of the commissioners.[123]

Architecturally, the immediate action taken to create the Fire Court enabled the committee to influence any developments before they had even begun. As Borsay notes, this tied in well to the seasons as, by the time of the fire in September, the building season had drawn to a close; so, by April of the following year, the court was able to enforce its restriction as soon as building work began on the high street.[124] The most significant contribution to the aesthetic development of the town house in Warwick, made by the Fire Court, came from the restrictions prohibiting certain aspects of design and enforcing others in order to enable "the more Regular and Uniform Rebuilding [of] the Houses Demolished by the Fire".[125] To begin with, a blueprint for house design was created that each private dwelling conform to. Houses must be built with two storeys of ten feet each, with cellars and garrets. Jettying was disallowed with other protrusions from the façade, including: trap doors, open grates, windows, posts, seats. Roof lines were made to include a hipped roof running parallel with the street, to replace face-on gables which had previously been the norm. The base fabrics allowed for reconstruction

[121] 'Act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick', in 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)
[122] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992), pp. 47-8, 62, 111, 130, 372-3.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Peter, Borsay, *A County Town in Transition: The Great Fire of Warwick 1694* (2002)
[125] 'Act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick', in 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)

were also controlled with wattle and daub and thatch being forcibly replaced with brick, tile slate, stone and lead.[126]

The remaining evidence of the impact of the Fire Act across Warwick is substantial; the most significant of which are the houses of Northgate Street (previously Sheep Street). The street was the most fashionable street to be built after the fire occupying a highpoint in the town opposite the court rooms and adjacent to St Mary's Church. The first and largest house in the street, Number 2, had been built for the Mayor with the rest of the street being built by gentlemen of the town.[127] Despite each plot of land being treated as a separate entity over the course of the rebuilding, the result is a street which appears as a single entity. The designs of the street, despite some alterations in the mid-19th century in the form of stucco façades, adhere rigidly to the dictates of the Fire Act. All houses are built with two stores and out of brick, apart from No. 22 which is of stone, with garret widows, and minor protrusions into the street in the form of door pediments. Equally, they are all originally constructed in a L plan form and have a continuous roofline running the length of the street.

As a street, Northgate has been referenced, and quite rightly so, as an exemplar for the architectural transition occurring at the turn of the 18th century.[128] Yet, given the strict measures enforced by the fire council it would be erroneous to place overwhelming emphasis on specific architects here as, in practical terms, there is only one possible approach to building allowed: regular and uniform. Even down to smaller details, quoining had been encouraged by the act and casement windows were forbidden as they would protrude into the street: thus sash was the only option. While it is notable that, as will be discussed later, that the building fabric of the late 1690s influenced the architecture of the early 1700s when the stipulations of the Fire Act became increasingly irrelevant, Northgate street is not necessarily indicative of a wider architectural renaissance outside of the gentry. Taking Landor house as an example, built only six years prior to the rebuilding of Northgate Street, there are notable aesthetic differences. The flanking wings of the main façade protrude into the street by six foot each, along with railings and a front facing roof; the large cornice visible along the roofline would have been prohibited on private buildings rebuilt following the fire.

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[126] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)
[127] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)
[128] Alec, Clifton-Taylor, *Six More English Towns,* (BBC: London, 1981)

It is hard to see how such forms would not have been replicated, especially as Landor House's architect Roger Hurlbutt sat on the Fire Court committee, if the gentry had not imposed such strict rules within the Fire Act.

Figure 11: Northgate Street, Warwick (c. 1695-1700)

There is one distinct exception to the rules of the Fire Court where a set of buildings are constructed taller and grander than any other in the course of the rebuilding. Market Cross, which stands at the point where Jury Street, High Street, Church Street and Castle Street intersect, were permitted to be three stories tall and include oversized pilasters and cornice. Significant as the heart of the town's fashionable shopping area, three of the buildings on the corners of the crossroads were each decorated with a different order and heavily embellished. It is of little surprise that these shops were occupied by some of the most fashionable trades, as well as by those who were connected to the Fire Commission, including Robert Blissett, a woollen draper and son of the mayor, and John Bradshaw, an apothecary who served the local gentry.[129] The Market Cross also occupied the central point between the Castle and the Church. As such, the guests of Lord Brooke would see the most impressive elements of the town walking between the centre of town and the castle. The social and economic significant of the Market Cross granted it to be architecturally distinct from the rest of the town.

[129] Warwickshire CRO. Mordaunt MSS, CR. 1368, 1/17, 4/45, 4/72

Given the fact that the house of the mayor was not permitted to break the Fire Act regulations yet the Market Cross was, is both an interesting and unique situation. Embellishment within public buildings is nothing new, however, restrictions placed on houses for embellishments and certain buildings given exemption is different. This allowed for an equal standing among the houses of the gentry while also providing the town with fashionable architecture. Crucially, by controlling the difference between houses, uniformity was created between dwellings and streets as well as between streets and the town itself.

Figure 12: Market Cross, Warwick (c. 1695-1700)

Yet, as little as 10 years following the fire, the impact of the Fire Act can be seen through changes in design following the dissolution of the court in 1704.[130] 10 Market Place shows the disregard for the fire act through the inclusion of oversized pilasters, cornice and door pediment. Despite being constructed later than the houses of Northgate Street, the semi-broken poor pediment along with the first floor window surround are similar to those seen in Warwick prior to the fire. The most common element to be ignored was the height of buildings within the town centre. Along Church Street and High Street there are numerous examples of houses constructed in three

[130] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992), pp. xxx-xxxii, 105-12, 366.

stories from as early as 1710.[131] These houses were built by individuals on separate plots creating a different mind-set from that of the commission a decade earlier. The regulations enforced by the Fire Court certainly had an impact on the rebuilding of Warwick following its dispersal. Equally, the houses constructed after 1704 contain many, and sometimes all, of the features that the court sought to impose. However, the mind-set of those designing an individual private dwelling and the court's town-wide focus are different. Where the court insisted on strict regular forms in order to create a uniform town, the individual utilised regular forms as a symbol of status and wealth. The latter uses regular forms as a mode of competition and as a demonstration of conspicuous consumption, whereas the Fire Court's legislation attempted to prohibit this. The attention and recognition of this concept is symptomatic of 'polite' competition within the middling sorts as a means of social mobility, yet, the actions of the Fire Court hamper this process until its dissolution.[132]

Figure 13: 10 Market Place, Warwick (1714)

To focus on Lord Brooke, his attention to the commission's meetings and his involvement in the court's regulations are indicative of this same notion. For Brooke,

[131] 'Act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick', in 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)
[132] Adrian, Green, 'The Polite Threshold in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 41, No. 1, (2010), p. 3.

Warwick needed to be the ideal modern town to accompany the castle and by regulating the architecture within the town centre Brooke was able to prevent any visual competition, albeit on a smaller scale, with what was perceived as the focal point of Warwick. As Hunneyball notes, 'regardless of the prevailing local building conditions, stylistic innovation was the preserve of the elite, and dissemination the response of those who wished to adopt the same image'.[133] Dissemination of these forms prevented stylistic uniformity, something that an act of law could ensure.

Craftsmen

Given the large scale of work that is undertaken in Warwick, it is easy to remove the human influence from the individual dwellings that are built when looking at the town as a whole. It is the experiences of these master craftsmen and architects which shape how Warwick is rebuilt and form the impression of a town that is comprised of various regular elements rather than a single proposed entity. The handful of architects behind the rebuilding of Warwick shed further light on why Warwick was rebuilt in a regular manner both during, and after, the existence of the Fire Court.

The men given most credit for the rebuilding work are the Smith family. The two brothers Francis Smith (1627-1738) and William Smith (1661-1724) were trained as a mason and bricklayer respectively, and worked in partnership throughout most of their lives.[134] By the time of William's death in 1724, as Colvin notes, they had become the leading master builders in the English counties, with Francis operating out of Warwick for the majority of his career.[135] Francis' builders yard had been in the grounds of The Marble House, with additions to the house itself being made by him.[136] The destruction of Warwick in 1694 presented a unique opportunity to be involved in the rebuilding of an entire town and the impression that the brothers made on both the commission and the local gentry significantly furthered their careers in the early 18th century with large country house commissions across the county.

Given that by the time of the fire the brothers were still comparatively young to be taking on such a large project, it is likely that their recommendation was made by a

[133] Hunneyball, Paul, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2004), p. 187.
[134] Colvin, Howard, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840 (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 938-46.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

member of the gentry who sat on the commission for whom the brothers had done work. The most probable explanation here is that Andrew Archer, a prominent local landowner and Member of Parliament for Warwickshire for whom the Smith brothers had rebuilt the Umberslade estate, Tanworth, in the early 1690s; this connection allowed for William Smith to become one of two surveyors appointed to regulate the rebuilding of the town under the direction of the commissioners appointed by Parliament.[137] The other master craftsman employed as a surveyor by commission was Roger Hurlbutt who had previous experience of regular architecture within Warwick, however, similar to Smith, it is likely that his place on the commission was gained through his work alongside the local gentry, including the state rooms of Warwick Castle and the Rebuilding of Ragley Hall for Lord Conway.[138]

These were the two men who sat on the commission with the most in-depth knowledge of architecture and the points at which they were allowed freedom in design are shown in their projects following the major rebuilding. Number 1 Jury Street, one of the centre pieces of the town at Market Cross, was designed by the Smiths and completed in 1696. The building contains features which are not seen anywhere else in the town during the rebuilding. The heavy broken window pediment above the main entrance and the above window detailing, however, do reappear almost twenty years later. This same detailing is seen on 10 Market Place within the door pediment and first floor window architrave. A similar version of this detailing is also seen on Landor House, as designed by Roger Hurlbutt, with an elaborate central door case and a singular window with detailed architrave above. This use of forms is a staple of the Smith's work and is visible in multiple of the country houses they worked on in the early 18th century.[139]

The rebuilding of Warwick breaks away from much of the existing architecture within the centre of the town, however, as discussed, the ideas behind the rebuilding are around at least thirty years prior to the fire with this catastrophe providing a platform by which to express them. Yet, because of the regulations put in place by the Fire Court through the Act of Parliament, a decade of different architectural forms is not

[137] Colvin, Howard, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840 (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 938
[138] Peter, Leach, 'Ragley Hall Reconsidered' *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 136, No. 1, (1979), pp. 265-268.
[139] Across the Midlands this same detailing can be seen at: Acton Round Hall (1714), Mawley Hall (1730), Stanford Hall (1692), Umberslade Hall (1695), as well as others.

necessarily indicative of a change in mind-set. The re-emergence of trend after the dispersal of the Fire Court confirms the success of the Fire Acts as well as the retaining of some strongly held beliefs of architectural theory. The architectural forms of Warwick are not representative of architects' ability to design but rather their ability to conform to a strict set of rules enforced by a small number of the gentry.

The year 1694 places the fire in an interesting situation chronologically. Enough time had passed since the Civil War for the economy to prosper and enable more expensive forms of design, yet, given that this was the highpoint of the provincial architectural transition it is hard to see, had there been little gentry interference, how Warwick would have been rebuilt. It cannot, and should not, be taken for granted that the forms of design at Warwick from the 1690s are indicative of a wider architectural transition when so much about the redevelopment was controlled by so few.

St Mary's church, of which both the nave and tower were completely destroyed by fire, is the most significant building within the centre of Warwick to gain exceptions from the rules of the Fire Court and used up around two thirds of the dedicated relief money.[140] The rebuilding of the church is one of the most documented aspects of the town's reconstruction involving the most craftsmen out of any project.[141] Following the fire Roger Hurlbutt was employed to put a temporary roof onto the church chancel and, between 1696 and 1704 William and Francis Smith were contracted for the rebuilding of the church in accordance with the designs of Sir William Wilson. Wilson had previously worked alongside St Christopher Wren in the construction of a free school in Appleby, owing to the death of the previous surveyor upon the death of whom Wilson had replaced, and soon after both were connected to the reconstruction of St Mary's in Warwick. Both architects submitted designs for the church, yet, Wilson's were adopted rather than those of Wren. The result is a church blends both regular and Gothic features as part of its fabric. Despite Wilson's contract for the rebuilding, wider inspiration from the regular rebuilding of the town had been taken and fuse with other Gothic forms. The inclusion of balustrading, acroterions as well as north and south facing pediments along the roof line shows both the influence of Wren upon Wilson's designs as well as an attention to regularity in keeping with the rest of the town.

[140] Phillip, Chatwin B., 'The Rebuilding of St Mary's Church, Warwick' *TBAS* (1944)
[141] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)

Evident through the eclecticism of forms visible at St Mary's Church are the importance of both aesthetics and theory in the development of provincial architecture. From a modern perspective, it is largely assumed that Gothic and Classical designs occupy two separate sides of a coin, however, if regularity is to be seen as the modern architecture of the period, the attempt to combine the remaining church fabric following the fire with modern theory is understandable.[142]

Figure 14: St Mary's Church, Warwick (1695-1704)

The Smiths and the Hurlbutts had a sizable impact on the creation of the new town. Their work with the Fire Court and commission in surveying and designing facilitated the process of rebuilding and the fine quality of houses is in a large part down to them. Their impact on Warwick, however, does not constituted a great experimentation into town planning and regular architecture. The emergence of prohibited features after 1704 that were central to the Fire Court's outlook illustrates that this is a triumph of the gentry over the architect and telling of the grasp that the court held over the future of the town.

Town Planning

Aside from the aesthetics of Warwick's architecture and how these forms come to be included within the town, the scale of the building work, including both the layout of the town as well as individual buildings, allows for the wider theory behind town

[142] John, Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (Penguin Books: London, 1953)

planning to permeate. The Fire Court's regulations create areas that are categorised by streets rather than individual houses. Especially due to the lack of protrusions into the street and continuous rooflines, there is a sizable physical and theoretical transition towards collections of houses that are formed to create a town as a single entity. Warwick has been cited as one of the earliest examples of seigneurial planning with the attention to location of town, palace and park through the rebuilding scheme.[143] The direct influence here would have been from the houses rebuilt in the West End of London following the fire of 1666; especially given Lord Brooke's frequent visits to the capital.[144] Large sections of Warwick's rebuilding act were lifted verbatim from the legislation drafted for the reconstruction of London. Both acts enforced the use of brick or stone for rebuilding, the heights of stories and the inclusion of garrets, the removal of certain trades, the widening of streets and a plethora of other specifics.[145]

As discussed, the regularity of streets enabled Warwick to become Lord Brooke's ideal 'antechamber' to the castle, a trend increasingly visible outside of the towns and cities of the monarchy, and provide a fashionable image to the town. A side effect of uniformity within the town's architecture was increased need for other areas of conspicuous consumption to develop as a display of status and wealth. As with many towns of this period, the two most noticeable additions were the creation of a larger and more fashionable assembly room as well as the development of luxury trades which, in many cases, outstripped more traditional industries. The Old Court House had been used for town commission meetings as early as 1613 yet, after the fire, it became one of the last buildings standing in the centre of Warwick despite being badly damaged. As well as being rebuilt following the fire, to provide a meeting place for the commission, The Old Court House was substantially redeveloped by William and Francis Smith between 1724 and 1731 in order to incorporate a larger meeting chamber, ball room, musicians' balcony and elaborate façade.[146] The importance of the Old Court House as an assembly room for public displays is shown through its position on the Market Cross, proximity to the shops of fashionable trades and occupies a central

[143] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), pp. 90-5.
[144] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)
[145] 'Act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick', in 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)
[146] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992)

position within Canaletto's 'Entrance to the Square at Warwick'.[147] The second rebuilding of the Old Court House in the 18th century is indicative of the increasing importance and popularity assembly rooms for socialising. Prior to the reconstruction, land to the south was purchased in order to create a formal garden as well as to increase the width of the building. This same notion of sociability is seen in the creation of a square, one of the first to be created outside of London, by the entrance to St Mary's Church. It was the largest change to occur to land ownership during the rebuilding and was possible as the land was originally owned by staff of Lord Brooke.[148] Albeit only small, its position in the centre of the town and the intention to create a space for social interaction is indicative of the same thought processes visible surrounding the rebuilding of the capital.[149]

Conclusion

Warwick has certainly not escaped comparison on a grand scale with its suggested origins in the seigneurial planning of Versailles as well as the notion of the first provincial square as a 'ringing declaration that the Renaissance had finally arrived in provincial England, three centuries after its inception in Italy'.[150] As romantic as these concepts may be, and indeed truth pertaining, the localised elements of Warwick architectural should not be overlooked. The architects of Warwick that were presented with, near enough, a blank canvas, created a town that was unrecognisable from its medieval and organic predecessor and is most likely the first town of its kind in England. However, regular architectural forms existed prior to the fire and the members of the gentry who encouraged the Smith's and Hurlbutt's work had previously commissioned work by them. As such, the theory existed within Warwick decades before 1694, yet, the fire was certainly the *sine qua non*. As Matthew walker so rightly concludes in his thesis on architects and intellectual culture 'so much of why a building

[147] Antonio, Canaletto, *Ingresso nella Piazza de Varik* (1754-5)
[148] Michael, Farr, *The Great Fire of Warwick: 1694 The Records of the Commissioners Appointed under an act of Parliament for Rebuilding the Town of Warwick* (Dugdale: Warwick, 1992); Borsay, Peter, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), p. 95.
[149] Elizabeth, McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City, 1660-1720,* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1999)
[150] Peter, Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance Revisited', in Catherine, Armstrong and, John, Hicks, *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited* (Cambridge Scholars: London 2018), p. 19

looked like it did was down to the 'wit and judgement' of that sole agent of design'.[151] Yet, Warwick, as a final piece, is not solely the work of architects as the mind-sets of the Fire Commission and the architects do not align. The restrictive elements of the fire act, while creating a uniform town, restrict the '*Architect Ingenio*'.[152] The result is the creation of an architectural microcosm between 1695 and 1704, orchestrated by the gentry, which pushed out the oversized features and required a stripped back façade; elements of architecture that would be far more common in the mid-18th century. In practice, the desire of the Fire Commission was to create a new town designed around the needs and wants of the gentry and, for all intents and purposes, this was successful. Warwick's history is tangled between two opposing visions of the same entity and visible not through written accounts but through the architecture itself.

Following on from Bath, the case study of Warwick presents a town with similar attitudes of sociability and the resulting emergence of regular forms of architecture. As will be compared later, the differing circumstances of location and timescale in the development of Bath and Warwick highlight how these towns differ. This inclusion of Warwick as a part of this thesis has stemmed from its unique experience following the fire combined with the control that Lord Brooke held over the town's development. The following chapter will examine Blandford Forum along similar lines to that of Warwick, as they share a significant stimulus in the form of the fire, yet, as heavily as this factor weighs on the town's development, it is far from all encompassing.

Chapter 4: Blandford Forum

[151] Matthew, Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (OUP: Oxford, 2017), p. 199.
[152] Ibid.

Introduction

During the high-summer of 1731, Blandford Forum, Dorset, experienced a severe fire that decimated the centre of the town destroying its economic heart as well as many of the town's houses.[153] Rebuilt using regular forms throughout, Blandford Forum is significant as Pevsner notes, 'hardly any other town in England can be compared with it'.[154] As a case study it has long been used to demonstrate the culmination of an architectural transition towards regular forms, the designs of which are attributed to the brothers John and William Bastard, which led to the creation of one of the first regular towns in the country. 'The Bastard Brothers' as they are popularly known, were the sons of Thomas Bastard, the founder of the family firm, and originally joiners by trade who became master-builders during the 1720s.[155] Their status within the town both socially and through their respective trades granted them a sizable influence in the rebirth of Blandford Forum and, despite a few notable exceptions, 'free rein' to sculpt much of the town's architecture.

Even before 1731 Blandford had a long history of fire with five recorded in the previous century. The most recent of these occurred in 1713 which, despite not being as catastrophic as that of 1731, destroyed much of the central and eastern parts of the town.[156] Judging by the Bastard's own maps of the town, regular forms existed prior to 1731 but the fire facilitated the town to be rebuilt as a whole and wider action to be taken, beyond attention to individual dwellings, to re-plan the town centre.[157] As a result, the market place increased in size, the roads widened, and all houses constructed as part of the rebuilding were erected with flat facades, sash widows and contain varied embellishments. The new town would have been unrecognisable from the old and has been repeatedly praised for its appearance within architectural histories.

Blandford Forum as a completed town is the result of various influences that impact the decisions taken with regard to both elaborate architectural forms right through to the houses of the poor. As a town in the early 18th century, Blandford is fairly nondescript. The town is positioned on the edge of the river Stour and operated as a small market town, for the local agricultural economy, servicing travellers en route

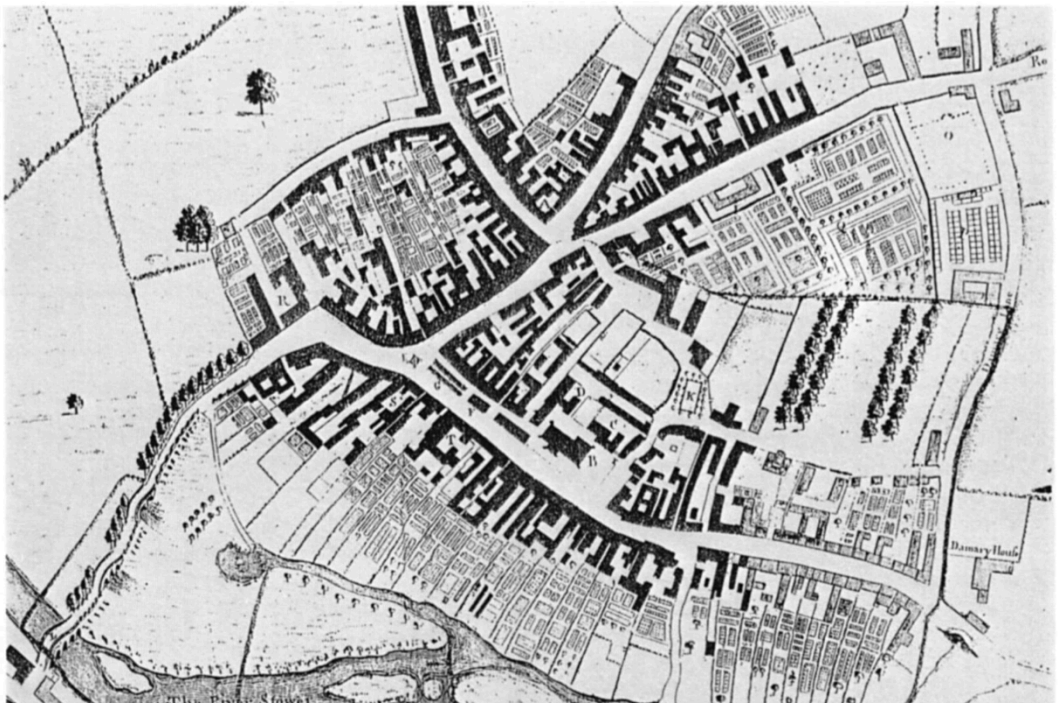
[153] Dorset CRO, D-6 'Fire Damage Survey Book' (1730-62)
[154] Nikolaus, Pevsner, *Dorset* (Yale University Press: London, 1972)
[155] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 106-8
[156] Malachi, Blake, *A Brief Account of the Dreadful Fire at Blandford Forum* (1735)
[157] John and William, Bastard, *A Plan of the Town of Blandford* (1732)

to larger destinations nearby including Bournemouth, Portsmouth and Bath. Equally, the town was not attached to a major landowner with large proportions being owned by certain actors, notably John Banks, Henry Drax and William Portman, but these men simply owned the land and were not tied through hereditary titles.[158] Yet, it is largely the status and actions of a few men that allow for Blandford Forum to be rebuilt at a high financial cost owing to a large brief and gift from the monarchy. While much of the town was rebuilt by the Bastards, certain elements within Blandford Forum, including the Town Hall and Church of St Peter and St Paul, were influenced by others who held sway on the Fire Commission. It is the contrast between the projects on which the Bastards had almost complete control with those where the commission were involved that portray the varying opinion on how Blandford, and buildings more widely, should be rebuilt. Thoughts on architecture held by members of the commission, some of whom were practised architects, the Bastards take into account, albeit reluctantly, within aspects of their designs. Despite being cited as a singular rebuilding project, which is correct in terms of chronology, there are major differences in the theory behind the 'public and private edifices' for which the Bastards are responsible. The romantic notion of a perfect Georgian town, perhaps expressing the flourishing nature of the 'English Urban Renaissance', leaves much of the architectural theory hidden and glosses over what is a nuanced and personal project. It is perhaps the most unoriginal conclusion to reach within the field of history that something is more nuanced than previously thought, yet, in the case of Blandford Forum it is necessary. Histories have so far failed to separate the forms of design within the town straying either to the uniform 'phoenix from the ashes' philosophy or a side by side stylistic analysis. None have done, as this chapter seeks, to collectivise sections of Blandford Forum and illustrate two separate mind-sets of design; the Bastards alone and the Bastards *et al*.

[158] Michael, Le Bas, *When Blandford Burned* (Blandford Town Museum: 2009)

The Fire

The previous fires at Blandford Forum had a considerable impact upon its final rebuilding after 1731. The contrasting responses by the town from 1713 to 1731 are telling of a change in approach to rebuilding from the quick replication of the old in the case of the former and a planned and conscientious, as well as clearly successful, change with the latter. Despite no surviving account of the first fire, the account of the second notes that 'the Fire ceased at the East Part of the Town, where the last great fire began; which was on the Ninth Day of July 1713'; as such, the area between Market Place and the end of East Street was largely destroyed by fire on both occasions.[159] From this description, the 'east part' of Blandford would have occupied the current East Street and the existence of dwellings on the north side of the street dating to before 1731 shows that some brick buildings, constructed after 1713, survived. Equally, the map drawn up by the Bastards following the fire of 1731 shows a distinct line between the houses destroyed by the second fire and those that survived.[160] Continuing further east along the street from this line, the brick houses from before 1731 are of similar design constructed of two stories with garret windows and front facing roof lines; all of which suggest that these dwellings were rebuilt following the fire in 1713 which likely destroyed all of East Street.



[159] Malachi, Blake, *A Brief Account of the Dreadful Fire at Blandford Forum* (1735)
[160] John and William, Bastard, *A Plan of the Town of Blandford* (1732)

Figure 15: A Plan of the Town of Blandford (1732)

Materials

Significant here is that the houses from 1713, unlike those of the previous built environment, were rebuilt in brick. Given that no formal commission was created for this earlier fire, rebuilding in brick signifies an awareness, on an individual level, of the importance in using fire resistant materials. The Great Fires of Northampton (1675) and Warwick (1694) made this clear provincially but the Great Fire of London some forty years earlier would have had the greatest impact following Blandford's own disaster given its position as a through town, allowing for the diffusion of ideas, for journeys between London and settlements such as Exeter and Taunton. After 1713, despite signs that the importance of building for safety was understood by individuals, as a town collective seemingly little was done to protect Blandford on a wider scale. No roads were widened, the Market Place retained various 'perilous trades' and houses continued to be constructed with thatch rooves.[161] This is indicative of the notion that the prevention of future fires was the burden of the individual rather than the community. However, attitudes following the Great Fire which occurred under 20 years later reversed this premise and architectural practices along with it.

It is more than a coincidence that the houses at the far end of East Street that survived the 1731 fire are constructed out of brick. Given the immediacy with which rebuilding occurred in 1713 some houses between Market Place and central East Street would have been constructed from timber and thatch. The account of the fire of 1731 records that by as early as 6pm in the evening that the fire began, as few as six brick buildings survived in the centre of the town: none of thatch or wood.[162] The visual survival of only brick buildings in 1731, and given the short space of time between the two fires, would have been a significant stimulus towards the actions of the commission. As such, following 1731 the market place was widened by removing the shambles in the centre, dangerous trades were forbidden from operating there and, outside of the Market Place, Salisbury Street and East Street were widened.[163]

Yet, within the 'Act to Rebuild Blandford Forum' no stipulations were laid out to ensure that all rebuilding would be completed in brick, only that thatch should not

[161] 5 Geo. II, c. 16, Blandford Forum Rebuilding Act (1732); Colvin, Howard, 'The Bastards of Blandford: Architects and Master-Builders', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 104 (1947), p. 183.
[162] Dorset CRO: *Survey Book* D-6/1.
[163] 5 Geo. II, c. 16, Blandford Forum Rebuilding Act (1732)

be used 'for the preventing of future danger by fire' and 'all houses…now Standing or hereafter to be built or to be repaired within the Said Town shall be covered with Lead, slate or Tyle'.[164] Despite these coverings, the act merely stated that houses had to be rebuilt 'fit and convenient for the better security and ornament of the said town'; while one could take 'security' to enforce the use of fire resistant materials throughout and 'ornamentation' to insist on regularity, the Fire Court established to control the rebuilding only gave judgement on issues of land ownership and the interpretation of these terms as such would have in no way been guaranteed. In total, 42 cases were heard between August 7th 1732 and August 12th 1740 and the vast majority of these concerned the use of party walls.[165] The decision to rebuild in brick and tile was made by the individual and not one enforced by a higher authority. The lack of such a clause is certainly peculiar, especially when the fires of London, Warwick and Northampton all issued these stipulations. Howard Colvin's explanation that 'There was no need to insist…on the use of brick instead of timber' as '[The] houses of 1713 were almost certainly of Brick, and in 1732 it was safe to assume that any new building would be in the same material' is seemingly the best explanation that has been offered so far but leaves much to pure chance.[166] However, given that the majority, judging from what survives, of Blandford was built of brick despite no instruction is remarkable and, as will be discussed later, is indicative of a wide appreciation for regular forms of architecture not purely for issues of safety but also for status.

Individual Interpretations of Architecture

Beyond issues of safety, the decision by individuals to rebuild in brick, as well as using regular forms, would have been aided by the £16,152 16s. 2d. brief allowing for more costly forms.[167] In order to be sure of retaining the 6 shillings within every pound that could be sourced from the brief they were granted, depending on the size and materials of construction, individuals had to ensure that within four years from March 25th 1732 the foundations had been laid for their dwelling.[168] As a result, there are only a few minor cases where foundations were not laid within this space of time and all houses

[164] Ibid.
[165] *Commissioners' Book* (August 12th 1740)
[166] Howard, Colvin, 'The Bastards of Blandford: Architects and Master-Builders', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 104 (1947), p. 183.
[167] Malachi, Blake, *A Brief Account of the Dreadful Fire at Blandford Forum* (1735)
[168] 5 Geo. II, c. 16, Blandford Forum Rebuilding Act (1732)

were rebuilt using regular forms. This combination of time restricted funds along with a fire conscious community facilitated Blandford Forum's rebirth in brick and tile, seen as urban and modern materials, as the funds to financially facilitate these forms were only available temporarily.

The influence of the individual is seen as clearly through the adoption of regular forms as it is through the base materials used. Despite being unusual, one case which appeared before the Fire Court highlights the attention of an individual to create a regular flat façade in the rebuilding of a shop. John Parker, a local chirurgeon, sought the Fire Court's approval to 'have leave to take in Eighteen Inches of the Street in the broadest part of the Angle to make his front straight' as 'his late house and shop is Crooked towards the Street and that it would spoil the regularity of his Front and the Straightness of the Street to Rebuild it in that form'.[169] Albeit a surgeon would have been a member of the middling sorts, the nature of this appeal and the language used portray an wider understanding of how professionals perceived the rebuilding to take place despite limited instruction from the Fire Act or Court. An appreciation for the 'Straightness of the Street' had been seen previously in Warwick and London where legislation had demanded it but for it to be desired by an outsider to the commission shows how the transition towards uniform towns in the provinces had permeated society and was becoming the desirable fashion.[170] While the houses constructed after 1713 are regular, they lack uniformity, a stepping stone that is taken after the fire in 1731 and visible in other provincial towns.[171]

Most significantly, Parker is conscious as to the 'regularity of his [shop] front' and is aware that without the leeway to extend his shop front into the road it will affect the visual appearance of the building. The growth of professional trades within the centres of towns was becoming increasing common nationally and, given the fire, the opportunity to completely change the economic hub of the town in Blandford was possible after 1731 through the prohibition of 'perilous trades'.[172] The restriction of a large proportion of trades within the town centre resulted in increased competition between the fashionable trades that were granted premises and, given the existence

[169] *Commissioners' Book* (August 12th 1740)
[170] 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)
[171] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989)
[172] Neil, McKendrick *et al., The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa: London, 1982); 6 Gul. III, c. 1, Warwick Rebuilding Act (1695)

other medical professionals within Blandford, status and fashionable appearance were key; especially when operating for the minor gentry of the surrounding villages.

Various facets of Parker's appeal to the court, in the case of both vocabulary and the appeal itself, are telling of the attitudes of the middling sorts towards architecture. The proposal to extend a shop into the street, given that the widening of streets as one of the central actions of the commission, would have been an unpopular one; yet, to phrase his extension as a way to maintain 'regularity' and 'straightness' appealed to the court's wider aim to rebuild for the 'better…ornament' of the town.[173] As such, Parker's case shows the conscious attitude towards regular forms by the middling sorts. By taking this appeal to the court Parker, despite most likely not being well versed in architecture, is aware of the desires of the court and phrases his appeal as such. The ambition to create a town with regular and uniform architecture was clearly known to members of the commission through the creation of the Fire Act, yet evidence such as this points to a wider understanding of this notion and debunks the assumption that the adoption of regular architecture was a forced transition. Whether Parker desired his shop to be extended into the street in order to gain more space or due to an appreciation for regular forms cannot be known, a realistic outlook would suggest partly both, but his understanding of regular building designs is suggestive of, if not a widespread appreciation, at least an understanding of modern and fashionable forms of design. The decision of the court in this case is sadly not recorded, yet, the existence of the appeal and its structure shows how the economic foundations of fashionable society affected the adoption of architecture within Blandford. In this instance, attention to regularity was not necessarily made on an account of architecture but the social and economic implications that accompanied it.

The Bastard Brothers

The most notable features of regular design that appear within Blandford are as a result of John and William Bastard.[174] By the time of the fire the Bastards had already established themselves as part of the family building firm, started by their father, and were men of considerable status within the town. An account of losses from the fire

[173] *Commissioners' Book* (August 12th 1740)
[174] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 106-8.

notes that the family lost over £3709; a sum higher than any other family within the town.[175] Following the fire, the Bastard brothers were contracted by commission to design various public and private buildings within the centre of Blandford. Outside the functions of the buildings themselves, there is little to suggest that the brothers were in anyway restricted by the commission as to how the private buildings were designed and what forms could be utilised; the exceptions being the Town Hall and Church of St Peter and St Paul.

The Old Red Lion Inn and 26 Market Place are two of the Bastards' most noticeable works within the market place constructed in a similar manner but with differing levels of ornamentation. Both are constructed of three stories with a symmetrical façade utilising sash windows, garret windows and support a central portico atop two giant pilasters. As a general format, these forms are replicated across the town in private houses with the central portico as a staple feature. Coupar House, despite varying the size and form of features from the buildings of the Market Place, still utilises a portico with a central window and giant pilasters below. Beyond this hallmark of the Bastard's designs, the public buildings within the Market Place have varied levels of quoining, rustication, as well as the inclusion of string cornice and window pediments. The intricate detailing within the carvings on these buildings reflects the Bastards' origins as craftsmen as well as their understanding of form.[176] The notable distinction between the vast majority of private houses within Blandford and the more decorative buildings are the inclusion of giant pilasters, pertaining to the Corinthian order, and a central portico. Despite a lack of knowledge as to whether similar forms existed in Blandford before 1731, with the potential to be built following the fire, the speed with which the town was rebuilt and the minimal planned changes in 1713 suggest that such ornate work would not have been included. As such, the introduction of these forms in the 1730s came suddenly and the Bastards' use of forms here is owed partly to aspects of country house design within the county.

[175] Polly, Legg, 'The Bastards of Blandford: An Inventory of Their Losses in the Fire of 1731', *The Furniture History*, Vol. 30 (1944), pp. 15-42.
[176] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 106-8.

Figure 16: Coupar House, Blandford Forum (c. 1740)

An examination of gentry estates surrounding the town in the early 18th century shows a dissemination of forms from the houses of the wealthy through to Blandford despite no formal instruction of sorts from the commission. Equally, the Bastard's relationship with other architects had the possibility of introducing the brothers to various regular forms and an early understanding of the Orders. It is important at this point to separate stylistic additions to buildings within Blandford in comparison to the blanket regular forms used in the wider rebuilding. As will be discussed later, the wider attitudes of town planning and the regularity of streets develop simultaneously but differently to more ornate buildings within small provincial towns of this period. While the origins of Blandford Forum as a regular town may reside heavily in the rebuilding of London following the fire of 1666, the origins of the ornamentation employed are not necessarily derived from London also.

There are a number of houses surrounding Blandford Forum constructed at the turn of the 18th century showing similar features to those employed by the Bastards.

The members of the gentry who commissioned these houses had a close relationship to Blandford Forum and, more often than not, worked on the commission that oversaw the reconstruction of the town. The architects working on these houses operated on a national level and brought some influences on Blandford's architecture out of the locality. Yet, the dissemination of ideas in this instance is more diluted than a conscious adoption of 'classical' forms. Apart from the relationship between Thomas Archer and the Bastards, there is little to suggest that a connection through the commission between the Bastards and the gentry enabled an understanding of architecture. As such the forms that appear at Blandford after 1731 are an imitation of the forms seen at these houses rather than a direct replication.

Chettle House

Chettle House, situated seven miles outside of Blandford Forum, was constructed in 1711 for George Chafin an MP for Dorset and later a commissioner for the rebuilding of Blandford. Chafin began completely remodelling Chettle House almost immediately after inheriting the land following the death of his elder brother within the same year.[177] This immediacy expresses, if not an understanding of theory, then the importance of fashionable architecture to the landed gentry indicating a vested interest as part of the rebuilding commission to utilise regular architecture at Blandford: the closest town. Chettle House consists of three stories, constructed from brick, with a central protruding hall of six sash windows flanked either side with symmetrical wings of four sash windows. Across the façade are giant pilasters, of no discernible order, supporting an entablature below the third story. Even on a purely visual level these features are visible in the Bastard's constructions at Blandford; the inclusion of giant pilasters with a central curved sash window appears at both the Old Red Lion and the intersection of East Street and West Street; given the presence of both Chafin and the Bastards on the commission, the dissemination of thought regarding forms through this route is likely.

Chettle was designed by Thomas Archer, an early exponent of the 'English Baroque'.[178] Despite little evidence of a formal relationship between these sets of men, something which would only have been feasible during the construction of Chettle House, Colvin is confident that there must have been an exchange of ideas through a

[177] Arthur, Oswald, *Country Houses of Dorset* (Country Life: 1959)
[178] Marcus, Whiffen, *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (Hennessey: London, 1973)

comparison between Chettle House and Blandford Forum.[179] The in-turning volutes visible on the giant pilasters in Blandford are visible, in that exact form, in only two other locations in the country: Chettle House and Marlow Place, both of which are designed by Thomas Archer. Colvin adds that a relationship with Archer would have granted the Bastards access to architectural treatises and more expensive building manuals.[180] Following his graduation from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1686, Archer took a Grand Tour across Europe for four years during which time he was influenced by, and made sketches of, the work of Francesco Borromini.[181] These in-turning volutes appear as part of the interior of the Archbasilica of John Lateran as part of Borromini's renovations during the mid-17th century. A possible explanation, as Colvin suggests, for the Bastard's use of these volutes within the town can, therefore, be traced to Rome which, to tie this into a wider argument made by Borsay, suggests the existence of an urban renaissance. [182]

However, the in-turning volutes at Chettle do not occur on the giant pilasters as they do in Blandford and while the theory behind this single form can be traced to Borromini, to claim that an understanding of this theory is present, and then replicated, in the Bastard's architecture lacks evidence. The use of a single architectural feature by the Bastards, in a different format to its supposed source as the volutes at Chettle do not appear on the external façade, should not be used to suggest that the brothers understood their work to be reminiscent of Borromini. The distinctive and larger features of Chettle are representative of forms at Blandford on the basis of aesthetics rather than theory as the relationship between Archer and the Bastards cannot be assumed 20 years after the completion of Chettle. As well as this significant chronological gap, the records of the Bastard's losses, as collated by Polly Legg, strongly suggest that the Bastards lost any materials that Archer may have gifted them. The comprehensive list includes: 4 Book Desks, 4 Books of Architecture, a further 5 dozen books on Architecture and Geometry, instruments for drawing, materials for land measurement, 2 collections of fine prints and maps, 2 fine pocket books, 6 building posters and a further 50 books of 'more or different sorts'; these losses were sustained

[179]Howard, Colvin, 'The Bastards of Blandford: Architects and Master-Builders', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 104 (1947), pp. 188.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Marcus, Whiffen, *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (Hennessey: London, 1973)
[182] Howard, Colvin, 'The Bastards of Blandford: Architects and Master-Builders', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 104 (1947), pp. 178-195.

in the bed chambers of both brothers and in the parlour.[183] Given the substantial nature of these losses, any architectural works that were gifted by Archer were most likely destroyed and the mathematical proportions required for their construction along with them. Arthur Oswald in his descriptions of country houses in Dorset offers the suggestion that, given the geographical proximity, the Bastards 'may have actually assisted the builders', yet, there is seemingly no basis for this and as early as 1711 the Brothers were more concerned with their respective trades than the early ventures into architecture by their father.[184] The sustained interaction between the Bastards and Chafin, on a practical level, has a far stronger connection to the town throughout the rebuilding process. Given the strong visual relationship between Chettle and the Bastard's work, combined with an association between these men, there is likely to be a relationship between Chettle and Blandford, yet, this does not prove an intellectual connection between the two. Chettle House provided inspiration for Blandford in as far as its designs were replicated on account of their aesthetic qualities rather than by any notion of architectural theory. Given the rarity of the in-turning volutes, but the lack of

architectural prints to work from, the designs at Blandford are seen and imitated rather than measured and replicated.

[183] Legg, Polly, 'The Bastards of Blandford: An Inventory of Their Losses in the Fire of 1731', *The Furniture History*, Vol. 30 (1944), pp. 15-42.
[184] Arthur, Oswald, *Country Houses of Dorset* (Country Life: 1959); Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 106-8.

Figure 17: Chettle House (1710)

Kingston Lacy

A second house, similarly seven miles from Blandford Forum, with architectural importance nationally as well as to the town, is Kingston Lacy; designed by Sir Roger Pratt and constructed between 1663-5.[185] Originally built for Sir Ralph Bankes, by 1731 the house had been inherited by Sir John Bankes who served on the rebuilding commission. Despite being refaced in stone by Sir Charles Barry between 1835-41, most of the crucial features of the façade existed on the original house and are similarly imitated within houses and buildings within Blandford.[186] To draw a comparison between Kingston Lacy's front façade and Number 26 Market Place, although residences of considerably different magnitudes, the features are strikingly similar. Both contain heavy quoining, a portico, cornice, central domed sash window and two garret sash windows as part of a symmetrical façade. Despite the similar proportions here, the interiors of both dwellings differ significantly as Kingston Lacy's tripartite layout is designed around a central hall with entertaining rooms either side; whereas, at 26 East Street, the building is split into two houses. As such, the façade at Kingston Lacy is constructed around the interior in contrast to 26 East Street which incorporates two dwellings into a singular façade. Crucial to this specific building within Blandford is that, during the rebuilding, the Bastards owned and intended to live at the site following its completion. Given their pre-existing status within the town the decorative nature of this build for reasons of status is hardly surprising; however, the imitation of forms from houses including Kingston Lacy and Chettle indicates a desire to be associated within these wealthier displays. Significantly, the designs that the Bastards submit for 26 East Street differ to their final creation.[187] Their original plan was only of two stories, with two garret windows either side of the portico and restrained features with no rustication, quoining or embellished pilasters; additions that give the building a more substantial façade and bare increased similarity to both country houses. Given the Bastard's increased status within the town following the fire, grand additions such

[185] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 827-9
[186] Ibid., pp. 98-102.
[187] Polly, Legg, 'The Bastards of Blandford: An Inventory of Their Losses in the Fire of 1731', *The Furniture History*, Vol. 30 (1944), pp. 18, Fig. 2.

as these do not come as much of a surprise but the trajectory of design towards larger properties in the surrounding area indicates the architect's attention to status in their designs and the transfer of facets of gentry living that were imitated within towns.

Figure 18: Kingston Lacy (1663-65)

Figure 19: 26 East Street, Blandford Forum (c.1730s)

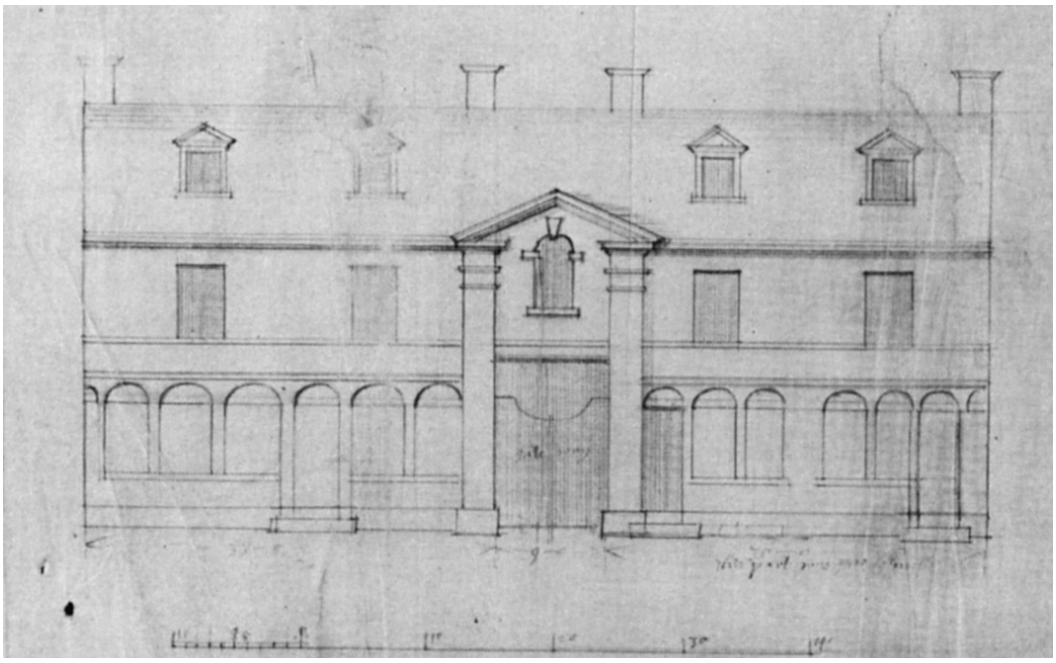


Figure 20: The Bastards' Designs for 26 East Street, Blandford Forum (c.1730s)

The Corn Exchange

As has been seen within Bath and Warwick, the civic buildings constructed during this period differ from their surroundings aesthetically and this same trend is seen in Blandford. The few public buildings constructed after the fire differ considerably from the private houses within the town in their adoption of regular features. The Town Hall, designed by the Bastards and completed in 1734, features a façade that differs from every other within the town as it is faced with Portland stone. The ground floor consists of an open loggia with semi-circular arches above which the first floor displays three moulded window architraves the centre of which is topped by a segmented pediment with the windows either side supporting triangular pediments. The marked differences between the town hall and the private buildings of Blandford show two separate theories involved in the rebuilding especially when the gentry influence in the public buildings are considered. The aforementioned features of the Town Hall, sometimes cited as early forms of civic 'Palladianism', have been widely noted for their sophistication and the influence here is wider than local forms.[188] There can be no doubt that the hall was constructed by the Bastards; the ornate stone carving below the window pediments show the attention of professional craftsmen as the Bastards were. Equally, above the central window an inscription reads 'Bastard Architect 1734'. Yet,

[188] Howard, Colvin, 'The Bastards of Blandford: Architects and Master-Builders', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 104 (1947), pp. 188.

unlike their private works within the town, the Bastards were not completely free to design at will here. Designs for the new Town Hall were also submitted by Sir James Thornhill in 1733 that show a far more elaborate design than the one completed albeit in largely the same proportions.[189]

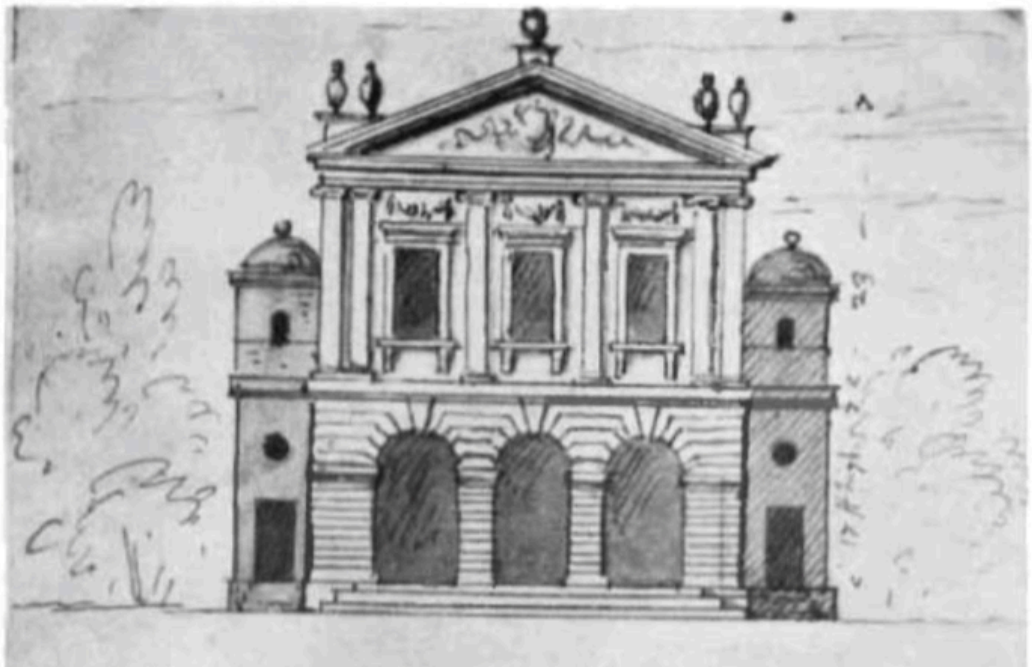


Figure 21: James Thornhill's Designs for The Corn Exchange, Blandford Forum (1733)

Thornhill's version would have seen a heavily rusticated ground floor surrounding the loggia with Ionic pilasters supporting the first floor and increased window detailing above the pediment. The portico would have had a central embellishment and two accretions on either side in comparison to only singular ones installed by the Bastards. The peculiarities as to why Thornhill's designs were not indorsed become more apparent when his own history is examined. By 1733, a year before his death, Thornhill was a nationally renowned painter famously being commissioned to paint the Hall at Greenwich Naval college in 1707 and the dome of St Paul's in 1715. Born in Melcombe Regis, Dorset, he served as an MP for the town after the elections of 1722 and 1727, the latter of which placed him as an MP during the fire and was largely responsible for his position on the Fire Commission. Thornhill also presided over the Fire Court during

[189] James, Thornhill, *Designs for a Town Hall at* Blandford, in Sir John Soane's Museum (1733)

parts of its first two years in operation.[190] In the early 18th century Thornhill had, rather unpopularly, turned his hand to architecture with many of his designs being rejected and his drawings described as a 'clamour' owing to his mixing of traditions.[191] Given that the Bastards show no history of the adoption of strict Palladian features, as well as their work with and on the Commission, the transfer of ideas between Thornhill and the Bastards is apparent. Colvin notes that Thornhill's designs for the Corn Exchange differ sharply from what had previously been seen in his architecture and despite differences in how the Bastards and Thornhill wanted the Corn Exchange to appear shows the transmission and transition of ideas between these two sets of architects.

The reconstruction of the town had been facilitated through a substantial brief, yet, much of the public work was financed through the £1300 gift from the monarchy.[192] The two substantial projects for which this money was used, outside of general improvements such as the widening of roads, were the Town Hall and The Church of St Peter and St Paul, however, the latter received the lion's share of this money. While the expenses for individual aspects of the Town Hall as an entity do not appear in the Commission records, the bills for the final work including '[a] Bill for finishing the Corporation Room, a Strong Chest and other things about the Town Hall', indicating that bills were paid for upon completion, suggests that a lack of funds resulting in a removal of some of Thornhill's more expensive features seems unlikely.[193] The most probable explanation here, in a similar case to the Bastards' change of design for their own dwelling in the Market Place, is that alterations were made during the design process as it suited the Commission as well as the skill set of the Bastards and local craftsmen. Given the lack of these features elsewhere within the town, these may simply have been removed out of an inability to create them. Regardless of this point, to trace the dissemination of ideas from Leoni through to Thornhill and then on to the Bastards as the final architects portrays the point at which the thought process is broken. Thornhill's interaction with Leoni and his replication of designs onto the original plans for the Town Hall show an understanding of Italian architecture, given his national

[190] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008); *Commissioners' Book*
[191] Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 1038.
[192] Ian, Kennedy, 'Blandford Fires Ancient and Modern', *Dorset Life* (Jun. 2018)
[193] *Corporation Records* (April 13th 1735)

experience also; yet, the removal of rustication and portico decoration shows how an attention to aesthetics begins to replace building theory based in classical architecture. Of course, given that the largest proportion of the grant went to the Church, costing £3029 in comparison to £197 for the Town Hall, it is possible that these embellishments were not added to the hall due to lack of funds; yet, as discussed, given that the funds ran out after the Town Hall's completion a conscious decision to change Thornhill's designs is likely.

Figure 22: The Corn Exchange, Blandford Forum (1734)

The Church of St Peter and St Paul

The most noticeable building within Blandford Forum, and one unique to a small provincial town, is the Church of St Peter and St Paul. Completed in 1739 as the costliest building as part of the redevelopment, the 'Hanoverian' design is one of few

provincial Georgian churches in England, yet, despite its importance within the town few records of its construction have survived.[194] When the importance of the church within the town, the connections of the gentry to London, and its physical features are considered, it is hard to see how this building could not have taken ultimate inspiration from the City of London Churches. The importance of Thomas Archer has already been discussed with reference to the Town Hall, but his role as an architect for the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches gives weight to his influence on St Peter and St Paul's also.[195] The church is akin to the 'auditory churches' constructed in London, largely by Wren, in the late 17th and early 18th Century and the financial link between the two is clear. The commissioner given control of the Royal Grant, and Blandford Baliff, George Dodington was a close friend of Prince of Wales for whom Dodington had cleared debts and provided housing following his expulsion from St James Palace by George II. This close relationship undoubtedly helped secure the £1300 gift and, as a result, the two buildings constructed using this money are distinctly different from others within Blandford. Dodington's role in the construction of the Town Hall or Church is not documented, however, he had undertaken a Grand Tour between 1711 and 1713 following which he became a collector of classical antiques. By extension, Dodington's employment of Roger Morris to design his Pall Mall residence in a Palladian manner (1731-3) shows an appreciation for architecture and the connotations of status.[196] While this is not to claim that Dodington instructed the use of the funds to design parts of Blandford to be Palladian, the role of the commission in the use of this money renders both the Town Hall and Church to be in the control of the commission more broadly rather than only the Bastard brothers.

[194] Michael, Le Bas, *When Blandford Burned* (Blandford Town Museum: 2009)
[195] Marcus, Whiffen, *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (Hennessey: London, 1973)
[196] John, Summerson, *Georgian London* (New Haven: London, 1947)

Figure 23: The Church of St Peter and St Paul, Blandford Forum (1732-9)

St Peter's and St Paul's contains regular features throughout with a stone façade, central portico, heavy quoining, balustrading, accretions and its belfry window with segmented pediment. Despite these forms containing no exact origins in the London churches, features are closely mimicked. For example, the heavy quoining, central belfry window above an arched door case with exterior porticos throughout the design and arched windows in the wings flanking the entrance bear heavy resemblance to St Brides Church, London, designed by Wren between 1670-84. In fact, these same forms are visible in numerous churches throughout London: St Olave Old Jewery, St Michael Wood Street and St George Botolph Lane, to name but three, all share elements of these features which appear at Blandford. To claim that Wren's designs inspired provincial churches is hardly new, yet, the theory behind the architecture is different. For Wren 'Classical' architecture is the new inspiration behind church design and, in comparison to the aggregation of many Gothic churches, Wren's are built as a single entity with regard to the internal function and the external aesthetic.[197] As Horton Davis notes, it

[197] Horton, Davis, 'Georgian Churches and Meeting-Houses', in *Worship and Theology in England*, Vol. III (Princeton University Press: 1961), pp. 40-42.

is significant that Wren believes that 'natural beauty is from Geometry'.[198] St Peter and St Paul does, in many respects, follow this mind-set as the alter is visible from all parts of the church, no screens are included and Wren's preference for ceilings rather than open roofs is followed.

FIGURE

Figure 24: The Bastards' Designs for The Church of St Peter and St Paul, Blandford Forum (1732)

Yet, in much the same way that Italian designs were adapted for English use, so too are Wren's thoughts with additions to St Peter and St Paul's illustrative of an attention to aesthetics rather than theory. A major dilemma in the construction of the church at Blandford concerned the spire. Despite its inclusion on the Bastards' original designs, a spire was rejected and replaced by a small wooden cupola atop a tower placed abruptly

above the central portico; an idiosyncratic use of forms that would have been out of place for any London church. As such, given the intricate nature of the Church's interior and its conformity to precedents in London, facets indicative of the Bastard's skill, the decision to remove this spire by them would have been odd. As others have noted, the

[198] Horton, Davis, 'Georgian Churches and Meeting-Houses', in *Worship and Theology in England*, Vol. III (Princeton University Press: 1961), pp. 38-51.

only known portrait of William Bastard shows him pointing to the spire that was never built; as the main subject of this painting aside from the subject himself, William's wishes are opposed to the 'other hands who rejected the spire' as inscribed on the cartouche accompanying the original designs.[199] The perceived egregious nature of this decision is still apparent in 1752 when the portrait is commissioned: thirteen years after the Church's completion. The cartouche also notes that 'the money being expended the Buylding was stopt for some years' prior to the decision to remove the spire. This is the best recorded example of contention between the commission and the Bastards and the point at which the dissemination of architectural theory enters the provincial stage and is forced, by necessity, to adapt to local trades and conform to a budget.

These actions create a divide between the public and private architecture within Blandford Forum with the impact of the commission seen on the former far more so than the latter. On first glance, it can appear that the *Architectus Ingenio* of the Bastard Brothers is hampered by the commission through the alterations made to the two major public buildings within the town. However, the impact of the commission should not therefore be seen as ignorant. Many members who sat showed an interest in architecture within their private lives and the marked differences in the designs for public buildings are testament to a different, but no lesser, understanding of architecture than that of the Bastards. Sir James Thornhill was the only member with direct architectural experience, yet for others including Dodington and Chafin, the idea of regular architecture as a form of visual status diffused from their estates onto the town though the power that the commission held. This transition fed into the growth in the professional classes through individuals, including John Parker, utilising regularity as a method of reputability for his work as well as appealing for an increase in the size of his premises. From the perspective of the middling sorts in Blandford Forum, as can be concluded from settlements across the country, regular architecture is symbolic of status rather than architectural theory; the flat fronted façades with sash windows that occupy most of the town's rebuilding stand as visual evidence that this was the understanding behind the majority of the rebuilding project. For this reason, the adoptions of these forms of architecture in Blandford are a diffusion, rather than a replication, of thought. It is far too easy to take some of the features in Blandford

[199] John and William, Bastard, *The New Church at Blandford Dorset*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Gough Maps 6, f. 43v. (c. 1739)

Forum, and trace a line through history. The adoption of regular forms on the provincial level in a small town such as this is not as smooth as the world of the affluent gentry with continentally taught architects. This would partially have been the result of lack of funds, Wren's St James Garlickhythe in London of a similar size cost £7230 over double that of St Peter's and St Pauls, simply not allowing for more extravagant forms. Equally, the expertise and abundance of local craftsmen couldn't match those who were commissioned for larger estates across the country.

The Bastards did most of the internal work to the church themselves with aid from master craftsmen including Nathaniel Ireson about whom, apart from a description of being 'busy' building the Church, little is known.[200] As we get further away from direct sources of theory the applicability of terms become weaker and there is a danger of using 'Palladian' to describe the existence of a Portico along with triangular and segmented window pediments when the associations between the Bastards and a self-conscious adoption of Palladianism are scarce. The use of these terms erroneously has the potential to be damaging as well as dangerous as we seek to explore how provincial towns adopt architectural practices. To examine the few elements of Blandford Forum that are suggestive of Palladian influence is to ignore the idiosyncratic features that differentiate towns within England and give a more accurate picture than attempting to trace pre-existing theories of architecture. By this notion, Blandford Forum has a mix of both Palladianism and Baroque, designed by the Bastards; two 'styles' that are seen as incompatible by the 1730s. Given Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, translated by Leoni in 1726, is central to the ousting of Baroque trends in favour of refined Palladianism, the existence of Baroque features shows a lack of understanding of true Palladian architectural theory and, therefore, an absence of ideological dissemination.

It is always tempting to read history backwards and as tempting as it is to trace Blandford's rebuilding back to Inigo Jones' introduction of classically inspired designs, this is not useful when local factors interfere dramatically with designs. Blandford Forum is a product of mixed interpretations of what modern architecture is and what form it should take. As such, any analysis is more truthful without utilising terms that have connotations of a linear architectural transition as they explain away the intricacies of design and hide the human element of the town's creation.

[200] Henry George, Grey, 'Nathaniel Ireson, of Wincanton: Master Builder', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* LXXXVII (1941), pp. 81-4.

Conclusion

The inclusion of Blandford as a part of this thesis has been to examine how a complete rebuilding of a town was undertaken during this period and the stimuli surrounding its development. As both towns experienced fire, there are naturally many comparisons that can be drawn between Warwick and Blandford. As will be discussed later, this one factor does not overwhelm how the rebuilding was viewed by those who participated in it and, as such, Blandford is similarly comparable to both Berwick and Bath in many respects. What this fire did was present an opportunity. This opportunity allowed for the social makeup of the town, and those in positions of power, to make their mark as the town was reborn using regular forms. The next chapter of this thesis examines a town that, at first, seems to be unrelated to Blandford's own situation. Berwick grows naturally throughout this period and is by far the most distant town of these case studies. Yet, despite not receiving the same impetus as Blandford, these towns are comparable.

Chapter 5: Berwick-upon-Tweed

Introduction

The architectural development of Berwick provides a sharp contrast to the other towns featured in this study. The town experienced no significant fire during this period, no large scale speculative housing developments, and no major reorganisation of town planning. Yet, organically Berwick displays the facets of a 'modern' architectural town by 1770, with characteristics that have been cited as archetypal Georgian architecture.[201] For centuries Berwick has been somewhat of a problem town within written histories. Having been both English and Scottish, there has been a tendency to claim that is it culturally neither; the transition of Berwick to a self-governing county corporate in 1551 stands as a metaphor for a lack of mutual identity between the town and others in the south of England. Given its strategic importance as a border town,

[201] Alec, Clifton-Taylor, *Six More English Towns,* (BBC: London, 1981)

histories have largely been concerned with the political and military legacy of Berwick with little attention paid to the culture, let alone architecture, of this ostracised town. Recent studies have sought to reverse this trend. Catherine Kent's PhD thesis examining the house-building culture of Berwick from 1550 to 1603 is a milestone in disproving the previous trend of whitewashing Berwick's building history as uniformly 'defensive' and the concluding words of her thesis begin to outline the importance of reviewing how Berwick was affected by the changing building trends of the later 17th century: themes that this study will discuss.[202] Similarly, Leona Skelton's analysis of Berwick's urban environment, similarly between 1551 and 1603, emphasises the town's concern to present itself as civic and urban, Yet, given that accounts of Berwick over a century and a half later are reporting a similar abundance of waste on streets as Berwick's Governors had been aware of in the late 16th century, Skelton's description of Berwick as 'flourishing' post-1603 is called in to question.[203]

Although Berwick sits on the border between England and Scotland, it would be dangerous to over exaggerate the impact that this political border has in this period. As Kent notes, most builders and craftsmen moved regularly between the two contexts and this boundary had little effect on the materials used in construction. The mind-set that this boundary creates is not seen within histories of Berwick as such, but in the application of national theories onto studies of the town. It is hard to employ Borsay's arguments pertaining to the English Urban Renaissance onto Berwick given the lower proportion of societal elites and the facets of what Borsay considers to signify such a renaissance do not appear until comparatively late. Berwick features once within his original thesis as a minor note within an appendix.[204] As such, Berwick's development could be seen as an extension of the Scottish Enlightenment rather than an English phenomenon. A recent addition to the historiography sees Bob Harris exploring the question of 'Was there a Scottish Urban renaissance?' as part of a re-examination of Borsay's original thesis. Yet, his conclusion that the 'grammar of change' within Scotland should be viewed in an 'explicitly national context' creates further problems

[202] Catherine, Laura, Kent, *Beyond the Defensible Threshold: The House-Building Culture of Berwick-upon-Tweed and the East March 1550-1603*, Durham Theses, Durham University (2016), pp. 19-25 and 209-1.
[203] Lorna, Skelton, 'Material Matters: Improving Berwick-upon-Tweed's Urban Environment, 1551-1603', in Adrian, Green and Barbara, Crosbie, *Economy and Culture in North-East England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2018) p. 114.
[204] Peter, Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town,1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1989), *passim*.

when trying to decipher the history of border towns.[205] It is this fixation on the national context that hinders some pre-existing studies from being of significant use in further research as the theory begins to fail as the locations it is applied to become geographically further from the original source: London.

Of more benefit are localised or area histories, especially of the north east, in providing context for its transition of building practices. Richard Pears' research into the architecture of Northumberland and Durham, as well as a specific study of The Church of the Holy Trinity at Berwick, provide a strong basis for this study with the emergence of the professional architect and the idea of a 'rural renaissance', which alters the ideas of Harris and Borsay, creating a theory that is applicable to Berwick. However, as this chapter seeks to rectify, little research has been conducted into the Berwick's architecture as a whole between 1660 and 1770 with few modern attempts to explain why and how this border society adjusts itself to the different cultural changes of England and Scotland. This chapter will first the look at a history of Berwick, so far as is relevant to this investigation, as well as examining the validity of applying certain aspects of a town 'renaissance' to Berwick. This will be followed by an analysis of the major building projects undertaken during this period that display the emergence of regularity within building designs, notably The Church of the Holy Trinity (1660), Nicholas Hawksmoor's Barracks (1721) and The Town Hall (1755). Following this, the chapter will examine the house-building culture following the research of Catherine Kent and explore the adoption of regular building practices within Berwick. Attention will be paid to the early designs for The Governor's House and the Vicarage, as well as the additions made to the existing architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries.

As part of John Fuller's 'History of Berwick-Upon-Tweed', and taken from the Guild Hall Books from 1643-51, a speech delivered to Charles I in 1633 while en-route to be crowned in Scotland is analysed. Amongst other themes, the speech highlights the town's situation as 'the ruins of a poor yet ancient borough' as a 'ball that has never found rest' and suffered through the centuries of conflict.[206] Yet, by 1770 Berwick would boast a church designed by a London mason, some of the first purpose built

[205] Bob, Harris, 'Was there a Scottish Urban Renaissance', in Catherine, Armstrong and, John, Hicks, *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited* (Cambridge Scholars: London 2018), pp. 144-167.
[206] John, Fuller, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed, including a short account of Tweedmouth and Spittal* (Bell & Bradfute Fuller: Edinburgh, 1799), p. 194.

military barracks in the country designed by one of England's foremost architects, a grand town hall with assembly room as well as regular façades visible throughout the town. The nature of how and why this transition occurs is central to both an understanding of the extent to which the adoption of regular forms can be seen as a single national transition and how a town, quite literally the most northern in England, responds to this phenomenon.

Berwick by 1660

As an examination of building practices up to 1603 has been conducted so successfully by Kent, the focus of this passage will be concerned with the underlying conditions in Berwick by 1660. The speech delivered to Charles I in 1633 describes the 'poor town of Berwicke' along with a plea to the King for funds for rebuilding the city accompanied by an apology for the 'mite we are to cast into your Majesty's treasury'.[207] This reflects the large financial burden such an undertaking would cost and, by extension, the ruinous nature of the town. Yet despite this plea seemingly little work was undertaken, with The Church of the Holy Trinity being the notable exception, until post-1660. The brief for the creation of the church had been granted by the King on 9th July 1641 but work did not begin until 1650 owing to the 'pillage' of the town by Parliamentarians in 1642 and confrontations in the town, resulting in a royalist victory, in 1648.[208] The economic recovery of Berwick was facilitated by the arrival of Cromwell who utilized the town as an economic base in the early 1650s allowing for increased funds to be raised for the church's construction.

As far as major building projects are concerned, owing to the Civil War, there is a sizable gap between the 1630s and the 1650s during which little was undertaken due to insufficient funds. Even as late as 1650 the corporation records state, with regards to the Church, that '£564 procured by the governor (Col. Fenwick), but, including this, only £900 collected by June 1650 towards a total cost of £2500. Many letters applying for help'.[209] A similar case can be seen within the buildings of the middling sorts with smaller additions to houses rather than large developments. As Kent

[207] Sheldon, Frederick, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848), p. 194.
[208] Ibid., p. 209.
[209] W. D., Macray. 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Berwick-Upon-Tweed' in Historical Manuscripts Commission (ed.), *Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol.1* (London: 1901)

notes, the mid-18th century witnessed an increase in the use of brick rather than stone for chimney stacks, notably not for the entire building, within the town and the emergence of purpose built kitchen blocks in houses were far more prevalent within the town's surrounding hinterland.[210]

The early addition of features, such as quoining, to houses on Marygate shows an early appreciation for regular features before developments of a larger scale took place at the turn of the 18th century.[211] By 1660 regular features are seen within Berwick but these are organically added to earlier buildings rather than included as a part of complete rebuilding process. Existing before large scale bouts of speculative building, these additions are made by individuals to their own premises. As an example, a third story is added to 'Ruggs' house' on Marygate as early as 1569 following which the façade is repeatedly altered up to and beyond 1660. Looking at John Speed's 'Map of Berwick' from 1610, the layout of the town centre, comprising of the streets in and around Margate, changes little between 1610 right through to the end of the period in 1770.

Regular features exist within Berwick by 1660, an aspect well covered by Kent, yet the majority of Berwick's regular development happens after this date. The inclusion of these features would become more prevalent as the economy of Berwick recovers and other building projects within the town facilitate an appreciation for regularity and spark a wider dissemination of regular architectural forms.

Cultural Development

A brief examination of Berwick's social culture and the similarities to an urban renaissance provide some further context to the town's architectural development. Yet, over analysis of the extent to which Berwick conforms to Borsay's theory would be to undermine the local nuances of Berwick's culture during this period in favour of creating a nationwide image.

The development of architecture within Berwick was largely split between the private houses of the town, which developed organically over decades, and the larger building projects which, as well as being complete constructions in themselves, either

[210] Catherine, Laura, Kent, *Beyond the Defensible Threshold: The House-Building Culture of Berwick-upon-Tweed and the East March 1550-1603*, Durham Theses, Durham University (2016), pp. 290-1.
[211] Ibid., p. 255.

consist of designs that have strong origins in London or employ London based architects. This mix of influences is an aspect also witnessed within Berwick's culture; some of which is indicative of Georgian trends centred around sociability and others which retain some of Berwick's medieval traditions. This is seen with the continuation of market practices more akin to the medieval town while simultaneous witnessing a development of Berwick's social scene around its coffee rooms for example.

Berwick's public houses feature prominently within the histories of the town and their merits are frequently described. The Red Lion on the north side of the High Street contained a coffee room and an assembly room by the mid-18th century as well as receiving two daily newspapers from London. Similarly, the Kings Arms contained a coffee room and became a regular rest point of coaches between Edinburgh and London. As early as 1639 horse racing has been recorded in Berwick and, by 1672, 'great fountains' were described 'in all the open areas.[212] These facets are central to Borsay's work on this subject and, while clearly not every town in England experienced a 'renaissance' in the same manner, these features are akin to towns in the south of the country.

Figure 25: The King's Arms, Berwick-upon-Tweed (c.1740)

[212] Jorvin, *Description of England and Scotland* (1672)

Yet, not all developments in Berwick are sustained. As fuller notes, despite 'the streets in a regular manner had been originally attended to' by the later 18th century 'all of them are not only irregular, but intolerably ill paved'. Seemingly the stipend granted for cleaning the streets was declining by the mid-18th century, from what had originally been £60 a year, leading to 'dung' in the streets. Some key medieval 'traditions' still occur within the town through to, and beyond, the end of this period. Closing the town gates every night, a procedural hangover from the Civil War, was still occurring and causing nuisance to travellers during the night. On a more gruesome note, public animal slaughters were still occurring in the market place and, as a result, 'blood runs in the open gutters' resulting in 'stoppages in the gutters', mixing with the drinking water and causing 'putrid fevers'.[213] As such, the development of Berwick does not occur within every element of society simultaneously during this period. A transition in architectural practices is not necessarily indicative of social developments in other areas.

The Church of the Holy Trinity

The Church of the Holy Trinity in Berwick is the first complete construction within the town to include references to regular features. A rare example of a church built during the commonwealth era, Holy Trinity combines both regular and Gothic features and is constructed using stone recovered from the ruinous Berwick Castle. As Sheldon notes, 'it is of no particular order of architecture and 'it has the appearance of one church standing on top of another'; these idiosyncrasies, given its date, are telling of attitudes towards regular architecture at the beginning of this period as well as their importance within the socio-political context of religion being so close to Scotland following the Prayer Book riots of 1637.[214]

Features of the church include a central door case supporting a portico with columns of the Doric order on either side; the exterior also displays quoining and, at allegedly the request of Cromwell, domed spirelets as part of the façade at the west end of the church. While originally built with Gothic traced windows, these were replaced in 1855 with Venetian windows at a similar time to which the chancel was built which had been demanded by John Cosin almost two centuries earlier.

[213] John, Fuller, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed, including a short account of Tweedmouth and Spittal* (Bell & Bradfute: Edinburgh, 1799), pp. 575-6.
[214] Frederick, Sheldon, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848), p. 210.

The origin of these forms utilized at Berwick are seen in the church of St Katherine Cree, built between 1628 and 1630, in London and have been discussed by others who have illustrated the similarities.[215] The window spacing, battlements, quoining and door case combine to create a similar aesthetic. Given that the original construction of Holy Trinity included Gothic windows, features present at St Katharine Cree, this further points to a relationship between the two. The architect of St Katherine Cree is unknown, yet, there are suggestions that Inigo Jones played a role in its construction. The rose window bares resemblance to that of the chapel at Lincoln's Inn which Jones copied from old St Paul's Cathedral.[216] The ties between London and Berwick grow as Holy Trinity was designed by John Young, a London mason from Blackfriars. Young had been commissioned to work in Old St Paul's churchyard, rebuilding the nave of St. Gregory' Church, in 1676. Moreover, between 1638 and 1640 Young had been contracted to build the tower at St Mary's Church in Goudhurst which is, in turn, derivative of the tower at St. Katherine Cree.[217] St Mary's Church tower, as designed by Young, contains battlements, a centrally placed adaptation of a Venetian window with the central domed window replaced by a single square window above, and a central regular door case supporting a curved door pediment atop two columns of an indiscernible order. The dissemination of forms in London can, therefore, be seen to have an impact on Berwick.

[215] Richard, Pears, 'Battle of the Styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England', *Architectural History*, Vol. 55 (2012), p. 83; Timothy, Mowl, and Brian, Earnshaw *Architecture Without Kings* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1995), p. 15.
[216] Jeffries, Davis E., 'The Paris Churches of The City of London, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 83, No. 4361 (Aug. 1935) p. 900
[217] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 1205-6.

Figure 26: (Left) St Katherine Cree, London (1728-30)

Figure 27: (Right) St Mary's Church, Goudhurst (Additions made 1638-40)

The architect of Holy Trinity, John Young, utilizes forms which he had previously used at St Mary's in Kent which are likely to originate in Katharine Cree in the City of London. Regardless of whether Young was commissioned to design Holy Trinity after the original permission by Charles I in 1640, or following Cromwell's approval in 1650, the designs for Holy Trinity would have closely followed on from St Mary's. A principle aspect to note is the door case, with columns and portico along with the Venetian window above, features in all three designs and can be used to draw a connection between them. Although there is no strict connection between Young and Katharine Cree, only between Young, St Mary's Church and Old St Paul's, his recorded work in London shows his ecclesiastical work extended to the City and indicates a lineage that can be traced back to both Inigo Jones and Old St Pauls, however, further archival research should be conducted on this issue.

Figure 28: The Church of the Holy Trinity, Berwick-upon-Tweed (1652-60)

Given that the dissemination of forms from London to Berwick in this instance can be seen through the work of Young, it begs the question as to why a London mason, who has no recorded work far outside the capital was commissioned for work in Berwick. This problem is tackled more broadly by Richard Pears in his analysis of architecture in the north east with his work on the importance of architecture, both politically and religiously in this case, to border towns in this period. As Pears suggests, 'Parliamentary victory in the English Civil War brought major changes to the governance of the seventeenth-century North East, and this provided an initial impetus for Classical styles to gain ascendency' as, within Berwick, the adoption of regular forms 'could be regarded as an attempt by the victorious Commonwealth authorities to define a religious architecture that recalled, through its Gothic and Tuscan motifs, the Early Christian Church while being distinct from both medieval Catholic and pre-Civil War Laudian liturgical arrangements'.[218] To apply this argument to the town, the Patron of Holy

[218] Richard, Pears, 'Battle of the Styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England', *Architectural History*, Vol. 55 (2012), pp. 81-3.

Trinity, the Governor of Berwick George Fenwicke, was able to exploit the rebuilding of the church as a physical declaration of allegiance to the parliamentarian cause by utilising 'modern' architectural forms originating in London. The use of John Young as a mason can, therefore, be seen as a conscious attempt to invoke a political meaning from the use of regular forms of architecture; actions which support the great expense shown in the corporation records. This same political importance can be seen through Cromwell's request for the spire to be omitted and replaced by the domed spirelets.

Hawksmoor's Barracks

The construction of military barracks, designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor and built between 1717 and 1721, stand as the first major project of regular design within Berwick. Despite the aesthetic differences from the civilian architecture, the importance of the barracks as a regular building had an impact on how houses were added to within the town; especially when the importance of the Governor's House, also designed by Hawksmoor, is examined. The theme of military instillations in architectural development occurs in Warwick also, yet, the disparity here is in the ending of Warwick's military importance at the end of the Civil War in comparison to Berwick's heightened importance at the turn of the 18th century.

The need for the Barracks at the turn of the 18th century derived from the threat of a Jacobite rebellion starting in Scotland that had the potential of making its way through Berwick and further into England. From the parliamentary perspective, the importance of defence had been seen during aspects of the 1715 Jacobite rising in Northumberland during which Berwick had quartered large numbers of troops.[219] This increased need for troops in Berwick during the Civil War, and the various military confrontations between England and Scotland that would follow, had directly led to the economic hardships of Berwick residents who were forced to quarter soldiers. Within the corporation records that survive, multiple pleas are made to find an alternative solution as, in 1648, 'if some speedy course be not taken they [the houses] will be in a most miserable condition'.[220] Similarly in 1715, a letter was signed by members of the

[219] Jonathan, Oates, 'Civil Defence in North-East England During the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 80, No. 322 (Summer, 2002), pp. 86-97.
[220] W. D., Macray, 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Berwick-Upon-Tweed' in Historical Manuscripts Commission (ed.), *Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol.1* (London: 1901), p. 16.

borough representing the hardships entailed by the quartering of soldiers and desiring the erection of Barracks.[221] The added impact of large numbers of soldiers quartering in the town centre was an increase in crime as seen in 1715 when 'Capt. Kerr unfortunately killed a gentlemen'.

Whether on account of a need for stronger defences or due to the town's multiple pleas, Nicholas Hawksmoor was commissioned by the Board of Ordinance, most likely due to his and Vanbrugh's friendship with Brigadier Richards who was the current Surveyor-General of the Board, to design Barracks on the east side of the town in 1717. Although, as Colvin notes, this is Hawksmoor's only recorded work for the board, it is likely that he undertook other projects during the same period including Woolwich Arsenal (1717-20) and parts of Tilbury Fort.[222]

Figure 29: Berwick-upon-Tweed Barracks (1717-21)

Berwick Barracks offer further significance as an example of regular architecture extending outside of the more usual areas of research including country houses, town

[221] Ibid., p. 19.
[222] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), p. 497.

houses, churches and town halls, once again portraying the existence of a broad transition that manifests itself in the built environment rather than multiple examples of regular architecture forming a wider movement.

The design features of Hawksmoor's Barracks and the restrained use of regular features provides an alternate perspective to view regular architecture aside from the more common usage of country houses as pieces of evidence. The attention to regular detail is no less despite the comparative lack of embellishment in the project and, despite being overlooked as military architecture, the Barracks are central to Berwick's adoption of regular forms more widely.

The Barracks are constructed out of local stone, most likely salvaged from the ruins of Berwick Castle, and originally consisted of two parallel accommodation blocks, a gate house, and the Governor's House. The accommodation blocks are built with a flat façade, with rows of Venetian and square-sash windows, a central gable and heavily rusticated quoining. The gatehouse was constructed with a central round arch, and a central keystone, flanked by two stone pillars. Interestingly, the finished construction of both the accommodation blocks and the gatehouse differ from the original plans, made by Hawksmoor, which survive. Hawksmoor's drawings include some elaborate features such as ornamentation at the ends of gables and increased rustication on the accommodation blocks as well as rustication on the pillars, pilasters with capitals and architrave on the gatehouse. Quite why these features were removed cannot be known, however, it is notable that it is features of ornamentation that are removed rather than any part of the building layout. The guidebook published by English Heritage claims that this was a decision made by the Board of Ordinance due to Hawksmoor's overly 'flamboyant' designs. Regardless of the reasoning, this led to the construction of a building that has since been described as 'Baroque' while the aspects of design which characterise it as such have been removed. This has, in turn, most likely led to Historic England's confusing conclusion that the Barracks were designed in the 'Vernacular Baroque Style'.[223]

The Barracks are rarely referenced within works which analyse Hawksmoor's architecture and, in many respects, the rather plain nature of the executed designs differentiates this project from other, more elaborate, designs by Hawksmoor. Despite not looking at Berwick specifically, Vaughan Hart offers an explanation for the lack of

[223] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1042432

attention by arguing that '[the designs] which most departed from using the basic grammar of classical architecture…have either defied classification or been linked to sources of undisputed Renaissance pedigree'; from which Berwick Barracks fit into the former category.[224] In essence, the lack of conformity to either 'Baroque' or 'Neo-Palladian' tendencies have rendered the Barracks unexamined. Carrmire Gate, designed by Hawksmoor as part of Castle Howard, bears similarities to the original designs for the gatehouse at Berwick and, despite existing as a footnote, escapes analytical rejection through its links to Castle Howard. This lack of appreciation stems from the perception that these Barracks are a utilitarian construction rather than architecture worth examining: a dichotomy perhaps erroneously proposed by Pevsner.

Far from simply utilitarian, Hawksmoor's original drawings, in the form in which they are drawn, pertain closely to his sketches for Whitehall. As argued by Anthony Geraghty, Hawksmoor's drawings of the 1690s collapse the distinction, created by Wolfin, between ontological and epistemological design by adding perception into his designs through the use of shadowing in orthographic drawings.[225] The use of this drawing technique for both Whitehall and Berwick Barracks shows that Hawksmoor himself does not draw a distinction between these two constructions which are treated markedly differently by architectural historians: shown by the heavy research into the former and the disregard of the latter. As such, an analysis of Berwick Barracks should not be concerned with how it different from Hawksmoor's elaborate design but, rather, how it conforms to the regularity which is present within his designs across a number of different locations and building functions.

The importance of Berwick Barracks in the dissemination of regular architecture is seen though the forms that Hawksmoor creates rather than a wider understanding that a leading architect created them. Hart has provided an in-depth analysis of why 'Hawksmoor' as a name would not create the same resonance contemporarily as it does to architectural historians in the 21st century. Looking at how the buildings of Hawksmoor are somewhat ignored following his death, his partnerships had led him to be characterised as an assistant and his lack of architectural studies in comparison to Wren and Vanbrugh led him to be seen as occupying a lower

[224] Vaughan, Hart, *Nicholas Hawksmoor: Rebuilding Ancient Wonders* (Yale University Press: London, 2007), p. 5.
[225] Anthony, Geraghty, 'Nicholas Hawksmoor's Drawing Technique of the 1690s and John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, in Hills, Hellen, *Rethinking the Baroque* (Ashgate: London, 2011), p. 129.

echelon.[226] This theory resonates with Berwick when the histories of the town are examined. Of the three in-depth histories of Berwick that are closest to this period: John Fuller (1799), Thomas Johnstone (1817) and Frederick Sheldon (1849) none of them make any reference to the Barracks architectural features. Any descriptions reflect basic properties, i.e. the length of the Barracks, with the one exception being Fuller's description of the King's coat of arms above the guard house.[227] Crucially, none mention the name 'Hawksmoor'; however, the histories do, at points, discuss architecture. When discussing the Church of the Holy Trinity or the Town Hall, all three enter into architectural descriptions of these two buildings with both Fuller and Sheldon listing the architect as 'Joseph Dodds' and Johnston's history omitting the name but describing the architect as 'some ingenious projector'.[228]

This raises questions as to how the Barracks were perceived by the town and the extent to which they were viewed as a utilitarian building rather than 'architecture' alongside the town hall and church. While some questions have been raised as to whether the Barracks were actually designed by Hawksmoor, the existence of drawings and his personal connections to the Board of Ordinance provide substantial evidence of his involvement. However, regardless of this fact, given the lack of his name in histories, it is likely that contemporarily his name was not attached to the Barracks and so had little impact in the adoption of regular features across the town. So to claim that regular architecture in Berwick is on account of Hawksmoor's fame would be erroneous. The features of his designs, however, are important.

The designs for the Barracks are undoubtedly a show of strength and of political power with their position occupying a large part of the town and dominating the north east side. Yet, the impact that the architectural forms had on the town is devoid of any power demonstrations and are instead concerned with smaller aspects that are slowly adopted by local craftsmen.

Arched windows and heavy rustication are two central features that are included as part of the Barracks and these forms reappear on houses that are constructed after

[226] Vaughan, Hart, *Nicholas Hawksmoor: Rebuilding Ancient Wonders* (Yale University Press: London, 2007), p. 5.
[227] Thomas, Johnstone, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed and its vicinity…*(H. Richardson: Berwick, 1817); Frederick, Sheldon, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848); John, Fuller, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed, including a short account of Tweedmouth and Spittal* (Bell & Bradfute: Edinburgh, 1799), p. 173.
[228] Thomas, Johnstone, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed and its vicinity…*(H. Richardson: Berwick, 1817), p. 117.

the 1720s as well as added to existing buildings as part of a new façade. The town houses along the Quay Walls are some of the earliest surviving regular houses within Berwick. The most important, from a civic perspective, The Custom's House, constructed either in the late 1730s or early 1740s, draws a connection between the military and civilian architecture of the town. Despite being re-facing in the late 17th century, the house displays some of the first arched windows within the town, preceded only by those included as part of the Barracks, and show the transition of architectural forms from military projects to those of a local civic nature.

The Governor's House

The first regular house within Berwick, designed as such rather than added to, is likely to have been the Governor's House; a position held by Joseph Sabine between 1719 and 1732. The house was constructed as part of the Barracks and owes its forms to Hawksmoor. The Governor's House differs to the main proportion of the Barracks with designs that are akin to gentlemen's houses elsewhere in the country while still using local stone. The house consists of a flat façade of three stories with five symmetrically placed rows of sash windows on each story. Although not many embellishments are present, the house has a string cornice between the first and second floors, thick architrave surrounding the sash windows and two rustic pilasters; the central porch is a later addition that would have removed the original door case. The importance of the house in the town is represented within Fuller's history which includes a drawing of the house from the mid-late 18th century showing the view from the sea walls including some of the houses of Palace Street. The theory here is similar to that of the 'Big House' in the English provincial town as discussed by Green. The 'out of scale' nature of the Governor's house in Berwick in the early 1720s is comparable to that of Major General Butler's House in Oundle which, as Green notes, departs from the English centre-locality structure organised around counties and county towns. These houses are formed as part of regional government and built alongside political movements rather than purely symbolic of wealth in society.[229] This notion fits well with Joseph Sabine as the first resident of the house, as an officer with 30 years of military service emphasising

[229] Adrian, Green, 'The Big House in the English Provincial Town', in Catherine, Armstrong and, John, Hicks, *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited* (Cambridge Scholars: London 2018), pp. 127-8.

societal importance, with its location outside of the centre of Berwick. In comparison to the Barracks, little is known about the process behind the commission of the Governor's House, yet, given the timing it was likely given its approval in London by the Ordinance Board along with the central Barracks.

Figure 30: The Governor's House, Berwick-upon-Tweed (c. 1720)

The military importance of the Barracks has a direct impact on the town architecturally. The organic development of Berwick meant that additions made during this period were subsequently changed in the 19th century, resulting in features being removed, however,

there are some clear examples that remain. The most prominent example is the Vicarage of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Despite being two stories rather than three, the Vicarage strongly resembles the Governor's House with the noticeable difference being its construction out of brick rather than stone; although, given the large salvage of stone from the castle out of necessity for quantity, the use of brick in this civilian house was likely to be a more fashionable alternative by 1730. The house consists of a flat façade with five sash windows on the first floor and four on the ground floor along with a central door case. There is a flat string cornice between the ground and first floors and, significantly, there is a protruding rustic cornice above the first floor windows but before the roof line. At either end of the façade are rustic protruding brick pilasters seeming to support the cornice. The cornice and pilasters are taken both aesthetically and proportionally from Hawksmoor's designs for the Governor's House and, although

no documents exist for the construction of the Vicarage, it is estimated to have been built in the late 1720s or 1730s, making it contemporary to Hawksmoor's designs for the Governor's House.

Figure 31: The Vicarage, Berwick-upon-Tweed (c. 1730)

Beyond the pure replication of forms, this dissemination of architectural theory is seen to go from military designs onto civilian; from Hawksmoor's regular designs that he created on a national scale, onto the development of regular architecture in the locality which is currently seen as a corner stone of theories such as that of Borsay. During this period, the dissemination of architectural ideas such as these rely on what is present in

the locality as well as what is seen as appropriate to replicate. The Barracks are a major outside influence on Berwick and the importance of Hawksmoor's work is, although not through its name, seen through how his designs are interpreted by others.

The dissemination of architectural forms from the Governor's House onto the Vicarage also portrays the early replication of these forms within houses constructed for those on the same echelon of society. The use of these forms on the houses of a military leader and Berwick's ecclesiastical head shows the importance that architecture played within those of high positions in local society. This recognises the

existence of patron preferences and similar people wanting similar forms of architecture; a process which helps to cement craft practice in the locality.

The Town Hall

Berwick Town Hall, built between 1750-5, occupies the focal point in the centre of the town: an architectural centre piece. The hall is built from stone quarried from Ecriston Castle, 'the finest in the neighbourhood', and as well as being built using regular forms, is a mixture of established architectural principles within the town along with newer influences.[230] The central façade displays a protruding central portico, supported by rusticated columns of the Tuscan order and frieze, above which stands a belfry culminating with a small spire. Behind the façade is a rectangular hall that displays rustication throughout with loggia on the ground floor and sash windows with architrave above. The central feature of the east facing rear of the hall is a large Venetian sash window.

Above the outer door 'Joseph Dodds, Architect, 1754' is carved into the stone and, as Colvin discusses, although Dodds was involved in the construction of the hall, the designs were produced by Sam and John Worrall who, according to the corporation guild books, were paid £10 10s to lay out two elevation and a section of the hall.[231] Although the relationship of the two Worralls is unknown, they are recorded to have lived together in Princelet Street, Spitalfields, where they were both involved in the development of the area. The Worral's base in London is shown in parts of the Town Hall in Berwick through its striking resemblance to Church of St Martin-in-the-Fields which had been designed by James Gibbs between 1722-6. Although the use of the Orders differs in Berwick, as well as being far smaller, proportionally the two works are similar with a central portico and rectangular hall behind. Similarly, the east façade of both buildings contains a large Venetian window and, most notably, the belfries on

[230] John, Fuller, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed, including a short account of Tweedmouth and Spittal* (Bell & Bradfute: Edinburgh, 1799), p. 182.
[231] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), p. 1150.

both are almost identical with a central arched window, with clock and spire above. It is worth noting that the dissemination of ideas

Figure 32: The Town Hall, Berwick-upon-Tweed (1750-5)

here may be traced to Gibb's own work, first published in 1728, entitled 'A Book of Architecture' which features large plates of every perspective of St-Martin-in-the-

Fields including a floor plan. Given the Worrall's position in London, despite their inventories being unknown, it is likely that they would have been familiar with this work and, whether through this publication or personal knowledge, it provided a basis for their own designs.

The town hall was the first substantial piece of architecture to be built within the town, after the Barracks, and is the first sign of a renaissance of architecture made manifest, as such, it breaks from the past in many respects. The Town Hall's location in the centre of the town, unlike the Church and Barracks on the outskirts, is indicative

of a building that is central to the everyday life of the town; this is rather than a development that is using the town as a base and not existing for the benefit of the town's inhabitants. In essence, the development of society had reached a point where the Town Hall was needed to replace the toll booth that previously stood in its location and, as such, it was purpose built.

The same is true of the hall's interior. The first floor consists of a large assembly room for public gatherings, the first of its kind within the town. This practice, and in fact lateness when compared to the rest of England, is not uncommon in Scotland. As Harris notes, during and after the 1730s, there are a growing number of public buildings within Scotland are built which symbolise 'a revitalised civic and cultural ambition'; a phenomenon akin to Borsay's English Urban Renaissance.[232]

Reception

Despite the existence of buildings that aid this vision of an urban renaissance being depicted as wholly beneficial, the histories of Berwick written not too long after this period portray a negative reception of the town hall. This indicates a gap between designs that appear to make manifest aspects of an Urban Renaissance and the beliefs held by the town's inhabitants. As the Worrall's were architects based in London, a city in a far different position of urban development that that of Berwick, it is easy to see why architecture which takes inspiration directly from the capital may not be transplanted well into a town that is, as Sheldon notes, 'so far from the centre of the Kingdom'. [233] Johnstone's history describes the Town Hall as 'contracted and disagreeable' while simultaneously 'uncommonly handsome'.[234] Similarly, Sheldon notes how the building was a 'constant source of complaint' among ordinary townsfolk as a 'stately pile of modern architecture' for which 'it has been remarked that the building looks like an inverted mustard pot with a vinegar cruet on top'.[235]

[232] Bob, Harris, 'Was there a Scottish Urban Renaissance', in Catherine, Armstrong and, John, Hicks, *The English Urban Renaissance Revisited* ((Cambridge Scholars: London 2018), pp. 149.
[233] Frederick, Sheldon, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848), p. 195.
[234] Thomas, Johnstone, *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed and its vicinity…*(H. Richardson: Berwick, 1817), p. 177.
[235] Frederick, Sheldon, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848), p. 253.

Given how closely the Town Hall resembles some of the most significant architecture of the capital, these descriptions show forms of 'modern architecture' could not simply be transplanted into areas, that were yet to feel the impact of an urban renaissance, without opposition. The recognition that these forms were in fact 'modern' but that opposition still exists indicates that the narrative of a developed London exporting the features of an Urban Renaissance onto the welcoming regions isn't necessarily true.

Alternatively, Fuller's history provides positive description of the Town Hall using the terms 'beautiful', 'gracious', and suggesting that 'were this elegant piece of architecture placed in a situation where it might appear to advantage, it would vie with almost any other in the Kingdom.[236] However, it does appear that Fuller, more so than others, is educated as to the features of architecture in this period; Sheldon's description of features of the hall are directly lifted from Fuller's work. Fuller's description of 'venetian windows' and the 'orders of architecture' shows a base understanding, however, aspects suggest almost an overcompensation of the town's development through his use of terms; he uses the term 'piazza' to describe an indoor room used by market sellers as well as this same word to describe the parade ground of the Barracks. As such, when his collective history is taken into perspective, this is more of a glorified account than an accurate representation.

Houses

The majority of houses within Berwick, as shown in Kent's research, were added to organically. As such, different areas of the town developed differently according to householder's wishes as the inclusion of regular features through speculative building was not an option. That is, given the definitions provided by William Baer, house building undertaken with no specific occupant in mind.[237] The houses that are built within Berwick as whole are largely those with attachments to other developments for professionals; i.e. The Governors House connected to the Barracks and the Vicarage connected to the Church of the Holy Trinity. Kent's analysis shows that even today much of the architecture exists behind newer façades, such as that on Marygate, added

[236] John, Fuller *The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed, including a short account of Tweedmouth and Spittal* (Bell & Bradfute: Edinburgh, 1799), p. 176.
[237] William, Baer C., 'Is speculative building underappreciated in urban history?', *Urban History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2007), pp. 297-8.

during the period of this study. Speed's map of 1610 show's that little had changed in the town's plan right up to the end of this period; however, tracing when additions were made is challenging. This is in many ways further confused by the accounts of Berwick in written histories.

As early as 1672, Monsieur Jorvin wrote an account of Berwick which describes the town as having streets which were 'straight and handsome' amounting to 'one of the greatest and most beautiful towns in England'.[238] Equally, Eneas Mackenzie's description of Northumberland, published 1825, records that 'the streets are mostly irregular but some of them are tolerably wide and commodious' and that 'uniformity is not much attended to'.[239] Despite these differences of description, the organic nature of construction in Berwick is a factor mentioned by both authors. While Sheldon describes the 'buildings with the many ages that enveloped them' Mackenzie comments on the 'handsomely fronted' nature of some houses.[240]Judging from these descriptions alone, a single emphasis on regularity within the architecture of Berwick's houses cannot be seen. However, the organic nature of development presents unique and individualised attitudes towards private dwelling architecture in this period.

Within these additions made to older dwellings are features that have been replicated from other major projects within the town; the most noticeable of which is the use of feature arched, or Venetian, windows instead of the more nationally common square sash window. As discussed, a Venetian window is used prominently on the east façade of the Town Hall as well as above the door case of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Equally, all of the original parts of the Barracks display arched sash windows. These features are seen in facades that are altered in the mid-18th century. On some of the most distinctive houses within Berwick these features feature prominently. Edina House on the Quay Walls includes four Venetian windows in the façade; its location in the 'lower town' being one of the most affluent areas during this period. Equally, the same form of Venetian window is utilised as part of the King's Arms Hotel on Hide Hill which Pevsner described as 'designed just like a Georgian country house'.[241] However, these features are not only seen in the largest buildings in Berwick. 57 Church

[238] Jorvin, *Description of England and Scotland* (1672)
[239] Eneas, Mackenzie, *An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland* (Mackenzie and Dent: Newcastle, 1825), p. 287.
[240] Frederick, Sheldon, *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed…* (Adam and Charles Black: Edinburgh, 1848), p. 288; Eneas, Mackenzie, *An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland* (Mackenzie and Dent: Newcastle, 1825), p. 287.
[241] Nikolaus, Pevsner, *Northumberland* (Yale University Press: London, 1992), p. 182.

street, adjacent to the vicarage, incorporates two Venetian windows, one per floor, into what would otherwise be a comparatively standard small house. The essence of this is that the inclusion of this relatively specific feature across the town both geographically and socially shows the importance of specific architectural features in recognition of what is fashionable and modern. With regards to the King's Arms Hotel, in a similar time frame a coffee room was also included showing an attention towards national trends around socialising with similar access to newspapers portraying the importance of access printed materials as part of provincial development socially.

Figure 33: Edina House, Berwick-upon-Tweed (c. 1750)

The repetition of the Venetian window is a recognition by local craftsmen of regular reforms and a conscious inclusion of this feature into their architectural vocabulary. This feature, within the Town Hall and Church of the Holy Trinity, is used once in each case and in the centre of the façade. Yet, as this form is used in the façade of Edina House, the restraint that is shown in the larger developments in Berwick towards this feature is forgotten at the expense of plurality. Similarly, this same form is used asymmetrically as part of the Kings Arms along with a variety of other forms. In both

cases, a feature that would normally be a centre piece of a façade is included seemingly at random as part of smaller designs. While the use of Venetian windows in these cases appears different to how they were often used, as a singular feature on a façade rather than as a repeated form within a small area, the decision by local craftsmen to style dwellings in this way isn't necessarily unusual. However, it is worth emphasising that the use of many Venetian windows in this way is not uncommon when examined more broadly. Mark Girouard's work looking at a wide variety of towns across England shows how this repetitive use of Venetian windows within a single

façade in a provincial setting occurs elsewhere including both Peterborough and Winchester.[242] Indeed, a very similar configuration to that of Edina House can be seen in a painting of 1840 depicting the Sheep Market in Wide Bargate, Boston, America.[243] It is ultimately the combination of independent local thought operating nationally around a set of architectural ideas, such as the Venetian window, which constitutes the architectural language of politeness.

Figure 34: 57 Church Street, Berwick-upon-Tweed (c. 1750)

Conclusion

The architectural development of Berwick is split between the large constructions that are built in the town thought this period and the more gradual, organic, development of

[242] Mark, Girouard, *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (Yale University Press: London, 1990), pp. 10, 83.
[243] *Ibid*, p. 13.

houses across Berwick. As many of the houses within the town experienced a gradual development of small additions, tracing exactly when these developments occur is difficult. Certainly by 1672 a transition towards regular forms of building construction is visible within the centre of the town and by the 1740s it is understood to have been the norm within Berwick. A drawing featured within Fuller's history shows a view of Berwick from the opposite side of the river and, although basic, the houses appear regular with symmetrical façades. Owing to a lack of speculative building practices within Berwick, as houses were often passed from generations, additions to houses are often personal rather than ornamentation created en mass; illustrated in Kent's examination of some of the interiors of these houses. The façades of houses within Berwick can trace their origins to the larger projects within the town.

The Church, Barracks and Town Hall undoubtedly have the largest impact on Berwick architecturally during this period; in many ways encapsulating three different eras. The origins of these works are largely national with local nuance as, while the designs are by architects based in London on all three accounts, the use of local stone salvaged from the castle changes the aesthetics of both the Barracks and the Church. Equally, the decision to adapt Hawksmoor's designs similarly had a noticeably impact on the finished Barracks. As such, the extent to which Berwick adopts more unusual aspects of regular features is dependent upon these larger works. The contemporary constructions of the Governor's House and the Vicarage shows the dissemination of forms from a national context onto a local one. This same notion is true of the use of Venetian windows across Berwick, features that are prominently seen as part of the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Town Hall.

The aim of this chapter has been to trace the use of regular architectural forms within Berwick in an attempt to shed light on how and why, by 1770, these features are widespread. The use of forms throughout the town, that originate in London, suggest that from a national perspective the development of forms is heavily based on the local environment. As discussed, whether politically influenced or otherwise, this is the result of architects or craftsmen from the capital being appointed to design Berwick's largest projects. The architectural and social importance of these designs has a significant impact upon Berwick which results in regular town that is still seen today.

Having examined Bath, Warwick, Blandford and Berwick each in turn, the following chapter will draw together the themes that have so far been discussed. While all of these towns share comparable elements, key to their histories is the role of the

locality in shaping the built environment. Central to this thesis is the notion that local nuance is often lost in wide-scale comparisons; as such, it is has been important over the preceding four chapters to outline these towns different histories.

Chapter 6: Local History or National Phenomenon?

Introduction

The preceding four chapters have outlined the influences behind the development of Bath, Warwick, Blandford and Berwick, the aim of which has been to fully understand each town individually to facilitate this comparison. To compare only the facets of each

town which are comparable would exclude many important aspects which are unique and, by definition, cannot be compared between settlements. From this perspective, it has been important to outline everything of note within each of these settlements as if they were to simply be compared outright, much would be missed.

As many elements which are common between these towns have already been explored, this chapter will seek to examine the facets of these four towns in relation to one another to assess the extent to which they can be classed under the same umbrella of 'regular development' or a 'renaissance' of architecture. This chapter will examine concepts which occur within all four settlements and draw out aspects which show similar patterns of architectural development. While there are similarities, it would be dangerous to over-exaggerate these in order to fit an existing narrative of a uniform national transition towards the use of regular architectural forms. As such, the chapter will be less concerned with specific design features which may, or may not, appear in multiple towns but rather how and why each town adopts these features in comparison to another. It is important to view this chapter as an extension to the other four rather than a conclusory one. Many of the unique elements which facilitate the development of these towns are incomparable, the specific experiences of each architect or master craftsmen for example, yet, the lack of ability for a comparison should not result in the exclusion of this detail; as such, it has been included in the previous four chapters.

The headings for this chapter have been made purposely broad so as to avoid any manipulation of a town's details in order to fit the comparison. Equally, as not every town experiences each aspect outlined below, each heading will not be equally weighted towards each study.

Houses

Regular houses built during this period occupy a corner stone of the regular development of these towns. Through the study of the construction of private houses commissioned by an individual, as well as through speculative building processes, we can gain an insight into how the mind of both the craftsmen and patron viewed a house as a significant part of town life. Within the time-frame, every settlement as part of this study experiences the construction of regular houses for the middling sorts as well as the upper-echelons of society including the landed gentry and members of a town's

elite. From a sociological perspective, all of these towns witness a transition in which regular dwellings are perceived as the most fashionable and the drive towards these forms of architecture, both organically and facilitated by fire, is seen throughout a town's social makeup.

Regardless of location, certain features are central to these designs and, more widely, to what is considered regular architecture. These houses are almost always flat fronted, often symmetrical, with entertaining rooms set facing the street incorporating sash windows and an embellished door case. Beyond these features, much of the external composition, as discussed within each individual study, is largely determined by the available materials and craftsmen's specialisms within each locality. While the transition towards brick is a widespread phenomenon and of significant importance, all of these settlements produce constructions from both brick and stone with both materials at different points seen at the superior to the other; their usage is determined by contrast rather than price.

Beyond key construction materials there are features within houses that highlight a similar thought process. Blandford and Warwick share a plethora of factors on this matter. As both towns experience significant fires and are rebuilt quickly, the sharing of characteristics may not seem surprising, but when the chronological gap of 40 years along with detailed specifics are considered, the similarities are remarkable.

Broadly, both settlements have clear muses from which features are taken and replicated within the towns; Chettle House and Kingston Lacy in Blandford and Honington Hall, Landor House and Market House in Warwick. Given that speed due to a sudden homeless population and sociability were key stimulants, their similar constructions become clear. Remarkably, a specific feature is incorporated within the rebuilding of both towns which is indicative of this mind-set: oversized pilasters. These feature prominently on some of the most significant constructions within both towns as a mark of importance and, in both cases, within each locality there are examples of oversized pilasters being used as a sign of either public or private wealth. Their inclusion is due to a conscious attempt to emulate the features of nearby country residences which, once again, indicates this similar mind-set. This process is telling of the impact that a fire has on the rebuilding of a town because so much is built simultaneously. The result here is a requirement for further nuance in building features to differentiate the houses of the wealthy, the direct stimulus of which are the houses of the gentry.

Both Blandford and Warwick have consistency of regularity but not of uniformity; an aspect central to the architectural development of Bath. Queen Square, Kingsmead Square and Beaufort Square of Bath are some of the most prominent developments in Bath's architecture and are all consistent in their respective designs. The functions of houses in Bath, Blandford and Warwick remain similar but the programmes surrounding their building differ because of the necessity to rebuild after fires on ground already owned by multiple individuals; this is a crucial element lacking in the case of Bath. In both Blandford and Warwick little could be done to change the layout of the town, due to existing rights of ownership, and as such each plot had to be constructed separately in accordance with the respective acts. In Bath's Squares, most noticeably Kingsmead and Queen, land was purchased with express purpose of constructing squares over the course of approximately a decade. Such actions would have been impossible in either Warwick or Berwick as, unlike Bath, houses were needed out of necessity rather than opportunity. This extension of time, seen in Bath, allows for are more detailed approach to be taken to the city's built environment and portrays the importance that necessity of housing has on the architectural landscape.

The organic development of Berwick plays into this same notion of opportunity that is visible in Bath, yet, as the majority of building sites in Berwick are brown field, the attention is only to regularity and not uniformity. Far fewer regular houses are constructed in Berwick during the same period, due to the lack of social importance when compared to Bath, but the opportunity for change comes in the form of renovation to existing houses. The patterned usage of Venetian windows is indicative of a conscious attempt by individuals to replicate regular forms when the opportunity arises rather than out of necessity. Despite being neglected in histories covering a national perspective of regular architecture, there is a clear trend in Berwick's development that lends itself to cities, such as Bath, which stand at the forefront of the architectural transition towards regularity made by the individual.

Noticeable across these studies is the impact of a town's social importance of both house architecture as well as the inclination to change. Bath's social importance in this period outstrips the other three case studies. Yet, Blandford and Warwick are redesigned with aspects of the town's sociability, such as the inclusion of assembly rooms and the removal of unwanted trades from central shops, as a primary influence so as to create this social atmosphere. Berwick never undergoes a comparative process to recreate the centre of the town. Yet, as Kent and Skelton have noted, the thought

process is certainly visible in the 17th century but whether the transition is effectively made by the mid-18th century is questionable.[244]

Between 1660 and 1770, regular houses appear in towns because of their social significance to individuals in a society that is increasingly concerned with fashion and the perception of others. What defines these case studies is the presence of opportunity, in the case of Bath and Berwick, and necessity, in the case of Warwick and Blandford. The notion of necessity is utilised in order to create a town of increased social significance to facilitate what a city such as Bath had created out of opportunity.

Churches

Within all of the case studies analysed, churches are a significant part of the architectural fabric of these towns; especially due to the inclusion of regular features which are so uncommon in the provinces during this period. In all incidences, the specifics of church design or construction are taken out of the hands of those who elsewhere in these towns control much of the development. The exception here is Bath and the construction of St Mary's Chapel in the centre of Queen Square; designed by Wood, this is most likely an anomaly due to Wood's high social stature within the city.

The Church of St Peter and St Paul, in Blandford, was designed by the Bastard brothers but interfered with by the commission. This is despite the heavy connotations to London's city churches made in the Bastards' plans which would have adhered to the contemporary fashion demanded by the town's elite; in fact, the removal of the spire as demanded by the commission, if anything, reduced the stylistic connection to the London City churches. The conclusion to be drawn here is the importance of power, over and above aesthetics, when examining an area of such social importance within a town. Given the influence that George Dodington had on securing the grant for the church's construction, his own penchant for architecture, and strong social standing, the decision to alter the church is likely to have been due to the power of his ability to do so rather than any conscious attempt to alter the fabric towards a certain form.

This same narrative of power is seen heavily in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Berwick. Given the importance of the town geographically in relation to the Jacobite

[244] Lorna, Skelton, 'Material Matters: Improving Berwick-upon-Tweed's Urban Environment, 1551-1603', in Adrian, Green and Barbara, Crosbie, *Economy and Culture in North-East England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2018) p. 114.

uprisings, and the religious connotations thereof, having a church which conformed to the orthodoxy was paramount. From this perspective, the decision by town officials to commission an architect from London, John Young, who based the design on two London churches, created a firm protestant outlook through the medium of architecture. Regardless of what the intention of a demonstration of power is, the churches of Blandford and Berwick are associated through a similar intention to utilise architecture in this way.

St Mary's Church in Warwick presents an interesting blend of influences that are seen elsewhere in this study with regard to churches. Despite not being fully destroyed, an architect not local to Warwick, Sir William Wilson, was commissioned to design the church which was to be rebuilt by the Smiths. Initially, the reasons behind Wilson's involvement here are puzzling. Given the expense dedicated to the rebuilding of the church and the conscious decision not to use a local architect, the natural answer would be to commission the work of a distinguished architect similar to the appointment of John Young in Berwick. However, given Wren's designs for the church also, the decision to go for a lesser architect yet not resort to local craftsmen is peculiar. Both the Smiths and the Hurlbutts had distinguished themselves in the creation of public and private buildings across Warwick, including work to the castle itself, and given Francis Smith's previous experience in designing churches across the county, his lack of input into the designs of Warwick is unusual. Given the similar narratives of Warwick and Blandford, it would be expected that the Smiths would have both designed and built St Marys, yet, this not being the case points to the role of the commission in their heavy handed control over Warwick and a specific programme of development for the Church.

The need for a person of status to redesign St Mary's Church is logical as the Church, after the castle, occupies the secondary focal point of the town with a direct thoroughfare between the two. Despite their skill, these local master craftsmen did not possess the status as more nationally recognised architects. This highlights a similar point that is made towards Berwick which suggests that church architecture, of the studies examined, is not viewed through quality of design in its own right but rather the status of the building is achieved through the architect who designs it. As for the lack of use of Wren's designs, the most likely conclusion is that Wilson had a personal connection to the commission, especially given his midlands focussed work, which granted him this commission out of cronyism and sacrificed the deigns of a superior.

Church designs constitute some of the most important architectural developments within towns and each study analysed pays close attention to who plays a role in the designs perhaps more so than the finished construction. Regardless of the size or social importance of the settlement, an emphasis on power is seen in each case. This is through both a public perception of what architecture is and through interference by those who wish to practice the power which they hold. Owing to the existence of studies which focus purely on the development of church architecture, it is easy to ignore the local context which, in many cases, shapes how these churches are designed and how forms are utilised, in favour of the context granted from examining regular churches across the country. In each of the cases, a town's ecclesiastical architecture is intrinsically tied to the social complexion of that town and it is only by examining this link that the narrative of power which is tied to these churches so closely becomes apparent. Similarly, the relationship between these churches and other buildings, both public and private, visually expressed through the utilisation of the same regular forms, connects the social environment to the religious.

Assembly Rooms

The prevalence of assembly rooms, newly built in this period, and the regular forms utilised within all of the case studies examined is telling of their increased importance socially and architecturally. Although these places of social gathering are more commonly linked to Bath, as an intrinsic part of the city's culture, the principle is the same across the towns. All of these assembly rooms are constructed using regular forms, occupy a position within the centre of the town, and feature a large richly decorative room; notably Bath has multiple of these buildings in comparison to the other towns which, owing to the smaller populations and lack of a comparatively large social culture, feature only one.

Given Bath's distinctiveness here, an interesting comparison can be drawn between the city and the other three towns due to the pre-existing nature of Bath's social culture which differentiates it from the emergence of a social culture within the other towns. By the time of the construction of the first assembly room in the city during the 1720s, Bath's position as a social hub had already, to some extent, been established; this contrasts with the other provincial towns for whom social culture was based around the local gentry rather than, in the case of Bath, travelling members of the elite from

London. This difference is seen clearly in how the case studies respond architecturally with the three towns taking the lead from cities such as Bath as larger social hubs.

Ultimately, in the cases of Berwick, Warwick and Blandford, assembly rooms display architectural differences that contrast them from the surrounding architecture within the centre of the town in order to portray the social importance of these venues aesthetically. This contrasts to Bath where, given the pre-existing social climate, assembly rooms conform to their architectural surroundings as, essentially, there is nothing that needs to be shown through their architectural forms that isn't already established. In essence, the social norms created by Nash are already firmly entrenched in Bath whereas the use of materials in the other three towns, most notably the use of stone rather than brick in the creation of a façade, is used to contrast the visual appearance of assembly rooms to their surroundings.

In the case of Blandford, the corn exchange is positioned in the centre of the town, quite literally at the mid-point of the row of regular facades constructed around the market place after the fire, and is constructed unlike any other building within the town. Principally, the incorporation of open loggia and a stone façade separate the exchange from any other building. Blandford's exchange receives more recorded interference as to its designs than any other construction. If Sir James Thornhill's designs had been followed, the façade would have been heavily enriched with detailing; this shows that if the wants of the commission had been followed, the contrast between the town and assembly room would have been even more significant.

Based on this evidence, the thought process behind the construction of assembly rooms at Blandford and Berwick is similar. The Town Hall at Berwick creates this same contrast to the architecture within the surrounding town and, despite its construction 30 years later, the desire to utilise different forms of regular architecture in order to portray the social importance is the same. Emblematic of this, on both facades the names of the architects are inscribed, along with the date, as the social importance of this architecture leads to a desire, by the architect, for recognition. In Blandford, the Bastard brothers only inscribe their names on the church and The Exchange; equally, despite the Worrall's only designing the Town Hall in Berwick, no other construction features the name of the architect so prominently, including the Barracks which does not feature Hawksmoor's name at all.

The conclusion here is that the association between architect and design is not necessarily based on the forms of architecture used but rather the function of the

building itself. While Warwick follows this trend, despite the Old Court House containing no reference to Francis Smith as part of the façade, the assembly room, while not necessarily unique through its use of stone, is significantly more decorative than other elements of the rebuilding. However, given the further alterations made in 1728 the importance of the building in appearing fashionable and modern to the commission and the town's gentry are made clear similarly through the assembly room's position at the centre of Warwick's high street.

Assembly rooms were one of the most prized aspects of a town's architecture and the various town authorities' attention to how and where they were constructed, along with the architects desire for recognition, shows both their centrality to fashionable town life along with the importance of architecture as a display of this same notion. The architectural nuances of each town hall are, of course, different. Yet, the use of stone in their creation and significant attention to their façade in comparison to other secular constructions within towns shows how the development of regular architecture within assembly rooms was a common process nationally.

Timescale

The periods of time over which these towns witness an architectural transition differs remarkably. Due to their respective fires and the subsequent necessity of housing, Warwick and Blandford have a single short spike of building development in comparison to Bath and Berwick which experience a more gradual development with some larger projects but nothing comparable to the rejuvenation of the entire town in a single episode. Despite these differences, with Berwick experiencing changes over the course of 100 years in comparison to a single decade for Warwick, these processes have, at times, been included under the single umbrella of regular development which has a tendency to ignore the nuance that timescale plays in how a town's built environment changes. The timescale in which a town's architecture develops certainly has an impact on how these towns are formed, yet, despite a wide variety in scale, similar processes are seen indicating the longevity in the appreciation of regular forms.

Warwick, for which the vast majority of the town's architectural development occurred between 1694 and 1704, includes a few key actors which makes tracing the dissemination of forms clear. Given that the Smiths and Hurlbutts had such enormous influence on the choice of forms across Warwick, as well as a well-documented history

of their previous works both in the town and for the landed gentry on its outskirts, a clear link can be drawn from the use of certain forms before the fire to the forms utilised in the town's redevelopment. This link is clear to draw because the short time scale results in the same architects and master craftsmen working on the town's major projects and previous houses which influence the designs used. Fundamentally, because the same people are involved, the connection between the use of forms is pre-existing and, in comparison to other settlements, there is significantly less investigation needed into why the town is rebuilt in a certain way because these links are so clear.

This same notion is true of Blandford. The Bastard brother's pre-existing relationship with the town allows for the tracing of how and why certain forms are utilised to be clear. This clarity is due to the small time scale which allows for the same craftsmen to be used through the rebuilding process thereby creating a visible dissemination of forms from the houses of the gentry, through the Bastard brothers, onto the new houses and buildings of Blandford. The Bastard's work elsewhere for members of the commission is well documented and so, owing to a small timescale, the architectural transition is easy to see.

It is when these processes are compared to those of Berwick and Bath the difficulty of tracing the thought processes behind the utilisation of forms in these latter two towns becomes apparent due to their respective timescales.

Berwick witnesses a huge time span lasting over 100 years within which multiple architects and craftsmen are responsible for the development of the town. For this case study, as far as is known, the architects and master craftsmen responsible for the major projects never interacted with each other nor operated within the same time period. Yet, despite this lack of interaction, and given their minimal association with Berwick more generally, the repetition of architectural themes over this century is significant. As discussed, the Venetian window is a form which is repeated widely throughout Berwick with its first appearance in the town being as part of the Church of the Holy Trinity. By the end of the period, this feature is seen as part of houses across Berwick as well as a feature piece on the rear façade of the Town Hall. Given the lack of continuity with regards to architects, due to the extended time period, it is harder to trace how these features are transmuted from larger projects to houses when different individuals would have been involved throughout the century. The most likely explanation here being that the use of this form was ultimately inspired by the church

and craftsmen working in Berwick began to replicate the Venetian window across the town and, in turn, teaching the construction of this form to the future generation.

This same transition is seen with the close aesthetic connection between the Governor's House and The Vicarage. However, aside from the mechanics, when compared to Warwick and Blandford it becomes clear that his process is just as clear with a single generation of architects as it is with multiple. Put simply, in this case, the same process involving the dissemination of regular forms occurs regardless of the timeframe; moreover, the inclusion of these features throughout this period shows the longevity of their appreciation. The influence behind regular architecture here is externally placed, yet, the dissemination of regular forms throughout the town is a long process facilitated by those working in the locality.

With regards to Berwick, Warwick and Blandford, it is easy to assume that because of Berwick's comparatively long time frame for its architectural development, the processes behind the introduction of regular forms across the town would be different to that of the other two towns. However, because of the longevity in the use of these forms, the timescale does not play as heavy part in the creation of a regular town as it can at first seem.

Given Bath's comparative size and diversity it is easy to distance the city from the other studies, yet, on a base level with its long timescale forms do remain constant throughout despite the range of architects that work within the city. Especially when compared to the dramatic transition from timber framed jettyed houses to regularly built dwellings in towns such as Warwick, the continual use of regular forms with smaller changes to detailed features highlights the continuity of architecture in Bath.

Layout of Towns

The evolution of a town's layout is closely connected to its architecture, however, this change is neither universal nor consistent across the towns in this study. This is, in part, due to how each of these towns develops socially during this period and, in some cases, the lack of ability to change much of a town's plan. The most significant focus of a town's layout is often centrality of public buildings and of the most substantial houses. It is generally assumed that centrality of these buildings matters simply due to the public perception of being close to a town's most important areas: mainly churches and assembly rooms. Yet, on this issue there is a clear dividing line between cases. For

Blandford and Warwick this notion is largely true, a focus on new developments is heavily concerned with centrality, but for both Bath and Berwick, the most fashionable parts of the town are further from the centre. The reasons behind this expand beyond the obvious point that Blandford and Warwick were rebuilt and are concerned more deeply with how projects are viewed by the population of a town. The overriding theme is that, rather than pure centrality, the social importance of a town's districts is determined by what is built rather than where it is.

The redevelopment of Blandford and Warwick during this period into regular towns was revolutionary, but the change to the layout of centre these towns was relatively minimal. Streets were widened and paved, a handful of land plots changed hands, but unlike the physical fabric which changed dramatically, the layout remained consistent. The existence of fashionable trades in the centre before the fires shows that the rebuilding process created an image to surround a social environment that already, partially at least, existed. While architecture and fashionable society are clearly linked, the latter has to exist before the former. Similarly, the areas of these two towns that become fashionable are already so before their fires. Centrality is not the sole motivation.

Comparatively, the development of Bath sees the outskirts, further away from the Cathedral and assembly rooms, becoming the most fashionable area of the city with the construction of Queen Square, The Circus and The Royal Crescent during this period. John Wood converts a green field site, owned by Robert Gay, into one of the most sociable areas of Bath by the mid 1700s. This transition, given the location outside of Bath, indicates that centrality is superseded by resident's perception of a location. A similar notion is seen in Berwick where the largest houses, with the most ornate features, in the town are positioned on the quay walls rather than in the centre. When the Town Hall is built, perceived from an outside perspective as a fashionable centre piece, it is met with disapproval locally as the role of the centre of Berwick geographically is misunderstood.

With regards to how a town's layout develops, the use of the term 'archetypal' is at times unhelpful and damaging. The fact that Warwick and Blandford, as two towns built in a short space of time during this period, demonstrate aspects of fashionable society through the central location of houses and fashionable trades, does not mean that this mind-set is nationally accepted.

The Gentry

Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the case studies is the level of gentry involvement in a town's design along with the forms that this interference took. Each of these towns is shaped by how the gentry interact with it and the purpose that architecture plays in this interaction. While there is little to gain from contrasting the individual experiences of each town, due to the unique nature of each situation, there are aspects of a town's development which are increasingly prevalent when there is an increased gentry presence. Out of the case studies examined, Bath, by sheer numbers, would have the most members of the gentry living within the city, however, the towns of Warwick and Blandford are heavily sculpted by the members of the gentry who sat on the rebuilding commissions following the fires. Equally, the significance of the Barracks and Church at Berwick is the result of gentry interference in order to politicise the architecture of a border town. The gentry influence on these towns is significant for social reasons and this power shapes their architectural development.

The role of the gentry in Bath is all encompassing and its development is inconceivable without their influence. As a member of this society himself, John Wood designs the houses of Queen Square for members of the gentry and, as such, the houses themselves have to conform to the elite's perception of a fashionable society. Similarly, the existence of Squares as spaces for public interaction are designed as they are a necessary part of a sociable town. To this extent, Bath, when compared to the other case studies, changes the role that architecture has to play in social development. In Warwick, Blandford and Berwick aspects of architecture are influenced by the gentry in order to facilitate a transition towards a fashionable provincial town; in Bath, the mind-set of a fashionable society is more heavily pre-existing and so architecture is not needed to facilitate a transition but rather conform to a change that has already occurred. This is visible through the creation of larger uniform developments rather than individual plots; the idea of a fashionable society is understood by the population of Bath resulting in regularity and uniformity rather than solely the former.

Bath is built out of social desire rather than a necessity for change; an aspect which is seen through the repeated structure of houses throughout these squares which cater for the gentry and emphasise status.

Comparatively, the gentry influence on Warwick is more focussed on a single individual, Lord Brooke, as well as on creating a transition towards a fashionable society rather than simply abiding by any pre-existing notion of one. Borsay's term for

Warwick as an 'antechamber' to the castle is a unique facet to this case study. The town is shaped by Lord Brooke's desire for status. Any embellishments approved of outside of public buildings, largely those on Market Cross, fulfil this need. The gentry opposition to any embellishments or protrusions to houses through the Rebuilding Act shows an added level to the social distinction between regularity and uniformity that differs from Bath; Lord Brook's ambition for Warwick was to create a fashionable society that is associated with the castle rather than one where he is forced to compete. As revolutionary as the Rebuilding Act is in creating a regular fabric for the town, at the same time it prevents the creation of a society akin to that of Bath where the social echelons of the elite are more closely linked.

Warwick's early transition towards a regular town is overwhelmingly controlled by one man and while this is not to detract the importance that is found in the work by the Smiths and Hurlbutts, with regards to gentry influence, this is a unique situation which separates the impact that this social change has on a in Bath in comparison to Warwick.

While the visual similarities between Blandford and Warwick are notable, there is a distinct difference within how the members of the gentry act on the respective building commissions. While Warwick is centred around the needs of Lord Brooke, Blandford has no such equivalent. As the town is not attached to a specific title, nor does it have a strong pre-existing social culture, the gentry influence is more piecemeal than Warwick or Bath. The rebuilding act at Blandford is weaker than that of Warwick with the only major input from the members of the commission, aside from general land disputes, being Thornhill's designs for the Corn Exchange and the removal of the spire on the church. This makes clear that high levels of gentry influence occur when what is being created is reflective of an individual rather than of a town as a whole. The town houses of Bath's squares are reflective of an individual's status, similarly Warwick as a town is reflective of Brooke's regional dominance, the lack of a similar influence in Blandford leads to a comparatively weaker rebuilding commission and lack of concern for anything outside the direct sphere of the gentry: private houses.

Within the public sphere also, there are strong similarities between Blandford and Warwick with both towns displaying a transition towards fashionable society with the building of an assembly room and the creation of squares for social interaction. These actions are controlled by the commission which is largely dominated by gentry influence. As a county town, the commission's drive to create a fashionable

environment in Warwick is more understandable that of Blandford, especially given the existence of larger towns close by, yet those who were seemingly most active on the commission lived closest to the town. While towns such as Salisbury and Poole may have attracted more attention from the gentry, Blandford's proximity to estates including Chettle House and Kingston Lacy warranted gentry attention similar, but not as intense, as that provided by Lord Brooke for Warwick.

Berwick's political importance, rather than purely social, as a defensive boarder town separates its gentry influence from the other case studies. The use of regular architecture as part of the Barracks is a political display of power, endorsed by the gentry who sat on the ordinance board, with utilitarianism in mind rather than aesthetics; this notion is epitomised through the removal of many of the features present on Hawksmoor's original designs which would have been common place on buildings of social importance. With reference to the other large architectural works within Berwick, the influence of the gentry creates a medium between a political display and adhering to the social norms of society that had formed in the south by 1760. The Town Hall is designed by a London Architect, directly modelled on one of London's most iconic buildings, and is oversized for its location. The incentive here is to insert a social presence into Berwick where it was comparatively lacking; the irony is that the Town Hall removed a large part of the central square. By using London based architects and London based architecture, the political message of Berwick being tied firmly to England is made unsubtly clear. The same notion is seen one hundred years earlier with, as Richard Pears argues, with the construction of the Church of the Holy Trinity.[245]

Although Berwick's situation here is certainly unique, the crossing of its social development with its political importance shows how regular architecture is adapted for two purposes which seem disparate. Through gentry influence, Berwick is important in demonstrating that regular architecture is not only utilised as a positive force for creating social environments, but as a symbol of military strength also, and most significantly, both within the same town.

Given the time period that these case studies are analysed in, the influence of the gentry on these settlements was, and is known to be, dramatic. Yet, the nuance of how this influence manifests itself is unique to each town depending on its own social

[245] Richard, Pears, 'Battle of the Styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England', *Architectural History*, Vol. 55 (2012)

make-up and while it is easy to characterise this under a single umbrella of an attempt to create a fashionable society nationally, in reality, the phenomenon is not this clear cut. Although Berwick, Blandford, Warwick and Bath all share broad similarities of influence, these aspects are either relatively few in specifics and only many if a broad focus on 'fashionable society' is all that one wishes to prove.

Role of the Master Craftsmen and Architect

The role of the master craftsmen and architect in the construction of these towns is a central feature to their architectural development. Individual talents of craftsmen shape these towns and the dominance that they hold over much of the work undertaken, largely through social or family connections, often leads to their untampered designs being made manifest.[246] In the cases Bath, Blandford and Warwick there are a few individuals who dominate the architectural landscape in each case; in many instances providing a blueprint for what is created in future decades. While the importance of craftsmen and architects is well understood within historiography as a wider phenomenon of this period, a direct comparison of these cases studies highlights how varying levels of competition and influence within settlements, as well as the social make-up of the settlements themselves, drastically alters the extent to which this can been seen as a process of a combined urban renaissance. Perhaps most importantly, the nuance between craftsmen and architect which is explored in great detail by Colvin.[247]

The individual role of the craftsmen in these studies is largely unrestrained with the exception of a few specific architectural requirements that have been discussed. While the use of forms does naturally vary, so too does the understanding behind this usage cementing the premise that use of regular forms does not always equate to an understanding of regular architecture. The connection between the craftsmen and the architecture, and the reasons behind why the latter is utilised by the former, is a link often overlooked and assumed. Questioning this link draws the exact role of the craftsmen into discussion in examining why, out of a plethora of design options, certain forms are utilised. The conclusions of this question shed light on the relationship and

[246] McKellar, Elizabeth, *The Birth of Modern London* (MUP, London, 1999), pp. 93-110.
[247] Howard, Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1660-1840* (Yale University Press: London, 2008), pp. 22-39.

understanding between the designer and the finished design. This same discussion is had in further detail by McKellar with regards to London.[248]

John Wood, the elder, is the most renowned 'architect' of this study and, unlike others, it is only ever the term 'architect' that is used to refer to his profession rather than 'surveyor-architect', 'master craftsmen and architect', or 'master builder'. On a basic level of vocabulary, the pure use of the term 'architect' suggests a deep knowledge of design when compared to the language surrounding the term 'craftsmen' that is used for its artisanal connotations. Although an understanding of architecture is subjective, Wood's grounding of his works in historical significance, as shown through his own writings, draws a clear link of understanding between the architect and the utilisation of regular forms. Wood's designs consist of a clear progression of thought based in the historical significance of Bath, and the city's architectural notoriety, the ideology of which is intrinsically tied to his designs through his use of forms. The use of Druid symbolism around Queen Square shows Wood's understanding of Bath's history and the importance of symbolism in his works. Wood's choices here show how he sees the role of an architect in creating physical representations of the city's importance through architecture.

Ultimately, it is John Wood's obsession with history that leads to his individual use of forms across Bath and his contribution to the built environment of the city is based in understanding. As such, Wood sees his role as making history manifest.

Within provincial towns, and when compared to other architects within Bath, this standpoint is certainly unique. The works of John Strahan are far more akin to the other cases as part of this study. Strahan's works lack any of Wood's Druid symbolism, but conform to the precedent of uniformity and regularity that grew throughout Bath. Strahan's squares are concerned less with symbolism than with the changing behaviour of society, aspects explored architecturally by Louw and Brown, and the economics behind speculative building. Strahan conformed his designs to what was required by those who would purchase these houses, not an attachment to Bath's history. This attitude makes these works easily comparable to others within this study as the specifics of Wood's vision can easily cloud how his designs conform to any national architectural developments.

[248] McKellar, Elizabeth, *The Birth of Modern London* (MUP, London, 1999), pp. 138-152.

Outside of Bath, the role of the architect or master craftsmen changes significantly with both the Smiths of Warwick and the Bastard brothers of Blandford occupying a similar position. Although the Smiths were dominant in their own locality, both in Warwick and the Midlands, there is little to suggest that an admiration for ancient principles, akin to those of Wood, played a part in the process of their designs. Within the major buildings of Warwick, features of regularity are replicated based upon their aesthetics and their growing attachment to what is deemed a 'fashionable' society. There is a clear link between the increased use of the orders, architrave and door cases on houses within the town that are occupied by those who are of higher status, yet little to indicate that these features are consciously linked to any historical understanding.

To focus on a specific element of design, a feature element of the Smith's works, appearing both before and after the restrictions of the Fire Court, are over-sized pilasters. These are included as they are seen as major elements of fashionable architecture; included on public and private buildings alike, their inclusion is the result of necessity to demonstrate that Warwick is a socially accepted town. Their inclusion here indicates the role of the Smith's, as master craftsmen and architects, to create a town that adheres to the constraints of modern fashionable society. The Smith's own understanding of these forms is tenuous, with the choice of order use seemingly dependent on the funds available. Yet, this drive towards a modern town originates in the commission rather than in the beliefs of the architect. This presents a stark contrast to Bath where the works of Wood and Strahan were designed speculatively and simply would not have been bought or rented if they did not conform to contemporary tastes. The lack of complete free reign, owing to the control of the Fire Court, has already been discussed, but features which are allowed, such as those on Market Cross, are included in order to conform to the dictates of fashion, not due to the historical significance of the architectural form.

This is a significant distinction between Wood and the Smiths. Wood's architecture is based on Bath's history whereas the Smiths are concerned with fitting Warwick into a larger idea of a fashionable society: the key difference being that Bath already has the status by the dates of Wood's projects, Warwick does not.

The role of the Bastards in Blandford is akin to the Smiths in Warwick. The role of the architect is to create a fashionable society and architecture is the medium. More apparent in Blandford, when compared to Warwick, is the extent to which features are mimicked so closely from country houses showing how opinions on architecture evolve

through a perception of societal status. Adding depth to a similar argument made with regards to Warwick, the inclusion of features, in this case in-turning volutes, which appear as part of Chettle House and across Blandford is a direct acknowledgment that local country houses are part of the inspiration behind Blandford's architecture. The Bastards' role in Blandford, in comparison to the other case studies, is all encompassing. All of the major developments following the fire are designed by them and the end result is a town that displays the craftsmen's talents on the private buildings and the commission's desires on the public ones. Interestingly, the Smith's work on 10 Market Place Warwick contains, following the restrictions of the Fire Act, similar features to that of the Bastard's private houses in Blandford including the use of over-sized pilasters, heavy cornice and eared window architraves. These similarities show how important local power dynamics are on the work of craftsmen and how essential this context is in an understanding of local architectural development.

Berwick's combination of designs from a variety of architects and craftsmen, spanning such a long period, results in the lack of a coherent role for these individuals to take in this scenario. Berwick's development is gradual and, prior to the 1720s, few changes are made which could be considered efforts in a transition towards a 'fashionable' society. The work of John Young and Nicholas Hawksmoor, while utilising regular forms, is purpose driven. These architects are commissioned for projects in Berwick despite little evidence that either frequently visited the town or ever did so. The role of the architect here is to provide an outside influence in each setting; largely through an imitation of London. So unlike the other cases in this study, the role of the architect is detached from the town itself, likely intentionally, and use that external influence to alter the town's political fabric. In the case of The Church of the Holy Trinity this is to instil protestant sentiment behind the architecture used and, in the case of the Town Hall, to replicate London's architecture to symbolically create a similar social impact.

The role that an architect or master craftsmen plays in the creation of a building is not limited to simply the designs and the finished product; similarly, the development of regular architecture is not only focussed on what forms are utilised but also why they are utilised. Given the repetition of popular forms across England, most commonly aspects including sash windows and door cases, their inclusion can give the false impression that the mind-set and intention behind their designs are alike. More accurately, as these case studies have shown, the utilisation of forms can remain

constant while the mind-set can vary. The roles that these individuals play within a locality are central to the development of regular forms but the reasons behind their implementation differ and to combine these two factors as a one under the umbrella of a single national phenomenon is to misunderstand why this development occurs.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to assess whether the development of regular forms can and should be viewed as a national phenomenon by examining how this transition occurs in four separate cases followed by a comparison to test this notion. The layout of this thesis by case, rather than by theme, has sought to provide complete detail so not to ignore facets of a settlement's development that may have previously been overlooked. As such, each of the cases examined has shown detail which does not fit into the notion of a smooth emergence of regular forms equally across the country.

Each of these settlements, by 1770, contains a plethora of regular forms which allows for this transition to be viewed as national. Yet, the forms themselves differ significantly and often to such an extent that a direct comparison is not useful. Despite a national transition, the influence is local. The broader characteristics of these forms are the result of a national change clearly based in the town house architecture of London; forms which are ultimately derived, and modified from, Palladianism. However, many of the forms which come to dominate a settlement's architecture are established through local actors, operating in a close proximity, from which both trades and tastes continue for decades. The impetus behind the use of specific forms within houses of the middling sorts provincially are derived from the locality. The notion of a national transition is not inaccurate, regular forms certainly emerge on a national scale,

but the connotations of a uniform transition towards the same forms is misleading as it suggests the existence of a national mind-set.

There is little to suggest that a widespread understanding of the historical precedence behind regular forms is held nationally. The inclusion of regular forms, as has been discussed by others, occurs due to processes of social emulation, yet, the variety of forms which are seen in England show that there is no single interpretation of what regular forms are. The difference between the origin of a form and the reasons for its inclusion need to be stressed. While, the introduction of a form into the locality can be tied to an idea of Palladianism, the same cannot be said of the continuous replication of a form within that area. The understanding behind the architecture in this study is largely one of emulation and not a conscious attempt to replicate classicism.

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