

Colen Campbell and the Preparatory Drawings for
Vitruvius Britannicus

Two Volumes

VOLUME I

Text

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ABSTRACT

Colen Campbell (c.1676-1729) is remembered for his contribution to English architecture in the early eighteenth century, and most notably for his authorship of three volumes of the architectural book *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In recent interpretations, Campbell's part in this venture has been called into question, assigning him the role of a mere draughtsman, only promoted to author due to circumstantial pressures.

This thesis aims to contribute to the existing scholarly work by taking into consideration the drawings for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which have hitherto remained understudied. These drawings will be used as the basis for my investigation of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I also supply the first *catalogue raisonné* of these drawings.

Across five chapters, I trace the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in the order in which it occurred. This chronology is reflected in the structure of my thesis. Chapter I sets out the provenance of the Campbell drawings and investigates their purpose and technique, both in the categories of drawing for building and drawing for engraving. Chapter II presents the origins of the designs included by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Chapter III investigates possible origins of the book in Scotland, by looking at three disparate individuals who may have provided Campbell with graphic material or skills needed for the production. In addition, visual material Campbell certainly utilised when in London is analysed. Chapter IV considers the accuracy of the source material which Campbell adopted, drawing on specific remaining examples. Chapter V deals with the final stage of production, the transformation of the drawings to engravings. The engraver for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Henry Hulsbergh, is investigated, as is another, unidentified, engraver who assisted in the production of volume I.

I present a challenge to the recent interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and add to the existing understanding of the role which Campbell played in the production. I develop a hitherto unexplored interpretation of the genesis of the book, emphasising Campbell's own Scottish origins, and promote the view that he was instrumental in the conceptualisation of its production from the earliest stages.

CONTENTS PAGE

VOLUME I

List of Plates	5
List of Abbreviations	14
Acknowledgements	15
Author's Declaration	16
Introduction	17
Introduction	17
Nationalistic Context	18
Precedents for <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	21
Historiography	28
Methodology	36
1: The Draughtsmanship of the Campbell Collection	39
1.1: Introduction	39
1.2: Provenance	39
1.3: Drawings: Purpose and Technique	45
1.3.1: Drawing for Building	47
1.3.2: Drawing for Engraving	52
1.4: Drawings by Other Architects in the Campbell Collection (CC Works)	55
1.5: James Gibbs and the Drawings for <i>A Book of Architecture</i>	57
1.6: Conclusion	60
2: The Source of the Designs Part 1: <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>: Contents and Contributors	62
2.1: Introduction	62
2.2: Information from <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	63
2.2.1: The Introduction of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	64
2.2.2: The Title Page of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	66
2.2.3: The Description of Plates in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	68
2.3: Sources of Design	54
2.3.1: Drawings from Other Architects	70
2.3.2: Previously Published Engravings	70
2.3.3: Designs by Inigo Jones and John Webb	77
2.3.4: Campbell's Own Designs	79
2.3.5: Supplied by Patron of the Building	82
2.3.6: Descriptions Difficult to Categorise	83
2.4: Ordering of the Plates in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	85
2.5: Conclusion	88

3: The Source of the Designs Part 2: A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism Revisited	89
3.1: Introduction	89
3.2: Available Scottish Skills and Resources	90
3.2.1: James Smith	91
3.2.2: Alexander Edward	94
3.2.3: Captain John Slezer	98
3.3: Evidence from the Preparatory Drawing Collection	102
3.4: Conclusion	112
4: The Accuracy of the Plates in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	114
4.1: Introduction	114
4.2: The Likelihood of Survey	115
4.3: Paper-to-Paper Publication	119
4.3.1: Grimsthorpe Elevation (Drawings by Other Architects)	119
4.3.2: St Philip' Church, Birmingham (Previously Published Engravings)	121
4.3.3: Newby Park and Rolls House (Campbell's Own Designs)	123
4.4: Implication of the Involvement of Other Architects	128
4.4.1: Idealised Designs Provided by Other Architects	130
4.4.2: Cholmondeley Hall and Eastbury House	131
4.4.3: Castle Howard Plans	133
4.4.4: Drawings not adopted by Campbell	134
4.5: Conclusion	135
5: The Production of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> from drawing to engraving	137
5.1: Introduction	137
5.2: The Engraving Process	138
5.3: Transformation from Drawing to Engraving	140
5.4: The Engravers Involved in Production of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	148
5.5: Henry Hulsbergh's Involvement in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	152
5.6: Conclusion	155
Conclusion	157
Catalogue of Drawings for <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	
VB I) Volume I	164
VB II) Volume II	204
Bibliography	242

VOLUME II
Plates

LIST OF PLATES

All drawings are from the RIBA Prints and Drawings Collection except where stated.

Where relevant, the catalogue numbers are provided in the text alongside the plate number.

Plate numbers on this list are marked in bold in the text of this thesis.

1. Proof Engraving of *Title Page*, VB I.
2. Proof Engraving of *Dedication Page*, VB I.
3. *St Paul's Cathedral, London*, General Plan: 1A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 3
4. *St Paul's Cathedral, London*, West Elevation: 1B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 4
5. *St Peter's Church, Rome*, General Plan: 2A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 5
6. *St Peter's Church, Rome*, Elevation: 2B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 6
7. *St Peter's Church, Rome*, Section: 2C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 7
8. *Proposed Design for a Church at Lincoln's Inn Fields*, General Plan: 3A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 8
9. *Proposed Design for a Church at Lincoln's Inn Fields*, Elevation: 3B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 9
10. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham*, General Plan: 4A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 10
11. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham*, Elevation: 4B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 11
12. *Banqueting House, London*, General Plan and Section: 5A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 12
13. *Banqueting House, London*, General Elevation: 5B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 13
14. *The Queen's House, London*, Plans: 6A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 14
15. *The Queen's House, London*, Elevation: 6B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 15
16. *The Gallery of Somerset House, London*, Elevation: 7A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 16
17. *Gunnersbury House, Middlesex*, Plans: 8A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 17
18. *Gunnersbury House, Middlesex*, Elevation: 8B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 18
19. *Proposed Design for the Duke of Argyll*, Plans: 9A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 19
20. *Proposed Design for the Duke of Argyll*, Elevation: 9B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 20
21. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme I*, Plan: 10A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 21
22. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme I*, Elevation: 10B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 22
23. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II*, Plan: 10C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 23

24. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II*, Elevation: 10D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 24-25
25. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II*, Section: 10E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 26
26. *Wanstead House, Essex*, Plan and Elevation of Garden House: 10F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 27
27. *Proposed Design for Earl of Halifax*, Plan: 11A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 28
28. *Proposed Design for Earl of Halifax*, Elevation: 11B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 29-30
29. *Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire and Burlington House, London*, Plans: 12A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 31
30. *Burlington House, London*, Elevation: 12B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 32
31. *Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire*, Elevation: 13A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 33
32. *Montagu House, London*, Plan: 14A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 34
33. *Montagu House, London*, Elevation: 14B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 35
34. *Montagu House, London*, Elevation: 14C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 36
35. *Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire*, Plan: 15A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 37
36. *Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire*, Elevation: 15B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 38
37. *Marlborough House, London*, Plan: 16A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 39
38. *Marlborough House, London*, Elevation: 16B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 40
39. *Powis House, London*, Plan: 17A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 41
40. *Powis House, London*, Elevation: 17B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 42
41. *Stoke Edith House, Herefordshire*, Plan: 18A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 45
42. *Stoke Edith House, Herefordshire*, Elevation: 18B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 46
43. *Kings Weston, Gloucestershire*, Plans: 19A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 47
44. *Kings Weston, Gloucestershire*, Elevation: 19B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 48
45. *Lindsey House, London*, Plans: 20A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 49
46. *Lindsey House, London*, Elevation: 20B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 50
47. *Wilbury House, Wiltshire*, Plan: 21A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 51
48. *Wilbury House, Wiltshire*, Elevation: 21B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 52
49. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Islay*, Plans: 22A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 53
50. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Islay*, Elevation: 22B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 54
51. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Plan: 23A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 62
52. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Plan: 23B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 56
53. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Plan: 23C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 57-58

54. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Elevation: 23D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 59-60
55. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Elevation: 23E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 61
56. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire*, Elevation: 23F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 55
57. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Plan: 24A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 63
58. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Plan: 24B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 64
59. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Elevation/Plan: 24C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 65-66
60. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Elevation: 24D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 67-68
61. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Elevation: 24E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 69-70
62. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Section: 24F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 71
63. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Plan: 25A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 72
64. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Plan: 25B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 73
65. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Plan: 25C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 74
66. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Elevation: 25D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 75
67. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Elevation: 25E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 76
68. *James Johnston's House, Middlesex*, Plans and Elevation: 26A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 77
69. *Escot House, Devonshire*, Plans: 27A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 78
70. *Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation: 27B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 79
71. *Roehampton House, Surrey*, Plans: 28A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 80
72. *Roehampton House, Surrey*, Elevation: 28B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 81
73. *Greenwich Hospital, London*, Plan: 29A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 82-83
74. *Greenwich Hospital, London*, Elevation: 29B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 84-85
75. *Greenwich Hospital, London*, Elevation: 29C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 86-87
76. *Greenwich Hospital, London*, Elevation: 29D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 88-89
77. *Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire*, Plan: 30A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 90
78. *Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire*, Elevation: 30B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 91
79. *Wentworth Castle (Stainborough), Yorkshire*, Plan: 31A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 92
80. *Wentworth Castle (Stainborough), Yorkshire*, Elevation: 31B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 93-94
81. *Proposed Design for Lord Percival*, Plan: 32A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 95
82. *Proposed Design for Lord Percival*, Elevation: 32B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 96-97
83. *Easton Neston, Northamptonshire*, Plan: 33A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 98

84. *Easton Neston, Northamptonshire*, Elevation: 33B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 99-100
85. *Whitehall Palace, London*, Plan: 34A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 2-3
86. *Whitehall Palace, London*, Elevation: 34B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 4-7
87. *Whitehall Palace, London*, Elevation: 34C (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 8-11
88. *Whitehall Palace, London*, Elevation: 34D (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 12-15
89. *Whitehall Palace, London*, Elevation: 34E (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 16-19
90. *Covent Garden, London*, Plan and Elevation: 35A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 20
91. *Covent Garden, London*, Elevation: 35B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 21-22
92. *Royal Exchange, London*, Plan: 36A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 23
93. *Royal Exchange, London*, Elevation: 36B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 24-25
94. *Bow Steeple, London*, Plan: Section and Elevation: 37A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 26
95. *Proposed Design for a Church in the Vitruvian Style*, Plan and Longitudinal Elevation: 38A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 27
96. *York Stairs, London*, Plan and Elevation: 39A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 28
97. *Cobham Hall, Kent*, Plans: 40A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 29
98. *Cobham Hall, Kent*, Elevation: 40B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 30
99. *Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire*, Plan: 41A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 31
100. *Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 41B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 32
101. *Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 41C (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 33
102. *Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 41D (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 34
103. *Eaton Hall, Cheshire*, Plan: 42A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 35
104. *Eaton Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 42B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 36
105. *Belton Hall, Cheshire*, Plan: 43A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 37
106. *Belton Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 43B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 38
107. *Highmeadow Hall, Gloucestershire*, Plans: 44A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 39
108. *Highmeadow Hall, Gloucestershire*, Elevation: 44B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 40
109. *Proposed Design for Tobias Jenkyns*, Plan: 45A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 41
110. *Proposed Design for Tobias Jenkyns*, Elevation: 45B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 42
111. *Beddington Place, Surrey*, Plans: 46A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 43
112. *Beddington Place, Surrey*, Elevation: 46B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 44

113. *Beddington Place, Surrey*, Elevation: 46C (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 45
114. *Sunbury House, Surrey*, Plan and Elevation: 47A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 46
115. *Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire*, Plan and Elevation: 48A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 47
116. *Epsom House, Surrey*, Plans: 49A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 48
117. *Epsom House, Surrey*, Elevation: 49B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 49
118. *Melville House, Fife*, Plan and Elevation: 50A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 50
119. *Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow*, Plans and Elevation: 51A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 51
120. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset*, Plan: 52A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 52
121. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation: 52B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 53
122. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation: 52C (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 54
123. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation: 52D (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 55
124. *Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire*, Plans and Elevation: 53A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 56
125. *Hampton Court, Herefordshire*, Plan: 54A (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 57
126. *Hampton Court, Herefordshire*, Elevation: 54B (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 58
127. *Shobden Court, Herefordshire*, Elevation: 55A, (c.1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 60
128. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Plans: 56A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 61-62
129. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Elevation: 56B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 61-62
130. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Room Section: 56C (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 64
131. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Elevation: 56D (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 65
132. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Elevation and Plan of Stable: 56E (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 66
133. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Plan and Elevation of Great Gate: 56F (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 67
134. *Longleat House, Wiltshire*, Plans: 57A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 68-69
135. *Longleat House, Wiltshire*, Elevation: 57B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 68-69
136. *Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire*, Plan: 58A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 70
137. *Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire*, Elevation: 58B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 71-72

138. *Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire*, Elevation: 58C (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 73-74
139. *Hopetoun House, West Lothian*, Plan: 59A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 75
140. *Hopetoun House, West Lothian*, Elevation: 59B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 76-77
141. *Lowther Castle, Westmorland*, Plan: 60A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 78
142. *Lowther Castle, Westmorland*, Elevation: 60B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 79-80
143. *Bramham Park, Yorkshire*, Plan and Elevation: 61A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 81-82
144. *Proposed Design for Robert Walpole*, Plan and Elevation: 62A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 83-84
145. *Chevening House, Kent*, Plans and Elevation: 63A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 85
146. *Proposed Design for Secretary Stanhope*, plan and Elevation: 64A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 86
147. *Hotham House, Yorkshire*, Plan and Elevation: 65A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 87
148. *Hedworth House, Chester le Street*, Plan and Elevation: 66A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 88
149. *Proposed Design for Secretary Methuen*, Plans: 67A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 89
150. *Proposed Design for Secretary Methuen*, Elevation: 67B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 90
151. *Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire and Witham House, Somerset*, Plans: 68A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 91
152. *Witham House, Somerset*, Elevation: 68B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 92
153. *Dyrham House, Gloucestershire*, Elevation: 69A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 93
154. *Newbold Hall, Warwickshire*, Elevation: 70A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 94
155. *Althorp House, Northamptonshire*, Plans: 71A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 95
156. *Althorp House, Northamptonshire*, Elevation: 71B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 96-97
157. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Cadogan*, Plans: 72A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 98

158. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Cadogan*, Plans: 72B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 99-100
159. *Haigh Hall, Lancashire*, Birds-eye View (1709), *Britannia Illustrata*, Pl 55.
160. *Vaux le Vicomte, Maincy, France*, Plan (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'
161. *Vaux le Vicomte, Maincy, France*, Elevation (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'
162. *Faubourg Ste- Germain, Paris*, Birds-eye view (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'
163. *Sale Advertisement, London Evening Post, 30 December 1732*, British Library 17th and 18th century Burney collection newspapers online
164. *Sale Advertisement, Daily Journal, 13 January 1733*, Burney collection
165. *Proposed Design for a Town House*, Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1718), YCBA
166. *Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London*, Site Plan (c. 1718)
167. *H Shaped House in Landscape*, Survey and Exploratory drawing (date unknown)
168. *Goodwood House, Surrey*, Plan and Elevation, Preliminary Drawing (c. 1724)
169. *Goodwood House, Surrey*, Elevation, Presentation Drawing (c. 1724)
170. *Proposed Design for the Fifty New Church Commission*, Plan and Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1712)
171. *Lowther Castle, Westmoreland*, Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1725), YCBA
172. *Stamp Brookbank's House, Hackney, London*, Room Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1728)
173. *Leyton Grange, Essex*, Elevation, Drawing for Engraving (c. 1725)
174. *St Martin in the Fields, London*, Elevation and Section, Drawing for engraving, James Gibbs for *A Book of Architecture*, Ashmolean Museum (I-14a and b)
175. *Proposal Page for the Five Orders of Architecture*, (1707) John James, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, ECCO
176. *Title Page of Rules and Examples of Perspective*, (1707) John James, ECCO
177. *Title Page of A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture*, (1708) John James, ECCO (1708)
178. *Thirlstane Castle, Berwickshire*, Elevation and Plans, *Theatrum Scotiae*, National Library of Scotland Online (1693)
179. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire*, Elevation (c. 1725) Office of Sir John Vanbrugh
180. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire*, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1725)
181. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, Pl 13
182. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham*, Original Engraving (1710), Henry Hulsbergh after Thomas Archer

183. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham*, Engraving, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 11
184. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire*, Plan (c. 1725) Attributed to William Etty
185. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire*, Elevation (c. 1725), Attributed to William Etty
186. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire*, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1725)
187. *Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London*, Plan, Presentation drawing (c. 1718)
188. *Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London*, Plans, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Pl 44
189. *Proposed Design for a Person of Quality in Dorsetshire/Somersetshire*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 53
190. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation, Drawing for Engraving (c. 1725)
191. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation, Presentation drawing (date unknown), Office of Sir John Vanbrugh, Victoria and Albert Museum
192. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, Pl 17
193. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Variant Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 64
194. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Plan Principal Floor, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 63
195. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 64
196. *Roehampton House, Surrey*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 81
197. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Halifax*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 29-30
198. *Montagu House, London*, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 34
199. *St Peter's, Rome*, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 5
200. *Greenwich Hospital, London*, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 82-83
201. *Witham House, Somerset*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* II, Pl 92.
202. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 75
203. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 76
204. *Cholmondeley House, Cheshire*, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1717) detail from (VB II-41D, **102**)
205. *Proposed Design for a Church in the Vitruvian Style*, Elevation, drawing for engraving (c. 1717) detail from (VB I-38A, **95**)
206. *Burlington House, London*, Elevation, drawing for engraving (c. 1715), detail of dormer Window (VB I-12B, **30**) and elevation, engraving *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 32
207. *Queen's House, London*, Elevation, Detail of scale bar (VB I-6B, **15**)
208. *Queen's House, London*, Elevation, Detail of scale bar, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 15
209. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham*, Plan, Detail of Variant Scale bar, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl. 11
210. *Marlborough House, London*, Plan, detail, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 39
211. *Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl. 79

212. *Escot House, Devonshire and Burlington House, London*, Elevation, details of dormer windows, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 32 and Pl 79
213. *Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation, detail of balustrade, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 79
214. *Banqueting House, London*, Elevation, detail of balustrade, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 13
215. *Design for Duke of Argyll and Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation, detail of cast shadow, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 20 and Pl 79
216. *Eaton Hall, Cheshire*, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus* II, Pl 35 (1717)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects, London
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven
CC Works	Colen Campbell's Office Drawings.
VB I and II	Colen Campbell's Preparatory Drawings for volumes I and II of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> .

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I have read and understood the University of York guidelines on plagiarism and declare that this dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

INTRODUCTION

COLEN CAMPBELL AND THE PREPARATORY DRAWINGS FOR *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

INTRODUCTION

This thesis reconsiders the early architectural career of the Scottish architect Colen Campbell (1676-1729) and his involvement with *Vitruvius Britannicus*.¹ Each chapter considers a different part of the production process of this landmark publication in order to provide a fuller understanding of Campbell's role, and to challenge the existing interpretations of the genesis of this celebrated architectural book. Throughout this thesis I make extensive use of the collection of drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which were discovered in 1966 and are now held at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. These drawings have not been studied in any depth previously.

Vitruvius Britannicus is considered to be the most iconic British architectural book of the eighteenth century, and is generally understood to be a manifesto of the new Palladian taste of Lord Burlington and his followers. As John Summerson famously asked, 'How and when did this new taste appear? To answer this question we must take our bearings from two important books, the first volumes of which appeared in 1715.'² Summerson was referring to *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Giacomo Leoni's translation of Andrea Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*. In the ensuing years the Office of Works, led by Sir Christopher Wren (1669-1718), was pushed aside in favour of a circle instigated by Lord Burlington (1718 onwards).³

¹ Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 3 vols (London, 1715, 1717 and 1725)

² John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 296.

³ Howard Colvin, *Essays in English Architectural History* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 263.

By looking at each stage of the production process this thesis addresses the issue of how Campbell went about producing a book like *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This introduction will therefore address the circumstances which enabled him to produce *Vitruvius Britannicus* by looking at precedents for this type of book, both at home and abroad, to establish the publishing market into which it was received. To this end, a number of relevant publications which were published prior to 1715, in Britain and in France, and which can be seen as direct precursors to Campbell's book, will be described. Indeed, in France publications bearing similarities to *Vitruvius Britannicus* were already being produced with success.⁴ In this thesis I present the view that Campbell's achievement with *Vitruvius Britannicus* was the result of his careful exploitation of various aspects of the cultural and political context in which he found himself, and which he utilised to the best of his ability, in conjunction with the physical materials. In order to do this the political situation in Scotland and England will be examined (using Colley's influential *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* to situate *Vitruvius Britannicus*).⁵ These political circumstances led to a set of conditions which allowed Campbell to successfully attract and maintain an audience for *Vitruvius Britannicus* in the early eighteenth century. This thesis will consider an important point: the claim that, contrary to many existing interpretations, *Vitruvius Britannicus* is not a Palladian manifesto, but is an opportunistic publication that made a pragmatic use of the limited available material and that satisfied a demand for nationalistic sentiment in the decade after the Acts of Union (1706 and 1707). This introduction will then consider the existing literature concerning Campbell and his role in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in addition to outlining my research aims and methodology for the thesis.

NATIONALISTIC CONTEXT

The crowns of Scotland and England had been united under the Stuart dynasty in 1603, although they had remained independent states, with the parliaments remaining distinct until 1707.⁶ In

⁴ Johannes Kip and Leonard Kynff, *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1707), with introduction by John Harris and Gervase Jackson-Stops (1984), p. 6 and Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1600-1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 139-40.

⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)

⁶ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 12.

1706 the Act of Union was passed at Westminster, and in 1707 in Edinburgh. The Treaty of Union brought both countries together legally with power devolved south of the border with 'one Protestant ruler, one legislature and one system of free trade'.⁷ The Act proved unpopular in Scotland, mainly due to the articles which made the Act favourable for landowners but went against the best interests of the population, although for the majority of Scots it was of marginal relevance to their lives.⁸ The Stuart Monarchy and Catholicism remained dominant in Scotland and later, after the unsuccessful negotiation of further clauses in the Act, a Jacobite rising, led by the politician (and architect) John Erskine, Earl of Mar occurred in 1715. Other risings including the famous 1745 Rebellion also occurred after this date.⁹ On both sides of the border it was agreed that many of the difficulties facing the union could be resolved by persuading the Scottish nobility of the benefits of London life. This aspect was also promoted in order to alleviate the threat of Jacobitism from north of the border, of which the English were fearful.¹⁰ Therefore, there was scope for the Scottish landowning class to reap the benefits of the union, in particular the access to English markets and the movement it allowed.¹¹ As Colley states: 'The movement in goods between different parts of Great Britain was accompanied by an incessant movement of people', which shows the level of transfer at this time.¹²

On a practical level many of the new members of the joint parliament relocated to England, or were predominantly based south of the border, and by 1750 almost all either rented or owned property in London.¹³ This meant new patronage for artists and architects from men previously resident in Scotland, who now chose to reside in England. There were many more opportunities for Scots who could make it to London, and Campbell was one of many professionals who migrated south of the border to forge a successful career in architecture and publishing, despite the presence of a vibrant printing industry in Edinburgh. This industry is described by Colley thus: 'printing presses had flourished in Scotland since the early sixteenth and seventeenth century, and Edinburgh in particular was one of the world's great centres of

⁷ Colley, 2009, p. 11.

⁸ Colley, 2009, p. 11.

⁹ Colley, 2009, p. 72.

¹⁰ Colley, 2009, p. 13.

¹¹ Colley, 2009, p. 38 and 50.

¹² Colley, 2009, p. 38.

¹³ Colley, 2009, p. 64.

print, producing books, pamphlets and sermons for readers throughout Britain'.¹⁴ The move of the nobility south of the border had significant implications for the city of Edinburgh itself and eventually led to the formation of its New Town.¹⁵

Whether or not there was great pride in the union, there was certainly a feeling of nostalgia attached to it which provided a great deal of nationalistic sentiment.¹⁶ There was a sense of pride which could now look to home shores rather than abroad, which is a sentiment shared by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, where he proclaims:

The general Esteem that Travellers have for Things that are Foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with Regard to Building. We travel, for the most part, at an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the Ignorance or Partiality of others, than to judge truly of the Merit of Things by the Strength of Reason. It's owing to this Mistake in Education, that so many of the British Quality have so mean an Opinion of what is performed in our own Country; tho', perhaps, in most we equal, and in some things we surpass our neighbours.¹⁷

A number of publications were created at this critical time which traded on this nationalistic sentiment, directing their interest towards the country, its peoples and its history. A representative selection of these will be described below. Campbell identified and utilised this common feeling, I argue, and used it to his own ends. But he was not the only one:

Great Britain was forged in the way that it was after 1707, and to the extent that it was, in part because of different classes and interest groups came to see this newly invented nation as a usable resource, as a focus of loyalty which would also cater to their own needs and ambitions. From patriotism, men and women were able to anticipate profits of some kind.¹⁸

This political atmosphere was present when Campbell embarked on his publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Colley sees 'Britishness' as a concept invented by the elite of England, Scotland and Wales, and by adopting the name '*Vitruvius Britannicus*' Campbell seems to have aligned himself with this feeling.¹⁹ I shall proceed and describe a number of publications which provided precedents for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

¹⁴ Colley, 2009, p. 41.

¹⁵ A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh: 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), p. 22.

¹⁶ Colley, 2009, p. 1.

¹⁷ Campbell, I, p. 1.

¹⁸ Colley, 2009, p. 55.

¹⁹ Colley, 2009, p. 390.

PRECEDENTS FOR *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

Prior to 1715 there were no architectural publications comparable to *Vitruvius Britannicus* in either Scotland or England, and it seems clear that there was ample scope for Campbell to create, and subsequently to fill, this niche in the publishing market. By including orthographic representations derived from the drawings of British architects, *Vitruvius Britannicus* became the first publication to promote the architecture of Britain directly. Here, I will examine two categories of books which provide an important precedent for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The first of these is the British topographical tradition which depicted the nobility's country houses and estates, while the second is the French architectural tradition which extolled the virtues of French architects and architecture in a recognisable, successful, and reproducible format.²⁰ Both categories of publication offer elements which could have provided a template for the type of book which became *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Before the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715, Scottish and English publishing was dominated by topographical prints and books, typified in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) by Johannes Kip (1653-1722) and Leonard Knyff (1650-1722) in England, and *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) by John Slezer (c.1650-1717) in Scotland.²¹ The production of *Britannia Illustrata* was made possible through the financial assistance of the local nobility and gentry, who sponsored the production of plates of their own homes, and through subscriptions.²² This method of financing the book allowed the advertisement of these patrons' wealth and standing in a public way, since their names were displayed alongside the plates of their houses, and in the public

²⁰ Harris, 1984, p. 6 and Harris, 1990, pp. 139-40.

²¹ Johannes Kip and Leonard Kynff, *Britannia Illustrata; or views of several of the Queen's Palaces as also of the Principal Seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain* (London, 1709) and expanded as *The Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne: au description exacte des villes, eglises, cathedrales, hopitaux, ports de mer &c. de la Grande Bretagne* (London: David Mortier, 1713); John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae* (Edinburgh, 1693); John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby's, 1985), pp. 90-3; Paul Taylor, 'Knijff, Leendert (1650-1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15796>> [accessed 11 May 2011]; Nicholas Grindle, 'Kip, Johannes (b. before 1653, d. 1721?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Oct 2006 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15640>> [accessed 11 May 2011]; A. H. Millar, 'Slezer, John (d. 1717)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25725>, accessed> [11 May 2011]; Hugh Honour, 'Leonard Knyff', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol 96, no. 620 (No. 1954), 335-8; John G. Dunbar, 'The Building Activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82', *Archaeological Journal*, vol 135 (1975), 202; David Laing 'Papers relating to the 'Theatrum Scotiae' and 'History and Present State of Scotland' by Captain John Slezer' *Ballantyne Miscellany*, II (1836), 307-344. John Steegman, *The Artist and the Country House* (London: Country Life, 1950), pp. 17-18.

²² Harris, 1985, p. 92.

subscription list.²³ The book was printed on large, good quality paper to a high standard and was a fashionable item to display in the library of the family home. It attracted a similar readership to that of *Vitruvius Britannicus*; in fact many patrons represented in *Britannia Illustrata* also subscribed to Campbell's books.

Britannia Illustrata was a book depicting the houses and estates of the nobility, an illustrative example of which is Haigh Hall, Lancashire, the seat of Sir Roger Bradshaigh (159).²⁴ It was concerned with the importance of land and place, and the status of the British land-owning class, and as a result invoked the issue of nationalistic sentimentality. The book drew attention not only to the size and splendour of the houses and gardens, but also to the wider estates in which they were situated (some even had a second plate dedicated to the landscape). These plates were drawn by Knyff and which were later engraved by Kip.²⁵ Although the plates represented buildings, they were not architectural, and were not sourced from drawings by architects, but surveys undertaken by Knyff. *Britannia Illustrata* was not an architectural book but rather represented the buildings as a demonstration of wealth with the associated familial connotations. The representations were not drawn to scale like an architect's plan, section or elevation and the landscape regularly conforms to a standard type, which may indicate they were generic rather than distinctive to a particular commission.²⁶

Individual engravings of houses, of a type similar to those found in *Britannia Illustrata*, were also produced by other authors for a similar market. County histories also capitalised on the topographical view, such as J Wright's *History and Antiquities of Rutland* (1684) and Sir Henry Chauncy's *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700).²⁷ The authors of the local histories sought their approval of the gentry and nobility by the inclusion of pictures of their homes. Far greater prestige could be added to a book by the inclusion of a depiction of a house owned by a high status family, and for this reason the illustrations in this type of book most often depicted houses, but not for any interest in the building as architecture.²⁸

²³ Harris, 1985, p. 92.

²⁴ Illustration numbers are denoted in bold.

²⁵ Harris, 1984, p. 7.

²⁶ Harris (1985) suggests that a complex series of surveys took place which should be considered, pp. 93-4.

²⁷ J. Wright, *History and Antiquities of Rutland* (London: B. Griffin, 1684) and Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London: B. Griffin, 1700)

²⁸ See Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquities: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-century England* (Hambledon and

These county histories took a standard form, and often conformed to a similar pattern. Although there was a movement to create an entire set of natural history surveys throughout England and Wales, this was never completed. Usually a dedication, or preface, directed towards the local landowning nobility or gentry is followed by a county map. The later chapters describe a variety of subjects including local ancestry, geography and the geology of the county. The text is usually dense with information and often constitutes the first authoritative account of the county. The pictures can usually be found regularly distributed throughout the text on double plate engravings but occasionally, as can be seen in the *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, the illustrations are set within the text and are small and of poor quality. More often the pictures are in a dominant location, occupying a double plate in the book and providing a regular visual focus to the volume. In the case of Atkyns' *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (1712), Johannes Kip was responsible for all sixty-four engravings which accompanied the text, and all but two of these were incorporated into the second edition of *Britannia Illustrata*.²⁹

The authors of these books were members of the gentry who address their audience as fellow landowners, and were therefore of a shared background to Campbell. Atkyns, the author of *Gloucestershire* has been described as: 'a county gentleman addressing his fellow Gloucestershire gentry, and his preface is conceived in this spirit'.³⁰ It was clearly necessary to produce a book that appealed to an interested audience: 'He wrote on the matters in which they were interested, of the descent of manors, estates and he illustrated his work with views of their seats'.³¹ There was a need to disseminate knowledge, but also to pamper the intellect of the rich as a 'means to national glory and identity'.³² Many of these issues were also relevant to the readership of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

In Scotland, *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) by John Slezer and Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722) had a historical and nationalistic agenda.³³ It presented a survey of Scottish towns,

London, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 309.

²⁹ Henry Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (London: W Bower for Robert Gosling, 1712)

³⁰ Introduction of reprint, Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (1712) reprinted 1974, p. vii.

³¹ Atkyns, reprint 1974, p. vii.

³² Charles Withers, 'Sibbald and National Identity', in *Annals of Science*, Jan 1996, v 53, no 7, p. 42.

³³ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321; Keith Cavers, *Documeta Slezarii, Volume IV: The Engraved Plates of John Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae and Related Publications* (Manuscript in the NLS Map Library: 2008); Harris, 1985, p. 90.

providing a historical description of each place and an accompanying prospect of the town, but these prospects had little architectural focus and were general views with little consideration for detail. Like *Britannia Illustrata*, the book was aimed at a wealthy audience, as shown by the fact that it was a publication of substantial size, made on good quality laid paper with dedications to wealthy patrons. After the successful publication of this book, Slezer tried to produce a further volume with a greater architectural focus, to be called the *Ancient and Present State of Scotland* but he ran out of funds and the book remained incomplete. Nonetheless, it provided a precedent for the kind of volume Campbell was aiming for, and may even have been a project of which Campbell was aware.³⁴ Harris has previously speculated on Campbell's knowledge of the project, he states: 'Campbell would have been perfectly aware of all this for he did not leave Scotland until circa 1707, was always one to take the main chance and a disgraceful plagiarist'.³⁵ Even though this book did not come to fruition, Slezer had managed to employ a draughtsman to begin work on the plates.³⁶ These drawings were to depict the houses and gardens of individual properties, rather than town plans, by using plans and elevations. Some plates of an architectural nature were produced, like that of Thirlstane Castle, Berwickshire (178) but these were not strictly orthographic plates like those adopted by Campbell.

When Slezer's funds for the *Ancient and Present State of Scotland* came to an end, he petitioned the government to reclaim the expenses incurred to date to enable him to continue the project.³⁷ The petition lists the houses that Slezer had surveyed and the type of drafts taken at each, either plan or elevation. By providing plans and elevations, the nature of this book is significantly different from his first publication, by focussing on the building, as a signifier of wealth and status, and national pride, but not necessarily on architectural form. Although the book was not published by Slezer, it appears that many of the designs were subsequently included in the expanded version of Kip and Knyff's *The Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*.³⁸ Many different editions of this book were amalgamated and sold by the printsellers,

³⁴ Harris has suggested that Campbell was aware of Slezer's publishing projects, 1985, p. 91.

³⁵ Harris, 1985, p. 91.

³⁶ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321.

³⁷ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321.

³⁸ Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671-1717* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office and National Library of Scotland, 1993), p. 88.

and although this book used Slezer's designs, he was not personally involved in its production.³⁹ Slezer's representations showed plans and elevations, but they differed from the strict orthographic projections in *Vitruvius Britannicus*; they included perspective in the projecting aspects of the building. They were not taken from architects' drawings, but rather were made for the purpose of engraving.⁴⁰

At the end of the seventeenth and the turn of the eighteenth century there was great interest in antiquarian studies in Scotland. This is relevant for my discussion as it provides further understanding of the cultural and intellectual milieu within which Campbell was situated. Sir Robert Sibbald, who was a founding member of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, employed the architectural draughtsman Alexander Edward (1651-1708) to help record his findings for inclusion in his publications.⁴¹ Edward had previously assisted his father, Robert Edward (c. 1616-1696), on the preparation of an antiquarian map and description of Angus (1678) which was used to supplement Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* which had not extended to this part of the country.⁴² Prior to 1707 there was a rich intellectual and cultural climate in Edinburgh, which had seen the founding of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh (1505), and the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh (1681), and the city had an established university. The Act of Union had allowed wide scope for opportunities for men who had a rich intellectual background and could exploit further the climate of union and its prosperity. These publications focussed on place, and its importance in a newly formed union.

Nationalistic sentiment was also being exploited in other areas of the arts; one very relevant example being Purcell's *Orpheus Britannicus*, in the field of music.⁴³ This was first published, posthumously, in 1698 and then again in 1702, but was reprinted after the Act of Union. The text from this collection of musical compositions had a similar tone to *Vitruvius Britannicus*: it was looking not to foreign lands, but celebrated what was offered at home, in this

³⁹ Cavers, 1993, p. 102.

⁴⁰ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321.

⁴¹ John Lowrey, 'A Man of Excellent Parts': *Alexander Edward: Minister, Architect, Jacobite 1652-1708* (The Crawford Centre for the Arts: University of St Andrews, 1986), pp. 17-18.

⁴² Johannis Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum: Sive Atlas Novus pars Quinta* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1654) <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/history_behind_publication.html> [accessed 3 December 2010].

⁴³ Henry Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus: A Collection of all the Choicest Songs for one, two, and three voices/Together with such symphonies for Violins or Flutes* (London: J. Hepinstall for Henry Playford, 1698-1702)

case England, not Britain. In this example, the choice of name employed for the collection is striking considering the parallel with *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The word 'Orpheus' is used to evoke the image of the divine nature of the music, as told in Greek myth and 'Britannicus' is used to demonstrate nationalistic pride in the achievements of a celebrated English composer.

If Campbell did indeed want to harness similar nationalistic sentiment he needed to move on from the prior focus on place and find a mode of expression to facilitate his entry into the area of architectural publishing. As mentioned above, there was no clear precedent for this in either Scotland or England, but there was in France. Campbell was evidently familiar with some aspects of French architectural publishing and may well have been influenced by available publications, both in terms of the visual and textual aspects of the books.

One significant French book for the purpose of this study is *A Parallèle de l'architecture Antique et la Moderne* (1650), by Roland Fréart de Chambray.⁴⁴ This influential work was translated into English by John Evelyn very soon after its initial publication (1664), as *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*.⁴⁵ It seems very likely indeed that Campbell was aware of this publication, as his introduction to *Vitruvius Britannicus* appears to have been heavily modelled on this translation.⁴⁶ Fréart was a diplomat and architectural connoisseur and his book had a profound impact on French architectural theory.⁴⁷ In addition to the *Parallèle*, Fréart translated Palladio into French as *Les Quatre Livres*, and he believed Palladio was amongst the first professional architects.⁴⁸ According to Savage, 'Fréart's main concern had been to establish an intellectually sound historical justification of the orders based on the best antique precedents'.⁴⁹ Even though his aim was to produce a theoretical treatise, his illustrations made his book a practical volume and he achieved a readership which he had not anticipated.⁵⁰ Campbell may well have realised that if he copied Fréart by looking to Palladio

⁴⁴ Roland Fréart de Chambray, *A Parallèle de l'architecture Antique et la Moderne* (1650)

⁴⁵ Roland Fréart de Chambray, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*, 1st edn, translated by John Evelyn (London, 1664); Nicholas Savage et al, *Early Printed Books 1478-1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprint Collections*, Volume 1 (Munich: KG Saur Verlage, 1994), p. 636.

⁴⁶ Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: the Heroic Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 95.

⁴⁷ Dora Weibenson, *The Mark J Millard Architectural Collection, Volume I, French Books* (Washington: National Gallery of Art/New York: George Brazillier, 1993), p. 195.

⁴⁸ Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Quatre Livres* (Paris, 1650)

⁴⁹ *RIBA Early Imprint Collection*, 2001, p. 633.

⁵⁰ *RIBA Early Imprint Collection*, 2001, p. 633.

and Vitruvius as the standard with which to associate oneself, this would be a successful association to apply to his own book.

Other important French authors Jean Marot (1619-1679) and Daniel Marot (1661-1752) were father and son who worked together in Paris in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁵¹ Both men were architects, Jean holding the position of Architect des Bâtiments du Roi, although both were known primarily for their architectural engravings.⁵² They published a number of architectural books covering a variety of subject matters, including *Le Magnifique Château De Richelieu*, a monographic book, and *Recueil de Diverses Pieces Modern*, which represented all the elements of domestic architecture, including gates, doors, chimneypieces and miscellaneous ornaments.⁵³ They also produced *L'Architecture Française*, known as the 'Grand Marot' (c. 1670) and *Recueils des Plans, profils, et elevations de plusieurs palais* known as the 'Petit Marot' (c. 1654-60). These will be the main focus here.⁵⁴ The plates therein included many that had been previously issued in sequences by Jean Marot.⁵⁵ These included designs of temples at Baalbec and Greece; the Louvre; the Tuileries; the Vâl-de-Grace; the Sorbonne; and the Château de Saint-Sepulchre. This volume has been described as 'an essential and comprehensive documentary source for the study of French seventeenth-century taste in architecture'.⁵⁶

These volumes had much in common with *Vitruvius Britannicus*: their focus was architectural. They were made up of architectural engravings, with little text, and like *Vitruvius Britannicus* they included designs of both built and projected architecture, recording the work of both highly, and less highly, regarded French architects, including Jacques Le Mercier, Jules Hardouin Mansart and Louis Le Vau.⁵⁷ Marot includes architectural views in the form of plans, sections and elevations, which are visually similar to the representations in Campbell's *Vitruvius*

⁵¹ See Harris, 1990, p. 140; Harris, 1985, p. 3; Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (London, 1973), pp. 17-18; Tessa Murdoch, 'Marot, Daniel (1661-1752)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39328>> [accessed 11 May 2011]

⁵² Wiebenson, 1993, p. 349.

⁵³ Weibenson, 1993, p. 349 and Harris, 1990, p. 140.

⁵⁴ Jean Marot, *Le Manifique chasteau de Richelieu, en general et en particulier; ou, Les Plans, les elevations, et profils generaux et particuliers dudit chasteau* (Paris, c. 1660) and *Recueil de diverses pieces modernes d'architecture, et nouvelles inventions de palais, cheminecs, omemans et autres* (Paris, c. 1680)

⁵⁵ Harris, 1990, p. 140.

⁵⁶ Weibenson, 1993, p. 349.

⁵⁷ Weibenson, 1993, p. 349.

Britannicus and drawn to scale (see the plan and elevation of Vaux le Vicomte, Maincy **160**, **161**).

However, unlike Campbell, Marot also used elevations which have elements of perspective and context (in the form of trees and natural surroundings as well as figures and carriages), even in the orthographic views. These views are also supplemented with larger perspective or bird's-eye plates of the wider landscape or entire complex of the building, reminiscent of Campbell's third and final volume. Other oddities include the representation of the exterior wall artificially deconstructed to see the building in the courtyard behind, such as in Faubourg Ste-Germain, Paris (**162**). The types of view used by Marot are more varied than those employed by Campbell, and in some cases more indicative of the topographical tradition of Kip and Knyff, but still retaining the focus on the architecture of France.

The types of books described above: the topographical publications and printseller's surveys which focused on place, and the French model crystallised by Marot which focused on architecture, had a strong nationalistic feeling. Importantly, the model outlined by Marot was suitable for adaptation into a British market. It is also interesting to note that there were architectural books in the decades preceding *Vitruvius Britannicus*, albeit in France, not Britain that Campbell could look to for inspiration. It was an established, successful precedent which Campbell could call upon, much like he did when he borrowed aspects of Fréart's introduction and copied them into his own.⁵⁸ By using this model Campbell, and taking advantage of the political and nationalistic feeling after the union he was able to create a successful book which would have a significant influence on eighteenth-century architecture.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This thesis, then, will challenge the established interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which themselves perpetuate Summerson's periodisation. This historiography begins in the 1950s with the work of John Summerson and Howard Colvin, followed by by T. P. Connor, Eileen Harris, and Nicholas Savage. More recent scholars, such as Giles Worsley, Lucy Rumble and Carole

⁵⁸ Worsley, 1995, p. 95.

Fry, however, have begun to offer revisionist interpretations that challenge the Summersonian consensus.

John Summerson first published his influential *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* in 1954.⁵⁹ After this first edition, Summerson revised and reprinted the book many times, with the final edition in 1993.⁶⁰ Summerson made important changes to his text over successive editions, but much has remained unchanged. Latterly Summerson gave greater attention to Campbell's work as an architect, which was treated marginally in the first edition. Summerson labelled the section describing Campbell's architecture as 'Burlington and Kent', yet in the most recent edition it is labelled 'Campbell, Burlington and Kent'.⁶¹ More recently Summerson included an additional section called 'Campbell and the Country House' which assessed Campbell's influence on the country house boom of the 1720s. However, Summerson maintained his thesis: English architecture after Wren and Vanbrugh moved into what he described as the 'Rule of Taste'.⁶²

Summerson considered *Vitruvius Britannicus* – together with Leoni's *Four Books of Architecture* – as the proponents of this new taste. Moreover, Summerson argued that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a Palladian manifesto. As Summerson says:

Not only the reputation (and the drawings) of Inigo Jones but that of Palladio were ready to be exploited here in England, for as far back as 1665 Evelyn had published his translation of Roland Fréart's *Parallèle*, a book of pronouncedly Palladian prejudice. The new Palladians had but to select threads from the English past and draw them together. The exposition of the new pattern required a master and it found one – in Colen Campbell.⁶³

At the same time, Howard Colvin made an important and original contribution to our knowledge and understanding of British architecture, and of Colen Campbell and *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in his book *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects: 1660–1840*.⁶⁴ This provided the first securely documented account of Campbell's life and works and his involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus* itself. The second expanded edition included architects

⁵⁹ John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* (London: Penguin Books, 1954)

⁶⁰ Most recent edition published 1993, John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830*, 9th edn (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

⁶¹ Summerson, 1993, p. 296.

⁶² Summerson, 1993, p. 296.

⁶³ Summerson, 1993, p. 296.

⁶⁴ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture: 1660-1840*, 1st edn (London: J Murray, 1954)

from throughout Britain, including Scotland, and Campbell's entry was more extensive than before.⁶⁵ After the discovery of his drawings in 1966, a fuller discussion of Campbell's work as an architect was made possible, and this is reflected in later editions which include a comprehensive survey of his career.⁶⁶

Howard Colvin's other main contribution to the Campbell scholarship was in 1974 in an article entitled 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', which was prompted by the discovery of the Campbell drawings.⁶⁷ Here, Colvin attempted to explain the presence of the James Smith drawings found at Newby Hall and Studley Royal alongside Campbell's drawings, and establish whether Campbell used these at the beginning of his career. Although Colvin was unable to determine the relationship between Smith and Campbell, or to account for the circumstances under which Campbell acquired Smith's drawings, he offered the essay as a basis for further discussion and research.⁶⁸ However, Colvin did not discuss the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* in any detail.

The most important document for the study of Campbell's drawings was the dedicated catalogue published as part of the RIBA Series in 1973.⁶⁹ Although an invaluable resource for the study of Campbell's drawings, as it describes all Campbell's office drawings, it excludes the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as they were yet to find their way to the RIBA, and remained in private ownership at this time. Several drawings from Campbell's Office Collection, which feature in the book, are relevant to my study and will be discussed in due course. Harris' work on English architectural draughtsmanship has also proved vital to the Campbell scholar.⁷⁰ My thesis does not overlap with Harris' catalogue but provides the first catalogue of Campbell drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which could not be included or considered by Harris in his study.

⁶⁵ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840*, 2nd edn (London: J Murray, 1978)

⁶⁶ James Smith, the Scottish architect whose drawings were discovered within Campbell's drawing collection, was also described, having not featured in the first edition. Colvin, 1978, pp. 755-8 and 2008, pp. 949-53.

⁶⁷ Howard Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 5-52.

⁶⁸ Colvin, 1974, p. 11.

⁶⁹ John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1973)

⁷⁰ John Harris, *The Palladians* (London: Trefoil, 1981); *The Design of the English Country House: 1620-1920* (London: Trefoil, 1985); 'The Grey Wash Style of the Palladian Office of Works', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 12 (2002), 48-58.

The only monographic study on Campbell was produced by Howard Stutchbury and went to press in 1967, just after the Campbell drawings were discovered, and therefore did not make use of this magnificent find.⁷¹ Stutchbury could only attach a brief appendix detailing the drawings but it could not influence his scholarship.⁷² In his study, Stutchbury investigated Campbell's work as an architect and his indebtedness to Palladio, but he has precious little to say about *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The next significant piece of scholarship to be carried out on Campbell was in the late 1970s by T.P. Connor who wrote 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*' and 'Colen Campbell as Architect to the Prince of Wales', both of which were published in *Architectural History*, and were taken from his PhD thesis.⁷³ In the first of these, Connor assessed Campbell's role in three ways: firstly as author of the text, secondly as the person who selected the plates, and lastly as the person responsible for completing the text of the introduction and plates.⁷⁴ This article provides a starting point for my own investigation and is an important contribution to the scholarship. The second article explored Campbell's architectural career and the patronage he received from the circle of the Prince of Wales. This latter discussion sits slightly outside the scope of my work, but it does, however, develop some important links between Campbell's work on *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the subsequent patronage he received. In neither article does Connor discuss the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

One of the most recent – and widely accepted – interpretations of the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is that of Eileen Harris, which was originally published in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1986 and subsequently incorporated into her *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1556-1785*, published in 1990.⁷⁵ This is the largest and most significant work on Campbell and *Vitruvius Britannicus* and has greatly influenced this field of study, and advanced Campbell scholarship. Harris argued that the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was already in progress before Campbell arrived in London, and that the book was initially

⁷¹ Howard Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967)

⁷² Stutchbury, 1967, pp. 168-9.

⁷³ T.P. Connor, 'Colen Campbell as Architect to the Prince of Wales', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979), 64-143; 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*', *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 14-81.

⁷⁴ Connor, 1977, p. 18.

⁷⁵ Eileen Harris, '*Vitruvius Britannicus* before Colen Campbell', *The Burlington Magazine*, 128 (1986), 340-345; Harris, 1990, pp. 139-148.

conceived as a printseller's survey, like *Britannia Illustrata*, with Campbell brought in to work as a draughtsman, only being appointed to author by a consortium of printsellers only two weeks prior to publication.⁷⁶ This late appointment was, Harris argues, due to the necessary insertion of a Palladian agenda which Campbell was equipped and employed to do since, in her words:

In 1713, on the spot at exactly the right moment was Colen Campbell, a newcomer to London, disappointed in his attempt to interest the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches in his designs in 1712 and all the more anxious to find architectural work.⁷⁷

Harris' justification for the insertion of this Palladian agenda is due to factors outwith the publication, and she suggests that this was expedited as a direct response to Leoni's translation of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. Leoni's translation was due to be published in 1715, but was delayed until 1716; and Harris thinks this rival book posed a threat to the success of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁷⁸ According to Harris, the insertion of this Palladian theme was essential to ensure *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not outdated before its release, to make it a competitive rival to Leoni.⁷⁹ Harris suggests that at this late stage of production, Campbell's proposed designs were included in order to reflect the Palladian bias of the new theme, therefore displacing already prepared drawings to later volumes.⁸⁰ With regard to Campbell's role as author, Harris states that:

His claim to the title of author, which he did not have in June 1714, rested on his provision of an introduction, an explanation of all the plates and eighteen plates of his own unexecuted and for the most part unsolicited designs. The final decision to incorporate these designs in a survey of executed buildings which was quite far advanced was not for him to make but for the undertakers. What did they think such designs could contribute that had not been thought of or wanted earlier? The answer is a new Palladian Style.⁸¹

In part, Harris' case is based on newspaper advertisements that pinpoint the dates when Campbell was publicised as author close to the publication date. Another aspect of Harris' thesis

⁷⁶ Harris, 1990, pp. 139-141.

⁷⁷ Harris, 1990, p. 141.

⁷⁸ Harris, 1990, p. 141.

⁷⁹ Harris, 1990, p. 142.

⁸⁰ Including perspective views of Castle Howard and Greenwich which were included in the final volume by Campbell. Harris, 1990, p. 142.

⁸¹ Harris, 1990, p. 141.

is that due to the pressures of time more than one engraver was required to complete *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Since the additional designs (to create a Palladian agenda) had to be drawn and engraved within a fortnight, a second, lesser-skilled engraver was employed resulting in the removal of all engravers' names from the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁸²

Nicholas Savage, Harris' collaborator on *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1556-1785* has written further on Colen Campbell and *Vitruvius Britannicus* in the catalogue of the *Mark J Millard Collection, Volume II British Books*. Here, Savage drew special attention to the relationship between Colen Campbell and the printseller Joseph Smith, and interpreted *Vitruvius Britannicus* as an important collaborative project between the two men, albeit with Smith retaining executive powers for the selection of material.⁸³ With regards to the intellectual status of the book Savage states: 'Smith's contribution to the shaping of *Vitruvius Britannicus* into a vehicle for Campbell's architectural ambitions should therefore be examined, for it would not have happened without Smith's backing and may even have happened at his instigation'.⁸⁴ This is once again Savage highlighting the importance of the printseller in the creation of the book. He then goes on to imply that Campbell's lack of skill and expertise in publishing was problematic: 'On a purely practical level the nature of the enterprise clearly demanded the kind of organizational skills and marketing expertise that only wholesaling publishers and sellers of prints such as Smith and Peter Dunoyer could offer'.⁸⁵ Savage seems to be suggesting that Campbell was not equipped to produce *Vitruvius Britannicus* on his own. However, in contrast to Harris, Savage believes that if other types of plates were intended from the outset (as Harris has suggested) then they would certainly have been included in any advertisements owing to their appeal to a wider audience.⁸⁶ In addition, Savage believes that it would not have been commercially necessary to alter the form if the sole reason to do so was the threat of Leoni's book. To argue this Savage states that, at this time, 303 subscriptions for 370 copies of volume I had been received and that 'the cost of substitute plates would have been too high if the only

⁸² Harris, 1990, p. 141.

⁸³ Nick Savage, 'Colen Campbell: 1676-1729', in *Mark J Millard Architectural Collection, Volume II: British Books Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1998), p. 47.

⁸⁴ Savage, 1998, p. 47.

⁸⁵ Savage, 1998, pp. 47–8.

⁸⁶ Savage, 1998, p. 48.

motive was last minute competition with Leoni'.⁸⁷ Savage also describes the title of the book, and the architectural and nationalistic connotations described therein.

The contents of both volumes I and II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are analysed by Savage who looks at contrasting sequences of plates, and as a result asserts that they were arranged to provide an agenda for the book: by highlighting Campbell's own designs and comparing them to designs by Inigo Jones.⁸⁸ He states:

An analysis of the arrangement of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, volumes one and two, reveals an unusually clear pattern of tacit comparisons... Volume two of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which unlike volume three was intended from the start, continues the pattern established in volume one, where Jones' works are juxtaposed with Campbell's theoretical design, and both are tacitly contrasted with those of other living architects.⁸⁹

Savage's approach begins with the analysis provided by Eileen Harris, and develops his own thesis further, maintaining his stance on the Summersonian tradition which considers *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian manifesto.⁹⁰

In 2001 the RIBA published the fourth volume of its catalogue *Early Printed Books, 1478-1840*, which describes three copies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* held at the RIBA in bibliographical terms.⁹¹ Each edition is described, and the changes which took place over time to the dedications and plates are noted.⁹² Additional bibliographic details, such as the ownership of the book, are described from the earliest known shareholders until the end of the eighteenth century. The information in this account has proved invaluable to my study. Mention is also made of the two volumes of drawings which are briefly described as follows:

These last two are bound in two eighteenth-century volumes, arranged as in the published work, and include a number of proofs and early states of the plates themselves, usually replacing the appropriate drawing when this is absent. Each volume includes the title page in its earliest known state. The place of the drawings for plates 2-19 in volume II, showing the Whitehall Palace, is taken by counter-proofs of the plates themselves. Those drawings which are present are clearly not all in the same hand, giving some credence to the suggestion that Campbell was, at least at first, only one of a team of draughtsmen working for

⁸⁷ Savage, 1998, p. 52.

⁸⁸ Savage, 1998, pp. 53–62.

⁸⁹ Savage, 1998, pp. 53 and 56.

⁹⁰ Savage, 1998, p. 52.

⁹¹ Nicholas Savage et al, '*Vitruvius Britannicus*', in *Early Printed Books 1478-1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprint Collections*, Volume 4 (Munich: KG Saur Verlage, 2001)

⁹² *RIBA Early Imprint Collection*, 2001, p. 2317.

Smith (although this evidence may be interpreted as showing only that he was assisted in his work by a number of lesser artists or students).⁹³

This description is the only scholarship to mention the drawings in any detail, although they are little more than acknowledged, and until now, remain little known.

Recent revisionist literature has moved on from the Summersonian tradition but has also overlooked the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Giles Worsley's *Classical Architecture: The Heroic Age* (1995) described *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a long misinterpreted work with little trace of a Palladian agenda, whilst identifying that Campbell's introduction was derived from Evelyn's (1664) English translation of Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture Antique et la Moderne* (1650).⁹⁴ Worsley also drew attention to the dominance of designs by Sir John Vanbrugh, which seems inconsistent with the notion that *Vitruvius Britannicus* is a Palladian manifesto.⁹⁵ Worsley provided an important shift in the historiography and interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, laying foundation for further scholarship.

Two pioneering revisionist interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are offered in the recent PhD dissertations by Lucy Rumble and Carole Fry.⁹⁶ Rumble demonstrated that *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been studied within the confines outlined by Summerson, and, like Worsley, she argued against the interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian manifesto. By taking an interdisciplinary approach, she widened the scope of the study, and considered *Vitruvius Britannicus* in a much larger context: outside the bounds of architectural history. She argued that, '*Vitruvius Britannicus* met the demands of a market interested in architecture as a topic of polite conversation', and 'drawing on disciplines outside of art and architectural history,' she continued, 'I consider *Vitruvius Britannicus* as an object of consumption offering an alternative reading of the publication that highlights a number of important avenues for further research'.⁹⁷

The second recent revisionist interpretation was given by Carole Fry who accepted the

⁹³ *RIBA Early Imprint Collection*, 2001, p. 2325.

⁹⁴ Worsley, 1995, p. 95.

⁹⁵ Worsley, 1995, p. 98.

⁹⁶ Lucy Rumble, 'Of Good Use or Serious Pleasure', *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Early Eighteenth Century Architectural Discourse' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Leeds, 2001) and Carole Fry, 'The Dissemination of neo-Palladian Architecture in England, 1701-1758' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Bristol; PhD, 2006) and Carole Fry, 'Spanning the Political Divide: Neo Palladianism in Early Eighteenth Century Landscapes', *Garden History Journal*, 31 (2003), 180-192

⁹⁷ Rumble, 2001, p. 3.

premise of the neo-Palladian movement in England at the start of the eighteenth century, but considered the dissemination of the style to have been fostered by social networks which were already in place throughout England, rather than through the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁹⁸ Fry identified the origins of neo-Palladianism, earlier than the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, with William Benson at Wilbury House and his professional connections in Hanover, and certainly before the influence of Lord Burlington.⁹⁹

My thesis will therefore complement the existing literature by developing the recent revisionist tendencies, and do so through a detailed study of the hitherto understudied drawings made by Campbell for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

METHODOLOGY

My investigation focuses on Campbell's surviving drawings, in particular the drawings which he made for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. After the discovery of three caches of drawings by Campbell in the 1960s, and the production of Harris' catalogue of two of the three sets of these drawings in the RIBA Series, described above, in 1973, it became possible to consider Campbell's architectural work in much greater depth. However, one group of drawings – those drawings for engraving for *Vitruvius Britannicus* – remained in private ownership for longer than the others and remained largely understudied and little known to architectural historians. I will provide a catalogue of these drawings. Since these drawings are under-represented in the scholarship, they will form the basis for my investigation into the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The thesis revisits the question of Campbell's role in the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by considering each aspect of production of the book. My interpretation is based on close technical analysis of the 158 drawings for engraving and other drawings in the wider collection. I investigate the process of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, from the amassing of the designs to the engraving of the book, by using the evidence of the drawings. My drawings analysis includes the study of the paper, watermarks, ink types and underdrawing technique to determine the process Campbell followed when making each drawing. I will use

⁹⁸ Fry, 2003, p. 191.

⁹⁹ Fry, 2003, pp. 183 and 191.

this information to address wider issues relating to the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The structure of my thesis is determined by the order of production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*:

Chapter 1 is concerned with describing the draughtsmanship of the Campbell drawing collection. The provenance of the drawing collection is explored, and the existing scholarship is supplemented by using eighteenth-century newspapers as well as recent sources. A close analysis of the drawings has enabled the purpose and technique to be established. There are two types of drawings described: the drawings for building and the drawings for engraving. The first category encompasses several drawing types from the conception of Campbell's ideas to the final design: these range from the site plan to the presentation drawings and include preliminary designs. As a whole the drawings for building embody the process of creating a building on paper, from the earliest understanding of the site to the presentation of the design to possible patrons. The second category, drawing for engraving, pertains to one stage of the overall production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. These two categories of drawing can therefore be understood in terms of their respective purpose: preparatory for building, and preparatory for the preparation of a book. This chapter also considers drawings by other architects which were supplied to Campbell for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and that Campbell utilised for the production. Also there are the drawings by James Smith which Campbell used, almost certainly without Smith's knowledge. The final section of this chapter looks at James Gibbs' drawings for engraving for *A Book of Architecture* which are presented as comparative examples to Campbell's drawings for engraving.

Chapter 2 explores the earliest stage of the production, the acquisition of source material for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The chapter builds upon the research presented by Connor in his 1977 article 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*'. In addition, I examine the textual evidence from *Vitruvius Britannicus* to gather further information about the sources of the designs. Several categories of source material are suggested, such as drawings by contributing architects, designs from existing engravings, Campbell's own drawings, and designs from other sources.

Chapter 3 considers the idea that Campbell could have arrived in England with the

wherewithal to produce an architectural book such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Here, I consider three individuals: John Slezer, Alexander Edward, and James Smith who were all working in Edinburgh when Campbell was entering the world of architecture. These men had either skills or resources which would have been useful to Campbell in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, especially considering Campbell's personal inexperience. The latter part of this chapter looks at the physical evidence available in the drawing collection to explore the possibility that Campbell may have acquired materials in Scotland prior to his move to England.

There are few surviving examples of source material used by Campbell for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but the scant evidence is utilised in full in Chapter 4, to compare the limited material to Campbell's drawings. The purpose of this analysis is to establish the accuracy of the designs and to determine whether Campbell manipulated them in order to promote a specific stylistic agenda. The implications of utilising this source material for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are explored by contrasting source material, (where it remains) to Campbell's drawings. This study also includes drawings from Campbell's office that were prepared for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which do not form part of the preparatory drawing volumes, but are important for the wider study of the production of the book.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the final stage of the production process: the transformation of the drawings into the engravings of the finished book. The process of engraving is described in order to reveal the respective role of the draughtsman and engraver in determining the visual qualities of the book. Information on the engravers working on *Vitruvius Britannicus* is presented, including the individuals who made the title and dedication page, and the principal engraver Henry Hulsbergh, who created the majority of the architectural plates. The work of an unidentified engraver is distinguished, and the implications of the division of labour (between Hulsbergh and the anonymous engraver) are contrasted with the previous interpretations of the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

This thesis will therefore carefully consider an overlooked primary source to revisit a much studied publication, based on each stage of publication.

CHAPTER 1

DRAWINGS AND DRAUGHTSMANSHIP

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter categorises and describes Campbell's extant drawings, paying particular attention to their draughtsmanship; establishes his drawing technique; and assesses the drawings prepared for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which have not been considered at any length before now. This provides a basis for the further study of the production process which is presented throughout this thesis. A detailed description of the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* is presented; the drawings' purpose and technique is considered; and technical differences between these drawings and those prepared by Campbell for other purposes, as well as those by other architects discovered in the collection, are explored. The chapter outlines the provenance of Campbell's drawings, and finally a short comparison with James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* is included.

1.2 PROVENANCE

Campbell's drawings were produced over a period of less than twenty years: the duration of his short architectural career. Campbell's earliest known architectural commission was in 1711-12, and he continued to practice until his death in 1729.¹ His surviving drawings originally formed part of a much larger set, many of which have since been lost. The collection contains drawings from much of his architectural practice as well as a significant number of drawings for his architectural publications.

¹ Campbell's earliest known project was the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow for Daniel Campbell of Shawfield (VB II, 51A, 119). Towards the end of his life Campbell was directing Roger Morris on drawings for Studley Royal.

At Campbell's death in 1729 his drawings collection passed to his wife, Jane Campbell. According to his will, Campbell's belongings were bequeathed to Jane and other family members, including his sister Henrietta and his nephew Colin.² Henrietta and her husband, John Grant, contested Campbell's will, claiming that Colen and his wife had never been lawfully married.³ Grant died in January 1732, having been successful in his attempt to obtain Campbell's drawings. This is apparent from an advertisement in the *London Evening Post* of 30 December 1732 (163) and the *Post* which announced the sale of the library of Rev. John Grant, including eight hundred architectural drawings by Colen Campbell.⁴ This sale has gone unacknowledged in previous scholarship. A number of subsequent advertisements appeared in January 1733, confirming the sale (164).⁵ It seems the Campbell drawings were the most prestigious lot of the sale, being retained until the final day. This sale pre-dates by 18 years a sale of Campbell drawings advertised in the *General Advertiser* of 13 December 1750 which described the sale's contents as 'The Original Drawings of Gentlemen's Seats, with plans and elevations, &c by that great architect Collin Campbell'.⁶ Until now, this was the only known sale of Campbell drawings. The reference to 'Gentlemen's seats' may describe the drawings prepared for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Considering that eight hundred drawings were sold in 1733, it is entirely possible that the 1750 sale included some of the same drawings, due to the quantity in the earlier sale, and it seems likely that it was Campbell's office drawings that were sold in 1733.

Between 1750 and 1950 there was no trace of these drawings, and their location was unknown to scholars. In the 1950s, however, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) purchased two groups of drawings by Campbell (although neither set was confidently attributed to Campbell at the time of purchase). The first, a group of five drawings, depicting Houghton

² G.L.M. Goodfellow, 'Colen Campbell's Last Years', *The Burlington Magazine*, 111 (1969), 184-191.

³ Goodfellow, 1969, p. 190.

⁴ *London Evening Post*, 30 December 1732, Issue 794, *17th and 18th Century, Burney Newspaper Collection Online* <<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/start.do?prodId=BBCN&userGroupName=nlibscot>> [accessed 14 February 2011].

⁵ *Daily Journal*, 13 January 1733, 18 January 1733, 22 January 1733 and 23 January 1733, *17th and 18th Century, Burney Newspaper Collection Online* <<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/start.do?prodId=BBCN&userGroupName=nlibscot>> [accessed 14 February 2011].

⁶ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840*, 4th edn (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 215, citing *General Advertiser*, 13 December 1750.

Hall, Norfolk, was purchased from the 1951 Sale of the collection of the 5th Marquess of Bute.⁷ The other group of drawings was acquired by the RIBA from the Lowther Castle Sale of 1957.⁸ It was only later, with the discovery of additional drawings by Campbell, that the groups could be confidently attributed.

The most exciting year for Campbell studies came in 1966 when three separate caches of drawings were found, all in Yorkshire country houses.⁹ Geoffrey Beard discovered two bound volumes of Campbell's drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* in the library at Nostell Priory, and two other sets were unearthed at Studley Royal and Newby Hall.¹⁰ The Studley Royal and Newby Hall drawing collections may have originally formed one large set.¹¹ Both houses were owned in the early nineteenth century by Sir Thomas Philip Robinson, 3rd Baron Grantham, later 2nd Earl de Grey, and it has been suggested that the drawings were separated at this time.¹² Throughout this thesis, these drawings are referred to as 'CC Works' as they constitute the surviving drawings from Campbell's career as a practising architect.

In 1966, soon after their discovery, the CC Works drawings from Studley Royal and Newby Hall were purchased by the RIBA with financial assistance from the Wates Foundation.¹³ At least 100 drawings attributed to Campbell were among the three hundred sold by Major Compton to the RIBA.¹⁴ Henry Vyner sold 57 Campbell drawings from Studley Royal to the RIBA.¹⁵ The CC Works drawings contained several items by other architects, most significantly from the office of the Scottish architect James Smith (c. 1645-1731).¹⁶ The other drawings (including drawings from the office of Sir John Vanbrugh) aided Campbell in the production of

⁷ John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1973), p. 27.

⁸ Harris, 1973, p. 27.

⁹ Harris, 1973, p. 8.

¹⁰ Howard Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 168.

¹¹ Harris, 1973, p. 8.

¹² It can be speculated that during his time of ownership the collections were perhaps separated. Sir Thomas adopted a different family name; changing to Thomas Philip Weddell. In 1833, on the death of his aunt, he became known as the 2nd Earl de Grey. He is best known as the founding president of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1834; a post he held until his death in 1859. See Harris, p. 8 and G.C. Boase, Grey, Thomas Philip de, second Earl De Grey (1781–1859), rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11565>> [accessed 12 Jan 2010]; Colvin, 2008, p. 451.

¹³ Harris, 1973, p. 8.

¹⁴ Stutchbury, 1967, p. 168.

¹⁵ Stutchbury, 1967, p. 168.

¹⁶ These drawings are described as part of the RIBA catalogue series under 'S', see Margaret Richardson, *Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: S* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1976), p. 86 and Howard Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 5-13.

Vitruvius Britannicus. The result was that John Harris' 1973 catalogue of Campbell drawings included drawings from Studley Royal, Newby Hall, and the previous Houghton Hall and Lowther Castle acquisitions.

A small number of Campbell's drawings are now housed at the Yale Center for British Art, (YCBA) at New Haven, Connecticut.¹⁷ The collection there includes four drawings of Lowther Castle, Westmorland, which are closely linked in both technique and design to drawings for Lowther at the RIBA.¹⁸ The YCBA collection also includes a drawing of a townhouse, which is stylistically similar to a set of drawings in London (165).¹⁹ The Yale collection's Lowther drawings, its townhouse drawing, five drawings of Kings Weston from Vanbrugh's office, and a drawing by an unidentified hand of a domed cupola, all derive from the Studley/Newby Collection.²⁰

The Nostell Priory volumes contain the drawings for volumes I and II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. After they were discovered, the owner sold them in the London sale rooms, and they remained in private ownership until 1973 when they were donated to the RIBA.²¹ When the RIBA Catalogue of Campbell's drawings went to press in 1973, the *Vitruvius Britannicus* drawings were still in private ownership and were therefore not included, and remain almost entirely unknown.²² Throughout this thesis the drawings formerly at Nostell Priory are referred to as 'VB I and II'.

Unlike the contents of the CC Works collection, the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* have not been studied in detail in the previous scholarship. It is not known with certainty if these volumes derive from the sale of Campbell's office drawings of 1733, and they may have derived from another source, perhaps being sold in 1750, as suggested above. Therefore, it is not known if the drawings were returned to Campbell after he supplied them to the engraver, or indeed if he

¹⁷ This is the only collection of Campbell drawings outside of London. For drawings at Yale Center for British Art see, John Harris, *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture, Decoration, Sculpture, Landscape Gardening 1550-1900 in American Collections* (New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1971), p. 46; *Architectural Drawings from Lowther Castle, Westmorland*, ed. by Howard Colvin and others (Leeds: Society of the Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 1980), pp. 26-27.

¹⁸ Both sets are described in Colvin, 1980, pp. 26-7.

¹⁹ YCBA, Town House: B1975.2.341.

²⁰ YCBA, Town House: B1975.2.341; Lowther Castle: B1977.14.1069-1072; Kings Weston: B1977.4.1237, B1977.4.1235-9. Harris, 1971, p. 46.

²¹ Harris, 1973, p. 8.

²² Harris, 1973, p. 8.

was responsible for the compilation and binding of the folios.

Both volumes are identically bound in red morocco leather with gilt decoration.²³ The binding does not appear to be contemporaneous with production, and probably dates from later in the eighteenth century rather than Campbell's lifetime. The condition of the volumes is generally good, but is much weaker on the spine. Both volumes are labelled on the spine in gilt, 'Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus', with the corresponding volume number. The volumes contain preparatory material which has all been carefully, and very thoroughly, pasted onto the laid paper mounts which makes a comprehensive analysis of the verso of the drawings impossible. It has also proved difficult to identify the watermarks from the paper, either because they are indiscernible or because it is impossible to distinguish between the drawing and the mount. Regardless of this the drawings have been executed on good quality laid paper, and when watermarks can be seen, they are common types, most regularly a fleur de lys with the countermark IV.²⁴ Other kinds of watermark can also be identified. One commonly used paper type depicts a large crown with horns protruding from each side.²⁵ Other watermarks which can be partially identified include the letters, LVG and VILLEDARY; all these watermarks are common to the CC Works Collection.²⁶ The drawings by James Smith in the collection (the presence of which is discussed later in this chapter) have different watermarks, the two most commonly used being the Pro-Patria and the Britannia, types not found in Campbell's drawings.²⁷

Several annotations are found within the volumes, written in a number of different hands, using various media, and they mostly postdate the binding of the drawings. Some are probably in Campbell's hand and relate to the production of the drawings, rather than the binding. The first volume contains extensive annotations but those found in VB II are much more limited. On the inside front cover of VB I, an inscription in brown ink reads:

²³ Stutchbury, 1967, p. 169.

²⁴ Edward Heawood, *Monumenta Chartae Papyrae: Historiam Illustrantia, I, Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950), Pl 221, no. 1537.

²⁵ Heawood, 1950, Pl 256, no. 1831.

²⁶ Heawood, 1950, Pl 254, no. 1827.

²⁷ Heawood, 1950, Pl. 494, no. 3709 and Pl. 214.

Mr Bacon (graphite)

82/74/156: 156 The Original drawings of Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus in high preservation bd in red morocco gilt leaves./21.0/no7/156 the original drawings of Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus in hi preservation 2 vol Bound in red morocco gilt leaves

The inscription postdates the production of the drawings: it reads as if it is provided for a sale, and the writing is suggestive of a mid-to-late eighteenth-century hand. This same hand can be seen throughout VB I, where each plate is annotated with the description from *Vitruvius Britannicus* using a quill pen and black ink which has since turned a dark burnished brown, caused by the use of iron-gall ink.²⁸ These annotations are usually found on the mount, although some have been added directly to the drawing. This level of annotation is not found in VB II, and the annotations in the second volume are intrinsic to the drawings.

A number of extremely faded graphite annotations can be seen throughout the volumes which state the name of the plate in both English and French. Due to their extreme degradation, it is impossible to say if they are in the same hand or even contemporary with the ink annotations described above. The graphite annotations can be found on the plans of St Philip's Church, Birmingham (VB I-4A, **10**), the Design for the Duke of Argyll (VB I-9A, **19**), and Powis House, London (VB I-17A, **39**). These designs do not appear to be connected in any other way. Some additional annotations, in a small, well-formed hand which I believe to be Campbell's, appear in black ink which has since faded to grey. This hand can be found on the annotations which are intrinsic to the drawing: often stating the scale of the drawing. These annotations can be found on the drawings of Wanstead House (VB I-10B, **22**; VB I-10F, **26**), Kings Weston (VB I-19A, **43**), Blenheim Palace (VB I-23F, **56**) and Castle Howard (VB I-24A, **57**).

The following table summarises the provenance of the Campbell drawings, and separates the provenance of the CC Works and VB I and II:

²⁸ Joe Nickell, *Pen, Ink and Evidence: A Study of Writing Materials for the Penman, Collector and Document Detective* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), p. 37.

Year	Colen Campbell Office Drawings (CC Works)		<i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Drawings (VB I and II)
1729	Death of Colen Campbell		
1733	Sale of 800 Campbell Drawings from his office. ²⁹		
1751			Sale of 'Drawings of Gentlemen's Seats by Colen Campbell.' ³⁰
1951 and 1957	Drawings of Houghton Hall bought by the RIBA but not yet attributed to Campbell. ³¹	Drawings of Lowther Hall, Lowther Castle Sale, 1957/Book Trade, bought by RIBA but not yet attributed to Campbell. ³²	
1966	Drawings of Lowther Hall and Houghton Hall owned by RIBA attributed to Campbell by John Harris.		
1966	Drawings found at Studley Royal. ³³	Drawings found at Newby Hall. ³⁴	Drawings found at Nostell Priory. Remained in Private ownership. ³⁵
1972	Drawings from Studley Royal and Newby Hall included in RIBA Campbell catalogue, alongside drawings of Houghton and Lowther. ³⁶		Nostell Priory drawings, donated to the RIBA, not included in the catalogue.
2010	Five drawings of Lowther and one of a townhouse in ownership of YCBA	All other known Campbell drawings owned by the RIBA	RIBA ownership.

1.3 DRAWINGS: PURPOSE AND TECHNIQUE

This thesis is primarily concerned with Campbell's drawings for the architectural publication *Vitruvius Britannicus* (VB I and II). In order to consider these drawings fully, they will be discussed within the scope of the wider Campbell collection (CC Works). The following section will therefore describe and contrast the purpose and technique of drawings from Campbell's architectural practice with the drawings prepared for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

²⁹ *London Evening Post*, 30 December 1732 and *Daily Journal*, 13 January 1733; 18 January 1733; 22 January 1733 and 23 January 1733, *17th and 18th Century, Burney Newspaper Collection Online* <<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/start.do?prodId=BBN&userGroupName=nlibscot>> [accessed 14 February 2011].

³⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 215, citing *General Advertiser*, 13 December 1750.

³¹ Harris, 1973, p. 10.

³² Harris, 1973, p. 13.

³³ Stutchbury, 1967, pp. 168-9.

³⁴ Stutchbury, 1967, pp. 168-9.

³⁵ Harris, 1973, p. 8.

³⁶ Harris, 1973.

Most of Campbell's drawings are undated but the buildings depicted and the development of his drawing technique over time have enabled a basic chronology to be deduced. Campbell is not known to have had any formal training as an architect, or as a draughtsman and although the source of Campbell's drafting ability is unknown, we know he worked with William Benson and Roger Morris later in his career.³⁷ John Harris has discussed Morris as an associate and possible draughtsman for Campbell: Morris was certainly working at Studley Royal and Goodwood House, Surrey, shortly before Campbell's death.³⁸ Several drawings of Goodwood House, which show Campbell's ideas drawn by Morris, are on loan to the RIBA from Goodwood.³⁹ Besides Morris, no other named draughtsmen are known to have assisted Campbell at the drawing board. Several drawings in VB I and II have been executed in a hand which is not Campbell's but neither the identity of this person or set of individuals, nor the dynamic of their relationship with Campbell is known. The drawings which are not by Campbell are small in number and include drawings of Lindsey House, London (VB I- 20A-B, **45, 46**), the elevation of Chatsworth House, Derbyshire (VB I-25D, **66**), and the elevation of Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire (VB I- 30B, **78**).

Campbell's drawings were produced for several different reasons: some to facilitate the design process, some to exhibit the completed design, and some for publication. The first of these reasons was to assist in the design process and the second was to enable Campbell to secure building commissions. Campbell's work as an architectural author also played a significant part in his career, and there are many extant drawings of this kind (mainly contained in the volumes VB I and II). The drawings for building and the drawings for engraving will be discussed throughout this chapter, and both will be examined and described in order to establish the techniques he used for different drawing purposes. Drawings for building will be considered first, to establish the general features of Campbell's drawing technique, before turning to drawing for engraving in order to evaluate the differences between the types and to identify

³⁷ Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

³⁸ John Harris, 'The Grey Wash Style of the Palladian Office of Works', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 12 (2002), 54; W.A. Eden, 'South Dalton, Yorkshire', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House Presented to Sir John Summerson*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970); Harris, 1973, p. 9.

³⁹ Harris, 1973, p. 9.

other drawings for engraving in the CC Works collection. This will enable the categorisation of drawings on the basis of technique later in the thesis, and help establish a chronology of the drawings.

1.3.1 Drawing for Building

The site plan was the initial stage of production for a drawing for building and was needed to enable Campbell to fully understand the site on which he was going to build. A site plan of the Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London, remains, but there are few other site plans or survey drawings remaining in the CC Works collection (166). It is possible that Campbell secured the commission for the Rolls House through Joseph Jekyll, the Master of the Rolls, whom he may have known through his experience in the legal profession.⁴⁰ The site of the Rolls House had long been used to house the Master of the Rolls, and the new house was intended to replace an existing ageing structure that sat on a complex site. Hence a comprehensive understanding of the site was crucial.⁴¹ Campbell began work here in 1718. The site plan for the Rolls is drawn in graphite and ink with a ruling implement, with annotations in graphite, ink and pen (166). The drawing is prepared to scale; a scale bar indicating 100 feet appears to the centre-right. Reflecting the purpose of the sheet (the drawing depicts not only the building but the entire site and adjacent buildings), this scale is longer than in many of Campbell's drawings. The dimensions of the site, which are a crucial part of the drawing, are prominently annotated. The lines on the drawing are often heavily inked while others run past their intended destination and join in an apparently unsystematic manner. The annotations on this drawing are in what I believe to be Campbell's hand.

This type of drawing was not intended for presentation: it was for Campbell's personal use in the design process. The result is an untidy drawing, albeit an accurate and precisely measured plan. Perhaps the reason why so few of this type of drawing remain is the untidiness of the draughtsmanship, as well as their evident functionality. Campbell produced this drawing

⁴⁰ Harris, 1973, p. 13; Campbell, III, Pls 44-45; Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

⁴¹ Howard Colvin, *History of the Kings Works, Volume V: 1660-1782* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), p. 358; Harris, 1973, p. 13.

in order to understand the locale of his future project – to assess the extent of the site, and any existing structures, open spaces, or restrictions to his project. Although such drawings would have been a vital tool in the very early stages of a design project, they do not depict any design of Campbell's or express his ideas.

The next stage is the exploratory drawing, which are also under-represented within the collection. A drawing of an unidentified H-shaped house is an interesting illustrative example (167). Campbell did not design a house of this type, and therefore, the drawing appears to be a survey drawing of the house and landscape. The underdrawing is in graphite with the house drawn centrally on the sheet in uneven ink which has turned a dark burnished brown due to the oxidisation of the iron-gall ink.⁴² Campbell has sketched the room divisions and many other details in graphite. Located on the side of the sheet is a sketch of a gatepost with finial detailing which may indicate Campbell was exploring new ideas. Therefore, this drawing is in part a site plan, while many aspects are exploratory.

The preliminary drawing by Campbell is the next exploratory stage in the design process. Many plans from this category remain in the CC Works collection which demonstrates the importance of this stage of design. In the preliminary drawings ideas are still forming, and the design has not yet been defined. Characteristically, this type of drawing has clearly visible graphite underdrawing with some aspects drawn in black ink. These drawings should not be thought of as incomplete; rather as works in progress, intended from the outset to be so.

A typical example of this type of preliminary, exploratory drawing is a plan and elevation for Goodwood House, Surrey, where the plan and elevation are on the same sheet: one above the other (168). There are many other related drawings showing this scheme in the CC Works collection, and many more may have existed.⁴³ When this preliminary drawing of Goodwood was made, the design had not yet been finalised, but some stylistic decisions had been made. The plan has graphite underdrawing and is drawn in ink which suggests the design had been considered and decided upon. The plan has annotations giving room dimensions; the

⁴² Nickell, 2000, p. 37.

⁴³ The RIBA catalogue describes these drawings, which includes the drawings on loan from Goodwood House. Harris, 1973, p. 9.

size of the rooms seems to have been an important factor in the design process, perhaps because it was to be built upon existing foundations, or to specifications constrained by the patron. The elevation is drawn with extensive graphite underdrawing over the entirety of the design; long graphite guidelines connect the plan with the elevation and much of it remains exploratory and drawn in graphite. Like the plan, the lower half of the elevation is drawn in black ink, but the upper remains in graphite: the lower half has been resolved, but the upper part is still unresolved. The lower half of the elevation corresponds with a number of other exploratory and presentation drawings in the collection and therefore can be considered one part of a larger process.

The design of Goodwood House was taken forward and developed into a presentation drawing in at least two forms: one with a pyramidal roof and the other a flat balustraded roof (169). The preliminary drawing, described above, enabled one alternative for a scheme to be fully explored prior to the final design. In this drawing, the relationship between purpose, technique and materials is clearly defined: the exploratory details were more readily developed in graphite, with the more certain details in ink, thereby distinguishing the different stages of the process.

After the exploratory phase, once the design had been finalised, Campbell was able to create a presentation drawing of the highest standard to meet the expectations of a potential patron. The purpose of a presentation drawing was to secure employment by impressing, or convincing, the patron of Campbell's abilities. Presentation drawings provide a record of Campbell's intentions as an architect, and can be understood as works of art in their own right. They are very beautiful objects: which perhaps explains why so many of them remain. This type of drawing may have been produced speculatively by Campbell, or directly at the request of a patron. The CC Works Collection includes a large number of presentation drawings representing Campbell's known commissions, although they are not all depicted. They were produced over the course of Campbell's career, during which time his skills as a draughtsman – as we shall see – improved, hence they are of varying quality. Campbell's early drawings are of an acceptable standard, but after the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, his technique improved considerably

and subsequent drawings are of exceptionally high quality.

In the next section, presentation drawings from both stages of Campbell's career are considered in depth, one from before and the other from after Campbell's involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. At both stages of his career, Campbell used the same materials and technique – but with varying levels of aptitude. Each presentation drawing is drawn with minimal underdrawing, is carefully ruled and drawn in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash. Campbell usually used a vertical guideline (either graphite or a fold in the paper) to aid plotting the horizontal aspects of the design. The drawing of the town house in the ownership of the YCBA collection was folded down the centre to guide the design (165).⁴⁴ Either method allowed Campbell to proceed with minimal visible underdrawing, thereby concealing the drawing's production. The underdrawing differs considerably from the exploratory drawings, which use clearly visible graphite underdrawing.

An early example of Campbell's presentation drawing technique can be found in his drawings submitted to the Fifty New Churches Commission *c.* 1712 (170). The elevation of a longitudinal church which is one example of a set of six drawings produced for this purpose will be described.⁴⁵ The elevation has minimal graphite underdrawing, and is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. The wash is applied to a low standard: it appears that the wash was applied too sparingly and thus has not dried evenly, resulting in it being uneven and blotchy. Since the lines on this drawing are relatively thin and consistent, Campbell has managed to execute the drawing quite well, yet one line on the window is extremely uneven, a feature which would not be permissible in a later presentation drawing. The intersection between the window arch and frame is also extremely untidy, a feature again not found on later drawings. This drawing, like the other designs for this project, are very basic: the shape of the church is a simple rectangular block with a tower, with windows along the side of the church. There is little scope for close comparison with later drawings since the church design is not sophisticated, or drawn to a high standard. Given the inaccuracy and untidiness of the drawing, it is scarcely suitable for submission to a potential patron. Yet at this time Campbell's ability was such that this was the

⁴⁴ YCBA, B1975.2.341.

⁴⁵ Harris, 1973, p. 19.

best he could do, and he proceeded to give the design to the Commission. Needless to say his bid was unsuccessful.⁴⁶

During the years 1715-1717, Campbell produced a great many drawings for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which greatly contributed to the improvement of his drafting technique and competence in design. But even during this period a noticeable development can be identified in the preparatory drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, on which he was engaged. After 1717, his presentation drawings are of a previously unseen standard. The same media are used to execute the drawings, but they are utilised much more proficiently and his designs are produced in a calculated, precise, and error-free way. A number of presentation drawings of Lowther Castle remain, both in the RIBA and the YCBA. Two similar elevations can be found in both collections. The the elevation of Lowther Castle from the YCBA, will be described as an example of Campbell's later drawing technique (**171**).⁴⁷ The design created for Lord Lonsdale for the re-building of Lowther Castle, after the fire in 1718, has been dated c. 1725.⁴⁸ James Gibbs also prepared drawings for the post-fire rebuild, almost contemporaneous with those of Campbell, and it was probably Gibbs' design that was previously included in volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁴⁹

Campbell began a typical presentation drawing with a central guideline: in this example there is a central graphite guideline down the centre of this drawing, and each horizontal element of the drawing has been marked with a very small score mark on this line. As is often standard with a presentation drawing, a border has been drawn around the design: here two ruled lines have been drawn 2-3mm apart, and the space in this gap has been shaded in very dark ink, with what looks to be a very fine brush.⁵⁰ Campbell has drawn this presentation drawing precisely in black ink, and shaded consistently in pale grey wash. He has added darker wash behind columns and on the right-hand windows to emphasise the shadow. The shading looks much more naturalistic than the shading provided on the earlier church design. Campbell

⁴⁶ Colvin, 2008, p. 217.

⁴⁷ YCBA, B1977.12.1071.

⁴⁸ YCBA, B1977.14.1069-1072; Colvin, 1980; Campbell, II, Pls 78-80; Harris, 1973, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Campbell, II, Pls 78-80.

⁵⁰ There is no border on the drawing in the RIBA.

used much lighter wash on other parts of the Lowther drawing, including the pediment, entablature and statuary. Even on the smallest details, such as the balusters, Campbell has applied a small, perfect, controlled area of grey wash which demonstrates very delicate detailing and tonal consistency. This high standard is reached by Campbell in every later presentation drawing within the drawing collection and is of a standard certainly appropriate for presentation to the patron.

In sum, the standard of the drawing of Lowther Castle is extremely high and representative of his later drawing technique. The technique contrasts with the poor quality of the early drawing for the Fifty New Churches commission. There is a visible improvement in Campbell's ability and drafting technique after the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This development can also be seen in the drawings for engraving, and will be illustrated with a similar contrasting example.

1.3.2 Drawing for Engraving

Campbell authored three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and published a translation of the first book of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. The latter was reprinted as *The Five Orders of Architecture* and included several of Campbell's own designs.⁵¹ In addition to VB I and II, several drawings for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and a single drawing of Stamp Brooksbank's House from *The Five Orders of Architecture* survive (172). Almost all of the preparatory material identified from the CC Works collection was used for publication, with the exception of the drawing of Eastbury House, Dorset (190).⁵² However, the CC Works collection does not contain a complete set of preparatory drawings for volume III, and it is clear that much material has been lost, limiting a comprehensive study. Furthermore, these drawings are dispersed amongst the CC Works collection rather than bound together like the drawings in VB I and II. Many of these represent Campbell's own designs, but some, including the drawing of Leyton Grange, Essex, do not (173).⁵³

⁵¹ Colen Campbell, *Five Orders of Architecture* (London, 1729)

⁵² The elevation drawing of Eastbury was not adopted for use; this issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

⁵³ Campbell, III, Pl 94.

Campbell was responsible for the visual quality of the books he produced. It is the drawings for engraving that receive special attention in the course of this thesis, because their close study enables them to be categorised and ordered in an approximate chronology. This, in turn, has implications for the study of the sources of Campbell's material in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, the study of Campbell's drawing technique has enabled the identification of drawings for engraving – from the CC Works collection – for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Drawings of this type also indicate improvement over time, both between volumes I and II, and then even more so between the production of the first two volumes and volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The purpose of a drawing for engraving was to facilitate the transformation of the design into an engraving to be presented to the readers. Therefore, it needed to be prepared in a certain manner, in order that it could be interpreted correctly by the engraver. This type of drawing differed from those categories described in the previous section, by using extensive scored underdrawing and black ink to emphasise linearity. After the drawing was prepared, it would be given to the engraver who would score the design on to a copperplate ready to be printed.

The technique employed in Campbell's drawings for engraving is standard.⁵⁴ Whereas presentation drawings employ minimal underdrawing, those for engraving are initially plotted with extensive scored underdrawing, over the outline of the building and all of the architectural details, often very densely. After the underdrawing had been applied, the ink was added over the entirety of the drawing. The lines of the drawing are guided by a ruler and finished with a drawing pen in black ink. Many of the elevations are purely linear drawings, while the plans are often shaded in grey wash, as can be seen in the design for the Duke of Argyll (VB I-9A, **19**; 9B, **20**). Furthermore, several elevations relating to volumes I and II have been shaded in grey wash (VB I-2B, **6**; 3B, **9**; 5B, **13**; 12B, **30**; 15B, **36** and VB II-47A, **114**; 48A, **115**; 53A, **124**; 54B, **126**; 64A, **146**; 67B, **150**).

Another unique characteristic of a drawing for engraving is the reversal of the design by

⁵⁴ The general technique is also exhibited by Gibbs in his preparatory drawings and seems to be a standard mode of drawing for engraving, as considered later in this chapter.

the draughtsman. During the engraving process, the engraver copied the drawing by scoring the design into the copper: when the print was taken from the copperplate it was printed as a mirror image of the drawing for engraving. The easiest way to ensure the correct alignment at the printing stage was for the draughtsman to make the drawing in reverse. Campbell made almost all of his drawings for engraving in this way. There are also indicator marks in reverse which communicate cast shadow to the engraver. This issue will be considered in much greater detail in Chapter 5, where I examine the process of transformation of the drawings to engravings. This feature can be seen clearly on many drawings, including those for St Paul's Cathedral, London (VB I-1B, **4**), Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (VB II-53A, **124**), and Hampton Court, Herefordshire, (VB II-54B, **126**).

Campbell's draughtsmanship exhibits a marked improvement over time. Initially he required extensive scored underdrawing to plot and lay out the design (see, for example, the elevations of Marlborough House VB I-16B, **38** and Kings Weston VB I-19B, **43**). In contrast, the later examples use the scored underdrawing more economically for a design of similar complexity (Leyton Grange, **173**). Similarly, fine detailing is drawn imprecisely in early cases, with uneven ink lines often remaining on the final image (see for example, Montagu House, VB I-14C, **34**) whereas latterly the details are finished with greater care and accuracy. There is also a marked improvement in grey wash shading. Early plans which are shaded in grey wash are finished with much less precision than later non-linear designs, with the application of the ink failing to conform to the boundaries set by the lines beneath (compare, for example, Powis House, London (VB I-17A, **39**), with any of Campbell's later shaded drawings). This is not seen in the higher quality of later drawings.

The development of drafting skills within the set of drawings for engraving make it possible to distinguish the period in which individual drawings were made on the basis of their quality. Similarly, small sets of drawings with common characteristics can be approximately grouped. As we shall see in Chapters 3 and 5, aspects of Campbell's technique of drawing for engraving can inform the study of the sources and genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by providing new chronological evidence.

1.4 DRAWINGS BY OTHER ARCHITECTS IN THE CAMPBELL COLLECTION (CC Works)

In this final section I consider drawings found in the CC Works Collection which are by other architects. This identification and discussion is presented to aid further analysis throughout this thesis.

Several drawings not by Campbell were discovered in the CC Works collection at Newby Hall and Studley Royal.⁵⁵ Many of these drawings played a part in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and show both plans and elevations. Some of these will be considered in Chapter 4 in greater depth as they confirm the involvement of Sir John Vanbrugh in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Some drawings by other architects were source material for *Vitruvius Britannicus* supplied by the individual architects and redrawn by Campbell for engraving. Two additional plans of Heythrop House, Oxfordshire, and Chettle House, Dorset, were discovered, but, interestingly, neither of these designs was incorporated into *Vitruvius Britannicus* by Campbell.⁵⁶

A large group of drawings which has since been attributed to the Scottish architect James Smith was also discovered.⁵⁷ In total, 71 drawings have been catalogued as the work of Smith and his circle.⁵⁸ James Smith (c. 1645-1731) was Master of the Works in Scotland and, after the death of Sir William Bruce, the most prominent architect of his generation in Scotland.⁵⁹ Smith was approximately thirty years older than Campbell, although, as Colvin notes, 'Whether Colen Campbell was in any sense Smith's pupil, or whether he acquired the drawings from Smith at a time when the latter had financial difficulties must be a matter for conjecture.'⁶⁰ Although this study would no doubt benefit from a fuller understanding of the

⁵⁵ Stutchbury, 1967, pp. 168-9.

⁵⁶ Margaret Richardson, *Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: 'A'* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), p. 33 and Arthur Oswald, 'A Plan of Chettle', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House Presented to Sir John Summerson*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970), p. 85.

⁵⁷ Richardson, 1975 and Howard Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 5-13.

⁵⁸ Richardson, 1975.

⁵⁹ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

⁶⁰ Colvin, 1974, p. 11.

relationship between Campbell and Smith, it is important to note that there was a connection between the men through their drawing collections and these drawings provide a firm link between them.⁶¹ The drawings are significantly different from those by other architects mentioned above, as they were not supplied for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. However, they were in Campbell's ownership when he embarked upon its production and had an important influence upon it.

A number of the drawings by Smith in this collection provide a basis for Campbell's proposed designs, and significantly – for the study of the genesis of the book – they were in Campbell's possession in time for volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶² Many of these drawings helped create and articulate the form of Campbell's proposed designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶³ Often this is evidenced where small parts are taken straight from a Smith drawing, but in other instances there are cases where Campbell duplicates much larger parts of the drawing without acknowledgement.⁶⁴ Such cases, which we would nowadays define as plagiarism, do not necessarily reflect deceit or the misappropriation of proprietary materials, for conventions of intellectual property or copyright were not yet widely recognised or enforced outwith the print trade.⁶⁵ This is characteristic of Campbell's pragmatic use of materials in order to assist the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Not all of these drawings by Smith were used in this way; Campbell selected only the aspects which interested him.

Smith's only explicit involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus* consists of two architectural commissions which are represented in volumes I and II: Melville House, Fife, and Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire.⁶⁶ However, neither of these projects is represented by original drawings in the set found alongside Campbell's. Beyond the images, there is very little further information on these buildings in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In the introduction Campbell fails to acknowledge

⁶¹ Colvin, 1974, p. 11.

⁶² This influence is seen most readily in the plan for a church at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. This was taken from a Smith drawing, and, as Connor has identified, was in turn derived from the church of Sta Maria a Carriagno, therefore Campbell was in possession of it in time for volume I. The two designs can only be differentiated by the addition of a staircase at the front of Campbell's church, and scale, see Connor, 1977, p. 20.

⁶³ E.R.P. Clough, 'The James Smith Drawings at the RIBA and Their Author' (unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge, History of Art Tripos, 1972).

⁶⁴ This issue has been investigated at length by Colvin and Clough in a comparative exercise of these designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Colvin, 1974 and Clough, 1972.

⁶⁵ Peter K. Yu, *Intellectual Property and Information Wealth: Copyright and Related Rights* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007), p. 362.

⁶⁶ Campbell, I, Pls 37-38; II, Pl 50.

Smith in the long list of other architects named in the volumes.⁶⁷ In the description of plates for Drumlanrig, Campbell does not seem aware that Smith worked there and very little is said about Melville House, although at least here Smith is credited as the architect.⁶⁸ In this case it seems unlikely that Campbell would withhold the information from his readers. In spite of his lack of knowledge about Smith's architectural commissions included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell nonetheless held Smith in high esteem, referring to him in his capacity as architect of Melville as 'the most experienc'd architect in Scotland'.⁶⁹

The presence of the Smith drawings alongside Campbell's is unaccounted for. Smith's drawings are not representative of his architectural career, and they do not provide the basis of an architectural treatise. Many of the drawings depict extravagant palatial designs which had little chance of being constructed in Scotland in the economic climate of the period. Only a very small proportion of the drawings are for Smith's executed buildings, and they do not represent those included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is difficult to imagine that Campbell acquired these drawings without the consent of James Smith, especially considering some of the other business dealings Smith had encountered in his career where he had stood up for himself.⁷⁰ Also, considering that Smith lived longer than Campbell, one would expect that if he was displeased the two men would have been in dispute, yet no record of this remains. The possible involvement of James Smith in the genesis and production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is considered in greater depth in Chapter 3, alongside two other Scottish men, Alexander Edward and John Slezer.

1.5 JAMES GIBBS AND THE DRAWINGS FOR *A BOOK OF ARCHITECTURE*

This section attempts to strengthen the understanding of Campbell's drawing for engraving by considering a comparative example: James Gibbs' drawings for *A Book of Architecture*. This will establish if Campbell prepared the drawings for engraving in a standard way for this type of publication. Although this cannot be considered a comprehensive study, it does suggest that

⁶⁷ Campbell, I, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Campbell, I, p. 5; II, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Campbell, II, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

Campbell, although inexperienced, was working in a conventional way for this type of publication.

James Gibbs (1682-1754), a contemporary of Campbell's, also published a number of architectural books during the course of his architectural career. *A Book of Architecture* was published in 1728 and consisted exclusively of his own designs, both executed and proposed. Gibbs kept and collated his architectural drawings over his extensive career and after his death he bequeathed all his drawings to the University of Oxford, including a full set of drawing for engraving for his books.⁷¹

The drawings for *A Book of Architecture* form a more coherent whole than those for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, although they are not bound in order, and do not have any replacement proof engravings. There are some additional drawings in the Gibbs Collection which do not correspond with the representations in *A Book of Architecture*; they are variant or earlier designs but bound anyway alongside the primary drawing for engraving. One example of this is the design for Milton House, Northamptonshire, where two elevational drawings are present in Gibbs' preparatory drawings yet only one appears in the book. The first of these reads 'Design of the Front towards ye garden for Earl Fitzwilliam', but depicts an alternative design not found in *A Book of Architecture*. In this case both the drawing for engraving and the variant design are found in the collection.⁷²

There are no drawings by Campbell that are in the process of development, or that have been adapted from use as a drawing for building. In fact there is little evidence to suggest that there was much of a selection process taking place in the production by Campbell. As mentioned above, there are two drawings for Heythrop and Chettle House by Thomas Archer, which were not adapted for use by Campbell. However, the date of acquisition of these drawings is unknown, and this cannot be considered conclusive. Other than this, it appears that

⁷¹ After his death all of Gibbs' drawings: for his publications and his office drawings, were bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. All of the drawings were bound when they reached the museum, into 8 large folios. These were later re-bound during the twentieth century but retained the formation of the early binding. All of the drawings for his publications are bound together, and begin with a frontispiece portrait of Gibbs by William Hogarth. The drawings by James Gibbs were catalogued by William Wright Crandall Junior for his Bachelor of Letters Degree, 1933. Although this is a useful piece of scholarship it is very out of date. This work can be located in the Ashmolean alongside the drawings. See Rebecca Baillie, *Scottish Architects' Papers: A Source Book* (Edinburgh: Rutland Press, 1996), pp. 244-5.

⁷² Gibbs' Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Volume I, drawings I-19-a and I-19-b; and I-37-b.

Campbell utilised all the material he had for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and he certainly made use of materials in later volumes which were in his possession at an earlier date. This also appears to be the case with the information Campbell chose to disclose in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The nature of the description of plates is often piecemeal.

Gibbs produced his drawings for engraving in a standard manner, and in a similar way to Campbell. Gibbs began his drawings with very fine scored underdrawing, with the design drawn in black ink. He drew this type of drawing in reverse to ensure the correct orientation in the book. While many of the elevations for *Vitruvius Britannicus* remain linear, all of Gibbs' plans, elevations and sections are shaded in very precise and delicate grey wash. Like Campbell, Gibbs denotes cast shadow with a scored or graphite line on the drawing. With the exception of the high quality grey wash used by Gibbs, the drawing technique is very similar to that used by Campbell.

The majority of the drawings bound as preparatory drawings for *A Book of Architecture* were specifically prepared for engraving, but some drawings have certainly been adapted from an alternative use and on occasion contain building contracts on the verso of the sheet. One example of this is the design for Marylebone Chapel, London which includes a number of signatures on the back of the drawing. The sheet is endorsed 'Our hands this eighth day of August 1721/ Witnesses; Edward Harley/ Ja: Gibbs / Benj Timbrell /Wm: Thomas/ Thomas Philips'.⁷³ This drawing corresponds to Plate 25 in *A Book of Architecture*, with very minor differences. Therefore, this drawing appears to be the design accepted for the completion of the building which was later collated as a drawing for *A Book of Architecture*, but not prepared for that purpose. In addition to this oddity, in this particular case the drawing technique also differs from a standard drawing for engraving. It is prepared as a presentation drawing, drawn in black ink with minimal, not extensive, underdrawing.

There are a number of drawings which have been adapted from a different use. In these cases, as in the example above, rather than having extensive scored underdrawing they have minimal underdrawing, as seen in a presentation drawing. They have often been drawn at a

⁷³ Gibbs' Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Volume I, drawing I-12.

larger scale, which suggests they were prepared for a patron and adapted for use in *A Book of Architecture*. In the drawing of a round design for St Martin-in-the-Fields a pink wash has been applied on the cross section of the drawing. (174).⁷⁴ This characteristic detail is only seen in Gibbs' presentation drawings; it cannot be found in any other drawings for engraving, and is seen here only because the drawing has been adapted from a different use.

Gibbs uses a standard technique for his drawings for engraving and a technique which corresponds closely to that used by Campbell. Both are distinct from that adopted by both men in their office drawings for their architectural commissions. Gibbs was a well-established architect, who had been in practice for many years, and his drawings were more skilled than Campbell's, who had a low level of drafting competency at the start of his architectural career, especially when he was embarking on the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Campbell, an inexperienced draughtsman, and Gibbs, a professionally trained and experienced architect, both produced drawings for building and drawings for engraving using a very similar technique. This suggests that regardless of his inexperience, Campbell was aspiring to the standard practices of production for a book of this type. On the whole *Vitruvius Britannicus* was prepared to a high quality, and it reached a high visual standard, regardless of Campbell's lack of experience.

1.6 CONCLUSION

Although many of the details of the provenance of the Campbell drawings have been established, there are still aspects which remain unknown. Two sales – from 1733 and 1750 – have been identified from newspaper advertisements, although the preparatory drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* cannot be firmly attributed to a particular sale. In addition, the advertisement from 1733 has indicated that what remains of the Campbell collection now is a small part of a much larger set, which must have been lost, or now remains unidentified.

In this chapter, the purpose and technique of the drawing collection was discussed, in two categories: the drawings for building and the drawings for engraving. Here, the distinctive

⁷⁴ Gibbs' Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Volume I, drawing I-14-a.

techniques for each type of drawing were identified. This enabled a number of drawings made for engraving – from the CC Works collection – to be identified by technique, not just subject. In both categories of drawing, a significant improvement can be seen over time in drawing technique. The most substantial improvement is in the presentation drawings made after the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (in comparison to those prepared before the production). However, this change is also identified among the drawings for engraving. This advancement is especially recognisable in the drawings for engraving for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but it can also be seen – to a lesser extent – in the drawings in VB I and II. This development will provide evidence for my argument in Chapter 3.

There were a number of drawings produced by other architects, which were discovered alongside Campbell's drawings in the CC Works collection. Most of these drawings were supplied for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. However, the drawings by James Smith show they were in the collection for a different use, and utilised to a different purpose. James Smith will be considered in greater depth in Chapter 3.

Finally James Gibbs, a contemporary of Campbell's who made drawings for engraving for his *Book of Architecture* was discussed. Gibbs was considered to contrast his drafting technique alongside Campbell's drawings for engraving. It seems that both men adopted the same technique and although Gibbs drawing is more proficient, the drawings have been prepared and presented in the same way. In addition, the technique for drawing for engraving, by both men, is distinctly different to their drawings for building.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

PART 1

VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS: CONTENTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I consider events prior to the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Although a number of interpretations have been written in recent years, offering a convincing sequence of events, on the basis of evidence not previously considered, a new hypothesis will be offered. An alternative to the currently accepted view will be presented and, while I question some central aspects of the earlier interpretations, my primary aim is to consider as much new ground as possible. In addition I draw upon a large collection of drawings, previously understudied, to advance the study of Colen Campbell and the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

I shall begin by discussing the received view of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, drawing on a number of older, and some more up-to-date, interpretations. I draw special attention to the issue of 'agenda', a theme that will recur throughout my discussion, and will investigate aspects of the printed version of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Although the latter has been considered in many different ways before, my focus will be the published text: the introduction, title page, the description of plates, and the ordering of the designs in the book in order to try to understand the sources which Campbell used to acquire the designs for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. External resources will be drawn upon as necessary throughout this chapter.

My investigation will consider anew if there was an agenda present in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and if this accepted view is compatible with my own hypothesis. *Vitruvius*

Britannicus has long been considered a Palladian manifesto, which adopted certain designs and contrasted them with one another.¹ In my opinion, the interpretation that places Campbell's last-minute appointment as author, thus necessitating a change in focus and promoting a Palladian agenda, is incompatible with the available evidence.²

In the introduction of this thesis I outlined the main scholarship relating to Colen Campbell and *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which I shall summarise here. The notion of Palladianism, with *Vitruvius Britannicus* as the axis for change, derives primarily from the work of John Summerson, who considered the book a Palladian manifesto alongside Leoni's translation of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*.³ Following Summerson, the majority of interpretations have retained the idea that *Vitruvius Britannicus* expressed ideas of Palladianism. These include work by T. P. Connor and Howard Colvin, as well as the scholarship of Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage. In recent years, revisionist views by Giles Worsley, Lucy Rumble and Carole Fry have been put forward that reject the premise of the book as a Palladian manifesto.⁴

2.2 INFORMATION FROM *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

The starting point of my investigation is the statement provided by Campbell in the introduction to *Vitruvius Britannicus*:

*I hope, therefore, the Reader will be agreeably entertained in viewing what I have collected with so much Labour. All the Drawings are either taken from the Buildings themselves, or the original Designs of the Architects, who have very much assisted me in advancing this Work: And I can, with the great Sincerity, assure the Publick, That I have used the utmost care to render it acceptable; and that nothing might be Wanting, I have given the following Explanation of each figure.*⁵

According to this statement, the images were taken directly from the buildings, as survey drawings, or from the original architects' drawings. Although the implication is that Campbell, as author, amassed the material, he never explicitly states that he was solely responsible for

¹ John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 296; Elizabeth McKellar, 'Popularism versus Professionalism: John Summerson and the twentieth-century creation of the 'Georgian'', in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to eighteenth-century architecture*, ed. by Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 36-56.

² Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1600-1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 141.

³ Summerson, 1993, p. 296.

⁴ See introduction of this thesis for a fuller discussion of these sources.

⁵ Campbell, I, p. 2.

gathering the book's contents. He does not claim to have surveyed the buildings himself, nor does he offer any other contributors' or assistants' names. It seems extremely unlikely, based on the geographical distribution of the buildings depicted and the time limits imposed on production, that Campbell was indeed able to survey all the buildings himself.

In his 1977 study of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Connor provided a 'very rough breakdown of the probable provenance of the drawings'.⁶ Here, he divides the likely provenance into a number of categories: those attributed to Inigo Jones; those derived from other engravings; those supplied by, or at the wish of, the patron; and those supplied by other architects.⁷ Connor's investigation is used as the basis for my own. Connor also stated that Campbell 'collected the drawings of the buildings by Jones and Webb, [...] made almost all the 'New Designs' and [...] saw to it that the houses of the men whose interest he courted were included in the book. In these cases it is likely that he visited the site, although topographical accuracy was not always his only aim'.⁸ In response to Connor, I do not think that Campbell comprehensively surveyed all, or even a significant number, of the buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. There are no extant survey drawings by Campbell, or anyone else, in the CC Works collection relating to the production of the book.

Campbell is named as author of all three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In addition to sourcing the designs, he was responsible for the introduction, dedications, descriptions of plates, and presumably also the order in which the plates appeared. His name is given as author in the royal privilege and licence printed at the front of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

2.2.1 The Introduction of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

The information supplied by Campbell in the introduction has been comprehensively considered by Giles Worsley, who concluded that Campbell's introduction was not an original piece of writing but was instead adapted from a previous source: Evelyn's English translation (1664) of Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture* (1650).⁹

⁶ T.P. Connor, 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*', *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 20 and 29.

⁷ Connor, 1977, p. 29.

⁸ Connor, 1977, p. 22.

⁹ Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 95-6.

Campbell's introduction is very short, with little detail, and is not typical of a theoretical text. Campbell, in listing the architects represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, states:

*And here I cannot but reflect on the Happiness of the British Nation, that at present abounds with so many learned and ingenious Gentlemen, as Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Bruce, Sir John Vanbrugh, Mr Archer, Mr Wren, Mr Wynne, Mr Talman, Mr Hawksmore, Mr James &c.*¹⁰

However, this list is not representative of all the artists involved in the production, and the men are not represented, or described equally. In my opinion this passage was intended to emphasise the role of the architect and give status to their work, thus reinforcing the notion of the book being devoted to architecture.

Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones hold an important place in the introduction of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and are held in high esteem by Campbell. The primary purpose of this section seems to be the promotion of Jones' designs which Campbell had already acquired for volume I: the Banqueting House, the Queen's House and Greenwich Hospital. In addition, the designs of Whitehall Palace, which Campbell intended to include in volume II, are promoted with lavish praise, when describing the forthcoming second volume. Although Palladio is held in high esteem, Campbell does not include any of his designs. The introduction has an anti-foreign sentiment which draws attention to the pride of Britishness. In the first part of the introduction he had sought to dispel the idea of foreign superiority, by stating:

*The General Esteem that Travellers have for Things that are foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with Regard to Building...It's owing to this Mistake in Education, that so many of the British Quality have so mean an Opinion of what is performed in our own Country; tho', perhaps, in most we equal, and in some things we surpass, our Neighbours.*¹¹

Campbell's preference for Classical architecture is highlighted in the third paragraph with his discussion of the 'restorers of architecture' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which draws special attention to Palladio who has, in Campbell's words, 'exceeded all that were gone before him, and surpass'd his Contemporaries, whose ingenious Labours will eclipse many, and rival most of the Ancients'.¹² Campbell goes on to describe the foreign architects of the previous

¹⁰ Campbell, I, p. 2.

¹¹ Campbell, I, p. 2.

¹² Campbell, I, p. 2.

century, noting: 'How affected and licentious are the Works of Bernini and Fontana?'¹³ Even though this contrast is made, there is no indication of a particular agenda on Campbell's part; he does not equate foreign architects with an English equivalent. In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the inclusion of so many of Sir John Vanbrugh's buildings suggests that a Palladian agenda was not promoted. There is no apparent selection process which stemmed from Campbell's knowledge of historical architecture. In fact, Campbell needed to produce the introduction for the benefit of his readers and prove himself as a credible author and architect, when he was still inexperienced. Therefore, presenting this type of information would have made him seem knowledgeable and authoritative. If, as Worsley has identified, Campbell modelled his introduction on an earlier book, then it seems that he used a standard formula in order to promote the specific needs of his architectural book, such as advertising the Jones-Webb drawings.

2.2.2 The Title Page of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

Eileen Harris uses the title page as an important piece of evidence in her study.¹⁴ There are two pages of this type included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*: the first by John Sturt contains an extensive description in English and French, and the second which is the dedication page by George Bickham and R. Snow which gives Campbell's name as author, the title of the book, and a dedication to the monarch, George I.¹⁵ Based on the location, size and lack of dominance of Campbell's name in the title page, Harris argues that he was appointed as author only two weeks prior to publication.¹⁶ Although Campbell's name is not dominant on this title page, on the second page it forms an integral part of the design. I have not been able to establish exactly when both pages were engraved, or discover if they were both intended to be included in the publication, from the start of the project. If both were planned from the start, then both pages should be considered together. Campbell's name may have been inserted in the first page as an

¹³ Campbell, I, p. 1.

¹⁴ Harris, 1990, p. 139.

¹⁵ Bickham worked alongside many apprentice engravers, whom he also taught. Although Snow is not known for certain to have held this role, the subsidiary nature of the name to Bickham indicates this relationship. see Sloane, 'George Bickham (1683/4-1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2353>> [accessed 2 Dec 2008] .

¹⁶ Harris, 1990, p.142.

afterthought, but this is not conclusive evidence of a change of authorship or the introduction of an agenda in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Within the bound volume of drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which is the focus of this study, a proof engraving of the title page remains. It shows the completed design, yet without the name of the engraver or printseller (1).¹⁷ This proof includes Campbell's name; therefore it was not the final insertion on the title page. The overall imbalance of the design caused by the insertion of Campbell's name was highlighted by Harris as an important factor in her thesis.¹⁸ Although Campbell's name does detract from the mainly centred text, it is not the only anomaly on the page. Below the main body of text, an annotation reads 'In II volumes/Vol I' and is repeated in French in the lower aspect of the page: 'En deux Tomes/Tombe I'. Although this writing is centred, it does not conform to the overall design and looks as if it has been inserted in this small space later in the process. A further annotation 'Cum previso Regis', can be found in the lower half of the page, but cannot be found on the upper part as there is no suitable space in which to insert it, which suggests that the whole plate was not fully planned prior to its execution. This analysis demonstrates that changes were still taking place on the title page prior to production and, although it is strange that Campbell's name is not dominant, it does not indicate a change of authorship or the creation of a particular stylistic agenda.

The second of these pages is dedicated to 'His most Sacred Majesty, King George', and so must have been prepared after his succession to the throne on 1 August 1714. On this plate Campbell's name is visually dominant and was certainly included as an integral part of the design. Overall, this plate is more coherent, and the proof state in the preparatory volume indicates that, unlike the title page, it did not go through any changes (2). The layout of the text is precisely organised and the ornate italic font is visually elaborate, making the text and the decoration hard to separate. If we consider both title pages then we see that Campbell's name is marginal on one, yet visually dominant on the other, therefore, without knowing the precise date of production it is impossible to establish if they were conceived contemporaneously or if one

¹⁷ This seems to be the earliest proof state of the plate; other variants in printed editions remain. For details see: Nick Savage, 'Vitruvius Britannicus', in *Early Printed Books 1478-1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprint Collections*, volume 4, ed by N Savage (Munich: K.G. Saur Verlage, 2001), p. 2317.

¹⁸ Harris, 1990, p. 139; Nick Savage, 'Colen Campbell: 1676-1729' in *Mark J Millard Architectural Collection, Volume II: British Books Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1998), p. 46.

was added later as a supplementary plate.

Further evidence can be taken from similar title pages. John Sturt, the engraver of the title page, produced a number of similar title pages, the three most relevant examples being the proposal pages for John James' *Five Orders of Architecture* (1707) (175), *Rules and Examples of Perspective* (1707) (176), and *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture* (1708) (177).¹⁹ I have selected these examples as they are the most similar in layout to the *Vitruvius Britannicus* title page. However they are significantly different as they all contain a picture on the lower half of the design, rather than a dual language translation. All three examples contain a formal title and extended, precise description without inconsistencies or oddities, but the text further down the page is less coherent and show problems where further details were added. The most striking example is *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture*, where the name of Sturt, who was involved in an artistic capacity, appears to have been inserted as an afterthought (177). Here, his name is at the end of the section, in small letters, in a font that differs to the rest of the plate. Often the lettering on Sturt's plates does not fit comfortably into the plate, or has been compressed, but remains centred. Another important issue arising is that the name of the author is never dominantly located on these plates, but is written distinctively lower on the plate. Although they are not a comprehensive sampling, these examples demonstrate that there was scope for change during the production of a title page, and that oddities of the type seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus* were not unusual. The argument that Campbell's name is indicative of a change of authorship is therefore, in my opinion, inconclusive.

2.2.3 The Description of Plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*

For each building Campbell depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus* he provided a corresponding description at the beginning of the volume. By analysing the descriptions, it is possible to understand something of the information in Campbell's possession when he produced *Vitruvius Britannicus*, or at least the information he shared with the readers. The following section seeks

¹⁹ Overall Sturt's designs fall into two types: small plates for text-based books, and large folio pages for visually dominant books. *Vitruvius Britannicus* fits into the latter category.

to extract as much information as possible, looking for clues and patterns amongst the descriptions.

Each description in *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates to a single project, and the views for a single project are described together. On certain occasions a second description can be found – if another plate for the same project is included in volume III – but these are much shorter and often assume knowledge of the earlier description. For example, when describing Lowther Castle in volume III, Campbell states, 'In *Westmorland*, the Seat of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Lonsdale*. Having published the Plans and Elevation in my Second Volume, I have here made a Geometrical Plan of the Gardens and Plantations.'²⁰ Similarly for Althorp, he writes, 'In *Northamptonshire*, the Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*. In my Second Volume I gave the Plan and the Elevation of this House, and in this I have given a View in Perspective of the same, in one double Plate.'²¹ These examples show a pattern that Campbell adopted when describing a building for a second time.

The description of plates indicates the knowledge Campbell was in possession of during the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. As we shall see, the length of each description varies, as does the quality and substance of the information provided by Campbell: there is not a standard formula which Campbell adheres to when writing a description and the tone varies. Few descriptions show a familiarity with the building indicative of Campbell having visited or surveyed the building. Occasionally personal information about the patron, or architect, is included but in many cases Campbell is concerned with flattering patrons, and there are overt attempts to secure future patronage. I suggest that based on the traits found in these descriptions the designs can be grouped, possibly from the sources from which Campbell obtained each design. The following discussions draw on information in the descriptions, together with external resources where possible, and have been divided based on the suspected origin of the design.

²⁰ Campbell, III, p. 11.

²¹ Campbell, III, p. 11.

2.3 SOURCES OF DESIGN

2.3.1 Drawings from Other Architects

Campbell claimed that he acquired designs in the form of architectural drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* from practising architects of the time, and this is confirmed by the presence of a number of drawings by other architects in the CC Works collection.²² Even though this statement was made to the readers of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the circumstances or relationship between Campbell and the contributors is unclear. Campbell records the origins in the cases of Castle Howard, Yorkshire and Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire (both supplied by Vanbrugh); and Easton Neston, Northamptonshire (supplied by Hawksmoor).²³ In these descriptions of these buildings the generosity Campbell extended to Vanbrugh is much greater than that given to Hawksmoor. Campbell describes Vanbrugh's buildings with longer, more detailed descriptions, using significant information about the decoration of the building. In these examples – where the design was supplied by the architect – the text was more than purely descriptive. The additional information must have been known by Campbell, or supplied alongside the design. There is no reason to suspect that Campbell visited the sites personally to verify the designs, or to acquire additional information about the buildings. These descriptions are the most informed in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, with the exception of Campbell's own designs. Of the buildings depicted in this category, many were, in reality, incomplete or not executed according to the architect's design. The resulting implications will be considered in Chapter 4.

Campbell received contributions from a number of different individuals. As mentioned, some of these men are directly acknowledged in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but others appear to have supplied drawings but were not acknowledged. While Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor are mentioned in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Lord Burlington and William Wakefield are not directly named, although drawings in the CC Works collection suggest that a similar exchange took place. The level of involvement of each contributor also seems to have varied in the production process. According to Campbell, Vanbrugh retained control of his designs by checking the plates before they were sent to print. The description of Blenheim Palace, for

²² Campbell, I, p. 2.

²³ Campbell, I, p. 5 and 7.

example, states:

In this Collection I present the Curious with all the Plans and Elevations, by the particular Direction of *Sir John Vanbrugh*, who gave the Designs of this Magnificent Palace. Here I am at a Loss, how to express my Obligations to this worthy Gentleman for promoting my Labours, in most generously assisting me with his Original Drawings, and most carefully correcting all the Plates as they advanced. All I can say, falls infinitely short of what I owe; and yet I am afraid, what is already said is much more than he will approve.²⁴

Similarly, when describing Castle Howard, Campbell writes: 'The Plans, Elevations, and Sections, are all drawn from the original of the Architect, Sir John Vanbrugh, and by him most carefully verified'.²⁵ This is the only evidence to suggest that Vanbrugh checked the plates, and mention cannot be found in any of the other descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus* of similar action taking place. Campbell clearly respected and admired Vanbrugh, and the number of his buildings represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* outweighs those by any other architect, other than himself.

Campbell directly acknowledges Nicholas Hawksmoor for the supply of drawings for the design of Lord Leominster's house, Easton Neston, Northamptonshire. Campbell states: 'Mr *Hawksmore*, to whom I am indebted for the Original Drawings of this House, and many other valuable Pieces, for enriching this Work, which I could not in gratitude conceal from the Publick'.²⁶ The words Campbell uses here are much less gracious than those with which he describes Vanbrugh. All the information in the description could have been taken from the drawing. In contrast to the descriptions of Vanbrugh's designs they are much less informed, and may suggest a limited relationship between Campbell and Hawksmoor. The treatment of Hawksmoor in the description of plates was standard, but the treatment of Vanbrugh was exceptional.

Campbell lavishes Sir James Thornhill with praise in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but in his capacity as an artist, not an architect. Considering this level of praise, it is unusual that not every building on which he worked is acknowledged. Thornhill is profusely praised for his work on Stoke Edith, Herefordshire; Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; Roehampton House,

²⁴ Campbell, I, p. 5.

²⁵ Campbell, I, p. 6.

²⁶ Campbell, I, p. 7.

Surrey; and Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire.²⁷ He also worked at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, but is not acknowledged in the description of plates.²⁸ After volume I, Thornhill is not mentioned again in any capacity, even when a building on which he worked is depicted, and this may be indicative of a change in relationship over time. Campbell's knowledge of Thornhill's work was not comprehensive, and the history of each building is not definitive, yet the descriptions where he is included indicate that Campbell was more knowledgeable about the building than just its outward appearance.

Thornhill is the only painter who is praised extensively in the description of plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. At Montagu House, London, Campbell mentions a number of artists, but his knowledge is evidently much more limited than of his knowledge of Thornhill. He states: 'The Apartments are very noble, and richly adorned. Here, Monsieur *la Fausse*, Mr *Rousseau*, and Mr *Baptiste*, have express'd excellence in their Art.'²⁹ In contrast, the praise Thornhill receives from Campbell is more informed, and his work is held in high esteem, mainly due to his origin as an English artist. In the introduction to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell had attacked the work produced abroad in the last century. In his words:

*For Proof of this Assertion, I appeal to the Production of the last Century: How affected and licentious are the Works of Bernini and Fontana? How wildly extravagant are the Designs of Boromini, who has endeavoured to debauch Mankind with his odd and chimerical Beauties.*³⁰

The way he describes Thornhill is very complimentary, and has a deeply nationalistic tone. Again in Campbell's words: '[that] above all the intended Paintings by Mr *Thornhill*, the Modern *Apelles*, whose bright Pencil is only capable to transmit to Posterity the Glory of the British Arms', and 'The Salon is very Noble, and has an excellent ceiling, by Mr *Thornhill*'.³¹ The greatest praise is reserved for Greenwich Hospital, of which Campbell writes:

²⁷ Campbell, I, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ Tabitha Barber, 'Thornhill, Sir James (1675/6-1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition Sept 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2353>> [accessed 8 Dec 2008]; Edward Croft Murray, *Decorative painting in England 1537-1837: Volume 1 Early Tudor to Sir James Thornhill* (London: Country Life, 1962), pp. 69-79.

²⁹ Campbell, I, p. 4.

³⁰ Campbell, I, p. 1.

³¹ Campbell, II, p. 6.

But here I can't neglect mentioning that excellent Ceiling in the great Hall, by Mr *Thornhill*, to his eternal Honour, and his Country: Here Foreigners may view with Amaze, our Countrymen with Pleasure, and all with Admiration, the Beauty, the Force, the Majesty of a *British* Pencil! Rich in Invention, correct in Design, noble in Disposition, in Execution admirable.³²

Thornhill's work plays an important role in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, facilitating the promotion of British art, one of Campbell's central motivations.³³

Campbell did not explicitly acknowledge William Wakefield as a supplier of drawings, but he may have provided source material nonetheless.³⁴ Wakefield is named as architect of three buildings in volume III: Duncombe, Atherton and Rokeby, all in Yorkshire.³⁵ A plan for Rokeby House, which may be in Wakefield's hand, remains in the Campbell drawing collection.³⁶ This drawing may suggest that other contributors were used, and that Campbell neglected to acknowledge them. The descriptions of Wakefield's buildings are very similar and betray no direct knowledge of the buildings. For example, in the description of Rokeby, Campbell states:

In the County of York, the Seat of *Thomas Robinson*, Esquire. In one single Plate, I have given the Plan of the Principal and Attick Story, with the Front, extending 96 Feet; the Rustick Basement is 10 Feet high, and supports a *Corinthian* Ordonance, consisting of 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ Columns, and 2 Pilasters 3 feet in Diameter. The Door and Windows in the principal Story are semi-circular; the Attick is only over the middle Part of the Building, and has square Windows, and concludes with an Entablature and Ballustrade. The Apartments are convenient, as the Plan more fully expresseth. It is designed by *William Wakefield*, Esq, Anno 1724.³⁷

The information described above is almost identical in format to the other two descriptions of Wakefield's buildings, and in each case Campbell could easily have derived the information from the drawing of the building. Although the drawing in the CC Works collection suggests a possible link between the two men, there is nothing to suggest the men had a personal

³² Campbell, II, p. 6.

³³ Johns, Richard, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England after 1688' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2004)

³⁴ Campbell, III, p. 11.

³⁵ Campbell, III, p. 11.

³⁶ Although Harris states the plan of Rokeby was prepared for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the technique indicates that it was not prepared for engraving. John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1973), p.15.

³⁷ Campbell, III, p. 11.

relationship or exchanged any further information.

Finally, there is one contemporaneous architectural professional whose absence from *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been taken to be of significance. James Gibbs' work is nowhere acknowledged, and this omission has been understood to be a consequence of a deliberate and active attempt by Campbell to exclude his rival.³⁸ The significance of Campbell's failure to acknowledge Gibbs' work in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is proportional to the extent to which the publication is intended to be an exhaustive survey of British architecture of the time; for only if Campbell's intent is to represent such work comprehensively does the omission clearly indicate a deliberate attempt to withhold information about Gibbs' career from his readership. According to my interpretation, however, it appears that Campbell's selection process was driven less by careful strategising, or by the active acquisition of the work of specific designers, than by opportunistic and unscrupulous choice of material. In addition, Campbell did not undertake a systematic survey of the buildings he included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and although he began his introduction with a list of architects who he had included in the book, the list was not comprehensive and did not represent each architect equally. Furthermore, not all of the buildings represented in the publication had an architect, and we should not expect the twenty-first century preoccupation with authorship to have been a pervasive feature of Campbell's era anyway.

Therefore it may have been purely chance that none of Gibbs' designs, which at that time were few, reached Campbell during his preparations for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In light of the existing materials which do not present an exhaustive survey of current British architecture, there is little evidence of Campbell deliberately excluding Gibbs; it may instead reflect the impromptu nature of his amalgamation of materials. Harris claims that Gibbs was also intentionally excluded by Campbell from volume III, and it is true that by this stage Gibbs had a greater number of executed commissions which Campbell could have included. However, I do not believe that Campbell undertook an extensive survey for the earlier volumes, or for volume III. At this stage my opinion coincides with that of Harris in concluding that Campbell may

³⁸ Harris, 1990, p. 208.

simply have utilised some leftover materials, which he went on to supplement extensively with his own designs in the last volume, as was now possible due to his increased renown. Had Campbell indeed been employing the book as a vehicle for self-promotion and wished not to draw attention to the work of someone who posed a threat to his career advancement it is my view that this would have taken little energy and deliberation. In light of the view that Campbell did not actively seek an exhaustive survey of British architecture it would not have been a case of excluding Gibbs' material, it would have been a case of failing to actively seek it out, a failure in keeping with Campbell's overall methodology.

Finally, a further possible reason for Gibbs' exclusion exists, which is unexplored in the literature: that it was on Gibbs' own request that his work was omitted from *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It has been suggested that Gibbs wanted to publish his own book, even at this early stage in his career, and therefore he may have wanted his designs to be in this volume.³⁹ Equally so, he may have been reluctant to include his designs in a book which was being authored by a rival who was unknown and untested in this field, or not want his designs to be associated with an uncertain venture.

There is evidently variation in the circumstances of the drawings provided by other architects, as demonstrated above. On the whole, the descriptions are fuller, more informative, usually longer than other descriptions in other categories. Campbell is always supplied with the name of the patron and names the architect, even if not directly with the supply of source materials.

2.3.2 Previously Published Engravings

Campbell copied a number of existing engravings for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but additional engravings which he may have utilised, which correspond to the designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, can also be identified.⁴⁰ Two types of engraving may have been copied by Campbell: the architectural engraving and the topographical view.⁴¹ The original engravings

³⁹ Harris, 1990, p. 208.

⁴⁰ Connor, 1977, p. 21.

⁴¹ These categories are distinctly different from the type of representation described by Harris in the chapter 'Britannia Illustrata and the Knyff Tradition' and show buildings set within the context of London including carriages and people, rather than the previous strictly orthogonal architectural engravings, see John Harris, *The Artist and the*

were produced for a variety of reasons, including proposals for committees and private patrons. The engravings were most likely acquired for source materials after his arrival in London: the exact source of their acquisition remains unknown. In some cases engravings may have been supplied by the patron: the design of Wentworth Castle in *Vitruvius Britannicus* appears to have been taken from an engraving of 1713, made by Holzendorf for the Earl of Strafford.⁴² However, two other engravings copied by Campbell have a common architect and engraver: both are by Henry Hulsbergh after Thomas Archer, and depict the Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire and St Philip's Church, Birmingham (182, 183).⁴³ Campbell's descriptions of these plates are very similar, brief and basic, and derived entirely from the original engravings. Campbell states, 'This Church is designed by the ingenious Mr. Archer; and is justly esteemed a very beautiful structure. Anno 1710' and 'the said Pavilion in his Grace's Garden in Bedfordshire. Design'd by Mr Archer. Anno 1709'.⁴⁴ Evidently Campbell knew very little about these buildings, and this lack of knowledge is reflected in his descriptions, but are typical of designs which I believe to have been derived from engravings with a basic and short description.

My second category of engraving – the topographical view – may have provided the source for a number of plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, since many engravings in existence at this time depicted London town houses.⁴⁵ This type is different from the more formal, decontextualised architectural engravings described above. In this category of engraving the main façade of the building is depicted orthogonally, with the linking parts between the house and the wings represented in perspective, often with human figures or carriages in the foreground to provide context. Even though these engravings initially seem quite different in nature from those in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, it is certainly possible that Campbell copied this type of engraving.

Again there is consistency in the descriptions which I suspect may have come from

Country House: From the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995), p. 88.

⁴² Connor, 1977, pp. 21-22 and Marcus Whiffen, *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1973), p. 16.

⁴³ Worcester College Print Collection <www.prints.worc.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 10 Dec 2008] St Philip's Church Folder 4 009 and 010; Wrest Park Pavilion Folder 6 011 and 012.

⁴⁴ Campbell, I, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁵ According to Connor, 'All the great London houses were frequently engraved, and one of Hulsbergh's 1711 sets of Marlborough House was copied exactly in *Vitruvius Britannicus*', see Connor, 1977, p. 21.

engraved topographical views.⁴⁶ In the case of Marlborough House, London, Campbell states: '[It] is the residence of his Grace in *London*; where are fine Gardens, and Prospect over St. *James's* Park. The design was given by Mr. *Wren*, Anno 1709.' Similarly in the description of Powis House, London, Campbell says: 'This house is built with the best Portland Stone, well executed; enriched with a *Corinthian* Pilastrade, besides a considerable Attick and Balustrade, supported with a rustick Basement; and was finish'd Anno 1714'.⁴⁷ These brief descriptions could easily have been derived from engravings and are largely uninformed. The city location of many of these buildings would have enabled Campbell to visit them directly, to survey or acquire information, but it seems likely, however, that Campbell chose to obtain the design (and information for the descriptions) from engravings.

2.3.3 Designs by Inigo Jones and John Webb

Designs by Inigo Jones and John Webb are represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and again the corresponding descriptions conform to a similar pattern: they are not authoritative or informed, and little specific information is presented to the reader. Campbell usually begins a description of this type with the declaration that Jones is the architect of the project. In the case of the Banqueting House, London, Campbell states: 'This incomparable Piece was designed by the immortal *Jones*, as one Pavilion for that admirable Model he gave for a Royal Palace'.⁴⁸

Campbell then praises Jones' work, whilst simultaneously providing little factual information:

If this Specimen has justly commanded the Admiration of Mankind, what must the finished Pile have produced? I hope *Britain* will still have the Glory to accomplish it, which will as far exceed all the Palaces of the Universe, as the Valour of our Troops and Conduct of our Generals have surpassed all others. Here our excellent Architect has introduced Strength with Politeness, Ornament with Simplicity, Beauty with Majesty: It is, without Dispute, the first Room in the World.⁴⁹

Here we can see the level of praise Campbell gives a building by Jones. In each case the description is relatively long, yet the only information the reader is given is the date of

⁴⁶ Connor indicates 12 designs as being derived from existing engravings. Connor, 1977, p. 29.

⁴⁷ Campbell, I, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Campbell, I, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Campbell, I, p. 3.

construction and the name of the architect. Like the previous categories, Campbell provides additional information but all could have been derived directly from the design. Campbell elaborates his description of the Banqueting House, by saying:

I have made two plates: the Plan is near a square, being 116 foot by 120; the proportion of the Rooms are extream just; and the great Hall is admirable, making an exact Cube of 40 Foot. In the Front is a noble Rustick Basement, which Supports a beautiful and regular Loggio of the *Ionick* Order, finished with a just Entablature and Ballustrade round the whole Building.⁵⁰

In this example, much of the information could have been derived from the representation of the building in Campbell's possession. Although the precise source of the Jones-Webb designs remains unknown, a number of things can be discerned from Campbell's descriptions. It seems that Campbell did not receive any additional information alongside the designs; the length of these descriptions is relatively long, but much of this is generated through flattery and a basic description of the design. Campbell evidently held Jones in high esteem, considering the flattery he received in the descriptions and also in the introduction, where he states:

*Let the Banqueting-house, those excellent pieces at Greenwich, with many other Things of this great Master, be carefully examined, and I doubt not but an Impartial Judge will find in them all the Regularity of the former, with an Addition of Beauty and Majesty, in which our Architect is esteemed to have out done all that went before.*⁵¹

Campbell mis-attributes a number of designs by Jones and generally treats Webb in a much less respectful way. Webb is not credited with any designs in his own right, but is mentioned as the executor of designs by Jones and blamed for any problems with them. This is highlighted in the description of Gunnersbury House. Campbell begins by saying:

This house was executed by Mr *Webb*, Disciple to *Jones*, from a Design of his Great Master....some find the Inter-columniation in this Hexastyle too open, and that to leave out the Freeze and Architrave of each side the Pediment, is a licence not to be introduced without great necessity.⁵²

This is far from the praise which Campbell gives to Jones in the previous descriptions.

At the time of production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* volume I, Inigo Jones' drawings were

⁵⁰ Campbell, I, p. 4.

⁵¹ Campbell, I, p. 2.

⁵² Campbell, I, p. 4.

in two main collections. On his death, they passed to John Webb, when they merged with Webb's collection. Webb passed this large collection to his son, William Webb, with the instruction not to disperse the collection, but this happened soon after his own death. The drawings were next owned by the city surveyor John Oliver, and they once again changed hands around the turn of the century, when they were acquired by the architect William Talman. After Talman's death they were bequeathed to his son John Talman and were subsequently sold to Lord Burlington in 1720 and 1721. In addition, another minor set of drawings was acquired in the first decade of the century by Dr George Clark in Oxford, and were later bequeathed to Worcester College, Oxford.⁵³

It is possible that Campbell took the drafts of the Jones drawings from the collection which was owned by William Talman. Talman's designs were included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and he was listed in the introduction so he was certainly known to Campbell, perhaps in his capacity as the owner of the Jones-Webb drawings. The level of access Campbell would have had to the collection is still cause for speculation.

2.3.4 Campbell's Own Designs

There are two types of designs by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*: his executed designs and his proposed designs. The descriptions for both types are, on the whole, written in a more informed way than the other descriptions, often including technical details and stylistic justifications for his decisions. As a newcomer to London, and someone at the beginning of his architectural career, Campbell used the proposed designs to further himself through flattery and generosity to potential patrons in an attempt to secure future patronage. This type of description is much longer than other types, due to the inclusion of the extensive flattery and personal justification of the designs. In the case of the proposed design for the Earl of Halifax, Campbell states:

As this Noble Lord is the Distinguished Patron of the Muses, the great *Maecenas* of our Age, I have presumed to honour this Design with the Patronage of so great a Name, as a Small Evidence of my Gratitude, who have been honoured very

⁵³ John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York: Drawings Center, 1989), pp. 22-3.

early with his Lordship's Countenance, by encouraging my Labours.⁵⁴

This part of the description is focused on flattering Halifax. Here, Campbell alludes to a previous encounter (with Halifax), or support of patronage from the Earl, but there is no definitive link between the two men. There is a much greater sense in these descriptions that Campbell needs to prove himself as an architect, and often includes more detail about the designs of the buildings, seemingly to demonstrate his knowledge. In one example, again taken from the description of the design for the Earl of Halifax, Campbell defends his decisions. He states:

What is of Distinction of this Disposition, is, that the Bed-Chambers are removed from interrupting the grand Visto, and still the state is preserved in entering them when necessary; which I have not yet observed in any former design. The Second is the Front where a large Rustico supports a Loggio with $\frac{3}{4}$ columns of the *Corinthian* Order: Here the Windows are placed at due Distance, and free from that Bad Effect we so frequently see when they are crowded, which destroys that Repose and Appearance of Strength, so necessary in Architecture.⁵⁵

Campbell has highlighted what he considers to be an important part of the design, and he explicitly states his own skill by describing how he achieved it, something which he was not able to do in the other designs. Campbell is more confident describing the architecture which he understands first-hand. When describing Wanstead House, Essex, Campbell describes the architecture in the following way:

The situation requiring this Height, to afford the State-Apartments a Prospect to these excellent Gardens. You ascend from the Court by double Stairs of each side which land in the Portico; and from thence into the Great Hall...The second is the Front adorned with a just Hexastyle, the first yet practised in this manner in the Kingdom.⁵⁶

In this case, Campbell does not provide specific information about the building, but he demonstrates an awareness of the site, and building, which is lacking in almost all the other descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Through the inclusion of the proposed designs, and more generally the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell was able to make the first steps

⁵⁴ Campbell, I, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Campbell, I, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Campbell, I, p. 4.

towards securing a set of patrons.

In volume I, Campbell included two designs for Wanstead House, Essex, a building on which he had been engaged since 1713. Other than this, Campbell's only other executed design was for the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow, but he failed to include this in volume I, including it instead in volume II. All the other designs included in volume I were proposed designs dedicated to people whom Campbell hoped would patronise him. The number of proposed designs in volume I numbered five, with four being dedicated directly: to the Duke of Argyll, Earl of Halifax, Earl of Islay and Lord Percival. By volume II, there were seven proposed designs, five of which were dedicated to specific people: Tobias Jenkyns, Robert Walpole, Secretary Stanhope, Secretary Methuen and the Earl of Cadogan.⁵⁷ In volume II there are only a small number of Campbell's executed works.⁵⁸ Therefore, when Campbell was producing volume II, he was still reliant on the proposed designs to assist his up-and-coming architectural career. Campbell did not greatly benefit from these dedications. Late in his career he was employed by Robert Walpole at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, but he did not receive commissions from any of the other people whom he attempted to court through *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁵⁹ Although he did not benefit directly, Campbell's architectural career certainly expanded due to his authorship of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and his success greatly increased after 1717, the year of volume II.

The expansion in his career is reflected in the designs for his last volume. By volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the need for overt flattery to new patrons was reduced, since Campbell was at the peak of his architectural career, and as a result the form of the book changed. This peak in his career was partly to blame for the delay in publishing the third volume. At this stage he included many of his executed designs (almost half the plates in volume III), and the proposed designs were reduced to only one, and even then this was not dedicated to a patron, as in the previous volumes.⁶⁰ There is also a difference in the descriptions of Campbell's executed

⁵⁷ One was not specifically dedicated to a patron and the other was Sir John Vanbrugh's proposed design for Eastbury, Dorset.

⁵⁸ Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow; Hotham House, Yorkshire and Hedworth House, County Durham.

⁵⁹ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840*, 4th edn (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 213.

⁶⁰ Campbell, III, Pl 98-100.

buildings in volume III; they are typically informed, and substantial in length, like those by Campbell in the earlier volumes, but more confident in tone.

2.3.5 Supplied by Patron of the Building

The descriptions provided by Campbell show that many of the patrons of buildings featured in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶¹ The evidence for this category is extremely limited, and the nature of any direct relationship between Campbell and the gentlemen whose houses he depicted is unknown. Often the owner is mentioned in the description of the building, but in some cases the original patron – responsible for the construction of the house – is also acknowledged. For example, in the description of Chevening House, Kent, Campbell mentions the original owner, the Earl of Sussex, and the new owner, James Stanhope.⁶² As previously stated certain individuals were deemed so important as to have had plates dedicated to them. Some owners may have supplied designs directly to Campbell, but this cannot be confirmed.

Campbell did not treat each of these patrons with equal praise: there is some variation in the descriptions which seems to be based on the extent to which Campbell was looking to cultivate patronage. For example, in the description dedicated to the Duke of Argyll, Campbell states: 'I have inscrib'd this Design to this illustrious Name, whose great actions have filled the World with Surprize and Admiration; *Ramellies* and *Tanniers* are immortal'.⁶³ Likewise, of Kings Weston he writes: '[It] is the Seat of the Right Honourable *Edward Southwell*, Esq; who is the *Angaranno* of our Age, to whom my obligations are so deep, that to repeat the least Part of them, would offend the Modesty of my Benefactor'.⁶⁴ These descriptions show the extent to which Campbell was willing to flatter patrons to benefit his career. In this case, Campbell was not successful in gaining the patronage of the Duke of Argyll, but he did go on to work for Edward Southwell at Kings Weston.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Connor suggests that at least twelve designs were supplied by or at the wish of the patron of the building. He lists these as Estcot [Escot/Walter Yonge's House]; Maiden Bradley; Ric Rooth's House; Newbold Hall; High Meadow, and garden designs for Narford, Caversham, Claremont and Boughton. There does not seem to be any documentary evidence to support this, but this is a plausible suggestion. Connor, 1977, p. 29.

⁶² Campbell, II, p. 4.

⁶³ Campbell, I, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Campbell, I, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

Many patrons are mentioned by name but not described in the personal terms seen above. In the instances where the patrons are named, but not described, it appears Campbell acquired this as a piece of information, rather than through a personal connection to the patron. By volume III, a selection of plates may have been included at the wish of the patron, but there is less evidence in the earlier volumes that this type of transfer occurred. Connor has suggested that designs were supplied by David Gansel at Leyton Grange, Essex; Sir Andrew Fountaine at Narford Hall, Norfolk; and the Earl of Cadogan at Caversham Park, all for volume III.⁶⁶

2.3.6 Descriptions Difficult to Categorise

There are a number of projects where the descriptions do not fall readily into any of the above categories. Many of the descriptions in volumes I and II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* show that Campbell was aware of the patron and date of the building (often when from at least 40 years before the date of publication) but is uninformed about the architect, or any other facts about the building, for example at Belton House, Lincolnshire; Beddington Place, Surrey; and Eaton House, Cheshire. A small number of buildings of this type are included in volume I – Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire; Montagu House and Burlington House, both in London – but the majority of this type can be found in volume II.⁶⁷ From the commonality of this type of description, and the fact they do not fit well into the previous categories, I will argue that these were acquired from a common source.

More generally, these descriptions reveal that Campbell had a limited knowledge of the house he was describing. Almost all of the buildings which contain this odd arrangement of description fit into the category of provincial houses in England. They do not come from a particular area, or show that the designs were amassed by a systematic tour of the country. There is no effort on the part of Campbell to show an even representation of designs from around Britain. This distribution of designs indicates that there was little in the way of a selection process and Campbell used whatever designs were to hand.

This category also raises concerns about the issue of agenda in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. If

⁶⁶ Connor, 1977, p. 29.

⁶⁷ Campbell, I, pp. 4-5.

Campbell wished to promote a Palladian agenda, then he would need the intellectual apparatus on which to found his architectural claims. This type of description throws into doubt how much Campbell knew about the buildings he was including in his book. A large number of descriptions throughout *Vitruvius Britannicus* are uninformative and indicate that Campbell knew little about many of the buildings, apart from what they looked like on paper. Many designs in volume II fit into this category. This type of description is typified in Campbell's words for Belton House, Lincolnshire, where he says:

This is the Seat of Sir *John Brownlow* Bart. In 2 Plates; the first contains the Plans of the two Principal Stories, where are many very good Apartments, noble and convenient: The second is the Front in which the Windows are handsomely dress'd with architrave, Frise and Cornice, and the whole Composition is regular; here are curious Gardens, a large Park, and many other Improvements. But above all the polite Literature, the great Civility, and uncommon Generosity of the Patron deserves to be transmitted to Posterity.⁶⁸

This type of description is pleasant, but not informed or knowledgeable about the building. Much of this is purely descriptive, and could have been taken from the design alone. Indeed, the way Campbell described the patrons was usually impersonal, yet polite. He describes the patron of Beddington Place in the following way: '[It] is the ancient seat of Sir Nicholas Carew Bart ... and indeed everything is truly worthy of so generous a Patron, who has spared no Cost to rebuild and embellish his seat'.⁶⁹ At Dyrham House – which was previously engraved by Kip – Campbell says: '[It] is the Seat of *William Blathwayt*, Esq. First I have given the general Plan of the principal Story...and the learned patron has spared no expenses in leaving such lasting Monuments of his Liberality'.⁷⁰ Although they are polite, they do not cultivate the same sense of gratitude, and willingness to flatter, as the previous examples.

This categorisation of the designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* raises the issue that the book was an amalgam of different kinds of material, taken from different places. The descriptions of these plates perhaps suggest that this group were derived from a common source. In the following chapters I will present information which shows that the common source could have been utilised by Campbell prior to his arrival in England. I suggest that much of his material

⁶⁸ Campbell, II, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Campbell, II, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Campbell, II, p. 5.

may have been in his possession on arrival in London, and could have been augmented and supplemented, then displaced to later volumes to create the final printed version of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

2.4 ORDERING OF THE PLATES IN *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

In this section I will analyse the ordering of the designs and assess the significance of the early production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I argue that the designs were often grouped by origin, rather than a contrasting sequence of plates to highlight a Palladian agenda, as has been argued previously.⁷¹

Volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is often discounted in discussions relating to the content of the book, and while it is certainly true that its contents are quite different from the earlier volumes, and separately conceived, it will be considered as part of my study of the ordering of plates. Initially I will analyse the designs supplied by other architects, and detect any patterns to their ordering throughout the three volumes. In volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, sixteen consecutive plates are dedicated to two buildings by Sir John Vanbrugh, but the remaining design, for Kings Weston, is not shown consecutively, but the descriptions of all his designs share a page, and are next to one another.⁷² Volume II devotes five plates to Vanbrugh, but for a single project: the new design for a person of quality in Somerset/Dorset (preliminary design for Eastbury). In volume III, the opening sequence includes eleven consecutive plates dedicated to three different Vanbrugh designs: Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire; Eastbury House, Dorset; and Seaton Delaval, Northumberland.⁷³

As mentioned in the previous section, all three designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by William Wakefield are included on consecutive plates in the third volume.⁷⁴ Nicholas Hawksmoor is only accredited with one design, Easton Neston, Northamptonshire; therefore his design cannot be grouped with other projects.⁷⁵ The other figure discussed in this section was Sir James Thornhill, who was only represented in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but is

⁷¹ Harris, 1990 and Savage, 1998.

⁷² Campbell, I, p. 5; Kings Weston Pls 47-8.

⁷³ Campbell, III, Grimsthorpe Pls 11-14; Eastbury Pls 15-19; Seaton Delaval Pls 20-21.

⁷⁴ Campbell, III, Duncombe Park Pls 85-8; Atherton Pl 89; Rokeby Park Pl 90.

⁷⁵ Campbell, I, p. 3 and Pls 99-100.

significant as he was involved with so many of the buildings in this volume. All the buildings related to Thornhill can be found in the last third of volume I. He can be securely associated with Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; Roehampton House, Surrey; Greenwich Hospital, London; and Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire. There may be additional links, perhaps in a different capacity, which are now unknown.⁷⁶ Although it cannot be confirmed that Thornhill supplied any designs directly, it is a strange coincidence that the buildings where he worked as a decorative painter are all grouped together in this volume, almost entirely side by side.

The previous section categorised designs which were probably taken from previously published engravings. I suspect that designs possibly taken from this source are also grouped together, including the designs of Burlington House, London; the Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire; Montagu House, London; Marlborough House, London; Powis House, London; and Buckingham House, London.⁷⁷ All of these buildings are known to have been represented in engravings prior to the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and are located side by side in the book. The only plate featured in this sequence which does not conform is that of Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire. I believe this plate to have derived from John Slezer, and may have been in Campbell's possession when he left Scotland. This will be considered in detail in Chapter 3.

The opening sequence of church designs may also have been taken from famous engravings of the buildings: St Philip's Church, Birmingham, was certainly copied from an engraving; and the design of St Peter's Basilica, Rome, was readily acquired in this way, as was St Paul's Cathedral, London. In volume II, I suspect a number of plates grouped by source (taken from engravings) to include Covent Garden, the Royal Exchange and the Bow Steeple, all in London.⁷⁸ Like the previously described sequence, these are all designs in wide circulation during the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and most likely available to Campbell on arrival in London.

All designs attributed to Inigo Jones and John Webb, but one are ordered consecutively in the various volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and were most likely derived from a common

⁷⁶ Croft Murray, 1962, pp. 69-79.

⁷⁷ Campbell, I, pp. 3 and 4; Burlington House Pls 31-2; Wrest Park Pavilion 31 and 33; Montagu House Pl 34-6; Drumlanrig Castle Pls 37-8; Marlborough House Pls 39-40; Powis House Pls 41-2; Buckingham House Pls 43-4.

⁷⁸ Campbell, II, Covent Garden Pls 20-2; The Royal Exchange Pls 23-5; Bow Steeple Pl 26.

source.⁷⁹ These are detailed in the table below. In volume I, one design attributed to Jones falls outside this sequence: for Lindsey House, London.⁸⁰ Although Campbell assigns it to Jones, the description of this building does not conform to the standard type for this category, as it is purely descriptive and omits all flattery. Unusually, the drawings for engraving for this project are not in Campbell's hand (VB I-20A-B, 45-46). This is an odd example, although attributed by Campbell to Jones, it differs to the regular pattern of the description, it is not located in *Vitruvius Britannicus* with the other Jones drawings, and is not in Campbell's hand.

Volume	Design by Jones/Webb	Plate no.
I	Banqueting House	12-13
	Queen's House	14-15
	Somerset House	16
	Gunnersbury House	17-18
	Lindsey House	49-50
II	York Stairs	28
	Cobham Hall	29-30
III	Amesbury	7
	Castle Ashby	8
	Stoke Park	9

As mentioned above, some designs for volume III may have been supplied by the patrons of the property; Leyton Grange, Narford and Caversham, are all located on consecutive plates.⁸¹

Campbell's own designs are often included consecutively in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This is most noticeable in volume III, as Campbell's architectural career had expanded greatly by 1725, but is still apparent in the earlier volumes. Both designs for Wanstead House, Essex, are located consecutively in volume I, and these are preceded and followed by a proposed design, making a large sequence by Campbell.⁸² In volume II, Campbell's designs for Hotham House, Yorkshire and Hedworth House, County Durham, are located together.⁸³ Campbell's only other

⁷⁹ The only design believed to be by Jones which has been included in this volume but not included in this sequence is Lindsey House. This may be explained by the design having a different origin. There are a number of oddities relating to this image, including the drafting technique of the drawings and the description by Campbell of the design compared to others by Jones and Webb. See Campbell, I, Banqueting House Pls 12-13; Queen's House Pls 14-15; Somerset House Pl 16; Gunnersbury House Pls 17-18; Lindsey House Pls 49-50.

⁸⁰ Campbell, I, p. 5.

⁸¹ Campbell, III, Leyton Grange Pl 94; Narford Pl 95 and Caversham Pls 96-7.

⁸² Campbell, I, Design for Duke of Argyle Pls 19-20; Wanstead I Pls 21-2; Wanstead II Pls 23-7; Design for Earl of Halifax Pls 28-30.

⁸³ Campbell, II, Hotham House Pl 87; Hedworth House Pl 88.

design here is Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow, which stands alone, but has been positioned beside Melville House, Fife, by James Smith: both Scottish designs.⁸⁴ These two drawings – Shawfield Mansion and Melville House – are very similar in technique and layout, with the plans below and the elevation above (VB II, 50A, **118**; 51A, **119**). Volume III contains a large quantity of Campbell's designs, taking up nearly half of the volume, with all the designs located consecutively, occupying the entire middle section of the book.⁸⁵

2.5 CONCLUSION

By considering the ordering of the plates alongside my provisional categorisation of the origins of the designs, it seems that many of these were located in the book side by side with designs from a shared source. In this chapter I have looked at many designs located consecutively in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which also have a shared origin. Although there are exceptions, there are many cases where this happens. If this was the basis for the ordering of the plates in these cases, then this might have been more generally adopted as a method of sequencing. If this is to be believed, then the issue of agenda can be questioned and the sequencing of plates based on contrasting plates put into doubt. It may therefore raise questions about the early production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Colen Campbell's role therein.

⁸⁴ Campbell, II, Melville House Pl 50; Shawfield Mansion Pl 51.

⁸⁵ Campbell, III, Houghton Pls 27-34; Mereworth Castle Pls 35-8; Wanstead Pls 39-40; Stourhead Castle Pls 41-3; Rolls House Pls 44-5; Newby Park Pl 46; Ebberston Lodge Pl 47; Lord Herbert's House Pl 48; Hall Barn Pls 49-50; Goodwood Pls 51-4; Mr Plumptre's House Pl 55; Lambeth Bridge Pl 56.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOURCE OF THE DESIGNS

PART 2

A SCOTTISH ORIGIN FOR ENGLISH PALLADIANISM REVISITED

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I consider the skills and resources to which Campbell may have been exposed before leaving Scotland. There were a number of professional men, architects, draughtsman and surveyors, working in Edinburgh just before Campbell's professional shift, men such as the architect James Smith, the draughtsman Alexander Edward, and the military engineer Captain John Slezer. I hope to give some understanding of the transferable skills and materials which may have been available to Campbell before his move to London and given him the wherewithal to produce an architectural book.

The second part of the chapter uses evidence collected from the preparatory drawing collection (VB I and II). These drawings have received scant attention from other scholars, and their analysis can shed important new light on the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I use these drawings alongside information from the start of this chapter to suggest that Campbell may have arrived in London with a corpus of graphic material acquired in Scotland, with the intention of publishing a book such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This will compound some of the information from Chapter 1 about the development of the drafting technique of the preparatory drawings, to establish a chronology of the production of the drawings; and shed light on the early production process of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

3.2 AVAILABLE SCOTTISH SKILLS AND RESOURCES

In this section I explore the work of three individuals, Alexander Edward, John Slezer and James Smith. Each of these men possessed certain resources, skills or expertise that would have been valuable to Campbell as he embarked upon *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Each man lived and worked in Scotland and was predominantly based in Edinburgh contemporaneously with Campbell.

Before his move to London, Campbell trained as a lawyer at Edinburgh University, and was subsequently admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1702.¹ In 1708 Campbell attempted to secure the office of the Master of Works, an architectural post previously held by both Sir William Bruce and James Smith, but his bid for office was unsuccessful.² Soon after this attempt, c. 1709, Campbell visited London, still in his capacity as a lawyer, on behalf of his uncle, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor.³ These two pieces of information show that Campbell's architectural aspirations originated much earlier than any of his executed architectural works, both built and published. However, it was not until 1711-12, when he designed the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow, that he became professionally involved in the field of architecture.⁴

There was little in the way of an architectural profession in Scotland at this time, and what there was led by a few dominant individuals, namely James Smith and Sir William Bruce.⁵ Specific architectural training was not common, and many arrived at this profession as gentlemen architects or masons.⁶ Edinburgh's compact geographical location, amongst other factors, meant that there was a close link between all professions in the city, including the architects which continued even after the Act of Union. Connections between the architectural and legal professions were commonplace, with many architects, such as Sir William Bruce, the Earl of Mar and James Smith also being involved politically.⁷ Circumstances such as these may

¹ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840*, 4th edn (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 213 and Sir Francis Grant, ed., *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland: 1532-1943 with Genealogical Notes* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1944), p. 29.

² Colvin, 2008, p. 214.

³ [Letters from Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor] National Archives of Scotland GD128/35/1.

⁴ Colvin, 2008, p. 214; G.L.M. Goodfellow, 'Colin Campbell's Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 23 (1964), 123.

⁵ Howard Colvin, 'The Beginnings of the Architectural Profession in Scotland', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), 172-4.

⁶ Colvin, 1986, p. 169.

⁷ John Lowrey, 'Sir William Bruce, first baronet, (c.1625-1710)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition May 2006 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3760>> [accessed 2

well have allowed Campbell, as a lawyer, to come into contact with practising architects.

In addition to this, there was a popular market for the transfer of skills in the city, many of which would have been valuable for Campbell's future career. There were regular notices in the Edinburgh press advertising the teaching of mathematical arts, which often included surveying and measuring. This also applied to mason-builders who needed to reach a level of architectural draughtsmanship to work in the profession.⁸ Such instruction was often conducted by retired university professors or school teachers, but evidently men of some standing. One typical example, which was repeated many times over the following weeks and months, dates from 27 December 1708:

Arithmetick, Vulgar and decimal, Algebraical, Artificial, Instrumental, Geometry, Geography, Trigonometry Plain and Spherical, the Use of both the Globes; the Resolution of the most useful problems in Astronomy, according to the Prolemaick and Copernican systems. Navigation in all its Parts, viz Plain, Oblique Mercator and Great Circle Sailing; Surveying and Dailing is taught by Mr John Thomson for. school master at Toryburn.⁹

There was also ample scope in the city to learn from the legal profession, often directly from advocates. The transfer of skills and ideas, apparently commonplace within the city, was therefore conducive to the professional networking that Campbell would have needed to facilitate his change of career. Sales of material goods were also advertised regularly, in the form of book sales, both new material and the sale of libraries, and even new printing ventures. It seems that there were suitable resources here for Campbell to have embarked upon the printing of a book in the Scottish capital, without moving to London. I shall now discuss the individual men whose careers, relationships, and activities might have had a bearing on Campbell.

3.2.1 James Smith

James Smith (c. 1645-1731) was a Scottish architect who had initially trained for the priesthood in the Scots College in Rome.¹⁰ He began his training in 1671, but in 1675 'left with permission

Dec 2008] and Christoph v. Ehrenstein, 'Erskine, John, styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar and Jacobite duke of Mar (bap. 1675, d.1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8868>> [accessed 22 Jan 2010]; Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

⁸ Colvin, 1986, p. 172.

⁹ *The Scots Post Man or the New Edinburgh Gazette*, Tuesday, 27 December 1708.

¹⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

and promising to return, but became an apostate'.¹¹ Smith's time in Rome was not devoted specifically to the study of architecture, but he returned to Scotland with the ability and desire to become an architect.¹² Smith was the only man of his generation to have trained in Italy prior to becoming an architect. He worked exclusively in Scotland, and held the post of Surveyor of the Royal Works from 1683.¹³ The post was renewed by Queen Anne, but the payment of his salary ceased after the Act of Union in 1707, resulting in financial difficulties in later life.¹⁴ Smith was a long-term Edinburgh resident, having built his own house at Whitehill (Newhailes) *c.* 1686.¹⁵

Smith came to the architectural profession as a mason, and became very well established and acquainted with the leading professionals of the time. His long-standing association with Sir William Bruce began as early as 1677, with Smith often benefiting from Bruce's extensive house arrest (due to his status as a suspected Jacobite), taking over his commissions as necessary.¹⁶ Smith was involved in many other aspects of Edinburgh life. In 1715, he volunteered to stand as the Edinburgh representative for parliament,¹⁷ and acted as Commissioner of Supply for the County of Edinburgh in 1704, and as a Justice of the Peace.¹⁸ As Commissioner for Supply, Smith would invariably have been in contact with many members of the legal profession in Edinburgh, as it was often a post deliberately assigned to a lawyer. It is possible that Smith came into contact with Campbell in this capacity.

At the same time as Campbell's interest in architecture became apparent, a number of events in Smith's life occurred which are significant for the purpose of this study. As we saw in Chapter 1 a large number of Smith's drawings were found alongside Campbell's. Which makes this avenue of study particularly relevant. Smith's finances became unstable, for several reasons. As mentioned above, after the Act of Union in 1707 his salary from his governmental post ceased and his work and career went into decline.¹⁹ Smith later tried to recoup some of his lost

¹¹ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

¹² Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

¹³ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

¹⁴ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

¹⁵ Colvin, 2008, p. 952.

¹⁶ Colvin, 2008, p. 949 and Lowrey, 2004.

¹⁷ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

¹⁸ Cited in Colvin, 2008, p. 951: Acts of Parliament of Scotland, xi, 139.

¹⁹ Colvin, 2008, p. 949.

income by travelling to London to make an appeal.²⁰ Considering his financial predicament and the decline in his architectural career around this time, it is possible that he may have been forced to sell his belongings.

Throughout much of his career, James Smith was assisted by his cousin, also called James Smith, who was primarily a mason. Colvin has concluded that the drawings (found alongside Campbell's) are the work of James Smith, and not his cousin.²¹ However, if this were true then it may have provided a further source for Campbell to acquire the drawings. Colvin has demonstrated that this collection of drawings provided inspiration for the proposed designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which were adapted without acknowledgement.²² This must have happened prior to the first volume, as the plan for the church of Lincoln's Inn Fields was derived directly from a drawing by Smith which was probably taken when he visited Italy early in his career.²³ The drawings would have provided an extensive resource for Campbell to work with. Although the exact mode of acquisition of these drawings is not known, it raises the possibility that if Campbell was willing to acquire drawings and use them for his own means without declaring their provenance, then he may also have taken drawings from other sources and not declared their origin.

Two buildings included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* relate to James Smith: Melville House, Fife, and Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire.²⁴ Smith worked at Drumlanrig for many years, but Campbell's knowledge of this building was limited, and he did not know of Smith's work there.²⁵ Smith's Melville House was included in volume II, and the design was no doubt already in Campbell's possession when volume I was published in 1715, yet Smith was not acknowledged as a contributing architect in the introduction of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²⁶ This is in contrast to Sir William Bruce, who was acknowledged in the introduction of volume I, even though Hopetoun House, West Lothian, was not published until volume II.²⁷ However, when describing Melville

²⁰ Howard Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 9.

²¹ Colvin, 1974, p. 9.

²² Colvin, 1974, p. 9.

²³ Margaret Richardson, *Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: S* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1976), p. 87.

²⁴ Campbell, II, Pl 50 Melville House, Fife; I, Pls. 37-8 Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire.

²⁵ Campbell, I, Pls 37 and 38.

²⁶ Campbell, I, p. 1.

²⁷ Smith's work on Drumlanrig Castle was not acknowledged even though he worked here at two phases between

House, Fife, in the description of plates, Campbell called Smith the 'most experienc'd Architect of that Kingdom'.²⁸ The fact that Campbell was unaware of Smith's involvement in Drumlanrig Castle suggests that these men did not have a close working relationship.

To summarise, James Smith was a successful practising architect at the time Campbell was hoping to make his transition from the legal profession and he was well connected, both within the architectural world and more generally in the Edinburgh establishment. Circumstances meant that Smith encountered some financial difficulty, which may have resulted in pressure to raise money by selling his drawings. Although there cannot be any conclusive links made between Colen Campbell and James Smith, it is certain that an exchange of ideas took place, facilitated by the drawings originating from Smith.

As discussed in Chapter 1, many of James Smith's drawings were discovered alongside Campbell's at Newby Hall and Studley Royal.²⁹ This discovery confirms the connection between Smith and Campbell, and places Campbell's ownership of these drawings prior to the production of volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This shows that Campbell had acquired materials by James Smith, perhaps in Scotland prior to his move to Scotland.

3.2.2 Alexander Edward

Alexander Edward (1651-1708) began his professional life as an Episcopalian minister in the parish of Kemback, Fife, and stayed there from 1682 until he was dispossessed by the church in 1689.³⁰ Edward is best known as the draughtsman for the leading architect of his generation, Sir William Bruce.³¹ However, some years of Edward's early life, before he became a minister, remain unaccounted for. It has been suggested that he assisted his father in the extensive survey, and description, of Angus which was published as *Angusia Provinciae Scotiae*, a map which was often used to supplement the *Blaue Atlas* (which had not surveyed this part of Scotland).³² A project like that would have required a practising understanding of measuring, delineating,

1680-90 and 1697-8, see Colvin, 2008, p. 952.

²⁸ Campbell, II, p. 3.

²⁹ Richardson, 1976, p. 86.

³⁰ Cited in Colvin, 2008, p. 343; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* V, 1925, 206.

³¹ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

³² Robert Edward, *Angusia Provinciae Scotiae, sive The Shire of Angus* (Amsterdam, 1678); John Lowrey, 'Alexander Edward: The Education of an Architect', *Inferno: The St. Andrews Journal of Art History* (1996), 37.

surveying and cartography, but also a knowledge of antiquarian study.

Edward's skills at this time are demonstrated through his later work, and it is clear that he possessed knowledge of antiquity, cartography, surveying and draughtsmanship. A set of garden surveys and designs produced by Edward for the Earl of Southesk at Kinnaird Castle, Angus, in 1695-7 highlights these skills.³³ He proposed a great axial arrangement of vast avenues of trees, which he obviously understood in terms of both design and horticulture, as they are meticulously annotated. One drawing, also in the possession of the Earl of Southesk, contains Edward's jottings on the landscape around the castle.³⁴ On closer inspection the drawing is a mathematical and antiquarian outline of the surrounding area.³⁵ Each small place name is accompanied by the bearing in degrees of the place in relation to the castle. This study indicates that Edward was trying to determine the most suitable places of antiquarian interest to include in the formal landscape design, as had been done at Kinross House by Sir William Bruce.³⁶ Many of these sites would not have been visible from the house, but this shows Edward's understanding of and ability in both formal surveying and cartography, and their intellectual associations with antiquity.³⁷

Throughout his career Edward was primarily employed as draughtsman to Sir William Bruce, but he also worked independently on relatively minor architectural works, including Brechin Castle, Kinloch House and Rossie.³⁸ Edward's work with Bruce mainly took the form of surveying buildings or gardens, or as an independent garden designer.³⁹ He also embarked upon a number of garden surveys of his own, not linked to Sir William Bruce.⁴⁰ He was one of the few draughtsman of this time who possessed professional surveying skills related to both architecture and garden design, skills which Campbell would have needed for his future career.

In 1701-2 Alexander Edward embarked upon a journey around England, France and the

³³ The drawings by Alexander Edward of Kinnaird Castle are in the ownership of the Earl of Southesk, photographic copies can be consulted in RCAHMS, Kinnaird, Angus.

³⁴ RCAHMS, Kinnaird, Angus.

³⁵ This was part of an extended research project undertaken during my undergraduate degree.

³⁶ John Dunbar, 'Kinross House', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House*, ed by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1970), p. 67.

³⁷ Many of these would not have been visible from the house, but Edward was making prestigious associations between the house, formal landscape and the ancient surrounding lands.

³⁸ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

³⁹ Alexander Edward assisted Sir William Bruce in garden designs for Hopetoun House and Kinross House, see Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

⁴⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

Low Countries.⁴¹ This trip was financed by the earls Mar, Northesk, Southesk, Strathmore, Loudoun, Panmure and Hopetoun who agreed to fund his trip in exchange for professional garden design services on his return, as well as a number of lesser contributors in exchange for other services.⁴² Edward was obliged to write to certain members of the group while travelling, and to provide a written account of his journey on his return, when he was to work on each patron's estate for a set number of days per year, for three years.⁴³ The agreement between the donors and Edward was signed through an agent, Robert Bruce, an Edinburgh lawyer.⁴⁴ The terms of the contract specified that Edward was to 'view, observe and take draughts of the most curious and remarkable Houses, Edifices, Gardings, Orchards, parks, plantations, land improvements, coall works, mines, water works and other curiosities of nature or art'.⁴⁵

Some understanding of Edward's journey can be derived from his extant travel diary.⁴⁶ The diary is not a complete or exhaustive list of his movements, but does contain some details about buildings he wanted to visit, or had visited, recommendations of people to meet, extensive lists of plants and trees to be sourced, and reminders of people to write to in Scotland.⁴⁷ Edward's travel diaries indicate that he visited Northumberland, Yorkshire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and more specifically, a number of buildings which were later included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, including Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; Lowther Castle, Westmorland, and Althorp House, Northamptonshire.⁴⁸ In addition to this, he met the Earl of Carlisle and viewed the designs for his seat, soon to be Castle Howard, Yorkshire; he also met James Johnson at Thistleworth, Twickenham,⁴⁹ and visited an extensive number of country seats throughout his journey.⁵⁰ After Edward's journey around rural England, he also visited London, taking in a large number of sites and meeting a great number of people. Edward had also been commissioned to

⁴¹ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

⁴² John Lowrey, 'A Man of Excellent Parts': *Alexander Edward: Minister, Architect, Jacobite 1652-1708* (St Andrews: The Crawford Centre for the Arts: University of St Andrews, 1986), p. 19; NAS, GD/45/16/24 (contract between the Earl of Mar and Robert Bruce. With signatures from the Earls of Northesk; Strathmore; Mar; Southesk; Loudoun with a lawyer present and Alexander Edward). See Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

⁴³ Lowrey, 1986, p. 19 and NAS GD 124/16/24.

⁴⁴ NAS GD 124/16/24.

⁴⁵ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

⁴⁶ Colvin, 2008, p. 343.

⁴⁷ Lowrey, 1986, p. 19.

⁴⁸ NAS GD 45/26/140.

⁴⁹ Both houses of these patrons were included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell, I, Pls 63-71 Castle Howard; Pl 77 James Johnston's House at Twickenham.

⁵⁰ NAS GD 45/26/140.

acquire objects while in London, for example, specific editions of bibles, maps and prints, for many professional men in Edinburgh, including several lawyers.⁵¹ Johannes Kip and Godfrey Kneller are both mentioned in his diary, indicating that he came into direct contact with members of the London print trade.⁵²

When Edward went on his journey around England, France and the Low Countries, he was sent primarily in the capacity of a draughtsman. On this journey, Edward carried with him a letter of introduction from Sir Robert Sibbald to Sir Hans Sloane which described him as having: 'acquired much fame by his skill in Architecture and drawing plans of houses and gardens'.⁵³ Many of Edward's sponsors made special requests for him to undertake surveys of buildings and gardens, to be personally prepared by himself. If we consider the route and the counties he visited, it seems likely that he had the opportunity and skills to undertake a detailed architectural or garden survey of many buildings in rural England, of the variety seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Alexander Edward died in Edinburgh in 1708, the year of the first expression of Campbell's architectural aspirations.⁵⁴ A collection of engravings discovered at Barnboulge [Dalmeny] House near Edinburgh may represent material collected by Edward on behalf of the Earl of Hopetoun.⁵⁵ It is not known what happened to his drawings, or the other material from his journey, after his death.⁵⁶ During his lifetime he had gathered a wealth of information, in the form of building and garden surveys, engravings and professional connections, both from members of the aristocracy in Scotland and England, and from the London print trade. He had the wherewithal to produce a book of the type and scale of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, utilising his many skills. In comparison to Campbell's meagre experience at this time, Edward's extensive training and knowledge provides a striking contrast. What is known of Campbell's own trip to London (c. 1709) is that he was working in his capacity as a lawyer, not an architect, even though he may have harboured architectural ambitions at this time. Campbell is not known to

⁵¹ NAS GD 45/26/140.

⁵² NAS GD 45/26/140.

⁵³ Colvin, 2008, p. 344.

⁵⁴ Lowrey, 1986, p. 29.

⁵⁵ Lowrey, 1996, p. 37.

⁵⁶ Lowrey, 1986, p. 22.

have embarked upon a journey of this scale, and although he became an accomplished architect with a very successful career, little is known of his training. In contrast, Edward was a highly trained professional draughtsman who worked extensively in the field of architecture and publishing. Considering this, it is not implausible to suggest that some of the resources and skills gained by Edward over the course of his career culminated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The absence of any remaining drawings, and the coincidental nature of his death at the time of Campbell's architectural aspirations makes it tempting to suggest these events are interrelated. Campbell acquired material from James Smith, but the means are yet unknown. Therefore, it is not impossible that Campbell acquired material from other sources too, maybe even from Alexander Edward. Although there is no conclusive evidence for this, it is worth noting that there *was* someone in Edinburgh who had the skills to produce a book of the type of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

3.2.3 Captain John Slezer

Captain John Slezer (c. 1650-1717) was a military engineer of Dutch extraction who worked extensively across Scotland.⁵⁷ He had trained in field artillery and surveying, and was appointed to a senior post on his arrival in Scotland, firstly as Chief Engineer for Scotland and Surveyor of his Majesties Stores and Magazines and later as Lieutenant, and then Captain of the Scots Train of Artillery.⁵⁸ Slezer had published two volumes of a book called *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693), consisting of views of towns and important Scottish places. Both were published and sold in London.⁵⁹ Following these volumes, Slezer began to compile material for another book called *The Ancient and Present State of Scotland*, and recruited an assistant to work with him preparing the drawings: 'He [Slezer] brought over an artist (whose name is not mentioned) from Holland. Who [the draughtsman] travelled from place to place making the drawings.'⁶⁰ Instead of depicting mainly town views, as in the first book, the focus of the latter volume was country

⁵⁷ Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671-1717* (London: HMSC and NLS, 1993), p. 13.

⁵⁸ Cavers, 1993, p. 1.

⁵⁹ John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae* (London, 1693).

⁶⁰ 'Papers relating to the *Theatrum Scotiae*' and *'History and Present State of Scotland'* by Captain John Slezer', *Ballantyne Miscellany* (1836), p. 321.

houses of noblemen. This involved a shift from topographical views to more architecturally focused scenes. During the production of the *Ancient and Present State of Scotland*, Slezer fell into financial difficulty when his governmental funding was retracted.⁶¹ He appealed for funds to cover his executed work to date, but this proved unsuccessful.⁶² At this abortive stage, he had already produced many drawings of houses, towns and views. Although the precise fate of these drawings is not known, it appears that most eventually reached the printsellers in London.⁶³ From here, they were engraved and incorporated into *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, an expanded version of Kip and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata*.⁶⁴ These drawings appear to have arrived in London in 1715, but were only engraved after Slezer's death in 1717.⁶⁵

Slezer's petition included a detailed list of all the drafts of houses prepared to date. Here he states: 'The Palace of Drumlanrig in perspectives, the general ground plate of it, as also the first and second stories.'⁶⁶ Therefore, according to this list, a drawing of Drumlanrig Castle was made. However, it cannot be found in the later engravings that were published by Kip and Knyff.⁶⁷ Campbell included an elevation of Drumlanrig Castle in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, with no indication of its source.⁶⁸ Campbell's description of Drumlanrig Castle in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is not detailed or informed, and does not indicate any familiarity with the building or the architects involved.⁶⁹ James Smith had been employed for many years at Drumlanrig, yet was not mentioned at all in the description.⁷⁰ This is typical of the description of a design which Campbell acquired from a source with no other information attached.

There are many visual characteristics shared between Campbell's depiction of Drumlanrig Castle and Slezer's depictions of country seats, which are not shared with other representations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The elevation of Drumlanrig Castle in *Vitruvius*

⁶¹ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321.

⁶² *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321. Letter in the NLS ADV MSS 28.3.12.50.

⁶³ Keith Cavers, *Documeta Slezarii, Volume IV: The Engraved Plates of John Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae and Related Publications*, 2008 (Manuscript in the NLS Map Library).

⁶⁴ Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1707) and *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (London, 1724).

⁶⁵ Cavers, 2008. This manuscript documents the history of each image within the book, and the different status of re-engraving and re-prints. Drumlanrig is not mentioned post drawing stage. It would therefore appear that the drawing of Drumlanrig, mentioned by Slezer in his petition, did not reach London with his other drawings.

⁶⁶ *Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321.

⁶⁷ Cavers, 2008.

⁶⁸ Campbell, I, Pls 37-8.

⁶⁹ Campbell, I, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 952.

Britannicus is not strictly an orthographic projection, which is very unusual in the context of volumes I and II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁷¹ In *Theatrum Scotiae*, however, the use of this perspective element is the standard mode of representing a country house, and is typified in the design of Thirlstane Castle, Berwickshire (178).⁷² The central block of Thirlstane and other buildings by Slezer are presented in the same way as Drumlanrig, as are the projecting wings which adopt this perspective aspect. In addition, the plans of both these houses are depicted in a similar way, and are small and not detailed in comparison to the scale of the elevations presented. The representational similarities between Drumlanrig as depicted by Campbell and the other images by Slezer, the lack of detail in the description in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the disappearance of the original drawing by Slezer, all suggest that the original drawing had been acquired by Campbell.

In addition to his primary profession as a governmental military engineer, and his private work on his own publications, Slezer was also able to provide practical advice in the realm of building and garden design to his patrons. Alongside Edward's designs for Kinnaird Castle, Angus there are drawings by Slezer which propose a new garden design.⁷³ Like Campbell, Slezer also took the decision to publish his book in London, even though there were appropriate facilities in Edinburgh. Therefore, Slezer was connected to the London print trade, with personal relationships already formed.

Due to the small size of the architectural profession in Scotland and the interconnectedness of the aristocracy, there is little doubt that these men knew each other in a professional capacity, as landowners would seek advice from a number of professionals prior to deciding on a design. Sir William Bruce, Alexander Edward, John Slezer and James Smith were often asked for advice on a project prior to formal employment. As mentioned above, both Slezer and Edward were employed by the Earl of Southesk to survey and provide garden designs for Kinnaird Castle, Angus, but Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward were also linked to the re-casting of the

⁷¹ Campbell, I, Pls 37-8.

⁷² Slezer, 1693, Pl 57.

⁷³ The drawings are in the possession of the Earl of Southesk. Photographic copies can be found in RCAHMS, Kinnaird, Angus.

building.⁷⁴

Similarly, at Hamilton Palace, many architects provided advice to the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton.⁷⁵ Sir Christopher Wren may have provided advice from England by letter to the patron.⁷⁶ James Smith and the younger James Smith were both contracted here, while Alexander Edward provided advice on garden design, as did Sir William Bruce. This also occurred at Craigiehall House, Edinburgh, where all of these men were again consulted by the patron.⁷⁷ In addition, the plan of Craigiehall House, executed by James Smith, was closely linked in form to the plan of Campbell's Shawfield Mansion.⁷⁸

Another example demonstrating the professional links between the individuals considered here is a set of drawings for Kinross House, Fife.⁷⁹ A drawing of the elevation and the plans of Kinross House, in Alexander Edward's hand, survives in the Edinburgh College of Art. It has been suggested that the drawing was commissioned from Sir William Bruce and prepared by Edward on behalf of Captain John Slezer to include in his unpublished book *The Ancient and Present State of Scotland*.⁸⁰ It was never published, but the drawing may have been produced for that purpose.⁸¹

Although very little evidence connects Campbell with these figures, it is helpful and informative to consider their skills, resources and personal circumstances. James Smith can be closely linked to Campbell through the discovery of his drawings and their similarities to Campbell's proposed designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. His personal circumstances, and Campbell's relative lack of architectural knowledge, suggest that the relationship was financial.

Alexander Edward was one of the few professional draughtsmen to practice in Scotland

⁷⁴ By Alexander Edward as draughtsman to Sir William Bruce. This drawing is at Kinnaird Castle in the possession of the Earl of Southesk. Photographic copies can be found in RCAHMS.

⁷⁵ John Lowrey, 'The Seventeenth Century Genesis of Hamilton Palace', *Aspects of Scottish Classicism: The House and its Formal Setting* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design, 1988), 26-32.

⁷⁶ James Macaulay, *The Classical Country House in Scotland: 1660-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 36.

⁷⁷ John Lowrey, 'Bruce and his Circle at Craigiehall 1693-1708', *Aspects of Scottish Classicism: The House and its Formal Setting* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design, 1988), 1-8.

⁷⁸ Lowrey, 1988, pp. 1-8.

⁷⁹ Dunbar, 1970, p. 67 and John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: From the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Sotheby's Institute, 1995), p. 91.

⁸⁰ Cavers, 1993, p. 91.

⁸¹ Dunbar, 1970, p. 67.

when Campbell was deliberating his move to London. Like the other men, Edward was equipped not only with the skills, but also with resources which could prove extremely useful to Campbell if he wanted to publish an architectural work. Edward had also undertaken an extensive tour of England and made contact with a number of patrons, collected material, and undertaken surveys of buildings which would not have looked out of place in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. However, our lack of information about his tour and the whereabouts of his drawings after his death make it impossible to verify a connection.

Again a connection between Campbell and Slezer cannot be confirmed, but the likeness of the Drumlanrig design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* to other Slezer depictions of country seats, and the contrast with Campbell's other depictions in the book, suggest that Slezer's drawing was in Campbell's possession. Also, the possibility that Slezer did survey the building but that no engraving exists is worth considering. Another quality which Slezer had, which Campbell did not possess at this time, was the experience of publishing a book. These skills, alongside the practicality of being connected to the print trade, would have been invaluable to Campbell.

3.3 EVIDENCE FROM THE PREPARATORY DRAWING COLLECTION

In this section I shall consider the feasibility of the arguments made in the previous section by considering the drawings for engraving for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, VB I and II, and looking at them from a variety of approaches. They will be considered individually and within larger groups to ascertain information about the production process of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Certain features of the drawings indicate a level of sophistication which developed over time. In Chapter 1 other drawings for engraving were identified from the CC Works collection based on drawing technique: these related to the production of volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. These drawings have a much greater level of competence in technique than the drawings contained in VB I and II that can in part be accounted for due to their later date of production. Equally, a chronology can be identified in the drawing technique of VB I and II. In this section I suggest that this similarity of drawing technique and competency can be used to group the drawings by production date.

I shall first consider the material included by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* that was sourced in Scotland. Few Scottish buildings were included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the majority were featured in volume II. These drawings must have been in Campbell's ownership when he left Scotland and could have been included in volume I. This analysis will add to the understanding of the materials which may have been in Campbell's possession when he arrived in London, and its transformation from source material to drawings for engraving.

Only four Scottish buildings were included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*: the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow; Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire; Melville House, Fife; and Hopetoun House, West Lothian. Of these, Drumlanrig Castle is the only Scottish building in volume I, the other three are included in volume II. Even though they are all prepared for the same purpose, the drawings of the Scottish projects were not all prepared at the same time. They show a considerable difference in ability which suggests that they were not produced concurrently. However, the preparatory drawings for the Shawfield Mansion (VB II- 51A, **118**) and Melville House (VB II-50A, **119**) were made contemporaneously. In both cases the plan and elevations remain linear, having been prepared with extensive scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink which has turned dark brown in colour, a feature not often found in the Campbell drawings.⁸² In contrast to Campbell's drawing technique from before the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the drawing technique (of both these drawings) is much more accomplished and is typical of an early drawing for engraving. The technique, in my opinion, places the date of the drawings at the start of the production of volume I, not alongside the drawings for volume II where they were presented to the reader.

Many drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* were prepared as plates with all aspects of the design on one sheet, but these two drawings do not conform to this norm. Although the different parts of the drawings are prepared on separate pieces of paper, they are pasted into the volume to appear as a whole designed plate. A partial watermark on the Shawfield drawing indicates both parts of the sheet were originally one and have later been separated. The drawing of Melville House also appears to have been drawn on one sheet prior to being cut into different parts.

⁸² Joe Nickell, *Pen, Ink and Evidence: A Study of Writing Materials for the Penman, Collector and Document Detective* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), p. 37.

Regardless of this oddity it seems almost certain, based on drawing technique, that these designs were made for engraving. In addition, the scale of both plans of the Shawfield Mansion were reduced, and prepared in reverse, a feature only found in drawings for engraving. Both the source material for the Shawfield and Melville drawings were in Campbell's possession when he left Scotland. At this stage we also know that Campbell was in possession of many of Smith's drawings, but the original drawing of Melville House no longer remains in the Smith collection. The fact that the drawings of Scottish houses were in Campbell's possession, and ready for engraving in time for volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, yet were not used until volume II raises the possibility that Campbell may have been in ownership of other material which was similarly reserved for inclusion into later volumes of the book. When volume I was published Campbell was aware a second volume was going to be published, and would therefore have been content knowing his other material could be used in the future.

Another Scottish design, Hopetoun House, West Lothian, was included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* volume II.⁸³ Campbell states in the introduction in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus* that Sir William Bruce – the architect of Hopetoun – is one of the architects represented in the book, yet his only design was in volume II.⁸⁴ Therefore, it seems that he was in possession of a design of Bruce's when he published volume I. This strongly suggests that Campbell was in possession of a drawing by Bruce when he published volume I. In contrast, the technique indicates that both drawings of Hopetoun were made in time for volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. They are more technically developed than the drawings of Shawfield and Melville, and the drawings in VB I. The plan (VB II- 59A, **139**) is drawn in the typical manner for engraving, executed in black ink with scored underdrawing, and shaded in grey wash. The elevation (VB II-59B, **140**) is drawn on a larger piece of paper, covering two pages (it occupied two plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*). It remains a linear drawing in black ink with extensive scored underdrawing. The competency of the drawing technique suggests it was produced for volume II, and is more sophisticated and precise than the Melville and Shawfield drawings.

⁸³ Campbell, II, Pls 75-7.

⁸⁴ Conversely James Smith was included in volume II, but was not mentioned at all in the Introduction, while it seems clear that the drawing for Melville House was not only in his ownership but also ready to be included in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell, I, p. 3.

Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, was the only other Scottish building to be depicted by Campbell in volume I.⁸⁵ The representation of Drumlanrig has a number of oddities which suggests the original source material of Drumlanrig came from John Slezer, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. Of this project, both drawings remain (VB II-15A-B, **35, 36**). This drawing is not prepared like a drawing for engraving: the underdrawing on the plan (VB II-15A, **35**) is very inconspicuous and difficult to discern; there is no scored underdrawing, and only faint traces of graphite. It is executed in black ink and shaded with a fairly even grey wash. Like the plan, the elevation has minimal underdrawing, with no scored guidelines, which is very unusual for a drawing for this purpose. The only characteristic of drawing for engraving is the marking of cast shadow, indicated to the engraver by the use of scored lines: the lines correspond to the final engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The grey wash shading on the drawing does not correspond closely to the engraving, and the difference in drawing technique is very noticeable in contrast to the other drawings for engraving. Regardless of this, the drawings were prepared in reverse for engraving, and, although I cannot firmly attribute the drawings to Slezer, equally so I cannot attribute them to Campbell.

Scottish Designs included in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	Volume of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	Drawing technique characteristic of preparation of which volume
Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire	I	I
Melville House, Fife	II	I
Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow	II	I
Hopetoun House, West Lothian	II	II

This investigation has demonstrated that the small set of drawings of Scottish buildings were not produced at the same time, even though Campbell was almost certainly in possession of all of the designs when he moved to London. The technique of the drawings indicates that they were not all transformed immediately, and the two drawings of Hopetoun were not made into preparatory drawings until the production of volume II. Based on this evidence, it may be worth

⁸⁵ Campbell, I, Pls 37-8.

considering that other materials were brought from Scotland but were not made into preparatory drawings until later in the process. This gives scope to the suggestion that Campbell brought additional materials, other than Scottish designs with him to London.

A vital part of Harris' interpretation of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is the assertion that Campbell was appointed as author only two weeks prior to publication, when the book was changed to incorporate a Palladian discourse.⁸⁶ At this stage, she believes, additional designs conforming to a Palladian theme were added to the book to give this Palladian agenda. I will investigate this thesis through close analysis of the preparatory drawings of the proposed designs by Campbell. One would expect that if a set of drawings were prepared at such short notice that the technique would be rushed and all the designs would conform to a similar drafting technique. However, if we consider the preparatory material for this set of proposed designs they are represented by both preparatory drawings and proof engravings, and as a result a full set of evidence does not remain. This distribution of drawing technique is shown in the table below.

Proposed Designs by Campbell for <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	Plans	Elevations
Volume I		
Lincoln's Inn Fields, London (3A-B, 8-9)	Black ink and grey wash	Black ink and grey wash
Duke of Argyll (9A, 19-20)	Black ink (finished)	Linear pen and ink
Earl of Halifax (11A-B, 27-28)	Proof engraving	Linear pen and ink
Earl of Islay (22A-B, 49-50)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Lord Perceval (32A-B, 81-82)	Proof engraving	Linear pen and ink
Volume II		
Church in Vitruvian Style (38A, 95)	Black ink (finished)	Black ink (finished)
Tobias Jenkyns (45A-B, 109-110)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Robert Walpole (62A, 144)	Black ink (finished)	Linear pen and ink
James Stanhope (62A, 146)	Black ink (finished)	Black ink and grey wash
Secretary Methuen (67A, 149)	Black ink and grey wash	Black ink and grey wash
Lord Cadogan (72A-B, 157-158)	Black ink	Black ink and grey wash

⁸⁶ Harris, 1990, p. 148.

The drawings which remain for Campbell's proposed designs do not appear to have been prepared contemporaneously: many are not drawn in a similar manner, and the production does not seem to have any more rushed than the other drawings in the collection. The drawing technique of the plans shows a degree of variety: some have been drawn using solely graphite underdrawing and some with scored underdrawing – for example, the plan of the design for the Earl of Islay was drawn with graphite underdrawing (VB I-22A, **49**) while one of the plans is a finished drawing completed to a much lower standard. Two plans – the design for the Earl of Halifax (VB I-11A, **27**) and the design for Lord Perceval (VB I-32A, **81**) – are represented with proof engravings, since the drawings no longer remain.

There is a similar variety within the elevations of the proposed designs. Like the standard form of preparatory drawings, the majority of the elevations are linear drawings, in pen and ink such as the design for the Earl of Islay (VB I-22B, **50**). A small selection were shaded in grey wash, including the elevation of the Church at Lincoln's Inn Field (VB I-3B, **9**). Shading on these drawings is also conveyed to the engraver by incised diagonal lines to show the intended location of cast shadow, the same as the other drawings for engraving. These marks are also found on the drawings shaded in grey wash, but the cast shadow found in *Vitruvius Britannicus* seems to relate more closely to the incised indicators than the grey wash shading.

The technique of the drawings for the proposed designs corresponds closely to the drawings in the rest of the collection, and suggests a more gradual pace of production. Therefore, rather than suggesting that the drawings were produced at the same time to change the scope of the project, it seems they were made alongside the other drawings for this volume. The drawing technique often differs slightly between drawings, which may suggest that they were not made at the same time. Also, if they were produced towards the end of production of volume I then the technique would be more advanced, or at least more consistent, which is not the case. The technique shows that these drawings were not produced contemporaneously or in any more of a rush than the other drawings. In my view this weakens the argument that they were only included weeks before production since they do not form a set.

Next I shall describe a set of drawings which share a common drafting technique, but more specifically are very alike, and seem to have been prepared contemporaneously. These drawings originate from VB II, and their technique is much more consistent than the drawings found in VB I. Many of these can also be found situated alongside each other in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and they often have similar, uninformed descriptions in the published book. They fall into the ‘difficult to ascribe’ category identified in Chapter 2. In addition, there are a number of drawings with more certain origins which also fit into this pattern of drawing. I have put the data relating to this group into the table below and I have included a section at which deals with designs prepared at the same time but with a different source.

Each elevation is drawn using extensive scored underdrawing and black ink, while the corresponding plans use extensive scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash. Unusually, a significant number of plans (relating to the elevations) are missing, often to be replaced by proof engravings; but only the plan of Shobden Court is not represented at all. Three of the elevations which conform to this pattern are also shaded in grey wash: Hampton Court, Herefordshire (VB II-54B, **126**), Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (VB II- 53A, **124**), and Shobden Court, Herefordshire (VB II-55A, **127**). In these drawings, the shading does not relate to that seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. All of the drawings in this group are prepared in reverse, and have diagonal score marks to guide the pattern of cast shadow to be adopted by the engraver.

In my opinion there is a set of drawings so closely related in drawing technique to have been prepared at the same time, in this case in time for volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. My interpretation is that the designs for these drawings were in Campbell's ownership when he was creating volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and perhaps even brought with him from Scotland. When the production of volume II began, he already had a large corpus of material in his ownership, all of which he copied, including other designs which he prepared at the same time. After this my interpretation suggests that Campbell continued to acquire more designs for volume II, and prepared other drawings as he took ownership of them, until he finally had enough designs for the entire volume, the later material being of a higher standard.

Design which falls into the category difficult to ascribe	Type of Plan	Type of Elevation
Cobham Hall, Kent (40A-B, 97-98)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Cholmondeley House, Cheshire (41A-D, 99-102)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink, one finished drawing pen and ink
Eaton Hall, Cheshire (42A-B, 103-104)	Black ink	Linear pen and ink
Belton Hall, Lincolnshire (43-A-B, 105-106)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Highmeadow House, Gloucestershire (44A-B, 107-108)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Beddington Place, Surrey (46A-C, 111-113)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (53A, 124)	Proof engraving	Pen and ink and shaded in grey wash
Hampton Court, Herefordshire (54A-B, 125-126)	Proof engraving	Pen and ink and shaded in grey wash
Shobden Court, Herefordshire (55A-B, 127)	Drawing missing	Pen and ink and shaded in grey wash
Wilton House, Wiltshire (56A-F, 129-133)	Proof engraving	Pen and ink and shaded in grey wash
Longleat House, Wiltshire (57A-B, 134-135)	Proof engraving	Linear pen and ink
Cliveden house, Buckinghamshire (58A-C, 136-138)	Black ink and grey wash	Linear pen and ink
Lowther Castle, Westmorland (60A-B, 141-142)	Black ink and grey wash	Proof engraving
Althrop House, Northamptonshire (71A-B, 155-156)	Proof engraving	Linear pen and ink
Drawings prepared using the same technique but probably acquired once in London		
Whitehall Palace, London (34A-E, 85-89)	Black ink and grey wash	Counterproof engraving
Dyrham House, Gloucestershire (68A and 69A, 151 and 153)	Proof engraving	Proof engraving
Witham House, Somerset (68A-B, 151-152)	Proof engraving	Proof engraving
Newbold Hall, Warwickshire (70A, 154)	Drawing missing	Proof engraving

A small number of other drawings use the same technique to the same level of completion as the large group of drawings described above. This includes Dyrham House, Gloucestershire (VB II-68A, **151**), and Witham House, Somerset (VB II 68-B, **152**), and the Whitehall Palace, London (VB II 34A-E, **85-89**), drawings. All of these drawings were certainly not brought by Campbell

from Scotland, but it is possible to speculate on the basis of the technique that they were all in Campbell's possession at the start of production of volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and were therefore part of the group which were produced early in production for volume II, so made at a similar time.

There are other groups of drawings which support my grouping hypothesis. Evidence taken from other preparatory drawings in VB II provides additional information. Three projects in volume II – Sunbury, Surrey (VB II- 47A, **114**), Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire (VB II-48A, **115**), and Epsom House, Surrey (VBII-49A-B, **116, 117**) – are arranged consecutively in the book.⁸⁷ These designs too have an unclear source, but the descriptions are very similar, and it is once again clear that Campbell is uninformed about these buildings.

In Chapter 2, I suggested that the structure of the book was achieved by Campbell grouping together material merely on the basis of its source. The projects just mentioned may conform to this pattern. What is clear is that the drawing techniques closely corresponds to one another, but is also significantly improved from the drawings described in the previous section. All three drawings were executed using the standard drawing technique for engraving, but the technique is more developed and precise than Campbell's earlier preparatory drawings, and more so than the group of drawings described above. As a set, they can be dated, based on drawing technique, to later than the larger group of drawings described above.

Additional sets of drawings with a more advanced technique can be identified throughout volume II by group. Two of Campbell's own designs: Hedworth House, Chester-le-Street, and Hotham House, Yorkshire are examples of this.⁸⁸ The drawings for both of these projects (VB II-65A, **147** and 66A, **148**) were prepared in the standard manner for engraving, and both had been specially executed for engraving, not adapted from previous use. The dates of Campbell's involvement on the buildings indicated that the drawings could not have been produced long before publication, and the drafting technique for these designs is much more advanced than in many drawings in this volume. The application of the lines on the paper is not just finer, but much more consistent, and the overall drawing is much neater and highly finished.

⁸⁷ Campbell, II, Pl 46 Sunbury; Pl 47 Beaconsfield; Pls 48 and 49 Epsom House.

⁸⁸ Campbell, II, Pls 87 and 88.

Not all of the rest of the drawings in the second volume are more advanced than the large group of drawings, and some show a poorer quality of draughtsmanship. This has already been discussed in relation to the drawings for Melville House and Shawfield Mansion, but is also the case with the elevations of Newbold Hall, Warwickshire (VB II-70A, **154**), and Dyrham House, Gloucestershire (VB II-69A, **153**). Again, they are linear elevations, executed in black ink, but the lines achieved by the draughtsman are considerably thicker than those achieved in the earlier set of drawings, and are reminiscent of the drawings in volume I of Chatsworth House (VB I-25D, **66**), which uses slightly thicker lines and over-sized statuary. However, in the case of Newbold, the date given is 1716; therefore it does not seem to be the case that it was prepared for volume I and retained until later in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

After consideration of the drawing collection, I have been able to ascertain that not all of the images which Campbell brought from Scotland were drawn at the same time. Nor do they show the same level of competency. Therefore, it is certainly possible that a group of material, of the sort I have suggested, was brought from Scotland and only included later in the production process. In addition, my analysis of the drawings in VB II shows them to be very similar in drawing technique and competency. This includes the designs which I believe to have originated in Scotland, but also a number of other designs which did not. Due to the standard of drawings that Campbell had produced it seems possible that the materials which were transformed contemporaneously at the beginning of production of volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have originated from Scotland. Other drawings in this collection also indicate a more advanced drafting technique, and may therefore may have been acquired later.

To some extent, this evidence taken from the drawings reinforces the suggestions made in the first part of this chapter. It also elucidates the production process of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. After consideration of both aspects, my hypothesis that Campbell came from Scotland armed with suitable material, and intention, to produce a book like *Vitruvius Britannicus* can now be plausibly entertained.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In the first part of this chapter I presented information about three different men who had either the skills or graphic materials which would have been of use to Campbell when he embarked on *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I looked at the various aspects of the work of James Smith, John Slezer and Alexander Edward, and speculated that Campbell may have come to London prepared to author an architectural book. This built on evidence, presented in Chapter 1, that Campbell used drawings by Smith in his possession for his own purposes, he may have willing to utilise the work of others.

The latter part of this chapter used the close analysis of the preparatory drawings to consider this assertion in greater depth. Firstly I considered all the drawings of Scottish commissions which Campbell was most likely to have owned when he arrived in London. The drawing technique indicates that these drawings were not all produced contemporaneously. My analysis suggests that the drawings of Melville House and Shawfield Mansion were produced earlier in the production, and retained for use in volume II. I also considered the proposed designs, which revealed that these drawings were prepared in exactly the same way as the other drawings for engraving, and as a group are not indicative of having been prepared at short notice, at least no more so than the other drawings, as Harris suggested. This weakens the assertion that these drawings were prepared as a response to Leoni's translation of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*.

Another group of drawings can be grouped by a closeness in technique, suggesting that they were prepared contemporaneously. This includes the designs which may have been acquired in Scotland by Campbell, in addition to a number of other drawings probably sourced in England. My interpretation of this grouping is that they constituted the material already assembled by Campbell at the start of volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, most likely left over from the production of volume I. At the beginning of production these drawings were made, and then supplemented, as production continued, accounting for the presence of other drawings which use a more sophisticated drafting technique added at a more gradual pace of production. This seems to be validated by the presence of three additional drawings, which also share a

more advanced level of drafting sophistication.

CHAPTER 4

THE ACCURACY OF THE PLATES IN *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are not all accurate representations of the buildings they depict. In this chapter I will address a number of issues related to the problem of the misrepresentation of the buildings. Where possible, I will attempt to establish if Campbell was aware of the differences between the buildings and the designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, using existing sources as evidence. I will look closely at the origins of the designs – where they remain – drawing upon my findings from Chapter 3. The reliability of the sources, both confirmed and suspected, will be investigated. This continues the work in Chapter 3, much of which was conjectural. Where a direct comparison of source material used by Campbell remains I will discuss how faithfully it was copied. Several scholars have suggested that Campbell distorted or modified designs deliberately before including them in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in order to promote a specific visual agenda.¹ I will argue that apparent inaccuracies that support this claim were in fact inherent in the sources. This chapter supports and develops my main argument, that Campbell was not pursuing a stylistic agenda.

My study of the origins of the depictions of buildings has led me to believe that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was based entirely on paper-to-paper designs. If this is true, then the result is an architectural publication which did not consult the physical fabric of the buildings it illustrated. Unlike Palladio – who reinvented designs in *Il Quattro libri* – Campbell did not

¹ There are many brief references to this issue, and the following list is a selection of these: John Harris, 'Thoresby Concluded', *Architectural History*, 6 (1963), 103-105; Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'The Cliveden Album: Drawings by Archer, Leoni and Gibbs for the 1st Earl of Orkney', *Architectural History*, 19 (1976), 5-88; Edward Croft Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings: Volume I XVI and XVII Centuries* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1960), p. 377; Timothy Mowl, *William Kent* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006), p. 87.

survey sites and could not have fully understood all the buildings he illustrated. It does not, therefore, seem likely that Campbell deliberately manipulated the designs for his own personal agenda, given that he had not seen the buildings at first hand. More specifically, it is improbable that Campbell enhanced certain qualities of existing buildings to contrast them with his own designs. So while the representations in *Vitruvius Britannicus* do not all accurately depict the executed structures they represent, this is not necessarily due to manipulation by Campbell.

I will demonstrate that Campbell usually copied his paper sources faithfully but that some inaccuracies were derived from the sources he used. As discussed in Chapter 2, Campbell obtained designs of buildings on paper which he then re-drew for the engraver. These designs took the form of existing engravings, other architects' drawings, and Campbell's own drawings for building. Chapter 3 suggested that Campbell may have acquired paper resources from Scotland; however, no firm evidence of this remains, so no comparison can be conducted with the source material. Surviving examples will be presented and discussed to assess the accuracy with which Campbell copied them.

4.2 THE LIKELIHOOD OF SURVEY

It is extremely unlikely that Campbell visited all the buildings depicted in volumes I and II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* prior to its publication. Although this cannot be confirmed, Campbell's personal circumstances make it very unlikely. The previous chapters have suggested that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a largely paper-to-paper production, with the acquisition of designs from paper rather than the extant buildings.

There is no definitive evidence to suggest that Campbell embarked upon a tour of England or Europe of the variety undertaken by Alexander Edward, as described in Chapter 3. In his plea for appointment to the Fifty New Churches Commission, probably *c.* 1715, Campbell wrote directly to George I stating that he had 'trained in his art abroad'.² Apart from this vague statement, there is nothing else to support this claim of previous architectural training. If

² Campbell had written directly to King George I to appeal for one of the positions available on the Fifty New Church Commission. This letter was written in French to be more readily understood by the King. See Howard Colvin, 'Colen Campbell Abroad', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 13. The letter is reproduced by Colvin, and is housed in Christ College, Oxford [MSS Wake 252, f.71].

Campbell did undertake such a tour, it would have been more limited in scope than Edward's, which included France and the Low Countries, and most significantly, covered large parts of rural England, Edward having been specifically requested by benefactors to complete drawings of several houses on his travels.³ The coverage of Edward's tour would have been ideal for someone surveying buildings for a book like *Vitruvius Britannicus*, although there is no evidence to suggest Campbell had this intention or undertook this type of journey. As Colvin states:

Campbell's allusion to his foreign travels is vague, but it would be perverse any longer to believe that he had not visited the buildings of Palladio and Scamozzi in the Veneto, which were to be so influential both on his designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and on the whole of his development as an architect.⁴

As true as this statement may be, it has no direct bearing on the question of whether Campbell undertook any travels for the specific purpose of surveying English sites for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. On a practical level, Campbell qualified as a lawyer in 1702, and practised as such until at least 1709-10, when he represented his uncle legally in London.⁵ It is inconceivable that while working full-time as a lawyer during this visit, Campbell could have completed such an extensive tour of the buildings he later included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. There were too many and they were widely dispersed throughout England.

The buildings in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are geographically dispersed. Although Campbell named the book '*Vitruvius Britannicus*' there is minimal representation of Scotland, only the Shawfield Mansion, Melville House, Hopetoun House and Drumlanrig Castle are included. These buildings are not representative of Scotland's architecture. In addition to this both Ireland and Wales are completely excluded. Within England there does not appear to have been a systematic survey of properties conducted as some counties are extensively represented, and other counties are not represented at all.

Another issue which further enforces the claim that Campbell seemed to have limited knowledge of the buildings he depicted is in the type of aspects which were included. There are

³ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840*, 4th edn (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 344.

⁴ Colvin, 1974, 13.

⁵ Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

few interior views included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and it is suggestive of Campbell not having viewed each building personally. However, the few examples that Campbell did include may indicate something about the process of acquisition. Campbell's own Wanstead House, Essex was included and this is the most detailed and elaborate of all the internal views.⁶ There are also basic sections of St Peter's Church, Rome and Castle Howard, Yorkshire.⁷ This is the only group of plates in volume I that do not constitute plans or elevations. It appears that Vanbrugh had some level of influence and control over Campbell with regard to the selection of designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. He certainly supplied the drawings of Castle Howard, therefore it may have been included through Vanbrugh, rather than a specific wish on Campbell's part to purposefully include it. By volume II, Wilton House, Wiltshire is the only project to have plates dedicated to internal views.⁸ There are some other sectional aspects, but these are always included alongside plans and elevations, and are a marginal part of the design. The internal views that Campbell included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are conspicuous as they all originate from well known, and well represented buildings, or easily accessible sources. At the time of production both St Peter's Church and Wilton House were well known and well represented buildings. Of the other two designs, Wanstead was by Campbell and therefore did not need to be procured, and finally Castle Howard was given directly from Vanbrugh. The origins of all these internal aspects are not indicative of Campbell having gained access to, or direct knowledge of, the buildings. With regard to these views there is no systematic accumulation, or reasoning as to why they may have been included when so few of this type were used. This seems to be suggestive of Campbell using materials he had access to, but not going out of his way to acquire them.

The precise details of Campbell's transition from lawyer to architect, and information about any formal architectural training he received, remain unknown.⁹ By 1711-12, Campbell

⁶ Campbell, I, Pl 26.

⁷ Campbell, I, Pl 71 and 7.

⁸ Campbell, II, Pl 63-4.

⁹ Equally so very little is known about Campbell's architectural or surveying education between this date and his emergence as an architect on the Shawfield Mansion in 1711-12. James Smith has been suggested as possible mentor, Colvin, 2008, p. 215; Howard Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, 17 (1974), 5-13.

was employed at the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow for Daniel Campbell of Shawfield.¹⁰ His first English commission was Wanstead House, Essex, for Sir Richard Child in 1713.¹¹ The construction of such a large palatial design at this early stage in his career would have occupied a great deal of his time. Soon after his employment at Wanstead, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published (1715). Such circumstances must call into question Campbell's ability to have undertaken the full complement of surveys needed for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* at this stage in his career.

Furthermore, it seems likely that Campbell's social and professional connections in England at this time would have been too limited to afford him wide access to architectural designs directly from the property owners. Although there was considerable support for *Vitruvius Britannicus* – reflected in the subscription lists for the book – it is unclear if Campbell would have been able to directly take advantage of this. The subscription list records many members of the aristocracy and the landowning class who purchased the book ahead of time and generated income to assist in production.¹² Prior to *Vitruvius Britannicus* Campbell's skills and experience were limited, both in architecture and publishing. Campbell successfully established connections through his authorship but this only happened once volume I had proved a success. Campbell flattered a great many people in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and this did pay off: although it inspired fewer commissions than perhaps he had wished, his architectural career did flourish as a result of his authorship.¹³

There is no evidence in the CC Works collection that survey drawings were produced by Campbell for the purpose of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This cannot be considered conclusive since as we saw in Chapter 1 there were many more drawings that were discarded or lost. The collection contains one remaining site plan of the Rolls House, London, (166) but this relates to Campbell's work as an architect, not as a surveyor for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.¹⁴

¹⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 215; Colvin, 1974, 5-13.

¹¹ Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

¹² All subscribers are listed in each volume. Campbell, I, Pl 1.

¹³ T.P. Connor, 'Colen Campbell as Architect to the Prince of Wales', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979); Colvin, 2008, p. 215; John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1973), p. 13.

¹⁴ Campbell, III, Pls 44-5.

4.3 PAPER-TO-PAPER PUBLICATION

I will now proceed by analysing specific examples, which are representative of several paper-to-paper origins – drawings from engravings, previously published engravings, and Campbell's own designs – in order to compare the few examples of source material which remain, and consider the accuracy of the designs and their origins.

4.3.1 Grimsthorpe Castle (Drawings from Other Architects)

Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, was designed by Sir John Vanbrugh for the Duke of Ancaster, c. 1715, and built on the foundations of an existing building.¹⁵ The design was included in volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and is one of the few remaining examples of drawings Campbell obtained directly from contributing architects.¹⁶ Campbell's assertion that he acquired designs from the original architects' drawings is stated in the description of plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and verified by the presence drawings in the CC Works collection.¹⁷ These remaining drawings constitute a small proportion of those contributed for the purpose, and do not form a complete set.¹⁸ The drawings seem not to have been retained for a particular reason as they are a random assortment. They may have been superseded during the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* by new drawings supplied by the architects' office and, as they were no longer required for building, they were retained by Campbell.

On receipt of any source material, Campbell transformed the design in a standardised way and created a drawing for engraving, copying the scale and details, but removing any elements of perspective. The original drawing was thus transformed into a linear orthographic projection, regardless of its original form.

The elevation of Grimsthorpe Castle is one such example of this transformation. The original elevation drawing, by Vanbrugh's office, is the only drawing of this type to remain in the collection (179). This is one of the very rare cases where both the original architectural

¹⁵ Howard Colvin, 'Grimsthorpe Castle, The North Front', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House Presented to Sir John Summerson*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane at the Penguin Press, 1970), p. 93.

¹⁶ Campbell, III, Pls 11-14.

¹⁷ Harris, 1973. These drawings were discovered at Newby Hall and Studley Royal.

¹⁸ Drawings were supplied for Castle Howard, Yorkshire; Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire; and Easton Neston, Northamptonshire (which are acknowledged) but do not survive. Campbell, I, p. 5, 6 and 7.

drawing and the corresponding drawing for engraving by Campbell survives. Therefore, this elevation can be traced through the three stages of the production process: the original drawing (179), the preparatory drawing (180), and the engraving from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (181).¹⁹

Vanbrugh's office drawing is an orthographic elevation drawn to scale (179). The drawing is executed in black ink shaded with tonally consistent grey wash. The technique used to apply the wash differs from Campbell's own technique: it is very neatly applied and the tone is even, but the final result has a much greater plasticity and expression of tonal modelling than Campbell's presentation drawings. On this drawing, the statuary on the roofline has been added by Campbell, not Vanbrugh's office.

The second stage of the process is Campbell's preparatory drawing which carefully copies Vanbrugh's original (180). It is a linear pen and ink drawing, made with scored underdrawing and black ink and is typical of a Campbell drawing for engraving. Like all other such drawings, it makes no attempt to model the depth of the building, and seems very two-dimensional in comparison to the original. Regardless of the difference in appearance, Campbell has faithfully copied the architectural detailing from the design. There is an increase in the number of balusters from 14 in Vanburgh's drawing to 16 in Campbell's, a small inconsistency in detailing. Another difference is related to the statuary, Campbell's drawing shows pedestals on the roofline, but not the statuary, and Vanbrugh fully drew the pedestals, yet only graphite guidelines for the statuary was included. The discrepancies on both drawings related to the statuary cannot be accounted for, but do not appear to be significant to this study.²⁰

The concavity of the façade is more clearly conveyed by the shading on the Vanbrugh drawing than the drawing for engraving, and Vanbrugh's shading emphasises the dentils and the quoining. Conversely, Campbell's linear technique does not draw attention to these details, but it does appropriately convey the design to the engraver. The starkness of the drawing for engraving is not the result of any ulterior motive on Campbell's part, but is simply a reflection of the purpose for which it was made. In this example, Campbell did not manipulate or distort the proportion or the detail of the design. The linear pen and ink drawing facilitated the

¹⁹ Campbell, III, Pl 13.

²⁰ Colvin, ed., 1970, pp. 91-3.

simplification of the design to a flat plane for the engraver to complete the production process. Although it would have been possible to give the engraver the source directly, Campbell gathered the designs and reproduced them specifically for engraving. Campbell was in control of the visual quality of production and reproduced them specifically for engraving. Campbell copied Vanbrugh's drawing faithfully, with only small differences, but these changes do not seem to be due to Campbell's manipulation or promotion of a particular agenda.

4.3.2 St Philip's Church, Birmingham (Previously Published Engravings)

As well as drawings supplied by contributing architects, Campbell also used previously published engravings as a source of designs for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²¹ Some of the engravings can be readily identified, while others which may have been sourced in this way cannot be firmly identified. As outlined in Chapter 1, and as seen in the case of Grimsthorpe above, Campbell made linear drawings for the engraver and did not give him the source material directly.

In using this method, Campbell was entirely reliant on the previous draughtsman or engraver for the accuracy of the design, and any mistakes from the original would be transferred to Campbell's drawing and therefore the engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. There is no reason to suspect that, once Campbell had used an engraving as source material he verified his drawing with the building. As a result, he could not guarantee the accuracy of the designs with regard to the building as he had not seen it first hand. Campbell either trusted the paper sources fully or was disinclined to check their accuracy; but the question of whether he was aware of inaccuracies or if he simply did not have the time or inclination to check them remains a matter of conjecture. Either way, he copied them in full.

Thomas Archer's St Philip's, Birmingham, was built as the result of a licence of 1708 granted for the building of a church.²² A committee, of which the architect himself was a member, was appointed to oversee the completion, and an engraving of the design, made by

²¹ T.P. Connor, 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*', *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 14-30; Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Worcester College Print Collection <www.prints.worc.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 20 Nov 2009]

²² Marcus Whiffen, *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1973), pp. 23-5.

Henry Hulsbergh after Thomas Archer, was privately published for the Commissioners in 1710 (182). This engraving shows the plan and two elevations of the church. The church itself was completed and consecrated in 1715, five years after the engraving was made, so the engraving copied by Campbell for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* showed the church as originally conceived, not as built.²³ Some differences between the fabric and the engraving can be identified, but again, any discrepancies derive from the nature of the source and are not indicative of Campbell's lack of ability as a draughtsman or of his manipulation of the designs.

Hulsbergh's original 1710 engraving was larger than a single plate in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (182). On this original, the two elevations are very different in size. All aspects are contained on one sheet, with a large dominating elevation in the centre and a reduced-size plan and elevation in the top corners of the engraving, on either side of the tower. The engraving is orthographic, of the type used by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, so the design did not need to be altered for publication, just copied. Despite this, the 1710 depiction differs from that of St Philip's as included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (183). In *Vitruvius Britannicus* the plan and elevation are shown on individual plates.²⁴ Moreover, although they are not drawn to the same scale, they are represented on plates of the same size, and therefore awarded the same status in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. But even more striking is Campbell's choice of elevation for inclusion in the book. Ignoring the larger elevation – the depiction forming the centrepiece of Hulsbergh's engraving – he reproduces only the smaller elevation depicted in the top-right corner of the original. Both elevations are similar but Campbell chose to show the one with a convex entrance apse, as opposed to the flatter appearance of the larger elevation. It is unclear why Campbell selected the smaller, more plastic façade over the other. In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, St Philip's is described in the standard way for a design taken from an existing engraving. Campbell makes a very brief statement about the building merely stating the name of the architect, Thomas Archer and the date, 1710.²⁵ Campbell makes no further comment here about the the building, and certainly does not remark on the nature of the design. Had Campbell really made a decision to

²³ Whiffen, 1973, p. 23.

²⁴ Campbell, I, Pls 10-11.

²⁵ Campbell, I, p. 3.

select one design over another, to promote a particular stylistic agenda, it may be expected that he communicated this justification with the readers of *Vitruvius Britannicus* through the description of plates. Without sufficient source material to determine whether Campbell exercised similar decisions among competing images in a systematic way, it is difficult to ascertain whether this isolated example holds special significance.

The drawings for engraving of St Philip's Church are made in the standard way (VB I-4A-B, **10, 11**). The plan is drawn with black ink and shaded in tonally consistent grey wash, and the elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing. All sense of movement and tonal modelling has been removed, but Campbell has faithfully retained the architectural detailing from the original. However, this tonal modelling was re-instated by Hulsbergh in the 1715 engraving he made for *Vitruvius Britannicus* (**183**).

Campbell's practice of copying engravings had some interesting ramifications for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Without visiting the site Campbell could not provide an accurate representation of the extant building. In the above example, of St Philip's Church, the engraving depicted the church as designed, not as it was finally built. Therefore, the design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is at variance with the fabric of the building, even if the differences are relatively minor. The engraving was copied faithfully, but discrepancies have arisen due to the type of source material Campbell selected; and, although he chose to include the less dominant façade, completely excluding the other, more significant, elevation from the original engraving, this was not necessarily indicative of Campbell pursuing an agenda. Once again, there is no evidence of deliberate manipulation on Campbell's part.

4.3.4 Newby Park and Rolls House (Campbell's Own Designs)

Campbell's drawings for building were used as further source material for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Even though, in this case, the source was one of his own drawings, Campbell still prepared the necessary drawings for engraving. Examples of this category are scarce because relatively few of Campbell's architectural commissions were depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus* volumes I and II, but several examples remain for volume III, in which

Campbell's own designs constitute almost half the volume. In this subsection I shall consider some drawings for engraving and drawings for building and the resulting implications of Campbell copying his own designs.

On the basis of the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* volumes I and II, and using investigative techniques described in Chapter 1 above, it has been possible to identify other drawings for engraving located in the CC Works Collection. Most of these relate to volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Unlike the previous categories of material, Campbell's own designs were in his ownership. But, like the other source materials, he transformed them in the standard way for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, creating a linear drawing which strips away shading he himself had originally drawn. The stripping back of the plasticity of the design provides a striking contrast to the presentation drawing. This was not a permanent change: the depth can be found on the engraving of the design which was reinstated by Hulsbergh the engraver.

The representations of the buildings where Campbell was architect were taken from his presentation drawings, not the actual buildings, therefore were not an accurate representation of the executed structure. His buildings were not always executed as planned, and so Campbell continued to derive his designs for *Vitruvius Britannicus* through paper-to-paper sources. By using his own drawings, Campbell was aware of discrepancies in the designs included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. He was in effect sharing his initial conception with his readers, rather than providing a survey of the building as executed.

A case in point is Hotham House, Yorkshire, which was included in volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²⁶ This house was not fully executed to Campbell's specifications, and perhaps due to this he included his own design, rather than depicting the house as it was finally constructed.²⁷ Similarly, Hedworth House, Durham, was included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a completed design, but was probably never executed in line with Campbell's intentions.²⁸ In

²⁶ Campbell, II, Pl 87.

²⁷ Stutchbury has suggested that Campbell provided the design but did not supervise the construction of Hotham House for Sir Charles Hotham, 4th baronet. This house was intended to replace the family seat which had been destroyed by fire in 1706, see Stutchbury, 1967, p. 31.

²⁸ Campbell, II, Pl 88; Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

neither case is there any indication in the published volume that the buildings were not extant.²⁹ Campbell's description of Hedworth even reads: 'The Seat of *John Hedworth*, Esq; for whom I made this Design.'³⁰ This statement is ambiguous and it is unclear if Campbell is referring to the design of the building, or the executed structure.

Another example where Campbell chose to illustrate the building as intended rather than as built is Newby (Baldersby) Park, Yorkshire, illustrated in volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.³¹ In 1720-21, Campbell provided designs for Newby to Sir William Robinson, but Campbell did not oversee the construction, the work on site having been conducted by the local mason, William Etty.³² Campbell's design was followed on the main block, but much of the house was not built to his preference.³³ According to Stutchbury, 'In the volume appears the original design [of Newby], but by the time of its publication, Etty had made some material alterations during the process of building.'³⁴ In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell describes Newby as being:

In the *North-Riding of Yorkshire*, the Seat of Sir William Robinson, Baronet, in a cheerful and healthy situation. At the Distance of 100 Yards, and the Swale forms a perpetual Cascade 150 Feet broad, abounding in excellent Salmon, and all Sorts of River Fish. Of this Design of my Invention, I have made one single Plate, containing the Plans of the First and Second Stories in a square of 76 Feet. The Salon is a Cube of 30 Feet. The Front is adorned with a Tetrastile, Eustile Entablature and Balustrade around the Building, which is all Stone. There are also Two large Wings for Offices, joined to the House by an Arcade, and was covered *Anno* 1721.³⁵

It appears that to ensure that the design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was to his liking, Newby's owner Sir William Robinson had instructed William Etty to make a drawing of the house to supply to Campbell.³⁶ Two drawings (not in Campbell's hand) one plan and one elevation,

²⁹ Campbell, II, p. 5.

³⁰ Campbell, II, p. 5.

³¹ Campbell, III, Pl 46.

³² Stutchbury suggests that at Newby Park, Yorkshire, the main block of the house had been built to Campbell's design, but the interior was completed by Metcalfe, and the wings by William Etty. Stutchbury, 1967, p. 50. However, Lindsay Boynton suggests that Etty was executant architect of the entire house, not just the wings and that he made alterations that Campbell deplored. L Boynton, 'Newby Park, the First Palladian Villa in England', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House Presented to Sir John Summerson*, ed by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane at the Penguin Press, 1970), pp. 97-105.

³³ Boynton, 1970, pp. 97-105.

³⁴ Stutchbury, 1967, p. 50.

³⁵ Campbell, III, p. 9.

³⁶ Boynton, 1970, p. 102.

remain in the CC Works collection, and appear to be the drawings made by Etty (184, 185).³⁷ In addition, the CC Works collection holds the drawing for engraving by Campbell (identified by technique) (186).³⁸ Many aspects of the two drawings correspond, but there are some reasons to indicate that Campbell did not copy the elevation drawing by Etty. There is no reason to suggest he would want to copy a drawing for a design which he had provided, and that had not been executed according to his specifications. Campbell's drawing shows ball finials and acroteria, whereas the other (Etty) drawing shows large flaming urns in place of the finials and a crowned statue in the centre, as well as differences in the staircases. Campbell's original drawings for Newby, as he originally designed it for Sir William Robinson, no longer exist, therefore it is not possible to compare Campbell's original design with the drawing he produced for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, or the drawings which appear to have been sent by the patron. The drawing for engraving was diligently interpreted by the engraver for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Campbell's official appointments were limited, and the only public work he designed solely was the Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London.³⁹ The Rolls House was built for the Master of the Rolls, the recently appointed Sir Joseph Jekyll, whom Campbell may have known from his previous legal career.⁴⁰ The house was multi-functional: it was a residence for the Master of the Rolls, a functioning law court, and a repository for Chancery records.⁴¹ Stutchbury describes the accommodation, which was 'arranged on three floors, with the main apartment above a low basement'.⁴² Harris describes the drawings as a 'Plan of the ground floor as executed and plan of the basement, probably as executed', but the final executed form of the interior is uncertain.⁴³ Regardless of the precise execution of the house, the function and layout of this building was significantly different from any other building in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Two presentation drawings of the Rolls House remain in the CC Works collection, and

³⁷ The plan of Newby is attributed here to William Etty, but there is no mention of Etty in the catalogue entry for the elevation. This is certainly not in Campbell's hand or a hand associated with his collection, and is closely linked to the plan in Etty's hand; Harris, 1973, p. 14.

³⁸ Harris, 1973, p. 14.

³⁹ Stutchbury, 1967, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Howard Colvin, *The History of the King's Works: Volume V 1660-1782* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), p. 358.

⁴¹ Colvin, 1976, p. 358.

⁴² Stutchbury, 1967, pp. 47-8.

⁴³ Harris, 1973, p. 12.

provided the source of the design in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁴⁴ A presentation plan of the Rolls House was drawn in black ink, shaded in grey wash and framed with the border characteristic of Campbell's presentation drawings (187). The shading on this plan is precise and tonally consistent. The corresponding preparatory plan does not remain, so we have no direct record of Campbell's intentions for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In this example, I will therefore compare the presentation drawing and the engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (188).⁴⁵

As the orientation of the engraving and presentation drawing is the same, the drawing for engraving must have been prepared in reverse to ensure the correct alignment of the design in the book. Both first floor plans are identical and show a regular, residential layout of rooms.⁴⁶ The plan of the second floor shows significant differences between the presentation drawing and the engraving. On the plan the size and the external boundary walls remain the same in both representations, while an additional external staircase is present on the presentation drawing (perhaps to indicate secondary access to the legal function of the building). The arrangement of rooms on this plan is distinctly different both from the first floor and from the engraving. The rooms on the second floor are much smaller and different in shape (oblong), and all are accessed from a central corridor rather than from the sequence of residential rooms seen on the first floor. This unusual arrangement is not replicated in the plan in *Vitruvius Britannicus*; instead, the engraving shows a residential layout like the first floor, a layout that would have been much more familiar to Campbell's readership (187). In this case, the presentation drawing and the engraving show considerable internal differences, not just minor changes. In this particular example, Campbell certainly manipulated the design for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Perhaps Campbell considered that the unconventional layout of the first floor of the building was inappropriate for his readership, and a standard, residential layout would be more suitable.

This section considered the paper-to-paper source of Campbell's own designs. Campbell made drawings for engraving by copying his own drawings for building. Regardless of the state of completion, Campbell included his own design, and did not acknowledge any physical

⁴⁴ Harris, 1973, p. 12.

⁴⁵ Campbell, III, Pls 44-5.

⁴⁶ Campbell, III, Pls 44-5.

changes that had been made to the physical fabric of the building.

4.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER ARCHITECTS

In the CC Works collection there are a number of drawings relating to the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* by architects other than Campbell. These remaining drawings represent a very small number of the drawings originally supplied by other architects for the production of the volume, but are worth considering because they provide a concrete link between Campbell and other artists, even though they do not constitute a full set.⁴⁷ Their discovery corroborates the information provided by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* that other architects supplied certain drawings, although the mode of supply remains unknown.⁴⁸ There are plans, and two elevations, many of which derive from the office of John Vanbrugh. Unusually (considering they are for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*), the drawings which remain are often at variance with the final design in the book. The differences between the drawings and the *Vitruvius Britannicus* designs are minor, but significant enough to suggest that some were penultimate drawings. The aforementioned drawings may have been superseded by amended drawings supplied by the architect whilst they were in Campbell's possession, but prior to the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁴⁹

If some Vanbrugh drawings are preliminary, then there are interesting implications for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁵⁰ The discovery of these drawings alongside Campbell's own indicates that they were not all returned to the architect, although the reason why is unclear. Of course, it may have been mere oversight on the part of either of them. However the retention of the drawings by Campbell may actually indicate greater control from Vanbrugh in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* than has previously been realised.⁵¹ By altering the drawing and demanding that the updated design be used, Vanbrugh seems to be exerting a high level of influence. By the time the new design was given, Campbell may have already made the drawing

⁴⁷ Campbell, I, p. 3-7.

⁴⁸ Campbell, I, p. 2 and 5.

⁴⁹ Harris, 1973, pp. 9, 10 and 15.

⁵⁰ Plan and Elevation of Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire; Seaton Delaval, Northumberland; Eastbury, Dorset.

⁵¹ This was considered to a certain extent by Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 98.

for engraving, that would have been rendered redundant. The arrangement between Vanbrugh and Campbell must have suited both men, since Vanbrugh continued to contribute to all volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and Campbell continued to include Vanbrugh's designs. The dynamic of the two men outlined above has Vanbrugh dominant and contrasts with the relationship between Campbell and the other contributors to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The elevation of Eastbury House, Dorset, in the CC Works collection provides further evidence that Vanbrugh may have had a strong influence on the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This is a drawing for engraving copied from a drawing by Vanbrugh (not in the CC Works Collection), probably the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (190).⁵² Vanbrugh's drawing has large wings, which Campbell's drawing omits. Likewise, the design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* includes only the central portion of the building. Campbell's elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing, typical of those created for engraving, although its technique reflects the later date of production for volume III. Very unusually, however, this drawing was not engraved for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, since there are considerable differences between it and the engraving in the final volume (192). The substantial differences indicate that the preparatory drawing was superseded prior to engraving.⁵³ Vanbrugh's drawing has square windows on the top floor of the pavilions, which cannot be seen on the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving. The voussoired window surrounds on the first and second floor windows and the crowned balustraded parapets seen in the engraving are not included in the drawing. The square attic windows have also been substituted for round windows and the pedimented windows are now straight window frames.

The drawing for engraving shows a state of the design of Eastbury earlier than that represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (190 and 192). Therefore, like the above speculative examples it now seems certain that Campbell's work was superseded by an updated drawing supplied by Vanbrugh. In this particular situation Campbell seems to have been in the less dominant position which resulted in his duplication of work for the book. In the case of

⁵² The drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum is labelled by Hart as the final design dating from c. 1716. Vaughan Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 192.

⁵³ Campbell, III, Pls 15-18. The elevation in question is Pl 17.

Eastbury, Campbell must have made two preparatory drawings, the one described which was superseded and the other updated drawing. He therefore expended time and materials on making a second drawing. The most likely explanation for this is that the duplication was carried out under the direction of Vanbrugh.

The hypothesis that the drawings were superseded, and thus no longer required by Vanburgh's office, would explain why they remained in the Campbell collection. The presence of these drawings is important, as they confirm a link between Campbell and the contributors, especially Vanbrugh. These examples confirm that Campbell was copying the designs from paper sources rather than looking at the fabric of the building, and reinforces Campbell's statement in the introduction that some individuals provided him with drawings. It also raises some interesting possibilities about the type and circumstances of some of the relationships between Campbell and these contributors to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in particular Sir John Vanbrugh.

4.4.1 Idealised Designs Provided by Other Architects

Over the course of production of three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell had a number of collaborators. In volume I, Campbell was greatly indebted to Sir John Vanbrugh, but also received contributions from Nicholas Hawksmoor, and perhaps even Sir James Thornhill, as discussed in Chapter 2. By volume II, Vanbrugh was the only remaining contributor from volume I, while William Emmett contributed the drawings he owned of Whitehall Palace.⁵⁴ By volume III, Campbell had received contributions from Lord Burlington and William Wakefield as well as continued assistance from Vanbrugh.⁵⁵

All of these people seem to have supplied Campbell with drawings. However, without visiting each site, Campbell was unable to verify the accuracy of representations of the buildings with which he had been supplied. This allowed the contributors to supply idealised designs, designs that were not necessarily representative of the buildings. On occasion the

⁵⁴ Margaret Whinney, 'John Webb's drawings for the Whitehall Palace', *Annual Volume of the Walpole Society*, 21 (1942-3), 45-107; Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings* (Trustees of the British Museum: London, 1960), pp. 377-8.

⁵⁵ Campbell, III, General Wade's House, Pl 10 (Burlington); Burlington House, Bagnio, Pl 26 (Burlington); Duncombe Park, Pls 85-8 (Wakefield); Atherton, Pl 89 (Wakefield); Rokeby Park, Pl 90 (Wakefield).

drawings supplied had not been accepted by the patron or executed as the architect wished, yet were still included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. One instance of this is Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, which shows the house as Hawksmoor intended it to be rather than how it was eventually built.⁵⁶ Therefore, the design was not an accurate representation of the building by Hawksmoor, even though he had supplied the drawing of the building. In the absence of the original drawings by Hawksmoor, it cannot be said with certainty how faithfully Campbell copied them.

Three designs – for Rokeby, Atherton, and Duncombe Park, all in Yorkshire – were contributed by William Wakefield for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁵⁷ As with other contributors, Wakefield's designs were proposed, rather than final or executed designs. Both Atherton and Duncombe were eventually – after the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* – constructed by Wakefield, but the design for Rokeby was rejected by Sir Thomas Robinson in favour of one of his own designs.⁵⁸ These must have been taken from drawings as they did not exist in any other form.

Campbell was including designs provided by architects that were *only* proposals: they had not been accepted by the patron, and were, in some cases, not executed at all. However, he continued to include these designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* as if they were extant buildings, just as he had done in the earlier volumes with Vanbrugh's designs. By accepting drawings from other architects, Campbell reduced his contact with the buildings he included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This resulted in a lack of knowledge about the building and an inability to account for the accuracy of the design. It is not known if Campbell knew – or even cared – the extent of the variance between the buildings and the representations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

4.4.2 Cholmondeley Hall and Eastbury House

Campbell's lack of interest in the physical fabric of the buildings he included in *Vitruvius*

⁵⁶ Downes states: 'The engraved version [of Easton Neston] differs from the house in several details, including the whole of the central bay; the possibility that the drawing for this engraving is earlier than 1702 seems improbable on stylistic grounds. It seems doubtful whether there is adequate support in the fabric for the lantern shown in the engraving'. Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London: Zwemmer, 1979), p. 63.

⁵⁷ Campbell, III, Pls 85-90.

⁵⁸ Colvin, 2008, p. 1082.

Britannicus is apparent from two further designs linked to Sir John Vanbrugh: Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire, and Eastbury House, Dorset.⁵⁹ The full history of Cholmondeley Hall is uncertain, but construction certainly occurred from *c.* 1704 under the supervision of Francis Smith.⁶⁰ Colvin suggests that Vanbrugh provided advice about the north front to the 1st Earl of Cholmondeley in 1713, and that plates 31-32 in *Vitruvius Britannicus* represent his proposal.⁶¹ These were not carried out, but Campbell still incorporated them into *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶² The third elevation appears to relate to the executed front of Cholmondeley, presumably the actual building rather than Vanbrugh's designs.⁶³

This suggests that, on this occasion, Campbell included a selection of designs: the executed and proposed parts of Cholmondeley. This is highly irregular, and is not representative of either an architectural survey or a collection of architectural designs. In the description of plates for Cholmondeley Hall Campbell did not acknowledge Vanbrugh; nor does he credit Francis Smith with the execution of the building. It is clear from the description that Campbell is uninformed about Cholmondeley. He states:

Is the Seat of the Earl of Cholmondeley, of which I have made 4 Plates; the first is the general Plan of the first Storey, being a large Quadrangle open to the *North*: The second is the North Front dress'd with a Corinthian Pilastrade, and a proper Balustrade: The third is the South Front with the same Ornaments; and the last is the West Front with Six 3/4 Columns. The whole Fabrick was rebuilt and finished in a sumptuous manner in the Year 1715: Here are fine Gardens, and all agreeable to the Magnificence of the noble patron.⁶⁴

Where exactly Campbell obtained the drawings of Cholmondeley is unknown. One possibility is that they originated from the patron, who may have had access to an amalgam of designs.

Considering so little else is known about the building project, the reference to the patron in Campbell's description could suggest that he was involved. However, as has been demonstrated,

⁵⁹ Cholmondeley: Campbell, II, Pls 31-4; Eastbury Campbell, III, Pls 16-19.

⁶⁰ Colvin, 2008, p. 1073.

⁶¹ Colvin, 2008, p. 1073. However, Kerry Downes lists Cholmondley Castle in the category of 'Attributions rejected as improbable or impossible' (p. 278) On this subject Downes also states 'Vanbrugh wrote on the 28 Sep. 1713 that he had been at Cholmondeley 'a second time' and 'concerted a generall scheme for what is left to do'...it appears that the south end of the house had already been rebuilt, and probably designed, by William, and Richard Smith. Of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (which does not mention his name) the only unexecuted design for the north front can therefore be by Vanbrugh.' See Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London: Zwemmer, 1977), p. 92.

⁶² As for the execution of the building, 'A drawing made before the demolition of the house in 1801 shows that it was not carried out [Gervase Jackson-Stops in *C. Life*, 19 July 1973]'. See Colvin, 2008, p. 1073.

⁶³ Campbell, II, Pls 33-4.

⁶⁴ Campbell, I, p. 2.

Vanbrugh was involved in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and may have facilitated the supply of the designs. This seems unlikely however, given that he was not acknowledged by Campbell.

In volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell included a design by Sir John Vanbrugh labelled 'A Design for a person of Quality in Dorsetshire/Somersetshire' (189).⁶⁵ This was the only proposal in *Vitruvius Britannicus* not by Campbell. At the time of publication of volume II, in 1717, no design had yet been accepted for Eastbury House by the patron, George Doddington.⁶⁶ After the design had been finalised c. 1718, a further design was included in volume III.⁶⁷ So, across two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell included a total of nine plates of Eastbury, a significant number dedicated to two variants on the same project.⁶⁸ In this case, the designs came from two different architects and were not all executed, or all proposals they were an amalgam of the two. This is highly unusual, yet Campbell still depicted both designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This seems to confirm information from Chapter 2 that Campbell utilised all the designs he could acquire for use.

4.4.3 Castle Howard Plans

Castle Howard, Yorkshire, was included in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a series of nine plates.⁶⁹ According to Campbell, the drawings were supplied by Sir John Vanbrugh and 'most carefully verified' prior to production.⁷⁰ After obtaining the drawings for Castle Howard from Vanbrugh, Campbell made the drawings for engraving, based on this source material (VB I, 24A-F, 57-62). The early editions of volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus* include the engravings that were taken from the preparatory drawings. However, there appears to have been an issue with some of these initial engravings in particular those of the general plan and first floor plan (194, 195).⁷¹ In the early editions, a second engraving of the first floor also exists which

⁶⁵ Campbell, II, Pls 52-5; p. 3.

⁶⁶ The first schemes for this project appear to have been conceived around 1715, (drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum) even though the estate was purchased by George Doddington in 1709. Downes, 1977, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Campbell, III, Pls 15-19.

⁶⁸ Campbell, Pls 15-19; 52-5.

⁶⁹ Campbell, I, Pls 63-71.

⁷⁰ Campbell, I, p. 5.

⁷¹ Campbell, I, Pl 63-4.

includes additional detailing on the terrace and the external staircases. It appears that these three engravings (the general plan; first floor plan; and first floor variant plan) were only issued in the earliest editions of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and were soon superseded by a new edition. These engravings were all conducted by an anonymous engraver. The issue of the primary and anonymous engraver will be considered in full in Chapter 5.

The general and first floor plans by the anonymous engraver were replaced in all further editions of the book by new engravings by Hulsbergh, the primary engraver (195). There are no surviving drawings, or any written instructions to the engraver for the production of the new engravings, and it is not possible to date these changes. The newly engraved plans show considerable differences to the initial plates. Firstly the general plan is depicted in the opposite orientation to the initial engraving, with the entire plan in reverse. There are changes to the terraces, chapel, the quadrant links (joining the main house with the wings), the great hall and staircases and the principal apartments. Likewise, the first floor plan has been re-engraved to correspond to the new general plan. Again there are differences in the detailing of the chapel, joining corridors, and termination of the windows in the principal apartment.

The earlier plans were superseded by new, updated plans and re-engraved. The production of a new copperplate was a significant undertaking, and the changes must have been considered important enough to warrant the financial expenditure required. A change of this scale most likely came from direct pressure from Vanbrugh who must have pressured Campbell to have a more up to date version included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, or been unhappy about how they were represented in the first edition. Campbell would not have completed the new set of drawings without good and justified reason, therefore there must have been significant cause for change. By comparing the designs it appears that many of the changes in the plan were significant, and in addition had been made in the wrong orientation, and needed to be fixed.

4.4.4 Drawings not Adopted by Campbell

There are two plans attributed to Thomas Archer in the CC Works collection; peculiarly, neither features in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and there are no corresponding elevations for the projects.

These plans depict Chettle House, Dorset, and Heythrop House, Oxfordshire.⁷² It is not known whether Campbell already owned the Archer drawings at the time of production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, or when he acquired them. Archer worked on Heythrop House for the Duke of Shrewsbury from 1707 to 1710, and it is thought that he was at Chettle House after the publication of the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, c. 1715.⁷³ Although both designs could not have been acquired in time for volume I, this would not necessarily have precluded their inclusion in a later volume. Chettle House was eventually included in the 1771 volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by Gandon and Woolfe.⁷⁴ This drawing may indicate that Campbell was selective about what he illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, however due to the uncertainty about when Campbell's acquired the drawings it cannot be said for sure.

4.5 CONCLUSION

If my arguments are correct and Campbell did not survey the buildings he depicted, then we must consider the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a paper-to-paper project. Given that the final designs do not represent the physical fabric of the buildings as executed, their accuracy must be assessed in comparison to the paper images in Campbell's possession: his own and other architects' designs, previously published engravings, and other material which he acquired during the production process.

Analysis of the few examples of remaining sources has demonstrated that Campbell was a mostly accurate and faithful draughtsman. However, certain problems arise in this analysis which follow from differences between the drawings by the architects and the final designs included by Campbell. The drawings which remain in the collection by Vanbrugh have been ascribed as possibly penultimate designs which were superseded before production. In addition, the variant drawing by Campbell for Eastbury confirms it represented an earlier stage in the

⁷² Margaret Richardson, *Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: A* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), p. 33; Arthur Oswald, 'A Plan of Chettle', in *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1970), p. 85.

⁷³ Colvin, 2008, p. 72; Andor Gomme, 'Archer, Thomas (1668/9–1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/628>> [accessed 3 Dec 2009]; Oswald, 1970, p. 85.

⁷⁴ John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, V (1771), Pls 82-5.

production process. If this is the case, then Vanbrugh was able to assert his status and influence over Campbell by making him repeat work, replacing drawings with updated images when the work had already been undertaken by Campbell.

Over the course of the three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell consistently included designs taken from paper sources, rather than from the fabric of the building. Due to his source material as described above, many inaccuracies appeared in the book that did not result from Campbell's lack of faithfulness in the drafting. In at least one case, the Rolls House, Campbell altered the internal arrangement of the house from the presentation drawing found in the CC Works collection; however, the reason for this was probably to include a more regular design which demonstrated his ability as an architect, rather than to promote a particular agenda or mislead his readership.

It seems that, in many of these cases, Campbell was unaware of the differences between the design he used and the actual building. He acquired designs from engravings, unaware, or perhaps unconcerned, that the building had not been erected to that particular specification. With designs from architects, he did not seem to know in many cases if the buildings were extant, or built to the design seen in the drawing. The lack of substantial knowledge within the introduction, the slightly odd range, and the unreliability of the sources he used, show that Campbell was unfamiliar with, and perhaps even uninterested in, the faithfulness of the depictions of the buildings in contrast to the building as extant. This is not a trait that would be expected from an author promoting a Palladian agenda, radically trying to change the taste of the nation.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRODUCTION OF *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*: FROM DRAWING TO ENGRAVING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse the last stage of production: the transformation of the drawings for engraving to the printed version of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. By the time the book was printed, a great deal had been achieved and a considerable amount of work undertaken: the sourcing of the designs, the production of the drawings for engraving, the preparation of the text, the collecting of extensive subscriptions and the engraving of the copperplates.

This chapter will describe the physical process involved at this final stage, discussing the involvement of the different engravers, including Henry Hulsbergh. Firstly the technical process of engraving and the skills involved will be outlined. By doing this I hope to highlight the distribution of labour between the draughtsman and the engraver and draw some conclusions about the responsibility of each man for the visual quality of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The transformation of the drawings to engravings will be carefully considered. This chapter also addresses the issue of authorship, and the possibility that Campbell was appointed as author only weeks before the publication date.¹

Henry Hulsbergh is an important figure in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as he was the primary engraver employed on the project. Although engravers' names had been added to the plates in volume I, they were all removed prior to printing.² As a result, the engravers involved with the architectural plates in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus* remained anonymous.

Hulsbergh, however, was also the principal engraver of volumes II and III, and there his name

¹ Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1600-1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 142.

² For details of the plates where removed names can be identified, see N Savage, '*Vitruvius Britannicus*', in *Early Printed Books 1478-1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprint Collections*, Volume 4, ed. by Nick Savage (Munich; KG Saur Verlage, 2001), p. 2317.

appears on all the elevations in volume I.³ This chapter will outline Hulsbergh's background and experience as an engraver in order to establish his likely influence on the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In addition, I will demonstrate that it is possible to identify the work of a lesser, unidentified engraver in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I will present an account of the distribution of labour that suggests previous scholars have been mistaken to claim that there was a change in authorship just prior to production.

5.2 THE ENGRAVING PROCESS

Engraving was the most suitable reproductive method for an architectural book of the quality of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which needed a high quality to satisfy the needs of a prestigious publication.⁴ It was a valuable item, to be consulted occasionally, and to serve as an important part of a library or collection. Although it was possible to get the book at a reduced price by paying a subscription for the book ahead of time, the cost still rendered it unavailable to a popular audience.⁵ Much of the cost of production was met through the collection of subscriptions, with each subscriber being listed at the start of the book in exchange for their financial backing. A glance at the names on the subscription list indicates the elevated rank held by many of the subscribers. The list was ordered alphabetically and by rank, so subscription was a very visible feature of the book, as well as a financial incentive.

This type of patronage, and upfront financial backing, demanded high quality to meet the high expectations of subscribers. Furthermore, the number of subscribers was considerable and, therefore, the reproductive method employed needed to withstand a large number of imprints without showing noticeable deterioration.⁶

At the time of production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in 1715, the most common form of reproductive method used to achieve precise and detailed architectural prints was copperplate

³ Even in volume II and III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, he only signed his name on the elevations: and not on the plans. Campbell, 3 vols (1715, 1717 and 1725).

⁴ Harris, 1990, p. 62.

⁵ Connor gives details of the production costs of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, including the cost of the book which was 3 guineas each and £1 more for those who had not subscribed, T.P. Connor, 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*' *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 17.

⁶ The subscription list show the number of copies required for each edition: 370 copies for 303 subscribers in volume I; 545 copies for 458 people in volume II and 893 for 692 subscribers in volume III.

engraving.⁷ Both etching and woodcuts were available at this stage, but were far less suited to the types of images included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Giacomo Leoni selected copperplate engraving over the original woodcut illustrations when he was working on his 1716 translation of Palladio's *Il Quattro Libri*.⁸ Engraving – as with all other intaglio techniques – used a copperplate as the base of the production technique.⁹ This technique was well suited to the orthographic nature of an architectural drawing: it was precise, linear and carefully ruled, the same qualities required for architectural drawing. The number of imprints which could be taken from a copperplate could number up to three thousand before noticeable deterioration, but this could vary considerably from plate to plate depending on the design and the engraver involved.¹⁰

The process of engraving began with a single sheet of copper. Since a single copperplate was needed for each design and there were 100 plates in each volume, *Vitruvius Britannicus* required a significant initial capital outlay.¹¹ Each piece of copper was beaten until it became the correct size and shape for the required print, then it was planed with a burnisher to create the smooth surface essential for the application of the burin which cut a small sliver of copper out of the sheet and incised each line into the metal.¹² Once this process was complete, the ink was applied to the copperplate. The plate would then be wiped clean and the copperplate printed: the force of the press would pull the ink out of the incisions onto the paper, creating the print.¹³

Minor mistakes could be rectified on a copperplate but, if this was done too frequently, the plate would weaken and the copper would become brittle.¹⁴ An engraver who made a plate with minimal mistakes could reduce costs with his effective use of the copper. Engraving, therefore, required great skill, not only because of the intricacy of the designs but also because of considerations of cost. The orthographic engravings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* required the application of little freehand detailing, so relied little on the engraver's artistic creativity, but heavily on his accuracy and precision.

⁷ Harris, 1990, p. 62.

⁸ Harris, 1990, p. 356.

⁹ Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1980), p. 30.

¹⁰ Philip Gaskell, *An New Introduction to Bibliography* (London: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 158.

¹¹ Connor, 1977, pp. 14-30.

¹² Griffiths, 1980, pp. 30 and 35.

¹³ Griffiths, 1980, p. 38.

¹⁴ Griffiths, 1980, p. 35.

5.3 TRANSFORMATION FROM DRAWING TO ENGRAVING

The transformation of the drawings to engraving was achieved by communication between the draughtsman and engraver, which was facilitated by the preparatory drawings. This section discusses the transformation of the drawing into the engraving, firstly by looking at the role of Campbell the draughtsman, then the engraver, and then more general aspects of discussion highlighted with a number of oddities from the production.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the drawings for engraving were prepared in a standard way, and Campbell as draughtsman, held a number of responsibilities for the visual quality of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. One important aspect of the engraving process is the issue of reversal: the requirement to produce the drawing to ensure the correct orientation of the picture on the printed page. The most regular practice, and that adopted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, was the preparation of the drawings in reverse. Campbell was astute to the issue of reversal, and as a result the drawings in VB I and II are almost entirely prepared in reverse.

Again, as seen in Chapter 1, the drawings for engraving were produced with scored underdrawing, executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. However, in VB I, approximately half of the plans have been drawn with incised underdrawing, while the remainder use graphite underdrawing. The drawings with graphite underdrawing all have another common factor, they have diagonal score lines over the sheet which do not correspond to the underdrawing. This feature cannot be found on the drawings prepared with incised underdrawing. Almost all of the plans – regardless of the underdrawing found on them – have been shaded in grey wash. The diagonal lines on some of these plans may constitute another form of communication between the draughtsman and the engraver. The standard mode of creating a preparatory elevation is with scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink so that the drawing remains a linear pen and ink drawing. However, as we have seen, some of the elevations in VB I and II have been shaded in grey wash.

Campbell also instructed the engraver where to locate the cast shadow, on both the larger architectural aspects and the dormer windows. Throughout VB I and II there are sets of incised lines on the drawings to indicate the desired location of cast shadow. These lines, like

the drawings, were added in reverse and relate directly to cast shadow *Vitruvius Britannicus*, so were closely followed by the engraver.¹⁵ The lines are a visible part of the drawing and are comprehensive in their depiction of shadow in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. They direct cast shadow from the building, the dormer windows, and occasionally from other architectural details. This aspect can be found on many drawings, including the elevation of St Paul's Cathedral, London (VB I-1B, **4**). With the level of surrounding detail on this drawing, they are not as instantly noticeable as in some other drawings, but they can still be identified, and correspond closely to the final engraving. More noticeable examples are Eaton Hall, Cheshire (VB II-42B, **104**), and Shobden Court, Herefordshire (VB II-55A, **127**). Incised marks can clearly be seen to denote the dormer windows of Burlington House, London (VB I-12B, **30**), and Montagu House, London (VB I-14C, **36**).

The study of the cast shadow raises a number of issues. Some of the elevations with diagonal incised lines to indicate cast shadow are simultaneously shaded in grey wash, for example, the elevations of Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (VB II-53A, **124**) and Burlington House, London (VB I-12B, **30**). On a number of examples the grey wash shading is seen in the same orientation as the engraving. Therefore, had this been copied by the engraver it would show the incorrect orientation of the shading. It is unclear why the indicator marks and shading are both present on these drawings.

Campbell was also responsible for the design of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This can be most readily identified where the whole design has been drawn to fit on a single plate, or where two different schemes share a plate, for example, the designs of Melville House, Fife (VB II-50A, **118**), the Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow (VB II-51A, **118**), and Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (VB II-53A, **124**). It can be seen on the drawing of the plans of Burlington House, London, and the Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire, where both plans were re-sized and included on the same plate (VB I-12A, **29**). This format was also employed on the plan of Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire, and Witham House, Somerset (VB II-68A, **151**), which reduced

¹⁵ The incised lines used on the drawings to indicate cast shadow are usually diagonal, but occasionally they are vertical down the side of the central body of the building or the columns. In addition, the Banqueting House, London (VB I-5B, **13**), show indicator lines delineating shadow from the capitals.

the scale and separated the plans from their corresponding elevations.¹⁶ The sourcing of the images, as seen in Chapter 2 is also significant to this study. On receipt of source material, Campbell retained control of the visual quality of the book by creating a new drawing. Campbell did not merely give the engraver the source material, he redrew, resized and prepared appropriate drawings to be engraved. Examples of this include the Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire, where he reduced the size and scale of the plan, and St Philip's Church, Birmingham, where he selected parts of the original design he wished to use and excluded the rest.¹⁷

Once Campbell had completed all the early stages of production, collated pictures of the houses and drafted the drawings for engraving, his responsibility was to give the drawing to the engraver to be made into a copperplate, ready for printing.

The responsibility of the engraver was to take the drawings for engraving made by Campbell and turn each design into a suitable copperplate, ready for printing. The engraver used the drawings to closely direct his work; they were not subject to negotiation. The architectural detailing, and directions on how to complete the cast shadow was provided on the drawing. However, there were aspects of the engraving that were not fixed by Campbell, but were the responsibility of the engraver.

The most important responsibility of the engraver was the tonal modelling needed on each elevation, a task left entirely to the engraver.¹⁸ Successful tonal modelling was due to the expertise of the engraver, not from directions given in the drawings. The different engraved tones used by the primary engraver, Henry Hulsbergh, are summarised by Savage, who observed tonal differentiation in at least six different forms:

Plain white for smooth masonry in full sunlight; flecked white for roughly dressed stone in sunlight; horizontal hatching for half-shading of ashlar; vertical hatching for half shading of horizontal mouldings such as plat bandes, cornices, etc.; cross hatching for window spaces; and diagonal shading for cast shadows.¹⁹

¹⁶ Campbell, II, Pls 91-2 and 92-3.

¹⁷ In Chapter 4 there is a full discussion about the transformation of the design of St Philip's Church, Birmingham.

¹⁸ The building was depicted using a plan alongside the elevation would aid understanding of the structure being depicted. The only design included without a plan was the Gallery at Somerset House, Campbell, I, Pl 16.

¹⁹ Nicholas Savage, 'Colen Campbell: 1676-1729' in *Mark J Millard Architectural Collection, Volume II: British*

Each tone described above allowed the engraver to clearly express different surfaces of the façade. They were skilfully applied to the engravings in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by Hulsbergh, and each tone was used to the fullest advantage. The most striking of these is plain white, as is categorised above as 'Ashlar in full sunlight'. This aspect was often used very effectively alongside horizontal banding to indicate receding or protruding wall planes. The elevation of Roehampton House, Surrey (VB I-29B, **72**), has a multi-layered façade, the central part of which breaks forward. The engraver's technique was to contrast the plain surface with the horizontal hatching (close together, the result being quite dark), which emphasises the raised parts of the façade (**196**).²⁰

An example of an elevation which successfully combines many tones is the Proposed Design for the Earl of Halifax (**197**).²¹ Here, the projecting elements of the building – the central block and the end pavilions – are shown in plain white. The use of the plain white gives a clear understanding of the protruding nature of these parts. To the side of the central pavilion, the difference in depth is highlighted with the use of very fine cross hatching over the regular shading to highlight cast shadow from the central block. Further horizontal hatching is applied to the right of the columns on the façade, to emphasise this point. The cupola is in very dark shading to indicate its set-back location in comparison to the roofline and this is done by using a variety of tones, horizontal and vertical banding and cross hatching. The recessed plane of the building uses horizontal bands on the rustication, contrasting with vertical bands on the entablature, base and floor level of the façade. The segmental and pedimented window decorations and the keystones have been highlighted with white to show they are also set forward. The engraving draws attention to the protruding decorative aspects with the use of white. In comparison, the stark linear drawing by Campbell gives no feeling of depth and does not convey the fluidity of the façade (VB I-11B, **28**). The above example demonstrates the ability of the engraver to convey the concavity of the building to the reader without direct instruction from the draughtsman.

Books Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1998), p. 55.

²⁰ Campbell, I, Pl. 81.

²¹ Campbell, I, Pls. 29-30.

A standard form of engraved notation can also be found on the plans in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Each plan is engraved with a thin straight ruled line around its outer and inner boundaries. Lines of the same thickness are used to denote window openings, niches and staircases, with the door openings left blank. Columns are usually drawn in the round, often with a square box around them. The plan is always shaded entirely in diagonal single cross hatch shading, usually with the highest side of the hatch beginning at the right-hand side.²² A suitable example is the plan of Montagu House, London (**198**).

After the copperplate was complete, a proof may have been taken to verify the design prior to printing.²³ If any mistakes were discovered, they could be changed before the plate was approved for printing. Within VB I and II, a number of proof engravings remain, many of which are very similar to those printed in *Vitruvius Britannicus* – but some plates have significant differences, which may indicate that they date from an earlier stage in production.²⁴

Almost all the proof engravings in VB I and II are plans. Only one elevation in VB II remains, of Lowther Castle, Westmorland (VB II-60B, **142**). This plate, and most of the plans, do not show the annotations as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but the engraving of the building remains unaltered. These include the Proposed Design for Lord Percival (VB II-32B, **82**); Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire (VB I-23A, **51**); Dyrham House/Witham House (VB II-68A, **151**); Longleat House, Wiltshire (VB II-57B, **135**); Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire (VB II 53A, **124**); Hampton Court, Herefordshire (VB II-54A, **126**) and Althorp House, Northamptonshire (VB II-71A, **155**). The full annotation is not present on the proof engraving of Wilton House, Wiltshire (VB II-56A, **128**).

Two proof plans in VB I and II show considerable changes between the proof and final stage of production. The first is the plan of St Peter's Basilica, Rome (VB I-2A, **5**). Here, between stages, the scale bar has changed position. The proof shows the scale in the second bay

²² In Hulsbergh's other projects, he does not always adopt this method and sometimes cross hatching is used on the body of the building and single hatch on the wings. In different books we see different conventions, even in the work of the same engraver. In James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728), it was standard for the Hulsbergh plans to use single hatch on the wings of the building and then cross hatching on the main body of the building. However, this was not standard practice in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and consistency is maintained throughout the book.

²³ Gaskell, 1974, p. 5.

²⁴ Only one proof engraving has been identified outside VB I and II, and this depicts the elevation of Kings Weston; see Kerry Downes, 'The Kings Weston Book of Drawings', *Architectural History*, 10 (1967), Figure 3.

of the nave of the church, whereas the final state sees it lower down, on the bay below. In this case annotations are present on the proof but are not in the same place, or are identical to these on the engraved copy. The depiction of the building was not altered at all between these stages, only the annotation (**199**).

The plan of the Greenwich Hospital, London (VB I-29A, **73**), also varies between proof and final state (**200**).²⁵ At the top of the plan a dotted line showing the terrace has been inserted, which is not on the proof. In the lower half of the engraving, a substantial insertion has been made between the wings on both sides. This aspect had not yet been built and is not shown on any other representations.²⁶ It is not known how these changes were indicated to the engraver, as there are no identifiable additional instructions in the preparatory volume.

Another set of engravings in VB II shows the elevations of Whitehall Palace, London (VB II-34B-E, **86-89**). The plan is a drawing (VB II-34A, **85**), but all four elevations are counter-proof engravings, which are complete with annotations, and printed entirely in reverse.²⁷ There are no other examples of this type of printing in the collection. Also, we have seen in Chapter 4 that there were mistakes made in the engraving of Castle Howard, Yorkshire, but these discrepancies were not discovered prior to printing and required the plate to be re-made for the subsequent editions of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

There are several instances on drawings in VB I and II where the transformation from drawing to engraving is impossible to establish. One case is the elevation of Witham House, Somerset (VB II-68B, **152**). This is the only drawing in the preparatory drawings collection which does not correspond to the engraved design (**201**).²⁸ Instead, the drawing shows a building with a flat roof and three arches, rather than the open portico and cupola seen in the engraving. John Harris identified the drawing in the preparatory collection as derived from William Talman.²⁹ The drawing in VB II is a linear pen and ink drawing, with scored underdrawing and

²⁵ Campbell, I, Pls 82-3.

²⁶ John Bold, *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 137-155.

²⁷ Margaret Whinney, 'John Webb's drawings for the Whitehall Palace', *Annual Volume of the Walpole Society*, 21 (1942-3), 45-107 and Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1960), pp. 377-8.

²⁸ Campbell, I, Pl. 92.

²⁹ John Harris, *William Talman: Maverick Architect* (London: Allan and Unwin, 1982), Figure 19.

black ink, typical of a drawing for engraving. The design seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is by James Gibbs but is not acknowledged by Campbell.³⁰ A drawing in the Newby/Studley collection represents the Gibbs design – it has an open portico and a cupola, as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus* – yet it was not included in the preparatory volumes.³¹

Another example of an unusual transformation of drawing to engraving is that for Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.³² Here a linear drawing, prepared with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink, typical of a drawing for engraving, has been prepared (VB I-25D, **66**). Although the technique is very similar to Campbell's, many of the details are peculiar, with oversized urns and much thicker ink lines: it is still executed well, but is very unlike Campbell's work. I do not believe this drawing was executed by Campbell. The engraving as published states '*Ex autographo D. I. Thornell*'. This is the only case in *Vitruvius Britannicus* when this expression is used and the only mention of 'Thornell'. My tentative speculation is the involvement of Sir James Thornhill.³³

The way in which the Chatsworth House elevation has been transformed from drawing to engraving differs from the other orthogonal representations.³⁴ On this elevation, an external parterre and staircase has been included below the main façade, a feature not used on any other depictions of buildings. A level of perspective seen in this elevation cannot be found in any other elevations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. To the right of the façade there is a patch of cross-hatch shading, which indicates cast shadow from the building (**202**), and which cannot be seen anywhere else in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In comparison, the second elevation of Chatsworth House (VB I-25E, **67**) is drawn in a stylistically very similar way to the above example. They depict the same building, yet the shading on the engraving has been interpreted differently (**203**). There were no additional annotations on the plate to direct the engraver, and the differences cannot be accounted for – especially considering the drafting of the elevations is so

³⁰ Campbell, II, p. 5.

³¹ John Harris, 'The Transparent Portico', *Architectural Review*, 123:733 (1958), 108-9 and *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1973), p. 16.

³² Campbell, I, Pl 75

³³ My speculation is based on Sir James Thornhill's involvement in many designs in this section of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the inconsistency in the drafting of the Chatsworth drawings which come from two different sources.

³⁴ Campbell, I, Pl 75.

similar: they used the same set of instructions yet achieved a different result.

In VB I and II, there are several drawings for engraving which remain unfinished, and are quite different in nature from the other preparatory drawings in the volumes. These are unusual exceptions, and where the drawing is incomplete, directions have been given to the engraver in writing. The elevation of Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire (VB II-41D, **102**), is my first example. It has been drawn using extensive graphite underdrawing, and a considerable amount of the overall drawing remains in graphite. Few aspects of this drawing have been completed. This drawing does not use the scored underdrawing that is a vital part of the other preparatory elevations. Long vertical graphite guidelines can be seen to aid the draughtsman over the drawing and smaller horizontal graphite lines guide the drawing on the upper part of the building. The lower half of the drawing has the basic form of a finished drawing: aspects have been outlined in black ink. The upper part of the drawing contains incomplete architectural details, and some annotations can be seen (**204**). The intended location of the capitals has been outlined with graphite, but no details are drawn. No statuary has been drawn along the roofline; only small horizontal markings indicate the height of the intended statuary (which are crossed with the vertical guidelines from the columns). Even though the statuary is incomplete, no further details are given to complete this aspect. On this incomplete drawing, the annotations read ' $\frac{3}{4}$ column' and '*pilaster*', both in graphite. Unfortunately the annotations are too pale to accurately discern a hand. Other annotations on the scale bar read '*Scale 60/ Extends 166*', and are in black ink in a hand not familiar to the Campbell collection. This is very different from the other two elevations for this project also found in VB II (VB II-41B, C, **100, 101**). These two drawings are completed linear pen and ink drawings and are standard in drawing type for the collection.

The second drawing to contain written instructions for the engraver is Campbell's design for a church in 'the Vitruvian Style' (VB II-38A, **95** and **205**). On this drawing, instructions are given to the engraver, both drawn and written (**205**). This linear drawing excludes the vital finished detailing required for the engraver to fully understand the design. There is graphite and scored underdrawing, and it is drawn in black ink. Graphite annotations

can be found on the drawing, and, although it is unclear if they are descriptive or instructive (because they are largely indiscernible), they appear to relate to the completion of the drawing.

In these two examples it seems that the drawings remained incomplete, and the annotations facilitated the completion of the design by the engraver. Throughout production there may have been other modes of communication which are now unknown, and writing may have been just one of many alternative methods used. However, the dominant mode of communication was through the specially prepared drawings. Both the draughtsman and the engraver were responsible for certain aspects of the completed engraving: the draughtsman for the cast shadow and the engraver for the tonal modelling of the design. Both men worked together to create the finished product seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell did all he could do, and then transferred responsibility to Hulsbergh.

5.4 THE ENGRAVERS INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCTION OF *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

In this final stage of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, at least four engravers were employed. The first two men, John Sturt and George Bickham, played minor roles in the production process, each executing one of the introductory title pages.³⁵ Henry Hulsbergh was the only engraver acknowledged on the architectural material in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but this was only in the latter volumes; the first volume omitted any names of engravers.

John Sturt was responsible for the first title page in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the more detailed of the two title pages, which was also used in volume II, with minor alterations.³⁶ Sturt was born in 1658 and died in 1730, only one year after Campbell.³⁷ At the time of his involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, he was a well established engraver with varied experience, but he was not an architectural engraver.³⁸ According to Sharp, 'Sturt was particularly celebrated

³⁵ Both the title page and the dedication page were discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Campbell, I, Pl 1 and 2: Title and dedication page.

³⁶ The third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* included a new title page to include the description of the new format of the book to include garden and plantation designs. However, a copy of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in the Yale Center for British Art has a copy which states 'Vol I of III' which retains the original title page of the earlier volumes and is irregular. Variant copies are noted in the *RIBA Early Printed Books*, 2001, p. 2317.

³⁷ Richard Sharp, 'John Sturt (1658-1730)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26752>> [accessed 2 Dec 2008] and Colvin, 2008, p. 215.

³⁸ *DNB*, 'John Sturt (1658-1730)'.

for his skill as a writing engraver', and it was in this capacity that he was employed in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.³⁹ The second engraver is named on the dedication page, which records 'R Snow for G Bickham'.⁴⁰ Bickham trained many engravers throughout his career, and Snow may have been his apprentice. Bickham himself had been apprenticed to Sturt, but developed a reputation of his own 'as an engraver of calligraphy'; indeed he advertised himself not only as an engraver, but as a teacher of drawing, writing and engraving.⁴¹ The dedication page is more elaborate than the title page, with very ornate lettering. The involvement of both the aforementioned engravers would have added prestige to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Regardless of this, neither man was responsible for the visual quality of the architectural depictions in the book: this was the responsibility of a third engraver, Henry Hulsbergh.

Henry Hulsbergh was of Dutch descent but, by 1709, was resident in London and working as an engraver.⁴² He did not have a wide range of experience as an engraver prior to his employment on *Vitruvius Britannicus* and, until this major commission, his work was primarily small-scale cartographical and general frontispiece design.⁴³ Hulsbergh soon began to specialise in architecture, becoming engraver of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and subsequently working on a number of prestigious architectural books. It was only later in the century that Hulsbergh was to be considered one of the leading architectural engravers of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴

To begin my investigation of Hulsbergh, I will describe his early career to shed light on his circumstances when he was appointed to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Much of his early work included frontispiece designs for songbooks, where his contribution was the only decorative material within the text.⁴⁵ In cases like this, the quality of the decorative material was low, and the draughtsmen involved often did not sign plates.⁴⁶ Hulsbergh's illustrations regularly included

³⁹ *DNB*, 'John Sturt (1658-1730)'.

⁴⁰ Campbell, I, Pl 1.

⁴¹ Kim Sloane, 'George Bickham (1683/4-1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2353>> [accessed 2 Dec 2008]

⁴² Timothy Clayton, 'Hulsbergh [Hulsberg], Henry (d.1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14120>> [accessed 2 Dec 2008]

⁴³ Josephine French, ed., *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers A-J* (Somerset: Early World Press, 2001), p. 391.

⁴⁴ Harris, 1990, p. 62.

⁴⁵ Frank Kidson, 'Handel's Publisher, John Walsh, his Successors and Contemporaries', *Music Quarterly*, 6, no. 3 (1920), p. 442 and David Hunter, 'The Printing of Opera and Song Books in England 1703 – 1726', *Notes*, Second Series, vol 46, no. 2 (Dec 1989), 338.

⁴⁶ Hunter gives the name of a draughtsman called Berchet who was frequently employed on song books and may have

human figures, which he executed poorly.⁴⁷ He also produced frontispiece designs for books, including Bulstrode Whitlocke's *Memorial of English Affairs* (1709) and Joseph Nutting's *Monarchy of Bees* (1713).⁴⁸ These latter examples were again not produced to a high standard. These early commissions indicate that Hulsbergh was not an experienced engraver and was working on low-quality productions only a few years prior to his contribution to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Another early work by Hulsbergh, but a more substantial one, was a project called *The Line of Succession of Monarchy* (1706).⁴⁹ This was a very large chart depicting the family tree of the Royal Family. Hulsbergh's contribution was to produce the small individual portraits of each monarch on the chart.⁵⁰ This was published as a large sheet, but can also be found subdivided into smaller sheets in books.

Hulsbergh was also involved in cartographical printing. As early as 1704, he can be found supplying cartouche designs for maps by the French Geographer Royal, Nicholas de Fer, and for John Senex on his series of world maps.⁵¹ John Senex is interesting as he also appears in the history of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but the later history when he bought a part share in the book. This involvement was post production, at least of the first edition, and even though Senex is linked to Hulsbergh, Senex does not appear to be linked to the intellectual conception of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Hulsbergh's contributions to these works again appear to be purely decorative. He may also have been employed by Thomas Taylor in London to produce the whole topographical engraving of the design of Portsmouth and Gosport, after James Lightbody.⁵² Later, Hulsbergh may have been involved with Taylor on *The Principality of Wales* (1718),

been responsible for the drafting of many of these designs, see Hunter, 1989, p. 338.

⁴⁷ The poor quality of the human figures executed by Hulsbergh clear in the example of the *Jovial Companions, or the Merry Club* published by J Walsh, and in works by Giovanni Bonocini – both *Songs in the Opera call'd Camilla* and *Songs in the Opera call'd Rosamund*.

⁴⁸ *DNB*, 'Henry Hulsbergh (d. 1729)'.

⁴⁹ This chart can be found in the NLS, Rare Books and Music Reading Room, P.r.1.a.2.

⁵⁰ *The Line of Succession of Monarchy* can also be found subdivided into three separate pages within the final volume of *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, shown over 6 sheets see Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (London, 1724).

⁵¹ Senex later became part owner of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but only after the publication of volume I. Senex produced these maps over a number of years, first as single map sheets and then assembled and published as *A New General Atlas* in 1720, which was reissued by his wife Mary in 1740, see Laurence Worms. 'John Senex (bap 1678-d.1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Online Edition Jan 2008 <<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/25085>> [accessed 2 Dec 2008] and French, 2001, p. 391 and *RIBA Early Printed Books*, 2001, p. 2324.

⁵² *DNB*, 'Henry Hulsbergh (d. 1729)'.

which was suitable for widespread circulation, and as a result produced at a low quality. It was the first published atlas relating to Wales.⁵³

Henry Hulsbergh also worked on Kip and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707), the topographical surveys of England drawn by Leonard Knyff that were then engraved by Johannes Kip.⁵⁴ Hulsbergh's involvement was minimal: he produced the decoration on the title page of the 1709 edition and the plate of Broadgate, Leicestershire.⁵⁵ It is not known why Hulsbergh was employed to engrave this single topographical representation, and is the only engraver other than Kip to be acknowledged at all throughout the book.

By 1715, Hulsbergh had produced several privately published architectural engravings made for patrons and, as we have seen in Chapter 2, were probably copied for use in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁵⁶ Unlike the earlier examples of his work, the quality of these engravings is very high, and would have impressed the makers of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. These plates appear to be the extent of Hulsbergh's architectural experience prior to his employment on *Vitruvius Britannicus* – he had never worked as part of a large project – but architecture quickly became his specialism.

After *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Hulsbergh was regarded as a leading architectural engraver and I have found no evidence of him accepting lower quality commissions. Instead, he secured work on prestigious architectural projects and produced engravings for other important architects of the time: Sir Christopher Wren, James Gibbs, and Nicholas Hawksmoor. His work on other architectural publications can be noted, but all date from after his involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. He was responsible for the engraving of the *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727) by William Kent, and, in part, for the unpublished public works of Sir Christopher Wren which were being compiled by Nicholas Hawksmoor.⁵⁷ The proof engravings for this project can be found in the collection of the RIBA, London, but the publication was never completed.⁵⁸

Given Hulsbergh's limited experience, it would have been a surprising risk to employ

⁵³ National Library of Wales Online [www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=thomastayloratlas5210] [accessed 23 January 2010]

⁵⁴ Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Britannia Illustrata* (London: David Mortier, 1709)

⁵⁵ Kip and Knyff, 1709, Pl. 12.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the engravings which were copied for use in *Vitruvius Britannicus* please see Chapter 2.

⁵⁷ *DNB*, 'Henry Hulsbergh (d. 1729)'

⁵⁸ *Difliciorum publicorum Dni Christophori Wren eqvitis aur. architecti regis. = A catalogue of the churches of the city*

him as the sole engraver on a project as extensive as *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

5.5 HENRY HULSBERGH'S INVOLVEMENT IN *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

Henry Hulsbergh was the primary engraver for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Although he was not named publicly in volume I, he signed all of the elevation plates in volumes II and III. Even though his name did not appear on the plates in volume I, his involvement has been assumed due to the close stylistic similarity of this volume to the latter volumes.⁵⁹ Based on careful analysis of engraving technique, I shall argue that the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was engraved by Henry Hulsbergh and one other engraver. My argument is based on oddities and the quality of the engraving of the plates. The distribution of the work is significant to the study of the genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The first oddity is inconsistency in the depiction of the scale bar included on each engraving. On the drawings for engraving the scale bar was drawn in the same way each time (207). They were usually drawn in black ink, but sometimes in graphite. They show two parallel horizontal lines drawn approximately 2/3 mm apart which are connected by vertical lines at each end, and subdivisions of six sections throughout. Each of these divisions represents 10 feet. On much larger or smaller buildings, Campbell adapted the scale accordingly but used the same technique.⁶⁰ The left-hand division was then subdivided into ten, each section representing one foot on the design, and then further subdivided by a central marker.⁶¹

When the scale bar was transferred to engraving, Hulsbergh copied the preparatory drawing very closely (208). As can be seen in all of Hulsbergh's engravings in volumes II and

of London; royal palaces; hospitals; and publick edifices; built by Sr Christopher Wren Kt. Surveyor General of the Royal Works; during fifty years. RIBA Architectural library E.a.82 and DNB, 'Henry Hulsbergh (d. 1729)' 2004

⁵⁹ Eileen Harris has suggested that this discrepancy is due to the employment of less able engravers at the final stage of production. She suggests that the proposed designs were inserted into book and needed to be engraved at short notice, creating a need for an extra engraver. To ensure consistency within the book the names which had already been engraved on the plates were subsequently removed from the copperplate so that the lesser hands, and Hulsbergh's work was not disclosed, see Harris, 1990, p. 142.

⁶⁰ A small number of these scale bars are slightly different, but do not seem to be indicative of the hand of another engraver. One variant scale bar is on the plan of the church of Campbell's invention at Lincoln's-Inn-Field (VB I-3B, 9), where only the block divisions are shown and the feet markers are excluded. This seems to be due to the larger scale of the design. In this example the way the scale bar was depicted reflects the corresponding preparatory drawing. Other examples of minor variations can be seen on both Wilbury House (VB I-21A-B, 47-48) and Lindsey House (VB I-20A-B, 45-46), where a smaller scale bar is used with only two parts to the scale, one of which is subdivided. They are drawn in the same manner as the standard type, but scaled down for the smaller scale design.

⁶¹ Very occasionally this division can be found on the right hand division of the scale bar, but this is unusual.

III, he conforms to a standard type. This engraved scale is seen in the majority of the plates in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but a small group of engravings do not conform to this standard. In these variant cases the size and divisions on the scale bar remain the same, but black shading has been added in alternate foot markers, and then in alternate 10 foot boxes (209). This is visually striking and noticeably different from the standard type. Although it is not an unusual way of depicting a scale bar, it is unusual in the context of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and different to the normal type established by Hulsbergh.

Seventeen plans and two elevations contain this variant scale bar. They do not constitute every plan in volume I, but they do represent a significant quantity of them. The scale bar appears to be one of the indicators of the involvement of a second, less competent engraver. Confirmation of this will be sought by comparing specific examples to illustrate the differences in quality of engraving technique.

The first of these examples is the plan of Marlborough House, London.⁶² This plan is relatively basic, and therefore created a fairly simple task for the engraver. The engraving was made using the standard mode of engraving for a plan, a single cross hatching over the entirety of the plan, within a boundary line. In this example, the lines of the hatching are not always smooth, and many do not reach the exterior border line, as they should (210). The unevenness seems to have been caused by the unbalanced use of the burin on the copper. In contrast, the engraving of the plan of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, by Hulsbergh creates smooth lines over the entirety of the design, and the lines meet exactly at the boundary lines (216).⁶³ This consistency of engraving is seen throughout the engravings in volume II by Hulsbergh and all of the engravings using the standard scale bar in volume I.

Two elevations appear to have been prepared by the secondary engraver, and these depict the two most basic elevations in volume I: the elevation of Escot House (Walter Yonge's House), Devon (211), and the screen wall of Montagu House, London.⁶⁴ There is far greater scope for comparison in technique between the elevations by the unidentified engraver and

⁶² Campbell, I, Pls 39-40.

⁶³ Campbell, I, Pl 35.

⁶⁴ Campbell, I, Pls 34 and 79.

Hulsbergh, due to the increased level of detail therein. Both elevations are of a basic design; they contain the least architectural detailing of all elevations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The elevations by the unidentified engraver are not as precise as the elevations by Hulsbergh. Although the vocabulary used by the engravers is the same the proficiency of the engraving varies. The hatched lines often over or under-run their intended destination.⁶⁵ Like Hulsbergh, the unidentified engraver used a right-angled cross hatch to indicate cast shadow. This cast shadow was indicated to both engravers in the same way on the drawings, but the end result is different. In the case of the unidentified engraver, the cross lines are uneven and do not form a regular pattern of shading **(212)**. By contrast, in Hulsbergh's work for example at Burlington House, London, and the main elevation of Montagu House, London, the shading is regular with consistent spaced parallel lines, in addition to a defined edge around the shading **(212)**.⁶⁶

There are also discrepancies between the depictions of cast shadow from dormer windows and rooftop sculpture. Cast shadow on the wall planes and dormer windows are all indicated on the preparatory drawings by Campbell. However, cast shadow from the sculpture is not – it was left to the engraver. In every Hulsbergh elevation engraving roofline statuary casts a shadow onto the roof. This can be seen in the elevation of Roehampton House, Surrey **(196)**, and the Proposed Design for the Duke of Argyll **(215)**.⁶⁷ However, on the elevation of Escot House – by the unidentified engraver – the statuary does not cast shadow, even though the architectural detail and the angle of the roof is very similar.

Another architectural detail which exposes the difference in technique is the way each engraver dealt with balusters. On the elevation of Escot, the shadow is vertical down the right-hand side of each stem of the baluster, and is single tone **(211)**.⁶⁸ Almost all other examples employ at least two different tones of shading, applied in a configuration that emphasises the rounded nature and tonal modelling of each baluster. Besides Escot, only the balusters on the engraving of the Banqueting House, London, show a single tone of shading, but in this case it is

⁶⁵ Campbell, I, Pl 79.

⁶⁶ Campbell, I, Pls 32 and 35.

⁶⁷ Campbell, I, Pls 36 and 81.

⁶⁸ Campbell, I, Pl 79.

applied in a more naturalistic manner than in the Escot elevation (214). The hatching is applied on the right side of each baluster, but, unlike Escot, around the bulb of the baluster (214).⁶⁹ The tone expressed by the unidentified engraver is much more simplistic than that used by Hulsbergh. If we consider the tonal levels described earlier then Hulsbergh is significantly more proficient.

In volume I, all engravings remain anonymous. It is not known why the engraver's signatures were excluded. Perhaps it was to cover up the work of the less skilled secondary engraver. It seems that distribution of designs was conducted according to the skill of the engraver, with the more complex designs being engraved by Hulsbergh and the basic designs given to the secondary (unidentified) engraver. Unlike the previous interpretation by Eileen Harris, which based the involvement of the other engraver on the rush at the final stage of production, my investigation has revealed that only two designs identified by this lesser hand depict proposed designs. The hypothesis that Campbell was appointed as author at the last minute, and that this engraver brought in to complete these plates, seems inconclusive based on the distribution of work of the two engravers involved.

5.6 CONCLUSION

After consideration of the process of engraving, it becomes easier to understand the tasks that both the draughtsman and engraver undertook to create the final design included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The draughtsman provided the engraver with a circumscribed set of rules in the form of drawings for engraving, including directions for cast shadow but never for the tonal modelling of the design, which was delegated to the engraver.

Henry Hulsbergh is now considered the leading architectural engraver of the early eighteenth century, but, as we have seen, at the time his expertise was unproven for such a large project. This chapter has also identified the work of a secondary engraver who worked on plates for volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This engraver's work was of a lower standard than Hulsbergh's and, in my opinion – due to the distribution of work – he was employed to produce

⁶⁹ Campbell, I, Pl. 13.

the more basic plates. In my opinion, the variation in craftsmanship between the respective plates indicates that Hulsbergh completed the large sophisticated plates, while the unidentified engraver completed the basic engravings. The distribution of plates by this lesser hand is suggestive of a collaboration between the two men, rather than the insertion of the proposed designs at the last minute.

CONCLUSION

COLEN CAMPBELL AND THE PREPARATORY DRAWINGS FOR *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

The purpose of this thesis has been three-fold: firstly to provide a catalogue of Campbell's drawings for engraving for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, secondly to examine the production of the book from the acquisition of the source material to the completed publication, and finally to re-evaluate the role of Colen Campbell in its creation, including its early genesis. The thesis was structured to reflect the production process of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, beginning with the sourcing of designs, followed by the making of the drawings for engraving, and finally the engraving process. In concluding, I shall recap each section of the thesis individually before bringing together the several strands of my analysis.

The completion of the catalogue - which involved the detailed analysis of Campbell's preparatory drawings, housed in the RIBA in London; the provision of a history of each building represented in the book; and close reading of the published version of *Vitruvius Britannicus* - was a necessary precursor to the remainder of my project. The fuller understanding of the collection of drawings, and of their draughtsmanship and physical constitution, provided by the cataloguing process enabled patterns amongst the drawings to be detected, which shed light upon the chronology of their production, and allowed new similarities and groupings to be individuated. This information provided much of the material evidence for the rest of my investigation in the thesis.

Vitruvius Britannicus has long been considered a Palladian manifesto. One of Eileen Harris' primary claims to this effect is the fact that Campbell was not publicly acknowledged as

author in the advertisements until two weeks prior to publication. She contends that the insertion of Campbell's name on the title page was indicative of a late change of authorship. According to Harris, the imminent publication of Leoni's translation of Palladio, and the resultant need for the consortium of printsellers to make *Vitruvius Britannicus* a competitive rival, led to Campbell's appointment as author and the insertion of a Palladian theme. A similar interpretation by Nicholas Savage focussed on the ordering and the contrasting of the plates, which he asserted were presented in a particular fashion to make them promote this stylistic agenda and to draw attention to Campbell's own modern designs, yet not caused solely by the pressure of Leoni..

Although my study naturally complements a great deal of the substantial scholarship by Harris and Savage, it also contributes to the revisionist interpretations of Worseley and Rumble, who argue that there is little compelling evidence for an explicit Palladian theme in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The evidence I have presented in each chapter can be combined to suggest an alternative analysis of the early genesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, one that places Campbell as an integral part of the conception and execution of the book, and views *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a compilation of British architectural designs, linked neither by agenda nor by ideals, but by a pragmatic use of the available materials and circumstances following the Act of Union. There were books in Britain which had begun to take advantage of the nationalistic sentiment following the union that had focussed on the landowning class and the interest in the locality of their houses and estates. In addition, successful architectural publications were being made in France that drew attention to national architects and architecture. It seems that this model, alongside the mood of the nation, contributed to Campbell's exploitation of the circumstances for the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

A recurring theme has been Campbell's overall role in the production, including the extent of his responsibility for the aesthetic appearance of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell exercised a high degree of visual control over the book: he produced nearly all of the drawings for engraving, standardising the material from various sources. However, the overall quality achieved was contingent upon the sources that Campbell encountered and incorporated into his book. In addition to his control of the designs, Campbell was almost certainly responsible for

the introductory material for all three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, including most significantly the description of plates.

Campbell was clearly an ambitious man, who went on to have a very successful architectural career, but he entered the production as a largely untested architect and a novice in the realm of publishing. Nevertheless, he became the author of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the most iconic architectural publication of the eighteenth century.

My first chapter discussed the draughtsmanship of the various components of the Colen Campbell collection. I charted the provenance of the drawing collection and described the purpose and technique of the several different categories of drawings. In order to be able to engage suitably with the existing scholarship, I undertook extensive original analysis of Colen Campbell's drawings, and of other drawings found alongside his. Based on this analysis, I established Campbell's hand. Here I identified two principal categories of drawing, distinguished by their purpose and technique: drawings preparatory to building and drawings for engraving. The first of these categories embodies the progress of the design from the earliest stages (exploratory, site plan and preliminary drawings) to culmination in the highly finished presentation drawing. The technical differences between drawings for engraving and drawings for building enabled me to identify additional examples of the former in the CC Works collection as having been prepared for volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and for Campbell's translation of Palladio's *Five Orders of Architecture*.

In addition, I identified a marked improvement in Campbell's drawing technique as a result of his involvement with *Vitruvius Britannicus*: his post-1715 drawings are of a uniformly more competent standard. This development in technique is further apparent in the drawings he made for engraving over the course of the production. The drawings for volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are superior to those for volume I, while those for volume III display a further level of attainment. On the basis of these visible improvements, we can determine an approximate chronology of the production of the drawings for engraving, and establish which drawings were prepared contemporaneously.

Chapter 2 considered the origins of the designs used by Campbell in *Vitruvius*

Britannicus. It was concerned with the original source material for the production. I argued that Campbell acquired paper sources rather than surveying buildings and, hence, did not directly encounter the physical fabric depicted. Campbell appears to have had access to many paper sources, as he took advantage of previously published engravings and drawings by other practising architects. He also used his own architectural drawings – another instance of copying from paper sources.

Another focus of investigation in this chapter was the descriptions of the designs as published in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The paucity of information included in these descriptions further supports the hypothesis that Campbell did not visit the buildings he depicted in the book. By studying these descriptions, I was able to provide a new way of grouping the projects in the publication: this grouping was based on similarities in the nature and quality of the information provided by Campbell in his descriptions. In many cases, similarities exist among the descriptions of projects which are located side by side in the volume. This may indicate that such groups were sourced from a common origin.

I argued in Chapter 3 that Campbell may have acquired materials and skills in Scotland, before he moved to London and made the transition to architect. I demonstrated that it would have been possible for Campbell to travel to London with the intention of publishing an architectural book such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. I considered three individuals, James Smith, John Slezer, and Alexander Edward, all of whom were in a position to contribute particular skills or resources to Campbell's venture, either knowingly or not. The Smith drawings in the collection were used by Campbell to extract ideas and rework his own creations, whilst this is not something we can criticise Campbell too harshly for considering the period, this demonstrates that he was willing to adapt the work of others for his own use. Considering Campbell's use of the Smith drawings, it is plausible that he acquired other materials, like engravings and architects drawings, and used them for his own purposes.

The evidence I presented in Chapters 2 and 3 suggests that the book was created from an amalgam of resources. The geographically diverse range of projects included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* indicate that there was no systematic survey of the buildings represented in the

book. The lack of interior views and knowledge about the buildings he presents in the description of plates suggest that he had a limited understanding of the buildings and had not viewed them first hand. If this was indeed the case, then the contents of the book were most likely determined by their availability, rather than by a stylistic manifesto. The somewhat arbitrary assortment of buildings included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and Campbell's apparent lack of knowledge about them, suggests that the book did not promote Palladian ideals. The sourcing of the material indicates that Campbell was simply exploiting what was available to him.

Significantly, my investigation suggests that, in all three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, plates were ordered or grouped based on shared origin, rather than by particular stylistic agenda. If this is indeed the case, then volume III is more similar in organisation to volumes I and II than has previously been supposed. Earlier interpretations suggest that the plates were ordered in a contrasting manner to highlight the Palladian agenda running throughout the volumes, but the chronology established in Chapter 1 and 2 reveals little evidence of this. For example, there is a series of plates presented successively in volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which I argue is linked by the fact that the series were based share a common origin. The support for this claim is two-fold. Firstly, the description provided by Campbell for each of these projects carries similar, and distinctive information. Secondly, there are specific similarities in the drafting technique of the preparatory drawings for each of these designs. My hypothesis is that these drawings were in Campbell's ownership when he arrived in London, but were later displaced wholesale to volume II when he acquired new material for volume I. Previous interpretations suggest that certain plates in volume I were displaced by the insertion of a group of proposed designs, chosen in order to alter the book's character from a printseller's survey to a Palladian manifesto. However, my study has revealed that there is no evidence that either the drawings for engravings, or the engravings for these plates depicting proposed, but not executed, designs were prepared at the same time, or at the last minute. If I am correct, this further undermines the view that *Vitruvius Britannicus* had a Palladian agenda.

In Chapter 4, I analysed a number of surviving paper sources that Campbell copied in

order to address the question of accuracy. In light of the paper-to-paper character of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, what is of special interest is not the extent to which the drawings faithfully depict finished buildings, but rather the extent to which they are accurate copies of their paper predecessors. The source material, once acquired by Campbell, was transformed into a drawing for engraving, with the final stage being the transfer to copperplate by the engraver. Campbell reworked the initial paper sources as drawings ready to be engraved. While some changes can be seen between the original material and his drawings, these are usually minor, and normally reflect the mode of representation rather than any alteration in the content of the design itself. The study of the drawings reveals no evidence that the sources were manipulated systematically in order to promote a particular stylistic agenda, nor that Campbell deliberately misrepresented the buildings from any period or tradition for contrastive purposes.

The final chapter – and phase in the production of the book – was concerned with the transformation of the drawings into engravings. Henry Hulsbergh was the primary engraver who worked on *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and a second engraver can be identified as contributing to volume I. My investigation attributed designs to this unidentified man on the basis of oddities on the plates and the relative competence of the engraving. I have argued that the unidentified engraver was employed to assist Hulsbergh, and that the division of labour was determined by the complexity of the design, with the simpler ones being assigned to the unidentified, and less capable, craftsman. The anonymous engraver was trusted with the two most basic elevations for volume I; the rest of his work was on plans, again the most simple ones. In addition, we also saw in Chapter 4 with the example of Castle Howard, Yorkshire that the mistakes of this engraver warranted the expenditure required for Hulsbergh to produce a new plate, correcting the botched work for further volumes. Previous analyses of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* suggest that the unidentified engraver was responsible for the proposed plates, understood to have been inserted late in the production, but my study has revealed no evidence that this was the second engraver's role in the publication.

In summary, the detailed analysis I have given undermines the claim that there is a Palladian agenda running through the book. The facts which I have uncovered from the drawing

analysis are not conclusive, but are consistent with the alternative hypothesis that Campbell came to London with the ability, resources and intention to publish a book like *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and was instrumental in the conceptualisation of the book that was eventually published.

In the light of my conclusions, Campbell can be implicated in the early history of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The graphic evidence I have presented makes plausible the suggestion that the book was conceived and executed by Campbell throughout all stages of its production. There is little evidence that the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was brought forward in response to Leoni's translation of Palladio, and the claim that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was re-conceived to promote a Palladian agenda is therefore without foundation. Professional cliques and rivalries undoubtedly existed between the two main camps of English architecture, based on the stylistic division between Wren and Burlington, but there is no reason to suppose that *Vitruvius Britannicus* itself was intended as a manifesto for Burlingtonian classicism. My thesis allows us to take Campbell's own words in the introduction to *Vitruvius Britannicus* at face value:

The general Esteem that Travellers have for Things that are Foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with Regard to Building. We travel, for the most part, at an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the Ignorance or Partiality of others, than to judge truly of the Merit of Things by the Strength of Reason. It's owing to this Mistake in Education, that so many of the British Quality have so mean an Opinion of what is performed in our own Country; tho', perhaps, in most we equal, and in some things we surpass our neighbours.

This shows him juxtaposing not two rival factions of English architecture with one another, but all of English architecture with that of the world.

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS

DRAWINGS FOR VOLUME I OF *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

VB I

Notes on Catalogue

- The drawings described in this catalogue are grouped according to the projects they represent. Each project has been assigned a number, with lettered subdivisions denoting the individual drawings in the set.
- This is followed by a brief history of the building, a short discussion of how the building is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and a description of the drawings.

- Reference number of drawing
- Aspect of design
- Scale
- Inscriptions from the drawing
- Medium in which the drawing is produced
- Paper on which the drawing is produced
- Size of paper, height x width
- Plate number from *Vitruvius Britannicus*
- Any related plates to the design in *Vitruvius Britannicus*
- The engraver of the project (only VB I, all known to be Hulsbergh in VB II)
- Description of Watermarks if at all visible
- Reproduction of the drawing in a published source

- Bibliographic references can be found in the bibliography. These are by no means comprehensive histories of the buildings.
- Colvin 2008 is *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, unless another date is given.

**TITLE PAGE-1
PROOF ENGRAVING**

**TITLE PAGE-2
PROOF ENGRAVING**

1 A-B: ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

After the Great Fire of London, the work completed by Inigo Jones 1633-42 was mainly destroyed and much of what remained was demolished. The new architect of St Paul's Cathedral was Sir Christopher Wren and his work commenced in 1675 (Colvin, p. 1153). Wren favoured a centrally planned design, but the 'Warrant Design' as executed retained the old medieval plan with a new classical building above.

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell illustrates this project with the plan and the west elevation. Campbell states: 'I have made two plates, the plan and the West Front; and did intend the section but was prevented by the architect, who proposed to publish it himself', which suggests that Wren was aware of the venture, and intervened to prevent Campbell producing his designs (Campbell, I, p. 3). Campbell praised the craftsman of the building, rather than the architect, he says: 'By those excellent and judicious Artists Edward Strong Senior and Junior who consummate their knowledge in their profession, has greatly contributed to adorn this Kingdom; and it's beyond exception that this is the second church in the World' (Campbell, I, p. 3).

St Paul's Cathedral is represented with two drawings. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in tonally consistent grey wash, with minor unevenness on the wash. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing, prepared in reverse. It has extensive scored underdrawing and is consistently executed. Diagonal lines indicate the lines of cast shadow to be adopted by the engraver.

	1A
Aspect:	GENERAL PLAN
Scale:	40 foot to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Plan of St Paul's church</i> (on folio in brown ink). <i>Scale of 200 feet</i> (On drawing, in brown ink).
Medium:	Graphite and compass underdrawing with remaining graphite detailing. Drawn in black ink with tonally consistent grey wash.
Support:	Laid paper, slightly discoloured especially around edges of sheet.
Size:	377 x 252 mm
Plate no:	VB I, PI 3
Related Plates:	VB I, PI 4
Engraver:	Unidentified

	1B
Aspect:	WEST ELEVATION
Scale:	Just over 30 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The West prospect of St Paul's church</i> (brown ink). <i>Scale of 100 feet</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Graphite and scored underdrawing, with some remaining graphite detailing. Linear pen and ink drawing in black ink, prepared in reverse. Diagonal lines for engraver.
Support:	Laid paper, discoloured around edges.
Size:	376 x 250 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 4
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 3
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

2 A-C: ST PETER'S BASILICA, ROME

St Peter's in Rome is represented with a plan, an elevation and a section in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell disguises his opinions by saying they are 'those of the critics' and 'it's the most correct, with respect to the truth of Architecture, Or Cleanness of Engraving, that was ever published, and the Reader may have the satisfaction to view both, reduced to the British Measure' (Campbell, I, p. 3). It is highly likely that Campbell acquired the designs of St Peter's from existing engravings, as the images are very similar to those published by Carlo Fontana in 1694 (Fontana, *Il Tempio Vaticano*, 1694).

The plan of St Peter's is a proof engraving with imperfections, most noticeably around the annotations. Some changes can be identified between the proof and final form of the engraving: the scale bar and annotations have been moved, and the wording of the annotation altered. The elevation of St Peter's Basilica is a drawing which has scored and graphite underdrawing and is drawn in black ink. It has been shaded in grey, tonally consistent wash. Some areas are mottled but this seems to be a result of the paper, rather than the execution of the drawing. The section was drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in even black ink. There are some smudges on the ink work on the drawing.

2A
Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN**

Scale: 65 foot to an inch
Inscribed: *Plan of St Peters Church at Rome/Plan de L'Eglise du St Pierre a Rome*
(In nave of design, above entrance, not where it appears in *Vitruvius Britannicus*).

Medium: Proof Engraving.
Support: Laid paper, left hand strip of paper mottled.
Size: 379 x 268 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 5
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 6 and 7
Engraver: Unidentified

2B
Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 45 foot to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of St Peter's church at Rome/Extends 400/A scale of 100 feet* (all brown ink).

Medium: Scored underdrawing drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash.
Tonally varied and consistent wash, but some mottled areas.

Support: Laid paper, discoloured. Dirty around edges. Paper is discoloured above right hand cupola.

Size: 315 x 247 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 6
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 5 and 7
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

	2C
Aspect:	SECTION
Scale:	No ruled scale, 267 mm across drawing
Inscribed:	<i>The Section of St Peter's church in Rome</i> (brown ink)
Medium:	Graphite and scored underdrawing, linear pen and ink drawing in black ink. Cross hatch on windows and cupola is not present on engraving.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured
Size:	342 x 274 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 7
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 5 and 6
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

3 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR A CHURCH AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON

The design for Lincoln's Inn Fields is an unrealised scheme created by Colen Campbell for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, at 'the Desire of some Person of Quality and Distinction, whom it was proposed to have a church in the square' (Campbell, I, p. 3). The plan for the church was copied directly from a drawing by James Smith in Campbell's possession, and in turn Smith had taken this drawing from Alessi's Sta Maria in Cariagnano (Connor, 1977, p. 20). The only detail which differs between the designs is the staircase, which Campbell excluded (Richardson, 1976, Catalogue no. 60, Figure 87). This was the only one of Campbell's unexecuted designs included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which had an intended location, and was not dedicated solely to a patron.

Both preparatory drawings for the church at Lincoln's Inn Fields remain in VB I. The plan has been executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash, with scored underdrawing. The drawing has traces of graphite detailing. The grey wash is applied in a very tonally consistent manner and is very dark in tone.

The elevation has been drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash applied in a fairly consistent manner. Although it has been applied to a competent manner, it is reminiscent of the drawings which Campbell submitted to the Fifty New Church Commission in 1712. This is also the date that Campbell gives for this design in the description of plates (Campbell, I, p. 3). All of the other designs of his invention in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are dated either 1714 or 1715. Although this design is reminiscent of the submitted designs, the drafting technique is more advanced and typical of a preparatory drawing of c. 1715. Diagonal lines indicate cast shadow to the engraver in addition to grey wash shading.

	3A
Aspect:	GENERAL PLAN
Scale:	30 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Plan of a new Design of a Church of my own Invention for Lincoln's Inn Fields/100 feet/extends 24</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Extensive diagonal, graphite and compass underdrawing. Details remain in graphite. Drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Scale bar in graphite, then moved to higher location.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured
Size:	383 x 253 mm
Plate no.	VB I, Pl 8
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 9

Engraver: Unidentified

Aspect: **3B
ELEVATION**

Scale: Ruled scale 30 foot to an inch

Inscribed: *A new Design of my Invention for a Church in Lincoln's Inn Fields* (brown ink). Indiscernible graphite annotations.

Medium: Scored and graphite underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash. Diagonal scores, do not correspond to grey shading.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially down left hand side of sheet.

Size: 381 x 256 mm

Plate no. VB I, Pl 9

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 8

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

4 A-B: ST PHILIP'S CHURCH, BIRMINGHAM, WARWICKSHIRE

St Philip's Church by the architect Thomas Archer was begun in 1710 and consecrated in 1715. An Act of Parliament for its construction was granted in 1708 and Archer was part of the building committee (Colvin, p. 73 and Whiffen, 1973, p. 23). In 1905, St Philip's became Birmingham Cathedral (Whiffen, 1973, p. 23).

It would appear that Campbell copied the design from an existing, privately published engraving (Worcester College). On the existing engraving – by Hulsbergh after Archer – the plan and two elevations are given. The west façade is dominant on the engraving and both the east façade and the plan are engraved to a much smaller scale. Despite this, Campbell chose the smaller elevation to be copied for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This engraving was produced in 1710 and therefore showed the building as intended rather than as executed (Whiffen, 1973, p. 23).

Both drawings of St Philip's Church remain. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in dark grey wash. The elevation has been drawn with extensive scored underdrawing and black ink. It is drawn to a different scale than the plan: 10 feet to an inch, rather than 15.

Aspect: **4A
GENERAL PLAN**

Scale: Just over 15 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The plan of Birmingham church/a scale of 60 feet* (brown ink). The inscription in French in graphite.

Medium: Limited scored and graphite underdrawing drawn in black ink and shaded in tonally consistent grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 377 x 257 mm

Plate no. VB I, Pl 10

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 11

Engraver: Unidentified

Watermark: Crown and Fleur de lys. Countermark IV

4BAspect: **EAST ELEVATION**Scale: *Just over 10 feet to an inch*Inscribed: *The East Prospect of St Phillip's church at Birmingham in Warwickshire/invented by Tho. Archer Esq/A scale of feet (brown ink).*

Medium: Scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink with some traces of graphite. Small cross over scale bar.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 377 x 253 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 11

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 10

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

5 A-B: BANQUETING HOUSE, LONDON

The Banqueting House was constructed between 1619 and 1622 by Inigo Jones with Nicholas Stone as master mason (Colvin, p. 590 and Charlton, 1983, p. 19). The Banqueting House was the only part of Whitehall Palace to survive the fire of 1698 (Charlton, 1983, p. 19).

Campbell included a plan and section, on a single plate, and a separate elevation. It is clear Campbell admires both the building and the architect based on the description: 'This incomparable Piece was designed by the immortal Jones' and he goes on to add 'It is, without Dispute, the first Room in the World' (Campbell, I, p. 3).

Both drawings of the Banqueting House remain: the plan and section was prepared in reverse. The section is a linear drawing, drawn in black ink, with minimal underdrawing, and graphite annotations. The elevation is executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash, which demonstrates a wide range of tonal differentiation. The drawing is finished to a high standard and is in reverse to the engraving.

5AAspect: **PLAN AND SECTION**

Scale: Just under 15 foot to an inch

Inscribed: *The Plan of the Banquetting House the Section, (brown ink) 55 by 110/the section (graphite) Indiscernible graphite writing.*

Medium: Minimal scored and graphite underdrawing. Graphite, black ink and pale grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially around left of page.

Size: 254 x 378 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 12

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 13

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Watermark: Top of crown

5BAspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: Just under 10 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Banquetting House at White Hall by Inigo Jones/60 feet/extends*

Medium: *I20* (brown ink)
 Scored and some graphite underdrawing. Executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash.
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 249 x 370 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 13
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 12
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

6 A-B: QUEEN'S HOUSE, GREENWICH, LONDON

Inigo Jones began work on the Queen's House in 1616 for Anne of Denmark, until 1619 when work ceased (Colvin, p. 590 and Harris and Higgott, 1989, p. 64). Jones commenced a further programme of works on the building for Queen Henrietta Maria from 1632-5, following the same design (Colvin, p. 590). The Queen's House is situated at Greenwich, within the site of the palace which later became the Royal Hospital for Seamen (Bold, 2004).

Campbell gives the date of the Queen's House as 1639, which corresponds to the second phase of work. He dedicates this plate to the Honourable George Clarke Esq, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Clarke was one of the commissioners for the building of Greenwich Naval Hospital (*DNB*: George Clarke).

Both drawings of the Queen's House remain. The plans are drawn on the same piece of paper, in reverse. One of the plans is a linear drawing executed in black ink, but the second is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. This grey wash has been applied very evenly, but there are some darker elements close to the black ink of the outline. There are traces of graphite underdrawing, and graphite annotations on the drawing. The elevation is a linear drawing which has extensive scored underdrawing around the keystones, balustrade and columns. It has been drawn in even black ink, however, some of lines around the rustication are slightly thicker than standard.

6A

Aspect: **FIRST AND SECOND FLOOR PLANS**

Scale: Just over 15 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *Plan of the first storey the Kings House at Greenwich/Plan of the second floor/scale of 60 feet/extends 116* (brown ink)
 Medium: Graphite underdrawing. Drawn in graphite, black ink and grey wash.
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 250 x 378 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 14
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 15
 Engraver: Unidentified
 Watermark: Top of crown

6B

Aspect: **SOUTH FRONT**

Scale: Just over 8 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The Elevation to the Kings House to the Park at Greenwich/ Invented by Inigo Jones 1639/scale of 60 feet extends 115 feet* (brown ink)

Medium: Extensively scored, linear pen and ink drawing, which is highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 254 x 369 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 15
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 14
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh
 Watermark: Top of crown

7 A: THE GALLERY AT SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON

The Gallery at Somerset House - attributed to John Webb - was built in 1662-3 for the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria (Colvin, p. 1098). Alterations took place for Queen Catherine between 1672-2. Further alterations took place on the death of Charles II, when Catherine of Breganza left Whitehall to take up residence here (Colvin, p. 257). In 1707, the property reverted to the crown (Colvin, p. 271).

Only the elevation of Somerset House was included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell states 'I have neglected the Plan, being of little Use on this Occasion' (Campbell, I, p. 4). This is the only occasion where Campbell shows the elevation without the corresponding plan. He states that the design was taken from Inigo Jones, but conducted by another hand, and gives a date of 1662 (Campbell, I, p. 4). There is a drawing by James Smith in Campbell's collection which may have been used as a basis for this image, but both versions of this drawings differ slightly from the building as executed (Richardson, 1976, Catalogue no. 60, figure, 69).

The drawing of Somerset House was prepared with graphite and scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink. It remains a linear drawing made for engraving.

7A

Aspect: **ELEVATION TO THE RIVER**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The Elevation of the Great Gallery in Somerset House to the River/scale of 60 feet/extends 131* (brown ink).
 Medium: Graphite and extensive scored underdrawing, with black ink. Scale drawn is variant type. (See Gunnersbury elevation 8B)
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 250 x 372 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 16
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

8 A-B: GUNNERSBURY PARK, MIDDLESEX

Gunnersbury Park was built in the late 1650s for John Maynard by John Webb (Bold, 1988, p. 91). The master mason who carried out the work was Edward Marshall who was employed in 1658. The house was demolished in 1801 (Colvin, p. 679).

Campbell states that the architect of Gunnersbury was Inigo Jones, but it was 'executed by Mr Webb, disciple to Jones, from a design by the Great Master' (Campbell, I, p. 4). As a result,

Campbell gives some criticism of the building, noting: 'Some find the Inter-Columniation in this Hexastyle too open, and that to leave the Freeze and Architrave of each side the Pediment, is a Licence not to be introduced without great necessity' (Campbell, I, p. 4).

Both drawings of Gunnersbury remain in VB I. The plans are executed in reverse drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. However, some areas of the shading are slightly blotchy and inconsistent. The elevation is a linear drawing executed in black ink with scored underdrawing. It is a highly finished linear drawing prepared for engraving.

8A

Aspect: **PLAN OF PRINCIPAL AND FIRST STOREY**

Scale: 7 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The plan of the Principal Floor of Gunnersby House/the Plan of the First Storey of Gunnersby House/Scale of 60 feet/extends 92 (brown ink).*

Medium: Graphite underdrawing and black ink, shaded in grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured around edges.

Size: 254 x 376 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 17

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 18

Engraver: Unidentified

Watermark: Fleur de lys

8B

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 7 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Elevation of Gunnersbury House near Brantford in Middx By Inigo Jones/60 feet/extends 93 (brown ink).*

Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing and black ink. Scale drawn differently. (See Somerset House 7A)

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 254 x 373 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 18

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 17

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

9 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

This design is one of a number of unrealised schemes by Campbell included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, in this case dedicated to the Duke of Argyll. According to the annotations on the elevation, the design is in the style of Inigo Jones (Campbell, I, Pl 20). Campbell failed to secure the patronage of the Duke of Argyll but his rival James Gibbs was more successful. Gibbs dedicated his *Book of Architecture* to Argyll and was subsequently employed at Sudbrook and Adderbury for Argyll (Mark J Millard, 1998, p. 103 and Breman, 1972, p. 18).

Campbell dedicates two plates to the design for the Duke of Argyll: the principal and chamber floor plans and the elevation. In the description Campbell's tone is very flattering: 'I have inscrib'd this Design to this illustrious Name whose great Actions have filled the World with Surprize and Admiration; Ramellies and Tanniers are immortal' (Campbell, I, p. 4). Campbell

also tried to secure the patronage of the future Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Islay, dedicating a design to him later in the volume (Campbell, I, Pl 53-54).

Both drawings for the design of the Duke of Argyll remain in VB I. The plan is a linear pen and ink drawing which has both scored and graphite underdrawing and has been executed in black ink, in reverse. It is a finished drawing. It has not been drawn to the same quality as the other preparatory drawings. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing which only uses scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink. It has been finished to a high standard.

9A

Aspect: **PLAN OF PRINCIPAL AND CHAMBER FLOOR**

Scale: Just under 20 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Scale of 60 feet/extends 112/The plan of the Chamber Floor/The plan of the Principal Story of a new design his Grace the Duke of Argyle* (brown ink). Indiscernible graphite writing beneath design.

Medium: Some graphite underdrawing, drawn in black ink, finished.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 254 x 378 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 19

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 20

Engraver: Unidentified

Watermark: Top of crown

9B

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 8 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Elevation of a New Design of my own Invention in the Style of Inigo Jones/scale of 60 feet/extends 112 feet* (brown ink).

Medium: Scored and graphite underdrawing, drawn in black ink, statuary in graphite.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially around edges.

Size: 254 x 371 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 20

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 19

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

10 A-F: WANSTEAD HOUSE, ESSEX

Wanstead House was the only one of Campbell's extant buildings to be included in volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Wanstead was Campbell's first architectural commission in England, on which he was engaged from shortly after his arrival in London, c. 1714 (Colvin, p. 215). The project was commissioned by Sir Richard Child, who had decided to rebuild the old house in 1704. Child, later became the Lord Castlemaine and then Earl of Tylney (*DNB*, Josiah Child).

Throughout the course of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell illustrated three different schemes for Wanstead House. The first scheme was the most modest (but still very large) and extended 200 feet. Campbell illustrates this with a plan of the principal storey and a single plate elevation. A hexastyle portico with free standing Corinthian columns dominates the façade.

The second design for Wanstead is the closest of the designs to the executed building. Campbell represents the second scheme with a plan, section and double page elevation, which is an extension of the first design. This design is considerably larger than the first, extending an additional 60 feet. The third design which Campbell illustrates for Wanstead House is presented in volume III. Here, a double plate elevation is shown that is an enlarged version of the second design, which includes end pavilions.

After this sequence, Campbell included a single plate of the Wanstead Garden House. This was not designed by Campbell, but it has been suggested by John Harris that it was the work of William Talman. It is not known why Campbell included this plate, but he presumably surveyed it while on site at Wanstead (Harris, 1982, Figure 90).

All designs of Wanstead remain as drawings in the preparatory collection. The plan of the first floor is drawn with black ink and shaded in grey wash executed to the quite high standard of the drawing collection. The elevation for Wanstead I has scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink. Some of the lines on the drawing are uneven, especially on the rustication and the window frames. There is no preparatory drawing in the Campbell collection specifically for the third design.

The plan for the second plan of Wanstead House may be by another hand, perhaps William Kent. It is drawn very carefully and is very similar in style to that of the other preparatory drawings. However, it contains a number of technical characteristics which I tentatively attribute to Kent. Firstly the balustrade has been drawn in a manner not seen in any of the other preparatory drawings. Each individual baluster has been drawn in a circular manner. In addition the edge of the plan has been surrounded by a very narrow border. This characteristic cannot be seen in any of Campbell's other drawings, but can be seen in another of Kent's drawings also in the possession of the RIBA (SC58/67, exploded room elevation). The plan is drawn in black ink and is shaded in grey wash. The shading on the plan is darker than the application of the other drawings.

The elevation for Wanstead II is a linear drawing. It has been drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink. The elevation is contemporary with the first elevation and shares the characteristic unevenness of the ink on the rustication and balustrade. The section of Wanstead House has been drawn with scored underdrawing and has been executed in black ink. It has been shaded in grey wash which is also dark in shade.

The garden building is drawn in black ink, both the plan and elevation are linear drawings. Two pieces of paper have been used and pasted in the volume. This design was probably taken by Campbell himself while on site in capacity as architect.

On the verso of another drawing in the Campbell collection there is the plan of Wanstead II. This has been identified by John Harris and acknowledged in the RIBA catalogue. Harris states 'The drawing on the verso of this design seems to be in the hand of James Smith for churches' (Harris, 1973, p. 16).

	10A
Scheme:	WANSTEAD I
Aspect:	PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR
Scale:	Just under 15 foot to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The Plan of the Principal Floor of the first Design of Wanstead/Scale of 60 feet/extends 200 (brown ink).</i>
Medium:	Scored and graphite underdrawing, drawn in black ink and grey wash. Diagonal scores are not related to underdrawing.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 250 x 381 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 21
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 22, 23, 24-25, 26, 27 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh
Reproduced: Harris, *The Design of the English Country House*, p. 116

10B

Scheme: **WANSTEAD I**
Aspect: **WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: Just under 15 foot to an inch
Inscribed: *The First Design of the West Front of Wanstead as intended by Sir Richard Child/extends 200ft/a scale of 100 feet* (brown ink).
Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing and black ink
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured with grey blotch in centre by staircase
Size: 250 x 384 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 22
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 21, 23, 24-25, 26, 27 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh
Reproduced: Harris, *The Design of the English Country House*, p. 116.

10C

Scheme: **WANSTEAD II**
Aspect: **PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: Just under 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The plan of the principal floor of Wanstead* (brown ink). Graphite dimensions on plan.
Medium: Scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Lines thicker than other drawings. Different scale bar to any of the other drawings.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 250 x 381 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 23
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 21, 22, 24-25, 26, 27 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

10D

Scheme: **WANSTEAD II**
Aspect: **WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: 10 foot to an inch
Inscribed: *The West Front of Wanstead in Essex the Seat of Sr Richard Child Bar/ A Scale of Feet/Extends 260* (brown ink).
Medium: Extensive scored and minimal graphite underdrawing and black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 255 x 660 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 24-25
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 21, 22, 23, 26, 27 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh
Reproduced: Ackerman, *The Palladian Villa in England*, p. 147.

10E
WANSTEAD II
SECTION
Scheme: Drawn to same scale as 10A: just under 15 feet to an inch
Aspect: *Section of Wanstead House* (brown ink).
Scale: *Section of Wanstead House* (brown ink).
Inscribed: Compass marks and minimal graphite underdrawing. Black ink and
Medium: intensive grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 256 x 383 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 26
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 21, 22, 23, 24-25, 27 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

10F
WANSTEAD GARDEN HOUSE
PLAN AND ELEVATION
Scheme: *The Green House at Wanstead in Essex the Seat of Sr Richard Child*
Aspect: *Bart* (brown ink). *A Scale of 60 feet/Front Extends 152 foot* (black ink).
Scale: Just over 10 foot to an inch
Inscribed: *The Green House at Wanstead in Essex the Seat of Sr Richard Child*
Medium: *Bart* (brown ink). *A Scale of 60 feet/Front Extends 152 foot* (black ink).
Support: Scored and graphite underdrawing, black ink, some graphite details.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured. 2 sheets of paper 2 long strips attached into
Size: volume.
Sheet 1: 131 x 369mm (Elevation)
Sheet 2: 120 x 369mm (Plan)
Plate no: VB I, Pl 27
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 21, 22, 23, 24-25, 26 and VB III, Pl 39-40
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

11 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR THE EARL OF HALIFAX

This is an unrealised scheme, dedicated to the Earl of Halifax, prepared especially for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Charles Montagu, 1st Earl of Halifax, was a Whig peer, first Lord of the Treasury and politician. He was appointed to the Privy Council in 1714 and shortly thereafter surrendered his appointment of auditor to the Exchequer. This was soon given to his nephew. He died shortly after the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell was not successful in gaining his patronage (*DNB*: Earl of Halifax).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell represented this project with a plan and a double plate elevation. The design is large scale, and would have extended 300 feet, even larger than that intended for Wanstead House, Essex.

As with his other unexecuted plates, Campbell uses a great amount of flattery to try and secure a commission from the patron. Campbell alludes to a personal relationship with the Earl, stating: 'As this Noble Lord is the distinguished Patron of the Muses, the great Maecenas of our Age, I have presumed to honour this design with the Patronage of so great a Name, as a small Evidence of my gratitude, who have been honoured very early with his Lordship's Countenance, by encouraging my Labours' (Campbell, I, p. 4). It is known that Halifax was a great patron of Sir James Thornhill and the arts more generally, but not specifically Campbell (*DNB*: Sir James Thornhill).

The plan for the Halifax design is a proof engraving with small imperfections around the

annotations. The elevation is drawn on a large piece of paper and pasted over two sheets in the folio. It is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink.

11A
PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 10 foot to an inch

Inscribed: *Plan of the Principal Floor of anew Design Inscribed to the Rt Honable the Earl of Halifax and/Plan du Principal etage d'un nouveau Desin Declie a monseigneur le comte D'Halifax and/80 feet/Extends 300* (black ink). Extensive dimensions.

Medium: Proof engraving

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 250 x 391 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 28

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 29 and 30

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

11B
ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *A New Design of my own Invention: Brown ink. A Scale of 100 foot/ 272 foot in front* (black ink, small handwriting).

Medium: Graphite and extensive fine scored underdrawing. Drawn in black ink and graphite.

Support: Laid Paper. One large sheet of paper over 2 folio pages. Mottled along bottom strip of sheet.

Size: 252 x 664 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 29-30

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 28

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

12 A-B: BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY, LONDON

Burlington House was built for the 1st Earl of Burlington, 2nd Earl of Cork who purchased it from Sir John Denham in an unfinished state. In 1716, just before Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, returned from his Grand Tour and came of age, his mother employed James Gibbs at Burlington House (Colvin, p. 423). Campbell re-fronted Burlington House and created a monumental gateway fronting Piccadilly, a design of which was included by him in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, volume III (Campbell, III, Pl 25).

In volume I of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell shows the original Burlington House, prior to his intervention with a plan and an elevation. Campbell placed the plan of the house on a plate alongside the plan of the Wrest Park Pavilion. The plan is not linked in any way to the pavilion and the two parts were drawn to a different scale, so it is unclear why these designs share a plate.

The description in *Vitruvius Britannicus* of Burlington House is very brief and describes both this project and the Wrest Park Pavilion. The only reference to Burlington House is as follows: 'The first plate contains the two plans of the following fronts: the second is the front of

Burlington House' (Campbell, I, p. 4). He makes no mention of an architect or any further information about the building on the plate or within the description, which is perhaps suggestive that Campbell was not familiar with the building at this stage of his career or was ill informed.

Both preparatory drawings for this project remain within VB I. The plan of Burlington House is drawn on the same piece of paper as the Wrest Park Pavilion. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash, with uneven tonal consistency. There are traces of graphite underdrawing below the scale bar. The elevation is drawn in black ink and heavily shaded in grey wash. This drawing is tonally diverse, but often uneven, especially on the roof, and there is considerable blotching on the window voids. Campbell had also included detailed shading of the quoins and dentils.

In volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell illustrates his own design for Burlington House. A number of preparatory drawings for this scheme can be identified in the CC Works collection. These elevations are drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink, completed to a high standard. One is shaded in delicate grey wash. The other two are linear drawings – both prepared for engraving.

12A
PLAN

Aspect:

Scale: Just under 20 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *A Plan of Burlington House in Piccadilly/A Scale of feet/Extends 130* (brown ink) and *The Plan of his Grace the Duke of Kent's Garden Pavilion/A Scale of 40 feet/extends 55* (brown ink). Indiscernible graphite annotations.

Medium: Visible graphite underdrawing drawn in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 376 x 253 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 31

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 32 and VB III, Pl 22-25

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

12B
ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: 9 Feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Burlington House in Pickadilly London* (brown ink).

Medium: Graphite underdrawing, black ink and grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, especially around edges. Bronze/ brown oxidised disc shape on edge of sheet.

Size: 254 x 379 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 32

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 31 and VB III, Pl 22-25

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

12A and 13A: WREST PARK PAVILION, BEDFORDSHIRE

The pavilion on the Wrest Park Estate, Bedfordshire, was built in the year 1709 by Thomas Archer for Henry Grey, 1st Duke of Kent (Colvin, p. 72).

An engraving depicting the building was privately published in 1711, probably commissioned by the patron. It was engraved by Henry Hulsbergh after Thomas Archer (Worcester College). It was one of a number of engravings which Campbell copied directly for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Clayton, 1997, p. 63). There are some differences between the two engravings: Campbell's drawing excludes the staircase on the design, and interestingly the original engraving represents the size and function of the plan in a much more dominant way.

The plan of the pavilion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* shares a plate with Burlington House, and the plan is drawn to a much smaller scale than the elevation. Campbell discusses Burlington House and the Wrest Park Pavilion within the same profile. He gives the architect, Thomas Archer, and the date of 1709 (Campbell, I, p. 4). Whiffen suggests this is the design or the commencement of the building, rather than a completion date, based on the original engraving (Whiffen, 1976, p. 25).

Both drawings for the Wrest Park Pavilion remain in VB I. The plan for the pavilion was drawn on the same sheet of paper as that of Burlington House. This was a conscious decision to design the plates by Campbell.

The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash which has been applied in a fairly tonally consistent manner. Scored underdrawing can also be found on the drawing and, although there are additional diagonal scores, they correspond to the shading and not to the structure of the drawing. The elevation has scored underdrawing and is a linear drawing executed in black ink. It has been finished to a high standard and was prepared for engraving.

	SEE 12A
Aspect:	GENERAL PLAN
Scale:	Just over 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The Plan of his Grace the Duke of Kent's Pavilion/A Scale of 40 feet/ Extends 55</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Graphite underdrawing, black ink and grey wash evenly applied. Diagonal scores not related to underdrawing.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured
Size:	376 x 253 mm
Plate no:	VB I, PI 31
Related Plates:	VB I, PI 33
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

	13A
Aspect:	NORTH ELEVATION
Scale:	Just over 6 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>A New Building at the end of his Grace the Duke of Kent's Gardens in Bedfordshire invented by Tho Archer Esq</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Extensive scored underdrawing, and black ink. Some details remain in graphite.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured. Large black/brown area on right hand side of design.

Size: 380 x 250 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 33
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 31
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

14 A-C: MONTAGU HOUSE, LONDON

Montagu House was constructed for Ralph Montagu, 1st Duke of Montagu, Charles II's ambassador at the Court of Louis XVI, 1675-9. The house is said to have been destroyed by fire around 1685-6 and rebuilt in 1687 (Colvin, p. 509).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the project is represented by three single plates: a plan, an elevation of the screen wall and an elevation of the main façade. Campbell's description of the plate is brief and he names the architect as Monsieur Pouget, 1678 (Campbell, I, p. 4). He does not provide detail about the architecture; his brief words are: 'The Apartments are very noble and richly adorned'. Campbell also mentions a number of other artists: Monsieur la Fausse, Mr Rosseau and Mr Baptiste, who have 'express'd the Excellence of their Art' (Campbell, I, p. 4). He does not state their particular expertise or their contribution to the whole design.

All three preparatory drawings of Montagu House remain in VB I. The plan is executed in black ink and grey wash that is slightly uneven in tonal consistency. It is prepared in reverse, with graphite and compass underdrawing. Both the elevations are linear drawings with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink, prepared for engraving.

14A

Aspect: **PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Plan of the Principal floor of Montague House* (brown ink). 216 by 237 (graphite).
Medium: Very faint scored and graphite underdrawing. Black ink and shaded in pale grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially around edges
Size: 360 x 254 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 34
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 35, 36
Engraver: Unidentified

14B

Aspect: **ELEVATION TO THE STREET**

Scale: Just over 15 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Prospect of Montague House to the street London/Scale of 80 feet/extends 116* (pale brown ink).
Medium: Scored underdrawing, some very faint graphite underdrawing, black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, especially around edges
Size: 250 x 373 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 35
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 34, 36
Engraver: Unidentified

	14C
Aspect:	ELEVATION TO THE COURT AND GREAT RUSSELL STREET
Scale:	Just over 15 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The Elevation of Montague House to the Court in Great Russel Street London/Scale of 60 feet/Extends 216</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Very faint graphite, minimal scored underdrawing and black ink.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured, mottled down left hand side of page.
Size:	250 x 374 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 36
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 34, 35
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

15 A-B: DRUMLANRIG CASTLE, DUMFRIESSHIRE, SCOTLAND

Drumlanrig Castle was constructed for the 1st Duke of Queensberry between 1679 and 1690, to replace an existing building. James Smith worked here probably executing a design by his father in law, Robert Mylne (Colvin, p. 952).

Campbell demonstrates his lack of knowledge about this building, the description in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is brief and he is uninformed. I believe that Campbell acquired a drawing for this project from Captain John Slezer. Slezer was compiling his second volume of surveys of Scottish towns and country houses, in the course of which he surveyed Drumlanrig. The volume was never brought to publication, but the survey had been completed (*Ballantyne Miscellany*, 1836, p. 321). See Chapter 3.

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Drumlanrig Castle is represented with two designs, a single plan and a single elevation. The elevation is depicted in a different manner from all of the other elevations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is not an orthographic projection as there are elements of perspective on the projecting wings and forecourt of the design. The plan is small and not very detailed.

VB I contains the plan and elevation drawings of Drumlanrig Castle. The plan has been executed in black ink and grey wash with very few visible traces of underdrawing. Likewise, minimal underdrawing can be found on the elevation. It is drawn in black ink and carefully shaded in grey wash. Aspects of the shading are not tonally consistent and appear very blotchy, even though care was taken on application. It is not prepared in the manner of engraving and my attribution to Campbell cannot be confirmed.

	15A
Aspect:	PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR
Scale:	Just over 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The Plan of Drumlanrig Castle in Scotland/Scale of 60 feet/Extends 145</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Faint graphite underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured
Size:	379 x 254 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 37
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 38
Engraver:	Unidentified

15BAspect: **NORTH ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch, ruled scale in graphite
 Inscribed: *The Elevation of Drumlanrig Castle the Seat of his Grace the Duke of Queensberry/Scale of 40 feet* (brown ink).
 Medium: Minimal visible underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash. Application uneven as if applied too sparingly.
 Support: Laid Paper discoloured dirty around edges and round brown blotches.
 Size: 236 x 380 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 38
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 37
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

16 A-B: MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, LONDON

Marlborough House was the townhouse of the first Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. The architect of the house was Sir Christopher Wren, assisted by his son Christopher Wren, junior (Colvin, p. 1161). The crown granted the lease of the site to the Duke of Marlborough in 1708 and building commenced in May 1709 (Searle, 1982).

Campbell attributes Marlborough House to the younger Wren, and the date of building as 1709 (Campbell, I. p. 4). Campbell represents this project with a plan of the house and forecourt and a single plate elevation. It is possible that this project was derived from an existing engraving. This has previously been suggested by Connor (Connor, 1977, p. 21).

Both drawings of Marlborough House remain in VB I. The plan is drawn with graphite underdrawing with black ink and shaded in grey wash, and in reverse. Some of the shading is uneven, darker in some areas than others. The elevation of Marlborough House is a linear drawing executed in black ink and scored underdrawing, prepared for engraving.

16AAspect: **PLAN**

Scale: 25 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The Plan of Marlborough House St James's/Scale of 100 feet* (brown ink).
 Medium: Graphite underdrawing. Visible graphite, black ink and grey wash.
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 377 x 250 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 39
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 40
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

16BAspect: **ELEVATION TO ST JAMES'S PARK**

Scale: 9 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The Elevation of Marlborough House to St James's Park Invented by Chr Wren Esq/Scale of 60 feet/Extends 125* (brown ink).
 Medium: Scored and minimal graphite underdrawing. Some details remain in

graphite, drawn in black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially around edges
Size: 251 x 379 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 40
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 39
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

17 A-B: POWIS HOUSE, (later Newcastle House), LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON

Powis House was a double plot town house situated on Lincoln's Inn Field's. William Winde was employed by the 1st Marquis of Powis between 1684-9 to rebuild the house after the fire of 1684 (Colvin, p. 1135).

Campbell uses two plates to illustrate Powis House, the first contains plans, of the first and second storeys, and the second the elevation. Campbell provided a succinct description in the introduction to his book. He makes no mention of an architect or patron but focuses entirely on the architectural qualities of the building. He states: 'The house is built in the best Portland stone, well executed; enriched with a Corinthian Pilastrade and finished *Anno 1714*' (Campbell, I, p. 4). I think it likely that the design was derived from an existing engraving due to the description and Campbell's lack of knowledge about the building.

Both drawings of Powis House remain in VB I. The plan is executed in black ink with graphite underdrawing and has been shaded in grey wash. In addition to the ink annotations, writing is also present at the top and bottom of the paper in graphite. The elevation is a linear drawing with fine, extensive scored underdrawing, and executed in black ink. Most of the ink lines are even; only a small number of lines on the rustication appear thicker and slightly uneven. This is a highly finished drawing.

17A

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

Scale: Just over 15 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Plan of the Second Storey/The Plan of the First Story of Powis House* (brown ink) *The Plan of the Second Story/Plan du Second Estage/The Plan of the Chamber Floor/Plan du second etage/the Plan of the first Floor of Powis House/Plan du Premier estage* (graphite).
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash shading.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, mottled along left edge.
Size: 255 x 381 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 41
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 42
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

17B

Aspect: **ELEVATION TO GREAT ORMOND STREET**

Scale: 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The elevation of Powis House in Ormond Street, London 1714*~~~/
Scale of 60 feet/Extends 104 (brown ink).
Medium: Extensively scored underdrawing, black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured especially around edges.

Size: 251 x 379 mm
Plate no: VB I, PI 42
Related Plates: VB I, PI 41
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE, LONDON

Buckingham House, London was built to the designs of Captain William Winde for John Sheffield, 1st Duke of Buckingham, 1702-5 (Colvin, p. 377) Colvin suggests that Winde may have been completing a design by William Talman (Colvin, p. 1135).

Campbell gives the plan and elevation of Buckingham House. He also gives some details about the house. He states: 'the Apartments are extremely noble, richly furnished; here is a great Stair-Case, august and lofty; here is a curious Collection of the best Painting, and admirable Piece of Statuary of Cain and Able, by the famous Jean de Boulogne, with many other Rarities of great Value' (Campbell, I, p. 5).

Both drawings of Buckingham House are missing. From investigation of the volume it appears that these drawings were included in the volumes, and subsequently removed, since there is trace of cut mount in the spine of the volume.

Plate no: **VB I Plate 43**
Aspect: **PLAN**
DRAWING MISSING

Plate no: **VB I Plate 44**
Aspect: **ELEVATION**
DRAWING MISSING

18 A-B: STOKE EDITH HOUSE, HEREFORDSHIRE

The estate of Stoke Edith, Herefordshire was bought by Paul Foley in 1670 from the widow of the royalist Sir Henry Lingen. Foley dedicated the last years of his life 1697-1699 to building a new house at Stoke, this is the house represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The house burnt down in 1927 (*DNB*, Paul Foley).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Stoke is represented with a plan and elevation. Campbell describes Stoke in a brief way but states that the house was built by the owner Mr Auditor Foley (Campbell, I, p. 5). This is one of the buildings where James Thornhill's work is praised, Campbell says: 'Here Mr. Thornhill has express'd his excellent Genius in Painting the Cieling of the great Hall, and many other notable Decorations' (Campbell, I, p. 5).

Both drawings of Stoke remain in VB I. The plan is drawn in graphite, with scored underdrawing and shaded in grey wash. The elevation is a drawing for engraving, it is a linear drawing with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink.

18A

Aspect: **PLANS OF PRINCIPAL AND CHAMBER FLOOR**

Scale: 16 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *Plan of the Principal Floor of Stoke in the County of Hereford/Scale of 100 feet/Extends 113* (brown ink)
Medium: Scored underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 250 x 379 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 45
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 46
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

18B

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF PRINCIPAL FRONT**

Scale: 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Stoke in the County of Hereford the Seat of Mr Auditor foley/Scale of 100 feet/Extends 114* (brown ink)
Medium: Scored underdrawing. Black ink
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 255 x 370mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 46
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 45
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

19 A-B: KINGS WESTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Kings Weston was the first of Sir John Vanbrugh's houses to be illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It was constructed between 1710-19 for Edward Southwell (Colvin, p. 1072).

Campbell begins his description with reference to the patron of the building, Edward Southwell, whom he describes as 'The *Angaranno* of our age' (Campbell, I, p. 5). It appears from Campbell's description of plates that Sir John Vanbrugh provided drawings for both Castle Howard and Blenheim Palace, and it may be the case that Vanbrugh also gave drawings for Kings Weston (Campbell, I, p. 5). Drawings in the Campbell collection from Vanbrugh's office for Kings Weston are housed at the Yale Center for Studies in British Art, New Haven (YCBA, B1977.14.35-39). The provenance of this collection is from the Campbell collection in Yorkshire (Harris, 1971, p. 262). These drawings appear to be those supplied for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In addition a proof engraving exists in the Kings Weston Book of Drawings, which is in an earlier state to the published plate, and may provide a link between Campbell and the owner Edward Southwell (Downes, 1967, Figure 3).

Both drawings of Kings Weston remain in VB I. The plan is prepared in reverse with graphite underdrawing and drawn in black ink and shaded in dark grey wash. The application of the wash is uneven in tone over much of the drawing and some of the wash is pretty poor in execution. There are some graphite annotations written on the plan, alongside another annotation in black ink in a different unidentified hand. It is small, delicate handwriting. The elevation is a linear drawing prepared in the manner for engraving, with faint underdrawing and executed in black ink.

19A

Aspect: **PLANS OF PRINCIPAL AND CHAMBER FLOOR**

Scale: 16 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Plan of the Chamber Floor of Kings Weston/The Plan of the Principal Floor of Kings Weston* (brown ink) *A Scale of 60 foot/Front extends 90 feet* (black ink).
Medium: Graphite and compass underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 256 x 375 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 47
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 48
Engraver: Unidentified

19B

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF PRINCIPAL FRONT**

Scale: 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Kings Weston in the County of Gloucester the seat of Edward Southwell Esq/Scale of feet/Extends 90* (brown ink)
Medium: Some very faint score and graphite underdrawing. Black ink
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 253 x 370mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 48
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 47
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

20 A-B: LINDSEY HOUSE, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON

Lindsey House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was built as a speculative opportunity by David Cunningham, but it was not named Lindsey House until 1703, when the 4th Earl of Lindsey resided there (Gomme, 1912, p. 97).

Lindsey House has often been attributed to Inigo Jones and this is the architect named by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, I, p. 5). Campbell gives the building a glowing description, probably due to his belief that the architect was Jones, but it is the only design attributed to Jones not to be included consecutively with the other designs.

Both the plan and the elevation are linear drawings in VB I. The plan is heavily annotated with room dimensions and some indiscernible graphite annotations on the bottom of the plan, but the drafting technique is not by Campbell. It is drawn in a slightly different manner with much thicker ink lines than can be seen in Campbell's drawings, and the ink has turned a dark burnished brown. The cross above the scale bar is not found on Campbell's other drawings. The elevation is a linear drawing and, although prepared for engraving, is not in Campbell's hand. The scored underdrawing is very pronounced, especially around the urns and details. The rustication is uneven, as are some of the lines on the door and window frames. It is in the same hand as the plan of Lindsey House.

20A

Aspect:	PLAN OF PARLOUR AND PRINCIPAL FLOOR
Scale:	10 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Plan of the principal story of Lindsey House/Plan of the Parlour Floor</i> (brown ink). Indiscernible graphite annotations, and annotated with room dimensions.
Medium:	Some diagonal underdrawing, does not appear to directly correspond with drawing. Black ink.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured
Size:	254 x 358 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 49
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 50
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

20B

Aspect:	FRONT ELEVATION
Scale:	7 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The elevation of Lindsey House in Lincolns Inn Fields/ 40 feet/ extends 62</i> (brown ink).
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured large mark over centre of page.
Size:	255 x 243mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 50
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 49
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

21 A-B: WILBURY HOUSE, WILTSHIRE

The estate of Newton Tony was purchased by William Benson in 1709. The house was probably designed by Benson around 1710, and it appears to be an idealised design which was supplied to Campbell for the scheme. Both men worked together in the Office of Works, Campbell acting as Benson's deputy. However, this relationship was short lived as the pair were removed due to professional misconduct by Benson, with the assistance of Campbell (Colvin, p. 121).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell states that Benson: 'is the Master of the most refined Parts of Literature, has here expres'd a particular Regard to the noblest Manner of Architecture' (Campbell, I, p. 5).

In VB I, Wilbury House is represented with two drawings, both linear drawings for engraving. The footprint of the building is small, and as a result so is the plan of the building. There is graphite and scored underdrawing, the graphite lines guide the main part of the design, it is drawn in ink and unusually the plan has not been shaded in grey wash. The elevation is a linear drawing with minimal scored underdrawing and black ink. The letters W and B, in the style of a monogram have been drawn a number of times on the right hand side of the page, these represent Benson's initials.

21A

Aspect: **PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 8 feet to an inch, ruled scale.

Inscribed: *Plan of the Principal Floor of Wilbery House/Extends 80* (brown ink).
Room dimensions in graphite.

Medium: Graphite and scored underdrawing. Black ink.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, brown blotches around edges.

Size: 255 x 370 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 51

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 52

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Reproduced: Harris, *The Design of the English Country House*, p. 112

21B

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch.

Inscribed: *The Elevation of Wilbery House in the country of Wilts the seat of Wm Benson Esq Invented by Himself/Scale of 20 feet/Extends 81* (brown ink). *WB* (4 times above right hand quadrant link in graphite).

Medium: Linear drawing, scored and graphite underdrawing, and black ink.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, dirty around edges.

Size: 254 x 378 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 52

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 51

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Reproduced: Harris, *The Design of the English Country House*, p. 113
Harris, *The Palladians*, pp. 60-61, figure 34.
Arciszewska, *The Hanoverian Court and the Triumph of Palladio*, p. 296, Figure 90.

22 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR THE EARL OF ISLAY

This is an unrealised scheme by Campbell created for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is dedicated to the brother of the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Islay (*DNB*, Archibald Campbell). Campbell illustrates this design with the plan of the principal and chamber floors on a single plate, and the elevation separately.

Campbell introduces the patron he wishes to address: 'As this Noble Lord is Brother to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, who possesseth all the great Qualities of the Family, adorned with the brightest Endowments of Nature and Acquisition' (Campbell, I, p. 5). The rest of the description justifies Campbell's own stylistic decisions.

Both drawings for the this project remain in the collection. The plan is drawn with graphite underdrawing, executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing, drawn with scored underdrawing and black ink, completed to a highly finished state.

22A

Aspect: **PLAN OF PRINCIPAL AND CHAMBER FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch.

Inscribed: *Plan of the Chamber Floor of the Earl of Islay's New Design/the Plan of the Principal story/Extends 76* (brown ink). Graphite room dimensions.

Medium: Graphite underdrawing, black ink, grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, blackened blotches in corners.

Size: 253 x 380 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 53

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 54

Engraver: Unidentified

22B

Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: Just under 6 feet to an inch.

Inscribed: *New Design of my Invention Inscribed to the Rt Honable the Earl of Islay* (brown ink).

Medium: Extensive scored and graphite underdrawing, black ink.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, two stains on bottom corners.

Size: 255 x 373 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 54

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 53

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23 A-F: BLENHEIM PALACE, OXFORDSHIRE

Blenheim Palace was constructed between 1705-16 for the 1st Duke of Marlborough by Sir John Vanbrugh, and completed 1722-5 by Nicholas Hawksmoor (Colvin, p. 1072).

Blenheim Palace is the second of Sir John Vanbrugh's buildings to be represented by Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell takes great care to acknowledge the participation of Vanbrugh in amassing the drawings for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. According to Campbell, he was given the original drawings by Vanbrugh and he assisted in 'most carefully correcting all the plates as they advanced' (Campbell, I, p. 5). The project is represented with a large sequence of plates.

Six images – three plans, one elevation and two double page plate elevations – are included in VB I. There are a mixture of drawings and proof engravings. The sequence in which they appear in the preparatory volume is not the same as in the published book.

The general plan is a proof plate which has lines on the plate to indicate that it is a 'test'. The ground floor drawing is in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Only small parts of this plan have darker areas of shading, and overall the shading is consistent. The plan of the principal floor is a linear drawing. It has some diagonal scored underdrawing and some other minimal scoring and compass marks, however, the diagonal scores do not correspond to the underdrawing.

The first elevation, for the East Front, is presented on a single plate, with the plan of the façade at the bottom of the page and is shaded with fairly uneven grey wash. The other two elevations are given on double plates. The first is of the general front which includes the front elevations of

the wings. The next elevation is a closer view of the house from the garden front and only extends to the end of the central block of the façade, excluding the pavilions. Both of these drawings are linear drawings with minimal scored and graphite underdrawing, drawn in black ink, and have been prepared for engraving.

23A

Aspect: **GROUND PLAN OF BLENHEIM**

Scale: Just over 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Ground Plan of Blenheim/100 feet/extends 320* (brown ink).
Medium: Diagonal incised lines, scored and graphite underdrawing. Small traces
Black ink and grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, dirty around edges.
Size: 254 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 62
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 55, 56, 57-58, 59-60, 61
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23B

Aspect: **PLAN PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 20 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *Plan of the principal floor of Blenheim/100 ft/extends 32* (brown ink).
Medium: Linear drawing, minimal scored underdrawing, and black ink. Diagonal
scores do not correspond to the underdrawing.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, especially around edges.
Size: 253 x 376 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 56
Related Plates: VB I, 55, 57-58, 59-60, 61, 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23C

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF GENERAL FRONT**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The General Front of Blenheim Castle- Designd by Sr John Vanbrugh
Knt/100 feet/extends 490* (brown ink).
Medium: Minor scored and graphite underdrawing. Drawn in black ink.
Support: Laid Paper discoloured. 1 sheet dirty at edges.
Size: 255 x 660 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 57-58
Related Plates: VB I, 55, 56, 59-60, 61, 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23D

Aspect: **ELEVATION GARDEN FRONT**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Blenheim Castle towards the gardens/Scale of 100
feet/ Extends 323* (brown ink).
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, some graphite on statuary.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Plate no: VB I, Pl 59-60
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 55, 56, 57-58, 61, 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23E

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF EAST FRONT**

Scale: Just under 15 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The East Front of Blenheim Castle Designd by Sr J Vanbrugh* (brown ink). *Scale of 100 foot* (black ink, small handwriting).
Medium: Scored, yet minimal underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 250 x 380 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 61
Related Plates: VB I, 55, 56, 57-58, 59-60, 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

23F

Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN**

Purpose: Proof Engraving
Scale: 65 feet to an inch
Medium: Engraving
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 251 x 375 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 55
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 56, 57-58, 59-60, 61, 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

24 A-F: CASTLE HOWARD, YORKSHIRE

Castle Howard was built 1700-1726 by Sir John Vanbrugh for the 3rd Earl of Carlisle (Colvin, p. 1072). Construction began in 1701 and the exterior was almost completed by 1709 (Saumarez-Smith, 2001, p. 70). The house was not executed exactly as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus* as the west wing was completed by Sir Thomas Robinson, 1753-9 (Colvin, p. 1072).

From Campbell's explanatory text we learn that the design was taken directly from drawings provided by Vanbrugh. Campbell states: 'The Plans, Elevations, and Sections, are all drawn from the Originals of the architect, Sir John Vanbrugh, and by him most carefully revised' (Campbell, I, p. 6). A short description of the plates and compliments to the patron are given. The date declared is 'Anno 1714' (Campbell, I, p. 6).

Campbell illustrates Castle Howard with a sequence of six designs. He included two plans: firstly a general plan of the house, including the stable and service court and then a plan of the first floor. This does not include the outer parts of the building. The plans were subsequently re-engraved and the new and corrected copperplates were used in following editions (Bremen, 1972, pl. 73a). After the plans, the sequence of plates continued with three double page elevations: a general elevation of the front, an elevation of the central mass of the building and the central aspect of the garden front. The final image of Castle Howard is the section.

In VB I, both plans of Castle Howard exist in drawing form. Both are drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink, shaded in consistent grey wash. The elevation drawings are all linear drawings prepared for engraving, using scored underdrawing and some graphite detailing. The final section is also a linear drawing executed with scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink, again prepared for engraving.

24A

Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN OF CASTLE HOWARD**

Scale: 45 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The general Plan of Castle Howard/a scale of 200 feet/the west aspect is 660 feet* (brown ink). Key as published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in small black handwriting.

Medium: Graphite underdrawing, drawn in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, especially around edges.

Size: 254 x 381 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 63

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 64, 65-66, 67-68, 69-70, 71 and VB III, Pl 5-6

Engraver: Initially unidentified – then Hulsbergh after copperplate re-made.

24B

Aspect: **PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF CASTLE HOWARD**

Scale: Just over 12 feet to an inch, ruled scale.

Inscribed: *Plan of the principal floor of Castle Howard* (brown ink)

Medium: Trace of graphite underdrawing. Black ink and grey wash.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 252 x 375 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 64

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 63, 65-66, 67-68, 69-70, 71 and VB III, Pl 5-6

Engraver: Unidentified – and Hulsbergh after copperplate was re-made

24C

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF GENERAL FRONT**

Scale: 16 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Elevation of the General Front of Castle Howard the Seat of the Rt Honoble the Earl of Carlisle/200 feet/extends 667* (brown ink).

Medium: Minimal scored underdrawing and graphite underdrawing, extensive around detailing. Black ink and grey wash.

Support: 1 large sheet of laid paper discoloured dirty along bottom and on right side in particular. 4 black stains along top of drawing.

Size: 250 x 660 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 65-66

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 63, 64, 67-68, 69-70, 71 and VB III, Pl 5-6

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

24D

Aspect: **ELEVATION TO THE COURT**

Scale: 13 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Front to the court of Castle Howard design'd by Sr J Vanbrugh Knt/40 feet/extends 254* (brown ink)
Medium: Extensive, yet fine scoring, and black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
Size: 251 x 497 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 67-68
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 63, 64, 65-66, 69-70, 71 and VB III, Pl 5-6
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

24E

Aspect: **GARDEN ELEVATION**

Scale: 13 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Castle Howard towards the gardens in Yorkshire the Seat of the Rt Honorable the Earl of Carlisle/Scale of 200 feet/extends 292* (brown ink). *A scale of 100 feet* (black ink).
Medium: Extensively scored underdrawing, especially round rustication, Corinthian capitals and statues. Black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, mottled along bottom of sheet, very small tear at bottom of sheet.
Size: 259 x 655 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 69-70
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 63, 64, 65-66, 67-68, 71 and VB III, Pl 5-6
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

24F

Aspect: **SECTION**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *The Section of Castle Howard/40 feet/Extends 89* (brown ink).
Medium: Graphite and scored underdrawing. Visible graphite and black ink.
Support: Laid Paper discoloured. On left hand side of sheet a section of paper has been removed. 64 x 45 mm has been removed. 128mm from bottom and 161 mm from top of page.
Size: 353 x 254 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 71
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 63, 64, 65-66, 67-68, 69-70, and VB III, Pl 5-6
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

25 A-E: CHATSWORTH HOUSE, DERBYSHIRE

A number of stages of building occurred at Chatsworth House between the 1680s and 1707 for William Cavendish, the 4th Earl of Devonshire. William Talman was involved from 1687 until his dismissal in 1696. Thomas Archer was involved with the remodelling of the north front of Chatsworth House, 1704-5, for Cavendish, now the 1st Duke of Devonshire (Colvin, p. 71).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell provided three full single plate plans of Chatsworth House (1st, 2nd and 3rd Floor plans) and two elevations. The elevations show the west prospect, which Campbell states as 'inv by Mr Talman', and the south front whose architect is not given, but the date is given as 'anno 1681'. It appears that Campbell acquired the designs of Chatsworth from

two different sources. This has already been discussed by Connor, who says they may have been a 'composite set, perhaps supplied by Jackson, Talman and Thornhill as well as Campbell himself' (Connor, p. 1977, p. 29). Two plans and an elevation and the other plan and elevation appear to form separate sets.

Within VB I, all five of the images of Chatsworth are represented in drawing form. The plans are all drawn and executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. The black ink is precise and the wash is precise, but occasionally darker in places. All of the drawings are prepared in reverse to aid the engraver, however, the first and third plans have been attached into the folio upside down relative to the way they are in the published version of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The south and west elevations are linear pen and ink drawings, executed in black ink. The west elevation is executed in reverse. In the drawing there is very little differentiation between the pilasters and three-quarter attached columns, and all are drawn fluted, yet they do not appear fluted in the engraved copy. A slightly odd element is a horizontal band across all of the columnar elements of both elevations. It appears as if this is where the lines of the fluting meet; this characteristic cannot be found in any of Campbell's drawings.

On the engravings in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the first elevation is signed '*Ex Authographo D. I. Thornell*.' This is the only instance in the publication that another name has been included, and the only time this notation has appeared. Two of the plans of Chatsworth house appear to have been prepared by an unidentified engraver (Campbell, I, Pl 72 and 74).

	25A
Aspect:	FIRST STOREY PLAN
Scale:	22 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Plan of the first storey of Chatsworth</i> (brown ink)
Medium:	Graphite and minor scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash.
Support:	Laid Paper, discoloured.
Size:	254 x 377 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 72
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 73, 74, 75, 76 and VB III, Pl 67-68
Engraver:	Unidentified
	25B
Aspect:	SECOND STOREY PLAN
Scale:	23 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>The Plan of the second story of Chatsworth/A scale of 40 feet</i> (brown ink) <i>Plan du second estage de Chatsworth</i> (graphite).
Medium:	Diagonal scores, staircases scored and compass marks in columns and staircases. Extensive scored and small traces of graphite underdrawing. Black ink and pale grey wash.
Support:	Laid paper discoloured. External edge of paper has been ruled and cut. 1 small part of edge jagged.
Size:	253 x 378 mm
Plate no:	VB I, Pl 73
Related Plates:	VB I, Pl 72, 74, 75, 76, VB III, Pl 67-68
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

25CAspect: **THIRD STOREY PLAN**

Scale: 23 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *Plan of the third storey of Chatsworth* (brown ink).
 Medium: Scored and graphite underdrawing black ink and pale grey wash
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, especially around top and left edges.
 Size: 254 x 378 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 74
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 72, 73, 75, 76 and VB III, Pl 67-68
 Engraver: Unidentified

25DAspect: **WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: 14 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The West Prospect of Chatsworth in Derbyshire the seat of his Grace Duke of Devonshire* (brown ink).
 Medium: Extensive scoring on detailing, black ink.
 Support: Laid paper discoloured. Corner on top right of paper missing.
 Size: 254 x 379 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 75
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 72, 73, 74, 76 and VB III, Pl 67-68
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

25EAspect: **SOUTH ELEVATION**

Scale: 14 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The South Front of Chatsworth/Scale of 100 feet/Extends 190* (brown ink). Indiscernible graphite annotations.
 Medium: Very fine black ink.
 Support: Laid paper discoloured, quite dark in colour.
 Size: 254 x 378 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 76
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 72, 73, 74, 75 and VB III, Pl 67-68
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

26 A: ORLEANS HOUSE (JAMES JOHNSTON'S HOUSE AT TWICKENHAM), MIDDLESEX

This house was built by the architect John James for James Johnson, Secretary of State for Scotland. Campbell does not provide any detail about the architecture or the architect in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, I, p. 6).

The drawing of Johnson's House was made on a single sheet of laid paper: Campbell designed it specifically as a plate to be included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the plans have been resized and drawn at a smaller scale to the elevation to fit the plate. The plans have been executed in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash, consistent in application. Both plans have been drawn with the aid of extensive scored underdrawing. This is the only instance in volume I of Campbell reducing the size of the plan to fit on a single plate, although this appears with more

frequency in volume II.

The elevation has been shaded in a slightly different manner as the main block of the façade has uneven horizontal banding. The application of the black ink on the pilastered doorway and the stairs are also uneven. The roof of the building has received the same treatment of horizontal banding, in addition to dark uneven grey wash.

26A
Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND CHAMBER FLOOR AND GARDEN ELEVATION**

Scale: Elevation is 8 feet to an inch. Plans are just over 15 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *The Prospect to the Gardens of the Honoble James Johnson Esq his House at Twittenham in the county of Middx 1710/A Scale of 40 feet extends 71/A Scale of 40 feet extends 71* (brown ink).

Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing, black ink pale grey wash. Dark wash on elevation.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, chain lines left to right through design.
Size: 379 x 254 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 77
Related Plates: n/a
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

27 A-B: ESCOT HOUSE, (WALTER YONGE'S HOUSE), DEVONSHIRE

Escot House in Devonshire was the seat of the politician Sir Walter Yonge (*DNB*: Walter Yonge). He purchased the estate, where he built Escot, in 1680 and the building was executed between this date and 1688 by William Taylor (Clarke, 1998, p. 1).

Campbell refers to the building only as Sir Walter Yonge's House. He does not name the architect or provide any detail about the patron. The description is sparse, to such an extent that it would appear Campbell was unfamiliar with the building. His comments are basic and impersonal. He states: 'handsome apartments well furnished', and 'proper Conveniences' (Campbell, I, p. 6).

Drawings of the plan and elevation of Escot House remain. The plans are drawn in black ink and shaded in fairly light grey wash which has a variety of tonal differentiation and is blotchy in appearance. The black ink lines have not been drawn with the greatest of care; some elements are uneven and inaccurate. The elevation is a linear drawing executed in black ink with minimal underdrawing. Both of these drawings were prepared for engraving.

My investigation has revealed that the plan and elevation were not engraved by Henry Hulsbergh, but by another unidentified engraver. The shading employed on the engraving is similar to the other engravings but the features of the shading, for example on the balustrades and the dormer windows has significant variation.

27A
Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND CHAMBER FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 13 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Plan of the Principal Floor of Sr Walter Yonge's House in*

Medium: *Devonshire/Plan of the Chamber Floor* (brown ink).
No visible underdrawing. Black ink and pale grey wash uneven.
Support: Laid paper discoloured mottled down right side of sheet.
Size: 254 x 379 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 78
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 79
Engraver: Unidentified

27B
Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: Just under 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Sr Walter Yonge's House in Devonshire* (brown ink).
Medium: Graphite underdrawing, black ink.
Support: Laid paper discoloured black marks on corners.
Size: 253 x 371 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 79
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 78
Engraver: Unidentified

28 A-B: ROEHAMPTON HOUSE (Mr Cary's House), SURREY

Roehampton House was built in 1710-12 for Thomas Cary by Thomas Archer (Colvin, p. 72). However, a date of 1712 is given on the elevation in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, I, pl. 81).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the description is labelled as 'Mr Cary's House at Rowhampton'. Campbell discusses the house in a polite way, but not in the complimentary terms of the description of some of the plates. He mentions the painted ceiling by James Thornhill and gives the name of the architect, Thomas Archer (Campbell, I, p. 6).

Both drawings, of the plan and elevation of Roehampton House, remain. The plan is executed with minimal underdrawing, drawn in black ink, and shaded in grey wash. The application of the wash is very consistent in tone. The elevation is a linear drawing which has been drawn using extensively scored underdrawing, and the black ink has been applied evenly.

28A
Aspect: **PLAN**

Scale: Just over 19 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *Plan of Roehampton House/40 feet/extends 188* (brown ink).
Medium: Faint graphite and scored underdrawing, black ink, neat grey wash.
Support: Laid paper discoloured and black marks in corners.
Size: 378 x 253 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 80
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 81
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

28B
Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Roehampton house in Surrey the seat of Tho Cary*

Esqr Invented by Tho Archer Esq (brown ink).
 Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing, black ink.
 Support: Laid paper discoloured, chain lines from top to bottom through design.
 Size: 243 x 381 mm
 Plate no: VB I, Pl 81
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 80
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

29 A-D: ROYAL HOSPITAL AT GREENWICH, LONDON

Work began on the palace at Greenwich in 1664 and although Charles II had ambitious plans the work came to an end in 1672. John Webb was heavily involved and designed the wing which was begun in 1663: the King Charles Block (Colvin, 1976, p. 140). After the Battle of La Hogue in 1692, the palace functioned as a temporary hospital, and in 1696 work began on the permanent transformation of the building from a palace into a naval hospital (Colvin, p. 151).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Greenwich Hospital has been represented with a double plan and three double plate elevations. The sequence illustrates the general front, the elevation of one of the double pavilions and the elevation of the great court. Campbell provides an extensive description of this project and starts by making clear the origins of the building. 'This Royal Hospital was at first intended by King Charles II for a Royal Palace; but was given by King William and Queen Mary for the Relief of decay'd and disabled Seamen, who had spent their Blood and Strength in the Naval Service' (Campbell, I, p. 6). Campbell correctly credits the work to John Webb, but does state that it is: 'To the design of his great master Mr Inigo Jones' (Campbell, I, p. 6). Campbell is keen to discuss the interior work by James Thornhill and emphasise the British skill involved, and gives a date of 1715.

All three elevations of Greenwich are drawings, but the plan is a proof engraving. There are significant differences between this proof engraving and the final engraved plan. A whole block has been added in the bottom of the plan. This proof engraving, unlike the final plan, does not contain annotations. All the elevation drawings are large and pasted over two pages in the folio. They are all linear pen and ink drawings which have been prepared with very fine, yet extensive, scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink. The lines are even and the drawings have been executed to a highly finished standard. In one of the drawings, the central part has not been completed (29B). It is not known how the central part of the design was communicated to the engraver.

29A
GENERAL PLAN
 Aspect:
 Scale: 500 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: *The General Plan of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich/100 ft/extends 610* (brown ink).
 Medium: Proof engraving
 Support: Laid Paper, discoloured
 Size: 424 x 387 mm
 Plate no. VB I, Pl 82-83
 Related Plates: VB I, Pl 84-85, 86-87, 88-89 and VB III, Pl 3-4
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

29B

Aspect: **GENERAL ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 25 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The General Front of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich* (brown ink). A Scale of 100 feet/Extends 670 (graphite).
Medium: Highly scored underdrawing, black ink.
Support: Laid Paper, discoloured, chain lines from top to bottom of design
Size: 255 x 660 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 84-85
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 82-83, 86-87, 88-89 and VB III, Pl 3-4
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

29C

Aspect: **PAVILION ELEVATION**

Scale: 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of one of the Double Pavilions of Greenwich Hospital to the river/30 feet/extends 289* (brown ink)
Medium: Extensively scored underdrawing, black ink. Some shading in graphite on niche at top centre of design.
Support: Laid paper discoloured, chain lines from top to bottom of design.
Size: 373 x 657 mm
Plate no: VB I, 86-87
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 82-83, 84-85, 88-89 and VB III, Pl 3-4
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

29D

Aspect: **WING ELEVATION**

Scale: 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of one wing of the great court of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich* (brown ink). A Scale of 100 feet (graphite).
Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing, with graphite statues, black ink.
Support: Laid paper discoloured chain lines from top to bottom through design.
Size: 254 x 659 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 88-89
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 82-83, 84-85, 86-87 and VB III, Pl 3-4
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

30 A-B: THORESBY HOUSE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

The Thoresby House represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* had been remodelled in 1685-7 from a house built in Charles II's reign. It has been suggested that William Talman was the architect, but, as Frances Harris states, 'The attribution of Thoresby, as Colvin makes clear, is highly problematic' (Harris, 1997, p. 101). However, Geraghty suggests: 'We can tentatively conclude ... that the exterior of Thoresby was remodelled by Hawksmoor c.1686, presumably under Wren's immediate control' (Geraghty, 2007, p.209).

The representation in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is an important record for this building. Harris states: 'Colen Campbell's engravings for *Vitruvius Britannicus* provide the only known plan and

measured elevation' (Harris, 1997, p.11). A sketch in the Stowe papers shows the elevation with a cupola, which 'In all likelihood conveys a truer impression of the proportions of Thoresby than does the measured delineation of Campbell's engraving' (Harris, J, 1997, p. 12). The implication is that Campbell's representation is not wholly correct but, without the original design, it is impossible to say how faithfully Campbell copied the original. Campbell says of the design: '[it was] performed by the same hand that afterwards built Chatsworth' (Campbell, I, p. 6).

Campbell includes the plan of the first floor which is heavily annotated with room dimensions. his description is brief. He states the owner of the house, and dedicates the plate to him. The description ends with 'and all is worthy of so noble and great a patron' (Campbell, I, p. 6). In actual fact, very little information is conveyed to the reader.

Both drawings of Thoresby remain in VB I. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in uneven grey wash. The black ink has not been drawn very evenly. There are extensive graphite annotations over the entirety of the plan. Minimal graphite underdrawing is present on the plan and can clearly be seen running through the main doorway in the centre of the drawing. The elevation is a linear drawing, with scored underdrawing, executed to a high standard in black ink. The drawing has been executed in reverse for engraving. The scale bar has been finished with a small cross, which is only drawn on a small number of the preparatory drawings in the collection, therefore, I have not been able to confirm the draughtsman of this design.

30A

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR**

Scale: Just over 12 feet to an inch.
Inscribed: *Plan of Thorsby house* (brown ink). Room dimensions (graphite).
Medium: Graphite underdrawing, black ink and grey wash.
Support: Laid paper discoloured, chain lines from top to bottom.
Size: 252 x 374 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 90
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 91
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

30B

Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *The Elevation of Thorsby House in the County of Nottingham the Marquis of Dorchester's Seat* (brown ink).
Medium: Extensive scored underdrawing and black ink.
Support: Laid paper discoloured chain lines from top to bottom.
Size: 251 x 370 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 91
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 90
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

31 A-B: WENTWORTH CASTLE (Stainborough), YORKSHIRE

In 1708, the Wentworth Castle Estate, near Barnsley in Yorkshire, was purchased by Lord Strafford. At this time the house which has been known as Stainborough House, immediately renamed Wentworth Castle (Lemmon, 1976, p. 50). Jean de Bodt was the architect responsible

for the work on the east wing of the house and this took place c. 1710-1720 (Colvin, p.135). Further work was completed by James Gibbs shortly after de Bodt's involvement (Colvin, p. 135).

According to Connor, this is one of a number of plates which was an exact copy of a previous engraving (Connor, 1977, p. 28). Connor suggests that this was due to the slightly forceful nature of the patron, rather than due to any stylistic selection on Campbell's part: 'Its owner, always anxious to have his possessions depicted, paid to have his house included in Campbell's book' (Connor, 1977, p. 21). The house was first engraved by Holzendorf in 1713, and this engraving appears to have been copied by Campbell, although he omitted the cascade.

Campbell dedicated a considerable amount of text to Stainborough in his introduction and once again provides a certain amount of flattery to the patron, the Earl of Strafford: 'all is agreeable to the Politeness, Quality and Distinction of the patron' (Campbell, I, p. 7). Campbell describes the architectural detail of the building but does not attribute it to a particular architect, however, he does say it is constructed in the 'Venetian Manner.' (Campbell, I, p. 7) Although the description is extensive, it does not provide a great deal of information for the reader.

In VB I, both the plan and elevation remain. The plan has minimal scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink, shaded in tonally consistent pale grey wash. The elevation is a linear drawing, pasted over two pages of the volume and drawn on a single large sheet of paper. It has scored underdrawing and has been executed in black ink, but some of the ink lines are slightly uneven, yet overall completed to a high standard. The drawings have both been prepared in reverse, for engraving.

31A

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

Scale: Just over 18 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Plan of the Second Floor/Plan of the first Floor of Stainborough/50 feet/extends 180* (brown ink).

Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash.

Support: Laid paper discoloured and chain lines from left to right of design.
Black marks in corners.

Size: 375 x 253 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 92

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 93-94

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

31B

Aspect: **ELEVATION OF EAST FRONT**

Scale: Just over 9 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Elevation of Stainborough in Yorkshire the Seat of the Rt Honable the Earl of Stafford/60 feet/Extends 180* (brown ink).

Medium: Scored underdrawing and black ink.

Support: Laid Paper, discoloured

Size: 256 x 407 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 93-94

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 92

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

32 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR LORD (PERCIVAL) PERCEVAL

This design is an unrealised scheme by Colen Campbell, dedicated to John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont, created specifically for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Campbell describes Lord Perceval in a very flattering way: 'This Noble Lord, who has universally encouraged all Arts and Sciences, and that of Architecture in a most particular manner' (Campbell, I, p. 7). Campbell then embarks on a detailed and technical description and justification of his design. He gives the date 1715, the year of publication (Campbell, I, p. 7).

The plan of the Percival design is missing, and a proof engraving has been inserted in the folio. It has been engraved on laid paper which is darker than the paper used for the drawings. The engraving is in a proof state, there are imperfections especially around the annotations. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing drawn in black ink to a highly finished standard.

32A

Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN**

Scale: 25 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *General Plan of a new Design for the Lord Percival/40feet/extends 245*
Medium: Proof engraving
Support: Laid Paper, darker than other designs.
Size: 373 x 249 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 95
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 96-97
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

32B

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: Just over 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *Design of my own invention for the Rt Honable Lord Percival/ Scale of 50 feet/Extends 245 (brown ink).*
Medium: Scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink.
Support: Laid paper discoloured over two pages in the folio.
Size: 252 x 505 mm
Plate no: VB I, Pl 96-97
Related Plates: VB I, Pl 95
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

33 A-B: EASTON NESTON, (LORD LEIMPSTER'S HOUSE), NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The history of Easton Neston remains uncertain. Colvin attributes Easton Neston to Nicholas Hawksmoor (c.1695-1702) for Sir William Fermor, 1st Lord Leominster (Colvin, p. 498). The design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* shows the house and forecourt and other additions which were never built (Colvin, p. 498).

A drawing of Easton Neston remains in All Souls College, Oxford; however, many drawings which were prepared are now missing (Geraghty, 2007, p. 211). There appear to have been over 100 designs in Hawksmoor's possession when he died. Their present location is unknown

(Downes, 1953, p. 332-5).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell refers to this building not as Easton Neston, but as Lord Leominster's House. He attributes the design firmly to Hawksmoor: it 'is the ingenious invention of Mr Hawksmore, to whom I am indebted for the original drawings of this house.' He adds: 'the building was finished Anno 1713' (Campbell, I, p. 7). The plan is on a single plate and the elevation occupies a double plate. The drawing supplied to Campbell of Easton Neston does not remain.

Both preparatory drawings of Easton Neston remain in VB I. The plan is drawn in reverse. It is drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink shaded with blue/grey wash. The colour of the wash is slightly different to those other drawings in the collection; it is the only drawing in the collection which uses anything other than a strictly grey wash. It is applied in a very even and consistent manner. The elevation of Easton Neston is a linear pen and ink drawing, in black ink drawn with a ruling implement and compass. The elevation has diagonal scored lines which do not correspond to the drawing.

33A
PLAN

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 37 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Plan of the Lord Leimpster's House/100 feet/Extends 370* (brown ink).

Medium: Scored and some graphite underdrawing, black ink and pale grey/blue wash.

Support: Laid paper; discoloured and dirty.

Size: 373 x 253 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 98

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 99-100

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

33B
ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: 17 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *The Elevation of the Rt Honoble the Lord Leimpster's House in Northamptonshire/60 feet/extends 320* (brown ink).

Medium: Linear drawing, scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink.

Support: Laid paper discoloured chain lines from left to right through design, diagonal scoring.

Size: 255 x 505 mm

Plate no: VB I, Pl 99-100

Related Plates: VB I, Pl 98

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS

DRAWINGS FOR VOLUME II OF *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS*

VB II

34 A-E: PALACE AT WHITEHALL, LONDON

Whitehall Palace has an extremely long and complex building history. After the fire of 1698, numerous designs for a new palace were produced. These have been the subject of considerable discussions since the early twentieth century, when Gotch attributed them to Inigo Jones (Whinney, 1942-3, p. 45).

A number of drawings of the palace, now in the British Museum and relating to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, are identified and discussed by Whinney (Whinney, 1942-3, p. 72). These drawings are attributed to neither Jones or Webb, but an unidentified eighteenth century hand: 'It seems impossible that these drawings are by either Jones or Webb, for the Banqueting House...is incorrectly shown. The alternating pediments over the windows of the main floor are reversed, so that a triangular pediment appears over the last window at each end of the façade, whereas the building has a segmental pediment in this position. Jones could not have made such a mistake, and it is extremely unlikely that Webb would have done so in a carefully finished drawing of the Surveyor's masterpiece' (Whinney, 1942-3, p. 74). One possible suggestion by Whinney is that the drawings remained in the Office of Works where a less qualified hand may have made amendments and been encouraged to 'work out solutions' (Whinney, 1942-3, p. 74). The original drawings by Campbell can be found in the British Museum, prepared in the appropriate way for engraving. They are catalogued here with the appropriate British Museum number.

Campbell illustrates a double page plan, and four quadruple plates of Whitehall Palace in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Three of these large plates are elevations and one is a sectional elevation. The first eighteen plates of the volume are dedicated to this project (Pls 2-19). Campbell had advertised the inclusion of these plates of Whitehall in the first volume: 'After much labour and expense I have at last procured these excellent designs of *Inigo Jones*, for *Whitehall* from the ingenious Gentleman *William Emmett of Bromley*' (Campbell, II, p. 1). Campbell acknowledges the provenance of the drawings, but it is not certain if he knew of their actual origin. It is also unclear if he was aware he was publishing the differences and inconsistencies which appear to have been created by the original draughtsman. Connor states: 'In this case the drawings belonging to William Emmett, from whom Campbell borrowed them, survive to show that Campbell was able to correct the architectural infelicities on the east and west elevations, but that he published the other elevation and the section with their mistakes and inconsistencies untouched' (Connor, 1977, p. 23).

Campbell gives a rather formal description of the plates, mainly stating their dimensions and the order in which they were included. He is keen to remind readers that the design is by Jones of 1639 'as it was presented to King Charles II' (Campbell, II, Pl. 4-7).

In VB II, the plan is on a large piece of paper, pasted into two pages of the large folio volume. The plan is executed neatly in black ink and shaded in grey wash, with an even tonal consistency with some areas of darker wash. The other four drawings of Whitehall Palace prepared for engraving by Campbell are missing from the collection in the RIBA. They have been substituted by proof engravings. However, in this case, and for the only time in the preparatory drawings, they are counter-proof engravings and therefore entirely in reverse. The support for these engravings has had to be adapted for the large plates, and the engravings are on two pieces of paper each, pasted into the volume individually and folded over to accommodate them.

Aspect: **34A
PLAN**

Scale: Approx 45 feet to an inch

Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing and the use of compasses. Executed in black ink and carefully applied grey wash. Highly finished.
Support: Large sheet of laid paper
Size: 452 x 381 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 2-3
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 4-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

34B

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 18 Feet to an inch
Inscribed: All annotations as *Vitruvius Britannicus* (reversed).
Medium: Counter Proof Engraving (reversed).
Support: Laid Paper, 2 pieces folded and pasted into opposite sheets in the folio to appear as one image.
Size: 562 x 274 mm
557 x 274 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 4-7
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 2-3 and 8-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Related Location: British Museum
Reference: LB 13
Notes: The original preparatory drawing remains in the British Museum, alongside a number of drawings by an unidentified hand, which were in the ownership of William Emmett and which Campbell copied for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

34C

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed: Engraved as *Vitruvius Britannicus* (reversed).
Medium: Counter Proof Engraving.
Support: Laid Paper, 2 pieces folded and pasted into opposite sheets in the folio to appear as one image.
Size: 568 x 276 mm
568 x 276 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 8-11
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 2-7 and 12-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Related Location: British Museum
Reference: LB 12

34D

Aspect: **ELEVATION**

Scale: 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed: All annotations as *Vitruvius Britannicus* (reversed).

Medium: Counter Proof Engraving.
Support: Laid Paper, 2 pieces folded and pasted into opposite sheets in the folio to appear as one image.
Size: 483 x 274 mm
382 x 274 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 9-14
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 2-8 and 15-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Related Location: British Museum
Reference: LB 11

Aspect: **34E**
SECTIONAL ELEVATION

Scale: 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed: All annotations as *Vitruvius Britannicus* (reversed).
Medium: Counter Proof Engraving.
Support: Laid Paper, 2 pieces folded and pasted into opposite sheets in the folio to appear as one image.
Size: 565 x 274 mm
574 x 274 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 16-19
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 2-15
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Related Location: British Museum
Reference: LB 10

35 A-B: ST PAUL'S CHURCH, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON

St Paul's Church was built by Inigo Jones for the 4th Earl of Bedford between 1631 and 1633, and was part of the first set-out residential square in London which was set out between 1631 and 1637. The church was aligned with the the east-west axis of St Paul's Church (Colvin, p. 590).

Campbell used two designs to illustrate Covent Garden, one a single and the other a double page elevation. The first design shows the square, with a column in the centre, and the plan of the church, and the section, followed by the east and west views of the square. This depiction situates the plan of the church within the much larger square, diminishing the size of the church considerably. On the second plate of the Covent Garden Scheme Campbell attributes the design to 'Inigo Jones, 1640' (Campbell, II, pl. 21-22).

Both preparatory drawings remain in VB II. The first linear pen and ink drawing is executed in black ink to a high standard with scored underdrawing. The second drawing is on a large piece of paper, pasted over two sheets in the folio and is a linear pen and ink drawing executed in black ink to a high standard.

35A

Aspect:	ELEVATION AND PLAN OF ST PAUL'S CHURCH
Scale:	Approximately 35 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, executed in black ink, highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper one sheet of paper, pasted over a double page in the folio, large square of paper.
Size:	254 x 374 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 20
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 21-22
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

35B

Aspect:	ELEVATION
Scale:	Approximately 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, executed in black ink, highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper one sheet of paper, pasted over a double page in the folio
Size:	503 x 379 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 21-22
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 20
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

36 A-B: ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON

The building of the Royal Exchange was conducted between 1667 and 1671, first by Edward Jerman, the city artisan who worked on it until his death in 1668 (Colvin, p. 575). After Jerman's death in 1668, Thomas Cartright took over as contracting mason. The building was destroyed by fire in 1838 (Colvin, p. 235).

It is possible that Campbell acquired the image of the Royal Exchange from an existing engraving: a detailed perspective view was made prior to *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the original may have been copied by Campbell. The original engraving was rich in detail and available in London at the time of production (Clayton, 1997, p. 63). If this was indeed the case, then the image was regularised and adapted for the orthogonal standard type of representation in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Campbell uses a single plan and a double plate elevation to represent the Royal Exchange, and both aspects remain in drawing form. The plan is executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash which is pale and in some areas is very even in tone. However, other parts of the wash have been applied in a much messier fashion and is more uneven, especially around the columns. The elevation of the Royal Exchange has been drawn on a large, square piece of paper, pasted over two sheets in the volume. The elevation is a linear drawing, executed in black ink to a high standard, and is very detailed with traces of very fine scored underdrawing.

36A

Aspect:	PLAN
Scale:	20 feet to an inch

Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, black ink and shaded in even grey wash.
 Support: Laid paper
 Size: 252 x 376 mm
 Plate no. VB II, Pl 23
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 24-25
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

36B

Aspect: **PRINCIPAL ELEVATION**

Scale: 11 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, executed in black ink, highly finished.
 Support: Laid paper
 Size: 502 x 380 mm
 Plate no. VB II, Pl 24-25
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 23
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

37 A-B: BOW STEEPLE, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON

Bow Steeple was designed by Sir Christopher Wren 1671-1673 and the steeple completed in 1680 (Colvin, p. 1164). Campbell's description merely says, 'I have brought the Plans, Section and Elevation of this Tower into one Plate, and of this kind 'tis esteemed one of the best in the Kingdom' (Campbell, II, P 1).

Campbell uses a single plate to illustrate Bow Steeple. On this plate he includes the elevation, section and plans of varying levels of the tower, corresponding to its position in the tower.

In VB II, Bow Steeple is represented with a linear drawing. It has been drawn with the aid of scored underdrawing and has been executed in black ink to a highly finished standard.

37A

Aspect: **PLAN, SECTION AND ELEVATION**

Scale: No drawn scale bar
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished. Graphite statuary.
 Support: Laid paper
 Size: 253 x 379 mm
 Plate no. VB II, Pl 26
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

38 A: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR A CHURCH IN THE VITRUVIAN STYLE

This is an unexecuted design of a church by Campbell, produced for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This design is shown on a single plate but Campbell uses this space carefully and

includes a plan, section and longitudinal elevation.

This design is described as 'A Church in the Vitruvian Style' but labelled on the engraving as 'A Design for a church of my invention' (Campbell, II, pl. 27). Campbell provides an extensive description of this design, justifying his stylistic decisions, for wall thicknesses and classical decoration. However, this turns into a more personal attack on the modern tradition of architecture, in his words:

I have abstained from any ornaments between the columns, which would only serve to enframe the expense and clog the building. In those admirable Pieces of Antiquity, we find none of the trifling, licentious and insignificant ornaments, so much affected by some of our Moderns (Campbell, II, p. 1).

Connor believes this to be a direct response to the design of St Mary-le-Strand by James Gibbs. He states:

A thinly disguised attack on the ignorance and exhibitionism shown by Gibbs's new church in the Strand, could not have been completed for publication in May 1715. In this design Campbell was able to display the architectural virtues which he respected in contrast to those shown by Gibbs (Connor, 1977, p. 20).

The drawing for the church has been prepared on two pieces of paper and pasted into the volume as if on a single sheet. The plan has clear underdrawing, compass marks, graphite and scoring. The graphite underdrawing is an important part of the drawing – unlike other drawings which use dominantly scored underdrawing. It is a linear drawing executed in black ink, yet there are elements of the drawing which remain unfinished.

The longitudinal section is a linear drawing executed in black ink, the lines are even, but the drawing remains uncompleted, it lacks capitals or statuary. The section is a linear black ink drawing with quite thick ink lines and graphite underdrawing. A graphite annotation on this drawing states 'section' – perhaps directing the engraver. The elevation is also drawn with graphite underdrawing, and black ink. Like the other parts of the drawing the capitals and statuary are not finished, but, in contrast, the dentils are executed to a high standard.

	38A
Aspect:	PLAN, SECTION AND ELEVATION AND LONGITUDINAL ELEVATION
Scale:	No scale bar produced
Inscribed:	<i>Section</i> (graphite).
Medium:	Scored and graphite underdrawing, compass marks. Executed in black ink. Most of the drawing is finished. There are some ink blotches. Scores are clearly present on the steps and measures at the front of the church.
Support:	Laid paper: on two separate pieces pasted into the folio. The bottom sheet has not been orientated correctly.
Size:	246 x 124 mm 243 x 251 mm
Plate no.	VB II, Pl 27
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

39 A: YORK STAIRS, LONDON

Campbell attributes this design to Inigo Jones giving a date of 1626 and stating it was erected by the 1st Duke of Buckingham (Campbell, II, p. 2).

The drawing of the York Stairs remains. The drawing is designed as a plate as seen in the engraving: elevation above and the plan below. The plan has been executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Although the wash is fairly even there are some inconsistencies in tone. There is minimal graphite underdrawing and compass marks.

The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with minimal underdrawing. This elevation has traces of grey wash in small patches on the bands of the rustication. A large crest sits above the structure within the pediment: the wash here (and the statuary on the corners) is much more freely applied than most of the other shading seen on the other drawings. There is also a small annotation in small black writing stating '*scale of feet to inches.*'

	39A
Aspect:	PLAN AND ELEVATION
Scale:	5 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Scale of feet to inches</i> (black ink).
Medium:	Scored, compass and diagonal scored underdrawing. Black ink and tonally consistent grey wash, highly finished.
Support:	Laid paper, darker than most other sheets within the collection.
Size:	253 x 372 mm
Plate no.	VB II, Pl 28
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

40 A-B: COBHAM HALL, KENT

In 1661 the main block of Cobham Hall was remodelled by Peter Mills for Charles Stuart, 2nd Duke of Richmond and 6th Duke of Lennox (Colvin and Harris, 1970, p. 42). Campbell mis-attributed the design to Inigo Jones (Campbell, II, p 2).

Campbell illustrates this project with two plans and an elevation. He dedicates the plates to the current owners, Lady Theodosia and John Blyth, but also to the original patron of the building, the Duke of Lennox and Richmond. Campbell gives a brief description of the plate, which strongly suggests that he was not familiar with the building or its history (Campbell, I, p. 2).

The preparatory drawings of Cobham Hall remain in VB II. Both plans, on a single sheet, are executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash which is very pale and has an even tonal consistency. Annotations in Campbell's hand can be found on the plan. The elevation is drawn with fine scored underdrawing, and is a linear pen and ink drawing executed in black ink, the lines of which are consistently even, and executed to a highly finished standard.

	40A
Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY
Scale:	13 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	Annotated room dimensions (Graphite, unidentified hand).

Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink and pale grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 367 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 29
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 30
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **40B**
ELEVATION

Scale: 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, linear drawing executed in black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 369 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 30
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 29
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

41 A-D: CHOLMONDELEY HALL, CHESHIRE

By 1704 Francis Smith was preparing to undertake building of Cholmondeley Hall for the 1st Earl of Cholmondeley. His involvement was to last until 1713 (Colvin, p. 750). Sir John Vanbrugh was also linked to the project, according to Colvin: 'Vanbrugh's advice probably related to the north front and the engravings in *Vitruvius Britannicus* represent his proposal' (Colvin, p. 854). Therefore, it seems that the building we see in *Vitruvius Britannicus* bears no relation to the Francis Smith design as built, and seems to be an amalgam of reality and proposal. The house was demolished in 1805 (Colvin, p. 750).

Cholmondeley Hall is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by a single plan and three elevations, all on single plates. In the description Campbell states: 'The whole Fabrick was rebuilt and finished in a sumptuous manner in the year 1715' (Campbell, II, p. 2). He does not give any information about the architect of the project and the source of the design is difficult to determine.

All four drawings of Cholmondeley Hall (in volume II, not volume III) remain in VB II. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash which is uneven in tonal consistency. The columns do not have strong ink lines and are shaded in a very blotchy manner. The three elevations show different sides of the house. Two of these drawings are linear pen and ink drawings executed in black ink with scored underdrawing. These are executed to a high standard for engraving and there is a great amount of detail on the capitals, urns and gated doorway.

The final elevation (41D) is not drawn in the same manner as the other drawings. It is a working drawing which is incomplete. It is a linear drawing executed in black ink, with clear traces of graphite underdrawing which gives a clear understanding of how it was put together. It depicts the main levels and the important aspects of the columns and window frames. Graphite markings are also present above the roofline and appear to indicate the intended location of the statuary. Written annotations can be seen on the drawing. Although very faint and indiscernible in places, they seem to describe what decorative elements are to be used on the façade: for example 3/4 columns or pilasters for the engraver. There are other annotations on the drawing in

ink relating to other details of the drawing: 'Scale 60-extends 166', which are in Campbell's hand.

41A
Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN, FIRST STOREY**

Scale: Approximately 14 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *3/4/scale 60/extends 166* (black ink).
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 369 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 31
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 32, 33, 34 and VB III, Pl 79-80
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

41B
Aspect: **NORTH ELEVATION**

Scale: 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink: detailed and highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 378 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 32
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 31, 33, 34 and VB III, Pl 79-80
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

41C
Aspect: **SOUTH ELEVATION**

Scale: 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored and detailed underdrawing, linear drawing executed in black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 376 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 33
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 31, 32, 34 and VB III, Pl 79-80
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

41D
Aspect: **WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: Approximately 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *Scale 60/extends 166*
Medium: Some scored underdrawing, visible graphite underdrawing with some graphite annotations, executed in black ink with ruling implement. Remains unfinished, with annotations to direct the engraver.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 202 x 368 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 34

Related Plates: VB II, Pl 31, 32, 33 and VB III, Pl 79-80.
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

42 A-B: EATON HALL, CHESHIRE

Eaton Hall was, and still is, the home of the Grosvenor family. The house was designed by William Samwell for the 3rd baronet, Sir Thomas Grosvenor in 1675-82 (Colvin, p. 896).

Campbell illustrates Eaton Hall with a single plan with wings and forecourt and an elevation on a single plate. He does not give the date, or the architect involved with the building, but does discuss the patron briefly. He is polite but not complimentary about the building, and describes the plan as 'handsome and commodious', noting that 'the rules of proportion are maintained' (Campbell, II, p. 2).

Both preparatory drawings of Eaton Hall remain. The plan is a linear drawing with scored underdrawing, executed in black ink with some unevenness in the application of the ink, especially around the staircases and the round elements. The drawing is presented in a very even and tidy way. There are small neat annotations in Campbell's hand, denoting room dimensions, throughout the plan. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing executed in black ink to a high standard; some of the lines of the quoining are slightly uneven, but overall reach a high standard. A different kind of ink appears to have been used when drawing the cupola, which is much thicker and much less expertly applied – not necessarily in Campbell's hand.

42A
Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN**

Scale: Approximately 25 feet to an inch
Inscribed: Annotated room dimensions (black ink).
Medium: Minimal scored underdrawing, linear, black ink.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 253 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 35
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 36
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

42B
Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: Approximately 11 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored and compass underdrawing, linear, executed in black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper
Size: 254 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 36
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 35
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

43 A-B: BELTON HALL, LINCOLNSHIRE

Belton Hall was built for Sir John Brownlow in 1685-8 by William Winde. John Sturges was employed as a measurer with Stanton as the mason-contractor (Colvin, p. 797). The landscape design was later included in volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, III, pl. 69 and 70).

There are two plans and a single elevation of Belton House in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell is polite but gives only a basic description of the fabric of the building. He does flatter the patron but this is impersonal: 'The great civility, and uncommon Generosity of the patron deserves to be transmitted to posterity' (Campbell, II, p. 2). He uses words like 'convenient' 'regular' and 'noble', which are general and not informed.

The drawings of Belton from volume II remain. The plans are executed in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash with an even tonal consistency, but some of the black lines around the plan are darker and slightly thicker. The elevation is a linear drawing which has scored underdrawing and is executed in even black ink with the detail carefully drawn in the pediment. Overall the drawings have been executed to a highly finished standard.

43A

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

Scale: Approximately 21 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, black ink, pale grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 249 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 37
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 38 and VB III, Pl 69-70
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

43B

Aspect: **SOUTH ELEVATION**

Scale: Approximately 11 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 250 x 377 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 38
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 37 and VB III, Pl 69-70
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

44 A-B: HIGHMEADOW HOUSE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Highmeadow House as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* seems to have been constructed prior to 1672: probably between c. 1668-72 (Kingsley, 1992, p. 161). The house was demolished c. 1825 (Breman, 1972, p. 105).

Highmeadow House is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by two plans and an elevation. A very brief and basic description of Highmeadow is given by Campbell, and here he makes a criticism of the design, saying 'the piers are too narrow' (Campbell, II, p. 2). It has been

suggested that the design was included at the wish of the patron, but I think the description is too basic to suggest this mode of supply (Connor, 1977, p. 29). Campbell does not discuss the architectural merit of the design, and the description is general and uninformed.

Both drawings of Highmeadow House remain within VB II. Both plans are present on a single plate and have been drawn with scored underdrawing executed in black ink, and shaded in grey wash. The ink on the balustrade is quite uneven and has been applied quite heavily, and a slightly heavy handed application of ink can also be seen on the scale bar.

The elevation is a linear drawing with scored underdrawing executed in black ink. The lines have been drawn in an even way, and the large area at the bottom of the sheet (depicting the complicated staircase) is not drawn in a very precise manner with the lines slightly more uneven than elsewhere in the drawing.

44A

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

Scale: Approximately 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, even grey wash. Almost entirely highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 251 x 376 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 39
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 40 and VB III, Pl 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

44B

Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: Approximately 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, wash applied with a brush on the lower terrace, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 249 x 376 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 40
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 39 and VB III, Pl 62
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

45 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR TOBIAS JENKYNs

This design, dedicated to Tobias Jenkyns, is an unrealised scheme included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by Campbell. According to Stutchbury's categorisation, which he breaks down based on the corresponding Palladian design, the Design for Tobias Jenkyns is based upon the Palazzo Porto-Barbaran (Stutchbury, 1967, p. 82). As identified by Bremen, the plan is closely linked to the Shawfield Mansion (Bremen, 1972, p. 20).

Campbell describes Jenkyns as the 'Ingenuous gentleman, whose knowledge in the most polite Learning is equal to his extreme modesty, in endeavouring to conceal What so many do so falsely assume', adding that Jenkyns: 'Particular attachment to architecture must draw a deep respect

from all that profess any love or esteem for that useful and noble art' (Campbell, II, p. 2). This is very deep flattery for a patron from whom Campbell wished to gain favour.

Both drawings of the Tobias Jenkyns design remain in the Campbell collection. The plan is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash which is fairly even in application, but has seen some alteration and re-application of details of the drawing. The elevation uses extensive scored underdrawing and is a linear pen and ink drawing executed in black ink. The ink is evenly applied.

45A

Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST STOREY
Scale:	9 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	Room dimensions (graphite).
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash. Tonal consistency of grey wash is uneven at times. Some alterations have been made to the drawing.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	253 x 370 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 41
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 42
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

45B

Aspect:	FRONT ELEVATION
Scale:	Approximately 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	253 x 374 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 42
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 41
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

46 A-C: BEDDINGTON PLACE, SURREY

The house was begun 1485-1509 for Nicholas Carew and completed by his son 1553-8, with further extensions 1702-14 (Colvin, p. 97).

Campbell illustrates Beddington Place with two plans and two elevations. Campbell describes Beddington Place as the 'Ancient seat of Sir Nicholas Carew' (Campbell, II, p. 2). This is another building where Campbell does not give the detail of architect, or date and is uninformed about the building. He flatters the patron, but the flattery is impersonal: 'and indeed everything is truly worthy of so generous and worthy a patron, who has spared no cost to rebuild and embellish his Seat' (Campbell, II, p. 2). This comment could have been applied to almost any of the owners of properties in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

All three drawings of Beddington Place remain. The plans have been prepared on a single sheet of paper, they have scored underdrawing and have been executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. There are small annotations present in ink over much of the plans, which correspond

to the annotations on the engraving. Both elevations have been drawn in the same way, with scored underdrawing, black ink, executed to a highly finished standard, prepared for engraving.

46A
Aspect: **PLAN OF THE FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

Scale: Approximately 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed: Annotated in ink.
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, tonally consistent grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 252 x 374 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 43
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 44 and 45
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

46B
Aspect: **WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 252 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 44
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 43 and 45
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

46C
Aspect: **ELEVATION TO THE GARDENS**

Scale: Approximately 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 251 x 375 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 45
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 43 and 44
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

47 A: SUNBURY HOUSE, MIDDLESEX

Sunbury House in Middlesex was designed by Thomas Fort in 1712 for the patron Roger Hudson. The house, now demolished, is described by Colvin as a 'substantial but rather plain astylar house at Sunbury' (Colvin, p. 341).

Campbell dedicated a single plate to Sunbury House, with the elevation above and the plan below. Campbell locates the house in Middlesex in the description, but in Surrey on the engraving. He does not show any strong opinions within the description, stating such things as 'the Materials being good and the Work well executed, it makes a fine appearance' (Campbell,

II, p. 2). The description is not informed and Campbell is evidently not familiar with the building. He gives the architect of the house as Mr Fort and gives the date as 1712 (Campbell, II, p. 2).

The drawing for Sunbury House remains, prepared as plate designed for *Vitruvius Britannicus*: both aspects on a single plate and drawn to a suitable scale. Both parts of the drawing have been drawn using scored underdrawing and executed in black ink. Shading has been applied to both parts of the drawing in a very consistent and highly finished manner. The variety of wash ranges from very light to very dark on the window recesses. It is more skilled than many of the drawings in the preparatory collection.

	47A
Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR AND OFFICES AND GENERAL ELEVATION
Scale:	22 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash. The wash is varied from very light to very dark wash on the window recesses, but is very even in tone. Highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	251 x 378 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 46
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

48 A: BEACONSFIELD, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Beaconsfield, otherwise known as Gregories or Hall Barn, was built for Edmund Waller sometime after 1651. A room design of Beaconsfield was included in a later edition of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, built by the then owner John Aislabie, the stepfather of Waller's grandson. The architect of the house was probably Thomas Milner, but the only evidence we have of this is the description in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, II, p. 2). Therefore, this design is an extremely important documentary record of this property.

The house is represented by a single plate: the elevation above and the plan below. Campbell's description is brief and only gives the reader a description of the already displayed picture of the house (Campbell, II, p. 2).

The preparatory drawing of Beaconsfield remains, designed as a plate on a single sheet of paper. The drawing has scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink, shaded in very delicate grey wash, with very dark ink on the columns of the quadrant link. The elevation also has scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. The detail in the pediment and niches is drawn to a much higher standard, and overall this drawing has been executed to a highly finished standard.

	48A
Aspect:	GENERAL PLAN AND FRONT ELEVATION
Scale:	22 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a

Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash even in tone. Highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 250 x 382 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 47
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

49 A-B: EPSOM HOUSE, SURREY

Very little is known about Epsom House as represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It has been suggested that this design was included within *Vitruvius Britannicus* at the request of the patron, Richard Rooth (Connor, 1977, p. 29).

Campbell illustrates the plan of the lower floor with quadrant link, the upper floor plan of the main block of the house, and a single plate elevation. Campbell produces a very brief comment on the house, almost entirely descriptive and uninformed (Campbell, II, p. 3).

Both drawings of Epsom House remain. The drawing of the plans is executed in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash, with a very even tonal consistency. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing. It is very basic, the only detail being on the central door and staircase. Regardless of this lack of detail, the drawing has been executed to a highly finished standard, for engraving.

49A
 Aspect: **PLAN**
 Scale: Approximately 12 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash some uneven areas of shading.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 377 x 250 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 48
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 49
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

49B
 Aspect: **GENERAL ELEVATION**
 Scale: Approximately 12 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Very fine scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 251 x 375 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 49
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 48
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

50 A: MELVILLE HOUSE, FIFE

Melville House was built by the Scottish architect James Smith in 1697-1703 for George, 1st Earl of Melville, President of the Privy Council (Gifford, 1988, p. 321).

Campbell dedicated a single plate to this design: the elevation is situated above, and the plan below showing the principal floor of the house. Campbell misidentifies the building as Melvin House, and mistakes the patron as the Earl of Lewin instead of the Earl of Leven (Campbell, II, p. 3). This is rectified in later editions of the book. Campbell does not discuss the building at length but attributes it with a great deal of praise to 'the most experienc'd Architect of the Kingdom, Mr James Smith, Anno 1692' (Campbell, II, p. 3).

The drawing of Melville House remains. Two pieces of laid paper have been used and pasted into the volume as if they are a single drawing. Both the plan and the elevation are linear drawings, with scored underdrawing, executed in black ink. There are elements of the ink drawing for example on the banding which have been drawn in ink which has turned a dark burnished brown. Both drawings are finished but not as highly finished as the majority of the drawing collection.

	50A
Aspect:	PLAN OF PRINCIPAL STOREY AND FRONT ELEVATION
Scale:	Approximately 11 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	Annotations in graphite
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, which has turned a dark burnished brown colour.
Support:	This design has been drawn on two pieces of paper and pasted into the volume to look like a single sheet. Laid Paper.
Size:	166 x 251 mm 188 x 250 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 50
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

51 A: SHAWFIELD MANSION, GLASGOW

Shawfield Mansion is a significant building in the context of this project. It was the first architectural commission by Colen Campbell and one of the few Scottish projects to be included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It was designed for Daniel Campbell of Shawfield (Goodfellow, 1964).

Campbell represents Shawfield Mansion on a single plate: the elevation above and two plans situated below. Campbell clearly states his responsibility for the design on the plate. He goes on to describe the building and concludes by giving the date of the house as 1712 (Campbell, II, p. 3).

The drawing for Shawfield Mansion remains. Two pieces of paper have been used, one for the plan and the other for the elevation. These have been pasted into the volume as if they are one. This may indicate that they were prepared early in the production process when Campbell was not yet preparing each project on a single sheet of paper. They are prepared for engraving, however, as the scale of the plans is compatible with the scale required for production. The drawings have been prepared with both graphite and scored underdrawing. The drawings are executed with black ink which has turned dark burnished brown as can be seen in the drawing

of Melville House, which would indicate that this is an earlier drawing adapted for use in *Vitruvius Britannicus* contemporaneously with the Melville drawing. However, the scale of the plans indicates that they were certainly prepared for engraving. The drawing has not been completed to the same highly finished standard of the majority of the drawing collection, only to a finished standard. The lines on the drawing are slightly uneven: not the same fine even lines which have been seen in the other drawings prepared for engraving, perhaps dating it early in the production process.

51A

Aspect: **PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL AND SECOND FLOOR AND FRONT ELEVATION**

Scale: 7 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: Room dimensions (graphite)
 Medium: Scored and graphite underdrawing, black ink which has oxidised and turned a dark burnished brown colour.
 Support: This design has been drawn on two pieces of laid paper which have been pasted into the folio to look like one sheet.
 Size: 182 x 252 mm
 160 x 252 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 51
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

52 A-D: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR EASTBURY HOUSE, DORSET

This project was an unexecuted design by Sir John Vanbrugh that was represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by a plan and three elevations. Campbell makes the mistake of labelling the plate and the description differently: the description says 'A New Design for a Person of Quality in Somersetshire' (Campbell, p.5) while, the plate states 'A New Design for a person of Quality in Dorsetshire' (Campbell, II, Pl 53). This was the only unexecuted design in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which was not designed by Campbell and, although Campbell included it as a proposal it was in fact the penultimate, but unaccepted, design for Eastbury in Dorset for George Doddington.

All drawings for this project remain in the Campbell collection. The plan is executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash, applied in a tonally consistent way, but with some darker patches on the wings. There are three elevations, and all are present in drawing form within the preparatory drawing collection. They are all linear pen and ink drawings with scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink. Some lines on the drawings are uneven, but most are evenly executed.

52A

Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN OF OFFICES AND PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: 35 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored and graphite underdrawing black ink, grey wash which was applied in a very careful and consistent manner. Highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 253 x 375 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 52

Related Plates: VB II, Pl 53, 54, 55 and VB III, Pl 16-19 (Eastbury)
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **52B**
PRINCIPAL ELEVATION

Scale: 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 253 x 377 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 53
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 52, 54, 55 and VB III, Pl 16-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **52C**
GARDEN ELEVATION

Scale: 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 252 x 380 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 54
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 52, 53, 55 and VB III, Pl 16-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **52D**
ELEVATION

Scale: Just over 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 251 x 376 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 55
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 52, 53, 54 and VB III, Pl 16-19
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

53 A: MAIDEN BRADLEY, WILTSHIRE

Maiden Bradley was built for Sir Edward Seymour by Roger Hurlbutt. The house as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was partly demolished in 1821 (Colvin, p. 549).

The plan and elevation of Maiden Bradley are depicted on a single plate. Connor believes this design to have been included at the desire of the patron (Connor, 1977, p. 29). Campbell discusses Maiden Bradley in very generic terms: 'The Windows of the front are well dress'd with pediments, and the second have Windows with Architrave, Frieze and cornice only' (Campbell, II, p. 3). This is the only architectural discussion in the description. This seems to indicate a limited familiarity with the building from Campbell.

The plan is represented with a proof engraving, on darker paper than usual which is mottled and stained. The annotations are in French and English, and name both Hulsbergh and Campbell, a feature which many proofs in the volume do not share. The elevation is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash on a piece of paper which is just large enough for the design. The grey wash which has been applied is even in tone and highlights areas of shadow. Scored indicators mark cast shadow, and the shading is applied in reverse to these indicators, the same orientation as in the printed book.

Aspect:	53A PLAN OF THE FIRST AND SECOND STOREY AND EAST ELEVATION
Scale:	Elevation is just over 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Elevation has scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash. Plans are proof engravings.
Support:	Two pieces of laid paper are present pasted in the page in the folio. The engraved plans are on a much darker piece of paper.
Size:	103 x 251 mm 263 x 248 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 56
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

54 A-B: HAMPTON COURT, HEREFORDSHIRE

The elevation of Hampton Court as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus* represents the alterations by William Talman for Lord Coningsby c. 1700 (Bremen, 1972, p. 20).

Hampton Court is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* with a single plan and a single plate elevation. Campbell declares that this building is the oldest within the publication, being some 300 years old, but gives very little other information about the design (Campbell, II, p. 3).

The plan of Hampton Court is a proof engraving of good quality, including the annotations as published, in French and English. Imperfections exist around the annotations. The elevation of Hampton Court has been drawn on two pieces of paper, joined where the main body of the building meets the wing. The elevation is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. The application of the wash is even and very tonally consistent. The wash is pale grey, but the windows have been shaded in a much darker shade of grey. There is an annotation present beside the scale bar in small black writing, in Campbell's hand. Cast shadow is drawn with incised lines which do not correspond to the grey wash shading on the drawings. Some differences can be seen, for example the decorative panel varies from the engraved version.

Aspect:	54A PLAN OF FIRST STOREY
Scale:	Just under 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Plan of the first Story of Hampton Court/80 feet/Plan du Premier Etage</i>
Medium:	Proof Engraving.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	249 x 375 mm

Plate no: VB II, Pl 57
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 58 and VB III, Pl 75
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **54B**
ELEVATION

Scale: Approximately 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: *House extends 140 feet* (Small writing, black ink)
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash, highly finished.
Support: This project has been drawn on two pieces of paper and pasted into the folio to appear as one. The join is just to the left of the main tower - the lower portion of the building has been added in the secondary piece.

Size: 255 x 81 mm
255 x 293 mm

Plate no: VB II, Pl 58
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 57 and VB III, Pl 75
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

55 A-B: SHOBDEN COURT, HEREFORDSHIRE

Shobden Court was built for James Bateman *c.* 1700 when he was prominent in affairs in the South Sea and East India Company (Bremen, 1972, p. 113).

Shobden Court was illustrated with a single plan and a single elevation, both on individual plates. Campbell says very little of the architectural merit of the building, but does reveal that 'Sir *James* is now improving his Gardens and Plantations, with many other Embellishments, and lasting monuments of his magnificence' (Campbell, II, p. 3). The description does not show that Campbell was familiar with the building.

The plan of Shobden Court is missing from VB II, but the elevation remains. It has been drawn with scored underdrawing and has been executed in black ink, to a high standard.

Plate no: **VB II, Plate 59**

Aspect: **PLAN**

DRAWING MISSING

Aspect: **55A**
FRONT ELEVATION

Scale: Just over 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 253 x 378 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 60
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 59
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

56 A-F: WILTON HOUSE, WILTSHIRE

Wilton House has a long and complex building history. Isaac de Caus was employed there, with advice from Inigo Jones. However, 'the precise extent of Jones' share in the design has never been clearly determined' (Colvin, 'The South Front of Wilton House', 1999, p. 138). The garden buildings depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the designs published by de Caus in his book of designs of Wilton Garden are very similar and may indicate the source material which Campbell adopted (De Caus, 1645).

Campbell dedicated seven plates to this project, the house and its plan, but also two plates of interior wall surfaces and a further three plates of associated garden buildings: the Bowling Green, grotto, offices and the great gate. All of the plates are attributed to Inigo Jones.

The plan of Wilton House is a proof engraving. The annotation below the scale bar is present, but the full description of the plate is missing. Both the elevation and longitudinal elevation of the grotto have been drawn on a single plate, they have been drawn on separate pieces of paper, and pasted very neatly onto the same page in the preparatory volume. Both are linear pen and ink drawings executed with scored underdrawing, black ink and neatly drawn. The statuary and figures on the roundels are executed awkwardly.

The plan and elevation of the stable block have been drawn on a single sheet of paper. Both aspects are linear pen and ink drawings executed in neat, precise black ink, which is darker on the urns sitting on the roofline. Scored underdrawing can also be seen on the details.

Campbell has drawn the plan and the elevation of the gate at Wilton on paper which is now heavily stained. There are compass marks and traces of graphite underdrawing, but all executed in black ink. Much of the texture has been added in pen, rather than with wash as on the majority of drawings in the collection, yet the drawing remains neat and detailed.

The elevation is drawn on a large piece of paper, pasted over two pages in the folio. It is drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash, which tonally ranges from very light to dark on window recesses. The shading is very consistent and it is executed to a high standard.

	56A
Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY
Scale:	30 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Proof engraving
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	178 x 482 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 61-62
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 63, 64, 65, 66, 67 and VB III, Pl 57-60.

	56B
Aspect:	ELEVATION OF GARDEN (SOUTH) FRONT
Scale:	10 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash which is tonally consistent. Not executed in reverse, highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	207 x 502 mm

Plate no: VB II, Pl 61-62
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 61-62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67; VB III, Pl 57-60
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Plate no: **VB II, Plate 63**
Aspect: **SECTION OF DINING ROOM**

DRAWING MISSING

Aspect: **56C**
SECTION OF SALON (DOUBLE CUBE ROOM)

Scale: Just over 4 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 207 x 400 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 64
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 61-62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67; VB II, Pl 57-60
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **56D**
FRONT AND SIDE ELEVATION OF GROTTTO

Scale: Just over 5 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished. Side structures are missing.
Support: Two pieces of paper pasted into a single sheet in the folio.
Size: 149 x 254 mm
143 x 254 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 65
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 61-62, 63, 64, 66, 67; VB III, Pl 57-60
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **56E**
ELEVATION and PLAN of STABLES AT WILTON HOUSE

Scale: Just over 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 253 x 377 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 66
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 61-62, 63, 64, 65, 67; VB III, Pl 57-60
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

56F
ELEVATION AND PLAN OF GREAT ENTRANCE AT WILTON HOUSE

Aspect:

Scale: Approximately 2.5 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink. Shading applied with ink, not in wash. Highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper, greatly discoloured:
 Size: 252 x 374 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 67
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 61-62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67 and VB III, Pl 57-60
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

57 A-B: LONGLEAT HOUSE, WILTSHIRE

In 1541 Longleat House was purchased by Sir John Thynne, the Lord Protector of Somerset. The 1st Viscount Weymouth employed William Taylor soon after he succeeded to the estate in 1682 (Colvin, p. 1030).

Longleat House is represented in a different manner from many of the other houses. It has a double page, the plan and elevation span the page above and below. This is not a building that would be included in a fashionable guide to architecture; it is, as Campbell states, an 'ancient seat', and was one of the most important houses of its time.

The plan is a proof engraving, with imperfections especially around the annotations. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing executed in black ink, with consistent lines on the drawing which extends over two sheets of paper in the preparatory drawings, executed to a highly finished standard.

57A
PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 30 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Proof Engraving
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 163 x 593 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 68-69
 Related Plates: VB III, Pl 63-66
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

57B
ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: 11 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 208 x 299 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 68-69

Related Plates: VB III, Pl 63-66
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

58 A-C: CLIVEDEN, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Cliveden House was built *c.* 1674-7 by William Winde for George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham (Colvin, p. 1134). At the turn of the eighteenth century, Thomas Archer added wings and a quadrant colonnade for the 1st Earl of Orkney, *c.* 1705, which were demolished in 1849 (Colvin, p. 72).

Cliveden House is represented in *Vitruvius Britannicus* with a plan and two elevations, both on double plates. The plan shows the house and quadrant links and outer courts, raised on a plateau. The first elevation shows the main house, quadrant links and the pavilions. The second elevation shows the house and pavilions, but set above the raised garden level and additional garden pavilions.

Campbell acknowledges the original patron of the building, the Duke of Buckingham, and its new owner, the Earl of Orkney (Campbell, II, p. 4). He is extremely complimentary to the new owner and gives an extensive but carefully written description of the house, in which he does not actually praise the architecture.

In the collection Cliveden House is represented with drawings. The plan has scored underdrawing, executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash, which is blotchy in some places but overall quite even in application. Both elevations have scored underdrawing, and are linear drawings executed in black ink. The lines are precise and well controlled, highly finished and both prepared on large pieces of paper which span two pages in the folio.

58A

Aspect: **GENERAL PLAN**

Scale: 30 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, tonally consistent grey wash.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 253 x 504 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 70
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 71-72, 73-74
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

58B

Aspect: **NORTH ELEVATION**

Scale: 12 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Score underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 254 x 504 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 71-72
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 70, 73-74
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

58C
SOUTH ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: 18 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 254 x 504 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 73-74
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 70, 71-72
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

59 A-B: HOPETOUN HOUSE, WEST LOTHIAN

Sir William Bruce worked at Hopetoun House for Charles Hope, later 1st Earl of Hopetoun. He was initially employed in 1696-1702, and again in 1706-10 (Colvin, p. 176). The house was subsequently remodelled by William Adam from 1721 (Colvin, p. 63) until his death in 1748, when the project was taken over by his sons Robert and John (Gifford, 1988, p. 251). After 1721, William Adam made significant changes to the façade seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The original west side of the house by Bruce still remains (Gifford, 1988, p. 251).

Hopetoun House was illustrated in *Vitruvius Scoticus*, the posthumously published architectural book by William Adam. This shows changes made to the house by Adam, or intended changes. It does not show the same view as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Campbell dedicates three plates to Hopetoun House, a single plate for the plan and a double plate elevation. The elevation is dedicated to the Earl of Hopetoun, and states it was designed by Sir William Bruce in 1700 (Campbell, II, Pl 76-77). Campbell discusses Bruce, who had died in 1710, as 'Justly esteem'd the best Architect of his time in the Kingdom'. Campbell is descriptive about the building, stating that 'all is well finished and sumptuously finished' (Campbell, II, p. 4).

Both the plan and elevation drawings of Hopetoun House remain. The plan has scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Overall the application of the wash is even, there are aspects of uneven tonal consistency, but overall the wash has been applied in a tidy manner. The elevation has scored underdrawing, executed in black ink to a high standard. It is not known how Campbell obtained the source material but it can be seen from the drafting technique of the drawings that they were not produced prior to Campbell's arrival in London: they are contemporaneous with the other drawings for volume II of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

59A
GENERAL PLAN

Aspect:

Scale: Approximately 28 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash. Tonal consistency slightly uneven at various points on the plan but the application is overall very tidy. Highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 252 x 378 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 75

Related Plates: VB II, Pl 76-77
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **59B**
EAST ELEVATION

Scale: 16 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper: one piece of paper pasted over two sheets in the folio.
Size: 255 x 527 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 76-77
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 75
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

60 A-B: LOWTHER CASTLE, WESTMORLAND

Edward Addison was responsible for the masonry at Lowther Castle, 1692-4, for Viscount Lonsdale (Colvin, p. 60). Lowther Castle was destroyed by fire in 1718 (Colvin, p. 1012). Many designs were created over the years for Lowther Castle, including one by Colen Campbell and his rival James Gibbs, produced after this volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published (Colvin et al, 1980, pp. 26-7).

A single plate plan and a double plate elevation depicts Lowther Castle in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Within the description of plates Campbell is positive, but not very informed, stating that Lowther was built to a: 'Good effect and handsome' and he concludes the description with a moment of flattery: 'Useful and magnificent Improvements, answerable to the Grandeur of so noble and generous a Patron' (Campbell, II, p. 4).

VB II contains a drawing for the plan and a proof engraving of the elevation. The plan has scored underdrawing, executed in black ink and shaded in pale grey wash which has been applied in a tonally consistent manner. There are annotations stating room dimensions in black ink. The elevation is a double plate, and the only proof elevation in the volume.

Aspect: **60A**
GENERAL PLAN

Scale: 15 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, tonally consistent grey wash, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 254 x 376 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 78
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 79-80
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **60B**
FRONT ELEVATION

Scale: 16 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: n/a
 Medium: Proof engraving
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 246 x 528 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 79-80
 Related Plates: VB II, Pl 78
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

61 A: BRAMHAM PARK, YORKSHIRE

After travelling abroad Robert Benson, 1st Lord Bingley, advised fellow landowners on architectural matters, and after his estate at Bramham was granted, by the crown, for his public services, and he began to build on the estate in 1703 (Lindstrum, 1978, p. 61). Thomas Archer was employed here, but it is likely that Bingley was responsible for the design (Breman, 1972, p. 5).

Bramham Park is represented on a double plate with the elevation above and the plan below. The description by Campbell does not mention the architect, but gives the date as 1710 (Campbell, II, p. 4). Campbell describes a cube room as 'Most artfully decorated' and the apartments as 'Spacious and convenient'. However, the elevation is described as having an 'Elegant tho' plain Manner' (Campbell, II, p. 4).

Drawings of both the plan and the elevation of Bramham Park remain within VB II. The plan has scored underdrawing, drawn in black ink, and is shaded in grey wash with an even tonal consistency. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing, with scored underdrawing, and has been drawn in black ink. Both drawings have been executed to a high standard.

61A

Aspect: **FRONT ELEVATION and PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR**

Scale: No scale provided
 Inscribed: Some dimensions have been added in graphite
 Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash even in tone
 Support: Laid Paper: one sheet of paper pasted over two pages in the folio.
 Size: 374 x 501 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 81-82
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

62 A: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR ROBERT WALPOLE

This is an unrealised scheme created by Campbell for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and was dedicated to the First Lord of the Treasury, Robert Walpole. Later in his career Campbell worked for Walpole, designing his house at Houghton in 1722. Campbell later provided the design for Houghton which is illustrated in volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Campbell, I, Pl 27-34).

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell uses a double plate to illustrate the design. It is arranged with the elevation situated above the plan, spanning two pages.

The drawing for this project remains in VB II. The two parts have been produced on separate pieces of paper which have been carefully assembled to appear as one sheet. A small section of paper has been removed at the bottom of the plan and the paper from the elevation is raised to fill the gap. Both the plan and the elevation are linear pen and ink drawings. The elevation has scored underdrawing, executed in black ink to a highly finished standard. The plan also has scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink to a good standard, but could not be considered highly finished. It reaches a lesser standard of execution.

62A

Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST AND PRINCIPAL STOREY and ELEVATION
Scale:	15 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, high finish elevation. Finished on plan.
Support:	Laid paper- two pieces of paper which are pasted over two sheets in the folio.
Size:	205 x 514 mm 158 x 514 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 83- 84
Related Plates:	Houghton VB III, Pl 27-34
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

63 A: CHEVENING HOUSE, KENT

In *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Colen Campbell attributed Chevening House to Inigo Jones (Campbell, II, p. 4), but the architect of the house appears to have been John Webb (Colvin, p. 469). Webb worked for the 14th Lord Dacre in 1655 (Colvin, p. 873). In 1718 Thomas Fort was employed by Earl Stanhope to add pedimented wings to the seventeenth-century block at Chevening, but this was too late for inclusion in the publication (Colvin, p. 276). This design is situated in the book beside a proposed and unrealised design for Secretary Stanhope by Campbell (Campbell, II, Pl 86).

Campbell uses a single plate in *Vitruvius Britannicus* to represent Chevening House with the elevation set above two reduced size plans. Campbell explains that the house belonged to the Earl of Sussex, who transferred ownership to the Principal Secretary of State, James Stanhope (Campbell, II, p. 4). The rest of Campbell's text is purely descriptive, and based on the drawing.

Chevening House is represented in VB II in drawing form. Both plans are drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. It is overall even in tonal consistency. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with a clearly defined set of points to aid the drawing down the front central staircase, as he would do in a presentation drawing. However, the drawing is primarily aided with scored underdrawing and is executed in black ink like a drawing for engraving. Both drawings are finished to a high standard.

63A

Aspect:	ELEVATION AND PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY
Scale:	Elevation- 9 feet to an inch Plan- 18 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	The plans have been annotated in black ink, conducted in small handwriting.

Medium: Elevation- Scored underdrawing, black ink. Plan- black ink, grey wash, highly finished.
 Support: Laid Paper
 Size: 375 x 253 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 85
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

64 A: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR SECRETARY JAMES STANHOPE

This unrealised scheme was dedicated to James Stanhope, Secretary of State for the Northern Division. This depiction is located after that of Stanhope's own property; Chevening House. Campbell included the plans and elevation on a single plate, with the plans represented at a smaller scale.

The drawing for the Stanhope design remains in VB II. The plans are linear pen and ink drawings which have been executed in black ink, which has turned a very slightly burnished, off black, colour. The draughtsmanship is good but not executed to a highly finished standard, and is perhaps indicative of an early state of draughtsmanship.

The elevation is executed in black ink and shaded in a delicate grey wash which varies between very light and dark grey wash on the windows and doors. Some shadow has also been added in wash, leaning to the left, which, if we compare this ink to the engraving, would indicate that it was prepared in reverse. It has been drawn over two pieces of paper, with the top of the elevation drawn on the upper piece of paper. However, there are some oddities on the drawing: it has been completed to the level of the roof, but the attic storey has an area of paper missing. There are clear guidelines on the urns at this level but all are executed and shaded, with shadow present. Above this the roof pitches to a central parapet with cupola above. At the level of this balustrade there is a row of statuary figures and a single urn on the right hand side (the corresponding urn on the left is missing). It would appear that the design was originally a pitched roof topped with balustrade, but was later altered to change the roofline, and add statuary and the cupola but it is not known at what stage this change occurred.

64A

Aspect: **ELEVATION and PLAN**

Scale: 18 feet to an inch
 Inscribed: Some graphite dimensions are present on the plan
 Medium: Plan- is a finished drawing, scored underdrawing, black ink oxidised brown.
 Support: Elevation- scored underdrawing, black ink, grey wash.
 Two pieces of paper pasted into the same page in the folio. Laid Paper, a small section of the paper has been cut out at the top of the elevation. A section of the elevation has been drawn on the bottom of the upper piece of paper. The plan and elevation are situated the opposite way round to in the engraved version: the plan to the upper part and the elevation at the bottom.
 Size: 204 x 252 mm
 233 x 252 mm
 Plate no: VB II, Pl 86
 Related Plates: n/a
 Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

65 A: HOTHAM HOUSE, YORKSHIRE

Hotham House was built by Colen Campbell for Charles Hotham in 1716 in Eastgate in Yorkshire (Colvin, p. 215). The design as built did not exactly conform to the design supplied by Campbell: the rusticated arches linking the wings to the centre of the building were excluded (Colvin, p. 215). This design, as included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, was engraved as Campbell originally intended it, rather than how it was actually built (Connor, 1977, p. 21).

Campbell shows the design for Hotham House on a single plate: the elevation above and the plans for the first and second storeys below. He gives a clear description of his design, showing his understanding of the architectural detailing and construction of the building (Campbell, II, p. 5).

Both parts of the drawing for Hotham House remain in VB II, drawn on separate pieces of paper pasted into the folio as they appear in the publication. Both are linear drawings with fine scored underdrawing and drawn in black ink prepared to a highly finished state of completion.

	65A
Aspect:	FRONT ELEVATION and PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND FLOOR
Scale:	Plan- 18 feet to an inch Elevation- Just over 8 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Both aspects have scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support:	Two pieces of laid Paper, pasted into a single page in the folio.
Size:	90 x 376 mm 197 x 376 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 87
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

66 A: HEDWORTH HOUSE, (CHESTER-LE-STREET), COUNTY DURHAM

The design for Hedworth House was created in 1716 for John Hedworth by Colen Campbell. It is not known for certain if the building was executed (Colvin, p. 215).

Campbell used only one plate for Hedworth House in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, with the elevation situated above and a single plan below. Campbell's detailed description mainly justifies his stylistic decisions, and states his disapproval of foreign traits, in his words:

I have drest them with large Rusticks of different Lengths, as most proper to express the true Office of those Stones, which is to cross bind the Angles, and not as the French and some others have introduced them, of the same Extent in Place of Pilasters (Campbell, II, p. 5).

The drawing for Hedworth House remains in VB II. It has been drawn on a single piece of paper, as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The plan has been drawn using scored underdrawing and has been executed in black ink. The plan has been shaded in grey wash, applied to a high standard with a very even tonal consistency. The elevation is a linear drawing, also with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink.

	66A
Aspect:	SOUTH ELEVATION AND PLAN OF GROUND AND PRINCIPAL FLOOR
Scale:	Plan- Just under 25 feet to an inch Elevation- Just under 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	<i>Scale of 40 feet/extends 128 feet</i> (small black writing). Annotations also present on plan.
Medium:	Elevation- scored underdrawing, black ink. Plan- black ink, shaded in grey wash, with even tonal consistency. Both highly finished drawings.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	253 x 379 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 88
Related Plates:	n/a
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

67 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR SECRETARY METHUEN

This is an unrealised scheme, prepared by Colen Campbell for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which he dedicated to the Secretary of State, Paul Methuen. Campbell did not find a patron in Methuen: 'Sir Paul Meuthen [sic], a Lord of the Treasury from 1714 to 1717, and Secretary of the State of the Southern Department from 1716 to 1717 and Comptroller of the Household from 1720 to 1725, lived in a rented house in Queen Anne's Gate' (Hewlings, 1996, p. 7).

The design for Secretary Methuen is shown on a single plate which contains two plans and the elevation. This being a design of Campbell's, his remarks are primarily descriptive; he is showing his architectural knowledge and ability and he describes this design as being in the 'Theatrical Stile' (Campbell, II, p. 5).

The design for Secretary Methuen remains in drawing form in VB II. The plans for the first and chamber floor are drawn on a single sheet of paper. They are both drawn in black ink and shaded in grey wash. Overall the wash has been applied in an even manner, but there are darker aspects around the colonnade. Graphite annotations in the form of room dimensions are present on the plan.

The elevation is a linear drawing, executed in black ink and shaded in grey wash, the tone of which varies considerably from light to dark grey wash. It is carefully executed and the wash has been applied to a high standard. The statuary has been drawn to a high finish and shaded carefully but there is definitely uneasiness in the manner of drawing, like much of the statuary drawn by Campbell. Shading has been added in the recesses for the statues and on some of the windows. There are peculiar small urns on the top of pediment. Although they are carefully shaded in grey wash, there is an odd effect which is left from the wash being applied too sparsely.

	67A
Aspect:	PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY
Scale:	16 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	Some dimensions present on the plans
Medium:	Black ink, grey wash even tonal consistency. Some details remain in graphite.

Support: Laid Paper
Size: 377 x 251 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 89
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 90
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **67B**
FRONT ELEVATION

Scale: Just over 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Highly finished, scored underdrawing, black ink and grey wash, of even tonal consistency.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 252 x 380 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 90
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 89
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

68 A-B: WITHAM HOUSE, SOMERSET

William Talman was one of the architects employed at Witham House by Sir William Wyndham, c. 1702. This project was a remodelling of the old house, retaining three sides of the existing courtyard plan, and Talman's solution seems to have been to add a screen wall on the fourth side (Harris, 1982, p. 35). This design is included in the preparatory drawings, but is not the design adopted in the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. A drawing for engraving remains in the CC Works collection depicting the design by Gibbs which was adopted for the building c. 1717. The house was demolished in 1764 (Colvin, p. 424).

The plan of Witham House is represented alongside that of Dyrham House, Gloucestershire. Although the plans are for different buildings, Campbell has drawn them both to the same scale. They do not look out of place on the same plate, but are clearly representing different schemes. The layout of the plate differs from that of other plates which house two plans, exception being the shared plate of Burlington House and the Wrest Park Pavilion (Campbell, I, Pl 31). Often plans are represented side by side, but these are shown one above the other.

In VB II, the plan of Witham is a proof engraving. The elevation is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing, executed to a high standard. This is not the elevation included in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The image used in *Vitruvius Britannicus* has a rusticated façade and is topped with a cupola. The drawing in the preparatory volume is for a flat roofed balustrade scheme with three large arches in the centre of the façade.

The preparatory volume includes the design by Talman, but by the time of publication, this had been replaced with a design by Gibbs (Wilson-North, 1997, p. 84) In his monograph on Talman, Harris states: 'Throughout Talman's late career, and through probable contacts between Gibbs and John Talman, there are many strange tie-ups that would suggest a more intimate professional relationship between them than the evidence would suggest' (Harris, 1982, p. 42). It is a curious matter that a different drawing was inserted into the volume, yet still depicting the same project.

68A
PLAN X2

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 30 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Plan of the Principal Story of Dyrham House/Plan du principal Etage de le Masion de Dyrham/A Scale of 200 Feet/Plan of the principal story of Wiltham/Plan du principal Etage de Wiltham*

Medium: Proof engraving

Support: Laid Paper

Size: 377 x 248 mm

Plate no: VB II, Pl 91

Related Plates: VB II, Pl 92

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

68B
ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 5 foot to an inch

Inscribed: n/a

Medium: Linear, scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.

Support: Laid Paper

Size: 254 x 506 mm

Plate no: VB II, Pl 92

Related Plates: VB II, Pl 91

Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Reproduced: Harris, *William Talman Maverick Architect*
 Wilson-North, 'Witham, Somerset', p. 85.

68 A and 69 A: DYRHAM PARK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Samuel Houduroy was employed by William Blathwayt from 1692 to work on the west side of Dyrham (Colvin, p. 400). Soon after, when Blathwayt became Secretary at War, he employed William Talman to work on the east side of the house, an arrangement continued between 1698 and 1704, with work beginning in 1699 (Colvin, p. 806).

Campbell uses a shared plate for this project which illustrates two plans, one of Dyrham House and the other of Witham House. A single plate elevation of Dyrham is also provided.

The preparatory drawing which illustrates the plans of Dyrham House and Witham House is missing and a proof engraving of the plate has been included in VB II. The preparatory drawing of the elevation exists in the collection. It is a linear pen and ink drawing, executed in black ink. The ink lines applied are even and it has been executed to a highly finished standard.

68A
PLAN OF PRINCIPAL STOREY

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 30 feet to an inch

Inscribed: *Plan of the Principal Story of Dyrham House/Plan du principal Etage de le Masion de Dyrham/A Scale of 200 Feet/*

Medium: Proof engraving

Support: Laid Paper

Size: 377 x 248 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 91
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 93
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

Aspect: **69A
ELEVATION**

Scale: 9 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 249 x 379 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 93
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 91
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

70 A: NEWBOLD (later REVEL) HALL, WARWICKSHIRE

The mansion of Newbold Hall was built for Fulwar Skipwith in 1716 by Francis Smith (Colvin, p. 946). According to Connor, the design was included at the request of the patron (Connor, 1977, p. 29).

Campbell shows the entire project for Newbold Hall on a single plate: the elevation is situated above and two plans situated below drawn to a small scale. The description provided by Campbell is brief. He does not state the architect involved in the project but does give the date as 1716 (Campbell, II, p. 5).

In the collection the plan is missing and has not been replaced. However, the elevation is a linear drawing executed in black ink, with scored underdrawing, which is extensive around the detailing and balustrade. Most of the lines on the drawing are even. Some of the lines on the urns and on the decoration above the doorpiece have thicker, more uneven lines.

Plate no: **VB II, Plate 94**

Aspect: **PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY**

DRAWING MISSING

Aspect: **70A
WEST ELEVATION**

Scale: No scale bar
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid Paper
Size: 252 x 374 mm
Plate no: VB II, Pl 94
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

71 A-B: ALTHORP HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Althorp House, as seen in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, was begun in February 1665/6 (Colvin, p. 352). The builder was Anthony Ellis, a pupil of Nicholas Stone, who worked for the 2nd Earl of Sutherland (Colvin, p. 352).

Campbell shows the plans of the first and second storeys of Althorp on a single plate, one above the other, with the elevation on a single plate. In the description Campbell does not know the architect involved in the project, merely stating that it was built by the late Earl in 1688 (Campbell, II, p. 5). Of the house as a whole, Campbell states 'the whole is finished and adorned in a very sumptuous Manner, answerable to the Magnificence of the noble Patron' (Campbell, II, p. 5).

The plan of Althorp is represented in proof engraving form, with the annotations present. The elevation is on a large piece of paper pasted over two pages. The elevation is drawn with scored underdrawing and executed in black ink and finished to a high standard.

	71A
Aspect:	PLAN
Scale:	Just under 30 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Proof Engraving
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	374 x 274 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 95
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 96-97 and VB III, Pl 83-84
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

	71B
Aspect:	SOUTH ELEVATION
Scale:	Just over 7 feet to an inch
Inscribed:	n/a
Medium:	Scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support:	Laid Paper
Size:	205 x 501 mm
Plate no:	VB II, Pl 96-97
Related Plates:	VB II, Pl 95 and VB III, Pl 83-84
Engraver:	Henry Hulsbergh

72 A-B: PROPOSED DESIGN FOR LORD CADOGAN

This design is an unrealised scheme created by Campbell specifically for inclusion in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is dedicated to William, Earl of Cadogan, Master of the Horse. This design is on a large scale: the extent of the façade is 180 feet across, as Campbell describes, 'In the *Pallatial Stile*' (Campbell, II, p. 5). The design was taken from Palladio's Iseppo di Porto and Palazzo Chiericati (Breman, 1972, p. 19).

Both drawings for this project remain. The plan is a linear pen and ink drawing, executed in black ink with extensive annotations in black writing. These are mainly room dimensions but in

a few cases state the function of the room. There is some fairly clear graphite underdrawing on parts of the plans. The plans are on separate pieces of paper, pasted into the folio as if they were on a single sheet. This was not prepared as a single plate: this may indicate they were prepared before the start of the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The elevation is on a large piece of paper, which has been pasted over two pages in the volume. It is a linear pen and ink drawing with scored underdrawing executed in black ink, which has not been fully completed. There is also graphite underdrawing which can be seen especially well in the centre of the windows and above the roofline. The drawing has some small unfinished elements but as a whole has been executed to a highly finished standard.

72A
PLAN OF FIRST AND SECOND STOREY

Aspect:

Scale: Just over 20 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, black ink.
Support: Two pieces of laid paper pasted onto the same sheet in the folio.
Size: 175 x 242 mm
193 x 242 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 98
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 99-100
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

72B
FRONT ELEVATION

Aspect:

Scale: 10 feet to an inch
Inscribed: n/a
Medium: Fine scored underdrawing, black ink, highly finished.
Support: Laid paper- one piece of paper pasted over two sheets in the folio.
Size: 229 x 500 mm
Plate no. VB II, Pl 99-100
Related Plates: VB II, Pl 98
Engraver: Henry Hulsbergh

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Submitted for the Degree of PhD

University of York

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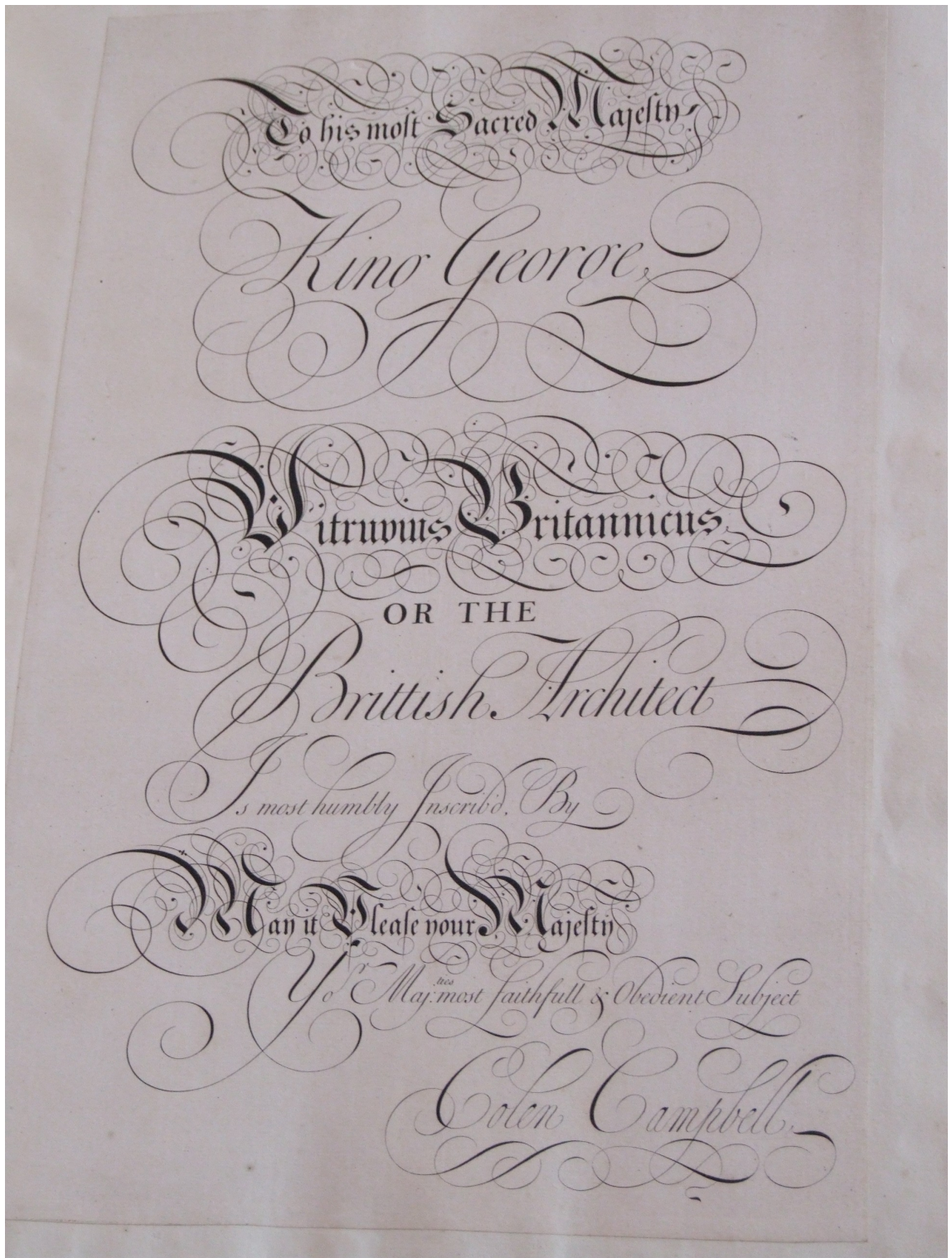
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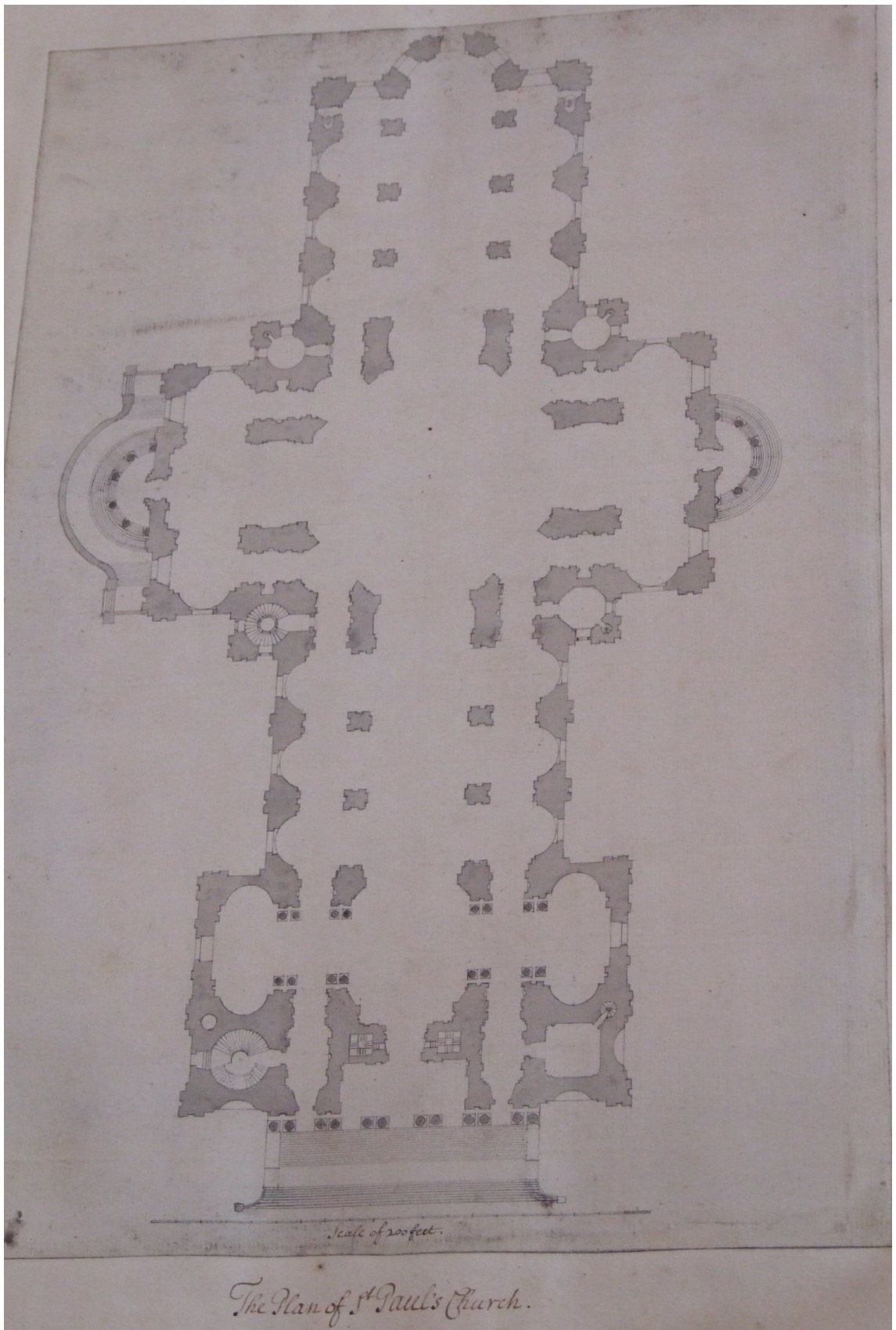
CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

*Sold by the Author over against Douglas Coffee-house in St. Martins-lane, John Vicholfson in
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Clements in St. Pauls Church-yard, And Jos. Smith in Exeter-Change.*

1. Proof Engraving of Title Page, VB I.



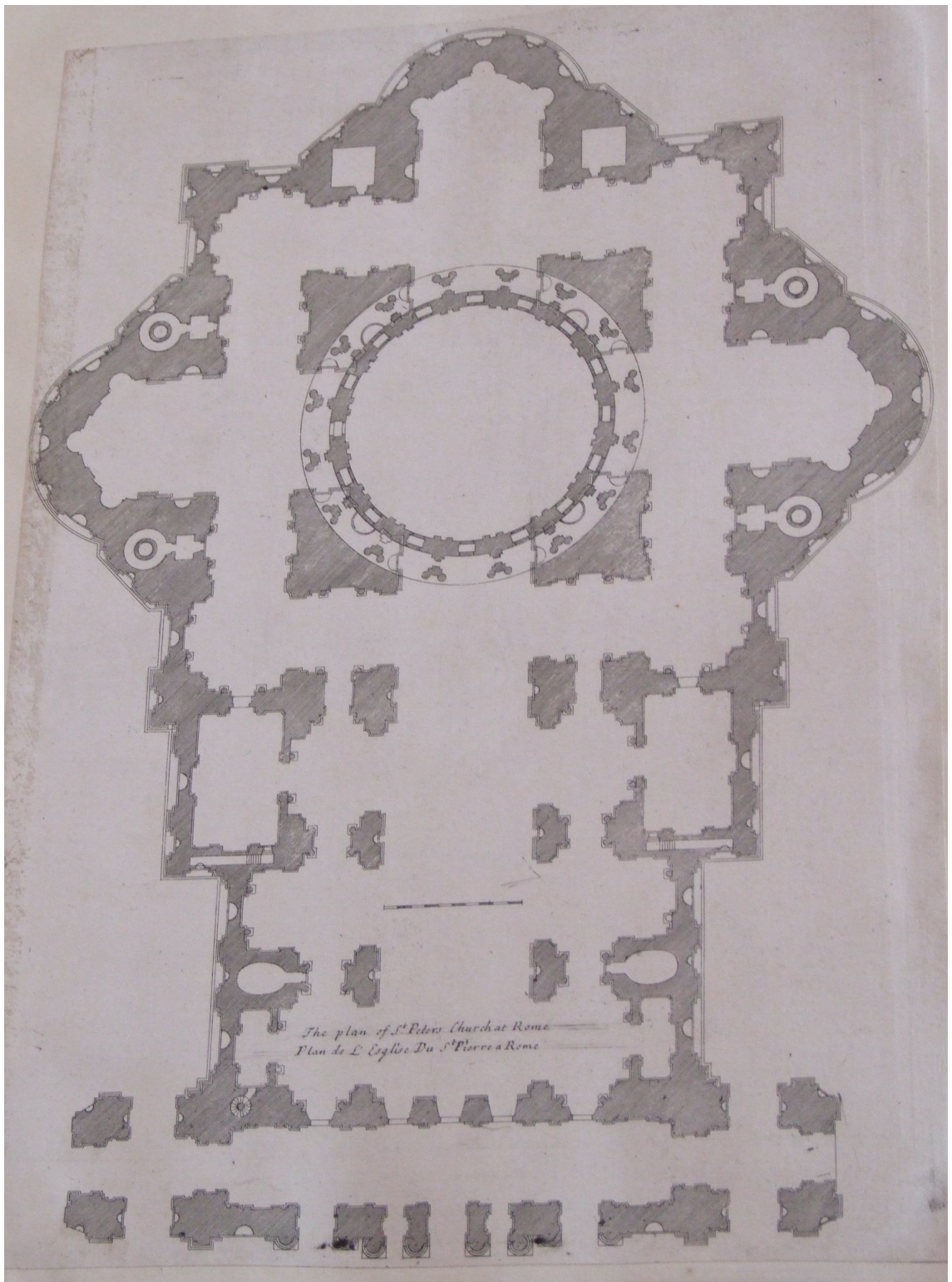
2. Proof Engraving of *Dedication Page*, VB I.



3. St Paul's Cathedral, London, General Plan: 1A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 3



4. *St Paul's Cathedral, London, West Elevation: 1B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 4*



5. St Peter's Church, Rome, General Plan: 2A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 5

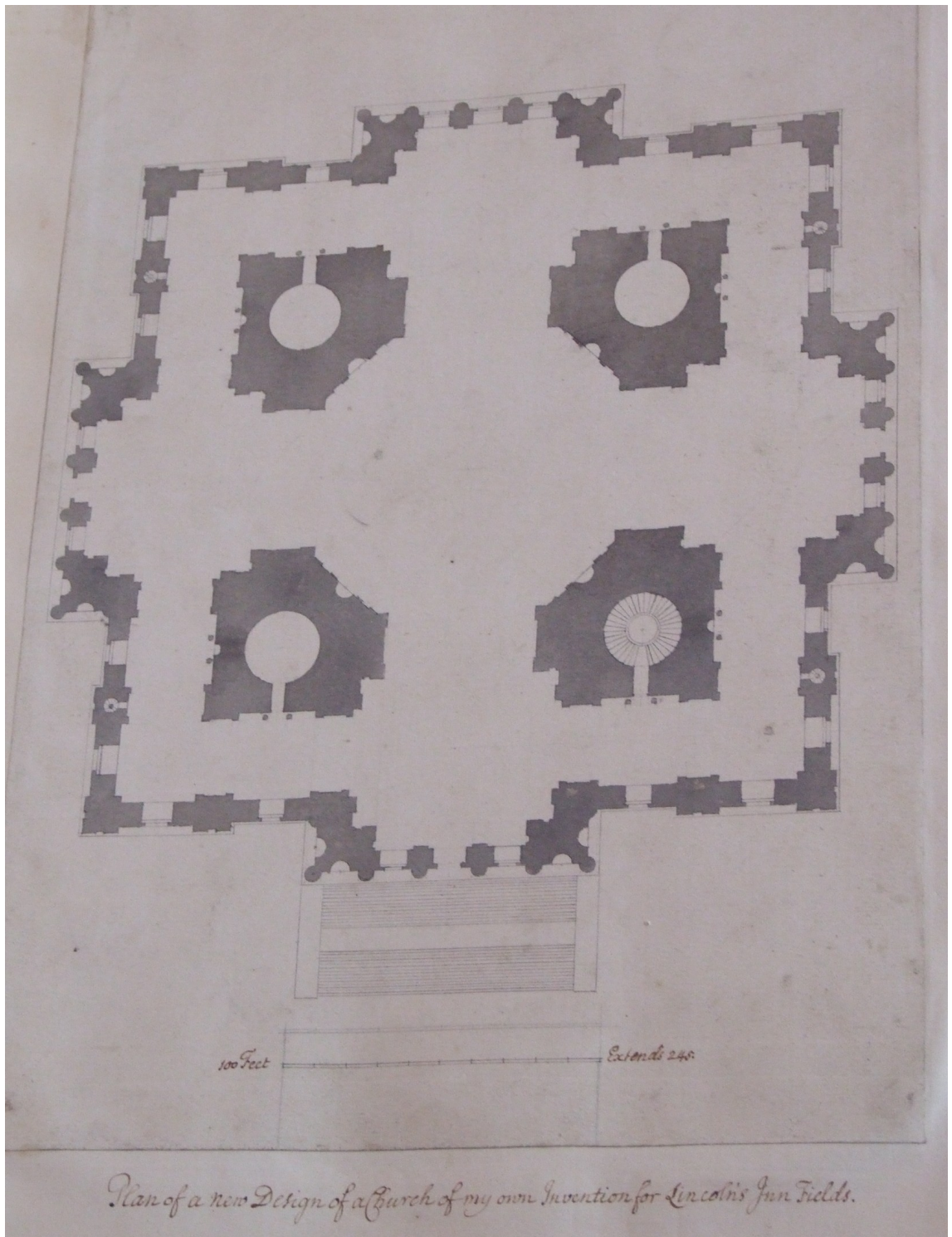


6. *St Peter's Church, Rome*, Elevation: 2B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 6



The Section of St. Peter's Church in Rome.

7. *St Peter's Church, Rome, Section: 2C (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 7*

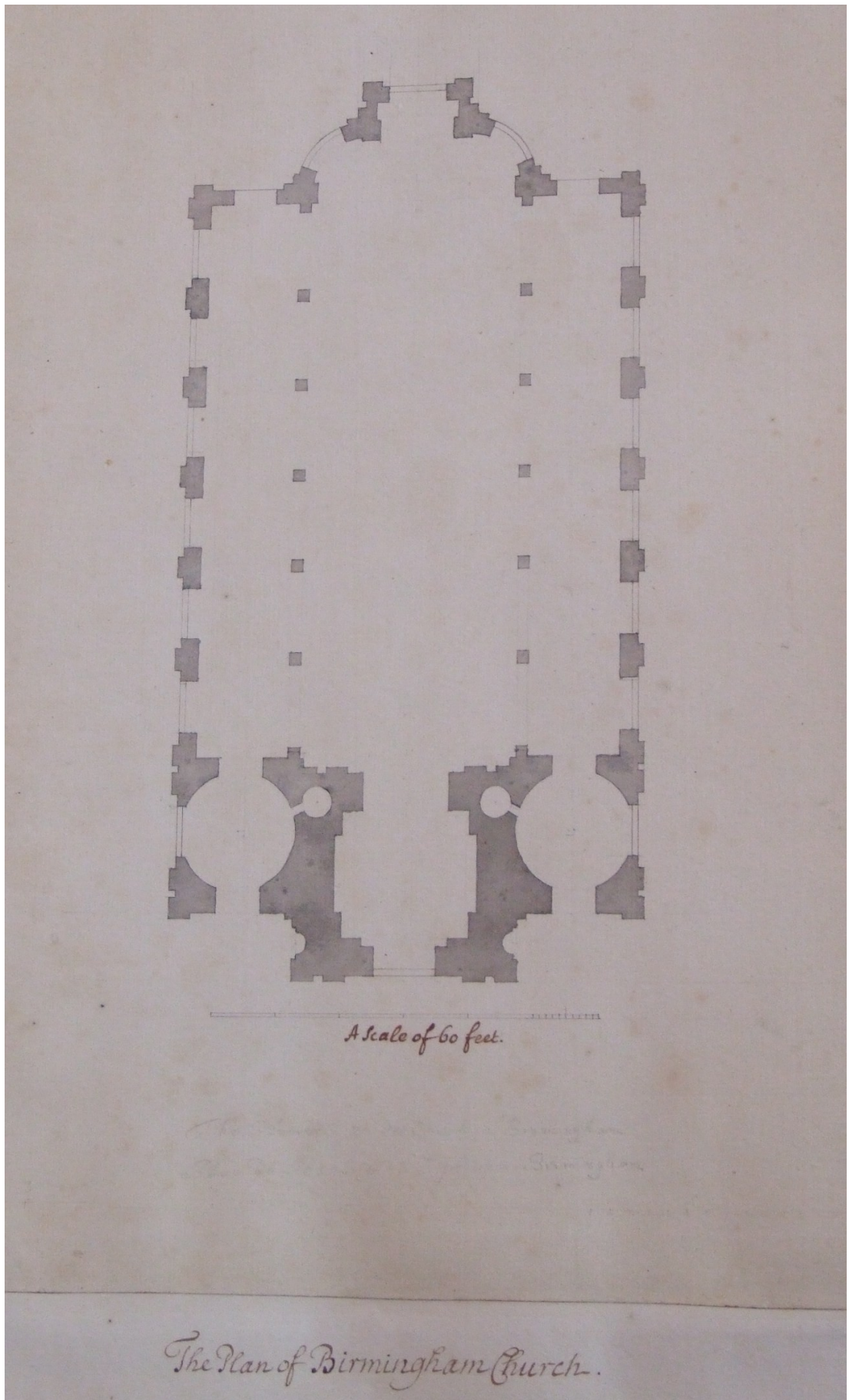


8. Proposed Design for a Church at Lincoln's Inn Fields, General Plan: 3A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 8



A New Design of my Invention for a Church in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

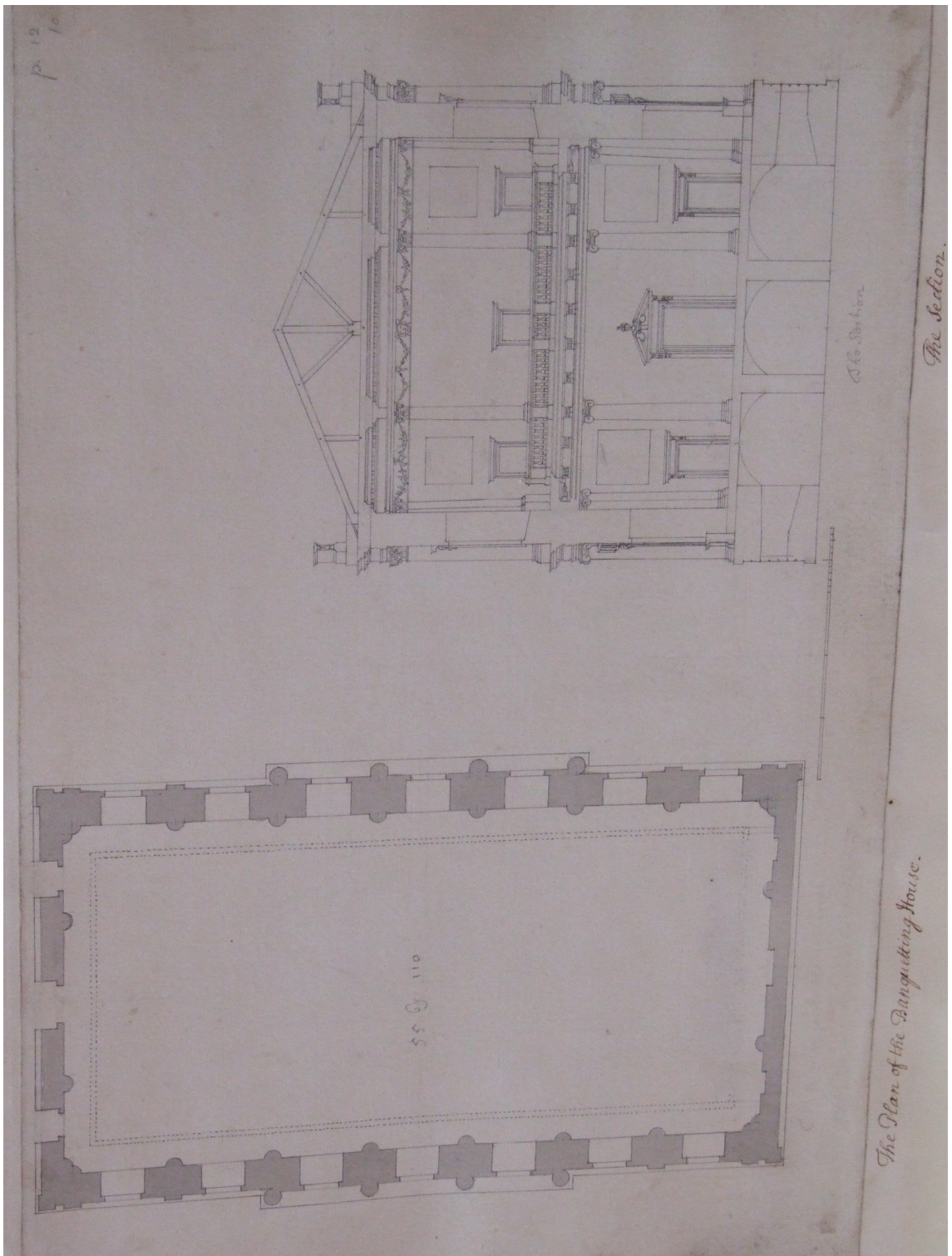
9. Proposed Design for a Church at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Elevation: 3B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 9



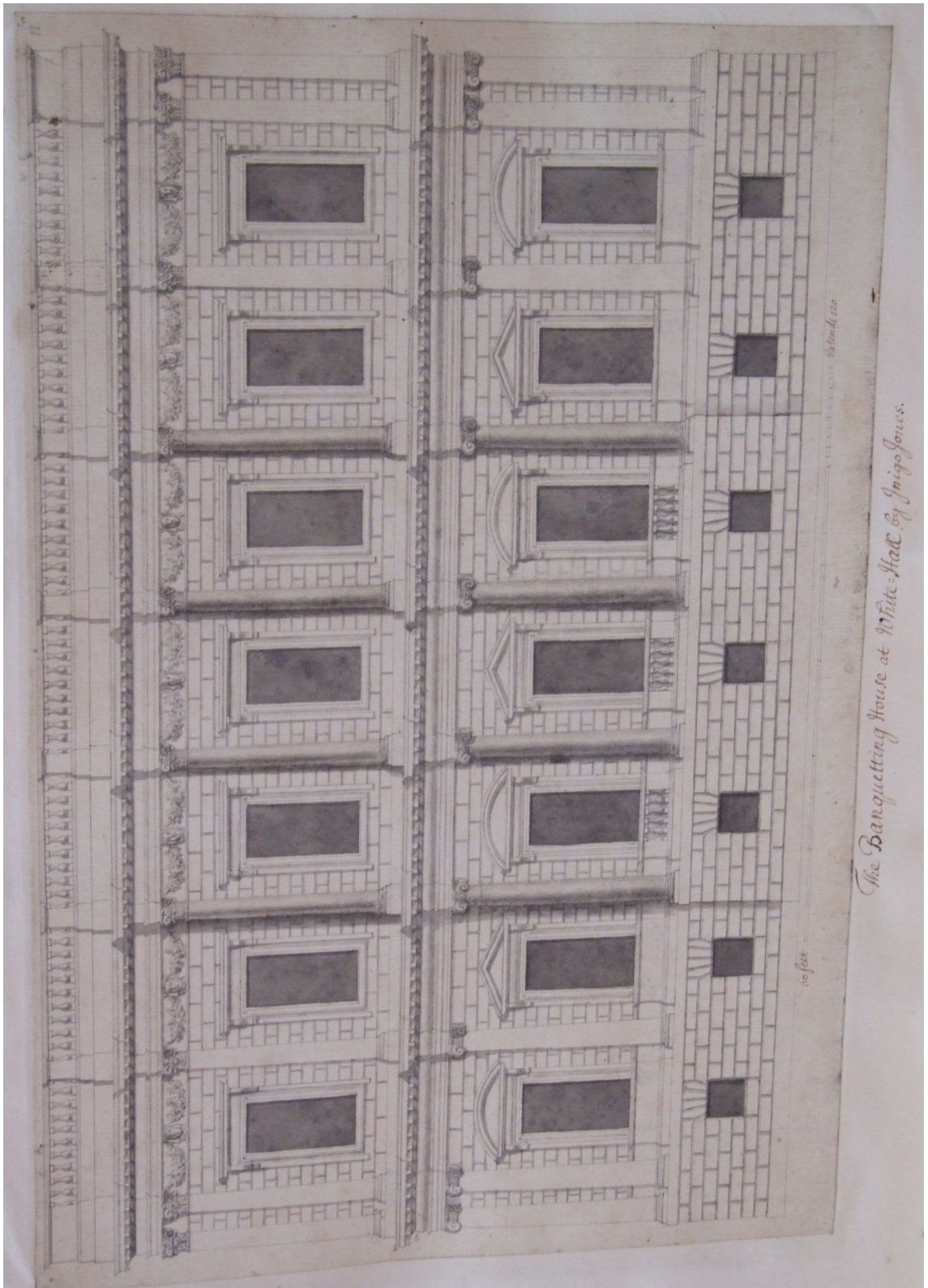
10. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham, General Plan: 4A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 10*



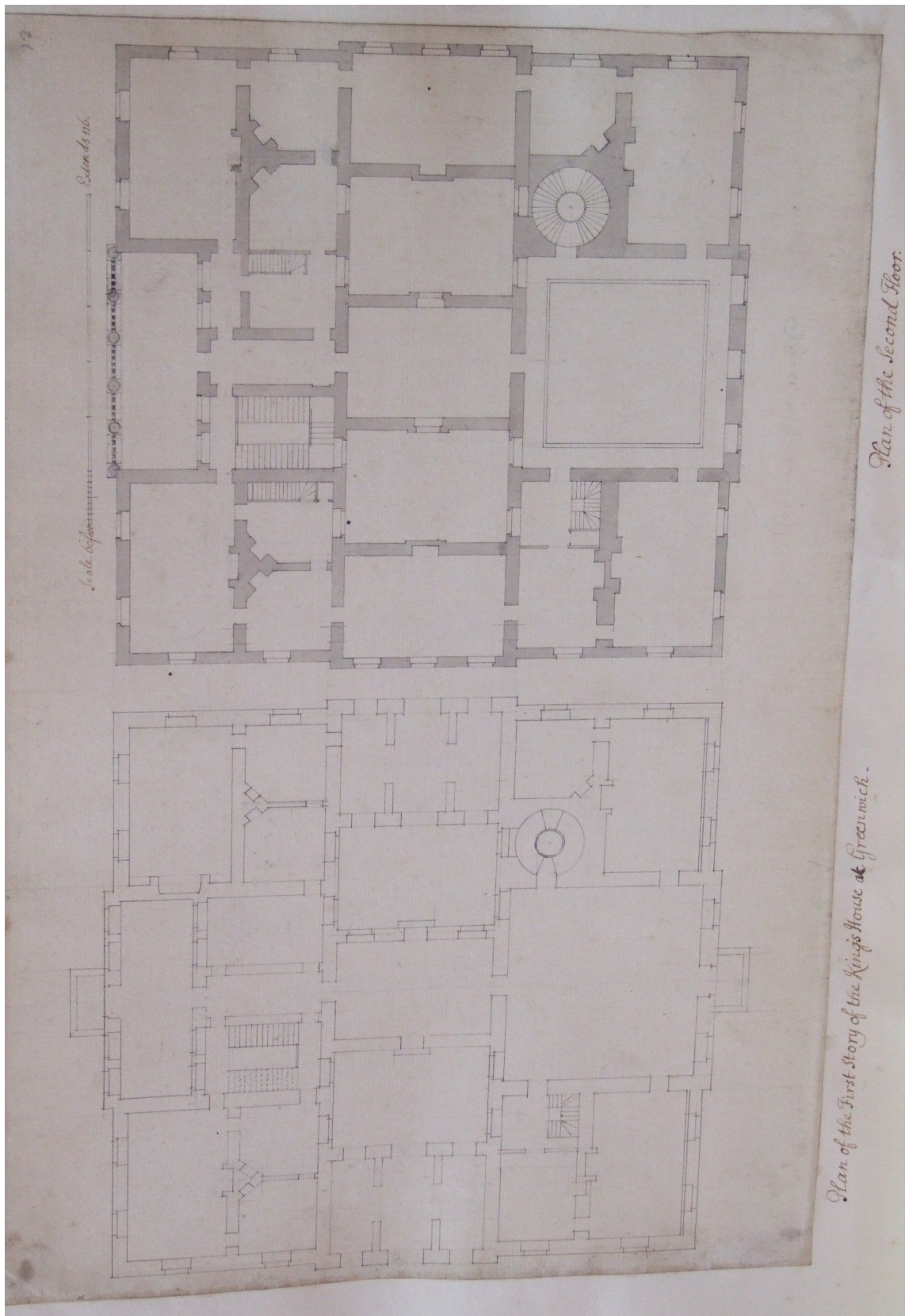
11. St Philip's Church, Birmingham, Elevation: 4B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 11



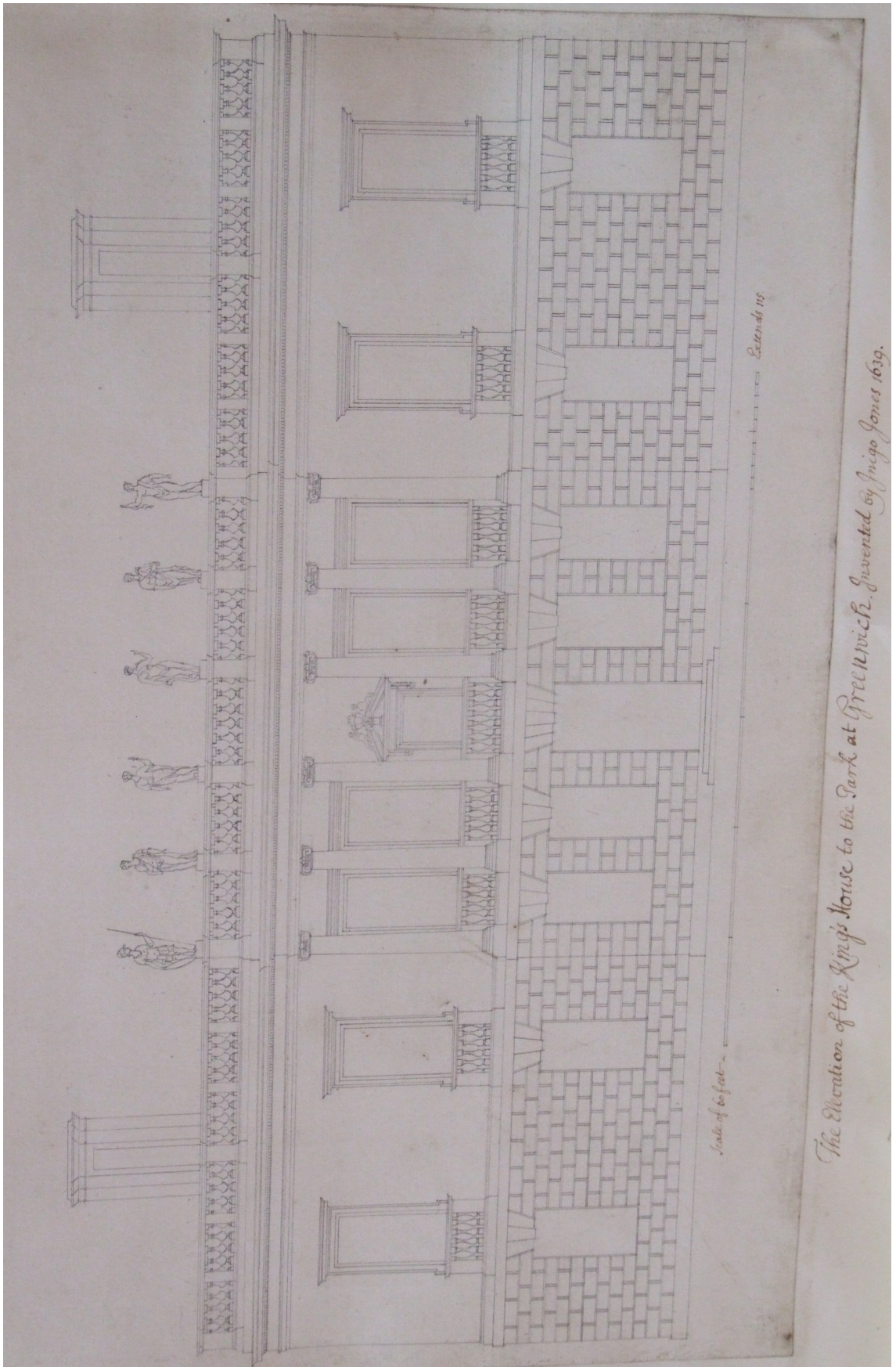
12. *Banqueting House, London, General Plan and Section: 5A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 12*



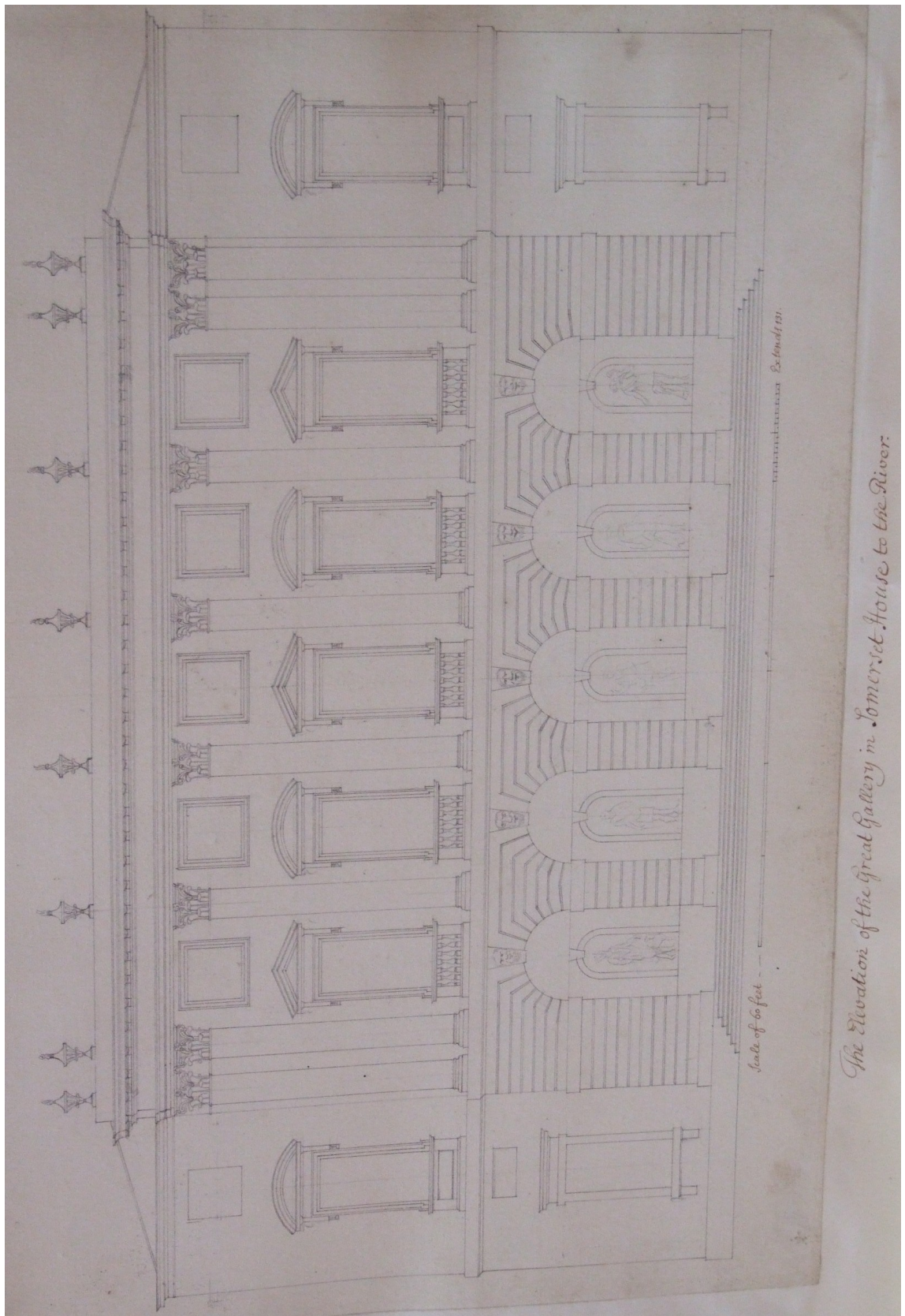
13. *Banqueting House, London, General Elevation: 5B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 13*



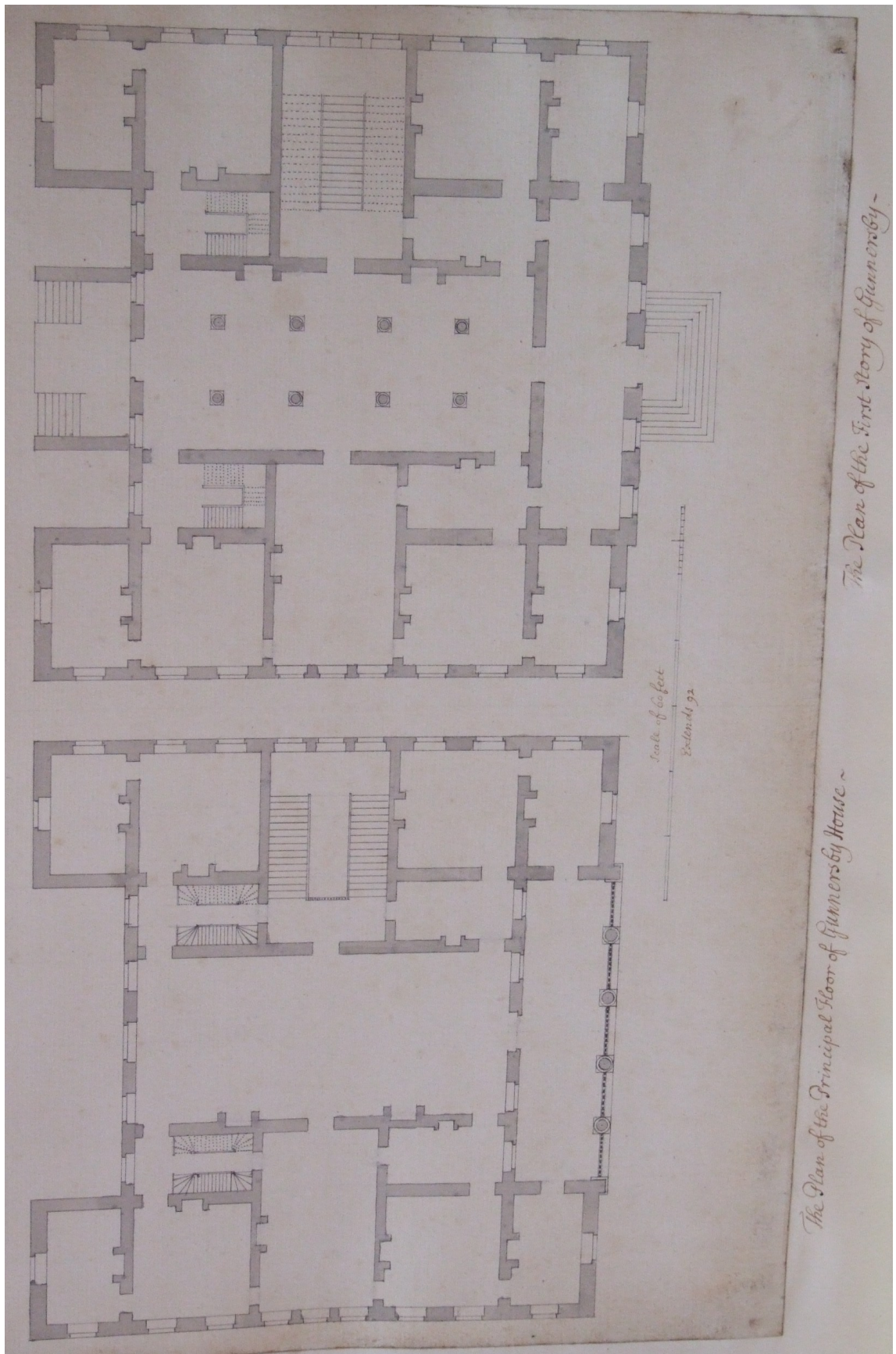
14. *The Queen's House, London, Plans: 6A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 14*



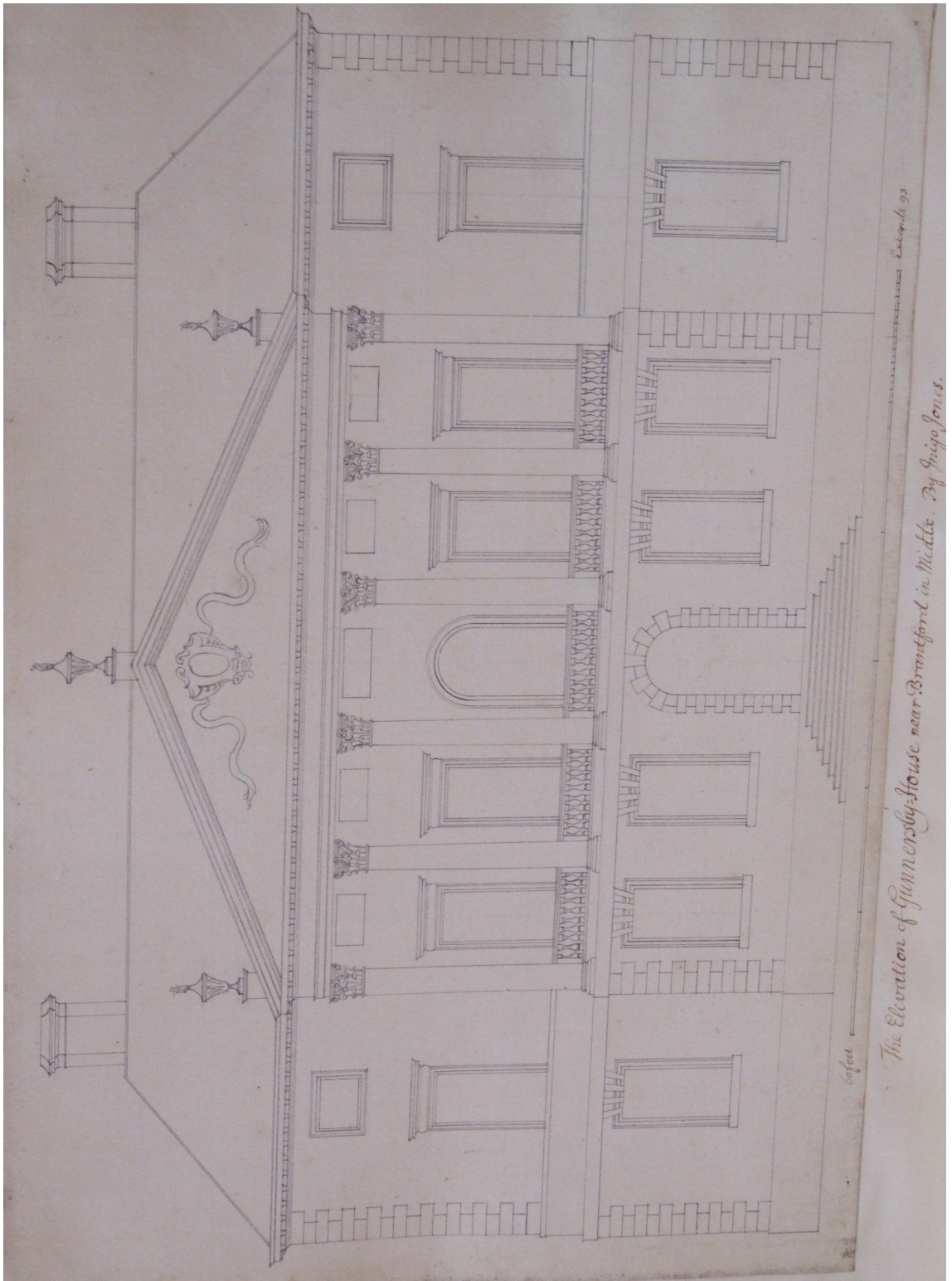
15. *The Queen's House, London, Elevation: 6B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 15*



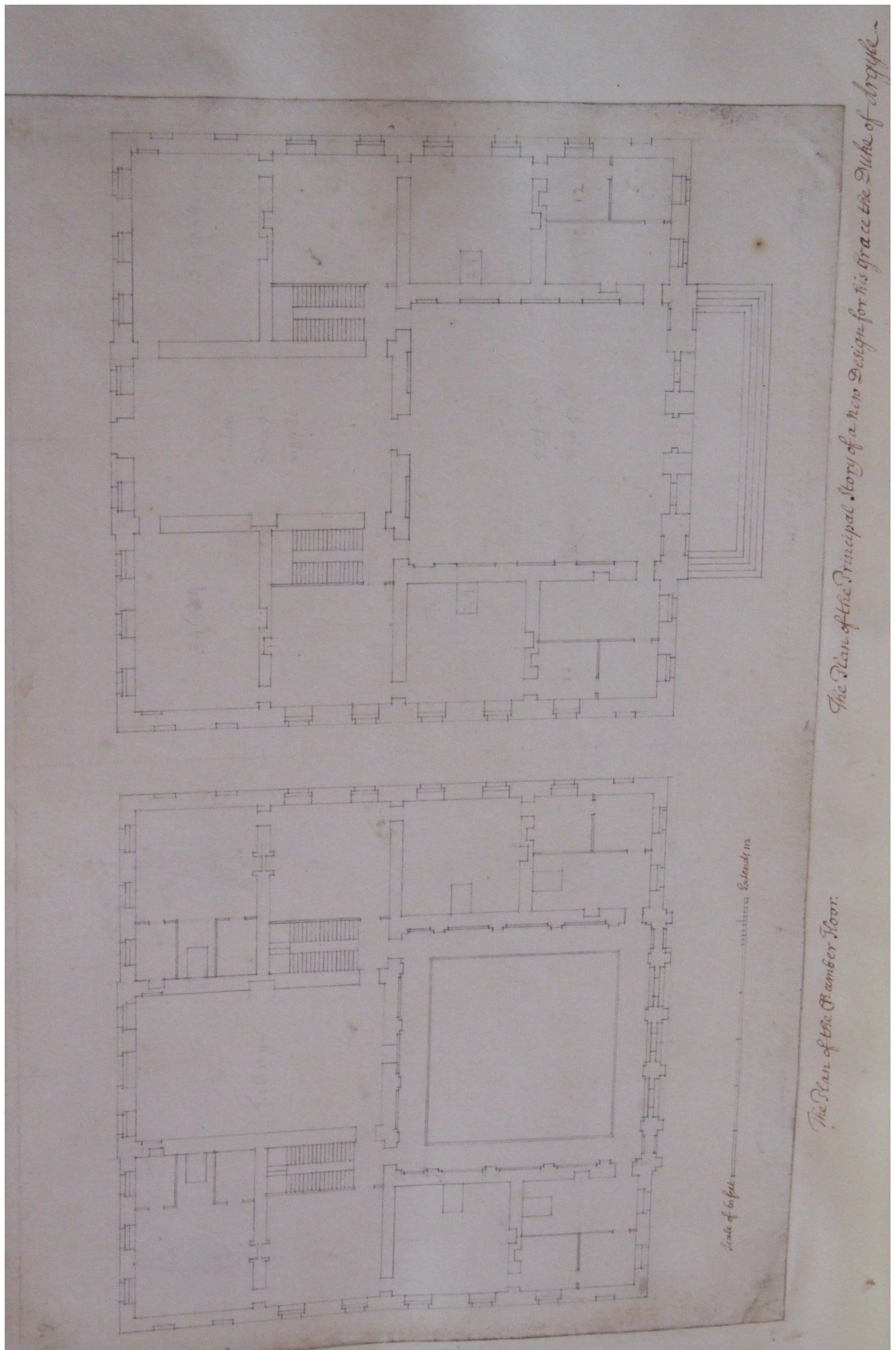
16. *The Gallery of Somerset House, London, Elevation: 7A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 16*



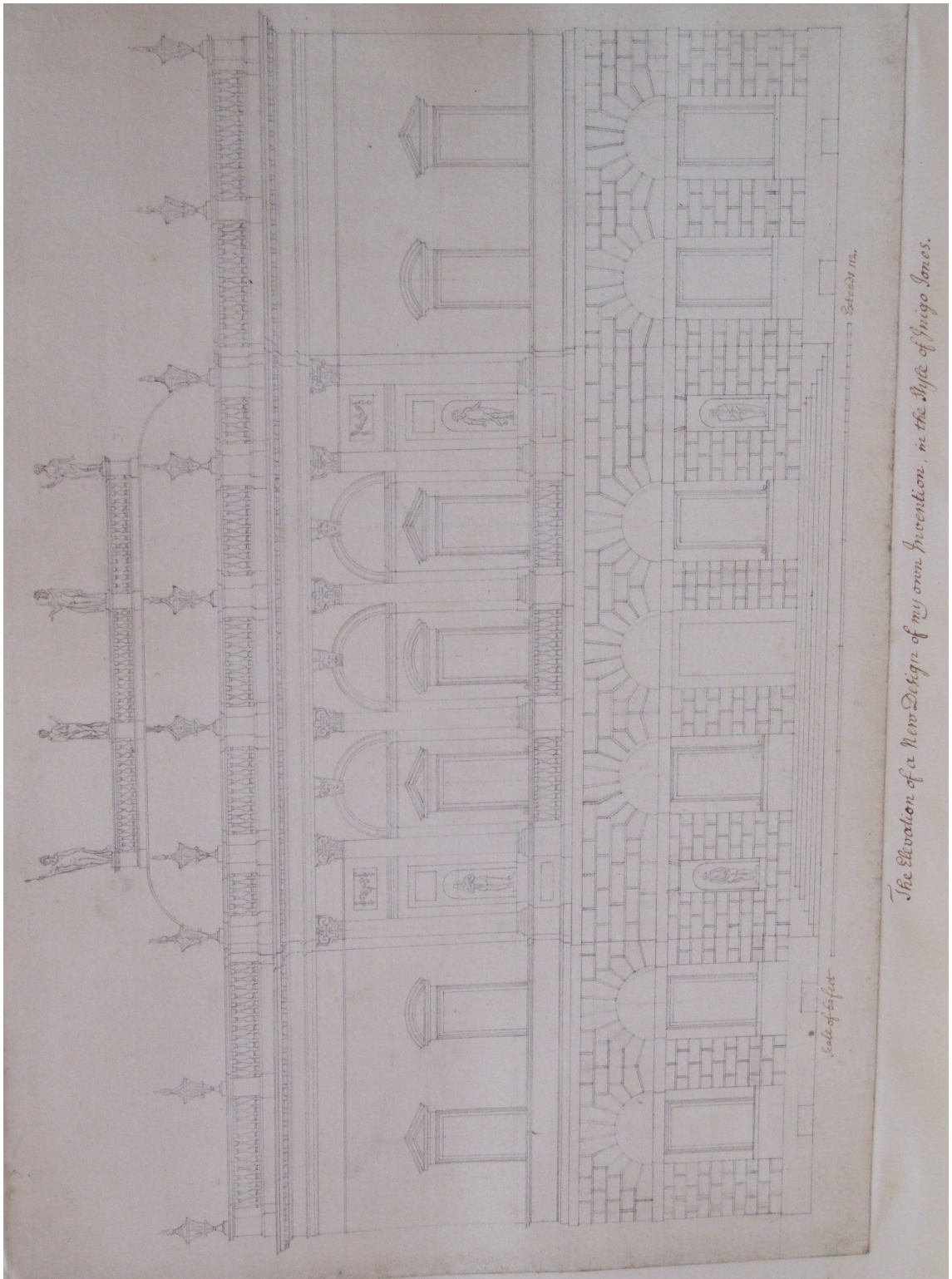
17. Gunnersbury House, Middlesex, Plans: 8A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 17



18. *Gunnersbury House, Middlesex*, Elevation: 8B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 18

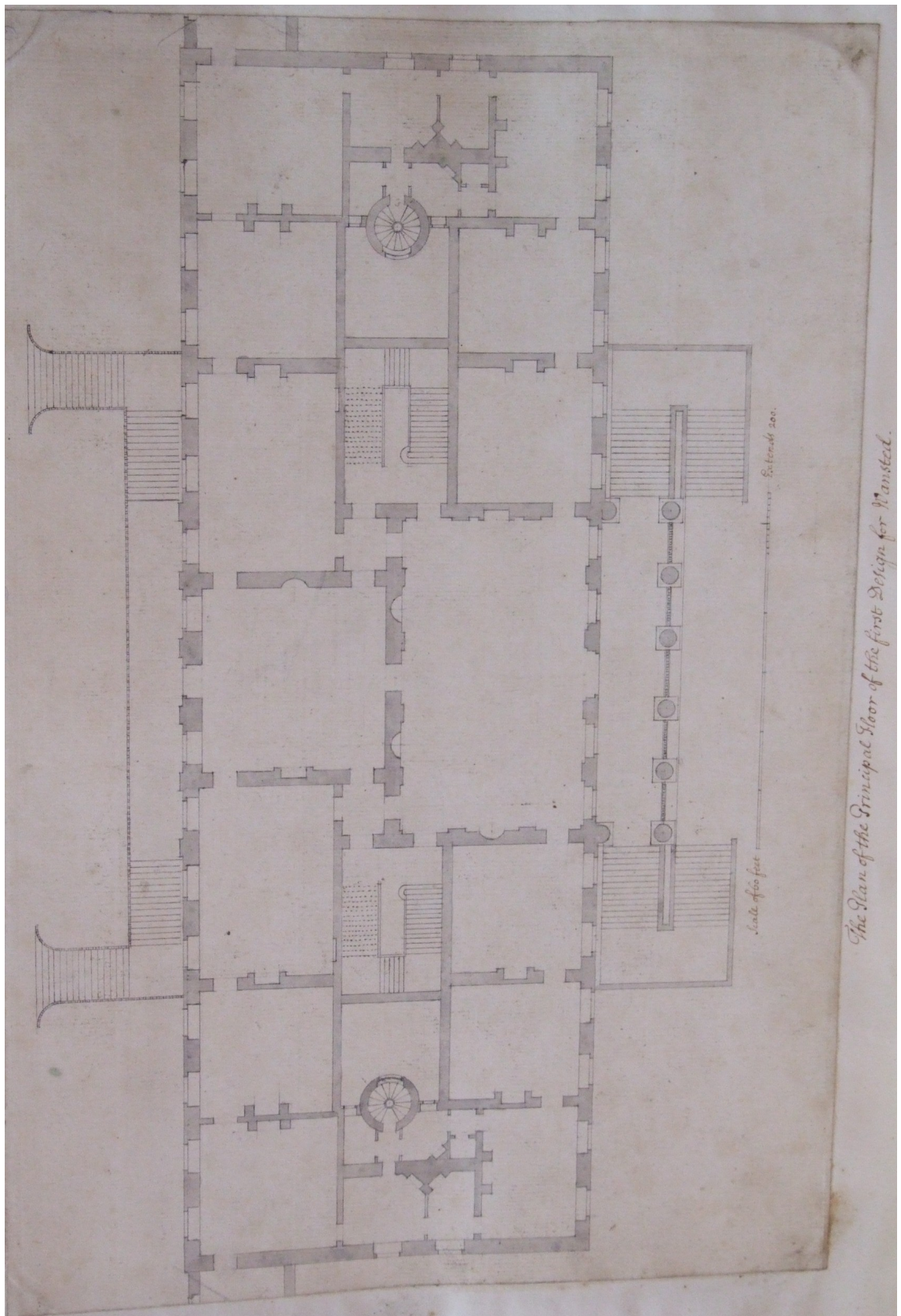


19. Proposed Design for the Duke of Argyll, Plans: 9A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 19

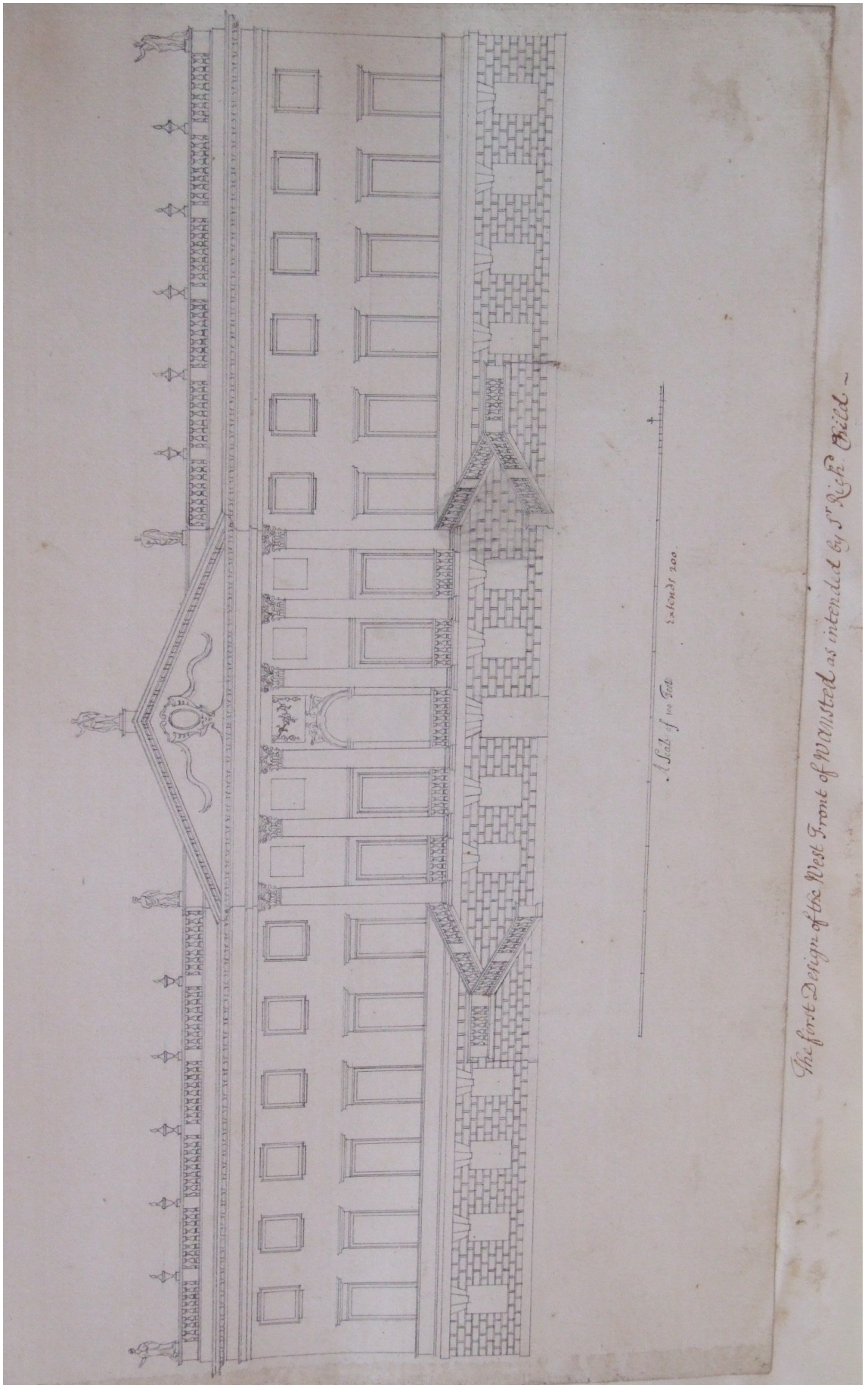


The Elevation of a New Design of my own Invention, in the Style of Hugo Jones.

20. Proposed Design for the Duke of Argyll, Elevation: 9B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 20

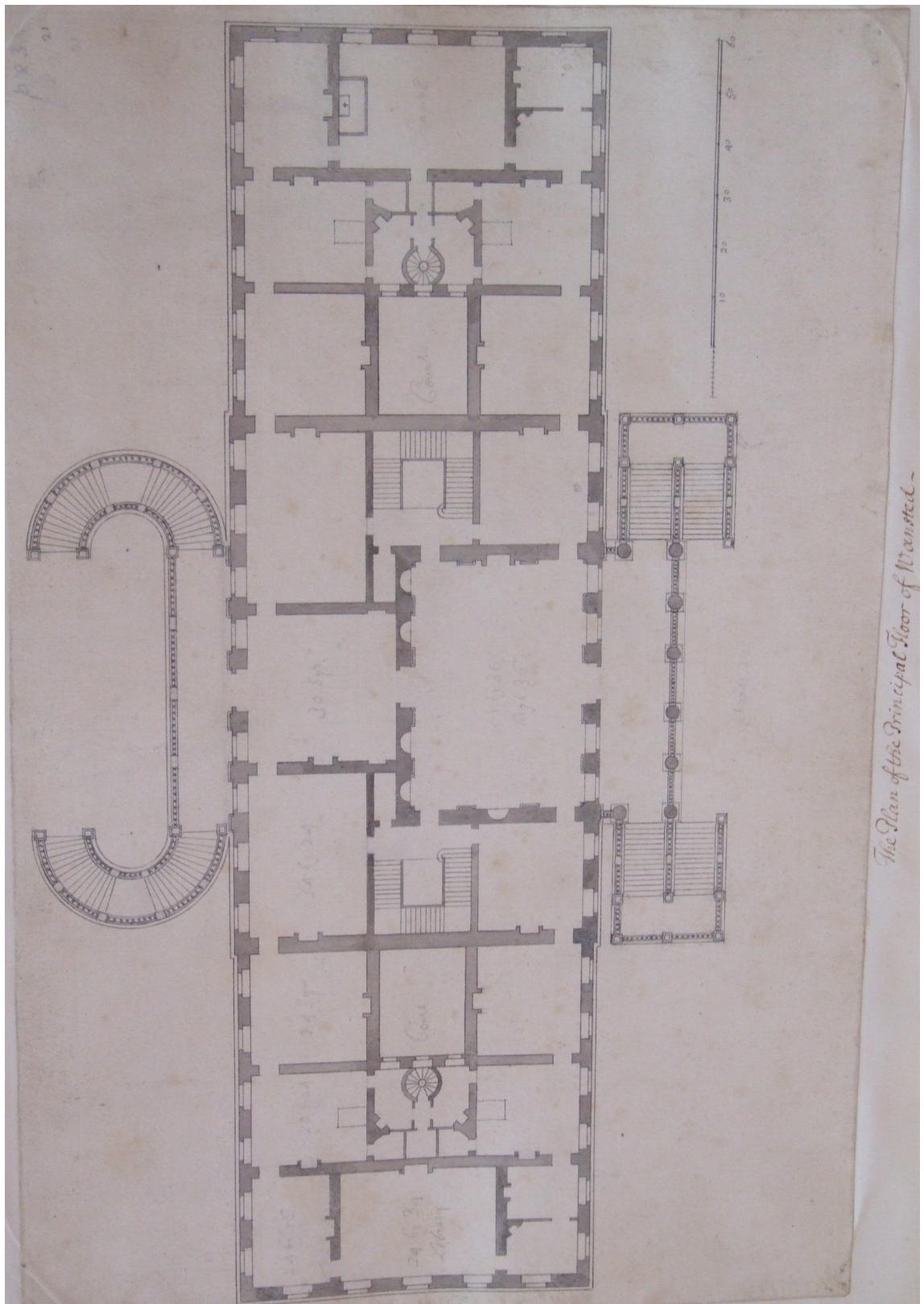


21. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme I, Plan: 10A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 21*

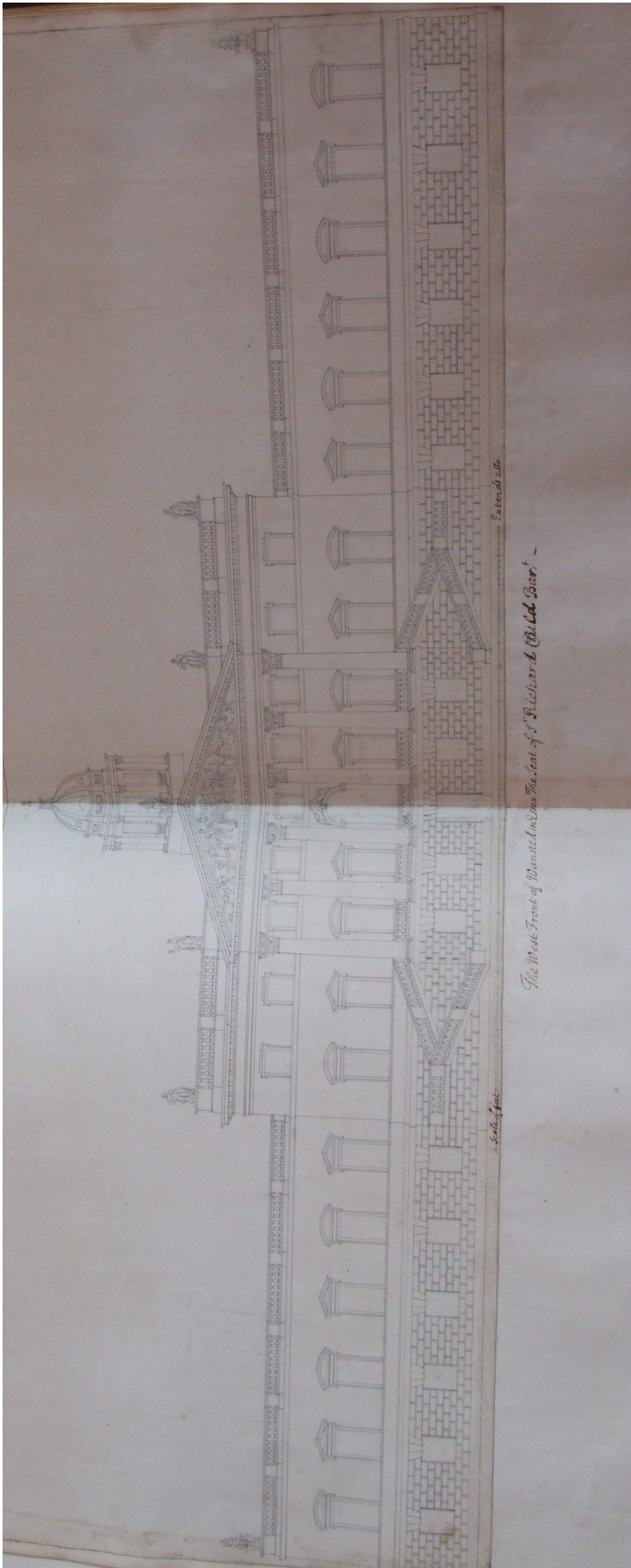


The first Design of the West Front of Wanstead as intended by *S^r Rich^d Child* -

22. Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme I, Elevation: 10B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 22

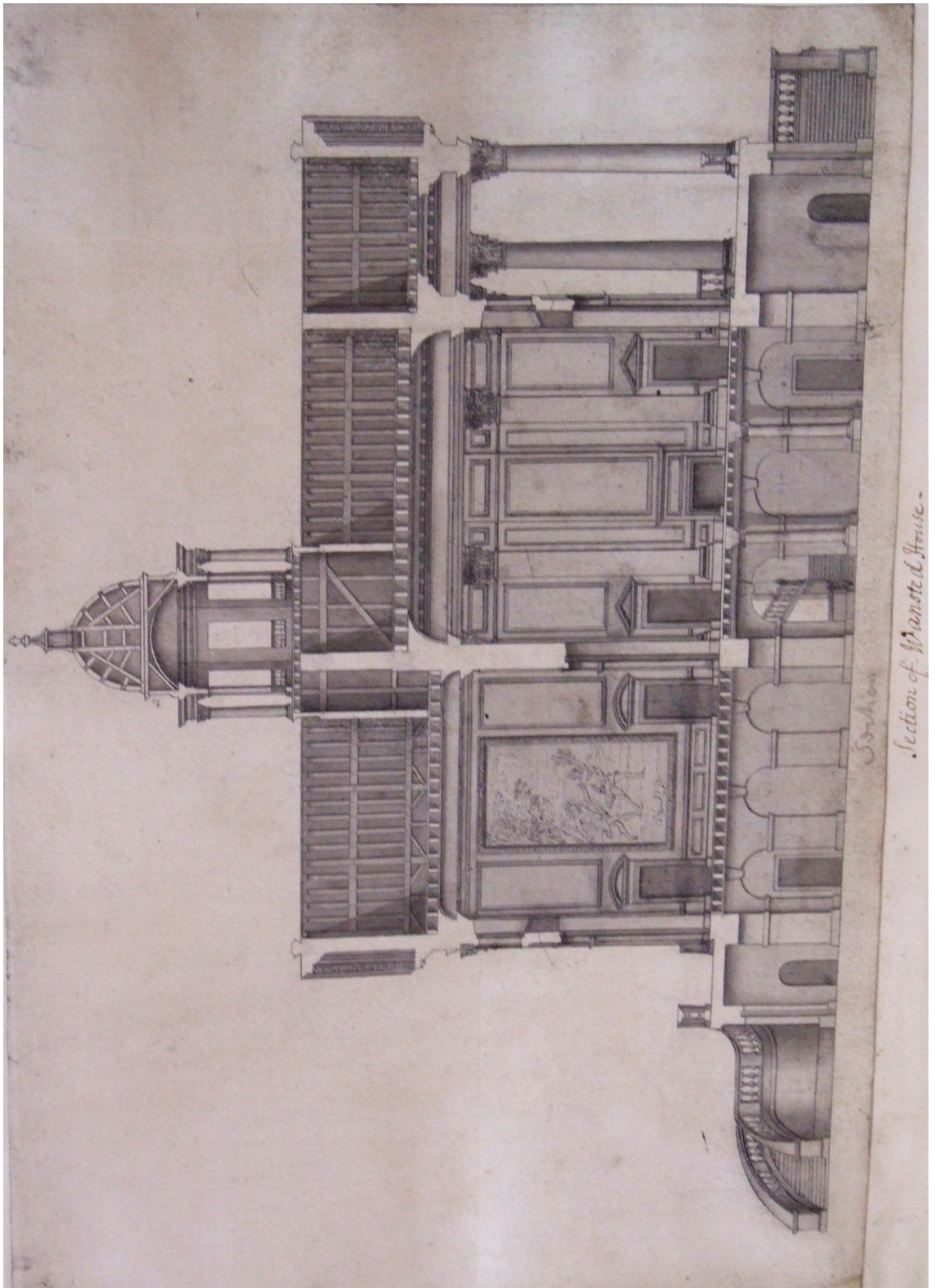


23. Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II, Plan: 10C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 23

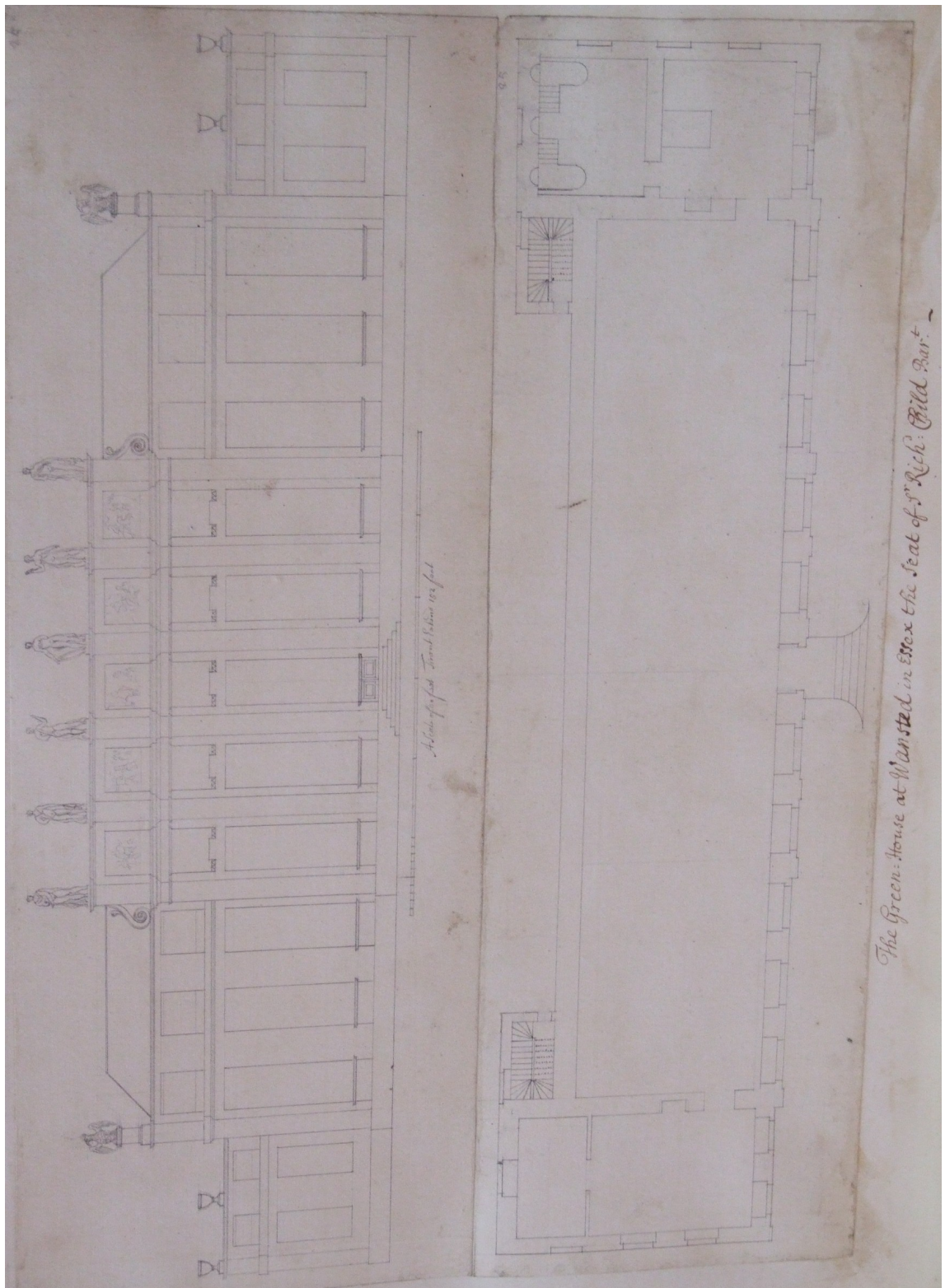


The West Front of Wanstead House. The Seat of Sir Richard Child Bar^t.

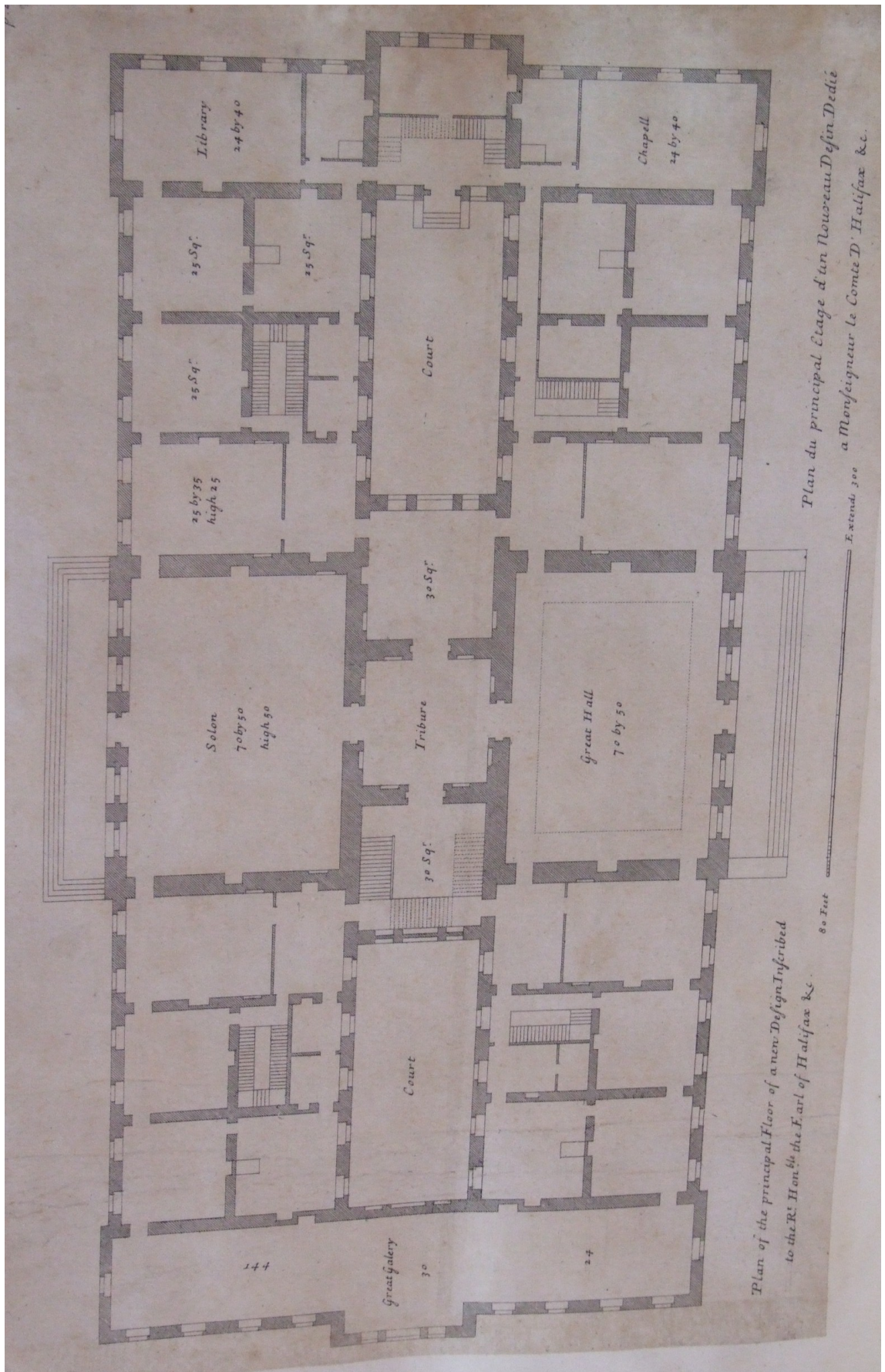
24. Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II, Elevation: 10D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 24-25



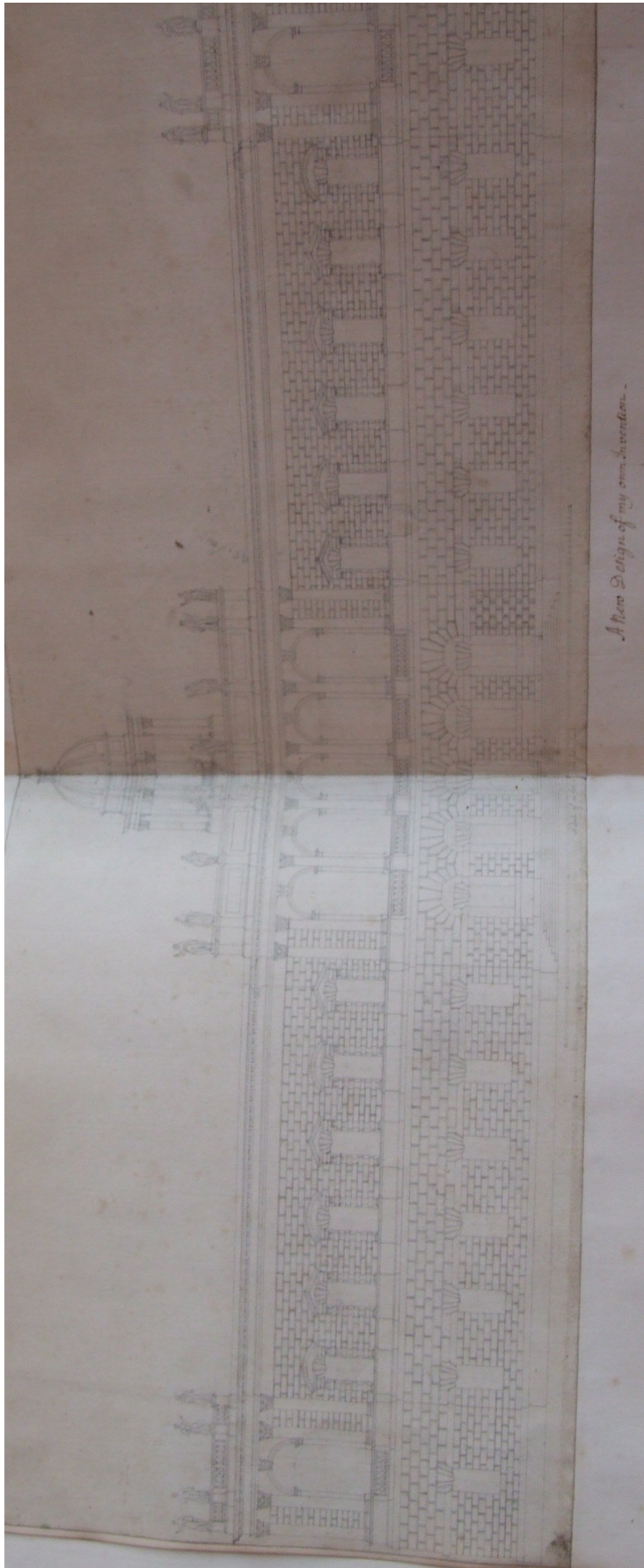
25. *Wanstead House, Essex, Scheme II, Section: 10E (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 26*



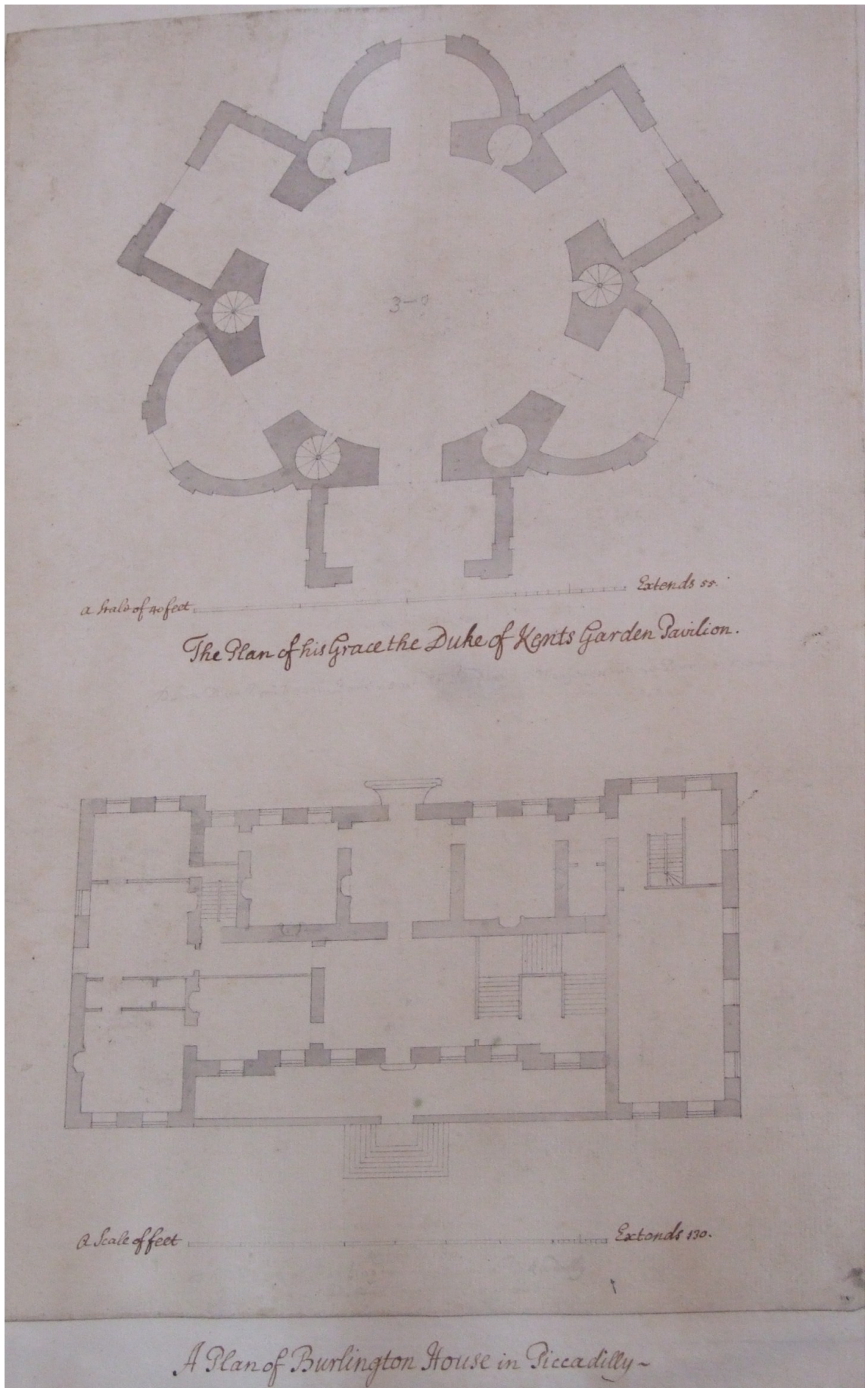
26. Wanstead House, Essex, Plan and Elevation of Garden House: 10F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 27



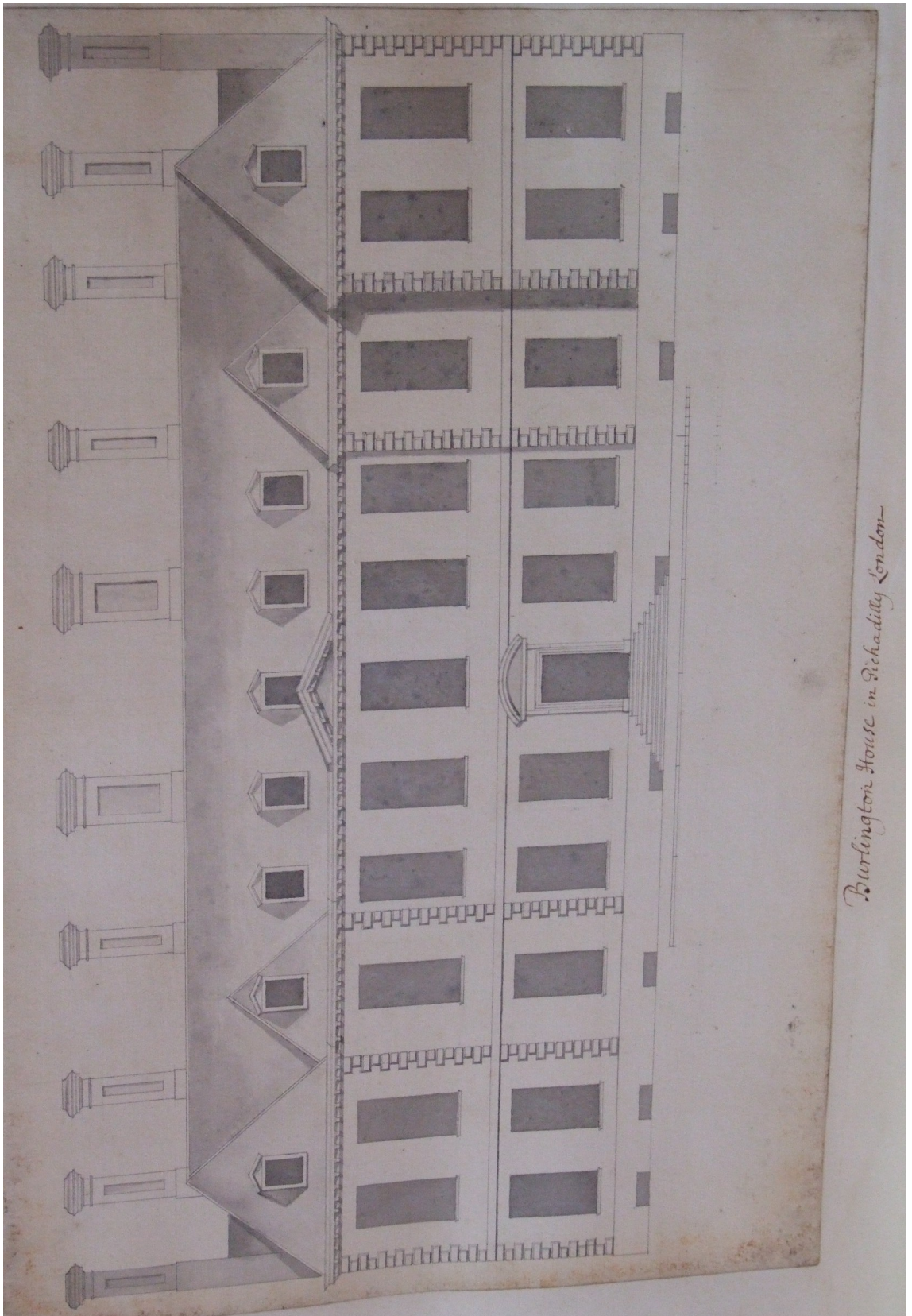
27. Proposed Design for Earl of Halifax, Plan: 11A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 28



28. *Proposed Design for Earl of Halifax, Elevation: 11B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 29-30*

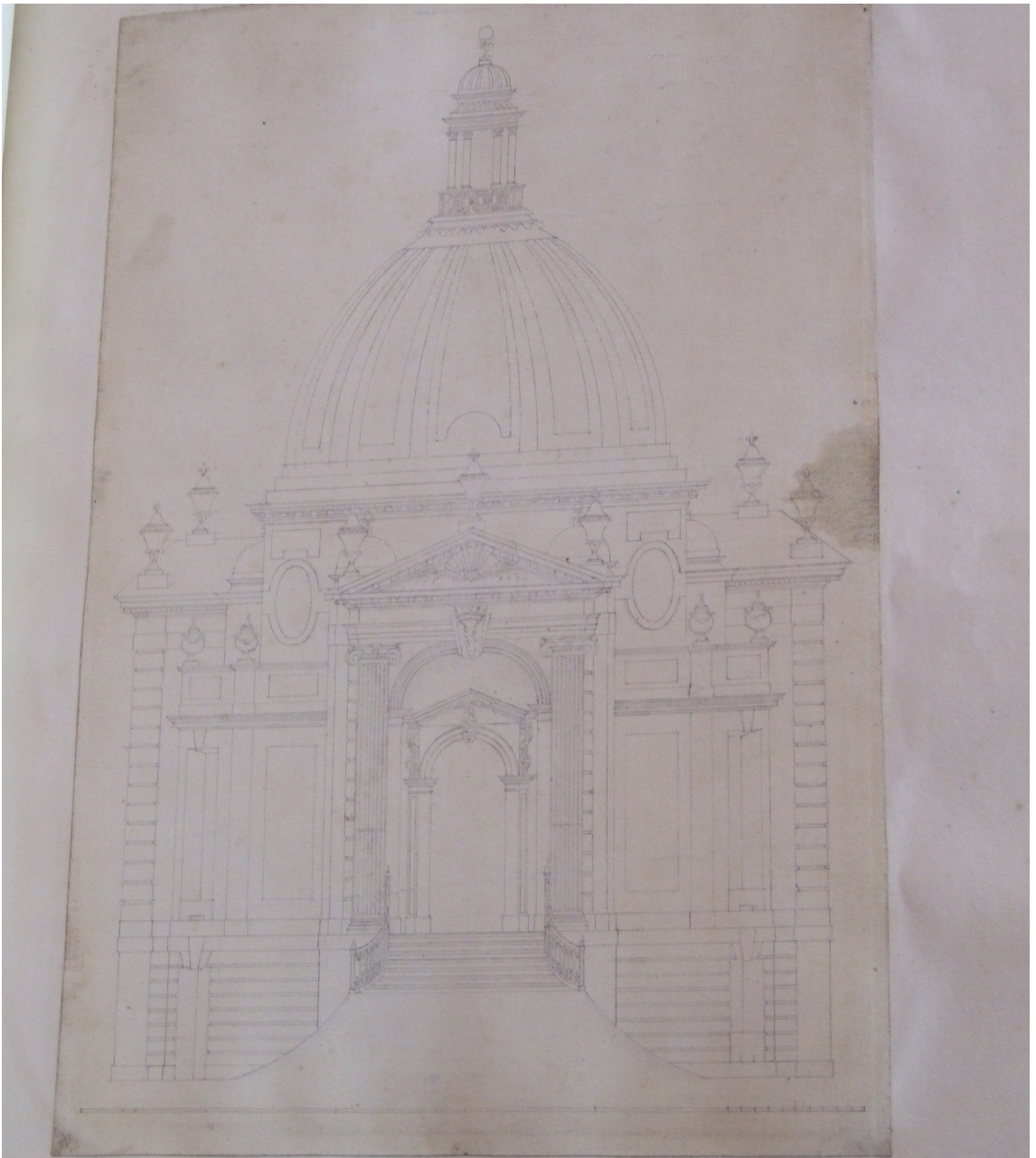


29. Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire and Burlington House, London, Plans: 12A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 31



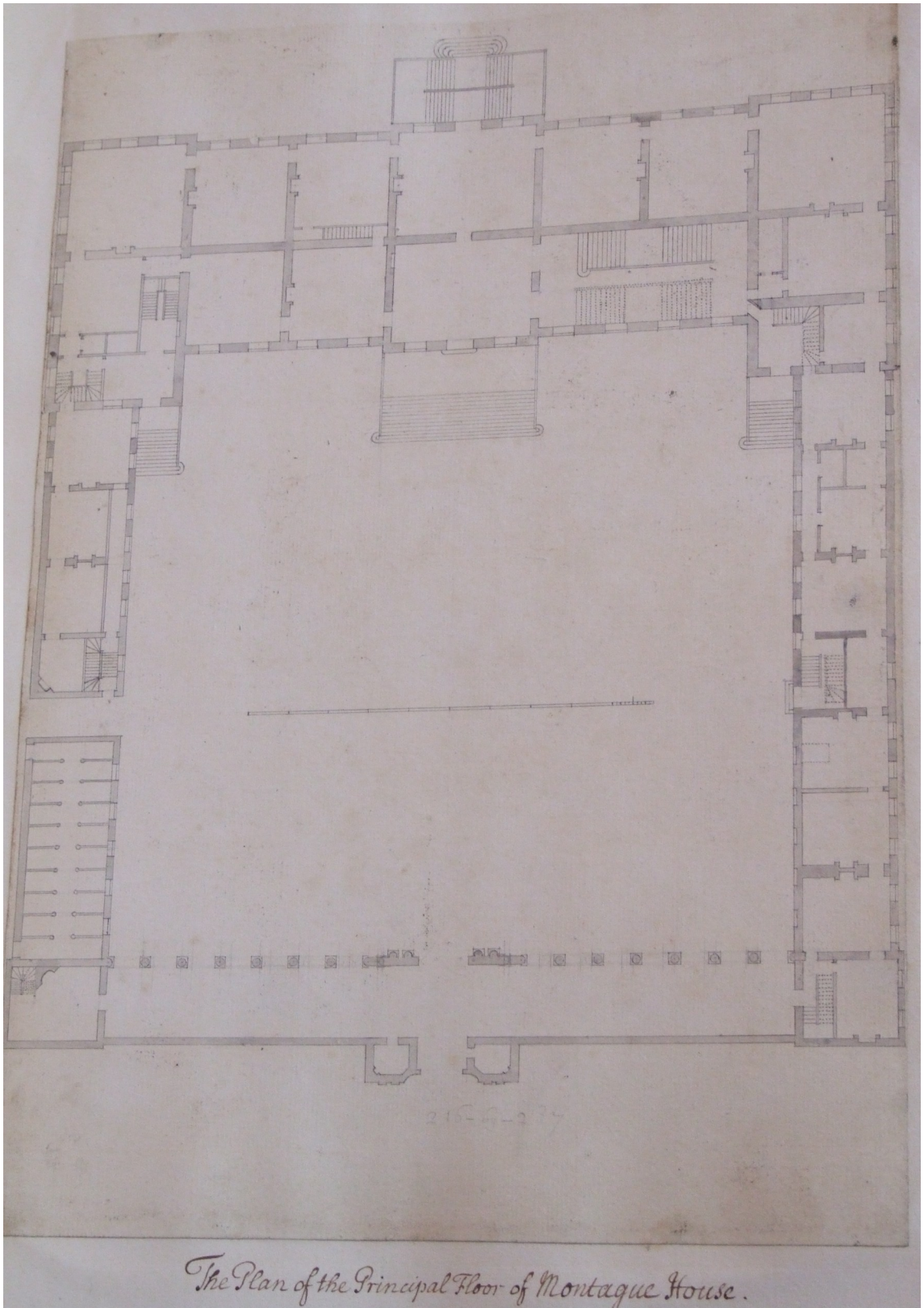
Burlington House in Piccadilly London

30. Burlington House, London, Elevation: 12B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 32



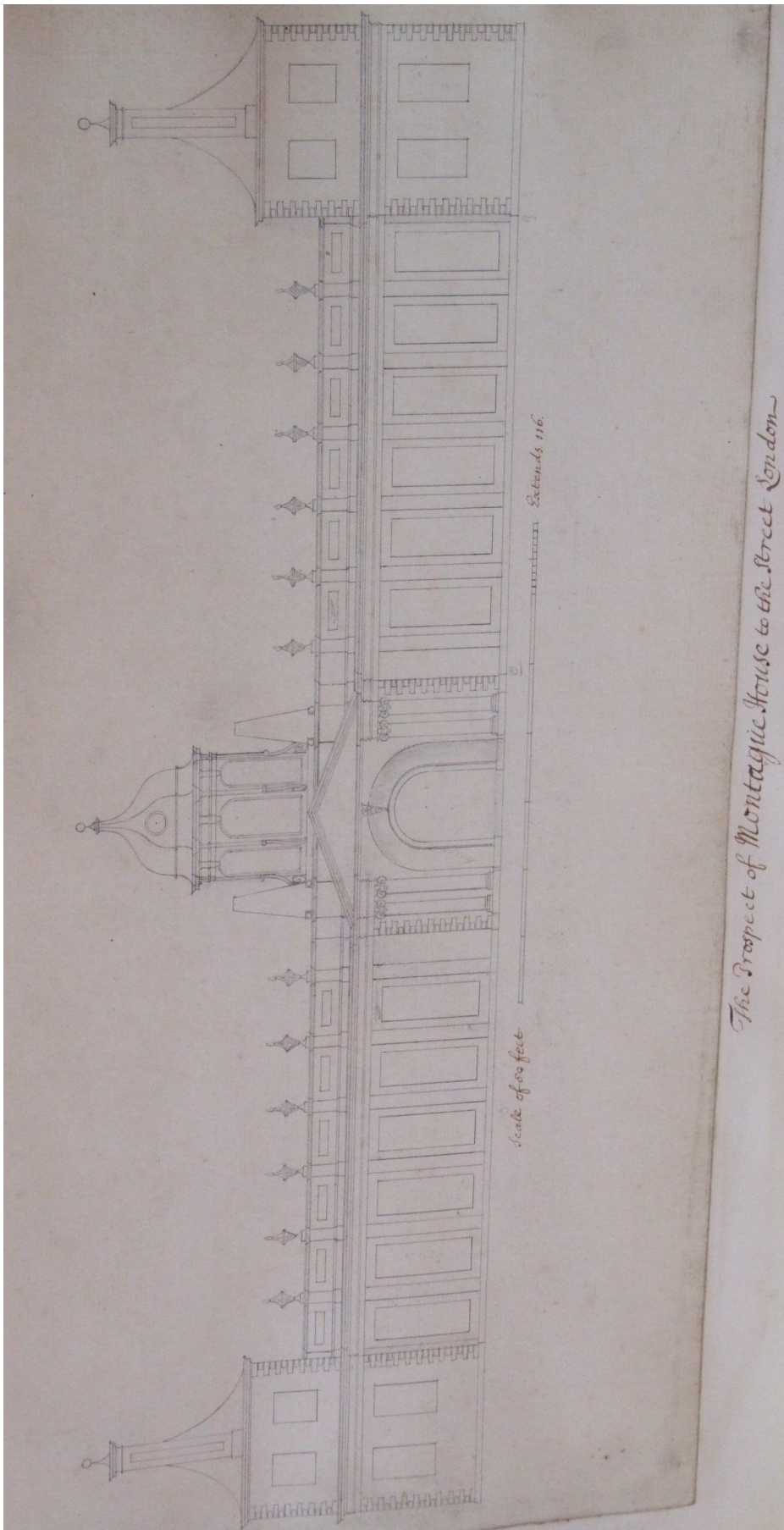
A new Building at the End of his Grace the Duke of Kent's Gardens in Bedfordshire Invented by Tho. Archer Esq

31. *Wrest Park Pavilion, Bedfordshire, Elevation: 13A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 33*



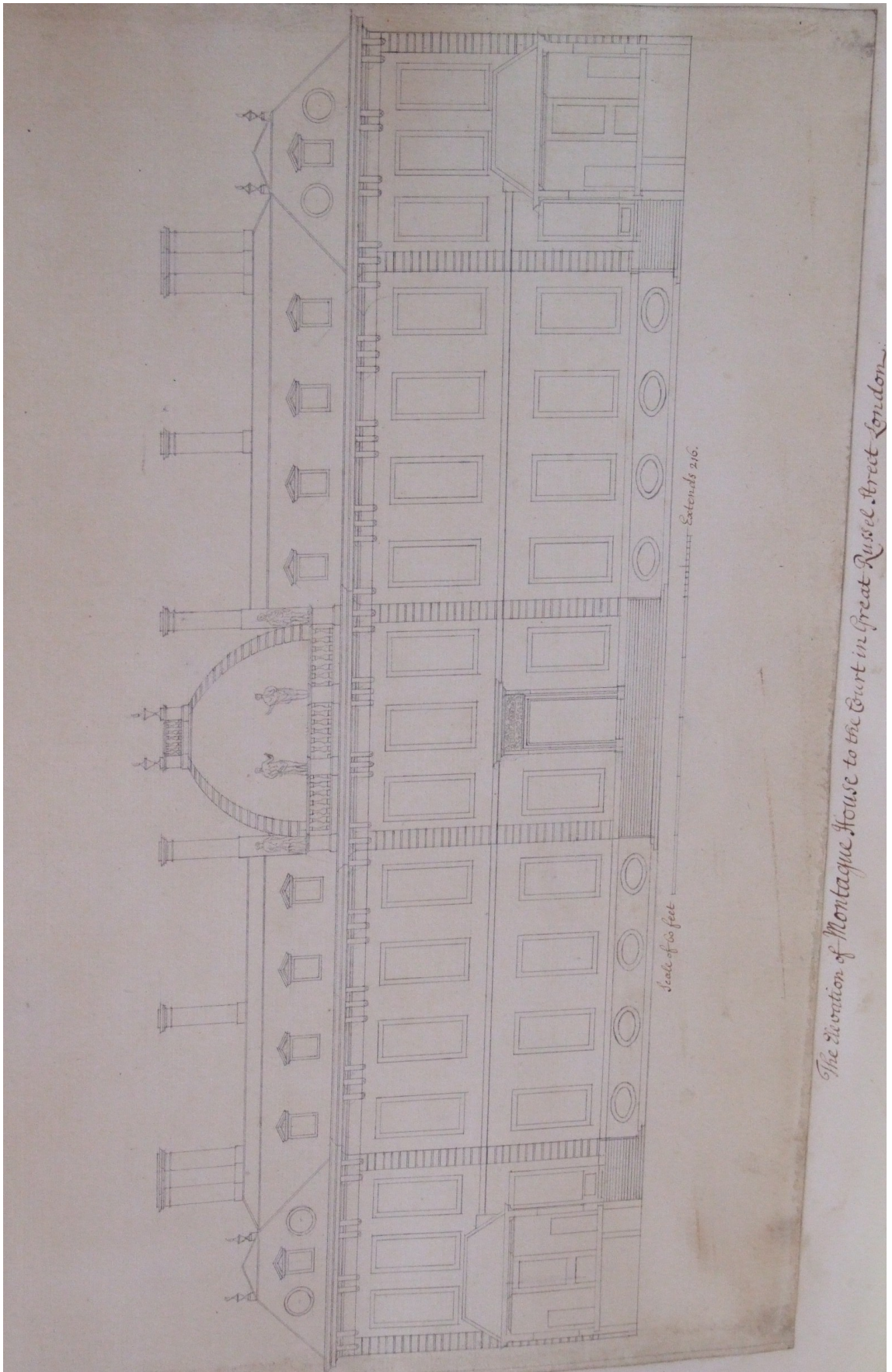
The Plan of the Principal Floor of Montague House.

32. Montagu House, London, Plan: 14A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 34

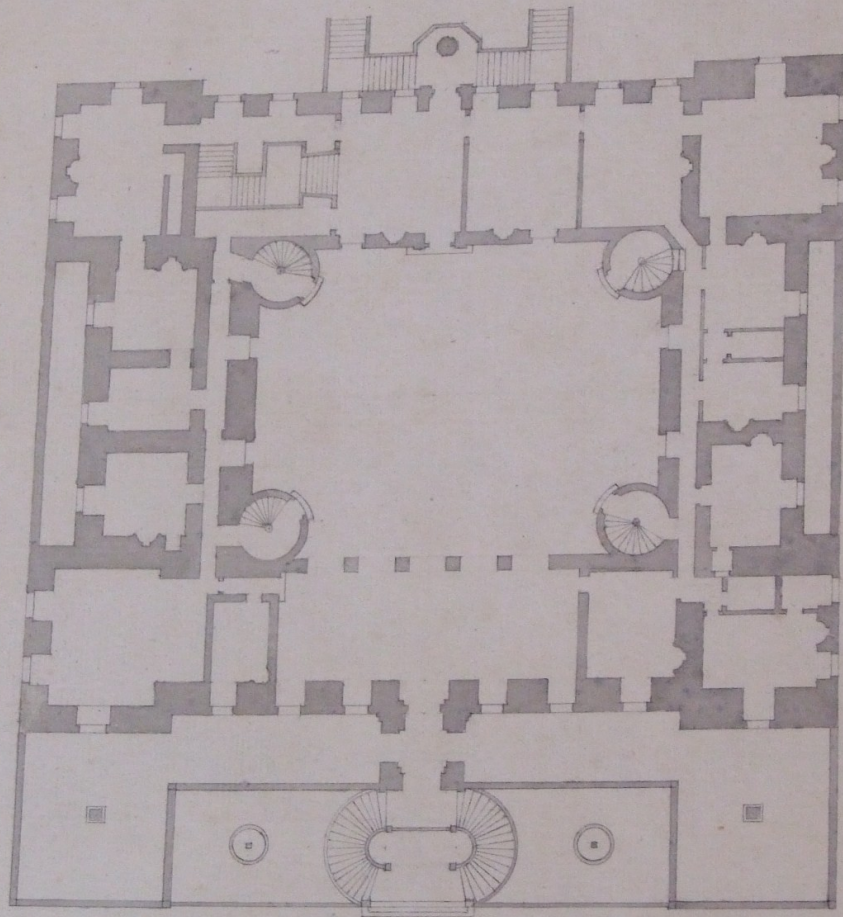


The Prospect of Montague House to the Street London

33. *Montagu House, London, Elevation: 14B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 35*



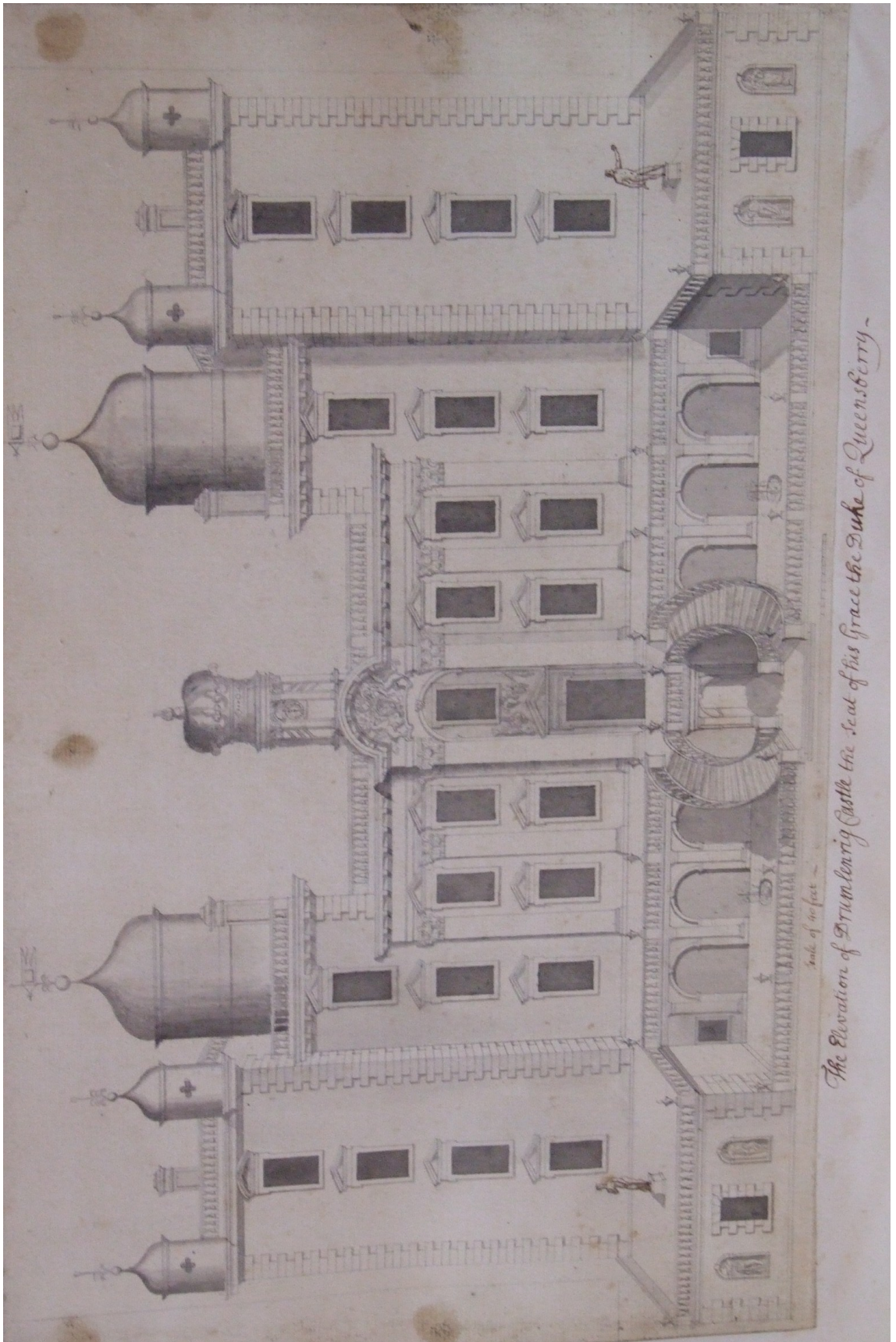
34. *Montagu House, London, Elevation: 14C (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 36*



Scale of 60 feet ————— Extends 145

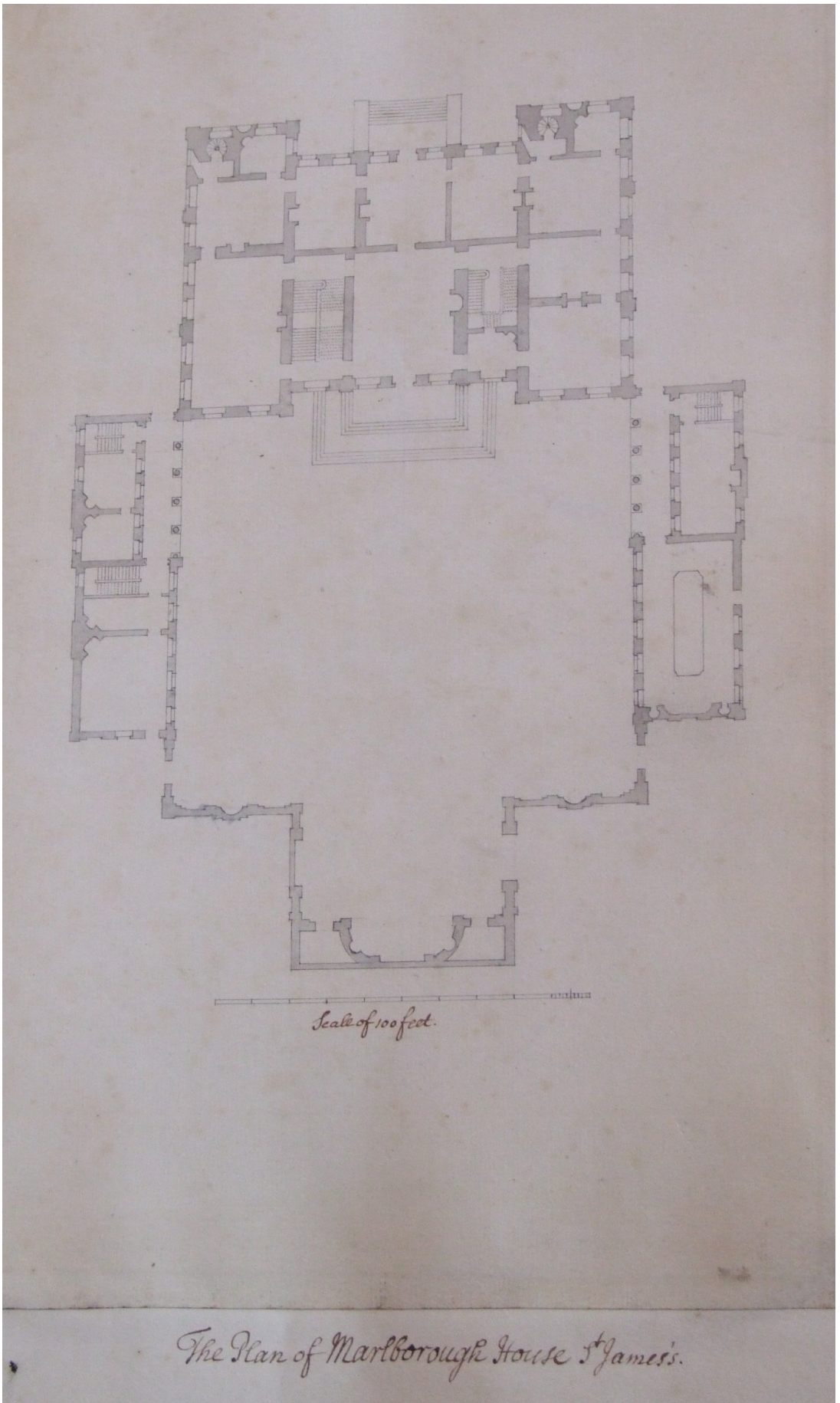
The Plan of Drumlanrig Castle in Scotland.

35. Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, Plan: 15A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 37

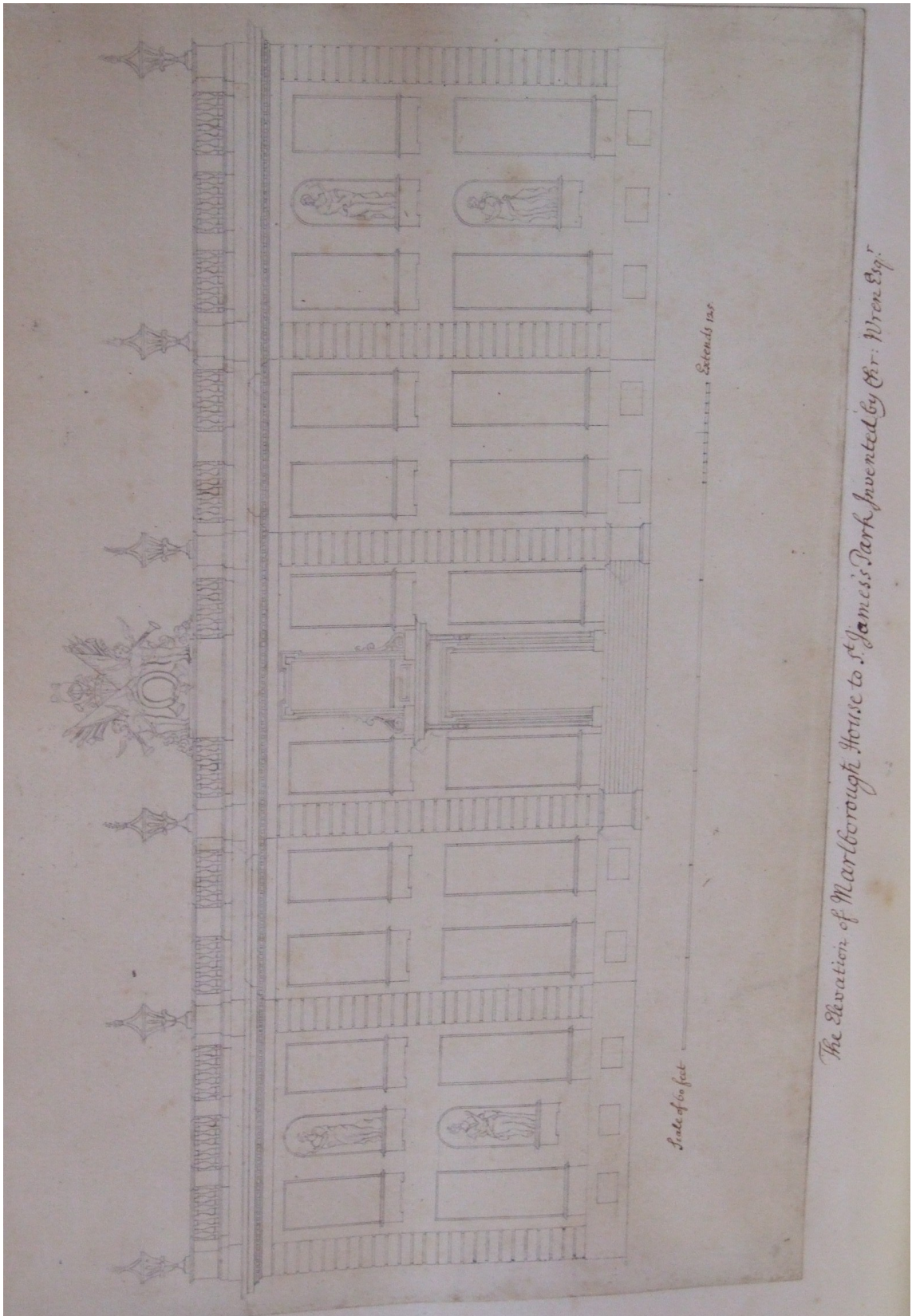


The Elevation of Drumlanrig Castle the Seat of his Grace the Duke of Queensberry -
Side of the face

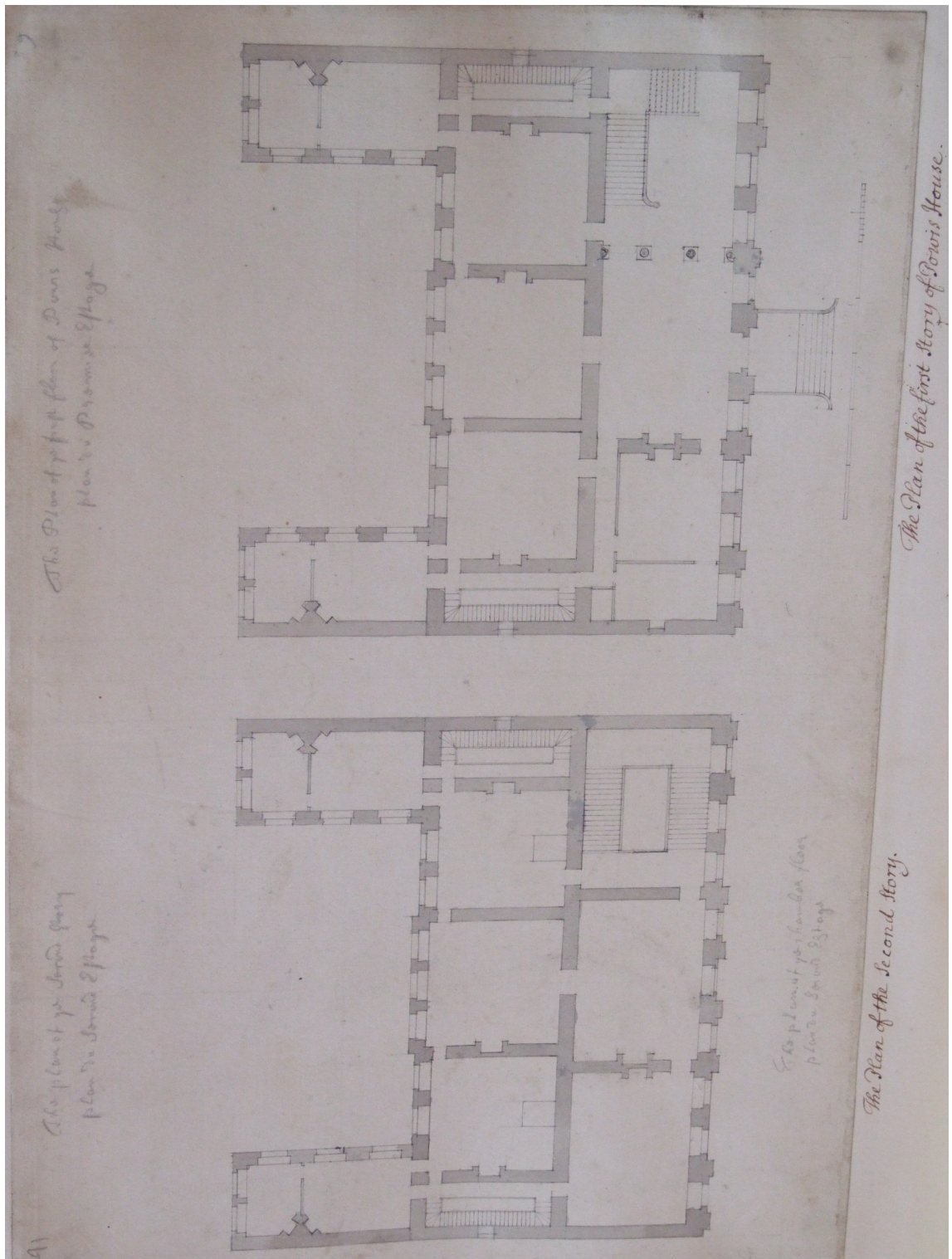
36. Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, Elevation: 15B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 38



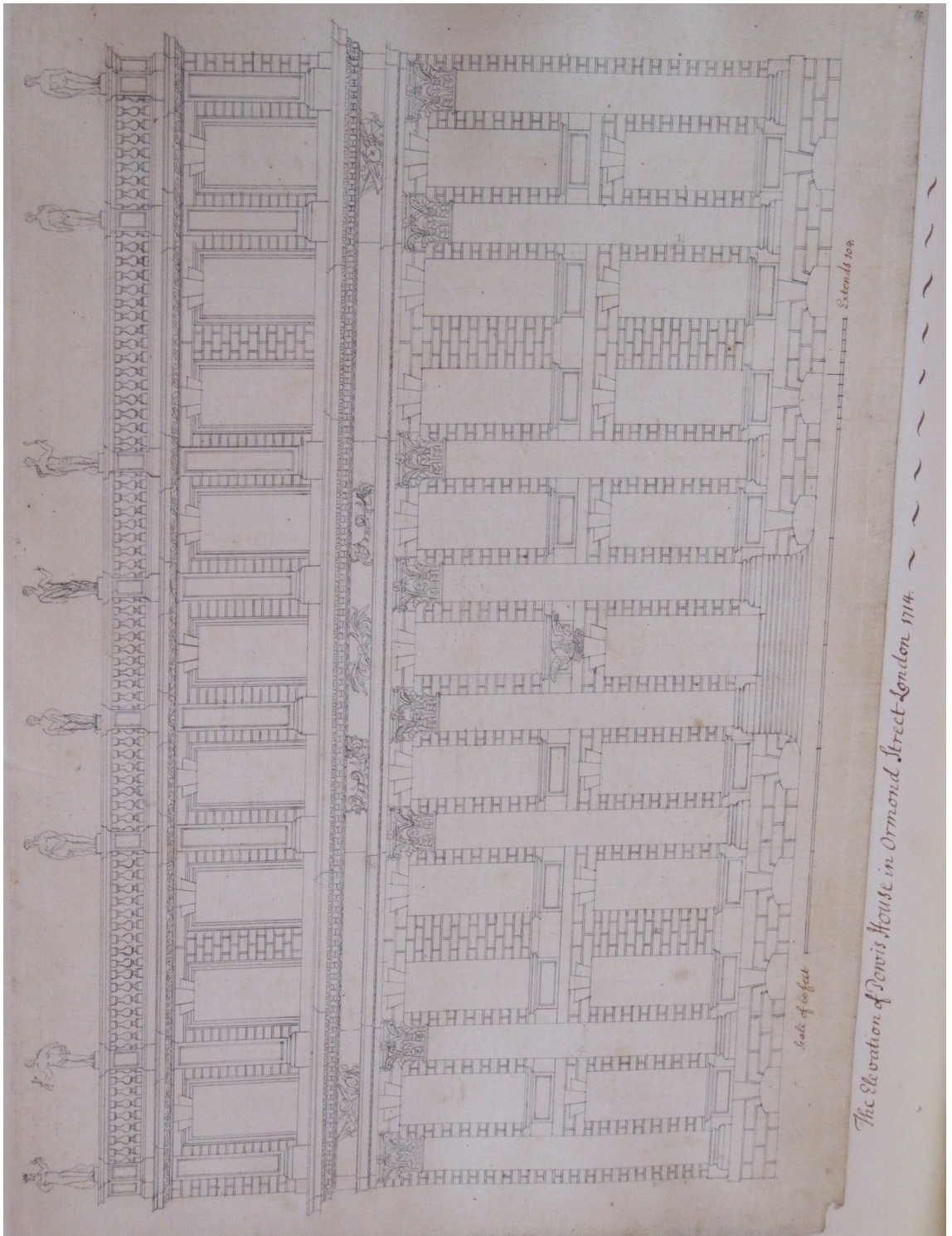
37. Marlborough House, London, Plan: 16A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 39



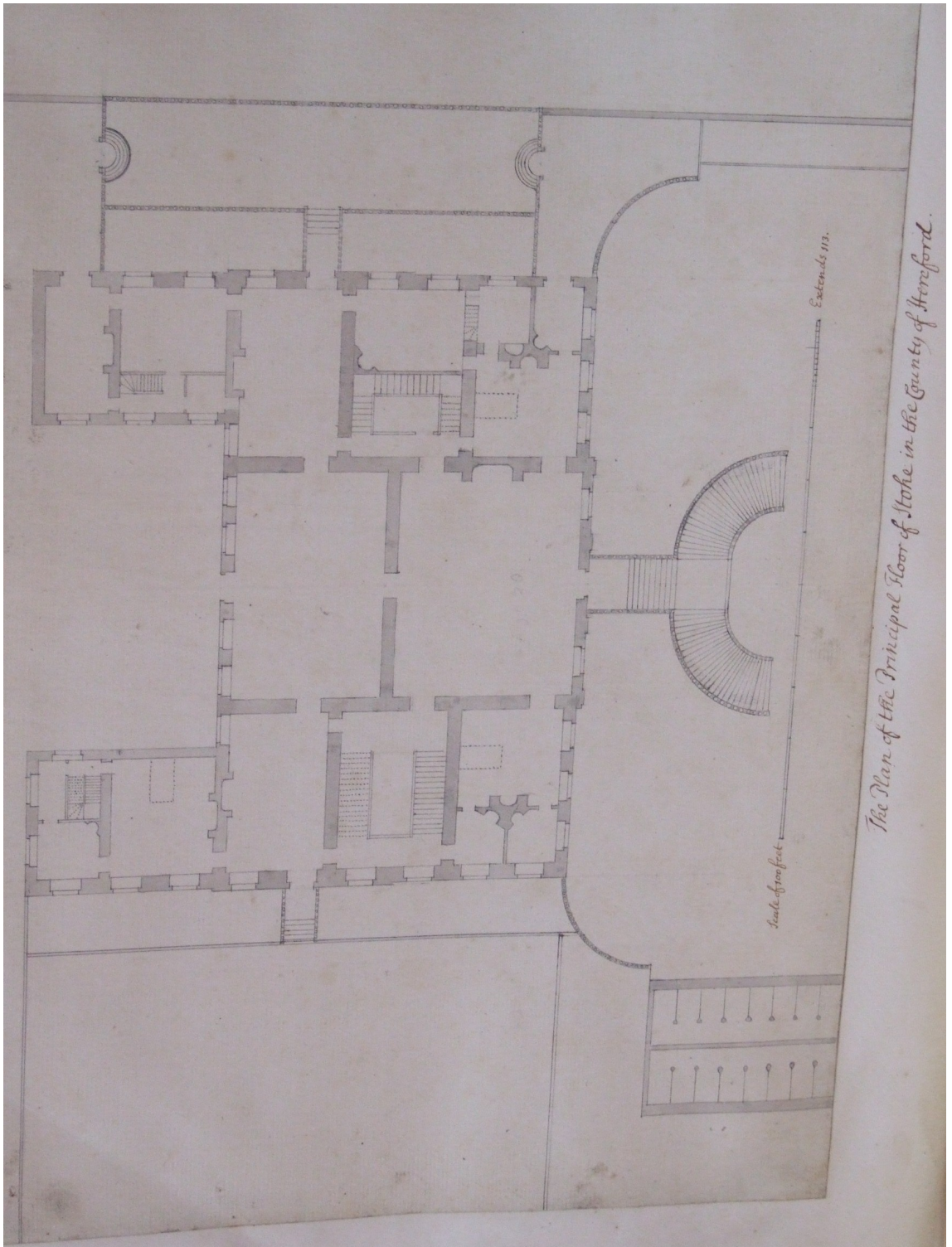
38. Marlborough House, London, Elevation: 16B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 40



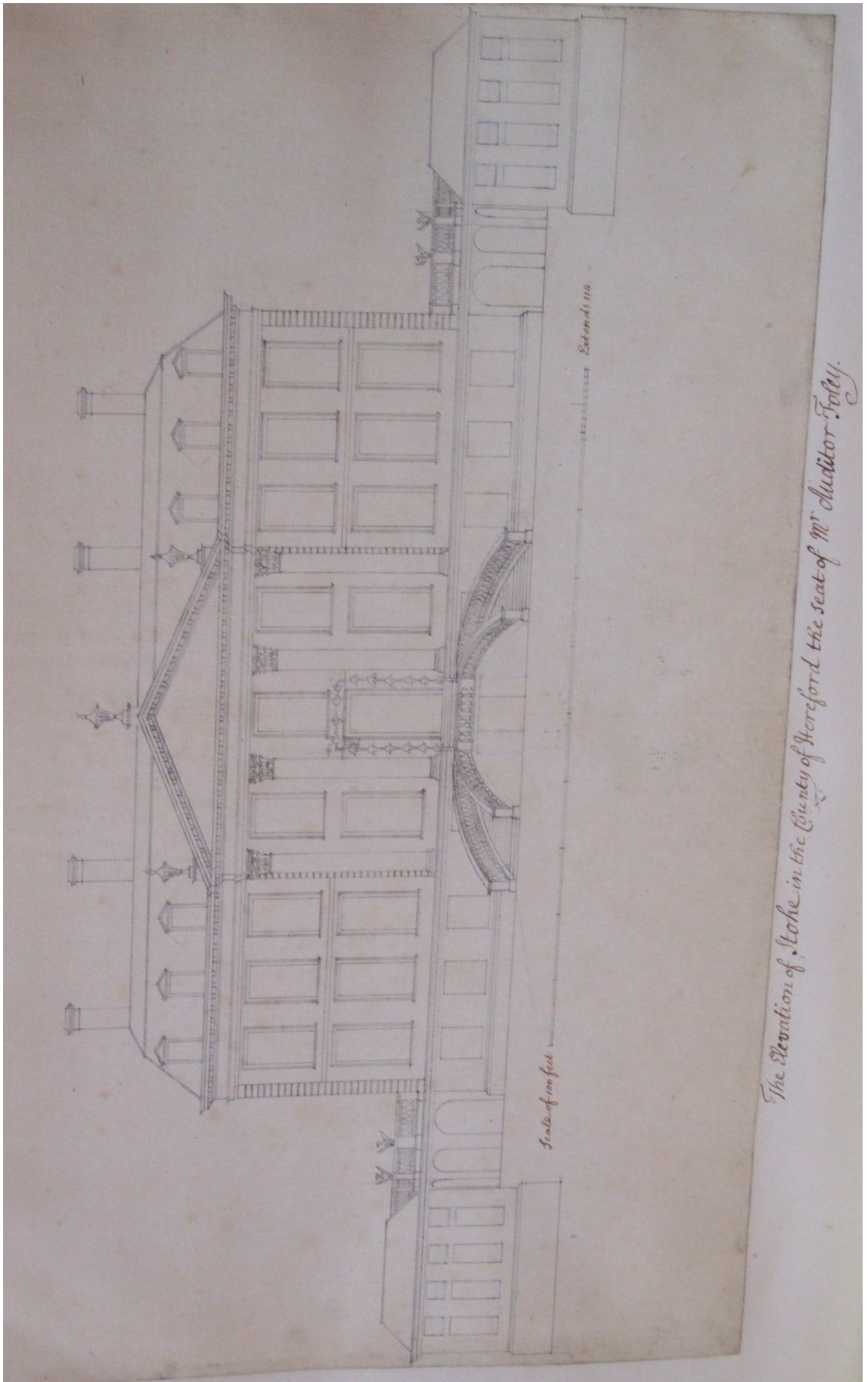
39. Powis House, London, Plan: 17A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 41



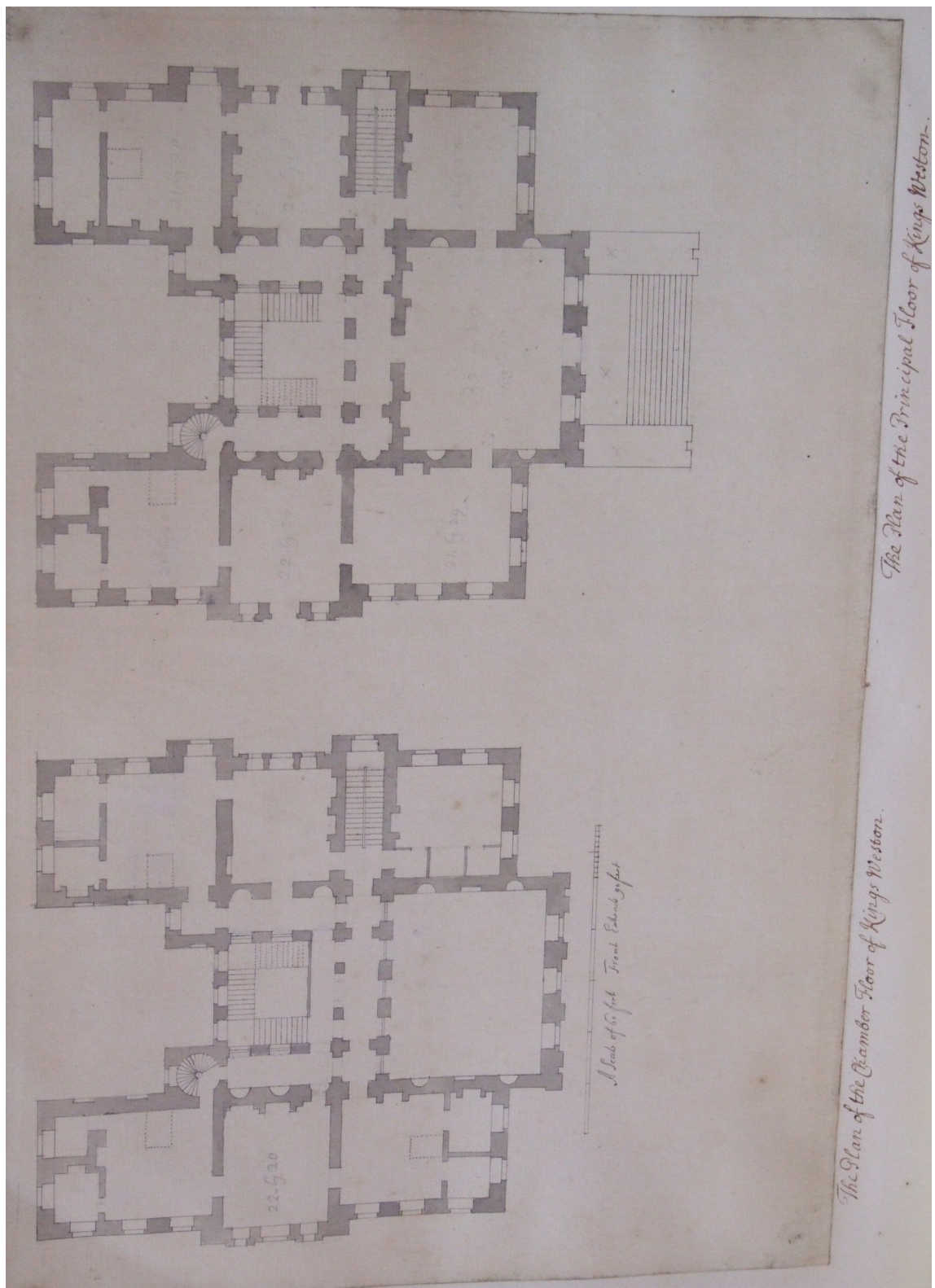
40. Powis House, London, Elevation: 17B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 42



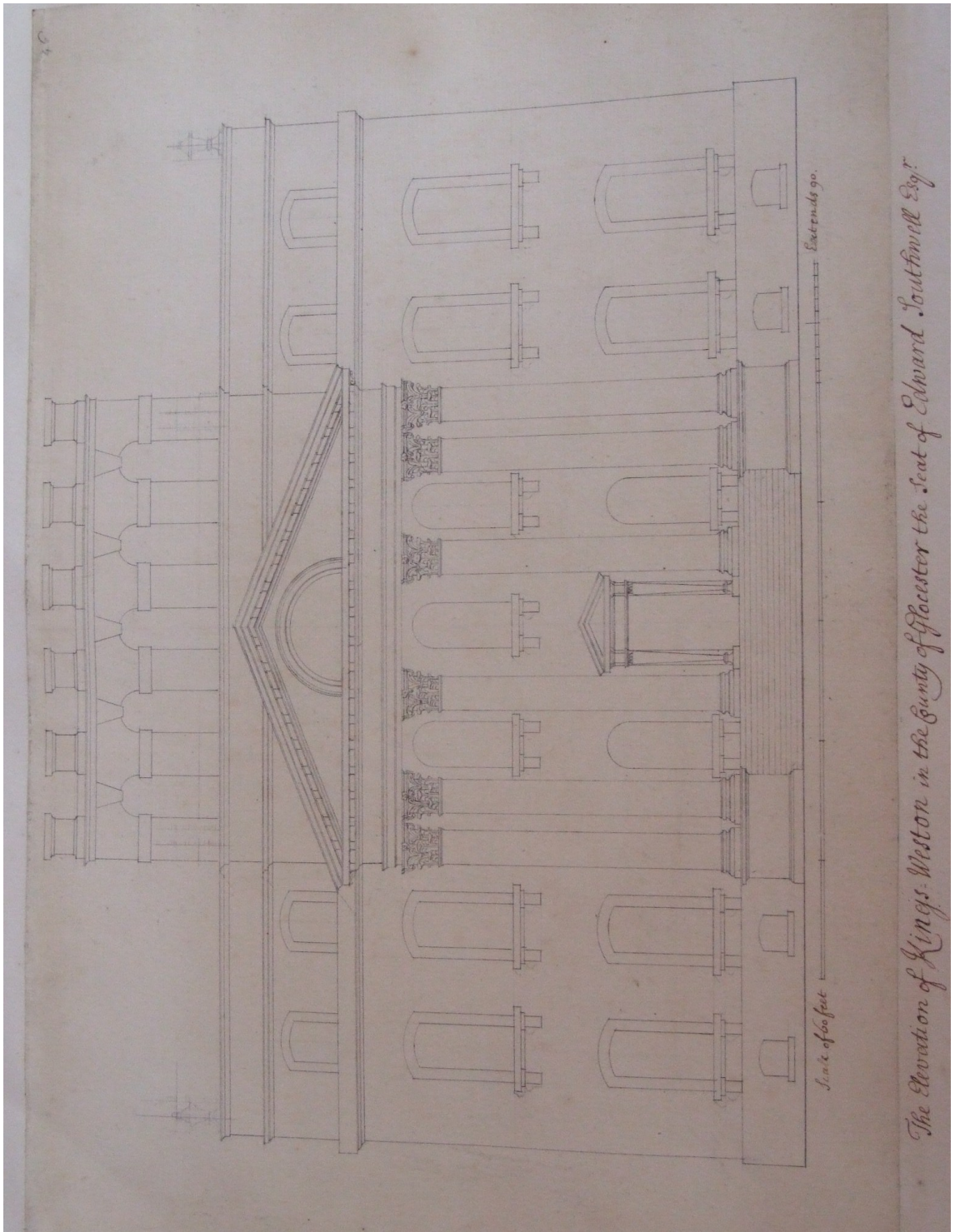
41. *Stoke Edith House, Herefordshire, Plan: 18A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 45*



42. Stoke Edith House, Herefordshire, Elevation: 18B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 46

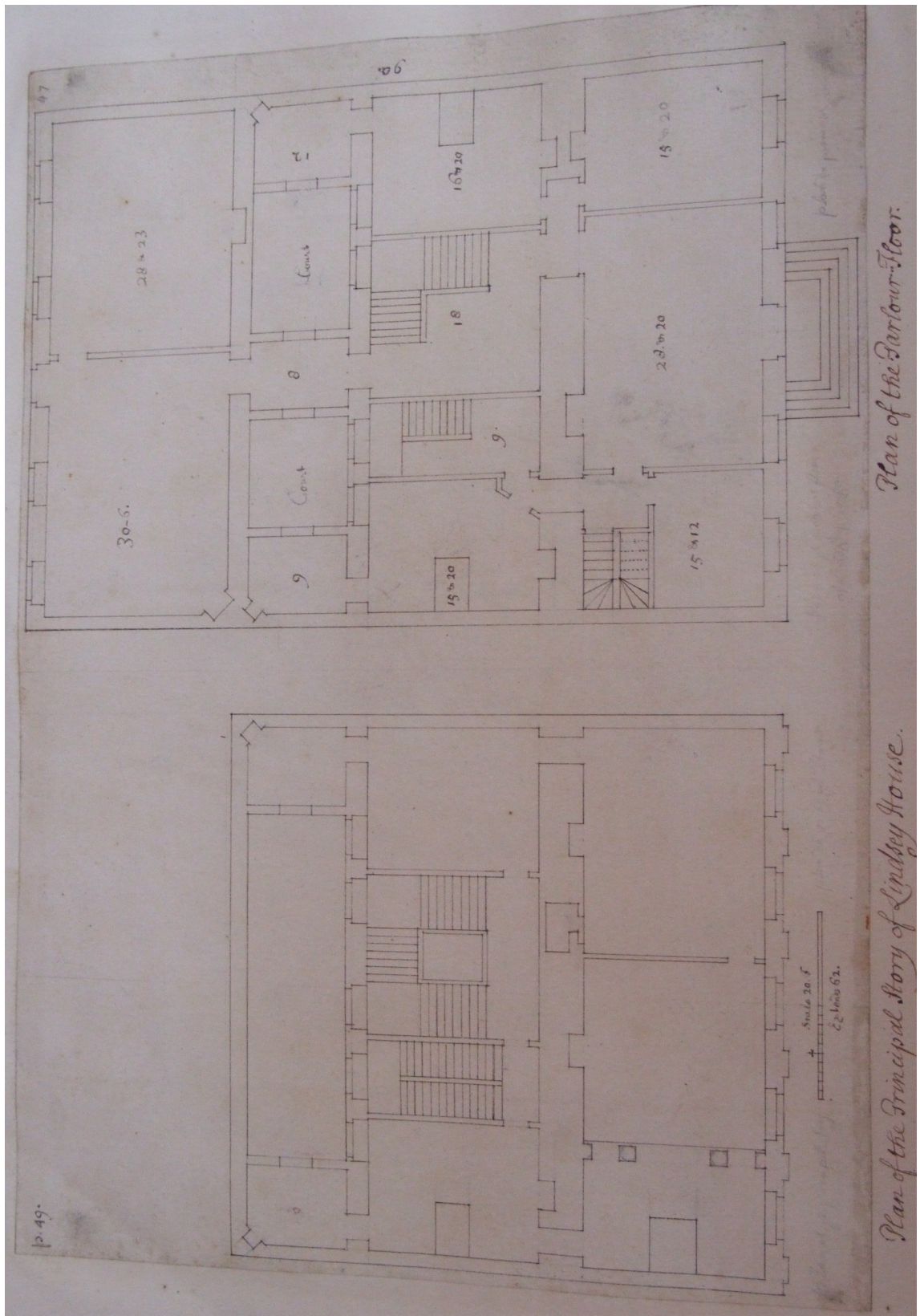


43. Kings Weston, Gloucestershire, Plans: 19A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 47



The Elevation of Kings Weston in the County of Gloucester the Seat of Edward Southwell Esq^r

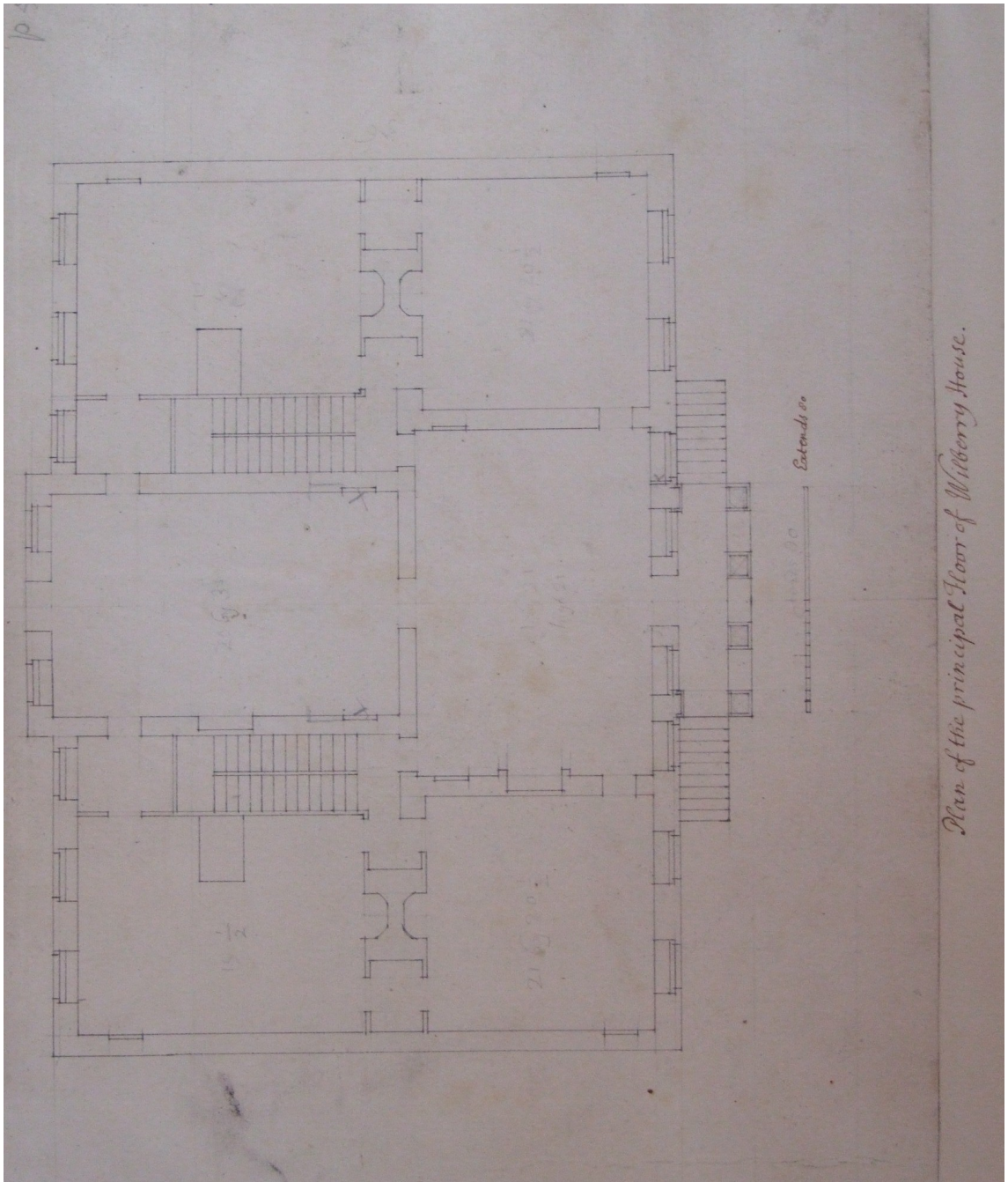
44. Kings Weston, Gloucestershire, Elevation: 19B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 48



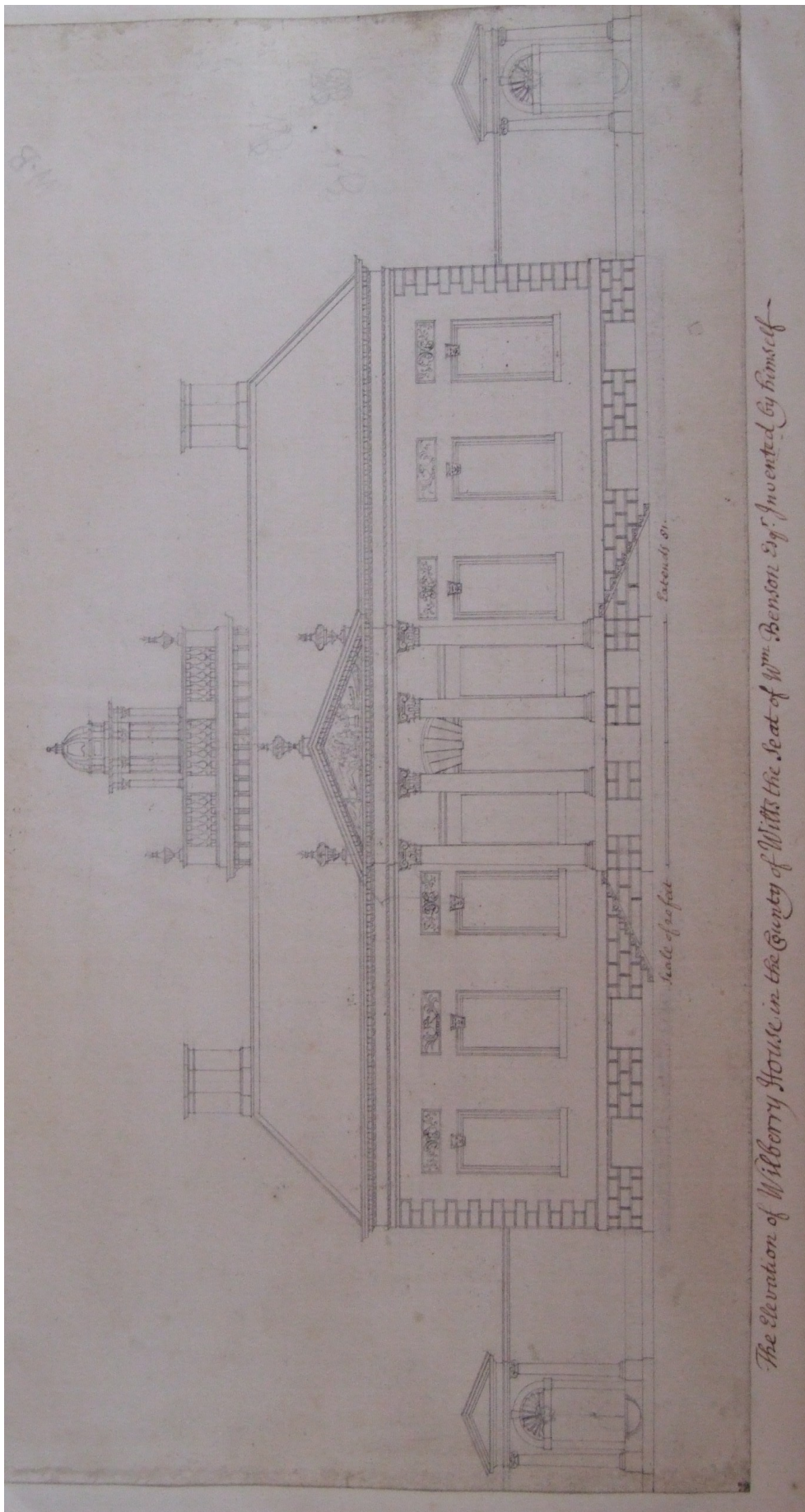
45. Lindsey House, London, Plans: 20A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 49



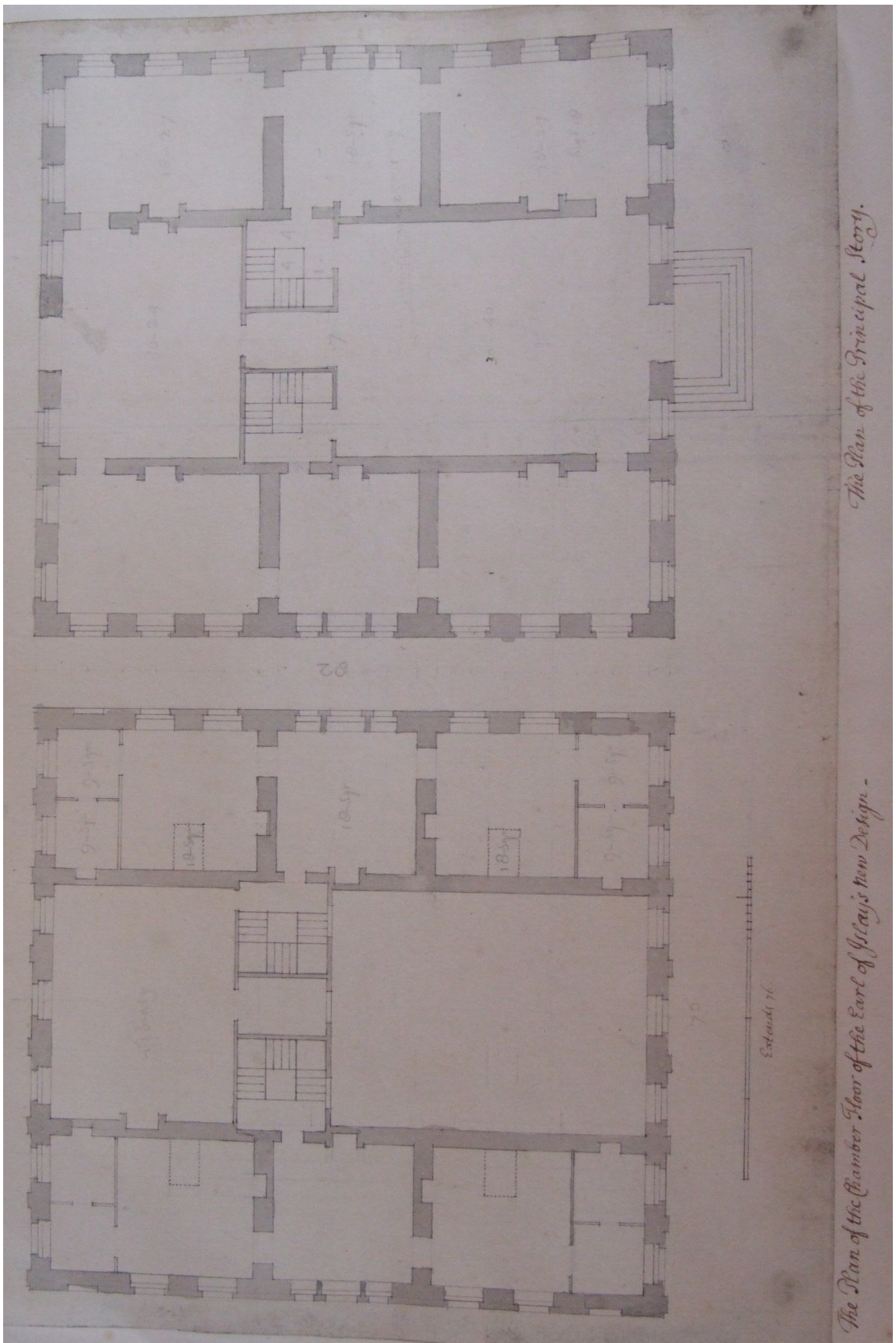
46. Lindsey House, London, Elevation: 20B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 50



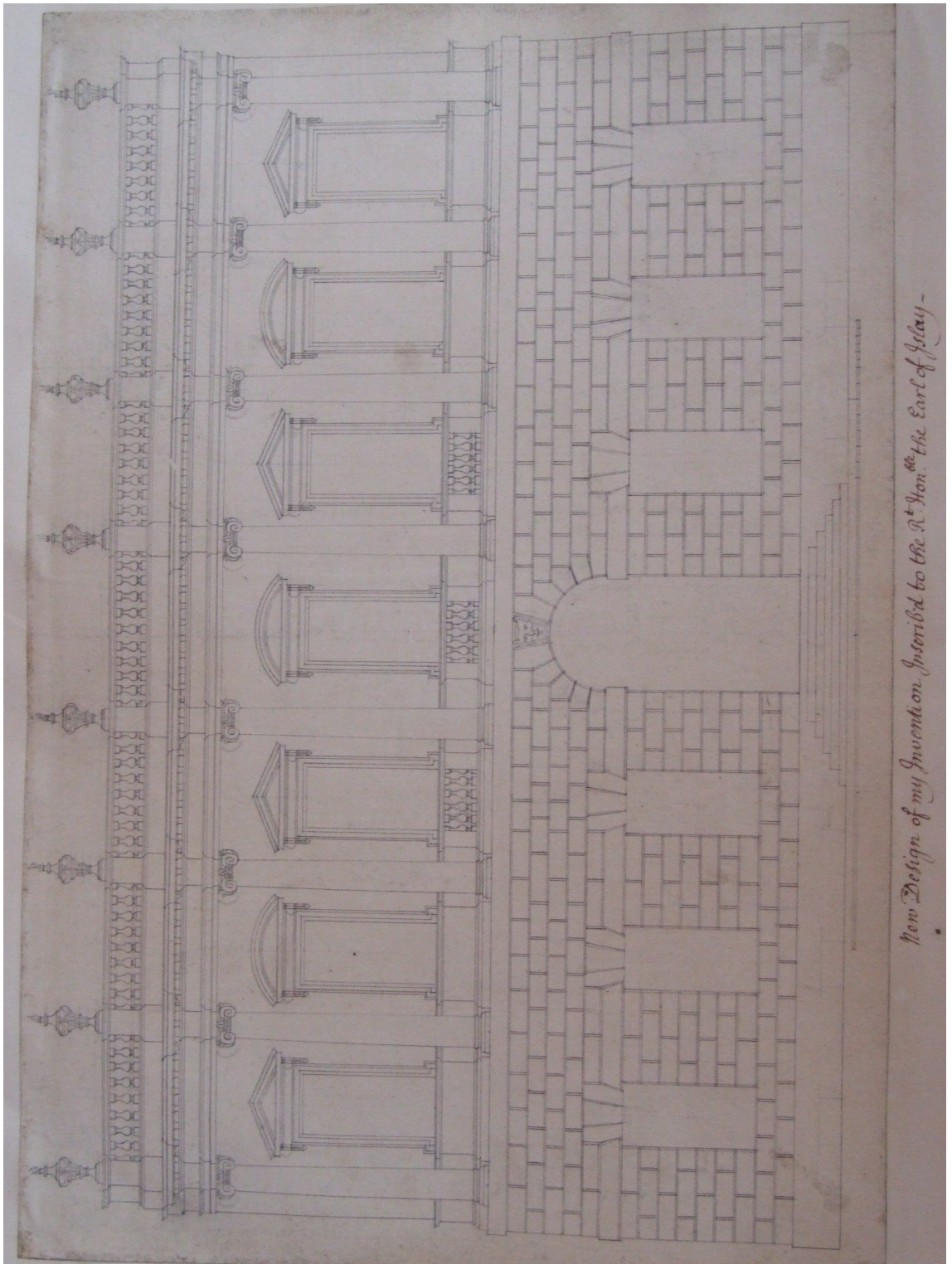
47. Wilbery House, Wiltshire, Plan: 21A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 51



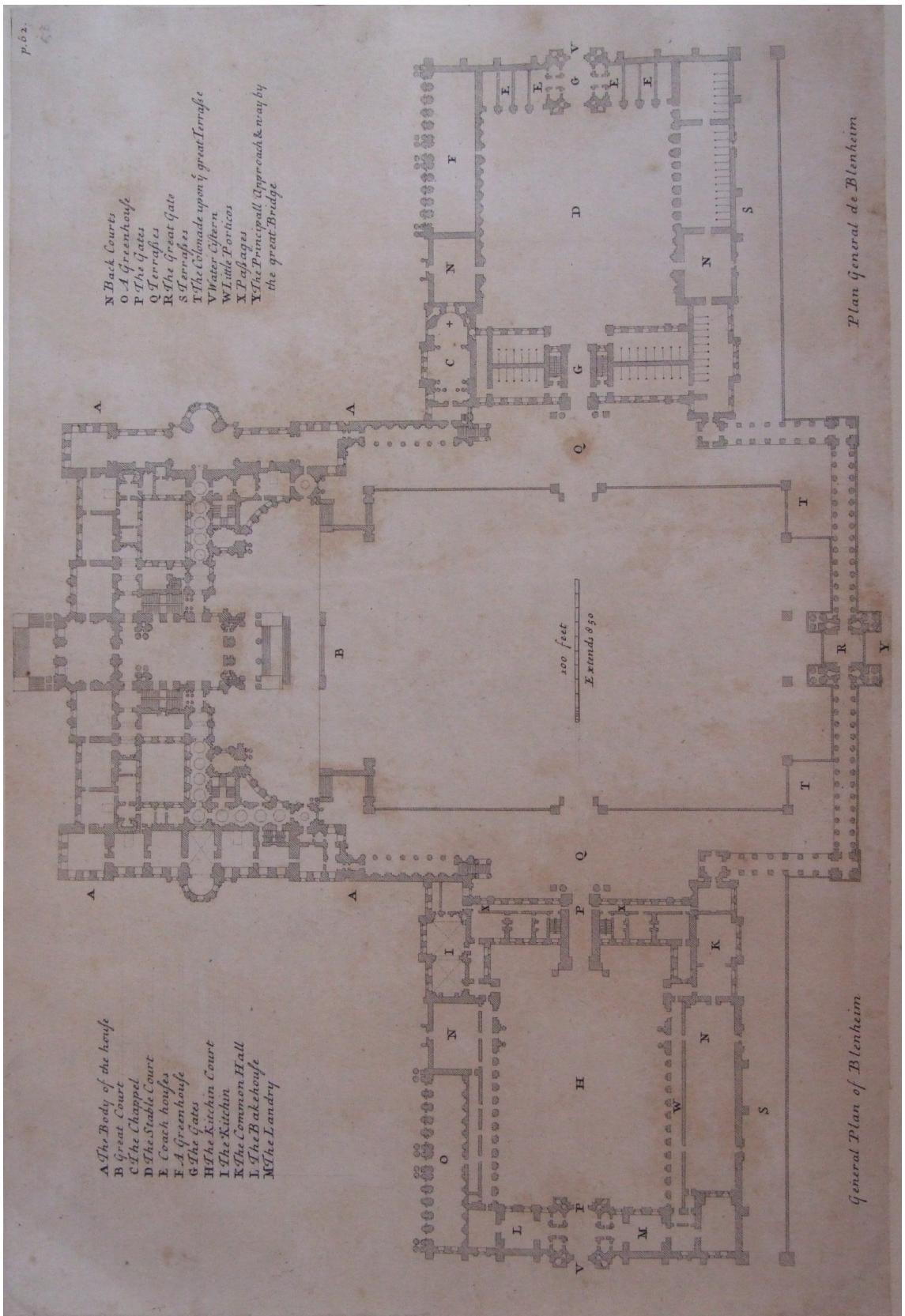
48. Wilberry House, Wiltshire, Elevation: 21B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 52



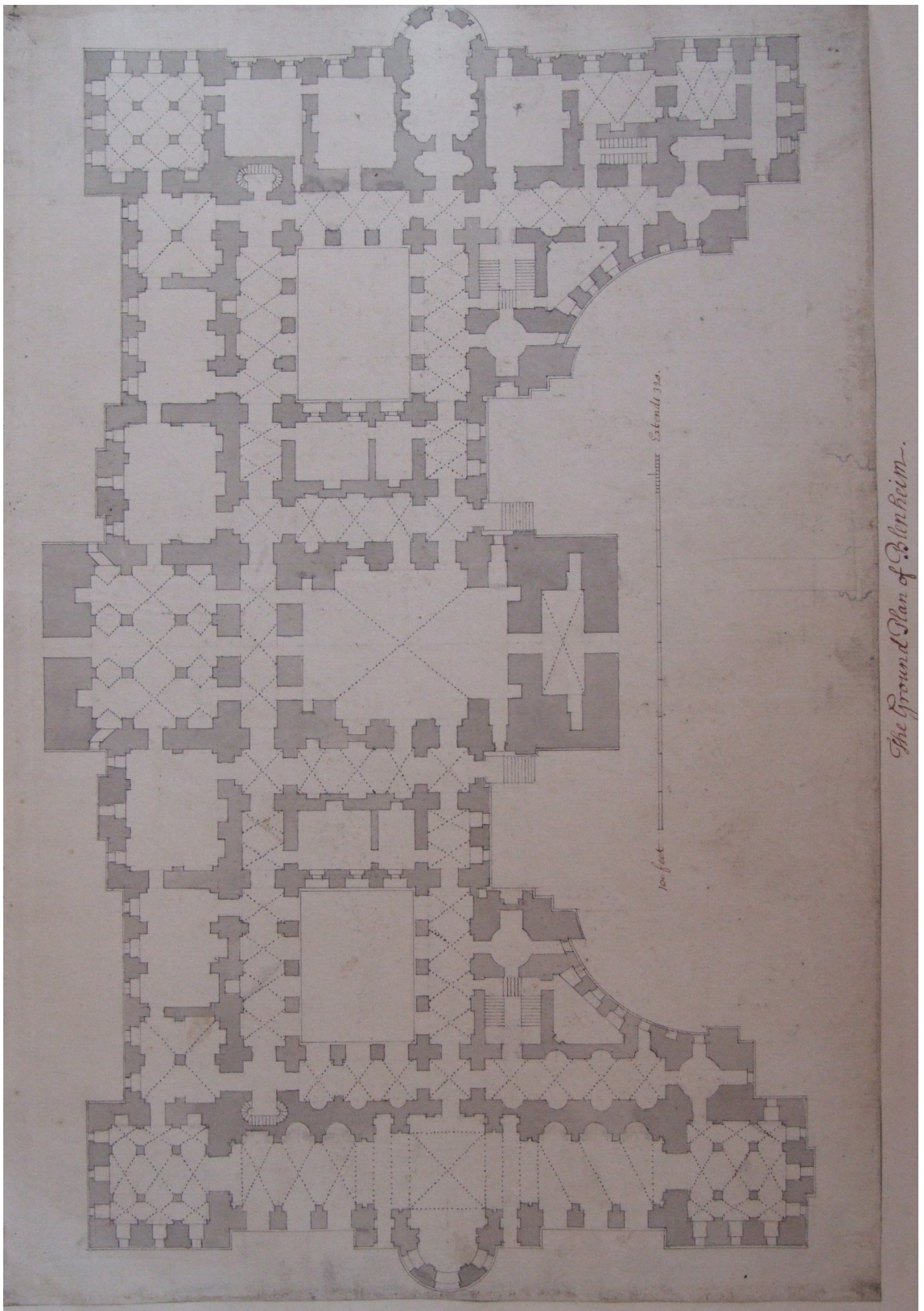
49. Proposed Design for the Earl of Islay, Plans: 22A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 53



50. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Islay*, Elevation: 22B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 54

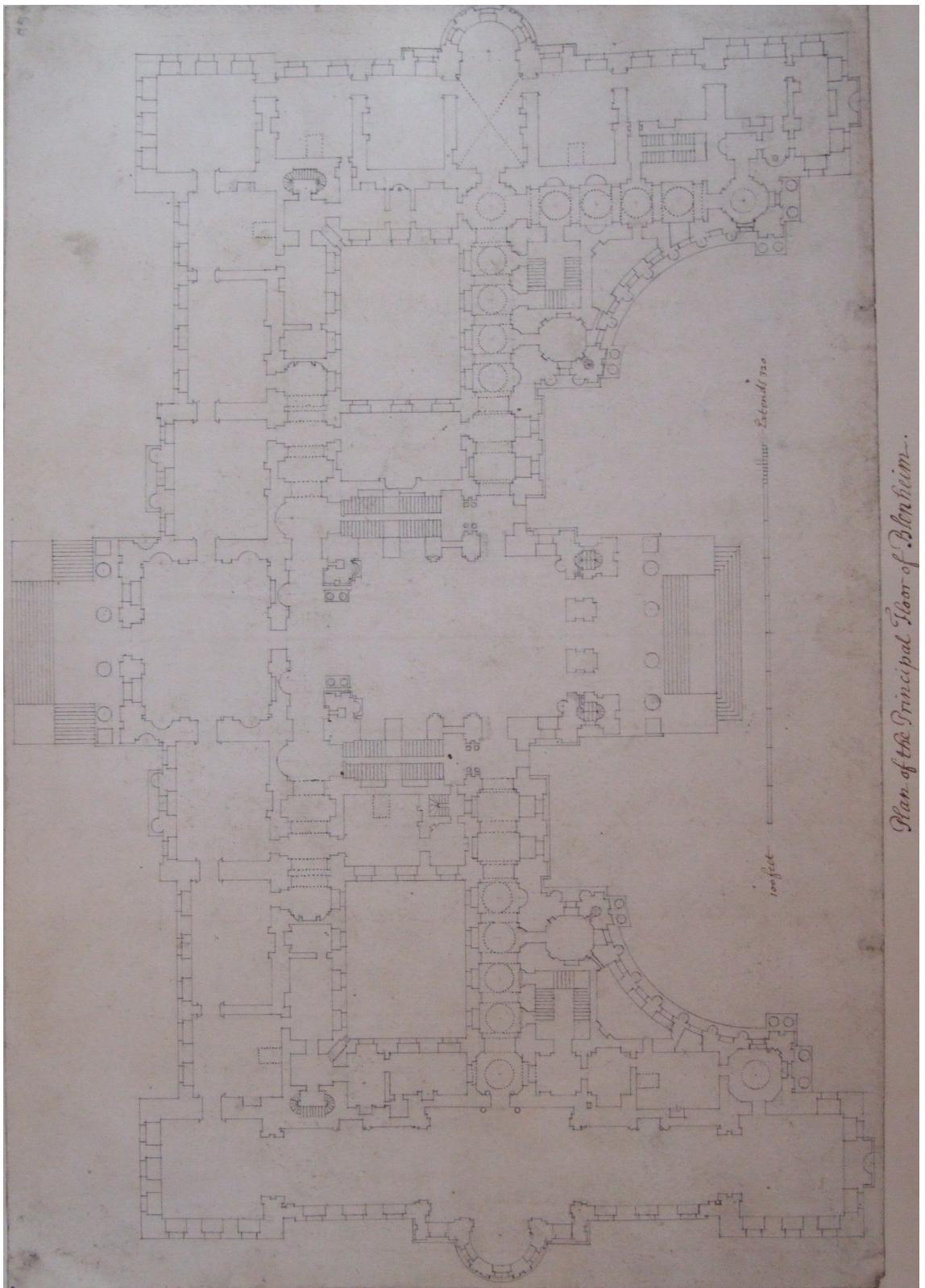


51. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Plan: 23A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 62

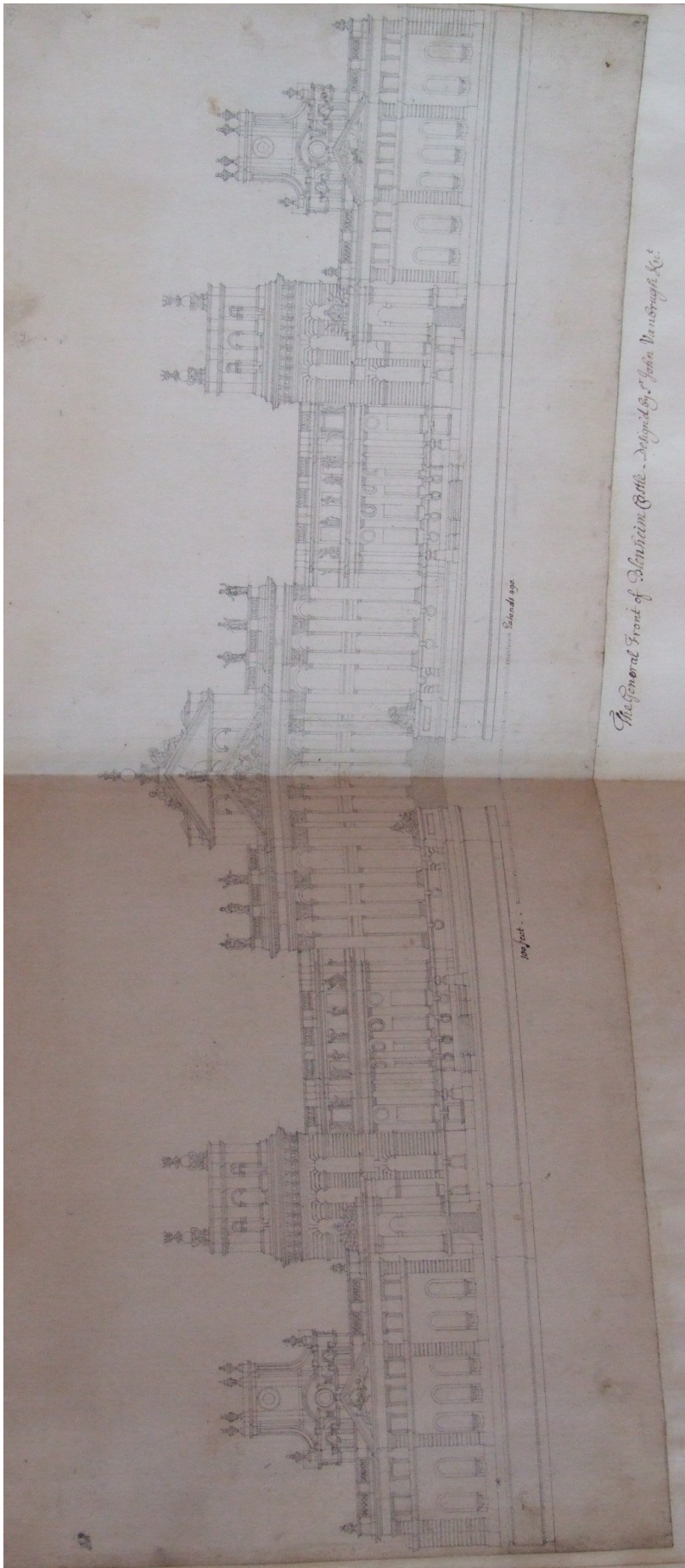


The Ground Plan of Blenheim.

52. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Plan: 23B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 56

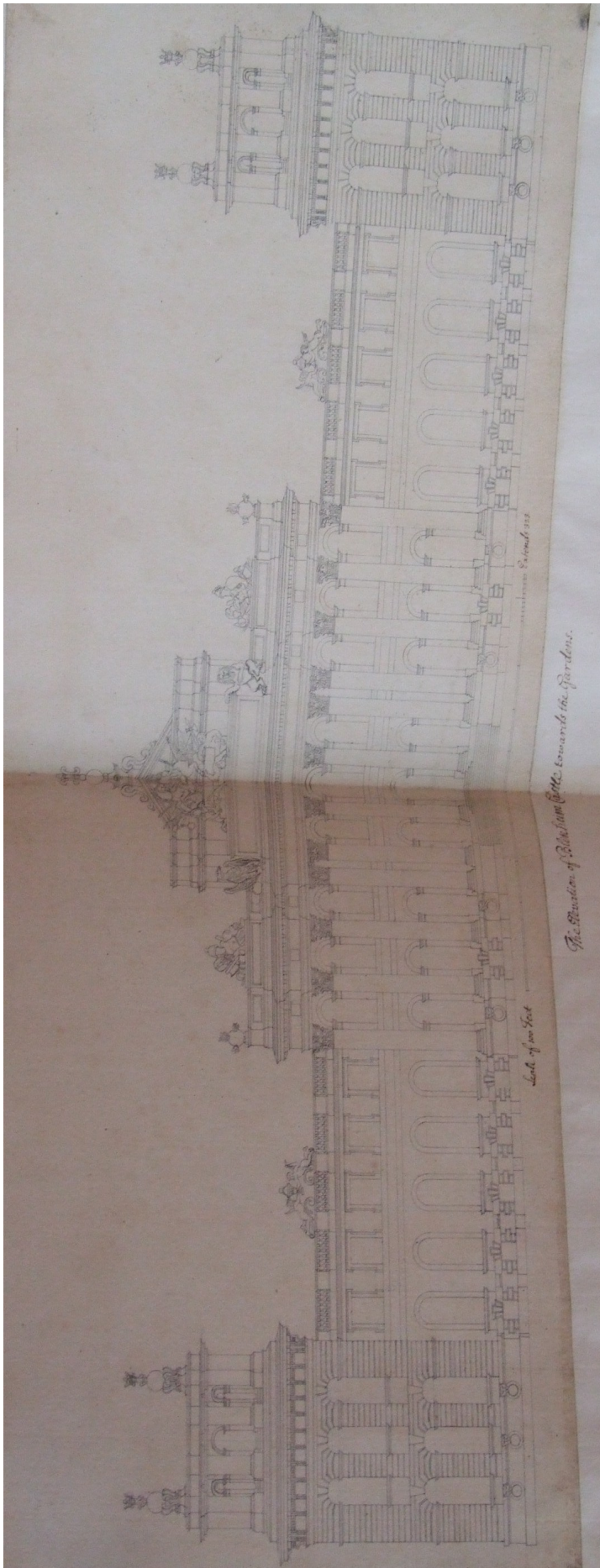


53. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Plan: 23C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 57-58

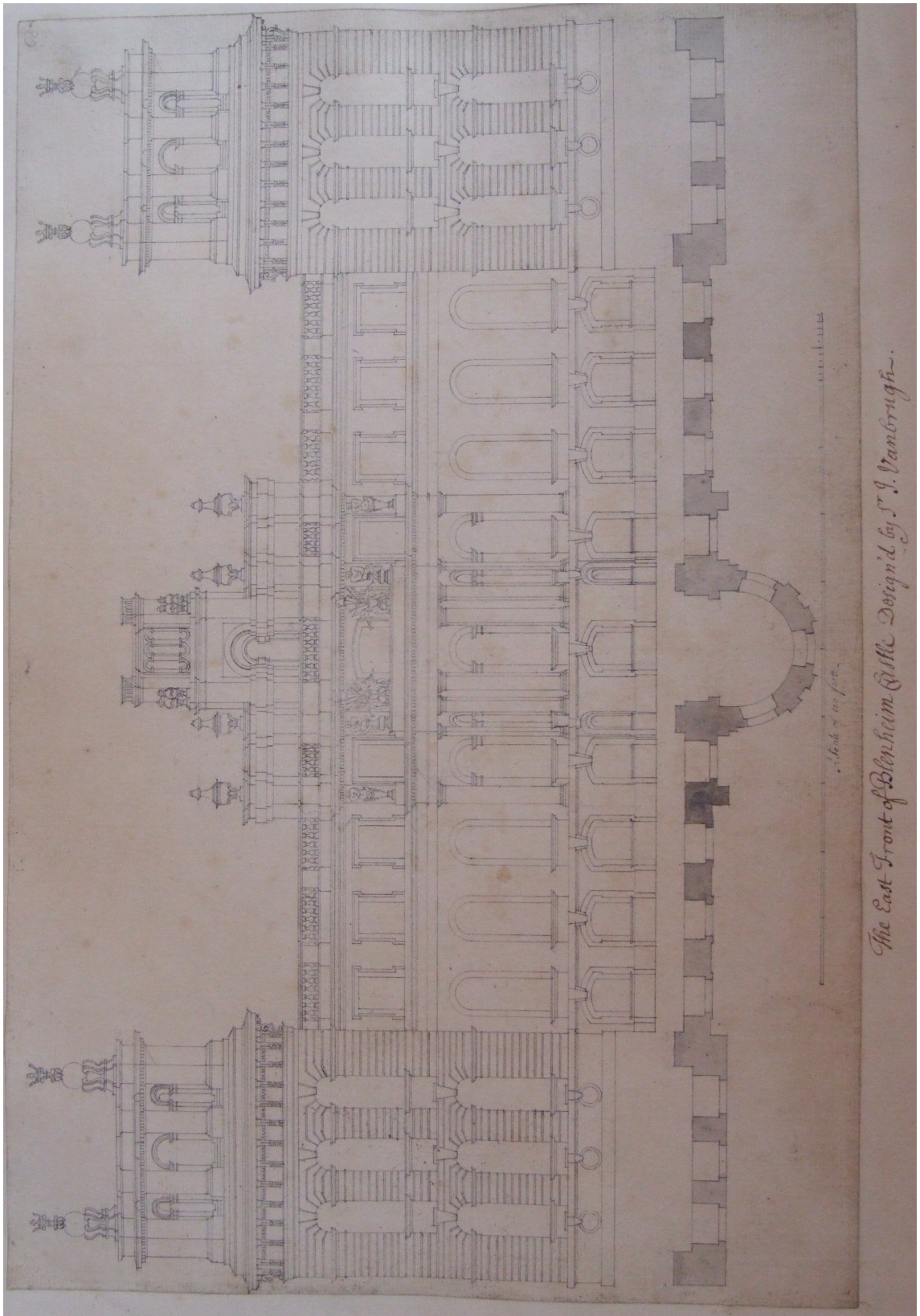


The General Front of Blenheim Palace - Designed by Sir John Vanbrugh, Esq.

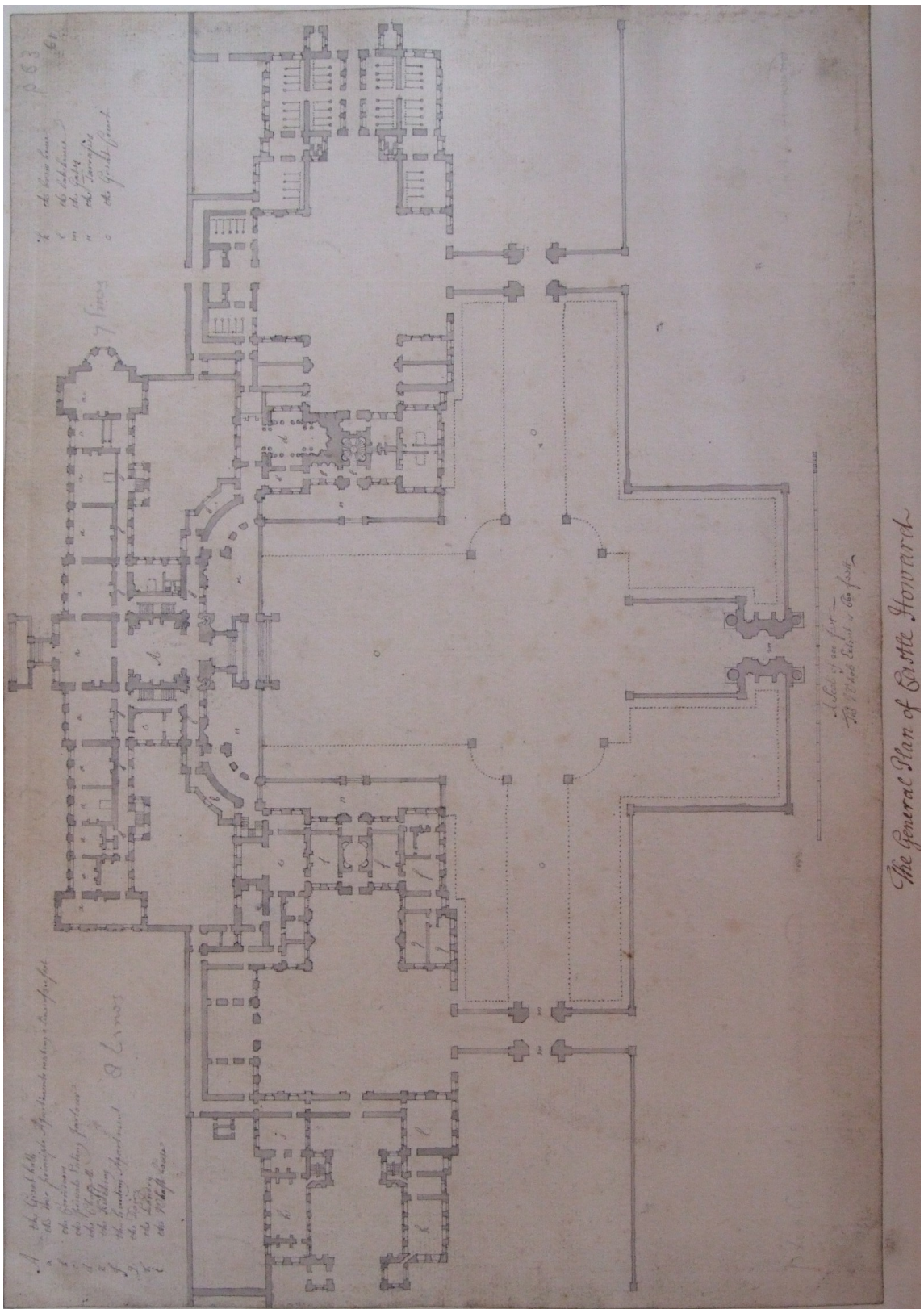
54. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Elevation: 23D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 59-60



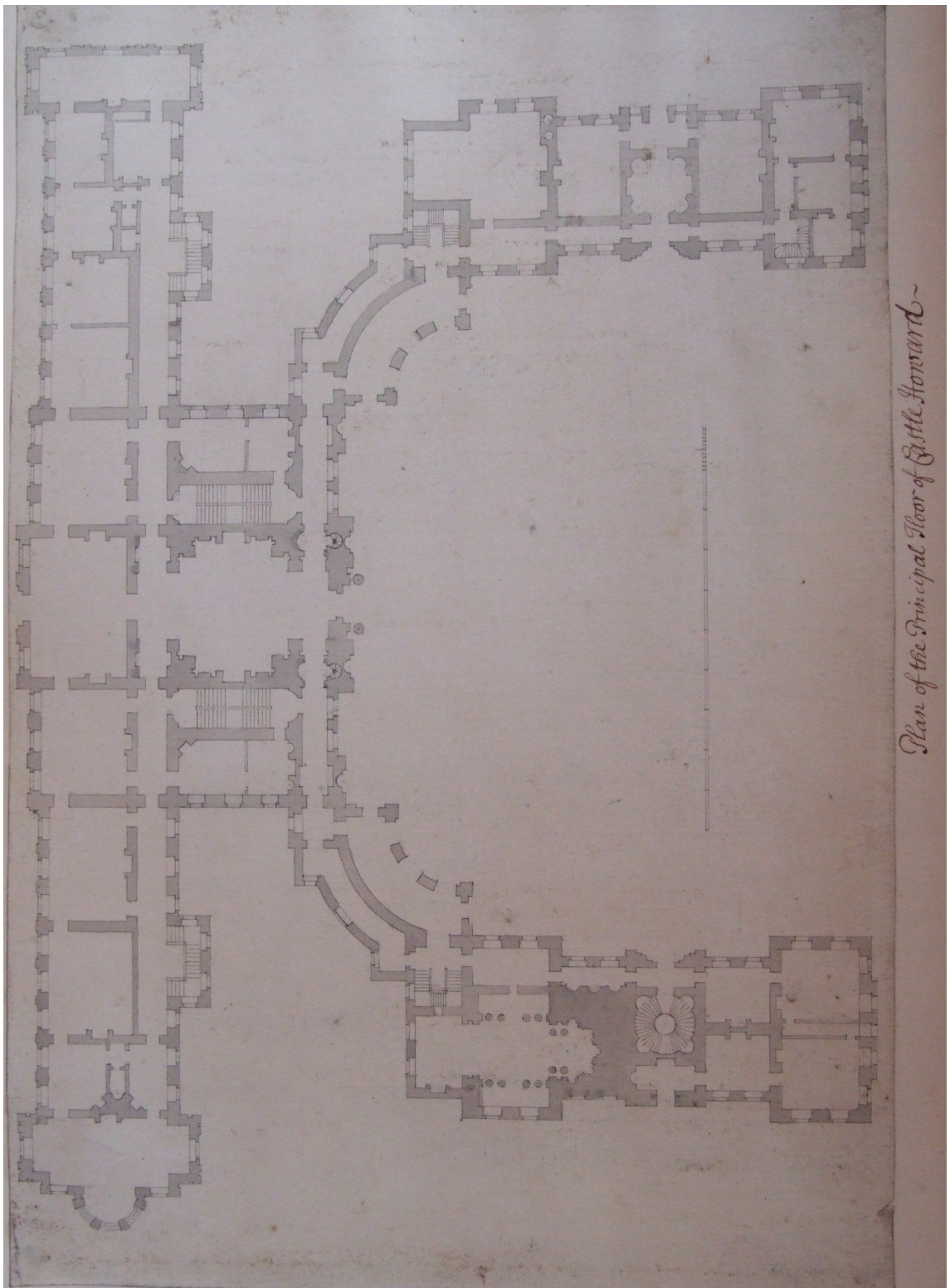
55. *Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Elevation: 23E (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 61*



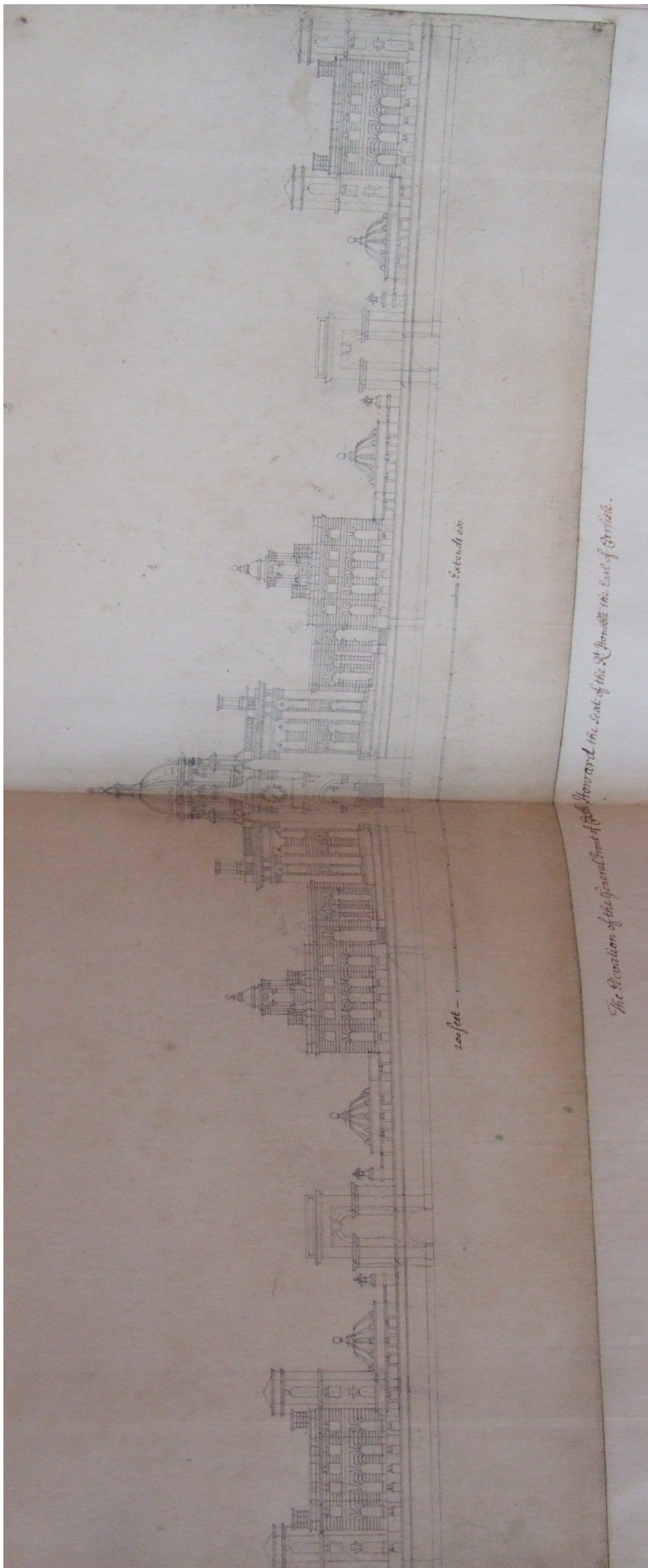
56. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, Elevation: 23F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 55



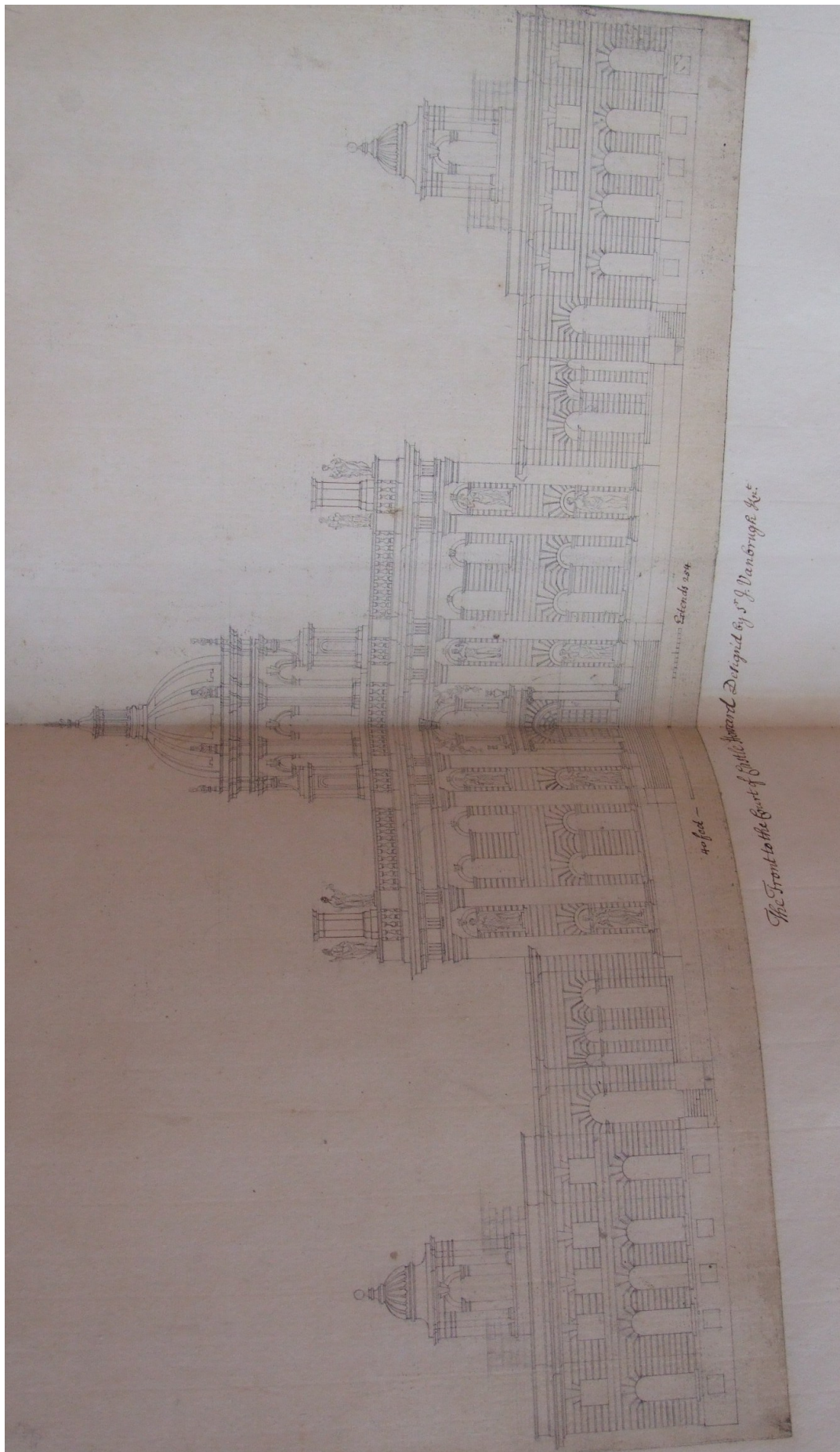
57. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Plan: 24A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 63



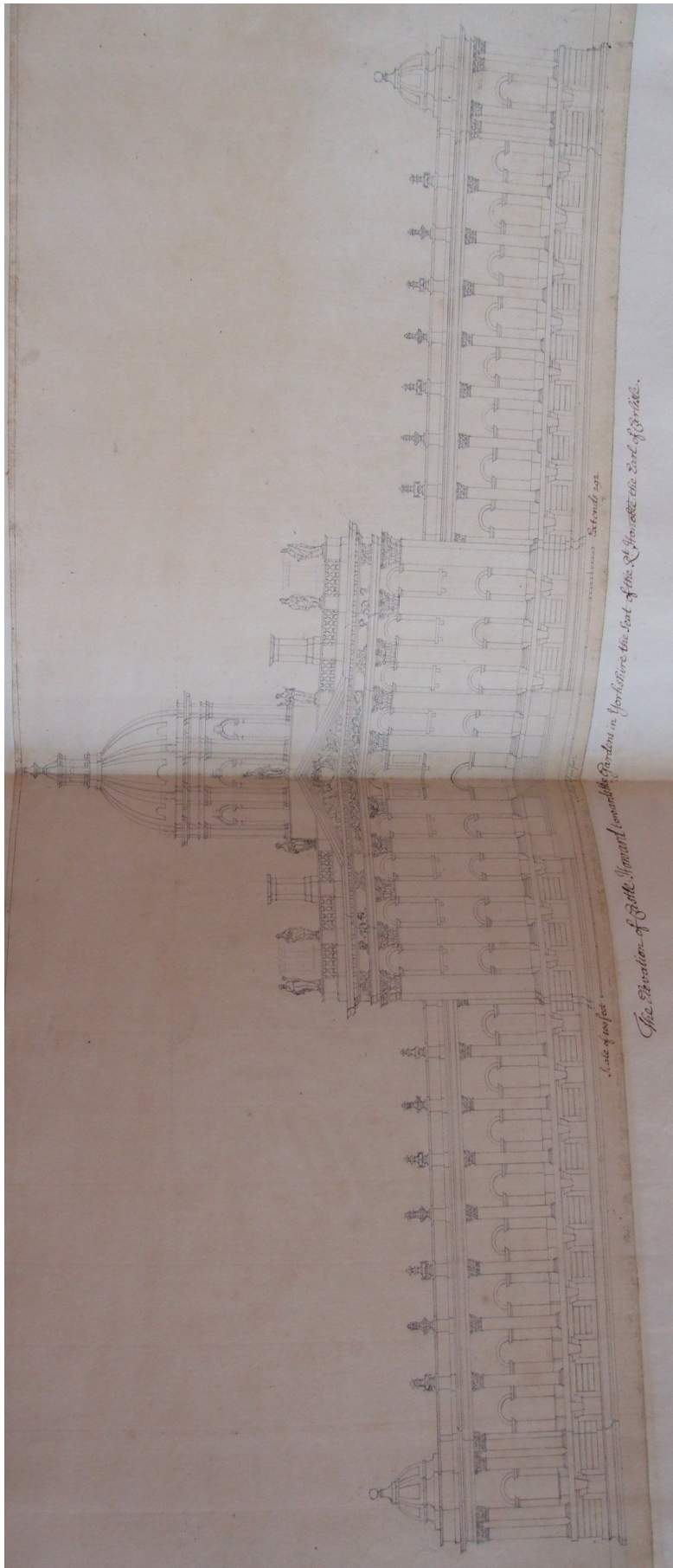
58. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Plan: 24B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 64*



59. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Elevation: 24C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 65-66

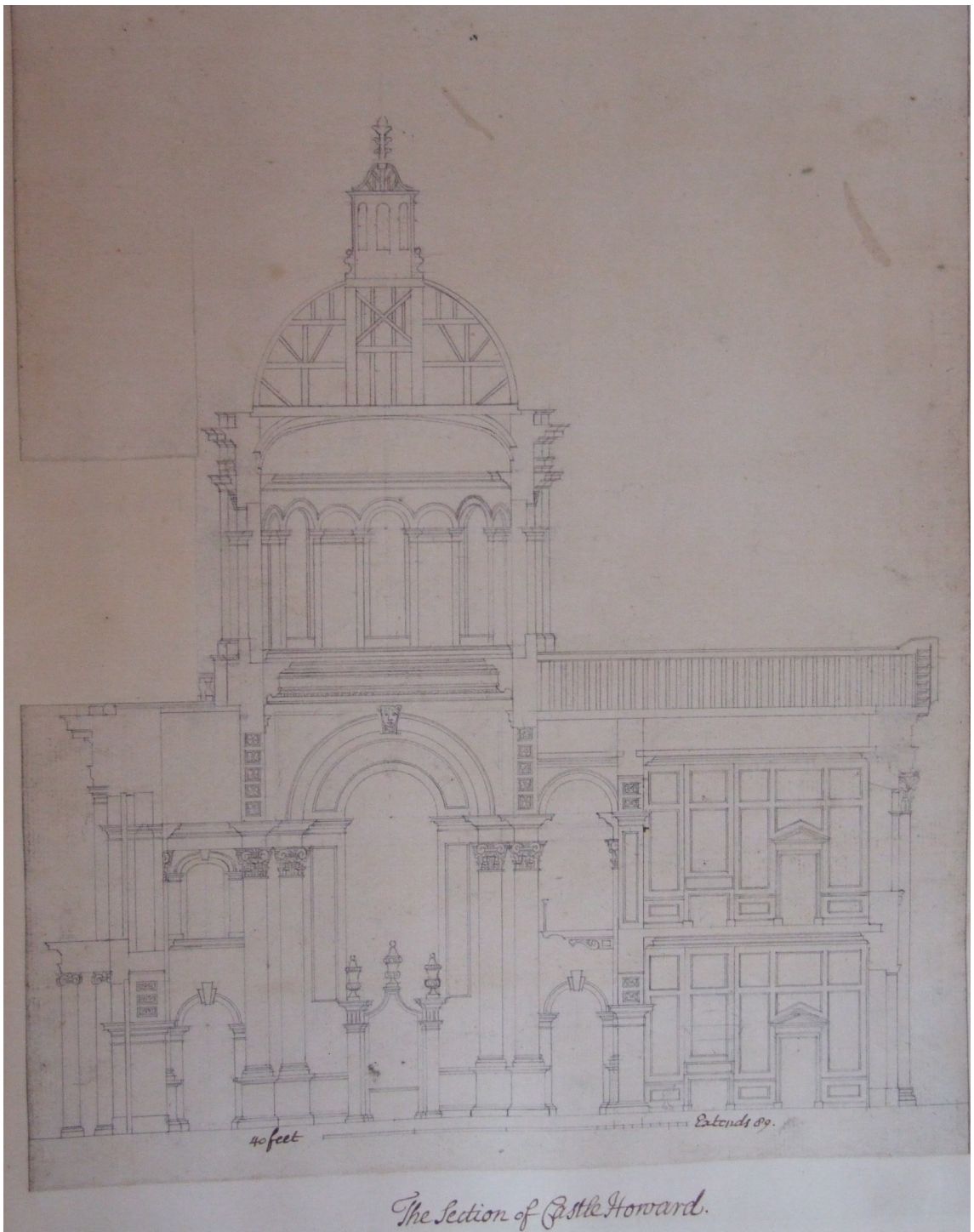


60. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Elevation: 24D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 67-68

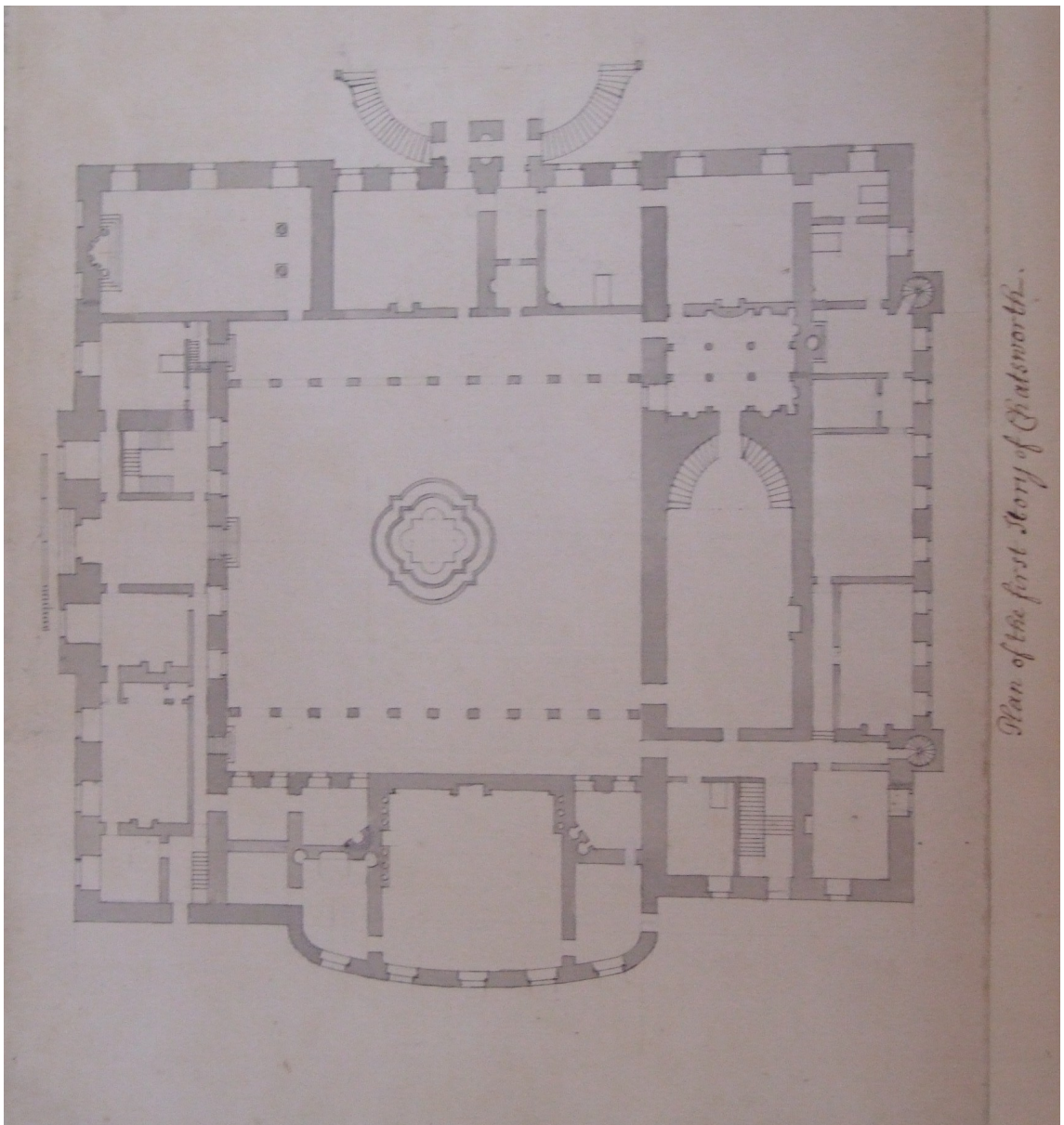


Scale of six feet
The elevation of the North front of the Castle of Castle Howard in Yorkshire the Seat of the Earl of Holderness.

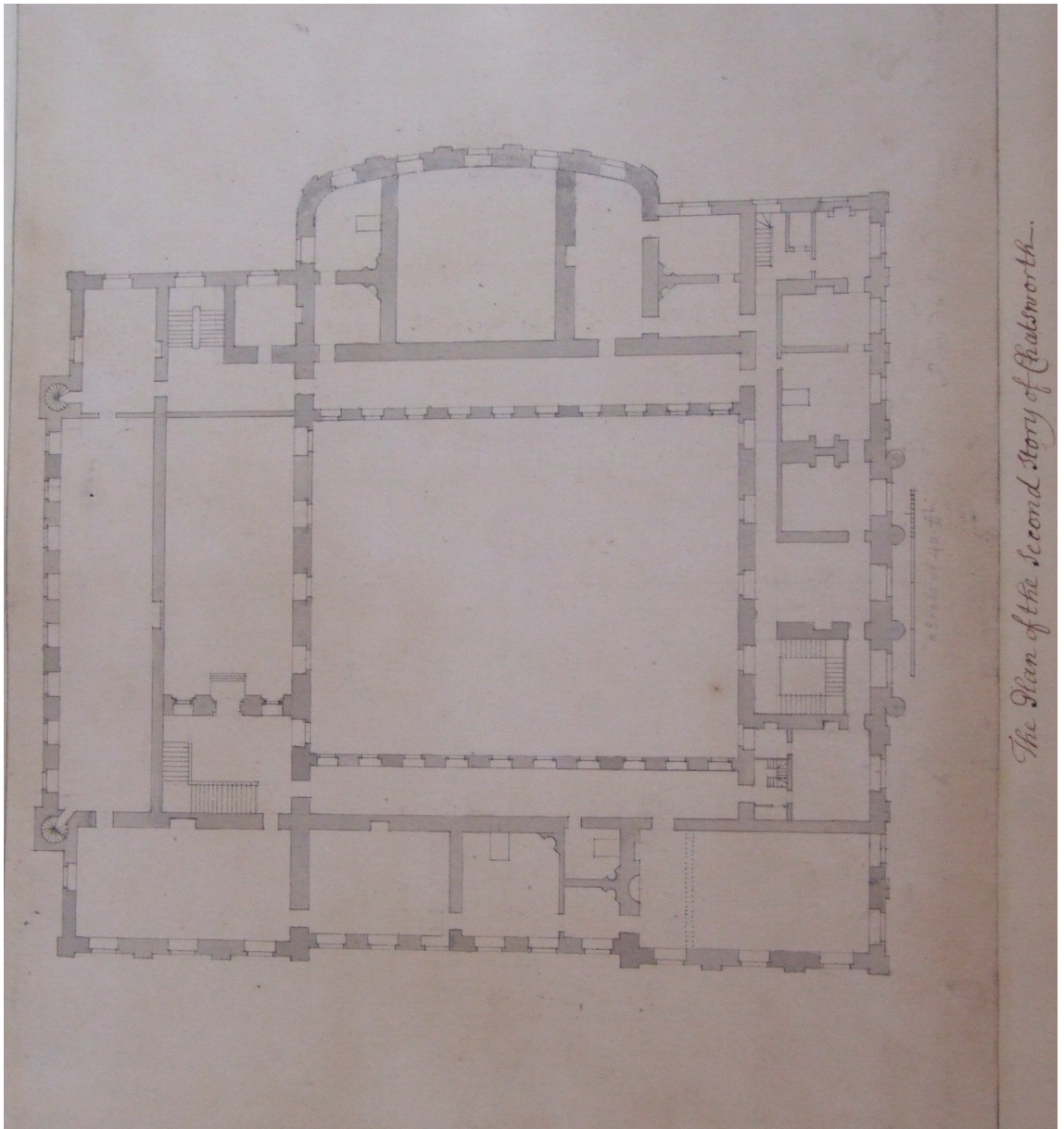
61. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Elevation: 24E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 69-70



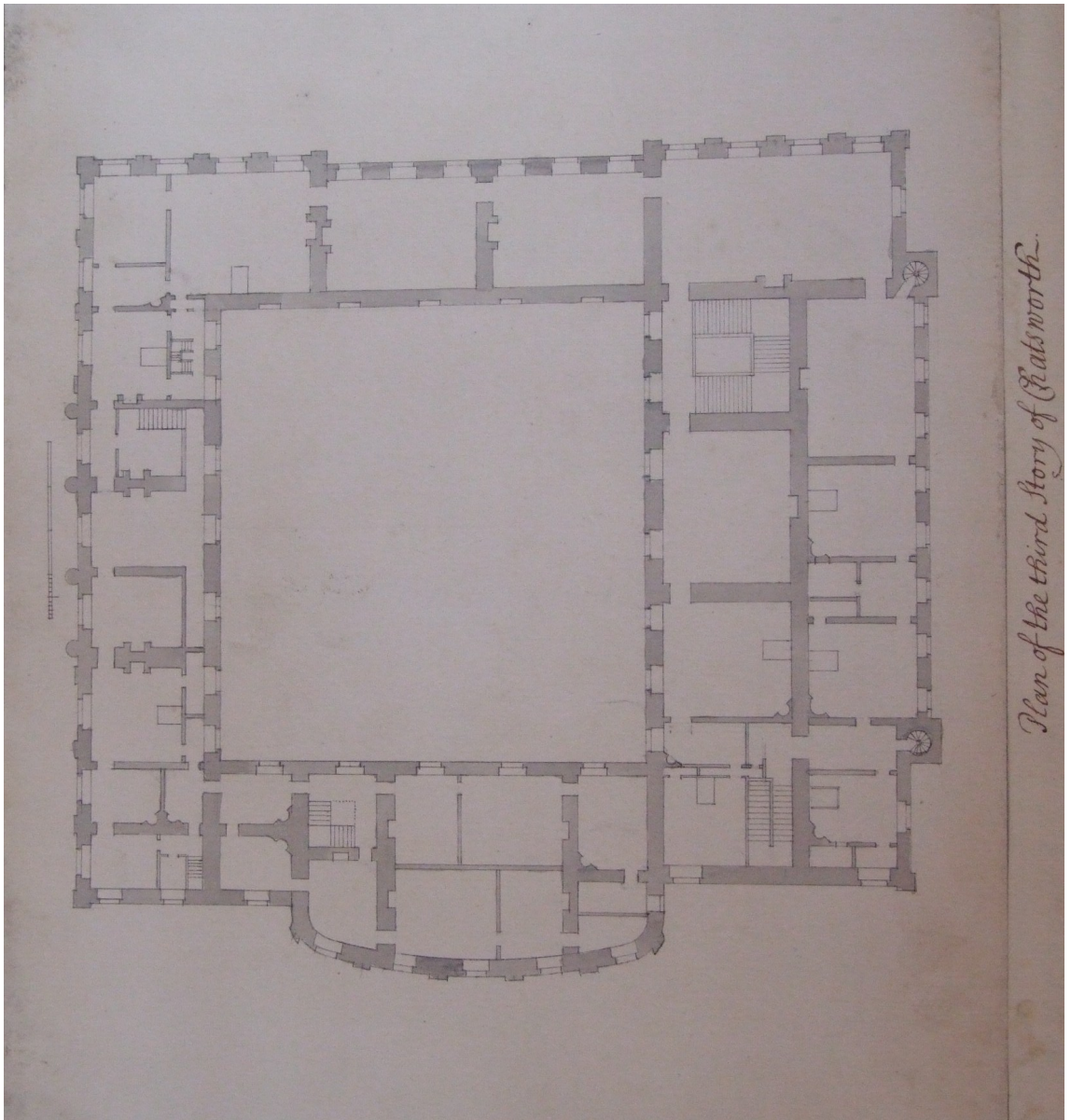
62. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Section: 24F (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 71



63. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Plan: 25A (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 72*

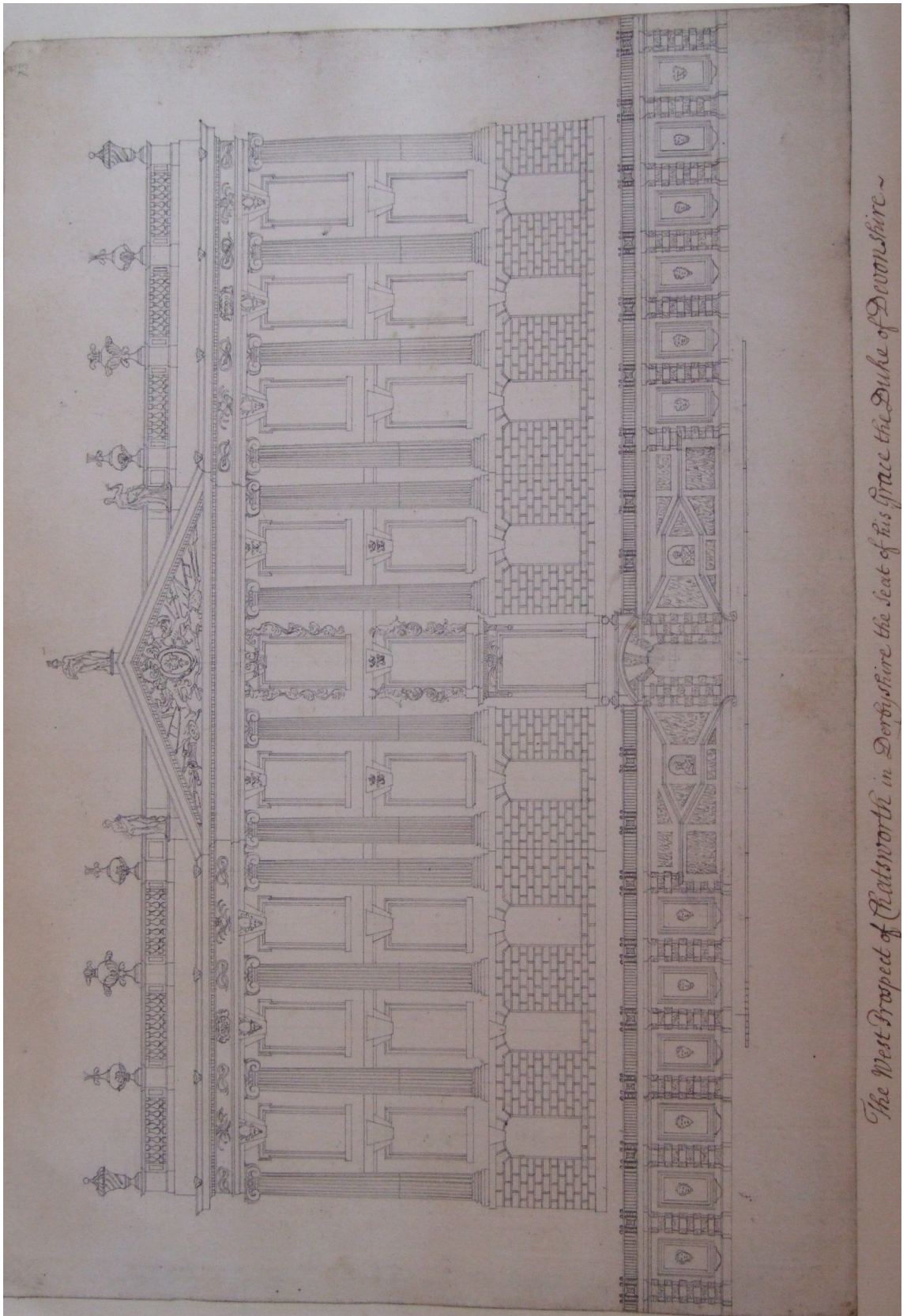


64. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Plan: 25B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 73



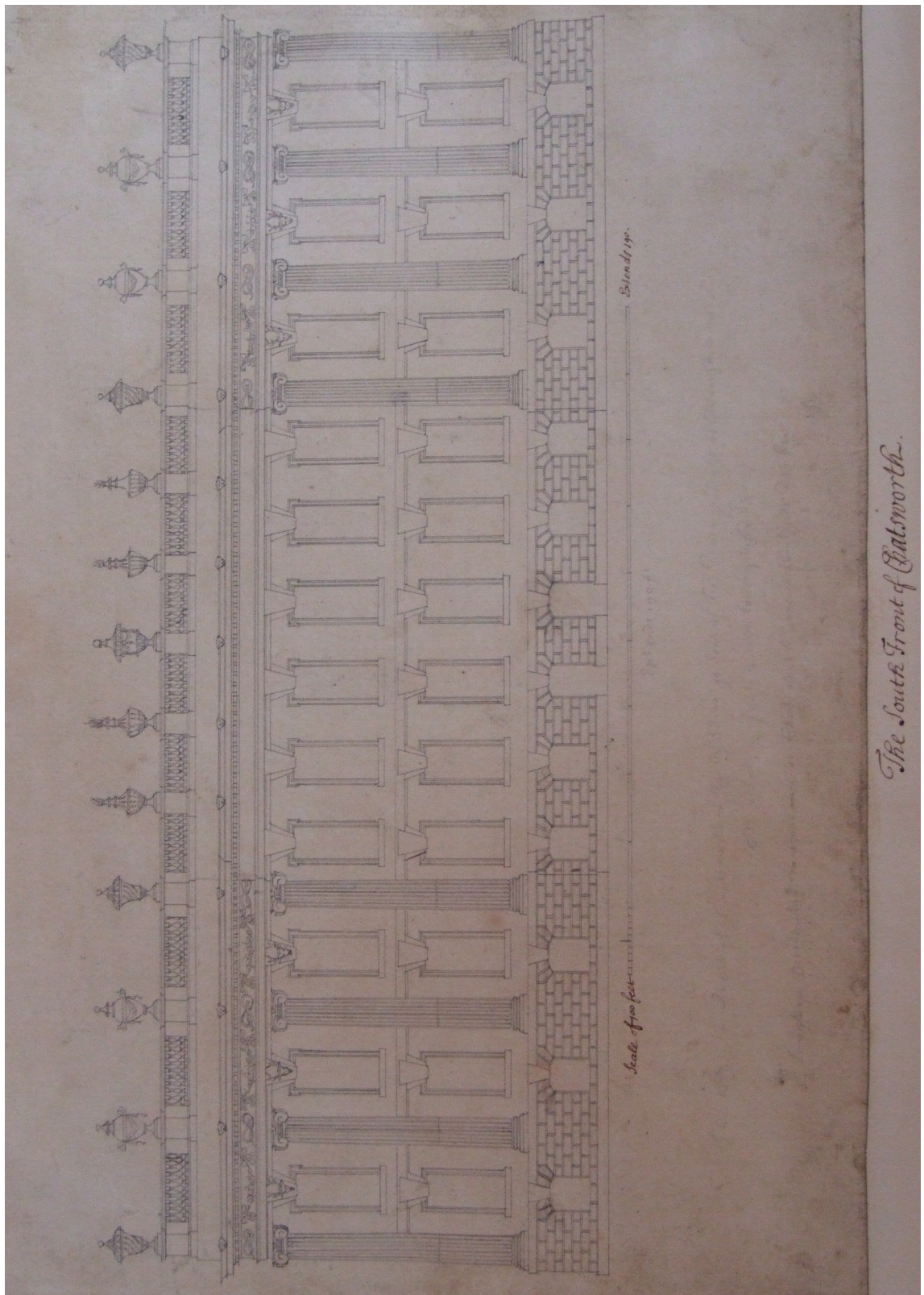
Plan of the third Story of Chatsworth.

65. *Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Plan: 25C (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 74*

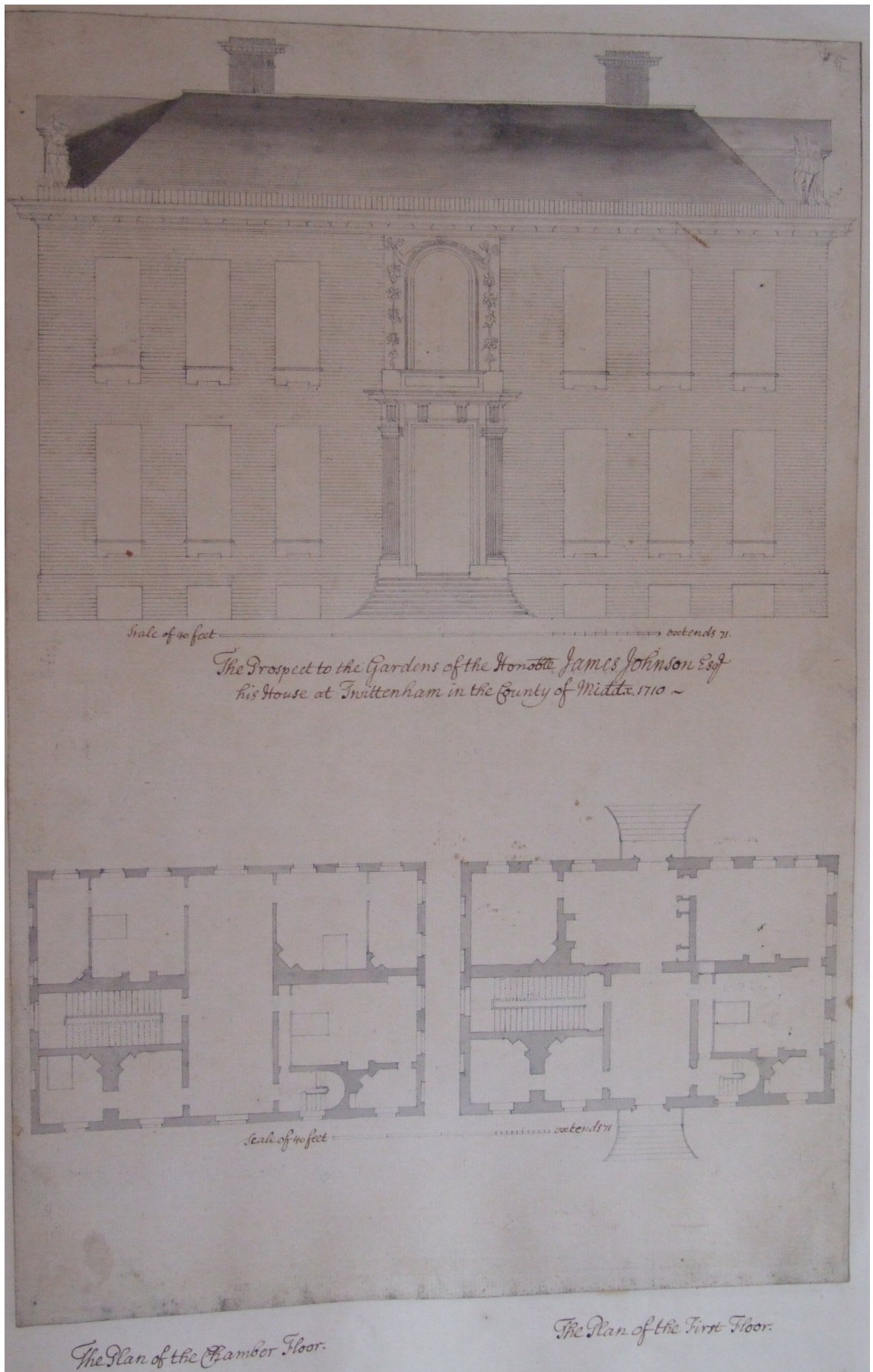


The West Prospect of Chatsworth in Derbyshire the Seat of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire ~

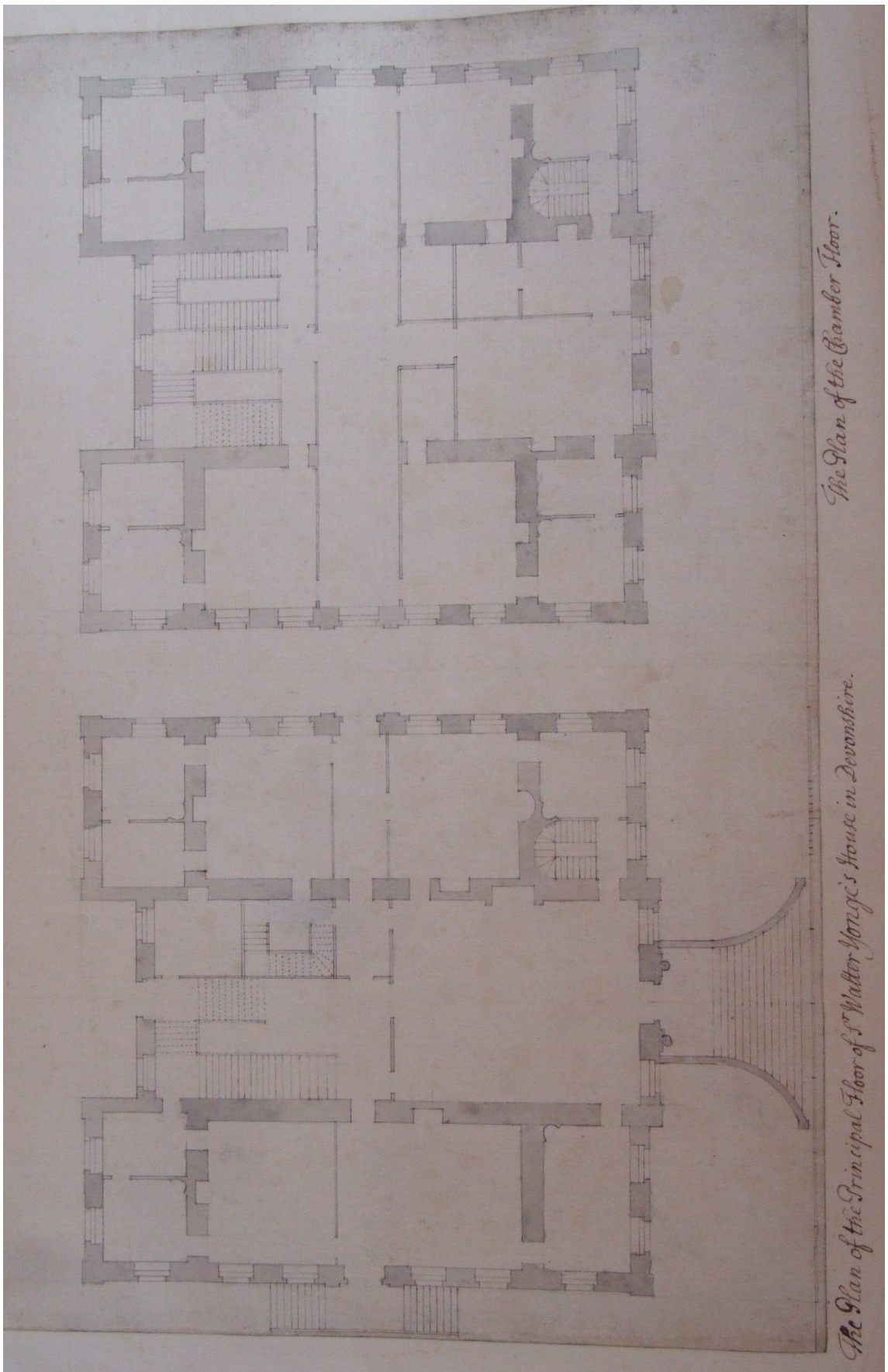
66. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Elevation: 25D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 75



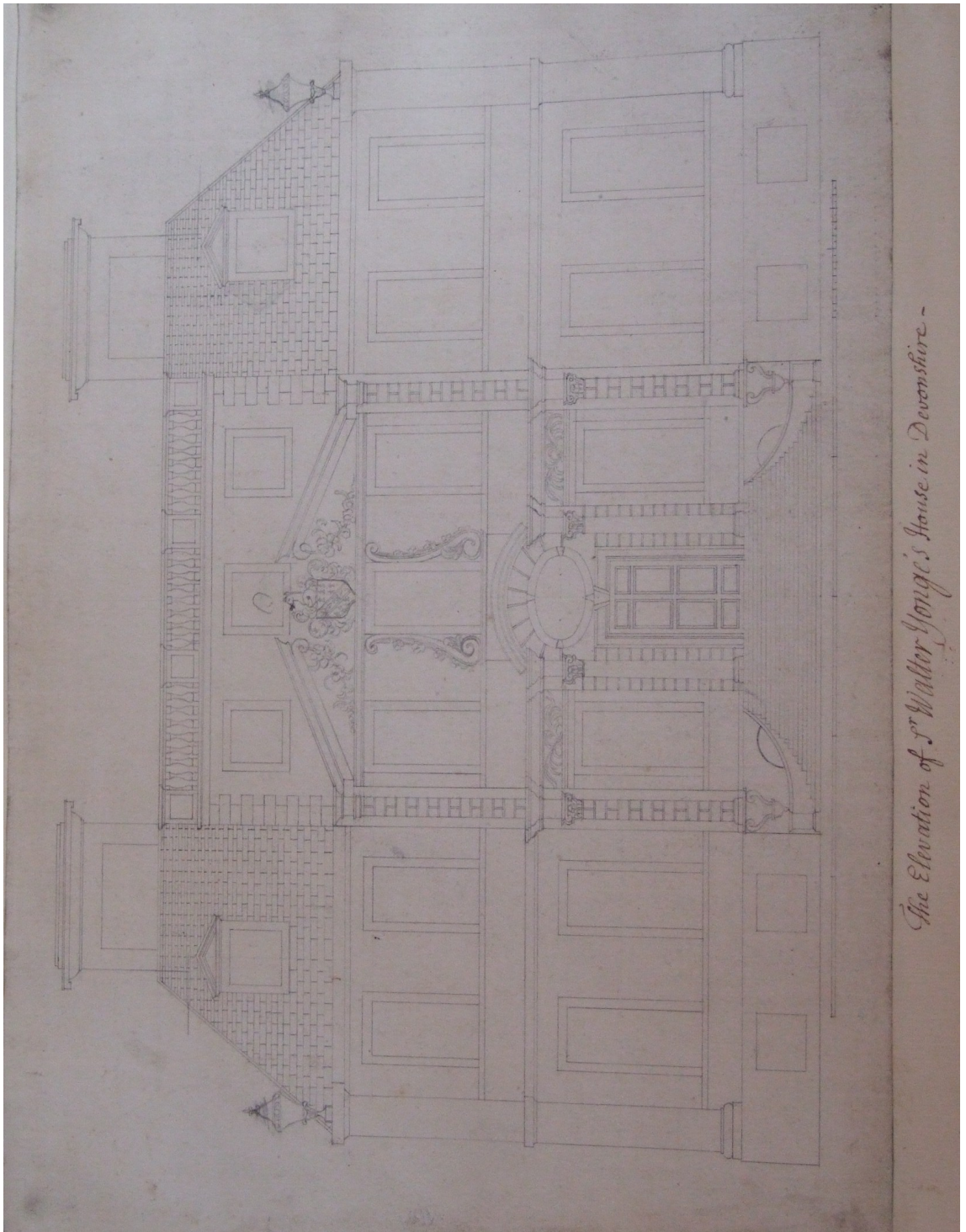
67. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Elevation: 25E (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 76



68. James Johnston's House, Middlesex, Plans and Elevation: 26A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 77

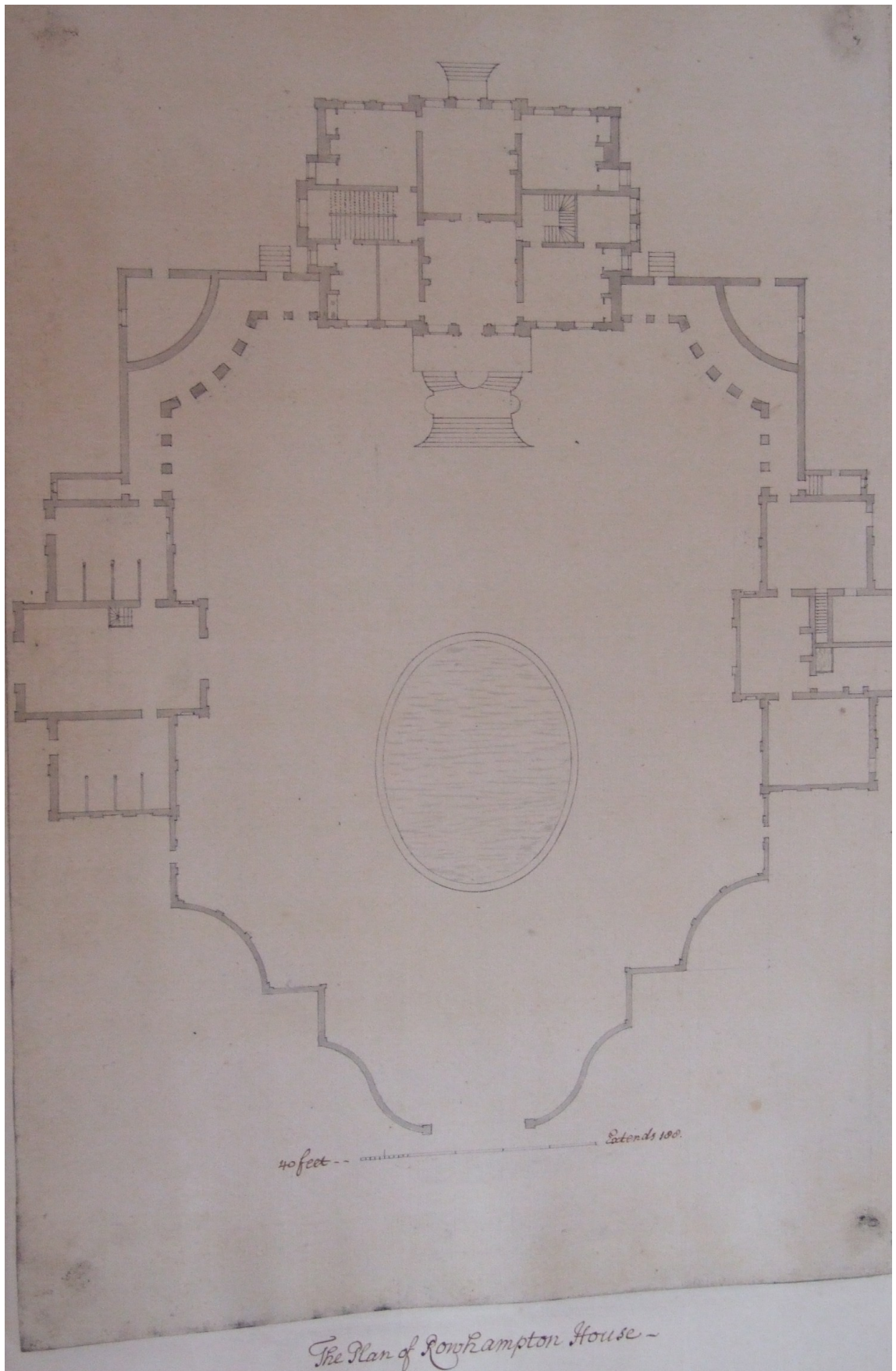


69. Escot House, Devonshire, Plans: 27A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 78

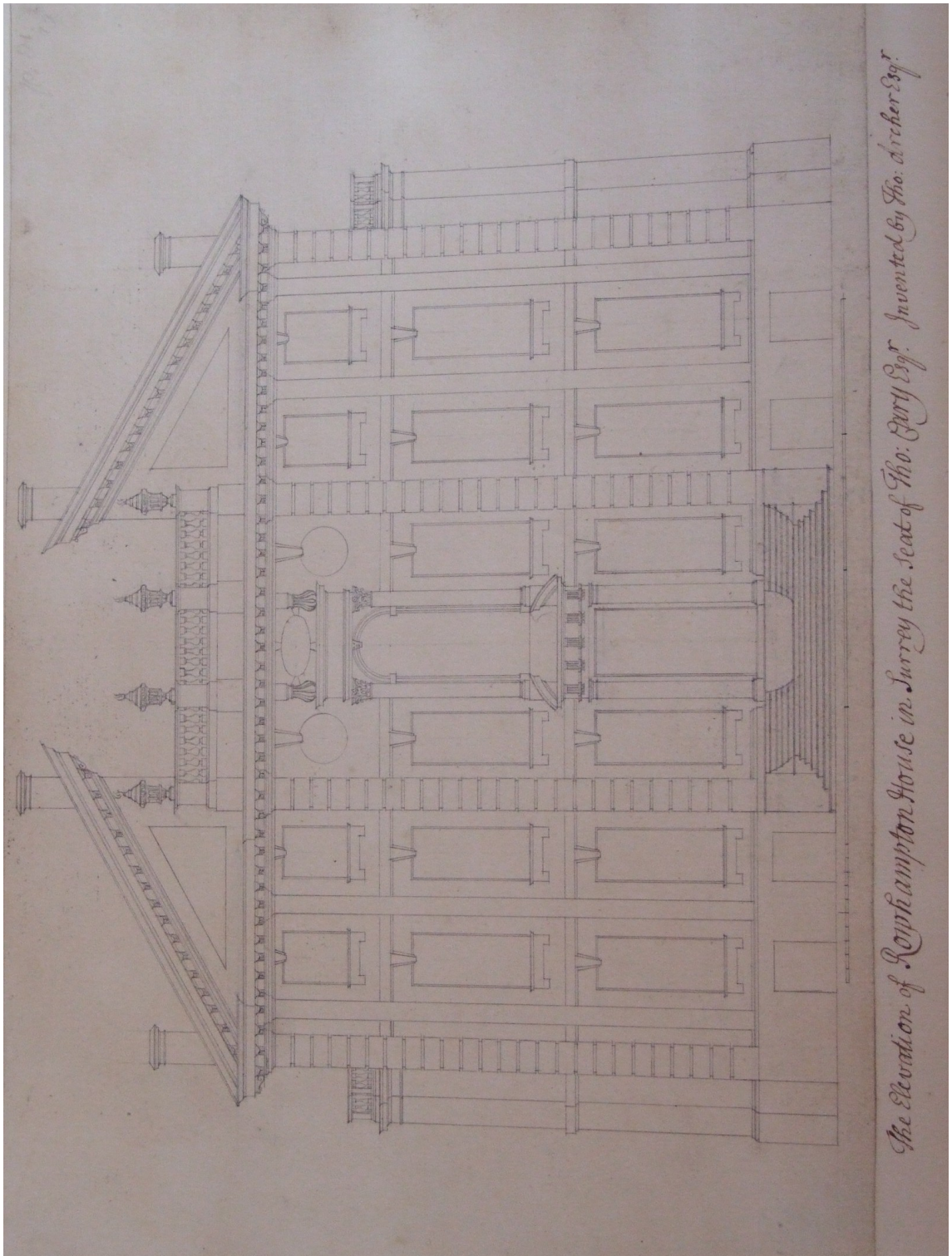


The Elevation of Mr Walter Yonge's House in Devonshire -

70. Escot House, Devonshire, Elevation: 27B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 79

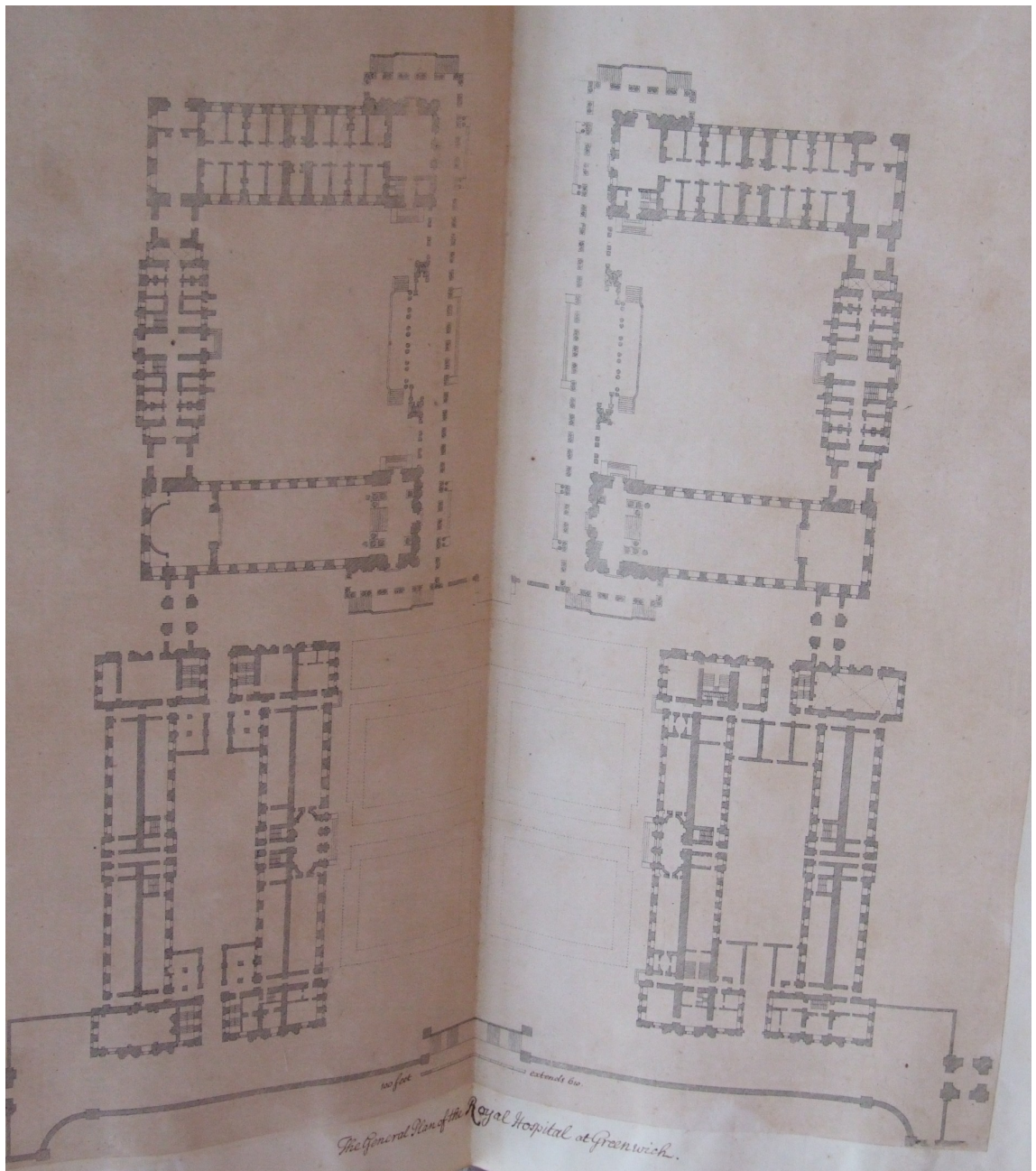


71. Roehampton House, Surrey, Plan: 28A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 80

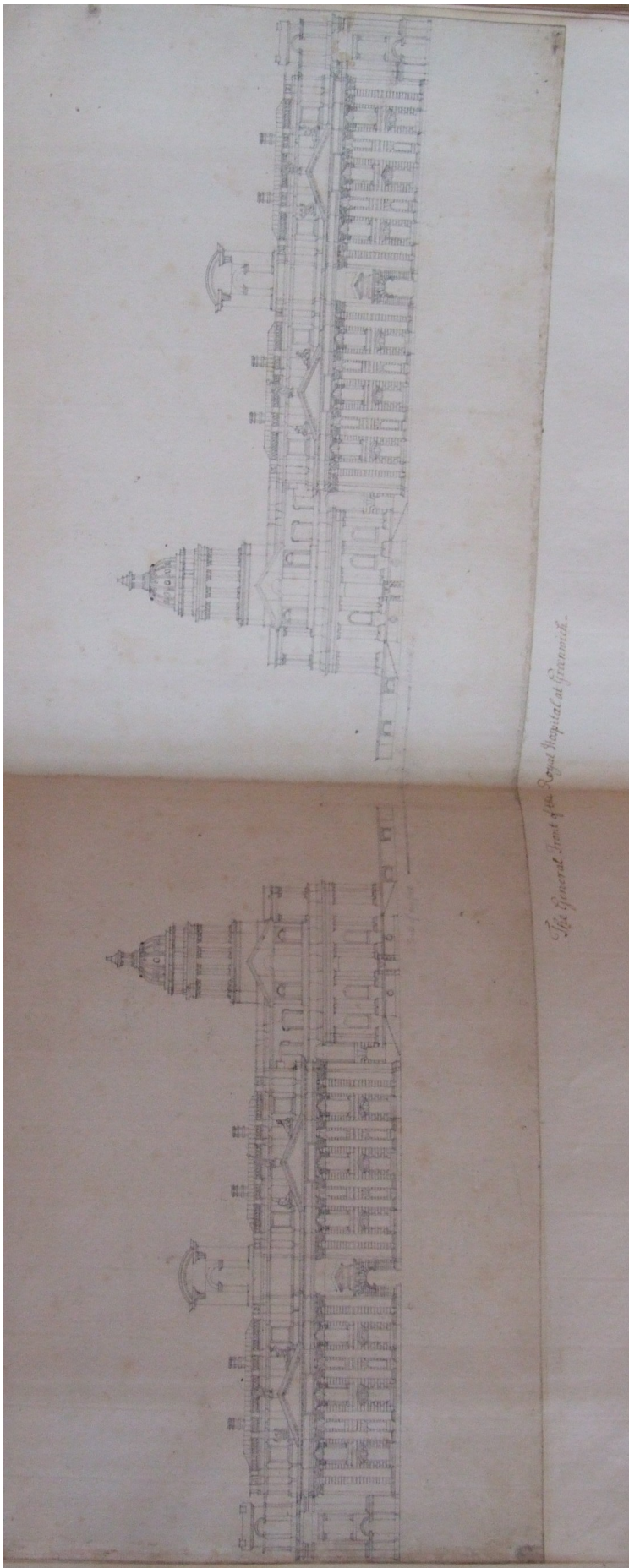


The Elevation of Roehampton House in Surrey the Seat of Tho. Jery Esq. Invented by Tho. Archer Esq.

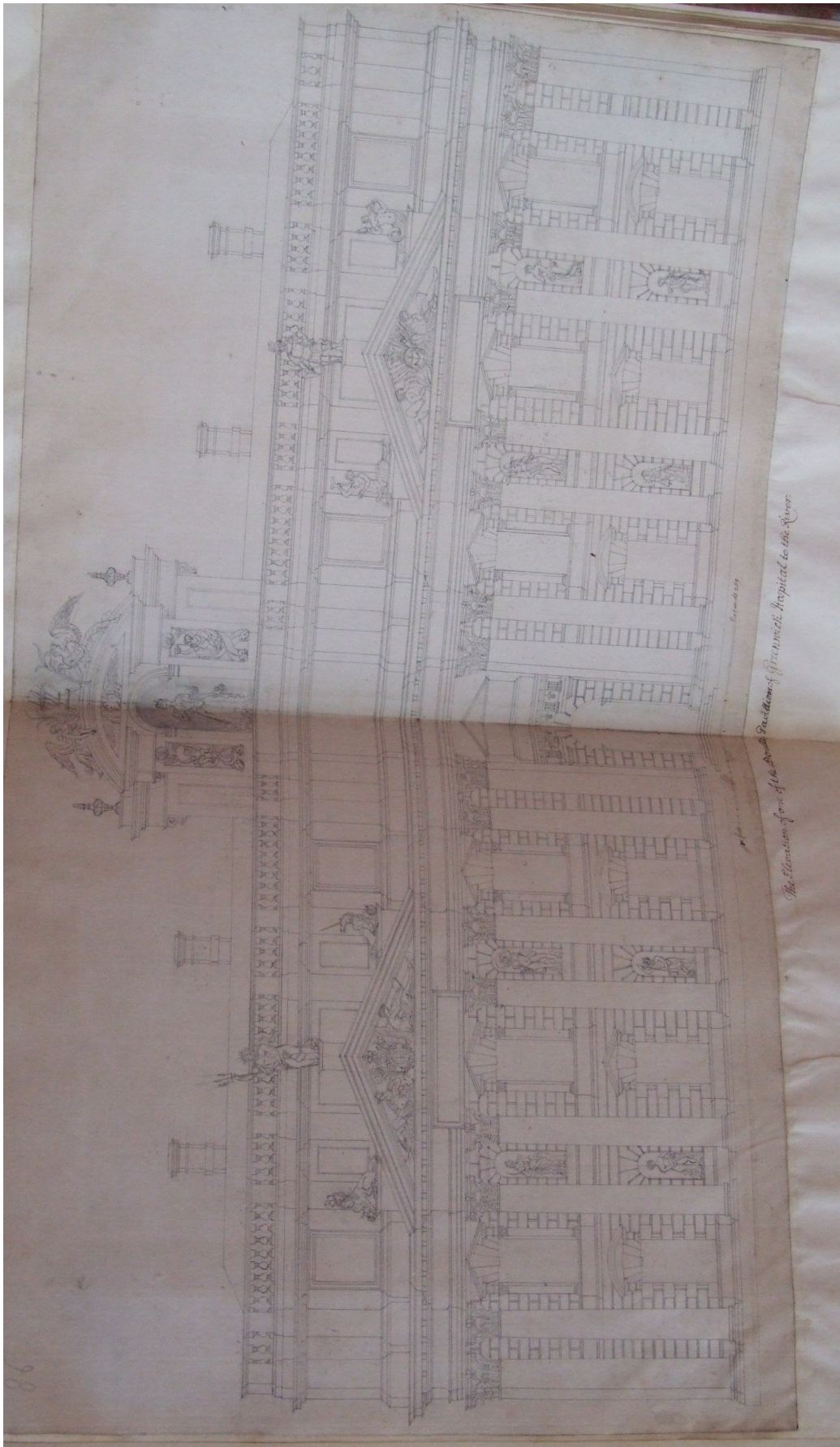
72. Roehampton House, Surrey, Elevation: 28B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 81



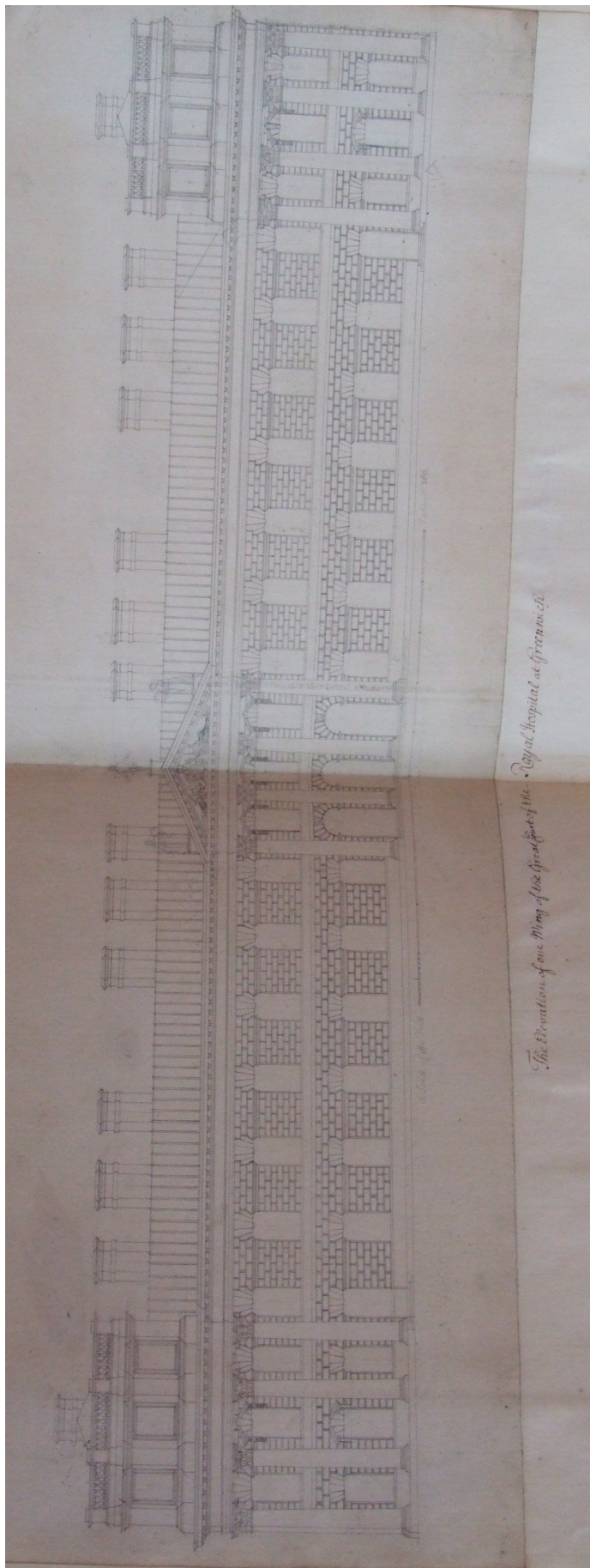
73. Greenwich Hospital, London, Plan: 29A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 82-83



74. Greenwich Hospital, London, Elevation: 29B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 84-85

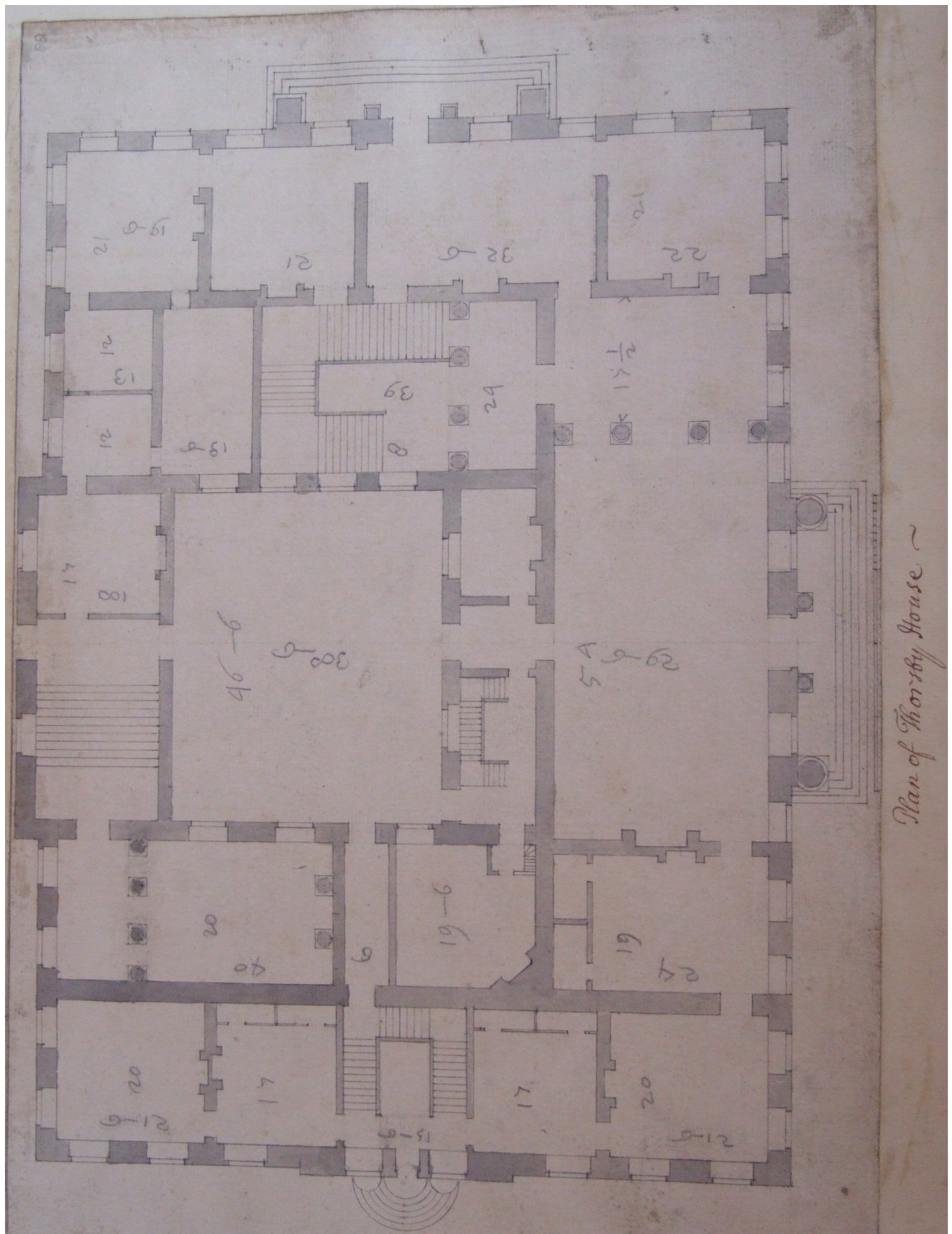


75. Greenwich Hospital, London, Elevation: 29C (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 86-87

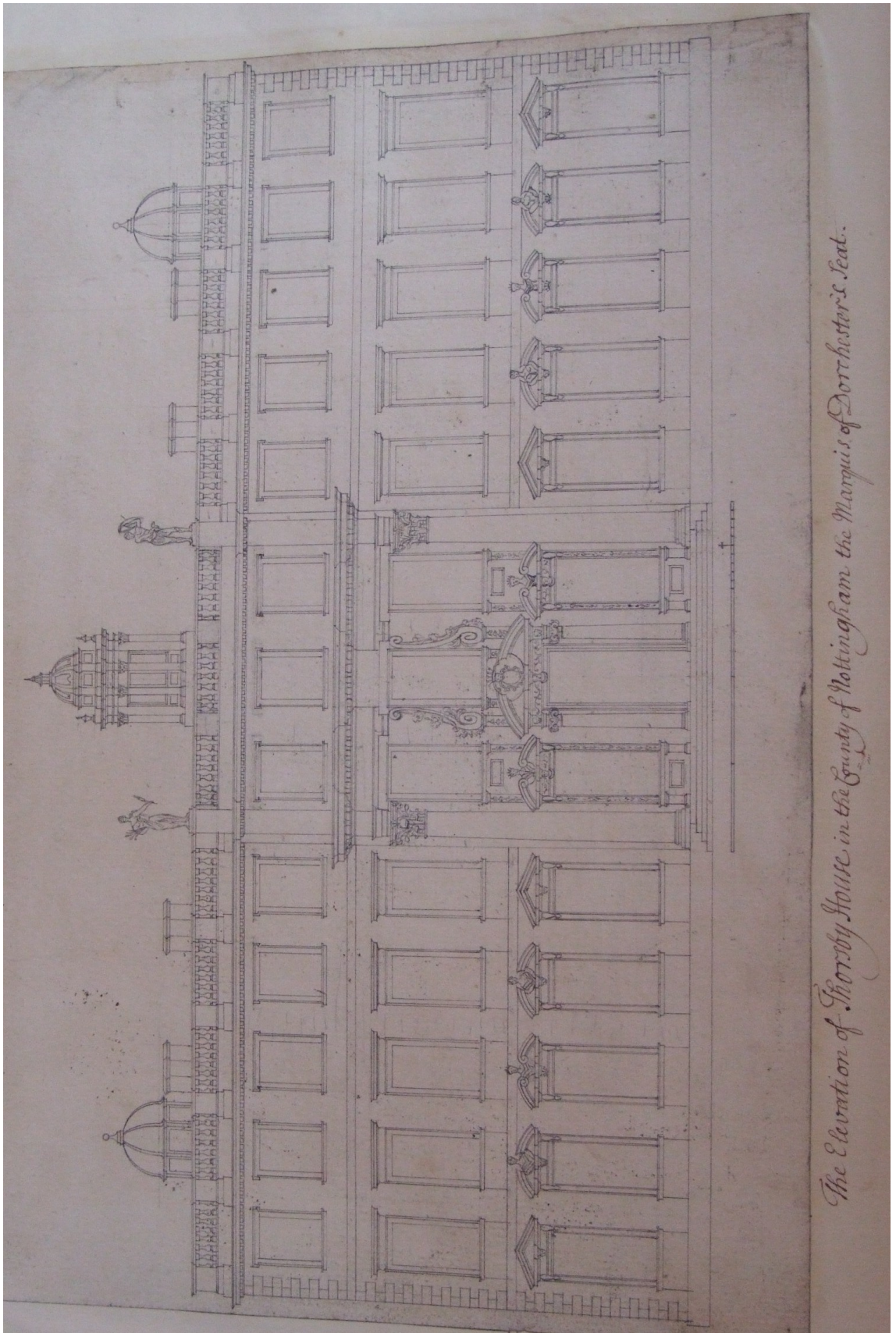


The Elevation of one Wing of the Great part of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

76. Greenwich Hospital, London, Elevation: 29D (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 88-89

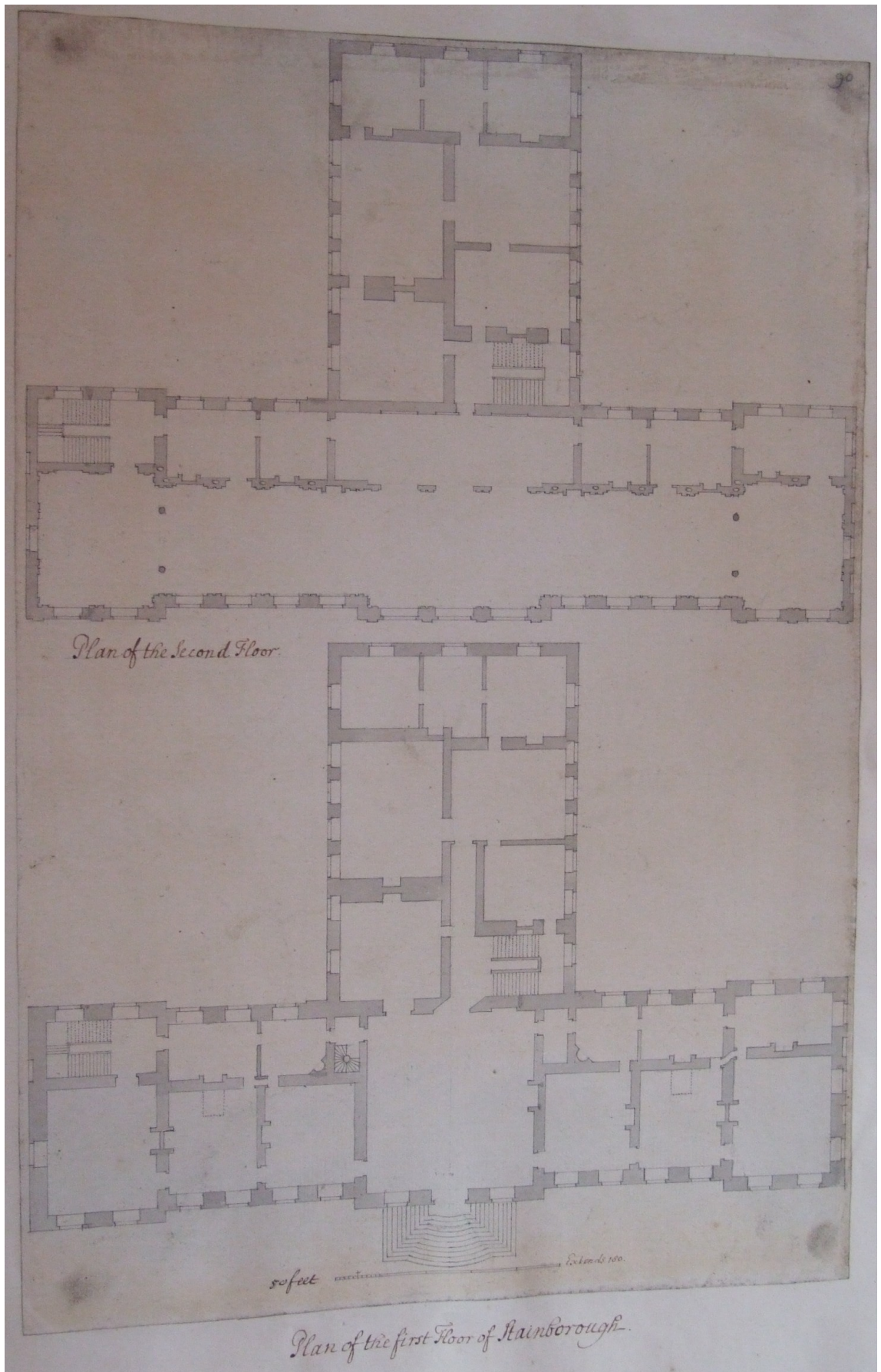


77. Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire, Plan: 30A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 90

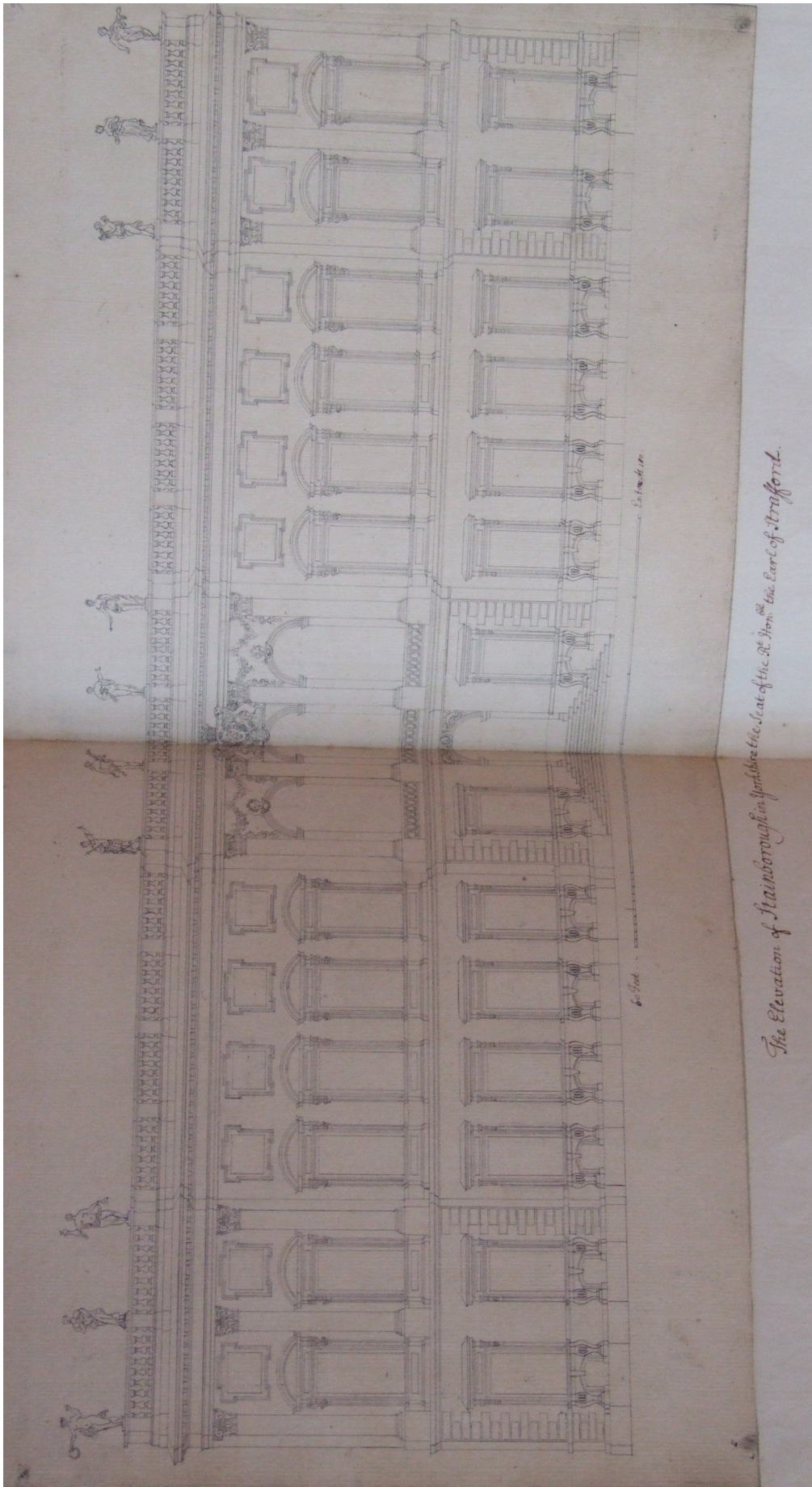


The Elevation of Thoresby House in the County of Nottingham the Marquis of Dorchester's Seat.

78. Thoresby House, Nottinghamshire, Elevation: 30B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 91

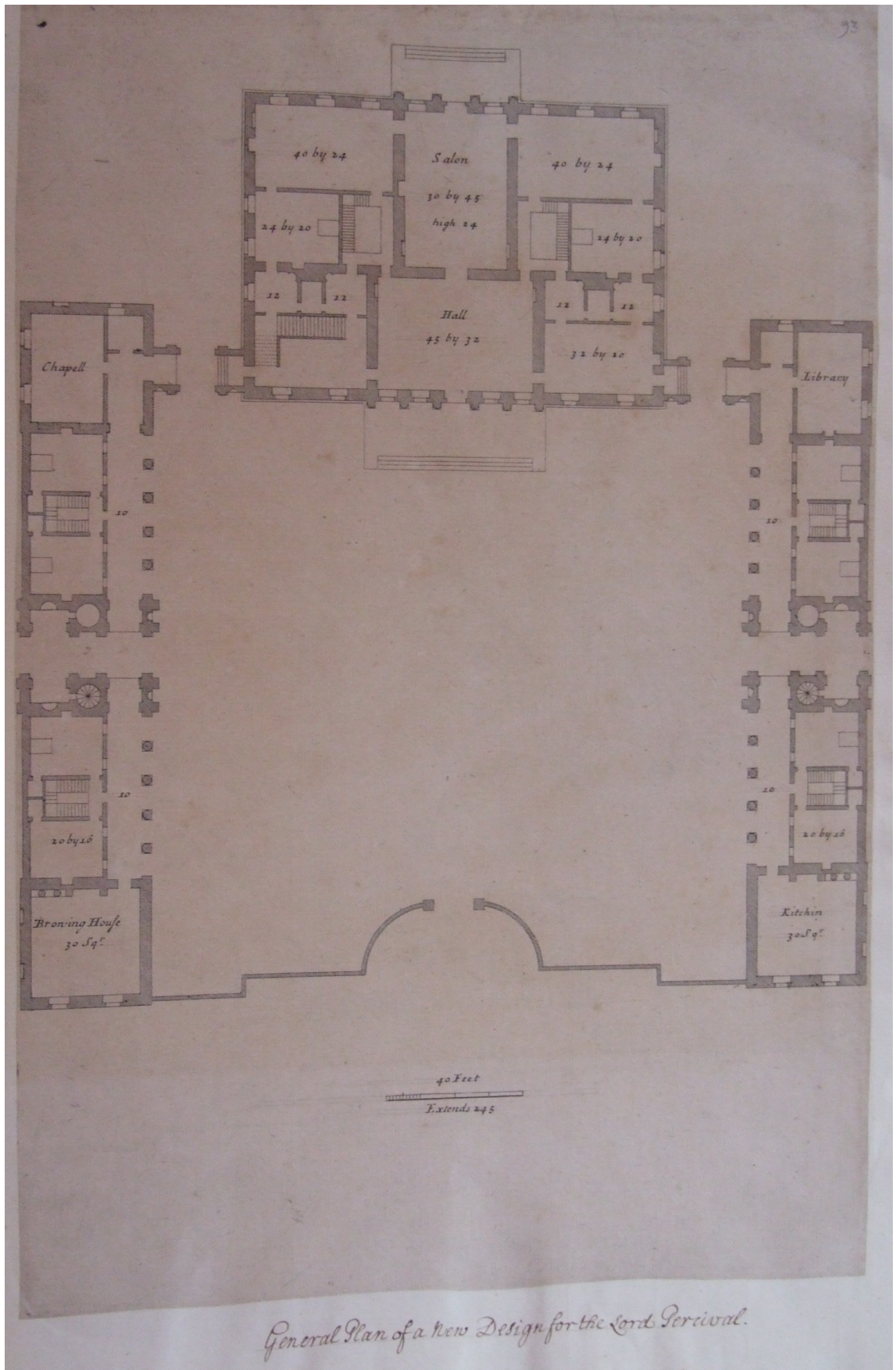


79. Wentworth Castle (Stainborough), Yorkshire, Plan: 31A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 92

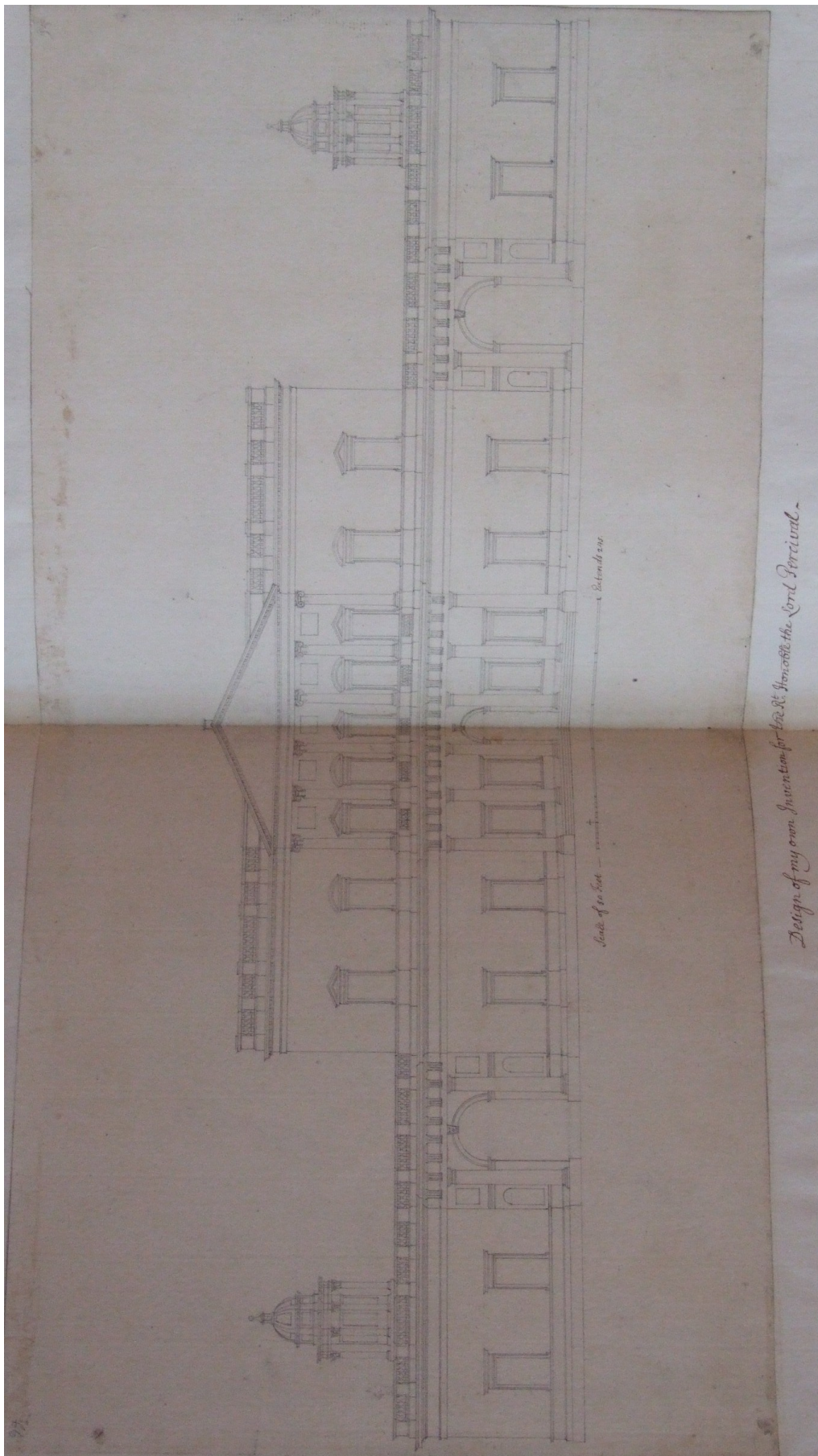


The Elevation of *Wentworth Castle* in *Yorkshire*, Seat of the *St. John* the *Earl of Strabford*.

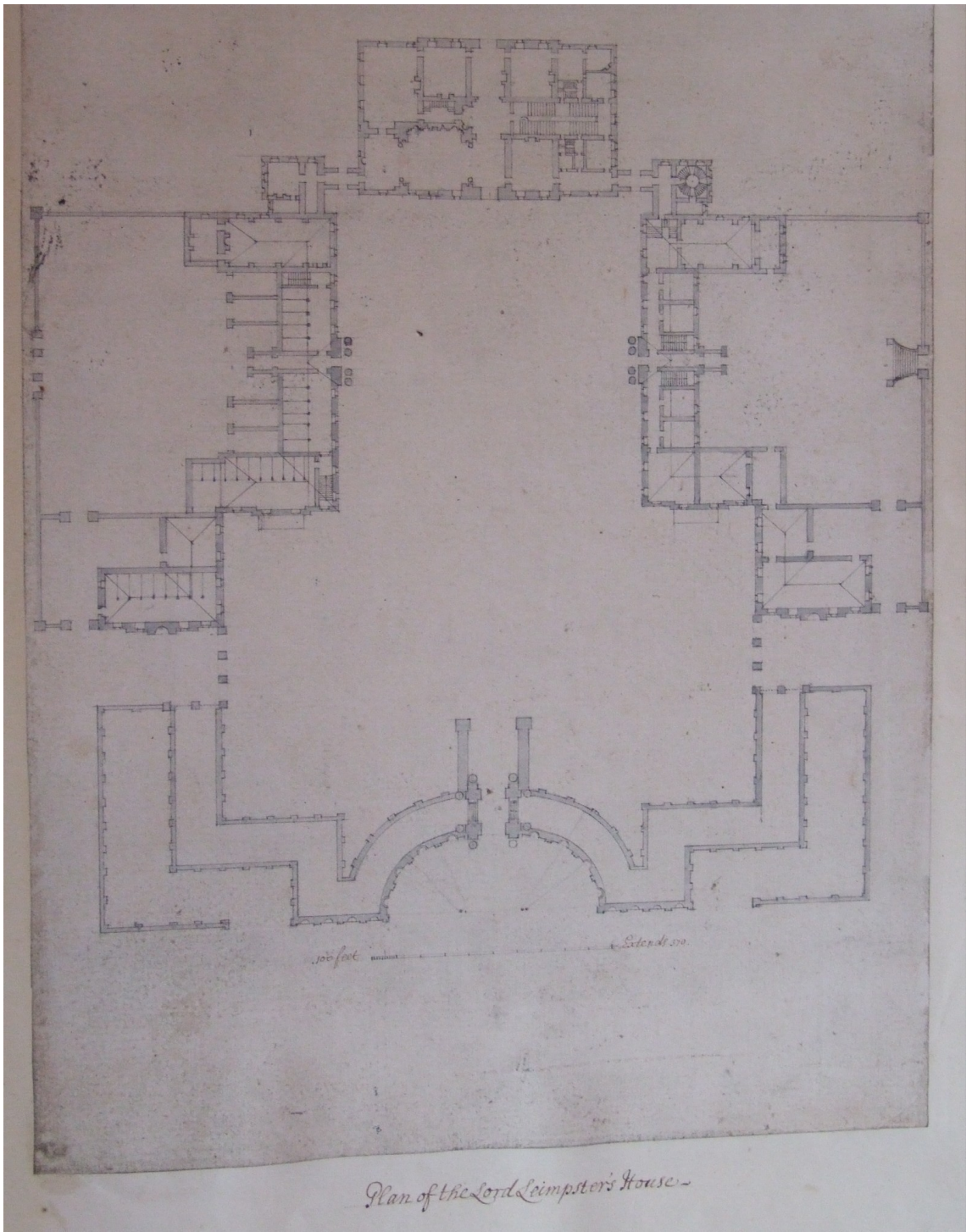
80. *Wentworth Castle*, (*Stainborough*) *Yorkshire*, Elevation: 31B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 93-94



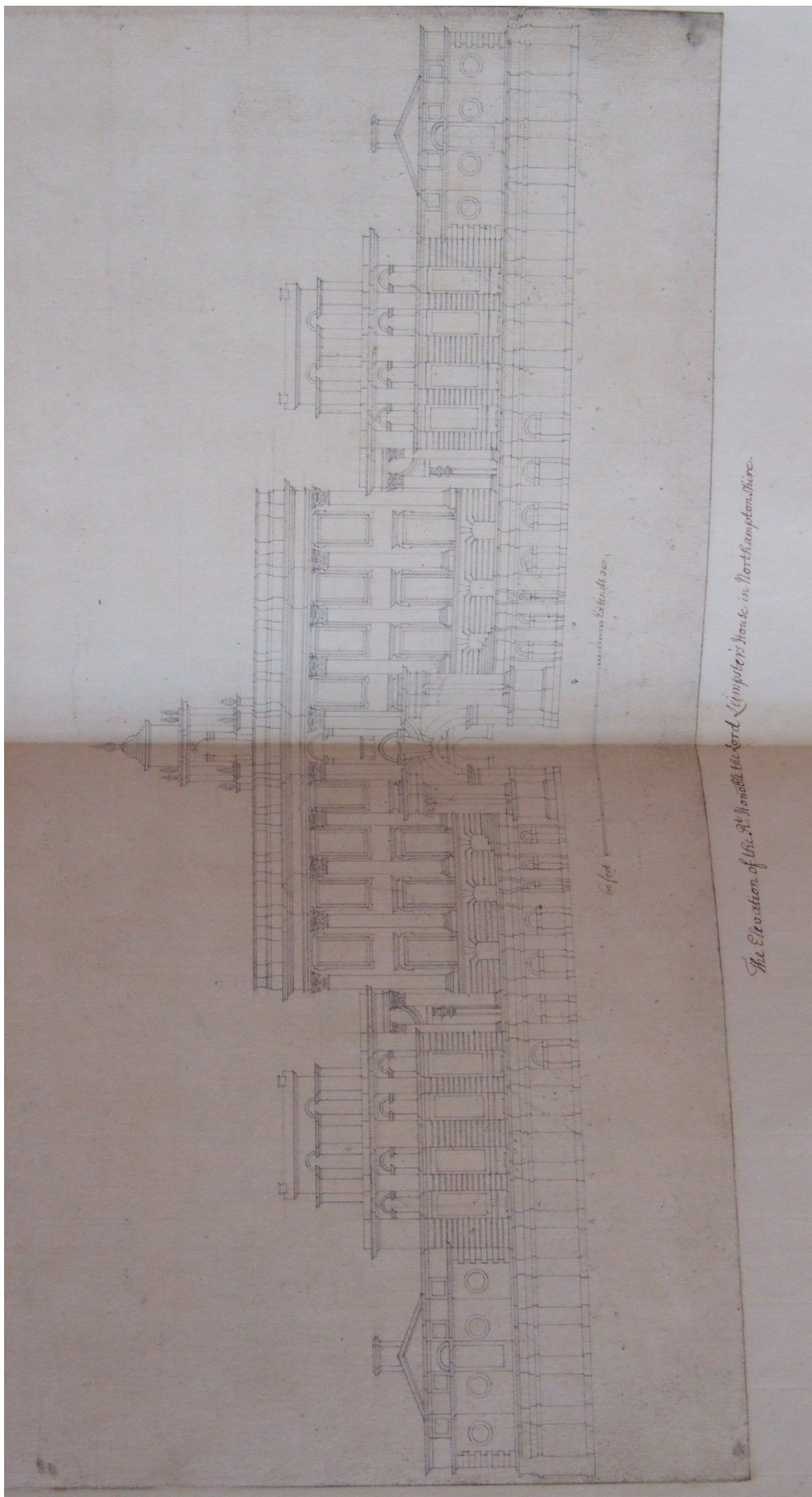
81. Proposed Design for Lord Percival, Plan: 32A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 95



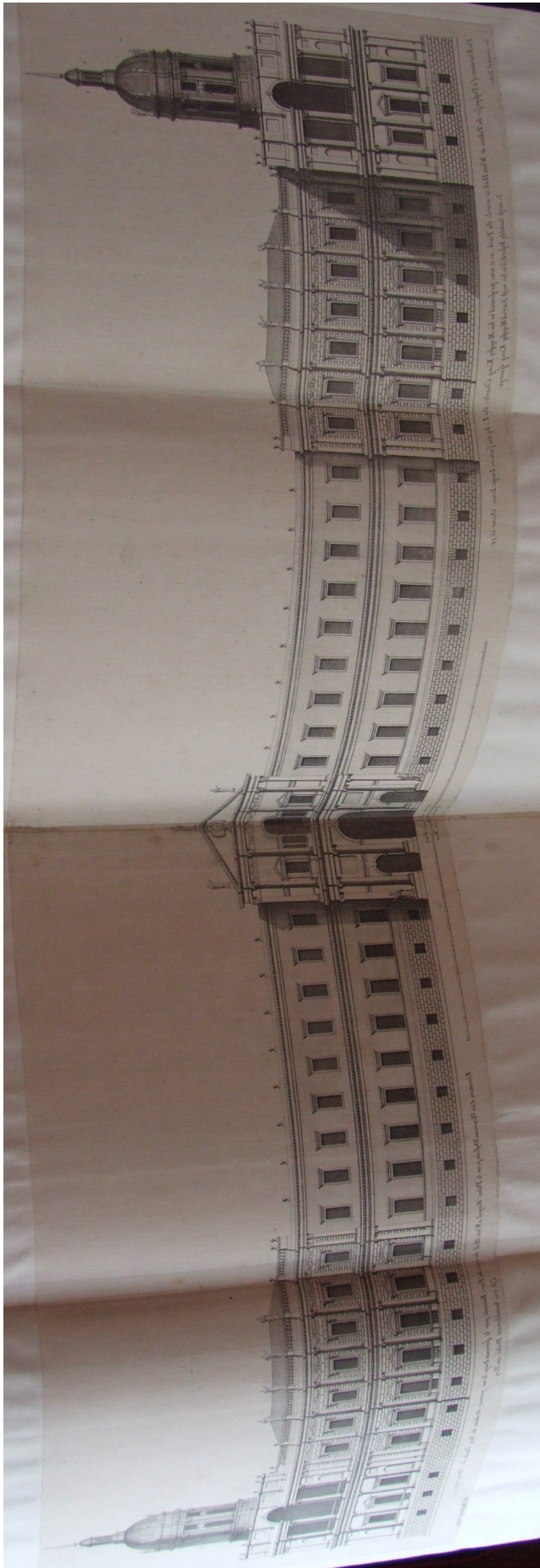
82. *Proposed Design for Lord Percival*, Elevation: 32B (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 96-97



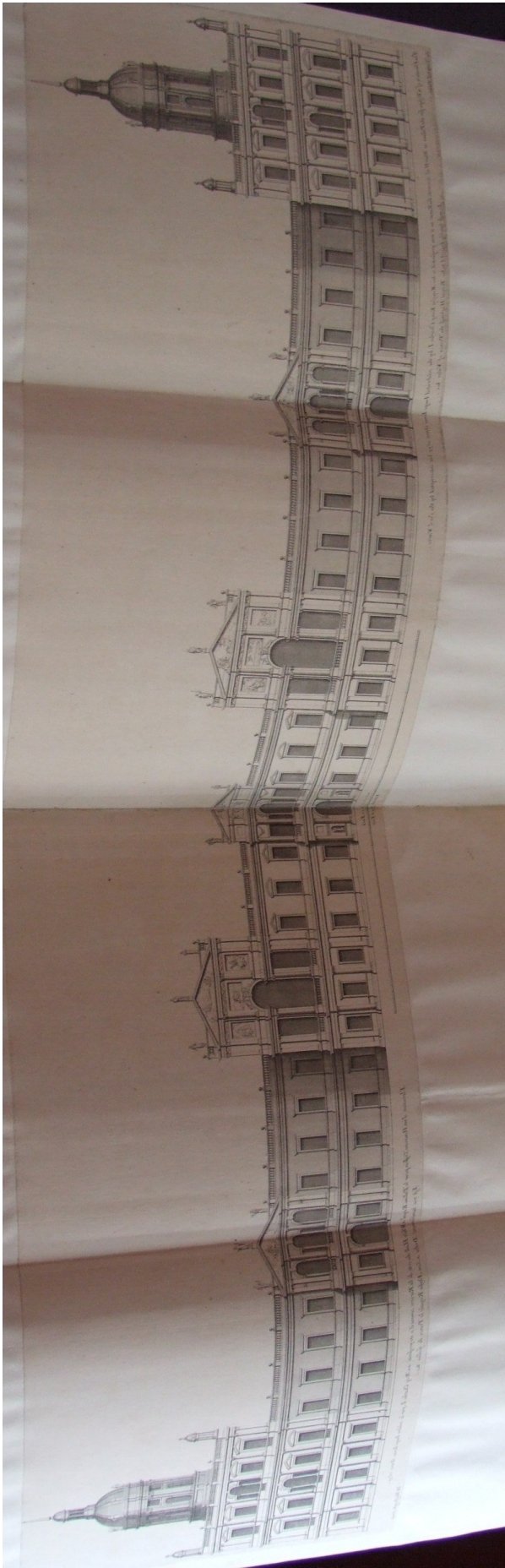
83. Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, Plan: 33A (c. 1715), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 98



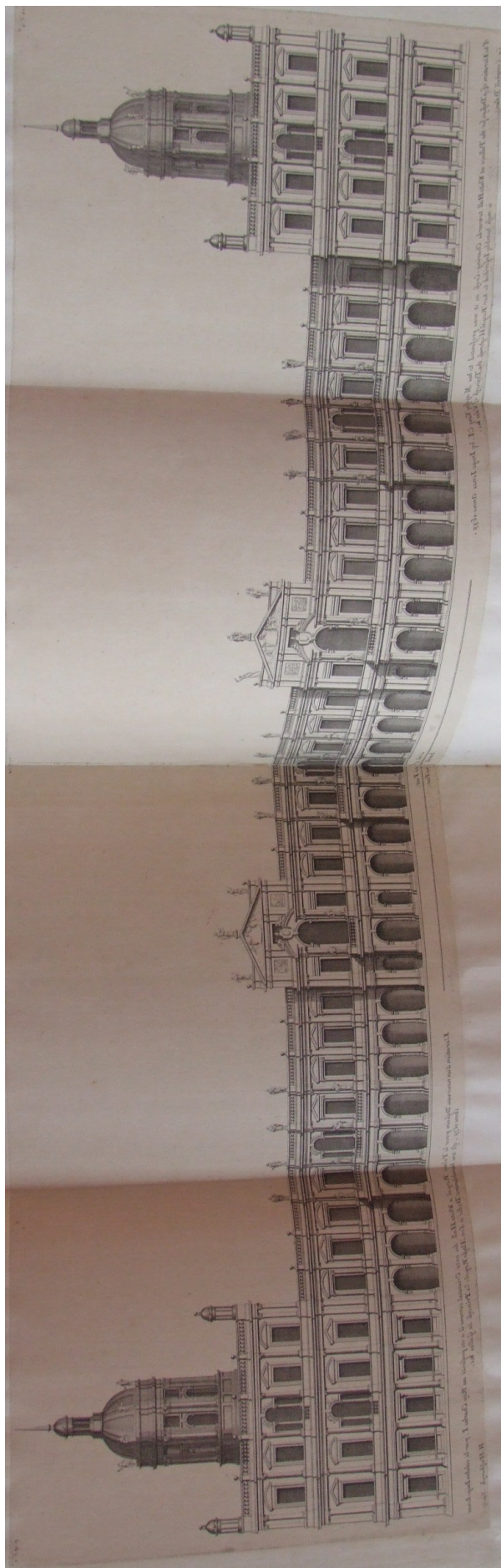
84. *Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, Elevation: 33B (c. 1715), Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 99-100*



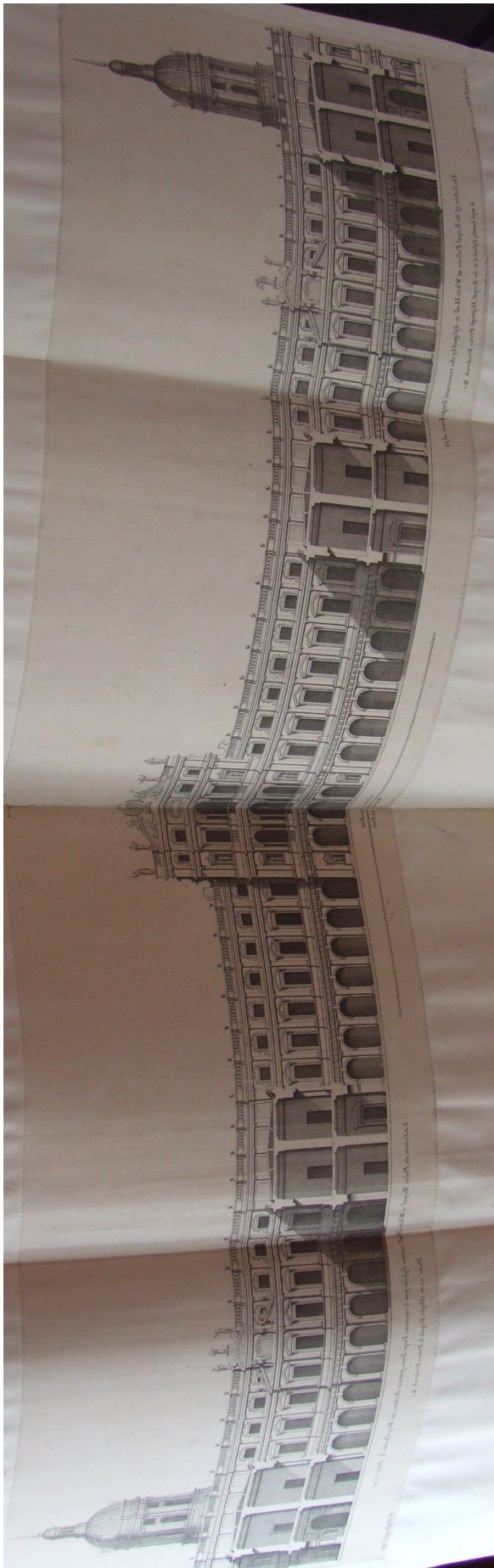
86. Whitehall Palace, London, Elevation: 34B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 4-7



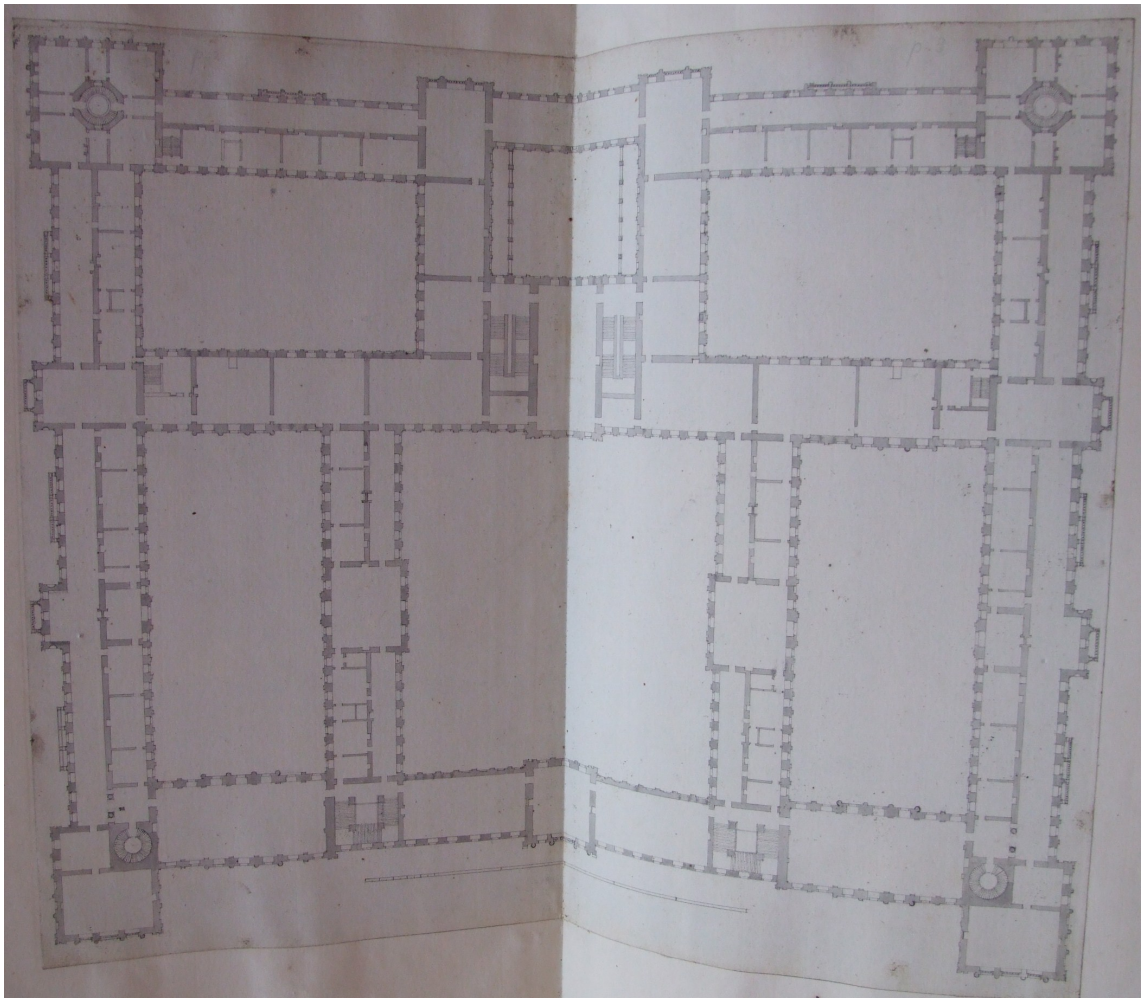
87. *Whitehall Palace, London, Elevation: 34C (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 8-11*



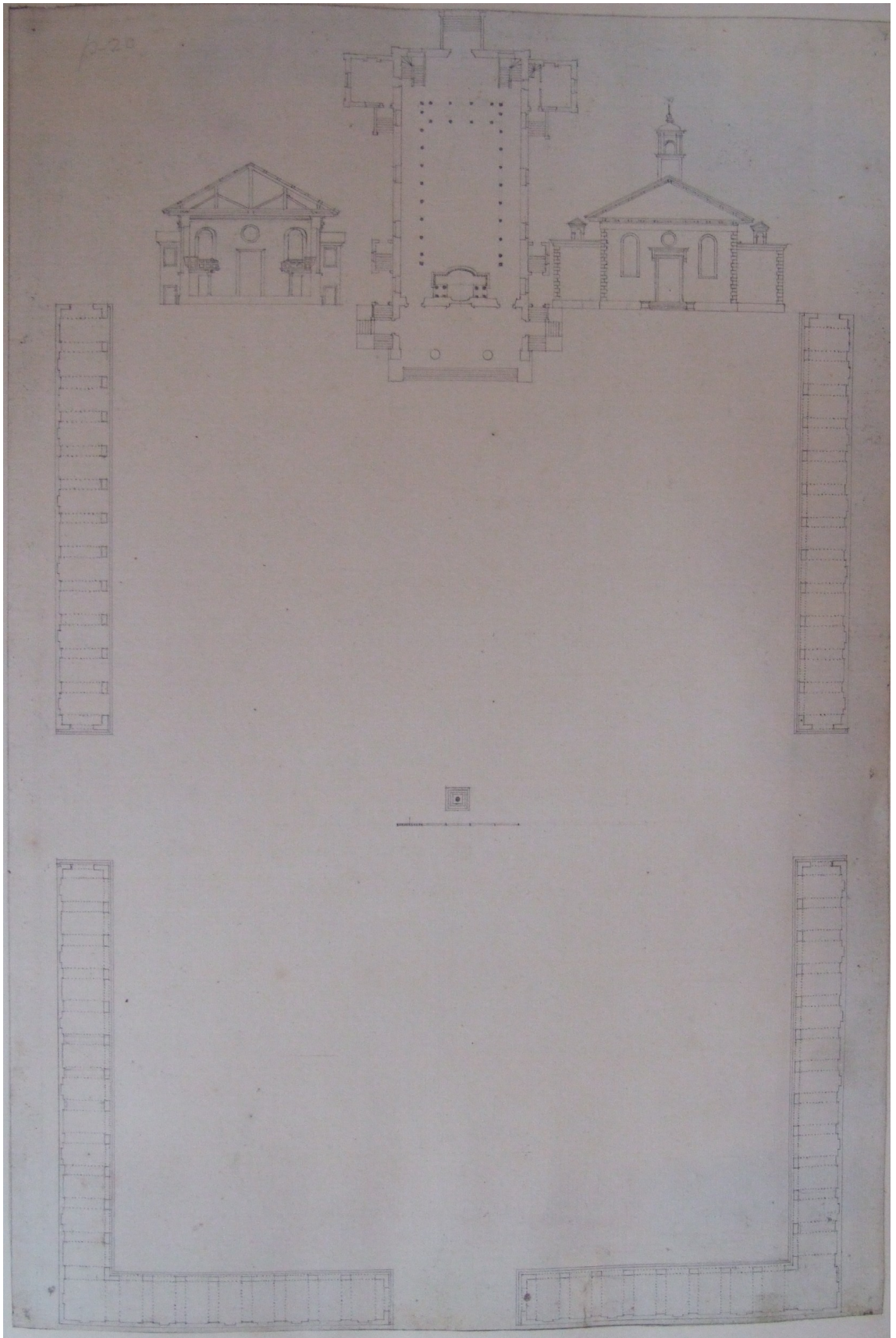
88. Whitehall Palace, London, Elevation: 34D (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 12-15



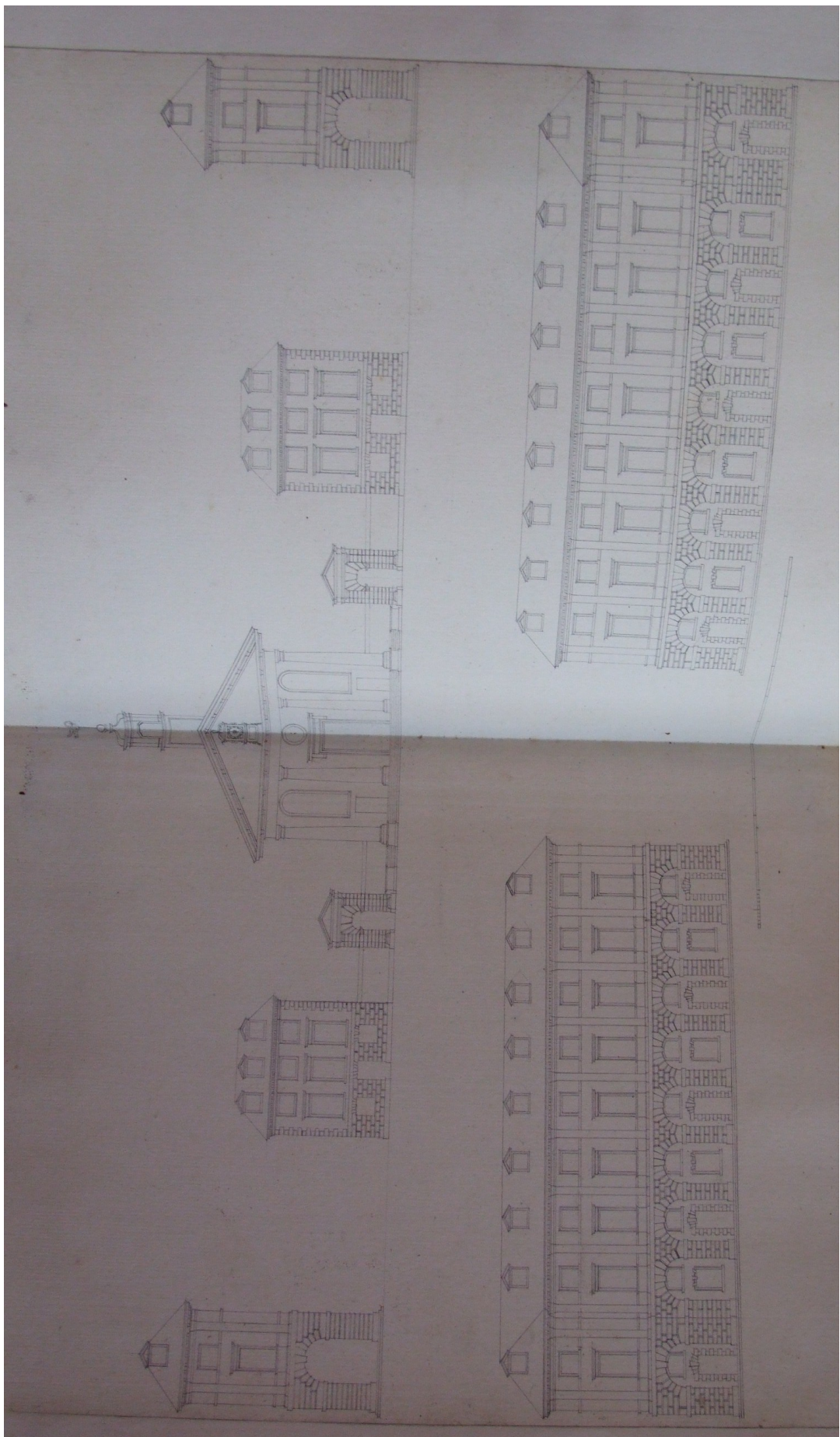
89. *Whitehall Palace, London, Elevation: 34E (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 16-19*



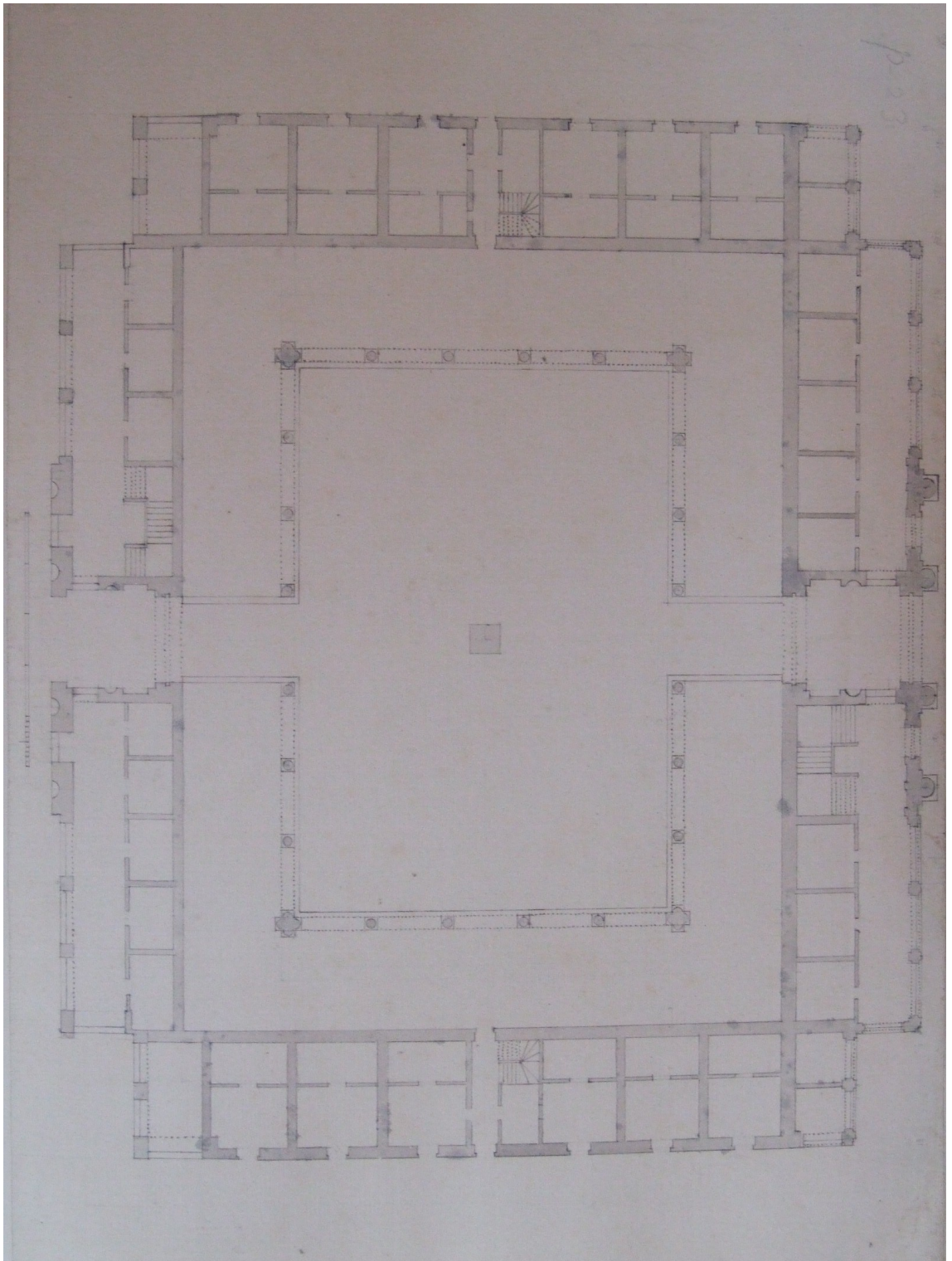
85. *Whitehall Palace, London, Plan: 34A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 2-3*



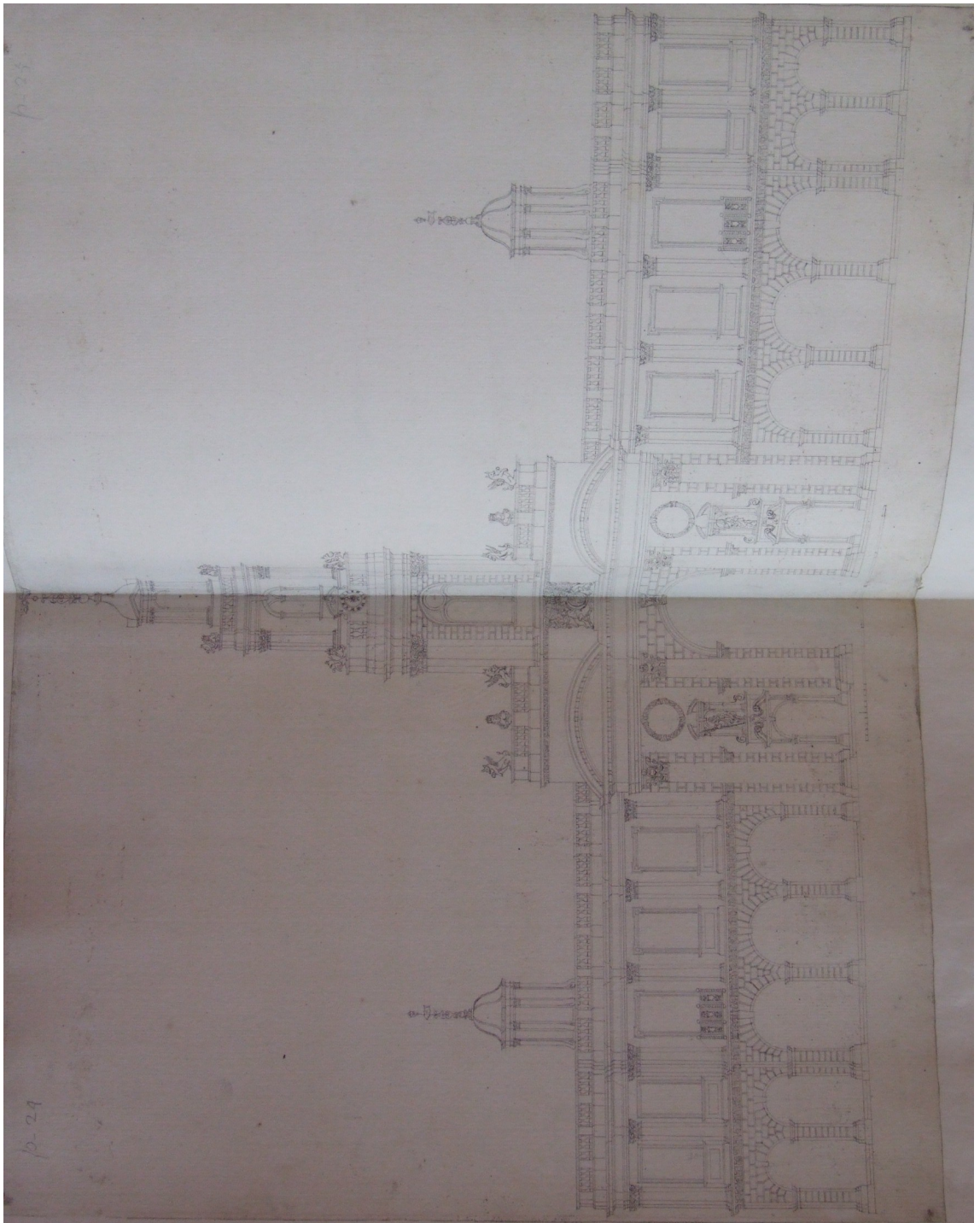
90. *Covent Garden, London, Plan and Elevation: 35A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 20*



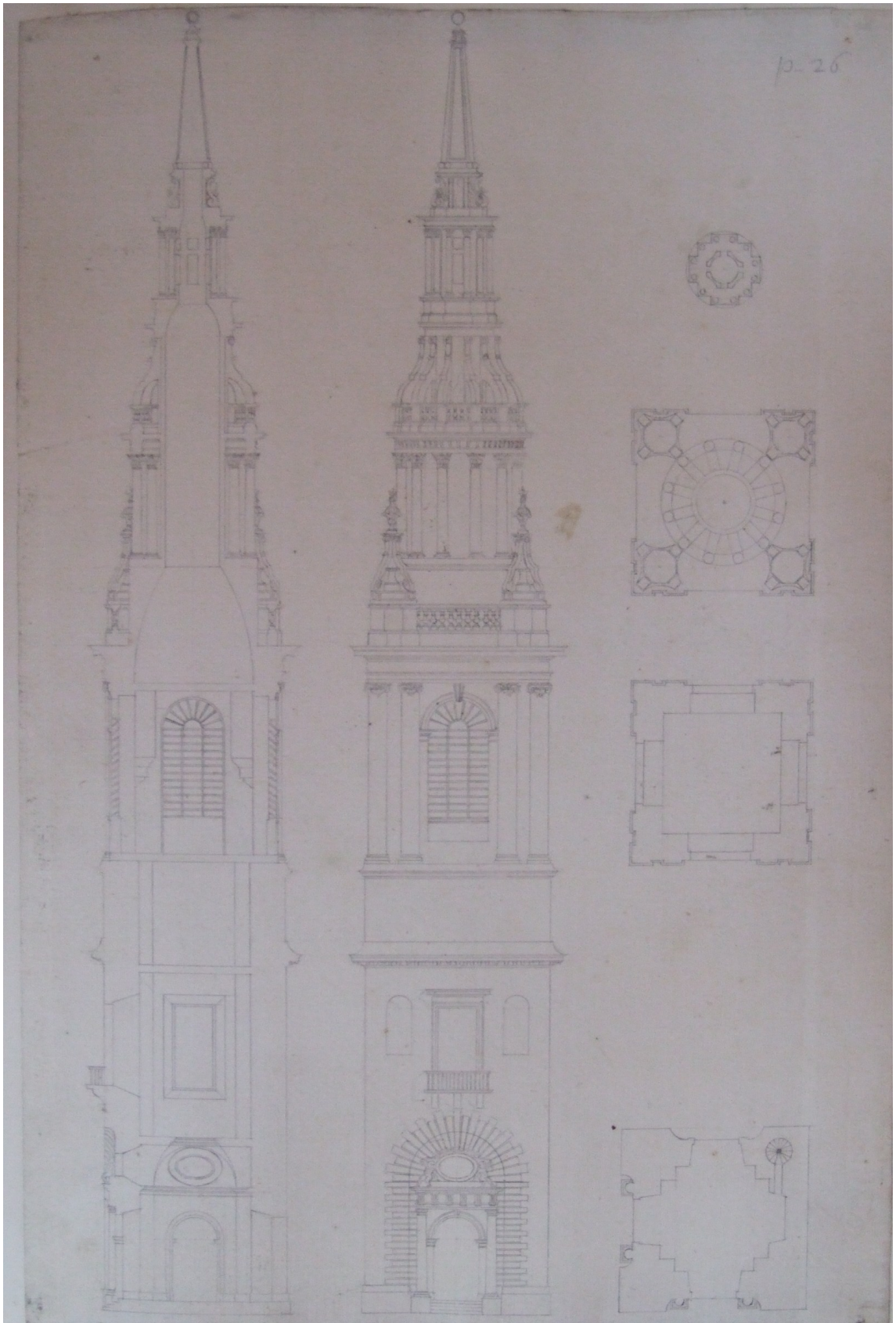
91. Covent Garden, London, Elevation: 35B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 21-22



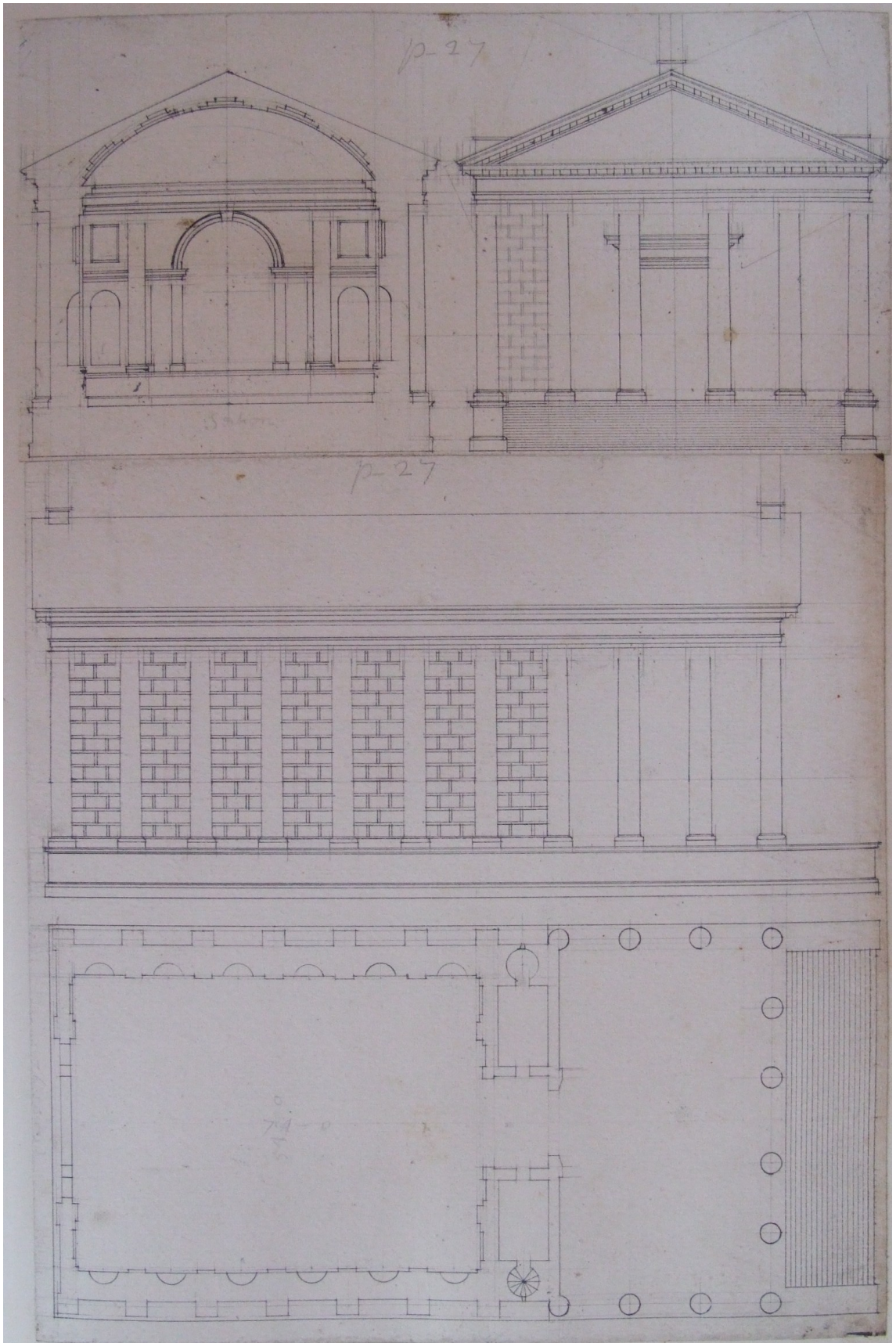
92. *Royal Exchange, London, Plan: 36A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 23*



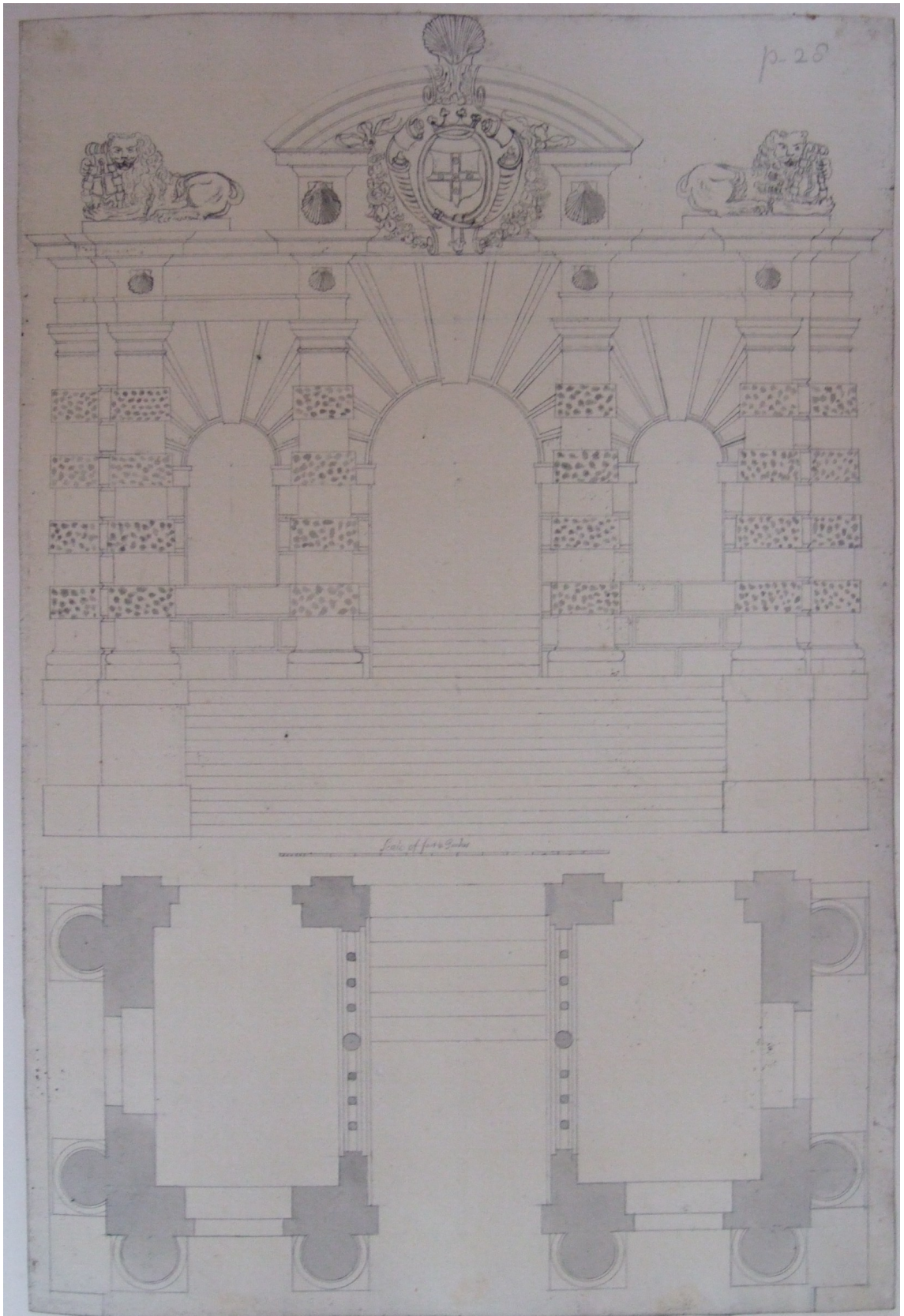
93. *Royal Exchange, London*, Elevation: 36B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 24-25



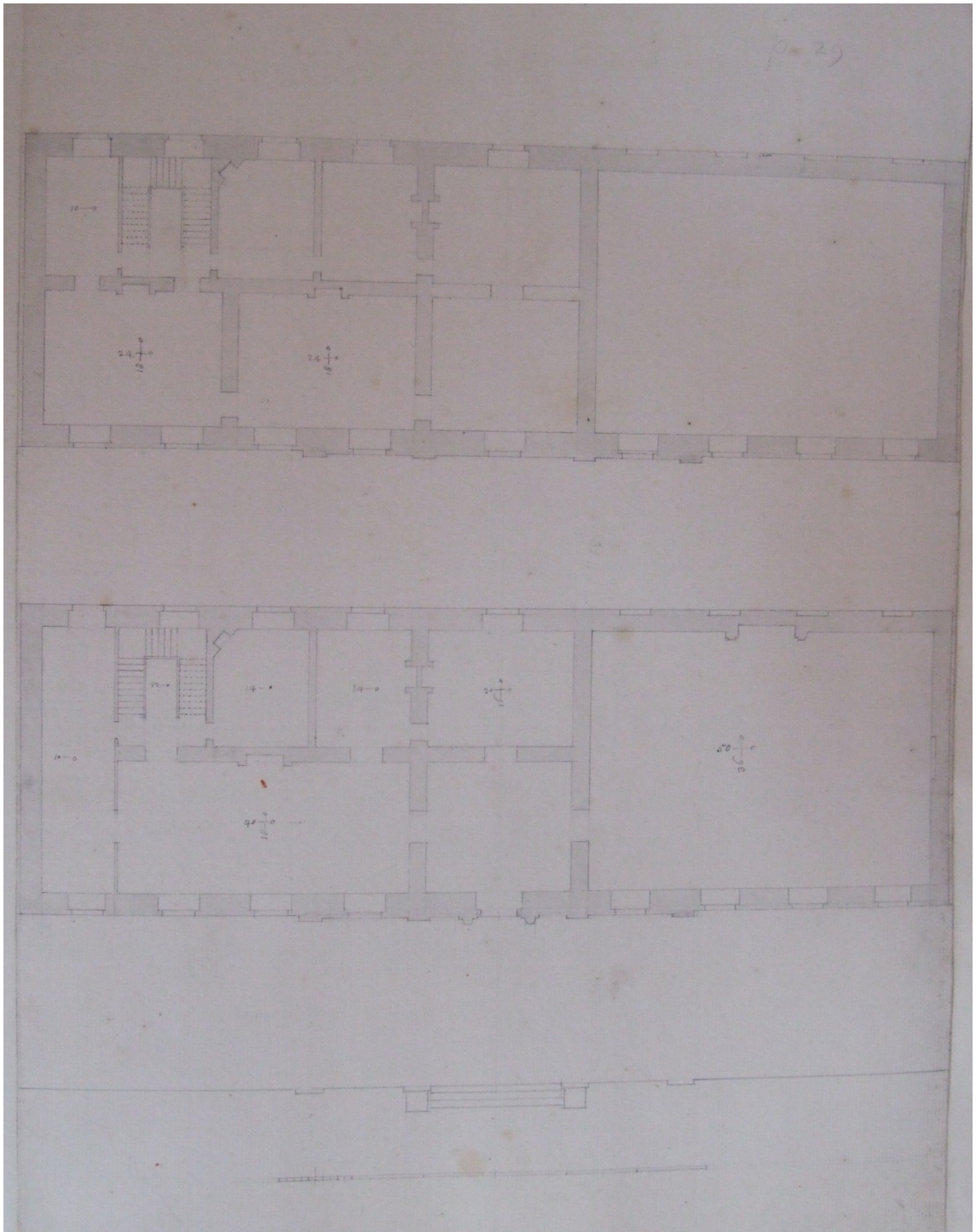
94. *Bow Steeple, London*, Plan, Section and Elevation: 37A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 26



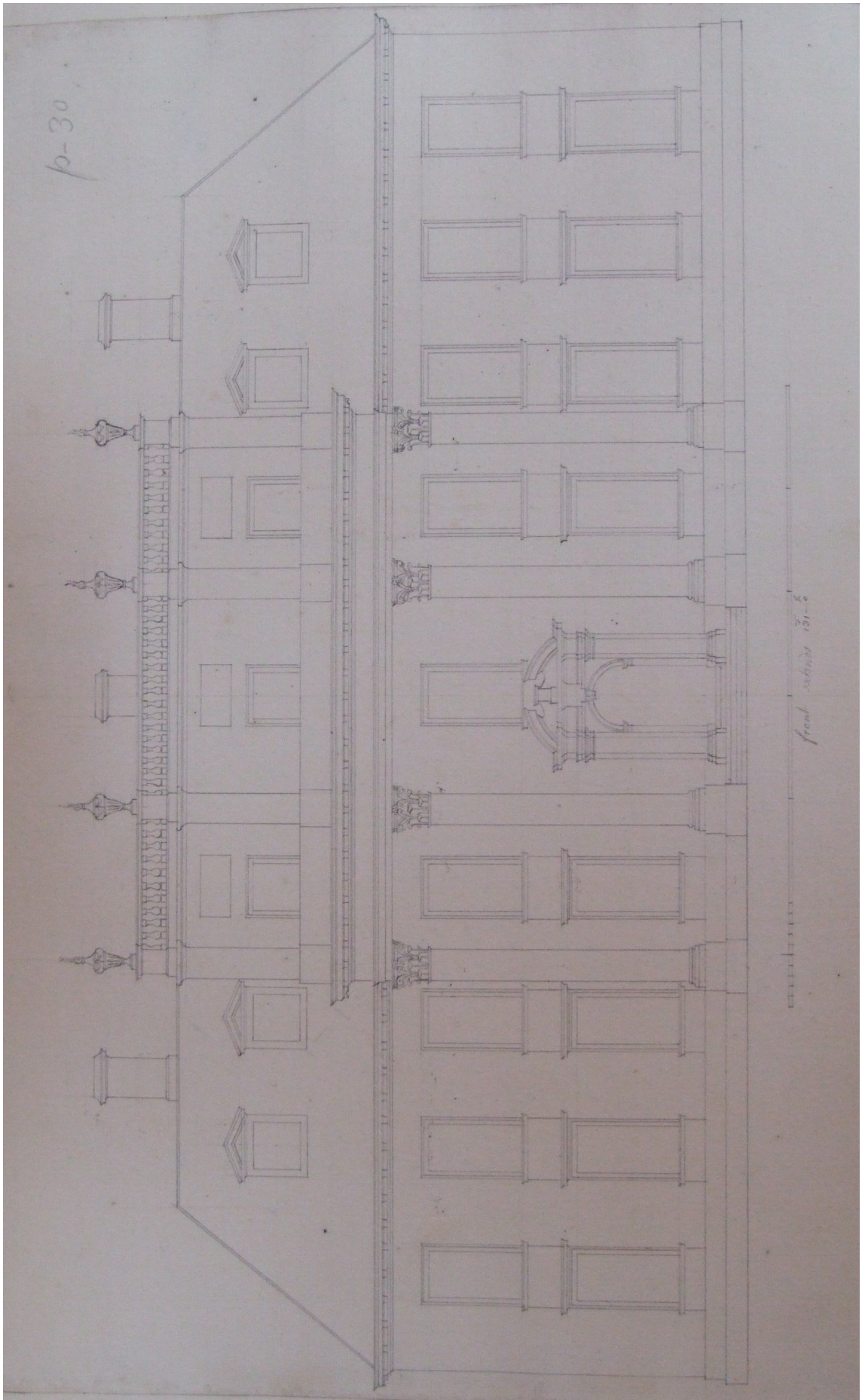
95. *Proposed Design for a Church in the Vitruvian Style, Plan and Longitudinal Elevation: 38A* (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 27



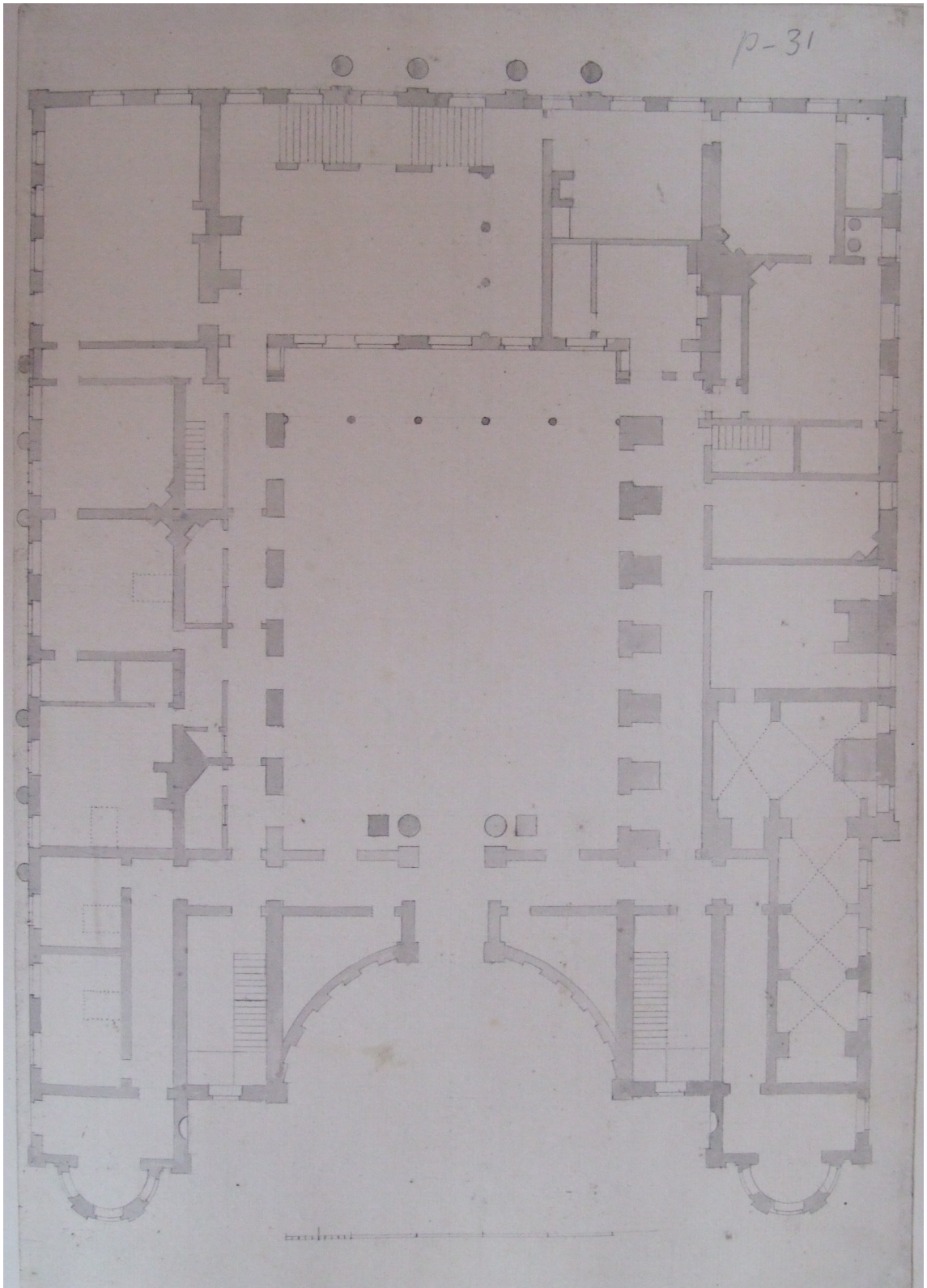
96. York Stairs, London, Plan and Elevation: 39A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 28



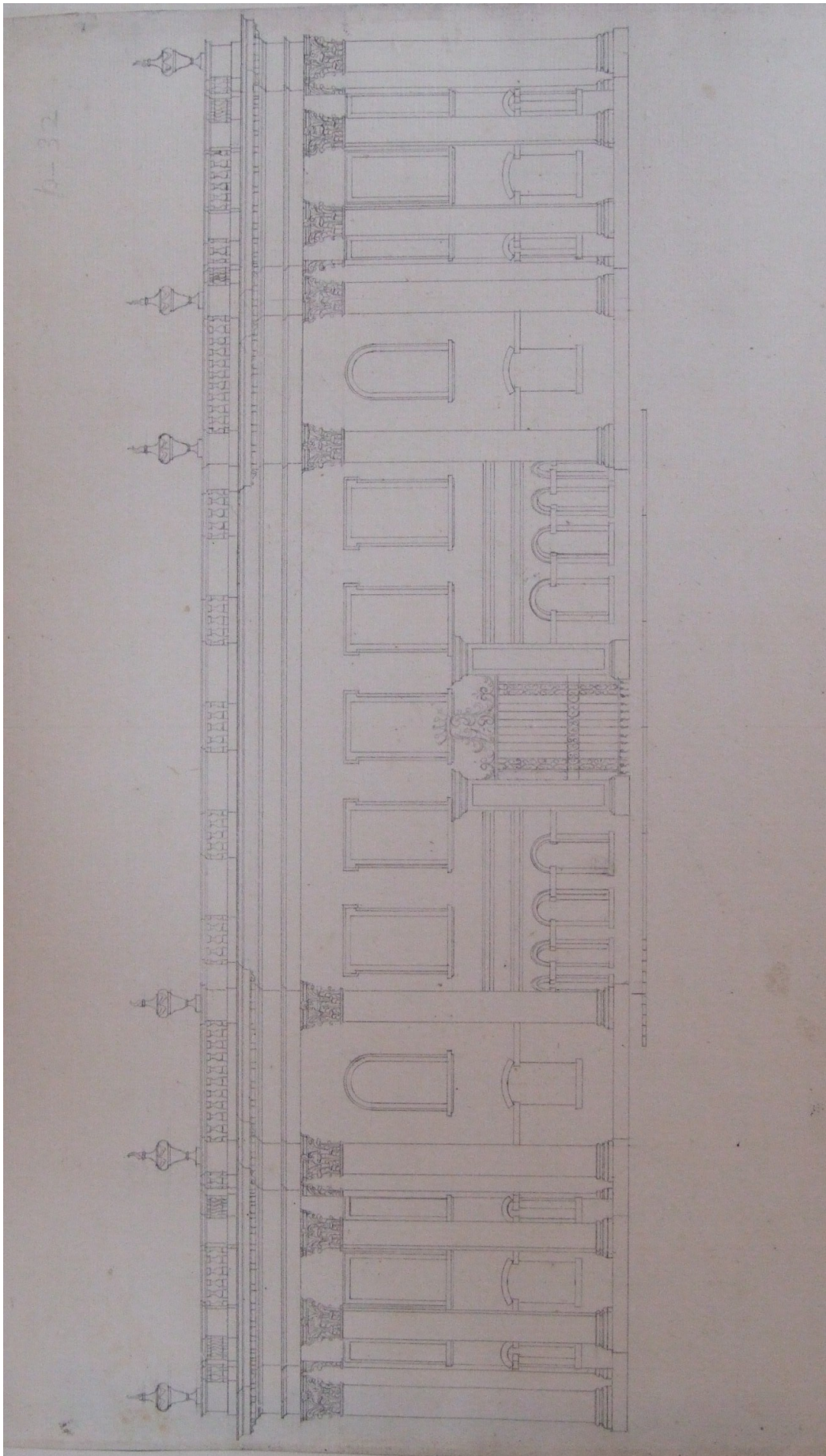
97. Cobham Hall, Kent, Plans: 40A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 29



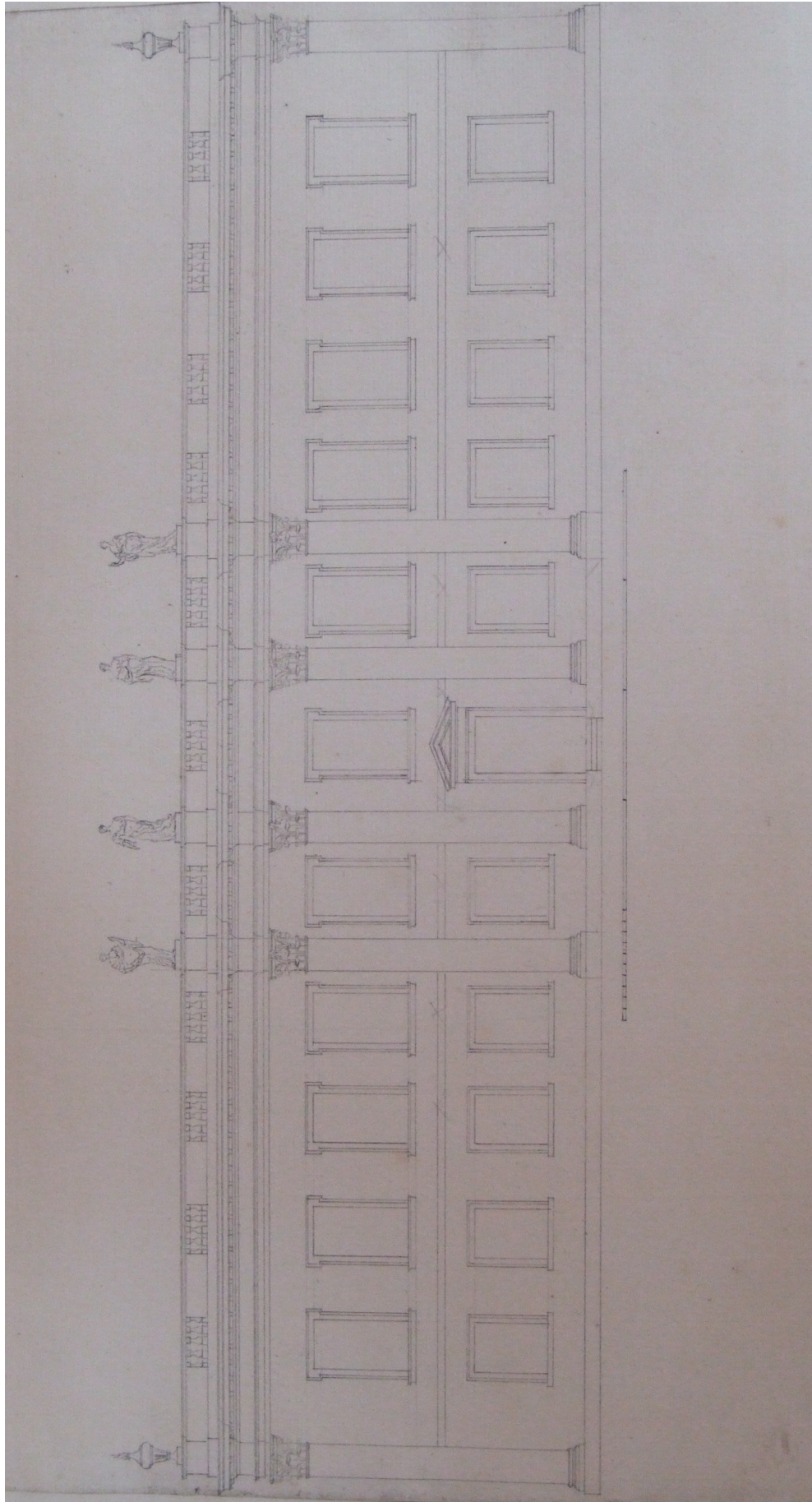
98. Cobham Hall, Kent, Elevation: 40B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 30



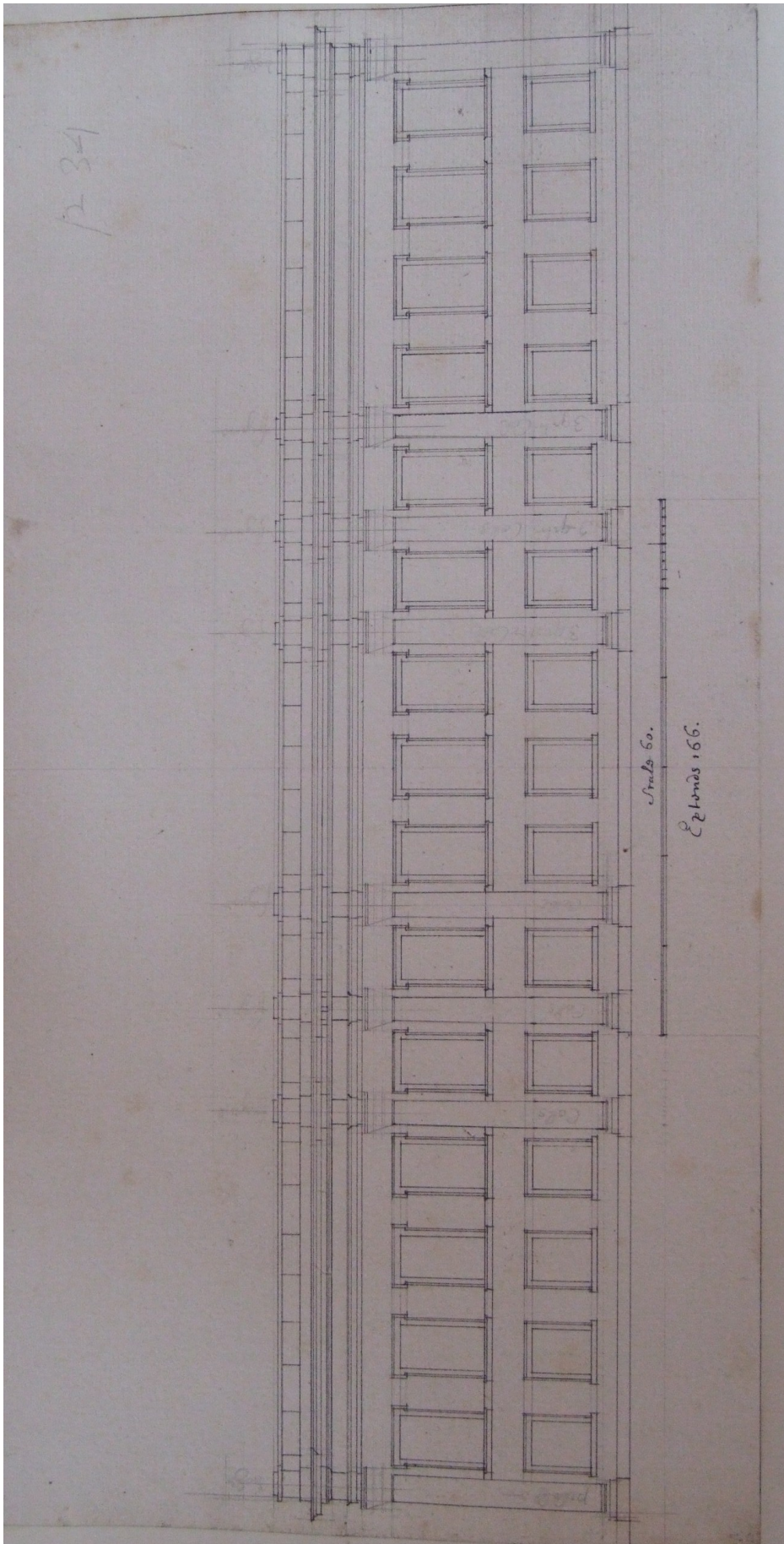
99. Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire, Plan: 41A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 31



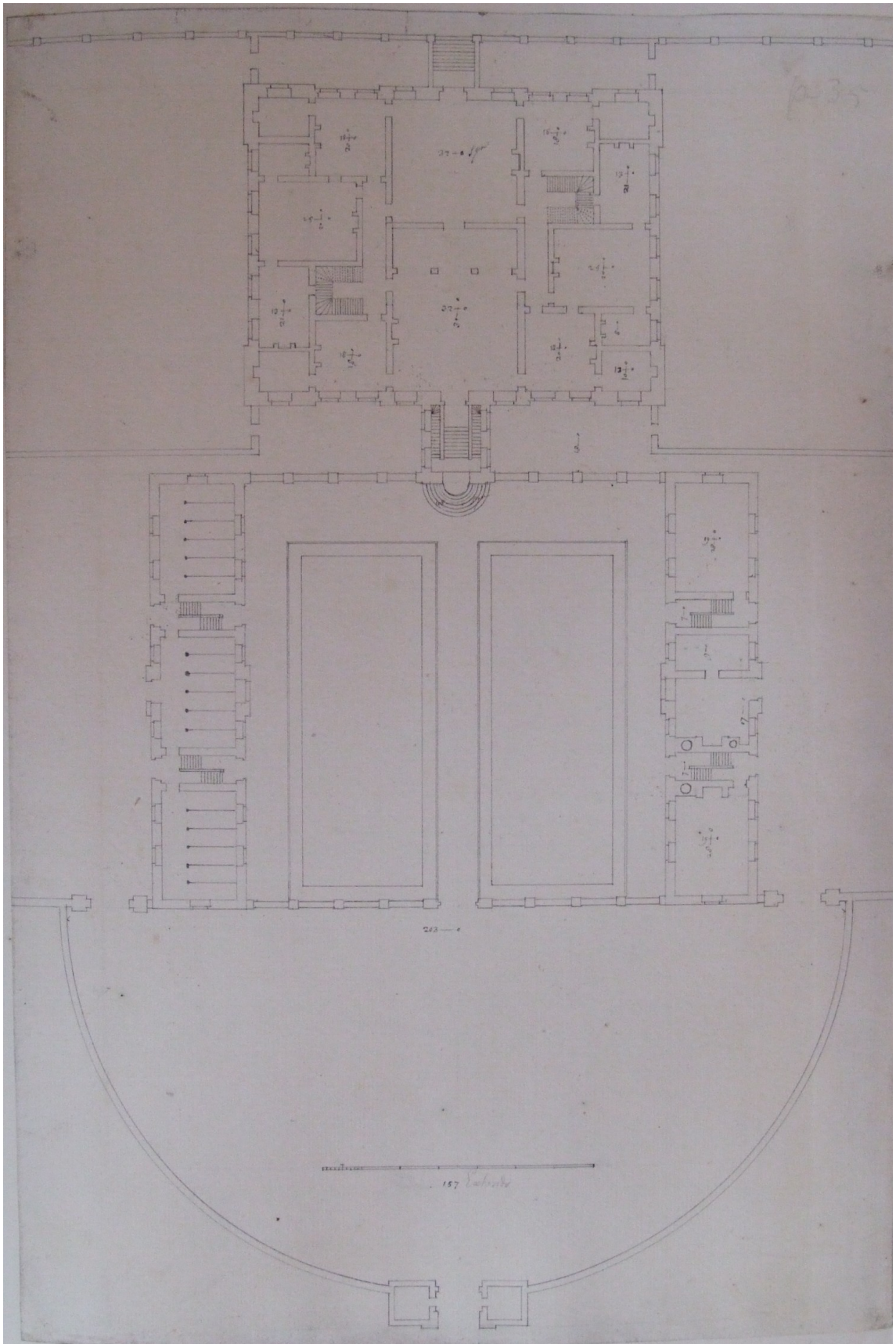
100. Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire, Elevation: 41B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 32



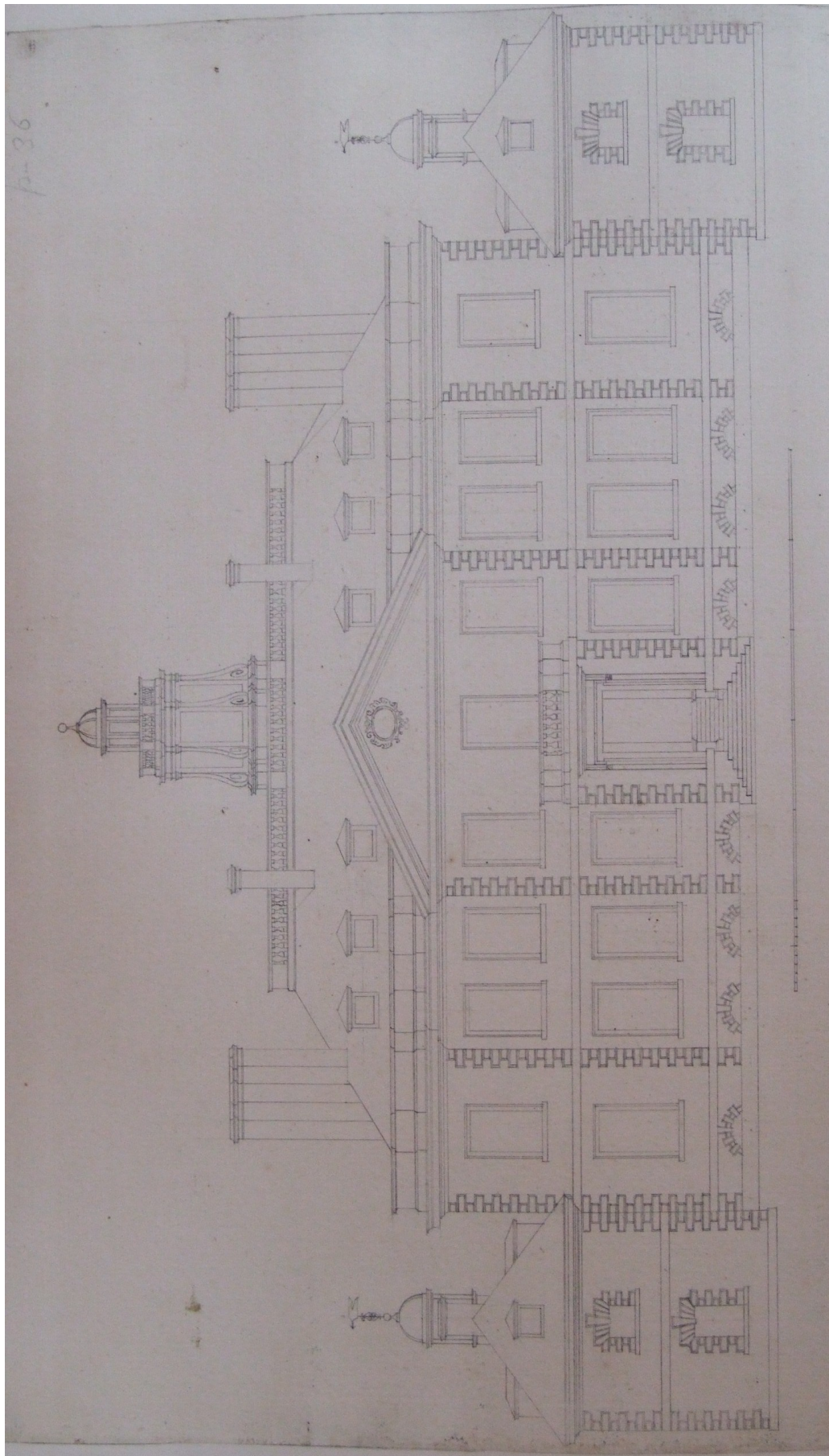
101. Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire, Elevation: 41C (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 33



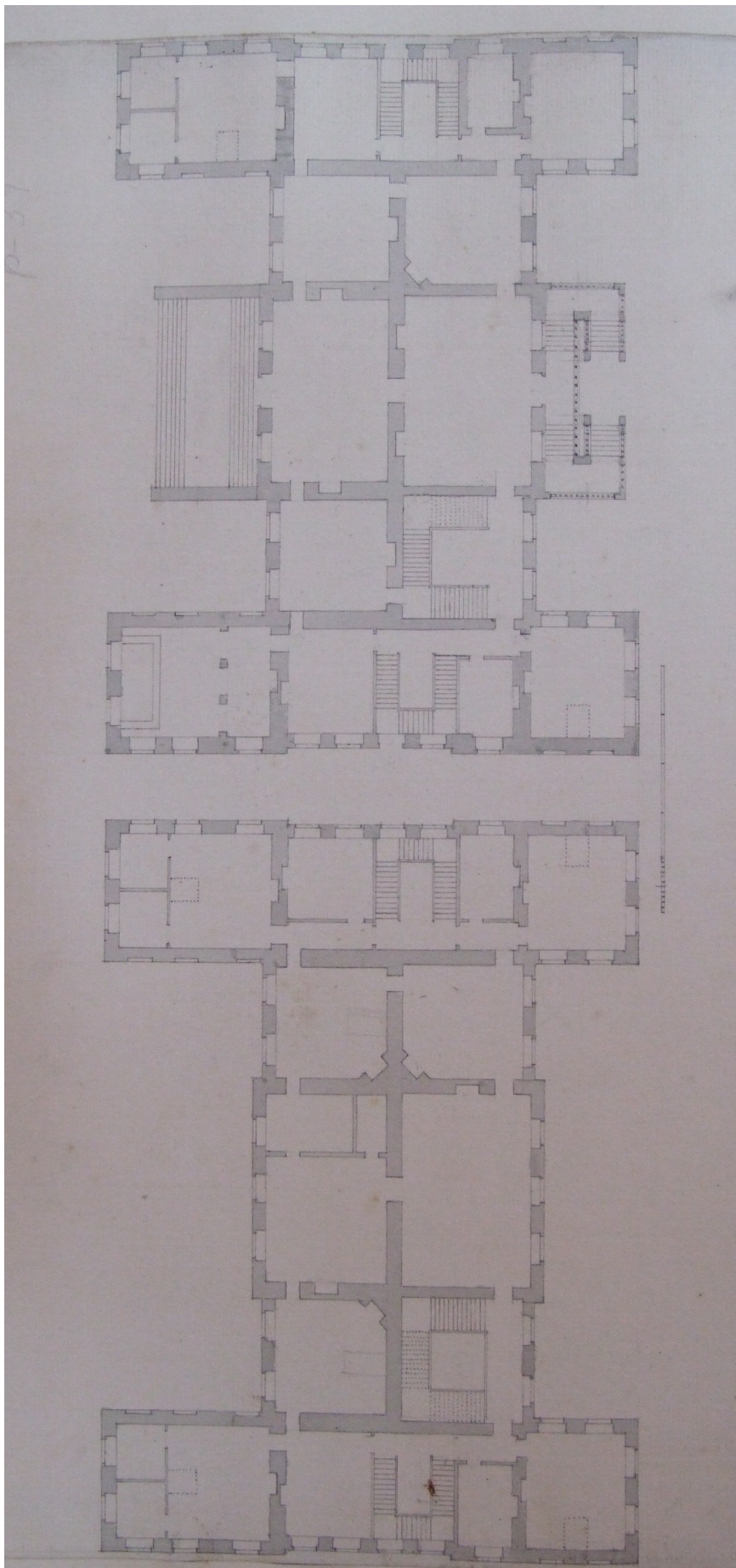
102. Cholmondeley Hall, Cheshire, Elevation: 41D (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 34



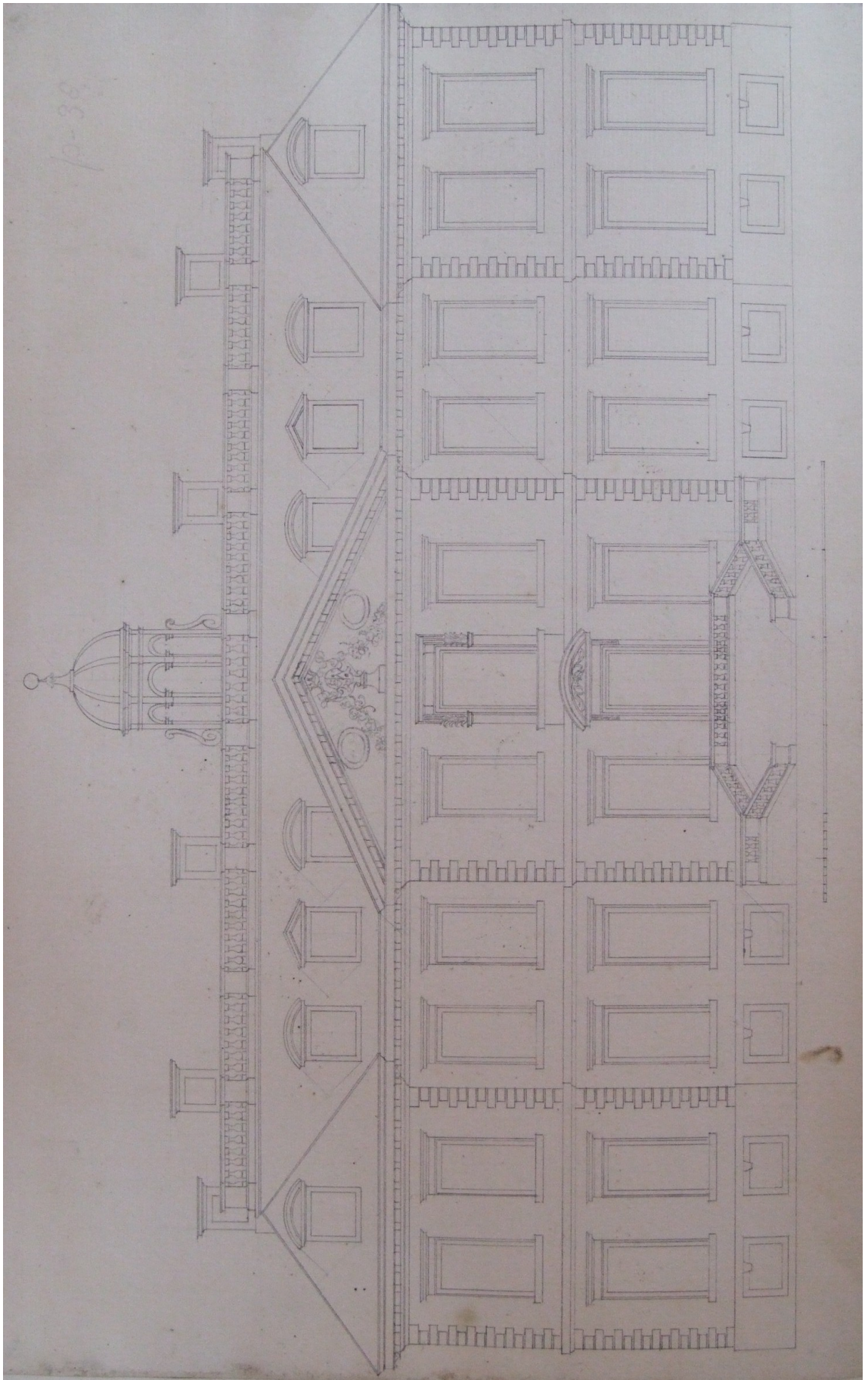
103. Eaton Hall, Cheshire, Plan: 42A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 35



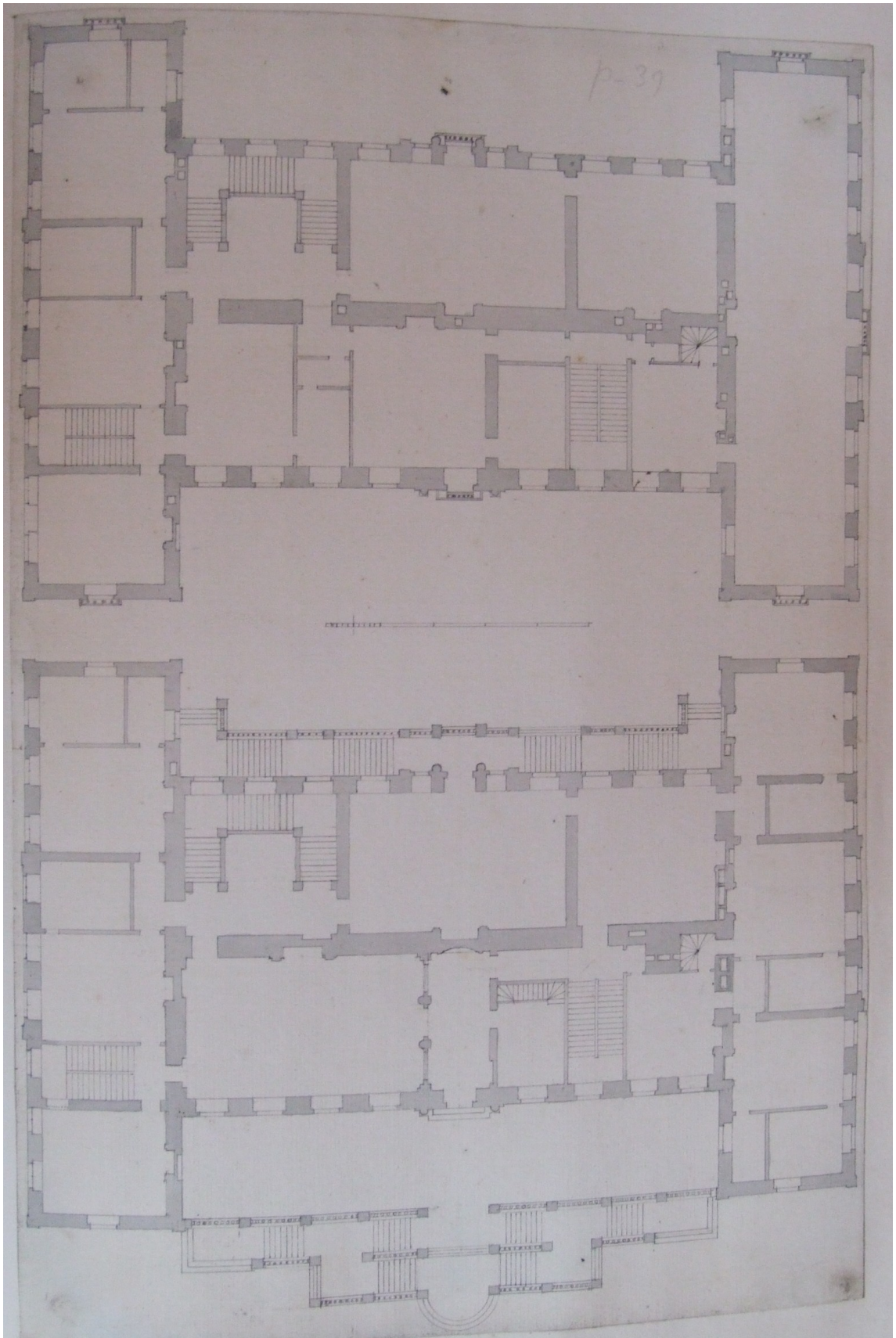
104. Eaton Hall, Cheshire, Elevation: 42B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 36



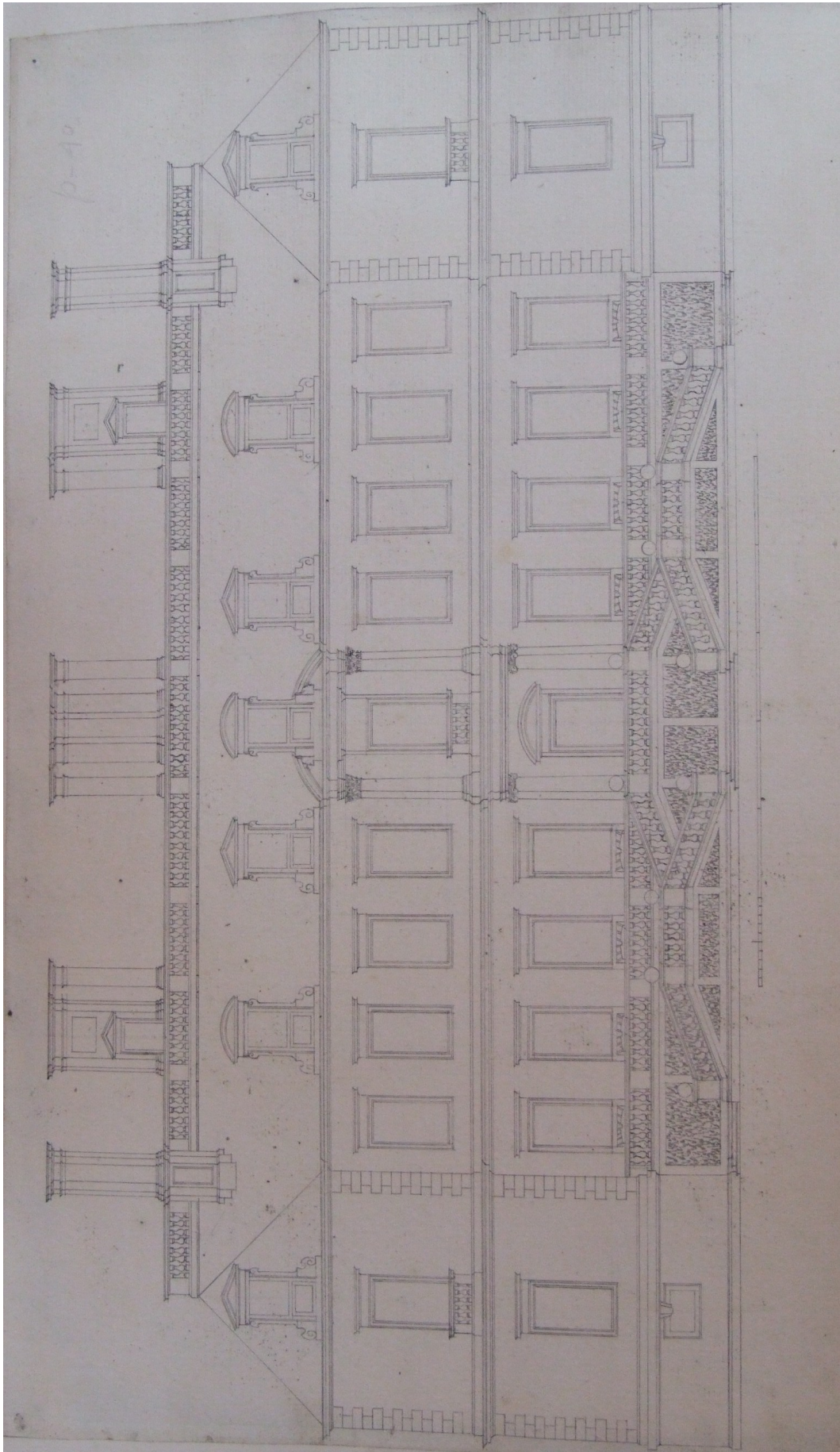
105. *Belton Hall, Cheshire, Plan: 43A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 37*



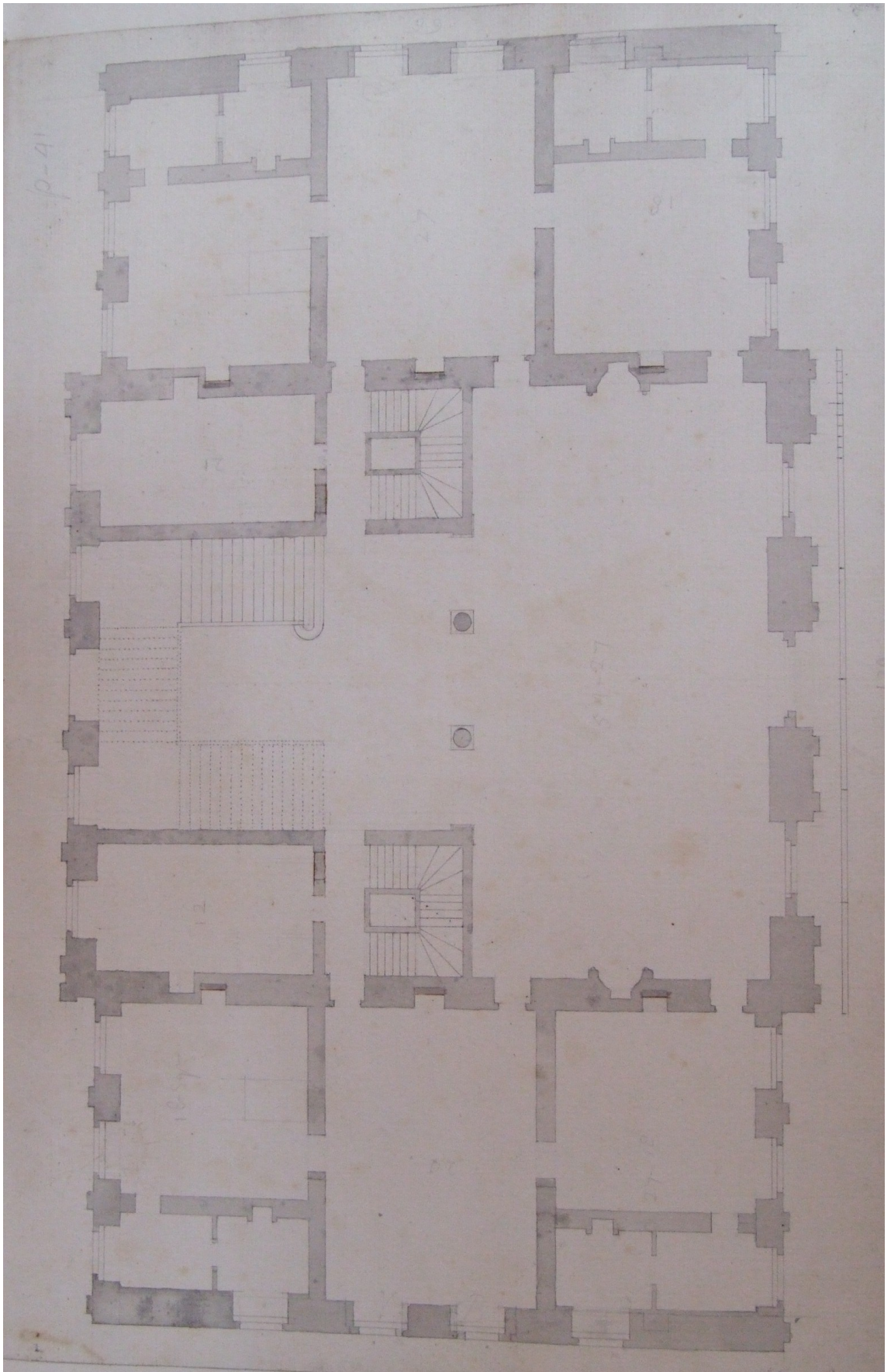
106. *Belton Hall, Cheshire*, Elevation: 43B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 38



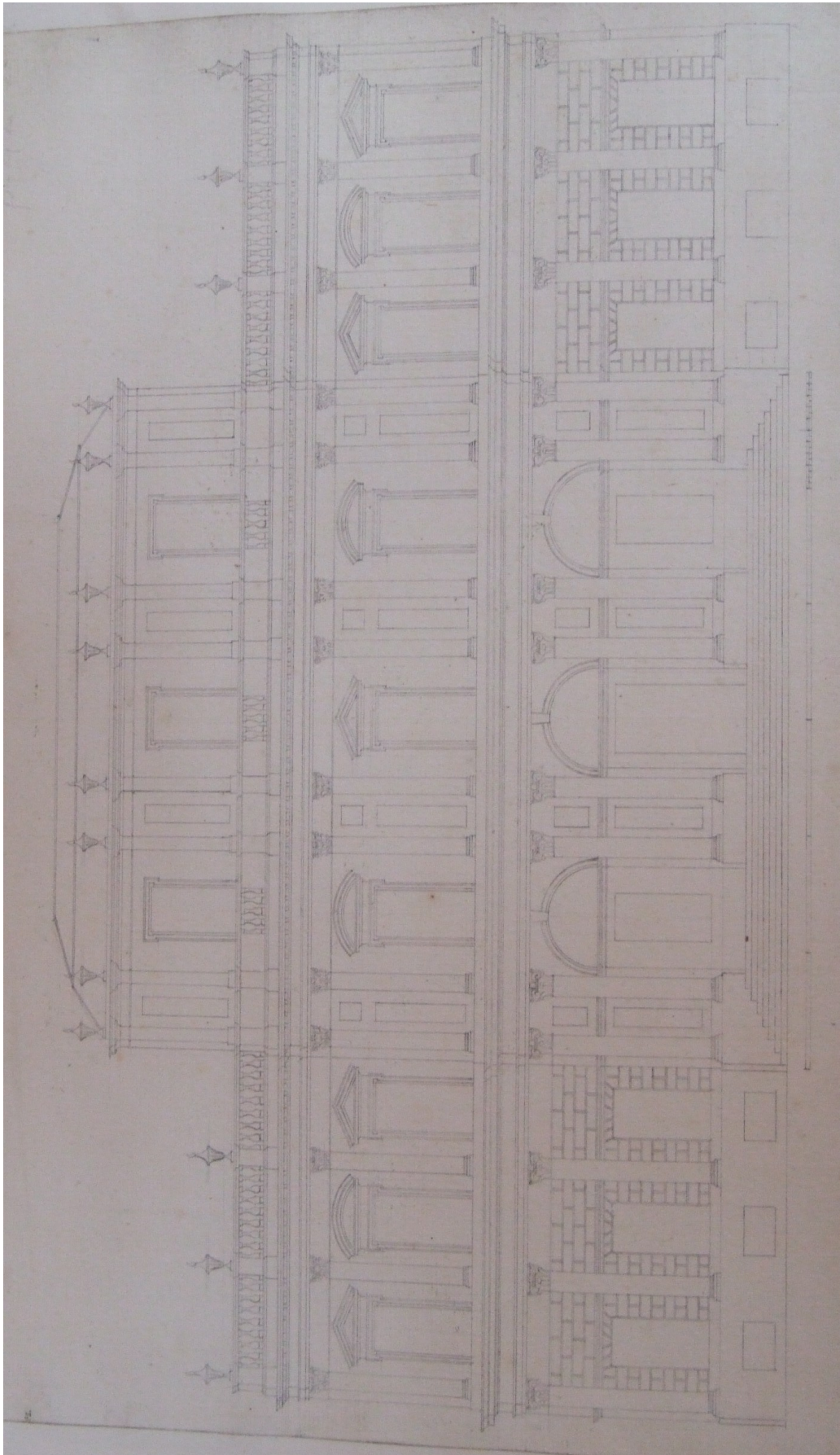
107. *Highmeadow Hall, Gloucestershire, Plans: 44A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 39*



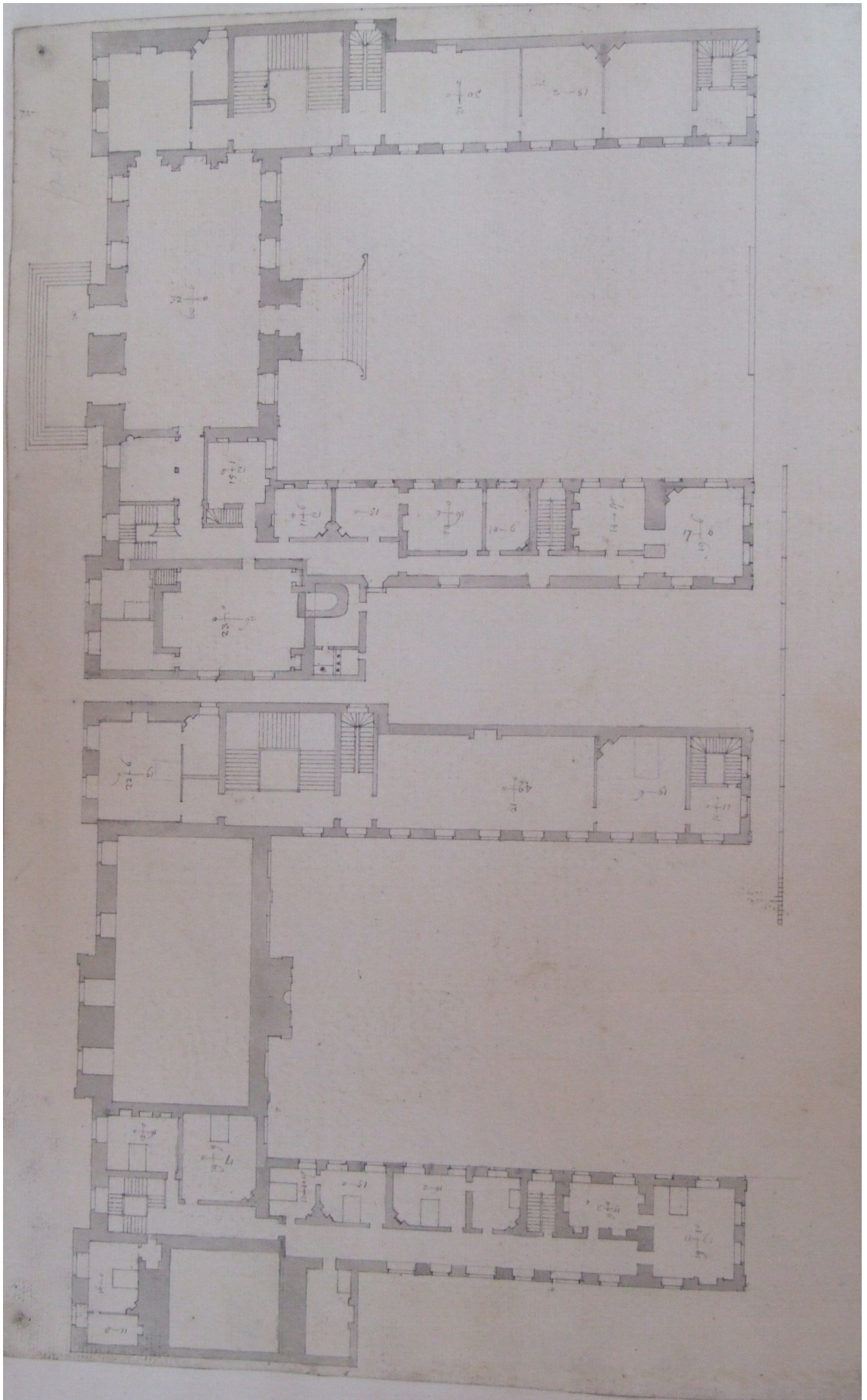
108. *Highmeadow Hall, Gloucestershire*, Elevation: 44B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 40



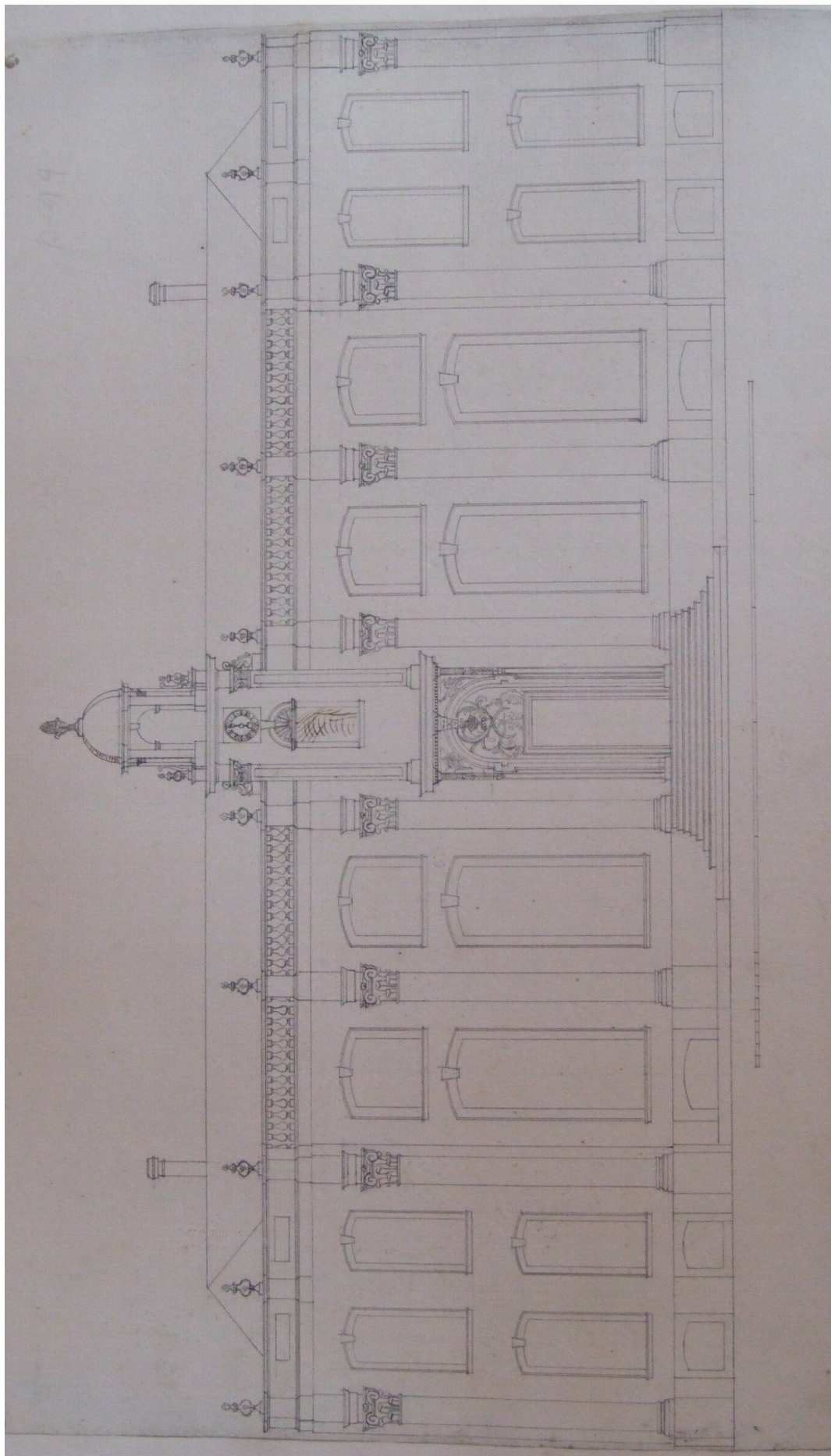
109. *Proposed Design for Tobias Jenkyns, Plan: 45A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 41*



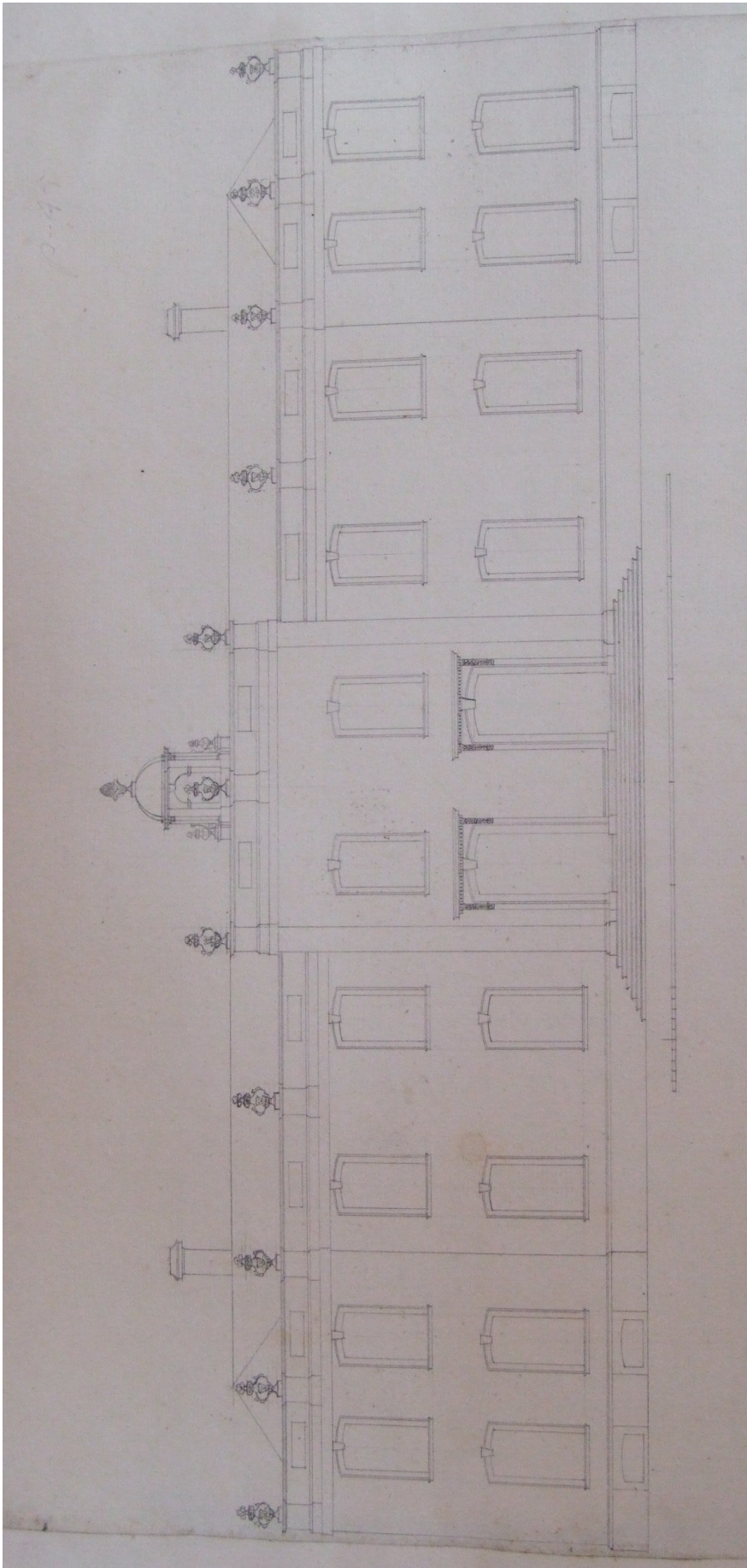
110. *Proposed Design for Tobias Jenkyns, Elevation: 45B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 42*



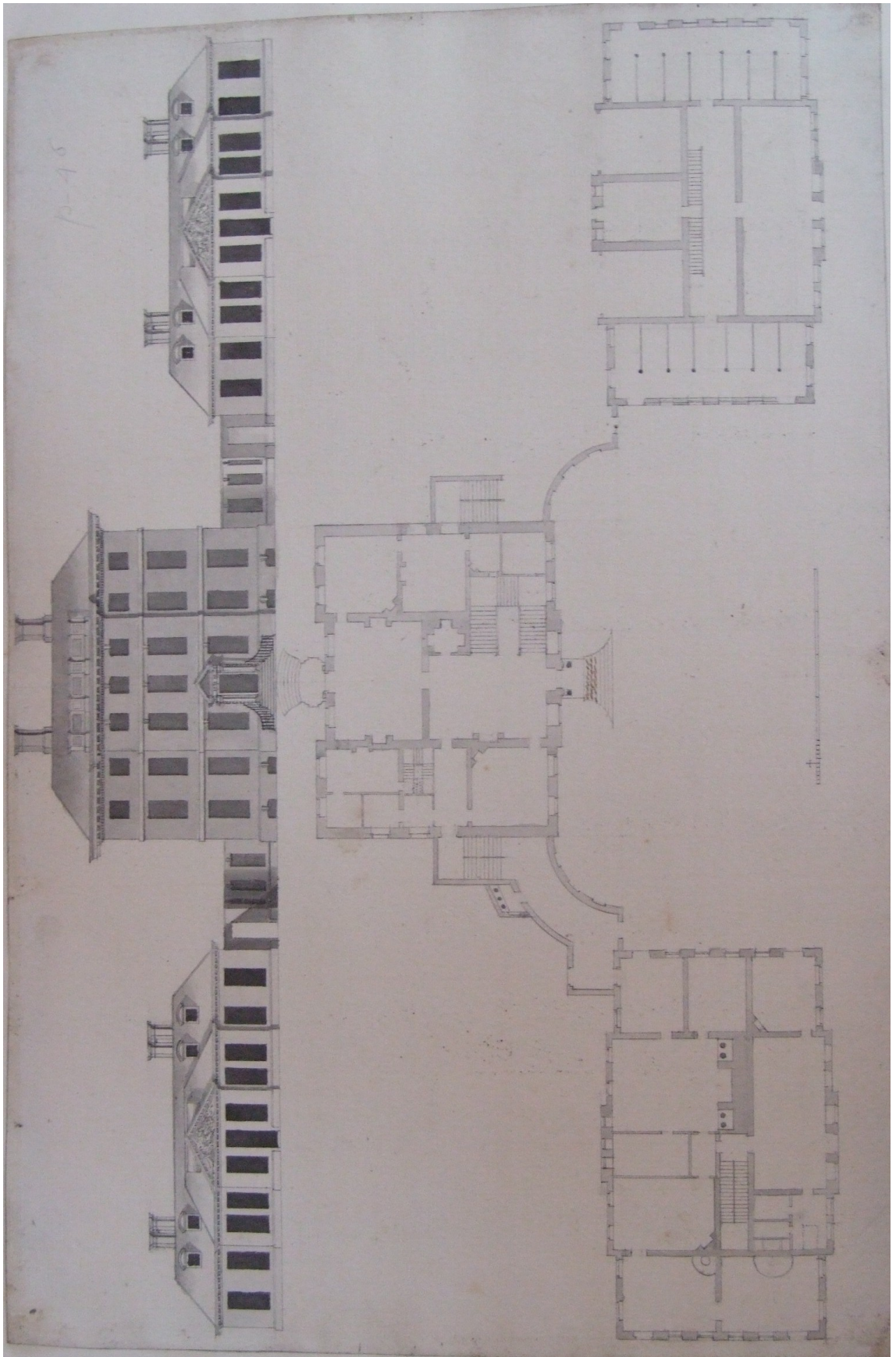
111. *Beddington Place, Surrey, Plans: 46A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 43*



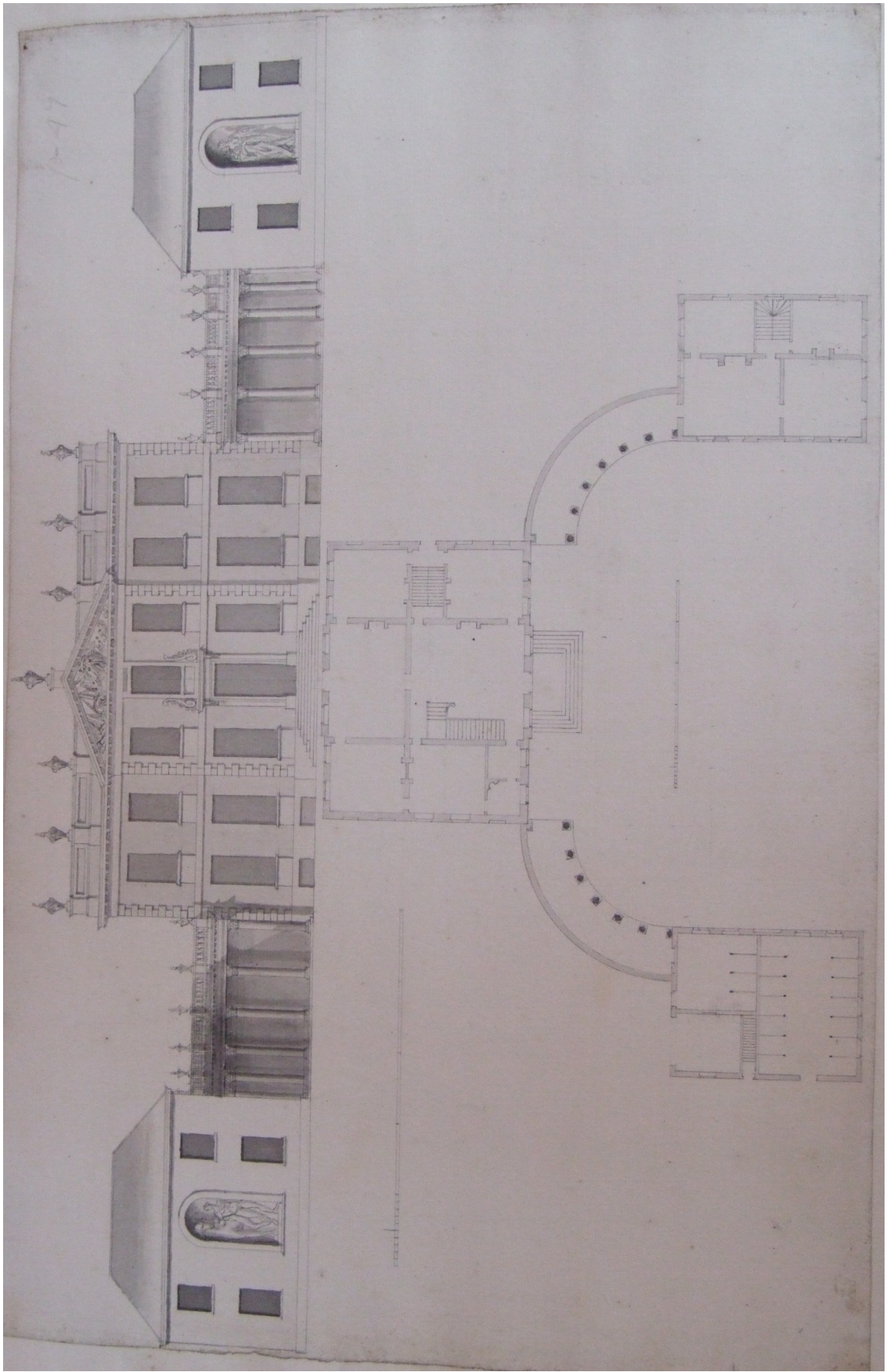
112. *Beddington Place, Surrey*, Elevation: 46B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 44



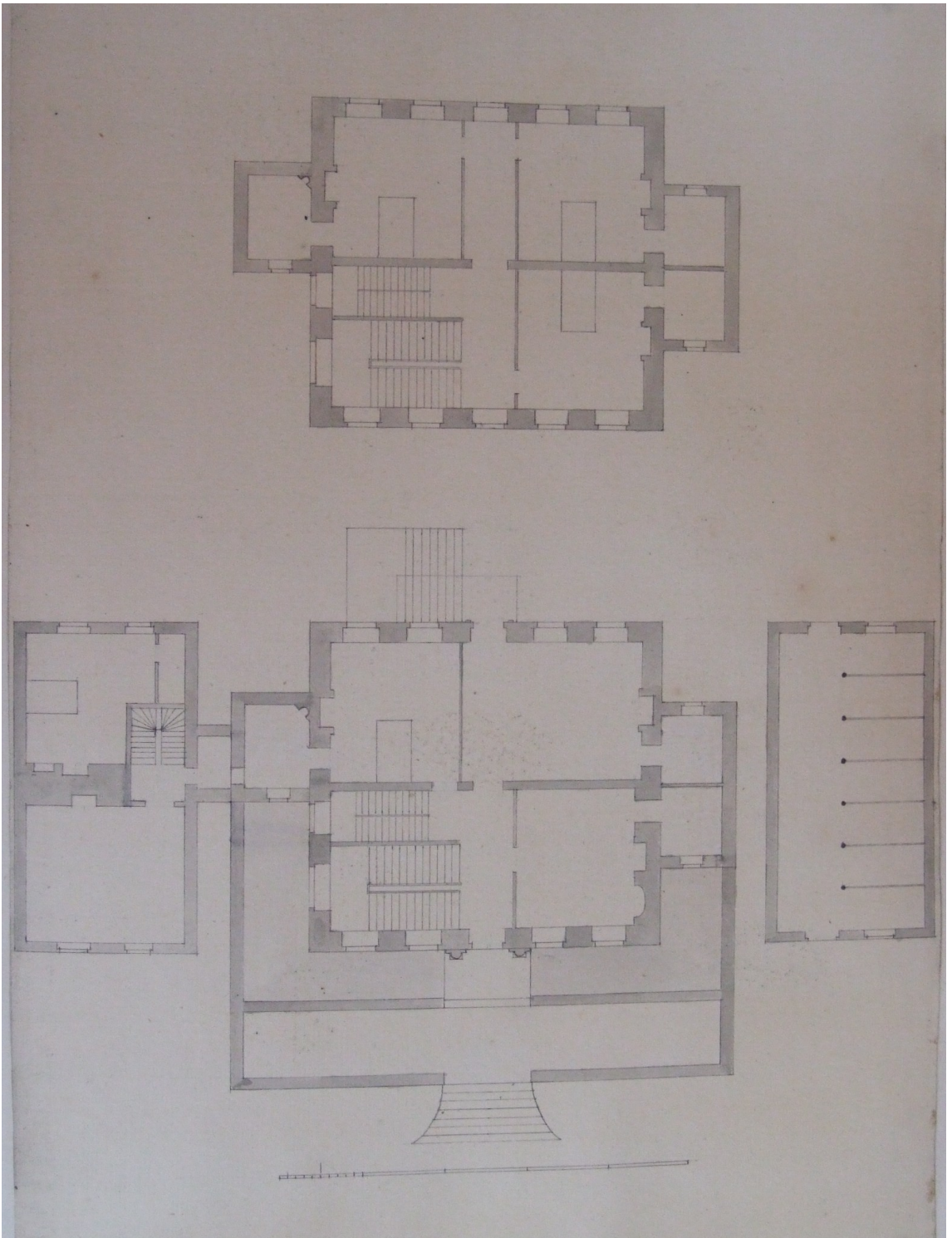
113. *Beddington Place, Surrey*, Elevation: 46C (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 45



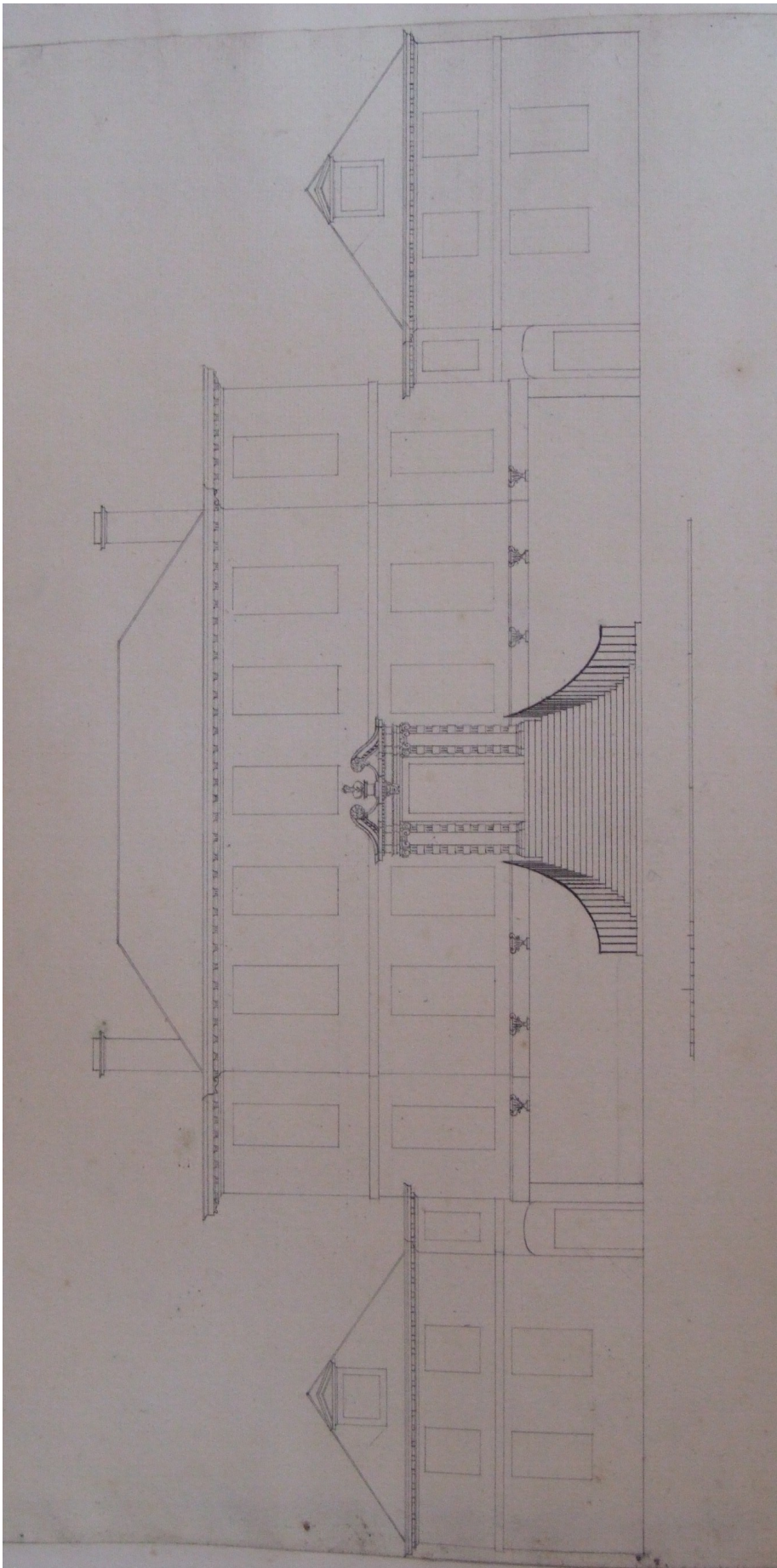
114. *Sunbury House, Surrey*, Plan and Elevation: 47A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 46



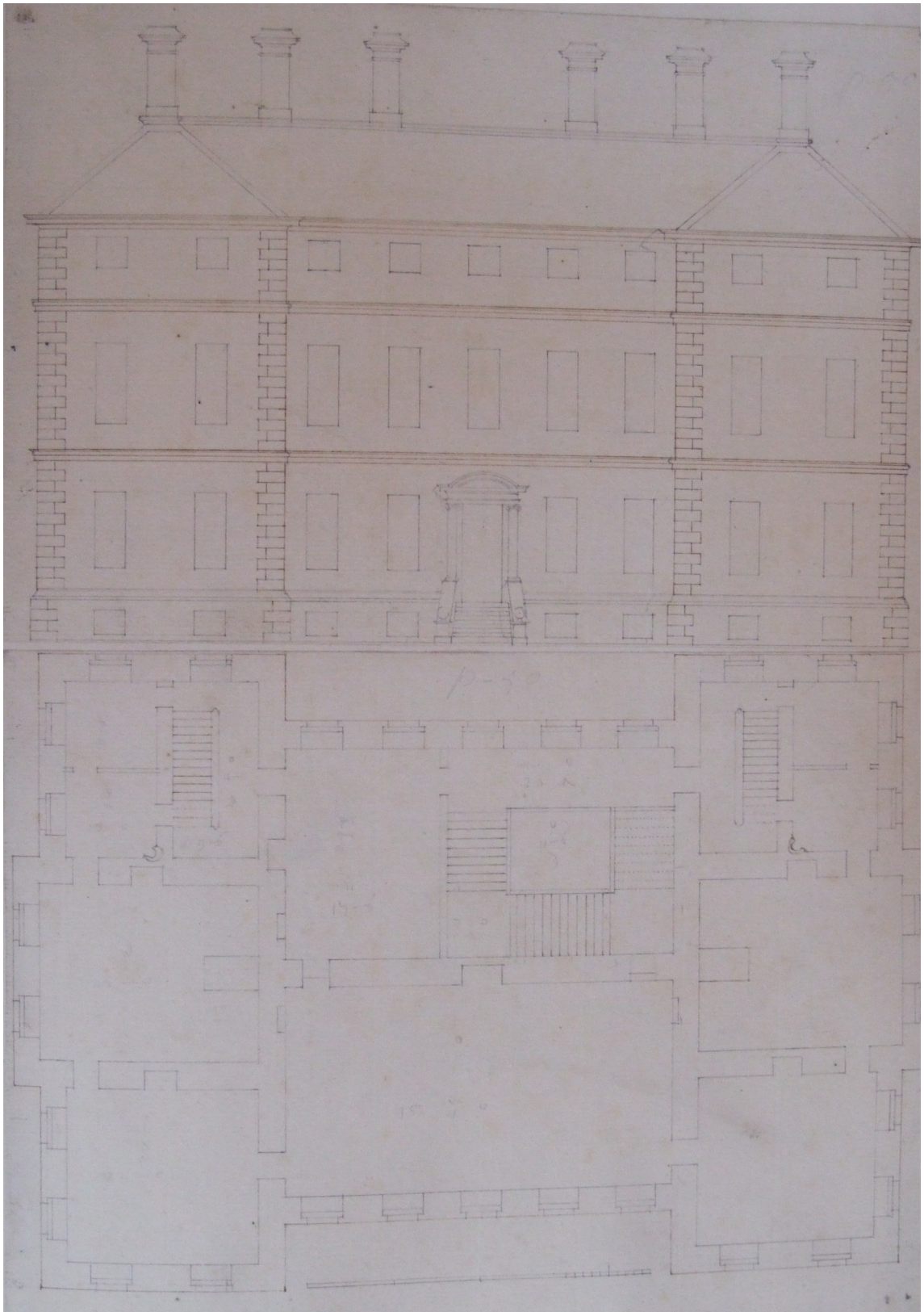
115. *Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire*, Plan and Elevation: 48A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 47



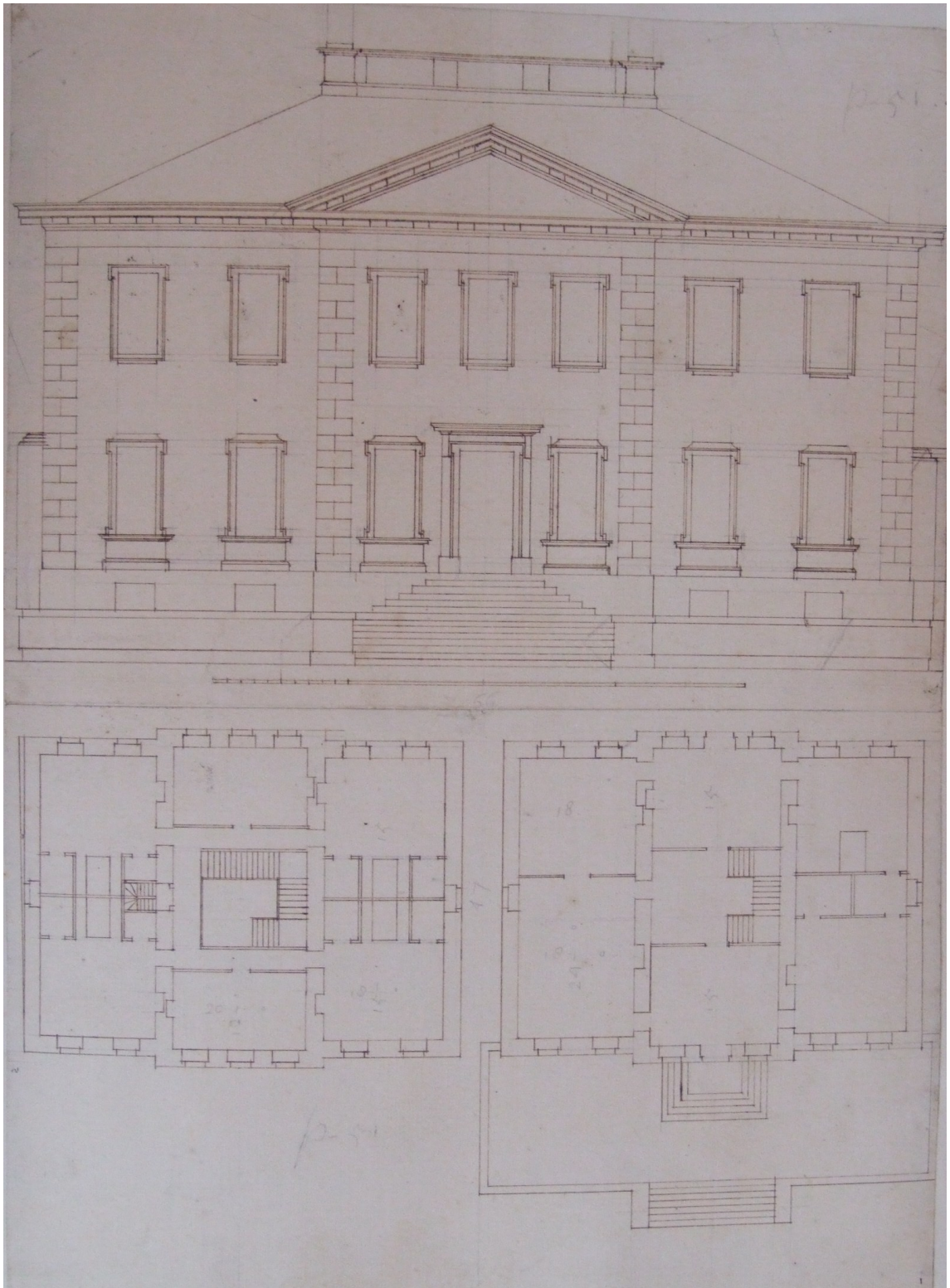
116. *Epsom House, Surrey*, Plans: 49A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 48



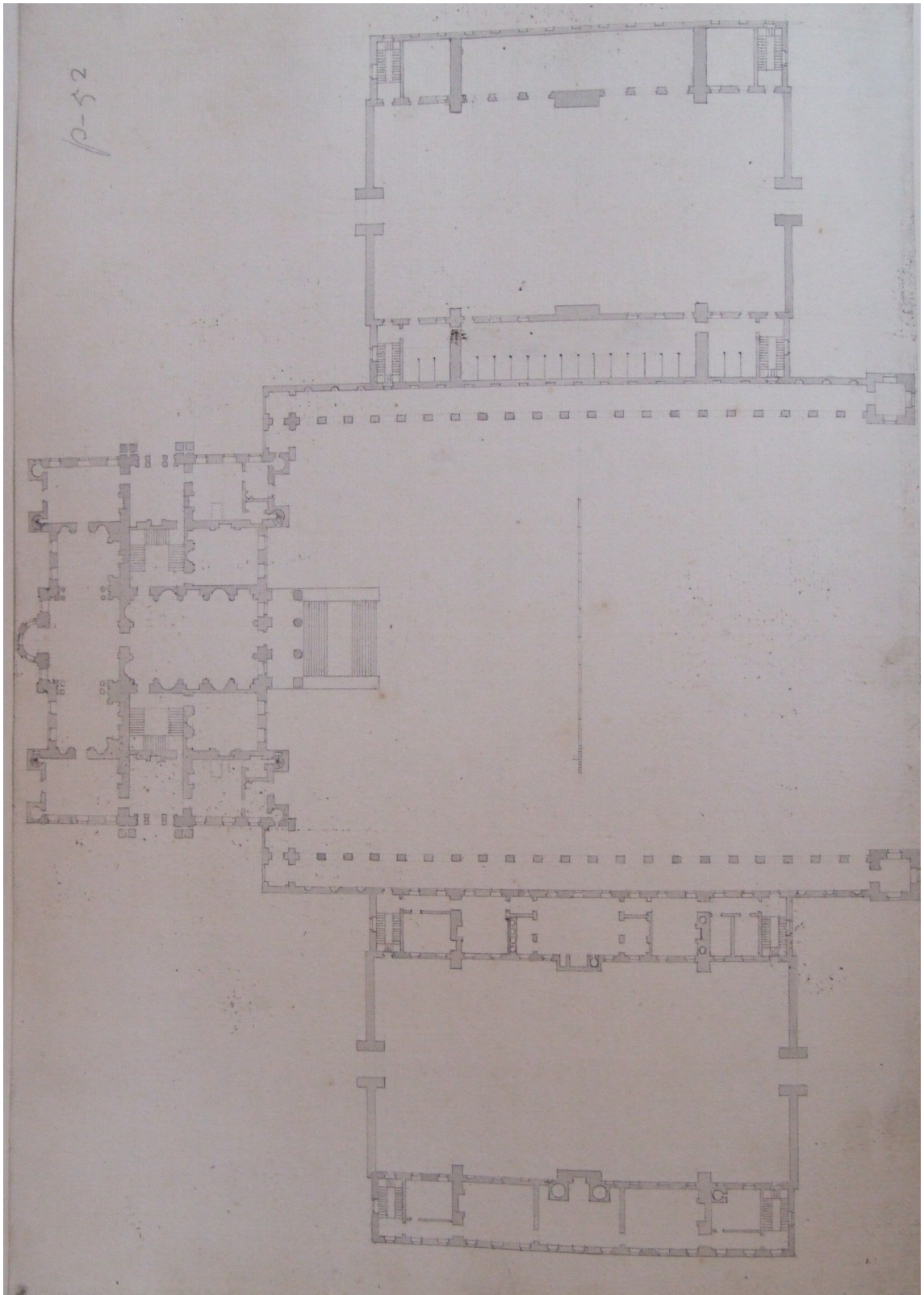
117. *Epsom House, Surrey*, Elevation: 49B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 49



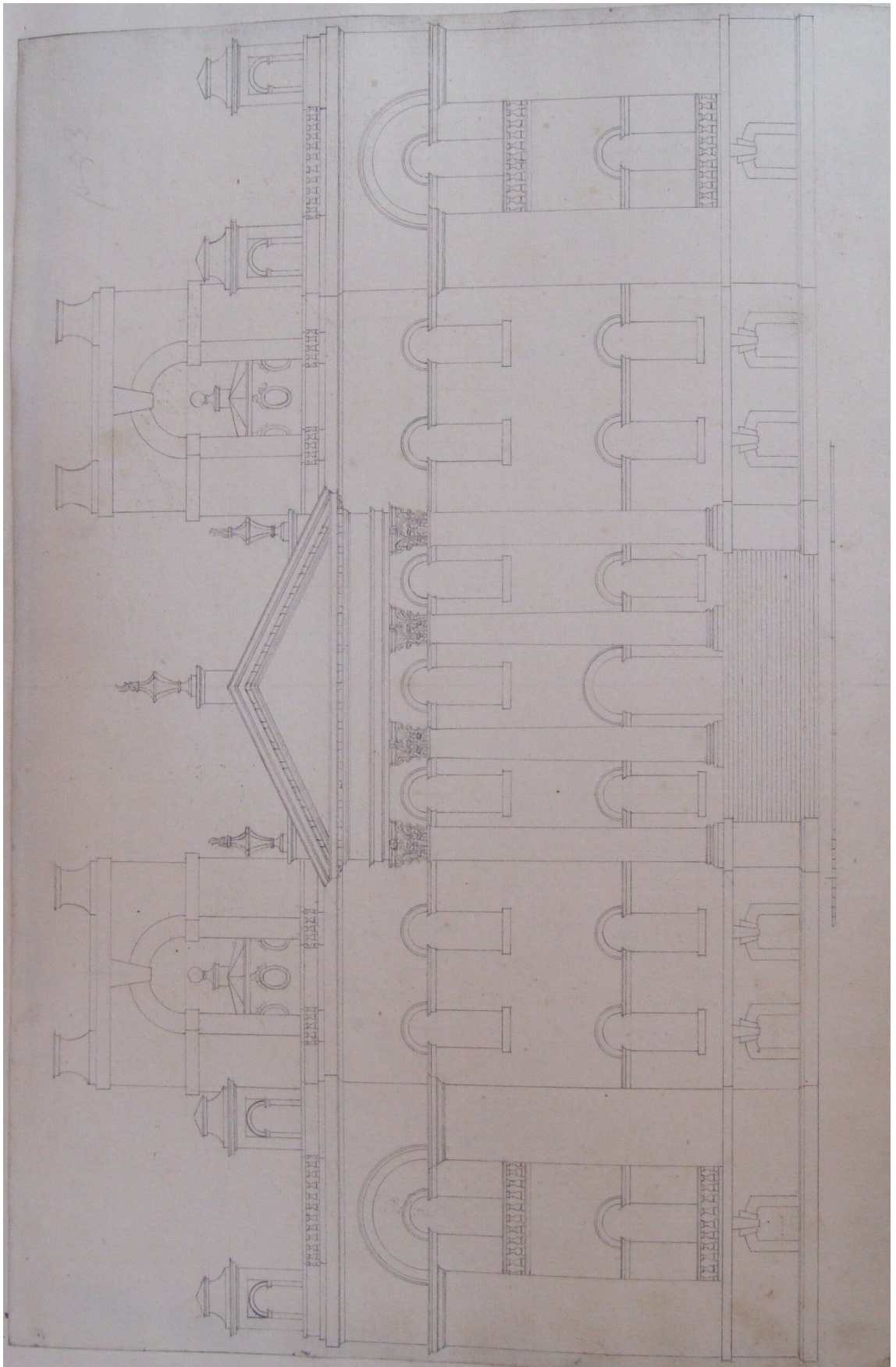
118. *Melville House, Fife*, Plan and Elevation: 50A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 50



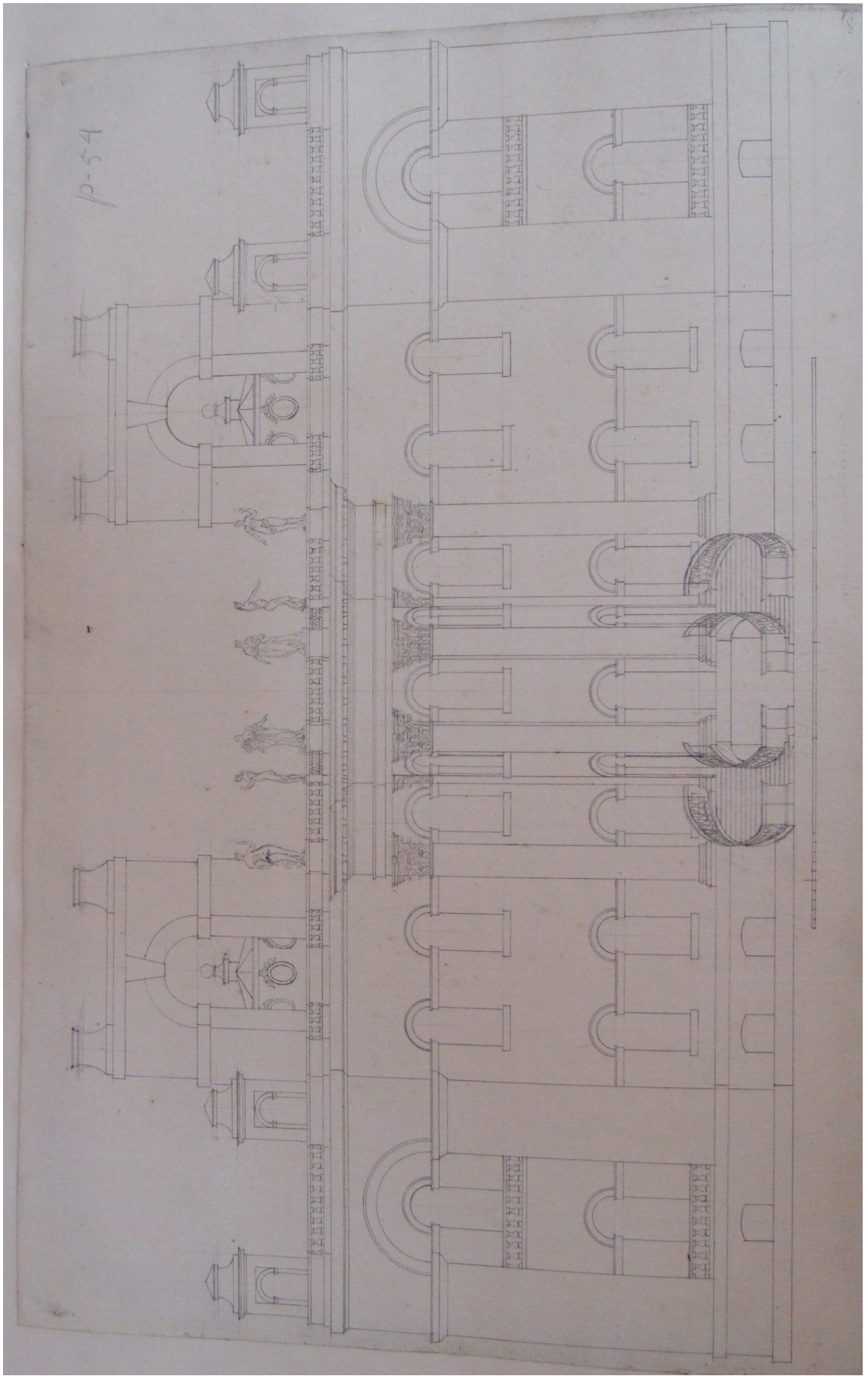
119. *Shawfield Mansion, Glasgow*, Plans and Elevation: 51A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 51



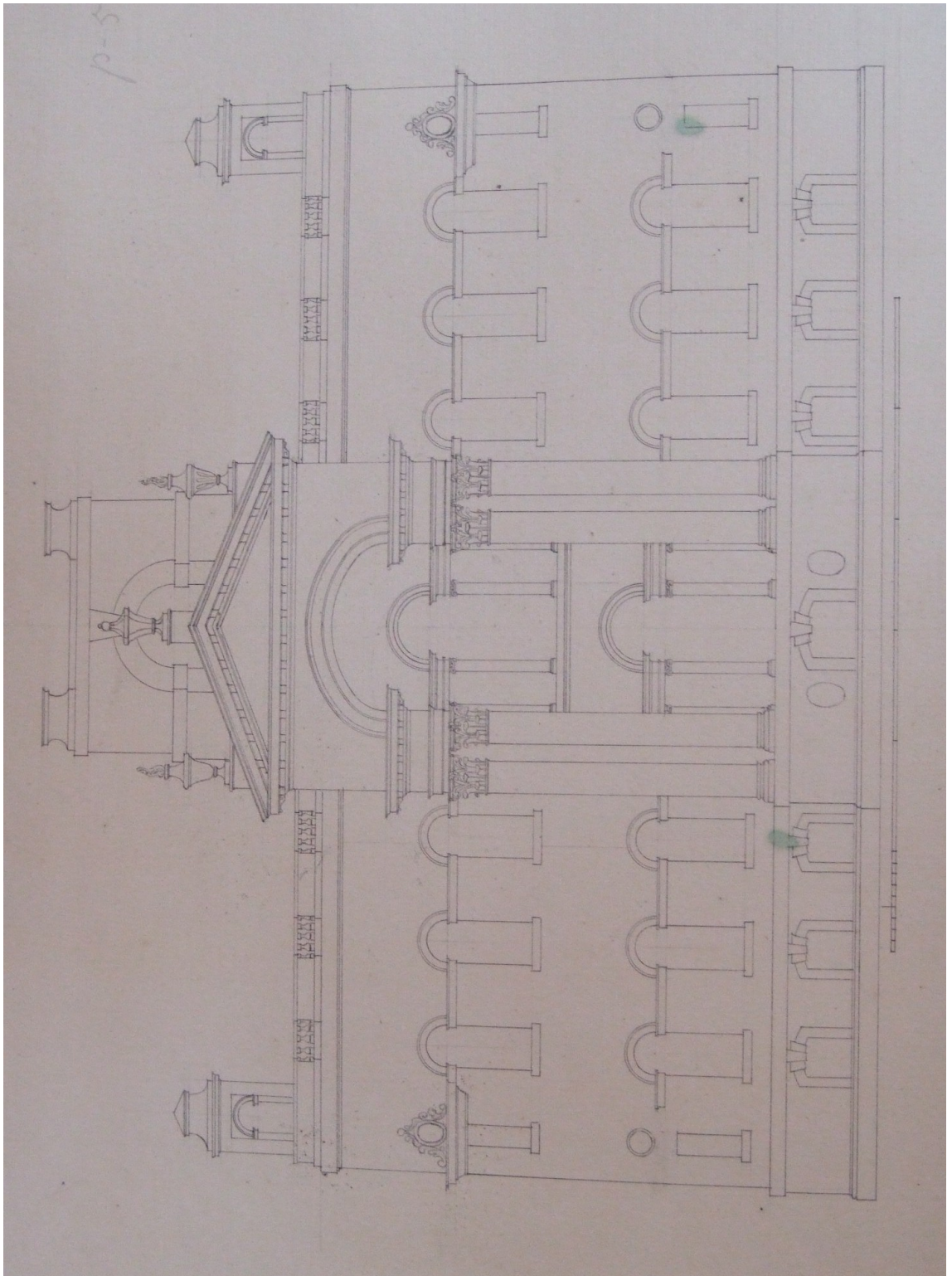
120. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset, Plan: 52A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 52*



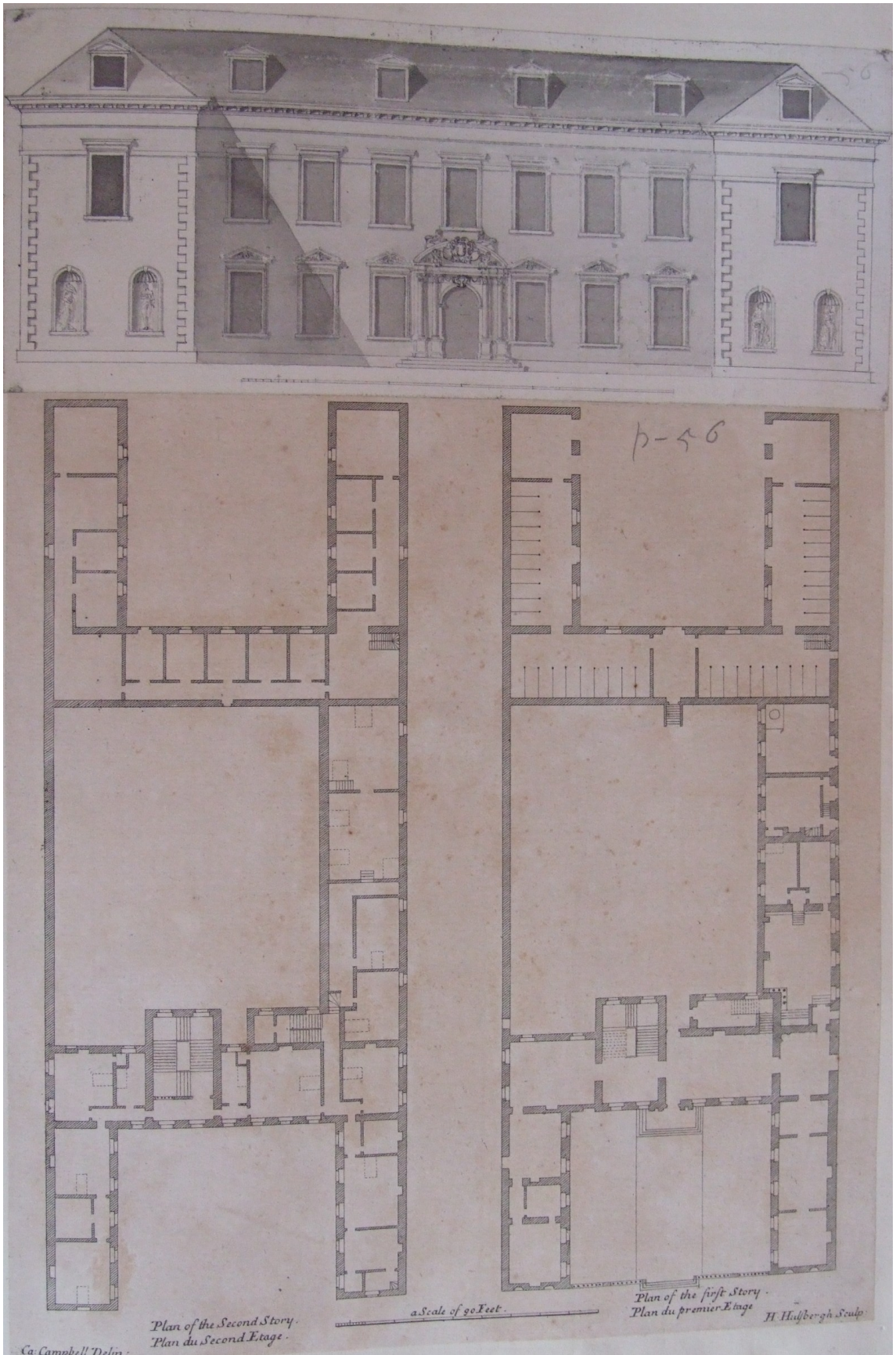
121. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset, Elevation: 52B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 53*



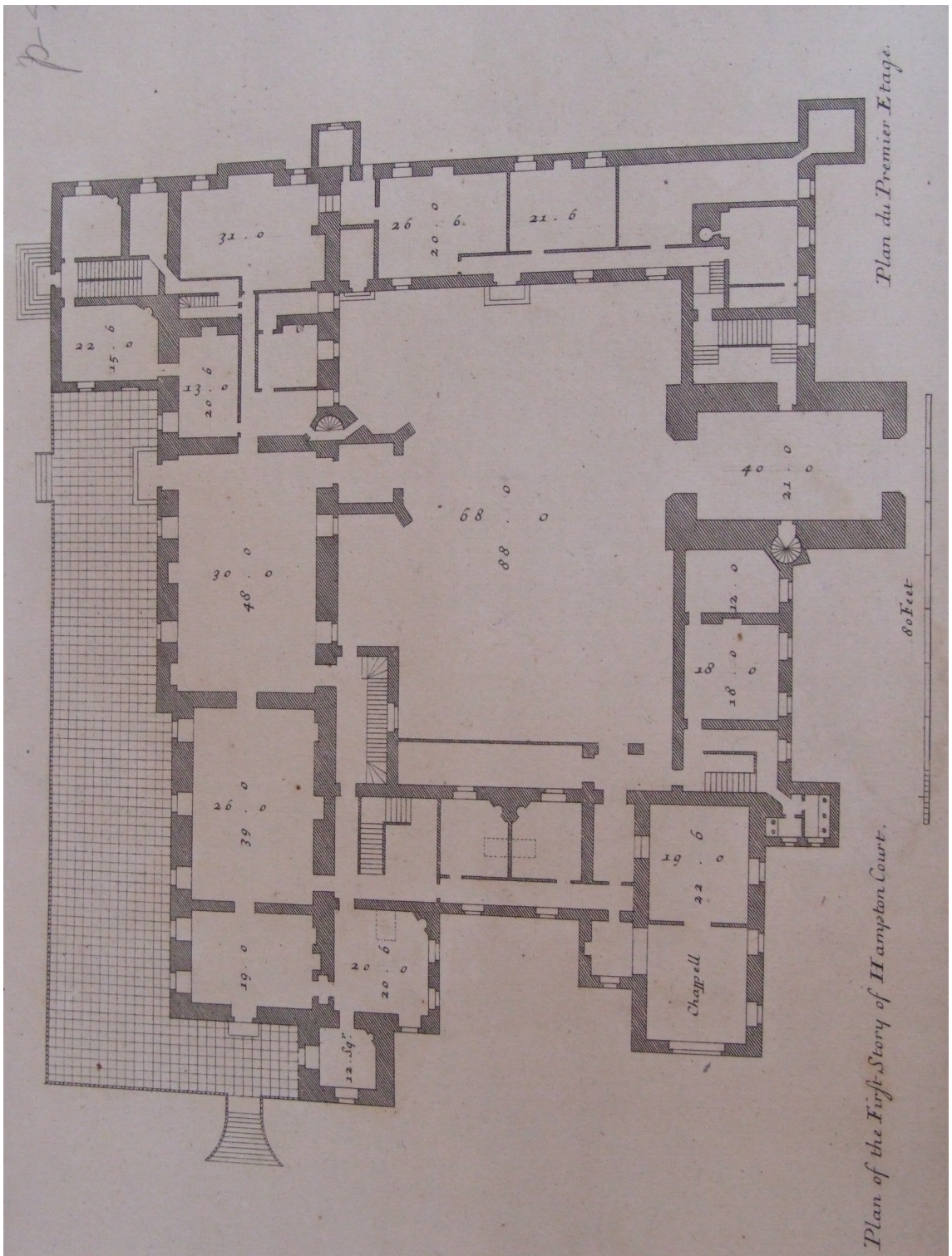
122. Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset, Elevation: 52C, (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 54



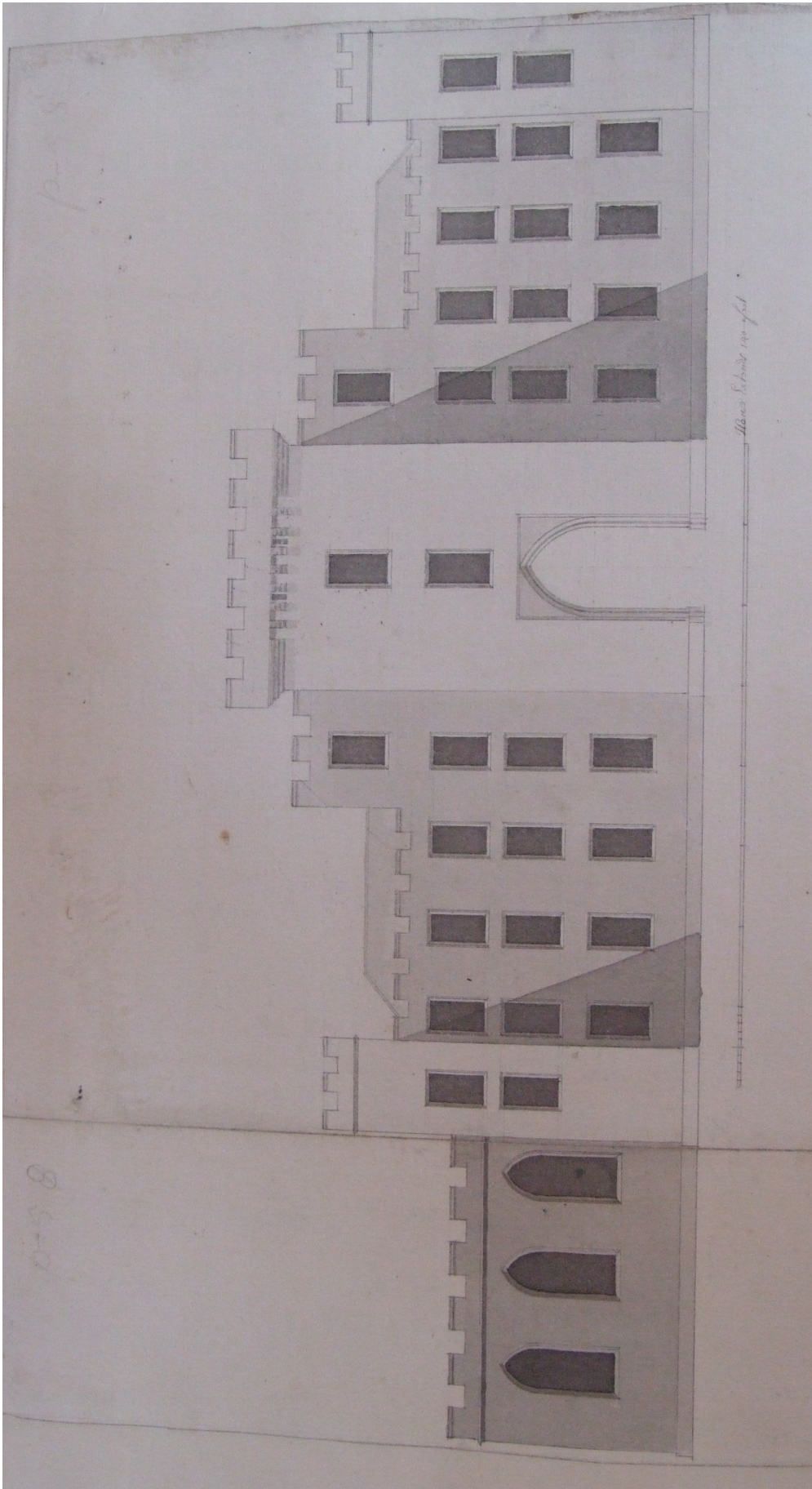
123. *Proposed Design for Eastbury House, Dorset, Elevation: 52D, (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 55*



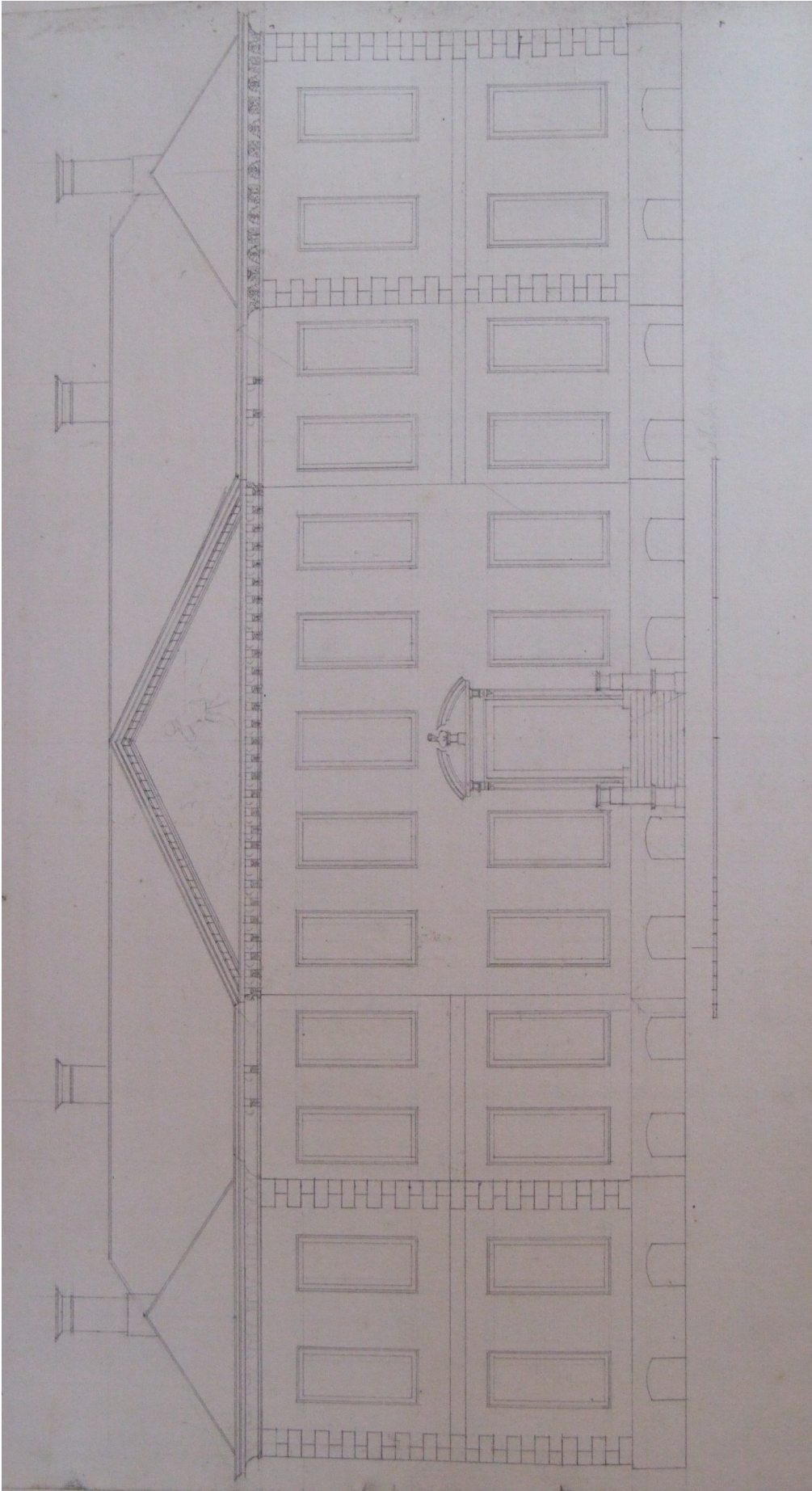
124. Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire, Plans and Elevation: 53A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 56



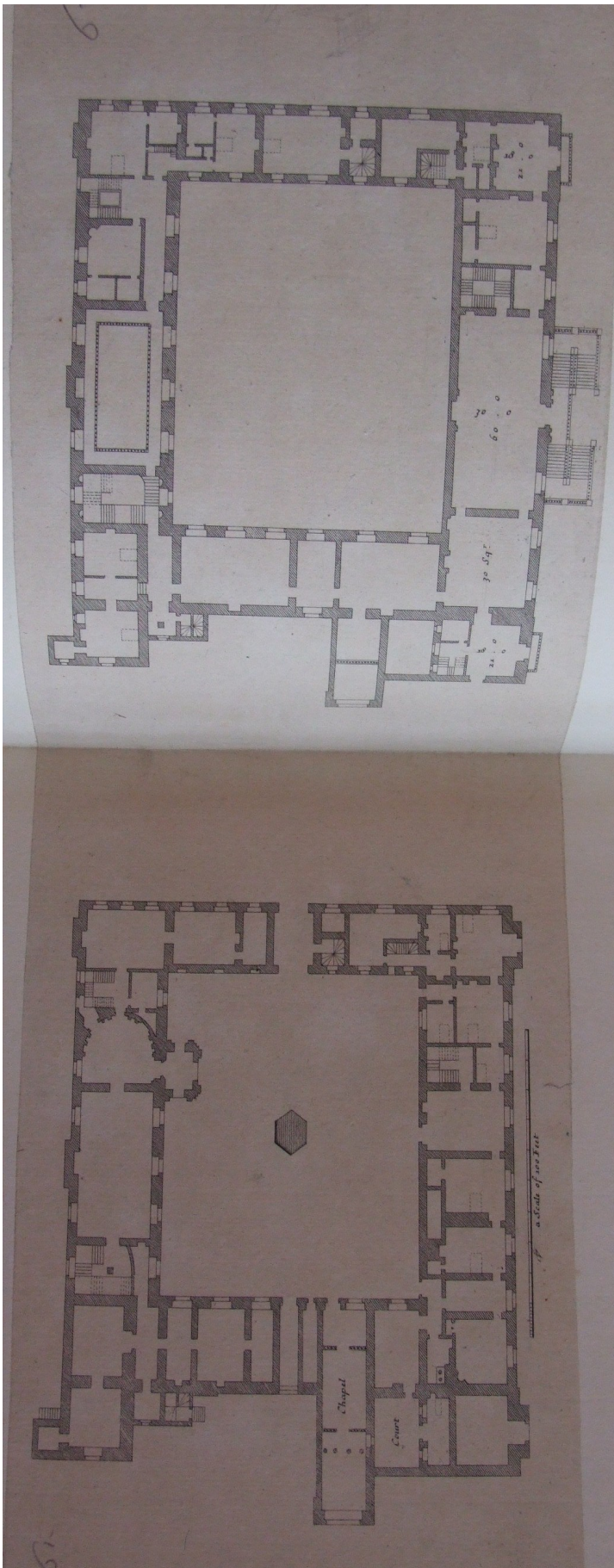
125. Hampton Court, Herefordshire, Plan: 54A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 57



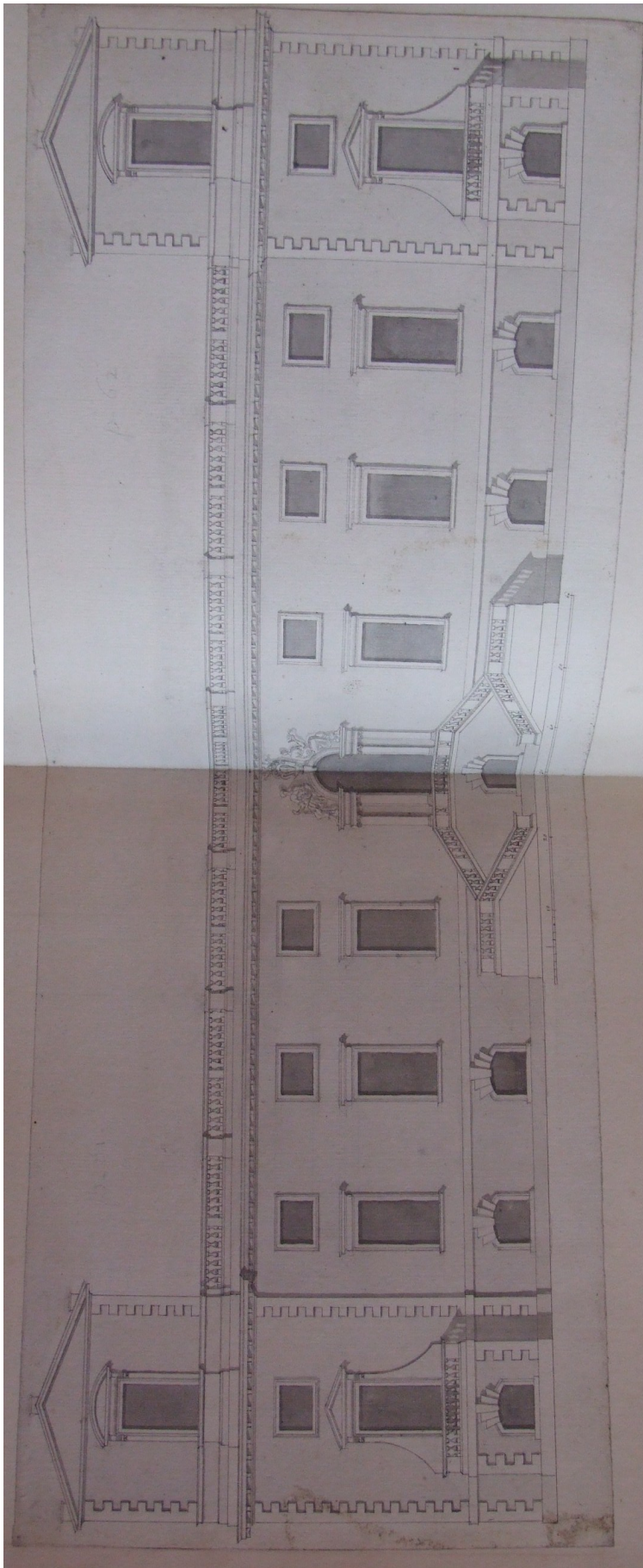
126. Hampton Court, Herefordshire, Elevation: 54B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 58



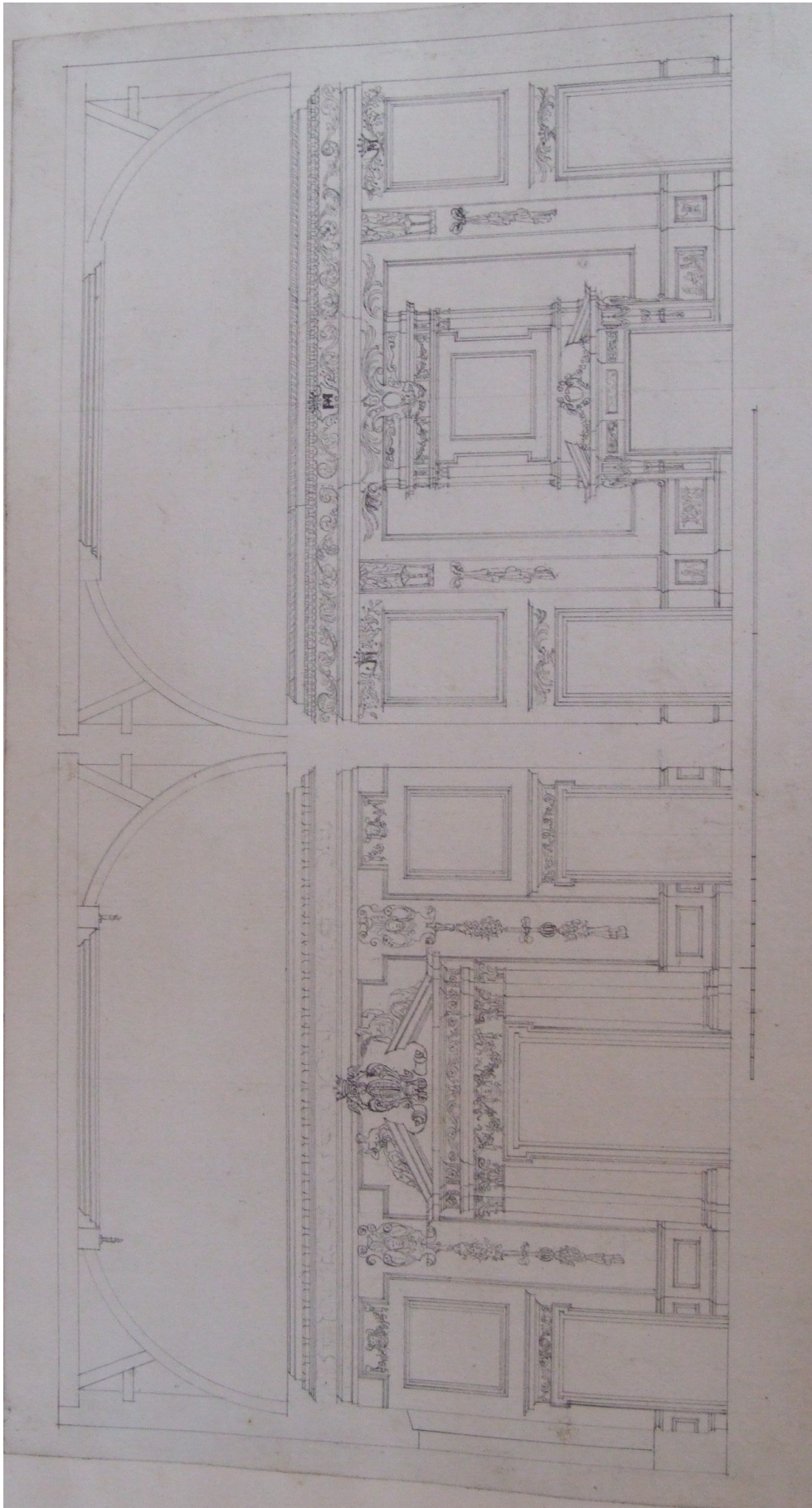
127. *Shobden Court, Herefordshire, Elevation: 55A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 60*



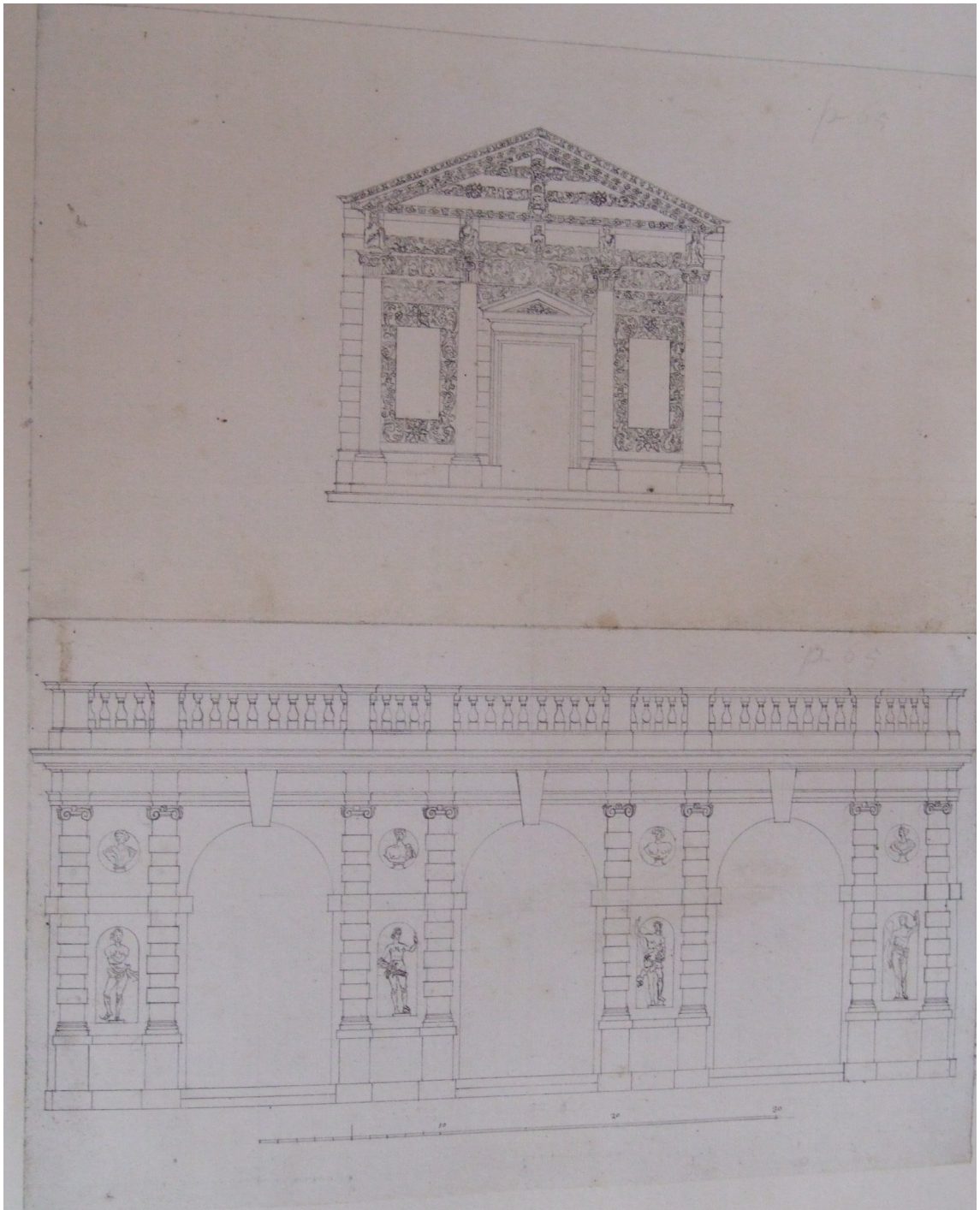
128. *Wilton House, Wiltshire, Plans: 56A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 61-62*



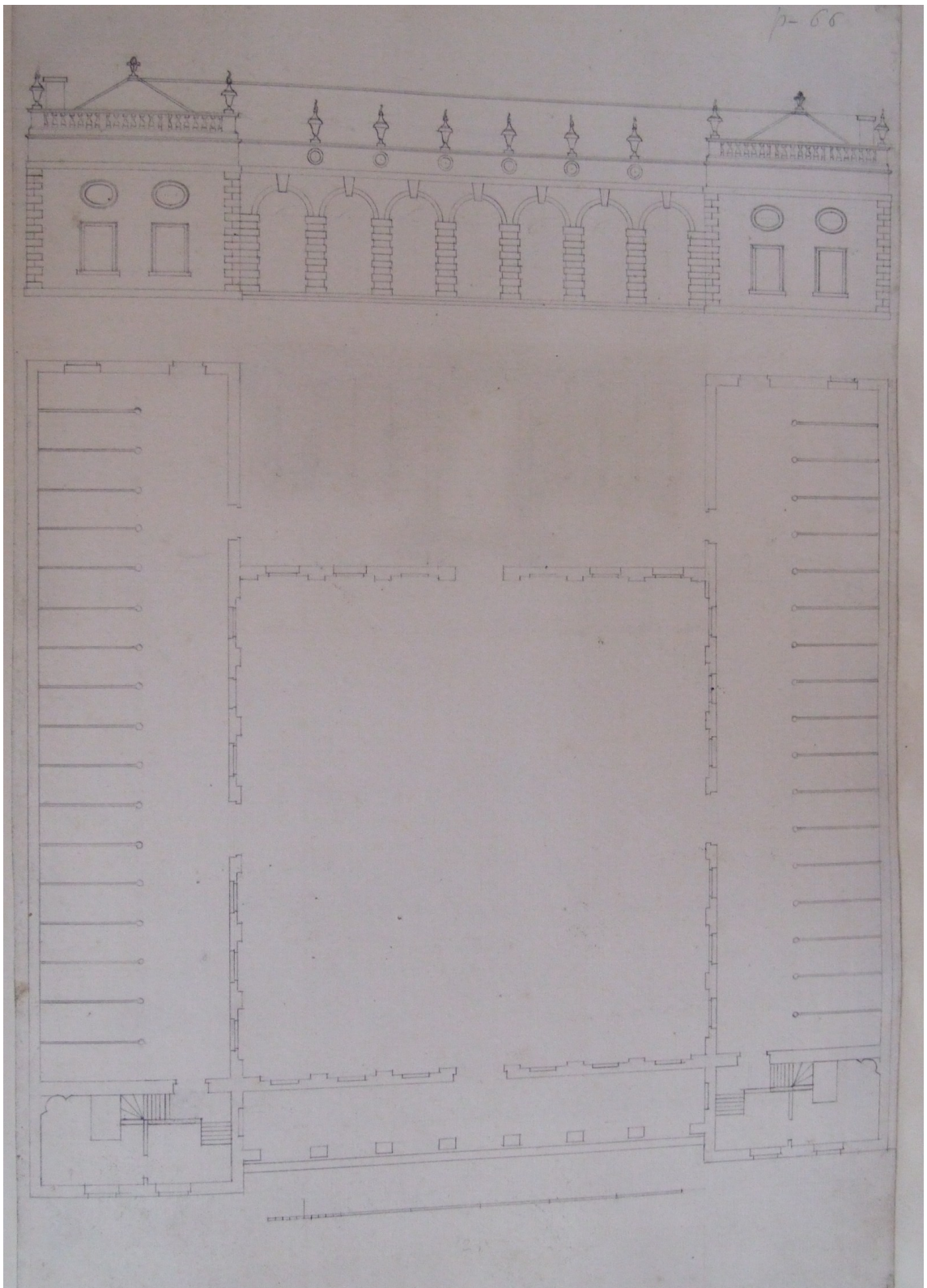
129. *Wilton House, Wiltshire, Elevation: 56B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 61-62*



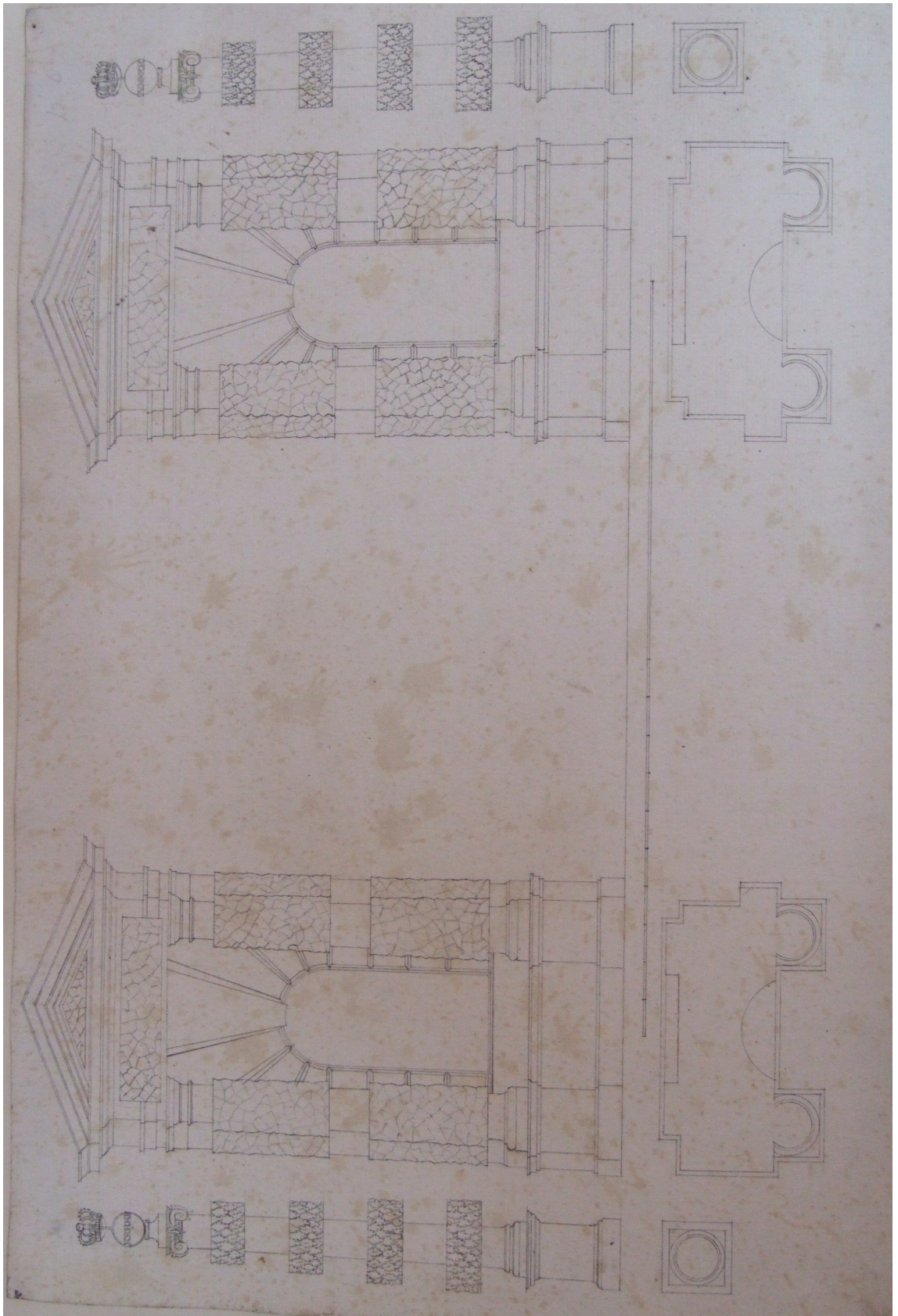
130. *Wilton House, Wiltshire, Room Section: 56C (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 64*



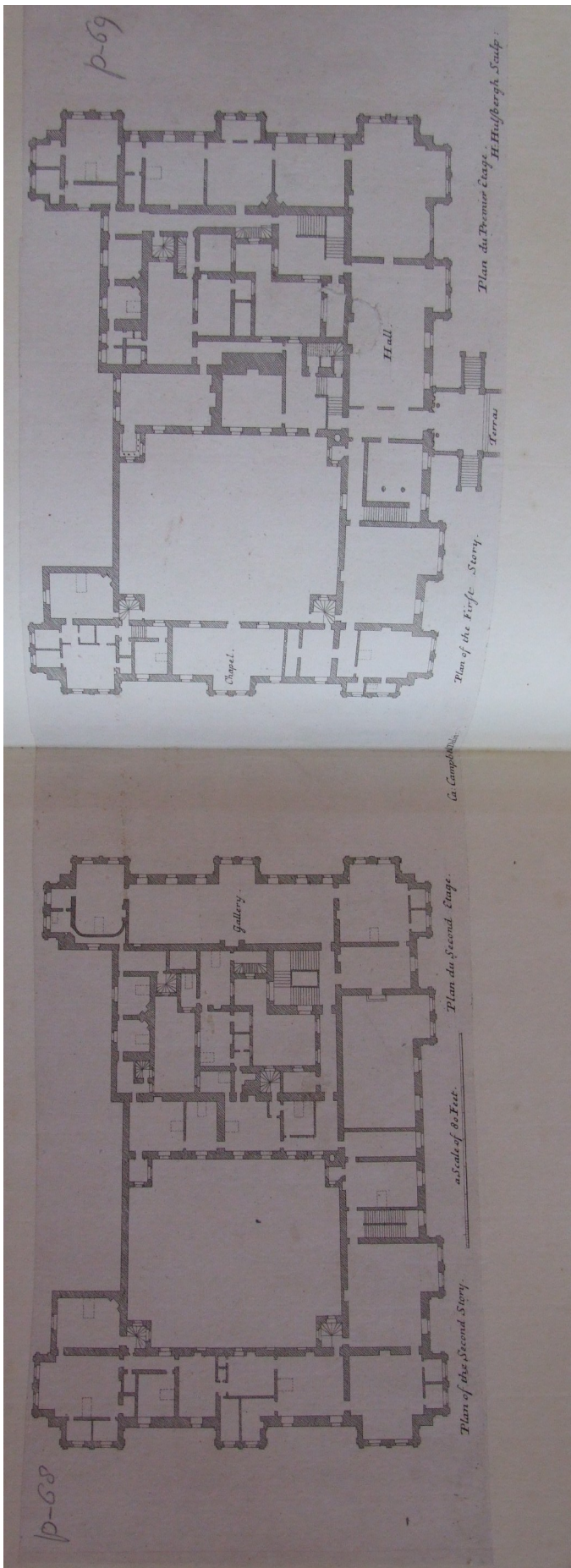
131. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Elevation: 56D (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 65



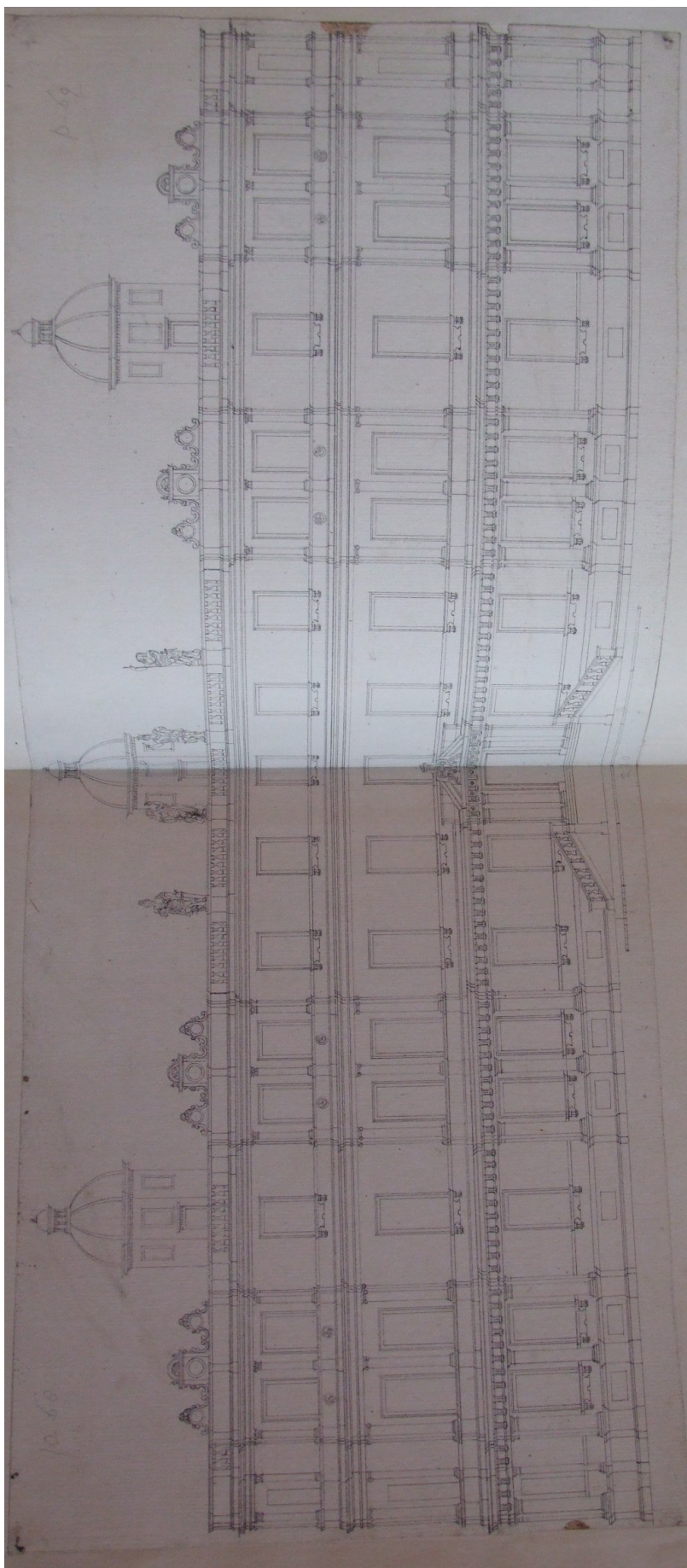
132. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Elevation and Plan of Stable: 56E (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 66



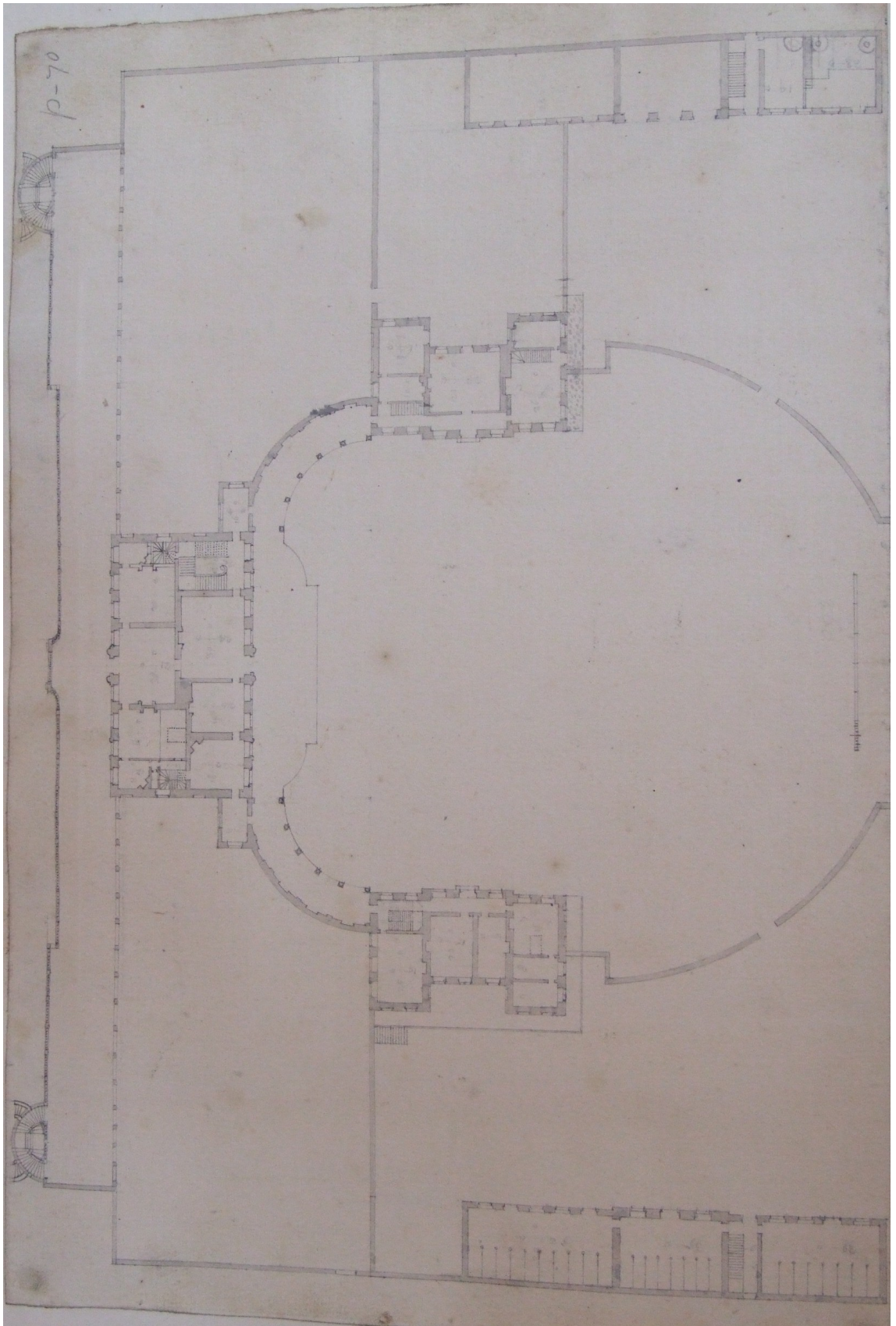
133. *Wilton House, Wiltshire*, Plan and Elevation of Great Gate: 56F (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 67



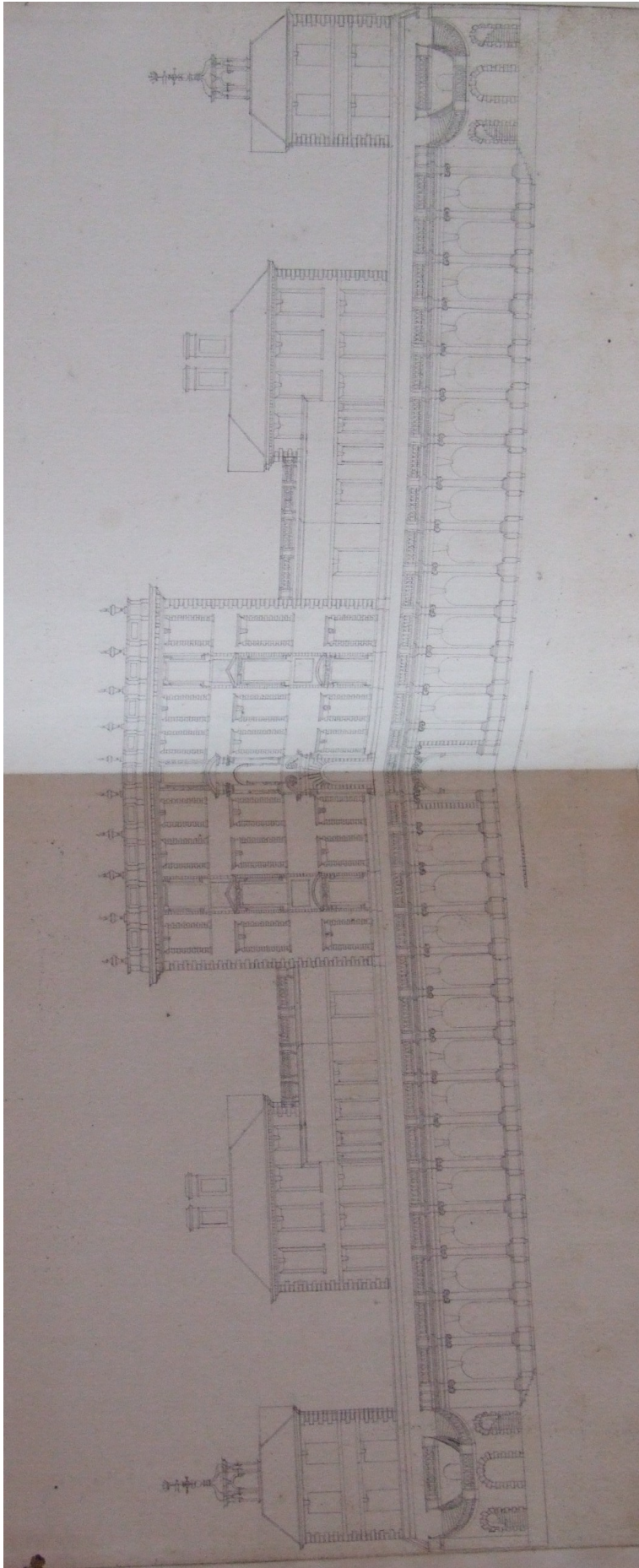
134. Longleat House, Wiltshire, Plans: 57A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 68-69



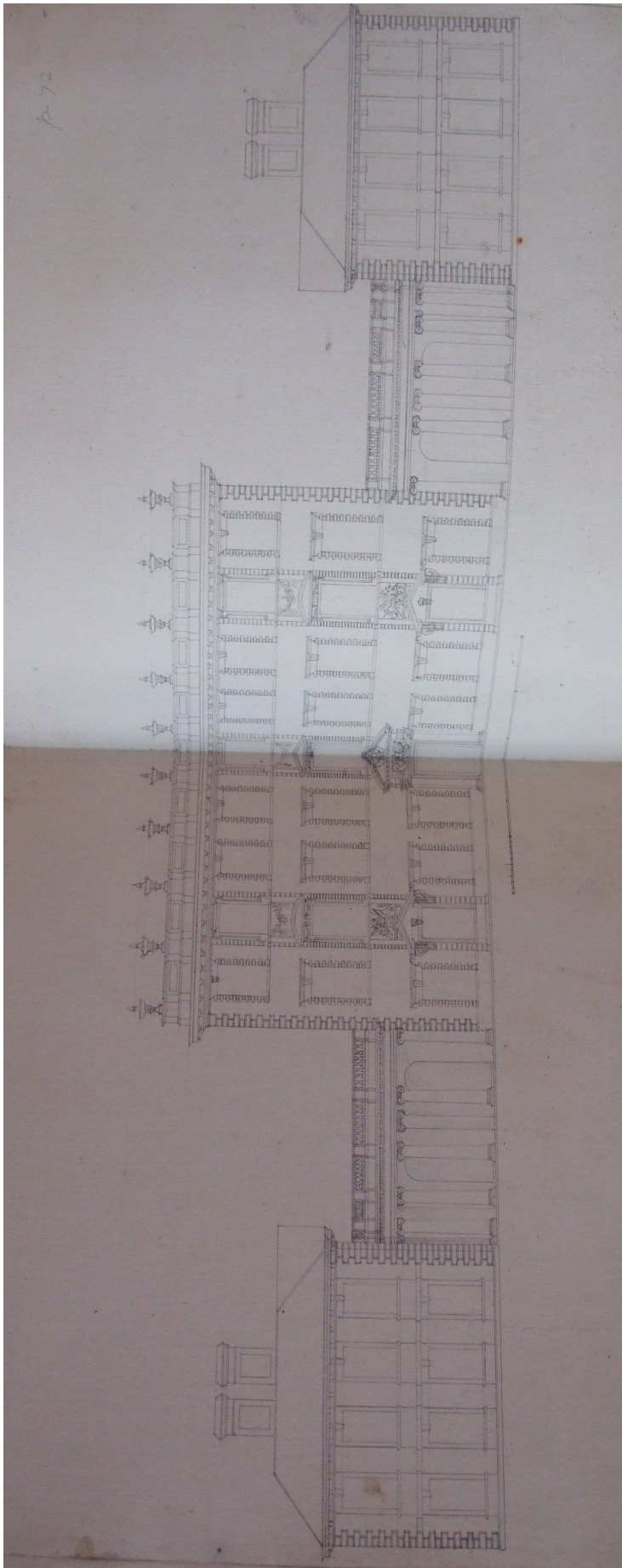
135. Longleat House, Wiltshire, Elevation: 57B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 68-69



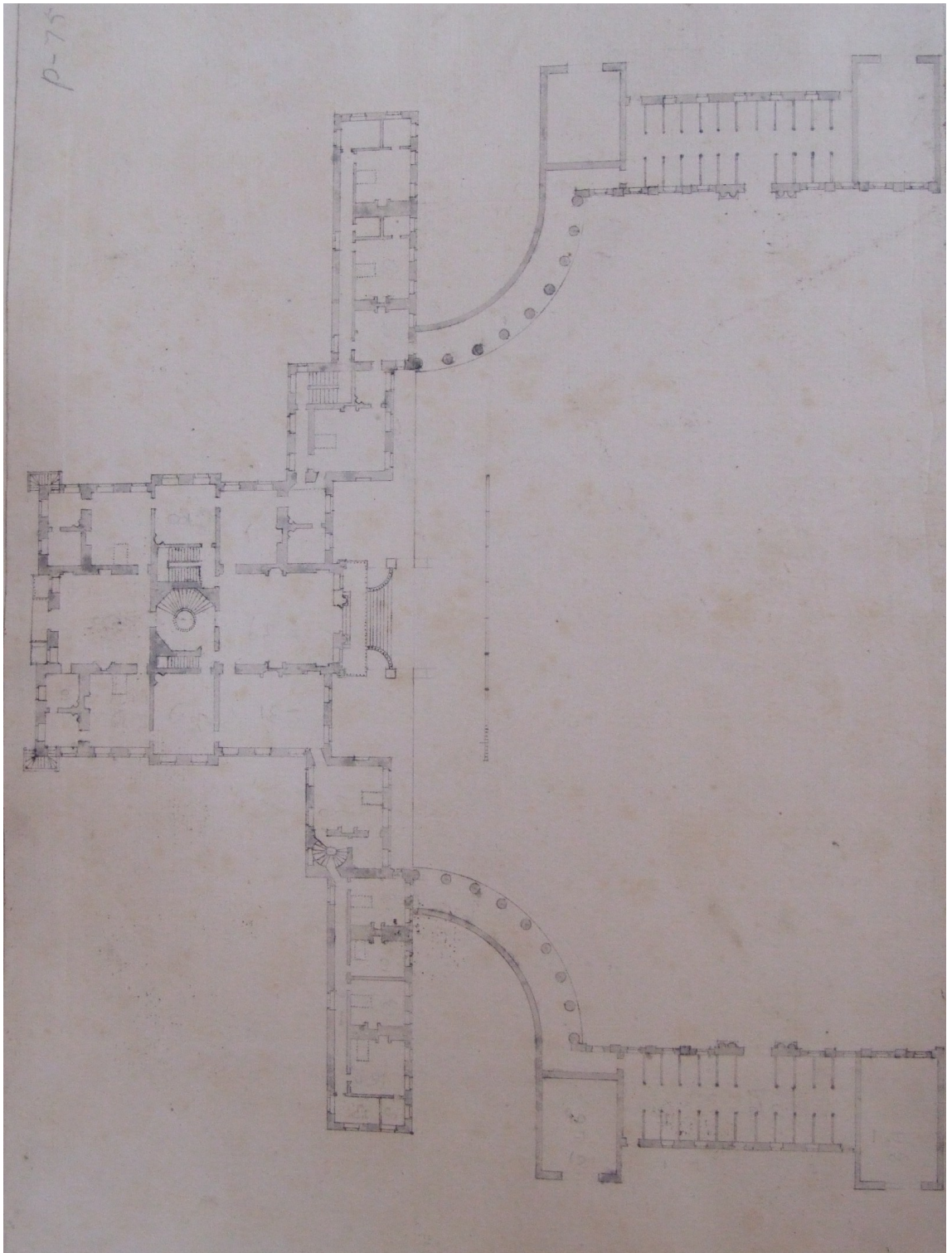
136. Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire, Plan: 58A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 70



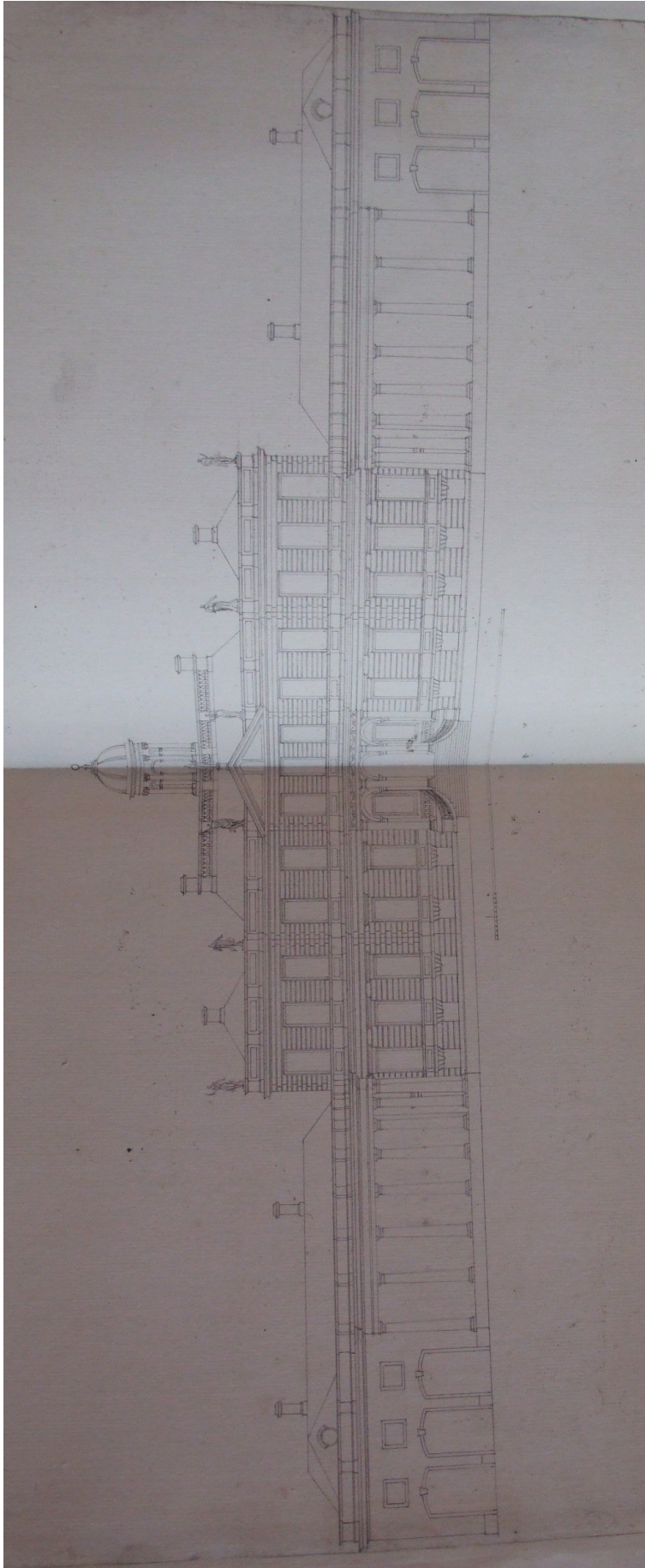
137. Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire, Elevation: 58B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 71-72



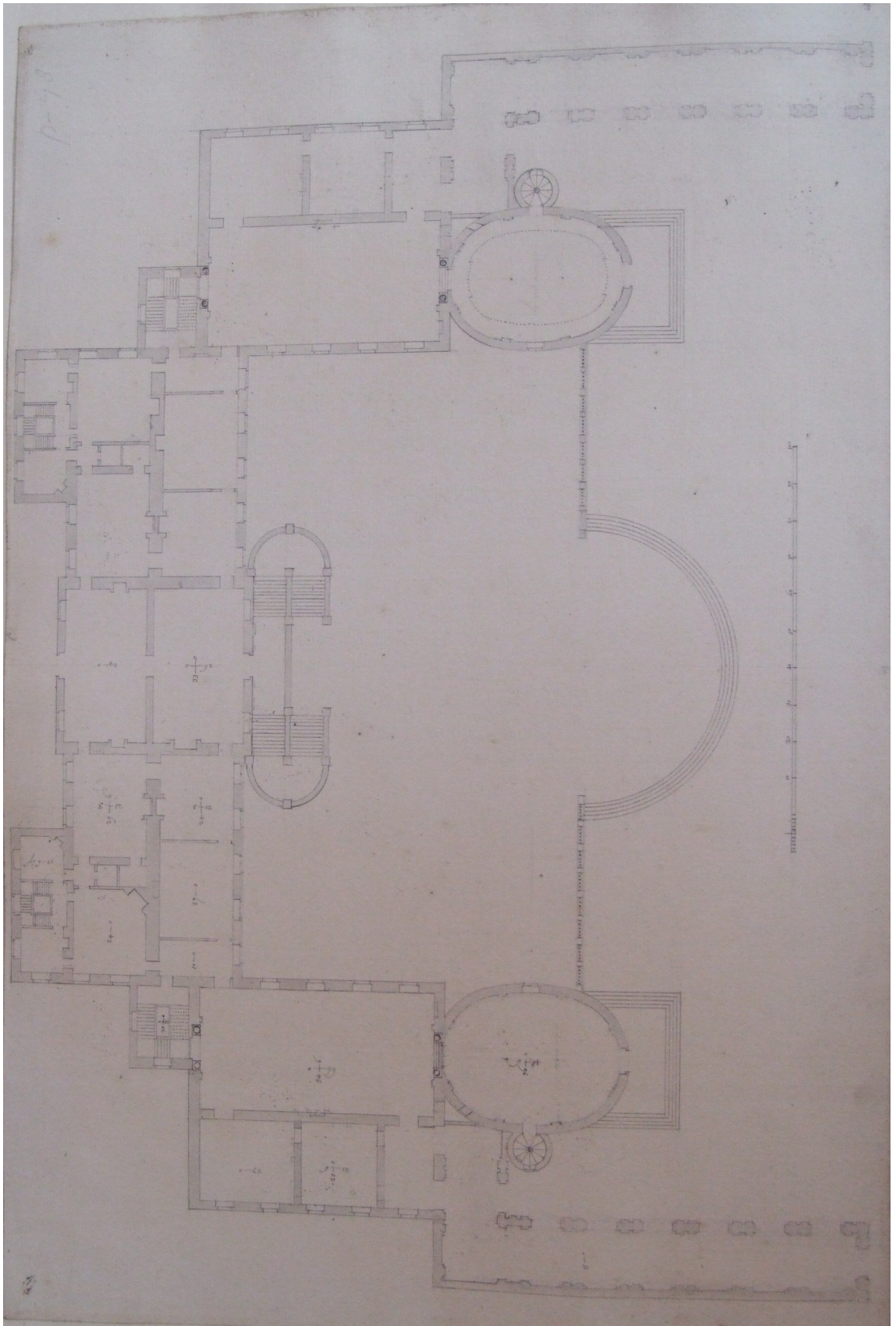
138. Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire, Elevation: 58C (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 73-74



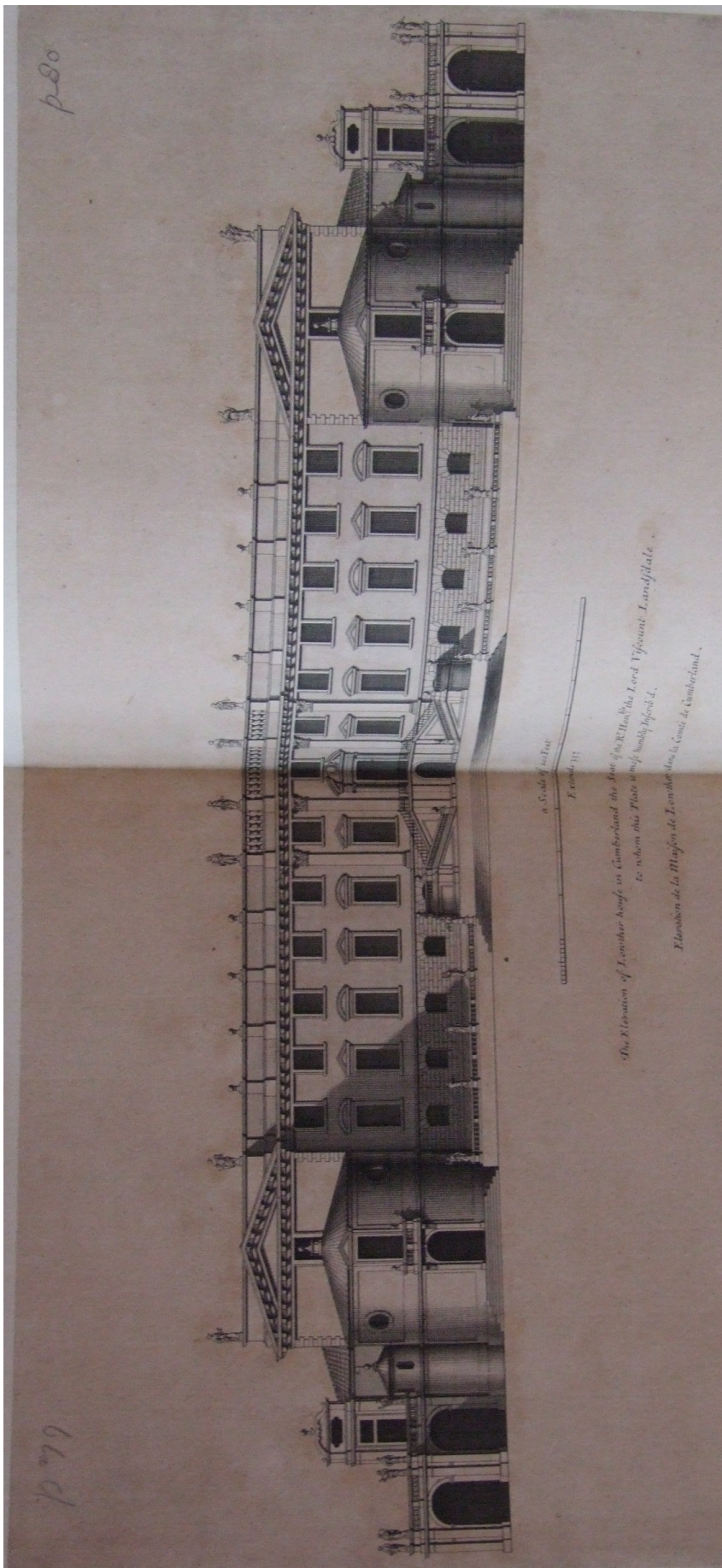
139. Hopetoun House, West Lothian, Plan: 59A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 75



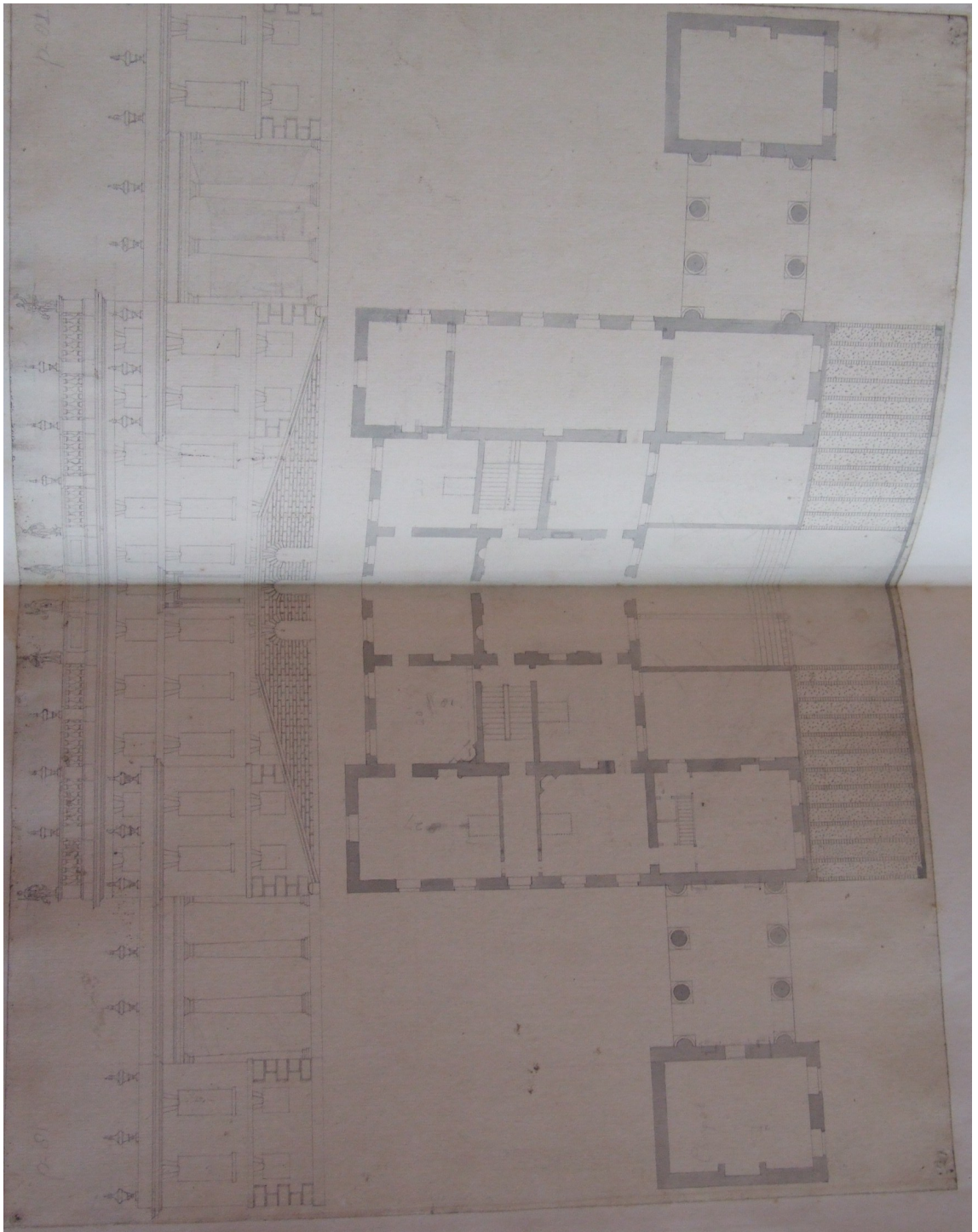
140. Hopetoun House, West Lothian, Elevation: 59B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 76-77



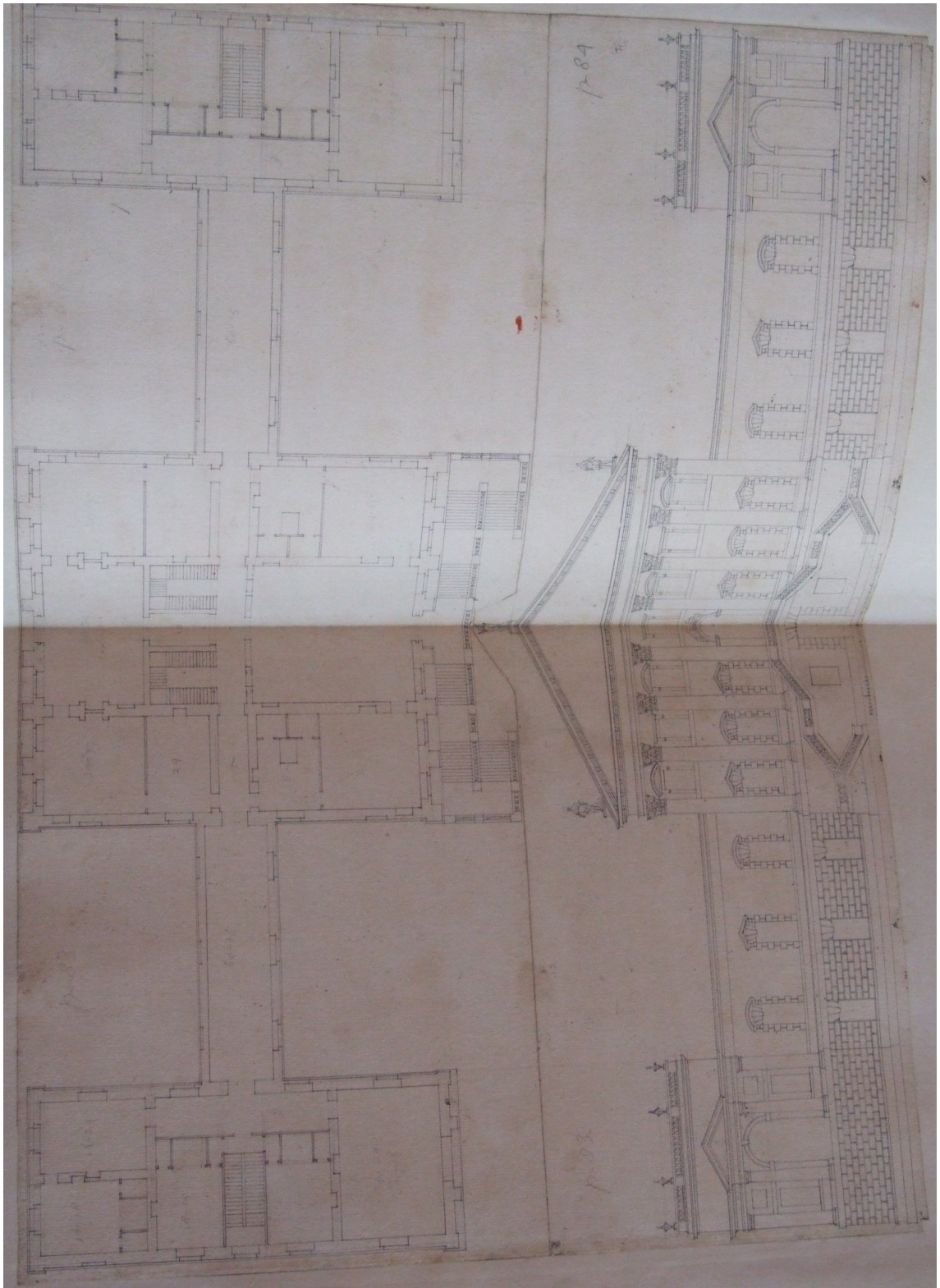
141. *Lowther Castle, Westmorland, Plan: 60A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 78*



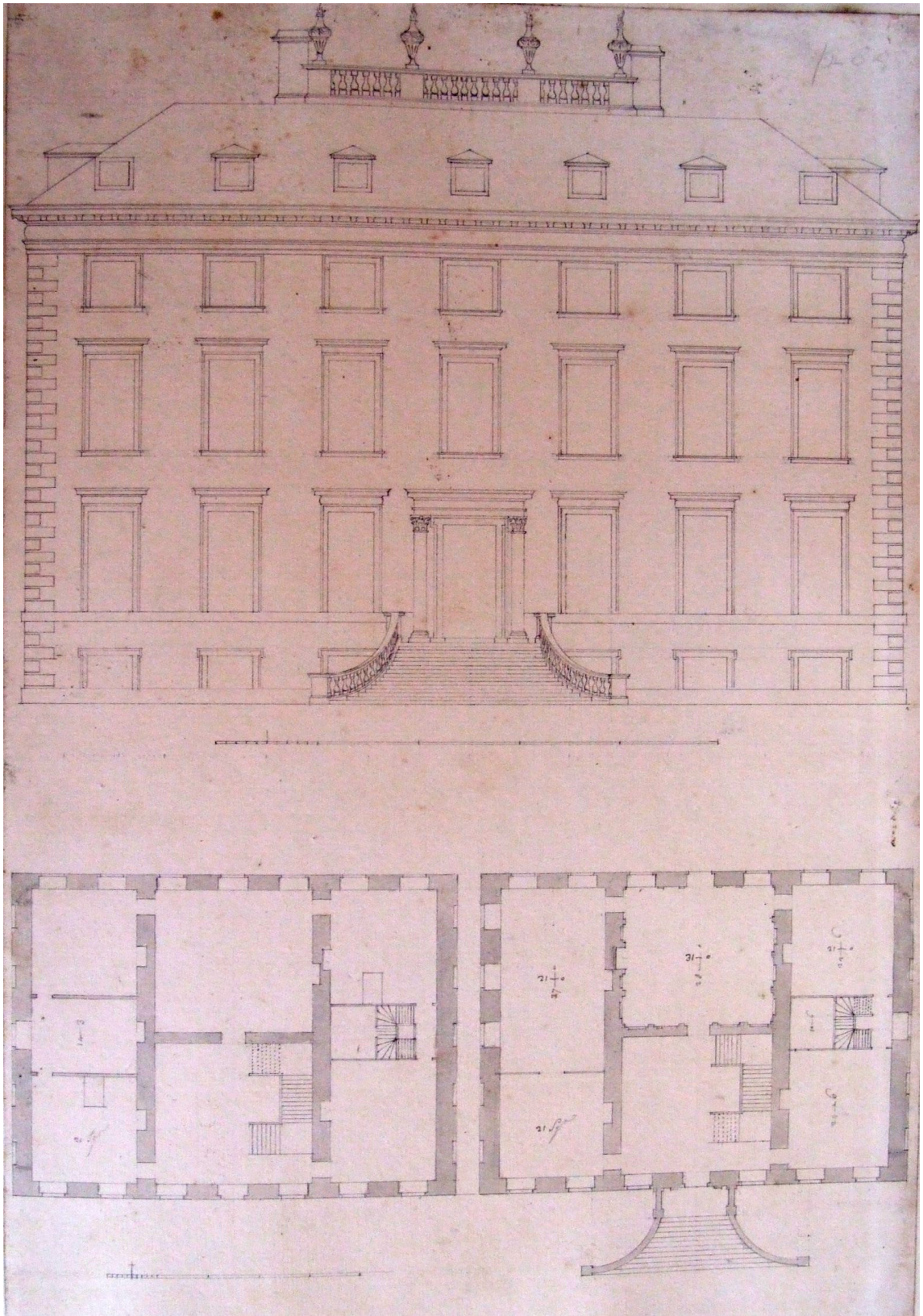
142. Lowther Castle, Westmorland, Elevation: 60B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 79-80



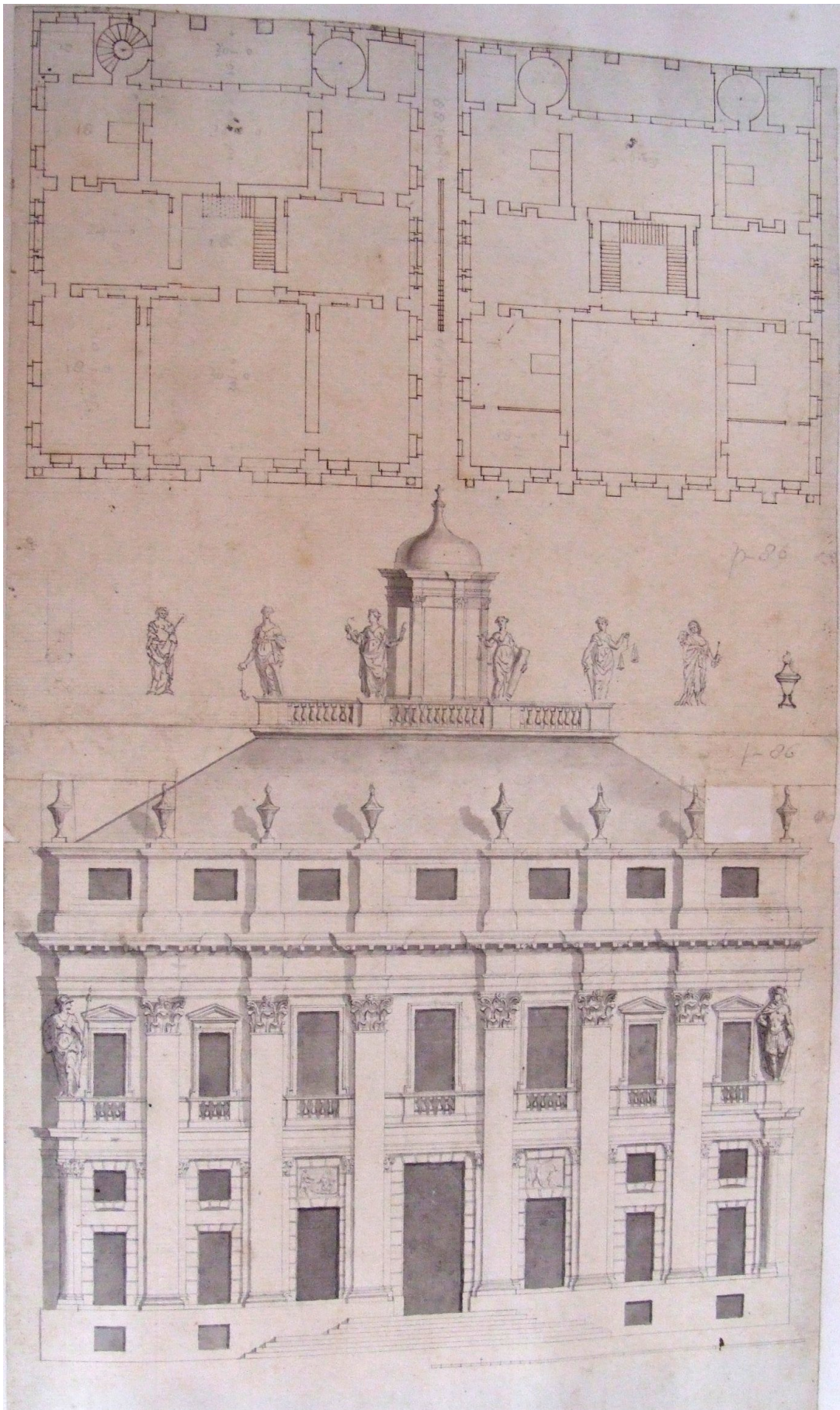
143. *Bramham Park, Yorkshire, Plan and Elevation: 61A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 81-82*



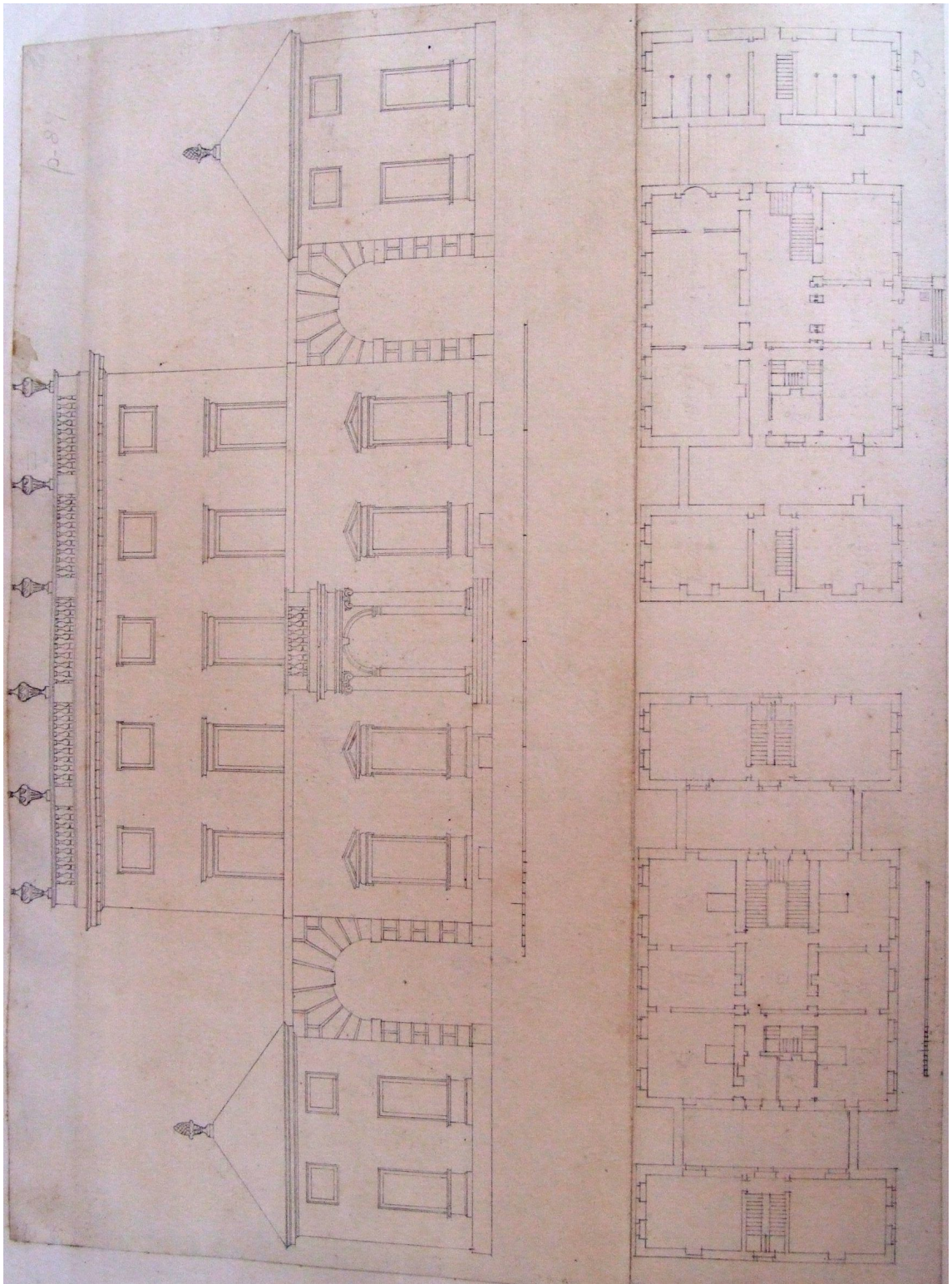
144. *Proposed Design for Robert Walpole, Plan and Elevation: 62A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 83-84*



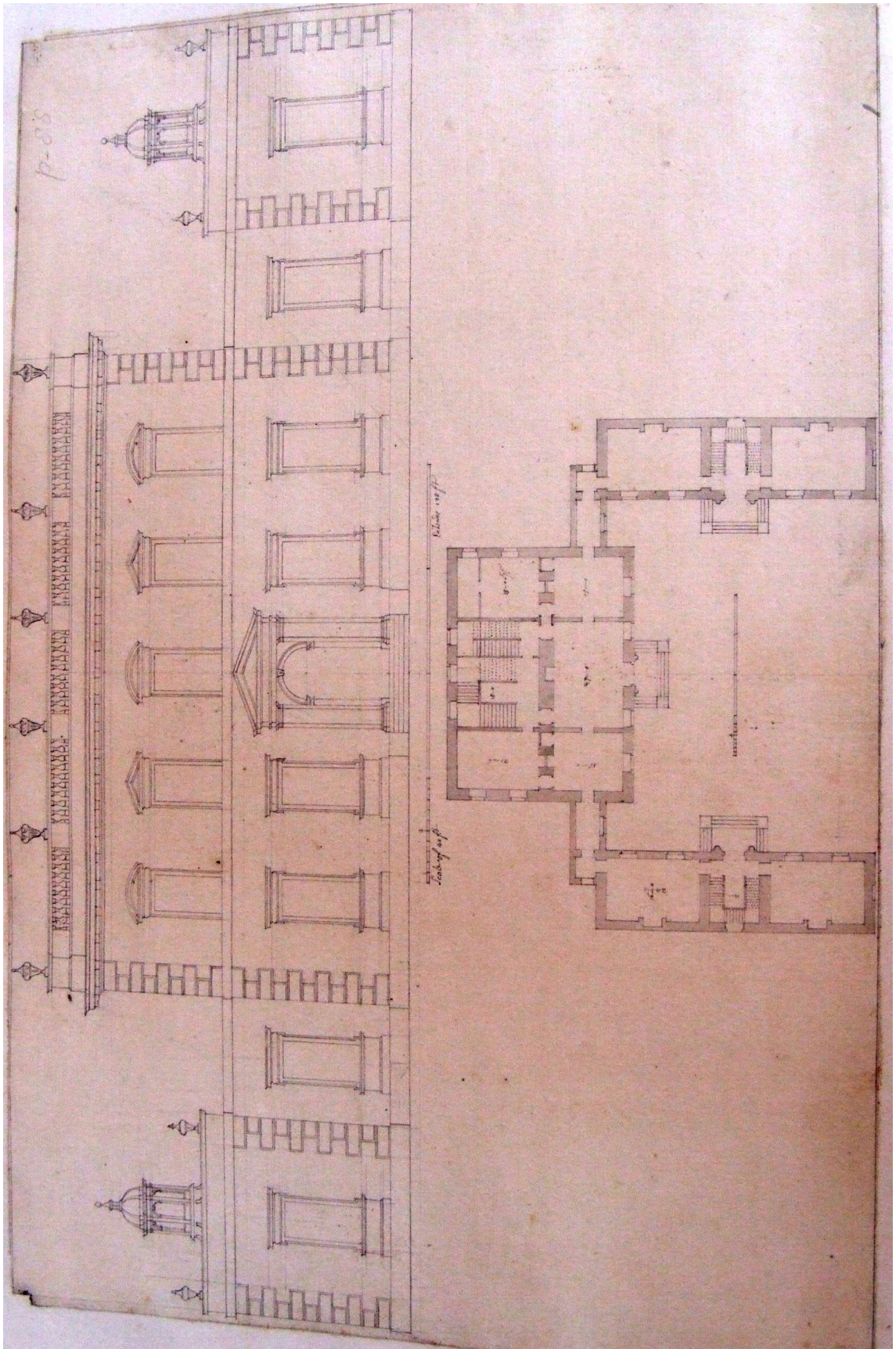
145. *Chevening House, Kent, Plans and Elevation: 63A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 85*



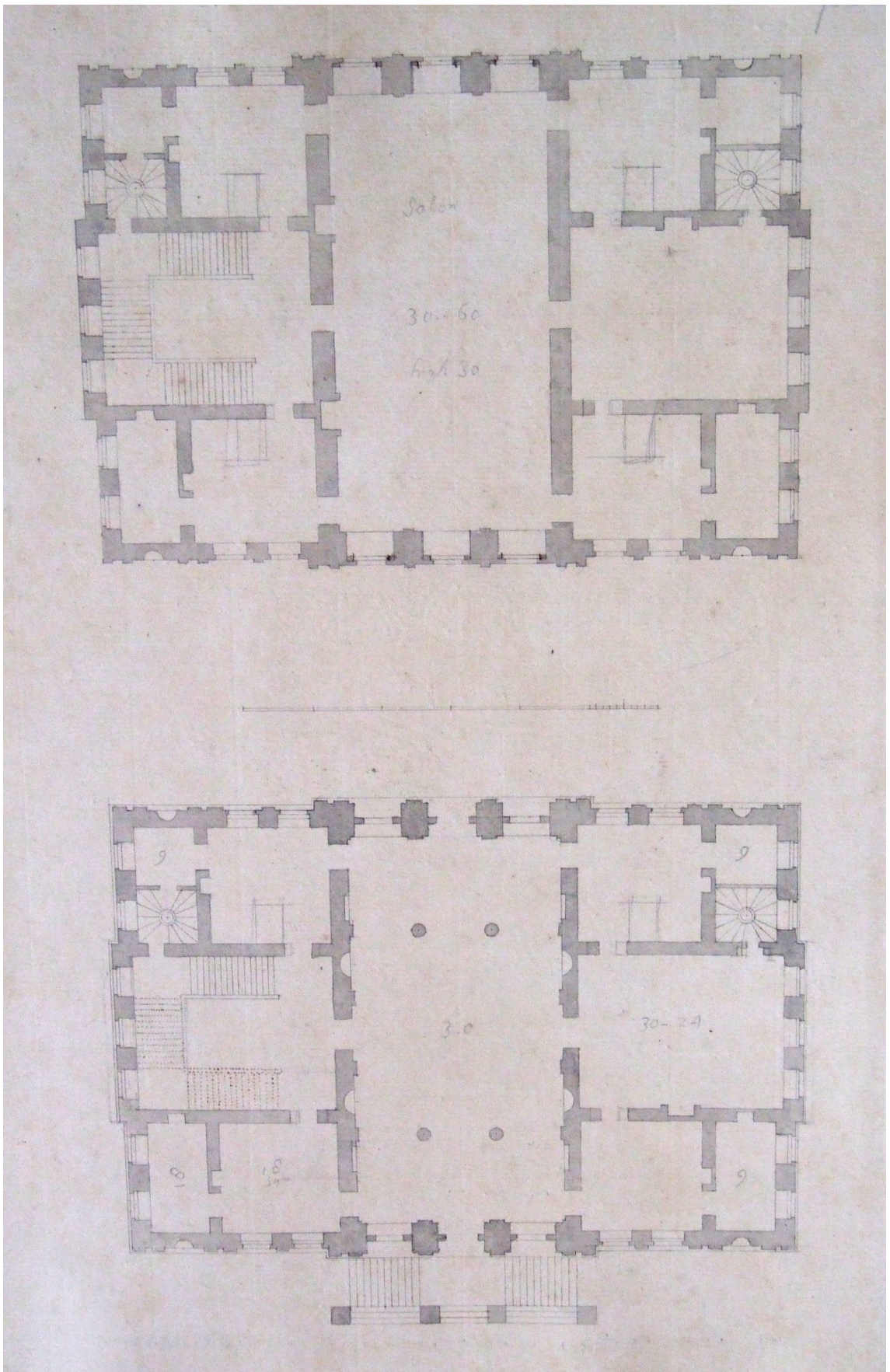
146. Proposed Design for Secretary Stanhope, Plan and Elevation: 64A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 86



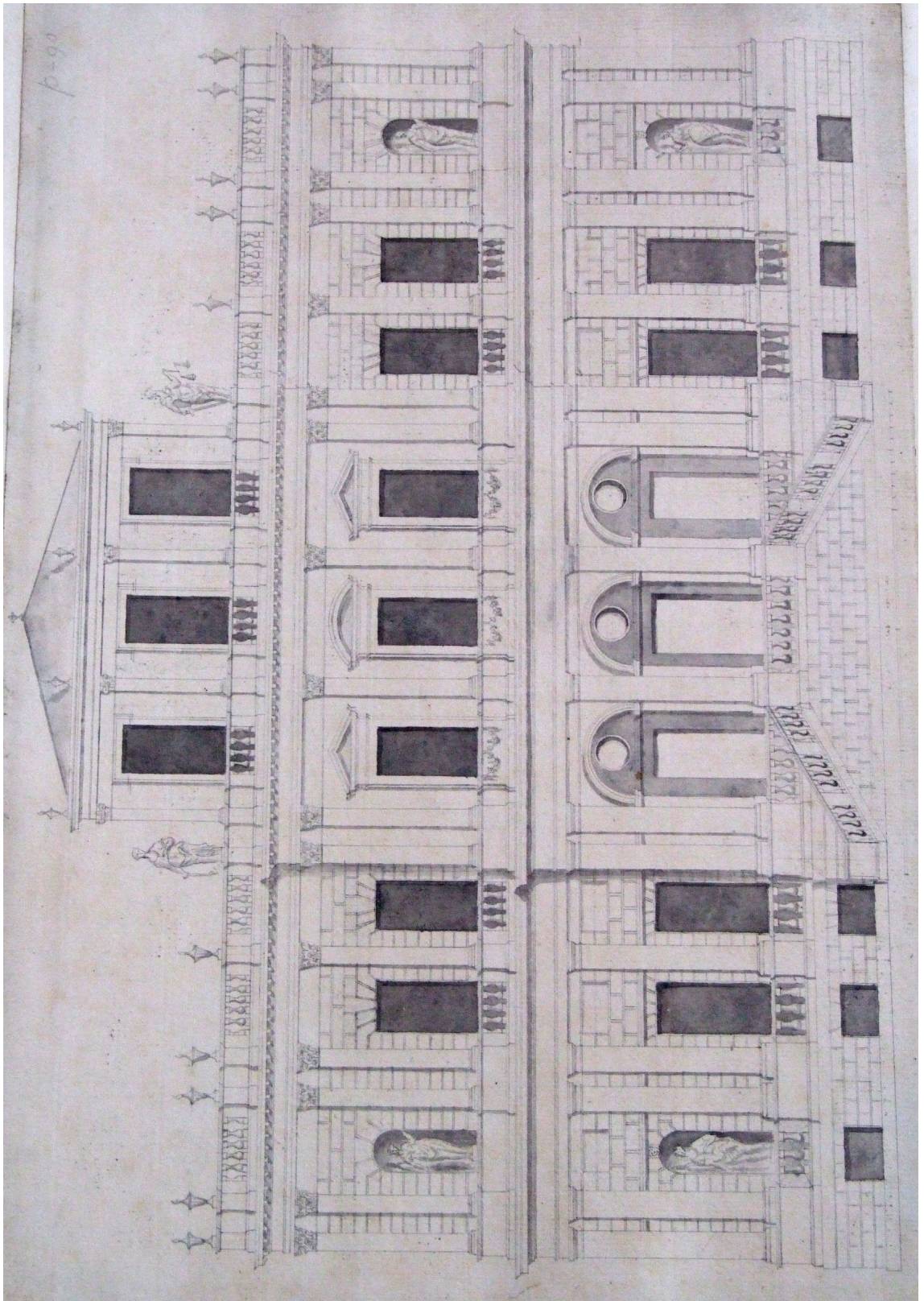
147. *Hotham House, Yorkshire*, Plan and Elevation: 65A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 87



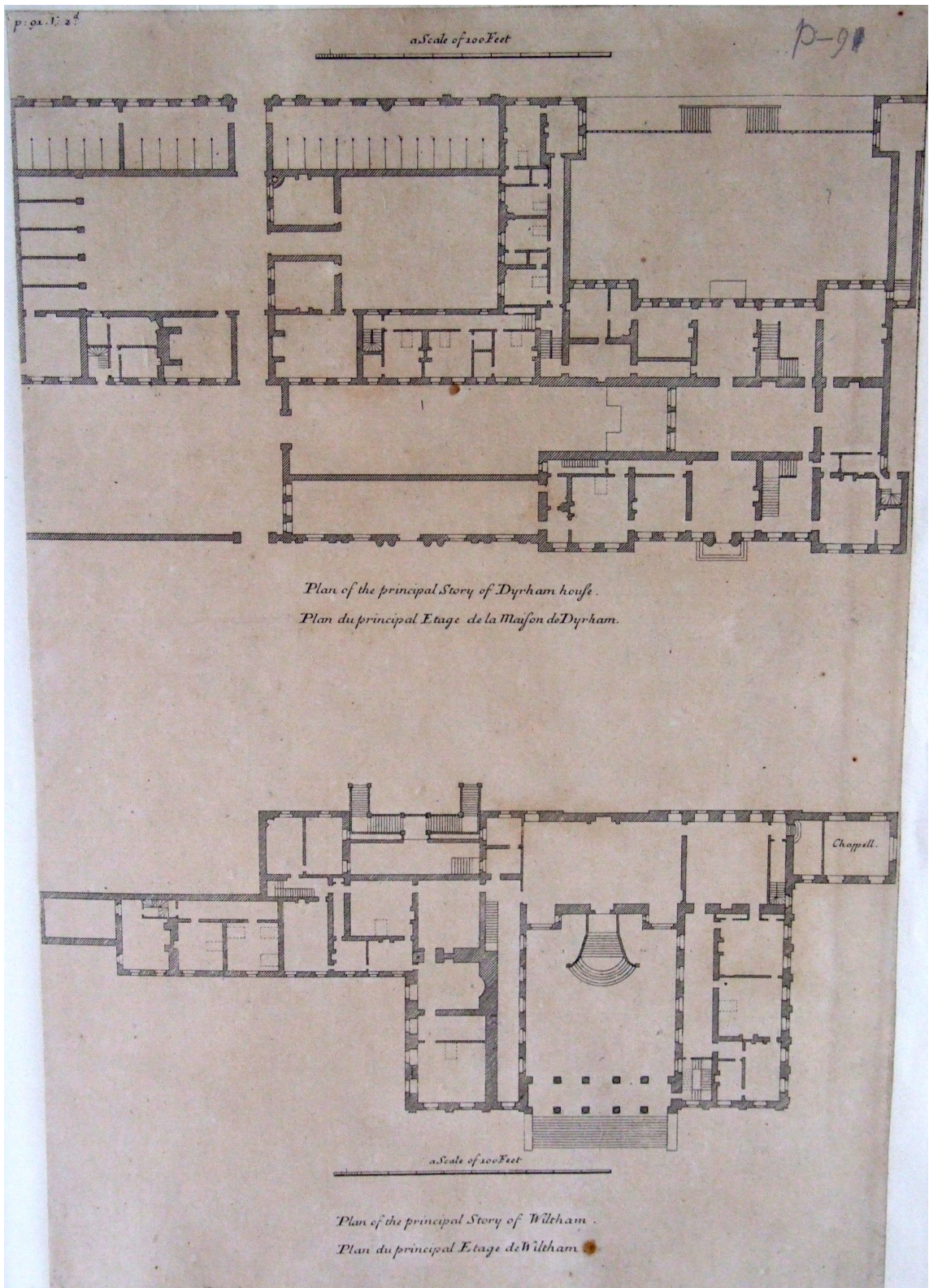
148. Hedworth House, Chester le Street, Plan and Elevation: 66A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 88



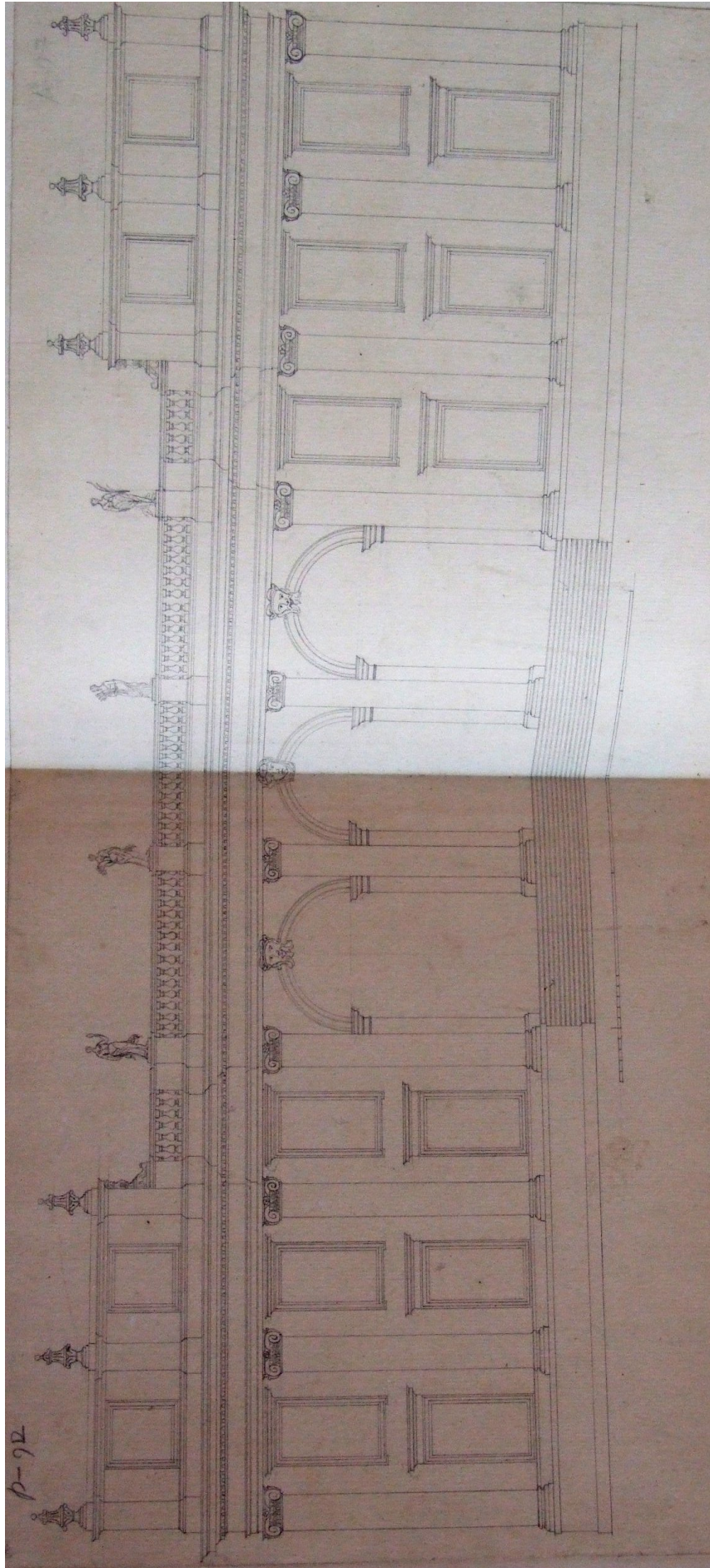
149. *Proposed Design for Secretary Methuen, Plans: 67A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 89*



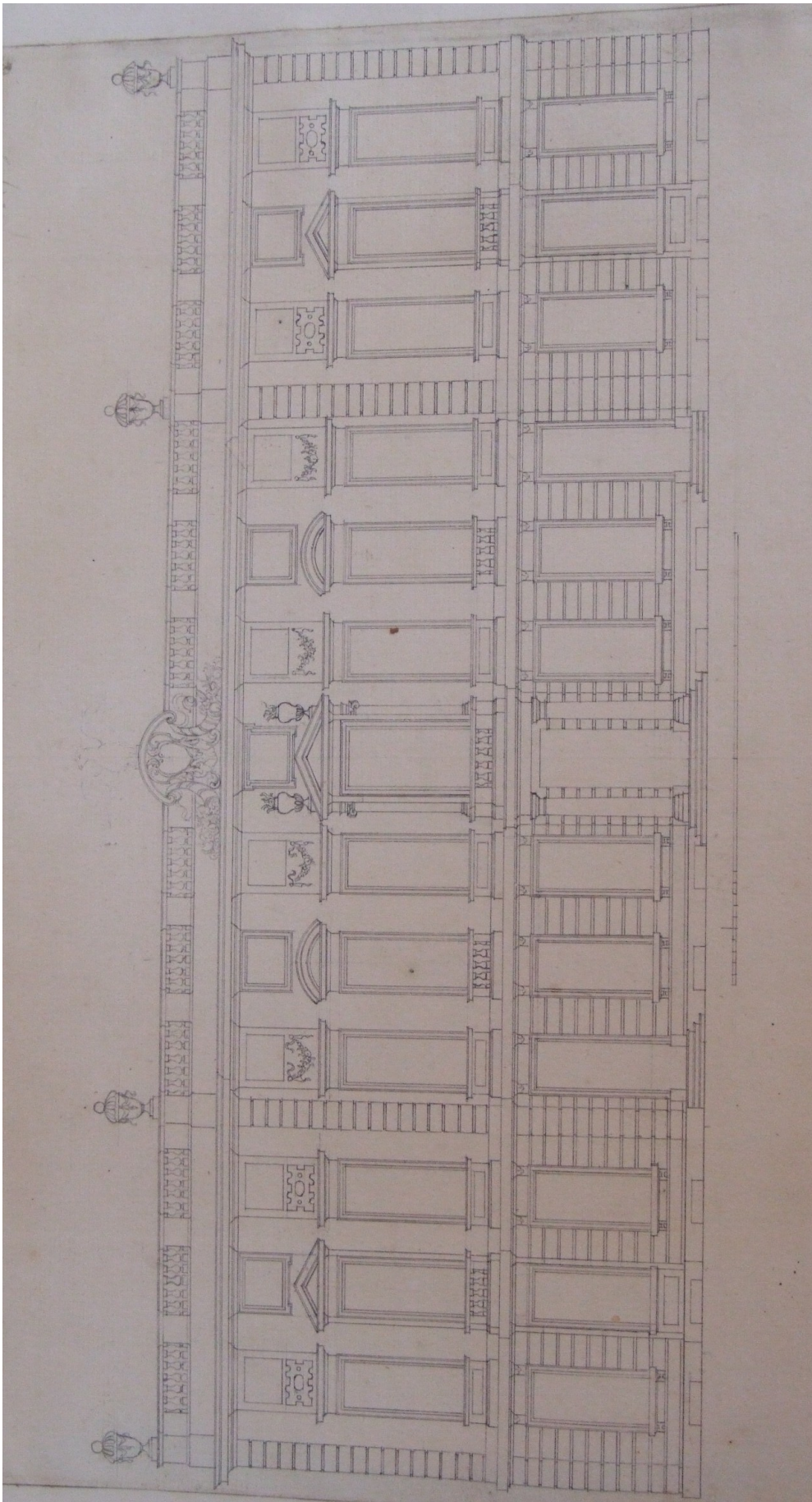
150. *Proposed Design for Secretary Methuen, Elevation: 67B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 90*



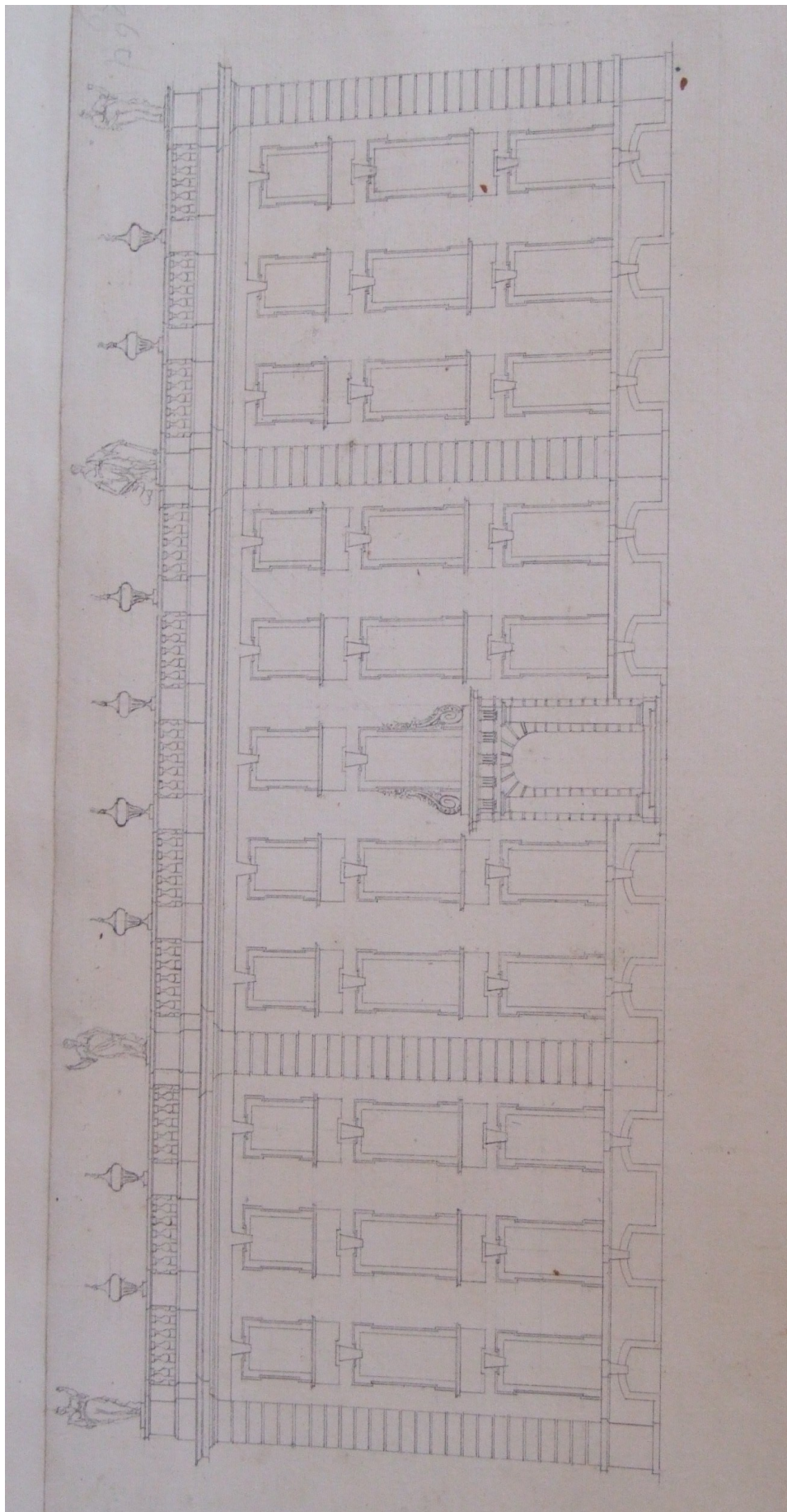
151. Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire and Witham House, Somerset, Plans: 68A (c. 1717),
Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 91



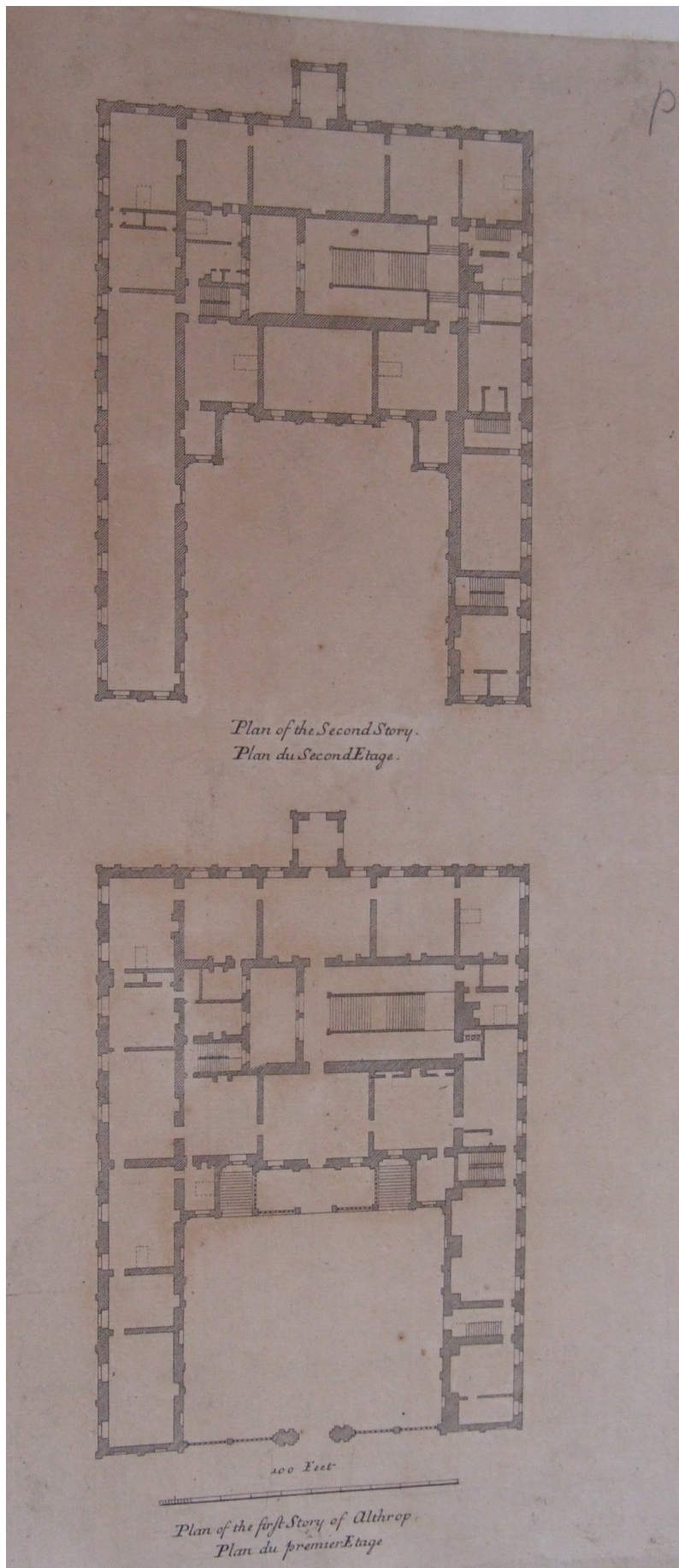
152. *Witham House, Somerset*, Elevation: 68B (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 92



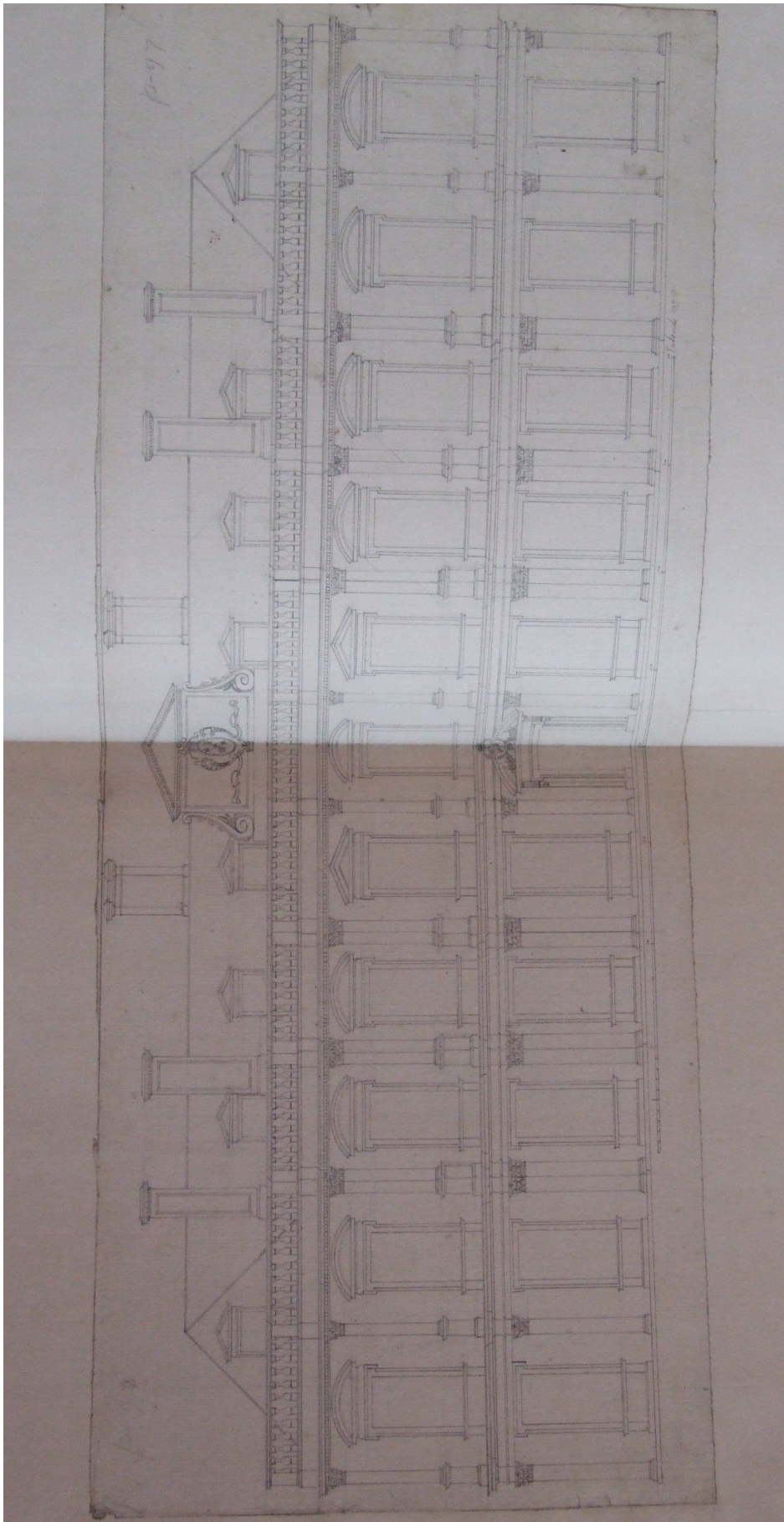
153. *Dyrham House, Gloucestershire*, Elevation: 69A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 93



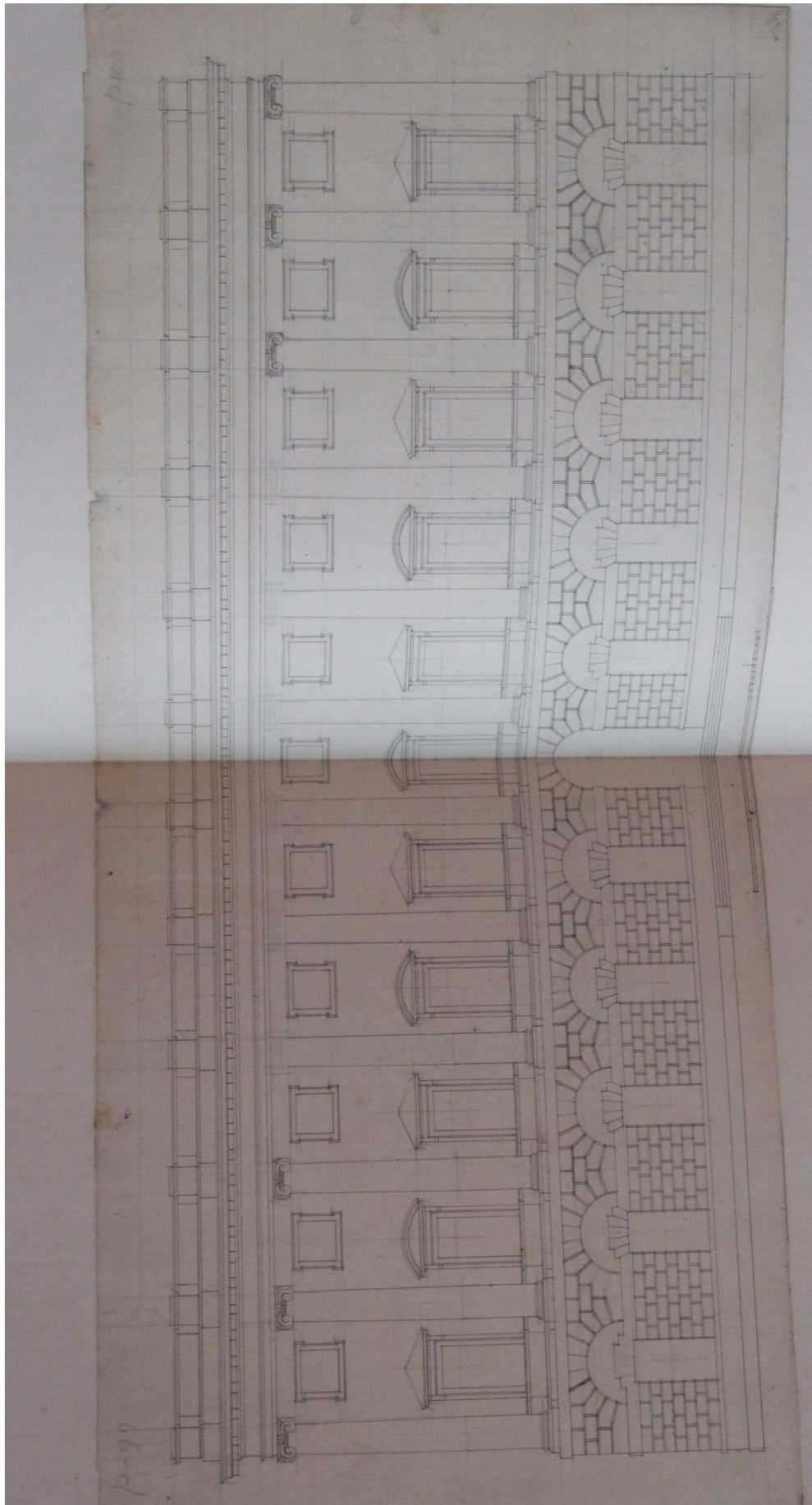
154. *Newbold Hall, Warwickshire, Elevation: 70A (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 94*



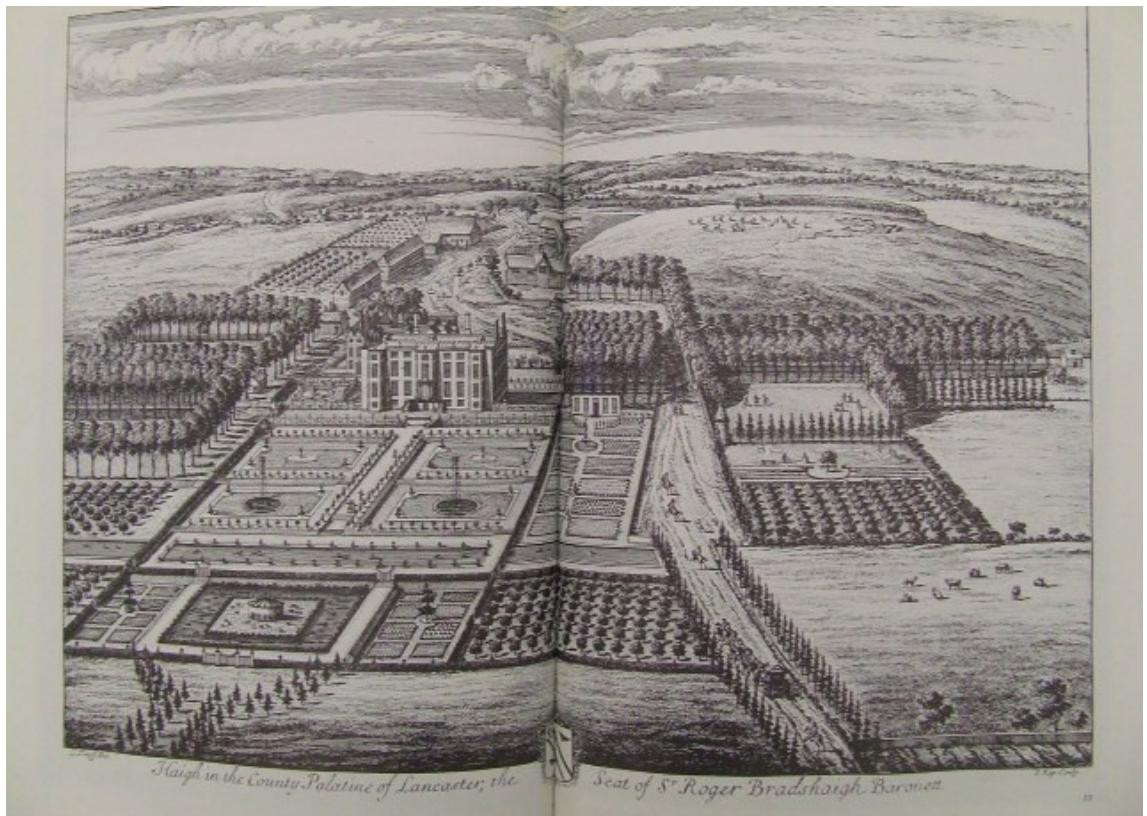
155. Althrop House, Northamptonshire, Plans: 71A (c. 1717), *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 95



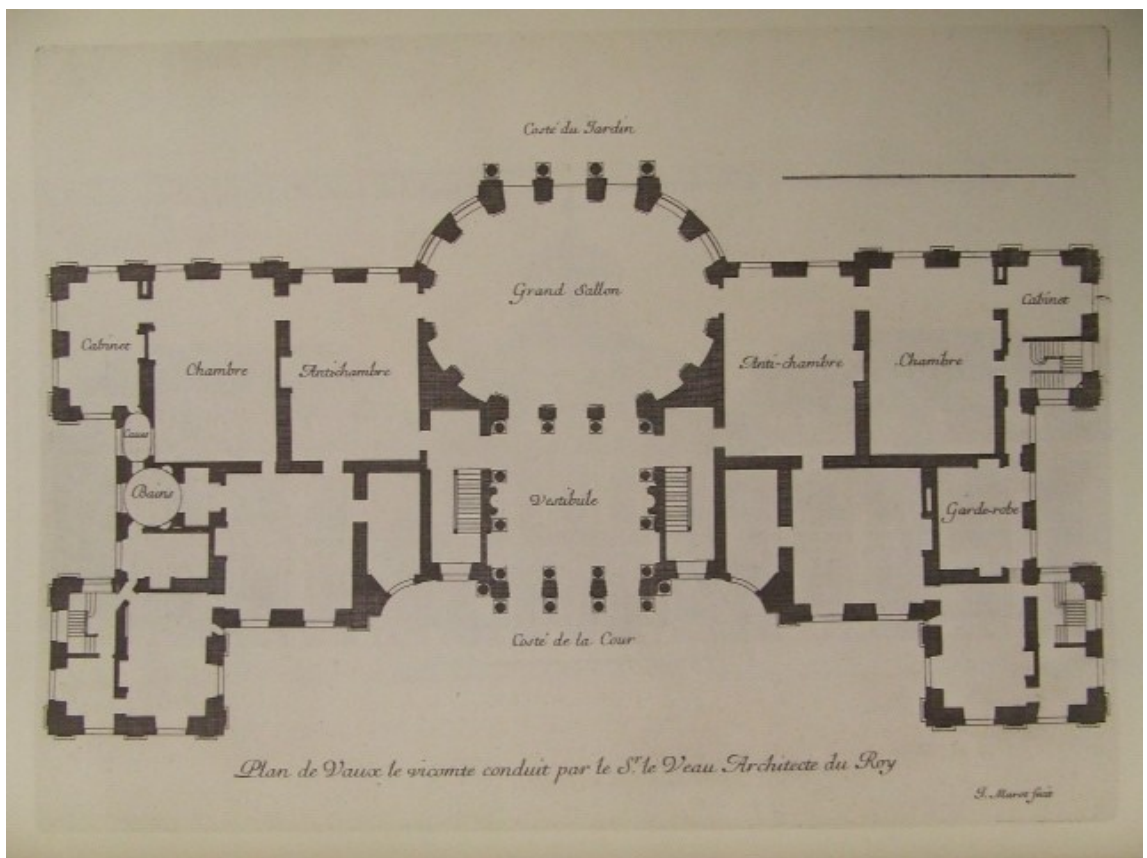
156. *Althorp House, Northamptonshire, Elevation: 71B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 96-97*



158. *Proposed Design for the Earl of Cadogan, Plans: 72B (c. 1717), Vitruvius Britannicus, II, Pl 99-100*



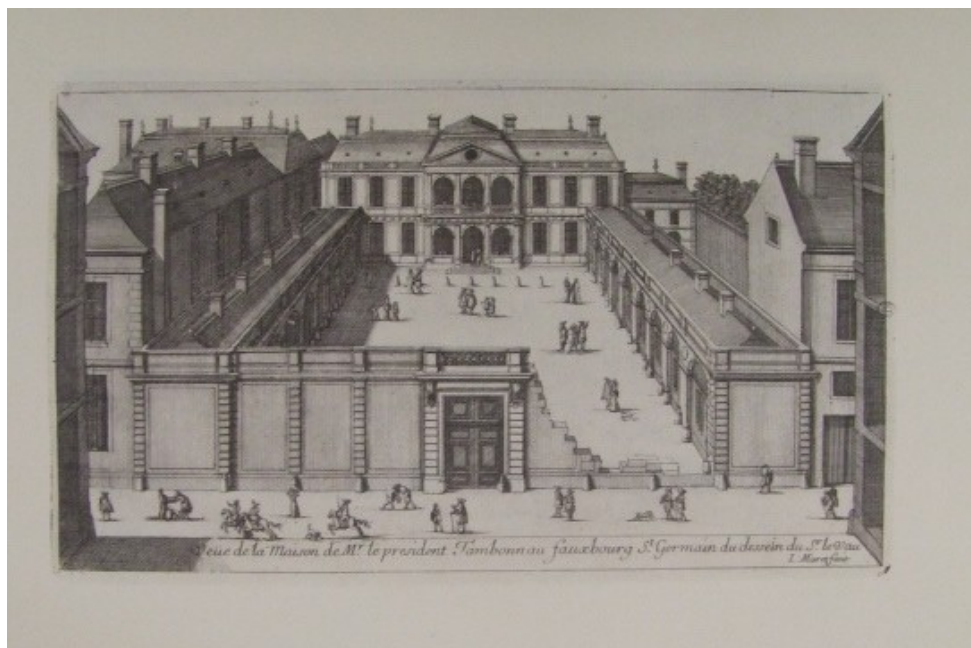
159. Haigh Hall, Lancashire, Birds-eye View (1709) *Britannia Illustrata*, Pl 55.



160. Vaux le Vicomte, Maincy, France, Plan (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'



161. *Vaux le Vicomte, Maincy, France*, Elevation (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'



162. *Faubourg Ste-Germain, Paris*, Birds-eye view (c. 1680), 'Grande Marot'

In a few Days will be publish'd, and given gratis,
A Catalogue of the valuable Libraries of the Rev. Mr. John Grant, and of that eminent and ingenious Architect Colen Campbell, Esq; F. R. S. together with 800 Original Designs of Drawings in Architecture of Colen Campbell; to be sold by Auction by H. NOORTHOUCK, Book-feller against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; of which further Notice will be given in this and other Papers.

163. Sale Advertisement, London Evening Post, 30 December 1732, British Library 17th and 18th century Burney collection newspapers online

To be Sold by Auction,
On Tuesday the 16th Instant, at Munday's Coffee-House in Maiden-Lane, near Covent-Garden,
By HARMEN NOORTHOUCK, Bookfeller,
Against St. Clement's Church in the Strand,
Beginning every Evening at Five o'Clock,

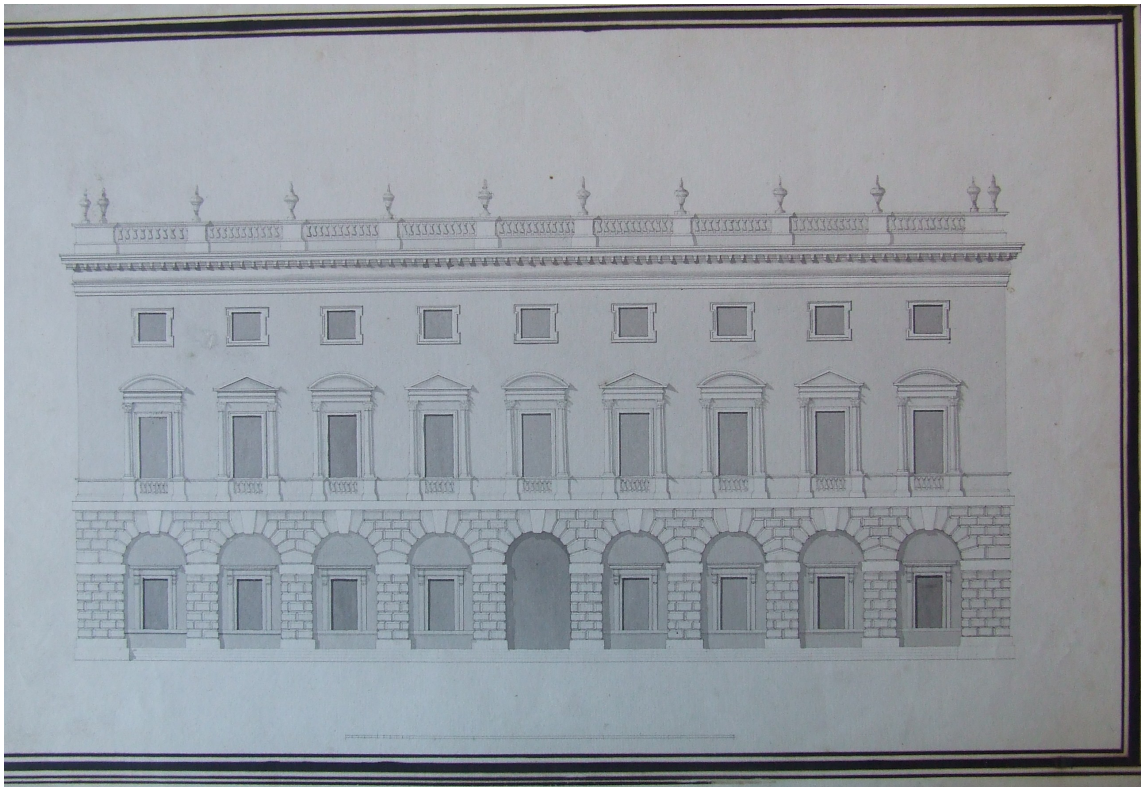
A Collection of Valuable Books, being the intire Libraries of the Rev. Mr. JOHN GRANT, and COLIN CAMPBELL, Esq; Architect to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and R. S. S. both deceased, consisting of very choice and useful Books, in Greek, Latin, and English, in almost all Parts of Learning. Among which are 800 Original Drawings of Designs in Architecture of the above COLIN CAMPBELL.

N. B. The Books may be view'd 3 Days before the Sale.

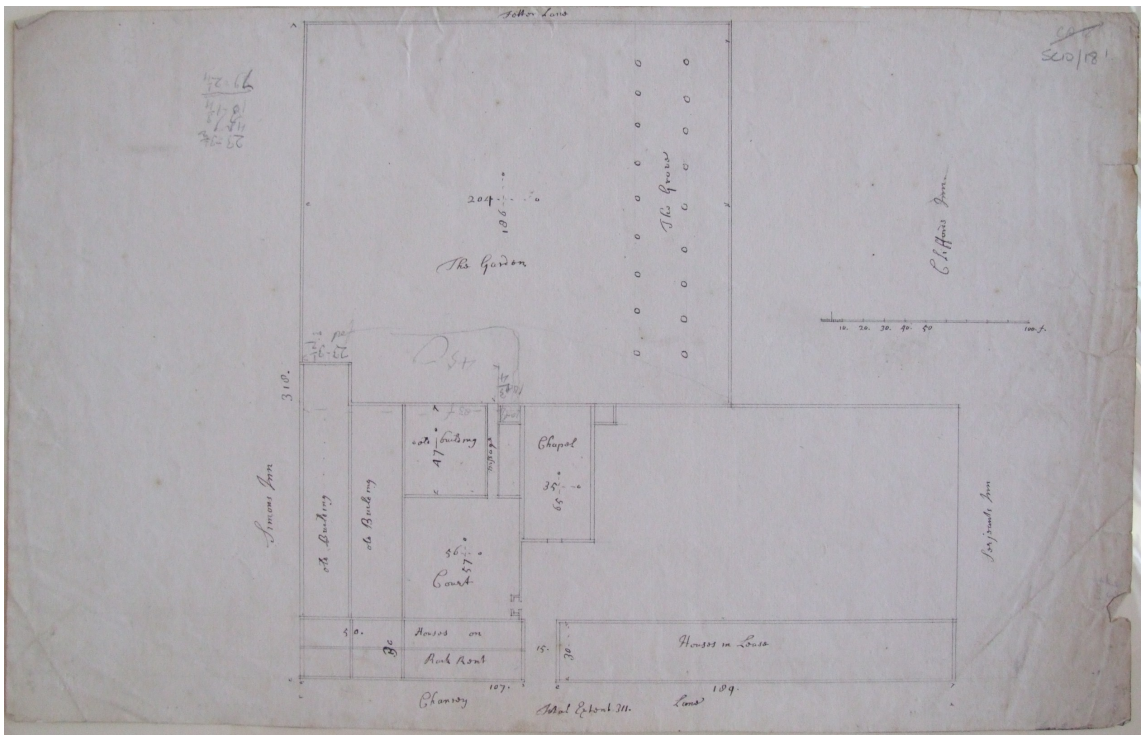
Catalogues may be had Gratis of Mr. Strahan in Cornhill; Mr. Innys in St. Paul's Church-Yard; Mr. Noorthouck over-against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; Mr. Lewis and Mr. Woodman in Russel-street, Covent-Garden; Forrest's Coffee-house against the Meuse Gate, Charing-Cross; Mr. Jolliffe in St. James's-street; Mr. Brindley in New Bond-street; and at the Place of Sale.

N. B. The Auctioneer will give ready Money for any Study of Books.

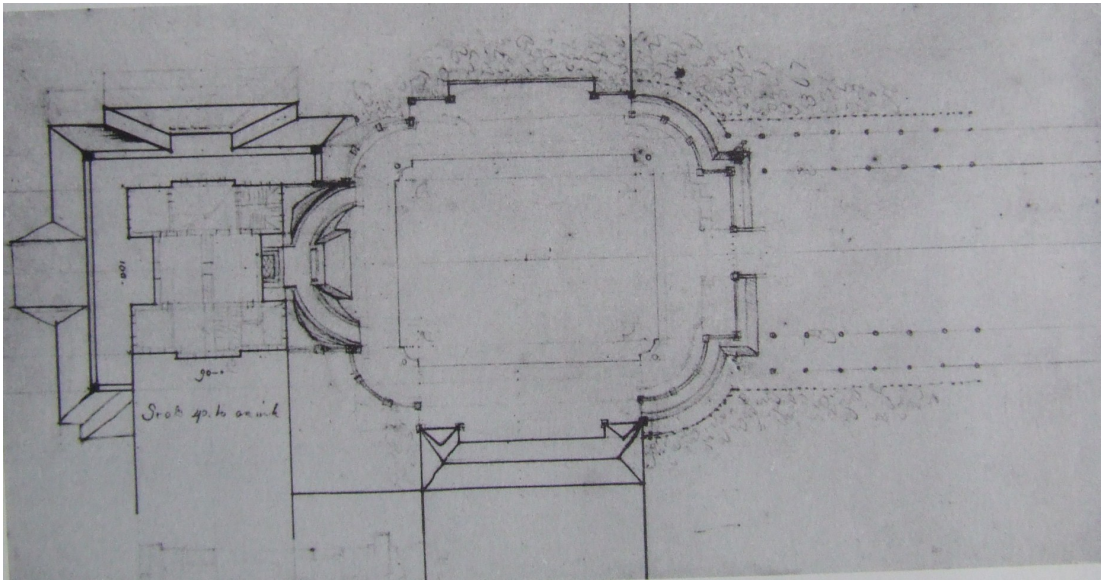
164. Sale Advertisement, Daily Journal, 13 January 1733, Burney collection



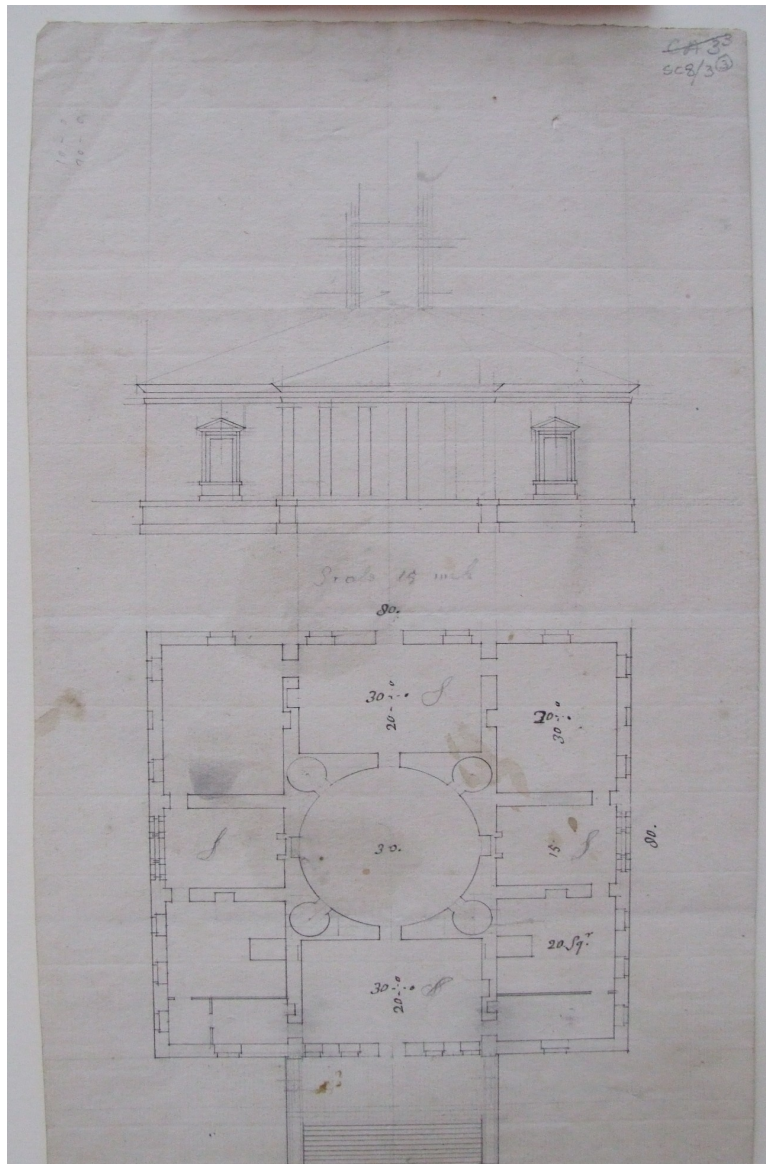
165. Proposed Design for a Town House, Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1718), YCBA



166. Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London, Site Plan (c. 1718)



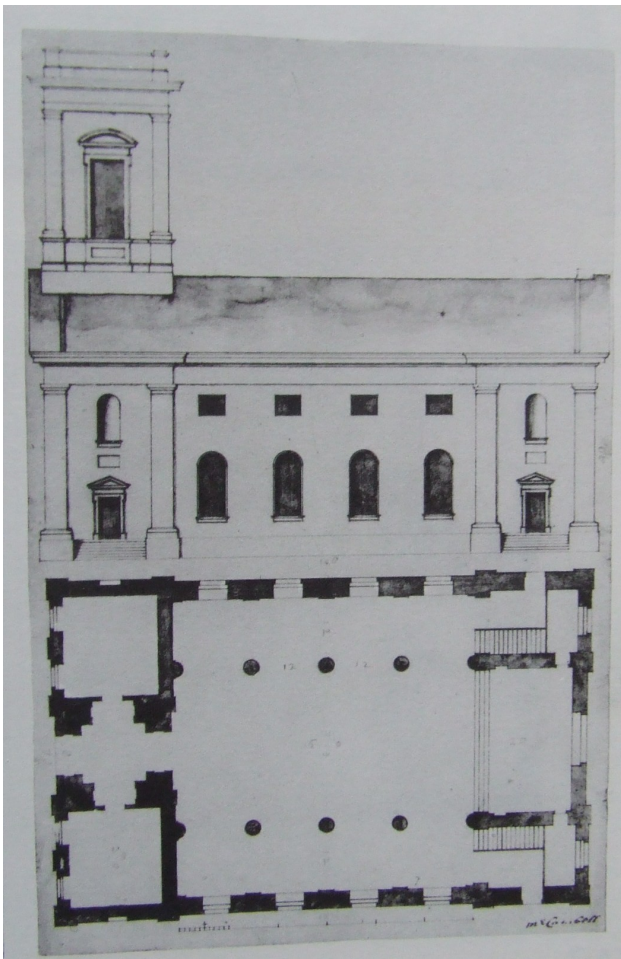
167. *H Shaped House in Landscape*, Survey and Exploratory drawing (date unknown)



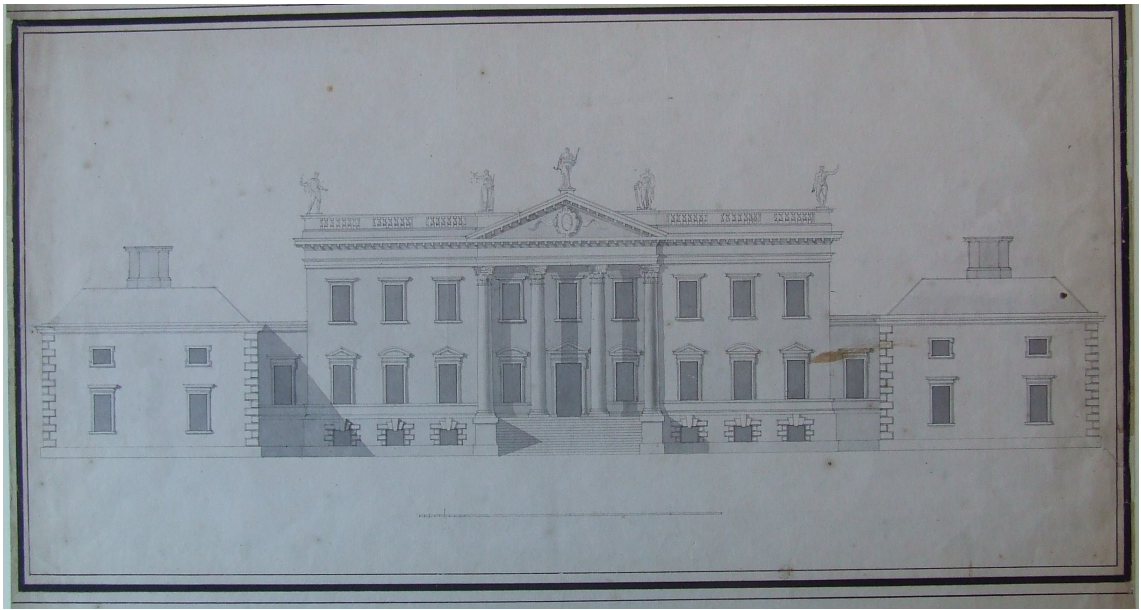
168. *Goodwood House, Surrey*, Plan and Elevation, Preliminary Drawing (c. 1724)



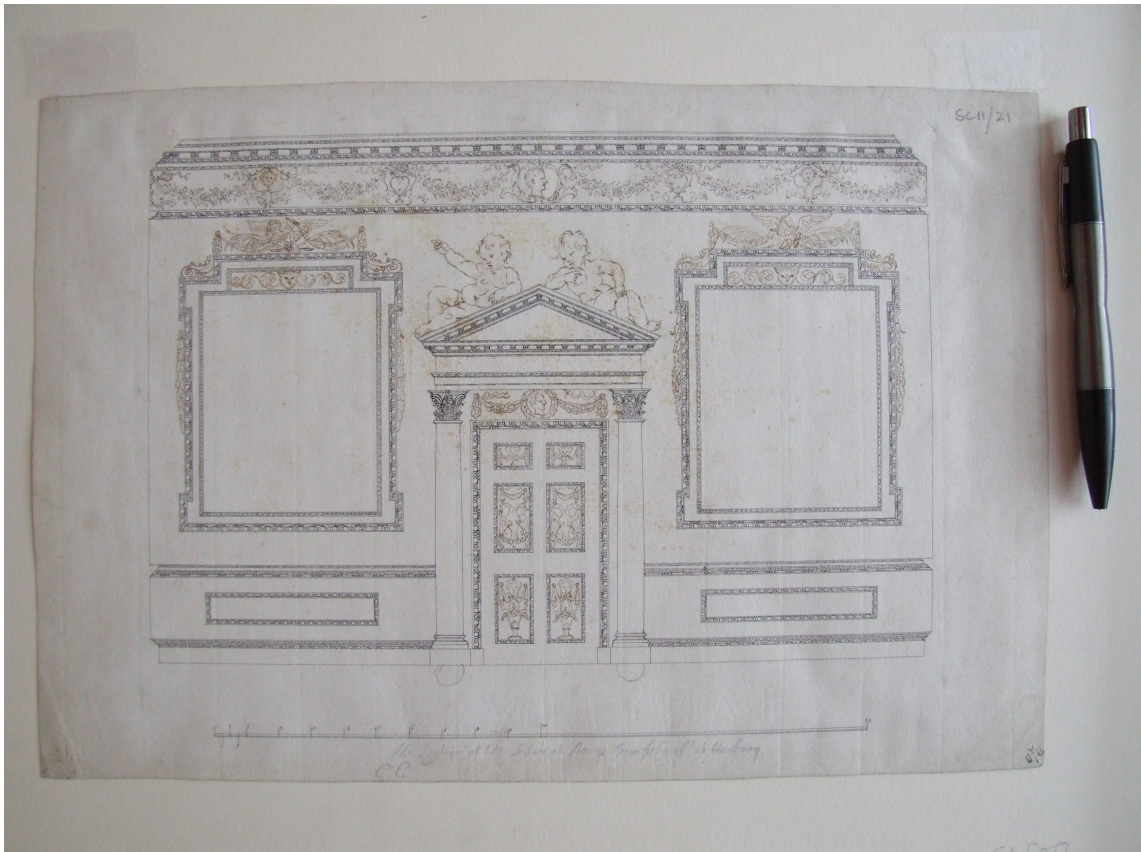
169. *Goodwood House, Surrey*, Elevation, Presentation Drawing (c. 1724)



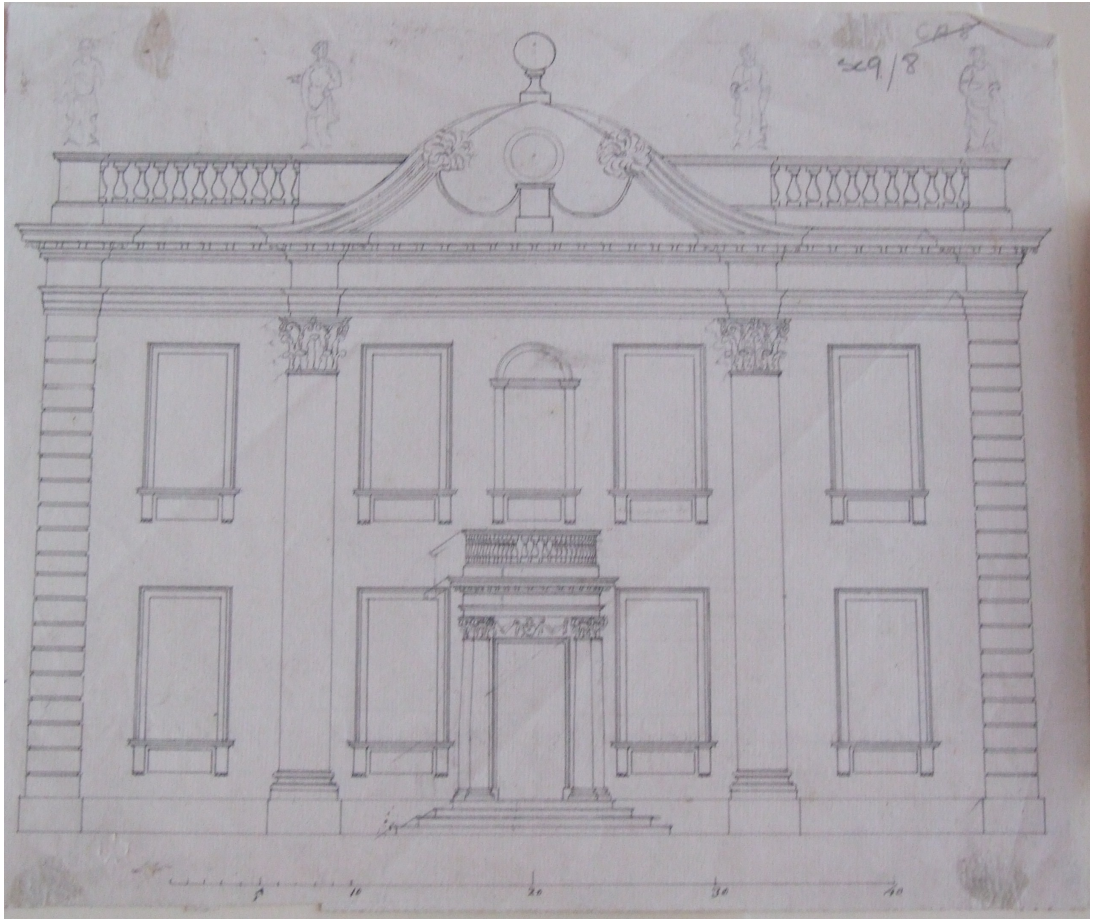
170. *Proposed Design for the Fifty New Church Commission*, Plan and Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1712)



171. *Lowther Castle, Westmoreland, Elevation, Presentation drawing (c. 1725), YCBA*



172. *Stamp Brookbank's House, Hackney, London, Room Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1728)*



173. *Leyton Grange, Essex*, Elevation, Drawing for Engraving (c. 1725)



174. *St Martin in the Fields, London*, Elevation and Section, Drawing for engraving, James Gibbs for *A Book of Architecture*, Ashmolean Museum (I-14a and b)

March 25, 1707.

PROPOSALS
FOR
ENGRAVING, and PRINTING, in Folio,
A TREATISE of
The Five Orders of COLUMNS
IN
ARCHITECTURE;

Toſcan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite:

WHEREIN

The Proportions and Characters of the MEMBERS of their ſeveral
PEDESTALS, COLUMNS, and ENTABLETURES,
Are diſtinctly conſider'd, with reſpect to the Practice of the

ANTIENTS and MODERNS.

Alſo a moſt Natural, Eaſie and Præctible Method laid down, for determining at Sight,
the moſt minute Part, in all the ORDERS, without a Fraction.

To which is Annex'd

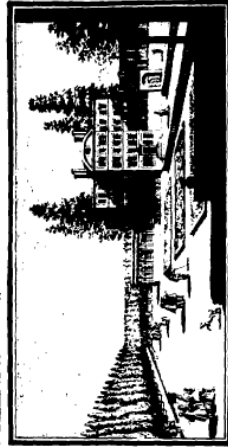
A DISCOURSE concerning PILAſTERS:

AND OF

Several ABUSES introduc'd into ARCHITECTURE.

Written in French by **CLAUDE PERRAULT**, of the Royal Academy of PARIS,
Author of the Celebrat'd Comment on VITRUVIUS.

ſpæce enghliſh by **JOHN JAMES of Greenwich.**



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Mr. Thoſ. Sawers at the Three-Coin's Office.
Mr. Thoſ. Boreman, at the Corner of Parmentier's Alley.
And Mr. James Thomas, Printer at Oſtley.

175. Proposal Page for the Five Orders of Architecture, (1707) John James, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)

Rules and Examples of
PERSPECTIVE
PROPER FOR
Painters and Architects, etc.

In English and Latin:

Containing a moſt eaſie and expeditious Method to

DELINEATE, in PERSPECTIVE

DESIGNS relating to **ARCHITECTURE,**

AFTER A NEW MANNER,

Wholly free from the Confuſion of Occult Lines:

BY THAT GREAT MASTER THEREOF,

ANDREA POZZO, *Scotſh*

Engraver in 105 ample folio Plates, and a ſecond with 200 Initial Letters to

the Explanatory Diſcourſes; Printed from Copper-Plates on ſoft Paper

By John Sturt.

Done into Engliſh from the Original Printed at Rome 1693 in Lat. and Ital.

By H. John James of Greenwich.



LONDON:

PRINTED by Benj. Motte, MDCCCVII.

Sold by John Sturt in Golden-Lion-Court in

Alder-gate-Street.

176. Title Page of Rules and Examples of Perspective, (1707) John James, ECCO

A TREATISE of the
FIVE ORDERS of COLUMNS
 IN
ARCHITECTURE,
 VIZ.
Toscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite.
 WHEREIN
 The Proportions and Characters of the Members
 Of their several
PEDESTALS, COLUMNS and ENTABLATURES,
 Are distinctly consider'd, with respect to the Practice of the
Antients and Moderns.

A L S O
 A most Natural, Easy and Practicable Method laid down for determining
 the most minute Part in all the Orders, without a Fraction.

To which is Annex'd,
 A DISCOURSE concerning **PILASTERS:**

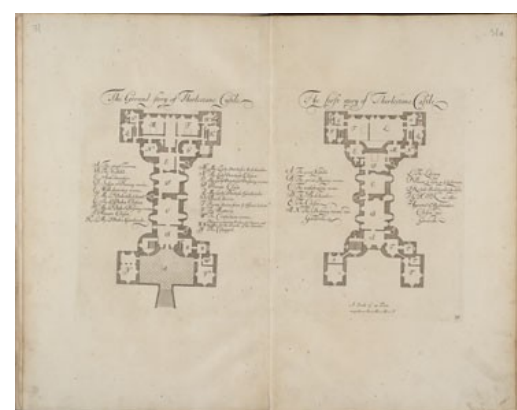
AS USUALLY introduced into **ARCHITECTURE.**
 Engraven on Six folio Plates of the several Orders, adorn'd with Twenty-Four
 Borders, in many Initial Letters, and a like number of Tail-Pieces, by
John Smeaton.

Written in French by
Claude Perrault, R.
 Of the ROYAL ACADEMY of PARIS, Author of the Celebrated
 COMMENT ON VITRUVIUS.
 Made English by *John James* of Greenwich.

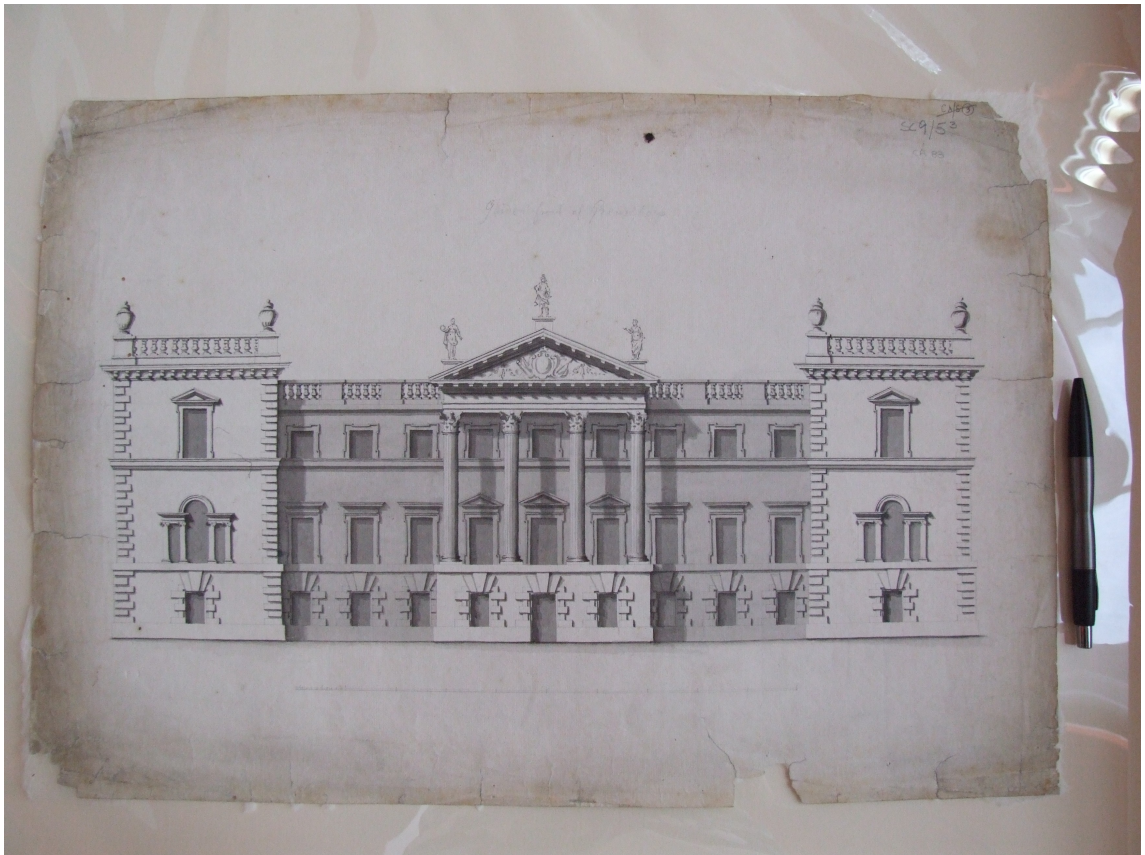


L O N D O N:
 PRINTED by Benj. Motte, M D C C V I I I.
 Sold by John Sturt in Golden-Lion-Court
 in Aldergate Street.

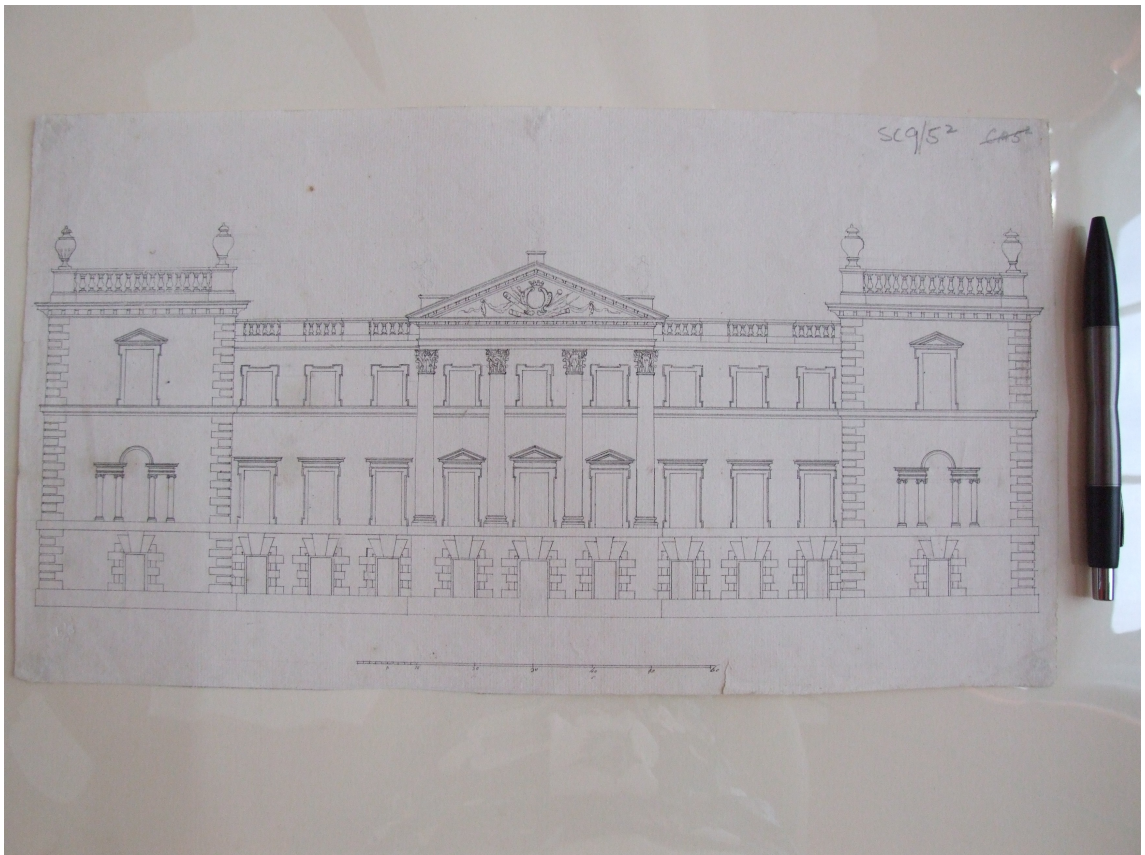
177. Title Page of *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture*, (1708) John James, ECCO



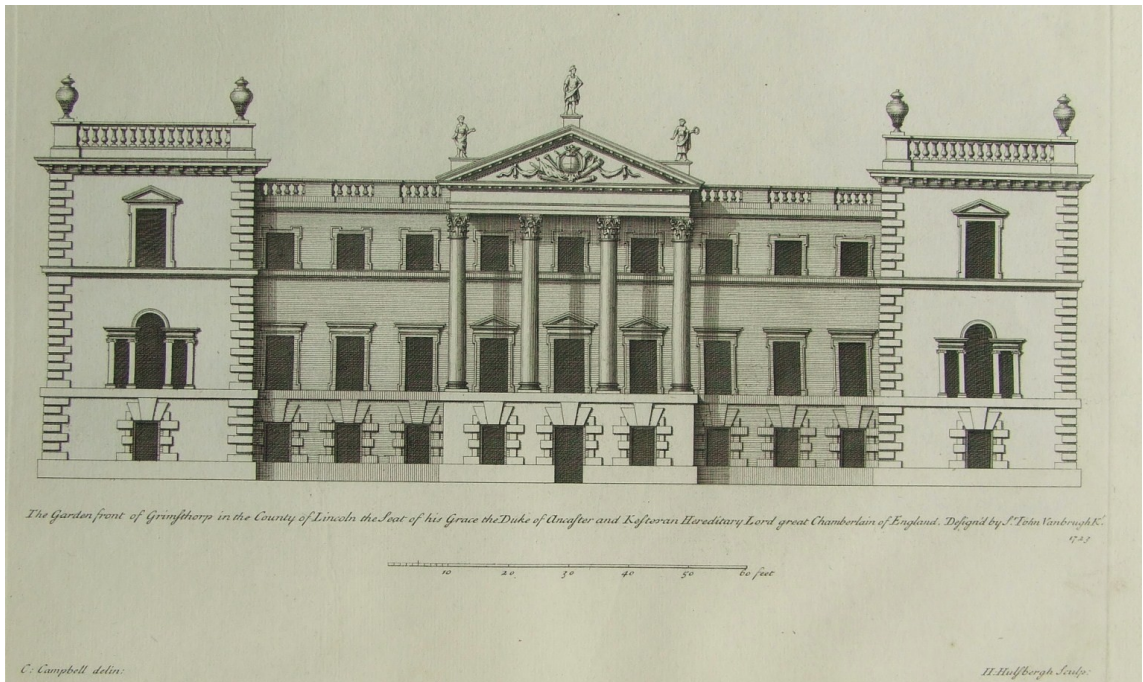
178. *Thirlstane Castle, Berwickshire*, Elevation and Plans, *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) National Library of Scotland Online



179. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, Elevation (c. 1725) Office of Sir John Vanbrugh*



180. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1725)*



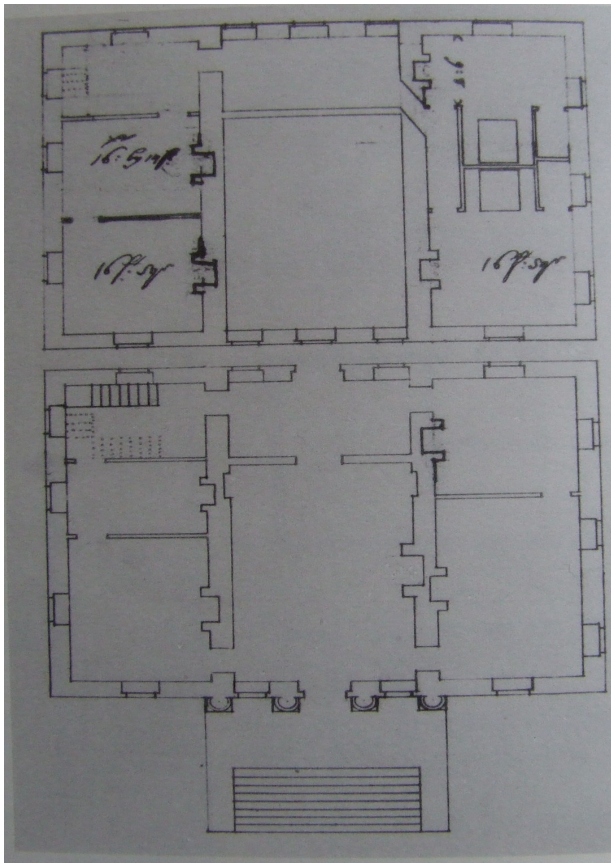
181. *Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, Elevation, Vitruvius Britannicus, III, Pl 13*



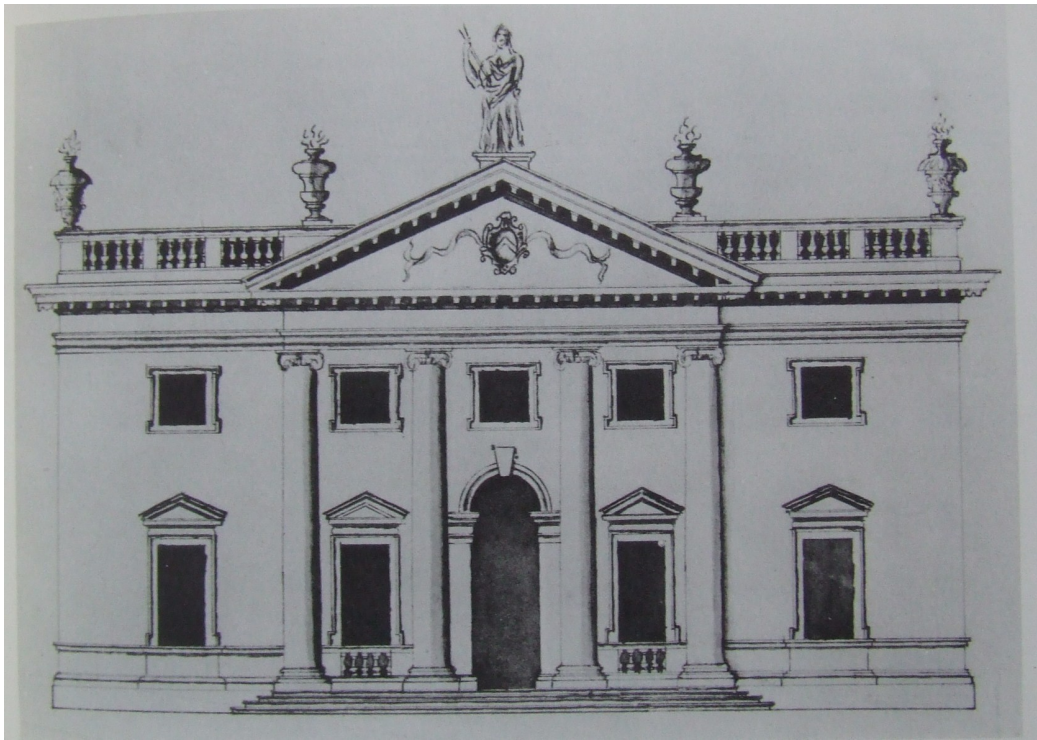
182. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham, Original Engraving (1710), Henry Hulsbergh after Thomas Archer*



183. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham, Engraving, Vitruvius Britannicus, I, Pl 11*



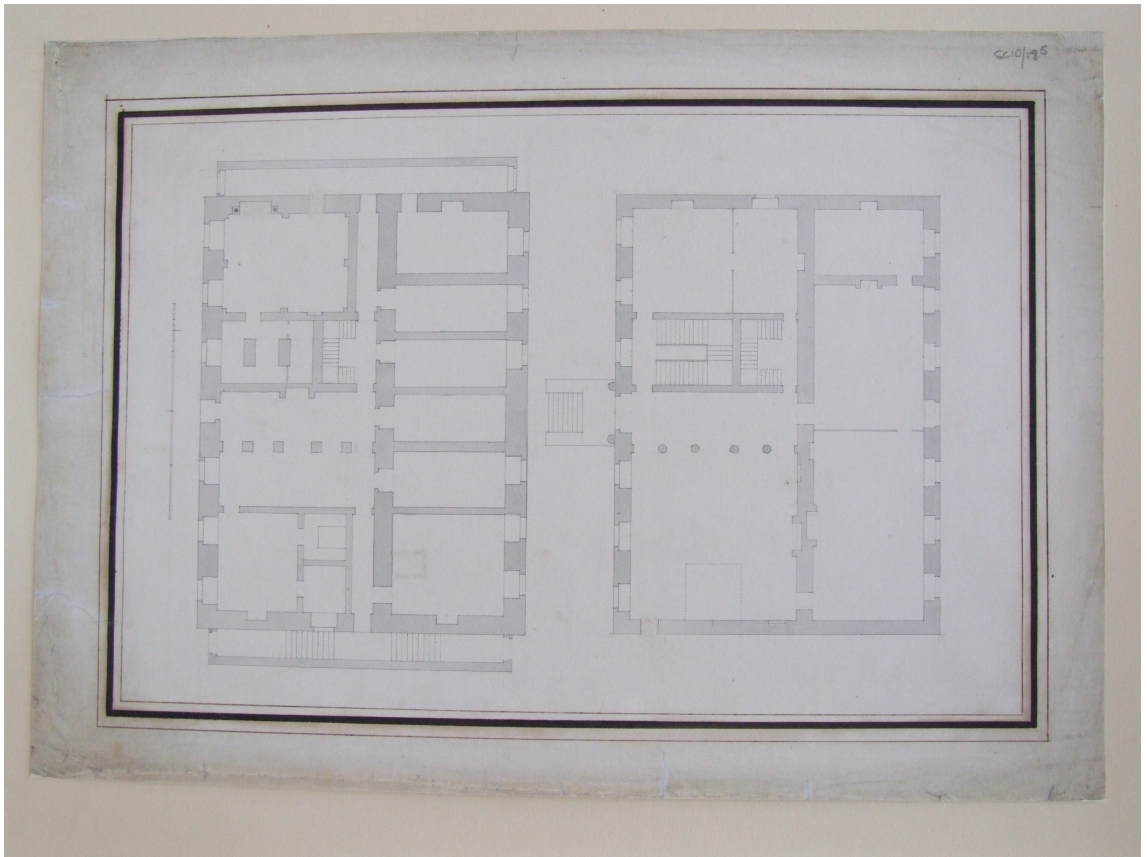
184. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire, Plan (c. 1725) Attributed to William Etty*



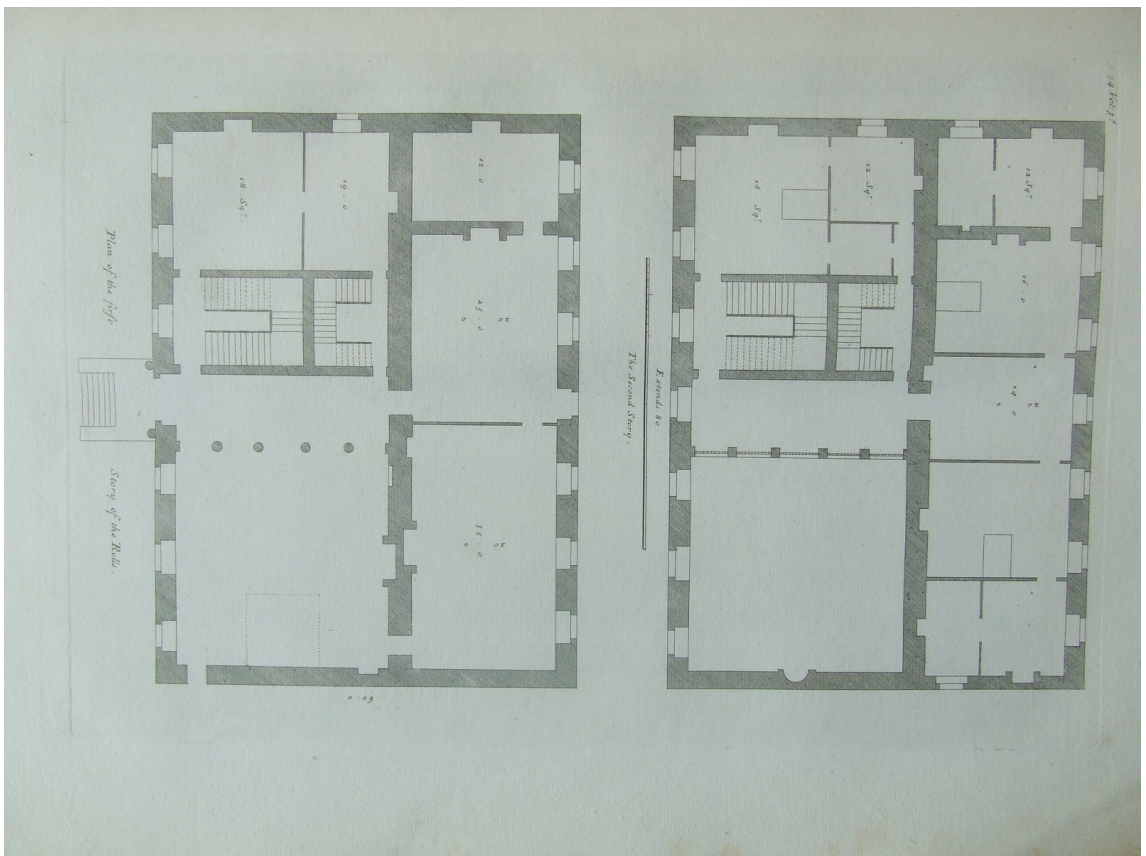
185. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire*, Elevation (c. 1725), Attributed to William Etty



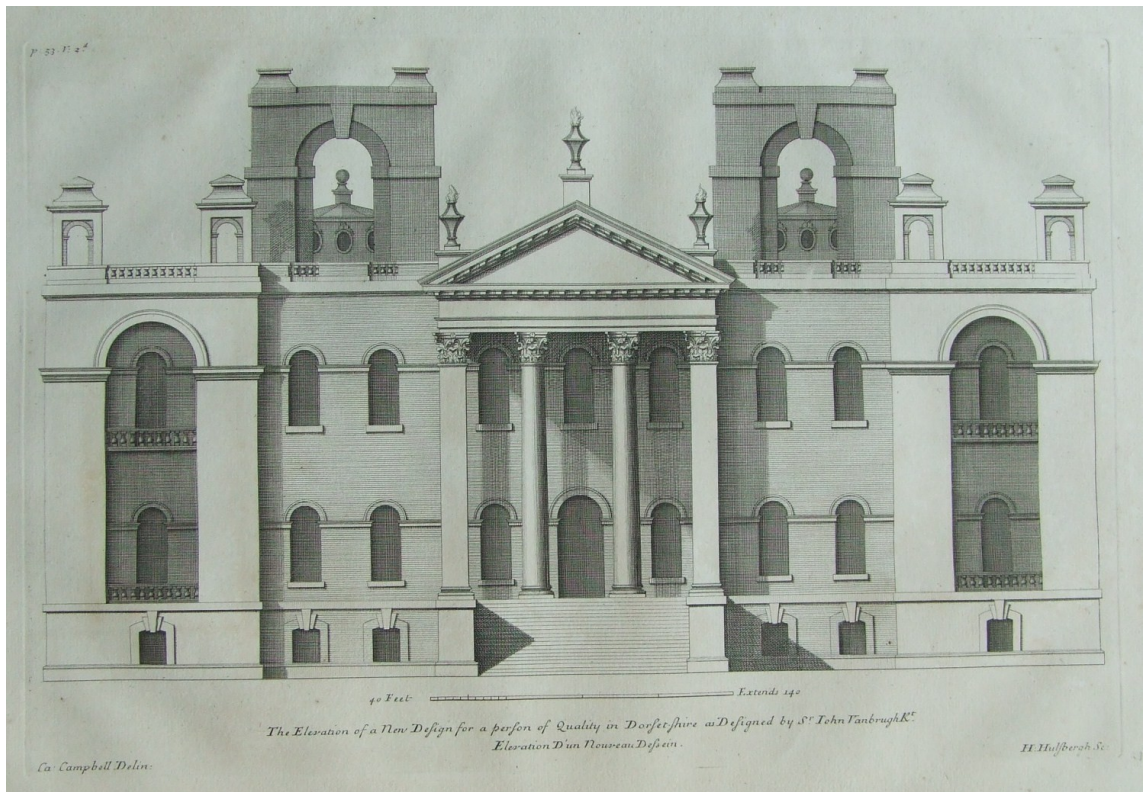
186. *Newby Hall, Yorkshire*, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1725)



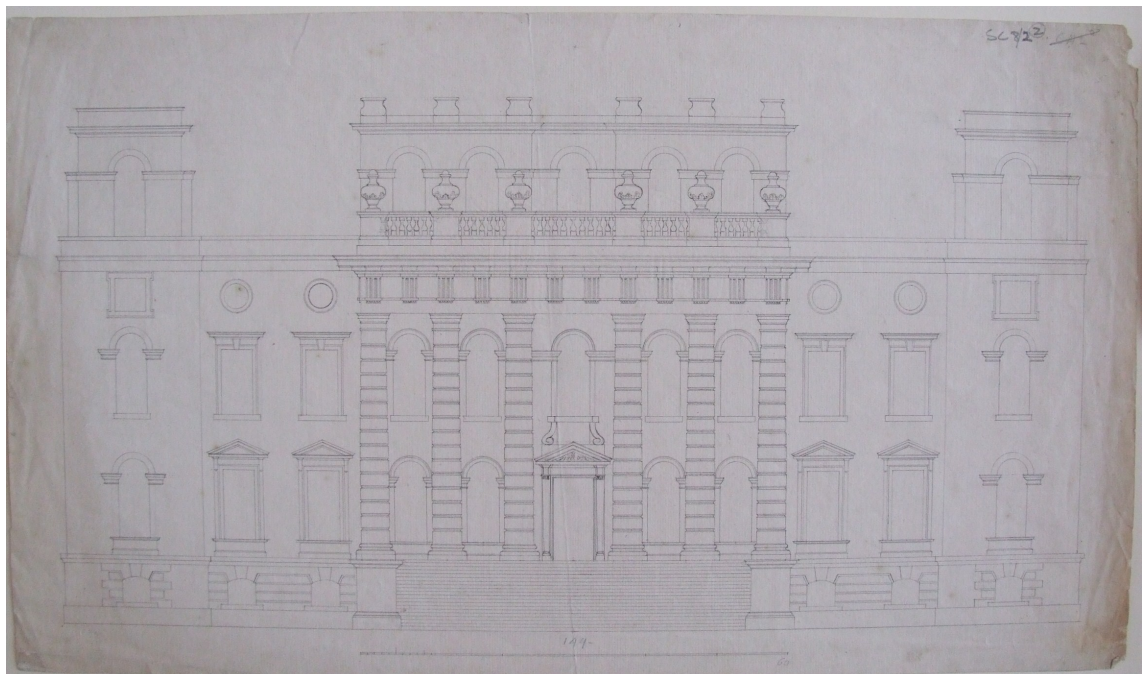
187. *Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London, Plan, Presentation drawing (c. 1718)*



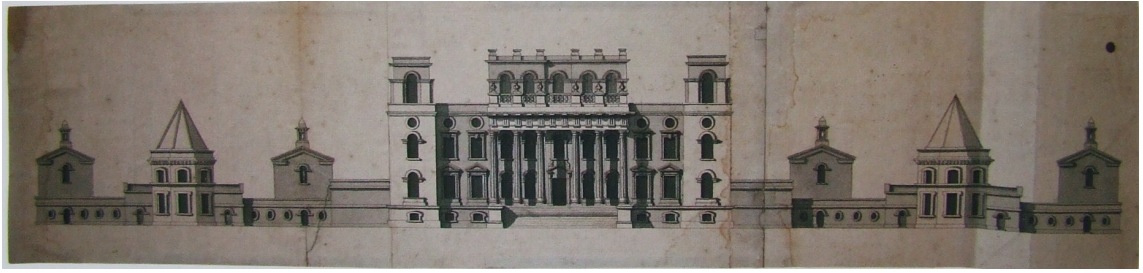
188. *Rolls House, Chancery Lane, London, Plans, Vitruvius Britannicus, Pl 44*



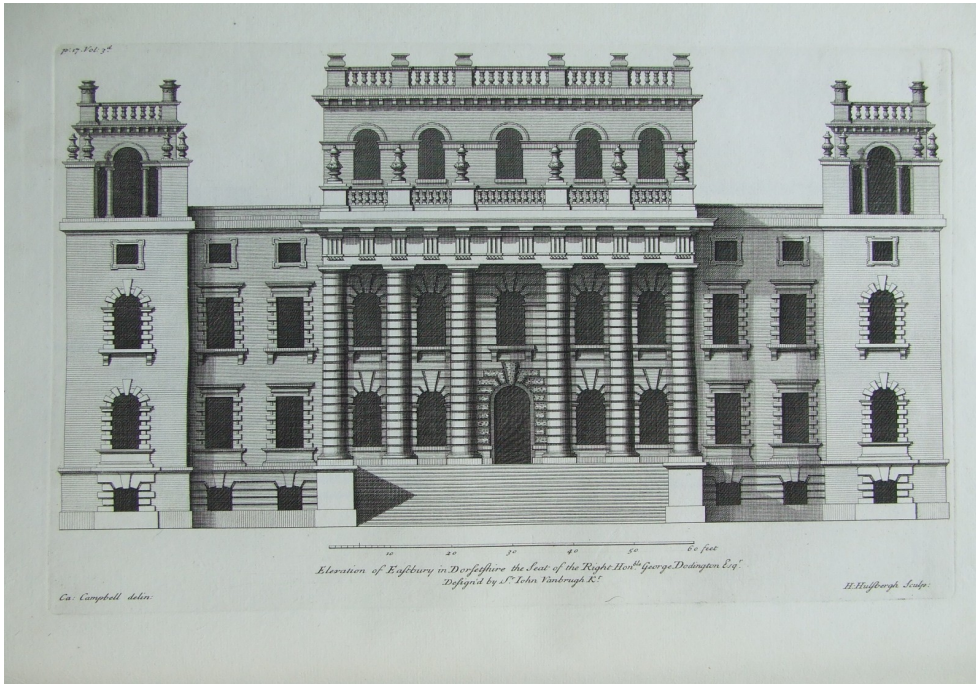
189. *Proposed Design for a Person of Quality in Dorsetshire/Somersetshire*, elevation, engraving, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, Pl 53



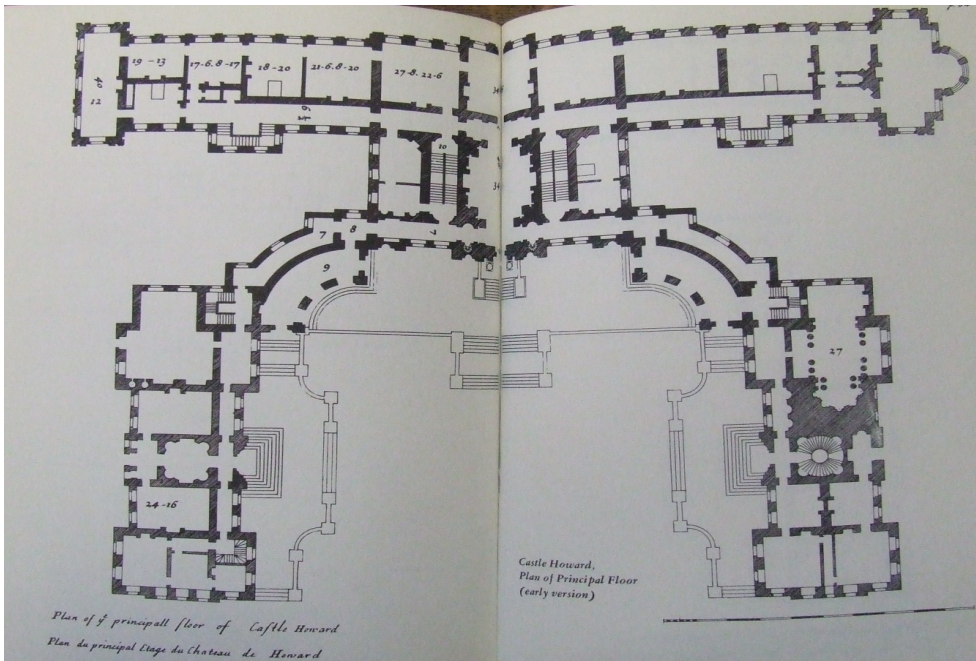
190. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation, Drawing for Engraving (c. 1725)



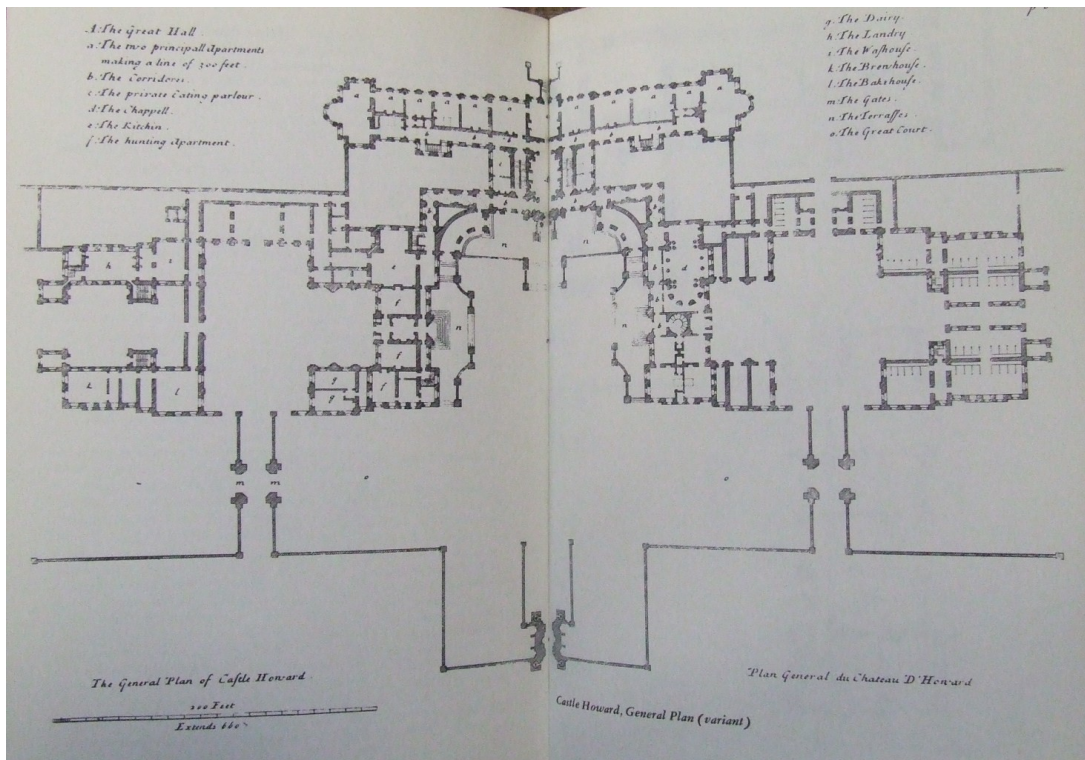
191. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Elevation, Presentation drawing (date unknown), Office of Sir John Vanbrugh, Victoria and Albert Museum



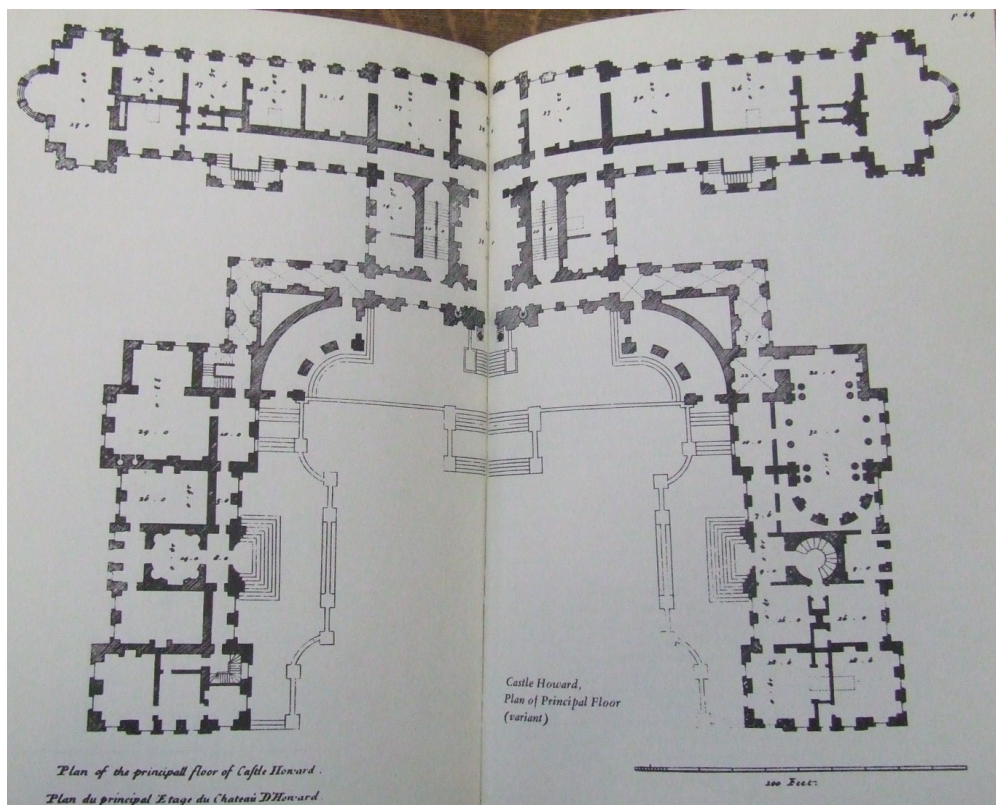
192. *Eastbury House, Dorset*, Engraving, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, Pl 17



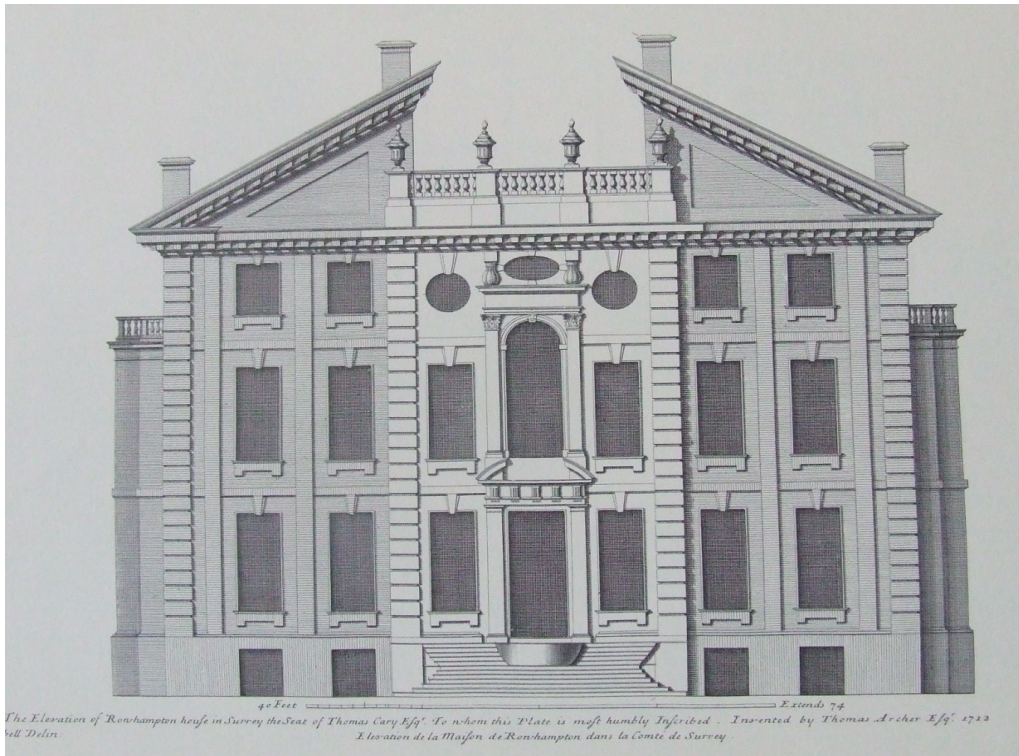
193. *Castle Howard, Yorkshire*, Variant Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 64



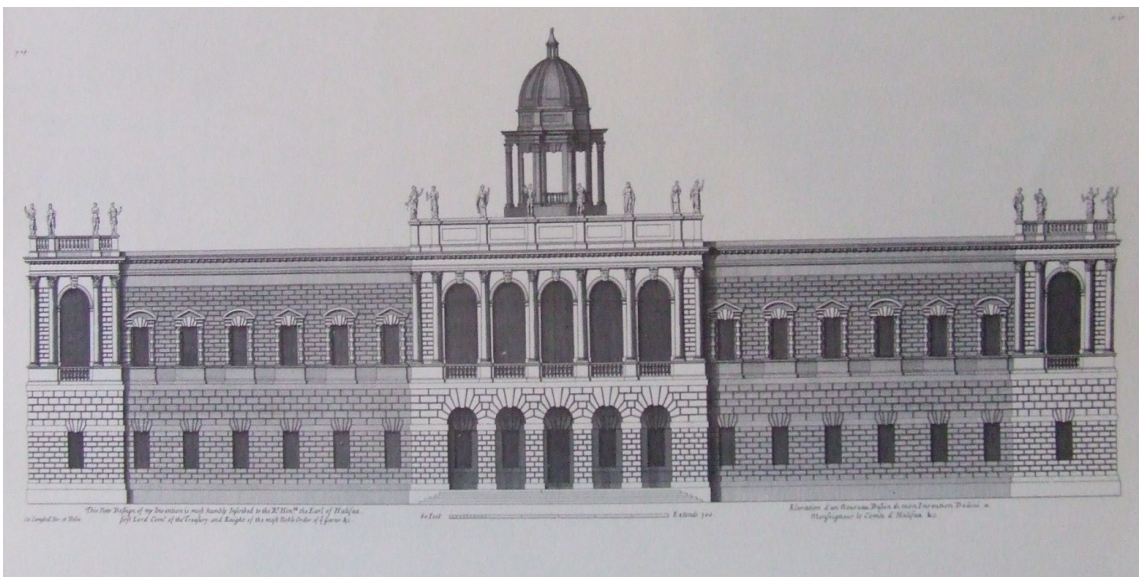
194. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Plan Principal Floor, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 63



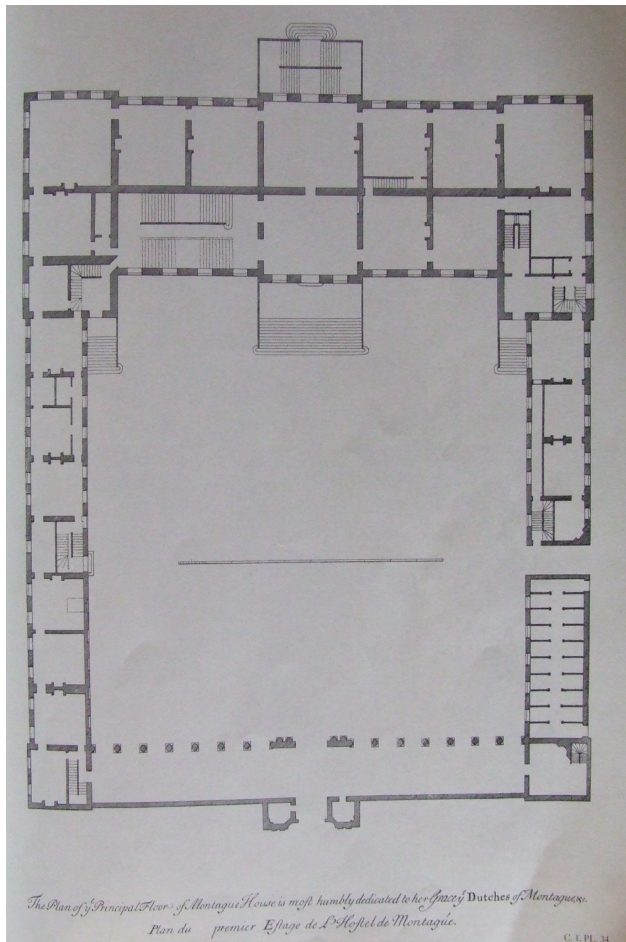
195. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 64 (1715)



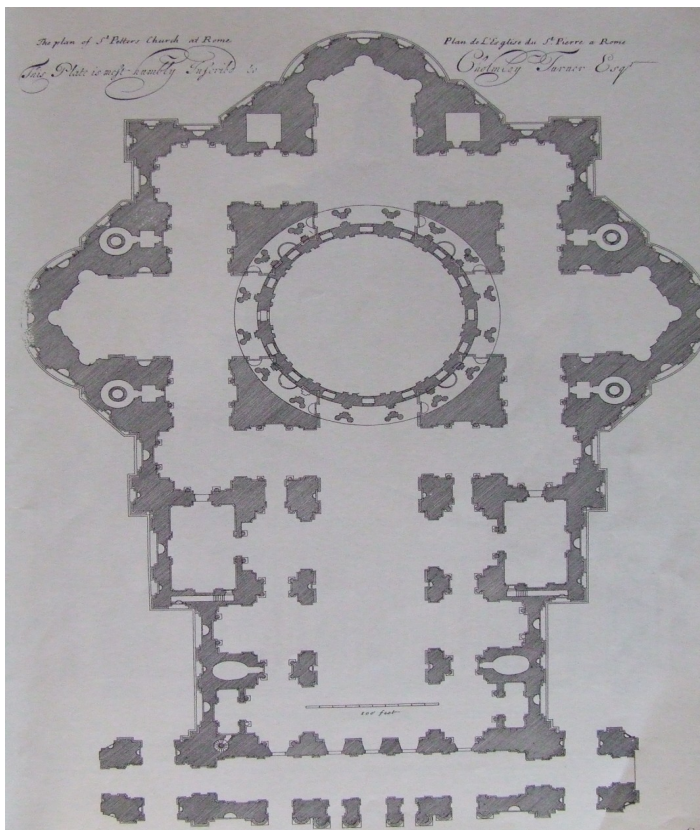
196. Roehampton House, Surrey, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, pl. 81



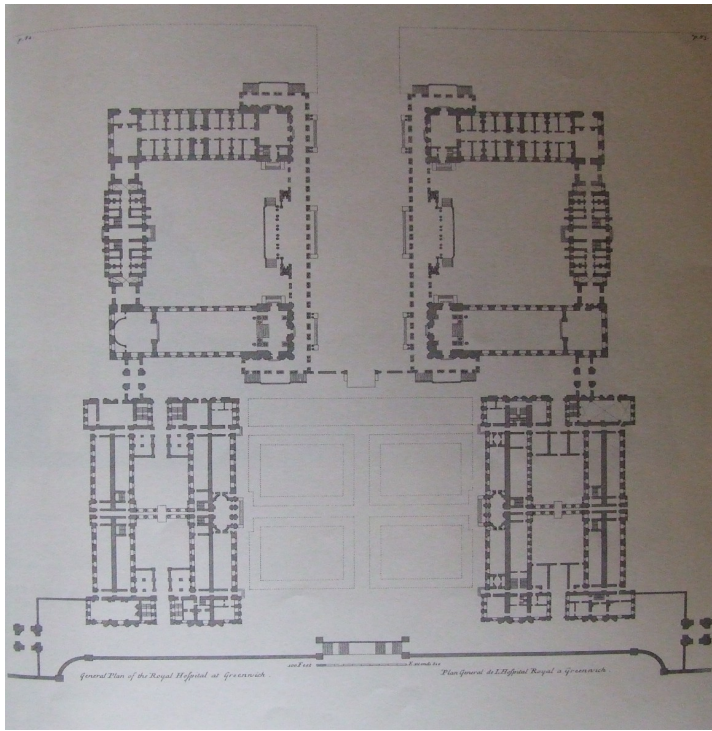
197. Proposed Design for the Earl of Halifax, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl. 29-30



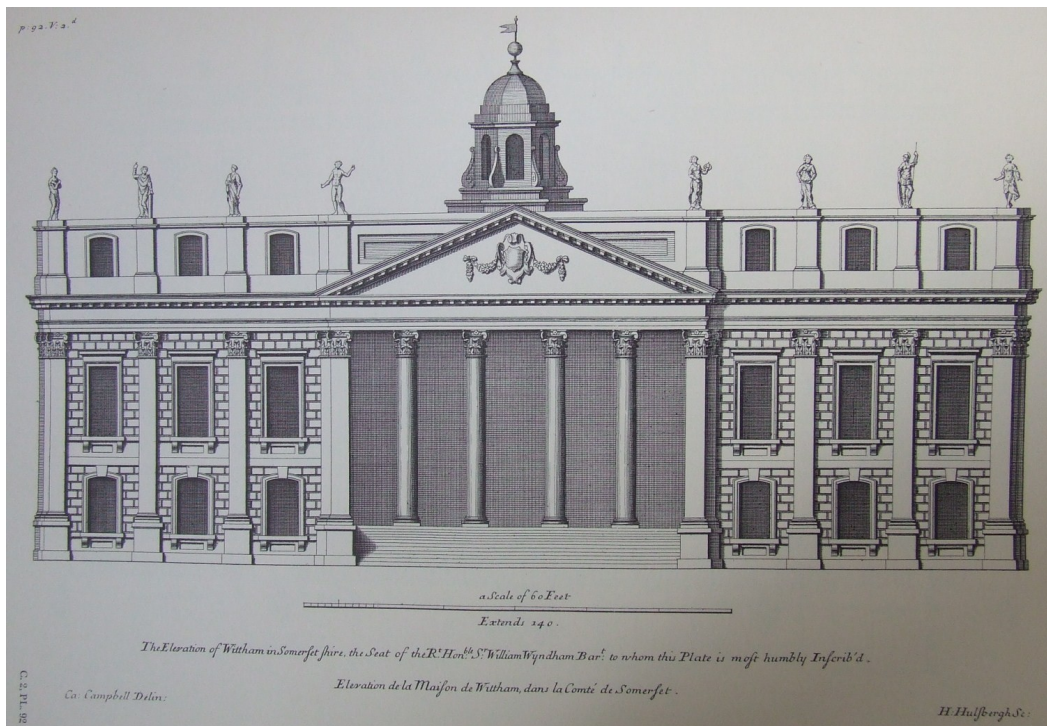
198. Montagu House, London, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 34



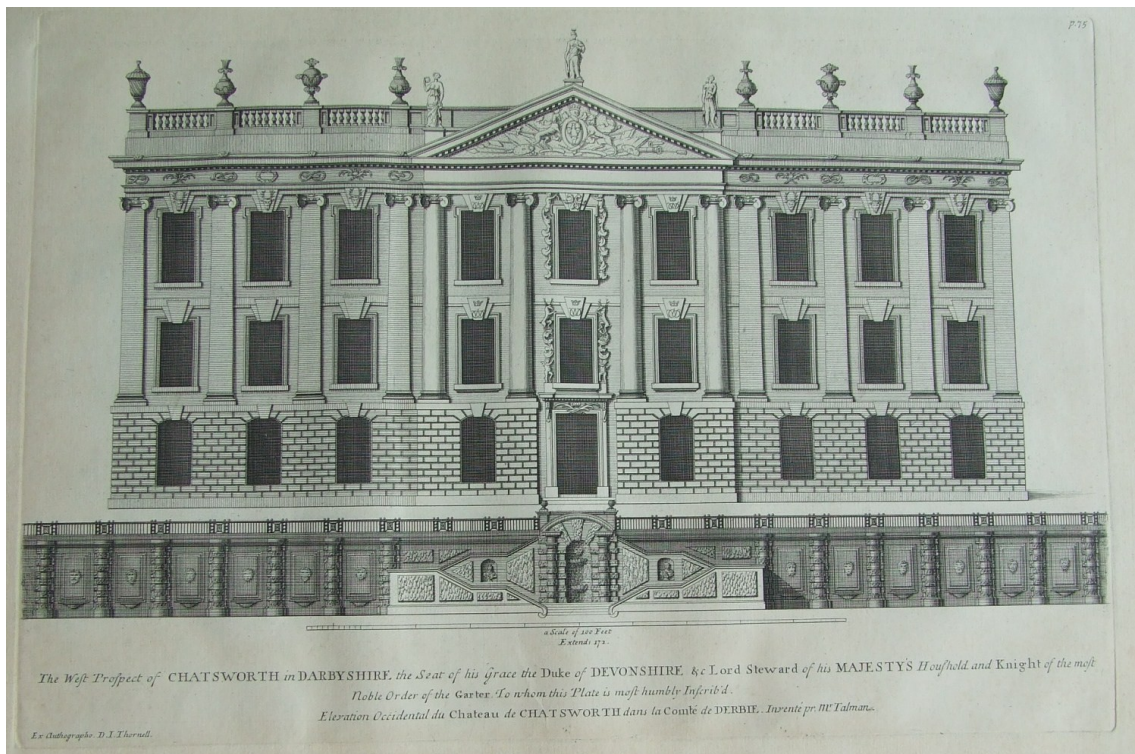
199. St Peter's, Rome, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 5



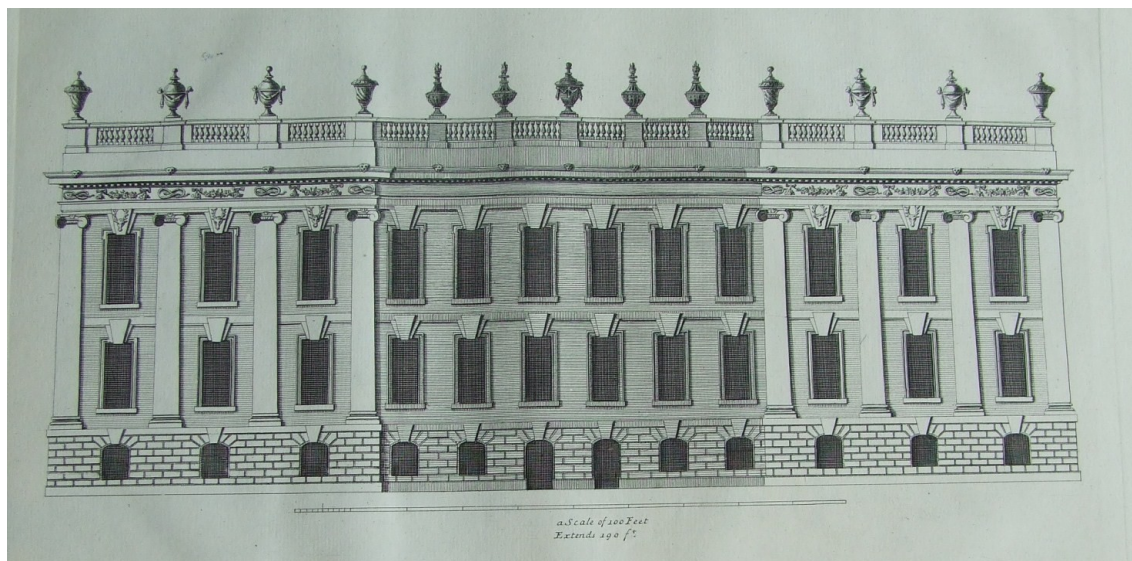
200. Greenwich Hospital, London, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 82-83



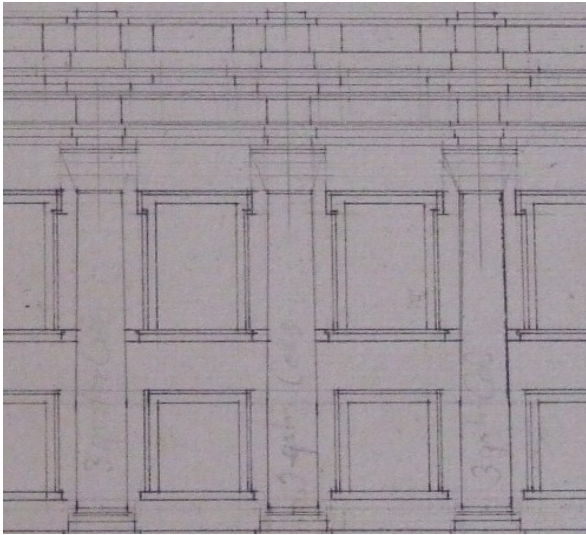
201. Witham House, Somerset, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus* II, pl. 92.



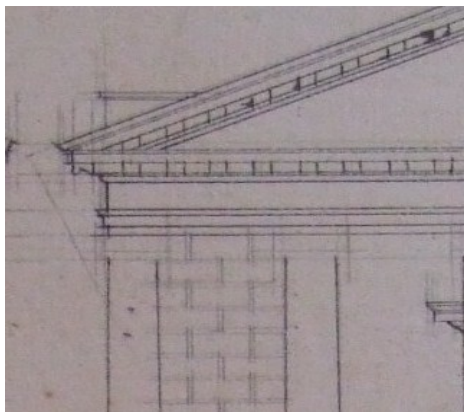
202. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 75



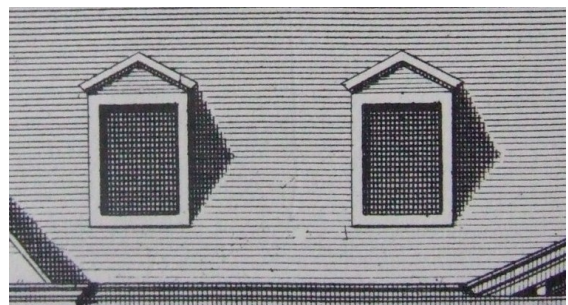
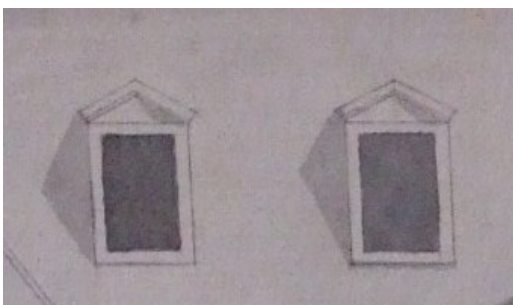
203. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Elevation, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 76



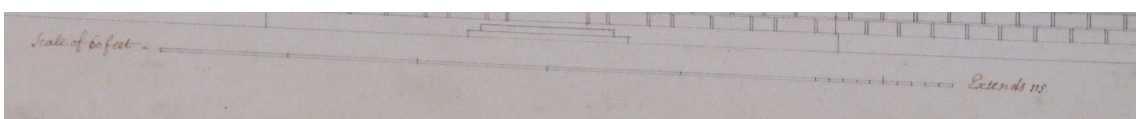
204. *Cholmondeley House, Cheshire*, Elevation, Drawing for engraving (c. 1717) detail from (VB II-41D, **102**)



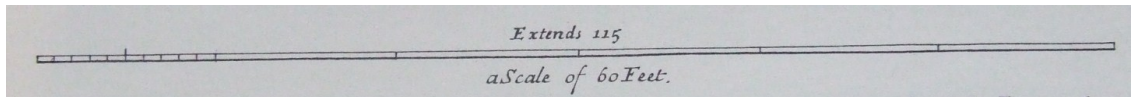
205. *Proposed Design for a Church in the Vitruvian Style*, Elevation, drawing for engraving (c. 1717) detail from (VB I-38A, **95**)



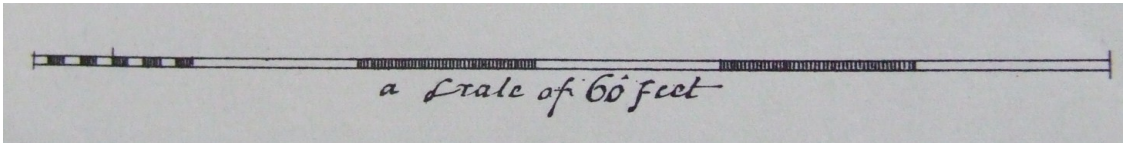
206. *Burlington House, London*, Elevation, drawing for engraving (c. 1715), detail of dormer Window (VB I-12B, **30**) and elevation, engraving *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 32



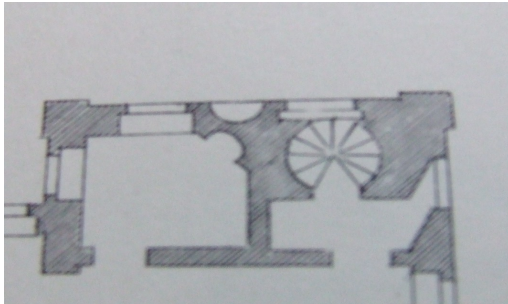
207. *Queen's House, London*, Elevation, Detail of scale bar (VB I-6B, **15**)



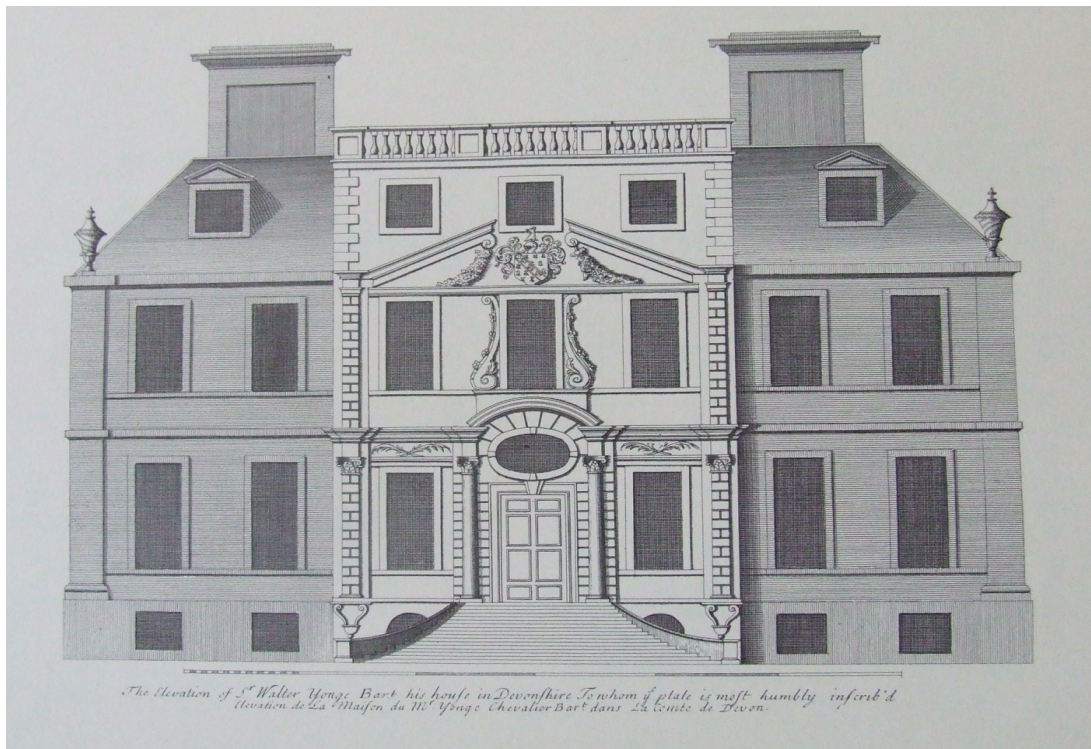
208. *Queen's House, London, Elevation, Detail of scale bar, Vitruvius Britannicus I, Pl 15*



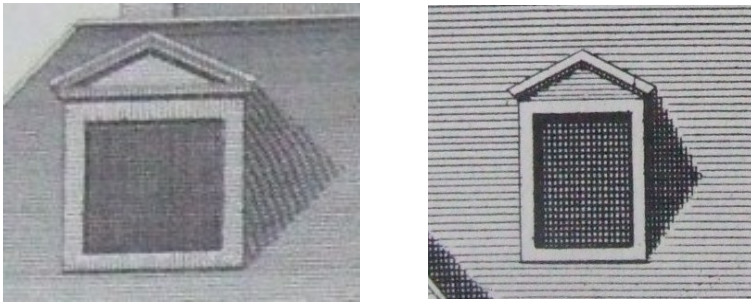
209. *St Philip's Church, Birmingham, Plan, Detail of Variant Scale bar, Vitruvius Britannicus I, Pl. 11*



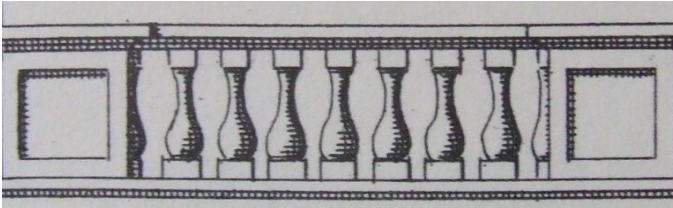
210. *Marlborough House, London, Plan, detail, Vitruvius Britannicus I, Pl 39*



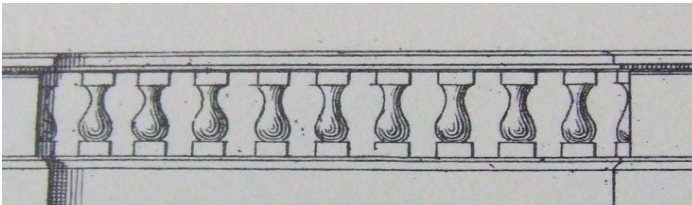
211. *Escot House, Devonshire, Elevation, Vitruvius Britannicus I, Pl. 79*



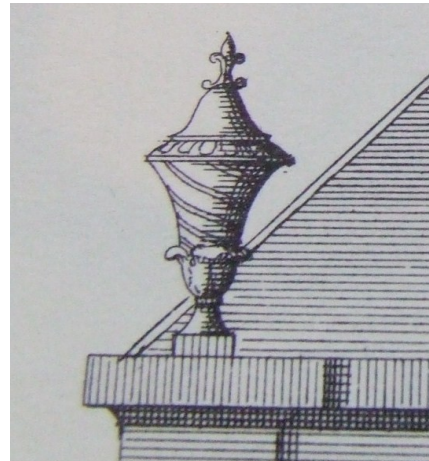
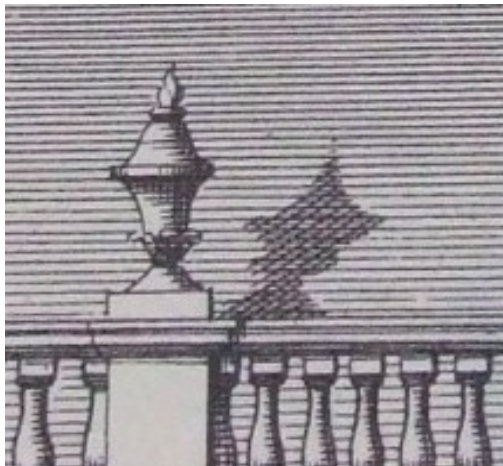
212. *Escot House, Devonshire and Burlington House, London*, Elevation, details of dormer windows, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 32 and Pl 79.



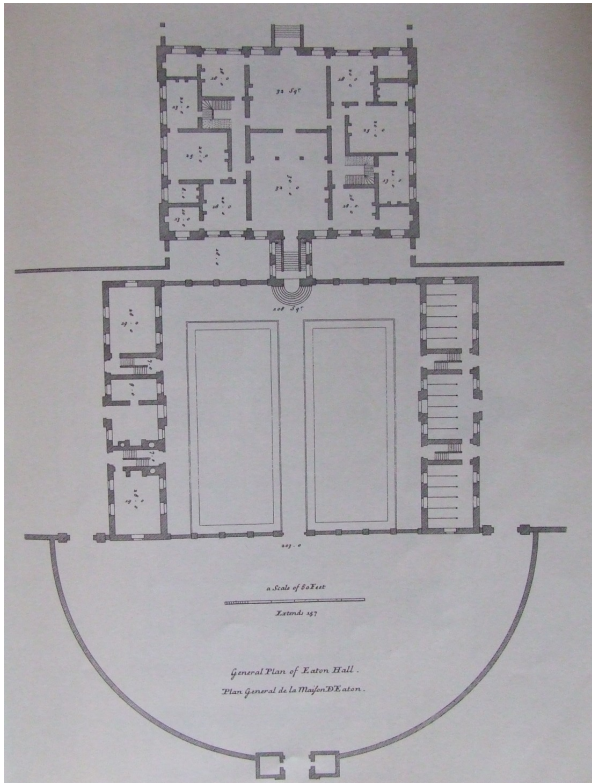
213. *Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation, detail of balustrade, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 79



214. *Banqueting House, London*, Elevation, detail of balustrade, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, Pl 13



215. *Design for Duke of Argyll and Escot House, Devonshire*, Elevation, detail of cast shadow, *Vitruvius Britannicus* I, Pl 20 and Pl 79



216. Eaton Hall, Cheshire, Plan, *Vitruvius Britannicus* II, Pl 35 (1717)