

The Lay of the Land: English Landscape Themes in Early Modern Painting in England

Barbara Lou Budnick

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2017

Reading Committee:

Christine Goettler, Chair

Estelle C. Lingo

Susan P. Casteras

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Art History

©Copyright 2017

Barbara Lou Budnick

University of Washington

Abstract

The Lay of the Land: English Landscape Themes in Early Modern Painting in England

Barbara Lou Budnick

Chair of Supervisory Committee:
Professor Christine Goettler
Art History

Landscape paintings generally offer a far and wide view of external world, including all parts of the built and natural environment that pass before the eye. As a genre in England, landscape painting arose slowly in the second decade of the seventeenth century, portraying royal palaces and their prosperous environs along the Thames. This dissertation examines the development of an English landscape iconography based on property, both real and intellectual. I argue that during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries traditional English hierarchies of ownership were combined with new concepts of achievement to reimagine exclusive rights. To analyze visual works within an early modern context, I draw on a range of late sixteenth- to late eighteenth-century written sources, including diaries, journals, private correspondence, public

rolls, personal account ledgers, periodicals, poetry, histories, travel texts, and scientific works, as well as economic, political, and aesthetic treatises. Such a broad literature of source material is interdisciplinary and situates landscape imagery in its historical period.

Similarities and differences in verbal and visual representations reveal how concepts of knowledge changed throughout the period: just as contemporary manuscripts and printed texts celebrated increasing concentrations of riches and innovative technologies, landscapes depicted larger properties, advances in science, and recent sources of prosperity. Large numbers of patrons chose portraits of their houses surrounded by local landscape features and familiar terrain. But they also commissioned paintings of birds and animals in landscape settings that stylistically mimicked the rhetoric of English scientific societies. In addition to technological advances, both commercial successes and productive land also inspired novel landscape imagery. The exotic territory of foreign lands, for example, proved as well-suited to glorifying England's thriving trade as it did to advertising a patron's progressive taste or range of knowledge. I examine how landscape images fit into these cultural processes and, in conclusion, I find that the newly emerging themes of landscape painting promoted a reevaluation of customary patterns. In particular, painters designed and copied imagery in which new sources of wealth and intellectual skills brought the same social and political advantages as did the ownership of land and great houses.

Acknowledgments

My dissertation is the product of extended research over the course of many years, relying on the resources of many institutions and the expertise of numerous scholars. I owe my deepest gratitude to Christine Goettler, now at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Bern, for her continual guidance, encouragement, and patience with my project's wide range of material and extended time length. Her own exemplary research provided a model, while she guided me through the challenges of various media and inspired a more thoughtful analysis.

At the University of Washington, I am grateful to insights of faculty and fellow students from several disciplines and departments, including English and Comparative Literature, Textual Studies, History, Art, and Architecture, as well as Art History. My initial idea was formulated in a class on English Art taught by Fritz Levy from the History Department, while my methodological approach was shaped by the Textual Studies program, then under the direction of Raimonda Modiano. I appreciate her guidance in interdisciplinary scholarship, and her classes on textuality, material culture, and the history of the book. I owe a debt to Leroy Searle's contemporary account of literary theory, as well as Paul Remny's introduction to manuscript studies. In the Architecture Department, Grant Hildebrand provided a grounding in English architecture and in the intricacies of Medieval construction techniques. In the Department of Art History, I owe thanks to Pat Failing and Marek Wieczorek for their classes on art historical theory and Rene Bravvman for a broad cultural interpretative perspective. Susan Casteras read many papers during the development of my project and offered support essential to its completion. Estelle Lingo's scholarship and elegant prose on the Italian Renaissance formed a

constant written model; Jeffrey Collins, now at Bard College, encouraged an analytical language unburdened by time-bound terminology.

I am also indebted to the private and institutional collections in the United States, continental Europe, and Great Britain that house the material of my dissertation. The conservation efforts of the National Trust in the United Kingdom and the National Trust for Scotland have preserved many of the buildings, archives, and artefacts in my study. I am grateful for the care and preservation of houses in England and the many generations of families who maintained their collections. My dissertation particularly relies on the resources preserved at Ham House and Clarendon Park in Surrey, Clivedon in Buckinghamshire, Wollaton Hall in Nottingham, Birdsall House in Yorkshire, Buckingham Palace in London, and Windsor Castle in Berkshire.

For extended periods of time the library, collections, and study rooms of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, formed a home for my writing and research. In London I additionally drew material from the Wallace Collection, the National Gallery, the National Picture Gallery, the Tate Britain and the Drawing and Prints Room at the Tate Gallery, the Museum of London, the Courtauld Institute of Art, John Cass Primary School, and Hampton Court Palace. The Guildhall Library, the British Library, the Library of the Royal Society, the British Parliamentary Archives, and the Public Record Office also provided sources for my research.

Outside of London I owe thanks to the River and Rowing Museum in Henley-on-Thames, Pensthorpe Place in West Kent, the Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery in Plymouth, the Nottingham Castle Museum in Nottingham, University of Nottingham Library, Nottingham, Richmond Castle in North Yorkshire, and Pontefract Castle and the Hepworth Market Hall Art Gallery, both in Warwick, West Yorkshire. At the University of Cambridge I owe gratitude to

Cambridge University Library and the Fitzwilliam Museum. At Oxford I drew on the resources of the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Museum, and the University of Christ Church Picture Gallery. In Scotland, Stirling Castle and Falkland Palace contributed to my sources for early seventeenth-century landscape painting. In Edinburgh, I benefitted from resources at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the University of Edinburgh Library, and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Closer to home, I am indebted to the University of Washington Library, the Seattle Art Museum, the Getty Research Institute, the Huntington Library, the Denver Art Museum, the Yale Center for British Art, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and the Tryon Palace, Raleigh, North Carolina. I owe thanks to the librarians, curators, and staff who kindly allowed access and space to work.

From the breadth of texts on general British cultural and historical studies to research on single subjects or archives, I am grateful for the large body of literature on all aspects of the early modern period. Inspiring are the originality of ideas, the eloquence of expression, dedication to scholarship, and pains-taking scholarly editions of original sources. The enthusiasm, concern, and interest of the writers of my source material is stimulating in and of itself. In addition, conversations with two good friends, Marvin Andersen and Catherine Barrett, directed visual interpretations and contributed to a more concise architectural analysis. I thank them for their ideas, motivation, and maintaining an interest in my project over many years. Finally, I am grateful to John Caldbick for his time and patience in carefully reading and skillfully editing countless iterations of my dissertation.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction: Genres of Landscape	1
Chapter I. The Early Estate Portrait – Rights of Land	35
Chapter II. Views of the Country House, 1660-1714	102
Chapter III. Customs of Possession – The Seventeenth-Century Country House Poem	171
Chapter IV. Painting an English Landscape	236
Chapter V. Influences of Science and Natural History – Resources of Land and Culture	302
Continuations: An Epilogue	375
Conclusion: The Shape and Shaping of Property	402
Bibliography	414

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1.1 *Greenwich Palace*, c. 1615, oil on canvas, 43 x 77 cm. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum
- Fig. 1.2 *Prospect of London and the Thames from above Greenwich*, c. 1620-30, oil on panel, 29.4 x 92.25 cm. London, Museum of London
- Fig. 1.3 Adriaen van Stalbeemt and Jan van Belcamp, *View of Greenwich*, c. 1632, oil on canvas, 83.5 x 107 cm. London, The Royal Collection
- Fig. 1.4 *Richmond Palace*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 152 x 304.2 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
- Fig. 1.5 *Nonsuch Palace*, c. 1620, oil on canvas, 152 x 304.3 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
- Fig. 1.6 Alexander Kierincx, *Falkland Palace*, c. 1639-40, oil on panel, 45.7 x 65.4 cm. Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery
- Fig. 1.7 Alexander Kierincx, *Richmond Castle*, c. 1639-40, oil on panel, 45.7 x 65.4 cm. Yale, Yale Center for British Art
- Fig. 1.8 Vincenzo Volpe, *A Plott for the Making of the Haven of Dover*, 1532, watercolor, 53.2 x 136.7 cm. British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.19.
- Fig. 1.9 John Speed, "Surrey Described and Divided into Hundreds," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 27.
- Fig. 1.10 John Speed, "Middles Sex described with the most famous Cities of London and Westminster," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 29.
- Fig. 1.11 John Speed, "The Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 1.

- Fig. 1.12 Inset of London in John Speed, "The Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 1.
- Fig. 1.13 John Norden, *Civitas Londini*, 1600, 36.8 x 125.1 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, De la Gardie Collection
- Fig. 1.14 Inset of Edinburgh in John Speed, "The Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 1.
- Fig. 1.15 View of Edinburgh and battle, 1544, 43.2 x 25.4 cm. British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.ii.56.
- Fig. 1.16 John Speed, "The Kingdome of England," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, fol. 5.
- Fig. 1.17 John Speed, "The Kingdome of Ireland," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 161, fol. 137.
- Fig. 1.18 John Speed, "The Kingdome of Scotland," *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England*, 1611, after fol. 131.
- Fig. 1.19 Wencelaus Hollar, "Windsor Castle," 1659, engraving. From Elias Ashmole, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter / collected and digested into one body* (London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke . . . , 1672), 132.
- Fig. 1.20 William Leybourn, "A model estate map," *The compleat surveyor containing the whole art of surveying of land by the plain table, theodolite, circumferentor, and peractor: together with the taking of all manner of heights and distances, either accessible or in-accessible, the plotting and protracting of all manner of grounds, either small inclosures, champion plains, wood-lands, or any other mountainous and un-even grounds: hereunto is added, the manner how to know whether water may be conveyed from a spring head to any appointed place or not, and how to effect the same: with whatsoever else is necessary to the art of surveying* (London: Printed by R. & W. Leybourn, for E. Brewster and G. Sawbridge . . . , 1653), 275.

- Fig. 2.1 Hendrik Danckerts, *A View of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the South East*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 86.5 x 121 cm. London, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum
- Fig. 2.2 Hendrik Danckerts, *Ham House*, c. 1675-79, oil on canvas, 48.5 x 82.5 cm. Richmond, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 2.3 John Slezer and Jan Wyck, plan of the gardens of Ham House, 1671, drawing with ink on paper, 51.6 x 35.8 cm. Richmond, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 2.4 John Slezer, Jan Wyck, and William Samwell, view from the wilderness of Ham House, 1671, drawing with ink and water color on paper, 39.6 x 51.2 cm. Richmond, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 2.5 Hendrik Danckerts, detail, *Ham House*, c. 1675-79, oil on canvas, 48.5 x 82.5 cm. Richmond, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 2.6 Jan Siberechts, *Bridge Place*, late 1670s, oil on canvas, 137cm. x 142 cm. London, Private Collection
- Fig. 2.7 Jan Siberechts, detail, *Bridge Place*, late 1670s, oil on canvas, 137cm. x 142 cm. London, Private Collection
- Fig. 2.8 William Schellinks, *Village of Bridge and Bridge Place*, drawing, plate 16. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Van der Hem Atlas
- Fig. 2.9 Jan Siberechts, *Wollaton Hall*, c. 1695, oil on canvas, Yorkshire, Birdsall House, Collection of Lord Middleton
- Fig. 2.10 Jan Siberechts, *Wollaton Hall*, 1697, oil on canvas, 191.8 x 138.4 cm. Yale, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection
- Fig. 2.11 Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Wollaton Hall*, 1707, engraving, *Britannia illustrata or views of several of the royal palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain*, plate 68.
- Fig. 2.12 Stephen Switzer, "The manor of Paston divided and planted into Rural Gardens," 1718, engraving, *Ichnographia rustica; or, The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation. Containing directions for the general distribution of a country seat into rural and extensive gardens, parks, paddocks, &c., and a general system of agriculture; illus. from the author's drawings*, vol. II.
- Fig. 3.1 Genealogy of the Sidney Family

- Fig. 3.2 Plan of Penshurst Place, Kent
- Fig. 3.3 *Belvoir Castle*, northwest prospect, c.1731, engraving. T. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth, a collection of Plans, Gentlemen's Seats, in Great Britain* (London, 1739). Plate 50
- Fig. 3.4 Genealogy of the Finch Family
- Fig. 4.1 “*Prospectus Cantabrigæ Occidentalis*” and “*Prospectus Cantabrigæ Orientalis*.” David Loggan, *Cantabrigia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ istius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ academicæ, scholarum publicarum, sacelli coll.: nec non totius oppidi ichnographia / deliniatore & sculptore Dav. Loggan* (Cantabrigiæ: [s.n., 1690?]).
- Fig. 4.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with a Rainbow*, c. 1636, oil on oak panel, 135.5 x 233.5 cm. London, Wallace Collection
- Fig. 4.3 Jan Siberechts, *Study of Three Old Gnarled Trees*, c. 1660, watercolor and gray wash on paper, 25.2 x 23.7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 4.4 Jan Siberechts, *Study of Milkmaids*, pen and ink with wash on paper, 20.8 x 29.2 cm. London, Courtauld Institute of Art
- Fig. 4.5 Jan Siberechts, *River Landscape with Carriage Drawn by Six Horses*, c. 1674, oil on canvas, 81.28 x 95.25 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Center, J. Paul Getty Museum
- Fig. 4.6 Joris Hoefnagel, *PALATIVM REGIVM IN ANGLIAE REGNO APPELLATUM NONCIVITZ*, 1568, pen and brown ink with brown, blue, and red wash on paper, 21.6 x 45.6 cm. London, British Museum
- Fig. 4.7 Wenchelaus Hollar, *Alburgum in Comitatu Surriæ, vulgo Albury*, c. 1644-46, etching, 12.4 x 24.1 cm. London, British Museum
- Fig. 4.8 Jan Siberechts, *View of Nottingham and the Trent*, c 1697, oil on canvas, 109.22 x 146.05 cm. Yorkshire, Malton, Birdsall House, Collection of Lord Middleton
- Fig. 4.9 Jan Siberechts, *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill*, c. 1697, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 143.5 cm. Yorkshire, Malton, Birdsall House, Collection of Lord Middleton
- Fig. 4.10 Jan Siberechts, *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill*, 1695, black lead and watercolor on paper, 29.7 x 42.6 cm. Plymouth, Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, Cottonian Collection
- Fig. 4.11 Jan Siberechts, *Nottingham from the East*, c. 1700, oil on canvas, 58.4 x 120.7 cm. Nottingham, Nottingham Castle Museum

- Fig. 4.12 Johannes Kip, “*Prospect of Nottingham from ye East*,” *Britannia illustrata: or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates* (London: Sold by David Mortier, 1707), 75.
- Fig. 4.13 *A North East Prospect of Nottingham from Newmarke Road in Sneynton field neare Carelton Hill, A prospect of Nottingham from the Meadow on the South side.* Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures* (London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock . . . , 1677), 488.
- Fig. 4.14 “South view of Nottingham” Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger-books other manuscripts, and authentic authorities. Beautified with maps, prospects, and portraitures*, ed. John Throsby, 3 vols. (Nottingham: printed by G. Burbage, 1790), 2: facing 121.
- Fig. 4.15 Jan Siberechts, *Henley from the Walgrave Road II*, 1698, oil on canvas, 90.2 x 120.6 cm. Henley-on-Thames, River and Rowing Museum
- Fig. 4.16 Jan Siberechts, *Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames*, c. 1692, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 103 cm. London, Tate Britain
- Fig. 4.17 William Tompkins, *View of Cliveden*, c. 1750, oil on canvas, 112 x 136 cm. Buckinghamshire, Cliveden, National Trust
- Fig. 4.18 Jan Siberechts, *Pastoral Landscape*, 1684, oil on canvas, 60.6 x 73.2 cm. Denver, Denver Art Museum, The Berger Collection
- Fig. 5.1 Page of owls. From Francis Willughby, *The ornithology of Francis Willughby. . . : in three books: wherein all the birds hitherto known, being reduced into a method sutable to their natures, are accurately described: the descriptions illustrated by most elegant figures, nearly resembling the live birds, engraven in LXXVIII copper plates / translated into English, and enlarged with many additions throughout the whole work; to which are added, three considerable discourses, I. Of the art of fowling: with a description of several nets in two large copper plates, II. Of the ordering of singing birds, III. Of falconry*, John Ray, ed. (London: Printed by A.C. for John Martyn, 1678), Tab. XII.
- Fig. 5.2 Francis Barlow, *Landscape With A Green Woodpecker, A Jay, Two Pigeons, A Redstart, A Lizard, And Two Frogs*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.81 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

- Fig. 5.3 Francis Barlow, *Hawks and Owls*, c. 1658, watercolor and graphite on paper, 139 x 200 mm. London, Tate Britain, Prints and Drawing Room, Patrick Allan Fraser Album
- Fig. 5.4 “The Oake and the Reeds.” From Francis Barlow, *Æsop’s fables with his life: in English, French & Latin / the English by Tho. Philipott Esq.; the French and Latin by Rob. Codrington M.A.; illustrated with one hundred and twelve sculptures by Francis Barlow* (London: Printed by William Godbid for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by Ann Seile . . . and Edward Powell . . . , 1666), no. 67.
- Fig. 5.5 “The Oake and the Reeds.” From John Ogilby, *The fables of Æsop paraphras’d in verse, and adorn’d with sculpture* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651), no. 67.
- Fig. 5.6 Francis Barlow, *A Goose and Other Birds*, 1673, oil on canvas, 78.5 x 161 cm. Surrey, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 5.7 Francis Barlow, *An Owl and Other Birds*, c.1673, oil on canvas, 88.5 x 134 cm. Surrey, Ham House, National Trust
- Fig. 5.8 *Screech owl mocked by birds*, c. 1225-1250, colors on vellum, 29.8 x 19.5 cm. M.S. Bodlley 764, fol. 73v, Oxford, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Fig. 5.9 Albrecht Dürer, *The Owl Attacked by Other Birds* (“Der Eülen seyndt alle Vögel neydig und gram”), c. 1509-1511, woodcut printed by Hans Glaser at Nuremberg, 34.7 x 22.1 cm., image size 2.10 x 2.10 cm.
- Fig. 5.10 Frans Snyder, *Concert of Birds*, c. 1630-1640, oil on canvas, 136.5 x 240 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum
- Fig. 5.11 Francis Barlow, *Southern-Mouthed Hounds*, c. 1660-63, oil on canvas, 89 x 355.5 cm. Surrey, Clandon Park, National Trust
- Fig. 5.12 Francis Barlow, *A Farm Yard*, late 1660s to late 1670s, oil on canvas, 254 x 345.5 cm. Surrey, Clandon Park, National Trust
- Fig. 5.13 Francis Barlow, *Landscape with Birds and Fishes*, 1667, oil on canvas, 254 x 345.5 cm. Surrey, Clandon Park, National Trust
- Fig. 5.14 Francis Barlow, *A Decoy*, late 1670s, oil on canvas, 279.4 x 403.86 cm. Surrey, Clandon Park, National Trust

- Fig. 5.15 Francis Barlow, *A Roller, Two Peregrine Falcons, and a Long-Eared Owl with Her Young*, oil on canvas, 106 x 137.1 cm. London, Tate Britain
- Fig. 5.16 Marmaduke Craddock, Tea canister, c. 1715, oil on metal, h: 16, w: 24, d: 13.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. 5.17 Leonard Knyff, *Black Game, Rabbits and Swallows in the Park of a Country House*, c. 1700-1710, oil on canvas, 92 x 142.2 cm. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection
- Fig. C.1 John Cocker, Treaty of Utrecht medal, 1713, silver, 35 mm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.2 Robert Robinson, *Fantastic Palace*, signed and dated, originally located at No. 32 Botolph Lane, 1696, oil on panel. London, Aldgate, John Cass's Primary School
- Fig. C.3 E. W. Tristram, Robert Robinson's 1696 paneled room at No. 32 Botolph Lane, London, 1906, water color. London, Corporation of London Guildhall Library
- Fig. C. 4 Robert Robinson, *Golden City*, originally at No. 32 Botolph Lane, 1696, oil on panel. London, Aldgate, John Cass's Primary School
- Fig. C. 5 Robert Robinson, *Tobacco Cultivation*, originally at No. 32 Botolph Lane, 1696, oil on panel. London, Aldgate, John Cass's Primary School
- Fig. C.6 Robert Robinson, *Flying Fish Excursion*, originally at No. 32 Botolph Lane, 1696, oil on panel. London, Aldgate, John Cass's Primary School
- Fig. C.7 Robert Robinson, *Empress Paying Homage to Buddha*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 217.2 x 78.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.8 Robert Robinson, *Emperor Carried by Four Bearers*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 205.2 x 79.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.9 Robert Robinson, *Chinese Fishermen Hunting a Crocodile*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 214.6 x 87.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.10 Robert Robinson, *A Band of Tartar Horsemen Hunting*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 67.9 x 106 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.11 Robert Robinson, *An Empress in a Chariot*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 216.5 x 79 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.12 Robert Robinson, *A Chinese Dignitary in a Boat*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 27 x 31.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

- Fig. C.13 Robert Robinson, *A Dignitary Riding a Fish*, c. 1700, oil on panel, 65 x 80 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.14 Judocus de Vos, *The Voyage of a Prince*, c. 1717, wool, silk, metal threads, 268 x 218 cm. Seattle, Seattle Art Museum
- Fig. C.15 Daniel Marot, *Design for a Fireplace with Chinese Paneling*, c. 1703, etching, 24.1 x 19.4 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. C.16 Detail, Pieter van den Keere: *Nova orbis terrarum geographica ac hydrographica tabula ex optimis in hoc opere auctoribus desumpta / Auctore Petro Koerio* (Amstelodami: P. Kaeruis excudit, 1619). 108 x 83 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. A copy after Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrogr. Tabula: Ex Optimis in Hoc Opere Auctorib[us] Desumpta*. Amsterodami sub signo solarii deaurati ([Amsterdam]: excudebat Gulielmus Ianssonius alcmarianus, 1607).

Introduction: Genres of Landscape

In his 1606 treatise on drawing and limning, the English writer Henry Peacham (c. 1576-c. 1643) explains that the elements of a landscape most often serve as a commentary on an art work's primary subject:¹

Landtskip is a Dutch word, & it is muche as wee shoulde say in English landship, or expressing of the land by hills, woodes, Castles, seas, valleys, ruines, hanging rocks, Citties, Townes, &c. as farre as may bee shewed within our Horizon. Seldome is it drawne by it selfe, but in respect & for the sake of something els: wherefore it falleth out among those things which we call *Parerga*, which are additions or adiuncts rather of ornament, then otherwise

¹ Peacham's handbook provides instructions on drawing and taste and was reissued in various editions at least six times by the first years of the Restoration. First published in 1606, it was reissued in 1607, and two revised editions (*Graphice* and *The Gentleman's Exercise*) were published in 1612. The latter was appended to both the 1634 and the 1661 editions of *The Complete Gentleman*. Peacham writes to educate the upper classes, predominantly gentlemen and the gentry, on both the judgement and mechanics of drawing and limning; additionally, he writes to promote himself to an aristocratic audience. He served at the court of James I's eldest son, Henry Frederick Stuart, prince of Wales, but after the prince's death in 1612 Peacham left court patronage. He, however, stayed within court circles and in 1621 was tutor to the earl of Arundel's youngest son, William Howard, later Viscount Stafford. See the first edition, Henry Peacham, *The art of dravving vvith the pen, and limming in water colovrs, more exactlie then heretofore tavght and enlarged with the true manner of painting vpon glasse, the order of making your furnace, annealing, &c. Published, for the behoofe of all young gentlemen, or any els that are desirous for to become practicioners in this excellent, and most ingenious art* (London, Printed by Richard Braddock, for William Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606), A3r. L. E. Semler discusses Peacham's sources and methodology, suggesting he was influenced by Richard Haydocke's 1598 translation of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte*, Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, northern painting, and Dutch architectural pattern books. L. E. Semler, "Breaking the Ice to Invention: Henry Peacham's 'The Art of Drawing' (1606)," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004): 735-750. Fritz Levy discusses Peacham's justification for teaching drawing as a gentlemanly art, primarily as an aid to patronage and gentility. F. J. Levy, "Henry Peacham and the Art of Drawing," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 174-190.

necessary.²

According to Peacham, the setting or framework supplied by a landscape supports, augments, and qualifies the central theme, rarely moving beyond this subordinate role. He describes historical monuments, regional topography, and natural features as parts of long views of the countryside or wide panoramas of cityscapes, but he writes that these features usually extend expression only in the manner of ornaments.³ Although landscape subject matter in English painting did not remain of secondary importance throughout the seventeenth century, it did

² Peacham, *The art of dravving vvith the pen, and limming in water colovrs*, 28-29. Peacham's first revision of the treatise enlarged the book and updated the text. He no longer writes that landscape is seldom drawn by itself alone; however, the landscape chapter is still concerned with how landscape themes are developed. Peacham writes: "If it be not drawne by it selfe, or for the owne sake, in respect, and for the sake of something els: it falleth out among thosethings which we call *Parerga*." Henry Peacham, *Graphice or The most auncient and excellent art of drawing and limming disposed into three bookes. By Henrie Peacham Master of Artes, sometimes of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge* (London: Printed by W.S[tansby] for Iohn Browne, and are to bee sold at his shop in S. Dunstantes church-yard in Fleetestreete, 1612), 40-41.

³ In the revised 1612 edition, Peacham favors examples of "*Parerga*" that are taken from late sixteenth-century Italian and Flemish art, particularly popular Lowlands kermis scenes associated with Peter Bruegel the Elder. But he also cites examples of famed views – "the fairest prospects" – from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and lastly, England. See Peacham, *Graphice or The most auncient and excellent art of drawing and limming*, 43-45. Peacham presents the most detailed contemporary commentary on landscapes written in English. Although Richard Haydocke, the physician and Oxford scholar, translated the first five books of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's tract on art theory in the late sixteenth century, he omitted Book VI, the chapter that discusses the composition and perspective in landscape painting. Lomazzo wrote to validate painting as an intellectual art and compared the ideas involved in the conception of a painting with those used to create poetry or rhetoric. Additionally, he recorded such technical knowledge of painting as proportion, movement, color, light, and perspective. He viewed the history of painting from both antique and contemporary sources, as well as detailing correct iconography and proper composition. See Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and Richard Haydocke, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge caruinge buildinge written first in Italian by Io: Paul Lomatius painter of Milan and Englished by R.H student in physik* (Oxford: by Ioseph Barnes for R[ichard] H[aydock], 1598.) Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittvra, scoltvra, et architettvra*. (In Milano: Per Paolo Gottardo Pontio . . . , a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1585.)

continue to include many themes. These topics defined both the form and style of landscape paintings, and further acted as significant distinguishing features designating type or kind. They attracted the viewer's attention and compelled interest, and they shaped the experience of their audience, guiding a desired response. As Peacham notes, the cultural perspective conveyed by the variety of elements is bound to the aesthetic promotion of "some thing els." Common landscape characteristics, he explains, set the stage, direct presentation, and model a larger idea. Through their ornamental function, these various components produce an order and authority that transmits social value and systematizes praise.

It is how landscape subjects structure the concept of English land that is the concern of my study. I consider the development of the "additions and adiuncts" described by Peacham, but with respect to landscape imagery that is specifically English in character; that portrays the country's locales, landmarks, and estates; and that represents its customs and enterprises. Because the seventeenth-century English audience left few detailed reactions to landscape paintings, I cite poems, letters, diaries, financial records, antiquarian texts, histories, travel accounts, and polemic literature to analyze opinions on diverse aspects of the land and to examine values attached to landholding. Similar trends across media define a cultural context according to social and aesthetic ideals, as well as political and economic affairs. Shared interests are also often expressed in the same framework, manipulating the legitimizing structure of that familiar frame while identifying assumptions and expectations within the conventions of pictorial types or formulas.

In the seventeenth century several interrelated circumstances influenced the look of English landscapes and the themes developed by landscape painters. For one, most of the artists

who contributed to the growth of the genre emigrated from the Netherlands and had been trained in either the Northern or Southern Lowlands.⁴ During the last half of the sixteenth century and first part of the seventeenth century, they came in search of opportunities after the conquest of Antwerp by Alessandro Farnese, the duke of Parma, in 1685, and after the death of Elizabeth I and the beginning of the new Stuart regime in 1603. Few painters came at the time of the interregnum (1649-1660), but the Restoration brought a wave of artists responding to England's renewed economy and seeking the possible patronage of Charles II and his court. Netherlandish artists, however, followed their own workshop practices, which taught the timely development of genres and styles meant to distinguish aesthetic expertise and to cultivate a market for individual specialties.⁵ Thus, in the competitive environment of the north, successful innovation depended

⁴ Gregory Rubinstein estimates that during the seventeenth century about 300 artists from the Lowlands came to work in England. Of these, at least 100 specialized in various genres or sub-genres of the landscape. G. M. G. Rubinstein, "Artists from the Netherlands in Seventeenth-Century Britain: an Over-view of their Landscape Work," in *The exchange of ideas: religion, scholarship and art in Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century: [papers delivered to the eleventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, Oxford 1991]*, ed. Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994), 164-66. In his unpublished treatise on limning, c. 1600, Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619) also comments on foreign artists. After mentioning that he bases his technique on Hans Holbein's manner of limning, he writes: "especially the arts of *Carving, Painting, Gouldsmiths, Imbroderers*, together with the most of all the liberall sciences came first unto us from the Strangers, and generally they are the best, and most in number." Nicholas Hilliard, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of limning, A New edition of A treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning, writ by N Hilliard*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney and Linda Bradley Salamon (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983), 19.

⁵ Larry Silver traces the history of pictorial specialties of genres of art beginning in the sixteenth century. He interprets this history as a process involving historical evolution determined by natural selection, and he finds that genres developed in Antwerp in an interrelated urban art community and especially for an open and highly competitive marketplace. At the time, Antwerp had a large local population, as well as visiting travelers, dignitaries, and merchants. The city thus contained a rich and educated audience for its art products. While many painters copied popular innovative images, others were stimulated to devise new types or categories of imagery, especially as an advertisement for the inventive aesthetic character of their famed city. See Larry Silver, *Peasant scenes and landscapes: the rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art*

on the audiences's recognition of both artistic ingenuity and skill.

In England, a number of Dutch and Flemish painters adapted notable Netherlandish styles and subjects to the specifics of English terrain and culture, constructing an image that would illustrate the country's distinctiveness, rather than duplicating popular imagery common to the particular regions, provinces, or cities of the Lowlands. For these artists, profitable invention relied on the creation of themes readily identifiable as English. Even though the demand for favored scenes prompted repetition, standardization, and imitation, artists who devised new schemes also initiated a demand for their unique products. I argue that painters developed a responsive audience, for the most part through scenes designed to represent both international novelty and insular interest. Producing innovative English themes also proved an effective means of establishing and sustaining a competitive advantage in a country with an increasing number of foreign art practitioners and without a traditionally strong market for painting. During the sixteenth century, for example, Henry VIII concentrated primarily on building and architecture; Elizabeth I preferred state entries, processions, visitations, pageants, and other performance-

market (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 16-25. Nonnative artists in England also trained within their immigrant artisan communities, often taught by family members and formally apprenticed to relatives. See, for example, the family of Marcus Gheerhaerts (1521-1590). Born in Bruges, he immigrated to England with his son Marcus Gheerhaerts II (1562-1636), who became an important portrait painter and only entered the Painter-Stainers' Company in 1619. The elder Gheerhaerts married Susanna, the daughter of John de Critz (1552-1642), later Sergeant Painter. Marcus II married her younger sister, Magdalen de Critz. Their son Marcus Gheerhaerts III (c. 1602-1654) became a freeman of the company in 1628. Alan Borg, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters, Otherwise Painter-Stainers* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, 2005), 34-37.

oriented spectacles.⁶ Neither monarch particularly patronized painting as a vehicle for humanistic knowledge or courtly splendor, but both primarily chose continental painters to set the style for royal portraiture.⁷ Similarly, in the first half of the seventeenth century, neither Charles I nor his courtiers patronized native painters. Instead they collected important fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings as well as Italian and Venetian art.⁸

⁶ Henry VIII's use of an overarching visual display of power, for example, is seen in all manner of arts that promote his court and household and decorate his palaces. See the description of Sir John Fortescue (c. 1394-1476), chief justice for the king's bench, especially "Chapter VI. Ordinance for the Kynges Ordinaire Charges." John Fortescue, *The Governance of England: otherwise called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, ed. Christopher Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 120-25. Henry, however, only collected about 157 paintings, including miniatures. See Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated MSS., &c. &c.* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1854), 7. For Elizabeth I, see John Nichols, *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth. Among which are interspersed other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess* ([London]: Printed by and for the editor, printer to the Society of antiquaries of London, 1788).

⁷ Hans Holbein the Younger painted portraits for Henry VIII, and in 1536 he was described as the King's Painter by Nicholas Bourbon, the French poet. Royal household accounts include him as a court painter with an annual income of £60. Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 9. Holbein's cartoon of an over-sized Henry VIII, on which many likenesses of the king are based, is in the London, National Portrait Gallery, 4027. Although Nicholas Hilliard painted miniatures for Elizabeth I, full-size portraits were executed by both Marcus Gheerherts the Elder and the Younger, Quintine Metsys the Younger, Frederico Zuccaro, and Lucas de Heere among others. Elizabeth, like Henry, used portraits as propaganda and favored a standard image. Roy Strong publishes a selection of Elizabeth's portraits. See Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, Pimlico (Series); 581 (London, Eng.: Pimlico, 2003); Mary Edmond, *Hilliard and Oliver: the lives and works of two great miniaturists* (London: R. Hale, 1983), 77-78.

⁸ For Charles I, see Abraham Van der Doort, and Oliver Millar, *Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I* ([London]: Printed for the Walpole Society by R. Maclehose [at] the University Press, Glasgow, 1960). For Thomas Howard, the 21st earl of Arundel, see Lionel Cust and Mary L. Cox, "Notes on the Collections formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surry, K.G." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19 (1911): 278-286. For George Villiers, the first duke of Buckingham, and James Hamilton, the first duke of Hamilton, see Philip McEvansoneya, "An Unpublished Inventory of the Hamilton Collection in the 1620s and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," *The Burlington Magazine* 134

One goal of Peacham's manual was to encourage art patronage and, in the process, stimulate a market for accomplished native painters. In the 1606 *The art of dravving*, he complains of the Englishman's lack of aesthetic knowledge, characterizing it as an obvious national failing.⁹ Peacham writes that although the "skill of drawing or painting" is "necessarie," he finds "how rare the perfection of it is amongst vs, euery man may perceiue, when scarce England can afford vs a perfect penman or good wood cutter (I speak not of the pencil wherein our Maisters may compare with any els in Europe) in respect of the dutchmen and other strangers."¹⁰

(1992): 524-526; E. K. Waterhouse, "Paintings from Venice for seventeenth-century England," *Italian Studies* 7 (1952): 1-23. Also see Frances Haskell's chapter on the art collections of Charles I, Arundel, Buckingham, and Hamilton: "Art collections in London on the eve of the civil war." Francis Haskell and Karen Serres, *The King's Pictures: the formation and dispersal of the collections of Charles I and his courtiers* (New Haven: Published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2013), 33-75.

⁹ Peacham's criticism of English art and artists is based largely on Thomas Elyot's *THE BOKE NAMED THE GOUENOUR* (1531), written in the genre of advice to princes and noblemen. Elyot was a writer and courtier, serving as Henry VIII's ambassador to Emperor Charles V in 1531. Thomas Elyot, *The boke named The gouernour deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knight*, ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1880), 1:138-40.

¹⁰ Peacham excludes limning or miniature painting – primarily portraiture – from his criticism of English painters. Peacham's complaint is in his dedication to Sir Robert Cotton. Peacham, *The art of dravving vvith the pen, and limning in water colovrs*, A2v. Many miniaturists belonged to the Goldsmiths' Company rather than the Painter-Stainers' Company because limning was often associated with collections of jewels and other fine luxury objects. Encased in gold, enameled, and jeweled frames, miniatures were worn in lockets around the neck, and many were displayed in special art cabinets or rooms meant to hold a variety of fine aesthetic creations. Limning could thus be tied to the preciousness of materials. For example, Nicolas Hilliard, part of the household of Elizabeth I, became a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1569. According to Hilliard, limning – "a kind of gentill painting" – was distinguished from common painting or decorative painting, which comprised the painting of furniture, displays, banners, boats, carriages, and other decorations usually provided by members of the Painters-Stainers' Company: "it is a thing apart from all other *Painting* or *drawing* and tendeth not to comon mens usse, either for furnishing of Howsses, or any other worke what soever, and usse it excelleth all other *Painting* what so ever, in so ever." Hilliard detailed the excellence of the technique and its aesthetic importance as a collectible object. See Hilliard, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of limning*, ed. Kinney and Salamon, 16.

Six years later, in *Graphice*, Peacham expands this criticism: “Onely I am sory that our courtiers and great personages must seeke farre and neere for some dutchman or Italian to draw their pictures, and inuent their deuiles, our Englishmen being held for Vaunients.”¹¹ In characterizing his country’s artisans as “worth naughts,” he indicates that they have fallen behind contemporary continental standards of connoisseurship, as well as in the material production of ingenious and skillful art products of quality.

In addition to the court’s lack of interest in English painters, several factors affected England’s continued low esteem for native artists.¹² Unlike Italy and the Southern Lowlands,

¹¹ For “vauneant [worth naught],” see entry 02.02.25.07.09.23.01. Christian Kay, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels, and Irené Wotherspoon, eds., *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:1015.

¹² Charles I, the earl of Arundel, and the duke of Buckingham were avid continental art collectors, but formed a small and elite circle. Both the principles of connoisseurship and art authority were new to England. Franciscus Junius (1591-1677) only published his compendium of antique writing on art (*De pictora veterim*) in 1637 and translated that treatise a year later at the request of Aletheia Talbot, the countess of Arundel. Junius wrote to record ancient wisdom and to describe connoisseurship according to classical traditions in the framework of rhetoric. He thus compared painting to poetry, based on the authority of antique writers. As an influential member of the circle around the court, he served as Arundel’s librarian and as tutor to Arundel’s youngest son, William, in 1622 and to Arundel’s grandchildren ten years later. In 1641 he was appointed tutor to Audrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and acted in that capacity until 1647. See Franciscus Junius, *The painting of the ancients in three bookes: declaring by historicall observations and examples, the beginning, progresse, and consummation of that most noble art. And how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie. Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F.F. And now by him Englished, with some additions and alterations* (London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinsonne; and are to be sold by Daniel Frere, at the signe of the Bull in Little-Britain, 1638). Copies of unpublished manuals on painting circulated within the court circle and included both Nicholas Hilliard’s c. 1600 manuscript on limning and Edward Norgate’s (1581-1650) treatise on limning and critical principles of art, written in 1627-28 and revised in 1648. For the later version, see Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997). Also see Edward Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning, by Edward Norgate; ed. from the manuscript in the Bodleian library and collated with other manuscripts by Martin Hardie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919). The text of the landscape section of British Museum MS Harl. 6000 (the earlier version of

England had no strong religious patronage for art, and unlike such cities as Amsterdam and Antwerp, London lacked an active art clientele from the merchant and professional classes. Without important church or urban support, individual creativity and autonomy – so vital to artistic standing – were not encouraged. Many continental states and cities had also raised the status of the artist through the formation of academies, creating a parallel between art teaching and the processes of a liberal arts education.¹³ In Italy and France, painting, like poetry and rhetoric, was theorized as an academic subject and associated with scholarly rather than instrumental knowledge. But in England, the value of native painting was still connected to the

Miniatura) is included in Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden. *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955, 171-73. For Hilliard's manual (Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La.III.174), see Hilliard, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of limning*, ed. Kinney and Salamon. For connoisseurship in England in the early seventeenth century, see David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹³ Nikolaus Pevsner surveys the rise of art academies, as well as the social position of the artist. In Italy, informal groups gathered around significant artists, but the first formal art academies were founded in the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1563 the Accademia del Disegno was established in Florence by Cosimo de' Medici at the suggestion of Giorgio Vasari. Cardinal Federigo Borromeo and Federigo Zuccari founded the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome in 1593. In Paris the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was founded in 1648 by Louis XIV. In the Southern Netherlands as early as 1480, the painters' guild, the Guild of St. Luke, joined the *Violieere*, a Chapter of the Chamber of Rhetoricians. An academy was set up in Antwerp in 1665, but as a social extension of the guild. Joachim von Sandrart founded a German school in c. 1675 in Nuremberg. Karel van Mander founded a Dutch academy in Harlem in 1683. In London, however, it was not until 1711 that Sir Godfrey Kneller began a private drawing school. In 1724, a year after Kneller's death, Sir James Thornhill opened an academy to succeed Kneller's. And in 1735, after Thornhill's death, his son-in-law, William Hogarth, moved the academy to St. Martins Lane and restructured it on a formal basis. Thus, painters in England often remained connected to the guild system well into the first decades of the eighteenth century. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of art, past and present*, 1940 reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 42-66, 80-89, 115-16, 125-30. Also see Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics, Part I," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951): 512-18.

work of tradesmen and thus the collective identity of the guild.¹⁴ With the exception of the King's Painter, or Sargeant Painter after 1527, the Company of Painter-Stainers enjoyed a monopoly over all decorative painted work within the walls of London.¹⁵ And the connection between the mechanical arts and labor continued to separate English painting, drawing, engraving, and sculpture from arts originating solely in the mind. Because the work of the hand and the originality of the intellect were ideas within a hierarchy that structured social and political institutions, English art practitioners were limited by the identities, methods, and rules of their trades. For example, in his *Booke named the gouenour*, originally published in 1531, Thomas Elyot specifically distinguishes between the art of leisurely drawing and the productions of tradesmen:

Nowe (as I haue before sayde) I intende nat, by these examples, to make of a prince or noble mannes sonne a commune painter or keruer, whiche shall present him selfe openly stained or embrued with sondry colours, or poudered with the duste of stones that he cutteth, or perfumed with tedious sauours of the metalies by him

¹⁴ When Abraham Crowley cited painters as nature's perfect copyists, he used Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony Van Dyke as examples – not native English painters. See Crowley's introductory poem, "To the Royal Society," in Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: Printed by T.R. for F. Martyn at the Bell . . . , 1667), B2r. Susan Foister discusses the interaction of foreign painters and the Painter-Stainers' Company. The guild regarded the court patronage of foreign artists – as well as the many foreign painters who immigrated to London – as a threat to their livelihood; but due to the lack of equivalent training, native artists were unable to compete. Susan Foister, "Foreigners at court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company," *Art and patronage in the Caroline courts: essays in honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge England; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32-42. In Sprat's history of the Royal Academy, "Graving, Statuary, Limning, Coining, and all works of Smiths" are termed "Mechanick Arts." Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London*, 149.

¹⁵ The Painters Company merged with the Stainers Company in 1502 by the grant of their petition to the Lord Mayor of London. Corporation of London Record Office, Guildhall Library, London, Letter book M, F. 36b.

yoten [pored].¹⁶

Instead, Elyot ties gentlemanly and noble drawing to the virtue inspired by the imaginative recreation of histories – in particular, those narratives recounting the deeds of great men and the expression of significant human action and emotion.¹⁷

According to Elyot, it is the association with literature that elevates the practice of drawing: status is gained through the imitation of the effects of the literary arts. But in England, institutional customs and beliefs in all areas did much to prevent the comparison between the arts from winning widespread acceptance.¹⁸ In 1615, the courtier and historian Sir George Buck (c. 1560-1622) expanded Elyot's caution, writing that in England painting "as an Art" is "now accounted ingeneous and not fit for a Gentleman, by reason that it is much fallen from the

¹⁶ Elyot, *The booke named The gouvernour*, ed. Croft, 48.

¹⁷ "And he that is perfectly instructed in portrayture, and hapneth to rede any noble and excellent historie, wherby his courage is inflamed to the imitation of vertue, he forth with taketh his penne or pensill, and with a graue and substanciall studie, gatherynge to him all the partes of imagination, endeouoreth him selfe to expresse liuely, and (as I mought say) actually, in portrayture, nat only the faict or affaire, but also the sondry affections of euery personage in the historie recited, whiche, mought in any wise appiere or be perceiued in their visage, countenance or gesture." Elyot, *The booke named The gouvernour*, ed. Croft, 46.

¹⁸ Even in Italy, the primary locus of art theory, the comparison between painting and poetry had a long history of debate. In his study on the concept of artistic genius in fifteenth-century Italian art, Martin Kemp, for example, finds that other than several references to artists who showed an understanding of antiquity, the term "*ingenium*" was rarely applied to visual artists in the fifteenth century. He finds eight instances of usage from 1400 to 1450 and thirteen instances from 1450 to 1500. Most examples are from architecture theory; others are from descriptions of artists. Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (2008): 347-98. Rensselaer W. Lee discusses the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting, so is poetry) from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century, predominately in Italy and France. She traces treatises on the relationship between painting and poetry in which painting was awarded the validity of the liberal arts, for painting like poetry presented universal and elevated values, and further, portrayed ideal form and action. For the comparison of painting to poetry see, Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197-269.

reputation, which it had aunciently.”¹⁹ Buck concluded that although painting was a polite accomplishment for a courtier in Italy, as a practice in England, “it is now accounted base and mechanicall and a mere mestier [duty] of an artificier, and handy craftsman. In somuch as as fewe or no Gentleman or generous & liberall person will aduenture by practicing this art.”²⁰ Even as late as late 1712, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), the third earl of Shaftesbury, criticized the classical analogy between painting and poetry as “almost ever absurd & at best constrain’d, lame or defective.”²¹ Although Shaftesbury’s complaint concerned only the resemblance between verbal and visual expressions, the long-standing social separation between poets and painters remained an entrenched division. The painter’s work was still an embodied physical object, while the output of the poet was a refined creation of language.

Almost every social operation related artisans to servile or utilitarian aspects of

¹⁹ Sir George Buck served in various capacities in both the courts of Elizabeth I and James I. In addition to serving as an MP, he was a diplomatic envoy for Elizabeth I. In the reign of James I, he was a member of the Privy Chamber as well as the Master of the Revels. Buck’s treatise on universities details the benefits of a classical education and London’s offerings. George Buck, John Stow, and Edmund Howes, *The third universitie of England. Or A treatise of the foundations of all the colledges, auncient schooles of priviledge, and of houses of learning, and liberall arts, within and above the most famous cittie of London. With a brieffe report of the sciences, arts, and faculties therein professed, studied, and practised; Together with the blazon of the armes, and ensignes thereunto belonging./ Gathered faithfully out of the best histories, chronicles, records, and archives, by G.B. Knight* (Imprint: [Londini : [Printed by Thomas Dawson] impensis Thomæ Adams,] Anno Domini, 1615), 986.

²⁰ Buck, Stow, and Howes, *The third universitie of England*, 986.

²¹ Shaftesbury’s essay was only published in full after his death. It was a continuation of his project to demonstrate good taste in art and morals, especially design and the imagination in aesthetic experience. Shaftesbury’s comment on the comparison of painting to poetry is in “Treatise IV, Plastics.” Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Second Characters, or The Language of Forms*, ed. Benjamin Rand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 141.

mechanical labor.²² Copyright protection, for example, was first awarded to the Stationers' Company, the guild that controlled the mechanisms of book production, including printing, binding, distribution, and sales, and not to the writers of literary works.²³ Protections for mechanical skill, craft knowledge, and industrial innovation were regulated by use and reward, and all benefits therefore accrued to use.²⁴ Literary products, conversely, were not material commodities produced for sale, but intellectual creations meant to be read as an inherent element of an elite, humanistic, and scholarly education. In England, the literary arts and rational processes of contemplative, or scholarly, knowledge continued to be divorced from the

²² Sir John Ferne (1560-1609), MP, lawyer, and writer on heraldry and genealogy, bars craftsmen from gentility because of their connection with the "mechanicall sciences." Fernes's description of gentility is written as a dialogue among seven contributors. John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentrie Deuided into two parts. The first named The Glorie of Generositie. The second, Lacyes Nobilitie. Comprehending discourses of Armes and of Gentry. Wherein is treated of the beginning, parts and degrees of Gentlenesse, vvith her lawes: Of the Bearing, and Blazon of Cote-armors: Of the Lawes of Armes, and of combats* (London: Printed by John VVindet, for Toby Cooke, 1586), 68-69.

²³ The Stationers' Company received a royal charter in 1557, giving it the right to print books and enforce its orders, including the protection of its members' copyrights. A copy of the charter, as well as its textual history, is included as "Appendix J." Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company; a history, 1403-1959* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), 2:1009-1026. Patent protection was instituted by statute in 1624. Statute of Monopolies, Westminster (1624), An Act concerning Monopolies and Dispensations with Penal Laws and the forfeitures thereof, 1624. 21 Jac.I, c.3. London, UK Parliamentary Archives.

²⁴ The livery companies, however, also used the liberal arts to distinguish and legitimize their products. The Stationers' Company connected printing to learning in its role of producing books and thus advancing knowledge: "as Learning must needs make us favour Printing, so Printing is a great means to advance Learning amongst us." Henry Parker and Stationers' Company (London, England), *To the High Court of Parliament: the humble remonstrance of the Company of Stationers* ([London: 1643]), A1r. The stationers also used the stigma of manual labor to similarly promote and distinguish their craft. See Ian Gadd's discussion of the use of "mechanicks" in the seventeenth century. Ian Gadd, "The Mechanicks of Difference; a Study in Stationers' Company discourse in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, Hampshire: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 96-99.

innovations and technologies connected to the mercantile network.²⁵ Consequently, the creative ingenuity associated with letters remained separate from the financial rewards concerned with labor.²⁶ Perhaps because guild practices controlled native painters, new genres were either devised by foreign-trained painters or else stimulated by the inventive processes and mastery of techniques encouraged in their homelands. New themes, iconographic directions, and novel ornaments were conceived by artists attempting to develop a market for their work, rather than those concerned with preserving control over the proscriptions and privileges of the guilds.²⁷

²⁵ It was not until 1710 and the Statute of Anne that authors enjoyed the same property rights as printers, and at least according to statute, literary production was viewed as a form of intellectual property. The act gave authors limited protections in the right to control their work. It further distinguished between authors' rights and all the means of producing their work. The Statute of Anne (1710), An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned. 8 Anne c. 19. London, UK Parliamentary Archives.

²⁶ In the first edition of *The compleat gentleman*, Peacham supports the gentlemanly practice of drawing by first appealing to the utility of the art form. In times of war, drawing was necessary to record the built environment, as well as a territory's natural features. As my Chapter I explains, drawing indeed had a long history in recording defensive structures for Henry VIII and environmental plans for English ports. Peacham additionally recommends the practice as an aid to memory and recording travel, including a region's people and culture. Just as drawing recreates the physical environment, it also helps to bring alive absent friends. These reasons for drawing, however, have a practical purpose. It is only at the end of his defense does Peacham link drawing to the arts and divine creation. *The compleat gentleman fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman. By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Arts sometime of Trinity Coll: in Cambridge* (London: Imprinted at London by John Legat for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lion in Paules churchyard, 1622), 104-05.

²⁷ In his history of the Painter-Stainers' Company, Alan Borg notes that after the formation of Sir Godfrey Kneller's Academy in 1711, and especially William Hogarth's St. Martin Lane Academy in 1735, few painters belonged to the Painter-Stainers' Company. By the third decade of the eighteenth century, painters defined themselves as gentlemen and their work as an art and not a craft. At that time the division between paintings and general decorative work also became more acute. The former, considered a manual craft, fell under the corporate province of the guild, and the latter, defined as a fine art, was more aligned with the literary arts. Borg, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters, Otherwise Painter-Stainers*, 109-10.

Authorizing Landscapes

The creation of landscape painting as a recent innovation newly introduced to England is discussed by the herald and miniaturist Edward Norgate (1581-1650) in his unpublished treatise, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*.²⁸ Norgate wrote his manual on limning in 1627-1628, then revised it from about 1648 to shortly before his death in 1650. He divides the “Discourse” into three genres, discussing landscapes as his second subject, between portraits and histories:

It is more then time to proceede to the second which is, *Landscape*, or *Landscape*. Landscape what an Art soe new in England, and soe lately come a shore, as all the Language within our fower Seas cannot find it a Name, but a borrowed one, and that from a People, that are noe great Lenders, but upon good Securitie, the (Dutch) perhaps they will name their owne Child. For to say truth the Art is theirs, and the best in that kind that ever I saw spake *Dutch*, viz. *Paulo Brill*, a very rare Master in that Art, Liveing in *Trinita del Monte* in *Rome*, and his Contemporary *Adam Elshamer*, termed by the Italians *Diavolo per gli cose piccole* [a devil for little things], *Momper*, *Bruegel*, *Coningslo*, and last but not least Sir *Peter Rubens*, a Gentleman of great parts and abilities, (over and above his Pencill) and knighted by the best of Kings or Men.²⁹

As a child immigrant, landscape is the young heir of one tradition and positioned to benefit from the opportunities of another. With an eye to profit, the Dutch, Norgate suggests, have chosen a receptive audience in the English. Although he appends a list of northern masters of the genre,

²⁸ Primarily concerned with the technical aspects of limning, Norgate’s treatise survives in several contemporary copies and fragments. Martin Hardie provides an introduction and publishes the second version of *Miniatura* – Tanner 326, Bodleian Library, copied soon after Norgate’s death. Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*. Muller and Murrell publish a critical edition of Tann. 326, but also draw from Royal Society of London MS 136 as well as copies of Norgates’s first versions of the treatise. Introductory essays discuss Norgate’s life and his audiences. Appendix 1 lists 29 seventeenth-century versions, copies, or paraphrases of Norgate’s treatise. Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Muller and Murrell. Also see note 12 above.

²⁹ Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Muller and Murrell, 81-82; Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, ed. Hardie, 42-43.

Norgate cites their fame in Italy to substantiate his judgement.³⁰ At the very end of the list, Rubens – as a knight of the realm – is himself an additional corroborating authority.³¹

Continuing his account, Norgate records that “the ancients” considered landscape subject matter “a servant to their other peeces, to illustrate, or sett off their *Historicall* painting, by filling up the empty Corners, or void places of Figures, and story, with some fragment of Landcape.”³² But as landscape painting is now practiced, Norgate explains, it was first invented in Antwerp and has only lately been accepted as a genre in its own right, legitimized by its disciplinary standing:

But to reduce this part of painting to an absolute and intire Art, and to confine a mans industry for the tearme of Life to this onely, is as I conceive an Invention of these later times, and though a *Noveltie*, yet a good one, that to the Inventors and Professors hath brought

³⁰ The northern landscape painters mentioned by Norgate – Adam Elsheimer (1576-1616), Paul Brill (1554-1626), Gillis van Coninxloo (1544-1607), Jan Brueghel (1568-1625), Joos de Momper (1564-1635), and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) – could all be seen in large English collections, including those belonging to Arundel, Buckingham, and Charles I. Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden discuss patronage patterns, dividing landscape painters collected by the English into categories determined by time periods, regions of origin, and regions of influence: sixteenth-century Venetian landscape painters, contemporary Roman and Italianate Dutch landscape painters, fifteenth and sixteenth-century northern landscape painters, and contemporary Flemish landscape painters. Ogden and Ogden, *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century*, 30-33.

³¹ While on a diplomatic mission to secure the Anglo-Spanish peace, Rubens had been knighted in London by Charles I on March 3, 1630, and finally received the formal commission for the Banqueting House ceiling at Whitehall. The commission was first mentioned by Rubens in a letter to the agent William Trumbull, written in Antwerp and dated September 13, 1621. See letter no. 46. Peter Paul Rubens, *The letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, ed. and trans. Ruth Saunders Magurn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 77. Kevin Sharpe suggests that Rubens was chosen as a negotiator by the archduchess Isabella and Philip IV for both his knowledge of art and his diplomatic skills. Kevin Sharpe, *The personal rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 66-67.

³² Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Muller and Murrell, 83; Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, ed. Hardie, 44.

both to honour and profit.³³

Like other types of painting, Norgate notes, landscape demands a lifetime of study and a command of express knowledge, acquisitions that will bring its masters rewards of fame and gain.³⁴ Here he reiterates the connection of honor and profit, the former first mentioned as an English association and the latter as a Dutch concern.

To further elevate the “Pedigree of Lanscape,” Norgate returns to Peter Paul Rubens – already mentioned as a “Gentleman of great parts” – and links the practice of landscape painting with country houses and England’s aristocratic collectors.³⁵ Rubens, he states, was a devotee of the genre, dedicating his later years to painting the countryside at his new estate:³⁶

Wherewithall Sir Peter *Rubens* of Antwerp was soe delighted in his
Later time, as hee quitte all his other practice in Picture, and Story,
whereby he got a vast estate, to studie this, whereof he hath left the
world the best, that are to be seene, some whereof were lately at

³³ Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Muller and Murrell, 83; Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, ed. Hardie, 45.

³⁴ “This first essay at Lanscape got the Painters Crownes, and Credit. This began others to imitate, and now the Art is growne to that perfection, that it is as much as twenty or thirty yeares practice can doe, to produce a good Painter, at this one *species* of painting onely.” Norgate, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, ed. Muller and Murrell, 84; Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, ed. Hardie, 46.

³⁵ Muller and Murrell suggest that “Pedigree” is a term used by Norgate for its connotations in heraldry. As the Windsor Herald from 1633, Norgate designed and authenticated coats of arms. In *Miniatura*, he follows a similar method and model of authentication, ensuring that his text is prepared with the same rigorous standards and accurate procedures as those that give valid pedigree to arms and other honors. Norgate, Muller, and Murrell, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, 85, 82, 165, note 163. Also see Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, ed. Hardie, 47, 43.

³⁶ Rubens himself wrote that he hoped for honor rather than financial gain through the commission and publication of prints after his inventions and designs. See Rubens’s letter to Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), dated August 16, 1635. Letter no. 237 in Magurn, Rubens, *The letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 400.

*York howse, but now unhappily transplanted.*³⁷

As an example of the genre's importance, Norgate cites Rubens's landscapes in the collection at York House, the former London residence of George Villiers, the first duke of Buckingham.³⁸

Amassing one of the largest collections in England, Buckingham sought Rubens as an influential

³⁷ Norgate, Muller, and Murrell, *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*, 84; Norgate, *Miniatura; or the art of limning*, 46.

³⁸ These include: "One winter piece," "A great Landskip," "A little Landskip: a Morning," and "A little Landskip, an Evening." Norgate refers to the collection of paintings sent to Antwerp by the second duke of Buckingham (1628-1687) after his father's assassination in 1628. Entitled "The Duke of Buckingham's Collection of Pictures, Sent To and Sold At The Time Of His Exile, By His Agents And Order," the inventory lists 215 works and was drawn up in 1648. For the list of pictures, see Brian Fairfax, *A catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens. With the life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the celebrated poet. Written by Brian Fairfax, esq. . . . Also, A catalogue of Sir Peter Lely's capital collection of pictures, statues, bronzes, &c., with the exact measures of the pictures in both collections: A description of Easton-Neston in Northamptonshire, the seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pomfret; with an account of the curious antique statues, busto's, urns, & c: A description of the cartoons at Hampton-Court: A letter from Mr. I. Talman to Dr. Aldrich . . . giving an account of a fine collection of drawings of Monsignor Marchetti, Bishop of Arezzo; collected by the celebrated Father Resta* (London: Printed for W. Bathoe, at his Circulating Library near Exeter Change, in the Strand, 1758), B1r-G1v. The inventory of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, dated 1 May 1635, was prepared to secure the entail of his estate and his property for the second duke of Buckingham. Rubens's landscapes were among the 330 works in this indenture. The winter scene is the first painting listed under the heading "*In the coming in above*," which includes paintings near a large painting by Van Dyke and another by Titian located in the hall. The other three landscapes by Rubens are listed under "*In the Great Chamber*." Other landscapes featuring calendar imagery were also listed in Buckingham's collection, including "Guido.—The Foure Seasons of the Yeare" listed under the heading "*In the Great Chamber*" and two paintings by Jacopo Bassano: "Bassan.—The Foure Seasons of the yeare," listed under "*In the Vaulted Room*" and "Bassan.—The foure seasons of the yeare," listed under "*In the Room called the King's Bedchamber*." See the Bodleian Library Rawlinson MSS. (A. 341: 30): Randall Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635," *The Burlington Magazine* 10 (1907): 376, 379-382. The landscape of the four seasons by Guido is in a list of pictures acquired by Balthazar Gerbier for George Villiers at the cost of £70: "For a great peece of Guido Boulonese of the fower seasons." See I. G. Philip, "Balthazar Gerbier and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," *The Burlington Magazine* 99 (1957): 155-156.

seventeenth-century painter and included landscapes among other genres of art.³⁹ Norgate, however, is also interested in Rubens's character and its relationship to the practice of art. As qualities important for the landscape painter, Norgate notes Rubens's delight in the genre as an aesthetic concern and his study of the genre as an intellectual pursuit. Principally, the artist is among those gentleman successful enough to purchase a great landed estate – a practice that secured social advantages in the present and protected riches during adverse conditions in the future. *Miniatura* thus compliments Rubens for his artistic mastery, taste, wealth, renown, and dedication to learning – all traits important in the cultivation of a classically virtuous character. For Norgate, Rubens served as a justification for the elevation of the arts, especially in England where international standing and the ability to attract an aristocratic and moneyed patronage base were critical accomplishments for establishing authority in the arts.

But even after Norgate's long description of landscape masters, he fails to offer any validation for English landscape painting. While portraiture communicated the weight of the patron or sitter, and history painting the prestige of important human events, landscapes in England had neither equivalent support nor precedent. Because Norgate connects the genre with famed artists, the legitimacy of the subject matter is also largely determined by the prestige of the artist. With the exception of limning, that particularly English specialty, all landscape painters cited in *Miniatura* are eminent practitioners from continental Europe. Without the validation that

³⁹ Mythological and religious paintings made up the largest areas of subject matter, followed by portraits and then landscape paintings. There were also several flower pieces and a few genre scenes. In total, York House held at least 387 paintings. See Philip McEvansoneya, "A Note on the Duke of Buckingham's Inventory," *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 607; Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635," 379-82.

such artists as Peter Paul Rubens lent the genre, I argue that landscape painters in England turned to the sanction associated with the value of property. Authority supporting the genre was thus borrowed from sources that carried their own prestige. I contend that traditional hierarchies of landownership gave consequence and merit to landscape painting and underpinned the rationale for both painting and collecting English scenes. To develop landscape themes, artists featured symbols important to the growth of England's social and political elite, and in the process, often magnified the country's aesthetic idiosyncracies. In estate portraits, for example, painters amplified the multiple influences included in ornament and design. The assortment of architectural decorations expressed the same social and economic power registered by a large house and its elaborate gardens or surrounding acres. In other themes of landscape painting, the honor and status of landed holdings was coupled with new concepts of English achievement to reimagine exclusive rights.

Themes of English Landscapes

Studied as a whole and in a historical context, the themes of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English landscape painting have received little attention. Ogden and Ogden's survey of all seventeenth-century landscapes in English collections is still the most comprehensive study devoted to the subject.⁴⁰ But as the authors explain, they examine the taste

⁴⁰ The Ogdens classify landscape into two basic categories: topographical paintings of identifiable locations and ideal landscapes of generic imagery. These are again subdivided into at least twelve other subjects. However, landscape paintings often include several subjects and are not so narrowly limited to discrete groupings. Additionally, the Ogdens rely on descriptions in auction catalogues and collections that are usually brief and not always accurate in respect to artist and subject matter. Many narrative paintings of mythological and biblical subjects had landscape backgrounds and were described only as landscapes because their primary subject matter was not recognized by those compiling sales records or inventories. "Landscape" thus became a generic descriptor. Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth*

for and patronage of landscape painting in England rather than the social and political history of the genre.⁴¹ Their discussion is systematically divided into three historical divisions – 1600 to 1649, the Commonwealth, and 1660 to 1700 – that are again divided according to texts on art and evidence from collections, auction catalogues or sales records, as well as landscape sub-genres, artists, and media. In the first half of the seventeenth century, they find that Flemish and Italianate scenes were most admired, and additionally, that the majority of landscapes in England were imported from the continent and painted by Flemish artists.⁴² The Ogdens suggest that the prevalence of northern landscapes was simply due to availability. However, in regard to English taste, they ignore the strategic location of the Netherlands and England's long history of commerce, as well as cultural exchange, with the provinces of the Lowlands.⁴³ No mention is

Century.

⁴¹ Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, vii.

⁴² Italianate or Roman painters included Adam Elsheimer, Paul Brill, and Bartholomaeus Breenberg. Other Flemish painters in fashion were Jan Brueghel, Joos de Momper, and Roeland Savery. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Ogdens note, Nicolas Poussin, Gaspar Dughet, and Salvador Rosa were absent from English collections. The Ogdens find evidence of only two paintings that were commissioned from Claude Lorraine. Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, 31-32.

⁴³ Travel literature, for example, advertised the advantages of the Lowlands. In 1567 the Florentine Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) first published his description of the Lowlands: *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Anversa, 1567). A translation and abridgment by Thomas Danett (1566-1601) was published in English in 1593 and became one of the most renowned accounts of the Lowlands. Guicciardini devotes his longest description to Antwerp, his city of residence for more than forty years. He tells of Antwerp's noted fairs and marts, as well as of its foreign trade, rich merchants, and luxury merchandise. In his description of trade with England, he notes that traffic between the Lowlands and England amounted to a combined total of twelve million crowns annually. Lodovico Guicciardini, *The description of the Low countreys and of the prouinces thereof, gathered into an epitome out of the historie of Lodouico Guiccardini* (London: By Peter Short for Thomas Chard, 1593), 32v-40v. *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* was also translated in French (Anvers, 1567), German (Basel, 1580), Dutch (Amsterdam, 1612), and Latin (Amsterdam, 1613).

made of the luxury products encountered during the frequent interaction with Netherlandish social, diplomatic, and trading centers in either the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries.⁴⁴

After the restoration of Stuart rule, the Ogdens write that Italianate paintings were once more in vogue; again, they were painted by Netherlandish artists and were a northern translation of the southern countryside, often depicting characteristic Roman ruins.⁴⁵ The Ogdens also document the popularity of other types of landscapes – topographical scenes, seasonal subjects, and mountain and harbor imagery – demonstrating that landscape as a genre became increasingly popular.⁴⁶ They find that throughout the century the important landscape painters and the landscape sub-genres discussed in treatises correlate with the types of landscape paintings documented in collections and catalogues. According to their evidence, sub-genres of landscape were so varied that the decorative quality of variety alone may be one aim of the collector or

⁴⁴ On a journey to the Netherlands, John Evelyn, for example, writes of the offerings of Antwerp's rich merchants and the splendor of the city's churches, buildings, and port. He notes collections of curiosities and Antwerp's schools. Evelyn visited the city on 4 and 5 October 1641. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 2:62-67.

⁴⁵ In his treatise on art, William Sanderson (c. 1586-1676) also mentions an aesthetic preference for Italianate painters. Sanderson's text is based primarily on previous publications: part one paraphrases descriptions from Franciscus Junius's, *The painting of the ancients in three bookes*; part two copies Norgate's manual. William Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the pen and pensil. Or, the most excellent art of painting: in two parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), 17-19.

⁴⁶ In evidence from 128 auction catalogues, 10.7 percent of the paintings (2,895 total pictures) for sale in 1689 were described as landscape subject matter compared to 23.1 percent in 1692 (3,202 total pictures). Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, 89.

patron.⁴⁷ The Ogdens' objective, however, was to identify directions of taste based on a statistical compilation of types of landscape paintings and not to analyze landscape trends on the basis of social and political functions.

Unlike the Ogdens' inclusive subject matter, several publications study the historical development of single types or themes of landscape paintings executed in England in the seventeenth century. In 1985 the architectural historian John Harris revised his 1979 survey of country house paintings, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*.⁴⁸ The most comprehensive compendium of estate portraits to date, the volume describes a continuous linear pattern of stylistic development, that, for the most part, is chronologically arranged. Although Harris presents an account of artists, paintings, and patrons, his survey is without a critical historical context. He first introduces the precedents for estate paintings in England, including early continental examples: the Limbourg brothers' manuscript illustrations of castles in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Chantilly, Musée Condé), c. 1416; the miniature of the Tower of London in a French manuscript of Charles d'Orléans's poetry, c. 1483; and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder's engravings of famed

⁴⁷ In nine auction catalogues from 1690-1691, the Ogdens report 684 (18.5 percent) landscapes and 354 (9.6 percent) semi-landscapes out of a total of 3,688 paintings. Historical subjects were portrayed in 724 paintings (20.1 percent) and portraits in 548 paintings (14.8 percent). Semi-landscapes include prospects, seasonal paintings, ruin pieces, and hunting and battle scenes, among others. Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, 90-91.

⁴⁸ John Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*, rev. ed. (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985). Ten years later Harris introduced an exhibit catalogue on the same topic. The private exhibition at Sotheby's in London included many seventeenth-century paintings that, for the most part, were from private collections and not open to public view. John Harris, Kimberly Kostival, and Sarah Orchart, *The artist and the country house: from the fifteenth century to the present day*, exh. cat. ([London]: Sotheby's Institute, 1995).

French châteaux and gardens, first issued in 1576.⁴⁹ In England, the first estate portrayals are the sixteenth-century topographical drawings by Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1600) and Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525-1571) that record royal palaces along the Thames. While Hoefnagel depicts these residences for private interests, many of Van der Wyngaerde's drawings were later published in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*.⁵⁰ In the seventeenth century an important contribution to views of London and its castles came from the Bohemian etcher Wencelaus Hollar (1607-1677). After returning to England from Antwerp in 1652 during the interregnum, he supplied drawings, etchings, and engravings of royal, civic, and elite properties for illustrated histories on all aspects of English tradition.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*, rev. ed., 1-20. The miniature may serve as a chronicle of the d'Orléans's captivity in London from c.1492 to 1500. The continuous narrative shows the Duc d'Orléans sending correspondence, in the tower, and writing at a desk surrounded by his court. British Museum, Royal MS 16 F II, fol. 73. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le premier volume des plus excellents bâtimens de France* (Paris: Pour ledit Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, 1576).

⁵⁰ Georg Braun (1541-1622), Cologne, and Frans Hogenberg (1535-1622), Mechlen, produced the six volume *Civitates orbis terrarum* between 1572 and 1617. Compiled from various sources, Braun wrote descriptions and histories, and Hogenberg executed most of the engravings, using existing maps as well as drawings from the many contributors. *Civitates orbis terrarum* includes maps, plots, and bird's-eye views. In total, 546 illustrations portray palaces, castles, towns, cities, costumes, buildings, and monuments. Victoria and Albert National Library, G. Bruin and F. Hogenbergius, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1612); Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, Stephan Füssel, and Benedikt Taschen, *Civitates orbis terrarum = Cities of the world: 363 engravings revolutionize the view of the world: complete edition of the colour plates of 1572-1617: based on the copy in the Historisches Museum Frankfurt* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008).

⁵¹ Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*, rev. ed., 8-15. Hollar's prolific practice illustrates a wide range of publications. For example see: Daniel King, *The cathedrall and conventvall churches of England and Wales. Orthographically delineated by D K* ([London]: Printed and sould by Iohn Ouerton at ye White horse in Little Brittain), [1656]); Elias Ashmole, Wenceslaus Hollar, and William Sherwin, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter collected and digested into one body* (London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke . . . , 1672); William Dugdale, *The history of St. Pauls Cathedral in London from its foundation untill these*

Following the precedent of palace portraits by Netherlandish artists from the first half of the seventeenth century, aristocrats commissioned views of country houses from immigrant artists during the second half. Harris finds that these estate paintings reveal changing fashions in architecture, garden design, land practices, and social fashions, and that they can be used as architectural documents and records of the period's cultural history. However, these views of houses, garden features, and outside entertainments represent ideals at the time and not exact replicas of artefacts. They were most often requested by patrons who dictated the details of the painting. From the few extant contemporary accounts and correspondence, Harris concludes that country house paintings were commissioned as memorials to a landowner's building achievements, both to preserve the remembrance of an old house and to commemorate the completion of new construction.⁵² Where multiple estate paintings were acquired, they were

times extracted out of originall charters, records, leiger books, and other manuscripts: beautified with sundry prospects of the church, figures of tombes and monuments (London: Printed by Tho. Warren, 1658); William Dugdale, Roger Dodsworth, and John Stevens, *Monasticon Anglicanum, sive, Pandectae coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem ex MSS. codd. ad monasteria olim pertinentibus, archivis Turrium, Londinensis, Eboracensis, Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum, bibliothecis Bodleianâ, Coll. Reg. Coll. Bened., Arundellianâ, Cottonianâ, Seldenianâ, Hattonianâ aliisque digesti per Rogerum Dodsworth . . . Gulielmum Dugdale . . .* (Londini: Impensis Christopheri Wilkinson, Thomae Dring, & Caroli Harper, 1661). *Monasticon Anglicanum* was also translated and abridged: William Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum, or, The history of the ancient abbies, and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches, in England and Wales with divers French, Irish, and Scotch monasteries formerly relating to England / collected, and published in Latin, by Sir William Dugdale, Knight . . . , in three volums; and now epitomized in English, page by page; with sculptures of the several religious habits* (London: Printed, for Sam Keble . . . , 1693).

⁵² Harris gives the example of Leonard Knyff's engraving of Wanstead House in Essex, which was executed in 1715 before the old Tudor house was demolished. Purchased by Josiah Child in the seventeenth century, Wanstead House was replaced by a new palace of Palladian design from 1715 to 1722 when Child's stepson, Richard Child, inherited. Harris, Kostival, and Orchard, *The artist and the country house: from the fifteenth century to the present day*, 9.

meant for several venues, including display both in the family's city residences and in their other country seats. Large editions of prints similarly met a number of needs: they provided copies for albums kept in cabinets and libraries, as well as individual gifts presented to friends and acquaintances.⁵³ Harris's section on the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century country house painting closes with the fashion for extensive bird's-eye views made famous by Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff's *Britiannia Illustrata*.⁵⁴ After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the straight line of descent from intimate, raised prospects to high aerial perspectives is interrupted by a trend for gardenscapes featuring polite conversations. However, both elite imagery – extensive grounds, leisurely activities, and aristocratic accouterments – and the centrality of the country house remained little-changed features throughout the period. Both the elevated view and the bird's-eye perspective also remained popular formats well into the first half of the century.

More recently, several conference papers published in *City merchants and the arts 1670-*

⁵³ Although records of a buyer's intent are very rare, Harris finds several examples. In 1699 Mary Somerset (1630-1715), the duchess of Beauford, commissioned three drafts from Knyff to commemorate the work of her late husband, Henry Somerset (1629-c. 1699), the first duke of Beauford, at their country seat at Badminton. In 1697-1698 John Holles (1662-1711), the fourth earl of Clare and the third duke of Newcastle, ordered 400 copies of engravings of three of his seats: Nottingham Castle, Bolsover Castle, and Haughton. Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*, rev. ed., 92, 154. Harris, Kostival, and Orchart, *The artist and the country house: from the fifteenth century to the present day*, 10.

⁵⁴ Johannes Kip, *Britannia illustrata or views of several of the royal palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain elegantly engraven on lxxx. copper plates*. Tom. I (Imprint: London: [sold by David Mortier], Printed in the Year MDCCXX. [1720]).

1720 have discussed landscape paintings in relation to wealthy business patrons.⁵⁵ The collection is directed toward merchant taste and patronage in painting, sculpture, furnishings, and other decorative arts, and each paper focuses on a specific aspect of the use of art in a mercantile environment. Topics include London's urban setting, merchant houses and property, and the vogue for exotica, as well as Jan Siberechts's landscape paintings and Robert Robinson's painted rooms. Karen Hearn examines the Tate Britain's *View of a House and its Estate in Belsize, Middlesex*, 1696, by Jan Siberechts, suggesting that the painting was commissioned by John Coggs, a wealthy London goldsmith-banker.⁵⁶ Providing financial services to old gentry families, nobles, and royals, Coggs used his new wealth to construct a modern country retreat four miles north of London. According to Kearn, Siberechts's estate portrait would have hung at either this new country mansion or Coggs's London residence and would have specifically advertised his successful economic and social rise. Citing the country house portrait of Coggs's estate, she concludes that Siberechts was employed by businessmen with interests in London and thus had a clientele that was not exclusively noble or aristocratic. There are, however, no records identifying the house, its owner, or the patron of the painting.

In a similarly directed article on Siberechts, Laura Wortley examines a series of landscape paintings that portray the countryside around Henley-on-Thames, located in south Oxfordshire

⁵⁵ Most of the papers collected in the volume were presented at a one-day conference on the topic of London merchants and art patronage held on Nov. 1, 2002. Mireille Galinou, ed., *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720* (Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004).

⁵⁶ In 1994 Ray Allen, a local historian, suggested that the painting portrayed a house in Belize. Hearn's attribution relies on Allen's identification. Karen Hearn, "Merchant clients for the painter Jan Siberechts," in Mireille Galinou, ed., *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720* (Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004), 83-92. London, Tate Britain, Jan Siberecht, 1696, *View of a House and its Estate in Belsize, Middlesex*.

about thirty-five miles from the capital city.⁵⁷ Wortley attributes the series's patronage to elite businessmen with property interests in the area. She argues that rather than emulating aristocratic tastes, Siberechts's mercantile clientele set the fashion for a landscape sub-genre that depicts local sites and emphasizes the benefits of landed holdings. However, because these Henley paintings survive without documentation, it remains difficult to convincingly determine the intent of possible patrons. Like other contributors to the collection, Wortley regards wealth as the most significant determinant of social position with respect to the successful business classes. Although evidence is thus arranged to support this thesis, many of the same rich merchants and bankers cited in the volume sought political office as the more effective route to power.⁵⁸ Images celebrating wealth and power – such as those in Siberechts's paintings – incorporate aristocratic values and thus counteract social censure associated with commercial ends.

Perhaps the fullest account of themes in English landscapes is an article by Gregory

⁵⁷ Wortley's article assigns the patronage of the largest of these paintings, *A Prospect of the Thames near Henley*, 1697, to Robert Clayton, a London scrivener-banker, who provided financial services to many property owners in the area. No documentation, however, exists to support such a commission. Laura Wortley, "Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the painting of Jan Siberechts," in Mireille Galinou, ed., *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720* (Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004), 93-102.

⁵⁸ Both mercantile and traditional landowning classes enjoyed the power of political office and would have most likely found the Henley paintings equally representative of their interests and equally attractive in their houses. The lawyer Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke was a knight, MP, and a commissioner of the Great Seal; his son William was knighted by William III in 1689. The money lender Sir Robert Clayton was a Lord Mayor of London. William Freeman, an overseas agent, banker, and trader of slaves and sugar in the West Indies, retired to the area in 1683 and rebuilt Fawley Court, an estate once owned by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke and ruined by royalist troops during the civil war. Thereafter, Freeman served as Commissioner of the Peace for Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, as a deputy lieutenant for Buckinghamshire, and as a judge on the country's criminal Oyer and Terminer. Wortley, "Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the painting of Jan Siberechts," 96-102; David Hancock, "'A World of Business to Do': William Freeman and the Foundations of England's Commercial Empire, 1645-1707," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57 (2000): 3-34.

Rubinstein presented in a volume of conference papers devoted to Anglo-Dutch cultural interaction in the seventeenth century. Rubinstein discusses the main trends in landscape painting by Netherlandish artists who emigrated to England and executed work for English patrons.⁵⁹ From the context of English art, he investigates the types and varieties of landscape paintings, suggesting that the aesthetic qualities of England's geography itself may have inspired the artists. Rubinstein's survey is based on visual evidence rather than such contemporary literature as artist bibliographies, art theory, or personal accounts, and much of his investigation is structured according to patronage. In the first half of the century, views of royal palaces and castles commissioned by Charles I dominate. After the Restoration, however, the patronage of topographical and estate paintings shifts to the aristocracy, and the nobility become the second group for whom landscapes were executed. The vogue for decorative painting in refurbishing and building anew meant that, unlike the Netherlands, most landscape paintings in England were produced on commission and not for the open market. Although Rubinstein does not speculate on an English practice of marketing art, it is likely that artists filled their studios with stock examples of their specialties, particularly copies of paintings bought by royal and aristocratic patrons.⁶⁰

Rubinstein points out that, in devising decorative plans for houses, Netherlandish artists produced an unusual body of work, distinctive to English painting. He does not, however,

⁵⁹ The papers were delivered at the Eleventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, Oxford, 1991. See G. M. G. Rubinstein, "Artists from the Netherlands in Seventeenth-Century Britain: an Over-view of their Landscape Work," 7-12.

⁶⁰ Samuel Pepys provides evidence of this practice when he describes choosing views for his dining room from among the examples in Hendrik Danckerts's studio. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert C. Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1976), 9:421, 423, 434, 487, 504, 539.

account for this phenomenon or set it within a broader social and political context. Nor does he mention that Italian styles executed by northern artists working in England still continued to be favored. For instance, very few of the paintings commissioned by the Lauderdale to redecorate Ham House in the 1670s deviated from popular, classically themed continental landscapes.⁶¹ Like others in Charles II's court circle, the Lauderdale patronized Netherlandish trained artists, but still preferred Italianate landscape subjects popular in both France and Italy.

My own investigation of new English landscape themes is a multidisciplinary approach directed toward cultural usage. I address how land was patterned to weigh new monetary resources according to a scale of social virtues, and how landscapes incorporated intellectual and commercial inventions to legitimize changing values. To avoid a strictly linear and evolutionary account, I have drawn on both a history of images over a long time-frame and the specifics of seventeenth-century records of English towns, organizations, and individuals. My dissertation begins with three chapters on the ideology of the country house portrait in its many versions. Chapter I studies the graphic display of power as it is depicted in portraits of crown palaces and castles, as well as in written accounts of surveying techniques, overseas territories, histories, and architectural precepts. In the early decades seventeenth century most paintings of crown palaces and castles are executed by anonymous Netherlandish painters and represent the styles of their home regions.

⁶¹ Although Ham House's decorative scheme includes paintings with landscape backgrounds, the subjects are primarily mythological and biblical narratives, as well as Italian ruins, pastoral scenes, and battles. Painters include Dirck van den Bergen (1640-1695), Abraham Begeyn (1637-1697), Thomas (1616-1677) and Jan Wyck (1645-1700), and Bartholomeus Breenbergh (c. 1598-1657). The other two landscape sub-genres in the Lauderdale's collection are represented by a house portrait by Hendrik Danckerts (c. 1625-1679) and bird and animal paintings by Francis Barlow. They are discussed in my Chapter II and Chapter V.

Chapter II considers estate paintings after the return of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 to the early decades of the eighteenth century. I discuss the transfer of the iconography of royal estate portraits to paintings of private country houses, citing diaries that describe the pleasures of new wealth within a pattern of old social practices. Toward the end of the century, however, monetary policies redefined traditional honors and merits, promoting lavish expenditure and display as necessary outlays for the nation's well-being. I argue that virtues refigured as economic ideals found a parallel expression in aerial perspectives of monumental country estates. To better define contemporary thought, I contrast images and literature of the period with work on similar topics at the close of the eighteenth century.

In Chapter III, I continue the discussion of country house ideology, but here I feature country house poetry, a literary genre that shares many characteristics with its pictorial counterpart. Early poems hold fast to traditional hierarchies and values of land; those written at the end of the seventeenth century question natural law as a founding basis of hierarchical power. In the late poems, the possession of refined taste and exceptional talent are celebrated as new sources of wealth, opening boundaries and modifying values and thus amending the attributes of prestige. However, unlike the paintings, the poems often point out their subject's unjust political treatment and slights, and thus estate poetry supplies a social and political history of praise and complaint. Identifying many of the period's ideals and concerns, this chapter contributes another context to my study's range of discourse. The rhetoric of patronage additionally expresses the manners and modes in which individuals and organizations wished to be known and acknowledged.

Chapter IV centers on the landscape paintings of the Flemish artist Jan Siberechts, who,

in many of his paintings, used seasonal imagery that marked the ritual passage of time and its interconnections with the greater world. Influenced to a large extent by the work of Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, Siberechts also devised a landscape iconography that showed signs of social advantage or special privilege, and typically portrayed recognized views or emphasized the trappings of elite society. Lowlands landscape imagery that once defined community through yearly ritual, seasonal fertility, or natural abundance, is redesigned to express the benefits of the contemporary English countryside. I argue that the same scenes that based royal, parliamentary, administrative, and academic institutions on the authority of old laws and customs are reimagined to acknowledge all degrees of success within society's top tiers. That Siberechts's prosperous image of well-being was problematic, however, is indicated by contemporary debates on new values associated with trade and commerce. I suggest that landscapes like Siberechts's replaced the unpredictability of arbitrary change with the familiar iconography of return and renewal.

In Chapter V, I analyze the effects of new directions in science, or natural philosophy, on a sub-genre of landscape painting. The Royal Society, for example, advocated observation and empirical experiment as a means of understanding the natural world and establishing authority for new knowledge. I argue that such painters as Francis Barlow (c. 1626-1704) developed subject matter to specifically appeal to this contemporary model of change. In his earlier work, Barlow focused on a plain style and direct observation as a means of advertising his expertise according to the precepts of empirical methods. As an English painter, he may have also aligned himself with the country's new scientific interests and achievements, specifically to distinguish his own painting from continental examples. Positioning his work to parallel the intellectual

methods of important scientific communities, Barlow additionally made a case for the inclusion of novel genres of painting as contributors to the country's new store of knowledge. Toward the end of the seventeenth century and onset of the eighteenth, his work adapts fashionable trends in country house painting. In these later paintings, a proliferation of birds and animals, as well as aristocratic ornaments, combine scientific interest and the emerging economies associated with wealth.

An epilogue discusses landscapes' ability to convert meaning associated with traditional landed property to new relations of power. The reliance on the stabilizing capacity of landscape imagery is expressed in multiple formats and media, especially at the beginning of the eighteenth century. John Croker, for example, uses the landscape in a medal commemorating the Peace of Utrecht (1713), a complex series of treaties toward the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) between England, the United Provinces, the Holy Roman Empire, Savoy, Prussia, and Portugal on one side and France and Spain on the other.⁶² Croker's medal relies on images of the land to locate armament associated with naval strength within the symbolism of secure rural prosperity. Seasonal labors mitigate the possible social drawbacks of the state's expanding military force and, in the same instance, support its developing empire. As further examples of landscapes' reach, I introduce Robert Robinson's exotic painted rooms as representations of England's new colonial empire. These fanciful scenes promote new wealth from foreign lands as supplemental forms of property. Featuring the riches accessible through trading networks, they express the yield of science and commerce, and they do so through a novel interpretation of new landed holdings. In Robinson's decorative projects, all negative aspects of trade are subsumed by

⁶² See note 727 below.

the sanction of property's honors and the draw of intellectual pursuits. Here, new landscapes of overseas territories validate foreign lands as the real estate of England's empire. But as new themes in the expanding genre of English landscape painting, they also make a case for the ingenuity of art unique to England.

My conclusion summarizes important points of each chapter and the contributions of my project. I discuss the development of landscape themes throughout the Stuart reign, outlining changes in landscape imagery with respect to the remodeling of the national state. I argue that the new images of both the land and endeavors of England expressed the potential of English successes. Recent sources of wealth, commercial ventures, scientific innovations, and political changes shaped the course of landscape themes; in particular, innovative landscape subjects reconciled the authority of old values to the new thought and objectives of the country's emerging empire.

Chapter I. The Early Estate Portrait – Rights of the Land

Early modern writers often describe changes in social status as involving the inappropriate borrowing of traditional signs of authority, in effect, the arbitrary use of a customary system of rights and obligations that denotes respectability.⁶³ Most often referenced in complaints regarding society's decline, these old forms of privilege act as precedents for social advantages and as claims to political rights. In his *An historical description of the island of Britain*, written in the mid-1560s and first published in 1577, the Essex clergyman William Harrison (1534-1593) cites a neglect of custom to criticize new measures of status and, in a like analysis, attributes England's artistic progress to its respect for past authorities. He compares magnificent building projects of the contemporary aristocracy with the poorest houses of earlier royalty:⁶⁴

⁶³ See, for example, Sir Walter Raleigh's attack on Henry VIII in the preface of the first part of Raleigh's history of the world. Written while Raleigh (c. 1554-1618) was imprisoned in the Tower of London by James I, Raleigh complained that the traditional aristocracy was deprived of customary honors just as new men were raised in status through the whims and fancies of the king. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The history of the world. In Fiue Bookes* (London: Printed [by William Iaggard, W. Stansby and N. Okes] for Walter Burre [and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane], 1614 [i.e. 1621]), A4v. Also see Raleigh's comments on custom: "Ancient Customs may not violently and suddenly be taken away. Fortune which altereth all things, will by little and little wear them out of use." Sir Walter Raleigh, *The cabinet-council containing the cheif arts of empire and mysteries of state: discabineted in political and polemical aphorisms grounded on authority, and experience: and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations / by the ever-renowned knight, Sir Walter Raleigh; published by John Milton, Esq.* (London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Tho. Johnson . . . , 1658), 147-48.

⁶⁴ A second edition of Harrison's sociological assessment of England was published in 1578. All quotations are from the second edition in William Harrison, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877). Also see Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles comprising 1 The description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland,*

Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statlie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match (in our daies) with some honours of princes in old times. So that if euer curious building did florish in England, it is in these years, wherein our workemen excell, and are in manner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, (Leo Baptista,) and Serlo.⁶⁵

Harrison finds that in both architectural knowledge and applied skill English practitioners rival renowned Italian theorists, but throughout his account he also views the building and furnishing of England's houses as an excessive and extravagant departure from custom. Rightful inheritance, he implies, underlies legitimate authority and structures procedures for proper social order.

Where stately homes were once a sign of royal privilege, Harrison argues that in contemporary practice they had become an expression of financial success and social mobility, and, in fact, a challenge to established hierarchies:

Everie man almost is a builder and he that hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it never so little, will not be quiet tell he have pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing) and set up a new after his own devise.⁶⁶

Critical of the tendency of the peerage and gentry alike to discount custom and cultivate the spectacular and the new, Harrison bases his criteria for evaluating such architecture on a moral

3 The description and historie of Scotland: first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent and others. With conuenient tables at the end of these volumes [London]: Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Vwoodcocke (London: printed [by Henry Denham] in Aldersgate street at the signe of the Starre, [1587])).

⁶⁵ Harrison, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, 1:238.

⁶⁶ Harrison, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, 1:341.

economy connected to royal rule – a system of well-ordered social distinctions that prescribes aesthetic distinctions. He interprets newly made country houses as the result of a broad increase in expendable wealth without the backing of commensurate values, a fashion in which contemporary builders are singled out by economic advantage, but divided from cultural continuity. While English craftsmen compete with classical masters – and thus preserve customary precepts – men constructing rank through building projects are apt to overlook traditional criteria and instead create houses with small prospects and mixed designs.

When Harrison wrote his sociological survey of England, Henry VIII's royal palaces, castles, and parklands still shaped aristocratic architectural and estate practices, and for Harrison they served as an ideal for princely residences and even as a figure for the tradition of royal reign and power. More than any other English monarch, Henry was devoted to constructing and acquiring palatial estates, owning over sixty houses at his death in 1547, including those inherited, purchased, traded, confiscated, and recently constructed – all of which served as signs of the royal presence and the authority of the crown.⁶⁷ The palaces, especially those built or

⁶⁷ Harrison writes, "Those that were builded before the time of Henrie the eight, reteine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient workemanship vsed in this land: but such as he erected (after his own deuise (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Justinian the lawgiver)) doo represent another maner of paterne, which, as they are suppose to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance." Harrison, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, 1:267-68. See Howard Colvin, ed., *The history of the King's works*, 6 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Off., 1963-2007), 3:261-62; 4:6-7, 63, 70, 74-5, 123-24, 147-48, 217, 355, 375-77. For a list of Henry's parks in the housebook in use from 1540 to probably 1543, see William Dunche, A. G. W. Murray, and Eustace F. Bosanquet, *The manuscript of William Dunche: being the Book of the new ordinary of the king's most honourable household, anno 31 Henry VIII: transcripts* (Exeter [Devon]: William Pollard & Co., 1914), 55-56. David Loades also provides a list of all Henry VIII's houses. See "Appendix I" in David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: B. T. Bradson, 1986), 193-203. Also see Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court*

remodeled by Henry himself, equated extravagant spending with the power and glory centered in the person and personality of the king.⁶⁸ Although, according to British constitutional theory, the English monarch had two bodies – the natural body subject to physical weakness and the political body above mortal constraints – in visual representations Henry's authority as head of the commonwealth or body politic was difficult to distinguish from the power of his physical presence.⁶⁹ He colored the monarchy by his personality, commissioning portraits in which he

Life 1460-1557 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 40-56.

⁶⁸ Alison Weir estimates that by Henry's death he had spent over £170,000 on houses and palaces, with a large part going to repairs and maintenance. Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: The King and his Court* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), 39.

⁶⁹ Thomas Smith described the nature of the monarchy in his account of England's government. Written between 1562 and 1565 while serving as Ambassador to France for Elizabeth I, the treatise was not published until 1583. Smith explains, "To be short the prince is the life, the head, and the authoritie of all thinges that be doone in the realme of England. And to no prince is doone more honor and reverence than to the King and Queene of Englande, no man speaketh to the prince nor serveth at the table but in adoration and kneeling, all persons of the realme be bareheaded before him: insomuch that in the chamber of presence where the cloath of estate is set, no man dare walke, yea though the prince be not there, no man dare tarrie there but bareheaded." Thomas Smith, *DE REPUBLICA ANGLORVM, The maner of government or policie of the Realme of Englande, compiled by the honorable man Thomas Smyth, Doctor of the civil lawes, Knight, and Principall Secretarie vnto the two most worthie Princes, King Edwarde the sixt, and Queene Elizabeth* (London: Printed by Henrie Midleton for Gregorie Seton, 1583), 88. Also see Mary Dewar's "Introduction" in Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. M. Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1-3. Edward Forsett (1553-1630) extends the idea of the king's two bodies by likening the king to the heart. See Edward Forsett, *A comparatiue discourse of the bodies natural and politique: VVherein out of the principles of nature, is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subiects, and right of soueraigne: together with many good points of politicall learning, mentioned in a brieffe after the preface* (London: Printed [by Eliot's Court Press] for Iohn Bill, 1606), 3-4. Also see Eric Ives, "Henry VIII: the Political Perspective," in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Houndsmill and London: MacMillan Press, 1995), 13-14. Ernst Kantorowicz traces the origin of the king's two bodies in the Middle Ages and notes their beginnings in Christian theology and Roman political theory. He sees this development as an evolutionary movement from a theological to a lay state and from a religious to a secular sphere. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1957). Tudor lawyers used the metaphor to distinguish the natural body from the body politic, but even in the sixteenth century, this distinction often

stood larger than life and greater than human. Like his portraits, Henry's building projects – similarly designed to establish a model of greatness – presented rule as both material splendor and material might.⁷⁰ They defined the image of the monarchy through the construction of difference, graphically glorifying, segregating, and elevating the king corporeally and conceptually. Encircled by extensive parks, these imposing buildings created a commanding and enduring physical manifestation of the crown that was at once tangible and symbolic.⁷¹

In the first half of the seventeenth century, portrayals of royal residences – the first large and uniform group of English landscape paintings – drew on renowned Tudor models by

broke down in determining how natural law equitably defined the rights of kings and subjects, as well as how rationality defined common law. See Alan Cromartie, "The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England," *Past and Present*, 163 (1999): 81-84. Also see Robert Zaller, *The discourse of legitimacy in early modern England* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), 267-327.

⁷⁰ Visual representations include: *Henry VIII*, the Chatsworth Cartoon, Hans Holbein the Younger, 1536-37, London, National Portrait Gallery; *Henry VIII*, attributed to Hans Eworth, c. 1545, Liverpool, the Walker Art Gallery; *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, c. 1545, London, Royal Collection.

⁷¹ In 1529 Cardinal Wolsey, for example, was charged with extravagant spending for spectacle when he used extensive monies to construct the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520, thus wasting resources on an impermanent structure instead of rightfully constructing a palace that would endure. Signed by Joseph Palgrave, the account cites "prodigal and wasteful expenses used since the said Lord was in authority" and characterizes these as "manifest tokens of vainglory in said Lord." Although the celebration for the meeting between Henry VIII and François I^{er} was enormously successful at the time, it was without an enduring national monument and subject to charges of "prodigal dispensing of the King's treasure, as well in the sumptuous building made there only to that use, and not to endure." See no. 5750. Scottish Record Office, *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England/ arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer* (London: Longman, Trübner; Oxford: Parker; Cambridge: MacMillan; Green; Dublin: A. & C. Black, A. Thom., 1876), 4:2559-60. On Henry VIII's construction of royal wealth and magnificence in a number of media, see Christopher Highley, "The remains of Henry VIII," in *Henry VIII and his afterlife: literature, politics, and art*, ed. Mark Rankin, Christopher Highley, John N. King (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 160-89.

surrounding palaces and castles with expanses of land divided into woods, greens, city vistas, and country prospects. Not often centrally located within the composition, the castle or palace takes second place to the adjoining environment or landscape, which itself measures the order of civic life and social identity. The crown residence and corresponding cultural fabric thus serve equally as subject matter. I discuss the influences shaping these landscapes and the ways in which economic advantage was visually associated with social heritage and political power. Such landscapes could directly call to mind past forms of prestige to color present identity, and more indirectly, they could manipulate those forms to loosen ordering systems from the proscriptions of convention. This varied appeal to tradition constructed a consistent and immediately intelligible pattern of representation drawing on a range of well-known visual devices. Apart from panoramas of royal estates, landscape influences include such commonplace but formal portrayals of land and property as perspectives, surveys, and maps. Methods of recording geographical features and property boundaries, for example, were adapted as another means of defining authority and of imagining status – they supplied a material gauge, supplementing the depictions of the ceremonial space of crown palaces. Writings on architecture also indicated particular elements of houses and estates that best established a property's political dimensions and explained these as cultural representations.

My discussion of the royal estate portrait examines the development of a broadly recognized and stable iconography, one that successfully detailed the intricacies of cultural hierarchies and an image of a progressive advance – financial, aesthetic, and intellectual – through the use of a recognizable format. As an introduction to the English estate portrait and as a prelude to Chapter II, this chapter investigates imagery of the land with respect to the privileges

of crown rule and discusses the sources important in the graphic measurement of power. It sets the stage for the visual celebration of English landholding, identifying ideas encapsulated by the genre of private estate paintings, popular after the Stuart return to power. In the century's second half, paintings of country houses adapted this iconography as a public expression and ideological register. Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when aesthetic theory saw new directions, country house painting still articulated old values of landholding, yet placed those ideals within a frame of contemporary means to prosperity. Familiar visual representations of landed status both commemorated the survival of ancient families and celebrated the arrival of those able to realize new opportunities. Iconography that narrated stories of hereditary standing could be remodeled to construct images of certain future success. When writers, painters, and print makers devised new representations of authority to promote the innovative quality of their own work, they necessarily altered historically defined relationships. I argue that in changing the analogies between the traditional awards of status and the possibilities of private enterprise, these ideas and images thematized the restructuring of social values.

Early Seventeenth-Century Portraits of Royal Residences

During the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, landscape paintings of crown residences often portrayed the building projects of Henry VIII that had long shaped the landscape next to the Thames to the north and south of London. Judging from the number of extant paintings of Greenwich Palace, it was the most popular of these topographical scenes, usually portrayed from a well-known hill above the palace with the bow of the Thames in the

background.⁷² The earliest example of this group, *Greenwich Palace* (fig. 1.1), c. 1615, shows couples strolling on One Tree Hill with the palace below, the river winding toward the city, and St Paul's Cathedral silhouetted in the distance against a hazy sky. Probably painted by a Flemish artist, the landscape documents the specifics of place: the earl of Northampton's recent renovations to the fifteenth-century tower built by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, are on the hill to the left; the lane leading to Greenwich is still partially lined with the estate's pale – the original timber fence constructed to enclose the park and confine its deer.⁷³ Amid grazing sheep, a piper and dancing dog entertain an aristocratic couple; nearby, another pair watches the hunt below. Walkway, lawn, and park – each neatly divided and walled – provide their own special

⁷² In 1558 Anthony van den Wyngaerde (c. 1510-72) drew two views of Greenwich, one from the river and the other from the park, both now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Paintings of Greenwich include: *View of Greenwich* by a Flemish artist, c. 1626-28 (London, Museum of London); Adriaen van Stalbeert and Jan van Belcamp, *View of Greenwich*, c. 1632 (The Royal Collection); Hendrik Danckerts, *A View of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the South East*, c. 1670 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum); Hendrik Danckerts, *View of the Queen's House and Greenwich Palace from One Tree Hill*, c. 1670 (Gloucestershire, Dyrham Park, National Trust); Johannes Vosterman, *Greenwich from One-Tree Hill*, c. 1680 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum); *Greenwich Palace* by an anonymous painter, possibly after Vosterman's view, c. 1680 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum); *Royal Observatory from Croom's Hill*, c. 1680 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum); *Greenwich Palace*, after Danckerts painting, c. 1699 (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum). Prints include Wenceslaus Hollar's view of Greenwich from 1637, entitled "Graenwich" and printed by Peter Stent, London. Additionally, Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff published several engravings in 1714. The manor of Pleasaunce was first built by Humphry, duke of Gloucester, on land and the manor of East Greenwich given to him in 1426 when he was regent to Henry VI. Nine years later he enclosed the park and began the construction of the tower and the crenelation of the manor. The Palace of Placentia was built on this site by Henry VII from 1498 and 1504, and later extended and remodeled by Henry VIII in the 1520s. A historical marker on the original cite commemorates the old palace. See, respectively: United Kingdom, *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VI. Vol. II 1429-1436* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1907), 250; Simon Thurley, "Greenwich Palace," in *Henry VIII: a European Court in England*, ed. David Starkey, exh. cat. (New York: Cross River Press, 1991), 20-25.

⁷³ Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage Policy at the Court of James I* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 73-74.

amusements. Here the spreading landscape parallels the expanding state and crosses the temporal dimensions of the physical world with sacred and social values. In this early portrait of the sprawling Tudor palace, St Paul's marks London on the horizon and Greenwich itself introduces the view of the Thames and its course to the capital city.

Both the subject matter and style of the imagery repeat elements popular in Southern Lowland landscapes, especially the high perspectives, deep views, and local narrative detail.⁷⁴ The same Netherlandish landscape traits feature in a small but long horizontal portrait of the palace viewed from Blackheath and executed c. 1620. *Prospect of London and the Thames from above Greenwich* (fig. 1.2) records a wide and deep vista, depicting the entire bow of the Thames, with Greenwich on its bank to the right and the earl of Northampton's lodge atop the hill behind the palace. The anonymous artist anchors the painting's length with a couple enjoying the view on the left, and on the right, a small manor and several grazing sheep. Similarly, travelers following a narrow foreground path connect one side of the long composition with the other. In the center a plowman – an old sign of cyclical order – grounds the panorama, unites the divergent scenes, and aligns the view on the busy waterway in the distance. Again, the tower of St Paul's identifies London and registers the continuing path of the Thames.

At the time, the palace functioned as a ceremonial center where Charles I and Henrietta Maria celebrated the arrival and departure of visiting royalty, nobles, and ambassadors, who

⁷⁴ These recurrent characteristic are found in a wide range of landscape prints produced in the Southern Netherlands from the last decades of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. See, for example, the landscape prints of Lucas van Uden. Adam von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, 21 vols. (Vienne: J.V. Degen, 1803-1821), 5:31-33. Also see Brown's discussion of the history of Flemish landscape in Christopher Brown, *Making and Meaning: Rubens's Landscapes*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery Publications, 1996), 13-23.

traveled the main route from London to Dover.⁷⁵ In addition to its economic role, the Thames operated as a conduit where the king, royal court, and important guests moved by barge between Greenwich and London. Like *Prospect of London and the Thames from above Greenwich*, the many views of the palace reproduce a similar landscape – a system of landmarks and a network of social relations. Several of these paintings, also by Netherlandish artists, belonged to the royal collection and probably were commissioned to celebrate the historical importance of this famed Tudor residence and to note its ritual function. One, by George Portman, is listed in the King's Collection as a "Landshape wth greenwich Castle in it";⁷⁶ another, *View of Greenwich* (fig. 1.3), c. 1632, by Adriaen van Stalbeem (1580-1662) and Jan van Belcamp (1610-1653), hung in the palace itself.⁷⁷

The latter, *View of Greenwich*, follows a collaborative method of painting then practiced

⁷⁵ John Finet, Master of Ceremonies to Charles I from 1627 to 1641, describes the initial public audiences of foreign ambassadors as well as their farewell ceremonies at Greenwich. For descriptions see, John Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: the note books of John Finet, 1628-1641*, ed. Albert J. Loomie (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 64-65, 127-30, 219-20, 141.

⁷⁶ Oliver Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 43 (1970-71): 307.

⁷⁷ Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," 66; Abraham Van der Doort and Oliver Millar, *Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I* ([London]: Printed for the Walpole Society by R. Maclehose [at] the University Press, Glasgow, 1960), 159. The painting was recovered at the Restoration and hung in the king's dressing room; it appears in the inventory of Charles II's pictures at Hampton Court in "An Inventory of all his Maties Pictures in Hampton-Court," 38, c. 1666-67. See Cat. No. 197 in Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols. (London: Phaidon Press, [1963]), 1:111, 2:plate 89. Also see George Vertue, "Vertue Note Books IV," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 24 (1935-1936): 124, 176; George Vertue, "Vertue Note Books V," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 26 (1937-1938): 22.

in Antwerp and combines van Stalbemt's panoramic landscape with figures by van Belcamp.⁷⁸ In the center foreground, Charles I, Henrietta Maria, and one of their children are amid the royal entourage in a scene that documents Stuart continuity: Henry VIII and both his daughters, Elizabeth I and Mary I, were born at Greenwich; Edward VI died there; and the palace was the favorite residence of Charles's mother, Anne of Denmark.⁷⁹ The royal couple stand within the boundaries of the park's ten-foot-tall brick wall, constructed between 1619 and 1624 to secure privacy and to enclose the original deer park, the greater part of an additional ten acres, and the

⁷⁸ According to Horace Warpole, Jan van Belcamp worked for Charles I as a copyist under the direction of Abraham Van der Dort, the king's keeper of pictures. Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. By Mr. Horace Walpole*, 4 vols. [Twickenham]: Printed by Thomas Farmer at Strawberry-Hill, MDCCLXII. [1762], 2:246. Originally from Antwerp, Adriaen van Stalbemt came to England and for a short stay in 1633-34, then returned to the southern Lowlands. He collaborated with Jan Bruegel as well as other painters and was influenced by that family's landscape style. See Keith Andrews, "Adriaen van Stalbemt as Figure Painter," *The Burlington Magazine* (1973): 301-307 and Ursula Härting, "Adriaen van Stalbemt als Figuremaler," *Oud Holland* 95 (1981): 3-15. In Antwerp's collaborative painting process, the patron benefits from the specialty of each contributing artist. The process advertises each painter's particular talents as well as the inventive atmosphere of the city itself. See Hans Vlieghe, "The Execution of Flemish Paintings between 1550 and 1700: A Survey of the Main Stages," in *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, ed. Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carle Van de Velde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 199-204. Also see Sutton's introduction in Peter C. Sutton, "Introduction: Painting in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton, exh. cat. (Boston and Ghent: Museum of Fines Arts, Boston and Ludion Press, Ghent, 1994), 35-37. Of its many examples of collaborative painting practices, Sutton's catalogue includes several with respect to landscape painting. See Sutton, ed., *The Age of Rubens*, 472-77. A collaborative landscape painting with pastoral imagery, for example, combines the work of five painters: Frans Francken II (1581-1642), Ambrosius Francken II (c. 1581-1632), Hans Jordaens III (c. 1595-1643), Abraham Govaerts (1589-1626), and Alexander Kierinx (1600-1652). Frans Francken painted the still life, Frans and Ambrosius Francken painted the figures, Jordaens painted the animals, Govaerts and his student Kierinx painted the forest and the surrounding landscape. *Arcadia – The Golden Age* (72.7 x 104.4 cm.), Old Master Paintings, April, 13, 2011. Palais Dorotheum, Vienna, Austria.

⁷⁹ John Bold, *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 40-41.

commons bordering the river.⁸⁰ Down the hill and directly in back of Charles's attendants is the unfinished Queen's House, begun by Inigo Jones for James I as an adjunct to the royal palace and a villa for Anne of Denmark.⁸¹ Work was suspended upon the death of Queen Anne in 1619, and Greenwich was subsequently granted to Prince Charles. Although now dated, the palace's ceremonial function continued, and it was used for diplomatic and state purposes after Charles's accession in 1625.⁸² In 1629 the Queen's House was given to Henrietta Maria as a portion of her marriage jointure, but six years passed before the exterior was finally completed.⁸³

View of Greenwich probably celebrates both Charles I's reign (1625-1649) and the long

⁸⁰ Angus Duncan Webster, *Greenwich Park: its history and associations* (Greenwich: Henry Richardson Bold, 1902), 3; H. J. Fear, "Westcombe," *Transactions of the Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian Society* 7 (1964): 8-13.

⁸¹ See XCII, from Chamberlain to Carleton, June 21, 1617. United Kingdom, Public Record Office, and Mary Ann Everett Green, *Calendar of state papers: domestic series of the reign of James I, 1611-1618 preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), 473. Jones was Surveyor of the King's Works from 1625 to 1643. For the building accounts of the Queen's House see "Appendix IV, extracts from the building accounts of the seventeenth century," in George H. Chettle, *The Queen's House, Greenwich, Being the Fourteenth Monograph of the London Survey Committee* (Greenwich: Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, 1937), 97-106. For Jones's design of the Queen's House, see Gordon Higgott, "Inigo Jones's Designs for the Queen's House in 1616," in *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*, ed. Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack (Reading: Spire Books, 2007), 140-66; Gordon Higgott, "The Design and Setting of Inigo Jones's Queen's House, 1616-40," *The Court Historian* 11 (2006): 135-48.

⁸² See the protocol for welcoming new ambassadors. Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: the note books of John Finet, 1628-1641*, 27-28.

⁸³ See the description by the Venetian Ambassador, Anzolo Correr, written to the Doge and Senate on May 18, 1635. Letter no. 478 in Scottish Record Office, and Allen B. Hinds, *Calendar of State papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy, 1632-1636* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), 23:386-87. Also see Chettle, *The Queen's House, Greenwich, Being the Fourteenth Monograph of the London Survey Committee*, 28.

history of England's monarchy.⁸⁴ The sun shines on the royal couple in the foreground, highlights the park and river bordering the palace, and in the distance picks out London's rise along the Thames: bands of light define the power of the crown through both its territory and monuments. While the classical south front of the incomplete Queen's House forms a new introduction to the long Tudor palace beyond, in *View of Greenwich* the late-medieval complex is the more significant monument. The old palace spans the middle ground and stabilizes the extended view; the red brick repeats the tonality of the mid-distance hills, configuring a historical overlay of familiar land and Tudor architecture. As a portrait of the king – including his family, courtiers, palace, and territory – it documents the public and theatrical use of the landscape as a stage for all aspects of rule.⁸⁵ The same hierarchies that distinguish ritual here organize the prospect and introduce the landscape. Based on a series of natural correspondences, they create a pattern that projects divine right and shows ever-widening tiers of influence, moving from Charles I to the palace to the broad perspective. This informal image of kingship thus demonstrates that through his person and position, it is Charles who illuminates the land. As the Venetian envoy Anzolo Correr described the reign of Charles I, the king attempted to do through "royal authority what

⁸⁴ In March of 1629 Charles I dissolved parliament and ruled according to his royal prerogative. Parliament was not recalled until April of 1640 when Charles required a grant of taxation to wage the war against Scotland. See Kevin Sharpe's study of the eleven years without parliament. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). In 1632, about the date of *View of Greenwich* by Adriaen van Stalbemt and Jan van Belcamp, Anthony Van Dyck was commissioned to paint an enthroned portrait of Charles I and his family. London, St James Place, *Charles I with Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles and Princes Mary*, 1632, Royal Collection.

⁸⁵ In Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the king's collections, c. 1639, the painting is listed in MS. Ash. 1514, F. 180: "don bij stalbant itm a pitur auff a lantship Wrin grinwij pijntit and de king and qin and som nobelmen besijd dat." Van der Doort and Millar, *Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I*, 195.

former kings did by the authority of the realm.”⁸⁶ In *View of Greenwich*, the prosperity of the nation and all sustaining artefacts of civilization depend solely on the power of the king.

Other palaces along the Thames were, like Greenwich, the subject of painted views throughout the seventeenth century, and they, correspondingly, connected the accomplishments of the country’s historical monarchy, as well as its art and commerce, with the Stuart dynasty. Two large landscapes from c. 1620, probably by the same anonymous Flemish artist, portray *Richmond Palace* (fig. 1.4) and *Nonsuch Palace* (fig. 1.5), both in Surrey and both popular royal retreats, serving as respites from the noise and dirt of the city and as centers for entertainment.⁸⁷ The painter frames *Richmond Palace* with a tree at the left, and on the right, a wide view of the Thames, establishing a diagonal pathway from the vantage point above the bank to the distant palace downstream. *Nonsuch Palace* reverses this composition: a large tree stands at the right, while an allée to the left leads diagonally toward the palace in the middle ground. Similar in size, the paintings were most likely commissioned as a pair and meant to be hung side by side to provide an expansive panorama of the Thames River valley. In *Richmond Palace*, the busy waterway and foot traffic form the principal subject matter: mummers and dancers entertain strolling couples, workers tend to daily chores, and river boats ferry passengers and transport

⁸⁶ Scottish Record Office, Hinds, *Calendar of State papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy, 1636-1639*, 24:295-308.

⁸⁷ Both large paintings are now in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. During the reign of Henry VII, a description of Richmond at the time of the marriage of Prince Arthur, Henry’s eldest son, to Catharine of Aragon is recorded in late 1501. Gordon Kipling, ed., *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* (Oxford; New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1990), 71-73. For Nonsuch’s building site, see the commissioners’ description (PRO E351/414). John Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch* (London: Hutchinson, [1962]), 281-83.

freight. As with other crown residences, by the first decades of the seventeenth century the palace was a significant historical site. Here it forms a distant backdrop for the scene's narrative and a context for the representation of a prosperous economy and leisured lifestyle. Although a seat of the monarchy, the palace is at a remove from the busy river scene and somewhat diffused within the broad pattern of historical references.

Rebuilt in two stages after a fire in 1497 destroyed much of the old structure, Richmond was reoccupied by Henry VII (1457-1509) in 1502 and was one of the last Tudor residences to follow a medieval plan.⁸⁸ By the 1530s, however, the palace had fallen out of style and favor, too dated to function well for either public ceremonial rites or private life and entertainment.⁸⁹ To enjoy the pleasures of that section of Surrey, Henry VIII built the smaller and more intimate Nonsuch on land that was included in the newly established honor of Hampton Court.⁹⁰ Designed as an innovative country house and personal hunting lodge, the compact palace was constructed

⁸⁸ Colvin, *The history of the King's works*, 3:195; 4:180. For an account of the fire, see *The Great chronicle of London* (London, Guildhall library, Ms. 8313), attributed to Robert Fabyan, d. 1513. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, eds., *The Great chronicle of London* (London: Printed by G. W. Jones at the sign of the Dolphin, 1938), 286. For a description of the "cappitall Messuage Pallace or Court house," see the survey of the manor of Richmond undertaken by order of parliament in December, 1649, for the sale of the king's lands and manors. The three rooms comprising the donjon and used as living quarters by Henry were in the middle story. Surrey Archaeological Society, *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, vol. 5 (London: Published for the Surrey Archaeological Society by Lovell Reeve & Co., 1871), 78.

⁸⁹ As portrayed in *Richmond Palace*, the stacked lodgings, central donjon, and sets of round and square towers face an inner courtyard with the chapel bordering the right and the great hall the left. Surrey Archaeological Society, *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, 77-79. Also see Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, 27-32.

⁹⁰ For the honor of Hampton Court, established for Henry VIII by two acts of parliament in 1539 and 1540, see Colvin, ed., *The history of the King's works*, 4:180. Included in Dent's study of Nonsuch is a survey of the original manor. Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch*, 28-35, 281-83.

around two inner courts and was only large enough to accommodate the king's riding household, generally composed of his privy councillors and favored courtiers. But to create an impressive building site with an unimpeded view, Henry demolished the village, church, and manor house of Cuddington and enclosed the surrounding park of over 2,000 acres, stocking it with 1,000 deer.⁹¹ Portraying the country retreat from the northwest, *Nonsuch Palace* alludes to the lodge's original purpose and features the traditional pastimes of the aristocracy: a stag hunt crosses the foreground, and just outside the palace entrance bowlers play on the green.⁹² Both pastimes were regularly illustrated in late-medieval books of hours and both were recreations enjoyed by the Tudor court and mentioned in royal accounts throughout the sixteenth century.⁹³ Even the gilt viewing platform at the far left is reminiscent of the stand erected by Henry VIII to follow the progress of the hunt.

The many landscape paintings of royal palaces along the Thames celebrate images specific to place as well as the broader components of heritage. In a number of such paintings, large panoramas record miles of rolling hills and distant mountains; in others, commonplace vignettes of daily life spill over the grounds just outside the palace walls. Aristocrats at leisure and villagers at work go about customary concerns under bright skies; rural lanes and busy

⁹¹ An account of Nonsuch from April of 1650 describes the seventeenth-century appearance of the palace and park from the sale of the king's properties. Surrey Archaeological Society, *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, 142-55.

⁹² See Surrey Archaeological Society, *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, 145.

⁹³ For example, a calendar illustration for November from the British Library, Add MS 24098, f. 28v, shows a successful stag hunt in the full page miniature and in the margin below, a scene with a game of bocce ball. Also see Thurley's discussion of bowling and stag hunting during the Tudor period. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, 188-90, 191-92.

waterways – sure webs of commerce – divide familiar views of the English landscape, connecting the countryside with urban centers and far regions alike. Here small, transitory, and mundane incidentals are combined with the greatest and most permanent monuments of the English crown, creating an image that memorializes political stability anchored by the presence of royal power. The slight figures who carry out routine chores and enjoy country pastimes near the parks of royal palaces, thus, tie social relationships to a secure political landscape. For the audience, the eye's slow movement across wide and often far-sweeping views similarly erases the constraints of material life with images of suburban well-being and rural abundance. When English palace views recorded new crown buildings projects, they also graphically distinguished the strength of a new reign sanctioned by the traditional power of the realm.

Reading Landscapes

The relationship between political history and social value indicated in the topographical paintings of palaces and castles was addressed by a number of early seventeenth-century authors, in part to promote their own chronicles, but also to cite a practice of cultural interpretation. Writers describing geography often introduced their accounts by noting that their own methods improved knowledge itself. Peter Heylyn (1600-1662), a fellow of Oxford's Magdalen College and later chaplain to Archbishop William Laud, as well as to Charles I and Charles II, explains the correspondence between the location and the course of events. In his 1621 *Microcosmus, or A little description of the great world*, he writes,

As Geography without History, hath life and motion, but randome,
& unstable; so History without Geography, like a dead carkasse
hathe neither life nor motion at all, and as the exact notice of the
place addeth a satisfactory delight to the action, beautifulieth the

notice of the place.⁹⁴

Heylyn argues that history determines context and identity, while geography defines the spatial and temporal dimensions of human affairs; together they “crowne our hapiness,” but apart, “menace a shipwrack of our content.”⁹⁵ His “content” includes the substance and significance of information as well as the pleasure of understanding – a view of knowledge that combines intellectual perception with personal experience. Without a full setting, Heylyn writes, historical events scatter like so many isolated facts and broken links, making a shambles of meaning and a piecemeal account of the past. This interconnection between geography and history introduces the treatise’s section on historical knowledge – “The Generall Præcognita of History” – and begins his analysis of historical writing with a theoretical and critical understanding. In *Microcosmus*, interpretation – Heylyn’s view that history is for the good of the present – is based on relations between events or actions and the context of place. His intention, accordingly, is to replace a loose chronological listing of incidents with an integrated story of events understood with respect to a location’s singular social and political dimensions. All narrative details of the world’s different cultures and regions, consequently, are imagined in comparison to England’s

⁹⁴ Heylyn’s discussion is part of his definition of history and review of the types of writing that record history. See Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus, or A little description of the great world: A treatise historicall, geographicall, politicall, theologicall* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short printers to the famous Vniversitie, 1621), 16.

⁹⁵ Heylyn, *Microcosmus, or A little description of the great world: A treatise historicall, geographicall, politicall, theologicall*, 16. *Microcosmus* was reissued in 1625, 1627, 1629, 1631, 1633, and 1636. In 1652 the volume was amended and greatly expanded as *Cosmographie*. It was reissued in 1657, 1665, twice in 1666, 1669, 1670, twice in 1674, 1677, and 1692. See Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four books: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas, and isles thereof* (London: Printed for Henry Seile . . . , 1652). The new edition more than doubled the original 418-page octavo to over 1,100 pages.

accustomed contexts and values.

Heylyn wrote his geographical history while at Oxford, probably in conjunction with his lectures on historical subjects in the liberal arts curriculum at Magdalen College. Begun in 1618, the lectures structure the larger account of history and the great mass of historical information according to geographical regions.⁹⁶ Heylyn taught descriptive rather than mathematical geography, and he composed *Microcosmus* as a historian, relying on both ancient and modern sources as approved textual authority. British compendiums formed the foundation of the sections on new world history, and well-known European writers were used for continental history. British sources, however, constituted the majority of his citations, particularly formulating descriptions of the New World in the familiar language of the old.⁹⁷ England's

⁹⁶ Geography was part of knowledge in universal learning and was not taught as a separate discipline until the 1880s. See Charles W. T. Withers and Robert J. Mayhew, "Rethinking 'Disciplinary' History: Geography in British Universities, c.1580-1887," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17 (2002): 15-16; E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934), 138-39. Also see Cormack's study for the development of geography in English universities from 1580 to 1620. Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 17-47.

⁹⁷ Mayhew counts some 1,650 citations. British sources were used for 50 percent of citations on the African section and 88 percent on the Americas. Seventy-five percent of the latter citations were taken from George Abbot's *A briefe description of the whole worlde*, first published in 1599, and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, first published in 1613. See Robert Mayhew, "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600-1800," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004): 256-60. Also see George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole worlde: Wherein is particularly described, all the monarchies, empires, and kingdomes of the same: with their seuerall titles and scituations thereunto adioyning* (London: Printed by T. Iudson, for Iohn Browne, and are to be sould at the signe of the Bible in Fleete-streete, 1599); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage. Or Relations of the vvorlde and the religions obserued in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation vnto this present: In foure partes. This first containeth a theologicall and geographicall historie of Asia, Africa, and America, with the ilands adiacent. Declaring the ancient religions before the Floud . . . With briefe descriptions of the countries, nations, states, discoveries, priuate and publike customes, and the most remarkable rarities of nature, or humane industrie, in the same* (London: Printed

peoples are differentiated from other Europeans and New World inhabitants alike, enlisting an English frame of reference and a familiar binary system to validate elite ideals of Englishness as primary authorities. Heylyn's introductory metaphor comparing history without geography to a "dead carkasse," for example, places geographical meaning within a common analogy describing accepted English social order.⁹⁸ The teleological link connecting the body of god with the king and the body politic confirmed that nature itself was evidence of divine agency. Just as history ordered geography, so geography equipped history with its natural body and foundation in the cycle of social and religious life.

Unlike Heylyn's scholarly history, John Smith (1580-1631) published his *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* in 1624 as the eyewitness account of an

by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613).

⁹⁸ Heylyn's metaphor may have been inspired by the poem prefacing Purchas's contents page of his nine books:

The Body of this Booke is *HISTORIE*,
Clad in quaint garments of *GEOGRAPHIE*,
Adorn'd with Jewells of *CHRONOLOGIE*,
Fetch't from the Treasur's of *ANTIQUITIE*,
The *better part* thereof, *THEOLOGIE*,
Soule of the World, Religious *PIETIE*
Adds life to all and gives *ETERNITIE*.

Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 6v. However, the pairing of history and geography, again with reference to the body, as an advertisement for maps and descriptions of the physical dimensions of the world is also found in Thomas Blundeville's 1589 treatise on cartography. In the note to the reader he explains, "Wherefore, somewhat to instruct those that haue not studied Geography (without the knowledge thereof me thinkes that the necessarie reading of Histories is halfe lame, and is neither so pleasant, nor so profitable as otherwise it would be) I thought good to write this little Treatise." See Thomas Blundeville, *A briefe description of vniuersal mappes and cardes, and of their vse: and also the vse of Ptholemey his tables. Necessarye for those that delight in reading of histories: and also for traueilers by land or sea* (London: Printed by Roger Ward, for Thomas Cadman, 1589), A2v.

experienced and reliable observer.⁹⁹ Smith's description of history and geography was probably closely borrowed from Heylyn, but changed to express an economic equation rather than a social or religious order.¹⁰⁰

Before we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted: for as Geography without History seemeth a carckasse without motion; so History without Geography, wandreth like a vagrant without a certaine habitation.¹⁰¹

Smith reverses Heylyn's order of history and geography, characterizing geography without

⁹⁹ Involved in the settlement of Jamestown, Smith wrote one of the early descriptions of the colonies. Although described as a first-hand account, in several sections of his treatise he relied heavily on other manuscripts, a writing practice consistent with that of contemporary chroniclers. See John Smith, *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles; with the names of the adventurers, planters, and governours from their first beginning an: 1584. to this present 1624. With the proceedings of those severall colonies and the accidents that befell them in all their journeys and discoveries. Also the maps and descriptions of all those countryes, their commodities, people, government, customes, and religion yet knowne. Divided into sixe bookes* (London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes, 1624).

¹⁰⁰ The social analogy between man and nature was also reworked as an economic metaphor in other contexts. At about this time William Laud, for example, preached a sermon before the opening of parliament where he argued in favor of monies for the king and royal prerogative rule. Laud expressed the king's position in the natural hierarchy – as well as funds necessary for his rule – as part of an economic analogy: “The King is the sun. He draws up some vapours, some support, some supply from us. It is true; he must do so. For, if the sun draw up no vapours, it can down no rain, and the ‘earth’ may be too hard, as well as too soft and too ‘melting.’ Now this rain which descends, and is first caused by the sun, is prepared in the clouds before it falleth on the earth. And all great men that are raised higher than the rest, especially judges and magistrates of all sorts, they are the clouds. They receive the more immediate influence from the King; and if they be God’s clouds, and retain what He gave them, they ‘drop fatness’ upon the people. But if they be ‘clouds without water,’ they transmit no influence.” See “Sermon IV. Preached before his majesty, on Sunday, the 10th of June, 1625, at Whitehall. Appointed to be preached at the opening of the parliament.” William Laud, William Scott, and James Bliss, *The works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Sermons* (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1847), 1:101.

¹⁰¹ The relationship between history and geography introduces Smith's fifth book, “The Generall History of the Bermvdas, Now called the Summer Isles, from their beginning in the yeere of our Lord 1593 to this present 1624. with their proceedings, accidents and present estate.” See Smith, *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, 40.

history as the “carckasse” and describing the effects of history without geography as a material threat to customary material well-being. Where Heylyn envisioned an unstable but general result, Smith introduces a specific social risk: together history and geography imply civic and economic success; apart, geography is without life and history without home. The medieval idea of the fraudulent beggar (the undeserving poor) further undermines the legitimacy of any narrative unsupported by a contextual record. Smith’s metaphor argues for an integrated chronicle by associating his methodology with the sanctuary of a long-established location and the surety of a firm social fabric; otherwise the bad consequences of loose or lawless ramblings prevent authentic knowledge.

Explaining that direct observation supplies validity, and thus authority, to historical accounts, Smith claims that his own history is a trustworthy and full record of events.¹⁰² His description of the land verifies his chronicle of events that, in turn, supports the geographic detail: each part serves as both a proof and a rationale for the other. Such reports, corroborated by geographical knowledge, combined the authenticity of personal experience with customary forms of knowledge and traditional means of deduction. They were repeated in literature throughout the seventeenth century and contributed to the expression of English identity by restating social and intellectual conventions in contemporary settings.¹⁰³ The use of concrete description thematized

¹⁰² For the use of veracity established by the eyewitness in sixteenth-century travel writings, see Mary B. Campbell, *The witness and the other world: exotic European travel writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 211-54.

¹⁰³ With respect to the formation of national identity see the outline of Robert Sibbald’s atlas project for Scotland. He plans to discuss the formation of its peoples’ manners and historical traditions, as well as the distinctiveness of the terrain. Sibbald (1641-1722), geographer royal in Scotland beginning in 1682, used many contributors and pertinent unpublished material. Sir Robert Sibbald, *An account of the Scottish atlas, or, The description of Scotland ancient & modern: by His Sacred Majestie’s special command to be published presently by Sir Robert*

ideas underlying English social belief; local detail served as evidence of specific truth, supporting larger truths as well. The precise and particular thus borrowed the consequence of greater knowledge and were reified by the virtue of English custom. For both Heylyn and Smith, distinctions of place acted as a location's stage and the apparatus of staging – a theater for history's necessary contextual framework and a perspective for its interpretation and meaning. In the accounts of both writers, the geography and history of the known world were explicitly relational to England and were organized as the progressive development of English measure and order.

Writers relied on analogies expressing English customs to promote new knowledge within the system of England's rights and privileges, and painters too drew on similar representations of geography and history to express political process, territorial extent, social order, and economic prosperity. Images of crown parks and palaces along the Thames and their proximate landscapes advertised the longevity of social and political institutions. Further, they stood as products and practices of a common history within a specific context of time and place. They blended action and setting, seamlessly linking royal properties to great urban centers where, without the disadvantages of want or waste, the carefully regulated land gave a notion of a prospering civic space. Landscapes measured by cultural gain and progressive growth supplied proof of the country's social and economic welfare, and the palace, as the operative component

Sibbald D.M. His Majestie's physician in ordinary, and geographer for his ancient kingdom of Scotland (Edinburgh: Printed by David Lindsay, Mr. James Kniblo, Josua van Solingen, and John Colmar, 1683). Charles W. J. Withers discusses the development of geography in early modern England, particularly the connections concerning England's overseas empire, the empirical method, and learning. Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography, Science and National Identity in Early Modern Britain: The Case of Scotland and the Work of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722)," *Annals of Science* 53 (1996): 29-73.

of the setting, determined both the authority and the wealth of a specific reign. Combined with the surrounding territory, the crown residence was one of a number of touchstones of an enduring past – it prompted the remembrance of a shared tradition and lent to topographical views a historical context. As with the histories of Heylyn and Smith, landscape paintings of royal properties illustrate territory through a built environment, supplying a chronological record to narrate defining cultural information – in effect, they produce an image formulating historical awareness.

These contextual associations configured significant past events as part of the visual construction of the nation's present, and they were used to imagine places in far locations just as easily as they pictured renowned sites in England's densely populated centers. Like the palaces along the Thames, royal castles of northern England and Scotland served as subjects for paintings of views, again referencing the specifics of history and geography to devise a conceptual matrix. As old strongholds, they supplied the advantages of extended histories, important lineages, and ancient architecture; near England's northern border, their remote settings drew on the appeal of spare, mountainous, and isolated territory. In painted views the sparse landscape of the north, distinguished by sections of unbroken terrain and the suggestion of uncharted physical boundaries, still drew on the history of legitimate succession. A number of landscapes from the 1630s feature the massive castellated stone fortifications of Yorkshire and Scotland.¹⁰⁴ Painters show long asymmetrical elevations that detail medieval form and the north's traditions of castle building, but also portray evidence of ongoing construction – a story of change that indicates the contemporary representation of power.

¹⁰⁴ Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," 278.

Four paintings remain from a series of ten northern castles commissioned by Charles I from the Dutch painter Alexander Kierinx in 1639. The inventories of the King's Goods describe these works in two groups: "39: Two. landscape after ye life. being Kings houses. of Scotland, done by Carings."; "44. And 8 pictures of Kings houses & townes in Scotland done by Carings."¹⁰⁵ Charles I rented a studio in Westminster for Kierinx and his fellow Dutch artist Cornelius Pollenburg in 1636, and it was probably there that Kierinx finished his paintings for the king from drawings done on site.¹⁰⁶ Kierinx may also have produced other work for Charles during his residence at this workshop – inventories of the Royal Collection from 1639 list several paintings purchased directly from the artist by the king. Additionally, the inventories of Whitehall Palace record a variety of landscapes by both Kierinx and Pollenburg.¹⁰⁷ Most of Kierinx's series of Scottish palaces, however, hung at Oatlands, Henry VIII's large country seat

¹⁰⁵ Inventories compiled in 1649 describing the goods of the royal family list "130. Pomfrett Castle." One painting of Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire is in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court and another is in the Hepworth Wakefield City Art Gallery, Wakefield, North Yorkshire. Both are the same view of the castle and produced in c. 1633-1639. Pontefract is likely among the eight views commissioned by the king. Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," 194, 278.

¹⁰⁶ P.R.O., E403/2758, f. 53v. Also see Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 11.

¹⁰⁷ The 1639 inventories of Whitehall by Abraham Van der Doort, keeper of the cabinet room, list three small landscapes by Pollenburg among the forty paintings in the king's privy chamber. These have as their subject matter, respectively, Diana and Calista, a lion's den, and a ruin with goat, cow herd, and five small figures. [B.M. Add. MS. 10112. f. 5, f. 6]. Van der Doort also records a pair of small landscapes by Kierinx – one with "some 4 buck and does" – brought from St. James Palace to the king's newly erected cabinet room in the privy chamber [Windsor MS., f. 21]. Among the large landscapes bought by Charles directly from Kierinx is Kierinx's largest painting executed, presumably, in England: "baecht bij te king auff Mister karings bing te largist pis Wij hi had done hir." Van der Doort reports it contains a great tree, a woods with dancing shepherds, and a saddled ass in a field. On the same page he also records: "flower landskipp peeces of one Bigness Being the Nordron towne payynted. bij stalbents drawings" [Windsor MS., f. 157]. These, he writes, are "kept in store in severall places and: are as yett unplaced" [Windsor MS., f. 121]. See Van der Doort and Millar, *Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I*, 63, 91, 160, 156.

in Surrey, originally acquired in 1537.¹⁰⁸ The landscapes of the two royal castles, *Falkland Palace* (fig. 1.6) in North Yorkshire and *Richmond Castle* (fig. 1.7) in Fife, are both 45.7 by 65.4 cm. and likely make up the first group in the inventories.

Although the paintings were executed from 1639 to 1640, they may have memorialized Charles's progress to Scotland in 1633 for his coronation. The visit – Charles's first return to Scotland since his early childhood, in 1604 – saw him crowned at the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh eight years after his succession to the throne.¹⁰⁹ But the ceremony itself, directed by Archbishop William Laud according to high Anglican rites, offended the Scots' Presbyterian beliefs and increased their distrust of the monarchy's rule by royal prerogative.¹¹⁰ By January of 1638 Scotland had issued the National Covenant as a protest to the king's religious reforms, particularly the enforced adoption of the Book of Common Prayer and canons for the uniformity of the Scottish kirk.¹¹¹ While the Scots claimed loyalty to the king, their

¹⁰⁸ Corsham MS., f.2v. is headed: "in ye Kings Galleries at Oatlands." Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," 278.

¹⁰⁹ Maurice Lee, Jr., *The road to revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 126-42; Loades, *Politics and Nation: England 1450-1660*, 340-442; Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England*, 312-15.

¹¹⁰ Charles I was crowned king of Scotland in a ceremony at the Abbey Church directly adjoining Holyroodhouse. For a description of the Anglican rites and ceremonies during the coronation, see John Spalding, *The history of the troubles and memorable transactions in Scotland and England: from 1624 to 1645*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: [Printed by Ballantyne], 1828), 1:17.

¹¹¹ John Row's contemporary account describes Charles's offenses to Presbyterian beliefs and objections to the service book. John Row, *The historie of the Kirk of Scotland, M.D.LVIII.-M.DC.XXXVII. By John Row, minister of Carnock. With additions and illustrations. By his sons*, ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. ([Edinburgh]: Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842), 2:500-09. For the full text of the Scottish National Covenant, see William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson [and] Isabel A. Milne, *A source book of Scottish history*, 3 vols. (London; New York: Nelson [1952-54]), 3:95-104. For the Scottish Book of Common Prayer, see Gordon Donaldson, *The making of the Scottish prayer book of 1637* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1954), 39-42. Also see Allan I.

loyalty to custom and Presbyterianism proved greater: the Covenant bound Scotland to a social contract that preserved the laws and liberties of the kingdom and effectively justified revolt against the English monarchy. In the autumn of 1638 Scotland was close to open rebellion; in the winter of 1639 Charles I actively prepared for war.¹¹² He assembled forces in York against the Scots, but in two successive campaigns was unable to overcome the Covenanters' army, failures that contributed to the destabilization of England by undermining Charles's already unpopular religious, fiscal, and political policies.¹¹³ The English defeat in 1640, the presence of the Scottish army in the north of England, and the fear of popery, as well as civil unrest from both undisciplined soldiers and rioting artisans, furthered widespread social conflict.¹¹⁴ In addition, the Scottish uprising provided parliamentarians with the security of a sympathetic military force and

MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1991), 157-72; Peter Donald, "The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics, 1638-1640," in *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, ed. John Morrill, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 90-105.

¹¹² Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 788-802; Ester S. Cope, *Politics without Parliaments, 1629-1640* (London: Allan and Unwin, 1987), 123-210. For a contemporary account of the Scottish proceedings, see the description of James, the third marquis of Hamilton (1606-1649). James, Duke of Hamilton, *The Hamilton papers: being selections from original letter in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, relating to the years 1638-1650*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner ([Westminster]: Printed for the Camden society, 1880), 3-60. Also see James Balfour's account. Balfour (1600-1657) was a historian and herald, taking a part in the arrangements for Charles's 1633 coronation in Scotland. James Balfour, *The historical works of Sir James Balfour*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: [Printed by W. Aitchison], 1824), 2:294-304.

¹¹³ David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637-49* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2004), 20-25; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 914-21.

¹¹⁴ See Bulstrode Whitelocke's critical summary of the Scot's agenda in his history of the period at the close of "Anno 1638." Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English affairs, or, An historical account of what passed from the beginning of the reign of King Charles the First, to King Charles the Second his happy restauration: containing the publick transactions, civil and military: together with the private consultations and secrets of the cabinet* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Ponder . . . , 1682), 28-29.

with a viable model for rebellion.¹¹⁵ For many of his subjects, the king no longer symbolized the shape of the nation and was far from representing an idealized union of church and state.¹¹⁶

It was during this challenge to royal rule that Kierinx carried out his commission, commemorating Charles's Scottish heritage, documenting the origins of the Stuart dynasty, and celebrating the crown's loyal supporters.¹¹⁷ The king's control of his Scottish kingdom was, particularly at this time, an important element of the image of his divine right to rule. Like the imagery in the early portraits of royal palaces along the Thames, Kierinx depicts a landscape

¹¹⁵ Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 44-68; Allan I. MacInnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2005), 93-97. Also see Heylyn's contemporary account from a royalist perspective. Peter Heylyn, *Aerius redivivus, or, The history of the Presbyterians: containing the beginnings, progress and successes of that active sect, their oppositions to monarchial and episcopal government, their innovations in the church, and their imbroyments of the kingdoms and estates of Christendom in the pursuit of their designes: from the year 1536 to the year 1647* (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Printed for John Crosley, and are to be sold in London by Thomas Basset . . . , 1670), 427-30.

¹¹⁶ Lawrence Stone, for example, explains that although no one in 1640 thought of abolishing the monarchy, the desire to reform political and social institutions was widespread. The dissolution of parliament meant a challenge to the gentry and aristocracy; the increase in the royal bureaucracy and regulations threatened artisans, and arbitrary taxation drained all classes. See Lawrence Stone, *Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 49-57, 114-153.

¹¹⁷ *Seton Palace*, the fourth surviving painting from Kierinx's series of ten, also celebrates the Stuart heritage. Located several miles from Edinburgh in East Lothian on the coast of the Firth of Forth, the castle dates to the twelfth century and was built by one of the Stuart dynasty's longtime defenders and Scotland's most powerful families. Deborah Howard points out that Seton Place had undergone a prolonged process of building phases that was viewed as part of the family's history. In the early seventeenth century the seventh Lord Seton replaced the old castle with one of the largest and most luxurious Renaissance palaces in Scotland. Mary I was often entertained there and the palace provided a retreat for Charles on his coronation tour. Deborah Howard, "Scotland's 'Thrie Estates,'" in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 55-57. Also see Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651," 278.

representing civic order against a background of dynastic succession.¹¹⁸ The paintings of Charles's northern castles similarly adapt the landscape iconography of royal authority to the specifics of the region: each repeats the distinctive and little-changing rural landscape of the north and the antiquity of individual medieval strongholds. High perspectives and distant horizons flatten rugged land, reduce detail, and dwarf human occupation; cool skies and wind-worn hills describe a severe and ancient terrain. In *Falkland Palace*, earth tones color both the medieval town and the eleventh-century Norman keep, merging the village, like a rocky outgrowth, with the larger Yorkshire landscape. Probably constructed by Alan Rufus (d. 1089) on territory granted by William the Conqueror, the keep was built on a steep rise above the River Swale to serve as England's northern defense.¹¹⁹

In Kierinx's depiction, its two massive towers and high curtain wall seemingly stand much as they did when completed by Henry II (reign 1154-1189) in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Castellated walls and flanking towers maintain an architectural continuity with the original functions of protection and security, while the castle's dominant visual presence advertises a great landed base, wealth, and ruling lineage. Kierinx especially shows the isolation

¹¹⁸ See Sharpe's discussion of Charles's relationship to the Scots. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 772-75. Also see Keith Brown for the division between the Scottish aristocracy and the English court. Keith M. Brown, "The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38," *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 554-56, 565-68, 574-76.

¹¹⁹ The castle's origins are uncertain, but it was likely constructed after William the Conqueror ceded land to Alan Rufus, a count and kinsman from Brittany, who fought with William at Hastings. There are no existing primary documents for the transfer of land to Alan Rufus. William Farrer and Charles Travis Clay, eds., *Early Yorkshire Charters: The Honour of Richmond*, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4:ix, 83-84, 94-95. John A. Goodall, *The English castle, 1066-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 78-91. Charles Reed Peers, *Richmond Castle, Yorkshire* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1953), 3-16; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: the West Riding* ([Harmondsworth]: Penguin Books, 1967), 293-94.

common to this remote northern landscape: cultivated fields lined with hedgerows radiate from the castle and town, yet only a few small figures travel the path to the right, and just a scattering of houses stand on the river's cold banks. Although the castle was not maintained as a defensive structure after 1500, Richmond still signaled the military power and display important to early post-conquest builders.¹²⁰ It's antiquity could be borrowed to celebrate the Stuart's royal history and six generations of their rule.

Richmond Castle, the pendant of *Falkland Palace*, illustrates a later acquisition by the Stuart monarchy and one that underwent a successive series of renovations. Falkland dates to the twelfth century, but it first came into Stuart possession in the fourteenth century as a hunting retreat, and it was not until 1453 that James II of Scotland began the process of refurbishing the original stronghold as a royal estate.¹²¹ Between 1501 and 1542, James IV and James V replaced the medieval castle with a Renaissance palace, and Falkland became the country residence of the Stuart kings and queens.¹²² After his marriage to Madeleine de Valois, the daughter of François

¹²⁰ See antiquarian John Leland's comments on Richmond's deterioration. During his tour of the region, he reported: "The castle is nere hand as much as yn cumpace as the circuite of the town walles. But now it is in mere ruine." John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, parts VII and VIII, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, vol. IV (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), Part VII, 25.

¹²¹ For the building campaigns and improvements to Falkland Castle, see John G. Dunbar, "Some Aspects of the Planning of Scottish Royal Palaces in the Sixteenth Century," *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 16, 21-23; John G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell, 1999), 21-37; Philip Sked and Jim Proudfoot, *The Royal Palace of Falkland* (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1983), 2-8; John Gifford, *Fife* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), 212-17.

¹²² For building records during 1531-1532, 1537-1538, 1538-1539, 1539-1541, and 1558-1594, see respectively, and Henry M. Paton, ed., *Accounts of the Masters of Works for building and repairing royal palaces and castles* (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), 1:112-14, 203-21, 243-63, 269-88, 297-98.

I^{er}, James V's renovations followed the architectural precedent of the French court and included courtyard facades based on new classical plans and ornaments. Yet, portrayed from the southeast, *Richmond Castle* emphasizes both the house's vertical and horizontal dimensions, as well as the two towers of the gatehouse and the tiered buttresses of the chapel. Consequently, in Kierincx's portrayal an idea of the residence's medieval character is retained, and the rectangular sixteenth-century plan, the French-inspired decorations, and the new ashlar facade are downplayed.¹²³ The history of the palace is read through an exaggerated accretion of roof lines moving up the wide valley to the right; the deer park and wood stand at its back and the small village sprawls to the left. Golden fields surround the palace, rolling into golden mountains in the distance. To direct the viewer, several onlookers, themselves enjoying the scenery, gesture toward the prospect beyond their vantage point on the high foreground hill. Below, small figures closer to the heart of this outlying community dot the many lanes leading to town and palace.

Both *Falkland Palace* and *Richmond Castle* present harsh and sparsely populated regions where the audience, far above the landscape, is introduced to the perspective by travelers – at the left in *Falkland Palace* and to the right in *Richmond Castle*. Kierincx thus frames the two paintings as a pair and establishes the king's domain as a seemingly limitless panorama. Just as the paintings extend space, so they span time. Fields worked communally serve both properties, indicating a pattern of usage and landholding prescribed by an old feudal network of obligations, rights, and duties – a system that still defined virtuous and legitimate rule and connected

¹²³ James V employed French and Flemish carvers for castle ornaments at Falklands. See the mason accounts in the Scottish Office of Works records between 1537 and 1541. Paton, ed., *Accounts of the Masters of Works for building and repairing royal palaces and castles*, 1:196-234, 235-63, 264-292.

authority to landownership.¹²⁴ Such associations invested landholding with the force of hereditary rule and advertised the family's presence throughout the region. The castle, once a necessity for the preservation of the surrounding territory, is here presented as a fixed and monumental sign of power – a microcosm expressing the benefits of political protection, social order, and economic security – in effect, a physical manifestation of continuity and succession whose very permanence validates and guarantees its symbolic consequence.¹²⁵

As late as 1632 Sir Robert Kerr (c. 1578-1654), later first earl of Ancrum, expressed the same values when he wrote to his eldest son William, third earl of Lothian, on proposed renovations to Ancrum House in Roxburghshire, Scotland, originally built by Sir Robert's grandfather in 1588.¹²⁶ He advised William to remodel the house and grounds to ensure comfort and status, but Sir Robert also cautioned that several medieval elements should be retained for both the security of the household and the nobility of the estate:

But the Tower, which to beginne with, I would have yow for your

¹²⁴ Although Scotland had a heritable nobility in line with the English peerage, it also maintained a system of landholding organized along feudal principles. The Scots, like the English, held land from the crown in freehold, but additionally held land as heritable feus that were subject to subinfeudation and could be conveyed to others for a variety of reasons, including to kinsmen as rewards for loyalty or to associates as security on loans. Such lands were traditionally owned and farmed in a feudal manner – a common custom in Scotland, yet a system that fell out of practice in England by the seventeenth century. See MacInnes's description of Scottish feudalism and Charles's revocation scheme – a revocation of landed titles and jurisdiction by royal prerogative that was meant to secure revenue for the crown, but showed no understanding of – or regard for – the complexity of Scottish landed traditions. MacInnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660*, 87-92.

¹²⁵ See, for example, Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and plan in the country house: from castle donjons to Palladian boxes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008), 2-6.

¹²⁶ James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots peerage; founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's peerage of Scotland; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom*, vol. 5 (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1908), 461, 464-74.

present vse, because yow meane to sommer there next yeare, God willing, to make the roome vnder the hall your ordinair eathing roome; not weakening the walls there, by stryking out new wyndowis, butt taking away the partitions, that all the 3 lights as these are, may meet in the center, and so yeild light aneugh, being only glas'd and kept as theye are, strong in the syde, because the world may change agayne.¹²⁷

Above all, the strength of the outer tower walls should be preserved to assure the castle's defensive function in the event of adverse political turns.¹²⁸ The plans for renovating the house thus accommodated the luxuries and comforts representative of a powerful family, but were mitigated by the potential for conflict and the history of wars and raids involving the border regions. Although Sir Robert had been appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber and keeper of the privy purse upon the succession of Charles I, by 1632 the Scottish parliament was increasingly uneasy about threats to its customary liberties.¹²⁹ Like other strongholds in the borderlands between Scotland and England, Ancrum House was still strategically important,

¹²⁷ Letter dated 20 Dec. 1632. Robert Kerr Ancram, William Kerr Lothian, and David Laing, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian* (Edinburgh: [Printed by R. & . R. Clark], 1875), 62-63.

¹²⁸ Sir Robert describes his plan for the Ancrum House's principal rooms – “principall fyre roomes” and “easy lodgings to lodge a great man” – which would adjoin the tower, but he reiterates: “For yow must alwayes remember never to weaken the tower, but leave it as strong as yow can, to keepe in a mister [as a requirement] for a sure staying house, with iron gate befor and another in the pitt door, and all the yron wyndowes kept in.” Kerr, Kerr, and Laing, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian*, 66.

¹²⁹ Sir Robert also held the position under James I, maintaining his strong royal allegiances; William, however, later became a leader of the covenant movement. Robert Chambers, ed., *A biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen*, 4 vols. (London: Blackie and son, 1835), 1:315-16. For changes in Scotland's rights and privileges see Charles I's acts of revocation from 1625 to 1633. Dickinson, Donaldson [and] Milne, *A source book of Scottish history*, 3:66-79. For Scotland's objections see Scotland, Privy Council, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd Series (Edinburgh: His Majesty's General Register House, 1877), 1:220-21, 230-32.

particularly because of its proximity to Edinburgh.¹³⁰

Later in his letter Sir Robert addresses the aesthetic and cultural importance of Ancrum House's medieval features:

By any meanes do not take away the battlement, as some gave me counsale to do, as Dalhoussy your neighbor did, for that is the grace of the house, and makes it looke lyk a castle, and henc so nobleste, as the other would make it looke lyke a peelee.¹³¹

The battlement, he argues, places the house within the tradition of great castle-building and distinguishes it from the mere utilitarian appearance of a minor fortified keep. Designed to combat short sieges, peel towers could still be seen in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, as well as Scotland, but they were connected directly with a system of small defensive measures and not with the administrative functions or the power and authority of important castles.¹³² The castle, conversely, still operated as a permanent and physical expression of jurisdictional domain, signaling the military and economic force behind sovereignty. Its defensive and offensive structures linked the castle to both the history of feudal power and the nobility of fortified palaces, and the visual record of successive building campaigns was evidence that registered the family's continued strength through time.

¹³⁰ For the building of castles and fortified towers in the border regions of Scotland, see Kitty Cruft, John G. Dunbar, and Richard Fawcett, *Borders* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 41-46.

¹³¹ Kerr, Kerr, and Laing, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancrum, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian*, 64.

¹³² Although the peel – like a castle or large tower house – relied on visibility, it was part of an auxillary network of protection and referenced the continued territorial conflicts in northern regions. For an account of the peel, see Henry M. Paton's discussion of these small defensive towers. Scottish Record Office and Henry M. Paton. *Accounts of the Masters of Works for building and repairing royal palaces and castles* (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), lxiii.

In addition to the architecture's traditional martial components, Sir Robert includes new features that associate the appearance of Ancrum House with the grounds of distinguished English and French estates. In designs for the parks and gardens he specifies tree-lined allées, regular walkways, and walled roads, as well as gardens in the English style where the sun allowed.¹³³ He intends separate routes for guests and workers, creating a formal approach that visually would define the grandeur of the castle and the worth of the estate:

Now for your vtter court and the approaches to your house, which are most materiall; yow must have a speciall regard to them, to make them fayre and easy and noble and pleasand as the ground will afford, for yow must not contract them now, but rather extend them to a forme sutable to your quality; nether is it to be donne all together, butt as yow may overtake it, leaving alwayes place for a better resolution.¹³⁴

All approaches to the house were to be either renovated or built anew as a continuous endeavor and as time and resources permitted, but Sir Robert's plan had two immediate objectives. First, he required a palace and parkland that met expectations of splendor and ease according to the dictates of English and French estate design. And second, he wished the retention of those architectural features that registered the interests of Scotland: the battlement drew on aristocratic references to the Scottish past, and the tower maintained protections for the family's future. Both of Sir Robert's concerns – historical continuity and present social standing – were consequential in formulating and advertising qualifications for lordship, and through both he defined the symbolic value of the castle and its material significance in contemporary social and political

¹³³ Kerr, Kerr, and Laing, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancrum, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian*, 66, 70, 73-75.

¹³⁴ Kerr, Kerr, and Laing, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancrum, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian*, 67.

life. The house's traditional military function and its new aesthetic features were especially important because Kerr was elevated to the peerage when Charles I was crowned at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in 1633.

For those who commissioned and collected vistas of castles protecting northern regions and palaces built along the Thames, the views offered commanding perspectives, picturing royal dominion as both a corporeal resource and historical precedent. The mass and height of crown properties still dominated the landscape and served as controlling visual features. They expressed the king's undivided sphere of influence, in particular, but also illustrated the economic and defensive strongholds that maintained and legitimized political control.¹³⁵ By incorporating views of all the eye could see, paintings of castles and palaces included a series of cultural references that shaped an orderly and prosperous commonweal. And, as the basis of this civic well-being, they projected the grandeur of a powerful monarchy. In the deep perspectives of northern castles, the sheer size of fortified enclosures measured accumulated power and the strength of rule; in views of the palaces along the Thames, the deer parks, walkways, and pleasure grounds provided space for aristocratic recreation, acting themselves as sites of heritable privileges and rites. The high walls formed a barrier for protection as well as privacy, screening crown residences from the surrounding territory and defining hierarchically distinguished space. As state monuments grounded in land with a long past, royal houses formed an increasingly significant component of

¹³⁵ Even after the execution of Charles I, the description of Richmond Palace from the parliamentary survey emphasizes the view: "Memorandum that the structure last mentioned is leaded and battayled and hath upon it fourteen turrets all covered with lead standing a convenient height above the said leades which turrets very much adorne and set forth the fabrick of the whole structure and are a very gracefull ornament unto the whole house being perspicuous to the Country about." Surrey Archaeological Society, *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*, 78.

visual culture and representation. Rather than referencing a single reign, landscapes of crown estates called upon the historical imagination and the expanse of tradition to construct overarching images commemorating English rule.

Records of the land: the value and the use of prospects, maps, surveys, and perspectives

Where paintings presented aesthetic portrait, other methods of visually representing the land expressed more practical and material aspects of property, identity, and influence. Maps, or “plats,” produced by surveyors, engineers, and painters often employed by the King’s Works, for example, contain perspectival depictions of cities, ports, and royal palaces. Although they rely on technological information and descriptions, like depictions of crown residences, they also institute a standard conception of the landscape. They systematize important geographical knowledge, including building practices and strategic features, as well as regional, geological, and cultural characteristics. As early as the 1530s, schemes for the defense and renovation of harbors and manors used bird’s-eye perspectives to portray the relationship of the land to the built environment. John Rogers, surveyor and military engineer to Henry VIII, drew topographical surveys in which aerial or overviews of estates, fortifications, harbor, and towns configured the requirements of specific locations.¹³⁶ While Rogers’s isometric plats were often precisely detailed to illustrate the architecture of building projects and plans for defensive

¹³⁶ Four drawings for the Hull Manor House by John Rogers and dated from 1542 are in London, in the collection of the British Library. Acquired by Henry VIII in 1539, the manor of Hull was important for defense against an increasing threat from France and Spain. See, for example, BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.ii.f.13, a bird’s-eye perspective of the manor commissioned from Rogers for improvements to the manor. Among Rogers’s many projects as a military engineer for Henry VIII, he also drew plans for fortifications at Ambleteuse and Boulogne, as well as harbor improvements at Sandwich and Folkestone. See Lonnie Royce Shelby, *John Rogers: Tudor Military Engineer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 33-44, 114-115; plates 5, 6, 13, 16-22.

structures, other perspectives offer a more general idea of territory. Both, however, depict the shape of the land as a political unit, and both visualize the importance of place.¹³⁷ In 1532, for instance, one of many plans (fig. 1.8) to remedy the tidal silting of Dover's harbor was commissioned by the Dover Corporation from Henry VIII's painter, the Italian artist Vincenzo Volpe.¹³⁸ The elaborate design portrays an imagined dual harbor and small bay with its two jetties configured to control the deposits of shingle. Like other plans for Dover, Volpe's perspective is a bird's-eye view of the harbor, with coastline, cliffs, beach, town, castle, and walls united by a generic landscape setting. Although these plans reduce the topography to a nonspecific and schematic program, they also combine a number of visual systems of representation – surveys, plats, perspectives, and elevations – and constitute the largest source of English landscape imagery in the sixteenth century. Methods of construction and organization, however, are inconsistent, and information is arranged to suit distinct defensive, economic, administrative, or

¹³⁷ Peter Barber argues that maps were used for such practical purposes as warfare, strategic planning, and navigation, but also for propaganda. The 1547 and 1549 inventories of royal palaces taken after the death of Henry VIII show that maps were found exclusively in those royal residences used for administration and for pageantry, ceremony, and receptions, specifically Whitehall, Greenwich, Hampton Court, and St. James. See Peter Barber, "England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court to 1550," in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 26-43.

¹³⁸ Volpe's plan (BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.19) is among the many plans of Dover Harbor that represent a continuous effort to safeguard the harbor from deposits of shingle, mud, and silt driven by the channel tides. The harbor was important for its defensive location on the English Channel and as a communication hub for English possessions on the continent. Other bird's-eye drawings for improving the harbor include: BL Add. MS. 11815a; BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.22,23; BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.45; BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.46. Rogers's plan (BL Add. MS. 69824) is also in the collection of the British Library and, like Volpe's drawing, combines a number of different perspectives: Also see P. D. A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: The Public Records Office and the British Library, 1993), 33-37; William Minet, "Some Unpublished Plans of Dover Harbour," *Archaeologia* 72 (1922): 185-224. For BL Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.19, see Colvin, ed., *The history of the King's works*, 4:731-32.

judicial purposes and thus the needs of individual patrons. Yet these plans relate the value of land controlled by its location, boundaries, environmental, and defensive strengths and weaknesses, commercial potential, and historical importance – all factors that could be described through topological surveys and involve new technologies of representation.

Beginning in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, collections of printed county maps, sold both singly and organized into atlases, presented visual topographical information according to a geographic theme and in a uniform format.¹³⁹ Such atlases as John Speed's *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* also combined a spatial representation of political power with one of cultural identity by assembling a range of geographical accounts: bird's-eye perspectives of notable towns; perspectival drawings of churches, historical monuments, or crown palaces; short descriptions of significant places, events, or artefacts; illustrations of celebrated local antiquities; and the heraldic shields of a region's dukes and earls, as well as insignias of important officials, divines, or dignitaries.¹⁴⁰ First published in 1612, Speed's atlas

¹³⁹ See, for example, John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae. The first parte an historicall, & chorographically description of Middlesex. Wherin are also alphabetically sett downe, the names of the cyties, townes, parishes hamletes, howses of name &c. With direction spedelie to finde anie place desired in the mappe & the distance betwene place and place without compasses* [London: Printed at Eliot's Court Press, 1593]; Christopher Saxton, [*Atlas of the counties of England and Wales*] [London: s.n., 1580?].

¹⁴⁰ The atlas of John Speed (1552-1629), mostly engraved by Jodocus Hondius the Elder in Amsterdam, was reissued in 1613, 1615, 1616, 1623, 1627, 1645, 1650, 1665, 1667, 1689, and 1693, with a Latin edition in 1616 and a French edition in 1693. Speed included detailed maps with descriptions of each county – important events and primary characteristics – on the reverse. With its many forms of visual information, it could be read as a narrative of the history, geography, character, and culture of the British Isles. In his "Preface" he writes that this endeavor is inspired by "the zeale of my Countries glory." For the first edition see, John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England* (London: By William Hall and are to be solde by Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, 1611). For a bibliography of

was produced as a supplement to his *The history of Great Britaine*, but the collection of maps proved the more popular volume, probably because of the general interest in illustrations, as well as the variety of pictorial material included with the maps.¹⁴¹ In addition to his own surveys, Speed compiled information from a range of well-received publications, including town, city, and county plans from Christopher Saxton, William Cunningham, Ralph Agas, William Smith, and John Norden, among others.¹⁴² Although these bird's-eye surveys and maps qualified and quantified property as visual imagery, they also included nuances of economic and social distinction, indicating ancestry and hereditary rights and even certifying the possession of land and the privileges of landed estates. Speed's map of Surrey (fig. 1.9), for example, shows the arms of the county's peers and the major cities, forests, and estates, as well as portraits of the famed crown palaces, Nonsuch and Richmond.¹⁴³ In his map of Middlesex (fig. 1.10), the four corners hold overviews of Westminster and London and depictions of St Peters (Westminster

Speed's editions, see R. A. Skelton, *County atlases of the British Isles, 1579-1850: a bibliography* (London: Carta Press, 1970).

¹⁴¹ The two volumes were produced to complement each other and are paginated consecutively. See John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans: Their originals, manners, warres, coines & seales: with ye successions, lives, acts & issues of English monarchs from Iulius Caesar, to our most gracious soueraigne King Iames* (London: William Hall and John Beale to be solde by Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, 1611).

¹⁴² Speed often cites credit for his information, including William Smith in the map of Cheshire, John Norden in Surrey, Sussex, and Middlesex, and Christopher Saxton in Norfolk. Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fols. 9, 29, 35, 69, 73. Also see Victor Morgan's discussion on the development of the idea of the country in sixteenth and seventeenth-century maps of England. Victor Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Fifth Series, 29 (1979): 135-49; Christopher Saxton, *Christopher Saxton's 16th century maps: the counties of England & Wales*, intro. William Ravenhill (Shrewsbury: Chatsworth Library, 1992).

¹⁴³ *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 11.

Abbey) and St Pauls.¹⁴⁴ In the maps of other regions, notable local sites and important institutions stand in for royal properties and monuments. Stonehenge is included in the map of Wiltshire; the arms of the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford border the respective maps of Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire.¹⁴⁵

Other visual information relays historical events and regional resources. Descriptions of famous battles along with small vignettes of military forces are a feature of eighteen of the forty-two English county maps. But only three of the forty-two omit plans of important cities or towns.¹⁴⁶ Although Speed devised various methods of relating a county's history, depictions of urban centers were a standard descriptive element of a region's geographical and commercial advantages. Locations on rivers identify communications and trading routes; they record the extended benefits of strategic situations, show patterns of growth, and imagine new possibilities of wealth. Even ancient defenses in the form of castles and town walls define a settlement's political base and its administrative strength. In county and city maps it is this visual representation of a town's ability to draw residents that is emphasized over written information.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 29.

¹⁴⁵ *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fols. 25, 37, 45.

¹⁴⁶ Maps for Berkshire, Cumberland, Durham, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Sussex, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire include small battle scenes. Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fols. 9, 35, 39, 47, 51, 53, 55, 61, 63, 65, 69, 71, 83, 87, 93. Only Berkshire, Surrey, and Yorkshire, lack city plans, the first two because they have large insets of crown castles or palaces and the latter because no auxiliary information is depicted. Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fols. 11, 27, 77.

¹⁴⁷ For example, in the county map of Gloucestershire, Speed describes the city of Bristol as standing upon the River Avon: "A towne of great Marchandise The Chiefe kay standeth vpon ye lesser River called Froome which ebbeth & floweth some: times 40. foote in height bringing in Shippes of very great burden." Although visual information on city plans consistently illustrates the commercial potential of a town's geographical location, this is the only written description of

The inset panorama of London (fig. 1.11) in Speed's introductory map, "The Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland" (fig. 1.12), for example, is adapted from Norden's extended prospect of the city in *Civitas Londini* (fig. 1.13), possibly published in 1600. But Speed eliminates Norden's inset maps of London and Westminster and crops the wide panorama to show the river's dynamic and the city's tight expansion along its course.¹⁴⁸ From a vantage point just south of London Bridge and the church of St Mary Overy at Southwark, the Thames is allowed as much pictorial space as the capital city itself. In Speed's abbreviated view, familiar bell towers and spires rise against the skyline – with St Pauls on the left and the Tower on the right – but it is the momentum of the river itself that activates London, emphasizes the symbolic power of its monuments, and celebrates the advantages of the city's access to the sea. Speed positions the

a favorable trading situation. Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 47.

¹⁴⁸ Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 1. The copy of Norden's *Civitas Londini* (368 mm x 1251 mm) is held in the Royal Library, Stockholm, Maps and Pictures Section, De la Gardie Collection: *View of London in 1600 by John Norden*, "This description of the moste famous citty, London, was performed in the yeare of Christe, 1600, and in the yeare of the moste wished and happy raigne of the right renowned Quene Elisabeth, the fortye and two. Sir Nicholas Moseley Knight being Lorde Maior and Roger Clarke and Humphrey Wylde sherifes of the same." A facsimile (350 x 1220 mm.) was published by the London Topographical Society in 1961. John Norden, *Civitas Londini by the industry of Jhon Norden*, no. 94 (London: London Topographical Society, 1961). There is no imprint on the map and the date of publication is uncertain. The inset plans of London and Westminster were taken from Norden's county history of Middlesex. At the time county histories were termed chronologies and contained genealogical information about important families and antiquarian information, as well as geological and geographic information. John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae. an historicall, and chorographicall discription of Middlesex, wherein are also alphabeticallie sett downe, the names of the cyties, townes, parishes, hamletes, howses of name and c., with direction spedilie to finde anie place desired in the mappe and the distance betwene place and place without compasses, Cvm privilegio the first parte* ([London]: [s.n.]). Gordon suggests that the print commemorates the procession of the Lord Mayors of London and thus represents the city of London and civic space, rather than the monarchy. Andrew Gordon, "Performing London: the map and the city in ceremony," *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 80-84.

bridge and the architecturally defined waterway as an ever-advancing grid of cultural and commercial channels and, moreover, illustrates the famed emblems of church and state as the fabric of the prospering city.

In his inset of Edinburgh (fig. 1.14), conversely, the sparse population, mountainous terrain, and regional isolation characterize Scotland's capital by its distance from England's urban heart. The high surrounding hills and protective fortified walls bound the city by first its geography and then its civic frame. With Holyroodhouse Palace on the left and the medieval castle on the right, Speed's view of Edinburgh from the west is an old one that fixes the city in time and circumscribes it according to both history and location. Speed may have adapted this prospect from a c. 1544 drawing (fig. 1.15) that celebrates an English attack on Edinburgh in the same year.¹⁴⁹ The drawing divides the relevant information into two topics illustrated by their respective geographic areas. Atop the foreground hills, the site of the battle and the formation of troops show English offensive maneuvers, and in the background, the bird's-eye perspective of Edinburgh distinguishes its seclusion and its rather inadequate or outmoded defensive structures. Speed repeats the plan of this early city map and also omits Edinburgh's proximity to the sea – thus he lessens the city's impact by reducing its geographical advantage, the number of its buildings, and the size of its urban infrastructure. In Speed's view, the city's isolation dominates

¹⁴⁹ The drawing (432 x 254 mm.) depicts the attack led by the Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford and later duke of Somerset, after which a large part of Edinburgh was sacked and burned. Published by the Bannatyne Club, the drawing is now in the collection of the British Library – Cotton MS. Augustus I.ii.56. The drawing was in the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1361) and available for use by Cotton's contemporaries. For the c. 1544 drawing of Edinburgh, see *Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), 1:183-84. For early maps of Edinburgh, see William Cowan and Harry R. G. Inglis, *The Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh*, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 35 (1919): 315-17.

the prospect, especially as opposed to his portrait of London as a flourishing international port.¹⁵⁰

The economic and cultural reach of Speed's city map insets is meant to identify the individuality of a region and the national superiority of England as a whole. Speed, however, also differentiates the English both socially and politically by depicting Scotland and Ireland as inferior in civilization's important achievements. In "The Kingdome of England" (fig. 1.16), the second map in his atlas, he illustrates the dress of four classes of English society, showing pairs of men and women representative of the nobility, the gentlemanly classes, the citizenry, and countrymen.¹⁵¹ In comparison to these ideal portraits of England's citizenry, the map of Ireland (fig. 1.17) contains just three stereotypes of Irish inhabitants – those that are gentle, civil, and wild.¹⁵² Where the English display elaborate and detailed finery, all the Irish wear undifferentiated

¹⁵⁰ A later bird's-eye view of Edinburgh, published in 1582 by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenburg, shows the more typical prospect of the city from the south. Although the view here is exaggerated and inaccurate in its proportions, it portrays the countryside surrounding the city as divided by an orderly pattern of cultivated fields, and it registers the city's growth, recording the extension of the protective walls (map no. 5 in vol. 1, *Civitates orbis terrarum*). See Georg Braun, Franz Hogenberg, and R. A. Skelton, *Civitates orbis terrarum, 1572-1618*, 3 vols. (Cleveland: World Pub. Co., 1966): 1:no. 5.

¹⁵¹ Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 5.

¹⁵² The English had long considered the Irish lazy, brutish, and cruel. See, for example, the c. 1188 account of Gerald of Wales. Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Containing the Topography of Ireland, and the History of the Conquest of Ireland*. Rev. and ed., with additional notes by Thomas Wright (London: George Bell, 1887), 75-78. In the sixteenth century, Lucas de Heere, working in London while in exile from the Southern Lowlands, presents a less harsh view. In De Heere's short description of England, Scotland, and Ireland, he includes many illustrations of English men and women from different eras. A series of pages from the Elizabethan era show a Lord Mayor, an alderman and a liveryman (f. 30r). On the next page, he illustrates, a Member of Parliament, a Lord of the Order of the Garter, and a guardsman (f. 31r). Four English woman are also portrayed from the same period: the wife of a London burger, the wife of a wealthy London burgher and her daught, and a country woman (f. 33r). In comparison De Heere illustrates only four people from Ireland in sixteenth-century dress: a noble woman, a burger's wife, and two wild Irishman (f. 34r). I have followed De Heere's pagination. Lucas de Heere, *Corte Beschryuinghe van Enghekanssd, Schotland, ende Irland*, c. 1570s, watercolor. London, British Library, ADD MS 28330.

cloaks.¹⁵³ Their highest rank lacks rich materials and elegant accouterments, and their lowest is presented as brutish in dress, gesture, and bearing: the Irish population at large is mirrored as a degenerate pattern of England's orderly classes.¹⁵⁴ In these small portraits the claim to power is explicitly pictured with respect to birthright and status, and political control is experienced according to an appropriate hierarchy. Speed's map of Scotland (fig. 1.18), however, relates status through a more subtle scheme that marks the recent accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England. Speed illustrates the map with portraits of James I, Queen Anne, and their sons, Prince Henry and Charles, the duke of York – an image that, after the union of crowns in 1603, reiterates the authority of the English crown over multiple dominions and the practice of absentee English rule from London.¹⁵⁵ Through various types of spatial illustrations, the atlas constructs a system of representation where identity is defined by familiar graphic boundaries; knowledge, ownership, or authority regarding other countries is determined according to those

¹⁵³ English portraits of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries customarily feature colorful clothing with long waists and thin sleeves, which are constructed from luxurious and richly embroidered fabrics. Gowns and jackets are set off with jewels and large starched ruffs or high lace collars. See, for example, *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel* (214.6 x 133.4 cm), c. 1618, by Daniel Mytens (London, National Portrait Gallery); *The Countess of Arundel* (214.6 x 133.3 cm), c. 1618, by Daniel Mytens (London, National Portrait Gallery); *Charles I* (219.1 x 152 cm), 1628, by Daniel Mytens (Royal Collection); *Queen Anne of Denmark* (265.4 x 208.3 cm), 1617, by Paul van Somer (Royal Collection). The style is similar to the dress in many of the portraits by William Larkin from the second decade of the seventeenth century. It is a style that adapts the portrayal of decorative embellishments and jewels popular in court paintings of the reign of Elizabethan I. See Larkins' portraits in the the Werner Collection at Kenwood House, London..

¹⁵⁴ Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 137.

¹⁵⁵ Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 131. See Zaller's discussion of the debate over the unification of England and Scotland. Zaller, *The discourse of legitimacy in early modern England*, 317-27.

boundaries.¹⁵⁶

The historical and geographical background in Speed's atlas also devises a consistent cultural context and a similar framework for each region, envisioning a county as a unit of government and promoting the ancestry of its leadership. Spatial metaphors chart hierarchies and correspondences between the parts and the whole; they configure membership and territory, mixing conceptual and physical patterns or modes of representation. Graphic depictions of the land thus encapsulate local experience within a national ideology, and notions of a larger English heritage fit into a personal identification with a specific region. The ways of belonging to regional locations include portrayals of familiar geological features, old patterns of settlement, the network of roads and rivers long traveled, and communities known through the rhythms and habits of daily life. These illustrations structure political and social relations through fixed arrangements of space, and again by that system, establish proof of those relations. Additionally,

¹⁵⁶ Speed extended his atlas to parts of the world that were open to English influence when he published world maps in combination with his maps of Great Britain. John Speed, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the vworld: Viz. Asia, 3 Affrica, 5 Europe, 7 America. 9 VVith these kingdomes therein contained, Grecia, 11 Roman Empire, 13 Germanie, 15 Bohemia, 17 France, 19 Belgia, 21 Spaine, 23 Italie, 25 Hungarie, 27 Denmarke, 29 Poland, 31 Persia, 33 Turkish Empire, 35 Kingdo: of China, 37 Tartaria, 39 Sommer Ilands, 41 Ciuill Warres, in England, Wales, and Ireland. You shall finde placed in the beginning of the second booke marked with these [3 asterisks in triangle formation] and (5) Together with all the prouinces, counties, and shires, contained in that large theator of Great Brittaines empire* (London: Printed by Iohn Dawson for George Humble, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1631). In 1676 the idea and scope of England's empire was again extended, and her importance as a colonial power was given greater emphasis with the publication of maps of the Americas, Russia, and the East Indies. John Speed, *An epitome of Mr. John Speed's theatre of the empire of Great Britain: And of his prospect of the most famous parts of the world. In this new edition are added, the descpitions of His Majesties dominions abroad, viz. New England, New York, 226 Carolina, Florida, 251 Virginia, Maryland, 212 Jamaica, 232 Barbados, 239 as also the empire of the great Mogol, with the rest of the East-Indies, 255 the empire of Russia, 266 with their respective descriptions* (London: printed for Tho. Basset at the George in Fleet-street, and Ric. Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1676).

the synthesis of contextual information is comprehensive enough to appeal to pride in both local and national membership, and from the author's objective, to develop an audience and a patronage base for every area of England.

In the mid-seventeenth century, bird's-eye perspectives of both private estates and crown castles also became popular illustrations for English county histories, as well as engravings for written descriptions of gardens, palaces, and towns.¹⁵⁷ Among the drawings produced by Wencelaus Hollar for a wide range of engraved books was an aerial and panoramic view of Windsor Castle (fig. 1.19) that recorded the full particulars of the castle within its village setting.¹⁵⁸ Published in 1659 to illustrate Elias Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter*,

¹⁵⁷ Robert Thoroton (1623-1678) uses many of Wencelaus Hollar's engravings of churches, towns, and houses for his history of Nottingham, which includes descriptions of the county's monuments, villages, and notable families. See, in particular, the prospect of Newark, the prospect of Ossington House, and the prospect of Nottingham. Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire: extracted out records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures* (London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock, 1677), 202-03, 358, 488. Many other publications also included maps, panoramas, and bird's-eye perspectives of famed towns, cities, and geographical areas. For example, David Loggan (1635-c. 1700) published a book of engravings of the University and colleges of Oxford. See David Loggan, *Oxonia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ stius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, scholarum publicarum, Theatri Sheldoniani, nec non urbis totius scenographia* (Oxonæ: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1675). Some years later he also published a similar series of views of Cambridge: David Loggan, *Cantabrigia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ istius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ academicæ, scholarum publicarum, sacelli coll. regalis: nec non totius oppidi ichnographia* (Cantabrigiæ, 1690).

¹⁵⁸ Hollar engraved a number of views of Windsor that were published in Elias Ashmole's history of the Order of the Garter, which was founded by Edward III in c. 1348 and dedicated to St. George. See Elias Ashmole, Wenceslaus Hollar, and William Sherwin, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter collected and digested into one body by Elias Ashmole* (London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke, 1672), 132. For the manuscripts used by Ashmole (1617-1692) and appended in part to his history on the Order of the Garter as well as its early foundation, see the study by Lisa Jefferson. Lisa Jefferson, "MS Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter MS," *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 356-385.

Hollar's work identifies England's first order of chivalry with the prestige and heritage of its spiritual home, and thus describes the order through its attachment to the royal court. The engraving's perspective, decorative detailing, and geographic context convey the three-dimensional monumentality of the castle – its forms and mass – in proportion to the surrounding town. But Hollar's engraving also carries social and aesthetic values, graphically recording the might and chronicle of England's monarchy: the keep, St George's Chapel, the series of towers, and the lodgings of England's kings and queens constitute a small city and are likened to the iconography of urban panoramas and plans. Hollar's combined views show both Windsor's rise into the sky and its advance across the land – an expression of power and grandeur where the history and strength of the crown could be read as a visual relationship of architecture to earth.¹⁵⁹ Through size alone, Hollar shows that imposing presence transfers tangible consequence to symbolic representation.

To the English audience, the bird's-eye perspective would have been known from Italian, French, and Lowlands examples, but more commonly from traditional estate surveys and contemporary English surveying manuals.¹⁶⁰ In these it is promoted as a means of registering and

¹⁵⁹ In his regional map of Berkshire, Speed also includes a long panorama of Windsor Palace, where services in St George's Chapel were held for the Order of the Garter. Speed lists founding members of the order and portrays James I with the garter, the order's insignia. Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, fol. 27.

¹⁶⁰ Continental examples include: Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le premier volyme des plus excellents bastiments de France.: Auquel sont designez les plans de quinze bastiments, & de leur contenu: ensemble les eleuations & singularitez d'un chascun* (Paris: Pour ledit Jacques Androuet, du Cerceau, M. D. LXXVI [1576]). Italian architectural monuments were also engraved by Antonio Lafreri and bought either singly or assembled in collections of engravings by travelers to Italy. Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae: Omnia fere quacunquē in urbe monumenta extant, . . .* (Romae: [Drucker:] Lafreri, [ca 1575]). An engraving of Honselaarsdijk (415 x 449 mm), c. 1637, by Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode is in the House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collection Trust, The Hague. See Marijn Schapelhouman, Peter van

organizing information, not the least of which is documenting the visual sum of a landed estate.

In John Norden's manual, *The surueyors dialogue*, first issued in 1607 and reissued in 1610, 1618, and 1758, he explains that surveying an estate is the foundation of increased revenue and that land itself is the basic unit of wealth.¹⁶¹

And that especially, by iustly atchieuing, and rightly vsing
Dominion and Lordship: which principally growe, (omitting
publique office and authoritie) by Honors, Mannors, Lands, and
Tenants: for according to the largeness of revenues, are the meanes
to enable the Honourable, to shelter the vertuous distressed, and to
cherish such, as by desert may challenge regard.¹⁶²

der Coelen, and Jan van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: van kunst tot kastpapier*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, [2006]), 124-25. English surveying manuals include the following: John Norden, *The surueyors dialogue: Diuided into fiue bookes: very profitable for all men to peruse, that haue to do with the reuenues of land, or the manurance, vse, or occupation thereof, both lords and tenants: as also and especially for such as indeuor to be seene in the faculty of surueying of mannors, lands, tenements, &c.* (London: Printed by Simon Stafford for Hugh Astley, dwelling at S. Magnus corner, 1607); Aaron Rathborne, *The surueyor: in foure bookes* (London: Printed by W: Stansby for, W: Burre, 1616). English surveys of private estates include: Lord Cheney's estate at Toddington, Bedfordshire, drawn up by Ralph Agas in 1581 (BL, Add. MS. 38065 H); Edmund Tirrel's estate at Plumberow, Essex, drawn up by Israel Ames in 1579 (BL, Harley MS. 6697, f.19); Sittingbourne, Kent, by Christopher Saxton, 1590 (BL, Add. MS. 50189). A list of surveying manuals is included in H. C. Darby's study of estate surveying. H. C. Darby, "The Agrarian Contribution to Surveying in England," *The Geographical Journal* 82 (1933): 534-35.

¹⁶¹ In 1610 Norden expanded his manual with an additional book that discussed the importance of the survey to the land purchaser. The edition was issued in several variant versions. See John Norden, *The surueyors dialogue: very profitable for all men to peruse, but especially for all gentlemen, or any other farmar, or husbandman, that shall either haue occasion, or be willing to buy or sell lands: as in the ready and perfect surueying of them, with the manner and methode of keeping a court of suruey with many excellent rules, and familiar tables to that purpose. As also, the true and right vse of the manuring of grounds, or occupation thereof, as well in the lords, as in the tenants: being the true facultie of surueying of all manner of lands and tenements, &c. Diuided into sixe bookes by I.N* (London: Printed by I. W[indet] for I. Busby, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstanes Church yard in Fleetstreet, 1610). For Norden's surveying career, see Frank Kitchen, "John Norden (c. 1547-1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker and Devotional Writer," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 51-54.

¹⁶² Norden, *The surueyors dialogue*, A3v.

According to Norden, land founds authority and power: large yields guarantee high revenues, allowing such honorable service as aid to the deserving poor. For the landowner, it was the accretion of land and the exercise of virtue that brought nobility associated with hereditary lordship. Norden writes to advertise his expertise and to promote land systems designed to increase agricultural outputs. In part, his professional standing rests on his appointment by James I as the surveyor of the king's woods and forests in southern England, as well as the surveyorship of the Duchy of Cornwall. Norden introduces schemes that will multiply the yields of unproductive land and raise the rents on low valuations – promising both without economic hardship to other classes in the agrarian hierarchy.¹⁶³ Norden's surveys for the king were similarly devised to produce new evaluations to raise revenue, but the crown still mediated tenant disputes with landowners who enclosed common land.¹⁶⁴ The policy increased the income basis of the king while limiting arbitrary land appropriation by the aristocracy, in effect supplying the crown

¹⁶³ For Norden's patronage, see Kitchen, "John Norden (c. 1547-1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker and Devotional Writer," 44-58.

¹⁶⁴ See E. M. Leonard's discussion of the mediation of common field enclosures by commissioners appointed to represent commoners, and the crown's efforts to prevent enclosure. E. M. Leonard, "The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 19 (1905): 114-16, 123-30. Also see Roger J. P. Kain, John Chapman, and Richard R. Oliver, *The enclosure maps of England and Wales, 1595-1918* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-16; Maurice Beresford, "Habitation versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement," in *Essays in the economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England, in honour of R.H. Tawney*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 40-69. Jess Edwards, *Writing, geometry and space in seventeenth-century England and America: circles in the sand* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 80. For a history of estate surveying, see Andrew McRae. He argues that surveying promoted land improvement and a capitalistic view of the land by supplying a measurable way to maximize value. Andrew McRae, "To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of the Land in Early Modern England," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 56 (1993): 333-57. Also see McRae's discussion of contemporary estate literature. Andrew McRae, *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 189-97.

with a broader means of political and economic control. Norden thus upholds a traditional social order and argues that good land management arises from the responsibilities of a customary hierarchy. In turn, the proper exercise of power and the maintenance of place assure the spiritual and material base of the entire societal structure. To support this ideal, *The surveyors dialogue* is framed in the genre of dialogues as a conversation between a surveyor and a farmer: on the one hand, the farmer poses naive objections to estate surveys, complaining of the enclosure and alienation of land, and on the other hand, the surveyor provides learned responses, explaining the economic and social benefits of land improvement for the commonwealth at large.¹⁶⁵

In *The compleat surveyor*, a later surveying manual first published in 1653, William Leybourn (1626-1716) translates the resources of the estate into a pictorial record, which promises to visually demonstrate the power of landownership.¹⁶⁶ However, unlike Norden's *The surveyors dialogue*, Leybourn's manual relies less on preserving feudal privileges or instilling social divisions than on celebrating his client's landed holdings.

¹⁶⁵ Norden explains how revenues are determined: "Where are to bee considered the Quantities, and Qualities of Land, with the present Rents, and estimate values, by a reasonable improvement." Yet, he reminds the reader: "that how great or powerful soeuer he be in lād reuenues, it is brought in vnto him by the labours of inferiour tenants: yea, *the King consisteth by the field that is tilled.*" And he admonishes: "And not to seeke the increase of reuenues so much for vaine glories, as for vertue maintenance." See pages 3, 4, and 5 of Norden's unpaginated "The Epistle to the Reader." Norden, *The surveyors dialogue*.

¹⁶⁶ Klein discusses contemporary cartographical literature, including surveying manuals, arguing that such literature both described and produced the space of the public world. Geometric rationalization, images expressing economic and political values, and a range of narrative frameworks organized cultural knowledge. Klein further sees a tension between social and economic functions – between the practical or economic dimensions of the estate map and its expression of social values and privileges of rank. The market value of the estate, however, was always an element of the social power of ownership and always figured in the degree of status. See Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the writing of space in early modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 42-52.

These things being well performed, your plot will be a neat Ornament for the Lord of the Mannor to hang in his study, or other private place, so that at pleasure he may see his Land before him, and the quality of all or every parcell thereof without any further trouble.

Also in your plot must be expressed the Mannor-house according to its symetry or situation, with all other houses of note, also Water-mils, Wind-mils, and whatsoever else is necessary, that may be put into your Plot without confusion.¹⁶⁷

Leybourn's "plot" (fig. 1.20) envisions a manor in both its political and physical dimensions, first identifying it by name and its owner by heraldic device, then indicating its appearance, scope, direction, and degree. The estate itself is understood as an emblem of wealth: enclosed fields mark boundaries, measure holdings, and record size; tenant farms, accordingly, suggest ancient rights of ownership. After visually cataloguing its social and economic benefits, Leybourn describes the aesthetic function of the estate map as an ornament and a picture of lordship. The map itself relies on a symmetrical pattern, with all information radiating from the house, or heart, of the estate: arms, title, compass, and scale are rationally ordered at the property's margins. Surrounding fields create a skein signifying numerous farms or many types of crops, but the estate boundaries imply single ownership and not communal rights. Roads from the gate connect the estate to neighboring communities and differentiate entryways for guests from pathways for workers. Farm houses, similarly, are relegated to the outer borders, imaging a view unimpeded by

¹⁶⁷ William Leybourn, *The compleat surveyor containing the whole art of surveying of land by the plain table, theodolite, circumferentor, and peractor: together with the taking of all manner of heights and distances, either accessible or in-accessible, the plotting and protracting of all manner of grounds, either small inclosures, champion plains, wood-lands, or any other mountainous and un-even grounds: hereunto is added, the manner how to know whether water may be conveyed from a spring head to any appointed place or not, and how to effect the same: with whatsoever else is necessary to the art of surveying* (London: Printed by R. & W. Leybourn, for E. Brewster and G. Sawbridge, 1653), 275. Leybourn's *The compleat surveyor* was reprinted in 1657, 1674, 1679, and 1722.

lesser buildings and the mundane business of agriculture. As promotions for the services of surveyors, such illustrations were designed to specify the value of the estate where the aesthetics of presentation were an integral component of representation.

A high overall perspective remained an ordering system that could easily inspire the pleasures of ownership by graphically designating the bounds of private space and the extent of landed power. In organizing the structure of that space, the bird's-eye view both described and established customary processes of power.¹⁶⁸ Various means of pictorial definition identified place, territory, and situation; they measured the specifics of a site and space as geographical components that shaped ways of imagining personal and national ambitions. Maps, plats, surveys, and perspectives laid out degrees of status and arrangements of wealth, as well as the look and limits of cultural identity. These spatial configurations imposed like constructions by disseminating visual formats throughout a wide public arena. As legal instruments, such documents could be used in courts of law in conjunction with written records to attest to rights and ownership.¹⁶⁹ As ornamental objects, they formed part of a house's decoration, and with

¹⁶⁸ Morgan discusses the rise of graphic representation in maps and surveys as resulting, in part, from the need for professional surveyors in land management and defense, as well as technological advances in land measurement, a market for maps among the elite, and the development of a central government. Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England," 134.

¹⁶⁹ There are several instances where visual documentation was most likely introduced in judicial proceedings as supplementary material to illustrate written records. In c. 1588, for example, an anonymously produced map of mills on the River Trent (BL Cotton MS Augustus I.i.65) was probably drawn to support a court case involving a newly cut channel that reduced the water level of the river and left mills without their energy source. Also see Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent maps: power, propaganda and art*, exh. cat. (London: The British Library, 2110), 106-07. In another example, the bird's-eye perspective of Wotton Underwood, c. 1565, was also probably commissioned to provide evidence in judicial proceedings. The survey illustrates the boundaries and common area of the villages of Wotton Underwood and Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire (San Marino, The Huntington Library, ST Map 26).

paintings, sculpture, and other furnishings contributed to the account of possession and achievement.¹⁷⁰ The graphic representation of the land, thus, presented material wealth, political relations, and aesthetic values as credible representations of historical and individual worth. But of equal importance, these illustrations assembled a quantity of information in a uniform and orderly format – they contributed to the conventional use of visual patterns where common estate features could immediately identify and weigh assets, and they confirmed issues of geography and property critical to defining an estate's value.

The boundaries of property, decorum, and rank: the precepts of building

The idea of possession developed in visual schemes, especially with respect to social and

¹⁷⁰ In 1592 Friedrich I (1557-1608), duke of Württemberg, visited Theobalds, the country palace of Elizabeth's powerful first secretary, William Cecil, the first Lord Burghley. The duke of Württemberg's secretary, Jacob Rathgeb, described the journey and recorded the duke's comments on the decoration of Theobalds, including the large map of England exhibited in Burghley's hall: "There are so many other spacious halls and fine galleries in this splendid palace, with artistic paintings and correct landscapes of all the most important and remarkable towns in Christendom, as well as tables of inlaid-work and marble of various colours, all of the richest and most magnificent description. In another hall is depicted the kingdom, with all its cities, townes and villages, mountains and rivers; as also the armorial bearings and domains of every squire, lord, knight and noble who possesses lands and retainers to whatever extent. In short, all the apartments and rooms are adorned with beautiful tapestries and the like to such a degree that no king need be ashamed to dwell there." William Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth & James the First. Comprising translations of the journals of the two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610; both illustrative of Shakespeare. With extracts from the travels of foreign princes and others, copious notes, an introduction, and etchings* (London: J. R. Smith, 1865), 45. In another example of the aesthetic and political value of maps, the Sheldon family owned four tapestry maps (Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire) of their property between the Bristol Channel and London. Commissioned in the late 1580s by Ralph Sheldon, the tapestries were originally displayed at Weston, their country residence near Long Compton, Warwickshire, and provide geographical and social information on the Midland counties, illustrating castles, churches, great houses, towns, villages, farms, fields, hills, rivers, forests, windmills, bridges, and roads. The Sheldon Tapestry Map of Warwickshire is in the collection of Warwickshire Museum Service and on display at the Market Hall Museum, Warwick. Sections of the tapestries depicting Oxfordshire and Worcestershire are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

political dimensions as they relate to sight, is discussed by Henry Wotton (1568-1639), courtier and ambassador to Venice for James I. In his treatise, *The Elements of Architecture*, first published in 1624, Wotton describes the prospect or “seate” of a building as a significant aspect of a building’s situation.¹⁷¹ As he explains, the element of ownership contains considerations of vision in which aesthetic and political aspects merge.

Some againe may be said to bee *Optical*? Such I meane as concerne the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*: which I will call the *Royaltie* of *Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship* of (as it were) of the *Feete*, wherein the Master doth much ioy when he walketh about the *Line* of his owne *Possessions*: So there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye* which being a raunging, and Imperious, and (I might say) an *usurping Sence*; can indure no narrow *circumspection*; but must be fedde, both with extent and varietie. Yet on the other side, I finde vaste and indefinite viewes which

¹⁷¹ Wotton served as ambassador to Venice from 1604-10, 1616-19, and 1621-23. See Pearsall Smith, *Henry Wotton, Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 1:46-193. Wotton’s 1624 manual on architecture was the first such treatise to be published in English. Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: Printed by Iohn Bill, 1624). This edition was first reprinted in Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonaianae. or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems; with Characters of Sundry Personages: And Other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art* (London: printed by Thomas Maxey, for R. Marriot, G. Bedel, and T. Farthwait, 1651). The *Reliquiae Wottonaianae* was reprinted in 1654, 1672, and 1685. In 1649 a Latin edition was translated from the 1624 first edition and was included in De Laet’s edition of Vitruvius as the first commentary. See Henry Wotton, “Elementa Architectura, Collecta ab Henrico Wottonio, Equite,” in *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem*, ed. Ioanne de Laet (Amsterdam: Ludovicum Elzevirum, 1649). A further English edition appeared in 1723 and a reprint in 1733, in John Evelyn, *Parallel of the antient architecture with the modern, in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cataneo, L. B. Alberti and Viola, Bullant and De Lorme, compared with one another. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray. To which is added, An account of architects and architecture, With Leon Baptista Alberti’s treatise of statues. The third edition, with the addition of The elements of architecture; collected by Sir Henry Wotton and also other large additions* (London: printed by T. W. for D. Browne, J. Walthoe, B. and S. Tooke, D. Midwinter, W. Mears, and F. Clay, 1723). For a publication list of *The Elements of Architecture*, including abridged and partial texts, see Frederick Hard, “Introduction,” in Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture. A facsimile Reprint of the First Edition (London, 1624)* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), lxxxiv-lxxxv.

drowne all apprehension of the vttermost *Objects*, condemned, by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure (whereof we speake) did perish. Lastly, I remember a priuate *Caution*, which I know not well how to sort, vnlesse I should call it *Political*. By no meanes, to build too neere a great *Neighbour*; which were in truth to bee as vnfortunately seated on the earth, as *Mercurie* is in the Heavens, for the most part, euer in *combustion*, or *obscuritie*, vnder brighter beames then his owne.¹⁷²

Wotton speaks of siting a house in terms of its prospect, expressly one that carries an idea of completeness, where ownership is formulated as a practice of power – as a usurping eye and a lordship of vision.¹⁷³ In the hierarchy of sense perception, he implies a rational ordering rather than the random influence of natural appetites. He argues that although the senses underpin aesthetic ideals, they arouse and elevate the emotions and here encourage a nobility of possession. Borrowing the language of divinely inspired honor, virtue, and power, Wotton raises his celebration of property to the level of spiritual contemplation. Ownership, similarly, is defined in relation to kingship: a prospect delivers a range of vision as a component of title within the mind's eye. Meeting both intellectual needs and emotional desires, it further offers a variety of scenery to satisfy interest and a sweep of territory to confirm rank. To oversee is an act of power as well as an enjoyment of space. Wotton contends that the breadth of perspective alone may overcome the material shortfalls of a property's physical boundaries, and a prospect of the land, consequently, must bear all benefits and privileges of ownership: not too curtailed to suggest the meager, nor too distant to diminish worth. It must be free from the visual oppression

¹⁷² After considering physical, astrological, and economic considerations of a prospect, Wotton turns to matters of vision and politics. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 4-5.

¹⁷³ Caroline van Eck discusses this passage in respect to the political function of classical architecture, its ability to effectively persuade, and especially to visually construct domain. See Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 95-97.

of larger neighbors and readily facilitate for its lord the imaginative fullness of title. In conclusion, he indicates that such a prospect also frees the senses from the consuming demands of any unfed appetites, principally by securing the liberty of property and position.

Wotton wrote *The Elements of Architecture* as a support of his application for the position of provost at Eton College after his return to England from Venice in 1623.¹⁷⁴ The treatise may have been a factor in his qualification for the provostship, because other candidates, such as Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Francis Bacon, were more prominent, although at the time their supporters enjoyed less influence at court.¹⁷⁵ Much of Wotton's knowledge of the arts was acquired during his three terms as ambassador, a time when he also served as an art advisor to scores of traveling Englishman. He bought paintings for James I as well as for the king's

¹⁷⁴ Smith, *Henry Wotton, Life and Letters*, 1:194-201.

¹⁷⁵ Wotton, for example, had the support of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham. Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), later the first viscount of Dorchester, was an ambassador and a diplomat. Although famed for intellectual contributions, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Viscount Albans, was an ex-Lord Chancellor, but at the end of his political career. Bacon nonetheless still had the support of the earl of Arundel. Other candidates included Sir William Beecher (1580-1561, a diplomate and clerk to the Privy Council, Sir Albertius Morton, Wotton's nephew and a diplomate and clerk to the Privy Council, and Sir Robert Ayton (1570-1638), a Scottish poet and the late Queen Anne of Denmark's secretary. Wotton won the position after a complex trade of positions and favors, from which Sir Dudley later received more valuable positions, including secretary of state. See Wotton's c. 1624 letters regarding *The Elements of Architecture*: to the duke of Buckingham, 404 and 409; to Charles, prince of Wales, and to the earl of Middlesex (Lionel Cranfield, first earl and Lord Treasurer), 405 and 406. Smith, *Henry Wotton, Life and Letters*, 1:283-87. Also see Linda Levy Peck, "Benefits, brokers and beneficiaries: the culture of exchange in seventeenth-century England," in *Court, country, and culture: essays on early modern British history in honor of Perez Zagorin*, ed. Perez Zagorin, Bonnelyn Young Kunze, and Dwight D. Brautigam (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1992), 118-122; Linda Levy Peck, *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 62-67; Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses or, a catalogue of the provosts & fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge, from the foundation in 1443, to the year 1797; with an account of their lives & preferments . . .* (Birmingham: Printed by T. Pearson, for Messrs. Cadell, jun. and Davies, London; J. Deighton, Cambridge; and M. Pote, Eton. 1797), 11-15.

courtiers, including Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, and George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham.¹⁷⁶ He, in fact, may have won Buckingham's support primarily through gifts of paintings acquired during his time abroad. As evidence of his knowledge, *The Elements of Architecture* was meant to demonstrate a command of classical precedent, and perhaps more astutely, an understanding of the rhetorical value of architecture as a social and political tool.¹⁷⁷ As a connoisseur and learned collector himself, Wotton compiled his treatise both from experience and his knowledge of art theorists, particularly Vitruvius ("Our principall Master"), but

¹⁷⁶ For Wotton as an art advisor and for letters regarding his own collection as well as the procurement of paintings for Salisbury, James I, and Buckingham, see respectively, Smith, *Henry Wotton, Life and Letters*, 1:57-60, 412, 419-20, 2:15, 210 note 1, 243 note 1, 256-58, 282.

¹⁷⁷ Even though Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* detailed a traditional idea of property and set out a classical architectural vocabulary in which a house would convey rank and identity on a European platform, it is unlikely that the treatise influenced English architectural practice. The 1624 edition was not reprinted in English until 1651, nor was it cited by those building or designing houses during the first half of the century. Little contemporary mention is made of Wotton's treatise, but when *The Elements of Architecture* was first published, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton: "He hath set out lately a book on Architecture which I have not leisure to read, but hear it reasonably commended, though at first I thought he had busied himself to little purpose, to build castles in the air." For Chamberlain's letter of April 10, 1624, see John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McLure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 2:552. At the beginning of the second half of the century, William Sanderson's treatise directly borrows from a number of passages in *The Elements of Architecture*. See, for example, Sir William Sanderson, *Graphice the use of the pen and pensil, Or, The most excellent art of painting: in two parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658), 2; Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 121. John Evelyn (1620-1706) also briefly cites Wotton in his *Sculptura*. See John Evelyn, *Sculptura, or, The history, and art of chalcography and engraving in copper: with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works: to which is annexed a new manner of engraving, or mezzo tinto, communicated by His Highness Prince Rupert to the authour of this treatise* (London: Printed by J. C. for G. Beedle and T. Collins, 1662), 24. Hard discusses Wotton's influence in the second half of the seventeenth century. See Hard, "Introduction," *The Elements of Architecture*, lxviii-lxxii. Also see Anderson's discussion on the influence of treatises in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 259-61.

he also wrote to provide “operative” or productive and practical guidance.¹⁷⁸ His preface explains that he intended to methodologically describe the architectural precepts governing historical usage and thereby establish criteria for aesthetic judgement; through classical examples he meant to encourage the development of a continental taste.¹⁷⁹ To this end he prescribes rules for building an important house that would convey the traditional ideals of state – the imitation of Italianate and antique art forms would place that tradition within the geographical and cultural sphere of educated Englishmen.¹⁸⁰

The introduction to the second part of *The Elements of Architecture* – the ornamentation of buildings – begins by describing the social meaning of a distinguished house:

Every Mans proper *Mansion House* and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his Sonnes *Inheritance*, a kinde of priuate *Princedom*; Nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*: may well deserve by these *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned.¹⁸¹

Wotton again defines the estate as a structure of relations expressing lordship, and appeals to a set of ideals going back to the early history of English nobility: patterned on the royal estate, an implicit series of obligations and honors determines authority according to the models of feudal order. To the lord of the manor – the heir of tradition – the house serves as a symbol of achievement and a setting for hospitality, fulfillment, and comfort, as well as a material and

¹⁷⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 1.

¹⁷⁹ Preface. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*.

¹⁸⁰ Eck discusses Wotton’s writing as a form of visual rhetoric which, not unlike other arts, is both practical and ideological. Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe*, 93-94.

¹⁸¹ See Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 82.

heritable manifestation of rank. Through stewardship, virtues were customarily conveyed in bonds of family, friendship, and service, where the well-run estate repeated the characteristics of the model state. Wotton positions the worth of the house, the virtue of its owner, and the security of his lineage within the stable hierarchy of this larger ordering process, a system of meaning that was a determinant and a result of status. The degree of social standing prescribes the degree of decorum, and both, he implies, represent the idea that the estate's circumstance is commensurate with its owner's exercise of power in the world.¹⁸²

To support his argument Wotton relies on several strategies common to discussions of geography and history found in the writings of John Smith and Peter Heylyn; in particular, he structures his description as direct observation supported by a knowledge of architectural history. As his account of an important prospect suggests, eyewitness evidence establishes credibility and introduces a framework for judgment, persuading the reader of the truth of his insight and his right to serve as an authority. But the aesthetic eloquence of Wotton's argument forms an additional type of credit; one thought to facilitate a creative response and thus support the reader's own ability to imagine the significance of a house's situation. Wotton builds on the affinities and resemblances between an elevated viewpoint and a high rank, transfiguring the contexts of physical and social acquisition. The discussion of a prospect also gains persuasive force from its source material – the renown of the authorities cited in *The Elements of Architecture* and the antiquity of many of those sources endorse Wotton's professional mastery of art and architecture. Accordingly, his definition of an important prospect could be confirmed

¹⁸² In his later explanation of decor, Wotton advises, for example, “the keeping of a due *Respect* betweene the *Inhabitant*, and the *Habitation*.” Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 119.

by the cultural authority of his subject matter.

Conclusion: The Status of Place

Visual strategies – often borrowed from maps, surveys, and portraits of crown estates – involve similar issues of authority critical to determining value. Illustrations, drawings, prints, and paintings define landed property through the symbols of traditional English hierarchies of power and adjust those symbols to legitimize change. By citing both divine order and historical monuments, views of sixteenth-century palaces and castles bear witness to the right moral and political base of orderly civic society. In substance, these graphic representations call upon the authority and testament of natural order to verify contemporary values. One of the methods of reproducing this pattern of order was the use of past signs of power to clearly measure present causal relationships. In most depictions, characteristics of local and national status were included in representations of landed estates as the causes of all good effects, and through these outcomes or achievements important houses were synonymous with the history of rule and all its material conditions.

Verbal descriptions of estate portraits, however, are rarely found in contemporary literature, but authors other than Wotton did discuss the need for agreement between design and rank. Inigo Jones, in his Roman Sketchbook, leaves both a written account and illustrations of classical models that explain the correspondence between function and aesthetics.¹⁸³ Produced

¹⁸³ *The Elements of Architecture* is not among the surviving 52 texts of Jones's library – all of which are in Italian except for *An Epicede or Funerall Song* by George Chapman and Philibert de L'Orme's *Le premier tome de l'architecture*. See Anderson, "Appendix: Inigo Jones's Library," in Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 223-26. From Jones's notes on his copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, Jones did, however, look at Wotton's collection of Palladio's drawings. See Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, *Palladio* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008), 372, note 6.

from 1613 to 1614 when Jones traveled to Italy as a member of the entourage of Thomas Howard, (1585-1646), the twenty-first earl of Arundel, the sketchbook contains a summary of Italian art theory and practice.¹⁸⁴ Recording important textual and visual models, Jones paraphrases passages from Andrea Palladio, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, and Giorgio Vasari, and includes sketches fashioned after the paintings, prints, ornaments, and drawings of such artists as Tintoretto, Francesco Parmigianino, and Baccio Bandinelli.¹⁸⁵ From these classical sources he chronicles the rules of decorum and illustrates approved examples, using his sketchbook as a record but also as a testament to his own experience, sensibility, and knowledge.

In a section on the proper choice of ornament – “Compose yt wth decorrum according to the youse, and ye order yt is of” – Jones distinguishes between interior and exterior decoration, likening the public face of a building to its authoritative and political purpose and the private side

¹⁸⁴ Jones began his sketchbook in Rome on Jan. 21, 1614, and completed it in London in the late 1630s. With his other books, notes, drawings, and plans, it was bequeathed on his death to John Webb, his student, assistant, and the husband of his kinswoman Anne Jones; and with his other work, the sketchbook was meant to promote Jones’s legacy and ensure his fame. Edward Chaney, ed., *Inigo Jones’s “Roman sketchbook,”* 2 vols. ([London]: Roxburghe Club, 2006), 2:27-37. Jones’s will is published in Peter Cunningham, *Inigo Jones. A Life of the Architect* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), 50. For Jones’s Italian influences, particularly with respect to his architectural models and his library, see Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the classical tradition*, 148-6. Also see Joan Sumner Smith, “The Italian Sources of Inigo Jones’s Style,” *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 200-05, 207. For language and classicism at the time Jones produced the sketchbook, see Christy Anderson, “Monstrous Babels: Language and Architectural Style in the English Renaissance,” in *Architecture and language: constructing identity in European architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 106-13; Gordon Higgott, “‘Varying with Reason’: Inigo Jones’s Theory of Design,” *Architectural History* 35 (1992): 51-77. The sketchbook is now in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, and reproduced in the first volume of Edward Chaney, ed., *Inigo Jones’s “Roman sketchbook.”*

¹⁸⁵ See, respectively, Chaney, ed., *Inigo Jones’s “Roman sketchbook,”* 1:14r-19v, 22v, 30r, 7r, 21r, 22r, 29r, 24r, 32r, 33r.

to the workings of nature.¹⁸⁶

for as outwarly every wyse ma
 carrieth a graviti in Publicke Places, whear
 ther is nothing els looked for. & yt inwardly
 hath his Imaginacy set free, and sumtimes liccenciously
 flying out, as nature hirself dooth often tymes Stravagantly. to
 dellight. amase us. sumtimes
 moufe us to laughter. Sumtimes to contemplatio,
 and horror. So in architecture ye outward
 ornamentes oft to be Sollid, proporsionable
 according the rulles, masculine and
 unaffected.¹⁸⁷

Architectural design translates abstract principles and qualities and, Jones notes, could express the strength and power of a building's exterior structural parts as well as the whimsical, wayward, decorative, or intimate features of its interior rooms. While the facade – a building's official face – offers an idea of permanence and historical gravity, the interior may reflect natural fancies associated with lighter and more surprising effects. Jones implies an opposition between nature's innovative flight and the serious order of art, but in this, all architecture must adhere to the suitability of use and situation.

For both Wotton and Jones, correct proportion demonstrates a political accord between social standing and architectural standards and conveys such commensurability through a series

¹⁸⁶ Chaney, ed., *Inigo Jones's "Roman sketchbook,"* 1:76r, 2:166. This notation is discussed in Christy Anderson, "Masculine and Unaffected: Inigo Jones and the Classical Ideal," *Art Journal*, 56 (1997), 48-54; Gordon Higgott, "The Making of an Architect: Inigo Jones's Second Tour of Italy, 1613-14," in *Inigo Jones: complete architectural drawings*, ed. John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Center, 1989), 55-58; Higgott, "'Varying with Reason': Inigo Jones's Theory of Design," 49-57; L. E. Semler, "Inigo Jones, Capricious Ornament and Plutarch's Wise Man," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 125-34; Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker, "'Imaginacy Set Free': Aristotelian Ethics and Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 39 (2001): 151-167.

¹⁸⁷ Chaney, ed., *Inigo Jones's "Roman sketchbook,"* 1:76r, 2:167-68.

of complementary natures and analogous meanings. Both the writer and the architect describe aesthetic precepts that visually order a built environment according to the dictates of elite status and its advantages. Freedom of the imagination on the one hand, and the authority of position on the other, locate the parameters of a closed system. Wotton limits a prospect's visual field and centers the official signs of power, thereby excluding any detracting landmarks and allowing the imagination the leeway to conceive greater consequence. Similarly, Jones outlines approved architectural design as a statement of political strength, and further, he details the liberties of innovative genius made possible by that control. Pictorial strategies portraying estates reproduce these two modes – conventional images of authority and imagined privileges of success – and, as do Wotton and Jones, identify both as like benefits of traditional hierarchies. What is important to me in the examples of Wotton and Jones, however, is that proper use formulates authentic representation and thus a direct correlation between appearance and the right claim to power.¹⁸⁸

As with the surveying manuals, both Wotton and Jones write to prescribe the course of noble building and landholding.

In portraits of royal houses and their surrounding territory, the depiction of power depends on the construction of legitimate relationships in which proof of that legitimacy is

¹⁸⁸ Classicism was associated with both court culture and an urban elite through the work of Inigo Jones for the Stuart monarchy, including through his influence on aristocratic patrons, architects, and builders. The example of Jones's building projects – the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace, the Queen's House at Greenwich, the new Corinthian portico for the west front of St Paul's Cathedral, and his work at Covent Garden – presented flexible classical models for social and political expression. In addition, Italian and French treatises on architecture, as well as English translations of important texts, were widely available. Like royal building projects, they related architectural forms with the authority and learned tradition of the classical past. See, for example, Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition*, 165-206; Li Shigiao, *Power and Virtue: Architectural and intellectual change in England, 1660-1730* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 2-3.

manifested in an extensive series of analogies – correspondences that act as evidence interpreting social identity and conveying elite ownership. A large prospect, for example, signals the important houses and landholdings of the greater aristocracy and serves as a measure of legitimate position and a sign of hereditary title. It recalls William Harrison’s late sixteenth-century correlation between “the acquisition of any small parcell of ground” and declining contemporary social standards.¹⁸⁹ In Harrison’s description, true standing is presented through multiple signs of collaborating documentation, not slight notations to conventional worth. Large holdings are linked with a history of long and powerful lineage, where the fuller the set of links between land and status, the greater the truth of representation. Thus, the citation of systematic graphic descriptions of land measurement – bird’s-eye perspectives, surveys, and palace complexes – introduces a substantiated means of visually determining economic resources, social position, and political authority. In both paintings of crown properties and representations of private estates, these models raise the circumstances and possessions of authority to the status of proofs – to information that could serve as evaluative criteria. The same standards that gauge how well a ruling dynasty insures the historically important virtues and values of government and custom also judge degrees of wealth and prosperity.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the portraits of crown properties utilized two devices to formulate a specific type of English landscape painting: an extensive elevated perspective was combined with a sequence of references signaling contemporary authority. The royal estate painting told the story of a landscape’s history, measuring the quality of the present in line with the achievements of the past. Yet it also quantified political circumstances through

¹⁸⁹ Harrison, *Harrison’s Description of England in Shakespeare’s Youth*, 1:238.

illustrations of multiple riches. Paintings of important properties were meant to simultaneously show evidence of worth and the imagined possibilities of wealth's favors, while omitting any paradoxes between inventiveness and fact.¹⁹⁰ In these portraits multiple correspondences acknowledged consequence through the material of accumulated fortune.¹⁹¹ Primarily, this meant that strength and riches indicated the virtues of the nation's growth and defense. Signs of prosperity thus expressed the political advantages of wealth and power as interrelated and

¹⁹⁰ Besides the writings of Smith and Heylyn mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, other authors of the time also discussed the importance of truth, accuracy, and facts in the writing of history. In his discussion of "Mixt Histories" – "mixed part with profite and part with delight to make the Discourse more compleat" – Richard Brathwaite (c. 1588-1673) advises the use of three elements "to make them perfect: first Truth, in sincerely relating, without hauing any thing (as *Tacitus* obserueth) *haustum ex vano* [drawn from an uncertain source], foisted in by our owne inuention, to smooth the passage of our story." See Richard Brathwaite, *The schollers medley, or, an intermixt discourse vpon historicall and poetical relations: A subiect of it selfe well meriting the approbation of the iudicious, who best know how to confirme their knowledge, by this briefe suruey, or generall table of mixed discourses* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for George Norton, and are to bee sold at his shop neere Temple-barre, 1614), 66-67. John Seldon (1584-1654) – legal scholar, jurist, antiquarian, and historian – similarly promotes his history of tithes by explaining that it is a true record of the past meant to shed light on the present. Like Brathwaite, Seldon is concerned with the importance and variety of his sources and the establishing records of fact: "Nor is any end in it, to teach any Innouation by an imperfit patterne had from the mustie Reliques of former time, Neither is *Antiquitie* related in it to shew barely what hath been (for the sterile part of *Antiquitie* which shews that only & no other purpose, I value euen as slightly as dull Ignorance doth the most precious and vsefull part of it but to giue other light to the Practice & doubts of the present." John Selden, *The historie of tithes that is, the practice of payment of them, the positiue laws made for them, the opinions touching the right of them: a review of it is also annexed, which both confirms it and directs in the vse of it* ([London: s.n.], M.DC.XVIII [1618]), II.

¹⁹¹ Material splendor was an appropriate means of building for both church and state. See, for example, Giles Fleming's Laudian and anti-Puritan sermon on the refurbishing of St Pauls Cathedral. Magnificence and splendor, he argues, have always been the fittest means of serving god and express the "brightnesse of his glory." Giles Fleming, *Magnificence exemplified: and, the repaire of Saint Pauls exhorted unto In a sermon appointed to be preached at St. Pauls-Crosse, but preached in the church. August the 31. 1634. By Gyles Fleming Mag. in Art. and preacher of Gods Word at Waddingworth, in Lincolne-shire* (London: Printed by Richard Badger for Thomas Alchorn, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Green-Dragon, 1634), 41-51.

coexisting goals – all without the negative effects of commercial gain. The new genre translated this progression of means and ends as honorable and beneficial objectives. As both an aesthetic asset and a record of resources, the estate painting was dependent on the merits of its subject matter and its popularity on an increasing need for signs of legitimacy.

Chapter II. Views of the Country House, 1660-1714

Paintings of royal palaces and castles continued to be popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, but portraits of private country houses became the dominant form of estate painting, easily comprising the largest group of extant landscape paintings of English territory. After the Stuart return to power, the owners of large country houses commissioned paintings of their estates, and although artists incorporated many of the historical associations that gave meaning to portraits of royal palaces, they adapted that iconography to suit private circumstances. I argue that the signs of crown authority and rule were borrowed to cite the workings of an institution of far-reaching power, but that this iconography functioned to detail the many individual qualities worthy of a fine estate, rather than to serve as general emblems or signs of power. Private estate paintings offered personal images that would recount historical hierarchies, yet also translate private property into a systematic and contemporary public expression.

Portraits of estates thus included characteristics found in paintings of royal holdings – the wide vista, important house, and surrounding garden – as well as elements common to land surveys, town perspectives, and historical prospects. The contributions of one visual description of property to another combined kinds or types of knowledge, all of which were designed to express territorial control. Elevations of houses readily demonstrated the advantages of size and architecture against the skyline; bird's-eye perspectives registered the extent of estates and the components of a country seat. By referencing graphic methods associated with both documents and ornaments, estate paintings developed new iconographic features in which a contemporary economic value was added to an accustomed cultural value. Personal wealth, registered by the

measure and structure of the house, park, and gardens, became part of the visual vocabulary that set apart influential social and political space. As in crown portraits, where the monarchy's command of resources was understood as the command of the state, paintings of private estates similarly identified the assets of the estate with accumulated power and riches in the world.

Although the new paintings of private houses legitimized estates through their equivalence to royal examples, they diverged from those earlier seventeenth-century landscape paintings in which the crown holding was integrated into the cultural topography and the larger social fabric. Instead, the singularity of the private estate itself became the primary subject matter: centered within its grounds, it stood as a focal point, pointedly separate and apart from both the lower spheres of country life and the infringement of great neighbors. The replanting of parks and gardens in geometric divisions further segregated the estate from its rural setting and isolated the house as an icon of elite standing. After the Stuart restoration, returning English tourists and royalists, influenced primarily by classical palaces in France and the Palladian villas of Italy, designed their gardens according to continental taste.¹⁹² Symmetrical plots, descending terraces, and long avenues visually and conceptually extended the plan of the house to the

¹⁹² When Roger Pratt (1620-1680) returned from the continent after the Restoration, he was commissioned to design three classically constructed houses for royalists: Kingston Lacy, Dorset, for Sir Ralph Bankes, who was knighted at the Restoration for his loyalty during the civil war; Clarendon House for Charles II's first minister, Edward Hyde, the first earl of Clarendon, who followed Charles into exile; and Horseheath Hall, Cambridgeshire, for William Alington, third Baron Alington of Killard and courtier to Charles II. Pratt built to more classical precepts after his five year journey to the continent. R. T. Gunther, *The architecture of Sir Roger Pratt, Charles II's commissioner for the rebuilding of London after the great fire: now printed for the first time from his note-books* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 98-166.

adjoining grounds.¹⁹³ For those interested in establishing their social position at home and strengthening England's image abroad, the example of classical gardens and architecture offered a confident statement of progress and authority.¹⁹⁴ Yet traditional native or vernacular styles and

¹⁹³ For example, Evelyn describes the palace and gardens of the Palais de Luxembourg, originally built for Marie de Medicis, visited on around April 1, 1644. On the 8th and 9th of March, 1644, he visits the gardens of Fontainebleau, and on October 17, 1644 he tours several palaces in Genoa. The gardens are presented as extensions of houses and their design is part of the collection of curiosities, decorations, and artefacts that contribute to the splendor and appeal. As early as Jan. 17, 1653, Evelyn began replanting his own garden at Saye's Court. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Esmond Samuel De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 1:81-84, 110-11, 2:118-19; 3:80. Although Evelyn visited cities in the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands from July 23 to Oct. 9, 1641, he only mentions the gardens of the royal palace in Brussels. Evelyn, *Diary*, 2:71-72. In *Sylva, or, A discourse of forest-trees*, first published in 1664, Evelyn also encouraged park enlargement by appealing to a landowner's desire for a grand and refined effect. Evelyn argued that the English landowner should adapt the French model, where avenues in country palaces expressed the grandeur of an estate as well as the knowledge and sophistication of the owner. Avenues that led directly from park to house provided a formal approach and extended the ceremonial function of the house to the grounds. First given as an address to the Royal Society in 1662 to promote the reforestation of England, Evelyn's *Sylva* was printed in 1664, 1665, 1669, 1670, 1679 and 1729. John Evelyn, *Sylva, or, A discourse of forest-trees, and the propagation of timber in His Majesties dominions* (London: printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, 1664), 24-25, 64-67. Also see Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuilding of Tudor and Stuart England* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 117-19; Leonard Cantor, *The Changing English Countryside: 1400-1700* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 114-18.

¹⁹⁴ See, for example, Evelyn's letter "To Sir John Denham, Knight, of the Honorable Order of the Bath, Superintendent and Surveyer of his Majesties Buildings and Works," in Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne. English Title A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern: in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders: the three Greek orders, Dorique, Ionique, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this treatise, and the two Latine, Tuscan and Composita, the latter/ written in French by Roland Freart, sieur de Chambray; made English for the benefit of builders; to which is added An account of architects and architecture, in an historical and etymological explanation of certain tearms particularly affected by architects; with Leon Baptista Alberti's treatise Of statues, by John Evelyn, Esq* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Place, 1664). Also see Judi Loach's discussion of Charles II's desire to remake London as an imperial capitol and the parliament's attempt to redirect the building process after the 1666 fire of London by enacting codes that specified building standards. Judi Loach, "Architecture and urban space in London," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein't Hart, and

architectural elements still conveyed dynastic connections and political power, positions that were made visible in the dimensions and ornaments of celebrated buildings.¹⁹⁵ Country house paintings documented the new estate renovations, and the adapted iconography placed changing social circumstances within the authority of established meanings. At the same time, they effected a flexible attitude toward social mobility, primarily by omitting any indication of a previous profession or former lifestyle, and additionally, by imaginatively projecting a course of future success.

Private estate portraits, however, also retained the Flemish landscape features of their early seventeenth-century royal examples. As in the first half of the century, many of the painters of the second half were originally from the Northern and Southern Lowlands, and continued to rework Netherlandish landscape imagery for the English market.¹⁹⁶ Arriving after the return of the Stuart monarchy and with the expectation of a new demand for art, painters brought England

Herman van der Wee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 155-169.

¹⁹⁵ Native architecture as a sign of England's history and building tradition had a number of associations. As late as 1709, the architect Sir John Vanbraugh (1664-1726) wrote to the duchess of Marlborough arguing against the destruction of the old manor on the grounds of the newly constructed Blenheim Palace, begun in 1705: "There is perhaps no one thing, which the most polite part of Mankind have more universally agreed in; than the Vallue they have ever set upon the Remains of distant Times. Nor amongst the Severall kinds of those Antiquitys, are there any so much regarded, as those of Buildings; Some for their Magnificence, or Curious Workmanship; and others, as they move more lively and pleasing Reflections (than History without aid can do) On the Persons who have Inhabited them; On the Remarkable things which have been transacted in them, Or the extraordinary Occasions of Erecting them." See Sir John Vanbrugh, " 'Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some part of the Old Manor', 11 June 1709." Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams, *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud: Sutton Pub. in association with the National Trust, 2000), 302.

¹⁹⁶ Using contemporary sources, Stefanie Kollmann assembles a catalogue of many of the Netherlandish painters working in London in the seventeenth century. Stefanie Kollmann, *Niederländische Künstler und Kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: George Olms, 2000).

styles and specialties common to popular genre painting in the Lowlands.¹⁹⁷ At the time, the art centers of both Antwerp and Amsterdam were experiencing depressed markets for luxury goods, especially the traditionally less important genres of still-lives, landscapes, and scenes of everyday life.¹⁹⁸ Painters there suffered from a surfeit of art on the market and a corresponding decrease in demand. Although the rebuilding of Southern Netherlands' churches still provided a need for devotional art and patronage for well-known artists, Antwerp's economy felt the effects of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, the closure of the River Scheldt to navigation, the departure of foreign merchants, and the collapse of the city's international financial market.¹⁹⁹ After the French invasion of the United Provinces in 1672 and the beginning of the Third Anglo-Dutch war in the same year, both international trade and individual incomes fell, and the art market of

¹⁹⁷ For the development of specialization in the arts in Antwerp, see Arnout Balis, "De nieuwe genres en het burgerlijk mecenaat," in *Stad in Vlaanderen: cultuur en maatschappij, 1477-1787*, ed. Jan Van der Stock, exh. cat. (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet: Vlaamse Gemeenschap, Administratie Externe Betrekkingen, 1991), 237-54.

¹⁹⁸ See Jan de Vries, "Art History," in *Art in history, History in art: Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, ed. David Freeberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, 1991), 265-70; Neil De Marchi, Hans J. Van Miegroet and Matthew E. Raiff, "Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the Mid Seventeenth-Century Antwerp to Paris Art Trade," in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 115.

¹⁹⁹ The Treaty of Westphalia – a series of treaties that ended the Eighty-Years War (1618-1648) – also ended the Thirties-Years War (1568-1614) with the United Provinces and Spain. See the exhibition catalogue devoted to the fortunes of Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, ed. Jan Van der Stock, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1993), 28-31; Leon Voet, "Antwerp, the Metropolis and its History," in *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, 16-17; Alfons K.L. Thijs, "Antwerp's Luxury Industries: the Pursuit of Profit and Artistic Sensitivity," in *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, 112-13.

the northern Netherlands similarly experienced a sharp decline.²⁰⁰ At least thirty Dutch painters emigrated to England at that time, contributing to the number of foreign art practitioners already in the country. During the reign of Charles II, in fact, England saw a greater influx of foreign artists than in any other years from the 1550s to the 1750s.²⁰¹

Descriptions of English art collections – paintings amassed in the later Stuart period – record the work of a number of Netherlandish landscape painters and often single out views of cities, harbors, estates, or royal palaces. In his notebooks, George Vertue lists many of these sub-genres when he describes the auction catalog of Charles Bodvile Robartes, the second earl of Radnor, Member of Parliament under both Charles II and James II and twice Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall.²⁰² Radnor's large collection, sold after his death in 1723, appears to have been acquired

²⁰⁰ John Michael Montias's analysis of seventeenth-century Amsterdam inventories finds that the percentage of paintings by contemporary artists declined from about 65.7 percent of attributed work in inventories of the 1630s to 41.9 percent in the 1670s. By the 1680s the percentage of paintings by contemporary artists had further declined to only 13.8 percent of attributed work. He concludes that collections were probably new in the 1630s, while in the 1680s there were either few new collections or new additions were not made to existing collections. See John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, 343. Jonathan Israel, however, argues that subject matter appealing to elite audiences, such as mythologies, remained strong. See Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 881-83. Also see Martin Jan Bok, "The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural center: the market for paintings, 1580-1680," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein't Hart, and Herman van der Wee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 202-08.

²⁰¹ David Ormond, "Origins of the Eighteenth-Century London Art Market," in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 172.

²⁰² Vertue's notes record art collections, artists, auctions, and sales of art work between 1713 and his death in 1756. The notebooks were purchased by Horace Walpole in the eighteenth century and finally published in part by the Walpole Society. See the "Introduction." George Vertue, "Vertue Note Books I," *Walpole Society* 18 (1930), x-xii. For Charles Bodvile Robartes (1660-1723), see Bernard Burke, *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry*, ed. Peter Townsend (London: Burke's Peerage, 1965), 2:1122.

over a period of fifty years as an expression of aesthetic knowledge and cultural taste. His landscape paintings are among the wide representation of subject matter that includes successful Lowlands artists working in England after the Restoration:

6. Serveral peices of Edema. 7 of Wyke. some of Roestrate particularly the original Crown Mond & scepter, painted by him from the Regalia in the Tower. & other peices of plate finely painted. of Dankers. 3 peices. by old Griffer. young Vande Velde, Schalken. Seabright. This Nobleman had a handsome collection of fine Italian Flemish &c. pictures. on severl of these pictures are the names of the Masters wrote. 'HDanckers F. 1687' 1679. others. being Views. of Plymouth Windsor Pensance. peices of 'P. Poestrate' & J. Wÿck'. 'F. Van Son'.²⁰³

Vertue writes that Radnor's St. James Square house, the location of the auction, contained views of Windsor Castle, Penzance, and Plymouth by Hendrik Danckerts (c. 1630-c. 1680). Although the painter is singled out by the date and subject matter of his topological views, Vertue cites internationally important Flemish artists from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by both the subject and the auction price of their paintings: "the martyrdom of St. Laurence. by Vandyke 65 guin. Rubens with his Mistress. a large painting. 130 guin. a Satyr with a woman milking a Goat, by Jordaens of Antwerp. 160 guineas."²⁰⁴ Of those painters prominent after the Stuart return, he mentions Jan Frans van Son – a "Flower Fruit and fowles painter" – at length, noting that Radnor's house contained about "18 or twenty pictures of his doing. some very fine &

²⁰³ Vertue mentions Gerard Edema, Jan Wyck, Pieter Gerritsz. van Roestraten, Hendrik Danckerts, Jan Griffier, Willem van de Velde, Godfried Schalcken, Jan Siberechts, and Jan Frans van Son. Vertue, "Vertue Note Books I," 132.

²⁰⁴ Vertue, "Vertue Note Books I," 132.

Large . . .²⁰⁵ Thus, while Vertue notes a number of prospects or views, he allots fuller descriptive annotations to more costly – and hierarchically significant – mythological, portrait, history, and flower paintings.

Even though Danckerts was appointed court painter to Charles II shortly after the Stuart return and supplied the monarchy with views of Italy, as well as works depicting famed English royal palaces and important port cities, like other Lowland's contemporary landscape painters in England, he never achieved the status of painters working in the major genres. The keeper of Hampton Court recorded payments of only £34 5s. 4d for several views and landscapes between 1670 and 1677, and £73 18s. for several prospects in 1675.²⁰⁶ In his history of English painters, first published in 1707, Bainbrigg Buckeridge also qualifies his good opinion of Danckerts by mentioning that he enjoyed good prices and considerable recognition, but only for a landscape painter:

Henry was a good Landskip-Painter, and employ'd by King *Charles* II. to paint all the Sea-Ports of *England* and *Wales*, as also the Royal Palaces, which he perform'd admirably well . . . He studied some time in *Italy*, before he came to *England*. He work'd for great numbers of our Nobility and Gentry, and had good Rates for what

²⁰⁵ Vertue, "Vertue Note Books I," 131-32. Jan Frans van Son (1658-c. 1711) was the son of the Flemish flower and vanitas painter Joris van Son (1623-1667). Born in Antwerp, Jan married Robert Streater's niece and appears well represented in the sale of the collection of the latter painter's son, Robert Streater, in 1711. Both father and son were appointed the king's Serjeant Painters. See the catalogue published by *Burlington Magazine*. "Robert Streater," *Burlington Magazine*, 84 (1944): 3-12. For Jan van Son, see Roger de Piles' entry on Francis Van-Zoon in Roger de Piles, *The art of painting and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: . . . Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school, . . .* (London: printed for J. Nutt, 1706), 273-74.

²⁰⁶ See respectively: Great Britain, *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-1679* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1911), 5:1277-78; Great Britain, *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-1675* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1909), 4:769.

he did, being esteem'd the nearest and best Painter, in his way, of the time.²⁰⁷

Buckeridge's assessment is also corroborated by the 1666 notebook entry of the architect Roger Pratt (1620-1684), who records a bill for five paintings commissioned by Lady Clarendon for the newly built house of Edward Hyde, first earl Clarendon and Lord Chancellor to Charles II.²⁰⁸ The £38 paid for the paintings, however, was trifling with respect to the size and expense of Clarendon House, then the largest building in England and one of its richest.²⁰⁹ The low price

²⁰⁷ Several of Danckerts's port and palace scenes are still in the royal collection and are found at Hampton Court, including *View of Falmouth Harbour*, 1674, *View of Portsmouth*, *View of Portsmouth*, and *View of Tangier*, 1669. See Bainbrigg Buckeridge, "Essay towards an English-School with the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters," in Roger de Piles, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school*, 413. Buckeridge's "Essay towards an English School of Painters" was written in 1706 and first published as an attachment to the English edition of *The Art of Painting* by Roger de Piles (1635-1709).

²⁰⁸ Pratt's notes record: "1666, 21 Sept. Henry Danckerts bill for Pictures for the Lady Clarendon: I prospects of Rome £ 7. 0 s. 0. d. I vigna of Rome £ 7. s. 0. d. 0 I vigna of Rome £ 7. s. 0. d. 0 8 Oct. I vigne Monte alto in the height £ 9. s. 0. d. 0 I landskip £ 7. s. 0. d. 0." Sir Roger Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt: Charles II's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire: Now Printed for the First Time from His Note-Books*, ed. R. T. Gunther (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1928), 153.

²⁰⁹ The £38 paid for Danckerts's five paintings can be compared to the amount spent on the carved decorative detailing in a small and minor apartment in Clarendon House. See the carver Richard Cleare's invoice for strings of flowers, leaves, ribbons, and berries for "the Master of the Roabe's Lodging over the Library," certified by Hugh May and totaling £28 13s. 2d. Cleare was a craftsman and part of a decorative team. Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, 157. For Clarendon Houses, also see Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, 135-39. At the time, both the grandeur and expense of Clarendon House – built between 1664 and 1667 – were of note. Pratt's friend, John Evelyn, wrote to Clarendon's heir Lord Cornbury on January, 20, 1665/66, describing the house as "the first Palace of England." Evelyn wrote: "Let me speak ingenuously; I went with prejudice, and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know anything in art. I acknowledge to your Lordship that I have never seen a nobler pile: my old friend and fellow-traveller (co-habitant and contemporary at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperboles, the best contrived, the most useful, graceful, and magnificent house in England, – I except not Audley-end; which, though larger, and full of gaudy and barbarous ornaments, does not gratify judicious spectators. As I said, my Lord: here is state and

paid for the paintings may have reflected Lady Clarendon's choice of genre. Although Danckerts also painted Italianate landscapes – he lived and studied in Italy from about 1653 to 1657 – four of the five paintings for Clarendon House were topographical views, including three prospects of Rome.

English landscapes were, nonetheless, important as types of genres for the decoration of even the most prestigious houses. The specialty allowed Danckerts to build a prominent clientele by often copying the paintings commissioned by Charles II and his brother James II, the duke of York, and additionally, by reproducing popular views of towns and ports first commissioned by the aristocracy.²¹⁰ In 1676, for instance, William Russel, the fifth earl of Bedford, ordered a topographical prospect of Plymouth Harbor, including its citadel and surrounding territory.²¹¹ In 1682, the sale of the collection of Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680), principal painter to Charles II,

use, solidity and beauty most symmetrically combined together: seriously, there is no-thing abroad that pleases me better; nothing at home approaches it.” John Evelyn, *Diary and correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.: to which is subjoined the private correspondence between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Sir Richard Browne*, ed. William Bray, 4 vols. (London: G. Bell, 1891), 3:177-78. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Charles II's royal chaplain and later Bishop of Salisbury, commented on the cost of Clarendon House, explaining that Clarendon had only intended an ordinary house, but relied on others to manage the project, “who ran him into a vast charge of £50,000, three times as much as he had designed to lay out upon it.” See Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time . . . Containing, I. A Summary Recapitulation of affairs in Church & State, from K. James I. to the Restoration in 1660. II. The History of the Reign of K. Charles II. from 1666. to 1670* (London [i.e. The Hague]: printed for the Company of Booksellers [or rather, T. Johnson], M.DCC.XXV. [1725]), 1:441.

²¹⁰ Henry Odgen and Margaret Odgen publish information on Danckerts's clients and commissions from contemporary inventories. See Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955), 153-54.

²¹¹ A bill for “January 1675/76.– To Mr. Dankers, by his lordship's order, the 26th of January 1675/6, as by his acquittance, for a landscape of Plymouth and the citadel there and parts adjacent” is listed for £10. See Gladys Scott Thomson, *Life in a noble household: 1641-1700* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 301.

contained seven of Danckerts's landscapes. The inventory, drawn up by Roger North (1651-1734) to realize monies for Lely's debts and legacies after his death, lists notable European paintings acquired from the sale of the king's goods, as well as studio copies of Lely's own work.²¹² North divides the inventory into three bodies of work: Lely's collection ("The Pictures"), "*A List of Original Drawings and Pictures of Sir Peter Lely's own Hand*," and "*Copies after Sir Peter Lely*." In the collection of pictures, North first lists the Italian paintings – probably the most sought-after work – and follows those by the Netherlandish painters, which appear to be arranged primarily by size. Danckerts's landscapes are grouped among the Lowlands artists whose works measure on average three by four feet. The collection concludes with twenty-six paintings by Anthony van Dyck and his series of 37 grisailles of famous contemporary artists, patrons, scholars, and nobles.²¹³ Lely's picture collection thus is catalogued as an example of both aesthetic quality and generic variety – the type of collection required to partially decorate a large

²¹² See the inventory for the auction on April 16, 1682. The list of paintings reflects the growth of Lely's collection from about the 1640s. "Sir Peter Lely's Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 83 (1943): 186-91. The inventory is also published in W. A. Shaw, ed., *Huguenot Society* 18 (1911): 82. For the paintings acquired from the king's goods, see *Walpole Society* 43 (1972): 65, 276, 277. For Roger North's account of the sale see chapter 15 – "The Affairs of Sir Peter Lely" – in his autobiography. Roger North, *The lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, baron Guilford, lord keeper of the great seal, under King Charles II and King James II. The Hon. Sir Dudley North, commissioner of the customs, and afterwards of the Treasury, to King Charles II. And the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North, master of Trinity college, Cambridge, and clerk of the closet to King Charles II. By the Hon. Roger North*, 3 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1826), 3:190-204. For a contemporary account of Lely, see Richard Graham, "A short account of the most eminent painters," in Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, *De arte graphica = The art of painting; with remarks; translated into English, together with an original preface containing a parallel betwixt painting and poetry, by Mr. Dryden; as also A short account of the most eminent painters, both ancient and modern, continu'd down to the present times, according to the order of their succession, by another hand* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers . . . , 1695), 343-44.

²¹³ North advertises the quality of these paintings with the heading: "*Of Sir Anthony Vandyke, being his best Pieces*." "Sir Peter Lely's Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, 187.

or important house.²¹⁴ Primarily, it represents the promotion of the taste and knowledge necessary to assemble an art collection and acts as a support for Lely's own work. For a specialist like Danckerts, one of the younger and more contemporary painters in the collection, such a practice formed a lucrative business model after the Restoration: Lely's large workshop featured original portraiture and also developed a market for copies of popular subjects well-known from prominent collections.²¹⁵

In 1669 when Samuel Pepys planned to redecorate his dining room, for example, he chose Danckerts for topographical views of celebrated royal sites.²¹⁶ Pepys writes that he visited the studio of Danckerts, "the great landskip-painter,"²¹⁷ and on a subsequent visit commissioned "four houses of the King – White-hall, Hampton-court, Greenwich – and Windsor."²¹⁸ Several months later he replaced the view of Hampton Court with one of Rome: "Thence to Dancre's and there saw our pictures which are in doing, and I did choose a view of Rome instead of Hampton Court – and mightily pleased I shall be in them."²¹⁹ The exchange of Hampton Court for Rome places the English palaces within a broad historical matrix of important international sites. Like

²¹⁴ Lely's collection included over 260 paintings and drawings, yet half were by the artist himself or studio copies of his previous work. "Sir Peter Lely's Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, 186-91.

²¹⁵ The studio copies of Lely's most famed portraits include "Nine of the King" and "Twelve of the Duchess of Cleveland." "Sir Peter Lely's Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, 188.

²¹⁶ All of these views were compositions painted in Danckerts's studio. Pepys refers to the process in his diary on Jan. 20, Jan. 22, Feb. 1, March 18, March 31, and April 30, 1669. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert C. Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 9:421, 423, 434, 487, 504, 539.

²¹⁷ Jan. 20, 1669. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:421.

²¹⁸ Jan. 22, 1669. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:423.

²¹⁹ March 31, 1669. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:504.

the popular subject matter chosen by Pepys, many extant paintings by Danckerts are views of palaces and renowned ports.²²⁰ Many are also studio products based on often-painted vistas or copies of successful earlier paintings.²²¹

The view of Greenwich chosen by Pepys is probably similar to Danckerts's *A View of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the South East* (fig. 2.1), c. 1670.²²² In this prospect of the popular site, sunshine glitters on the Queen's House and the newly completed exterior of the King Charles Building, designed by John Webb in 1663.²²³ Danckerts exaggerates the height of

²²⁰ In addition to the view of Plymouth painted for the earl of Radnor, two topographical prospects of the port are listed in the inventory of the Royal Collection taken in 1688. Both were owned by James II before he ascended the throne. At least one of these was most likely commissioned by Charles II and mentioned by Buckeridge. For the topographical views by Danckerts in the 1688 inventory, see British Museum MS Harl. 1890, fol. 48v, 52r, 55r, 85v, 86r, 86v. One view of Plymouth is now at Yale in the Mellon Center for British Art. Another is held in the City Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth.

²²¹ Danckerts probably sold many copies of his views. According to Pepys's diary, the view of Greenwich for him was executed in tempera and not oil, like *View of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the South East*. After visiting Danckerts's shop to check on the progress he writes, "and ended it is pretty, but I must confess I do not think it is not altogether so beautiful as the oyle" (March 3, 1669). Pepys may have specifically commissioned the painting in tempera because on Feb. 1, 1669, he visited Lord Bellases to examine a chimneypiece executed by Danckerts, in "distemper with egg to keep off the glaring of the light, which I must have done for my room." Pepys, *Diary*, 9:434, 464. Copies of an attributed Danckerts landscape of King Charles II and a Pineapple, for example, are reproduced in Lionel Cust, "The First Pineapple Grown in England," *Apollo* 3 (1926), 75-76. Also see George Royle, "Family Links between George London and John Rose: New Light on the 'Pineapple Paintings'," *Garden History* 23 (1995): 246-249.

²²² March 16, 1666/69. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:485.

²²³ For the King Charles Building, see John Bold, *John Webb: architectural theory and practice in the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 134-46; John Harris, comp., *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Inigo Jones and John Webb* ([Farnborough, Hants, Eng.] Gregg International Publishers [1972], cat. nos. 120-63. Also see "To the Kings most Excellent Majestie. The humble Petition of John Webb Esq. Surveyor assistant for yor Majestys works at Greenwich." PRO SP 29/251 120; Wren Society 18 (1941): 156; *Appendix II: Petitions*, "3. Webb's Petition of 1669," in Bold, *John Webb: architectural theory and practice in the*

both buildings and contrasts their classicism with the old Tudor architecture of the remaining palace complex, thus emphasizing the degree and extent of change brought by the Restoration. The Queen's House, begun in 1617 by Inigo Jones for Queen Anne of Denmark, shows the new Bridge Rooms constructed over the enclosed roadway and finished in 1662 as part of the plan to expand and refurbish the house for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza.²²⁴ The much larger King Charles Building – distinguished in Danckerts's painting by its great order of Corinthian columns and pilasters, carved pediment, and corner attic pavilions – conspicuously positions crown architecture within the grand tradition of seventeenth-century European court architecture.²²⁵ It is the classicism of the new construction that dominates the old palace site; it too signals ancient roots as the basis of contemporary power and as the authoritative support of royal form.²²⁶

seventeenth century, 182-83. John Evelyn also mentions the new project in his diaries on Oct. 19, 1661 and Jan. 24, 1662. See, respectively, John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Esmond Samuel De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 3:330-01, 313.

²²⁴ See Bold, *John Webb: architectural theory and practice in the seventeenth century*, 77-79; *Calendar of State Paper Domestic, 1661-1662*, 273, 275. William Schellinks also mentions the Queen's House during his visits to Greenwich in 1661 and 1662. William Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, ed. Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehman, Camden 5th series (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College, 1993), 1:47, 173.

²²⁵ See Giles Worsley's discussion of Jones's development of the symbolism of sovereignty in architecture. Worsley places Jones's designs in a larger European context and cites such continental models as the Louvre and the Escorial, as well as Charles V's palace at Granada and Hadrian's Villa. Giles Worsley, *Inigo Jones and the European classicist tradition* (New Haven [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), 157-74.

²²⁶ The emphasis on classicism was particularly important because compared to continental Europe, England was late on the widespread patronage of classical buildings. In comparison, the Amsterdam Town Hall was finished by Jacob van Campen in 1655. Campen was influenced by the civic architecture and palaces of Rome, promoting that style in the Northern Netherlands. Konrad Ottenhym, *2016 SAHGB Annual Lecture*, Courtauld Institute, 17

Compared to Adriaen van Stalbeert and Jan van Belcamp's *View of Greenwich* from c. 1632 (fig. 1.3), Danckerts clearly delineates the white stone and classical pattern of the royal houses as well as Greenwich's proximity to the sprawling capital city. Large sailing vessels travel the length of the Thames, identifying the crown palaces with the strength of commerce and with the urban center in the distance, but it is the aesthetic qualities of the property that are mentioned by Pepys after his visit to the site.²²⁷ He discusses both the prospect from the hill and the King Charles Building as "very pretty," apparently well satisfied with Danckerts's interpretation of the view.²²⁸ As with Pepys's comments, *A View of Greenwich and the Queen's House from the South East* concentrates on the appeal of the overall prospect and specifically on the new crown architectural projects. Danckerts records only the initial approach of the recently planted avenue leading up the hill and realigns the Queen's House to the west to better represent each building.²²⁹ With the exception of the artist sketching, the aristocratic figures in the foreground are removed from the vista and the landscape is dominated by the importance of the built environment. The distant prospect itself is a repetition of the line of buildings fronting the Thames from Greenwich

October 2016.

²²⁷ On a March 16, 1669, visit to Greenwich to see the site of the painting, Pepys writes: "thence, to Greenwich by water, and there landed at the King's house, which goes on slow, but is very pretty. I to the park, there to see the prospect of the hill to judge of Dancre's picture which he hath made thereof for me; I do like it very well-and it is a very pretty place." March 16, 1669/69. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:485.

²²⁸ March 16, 1668/69. Pepys, *Diary*, 9:485.

²²⁹ In a visit to Greenwich four years earlier (April 11, 1662), Pepys had commented on the park's new trees and the newly cut great steps, but it was the old Tudor tower that then held his interest. During this visit in the company of Sir William Penn, Pepys writes: "I walked into the Parke, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very Magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repaying in the Queenes lodgings." Pepys, *Diary*, 3:63.

to Deptford: London's urban fabric and its outward growth create a parallel course of buildings that horizontally bisects the center of the painting. Architecture thus structures the prospect and composes an orderly viewing sequence. By positioning the new monuments of state as introductions to the river's commercial network and London's advance, Danckerts features antique signs of dynastic rule and colors the landscape through allusions to the rights and privileges of the Stuart's return. The new palace complex, prosperous trade, and city expansion reformulate landscape imagery as pageantry of the royal estate.

Country house portraits of private estates follow this model and cite new building projects as counterparts to political fortune. An estate portrait of *Ham House* (fig. 2.2), for example, commissioned in the mid-1670s by the duke and duchess of Lauderdale commemorates the recent renovation of the couple's Surrey country house and grounds on the Thames.²³⁰

²³⁰ Danckerts painting is listed in the 1679 inventory as "One fixt picture, Landskip" in a luxuriously appointed room on the second floor's north front. Identified in the inventories as the "Closet," the room was occupied by the Countesses sister, Anne Murray, until her death in 1679. At that time it was used by the Countess of Lauderdale's second son, Thomas Tollemache (c.1651-1694). In the 1683 inventory, Danckerts's estate painting was listed as "One fixt picture of Ham House." Danckerts's painting now replaces a landscape by Paul Brill, which was inset over the fireplace. Brill's painting was among those listed in the 1677 inventory as "three pictures over ye Chimney & doores"; in the 1679 inventory it is among those listed as "Three fixt landskips one over the Chimney & two over the doores"; and in the 1683 inventory as "Three fixt pictures, whereof two of Vandenberg & one of paul Bril." This room is listed as "The white-Closet" in the 1683 inventory and makes up part of the Duchesse of Lauderdale's original suite of rooms. All inventories are available in microfiche from The Furniture History Society. The inventories are also published in part by Peter Thorton and Maurice Tomlin. For the room containing the estate portrait of Ham House, see Peter Thorton and Maurice Tomlin, *The Furnishing and Decoration of Ham House* (London: Furniture History Society, 1980), 157-58. Two classical paintings were also commissioned from Danckerts and are inset in the overdoors of the west and east walls of the duke's dressing room, respectively: *River Landscape with Classical Ruins*, 1673, and *The Gardens at Pratolino*, 1673. The paintings are listed in the 1677 inventory among "6 pictures," in the 1679 inventory among "Three landskips fixt," and in the 1683 inventory among "Three fixt pictures." Most inventories of the Lauderdale's paintings are in the Ham House Papers and are kept at Ham House, Surrey. The Tollemache Papers are

Portraying the Lauderdale family at the end of a wide lawn in the center of Ham's newly remodeled garden front, the estate portrait attributed to Danckerts's celebrates a public achievement and social success. John Maitland (1616-1682), second earl and later first duke of Lauderdale, married Ham House's owner, the Countess Elizabeth Dysart (1626-1698), in 1672, and within the year the couple began renovations to the house and grounds.²³¹ As Privy Councillor, Secretary for Scottish Affairs, and an ambitious member of Charles II's inner circle, Lauderdale enlarged the house and relaid the gardens in the French style favored by Charles II and court society.²³² According to contemporary accounts, the most critical by the Scottish chronicler Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), the Lauderdale family went to great expense promoting their political position and

deposited in the Buckminster Estate Office, Grantham, Lincolnshire, and in the Kingston Record Office, Kingston, Surrey. The Lauderdale Papers are deposited in the British Museum and published in part by Osmund Airy. See John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale, *The Lauderdale papers*, ed. Osmund Airy, 3 vols. ([Westminster]: Printed for the Camden society, 1884-85).

²³¹ For a history of the renovations, see John G. Dunbar, "The Building-activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82," *The Archaeological Journal* 132 (1975): 221-28. Also see Ralph Edwards and Peter Ward-Jackson, *Ham House* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1950, 9-17. A map of the house's building history is included in Maurice Tomlin, *Ham House* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), 9.

²³² For Lauderdale's political career and role as one of five principal ministers (Thomas Clifford, first Baron Clifford, Henry Bennet, first earl of Arlington, George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham, Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftesbury) after the dismissal of Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, see Maurice Lee, *The Cabal* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 28-69. Lauderdale's building renovations also include work on his properties and residences in Scotland – Thirlestane Castle, Brunstane, and Lethington – as well as his town house in Aldersgate, Lauderdale House at Highgate, and his apartments in Whitehall. For monies devoted to refurbishing houses, see John G. Dunbar, "The Building-activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82," 228. Tollemache Papers, Buckminster Estate Office, 24/3/30, 11/2/8-10. Lauderdale was also the third Lord Thirlestan; for Thirlestane Castle, the duke of Lauderdale's principal house in Scotland, see Kitty Craft, John G. Dunbar, and Richard Fawcett, *Borders* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 716-19.

cultivating their standing at court.²³³ Bishop Burnet, who disliked the duchess and blamed the duke for his own fall from royal favor, mentions Lauderdale's merits and skills as well as shortcomings:

He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging oddly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, in which he was a master, but in *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He read a great deal of Divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a blundering understanding, not always clear, but often clouded, as his looks were always.²³⁴

Burnet particularly notes the duke's scholarly accomplishments – his competency in ancient languages, the depth of his knowledge in history and divinity, and his power of recall. But Burnet's praise of his subject's virtues is most often a means of magnifying the extent and effect of even greater vices. With respect to Lauderdale, Burnet frames the duke's many erudite distinctions with his physical deformities and ungainly habits.

Last in the assessment of the duke's character is the deadly or cardinal sin of greed – here the love of the material products of power:

He at first seemed to despise wealth: But he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality: And by that means he ran into a vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it.²³⁵

²³³ Also see the critical assessment by the earl of Ailesbury (1656-1741). Thomas Bruce, earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs of Thomas, earl of Ailesbury, written by himself . . . Printed for the Roxburghe Club*, 2 vols. (Westminster [London]: Nichols and sons, 1890), 1:14-15.

²³⁴ Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, 1:160.

²³⁵ Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, 1:161.

Lauderdale's excessive wants are seen as a consequence of a moral fall, in this case, resulting from his relationship with the duchess. In Burnet's history, all the duke's faults mirror his wife's vices.²³⁶

She had a restless ambition, lived at a vast expense, and was ravenously covetous; and would have stuck at nothing by which she might compass her ends.²³⁷

The couple's ambitions and extravagances, habits commonly attributed to courtiers and councillors holding lucrative offices, weigh especially hard because the Lauderdale's collective faults counteract their many attractions. The duchess's beauty is dulled by the duke's ill looks; his bad manners override her wit. In sum, the pair's learned accomplishments and intellectual assets are doubly undermined by their more severe moral flaws – they are worse for using so many good attributes to such bad effect. Yet, in his description Burnet singles out the immense aspiration and enterprise – the forces driving the “vast expense” – that the pair devoted to constructing material evidence of their place in the world. The remodeling of their Thames estate provided an important opportunity to display a unique brand of courtly taste and formulate a distinctive expression of social position. Contrary to Burnet's analysis, Ham House could publicly advertise aesthetic splendor as a consequence of both refined judgement and high

²³⁶ Implicitly associating Lauderdale with the first fall, Burnet complains of the duchesses' enormous influence over the duke and writes that she was the cause of “great change” in the duke's life, “which made the latter part of it very different from what the former that been.” Burnet records that the duchess negatively swayed Lauderdale and turned him against his friends. Many, he states, suffered the vindictiveness of the duchess through the actions of the duke, including Burnet himself: “She was a woman of great beauty, but far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation. She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematicks & philosophy. She was violent in every thing she set about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy.” Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, 1:404, 405-406.

²³⁷ Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, 1:405.

circumstance.

The house itself was originally built in 1610 by Sir Thomas Vavasour, Knight Marshal to James I, on the banks of the Thames above Richmond.²³⁸ In 1626, the country house became the residence of Elizabeth's father, William Murray, later the first earl of Dysart.²³⁹ Before the Lauderdale's building project, little had been done to the Jacobean house since 1637, when Murray updated the interior, moving the stair and redecorating the first floor state rooms. The Lauderdale's renovations, however, nearly doubled the living area, primarily by constructing a series of enfiladed rooms between the southern two wings of the original H-shaped plan. On the ground floor two identical suites, connected by a central dining room, created a long processional route through the new rectilinear block. On the first floor, state apartments featuring a principal bedchamber were created for a possible visit from the queen.²⁴⁰ Even at the end of the seventeenth century, after changes in style and taste, Roger North finds "all the rooms of parade, exquisitely plac'd."²⁴¹

Like the classically inspired addition, the garden on the south front was redesigned after

²³⁸ Vide Court Roles, 1610-1612. Ham House.

²³⁹ The earl of Dysart, whipping boy and gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, is also described unfavorably by Bishop Burnet. Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time*, 1:404.

²⁴⁰ Although no royal visit is actually recorded, state rooms document a family's political standing. On June 27, 1671 – early in the building process – the duke wrote to his brother, Lord Hatton, regarding the completion of the "Iron gates" for the south front ("the hastening C. Dysert's gate") in time for a summer visit from the king and queen. See the account in Robert Scott Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scott & Ferguson and Burness & Co., 1893), 175.

²⁴¹ See North's positive assessment of the renovations of Ham House recorded in his writings on architecture, c. 1695. Roger North, *Of building: Roger North's writings on architecture*, ed. Howard M. Colvin and John Newman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 144.

continental influences and included eight symmetrically placed squares planted with grass and bordered by gravel walks. Beyond this arrangement of beds, a *patte d'oie* bisected a wilderness and formed the central feature of the avenue joining the house with the great south gates. The formal order of the garden design and its centralizing function are recorded in drawings of a plan for the new grounds (fig. 2.3) and a view from the wilderness (fig. 2.4), c. 1671, both attributed to John Sleszer and Jan Wyck.²⁴² John Evelyn, who visited the estate several years after its completion, describes the project's many successes:

I walk'd to Ham, to see the House & Garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeede inferiour to few of the best Villas in Italy itselfe, The House furnished like a greate Princes; the Parterss, flo Gardens, Orangeries, Groves, Avenues, Courts, Statues, Perspectives, fountaines, Aviaries, and all this at the banks of the Sweetest River in the World, must needes be surprising &c.²⁴³

Although most of the Lauderdale's lavish renovation was devoted to the house's interior, it is the amenities of the grounds – features of the house's most public face – that draw Evelyn's attention. He cites the garden's attractions as extensions of Ham House's rich furnishings and accumulated evidence that substantiates its comparison to Italy's important villas.

Danckerts's country house portrait similarly defines the garden as an attraction and introduction (fig. 2.5): the viewer is, in particular, welcomed to Ham by the Lauderdale's greeting

²⁴² The garden and house were designed by Sir William Bruce, a Scottish cousin to the Duchess. Through the influence of Lauderdale, Bruce was appointed Surveyor-General of the Royal Works in Scotland on June 3, 1671. William Samwell was hired to manage the building project at Ham House. John Sleszer, a German surveyor who arrived in England in 1669, worked for Lauderdale supervising his Scottish building projects at Thirlestane and Lethington from 1676 to 1679. Wyck was responsible for several battle pieces at Ham, where one was inset above the fireplace in the duke's dressing room. For Bruce's work and Sleszer's building activity for the Lauderdale's, see Dunbar, "The Building-activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82," 202-03, 221-23, 226, 229. Both of the drawings by Sleszer and Wyck are held at Ham House.

²⁴³ Evelyn's diary entry is for August 28, 1678. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144.

their guests. Italianate sculpture and boxed shrubs front the tree-lined avenue and frame the prosperous couple and their new, symmetrically arranged facade. *Mercury* on the left and *Fortuna* on the right, both probably copies of late sixteenth-century sculpture by Giambologna (1529-1608), divide the parterre from the wilderness and celebrate the Lauderdale's talents and successes.²⁴⁴ In presenting the house and garden, the complex iconography of both gods allows them many roles.²⁴⁵ As the guardian of entrances and borders, *Mercury* is the protector of

²⁴⁴ The sculptures are listed among the outside furnishings in the 1679 Ham House inventory, but are now missing. Giambologna (Jean Boulogne) was born in Douai and worked in Italy under the patronage of the Medici from c. 1555. *Mercury* is a copy of the god from the fountain at the Villa Medici, Rome, and is now in Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Both *Mercury* and *Fortuna* were reproduced in small bronzes and bought as diplomatic gifts and mementos and distributed throughout Europe. Several wax and clay models of these small sculptures are in London in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. A small bronze sculpture of *Fortuna* is in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Giambologna may have produced statuettes of *Mercury* and *Fortuna* as a pair, for they appear together in emblems, and the 1609 inventory of Benedetto Gondi's collection lists models of the two statues in successive entries. See Charles Avery, *Giambologna: the complete sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 260.

²⁴⁵ The emblem, *Ars naturam adiuvans* (Art assisting nature) from a Venetian edition of Andrea Alciati's famous emblem book (Venice, 1546) describes the interactions of Mercury and Fortuna:

Ut Fortuna pilae, cubo sic insidet Hermes:
Artibus hic, variis casibus illa praeest.
Adversus vim Fortunae est ars facta: sed artis
Cum Fortuna mala est, saepe requirit opem
Disce bonas artes igitur studiosa iuventus,
Quae certae secum commoda sortis habent.

(As Fortune stands on a sphere, so Hermes sits on a cube: he presides over the arts, she over the varied events of life. Art was made to counter the effect of Fortune, but when Fortune is bad, it often needs the aid of Art. Therefore, studious youths, learn good arts, which bring with them the benefits of an outcome not subject to chance.) Andrea Alciati, *ANDREÆ ALCIATI EMBLEMATA LIBELLVS, NVPER IN LVCEM EDITVS* (Vetiis: Aldvs, 1546), 42r. Piotr Rypson discusses the iconography of shape in Baroque art. The stable cube was meant to temper the world's fragility and keep the wheel of fortune within balance. Piotr Rypson, "Homo quadratus in labyrintho: The Cubus Visual Poem from Antiquity until Late Baroque," *European Iconography East and West. Selected Papers of the Szeged International Conference June 9-12, 1993*, ed. György E. Szönyi (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 13-15.

travelers; as the god of trade and the market, he is the patron of the merchant. But *Mercury* also serves as the god of eloquence, and in this capacity he presides over the liberal arts, acting as both teacher and guide. *Fortuna* presents a less positive set of references. As the goddess of fate and fortune, she promises abundance, but warns that prosperity is not always awarded to the deserving and that success is never certain. *Mercury*, however, mitigates these drawbacks. In his capacity as the god of commerce, he awards profit and loss according to worth – an office that tempers *Fortuna*'s promise of power and fame. The pairing of these gods suggests that art guides nature and thus assures the visitor of the couple's steady good fortune. While wind fills the goddess's drapery and one foot oversteps the support of her pedestal, the winged *Mercury* rushes forward to check fate's contrary blessings.²⁴⁶ The two sculptures are among the work recorded in the 1679 inventory as "10 statues of lead, whereof two upon stone pedestalls, and 8 upon wood pedestalls."²⁴⁷ In Danckerts's estate portrait they are painted white to resemble marble and to match their bases, differentiating the pair from the bronze-colored sculptures ringing the wide lawn's contours. The variety of materials indicate the range of art offerings, just as the simulation of materials allows a consistent decorative program in keeping with important, large-scale European building projects. To enjoy this garden space, seashell-shaped chairs, set at the

²⁴⁶ In 1577 the publisher Christopher Plantin issued an edition of Alciaiti's *Emblemata* with new wood cuts. The emblem (Emblema XCVIII) for *Ars naturam adiuuans* (Art assisting nature) shows a blindfolded *Fortuna* with one foot on an orb and wind filling her drapery like a sail. In the background seascape, one ship sinks in heavy seas and another, closer to the safety of land, sails out of danger. Andrea Alciati, *OMNIA ANDREAE ALCIATI V. C. EMBLEMATA: Cum Commentariis, Quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine, mens auctoris explicatur, et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur: Per Claudium Minoem Diuionensem* (Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1577), 136v.

²⁴⁷ The eight bronzed statues mentioned in the inventory are now also missing. Ham House, 1679 Inventory.

entrance to the wilderness, offer resting places for guests and hint at the inventive treasures awaiting within the house's newly remodeled rooms.²⁴⁸

As portrayed in Danckerts's estate portrait, however, the house and grounds celebrate a conservative model of court culture. The new wing conforms to the early seventeenth-century Jacobean facade and the sculpture cites Mannerist examples outdated by the 1670s.²⁴⁹ The duke and duchess's improvements are thus envisioned both as a result of their own union and as a renewal of the traditions of English rule. Emphasizing structures and forms of past authority, Danckerts manipulates all landscape elements to indicate the Lauderdale's influence at a fashionable court and their security within the Stuart reign. The house is centrally profiled against a wide wedge of cloud-filled sky, a shape repeated in the foreground's grassy verge. As with common crown iconography that positioned royalty between heaven and earth, the Lauderdale's stand strategically balanced on a long processional avenue between the garden and sky. Danckerts features the symmetry and rationality of the house and grounds where each section is fashioned, constructed, and controlled by the duke and duchess, and where each functions as a

²⁴⁸ Thornton and Tomlin suggest that the chairs (sgabelli) were originally part of the first earl of Dysart's decoration in Ham House and were placed outdoors by the Lauderdale's after renovating the grounds. There, especially, the chairs emphasize the Lauderdale's taste for the art of their courtly circle. Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomkins, "Franz Cleyn at Ham House," in *National Trust Studies, 1980*, ed. Gervase Jackson-Stops (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet by P. Wilson Publishers, 1979), 27-29.

²⁴⁹ North notes that: "This house is, in its time, esteemed one of the most beautyfull and compleat seats in the kingdome, and all ariseth out of the skill and dexterity in managing the alterations, which in my opinion are the best I have seen." North, *Of building: Roger North's writings on architecture*, 144. With respect to sculpture in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Jennifer Montagu mentions the stale imitation of Giambologna in Florence as opposed to the more contemporary directions of Roman Baroque sculpture. See, for example, Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 11.

demonstration of the pair's many resources: each segment logically concentrates access and reveals increasing distinctions of power. The Lauderdales's riches thus are advertised as a natural outcome of the couple's well-developed talents and their estate as a pattern for fortune's returns. Danckerts's country house painting records their public consequence by identifying the duke and duchess with an established and stylized expression of court splendor, exploiting as well art's support as a competitive social endorsement.

Another of the prolific Flemish painters in the earl of Radnor's collection, Jan Siberechts (1627- c.1703), specialized in country house portraits, and much the same as Danckerts, he constructed an iconography particularly suited to showing the advantages of the private English estate. Siberechts immigrated to England from Antwerp in 1673 under the patronage of George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham (1628-1687), and, according to Buckeridge, spent several years painting for the duke at Cliveden House, built in 1666 in Buckinghamshire.²⁵⁰ Buckeridge also describes Siberechts as a landscape painter – “a close imitator of nature in all his landskipts” – and writes that it was this particular genre that first drew the duke's interest.²⁵¹

The occasion of his coming was this: the duke of Buckingham, in

²⁵⁰ According to Timon Fokker's study on Siberechts, the painter was the son of the sculptor Jan Siberechts and studied with Adriaen de Bie (1593-1668), a Flemish painter. He became a master in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1648-49. For Siberechts's life, see Timon H. Fokker, *Jan Siberechts, Peintre de la Paysanne Flamande* (Bruxelles and Paris: Librairie Nationale D'Art et D'Histoire, 1931), 1-11. Cornelius de Bie's history of Netherlandish painters gives Siberechts only a short paragraph and mentions the influence of the Italianate painter Nicolas Berchem. See Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edele vry schilderconst waer-inne begrepen is den onsterffelijcken loff vande vermaerste constminnende geesten ende schilders van dese eeuw, hier inne meest naer het leven af-gebeldt, verciert met veel vermakelijcke rijmen ende spreucken* (T'Antwerpen: Ghedruckt by Juliaen van Montfort, 1662), 373.

²⁵¹ See Buckeridge's description in Buckeridge, “Essay towards an English School of Painters,” 425-26.

his way home from his embassy in France, passing through the Netherlands, staid some time in Antwerp, where meeting with several of his master's works in landskip, he was so well pleased with them, that he invited him over to England, and promised to make his Painter in that way; which upon his coming over he preformed; and he did a great number of those pictures for him at Clivden-house; However, after three or four years stay with him, he left him, and performed several pieces for the nobility and gentry of England, among whom he was for some time in vogue.²⁵²

Nothing remains of Siberechts's work for Buckingham, but several extant estate paintings from the 1670s and 1680s, commissioned by members of the peerage, include three views of Longleat House in Wiltshire for Thomas Thynne and several paintings of Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire, for Henry Jermyn, the first Lord Dover.²⁵³

During this time, Siberechts also painted for the gentry and for rising commercial and professional classes, documenting their country houses with the same elevated perspective and territorial view that distinguished his work for aristocratic patrons.²⁵⁴ An estate portrait of Sir

²⁵² Buckeridge, "Essay towards an English School of Painters," 425-26.

²⁵³ Versions of *Longleat House* were painted in 1675, 1676, and 1678. The first and second are still at Longleat House, Wiltshire, in the private collection of the Marquis of Bath, and the third is held by the Government Picture Collection. See Fokker, *Jan Siberechts*, 75. Vertue notes in his visit to Cheveley Park in 1725: "at Cheveley a Seat of the late Ld Dover built around 1680. many pictures landskips, Views, over doors chimney in the house painted by Sebright. Wyck." Vertue, "Notebooks II," *Walpole Society* 20 (1932): 86. *Cheveley Park* by Jan Siberechts is now in the collection of the duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, Rutland. Siberechts also painted a view of Chatsworth House that no longer survives, but the account records list a payment to Siberechts for a "Landsskip of Chatsworth." Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, First Duke Building Accounts, 5:6.

²⁵⁴ Siberechts leaves a number of estate paintings in Kent, including two paintings of Bayhall for the Amhersts (Yale Center for British Art and Tryon Palace, Raleigh, North Carolina) and one view of Bifrons for Thomas Adrian (Yale Center for British Art). Karen Hearn also suggests that in 1696 he painted "View of a House and its Estate in Belsize, Middlesex," (Tate, London) for the goldsmith-banker John Coggs. Karen Hearn, "Merchant Clients for the Painter Jan Siberechts," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004), 83-92.

Arnold Braemes's *Bridge Place* (fig. 2.6), for instance, depicts characteristics that single out the new image of the private estate and its country house setting: a long avenue of trees frames the riding party in the foreground and leads to a classically styled manor at the painting's core.²⁵⁵

Hunting dogs and falconers accompany a fashionable couple – most likely the house's owner and his wife – while another elegant pair watches from the small balcony above the stone entryway (fig. 2.7). Probably painted in the late 1670s or early 1680s, the scene features aristocratic recreations and entertainments, thus commemorating Braemes's estate as a center of country hospitality.²⁵⁶ This mannered setting may have been particularly important because the house was not inherited, nor was Braemes a member of the traditional peerage or gentry. According to the "Visitation of Kent, 1619-1621," his ancestors emigrated from Flanders to Sandwich and made their home in southern England in the time of Mary I (r. 1553-58).²⁵⁷ Braemes's grandfather, a wealthy merchant, settled in Dover and it was there that Braemes gained his fortune through

²⁵⁵ *Bridge Place*, previously in the collection of Christopher Gibbs, Ltd., was often displayed at Gibbs's gallery on Dove Street off Pimlico Road, London. The painting was sold (Lot 185, sale 8008) in Christie's Old Master and British Painting Day Sale, 7, Dec. 2011, London, King Street. There it was attributed to Adriaen Jansz. Ocker (c.1621-1689). It is not possible to determine where, or even if, the painting hung at Bridge Place. The inventory taken on Dec. 7, 1681, shortly after Arnold Braemes's death, mentions forty-four "pictures," which were recorded in the major rooms of the house, but only lists one of these by subject matter, "Sr. Arnolds pict," which hung in his chamber and was probably a portrait. The inventory also records numerous drawings or works on paper, all found in the house's lesser rooms (one reference to "paper pictures & board pictures" and several references to "pcell pictures"). Braemes inventory is published as an appendix in Malcolm Pinhorn, "Lesser Known Buildings: Bridge Place, Kent," *Blackmansbury* 5 (1968): 63-67.

²⁵⁶ Although the painting is usually attributed to Jan Siberechts, Harris, on stylistic grounds, believes it was painted by Adriaen Jansz. Ocker. A popular Dutch painter associated with classical landscapes, Ocker, however, has not been recorded in England. See *Harris, The Artist and the Country House*, 48.

²⁵⁷ John Philipot, *The visitation of Kent, taken in the years 1619-1621*, ed. Robert Hovenden, v. 42 (London: [Harleian Society], 1898 [i.e. 1900]), 215.

commerce and shipping, developing Dover's waterfront and port facilities and serving as the first director of the city's harbor board.²⁵⁸ In 1638 he bought the estate of Blackmanbury near the village of Bridge in East Kent, several miles from Canterbury; shortly after, he built Bridge Place close to Watling Street, the old Roman road and important coach route from Dover to London.²⁵⁹ Braemes's new country retreat replaced a sixteenth-century manor house and was located just twelve miles, then a day's journey, from its owner's commercial concerns in Dover.²⁶⁰ The house and its setting are recorded in a drawing (fig. 2.8) by Willem Schellinks (1627-1678), a Dutch topographical and landscape painter who visited Braemes for three months at the close of 1661.²⁶¹ Schellinks's watercolor sketch is from a view point northwest of the village on Watling Street, which passes through Bridge, skirts St Peters Church, then winds over the hill and toward the

²⁵⁸ Basil Duke Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, 3 vols. (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983), 1:707; Frederick Lansberry, "Tempered Despotism?: The Government of the County," in *Government and Politics in Kent, 1640-1914*, ed. Frederick Lansberry (Boydell Press and Kent County Council: Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, N.Y., 2001), 41-42.

²⁵⁹ Edward Hasted, "Parishes: Bridge," *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Containing the Antient and Present State of It, Civil and Ecclesiastical: Collected from Public Records, and Other Authorities* (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 9:286-290.

²⁶⁰ John Harris, *The history of Kent In five parts. Containing, I. An exact topography or description of the county. . . . V. The natural history of Kent*, (London: printed: and sold by D. Midwinter, 1719), 55.

²⁶¹ Schellinks stayed at Bridge Place as the guest of Sir Arnold from Nov. 16 to Dec. 4, 1661. His panorama of the village, the church, and Bridge Place is in the Rijksmuseum Pretenkabinet, Amsterdam. Schellinks drew the south front of the house and a view of the garden. All three are published by P. H. Hulton. See P. H. Hulton, "Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens and Lambert Doomer, from the Van der Hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna," *Walpole Society* 35 (1959), 1:frontispiece, xxiv; 2:plate 16. Pinhorn reconstructs the contemporary southeast face of the house according to the drawing by Schellinks. It is, however, difficult to determine the accuracy of Schellinks's drawings as he often adds Italianate elements, particularly ruined towers and walls. See Pinhorn, "Lesser Known Buildings: Bridge Place, Kent," 56.

coast. An avenue at the right connects the village with Braemes's large square house, just visible at the drawing's midpoint. Surrounded by a small park, Bridge Place is further identified by its hipped, dormered roof and orderly arrangement of chimneys rising high above the estate's tall trees.²⁶²

At the time, Bridge Place was one of the region's largest manors, second in size only to Chilham Castle, constructed in 1616 on the bailey near the original Norman keep and home to Braemes's second wife, Elizabeth Digges.²⁶³ Both houses were the result of rebuilding with funds from commercial gain, but unlike Bridge Place, Chilham Castle was built in the earlier Jacobean style. It is Braemes's newer country house that Thomas Philipot singles out in his survey of the buildings of Kent, published in 1659. Philipot describes the house as a monument built "upon the foundation of the ancient fabrick": "a magnificent Pile which obliges the Eye of the passenger, both to Admiration and Delight, and which like a *Phoenix* seems to have arose more glorious out of its Ruines."²⁶⁴ Philipot's analogy associates the house with a symbolic renewal and, more pointedly, with a new paradise. The description suggests important features of the estate, especially its pattern after buildings influenced by architectural classicism popular in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Through the reference to continental styles, Bridge Place identifies

²⁶² The classical design of the house is most likely patterned on Chevening Park, located in west Kent and possibly built by the 13th Lord Dacre around 1630. See John Newman, *The Buildings of England: North and East Kent*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), 210-11.

²⁶³ Elizabeth's father, Sir Dudley Digges (c. 1582-1639), held the lucrative position of master of the rolls. He was also a Privy Councillor under Charles I and chose to build Chilham Castle as a Renaissance palace with both Italianate and northern features. Philipot, *The visitation of Kent, taken in the years 1619-1621*, 216; George J. Armytage, *The visitation of the county of Kent, begun A.D. 1663, finished 1668* (London: Harleian Society, 1906), 54:24.

²⁶⁴ John Philipot, *Villare cantianum, or, Kent surveyed and illustrated* (London: Printed by William Godbid, and are to be sold at his house . . . , MDCLIX [1659]), 66.

Braemes, an active royalist, with the aesthetic values of the court, as well as those of urban architecture and city accomplishments.²⁶⁵

Siberechts portrays the southeast front of the brick house with its nine symmetrically ordered bays divided by elegant pilasters. At the entry, a high wall encloses the courtyard, and within marble busts decorate the formal garden; a projecting stringcourse separates the two stories and a deep cornice further emphasizes the horizontal dimension. The artist attenuates the height of the sun-lit house, probably to increase its stature when viewed from the foreground hill, but also possibly to appeal to the English fondness for ornament and material. The white stone porch, for example, features slender unfluted columns, Corinthian capitals, and a tall entablature, thus mixing the traditional architectural orders and decorating the classical facade with a bright central display. Similarly, Siberechts's extreme elongation of the keystone may result from the still widespread pleasure in manneristic ornament, a design feature that in England combined late

²⁶⁵ See, for example, Newman, *The Buildings of England: North and East Kent*, 83-87; H. J. Louw, "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c. 1600-c. 1660," *Architectural History* 24 (1981): 14. For Mannerism in England, see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 75-76. For the influence of pattern books and treatises, see Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent. Studies in British Art, 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 239-50. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire discuss the development of the trend toward compact country house plans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and plan in the country house: from castle donjons to Palladian boxes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008), 221-24. Vaughn Hart argues that the work of Inigo Jones developed the traditional orders as a tool for royal art and propaganda, particularly as a means of legitimacy, a display of British power, and a celebration of heraldic decoration. See Vaughn Hart, "Inigo Jones, 'Vitruvius Britannicus'," *Architectural History, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* 53 (2010): 2-39.

sixteenth-century European influences and Elizabethan forms.²⁶⁶ The decorative keystone also cites important Italianate elements in establishing the status of buildings. As with Siberechts's embellishments, many of Bridge Place's details represented popular architectural conceits.²⁶⁷ Its brickwork evoked or resembled other materials: the brick pilasters were – like carved columns – cut, curved, and smoothed; the window sills and transoms covered with plaster to simulate stone.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Henry Wotton, for one, explained that, “all Nations doe start at Novelties, and are indeed married to their owne Moulds.” See Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture. Collected by Henry Wotton Knight from the best Authors and Examples* (London: printed by John Bill, 1624), 14. Also see Colvin's discussion of Mannerist influences in the classical design of Thorpe Hall, 1654-56. Howard Colvin, “Thorpe Hall and its Architect,” in *Essays in English Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1999), 158-178.

²⁶⁷ Inigo Jones, however, called manneristic ornamentation inappropriate for the outward face of houses: “and to saie trew all thes composed ornamentes, the wch procced out of ye aboundance of dessignes, and wear brought in by Michill Angell and his followers. in my oppignion do not well in sollid Architecture and ye facciati of houses but in gardens loggis. stucco or ornamentes of chimnies peeces & in the inner partes of houses thes composiones are of neccesety to be yoused.” Inigo Jones, *Inigo Jones's “Roman sketchbook,”* ed., Edward Chaney, 2 vols. ([London]: Roxburghe Club, 2006), 2:167. Isaac de Claus used an elongated keystone as a decorative feature on the arched windows in the stables of Wilton House, 1618, and Jones featured an emphatic keystone in his rusticated Italianate gate for Halton House, London, 1622-23, as well as on the windows on the north front of the Queen's House at Greenwich, 1632-38.

²⁶⁸ The original square house was nine bays wide and seven deep, constructed around a small central courtyard, probably as a light well. Only four bays of the southeast face and five bays of the northeast face remain. The house was partially demolished after it was sold to John Taylor of Bifrons. According to Edward Hasted's late eighteenth-century account, Sir Arnold Braemes “built a spacious and magnificent mansion on the scite of the antient court-lodge here, which he named Bridge-Place, in which he afterwards resided, as did his son Walter Braems, esq. till his death in 1692, but the great cost of building this seat so impoverished the estate, that his heirs, about the year 1704, were obliged to part with it, which they did by sale to John Taylor, esq. of Bifrons, who soon afterwards pulled down the greatest part of this mansion, leaving only one wing of it standing, the size and stateliness of which being of itself full sufficient for a gentlemen's residence, cannot but give an idea of the grandeur of the whole building when entire.” Hasted, “Parishes: Bridge,” *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 9:288. Pinhorn, who bought the property in 1962 and lived at Bridge Place until 1967 reports on excavations carried out in 1964 and 1965. Pinhorn, “Lesser Known Buildings: Bridge

In Siberechts's depiction the estate's densely treed park grows close to the house, while the background widens to a deep panorama, recedes to yellow hills, and finally fades at the distant horizon. *Bridge Place*, in effect, shows the manor's advantages much as described in the travel journal of Willem Schellinks.²⁶⁹ Braemes's Dutch guest may have been a more astute observer than most, since his travels were in part the result of a commission from Laurens van der Hem to provide drawings for a large atlas.²⁷⁰ Although the journal contains a record of many everyday sights and events, as well as an account of renowned English buildings, towns, and harbors, Schellinks is especially impressed by the accommodations at Bridge. The diary entries detailing his stay are the artist's longest descriptions devoted to a single residence during his twenty-odd month tour through England from 14 July 1661 to 18 April 1663. He begins his account with the benefits of Bridge Place's situation:

The estate of Sir Arnold lies in a valley of outstanding beauty; it contains in addition to his own fine residence, a large number of chambers, halls and other good apartments; there is also a large deer park with many deer and does, woods, a rabbit warren in the hills, a very beautiful well kept pleasure grounds with fruit trees, well watered by a fast flowing, fresh sparkling stream of wonderfully clean sweet water. This splits up into several branches

Place, Kent," 57. Several original northeast windows show the brickwork on the casements. See Newman, *The Buildings of England: North and East Kent*, 160. Taylor (1655-1729) reduced the house to an L shape and probably used it as a dower house for his nearby estate.

²⁶⁹ Two manuscripts of Schellinks's journal exist, one in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and a contemporary transcription in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: respectively, Ny. Kgl. Saml. 370 I-III and MS d'Orville 558, 559, 560. See the introduction in Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, I:16.

²⁷⁰ Van der Hem's collection grew to eleven volumes by 1662 and in 1678, at the time of his death, it was 46 volumes. Hulton, "Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens and Lambert Doomer, from the Van der hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna," I:xiv-xv. On his tour, which began in 1661 and ended in Europe in 1665, Schellinks also accompanied a young shipbuilder's son, Jacques Thierry. See Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, I:1.

and rivulets, also some fish ponds, in which a certain kind of fish called a trout is bred, which is very similar to a large carp, and prepared in the English manner, tastes very delicious.²⁷¹

Schellinks mentions the beauty of the site and the size of the house, but the majority of the chronicle, as with Evelyn's much shorter description of Ham House, is devoted to the pleasures of the grounds. He constructs a natural economy where the park houses deer and the hills shelter rabbits, where the stream feeds both trees and fountain and its surplus fills fish-stocked ponds.

In Schellinks's journal entry, the estate's many offerings celebrate Braemes's own noble standing, a position recently secured by royal honors from the king. The year before, Braemes had been elected to parliament for the Cinque Port of Dover, and at the Restoration was knighted at Canterbury by Charles II during the king's progress from Dover to London.²⁷² The prestige of a new peerage and the hope of continued royal favor were perhaps represented by Braemes's ambitious yet traditional provisioning of the estate.²⁷³ Its great advantages make up Schellinks's description of his generous host and Bridge Place's handsome table:

There are also some vineyards round the house and gardens, producing yearly two to three hogshead of wine. There is a dovecot like a chapel, in which are at all times so many young pigeons that throughout the whole summer and longer 12 to 14 dozen can be taken out every week to put into pies or prepared otherwise. His

²⁷¹ Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, 1:64.

²⁷² Braemes was returned to parliament on 19 April, 1660, and knighted on 27 May, 1660. Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, 1:393, 707.

²⁷³ In July of 1660 Braemes petitioned for an appointment as a commissioner of customs – a particularly lucrative office – and cited his long experience in trade as a qualification. In addition he submitted a testament of his long service to the crown: “*Account by the Same of her services to the late King, in sending provisions for Ireland, supplying powder, &c., to the fleet of 1648, serving under Prince Rupert with his ship, and aiding at the in serving the fleet for His Majesty.*” Scottish Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reign of Charles II, 1660-1661, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), 1:152.

people go out hunting everyday and catch a lot of partridges, which we had every day on the table, besides a choice of other delicate food, all with the most delicious English sauces; there is ample supply of drinks, different kinds of wine and perry, which is made from pears.²⁷⁴

Schellinks frames the estate's blessings as virtues of a liberal household and devises an image of tangible largesse, a tribute where civility itself is a rhetorical expression of standing. The account relates the specifics of customary English ideals celebrated in, for example, such early seventeenth-century country house poems as "To Penshurst" by Ben Jonson (c.1572-1637).²⁷⁵ There hospitality reveals nobility and virtue – founding elite values – and serves as a sign of legitimate position. Schellinks portrays Braemes's rights to this position as a manifestation of the natural order of an abundant estate and a true demonstration of good lordship.²⁷⁶ Bridge Place thus operates as more than a proof of distinction; it doubles as a representation of Braemes himself. Both the estate and its owner embody plenty – the host in his favors, the house in its bounty. Like Siberechts, Schellinks relies on precise features and details to secure Bridge Place in the successes of the present, while also demonstrating its long continuity with the past.

Schellinks specifically distinguishes Braemes's estate by referring to the ideology of divine right, noble rule, and other hierarchically based structures of power. According to the journal entry, the means of production, cultivation, and husbandry turn to account the beasts of

²⁷⁴ Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, 1:64.

²⁷⁵ Ben Jonson, *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson* (London: Printed by W: Stansby, and are to be sould by Rich: Meighen, 1616), 819-21. The third chapter of this dissertation discusses the values expressed in country house poetry of the seventeenth century.

²⁷⁶ Schellinks's account duplicates the arrangements of a traditional aristocratic household. See, for example, Cassandra Willoughby's transcription of the orders to household servants at Wollaton Hall for c. 1572. University of Nottingham Library, Department of Special Collections, MS MiLM26, 78-81.

the field, birds of the air, and fruits of the earth:

He also has his own brewery, bakery, wine press, hop garden, barns, stables, oxen, cows, sheep, pigs, geese, ducks, corn and fruit, everything one can desire in such an establishment. And because he is, with all this, so kind and hospitable and keeps such a princely table, he has so many visits from noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, so that his table is always surrounded by his own people and outside guests.²⁷⁷

At Bridge Place plenty flows from heaven to earth, following a naturally prescribed economy that enfolds earthly tenure within the process of divine consecration. Continuing the analogy,

Schellinks closes his description with an image that synthesizes godly and noble sanction:

The church stands not far from his house and he has the right to nominate a minister of his choice for it. He has planted a fine avenue of lime trees from his house to the church, under which one is protected from rain and sun.²⁷⁸

From church to estate, the avenue of limes visually supports Braemes's position and place within this elite hierarchy. Here, the lines of sight emphasize material advantage, where the bounty of table and pleasures of home are expressed as temporal blessings of otherworldly fortune. Imagery of god's protection incorporates Braemes into a pattern of authority, allowing well-being itself to bear witness to providential favor.

Following the lead of other successful merchants, lawyers, bankers, and financiers, Braemes invested monies from commerce in a country estate as the surest means of social mobility, but bought only the manor, its accompanying park, adjoining fields, and parts of

²⁷⁷ Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, 1:64.

²⁷⁸ Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, 1:64.

neighboring manners – not vast tracts of bordering acreage and profitable agricultural land.²⁷⁹

Although after the Restoration 160 peers and between 80 and 100 non-noble families owned 10,000 or more acres apiece, Braemes was among lesser landowners who were without the funds to accumulate large holdings and whose estate profits – from agriculture, livestock, mineral

²⁷⁹ For the probable size of Braemes's estate, see Pinhorn, "Lesser Known Buildings: Bridge Place, Kent," 47-51. For a contemporary account on the ability of money to purchase social status, see Edward Waterhouse (1619-1670), who writes on the rise and fall of families from a moral perspective. He discusses Christian – as well as classical – virtues and vices as they affect the fate of families, then turns to the common or temporal means of good fortune, which include, first, the use of money, and second, the favor of princes. Of the first, he complains: "And thus to have money, is to be master of every almost desirable adjunct, to God's glory and mens good. Money being thus prevalent, it cannot be denied to be a probable Rise to Men and in them to Families. For *in that it answereth all things in the exchange of it*, there is no Match, Honour, Place, Character, Priveledge, which it (Subjects being capable of, and consistent with it) will not procure; nor is there any merit of conspicuity and obligation, which it gives opportunity to express & represent it self in, but is furtherable by it." Edward Waterhouse, *The gentlemen's monitor, or, A sober inspection into the vertues, vices, and ordinary means of the rise and decay of men and families with the authors apology and application to the nobles and gentry of England seasonable for these times* (London: Printed by T.R. for R. Royston . . . , MDCLXV [1665]), 175. In 1576 William Lambard (1536-1601) published *The Perambulation of Kent* – a description of Kent, its history, resources, situation, and people. Lambard reissued the account in 1596, and in 1665 it was revised, amended, and republished. *The Perambulation of Kent* comments on the mobility and characteristics of the Kent gentry: "The *Gentlemen* be not here (throughout) of so ancient stocks as else where, especially in the parts neere to *London*, from which City (as it were from certain rich and wealthy feedpot) *Courtiers, Lawyers, and Merchants* be continually translated, and doe become new plants among them." William Lambard, *The perambulation of Kent containing the description, history and customs of that county* (London: Printed for Matthew Walbqncke, and Dan. Pakeman, 1656), 7. In central and east Kent, Alan Everitt concludes, nearly all the gentry were from old settled families, and newcomers were easily absorbed into the fabric of country life through marriage. Their money from trade or the professions and their power from court appointments was also redistributed into old Kent families when they married. Most of the Cavaliers – like Braemes – fighting for Charles II during the civil war held appointments dependent on the crown and were also new to the country. Alan Everitt, *The communitie of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), 36, 116-121.

deposits, and industrial uses – did not support their lifestyles.²⁸⁰ Nonetheless, Siberechts's view of Bridge Place, like Schellinks's description, evokes the more ambitious ideal of the fortunes of ownership and the political benefits of landed resources. He portrays Braemes's tree-lined avenue, rising from the southeast entrance front to St Peter's, and places the estate's owner at the mid-point between the two spheres of power. The artist visually enhances Braemes's circle of influence by exaggerating the size of the hill and eliding the estate's boundaries. The appearance of extensive holdings forms a material support for prosperity as a mechanism of power – it documents the merit of such an estate and the honor due its owner. Within a unified and continuous setting, the house and grounds serve as a structure for an aesthetic of leisure, retirement, and recreation – in effect, a visual projection of contemporary taste and consequence. In the system of equivalences common to portraits of royal palaces, dominion over the surrounding territory was implied through the extent of sight, a construction that made authority legible and concrete. Borrowing the associations of these precedents, Siberechts's view builds an analogy between the reach of Bridge Place's long perspective and the scope of Braemes's own domain.

²⁸⁰ G. E. Mingay, *The gentry: the rise and fall of a ruling class* (London and New York: Longman, 1976), 59; Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700," *Past and Present*, 33 (1966): 21-22; Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 160. Also see Jules Lubbock on gentry building practices. Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 55-61. John Habakkuk discusses the purchase of estates by new men – merchants, financiers, and lawyers – predominantly after the Restoration. John Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and The Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 420-25, 432-33, 443-44. Everitt concludes that only 29 percent of the gentry families of Kent established after 1603 survived in 1688, as opposed to 87 percent of Tudor gentry families who were still established in Kent in the eighteenth century. Everitt, *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60*, 324.

This image repeats Henry Wotton's earlier description of entitlement, and further, illustrates a system of patronage where the estate symbolizes influence and replicates the allocation of power surrounding the court. But unlike the panoramic views of royal palaces from the first half of the seventeenth century, a fixed point directs measurement: the house determines scale; the grounds organize relationships. In the early paintings of crown properties along the Thames (figs. 1.4, 1.5), conversely, scale is relative: the eye easily moves from entertaining mummers to royal parks, from river boats to palace walls. Relationships shift equally between the trifling and the monumental. In the landscapes of castles in the northern regions (figs. 1.6, 1.7) scale, too, is related to a range of circumstances and dependent, in these paintings, on factors that describe the particulars of the territory and its singular history: bare mountains and wide spaces isolate old defensive structures and their sparse populations. The social context itself organizes the contingencies of everyday life around the weight of larger cultural institutions. In the country house paintings of the century's second half, however, this type of varied vantage point is used infrequently. Instead, in the examples of the estate portraits by Danckerts and Siberechts, the house is centered within its well-tended grounds and access to the property funneled through its prosperous owners. As in Schellinks' description, the conventions of hospitality meet the expectations of noble behavior and are proven by a surplus of natural and material riches.

Painters of estates in the century's second half arrange the landscape as a coherent system, with the house as a single and paramount focus. Such a pattern offers a recognizable and effective structure of power that details a specific estate and the triumph of its owners as a social or political accomplishment. The scheme itself borrows graphic conventions, and thus much of its impact, from estate surveys of country manors and bird's-eye perspectives of cities, towns,

and harbors – both supply designs that picture the control of territory and the right to govern. The estate maps depict only the holdings of a single owner, omitting the neighboring property; the bird’s-eye prospects centralize an important site in the midst of the surrounding countryside. The estate thus could translate an economic index and immediately indicate the measure of a family’s power, recording the ability to renovate or build anew, redesign grounds, and enlarge holdings. In country house paintings these ambitious claims for future prosperity and longevity were implied in celebrations of contemporary display – but they gave an idea of the dynamics of fortune that was still imagined securely in relation to the land.

Portraits of Plenty: Country House Paintings from 1690-1714

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, Nicholas Barbon (1637-1698) – physician, Member of Parliament, entrepreneur, and land speculator – connects the practice of building with economic growth.²⁸¹ He argues that significant houses are particularly important marks of status because the expense guarantees exclusivity and the result stands as a prominent sign of wealth –

²⁸¹ Barbon was educated in Leyden and Utrecht and served as an MP in England in 1690 and again in 1695. From 1685 to his death in 1698, he produced eight publications on such subjects as the value of money, the balance of trade, and the exchange of goods. His interest in economics was most often related to his own financial ventures, and he thus wrote principally in response to parliamentary policy on foreign trade and the national monetary policy. Barbon was also a land developer and speculator in London, as well as the founder of the first private fire insurance company. Barbon’s contributions to economic theory are described by Andrea Finkelstein and Tyler Cowen. See Finkelstein’s chapter, “Nicholas Barbon and the Quality of the Infinite,” in Andrea Finkelstein, *Harmony and Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 205-18; Tyler Cowen, “Nicholas Barbon and the Origins of Economic Liberalism,” *Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology* 4 (1986): 67-84.

as indeed, “the most proper and visible Distinction of Riches”:²⁸²

It is a Pleasure fit to entertain Princes doth best represent the
Majesty of the Person that lives in it, and is the most lasting and
truest History of the Greatness of his Person.²⁸³

Barbon encourages such expenditures as a support of the public good – the use of money to stimulate the economy and increase employment – since both spending and investment secure national order as well as individual honor. He differs, however, from conventional opinion by promoting an indulgence in personal luxuries and encouraging an ever-increasing sophistication in taste.²⁸⁴ The national economy, he contends, is driven by self-interested consumers, and not by

²⁸² *A Discourse of Trade* was first published only under Barbon’s initials as “N.B. M.D.,” a practice not inconsistent with much writing on finance and politics at the time. He lists building as “the chiefest Promoter of *Trade*,” directly after “New Fashions.” See Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade* (London: Printed by Tho. Milbourn for the Author, 1690), 67-68.

²⁸³ Barbon’s support of the customary building and spending practices of the wealthy is in the section titled “*Of the Chief Causes that Promote Trade*.” Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 67-68. Barbon’s justification for building expenditures was first developed and published as a response to a building tax enacted by Parliament on June 17, 1685. See Nicholas Barbon, *An apology for the builder, or, A discourse shewing the cause and effects of the increase of building* (London: Printed by Cave Pullen at the Angel in St. Pauls-Church-yard, 1685), 30-35.

²⁸⁴ Many of the writers, who encouraged spending for the well-being of the country, including Robert Boyle (1627-1691) and Charles Davenant (1656-1714), were troubled by the contradiction between moderation and excess. Most, notably, John Wilkins, Gabriel Plattes, William Petty, and Matthew and Christopher Wren argued that Protestant virtues and industry were the bases of success and prosperity. See, for example, Robert Boyle, *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London: printed for J. and F. Rivington, L. Davis, W. Johnston, S. Crowder, T. Payne, 1772), 1:441; Charles Davenant, *An Essay upon Ways and Means of suppling the war Discourses on the publick revenues, and on the trade of England: in two parts, viz. I. Of the use of political arithmetick, in all considerations about the revenues and trade, II. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be restored, III. On the management of the King’s revenues, IV. Whither to form the revenues may not, in this juncture, be most for the publick service?, V. On the public debts and engagements* (London: Printed for James Knapton, 1698), 55-62; Christopher Wren, *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens, comp. Christopher Wren* (London: printed for T. Osborn, in Gray’s-Inn; and R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1740), 53-5. Also see discussions in James R. Jacob, “The Political Economy of Science in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Social Research* 59 (1992): 505-532; Joyce Appleby, “The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England,” *The*

a series of interrelated communal relationships. It is mental and emotional desires, “Wants of the Mind,” rather than bodily necessities, or “Wants of the Body,” that create an expanding market and, further, support the model for an elastic concept of wealth.²⁸⁵ Where physical needs are few, those of the mind “are all such things that can satisfy Desire,” and, as Barbon explains, they are unending:

The Wants of the Mind are infinite, Man naturally Aspires, and his Mind is elevated, his Senses grow more refined, and more capable of Delight; his Desires are enlarged, and his Wants increase with his Wishes, which is for every thing that is rare, can gratifie his Senses, adorn his Body, and promote the Ease, Pleasure, and Pomp of Life.²⁸⁶

Connected to the health of the nation, the desire of the rich to spend is remodeled as a virtue and a basis for England’s continuing prosperity. The liberality of the wealthy thus is extended to include their outlay on the desires of the mind and the pleasures of the body.²⁸⁷ Where liberal principles were once understood as the virtues of generosity, charity, and hospitality, Barbon works old moral tenets into a new economic equation and redefines lavish personal expenditure as a public service.²⁸⁸

American Historical Review 81 (1976): 499-515.

²⁸⁵ Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 14.

²⁸⁶ Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 15.

²⁸⁷ Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 62-63.

²⁸⁸ Barbon was not alone among writers to advance unbounded human appetites as a basis for trade, but he was certainly one of the most enthusiastic. Both John Houghton (1640-1705) and Dudley North (1641-1691) also contributed to the debate at the time. Houghton was a prolific writer on improvements in husbandry and trade, as well as a successful London merchant, apothecary, and member of the Royal Society. In respect to vices, Houghton wrote: “That those who are guilty of *Prodigality, pride, vanity, and luxury*, do cause more wealth to the kingdom than loss to their own estates.” (April 27, 1682, no. V.) The sentiment is reiterated and expanded in the summary found in his next section: May 18, 1682, no. VI. John Houghton, *A collection for the improvement of husbandry and trade*, 4 vols. (London: printed for Woodman

In promoting the pursuit of life's luxuries as a greater social benefit of civic prosperity, he reverses the old bond between the desire for riches and the vices of pride and avarice. Effectively, he changes the standard of the measure for virtue and vice from conventional social authorities to a contemporary means of commercial exchange. The resulting scheme ties use value firmly to buying power and creates a financial model in opposition to the social tradition of England's hierarchical economy. In the early seventeenth-century ideology of the country house, for instance, usefulness is defined by the care and provision of the rural community, and power is based on that functional utility. Thus Willem Schellinks's description of Arnold Braemes's manor house praises the liberality of the host and the bounty of the land, evoking the myths and memories of the old English estate. Schellinks likely repeats the praise of Braemes's important guests and the social position presented by the owner himself, primarily that Bridge Places's celebrated natural surplus results from good lordship and godly order. But Barbon reshapes this system to justify a new direction in relations of exchange, where infinite wants are met with equally infinite supplies:

The Native Staple of each Country is the Riches of the Country,

and Lyon in Russel-street, Covent Garden, 1727-1728), 4:55, 62-63. North, a wealthy merchant, was knighted by Charles II and appointed as a sheriff of London; by James II he became a commissioner of customs. See Dudley North, *Discourses upon trade, principally directed to the cases of the interest, coynage, clipping, increase of money* (London: Printed for Tho. Basset, at the George in Fleet-street, 1691), 14-16. Authors in the early eighteenth century also questioned changing values resulting from the demand for luxury goods as part of the national welfare. See particularly the satirical treatment of the theme by Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) in his four page poem. Bernard Mandeville, *The grumbling hive: or, knaves turn'd honest* ([London], 1705). The poem was expanded in his *Fable of the Bees*, a parody between simplicity, poverty, and virtue, on the one hand, and on the other, prosperity, civilization, and vice. See Bernard Mandeville, *The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits. Containing, several discourses, to demonstrate, that human frailties, . . . may be turn'd to the advantage of the civil society, . . .* (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1714).

and is perpetual, and never to be consumed; Beasts of the Earth, Fowls of the Air, and Fishes of the Sea, Naturally Increase: There is Every Year a New Spring and Autumn, which produceth a New Stock of Plants and Fruits. And the Minerals of the Earth are Unexhaustable.²⁸⁹

Barbon imagines the desire for riches as a function of the ritual of cyclic return. However, he discards the common trope of the private estate as a garden and a resurrected eden, and instead understands both the estate and the state as markets satisfying the demands of consumers with the ingenuity of producers.²⁹⁰

Although Barbon's treatise was written in support of freedom from stringent trade regulation and for market-determined value, he participated in the contemporary debate on value and identified popular attitudes in respect to the aesthetics of landed estates. In painting, these new ideas concerning the measure of riches are formulated and promoted by the high bird's-eye perspective. Adapted for portraying a property's physical range and expressing a family's privileges, the bird's-eye perspective was the favored visual device in the representation of the country house from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the first decades of the eighteenth. By artificially constructing an all-seeing vantage point high above an estate, it allowed an extensive prospect of the house, gardens, park, and surrounding countryside – a view, in fact, that expressed relations in size and scope, advertising the wealth and taste of the patron, as well as the beauty and advantage of location. This aerial prospect clearly gauged the placement

²⁸⁹ Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 10.

²⁹⁰ Other writers also used the idea of England as one large market. Houghton, explaining the usefulness of his weekly published papers extracted from Custom's House bills, states it is his purpose "that *trade* may be better understood, and the whole *kingdom* made as one *trading city* . . ." (April 27, 1692, no. VI). Houghton, *A collection for the improvement of husbandry and trade*, 1:18.

of the house in respect to the design of the garden and extent of the park; it also constructed a means of easily weighing one estate against the next and celebrating the luxury of each.

Country house paintings in the 1690s show large geometric divisions of parkland and gardens that chart the degree of the holding and multiply its extent. A number of landscape painters, many who also immigrated to England from the Lowlands after the Stuart return, developed this high perspective and wide view of the land. Among the most acclaimed, according to both Buckeridge and Vertue, were Jan Vosterman, Gerard Edema, Jan Siberechts, Jan Griffier, Adriaen van Diest, and Leonard Knyff. While none specialized only in topographical paintings, an extended prospect usually figured even in general views of the land. Creating a landscape sub-genre, territorial views of estates documented the increasing wealth of the gentry and the success of business and professional men, but was notably efficient at illustrating the expressive power of the higher aristocracy's monumental private residences. Often built with fortunes amassed through court office during the last years of Elizabeth's reign and refurbished later in the seventeenth century, such rural palaces were national symbols of great families and emblems of the rights and status due the country's most important peers. As a group, large property owners provided patronage opportunities that could assure the careers of painters, and the development of visual schemes depicting the splendor of estates offered access to the higher end of the art market.

Jan Siberechts, well-known from his many commissions between the 1670s and 80s, appears to be one of the first landscape painters to make use of the potential of the bird's-eye perspective. He initially employed the technique to devise commanding views of ancestral holdings for noble families, including several versions of Wollaton Hall (figs. 2.9, 2.10), from c.

1695 to 1697.²⁹¹ His two prospects show the Nottinghamshire seat originally designed by Robert Smythson and built by Sir Francis Willoughby between 1580 and 1588.²⁹² The house stands tall upon a hill, its two stories lifted on a basement and topped by a clerestory and prospect room: four towers frame the symmetrically arranged building and four turrets define the prospect room. Siberechts's heightened perspective details the grandeur of the house and the authority of its site, emphasizing two characteristics that, according to contemporary accounts, were particularly

²⁹¹ The first view of Wollaton Hall, c. 1695, is in the collection of Lord Middleton, Birdsall, Yorkshire as is a similar view c. 1697; the third view is signed J. Siberechts and dated 1697 (Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

²⁹² The history of the house and family is recorded by Sir Francis Willoughby's great-great-granddaughter, Cassandra, who served as housekeeper for both of her brothers, Francis and Thomas, during their tenures at Wollaton Hall. Cassandra, later duchess of Chandos, gives an early eighteenth-century account of the Willoughby family compiled from letters and inventories and published in two volumes, the first by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Preserved at Wollaton Hall*, Nottinghamshire (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911), 565. The second volume is edited by A. C. Woods. See A. C. Woods, ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos* (Eton, Windsor: Shakespeare Head Press, 1958). The family's history, with an engraving of the house and several of the Willoughby tombs, is also in Robert Thorton's 1677 history of Nottinghamshire. See Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire: extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures* (London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock . . . , 1677), 222-28. The building history of Wollaton Hall in relation to the work of Robert Smythson is described in Mark Giraroud, *Robert Smythson and The Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 81-108. A description of the house, its building history, inventories, and archaeological excavations are in Pamela Marshall, *Wollaton Hall, An Archaeological Survey* (Nottingham: Nottingham Civic Society, 1996). Also see Friedman's discussion of the Willoughby family history, based on family records, particularly the 1702 account of Cassandra Willoughby. Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Mark Dawson also discusses Cassandra's account of the consumption and preparation of food at Wollaton during the late sixteenth century. See Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase*, (Devon: Prospect Books, 2009). All papers pertaining to the Willoughbys at Wollaton Hall and the Middleton archives are held at the University of Nottingham Library.

important to the estate's first owner.²⁹³

Sir Francis, a reluctant courtier to Elizabeth I and a wealthy landowner, funded Wollaton through his family's lucrative coal-mining enterprise and, on the authority of the sixteenth-century chronicler William Camden, as a monument to wealth.²⁹⁴ The first English edition of Camden's *Britannia*, amended and published in 1610, mentions the resources of the estate, relevant particulars of the house, and the intentions of its owner:

The River *Trent* . . . runneth hard by *Wollaton* rich in veines of cole, where *Sir Francis Willoughby* a Knight nobly descended from the Greis Marquesse Dorset, in our daies built out of the ground with great charges (upon a vaine ostentation of his wealth) a stately house with artificial workmanship, standing bleakely, but offering a very goodly prospect to the beholders farre and neere.²⁹⁵

The estate's coal reserves, the family's ancestry, and the house's finely wrought decoration are

²⁹³ Cassandra Willoughby summarizes a letter from Robert Aldridge, chaplain to Sir Francis, who writes to Sir Francis's eldest daughter and heir after the death of her father in 1596. He advises Lady Willoughby and her husband, Sir Percival Willoughby, to make their home at Wollaton because: "it was the ancient seat of the Willoubys, that was the most fruitful seat which she had: the best stored with all sorts of provision (which was a conveniency that they should consider, being both given to hospitality) and that in regard it had been lately built by her father at a great expense and was now called Willoughby's Glory, would, if not dwelt in, soon be termed Willouhgby's Folly, and therefore he beged that she would not think herself at home when she was not at Wollaton." A. C. Woods, ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willouby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*, 28-29.

²⁹⁴ Camden's history and description of Britain, with an emphasis on the country's Roman origin, was first published in Latin in 1586 and revised and enlarged in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600 and 1607. It was translated into English and revised in 1610 and reissued in 1637; a new English translation was published in 1695 and reissued in two volumes in 1722. Abridged editions in English appeared in 1627 and 1701. See William Camden, *Britain, or, A chorographically description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie: beautified with mappes of the severall shires of England / written first in Latine by William Camden; translated newly into English by Philmon Holland; finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author* (London: Printed by F.K.R.Y. and I.L. for Ioyce Norton, and Richard Whitaker, 1637), 547.

²⁹⁵ Camden, *Britain* (1637), 547.

concisely registered, but the account also notes Wollaton's singular effect: visible to all, it rises tall and starkly alone on the area's highest hill. In the aside, Camden criticizes Sir Francis's pretensions as well, drawing a direct correlation between the house's great expense and its owner's excessive pride.

A new English translation of *Britannia* – enlarged, revised, and amended by a select team of scholars – was published in 1695 to better meet the needs of contemporary antiquarians.²⁹⁶ Much of the material added by the English translator in 1610 was deleted, and as a result, Sir Francis Willoughby was remembered only by his house. The new edition eliminated information on the Willoughby antecedents and the benefits of the site, but not Sir Francis's ambitions nor the impact of the Hall and the quality of its ornament: "The Trent . . . runs near Wollaton, where in this age Sir Francis *Willoughby*, Kt, out of the ostentation to show his riches, built at vast charges a very stately house, both for the splendid appearance and curious workmanship of it."²⁹⁷ The 1695 *Britannia* especially records the aesthetic value and skill of Wollaton's design and detailing, elements that would still attract a late seventeenth-century audience. In designing the house, Smythson relied on a number of classical sources, including Sebastiano Serlio's *L'Architectura*, and on Mannerist pattern books by both Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and Vredeman de Vries, influences important in the house's description in the revised *Britannia*.

²⁹⁶ The diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, as well as the Bishops and antiquarians White Kennet and William Nicholson, were among those contributing to the project. See Stuart Piggot's introduction in William Camden, *Camden's Britannia, 1695, A fascimile of the 1695 edition published by Edmund Gibson*, intro. Stuart Piggot (New York and London: Johnson reprint Corporation, 1951), 9-11.

²⁹⁷ William Camden, *Camden's Britannia, newly translated into English: with large additions and improvements. Publish'd by Edmund Gibson* (London: Printed by F. Collins, for A. Swalle, at the Unicorn at the west-end of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1695), 482.

Camden's comment in part refers to Wollaton Hall's Flemish strapwork, Dutch gables, Italian busts, and elaborate medallions, crests, and screens – continental components of design that produced an extravagant and flamboyant effect.²⁹⁸

Siberechts presents an image of the house's tall stone facades divided by multi-paned windows, banded shafts, and ornamented entablatures, but above all memorializes the renovated gardens, installed to a large extent after Thomas Willoughby, the great-great-grandson of Sir Francis, took possession of Wollaton in 1688. Thomas inherited upon the death of his older brother Francis only one year after Francis himself had assumed possession, and he soon began work enlarging the gardens.²⁹⁹ In her early eighteenth-century chronicle of Wollaton's daily rhythms and yearly rituals, Thomas's sister Cassandra writes that her brother had a special interest in the grounds, engaging his tutor Dr. Man and the gardener Mr. Pratt, formerly of the Chelsea Physick Garden, to install botanical specimens, eventually developing the newly laid "pretty phisick garden" into one of England's largest private collections of medicinal plants.³⁰⁰

Other renovations included new terraces, partitions, borders, and beds – all in a style that favored

²⁹⁸ In her history of the family, Cassandra Willoughby writes: "The master workmen which built the house he sent for out of Italy, as also most of the stone figures which adorn the house." Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, 565. For Smythson's architectural sources, see Girouard, *Robert Symthson and the Elizabethan Country House*, 87-97; Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture, It's Rise and Fall, 1540-1640*, Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 209-16, 241-43.

²⁹⁹ The history of the family during Cassandra's tenure is recorded in the second volume of her history. Upon their mother's remarriage in 1676, Cassandra and her brothers lived with their mother and step-father, Sir Josiah Child (1630-1699), the immensely wealthy London merchant governor of the East India Company. From that time until 1687, Wollaton Hall stood empty. See Woods, ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*, 117-41.

³⁰⁰ Woods, ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*, 134.

current continental models rather than the plain garden parterres introduced during the reign of Charles I.³⁰¹ Cassandra describes the old garden as unchanged in style since the early Stuart reign: “The garden which formerly belonged to the house was (after the fashion of those times) but a little piece of ground, in which was the plan of the house planted with box trees.”³⁰²

Siberechts’s estate portrait (fig. 2.10) depicts the family arriving at the southeast side, just outside the new orangery and the recently planted bowling green.³⁰³ The 1697 version obscures the low outbuildings in the western court, featuring instead the enclosed gardens, geometrically plotted and axially aligned to the house. Similarly, such evidence of domestic chores as linen laid out to dry appear at a remove, while closer to the viewer’s vantage point, couples stroll along graveled walks and across wide manicured lawns. The large terrace fronting the garden facade is neatly ordered with a four-square parterre and rationally decorated with a central fountain, regularly placed sculpture, and potted trees set at exact intervals. A small number of livestock graze in informally hedged fields stretching to the north and east. Each division of space – discrete and contained – presents a specific use and a distinctive design. In *Wollaton Hall* the coherently planted grounds follow a familiar classical pattern that proportions social function to the substance of the estate.

In addition to the relaid grounds, Cassandra Willoughby also describes the prospect, and only later does she illustrate the house by way of an appended drawing, now missing from her

³⁰¹ For early Stuart gardens, see David Jacques, “Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,” *Architectural History* 44 (2001): 365-76. Several of Siberechts’s earlier estate paintings also show simpler gardens, including those portraying Longleat House, 1675 and 1678.

³⁰² Woods, ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*, 134.

³⁰³ See Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*, 160.

diary. Of the site she writes,

The new house is placed upon a hill about half a mile from the old hall, from whence there is a very noble prospect of the country around it. One side of the house looks upon the castle and town of Nottingham; from another there is a fine view of Clifton House and gardens, the seat of Sir Gervas Clifton; from the other sides of the house there is the prospect of several houses and little villages, and each corner and middle of the house pretty near point to churches that are about two or three miles off.³⁰⁴

Siberechts's high perspective allows a wide view of the surrounding countryside mentioned by Cassandra. However, nothing in the painter's prospect suggests the estate's important neighbors, instead *Wollaton Hall* shows only adjoining fields, a church, a few small manors, and several farms. Fully half of the painting is given over to a blue and cloud-filled sky – a scheme that measures the estate's expanse as part of a ratio of terrestrial to celestial space. Masking the limits of property, Siberechts's bird's-eye view, like its earlier counterparts, expands the value and influence of the estate, concurrently suggesting that ownership and resources extend as far as vision. But this perspective also details the estate's unique qualities – the elaborately decorated house, classical gardens, high prospect, and the pleasures of the park. In one respect, the fields continue indefinitely, offering an inclusive view; in another, the enclosed gardens and walled grounds describe exclusive pastimes and privileges. Deer graze in the park at the near left, while guests to the right bowl and enjoy the grounds at both the garden and entrance fronts. In Siberechts's view, tangible assets support the material worth of less quantifiable advantages,

³⁰⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, 565.

resulting in a network of social rights and riches.³⁰⁵ Whereas Sir Francis Willoughby constructed Wollaton as a visible sign of wealth, the estate painting commissioned four generations later by Thomas Willoughby shows a range of aspects of ownership, many of which reveal wealth as the progressive effects of knowledge and taste.³⁰⁶

In the c. 1695 version of *Wollaton Hall* (fig. 2.9), the house is portrayed from the same angle, but the prospect clearly depicts the four long, tree-lined avenues leading from the formal gardens to the perimeters of the estate.³⁰⁷ Siberechts's offers a higher and wider view, including the garden fronting the greenhouse and the series of descends bordering the bowling green. The lower terrace fronting the garden facade also shows parterres instead of orchards. Here, gravel walks and plots diagonally divide the garden and clipped hedges define the geometry and decorate the water features. This perspective is similar to the engraving of the estate included in Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata*, first published in 1707.³⁰⁸ However, in

³⁰⁵ In 1690 Cassandra writes of a visit from her mother, who had "great satisfaction to see the pretty manner my brother and I live." Woods ed., *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*, 138.

³⁰⁶ According to R. S. Smith's analysis of contemporary records, Wollaton originally cost £8,000 to build. However, by the early eighteenth century Cassandra Willoughby exaggerates the cost by a factor of ten: "It appears by a very particular account of the building, which still remains in the library, that the building of that house cost Sir Francis Willoughby four-score thousand pounds." See, respectively, Richard S. Smith, *Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall* (Nottingham: City of Nottingham Arts Department, 1988), 20; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, 566.

³⁰⁷ This version of *Wollaton Hall* is in the collection of Lord Middleton, Birdsall, Yorkshire. It is attributed to Jan Griffier (1652-1718) in Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*, plate 7.

³⁰⁸ The drawings were probably executed by Knyff in the mid-1690s, as the engraving of Dunham Massey (plate 37) is dated 1697. *Wollaton Hall in the County of Nottingham the seat of the Hon.ble S r. Thomas Willoughby Baronett* is number 68 in the series of estates. Engraved by Johannes Kip from drawings by Leonard Knyff, the eighty plates include bird's-eye perspectives of royal palaces and country estates in both English and French, with identifying captions and the

Wollaton Hall in the County of Nottingham (fig. 2.11), Knyff emphasizes the impact of the gardens and avenues as geometric extensions of the house. He scales down the height and proportions of Wollaton Hall and decreases the rise and fall of hill and valley. Conversely, the width of the far-reaching avenues is increased, magnifying their effect in the overall design and raising the importance of the grounds with respect to the house. This series of avenues produces an outward drive, figuratively expressing the dynamics and power of the estate. Thus, in the engraving the house's geometry merges with the patterns of the gardens and grounds, resulting in an expanding network with a dense center and an advance into the distant landscape.

The aerial perspective records two developments in the spatial organization of the country house – a strong radiating movement of sight lines and a tight arrangement of classically designed gardens, a pairing that incorporates the order and harmony of antique precepts within a material expression of contemporary economic well-being. The Willoughbys were able to renew the power of a century-old house by relaying and enlarging the gardens surrounding their hereditary seat and, in the process, creating a grand showing without the exorbitant cost of rebuilding a great house. But at Wollaton Hall, old feudal associations – the estate's moral economy – are somewhat diffused by both the aesthetics of design and the economics of land development. Yet, in Knyff's engraving the organizational structure of the estate – especially the geometry of garden plots and orthogonal avenues – joins the entire picture surface. New opening

heraldic devices of the landowners. Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Britannia illustrata or views of several of the royal palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain* (London: David Mortier, 1707). A year later it was published with a new introduction as Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip, *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des palais de la reine, et des maisons les plus considerables des seigneurs et des gentilshommes de la Grande Bretagne* (London: David Mortier, 1708). In the next several decades it was reissued in 1714-1715, 1720, 1722, 1724, and 1729.

vistas and connecting corridors measure and advertise extensive land holdings as a rational and orderly arrangement of space. The visual patterns themselves construct analogous relationships between the Willoughbys' contemporary renovations and the unfolding history of their house.

These relations – involving architecture's artistic, rhetorical, commercial, and social functions – are discussed by Christopher Wren, Surveyor of the Kings Works, in the introductory paragraph of his first tract on architecture, one part of an unfinished four-part treatise on architectural theory:³⁰⁹

ARCHITECTURE has its political Use; publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Common-wealth. The Emulation of the Cities of *Greece* was the true Cause of their Greatness. The obstinate Valour of the *Jews*, occasioned by the love of their Temple, was a Cement that held together that People, for many Ages, through infinite Changes. The Care of publick Decency and Convenience was a great Cause of the Establishment of the *Low-countries*, and many Cities in the World. Modern Rome subsists still, by the Ruins and the Imitation of the *old*; as does *Jerusalem*, by the Temple of the Sepulchre, and other Remains of *Helena's Zeal*.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ For Wren's work as Surveyor of the Kings Works, see Howard M. Colvin, "The Surveyorship of Christopher Wren," in *The History of the Kings Works*, ed. Howard M. Colvin (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1976), 5:19-38.

³¹⁰ Wren probably began writing his tracts in the 1670s, but prepared the draft of the treatise toward the end of his career in the first years of the eighteenth century. The tracts, however, did not appear in print until 1750, when his grandson Steven published the Wren family papers, first compiled by Wren's son and namesake Christopher. See Christopher Wren, KNT., "Appendix. Of Architecture; and Observations of Antique Temples, &c. Tract I." in *Parentalia, or, Memoirs of the family of the Wrens: viz. of Mathew bishop of Ely, Christopher dean of Windsor, &c. but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, late Surveyor-General of the royal buildings, president of the Royal Society, &c. &c.: in which is contained, besides his works, a great number of original papers and records on religion, politicks, anatomy, mathematicks, architecture, antiquities and most branches of polite literature / compiled by his son Christopher; now published by his grandson, Stephen Wren, Esq.; with the care of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries* (London: printed for T. Osborn, in Gray's-Inn;

Wren argues that buildings express such abstract cultural meanings as a country's customs and communal practices as well as pride in its accomplishments, but more significantly, they function as forceful ideals. As symbols of a nation, buildings mobilize the power of rule; they inspire such divergent activities as economic enterprises and noble acts. Describing architecture in terms of timeless qualities manifested in material form, Wren conceives of it as a means of political persuasion, particularly useful in positioning the interests that ensure prosperity under the aegis of honor. In building for both church and state, he recommends incorporating historically relevant forms and promotes powerful architectural design as the fabric of custom.³¹¹

As an expression of the command of vision, the aerial perspective also articulates the political strengths of a built environment: it metaphorically portrays a building's sphere of influence and registers its physical scope. In England, the wide overview of the important house and the transformation of land forms an image of political transformation, where power is imagined as the ability to reform the landscape and the means to advance that lead. While country house portraits were meant to celebrate a range of aristocratic and noble attributes – wealth, position, possession, accomplishment, and taste – they also constructed a long-built image of triumph. Beneath the coverings of foliage and ornament, the high perspective reveals

and R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1750), 351. Also see Lydia Soo's discussion of this material in Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 119-52.

³¹¹ See, for example, Wren's advice to the architect introducing his "Discourse on Architecture": "Whatever mans sentiments are upon mature deliberation it will still be necessary for him in a conspicuous Work to preserve his Undertaking from general censure, and to aim to accommodate his Designs to the Gust of the Age he lives in, thô it appears to him less rational." See *DISCOURSE ON ARCHITECTURE*. By sr. C:W:, in Wren, *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, comp. Christopher Wren, 1.

the skeletal framework of house and garden as organic structures subject to time and change. This broad view holds the estate at a distance, memorializing it through tradition's overarching and abstract ideals as part of the nation's accustomed story. Borrowing the force of history, the house's chronicled past, present fame, and future fortune are read in an image that coherently maps and plots the accumulation and drive of the landed estate. Consequently, its social and political functions are not now limited to the deeds of particular owners. Rather, they are invested in a shared heritage and in shaping contemporary cultural values. According to the depictions in estate portraits, the power of a house as a monumental presence and the impact of an estate as an imprint on the land are, however, the most tangible proofs of standing. In the aggregate, the repetition of garden plots, geometric divisions, and bisecting avenues show the ever-expanding units of land as increments of wealth and measures of privilege. Like treatises celebrating the virtues of houses, monuments, trade, or riches, paintings of birds-eye or aerial perspectives explicitly detail the store of assets and imply an accompanying fund of power.

Early Eighteenth-Century Country House Painting and Aesthetic Theory

By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, the portrait of the country house was still popular, but it was at odds with new writings on aesthetic theory and interpretations of the landscape. Critiques of formal gardens based on rigid, geometrically arranged parterres, beds, paths, sculpture, and water features began to appear in a variety of literary formats. These writings all touch on aspects of aesthetic theory, and many combine the effects of art with the practical concerns of economics. Such new periodicals as *The Spectator*, founded in 1711 by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, advocate refined and educated taste as part of an ideology in

which financial interests underpin an investment in landed property.³¹² Mixing economic policy and artistic concerns, they describe the aesthetic component of intellectual pursuits or pastimes and figure the landscape as a means of political and cultural criticism.

Addison's eleven-part series of articles for *The Spectator*, entitled "Pleasures of the Imagination," discusses types of aesthetic experience in relation to art and nature.³¹³ He divides his essays between the pleasures that arise from objects viewed directly before the eye as, for example, landscapes, and those recalled to the mind's eye indirectly from such works as sculpture, literature, or music.³¹⁴ Although the latter are termed "Secondary Pleasures of the Imagination," both proceed from the "Sight of what is *Great, Uncommon, or Beautiful*."³¹⁵ To explain the particulars of greatness, novelty, and beauty, Addison develops landscape analogies and imagery, especially in association with direct or outwardly perceived objects. Defining greatness he writes:

Our Imagination loves to be filled with an Object, or to grasp at any thing that is too big for its Capacity. We are flung into a pleasing Astonishment at such unbounded Views, and feel a delightful Stilness and Amazement in the Soul at the Apprehensions of them. The Mind of Man naturally hates every thing that looks like a Restraint upon it, and is apt to fancy it self under a sort of Confinement, when the Sight is pent up in a narrow Compass, and shortened on every side by the Neighborhood of

³¹² *The Spectator* was published between March 1, 1711, and Dec. 6, 1712, running for a total of 555 issues and published six times per week. Circulation grew to a high of 3,000 with multiple readers per copy. For Addison's work on *The Spectator*, see Robert M. Otten, *Joseph Addison* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 83-116; 107-115.

³¹³ Addison's "Pleasures of the Imagination" was printed in eleven papers, the first in the *Spectator* of June 21, No. 411, and the last in the July 3, 1712, issue, No. 421. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, 6th ed., 8 vols. (London: printed for J. Tonson, 1723), 6:No. 411-421, 62-101.

³¹⁴ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 411, 63-64.

³¹⁵ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 412, 66.

Walls or Mountains. On the contrary, a spacious Horizon is an Image of Liberty, where the Eye has Room to range abroad, to expatiate at large on the Immensity of its Views, and to lose it self amidst the Variety of Objects that offer themselves to its Observation. Such wide and undetermined Prospects are as pleasing to the Fancy, as the Speculations of Eternity or Infinitude are to the Understanding.³¹⁶

Landscape imagery articulates the mind's capacity to form and inform its experience. For Addison, both political and moral values are read in views of the land, which, he argues, fill the imagination and inundate the senses. Likening a wide horizon to an image of liberty, he concludes that range opens the mind and variety secures its resources.³¹⁷

In his essay No. 414 for June 25, Addison characterizes the garden as an example of an artificial form that accrues value from its resemblance to nature:

We have before observed, that there is generally in Nature something more Grand and August, than what we meet with in the Curiosities of Art. When, therefore, we see this imitated in any measure, it gives us a nobler and more exalted kind of Pleasure,

³¹⁶ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 412, 66-67.

³¹⁷ The writings of both Addison and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third earl of Shaftsbury, have been considered antecedents of Romanticism. Although Addison's description is often called pre-Romantic, it is for the most part without the idea of disinterestedness or aesthetic attention characteristic of Romanticism. See Elizabeth A. Bohls, "Disinterestedness and denial of the particular: Locke, Adam Smith, and the subject of aesthetics," in *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art*, ed. Paul Mattick, Jr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 26-28; John Hope Mason, "Thinking about genius in the eighteenth century," in *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art*, ed. Paul Mattick, Jr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 216-19; Lee Andrew Elioseff, *The Cultural Milieu of Addison's Literary Criticism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 107-115; Walter John Hipple, Jr., *The Beautiful, The Sublime, and The Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957), 13-24. See Peter Kivy's discussion of pre-eighteenth-century aesthetics. Peter Kivy, *The Seventh Sense: Francis Hutcheson and Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 2-23. Dabney Townsend also critiques the literature on Shaftsbury's idea of disinterestedness as an early Romantic aesthetic concept. Dabney Townsend, "Shaftsbury's Aesthetic Theory," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 41 (1982): 205-13.

than what we receive from the nicer and more accurate Productions of Art.³¹⁸

The greater the mimetic effect, the greater the artistic affect. In Addison's theory of aesthetics, the internal is accessed through external imagery, and to be effective the external must inspire as does nature; no longer is the garden to be limited by formal organizational precepts, but now, to bear the power of nature, it must derive expressive form from nature itself. This shift locates the significance of the observation and experience of nature in the observer's individual response, and consequently, in the efficacy of the object – in its affective imitation of nature. According to Addison, aesthetic experience, based on the senses, moves away from a practical and material interest in an object and toward the cultivation of refined experience, effectively opening the potential of broader aesthetic categories and new artistic experiences.

Addison differentiates the imaginative potential and successful characteristics of the “natural gardens” found in other countries and cultures from the aesthetic deficiencies of formal English gardens. For example, in the gardens of France and Italy “we see a Large Extent of Ground covered over with an agreeable Mixture of Garden and Forest, which represent everywhere an artificial rudeness, much more charming than that Neatness and Elegancy which we meet in those of our own Country.”³¹⁹ Addison also compares English gardens to those of China, and again finds the former restricted to the geometry of systematic structure.³²⁰

³¹⁸ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 414, 74-75.

³¹⁹ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 414, 75.

³²⁰ Addison references Sir William Temple's essay, “Upon the gardens of Epicurus, or of Gardening in the Year 1685,” in which Temple describes More Park in Hertfordshire. More Park had a meandering path through a wilderness along a river, but at some distance from the house and garden. The term “Sharawadgi” is used to identify the asymmetry in imported decorative products from China and Japan. William Temple, *Miscellanea, the second part in four essays: I. Upon ancient and modern learning; II. Upon the gardens of Epicurus; III. Upon heroick vertue;*

Writers who have given us an Account of *China*, tell us the Inhabitants of that Country laugh at the Plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by the Rule and Line; because, they say, any one may place Trees in equal Rows and uniform Figures. They choose rather to shew a Genius in Works of this Nature, and therefore always conceal the Art by which they direct themselves. They have a word, it seems, in their Language, by which they express the particular Beauty of a Plantation that thus strikes the Imagination at first Sight, without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an Effect. Our *British* Gardeners, on the contrary, instead of humouring Nature, love to deviate from it as much as possible. Our Trees rise in Cones, Globes, and Pyramids. We see the Marks of the Scissars upon every Plant and Bush. I do not know whether I am singular in my Opinion, but, for my own part, I would rather look upon a Tree in all its Luxuriancy and Diffusion of Boughs and Branches, than when it is thus cut and trimmed into a Mathematical Figure; and cannot but fancy that an Orchard in Flower looks infinitely more delightful, than all the little Labyrinths of the most finished Parterre.³²¹

He argues that the natural garden creatively inspires, its effect immediate and poetic and its method camouflaged by the genius of its form. In short, contemporary English gardens are figures for the small and the contrived: their lack of extent confines vision, their lack of grandeur reduces scope; rigid form represses pleasure as it stunts invention and inhibits art.

But here Addison also relates the value of use to an aesthetic economy, further faulting English gardens for an implied waste of resources:

It might, indeed, be of ill consequence to the Public, as well as unprofitable to private Persons, to alienate so much Ground from Pasturage, and the Plow, in many Parts of a Country that is so well peopled, and cultivated to a far greater advantage. But why may not a whole Estate be throne into a kind of Garden by frequent Plantations, that may turn as much to the Profit, as the Pleasure of the Owner?³²²

IV. Upon poetry (London: Printed by J.R. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690), 57-58..

³²¹ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 414, 75-76.

³²² Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 414, 75.

The matching of pleasure and profit extends the economy of nature – it makes Addison’s concept of imaginative fullness accessible through a grand and unrestricted view and opens the potential of nature’s riches to more material rewards. This formulation indirectly refers to the writings of John Locke and other contemporary authors on the value and use of property: according to god’s great design, mankind should make the best use of the created world and, consequently, benefit to man requires that value be added to private property through improvement and labor.³²³ In Locke’s model, the able and industrious appropriate and accumulate property and the resulting wealth filters down and thus sustains the less able.³²⁴ Addison first applies Locke’s economic language – the creation of value in landed property – to aesthetic concerns and then borrows Locke’s argument on the material advantage of cultivated land. For Addison, aesthetics similarly accrues value from the productive use of land. Just as the imagination reaps artistic and moral benefit from the beauty and harmony of the naturally ordered garden, so does the owner prosper from its productively planted grounds. Addison’s linking of individual virtue and private profit entails such enrichments as a refined sensibility and moral sensitivity which, in turn, support the stability of civic prosperity. Further, his argument sets up a chain of correspondences that defines

³²³ Locke added value to nature through labor, thus canceling rights in common, assuring the security of ownership, and moreover, increasing prosperity. He concluded that man, in accordance with god’s will, increased the earth’s resources to further support and comfort the human community. He justified private property morally by attaching it to labor and distinguishing the property owner from the idle. Consequently, property improved by industry and reason made unequal land holdings legitimate and consistent with god’s grant of the earth. Labor gave mankind a share of property and made him a productive tenant of the earth, and thus represented the fulfillment of god’s command. John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), ed. and intro. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 2:v.25-43.

³²⁴ Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), 2:v.45-48.

progressive improvement as an element of human worth.³²⁵

Other contemporary writers repeat Addison's sentiments and paraphrase his description of the imaginative pleasures of informally arranged gardens and unrestricted views.³²⁶ Garden designer Stephen Switzer's *The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation* supplies a practical account of English gardening, discusses aesthetic precepts, and describes designs meant to combine the profits of the garden with its pleasures.³²⁷ Switzer worked as deputy to the royal gardener Henry Wise at both Castle Howard and Blenheim Palace, and after 1710, with the architect John Vanbrugh (1624-1726).³²⁸ His "Preface" to the first edition, published in 1715, explains:

³²⁵ See John Pocock's discussion of the concept of national prosperity with respect to the rhetoric of political stability and economic changes. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), 423-86. 2003

³²⁶ In the third earl of Shaftsbury's discussion on aesthetics, he details the "Solemn Representations of things deeply natural," which included gardens. See Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl Shaftesbury, "Miscellaneous Reflection," *Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times*, 3 vols. (London: printed by John Darby, 1711), 3:184-85. Writing in No. 173 of *The Guardian*, Sept. 29, 1713, Alexander Pope agrees with both Shaftsbury and Addison in his critique of contemporary garden practices that, he explains, are contrary to "the amiable Simplicity of unadorned Nature." *The Guardian* (London: printed for J. Tonson, 1714), 338.

³²⁷ See Stephen Switzer, *The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation: or, an introduction to gardening, planting, agriculture, and the other business and pleasures of a country life* (London: printed for B. Barker, and C. King, 1715). Switzer (1682-1745) expanded his manual to three volumes and published it again in 1718. Another edition, again with additions, was issued in 1742. See Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia rustica; or, The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation. Containing directions for the general distribution of a country seat into rural and extensive gardens, parks, paddocks, &c., and a general system of agriculture; illus. from the author's drawings* (London: D. Browne, 1718.)

³²⁸ In 1699 Switzer joined Brompton Park Nursery where he was first apprenticed to George London. See William Alvis Brogden, "Stephen Switzer, 'La Gand Manier'," in *Furor Hortensis: Essays on the history of the English Landscape Garden in memory of H.F. Clark*, ed. Peter Willis (Edinburgh: Elysium Press, 1974), 25.

*Utile dulci [useful and pleasurable] is what may not be thought a proper Theme for Princes, whose Riches and Power are very great; but there seems to be a secret Pleasure in the very Words, and I believe there are few of the greatest Nobility whose Wealth o'erflows so much as to have no Regard to them: By this is not improbably meant a judicious Mixture and Incorporation of the Pleasures of the Country, with the Profits.*³²⁹

Switzer writes that for large country tracts his method – “*that extensive way of gardening*” – follows the “*La Gand Manier*” developed in France, and is specifically “*opposed to those crimping, Diminutive and wretched Performances we every where meet with, so bad and withal so expensive.*”³³⁰ He designs meandering walks as well as grande allées and radiating paths, but economic concerns too become a component of Switzer’s aesthetic ideals, so much so that a garden’s usefulness is a hidden element of its pleasure. Conversely, the stunted growth and wasted resources of gardens requiring intensive labor practices are aesthetically displeasing – a drain of assets and art that undermines the formal garden’s standing as a potent aesthetic form.

Switzer also repeats Addison’s aesthetic principles in his advice on the layout of gardens or “*the Plan or Ichonography of a well-contriv’d Seat.*” He argues that elevation “*requires, that every thing appears tall, stately, and bold, and all of it contrary to that narrow and mean-spiritedness with which Designs generally abound.*”³³¹ Next, he specifies essentials for the prospect:

It also directs, that all the adjacent Country be laid open to View, and that the Eye should not be bounded with high Walls, Woods misplac’d, and several Obstructions, that one sees in too

³²⁹ This popular Latin motto – useful and pleasurable – is here interpreted by Switzer as mingling profit with pleasure. Switzer, *The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener’s recreation*, xiii.

³³⁰ Switzer, *The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener’s recreation*, xiii.

³³¹ Switzer, *The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener’s recreation*, xiv.

*many Places, by which the Eye is as it were imprisoned, and the Feet fetter'd in the midst of the extensive Charms of Nature, and the voluminous Tracts of a pleasant Country.*³³²

Switzer's tropes are reminiscent of Henry Wotton's early seventeenth-century writings on the prospect of a country house, which Wotton termed the "*Royaltie of Sight*."³³³ But where Wotton saw the prospect as a function of the lordship of vision and an expression of ownership, Switzer addresses a view with respect to an interior perception and freedom from intellectual restraint. Here, the political aspect of possession is articulated as a concept of personal liberty, of an eye not confined nor feet bound by impediments to the potential of individual aesthetic pleasure. Also absent in Switzer's description is Wotton's mechanical formulation – a literal measurement of acres calculated by distance and vision. In contrast, Switzer's theories promote an aesthetic valuation: gardens are realized in designs that favor axially aligned traditional elements surrounded by informally ordered walks, beds, and borders.

In his 1718 edition of the *Ichnographia rustica*, Switzer published a set of plans showing geometrically designed avenues in the midst of irregular and meandering walks that, in turn, open to often informal and sometimes surprising views of the countryside. The plan for the rural garden at Paxton (fig. 2.12), for example, presents a common hallmark of the new design: a formal central element contrasts radically with the comparative naturalness of the surrounding gardens.³³⁴ In the case of Paxton, Switzer's formal garden, consistent with the martial style, is in

³³² Switzer, *The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation*, xiv.

³³³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 4. Wotton's writings on the idea of sight and the lordship of vision with respect to property are discussed in Chapter I of this dissertation.

³³⁴ Switzer's garden design is published in *Ichnographia rustica* and entitled "The Manor of Paston divided and planted into Rural Gardens." See Switzer, *Ichnographia rustica; or, The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation*, II, unnumbered (plate facing 115). Charles Bridgeman also portrays irregular plantings in a 1709 plan for the garden design of Blenheim, the

the shape of a battlement at the onset of the long avenue. The conceit opposes a sea of naturalistic growth with the rigid order of a defensive structure, perhaps creating an encounter between natural and man-made power. But its reference to a protected port also suggests the strength of Britain's emerging empire, an idea embodying the wealth of the nation and power of the state. Such references increased the imaginative potential of gardens to include paradoxical symbolism and imagery aimed at the nuances of contemporary intellectual taste and political life. Although Switzer's plans, designed according to the new aesthetic ideals, were not published until 1718, he developed the informally ordered garden much earlier. His first garden design conforming to these characteristics appears to be that of Grimsthorpe, the estate of Robert Bertie, the marquis of Lindsey and later first duke of Ancaster. Switzer began this new project in 1710, just a year after Addison published his "Pleasures of the Imagination."³³⁵

It is difficult to gauge any direct influence of Addison's essays on Switzer, but Addison expresses both a similar change of taste and a corresponding redefinition of the idea of possession:

A Man of a polite Imagination is let into a great many Pleasures, that the Vulgar are not capable of receiving. He can converse with a Picture, and find an agreeable Companion in a statue. He meets with a secret Refreshment in a Description, and often feels a

duke of Marlborough's new palace. Although a great avenue connects the grounds, the woods at the bottom corner of the plan show irregular walkways through the woodlands. At the time, Bridgeman was working for Henry Wise, who had been hired by John Vanbrough to lay out the grounds at Blenheim. Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English landscape garden* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1977), plate 24.

³³⁵ From drawings done in 1736, Brogden argues that Switzer's "Paston" design closely resembles his work at Grimsthorpe. For a description of Switzer's history and his gardens, see William Alvis Brogden, "Stephen Switzer, 'La Gand Manier,' " in *Furor Hortensis: Essays on the history of the English Landscape Garden in memory of H.F. Clark*, ed. Peter Willis (Edinburgh: Elysium Press, 1974), 25-28.

greater Satisfaction in the Prospect of Fields and Meadows, than another does in the Possession. It gives him, indeed, a kind of Property in every thing he sees, and makes the most rude uncultivated Parts of Nature administer to his Pleasures: So that he looks upon the World, as if it were in another Light, and discovers in it a Multitude of Charms, that conceal themselves from the generality of Mankind.³³⁶

Addison's "kind of Property," described as an abstraction and as the one important possession, is a refined taste that opens nature to aesthetic vision. The natural world, in fact, recognizes this elite perception and administers to its needs in a series of symbiotic relations – types of exchange that create a synthesis available to the "polite" but concealed from the common. The new scale of value elevates the pleasures of taste and the refinements of the polite imagination, raising them to the same level of authority as that traditionally conferred by important property. Where Wotton saw "Prospect" as part of the material dominion of "Lordship," Addison envisions it as belonging to an inherent sensibility that qualifies measures of wealth and worth.

Early eighteenth-century criticism notwithstanding, country house paintings of the period still relied on a seventeenth-century visual vocabulary of status that proved as resilient and resistant to change as their gardens were regular, orderly, and complex. The high overview of the large country house, shown with the artifice of symmetrically divided parterres, axially aligned walks, and geometrically plotted woodlands, was a significant expression of status until well into the third decade of the eighteenth century.³³⁷ Similarly, the labor of maintaining such elaborate

³³⁶ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 411, 64.

³³⁷ Even later in the eighteenth century, painters repeated this pattern for a variety of reasons. In addition to documenting scale and recording wealth, the aerial view matched other earlier paintings of estates and gave variety to decorative schemes. In c. 1737-47 Pieter Andreas Rysbrack was commissioned to paint an aerial perspective of Tottenham Park, Wiltshire, for Lord Viscount Bruce. (Lot 279, July 4, 2012, Sotheby's Old Master and British Painting Day Sale). John Harris II painted a series of four bird's-eye perspectives of Dunham Massey,

and extensive pleasure gardens, readily portrayed by an aerial view, still functioned as a sign of the estate's resources and its owner's riches. The bird's-eye perspective itself skillfully depicted the plan of the grounds and proportions of the property, where both great extent and formal design were of fundamental importance. The viewer hovers above the scene at a remove, divorced from the spectacular array below, able to judge the relationship between house and grounds, and to calculate worth. Thus, even though the technique measures range at a glance, it also encourages a slow assessment of the compounded land.

The longevity of paintings based on bird's-eye perspectives is particularly surprising, since many gardens at the time were relaid to follow the tenets of early eighteenth-century aesthetics. Organic, serpentine walks replaced the regularity of uniform, geometrically determined paths; loosely planted groves were constructed from the dense and orderly woodlands; and grassy slopes were formed from flat parterres.³³⁸ Most gardens were gradually redesigned, at first only in small areas at some distance from the house; others were completely built anew. Among the most renowned were the royal gardens of Kensington Palace and

Cheshire, in c. 1750. Commissioned by the estate's owner, the second earl of Warrington, the series now hangs in the Dunham Massey picture gallery. A bird's-eye perspective of Belton House, Lincolnshire, painted in 1751 and attributed to J. F. Nollekens, also still hangs in Belton. The painting is illustrated in John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 21.

³³⁸ For example, Batty Langley's contemporary garden manual describes appropriate irregularity, and includes designs for meandering paths, irregular walks and mazes, asymmetrical elements, picturesque ruins and water features, and undulating contours. He writes: "In Planting of Groves, you must observe a regular Irregularity; not planting them according to the common Method like an Orchard, with their Trees in straight Lines ranging every Way, but in a rural Manner, as if they had receiv'd their Situation from Nature itself." Batty Langley, *New principles of gardening: or, The laying out and planting parterres, groves, wildernesses, labyrinths, avenues, parks, &c. after a more grand and rural manner, than has been done before* (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and J. Batley; J. Pemberton; T. Bowles; J. Clarke; and J. Bowles, 1727), 202.

Richmond, and the private gardens at Castle Howard, Wilton, Claremont, Chiswick, and Stowe.³³⁹ For these, the bird's-eye perspective was ill-equipped to portray to advantage open views, irregular plantings, and asymmetrical vignettes. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the new landscape gardens were instead depicted with a format that allowed the close and comparative study of intimate scenes and special garden features, and one that encouraged an affective response.

The popularity of the bird's-eye view of the country estate may be in part due to the continued demand for visual expressions of hierarchy, especially where gain could be made through such contemporary inroads as commerce, trade, banking, law, and government appointment.³⁴⁰ At the very time Addison advocated a personal sensibility and intellectual liberty, individual social and economic mobility compelled a conventional or conservative visual representation of property, an image of standing that drew power from a traditional iconography of noble and aristocratic landholding. Liberty was associated with the freedom to secure material

³³⁹ For a survey of the rise of the natural-ordered garden and English landscape gardening during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, see David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens, The Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford, 1983), 29-42. Many plans of both famous and lesser-known gardens are included in the exhibit catalogue in Gervase Jackson-Stops, *An English Arcadia, 1600-1990: Designs for Gardens and Garden Buildings in the Care of the National Trust*, exh. cat. (Washington D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1991). Also see Richard Bisgrove, *The National Trust Book of the English Garden* (London: Viking Press, 1990), 77-93; John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 192-216.

³⁴⁰ For economic changes in England, see Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 242-79; Stanley L. Engerman, "Institutional change and British supremacy, 1650-1850: some reflections," in *Exceptionalism and Industrialization*, ed. Leandro Prados de la Escosura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 280-81; Robert C. Allen, "Britain's economic ascendancy in a European context," in *Exceptionalism and Industrialization*, ed. Leandro Prados de la Escosura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29-34.

gain, and that freedom was validated with ties to traditional civil rights and established property rights.³⁴¹ The country house portrait, in this respect, accumulated much of its meaning from earlier models. The first seventeenth-century panoramas of Stuart palaces and castles conveyed the implied political authority of a far prospect in respect to royal rule, and those associations still shaped paintings of private residences. The many post-Restoration estate paintings also established a standard format for an important private house centered in its grounds and surrounded by a long view of the countryside. Even the bird's-eye views of the early eighteenth century rely on an image of an estate with grounds divided, measured, counted, and numbered by serial units. Land, pictured in spatial modules of wealth, in effect, portrays a mighty center and an ever-multiplying web of influence. As social indicators, estate paintings calculated prestige by the size of the house, extent of the gardens, and sum of the acres; they identified hierarchy by signs of traditional class structure, building practices, aesthetic taste, and methods of visual representation – all a means of evoking history and ancestry to support position and identity.

But high perspective views also placed this material surplus within a comprehensive social context. Here, the day-to-day life of the estate unfolds in miniature detail, bearing the emotional investment of routine continuity: owners arrive in carriages and guests enjoy the gardens – as if the holding alone defines the character and habits of its occupants. The solidity of the estate may have been determined by the weight of grandeur and resource, but the small and mundane rhythms of social life carry their own emotive force. Commonplace detail verifies the

³⁴¹ Promoters of freedom of trade also argued that unrestricted trade was a right of providence as well as a civil liberty. See, for example, Charles Davenant, *An essay on the East-India-trade / by the author of The essay upon wayes and means* (London: [s.n.], 1696), 25-26.

property's social function, testifying to its guarantee of status and larger well-being. Through correspondences with historical forms of power, as well as representations of contemporary riches, estate paintings showcase this prospering lifestyle. Their landscapes translate appetites and ambitions, supplying a graphic index for measuring success and, as in Barbon's formulation, transfiguring wealth itself into a virtue. In substance, country house paintings established a familiar configuration of house and grounds that encapsulated the means of large landholding – the liberty and ability to own vast tracts of land – in an immediately tangible visual scheme. It was a successful pattern that only saw widespread change toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when the representation of power was more securely tied to an individual sensibility. Yet, even then, most country house paintings still feature the house and grounds from an elevated perspective. In the foreground, the vignettes have been enlarged and a story line added. And in the background, the once carefully delineated detail has been muted by atmospheric effects.

Chapter III. Customs of Possession – The Seventeenth-Century Country House Poem

In 1616 Francis Bacon (1561-1626), after long days and nights spent working at court in London, wrote of his relief on returning to Verulam House in the Hertfordshire countryside:

I am now gotten, into the *Coutrey* to my House, where I have
some little Liberty, to think of that, I would think of, and not that,
which other Men, Hourly break my Head withall, as it was at
London.³⁴²

The expression of such personal sentiments concerning rural estates was rare among their owners. Instead, the pleasures of the country and ideals of country house ownership were widely described in estate poetry, which first appeared in the second decade of the seventeenth century, near the time of both Bacon's letter and the first paintings of royal palaces. Retirement from the cares of court or city formed a classical value of country life and constituted part of the mythos of estate poems, but more commonly recognized were the noble obligations and responsibilities necessary to a stable, hierarchically structured community. While private country house portraits established a visual record of possession that made immediately known the social and economic advantages of their owners, poetry celebrating the country house detailed the virtues and

³⁴² Bacon's letter, dated August 5, 1616, was written during his service as Attorney General to James I. Sir Francis Bacon, "A Letter, from the Kings Atturney General, to the Master of the Horse [George Villier, later Duke of Buckingham], upon the sending, of his *Bill*, for *Viscount*. August 5, 1616," in *Resuscitatio, or, Bringing into publick light severall pieces of the works, civil, historical, philosophical, & theological, hitherto sleeping, of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban according to the best corrected coppies: together with His Lordships life by William Rawley* (London: Printed Sarah Griffin, for William Lee, and are to be sold at his shop in Fleetstreet, 1657), 79. The letter is also reproduced in Sir Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kierman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 277.

traditions of good lordship and honored an owner through the unique distinctions of his estate.³⁴³ Country house poems of the period imagined the estate as material evidence of cultural resource and social power and saw virtue and merit as both cause and reward of the house's qualities. But because of social, political, and economic shifts throughout the seventeenth century, the ideals celebrated in the early poems drew on a different set of conventions than those written during its closing decades. Changes in the criteria determining good judgement and wise disposition meant that aesthetic modifications to the estate advertised the reordering of underlying values. The individual freedom and private self-sufficiency expressed by Francis Bacon did not become public virtues, praised by the estate poet, until the last decades of the seventeenth century, when the freedom of a refined and independent mind was considered an element of intellectual culture.

The first estate poems – published before the middle of the century – invoke a series of equivalences between material position and spiritual worth, picturing the estate as a solid moral structure built by generations that held social good, as well as virtue, as intrinsic components of their standing. Like the paintings of royal palaces of the period, estate poems looked back to history's acknowledged hierarchies and values, adapting for their subject matter the surety of an ideal heritage and citing as their models the larger outlines of the well-run state. And, like their visual counterparts, the early poems portray a thriving and integrated community, safeguarded by the inherent order of moral worth and virtuous rule. Diverging from this pattern, later poems describe accomplishments in the greater world, figuring the estate with respect to the complexities of England's successful commercial growth and to widely adopted modes of

³⁴³ Chapters I and II of this dissertation discuss seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century estate paintings.

continental design. Where the early poems promote insular characteristics of tradition, those written after the Restoration also formulate value according to Europe's influences and material goods. Yet throughout the century, and again like country house paintings, poems celebrating country estates shape a type of praise that distinguishes an owner through the qualities of his holding, memorializing that property as an inclusive symbol of contemporary status and value.³⁴⁴

Much has been written on country house poetry with respect to both genre and ideology, as well as on the differences between early poems and those produced toward the end of the Stuart reign.³⁴⁵ My interest, however, lies in the ways these poems reference customs important to

³⁴⁴ The subject of the country house poem was, in most instances, the male owner; his wife was generally relegated to a supportive role in private household management, as well as the bearing and raising of children. She was a vessel for creation, but not an active participant in the creation of history. See Barbara Keifer Lewalski, "The Lady of the Country House Poem," in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed. Gervase Jackson-Stops, Gordon J. Schochet, et al. (Washington D.C. and Hanover, N.H.: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1989), 261-75. Also see Alice Friedman for gender and the design of the country house. Alice T. Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," *Assemblage* 18 (1992): 41-61.

³⁴⁵ For the country house poem with respect to genre, see: G. R. Hibbard, "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956): 159-74; Paul M. Cubeta, "A Jonsonian Ideal: 'To Penshurst,'" *Philosophical Quarterly* 42 (1963): 14-24; William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1977); Heather Dubrow, "The Country-House Poem: A Study in Generic Development," *Genre* 12 (1979): 153-79; Mary Ann C. McGuire, "The Cavalier Country-House Poem: Mutations on a Jonsonian Tradition," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 19 (1979): 93-108; Alastair Fowler, "The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's To Penshurst," *The Review of English Studies* 24 (1974): 266-82; Alastair Fowler, "Country-House Poems: The Politics of a Genre," *The Seventeenth Century* 1 (1986): 1-14; Alastair Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); Alastair Fowler, "Georgic and the Pastoral: Laws of Genre in the Seventeenth Century," in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, ed. Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester University Press, 1992); William Alexander McClung, "The Country-House Arcadia," in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed. Gervase Jackson-Stops, Gordon J. Schochet, et al. (Washington D.C. and Hanover, N.H.: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1989); David Hill Radcliffe, "Genre and Social Order in Country House Poems of the

social and political life: how issues of lineage, class, manners, aesthetics, and taste structure differing standards of value and scales of hierarchy. Because the subject matter of the country house poem parallels that of the estate portrait, I look at how ritual defines social and economic relations and how these relations are translated into visual imagery. Both the paintings and poems record practices of patronage – rites of praise adapted or borrowed from more ceremonial contexts – to measure renown, heritage, and worth. They modulate meaning by reference to old customs and habits of life and, in turn, mediate new positions of power through the iteration of this historical form. In the paintings and poems that celebrate estates, the conventions of elite culture thus are set within temporal processes that, in particular, invest history's substance or experience in the present. Such textual artefacts display the means through which the shape of property itself mitigates a want of political power, family heritage, or material wealth.

Eighteenth Century: Four Views of Percy Lodge," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 30 (1990): 445-65. In the following studies, ideology, especially the politics of cultural and social spaces, is the predominate focus: Charles Molesworth, *"In More Decent Order Tame": Marvel, History, and the Country-House Poem*, PhD. Diss. (Buffalo: State University of New York, 1968); Charles Molesworth, "Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century," *Genre* 1 (1968): 141-57; Charles Molesworth, "'To Penshurst' and Jonson's Historical Imagination," *Clio* 1 (1971): 5-13; Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 46-54; James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackell, 1979), 8-35; Don E. Wayne, *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Virginia C. Kenny, *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature 1688-1750: Themes of Personal Retreat and National Expansion* (Sussex and New York: The Harvesters Press and St. Martin's Press, 1984); Malcolm Kelsall, *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993); Hugh Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998); Paul McSorley, "Local History: Property, Place and History in the English Country House Poem," in *The Political Subject: Essays on the Self from Art, Politics and Science*, ed. Wendy Wheeler (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2000); Kari McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Early Seventeenth-Century Country House Poems

The first prominent estate poem, both for the stature of the poet and the status of his subject, is Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst," written in 1612 to Sir Robert Sidney (1563-1626) – Baron Sidney of Penshurst in 1603, Viscount Lisle in 1605, and earl of Leicester in 1618.³⁴⁶ Originally published in 1616 as part of his *WORKES*, Jonson's tribute includes poems dedicated to courtiers as well as masques celebrating the virtues of James I.³⁴⁷ The volume of collected works, in effect, defines a network of patronage in which the ambitions and aspirations of both the poet and his patron were dependent on the success of their service. By the time Jonson (1572-1637) wrote his praise of Penshurst and its owner, the estate had been in the Sidney family (fig. 3.1) for 60 years and three generations, and the property itself stood as the family's most lasting reward of court favor.

Beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, the Sidneys directly served both Tudor and Stuart courts, but never enjoyed the high positions and lucrative monetary opportunities of the crown's most important courtiers. William Sidney (1482-1554), Sir Robert's grandfather, was knighted by Henry VIII for his service in the 1513 battle of Flodden against the Scots, and in 1538 he was

³⁴⁶ On the dating of "To Penshurst," see *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 11:33. The Sidney family papers are published by the Historical Manuscript Commission. Great Britain, Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place*, 6 vols. (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1925-66). Also see Michael G. Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500-1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 114-31.

³⁴⁷ "To Penshurst" was published as the second poem in *The Forrest*, a section of Jonson's collected works that includes poems written in a variety of genres. Jonson edited and carefully published the 1,015 folio pages of his collected work as an authoritative edition and life accomplishment. Under the title *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson*, the volume was printed in London by William Stansby in 1616. See, for example, W. H. Herendeen's discussion: W. H. Herendeen, "Introduction: On Reading the 1616 Folio," in *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, ed. Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 11-19.

appointed tutor and steward of the household to Edward, prince of Wales.³⁴⁸ Between 1514 and 1543 he received grants of land from the king, including Robertsbridge Abbey and its extensive land holdings in Sussex and Kent.³⁴⁹ The Abbey had surrendered its lands when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries in 1539, and the holding was granted to Sir William Sidney in the same year. After Edward's accession in 1547, Sir William served as one of four members of the Privy Chamber, and in 1552 his Kent properties were enlarged when Penshurst Place was received from the king and became the Sidney's country seat. During that period, Edward VI also favored Sir William's son, Henry Sidney (1529-1586), the king's childhood companion who was knighted in 1550 and granted several positions at court. A year later Sir Henry married Barbara Dudley, daughter of the powerful but unfortunate John Dudley, earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland,³⁵⁰ and upon his father's death in 1554, he inherited as the eldest and only

³⁴⁸ Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, 1:x-xii.

³⁴⁹ For deeds documenting the holdings of the Abbey, see Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, 1:33-171.

³⁵⁰ John Dudley was condemned for supporting the succession of Lady Jane Grey against that of Mary Tudor and executed in 1553. See John Stow, *The annales of England faithfully collected out of the most autentically authors, records, and other monuments of antiquitie, from the first inhabitation vntill this present yeere 1592 by Iohn Stow citizen of London* (Imprinted at London: By Ralfe Newbery [and Eliot's Court Press, 1592]), 1039-1040. For a contemporary opinion of Northumberland see John Ponet, *A shorte treatise of politike pouuer: and of the true obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men, compyled by. D. I.P. B. R. VV* ([Strasbourg: Printed by the heirs of W. Köpfel], 1556), A2v-A3v. For Philip Sidney's opinion of his grandfather, see Philip Sidney, *The complete works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1912-26), 3:65-66. For Northumberland, also see David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland: 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Barrett L. Beer, "Northumberland: The Myth of the Wicked Duke and the Historical John Dudley," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 11 (1979): 1-14. For Henry Sidney, see the entry in Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1897), 52:210-16.

surviving son. Under Elizabeth I he served as Lord Deputy of Ireland and Lord President of the Marshes of Wales, yet unlike Elizabeth's favorites, Sir Henry received neither titles nor gifts of monies and land.³⁵¹ His court appointments removed him from London and the center of royal power to outlying regions. At his death in 1586, his eldest son, the poet and statesman Philip Sidney (1554-1586), inherited, but held the estate for less than a year before his own death from injuries caused while fighting Spanish forces at Zutphen in the Southern Lowlands. When Sir Henry's oldest surviving son, Robert Sidney, inherited from Philip, he was over-taxed with the debts of both father and brother. However, several years later the deaths of his uncles – the earl of Leicester in 1588 and the earl of Warwick in 1589 – improved his circumstances, as did his succession to his late brother's post as Governor of Flushing, the English possession in the Southern Netherlands. His fortunes improved again upon the death of Queen Elizabeth I and the accession of James I: Queen Anne of Denmark appointed Sir Robert her Chamberlain, Surveyor-General of her revenues, steward of her Kent manors, and a member of her council. He spent much time at court attending the queen, yet as with his forefathers, Sir Robert's financial awards

³⁵¹ Henry Sidney's account records show him living very close to and often beyond his means. Accounts from the year 1561-62 record revenues of approximately £2,330 and expenses of £4,405; 1565-66, revenues of £8,616 and expenditures of £8,361; 1566-67, revenues of £5,407 and expenses of £9,197; 1571-72, revenues of £9,865 and expenses of £9,781; 1572-73, revenues of £6,375 and expenses of £6,343. His reimbursement by the crown for services in Ireland and Wales are closely balanced by expenses. See Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, I:424-47. In a letter to William Cecil in 1569-70, he complains of administrative problems in Ireland as well as lack of funds; in 1575 he writes to Queen Elizabeth detailing expenditures. Correspondence from Sir Francis Walsingham in 1577-78 discusses Sidney's over-expenditures and a threatened revocation of his appointment. See, respectively, Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, II:12, 22-23, 75-77.

from court office were smaller than his outlays.³⁵²

At the time Sir Robert inherited Penshurst Place (fig. 3.2) in 1586, the house's medieval appearance was little altered, largely because the Sidneys, throughout their tenure, lacked the funds for major renovations.³⁵³ Dating to the thirteenth century, Penshurst was first fortified by John de Pulteney, a wealthy London merchant who served four terms as Lord Mayor of the capital city.³⁵⁴ De Pulteney built the great hall and several other buildings and enclosed the house within stone walls. The estate was again improved when Sir John Devereux, who married De Pulteney's widow, was issued a license to crenellate, contributing to much of Penshurst's distinctive medieval character. Early in the fifteenth century, John, the duke of Bedford, acquired the estate and added corner towers to the walls and a gabled building to the west of the house. When Henry Sidney inherited he built a series of extensions on Penshurst's west side, turrets on the towers, and a wide front and gatehouse to the north-facing courtyard. Following the building practices of Henry VIII and the fashion of later sixteenth-century courtiers, Sir Henry chose to construct all his additions in brick.

During his own tenure, Sir Robert Sidney enlarged Penshurst's west range, erecting a long, brick gallery to connect the fifteenth-century gabled building with the southwest tower. Continual financial problems, however, allowed few further improvements other than interior repairs to the great hall, the construction of new stables, and the addition of a pale enclosing the

³⁵² For the Sidney's expenditures on Penshurst, see Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1984), 186-87.

³⁵³ Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)*, 186-87.

³⁵⁴ For a history of the house and description of Penshurst's records from 1341 to 1551, see Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, 1:xxii-xxiv, 232-38.

park. In letters to his wife, Barbara Gamage, Sir Robert complains of financial constraints and mounting debts, and was often troubled by his inability to meet obligations, pay household expenses, and provide adequately for both the upkeep and the renovation of Penshurst.³⁵⁵ The Sidneys, while enlarging a substantial house over several generations, were unable to rebuild Penshurst on the extensive scale of such country houses as Holdenby House in Northamptonshire, Longleat in Wiltshire, Burghley House in Cambridgeshire, Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, Hatfield House in Hertfordshire, Audley End in Essex, and Knole, the estate of Thomas Sackville, the earl of Dorset, located in Kent just eight miles from Penshurst Place itself.³⁵⁶ These greater estates show degrees of power and influence and the material effects of court office beyond the Sidneys' own political and economic standing.

³⁵⁵ Lack of funds appears to fall yearly during the legislative term in London and the queen's annual progress. Sidney too seems unable to either adequately or timely recoup monies expended in service to the court and in support of his position in the county. In 1607 Sir Robert Sidney wrote concerning his debts on 19 September, 25 September, 14 October, 24 October, 5 November, and 10 November. His letter on 10 November states: "For my state is now I cannot consist, I will not say in respect of myne honor and credit, but even for things of necessary maintenance: and therefore before you come from Penshurst I pray you conferr with Golding [the steward of Penshurst] and take his opinion what is to be don. For I never was in that case in my lyfe as I ame now. For besides mine interest debts I owe 2000*l*. In London, for most part of which I either ame or shall presently bee sued." He goes on to detail his obligations at some length. In 1609 on 20 October he writes of "my dangerous and troublesome debt," and almost a year later on 29 September 1609 he writes: "But this we must at the last resolve, to keep such a hous as we may, not as we would: our 'frends' must beare with us: for wee must not bee undon. I know you want many things which are fitt for you: but truly the debts every halfe yeare come so heavily in respect to the hous, as (for which I ame excedingly sorry) I ame never able to doe that for you which in my heart I desyre." He also writes of financial troubles on 1 August 1610, 24 August 1611, and 17 October 1611. See, respectively, Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley*, 3:410, 412, 417, 422, 429, 431; 4:63, 162, 212, 283, 297.

³⁵⁶ See, for example, John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 58-89. For Knole, see John Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 342-49.

In “To Penshurst” Jonson may have turned the family’s financial needs to advantage, but the house’s medieval architecture – its crenulated walls and corner towers – also supplied a means of referencing imagery important to the Stuarts’ public representation. Aligning the historical practices of monarchic rule and royal patronage with the reign of James I, Jonson demonstrated a natural and legitimate progression from one dynasty to the next. The Sidney’s long service to the kings and queens of England, Sir Robert’s dependence on court patronage, and his house’s castle-like appearance combine to organize an ideal model of an orderly English community – a part of the nation’s distinctive heritage, instrumental in promoting dynastic virtue and unity. Jonson’s major themes – the continuity of the Sidney lineage and Sir Robert’s good stewardship, as well as the estate’s self-sufficiency, hierarchical structure, and ancient history – prove the merits of crown rule through the example of the country estate. Social benefits and cultural identity are substantiated through traditional rites of sovereignty and exercised within a contented political community. In this, the fortunes of both Jonson, as a court poet, and Sidney, as a courtier, were at stake – each depended on success and favor with the Stuart crown.

As often noted, “To Penshurst” begins with a description that associates the Sidneys’ seat with English tradition, and does so through an image of the estate in opposition to those built according to continental influences and for conspicuous social considerations:³⁵⁷

Thou art not, PENSHURST, built to enuious show
 Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
 Of polish’d pillars, or a roofof gold:
 Thou hast no lantherne, whereof tales are told,

³⁵⁷ For the use of this type of negative formula in early country house poems, see Heather Dubrow, “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner? Reinterpreting Formalism and the Country House Poem,” *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61 (2000): 70-71; Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community*, 95-97.

Or stayre, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
 And these grudg'd at, art reuerenc'd the while.
 Thou ioy'st in better markes, of soyle, of ayr,
 Of wood, of water; therein thou art faire. (1-8) ³⁵⁸

Penshurst, the binary inverse of luxurious houses untempered by an easy and natural relationship with the past, builds on the virtues of nature's own riches. Its antitheses – houses dressed with imported marble, shining columns, golden roofs, and ceremonial stairs – trade the fundamental values of English land and culture for costly or exotic commodities.³⁵⁹ Jonson relies on a conventional equation that pairs opulent trappings with all forms of corruption and could be enlisted to appeal to the authenticity of old values and loyalties.³⁶⁰ Such connections between sin

³⁵⁸ All quotations are from the original edition of Jonson's *Workes* and are cited by line number. See Ben Jonson, *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson*, 819-21. Also see Jonson, *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford, Simpson, and Simpson, 8:93-96.

³⁵⁹ Martin Butler suggests that the criticism of large, costly houses with respect to Penshurst was made with Hatfield House in mind. Robert Cecil (1563-1612), the earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer, Master of the Court of Wards, and Secretary of State spent lavishly on building. Martin Butler, "'Servant, but not Slave': Ben Jonson at the Jacobean Court," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 90 (1996): 81-83. Also see Lawrence Stone's discussion of aristocratic building, Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558-1641* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 550-53.

³⁶⁰ For example, Robert Devereux (1566-1601), the second earl of Essex, a privy councillor and Earl Marshal, relied on the link between luxury and corruption to summon all manner of virtuous historical precedent in his argument supporting taxation for the purposes of war during the reign of Elizabeth I. As the spiritual descendants of god's chosen – the Old Testament heros – the English do battle against the heathens as well as the French. Luxury is here likened to decadence, and means certain failure; native virtue is similarly connected to lineage and guarantees success. Essex writes: "And is *England* so base a state, that the men in it will not bestow some of their superfluous expenses, to keepe themselues from conquest and slaverie? did the kinges and religious people of the old Testament to maintaine the warres against the enemies of God, sell the ornamentes of the Temple, and thinges consecrated to holy uses? and shall not we which haue as holy a warre, spare those thinges which we haue dedicated to our idle and sensuall pleasures? and could our nation in those former gallant ages, when our countrey was farre poorer, then it is now, leaue armes, make warre, atchiue great conquests in Fraunce, & make our powerful arms known as farre as the holy land? and is this such a degenerate age, as we shall not be able to defend England? no, no, there is some seede yet left of that auncient vertue." Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, *An apologie of the Earle of Essex: against those which*

and luxury were commonly adapted as cultural, national, and, primarily, biblical supports to advance any number of causes or points of view. This historical association allowed Jonson to obliquely indicate that Penshurst's extravagant counterparts fall into play against god, king, and country, as well as against the civil well-being of the English community. All glow and glitter, these proud houses present facile surfaces where tricks of sensory stimulation displace providential light. Jonson imagines the inverse of Penshurst as the inverse of virtue – a surfeit of worldly goods and an idle aristocracy given to monied fittings at the expense of custom.

The poem's first half develops Penshurst's edenic landscape as a continuation of the house's unifying bond. Jonson describes the estate's topography – literally a bird's-eye tour, tracing plenty from mount to river and then to middle ground. Each locale holds signs of the Sidneys' history and establishes analogies between the family tree, the estate's lush growth, the biblical garden, and the classical age. Muses celebrate near an oak planted at Philip Sidney's birth, and the prelapsarian landscape is enshrined as a mythic golden age.³⁶¹ More immediately,

iealously, and maliciously, tax him to be the hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country. Penned by himselfe in anno 1598 (London: Richard Bradocke, 1603), D3-4. John Foxe (1516-1587), in his *Actes and Monuments*, had early remade England onto the image of the new Israel. In the sixteenth century the text was reprinted in 1576, 1580, 1583, and 1597. John Foxe, *Actes And Monuments Of These Latter And Perillous Dayes Touching Matters Of The Church*, (Imprinted at London: By Iohn Day, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate. Cum priuilegio Regi[a]e Maiestatis, [1563 (20 March)]). For an account of god's new English land, also see the Old Testament commentary by the Protestant clergyman John Downname (d. 1652). John Downname, *Lectures vpon the foure first chapters of the prophecie of Hosea: Wherein the text is expounded and cleered, and such profitable instructions obserued, and applied, as naturally arise out of this holie Scripture, and are fit for these times. By Iohn Dovvname Bachelor in Diuinitie, and preacher of Gods word* (London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston [and T. East], for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound, 1608).

³⁶¹ Jonson writes: "That taller tree, which of a nut was set,

At his great birth, where all the Muses met," (13-15)

For classical references related to a golden age in respect to this couplet, see Molesworth, "*In More Decent Order Tame*": *Marvel, History, and the Country-House Poem*, 41-19; Wayne,

the land provisions the house with game of all manner, arranged according to a natural hierarchy of fish and fowl and beasts of field and farm. Just as the spatial dimensions of Penshurst are divinely ordered, so too are its temporal divisions:

Then hath thy orchard fruit, thy garden flowers,
 Fresh as the ayre, and new as are the houres.
 The earely cheery, with the later plum,
 Fig, grape, and quince each in his time doth come:
 The blushing apricot, and woolly peach
 Hang on thy walls, that euery child may reach. (39-44)

Providence leaves its mark as fruit ripens in the season of growth, and fortune favors Penshurst with bounty as it does the Sidneys with heirs. The yearly return promises fresh harvests to reap, and the child's reach, future marks to meet.

Inside the house, good stewardship and liberal hospitality match nature's rich display: neighbors, tenants, and farmers extend tribute; guests share alike in rewards:

Where comes no guest, but is allow'd to eate,
 Without his feare, and of thy lords owne meate:
 Where the same beere, and bread, and selfe-same wine,
 That is his Lordships, shall be also mine.
 And I not faine to sit (as some, this day,
 At great mens tables) and yet dine away. (61-66)

Jonson transforms the abundance of the land into a full feast laid at the great hall's table, itself a central symbol of communal life and Christian communion. His own invitation to the Sidneys' table again distinguishes Penshurst from estates that mistake the awards of quick power for the accumulated honors of long service. The community, structured according to a web of exchanges, prospers in a land-based economy checked by its own values of order and balance.

Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History, 59; Cubeta, "A Jonsonian Ideal: 'To Penshurst,'" 17-19; Fowler, "The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's To Penshurst," 18.

Such good government is acknowledged by the crown's high favor: an impromptu visit from James I and his son, who stop to rest while the Sidneys are away, but still find the house and household open and ready to serve.³⁶² Royal rewards accordingly fall on Sir Robert for his benefit to country and community – all tributes which, by rank and degree, mimic the royal state and repay god's favor. Fortune recognizes Sidney's example with a litany of blessings: his tenants are honest, his workers industrious, his staff loyal, his wife chaste and fertile, and his children true and faithful.

In "To Penshurst," the political and moral economies depend on right action and right order to preserve symmetry, an achievement Jonson reiterates in the poem's final couplets:

Now, PENSURST, they that will proportion thee
 With other edifices, when they see
 Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,
 May say, their lords haue built, but thy lord dwells. (99-102)

Here, an additional aesthetic component distinguishes Penshurst from those estates previously described as without heritage, virtue, or taste. Comparison is defined by "proportion" – as the touchstone for difference – and characterizes all aspects of the Sidneys' estate. Penshurst's history and legacy are products of an economically balanced hierarchy that shapes the structure of English identity. Jonson reduces the estate's rivals to piles of rubble, buildings emptied of sense,

³⁶² "To Penshurst," (76-88). In his proclamations requiring the return of the aristocracy and gentry to their country estates, James I used the old custom of hospitality as a rational to control political order in London. He blames the failure of English customs, involving obligation and community order, on weak character swayed by foreign influences: "The decay of Hospitalitie in all parts of this Our Kingdom, so much the more increaseth, by reason that Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of qualitie, doe rather fall to a more private and delicate course of life, after the manner in forreine Countreys, by living in Cities and Townes, then continue the ancient and laudable custome of this Realme in housekeeping upon principall Seates and Mansions in the Countrey." James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, eds., *Royal proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, 3 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), 1:356-57.

composed instead of matter's disorderly detritus, while Penshurst itself, bound and preserved by an ancient social fabric, is spiritually dense and actively productive. Value, unrelated to rich, vision-based displays appealing singularly to the eye, falls under the measure of natural law, a qualitative effect of moral order and not a quantitative result of private ends.

An important aspect of Jonson's praise is thus the element of due proportion in his description of patronage. The courtier freely gives allegiance to a legitimate and deserving ruler; the king in turn bestows just favor and fair reward. The act of right choice then praises both: the impression of a social order sustained by moral judgement and personal liberty supplies a necessary ideal for a stable political bond. Relations of size, kind, and degree legitimately determine place. A decade before Jonson published "To Penshurst," James I's Lord Chief Justice, Edward Forest (c. 1553-1630), also expressed the same structured exchange as one of overall proportion:

In the bodie naturall, the substenance is not all caried to the side, or to one part, to the pining and beguiling of the rest: So in the state, the nobilitie is so to bee maintayned, as that the Commons bee not wronged; and the Clergie so to be cherished, as the Laytie be not overlayd, but each part must be fed competently with a proportionable partition of the profits, alotting the same with such indifferencie, as the plentie of some be not the cause of penuried vnto others, not that the euersucking veynes of some do draw drie the poorer that be in want.³⁶³

Forest explains hierarchy as a balanced but dynamic social pattern, one which guarantees mutual benefit on the one hand and protection against wrongful profit, on the other. For Jonson,

³⁶³ Edward Forest, *A comparatiue discourse of the bodies natural and politique: VVherein out of the principles of nature, is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subiects, and right of soueraigne: together with many good points of politicall learning, mentioned in brieffe after the preface* (London: Printed [by Eliot's Court Press] for Iohn Bill, 1606), 45.

proportion operates as a similar means of both discerning difference and measuring place. The material economy functions as a benefit of virtue's graces and even as a parallel to spiritual provision, aesthetically and metaphorically establishing a set exchange.

Jonson relies on Forest's idea of hierarchical balance to place his own work within the system of patronage contingent on royal favor. By praising Sidney he constructs models of sound and solid power and its continuity, further developing an iconography of a fair and legitimate rule. Centered on traditional structures of authority, this pattern of favor incorporates the cause of both the poet and the courtier into relations of fealty that were always uncertain.³⁶⁴ Loss of court position often meant financial ruin, professional failure, and social dishonor – all risks of displeasure in a continually changing network of influence. In "To Penshurst," however, Jonson omits the whims, hazards, and passing favors of the court and instead celebrates the nation's most enduring continuities as a foundation of culture. The claims of individual ability, moral worth, and inherited title dignify obligation and power, envisioning high standing as a complement to, rather than a vagary of, royal support.

The patterns and figures used by Jonson to place contemporary circumstances within the

³⁶⁴ Sidney, for example, missed lucrative opportunities for promotion. In 1603 he fell under suspicion of conspiring with Spanish forces in the Southern Lowlands and was recalled from Flushing to the court in London, facing a possible charge of treason and penalties of death and forfeiture of estates. Sidney was soon cleared of these charges, yet lost his chance of an appointment to James's Privy Council. Historic Manuscript Commission, *Review of Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire*, ed. M. S. Giuseppi (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1938), 17:390-94, 404. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney*, 212-13. Jonson owed his comfortable living to the court as well, but also felt its heavy hand when he was jailed in 1597 for coauthoring the satirical play, *The Isle of Dogs*. See Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989), 165; Richard Dutton, "Introduction," in Ben Jonson, *Epigrams and The Forrest*, ed. Richard Dutton (Manchester: Carnanet Press, 1984), 12.

confines of past practices commonly explained political events. And like Jonson's careful picture of social life at Penshurst, the symbols of these institutional practices are also founded in the English feudal past, thereby structuring a history of insular custom based on liberties, licenses, and responsibilities particular to England. In the reign of Elizabeth I, for example, the Anglican theologian, clergyman, and political philosopher, Richard Hooker (1554-1600) casts English ideals as figurative representations connecting natural law and the body politic. Hooker defines biblical authority, religious tradition, and natural order – as interpreted according to the Church of England – by arguing that the laws of the church and state support the entire scheme of universal existence.³⁶⁵

The thing prescribed is *Faith*. For, as in a chain, which is made of many links, if you pull the first, you draw the rest; and as in a ladder of many staves, if you take away the lowest, all hope of ascending unto to the highest will be removed.³⁶⁶

His chain and ladder base authority on the externals of power, and good government on the harmonious workings of those externals. Hooker justifies the operation of the late medieval English social and political system and argues in support of the highest tiers in functional rule – the obedience of god's creatures to god's laws – as a guarantee of the good fortune of the lower orders.

The ideals of prosperity, heritage, and social order, as well as the values and virtues that detail traditional identity and standing, became the basis of tropes cited often by poets and both

³⁶⁵ See especially section 3 of Book One. Richard Hooker, *The works of Mr. Richard Hooker (that learned and judicious divine), in eight books of ecclesiastical polity: compleated out of his own manuscripts, never before published: with an account of his life and death* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb for Andrew Crook . . . , 1666), 4-7.

³⁶⁶ See section 14 of Hooker's "The second sermon." Hooker, *The works of Mr. Richard Hooker*, 573-74.

religious and political writers.³⁶⁷ This model of natural inheritance, good lordship, and right rule depended on the structured hierarchy of divine right summarized at the beginning of James's reign by Edward Forest:

Where all will rule, there is no rule, and where none doeth rule,
there is all misrule: but to rule well, and to bee well-ruled is the
surest bond of humane societie.³⁶⁸

Again, Forest expresses good government as just proportion and well-being as just rule; he supposes a rational system of mutually dependent and hierarchically determined power relations, which are the prerequisites of a naturally harmonizing bond.³⁶⁹

But by the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, the top tier of the social order came under attack, and changes in tradition were expressed through metaphors depicting a collapse of hierarchy, and consequently, the loss of accustomed balance. Before the civil war, the

³⁶⁷ Poets writing on Jonson's themes include Robert Herrick (1591-1674) and Thomas Carew (c. 1595- c. 1639). See Robert Herrick, *Hesperides, or, The works both humane & divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.* (London: Printed for John Williams and Francis Eglesfield, and are to be sold by Tho. Hunt . . . , 1648); Thomas Carew, *Poems By Thomas Carew Esquire. One of the gentlemen of the Privie-Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to His Majesty* (London: Printed by I.D. for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at the signe of the flying Horse, between Brittaines Burse, and York-House, 1640). For country house themes in respect to a system of patronage see, McSorley, "Local History: Property, Place and History in the English Country House Poem," 47-50; Isabel Rivers, *The Poetry of Conservatism 1600-1745: A Study of Poets and Public Affairs from Jonson to Pope* (Cambridge: Rivers Press, 1975), 33-35.

³⁶⁸ Edward Forest, *A comparative discourse of the Bodies natural and Politique: Wherein out of the principles of nature, is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subiects, and right of soueraigne: together with many good points of politicall learning, mentioned in a briefe after the preface*, 3.

³⁶⁹ Forest's writing depends on correspondences between the natural body and the body politic, as well as analogies between natural and political forms and functions. His method is detailed in the unpaginated preface, "To the Reader." Forest, *A comparative discourse of the Bodies natural and Politique: Wherein out of the principles of nature, is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subiects, and right of soueraigne: together with many good points of politicall learning, mentioned in a briefe after the preface*, 81.

inability of both the king and parliament to enact reforms threatened the integrity of established modes of sustaining order, and the nation's heritage failed to settle the resulting differences.³⁷⁰ At this time the parliamentarian, lawyer, and scholar, John Selden (1584-1654), himself an advocate of both common and natural law, discusses society's reliance on medieval custom with respect to the problems of contemporary England.³⁷¹ Selden, too, relies on a figure – the hall at the heart of the estate – to explain the whole by its parts and the cause by its effect. Questioning the basis of power and privilege, he describes the great hall as an overt operation of power where the importance of historical ritual is recognized and maintained:

The Hall was the place where the great Lord us'd to eat (wherefore else were the Halls made so big?), Where he saw all his Servants and Tenants about him. He ate not in private, Except in time of sickness: when once he became a thing Coopt up, all his greatness was spoil'd. Nay the King himself used to eat in the Hall, and his Lords sate with him, and then he understood Men.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ See Kevin Sharpe's discussion of the conflict between crown and parliament and his assessment of the historiography concerning early modern England. He concludes that conflicts leading to the outbreak of civil war in 1642 were largely due to the rupture caused by social, political, and economic changes and the inability of governing bodies to adopt new ways of meeting those changes. Instead, precedent and tradition, designed to serve the needs of a medieval polity, were applied to problems of Protestant religious conflict, colonial expansion, commercial interests, property taxes, and the administrative structure. Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 269-93.

³⁷¹ For Selden's view of natural law in respect to political theory, see Harold J. Berman, "The Origins of Historical Jurisprudence: Coke, Selden, Hale," *The Yale Law Journal* 103 (1994): 1694-1702; J. P. Sommerville, "John Selden, the Law of Nature, and the Origins of Government," *The Historical Review* 27 (1984): 437-47.

³⁷² Selden's thoughts and discussions on religion, law, and political theory were recorded by his secretary of twenty years, Richard Milward, and first published thirty-five years after Selden's death. Milward arranges this material under topics and lists these in alphabetical order. The citation on the great hall is the entirety of the entry under "Hall." See, John Selden, *Table-talk: being the discourses of John Selden, Esq., or his sence of various matters of weight and high consequence relating especially to religion and state* (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1689), 22. After the restoration of Charles II, Thomas Bruce, second earl of Ailesbury, defended Charles

In Selden's complaint, the order and sense of content and symbol have been reversed, and power is now a sign of its trappings. He treats the hall, by then a mythic symbol of England's past, as lacking relevance to the present, and notes the failure of those who exercise power to accommodate the natural processes of change. The king, cut off from the workings of authority, is implicitly criticized for a like lapse – the inability to discern contemporary social needs and community consent.

As with the example of Selden, the popular imagery of aristocratic tradition – used by Jonson to such persuasive effect – lost its rhetorical ability during the period of the civil war (1642-1651) and the protectorate (1653-1659).³⁷³ The picture of an orderly and prosperous society organized around communal practices and old customs omitted present experience and a range of prospects for the future. Ceremonial rites and rituals in such country house poems as “To Penhurst” look back to English tradition and celebrate those conventions as exclusive privileges

II's character and his knowledge of kingship in the same terms as Selden's criticism. The ability to rule well was tied to Charles II's practice of entertaining his subjects and thus his opportunity to know men. Ailesbury writes that Charles II “knew men better than any that hath reigned over us.” Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs of Thomas, earl of Ailesbury, written by himself*. . . *Printed for the Roxburghe Club*, 2 vols. (Westminster [London]: Nichols and sons, 1890), 1:20, 96.

³⁷³ In Andrew Marvell's “Upon Appleton House” (c. 1654), for example, the symbols and images that Jonson used in “To Penshurst” are inverted to express the disillusionment of Nun Appleton's owner, Sir Thomas Fairfax, with political events at the beginning of the protectorate. Fairfax, Cromwell's most renowned general, retired to Appleton after the death of Charles I and the invasion of Scotland. Although Marvell (1621-1678) adapts country house themes, the political conflict that changed the structure of the country also changed the orientation of his country house imagery. See Kelsall, *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature*, 49-58; Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community*, 128-43; McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy*, 158-64.

within closed structures.³⁷⁴ While Jonson envisions Sidney's progeny inheriting his legacy, the idea of time in "To Penshurst" locks the estate to the past, much like Selden's symbol of the "Coopt up" king shows the mechanics of power bound to a former rite. In the latter example, the trope serves to delineate the difference between a bygone functional relationship and its figurative meaning in a changed context. Figures and iconography describing traditional hierarchical structures are put to critical purposes as parodic imagery, and Selden's lowlife allusion is used, through relations of proximity and contiguity, to characterize the king's downward slide in the great chain of being. It particularly demonstrates the distance between divine proximity and the animal domain. Thus, the distinction or contradiction between the court and the chicken coop recalls meaningful processes and knowledge necessary for wise rule, contrasting them with the strutting, clucking, and crowing of the barnyard fowl.

The Restoration Country House Poem

The same traditions formed the basis of embodiments of authority after the Restoration, but writers tailored their work to the exigencies of a changed power structure. I argue that in country house poetry the monarchy emerged as a forward-looking institution, an idea not then related solely to style, but more directly to economic reorganization that promised a means of progress for the nation. Landed property, too, was identified with concepts of growth that were not limited to the expression of a family's lineage, a lord's virtue, or an estate's production;

³⁷⁴ See Malcolm Smuts's summary of the shortfalls of early Stuart court culture, which includes a remote court, a move away from public ceremonies and processions to private entertainments, the development of an urban culture and London as a social center, the influence of continental styles, an impoverished monarchy, the loss of foreign prestige, and a preference for and support of high Anglican rites. R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 285-87.

rather, the generative potential of innovation was equated with the productive development of the land. An emphasis on the materiality of natural abundance also reflected contemporary economic and social opportunities, especially those that opened new rights to political power. Even though post-Restoration country house poems registered a change in cultural values, they continued to identify an owner with the graces and merits of his or her estate.

Several poems written shortly after the Restoration honor the return of the Stuarts by celebrating their renovation of crown properties that are particularly important to England's recent past. Relying on conventional imagery of legitimate rule and orderly succession to describe the king's urban parks and palaces, the poems record the crown's assumption of power as a resurrection on original foundations. Edmund Waller (1606-1687) wrote "On the parke at St Jamese's" in 1660, just as Charles II began improvements to repair the damage suffered by the parkland during the interregnum.³⁷⁵ Between 1661 and 1662 Waller again praised the return of the Stuart dynasty, this time honoring Henrietta Maria – the mother of the present king and wife of the martyred Charles I – for her renovation of Somerset House.³⁷⁶ Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) also chose this property as the subject of his "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House," commemorating the return of the monarchy and the renewal of royal power.³⁷⁷ In a reversal of estate poetry's conventions, both Waller and Cowley borrow the microcosm of the country house

³⁷⁵ See Edmund Waller, *On the park at St. Jamese's* ([London]: Printed for Tho. Dring, [1660?]). Waller's panegyrics are also included in Fowler's anthology. See Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, 187-201.

³⁷⁶ Edmund Waller, *Upon Her Maiesties New Buildings at Somerset-House* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New-Exchange, 1665).

³⁷⁷ "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House" is in the section of Cowley's *Works* titled, *Verses written on several occasions*. Pages for each section are numbered separately. See Abraham Cowley, *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley* (London: Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1668), 26-28.

to support the rights and advantages of the crown-governed state. This conversion amplifies the significance of the estate's cyclical relationship with nature: the country setting is replaced by an urban seat of national power, and the fallen state is made whole through traditional virtues of rightful and durable stewardship.

Somerset House's history – a story of betrayal and redemption – supplies an ideal model for praise of the return of a lawful regime.³⁷⁸ Built by the ambitious Edward Seymour (c. 1506-1552) – first earl of Hertford, duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, eldest brother of Jane Seymour, and uncle of Edward VI – Somerset House was to be a powerful monument to his position as Edward's guardian during the young king's minority.³⁷⁹ Although Somerset ruled England only from 1547 to 1549, he built quickly and on a grand scale, beginning construction on the palace shortly after his appointment as Protector of the Realm. To clear the site, placed strategically between Whitehall and the Tower of London, he razed several churches; to supply the building stone he demolished St Paul's Charnel House, scattering the bones of the dead amidst the rubble in the process. Somerset, however, never saw his palace completed: he was dismissed from all offices in 1549 and tried and executed in 1552. After his death, Somerset House devolved to the crown and was assigned by Edward VI to his sister Princess Elizabeth. It was later given to Anne of Denmark for her own use and was renovated by Inigo Jones in 1609. Improvements continued

³⁷⁸ For Somerset House, see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 43-44.

³⁷⁹ Bartlett L. Beer publishes a contemporary letter written by Sir William Paget (1506-1563) to Edmund Seymour, the duke of Somerset, outlining the problems of the protectorate, among them a severe lack of funds, war with Scotland and France, and alienation of the nobility. Paget served as an advisor to Somerset as well as a courtier to Henry VIII, Henry VI, and Queen Mary. See William Paget and Bartlett L. Beer, "A Critique of the Protectorate: An Unpublished Letter of Sir William Paget to the Duke of Somerset," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34 (1971): 277-83.

when the palace passed to Charles I in 1625, and a year later, to Henrietta Maria upon their marriage. During the civil war, Somerset House became the quarters for General Fairfax, commander of the Parliamentary Army, and after Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658 it was where his body lay in state.³⁸⁰ From its very construction then, the palace had a history of power dishonorably usurped and legally regained.

Cowley's celebration of the restoration of Charles II in "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House" thus takes as its subject a residence traditionally linked to the theme of a right return. The poem also serves as a timely means of recommending the poet to the Stuart court, especially since Cowley had changed his allegiance from the monarchy to the protectorate in the mid-1650s. Once a devoted royalist, he fled to France in 1649 in the service of Henrietta Maria, but returned to England in 1654, and two years later lent his support to Cromwell and the republic.³⁸¹ With the Restoration, Cowley again faithfully promoted the Stuarts, yet because of his late commonwealth loyalty he saw neither rewards nor honors of office and never regained the royal favor he had once enjoyed.³⁸² In "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House," the palace

³⁸⁰ Simon Thurley, "The Old Palace," in *Somerset House, The History* (London: Somerset House Trust, 2009), 9-16.

³⁸¹ In 1656 Cowley renounced his support for the monarchy and published his collected *Works*. In the "Preface" of the first edition, he explains the protectorate as the will of god and the submission to the new regime as acknowledgment of the rights of the conqueror. See Abraham Cowley, *Poems: Viz. I. Miscellanies. II. The Mistress, or Love Verses. III. Pindarique Odes. And IV. Davideis, or, A Sacred Poem of the Troubles of David* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Prince's Arms in St Pauls Church-yard, 1656), (a)4-(a)4v. Also see Nicholas Jose's discussion of Cowley's later support of the Stuart return. Nicholas Jose, *Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-71* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 73-75.

³⁸² See the account of Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) regarding Cowley's disappointment with his lack of preferment after the Restoration. Samuel Johnson, *The lives of the English poets: and a criticism on their works* (Dublin: printed for Wm. Wilson, 1780), 1:1-19.

itself is the speaker or narrator of the poem, relating events from the authority of personal experience and with the insight of historical awareness. Cowley as the author is at a remove, allowing the palace to tell its own tale of ruin during the protectorate and its subsequent renewal by Henrietta Maria as a seat and symbol of England's empire.

He begins with an account of Somerset House's recent history, describing the church and state forsaken by god, and the devil running loose across the land:

When God (the Cause to Me and Men unknown)
Forsook the Royal Houses, and his Own,
And both abandon'd to the Common Foe;
How near to ruine did my Glories go?
Nothing remain'd t' adorn this Princely place
Which Covetous hands could Take, or Rude Deface. (1-6)

Without the king, Cowley argues, misrule degrades the affinity between the human and divine, and the country falls from the pattern of order prescribed by natural law. The values of state and estate that guarantee well-being in "To Penshurst" – hospitality, good stewardship, generosity, and natural and divine hierarchy – are inverted, and the material of base nature throws the nation into anarchy, like Olympus wrested from the gods. By overturning the precepts of the early seventeenth-century country house poem, Cowley looks back to Tudor models and chooses Hooker's series of correspondences between natural order and the grounding substance of the state.

Cowley describes the rooms of Somerset House during the protectorate as a battlefield and wasteland where "Dismembred Statues of great Heroes lay" (9). In the aftermath, the whole lacks the knowledge to order its parts and the frame the strength to maintain support. The inversion of the country house aesthetic – natural abundance outside and its counterpart inside –

describes the ruin of the larger state, while the urban antithesis of natural order is the national collapse of art and culture. Both architecture and nature fail, breaking from the familiar cycle of renewal:

And Me, when nought for Robbery was left,
They starv'd to death; the gasping walls were cleft,
The Pillars sunk, the Roofs above me wept,
No sign of Spring, or Joy, my Garden kept,
Nothing was seen which could content the Eye,
Till Dead the impious Tyrant Here did lye. (11-16)

Presenting the king's authority through the rhetoric of royal apologists, Cowley reworks the arguments of republicans during the interregnum, in which tyranny was equated with absolute monarchy.³⁸³ Cromwell's fit death, at the end of so much destruction, finally marks a just and

³⁸³ Both sides borrowed metaphors of the anti-Christ to describe the leaders and policies of the other and, similarly, equated the heads of their own parties with classical and biblical heroes. Edmund Waller, for example, in his *A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector, of the present Greatness and joynt Interest of his Highness, and this Nation* (1655) likened Cromwell to classical gods and heroes as well as Christ and the kings of the Old Testament. England was another Rome and the isle a second eden; Cromwell, as the country's king, was like a second Noah. Edmund Waller, *A panegyrick to my Lord Protector, by a gentleman that loves peace, union, and prosperity of the English nation* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, in Thames-street over against Baynards-Castle, 1655). Also see Warren Chernaik's discussion of Waller's *Panegyrick*. Warren L. Chernaik, *The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 151-71. For other writings in support of Cromwell, see John Hall, *The true cavalier examined by his principles and found not guilty of schism or sedition* (London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, 1656); John Milton, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda. Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cælum adversus parricidas Anglicanos* (Londini: Typis Neucomanianis, 1654); Andrew Marvell, *The first anniversary of the government under His Highness the Lord Protector* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, and are to be sold by Samuel Gellibrand at the golden Ball in Pauls Church-yard, near the west-end, anno Dom: 1655). The poem was first published anonymously in mid-January 1655 and printed by a government printer, Thomas Newcomb. For the context of Marvell's panegyric and the circumstances of its first printing, see A. J. N. Wilson, "Andrew Marvell's 'The First Anniversary of the Government under Oliver Cromwell': The Poem and Its Frame of Reference," *The Modern Language Review* 69 (1974): 254-273.

natural rebirth of the legitimate and orderly processes of the godly world.³⁸⁴ Of necessity, political rule must come of grace and bear the moral responsibility of lawful and good government.

In a series of all-embracing pairs, Cowley next describes the newly rebuilt Somerset House and Henrietta Maria's resolve to "Strengthen, Enlarge, Exalt what she Repairs (24)."

The Midst, the noblest place, possess'd by Me;
Best to be Seen by all, and all O'resee.
Which way soe'er I turn my joyful Eye.
Here the Great Court, there the rich Town, I spy;
On either side dwells Safety and Delight;
Wealth on the Left, and power upon the Right. (49-54)

The concept of balance and its accompanying virtues is expressed through the inclusiveness of complementary and positive attributes and institutions. Cowley includes topographical and structural divisions as well as types and degrees of power: city and country, *otium* and *negotium*, church and state, land and sea. The palace rises between the Thames and the Strand, London and Westminster, the court and the town, wealth and power, action and retirement, greatness and

³⁸⁴ For other writers debating the position of absolute monarchy after the Restoration, see for example, Thomas Reeve, *England's beauty in seeing King Charles the Second restored to majesty* (London: Printed by I.R. for the authour, 1661); Roger L'Estrange, *A short view of some Remarkable Transactions, Leading to the happy Settlement of these Nations under the Government of our Lawfull and Gracious Sovereign, Charls the II, whom God Preserve* (London: Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-Lane, 1660). For royalist rhetoric just before the Restoration, see John Evelyn, *An apology for the royal party: written in a letter to a person of the late council of state by a lover of peace and of his country; with a touch at the pretended plea for the army* (London, 1659). Evelyn's pamphlet was published without the author's name, the printer, or the place of publication, but in his diary he noted on November 7, 1659: "Was publish'd my bold *Apologie* for the King, in this time of danger, when it was capital to speake or write in favour of him: It was twice printed, so universaly it took." Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:235. On the contemporary debate on the legal nature of absolute monarchy in England, see James Daly, "The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 21 (1978): 227-250. For views on the return of the monarchy printed in broadsheets, pamphlets, and other forms of popular contemporary media, see Carolyn A. Edie, "The Popular Idea of Monarchy on the Eve of the Stuart Restoration," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1976): 343-73.

riches, safety and delight, the city and the sea. It acts as both a midpoint and a fulcrum; perfectly weighted and ordered, it becomes a stand-in for the rebuilt nation, newly united and doubly strong. Here Cowley shifts from the country house ideal of the early seventeenth century – the manifestation of power is not centered on self-sufficient abundance, but on the display of royal might: larger, stronger, and overseeing, the renewed Somerset House expressly declares the powers of king and state. Identified as a structure of surveillance and control, the palace reconfigures nature's cycle and its web of contingencies.

This is not to say that the imagery of royal rule undergoes an essential change in meaning, but only that Cowley relies on symbolic associations rather than allegorical relationships. Where contemporary panegyrics often characterized Charles II according to classical and biblical typologies, “On the Queen’s Repairing Somerset House” more typically portrays redeemed royal power in reference to the forces and channels of the natural world.³⁸⁵ Both the built and natural environments embody the breadth and extent of Stuart influence; streets, bridges, and the royal fleet assume the strength of nature and work as extensions or manifestations of crown power:

My warlike Guard of Ships, which farther lye,
Might be my Object too, were not the Eye
Stopt by the Houses of that wondrous Street
Which rides o’re the broad River, like a Fleet. (61-64)

³⁸⁵ For example, in Edmund Waller’s *On the park at St. James’s*, first published in a broadsheet in 1660 when Charles II began renovations of the park, the king is identified with the New Testament rebirth: “Born the divided world to reconcile!” (132). Although the redeemer’s rebuilt England is the new eden, the Restoration story is also told both through its likeness to Classical mythology and through Charles II’s likeness to Roman gods and heroes. Waller, *On the park at St. James’s*, 4. In Dryden’s *Astræa redux*, Charles II is like Moses wandering through the wilderness; David, delivered from his enemies; and a new Augustus, restoring a golden age. John Dryden, *Astræa redux: A poem on the happy restoration & return of His sacred Majesty Charles the Second* (London: printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Blew-Anchor, in the lower walk of the New-Exchange, 1660), 7, 13, 15.

Like Cowley's earlier description of the Strand as a "broad Channel" (33) filled with the ebb, flow, and the waves of citizenry, London Bridge doubles as the mounting force of the king's advancing fleet. The fabric and substance of the city resemble the network of nature's waterways, adopting too their potential power and worldwide range. The stanza's last lines continue this imagery of royal conquest: the authority of the king follows the course of the river and the Thames itself looks toward Whitehall:

Tow'rds the White Palace where that King does reign
Who lays his Laws and Bridges o're the Main. (77-78)

In the elision of resemblances and correlations between the structure of the king's built domain and god's natural preserve, rule links and orders – the port is his throne and the seas his highways.

Cowley's concluding stanzas reiterate the Stuart return as the restoration of England's power on the sea and thus over the larger world, but rewrite the requirements of legitimate government using new calculations for value. The traditional typological pairing between god and king is again reframed as an identification between the organic forces of the natural world and the power of the Stuart crown:

And thou, fair River, who still pay'st to Me
Just Homage, in thy passage to the Sea,
Take here this one Instruction as thou goest;
When thy mixt Waves shall visit every Coast,
When round the world their Voyage they shall make,
And back to Thee some secret Channels take,
Ask them what nobler sight they e're did meet
Except thy mighty Master's Sovereign Fleet,
Which now triumphant o're the Main does ride,
The Terror of all Lands, the Ocean's Pride.
From hence his Kingdom's Happy now at last,

(Happy, if Wise by their Misfortunes past)
 From hence may Omens take of that success
 Which both their future Wars and Peace shall bless:
 The Peaceful Mother on mild *Thames* does build,
 With her Son's Fabricks the rough *Sea* is fill'd. (94-108)

By the poem's conclusion, Somerset House is seen as an adjunct to Henrietta Maria's first son.

Both the queen's peaceful and generative role and the Thames's capacity as a national conduit act as supports for the king's mounting power and growing naval fleet. Nature, in fact, serves as Charles II's witness: the Thames can testify that palace and fleet are rebuilt beyond comparison with any of their counterparts. Cowley sets up an interrelationship between land and sea where Charles II's command of the ocean becomes a vehicle for the extension of the landed empire. Henrietta Maria's repairs to Somerset House ennoble and renew London, while her son's "Fabricks" are a promise of future victory. The poem's concluding image is of a sail-filled sea that enlarges the potential realm of the king to the material command of the known and unknown worlds. Sovereignty is not only connected to a specific territory, but extended by providence to an idea of empire gained through the control of the seas.

Cowley's imagery rearticulates royal power as a cyclic renewal within the everyday experience of natural transformations, and thus differentiates English kingship from the singularity of the protectorate. But by transposing a customary country house ideology to an urban setting, he merges city interests with courtly relations and revises royal iconography. Just as the prosperity of the countryside depends on the good stewardship of the estate, the promise of a future ideal in "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House" stands on the capability of a rebuilt city and strong fleet. This pairing is seemingly at odds with conventional country values, yet the concluding image describes place and status as the glory and honor of international power and

fame. The material of the country house poem mediates the shift from insular authority to expanding international ambitions, specifically enfolding court culture and rule within familiar aesthetic and social precepts. Although Cowley positions Charles II's return as a natural renewal, and the Restoration, much like the biblical rebirth, as the promise of a new eden, he describes restoration itself as materially unbounded rather than ethically circumscribed. In its reach, the royal estate imagines unrivaled power and endless riches – the farther the monarchy's territorial expanse, the greater the country's benefit.

Figures of Empire: Commanding the World Itself

Other writers – both republicans and royalists – also portray the renewed English state in terms of global power and note the profit from navigational skills, as well as the bounty of the earth's fruits and resources. John Evelyn, for example, celebrates trade using language that recalls the productive abundance and wise disposition of the well-run estate. While Evelyn lost his good opinion of Charles II's regime by the mid-1660s,³⁸⁶ he served on the Council of Trade and promotes Britain's sea power and commerce in his 1674 treatise, *Navigation and commerce, their original and progress*.³⁸⁷ He discusses the earth's seaways, and argues that the oceans, rivers, shores, and harbors are designed to both functionally and aesthetically encourage

³⁸⁶ For example, in January of 1666, according to Samuel Pepys, Evelyn complained about the vices and vanities of the Stuart court, calling it a “most contemptible thing.” Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 8:29.

³⁸⁷ John Evelyn, *Navigation and commerce, their original and progress containing a succinct account of traffick in general: its benefits and improvements: of discoveries, wars, and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day, with special regard to the English nation: their several voyages and expeditions, to the beginning of our late differences with Holland: in which His Majesties title to the dominion of the sea is asserted, against the novel, and later pretenders* (London: Printed by T.R. for Benj. Tooke, at the Sign of the Ship in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1674).

navigation and further commerce:

The Earth, and every Prospect of her Supericies, presents us with a thousand Objects of Utility and Delight, in which consists the Perfection of all Sublunary things: And, though, through her rugged and dissever'd Parts, Rocks, Seas and remoter Islands, she seem at first, to check our Addresses; Yet, when we ag'en behold in what ample Baies, Creeks, trending-Shores, inviting Harbours and Stations, she appears spreading her Arms upon the Bordures of the Ocean; whiles the Rivers, who re-pay their Tributes to it, glide not in direct, and præcipitate Courses from their Conceil'd, and distant Heads, but in vaious flexures and Meanders (as well to temper the rapidity of their Streams, as to Water and refresh the fruitful Plains) methinks she seems, from the very Beginning, to have been dispos'd for Trafick and Commerce, and even Courts us to visit her most solitary Recesses.³⁸⁸

Through its natural wealth, the earth itself invites trade, and, Evelyn contends, supplies these blessings so that man may benefit through his labor and industry. The earth's waterways similarly serve. They accommodate navigation and extend the very boundaries that limit nations physically and politically and, thus, allow the cultivation of both the seas and far lands.³⁸⁹

Evelyn's account explains the legitimate precedents of trade, particularly arguing that commerce was just and justified, yet only to the extent that it proved a measure of a country's virtues and not a handmaiden to its ambitions. He follows a historical model of prosperity that interprets success as resulting from industry and failure as a consequence of moral fault. With international commerce, the traditional system of virtue and merit that secured power is extended beyond England's borders, yielding far greater rewards than the cultivation of the rural estate, or

³⁸⁸ Evelyn, *Navigation and commerce*, 2.

³⁸⁹ In section 6, Evelyn discusses the example of Holland, which without resources herself, is rich from the abundant wealth of the whole world, which "seems but a *Farm*, scarce another *Province* to them." In section 45, he further explains the precedents for the oceans' extension of England's borders and the country's "un-interrupted enjoyment of the Sea, as an appendant." See respectively, Evelyn, *Navigation and commerce*, 7, 89.

even the growth of the nation. Trade returns the profit of industry, increases dominion, secures rights, and promotes justice. It is, Evelyn explains, a blessed use of godly blessings:

For the Blessings of Navigation, and visiting distant Climes, does not stop at Traffick only; but (since 'tis no less perfection to keep, than obtain a Good) it enables us likewise with means to defend, what our honest Industry has gotten; and, if necessity, and Justice require; with Inlarging our Dominions too: Vindicating our Rights, Repelling Injuries, Protecting the Oppress'd, and with all the Offices of Humanity, and good Nature; In a word, Justice, and the Right of Nations, are the Objects of Commerce: It maintains Society, disposes to Action, and Communicates the Graces, and Riches which God has Variously imparted: From all which Considerations, 'tis evident; That a Spirit of Commerce, and strength at Sea to protect it, are the most certain marks of the Greatness of Empire, deduced from an undeniable *Sorites*; That whoever Commands the Ocean, Commands the Trade of the World, and whoever Commands the Trade of the VWorld, Commands the Riches of the VWorld, and whoever is Master of That, Commands the World it self.³⁹⁰

Evelyn relies on past traditions that bring future rewards to argue for a national policy; he constructs an image of a forward-looking and progressive state that actively seeks its own advantage. The prosperity gained by commerce is a sure means of achieving authority and position in the world, and both, he implies, are victories of arms and products of maritime rule.

At about this time many other writers contributed to the large body of political literature on trade and exchange, which ran from anonymous pamphlets to scholarly treatises. Much of this political writing celebrates the return of the monarchy as the return of trade and the renewal of the country's wealth.³⁹¹ Language that praises the country estate also praises the state, but in the

³⁹⁰ Evelyn, *Navigation and commerce*, 14-15.

³⁹¹ Josiah Child (1630-1699) and Andrew Yarranton (1616-1684) were among the writers who, with Evelyn, tied virtue and commerce to strength and riches. See Andrew Yarranton, *England's improvement by sea and land: To out-do the Dutch without fighting, to pay debts without moneys, to set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own lands. To*

state's extended capacity as an empire. In the example of Cowley, and later Evelyn, England's move toward global power follows traditional ethical precepts, and those precepts form a coherent framework uniting the state in a single resolve. Where Cowley expresses that resolve as a function of crown rule authorized by the lineage of kingship, Evelyn speaks of national dominion and the state as an institution advancing the common good.³⁹² In each case, however, country house ideology, equating the prosperous rural estate with the power and status of its owner, is borrowed to define honor and authority in an international setting and, in effect, signifies that setting. In early estate poetry, proper and legitimate rule results in productive land,

prevent unnecessary suits in law; with the benefit of a voluntary register. Directions where vast quantities of timber are to be had for the building of ships; with the advantage of making the great rivers of England navigable. Rules to prevent fires in London, and other great cities; with directions how the several companies of handicraftsmen in London may always have cheap bread and drink (London: printed by R. Everingham for the Author, and are to be sold by T. Parkhurst at the Bible and three Crowns in Cheap-side, and N. Simmons at the Princes Arms in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1677), 6; Josiah Child, *A treatise wherein is demonstrated, I. That the East-India trade is the most national of all foreign trades, II. That the clamors, aspersions, and objections made against the present East-India company, are sinister, selfish, or groundless, III. That since the discovery of the East-Indies, the dominion of the sea depends much upon the wane or increase of that trade, and consequently the security of the liberty, property, and protestant religion of this kingdom, IV. That the trade of the East-Indies cannot be carried on to national advantage, in any other way than by a general joynt stock, V. That the East-India trade is more profitable and necessary to the kingdom of England, than to any other kingdom or nation in Europe* (London: Printed by T.F. for Robert Boulter, 1681), 28-29.

³⁹² Although Cowley's panegyric was written upon the Stuart return, later poems – for example, John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) – also argued for a traditional structure of power between the king and state, and used an ideology that posited a divinely ordained monarchy and saw divine meaning in the pattern of events. Conventional country house rhetoric helped to express this position. John Dryden, *Annus mirabilis, The year of wonders, 1666: an historical poem containing the progress and various successes of our naval war with Holland, under the conduct of His Highness Prince Rupert, and His Grace the Duke of Albemarl: and describing the fire of London* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman . . . , 1667). See Jose's discussion, Jose, *Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-71*, 103-09. Also see Arthur W. Hoffman's discussion of kingship in Dryden's panegyrics. Arthur W. Hoffman, "Dryden's Panegyrics and Lyrics," in *John Dryden*, ed. Earl Miner (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972), 124-29.

thriving tenants, satisfied guests, and a long and fruitful lineage – all rewards of orderly government and rightful hierarchies that contribute persuasive imagery to the Restoration. The king secures a global arena for trade and commerce, as well as wealth, honor, safety, and justice for his subjects. The providential blessings enjoyed by the country estate similarly grace the nation, safeguarding its ventures on the seas and in foreign ports and new colonies. Thus, the state functions in political, social, and financial capacities like those of the country house: duties and obligations in both are touchstones of worth; in both, slow-working virtue and merit maintain a newly minted golden age. Due to changing circumstances, however, the traditions of country life can now only be sustained through the powerful actions of an aggressive state. Cultural loss itself results from failure to combat new conditions with uncommon strength.

Changes in Signs of Power and Plenty

At the end of the 1670s, several country house poems mention the products of national trade in foreign markets as part of the wealth and good fortune of the private rural estate. One of the earliest, Thomas Shipman's "Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem," celebrates Belvoir Castle, the eleventh-century Leicestershire seat of John Manners (1638-1710), the ninth earl of Rutland.³⁹³ The castle, a royalist stronghold during the civil war, was taken by commonwealth forces in 1647

³⁹³ For the early history of Belvoir Castle, see J. H. Round, "The Origin of Belvoir Castle," *The English Historical Review* 22 (1907): 508-10. Thomas Shipman's encomium was first published in his 1683 collection. "Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem, or a faint Draught of that stately Fabrick; with some short characters of the Noble Founders, Owners, with their Alliances. 1679," in Thomas Shipman, *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems* (London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and William Crook without Temple-Bar, 1683), 236-51. Fowler includes lines 149 to 236 in his anthology. See Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, 258-60.

and ordered destroyed in 1649 “for the safety and service of the commonwealth.”³⁹⁴ In 1654 the architect John Webb drew up plans for a Palladian house on the site, but his grand, Italian-inspired design was never realized.³⁹⁵ Instead, from 1656 to 1668 the eighth earl of Rutland rebuilt the castle on the original footprint and in accordance with an irregular courtyard plan, probably designed by his mason, Samuel Marsh. Although Webb was involved in the project – his drawings from 1667 for the interior detail still exist – the new castle’s design was very different from Webb’s symmetrical H-shaped plan. Where Webb moved the front facade to the east, elongated the wings, and supplied a four-columned pedimented entry, the new castle’s compact plan kept the original north-facing orientation and presented a short front facade with a simple entry of just two columns (fig. 3.3).³⁹⁶

By the time John Manners succeeded to his title upon the death of his father in 1679, the replanted grounds and gardens of Belvoir had been maturing for more than ten years. Shipman

³⁹⁴ The Council of State at Derby House, 1649, April 3. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 12th Report, App., Pt. 5 (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889), 2:4.

³⁹⁵ Webb studied with Inigo Jones and designed plans for a number of private houses, among them Wilton House and Durham House. He was never distinguished with the appointment of Surveyor of the Kings Works, but worked for the crown, designing the new range of the riverfront of Somerset House, built in 1661-64, and the King Charles Building on the west side of the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, built in 1675-76. John Bold’s study covers seventeenth-century architectural theory and Webb’s life and works. Although Webb’s plans for the exterior of Belvoir Castle were never carried out, Bold includes drawings and details of this work in his discussion. See, John Bold, *John Webb, architectural theory and practice in the seventeenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 75-79.

³⁹⁶ Bold reproduces Webb’s proposed new east front for Belvoir as well as a detail of an etching of the estate first published as plate 50 in the 1739 edition of *Vitruvius Britannicus* by J. Woolfe and J. Grandon. Bold, *John Webb, architectural theory and practice in the seventeenth century*, 80. J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, volume the fourth, being a collection of plans . . . of the royal palaces, noblemen and gentlemen’s seats in Great Britain* (London: J. Wilcox, 1739), plate 50.

(1632-1680) most likely wrote “Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem” to commemorate Manners’s succession, to celebrate his title, and perhaps to draw the interest and support of the new earl.³⁹⁷ Manners inherited new resources and privileges with the estate, and as a patron he offered the advantages of both wealth and position.³⁹⁸ But he had also long been active in both county and state government, serving as an MP for Leicestershire from 1661 to 1679 and as Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire from 1677 to 1687, 1698 to 1703, and again in 1706.³⁹⁹ Like Shipman, the new ninth earl was a devoted royalist, an ideology celebrated in “Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem” as an ancient basis of authority. The poet places Rutland within the chain of divinely ordained rule and honors both his lineage and his preservation of those country house obligations praised by Jonson in “To Penshurst.” Shipman, however, introduces new signs of power and status. The reconstruction of the house and the endurance of the line are imagined as more than just a return or recuperation; he describes them as recent advances and achievements, and situates Rutland

³⁹⁷ An anonymous poem, written at the same time, specifically commemorates the earl’s new title. See *Belvoir: Being a Pindaric Ode upon Belvoir Castle the Seat of the Earls of Rutland, Made in the Year 1679*, in *The Harleian miscellany: a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print. Selected from the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Interspersed with historical, political, and critical notes*, ed. William Oldys and Robert Harley, 8 vols. (1744-46) (London: Osborne, 1745), 5:527-45. Fowler also publishes the poem in part. Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, 363-66.

³⁹⁸ A register of the earl’s household for Belvoir Castle, dated 1670, October 2, reads “A list of the Earl of Rutland’s household at Belvoir Castle, containing the names and descriptions of 94 persons in all.” The inventory of 1693-4, March 10 lists 104 rooms, and the inventory of 1710-1, February 28 lists pictures, prints and wall hangings. See respectively, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 2:54, 338, 339.

³⁹⁹ Queen Anne awarded the earl of Rutland the titles of the marquis of Granby and duke of Rutland by patent in 1703. See Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 2:168, 169, 171, 174, 175.

and Belvoir within the wider ambitions and successes of the prospering nation.

Shipman begins with a prefatory poem – “The Dedication” – combining praise for Rutland and Belvoir with an argument for the merits of his own poetic “architecture.”⁴⁰⁰ Here, the arts of Belvoir can only be commemorated by the equally powerful arts of poetry, and the estate’s fine architecture is compared to the tributes given to important monuments in other country house poems. However, in contrast to Jonson’s conception of Penshurst, Belvoir is distinguished not from other English country estates, but from the royal icons of foreign states. The castle outmatches both France’s Louvre and Spain’s Escorial by the beauties of its ornament and architecture, not by its authenticity, its lord’s grace, or its feudal community. While such early country house poets as Ben Jonson and Thomas Carew unfavorably describe the palaces of courtiers who used their positions to accumulate large fortunes, Shipman changes the terms of comparison, and Belvoir competes with famed European landmarks. Through analogy, the castle and its treasures similarly share qualities with those literary products that give voice to the dead and longevity to the arts. In defining poetry and its power to immortalize, Shipman thus positions Belvoir as a subject of like worth, commensurate with literature’s ambition, invention, and authority.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Shipman, “The Dedication. *To the Right Honorable Jo. Earl of Rutland, etc.*” in *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems*, 230-33.

⁴⁰¹ The same topos that equates the visual arts with poetry is used to praise Belvoir. For a positive comparison between painting and poetry, see Books 1-5 of the treatise of Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1600), *Trattato dell’arte de la pittura, scultura, et architettura*, translated into English in 1598. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, “The second booke of the actions, gestures, situation, decorum, motion, spirit, and grace of pictures,” in *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge caruinge buildinge written first in Italian by Io: Paul Lomatius painter of Milan and Englished by R.H student in physik* (Oxford: By Ioseph Barnes for R H, 1598), 4-5. Contemporary criticism, however, also argues for the superiority of the literary arts to the visual arts. See, for example, Jonson’s discussion of the merits of *inventio* in poetry over imitation in

The same outsized comparisons in the dedication introduce “Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem.”

The castle, built upon a high hill overlooking the vale, appears as “No *Mountain* ever nobler crown’d!” (59); it is an Atlas bearing “A *World* of Beauties and of Glories too” (54), an Olympus with gods enthroned, and an eden covered “With a *rich mantle* of eternal Green!” (77). Riches inside and out balance Belvoir and distinguish the castle from small properties, barren settings, and deceptive houses:

Other mean *Hills* some despicable *Turrets* show,
 Like *Warts* upon a Brow.
 Some like *Usurers* are seen,
 Tho homely cloath’d, yet richly clad within. (64-67)

Disease physically defaces Belvoir’s rivals and sin converts their decorated rooms into hoards secreted from the honest world: crumbling walls reveal underlying decay and modest facades disguise immoderate desires. Conversely, Shipman transforms Belvoir into an authentic architectural eden – a reversal in which nature miraculously demonstrates the estate’s generative power and discloses the imaginative offerings of Rutland’s newly returned paradise:

Our *Mountain’s* vast and brave:
 With *Nature’s Architrave*.
 Cornice, and Freeze,
 Of ever green and fruitful Trees;
 Whole fruits intice
 To hope, not lose a *Paradise*. (79-84)

The references to the fall in the first eden place the castle within the figurative cycle of prophesy and fulfillment, and, like the promise of the second coming, Belvoir’s tangible virtues realize the kingdom once forfeited and lost.

the mechanical arts, especially in his long-running disputes with Inigo Jones. Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925-63), 8:609-10, 635.

Describing trees, flowers, woods, walks, gardens, fields, and greens, Shipman shows that in every instance Belvoir's riches and Rutland's merits outmatch those of other lords and lesser estates:

His vast *Revenues*, make not poor
The *Country*, but increase its store: (141-42)

The castle's abundance and Rutland's stewardship exceed conventional country prosperity and serve the welfare of the larger nation, a formula that overrides the ideal of good government celebrated in early estate poems. Even hospitality – the lodestar of country traditions – is outdone at Belvoir:

Here you may see
The ancient *English Hospitality*;
Where all their *Neighbours* see o'th *Family*.
Here, like the *Patriarch's* feasts,
Half of the World are *Guests*.
And so proportion'd is the care,
An equal plenty they prepare;
The *Tables* loaded o're with choicest meats;
And beautifi'd with delicacies;
Impoverish'd is the *Sea*, the *Earth*, the *Air*. (149-58)

Likening Rutland to an Old Testament patriarch and his hospitality to a biblical feast, Shipman formulates an image of a bond beyond the insular realm of country house ideology. Half the world shares Belvoir's rewards; half the world dines off its plenty. The feast – the symbolic ritual defining those inside the communal sphere – is reworked by Shipman as an outward sign of unrestricted power.⁴⁰² The great bounty implies equally extensive geographical boundaries and

⁴⁰² Newton Key discusses the political and social functions in literary references to country feasts as a recreation of a "mythic country community" and the shaping of a national consciousness. Newton E. Key, "The Localism of the Country Feast in Late Stuart Political Culture," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58 (1995): 211-37.

broadens too the idea of lordship. Rutland joins in the heritage of biblical fathers – he becomes provider and protector, transmitting an ancient tradition while commanding huge reserves of worldly riches.

Shipman ends his stanza with a further country house reference that outreaches the praise in both Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" and Thomas Carew's "To Saxon."⁴⁰³ Both Shipman's predecessors cite natural elements – symbols of nature's harmony – to distinguish merit. Jonson writes:

Thou ioy'est in better markes, of soyle, of ayre,
Of wood, of water; therein thou art faire. (7-8)

Nature herself honors Penshurst, and because of Sidney's virtue, blesses the estate with order and plenty. Penshurst's "better markes" – natural amenities rather than the lavish products of artifice – are repeated by Carew in "To Saxon," and to the same effect:

Water, earth, air did all conspire
To pay their tribute to thy fire, (29-30)

Nature here celebrates the hospitality of Sir John Croft, Saxon's owner, for continuing the long aristocratic tradition of civility. The late-medieval manner reflects moral worth and a liberal spirit – customary traits of nobility – as opposed to the luxury materialized in the estates of less virtuous men.⁴⁰⁴ In the same reference to natural elements in Shipman's "Belvoir, A Pindaric

⁴⁰³ Written in the early 1630s, Carew's "To Saxham" celebrated Sir John Crofts (c.1563-1628), a royalist knighted in Ireland in 1599. Carew, *Poems*, 45-47. Jonson's "To Penshurst" is discussed at the beginning of the chapter.

⁴⁰⁴ Wayne explains these lines in Jonson and Carew as part of an opposition between nature and culture. See Wayne, *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History*, 46-48. Molesworth views these references to nature as a metonymic operation through which Sidney's qualities and his nobility are reflected in the natural environment. See Charles Molesworth, "'To Penshurst' and Jonson's Historical Imagination," *Clio* 1 (1971): 6; Fowler, "The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's To Penshurst," 271.

Poem,” however, Rutland’s hospitality overwhelms nature and overruns the confines of the rural community. His generosity involves such an overdetermined idea of largesse that nature herself is depleted: “Impoverish’d is the *Sea*, the *Earth*, the *Air*” (158). With this surplus, the importance of humility – a constant in early country house poems – is reset, and the estate’s political arena is increased to a global scale. Consequently, the cultural conventions affirmed by Jonson and Carew to secure community bonds and social hierarchies fail to vest the power of tradition. Instead, Shipman’s exaggeration alters both the terms of reference and the familiar analogies of nature’s affirming elements and thus adjusts the weight of the tradition that first instituted country house values. In describing the attractions of Rutland’s estate, Shipman reverses the moderate nature of the Sidneys’ possessions and ambitions, exchanging the global and novel for the local and traditional and, further, broadening the bases of virtue and merit.

The “markes” at Belvoir move directly from the material of nature into a list of the castle’s material attributes, and new values follow the new image of bounty as natural elements are replaced by man-made artefacts.⁴⁰⁵ Shipman begins with a description of the castle’s broad stair, here compared to divine constructions and heavenly rewards rather than their earthly counterparts:

Blest Fate! If erring mortals may
Find *Heavn’s High-way*,

⁴⁰⁵ Costly imports, as well as luxurious fittings, traditionally are a sign of foreign, urban, or courtly values, and distinguished from prosperity brought about by country virtues. Thomas Carew’s “To My Friend G.N. from Wrest,” for example, praises the bounty of the country estate by comparing Wrest’s wholesome natural produce to spurious and unhealthy foreign products (15-18). Similarly, the house is comely and useful, like Penshurst, and not made for rich, ostentatious display (56-64). Written in 1639 to Gilbert North, a member of the court of Charles I and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, “To My Friend G.N. from Wrest” was published in 1640 in Carew’s first collection of poems. Carew, *Poems*, 146-450.

But half so *wide*!
 None then can miss
 The road to bliss;
 Since both the left, and the right,
 Surely does guide, and kindly does invite
 To *Paradise*. (162-69)

With Belvoir likened to eden, godly power falls directly to Rutland. The castle shares attributes with heaven, and through analogy Shipman incorporates Rutland in the order of sacred resemblances – a hierarchy that here both upholds an old patriarchy and sanctions new values. Interestingly, Shipman’s chain of power omits the customary sequential position of the king, who held absolute power by divine right. This construction avoids the contemporary debate over the constitution and degree of monarchical power, while praising the material advantages of rank within a framework of familiar otherworldly display.⁴⁰⁶ By comparing the castle’s accumulated treasures to heaven’s offerings, monetary returns accrue the same sacred aura as the riches of providence. The likeness removes Rutland’s wealth from abuses of power associated with court patronage, additionally allowing Shipman to adapt the country house praise of an ancient hereditary aristocracy and its ethical ideals.

The connection between property and authority gains consequence as the poet itemizes Belvoir’s prizes:

⁴⁰⁶ Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha*, for example, uses biblical history and precedent to bolster the restored monarchy’s bid for absolute power. See Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha, or, The natural power of Kings* (London: Printed and are to be sold by Walter Davis . . . , 1680), 10-20. Although Filmer died in 1653, many later writers argued against his biblical justification for the monarchy, including both Algernon Sidney and John Locke, who favored personal sovereignty and natural merit. For contemporary opinions regarding a limited versus an absolute monarchy, see Stuart Sim and David Walker, *The Discourse of Sovereignty, Hobbes to Fielding: The State of Nature and the Nature of the State* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 71-83; Daly, “The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England,” 242-45.

See the rich *Furniture* all the *Rooms*!
Floors spread with *Carpits*, weav'd in *Turky Looms*!
Beds soft, and costly, they may vye
 With those whereon luxurious *Asian Princes* lye!
 And yet, most *noble Lord*, we find
 They do not captivate thy mind,
 So much as please thine Eye.
 In each place *Miracles* abound!
 Rich *Parian Quarries* are in *Chimney Pieces* found.
Belvoir! Thou must the world chief wonder be;
 Since *Nature* is turn'd up-side down for thee. (188-98)

Goods from around the world decorate and furnish the castle – an image that merges Belvoir's splendor, Rutland's wealth, and England's commercial success. While early country house poems describe the estate as an entity naturally accruing over generations, Belvoir's reversal of natural resources and manmade arts – "*Nature* . . . turn'd up-side down" – celebrates human invention and creation: mined, quarried, and harvested materials are reformed to better advantage. The list of novel artefacts adds an elite aesthetic order to the traditional, ethically based values of the estate poem, in effect, altering the old system of rewards. Belvoir's worth corresponds to its worldly scope – a geographical range Shipman continues to detail, citing Chinese vessels and Japanese screens that in art and novelty again surpass their European counterparts (264-72). When he mentions Columbus's shrewdly gathered New World treasures (273-76), he compares that feat to Rutland's collection of luxury fittings. The customary values that legitimize position are enlarged to include references to the nation's global ambitions as a means of inscribing historical continuity.

Shipman explains that his turn to hyperbole is a mark of Belvoir's worth, and his enthusiastic response to the castle's splendor is merely praise in kind. Identifying Rutland's prospect from the castle with Jupiter's view from Olympus, he writes:

Nor is *Metaphor* too bold!
 For, Reader, if thou didst behold
 All his great things; thou wouldst confess
 All *Metaphors* went less
 Than these great truths, which stretch'd *Hyperboles* can
 but express. (209-13)

Jupiter, god of gods and god of mortals, held all the powers of divinity, but was also a merciful protector of the weak. Shipman, then, positions Rutland and his “great things” on a par with Jove’s own high prospect and position – an ironic comparison with respect to the merit of property in conventional country house ideology. “Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem,” may well also be a nod to wit, parodying the extreme praise of the genre by noting the subject matter and boundaries of its predecessors. The exaggerated aspect of Shipman’s excessive comparisons emphasize the incongruity between the serious nature of tribute in early estate poems and its parodic effect in the encomium for Rutland. Authority is manifested in the visible accumulation of worldly goods, a surfeit of wealth that overfills the viewer’s eye as Shipman’s metaphors overload likeness. Such uncurbed honors, however, point out the artificial and inflexible boundaries of the genre’s conventions, and in the process temper the ritual of country house homage. Shipman’s extravagant tribute thus eases the demands of the country house mode and allows a contemporary restyling of inherited values. He similarly distinguishes Rutland for the earl’s new interests and aesthetic innovations – for moving beyond a dependency on the stale tenets of an old moral economy.

Shifting Values of Praise and Complaint

Although the idea of good fortune, reflected in both the products of global trade and the effects of luxurious fittings, changed the tenor of the country house ethos, the traditional imagery

of the rural retreat – open hospitality, good stewardship, and self-sufficiency – could still be summoned to evoke the fundamentals of English social life. In “To My Honour’d Kinsman, John Driden, of Chesteron,” John Dryden (1631-1700) cites the traditional hierarchies of country house poetry to argue for a stable society.⁴⁰⁷ Written in the later years of the seventeenth century and published in a volume of miscellany in 1700, Dryden praises his cousin as a model aristocrat and honorable Member of Parliament.⁴⁰⁸ The social obligations of the country estate are extended to define the civic values and responsibilities of a contemporary statesman, and the ideals of the country community become those of the greater political nation.

As an arbiter, Dryden’s kinsman ensures both the rights of the king and those of the people, an equitable disposition that argues for a comprehensive view of English history, weighing ancient liberties as well as the customs of Crown rule. Here, images of patriarchy support both a contemporary idea of parliamentary power and the prerogatives of royal authority,

⁴⁰⁷ Dryden’s encomium, “To My Honour’d Kinsman, John Driden, of Chesteron in the County of Huntingdon, Esq.,” was published in a collected volume that placed his own work with both antique writing and vernacular verse from the late Middle Ages. See John Dryden, *Fables ancient and modern translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer, with original poems* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1700), 93-99. “To My Honour’d Kinsman, John Driden, of Chesteron in the County of Huntingdon, Esq.” is the subject of studies by Jay A. Levine and Elizabeth Duthie: Jay A. Levine, “John Dryden’s Epistle to John Driden,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 63 (1964): 450-74; Elizabeth Duthie, “‘A Memorial of My Own Principles’: Dryden’s ‘To my Honour’d Kinsman,’ ” *ELH* 47 (1980): 682-704. Also see James A. Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 503-08; James A. Winn, “Past and Present in Dryden’s *Fables*,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 63 (2000): 170-74; Rivers, *The Poetry of Conservatism 1600-1745*, 170-74.

⁴⁰⁸ In a c. 1699 letter to Charles Montagu (Secretary to the Privy Council in the government of William III and one of Dryden’s important patrons in the 1690s), Dryden writes that his poem describes both “the features of my worthy Kinsman” and “what an Englishman in Parliament ought to be; & deliver it as a Memorial of my own Principles to all Posterity.” See John Dryden, *The Letters of John Dryden*, ed. Charles E. Ward (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942), 120.

envisioning this balance as the basis of civic order and civil society and as a standard of value:

Well-born, and Wealthy; wanting no Support,
You steer betwixt the Country and the Court:
Nor gratifie whate'er the Great desire,
Nor grudging give, what Public Needs require. (127-30)

Conventional ideas of landed property characterize John Dryden's position, abilities, and intellectual resources within the tradition of a venerable aristocracy. The "Just, Good, and Wise" (7) landlord of the introductory stanza secures the nation's prosperity as he does the countryside's peace; country house virtues, consequently, substantiate the right to rule the political nation, a formulation that opens the parameters of lordship and service. Throughout the poem the communal ideal is developed as "common good" (53), "common care" (121), and "common cause" (190) – again, an image that encapsulates the national whole. Dryden deploys the holistic functioning of the country estate as a model for overcoming the opposition of parties, factions, and special interests, picturing instead an embracing public good and a unified polity.⁴⁰⁹ His transformation of the country lord into a national political figure relies on a corresponding transfer of underlying moral values; similarly, the virtues of the edenic rural estate provide the substance of a secure and paradisaical state, and the traditional associations of elite hierarchies of power build new structures of authority.

The celebration of tradition perhaps also served as a means of moving into an uncertain future, in particular for such royalists as Dryden. During the reign of Charles II, he had been appointed Poet Laureate in 1668 and Royal Historiographer in 1670, positions that gave him

⁴⁰⁹ For the use of "patriot" in Dryden's work see Ronald Knowles, "The 'All-Atoning Name': The Word 'Patriot' in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Modern Language Review* 96 (2001): 636-43.

commissions, an annual income, and a national voice.⁴¹⁰ In 1689, within a year of the accession of William and Mary, Dryden refused to renounce Catholicism or to give his allegiance to the new monarchs;⁴¹¹ he thus became a *nonjuror*, losing his appointments, pension, and official involvement in public life.⁴¹² Thereafter his income depended largely on translations, and much of his reputation was based on work published earlier in his career.⁴¹³ At odds with the present regime and without a role in public life, his use of the seventeenth-century values of estate poetry in “To My Honour’d Kinsman” may have functioned as a means of accommodation between past and present, primarily by validating social continuity and common ground. Themes of the country house poem summon the familiar ritual of medieval arrangements of power, as well as the authority of official standing; they argue for the supremacy of England’s ancient traditions in social identity and political rule, relying on the ethical weight of custom in the disposition of

⁴¹⁰ See Gerard Langbaine, *An account of the English dramattick poets, or, Some observations and remarks on the lives and writings of all those that have publish’d either comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, masques, interludes, farces or opera’s in the English tongue* (Oxford: Printed by L.L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), 130-77. Winn publishes an appendix listing payments to Dryden. See “Appendix C: Official Payments to Dryden and His Family,” in Winn, *John Dryden and His World*, 225-31. Also see contemporary references to Dryden and critical references to his work. James Kinsley, ed., *Dryden: the critical heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 2-7.

⁴¹¹ See Levine’s discussion of Dryden’s political beliefs at this time. Levine, “John Dryden’s Epistle to John Driden,” 450-52.

⁴¹² Those who refused to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary were termed *nonjurors* and lost their preferments and privileges, including such accustomed benefits as the right to live within the city boundaries of London. See Paul Kléber’s discussion: Paul Kléber, *Jacobism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 138-45.

⁴¹³ Dryden’s letters to his publisher Jacob Tonson the Elder complain about debt, payment in chipped money, and translation burdens. See Letters 21 and 24 to 32. Stephen Bernard, ed., *The literary correspondences of the Tonsons*. (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015), 115-16, 119-27.

court policy. In the change from one regime to another, the sustaining virtues of the country estate themselves embody the substantiating qualities of all national life and recuperate the protection of conventional practices as well. In this instance, Dryden's description of systems of reciprocity uses praise as a complaint to critique political order imposed without accommodating grants from past affiliations.

At the time of "To My Honour'd Kinsman, John Driden," Anne Finch (1661-1720) also adopted a country house ideology, but unlike Dryden, she celebrated contemporary values relating to changing economic conditions and aesthetic relations. Finch too was a royalist; she refused to publicly lend support to the regime of William and Mary and, as with Dryden, was exiled from court society. Like Dryden, Finch had spent her early years close to the court of Charles II and enjoyed the rewards of royal patronage. Beginning in 1682, she lived at St James Palace as a maid of honor to Mary of Modena, the Catholic wife of James, duke of York, and the future king of England. As part of the court community of English and Italian ladies in waiting, she entered society and soon met, and in 1684 married, Heneage Finch (c. 1657-1726), Groom of the Bedchamber to the duke of York. In addition to court responsibilities, Heneage was politically active, serving as a colonel in the foot militia, a justice of the peace, and a deputy lieutenant for Kent.⁴¹⁴ With the death of Charles II and succession of James II in 1685, the

⁴¹⁴ Basil Duke Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983), 2:324. The Finch line is somewhat confusing due to the seventeenth century's two Heneage Finches. The first Heneage Finch of Eastwell was the third earl of Winchilsea and the father of Anne Finch's husband, also named Heneage Finch. Anne's husband was the second son and his older brother, William, Viscount Maidstone, died before inheriting the title. William's son, Charles, thus became the fourth earl of Winchilsea upon the death of his grandfather in 1689. When Charles died in 1713 without a male heir, his uncle Heneage Finch acceded to the title and became the fifth earl of Winchilsea and Anne Finch became the countess of Winchilsea. Because the title originated with Elizabeth Finch

Finches moved to Westminster Palace. The king appointed Heneage MP from the Cinque Port of Hythe, Kent, in 1686, and a year later he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the standing army.⁴¹⁵

Although Heneage traced his ancestry to the Norman Conquest, he was the second son of the elder Heneage Finch and relied on court appointments for his livelihood and the support of an active aristocratic lifestyle in London (fig. 3.4).⁴¹⁶ His grandfather, Sir Mole Finch, had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth and received a baronetcy from James I in 1611, but the family's most prestigious titles were acquired by Elizabeth, Heneage's mother, after the death of her husband in 1614.⁴¹⁷ She traded much of her own inheritance to become the viscountess of

after the death of her husband, Sir Mole Finch, Barbara McGovern lists the first Heneage Finch as the second earl of Winchilsea. Although technically correct, her order of titles is not consistent with common usage. Most writers refer to the first Heneage Finch as the first earl. For the early history of Anne and Heneage Finch, see Barbara McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 26-27. Also see George E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant, by G.E.C.* (London: The St. Catherine press, ltd., 1910), 12:781.

⁴¹⁵ Heneage served one year as MP until Hythe lost its charter, which was not reissued until 1688. Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, 2:324; McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography*, 28-30.

⁴¹⁶ P.W. Hasler, ed., *The House of Commons, 1558-1603* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by H.M. Stationery Office, 1981), 119-20; H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford dictionary of national bibliography: in association with the British Academy: from the earliest times to the year 2000*, 56 vols. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 20:566.

⁴¹⁷ For the early Finch family history, see Arthur Bryan I'Anson, *The History of the Finch Family. With Plates, Including Portraits* (London: Janson, 1933), 46-57; Hasler, ed., *The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, 118-19. For Elizabeth Finch see the description under "Moile Finch" in the account by Thomas Fuller (1608-1661). Information on Elizabeth comprises the whole entry. The history of counties and noted citizens are paginated according to the respective county. Thomas Fuller, *The history of the worthies of England: who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties: together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county* (London: Printed by J.G.W.L. and W.G., 1662), 96.

Maidstone under James I in 1623, and, in 1628, the first countess of Winchilsea under Charles I. Following tradition, new titles, as well as the Finch lands, were remaindered to the eldest son and his heirs, leaving Heneage dependent on the generosity of relatives and the favor of the reigning monarch. His marriage to Anne brought him a partner equally at home in Stuart court life, but with even fewer financial resources to help support such society. While her parents, Sir William Kingsmill and Anne Haselwood, were descended from old gentry families in Hampshire and Northamptonshire, they had neither the social standing nor the landed property of the lords of Winchilsea.⁴¹⁸ On the death of her father five months after her birth, Anne inherited a bequest of just £1,500, to be paid upon either her marriage or twenty-first birthday, whichever first occurred.⁴¹⁹ Thus, like Heneage, she lacked the substantial private income or inherited funds needed to discharge the expenses of a courtly style of life.⁴²⁰

As long as the Stuarts ruled, Anne and Heneage Finch enjoyed royal patronage, but all financial support, participation in court society, and public involvement ended in 1688 with the

⁴¹⁸ Anne's mother's family is mentioned in the entry on Thomas Haselwood in Fuller's contemporary account. Fuller, *The history of the worthies of England: who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties: together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county*, 81. For Anne Finch's family history, see McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography*, 8-19.

⁴¹⁹ Great Britain, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury records, 135, May 1661, Prob. 11/305. By comparison, when Frances Finch, Heneage's eldest sister, married Thomas Thynne, Lord Weymouth and owner of Longleat, she brought a dowry of £20,000, a house in London, and an estate in Ireland. See Anne Finch, *The Poems of the Anne, Countess of Winchilsea*, ed. Myra Reynolds (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), 419. McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography*, 27-30.

⁴²⁰ Heneage's father, the third earl of Winchelsea, died in debt. Daniel Finch, the second earl of Nottingham, was forced to negotiate a settlement between the elder Heneage's widow and daughter-in-law for the few unencumbered possessions. See letters dated 18 Nov. and 20 Nov. 1689. Great Britain. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch, esq., of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland*, 4 vols. (London: Published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1922), 2:261.

abdication of James II and the accession of William and Mary. In 1689 Heneage refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, was declared a *nonjuror*, and forfeited his court positions and all offices. Upon the death in the same year of Heneage's father, the third earl of Winchilsea, and the accession to the title by his nephew Charles, the Finches returned to Eastwell, the family seat in Kent. In 1690 Heneage was charged and tried in London for his support of the Stuart monarchy, and although the case was dismissed later that year, the ordeal left the couple emotionally and financially drained.⁴²¹ Exiled from the court and excluded from London's higher social circles, they were invited by Charles, the new fourth earl of Winchilsea, to permanently make their home at Eastwell in the peace of the Kent countryside.

The estate itself consisted of 1,000 acres and a large Elizabethan manor house built by Sir Thomas Mole in 1544 and embattled and enclosed by permission of Queen Elizabeth in 1589.⁴²² Heneage's father, the elder Heneage Finch, third earl of Winchilsea, made extensive alterations to the grounds of Eastwell in the second half of the seventeenth century, but apparently made no changes to the Elizabethan facade of the house.⁴²³ As late as 1697, Celia Fiennes writes that

⁴²¹ There is no record of specific charges against Heneage. Accounts from the period show a trial was begun but that charges were dismissed before its conclusion. Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*, 2:324. The notice of the arrest is dated 6 May 1690. Great Britain, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall* (London, Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), vi.

⁴²² Eastwell was rebuilt in the nineteenth century in the Gothic style following the contemporary taste for medievalism. The account by John Marius Wilson describes the manor as a "modern mansion." John Marius Wilson, comp., *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London: A. Fullerton & Co., 1870). The house was again remodeled in 1926 and presently serves as a country hotel and spa.

⁴²³ The elder Heneage's renovations began at least before the third quarter of the seventeenth century. According to a note on the auspicious nature of oak trees by John Aubrey (1626-1697), Heneage Finch cut down a grove of oaks in the late 1660s or early 1670s. John Aubrey, *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey. Begun in the year 1673*, by

during her journey to Canterbury, she passed by “my Lord Winchelseas house gardens and parck” and describes the house as “an old building.”⁴²⁴ It is the outward face of the property that apparently concerned Eastwell’s owners and formed the object of their improvements. The third earl employed the Dutch-born architect William Winde (1642-1722) to work on the grounds, and in the mid-1680s records show he transplanted many sizable trees.⁴²⁵ The park and gardens were also the primary interest of Charles, the fourth earl of Winchilsea, who upon his inheritance in 1689 began work to amend his predecessor’s renovations to the estate’s grounds.⁴²⁶

It is Charles’s renewal projects at Eastwell that Anne Finch celebrates in “Upon My Lord Winchilsea’s Converting the Mount in His Garden to a Terras, and Other Alterations and

John Aubrey . . . and continued to the present time. Illustrated with proper sculptures, 5 vols. (London: Printed for E. Curll, 1718-1719), 2:34.

⁴²⁴ Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. and intro. Christopher Morris (London: Cresset Press, 1947), 129.

⁴²⁵ Winde’s description of transplanting at Eastwell appears in a letter from about 1689 or 1690 written to his cousin, Lady Mary Bridgeman, concerning remodeling work for Castle Bromwell Hall, Warwickshire, the home of Lady Mary and her husband Sir John Bridgeman. Winde writes: “The design of ye wilderness; wch (God willing) I will make Haste to finish, and to send what sorte of Trees and odoriferous plantes are proper for yt piece of ground, and I doe remember when I was quartered in Kent, and imployed in altering ye Earle of Winchilsea house at Eastwell, yt I transplanted Trees of a considerable bigeness, wch dide very well & ye same I dide at Sr Charles Kemishe orchard, at Pupera in Walles, withe good suckcess . . .” See Winde’s correspondence with his cousin: Geoffrey W. Beard, “William Winde and Interior Design,” *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 156. Also see Geoffrey W. Beard, *Craftsmen and interior decoration in England, 1660-1820* (Edinburgh: J. Bartholomew, 1981), 129. Summerson calls Winde one of the few professional architects of the period who worked outside the group of architects employed by the Royal Works. See Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 245.

⁴²⁶ Both Reynolds and John Dixon Hunt quote a letter from Edward Southwell, writing from Eastwell in the summer of 1702: “My Lord Winchilsea has been making very fine gardens which added to the beauty of the Park makes it a very fine seat.” See Finch, *The Poems of the Anne, Countess of Winchilsea*, ed. Reynolds, 419; John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 165.

Improvements in His House, Park, and Gardens,” probably written in 1703 and published ten years later in *Miscellany Poems*, the first collection of her work.⁴²⁷ Finch’s opening lines present an unlikely variation on the accustomed opposition between the authentic, spiritually based country estate and its ostentatious, cost-laden counterparts.⁴²⁸ Rather than the traditional Jonsonian antithesis, she characterizes her nephew’s recent renovations as an improvement, a correction, and a welcome remedy to the work done by his grandfather, the third earl of Winchilsea:

If we those Gen’rous sons deservedly praise
 Who o’re their Predecessors Marble raise,
 And by Inscriptions, on their Deeds, and Name
 To Late Posterity convey their Fame,
 What with more admiration shall we write,
 On him, who takes their Errours from our sight?
 And least their Judgments be in question brought,
 Removes a Mountain, to remove a fault? (1-8)

⁴²⁷ Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, *Miscellany poems, on several occasions. Written by a lady* (London: printed for J. B. and sold by Benj. Tooke, William Taylor, and James Round, 1713). For a discussion of Finch’s published work within the context of early seventeenth-century collected editions of writing, see Charles H. Hinnant, *The Poetry of Anne Finch: An Essay in Interpretation* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 18-22.

⁴²⁸ Nicolle Jordan discusses the poem as part of late seventeenth-century environmental thought. Nicolle Jordan, “Where Power is absolute: Royalist politics and the improved landscape in a poem by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea,” *Eighteenth Century* 46 (2005): 255-275, 298. Also see her discussion of the poem as an allegory of a corrupt regime and discontinuity from one regime to the next, as well as a comment on Anne Finch’s disenfranchisement and need to rely on the hospitality of friends and relations. Nicolle Jordan, “Anne Finch and the fallen country house,” in *The intellectual culture of the English country house, 1500-1700*, ed. Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, and Margaret Healy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 130-38. Richard Prickard sees the poem as a new direction of protest poetry. Richard Prickard, “Environmentalism and ‘Best Husbandry’: Cutting Down Trees in Augustan Poetry,” *Lumen: selected proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17 (1998): 103-26. Also see Carol Barash, “The Political Origins of Anne Finch’s Poetry,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 (1991): 327-5; Hinnant, *The Poetry of Anne Finch: An Essay in Interpretation*, 141-44.

Finch praises Charles for razing his predecessor's offenses against taste and sensibility – visible marks of poor judgement that destroyed the estate's cohesiveness as well as its traditions. Unlike a life of achievements materialized in the estate – the customary tribute to the dead – his grandfather's legacy is a substantial monument that must be literally leveled to recover historical legitimacy and continuity.

In Finch's version of the genre the new lord, like Caesar, came, conquered, and civilized:

None gone before persu'd the vast design,
Till ripen's Judgment, joyn'd with Youthful Flame,
At last but Came, and Saw, and Overcame.
And as Old Rome refin'd what ere was rude,
And Civiliz'd, as fast as she subdu'd,
So lies this hill, hew'n from its rugged height,
Now levell'd to a Scene of smooth delight. (12-18)

Charles is described as synthesizing youth and judgement, a rare achievement that allows him to overcome such limiting oppositions as court and country, public and private. He replaces his ancestor's folly with an orderly fabric and turns bad form into refined grace. Finch alludes to a classical model of country life and the rebirth of social order, but both the renewal and reconnection with a golden age are won from an active life.⁴²⁹ Rather than the ideals of contemplative existence, rural simplicity, and country isolation, she bases Charles's virtue on public responsibility, and consequently remakes "Old Rome" in the countryside of contemporary England.

Finch also honors the fourth earl's character by retelling the familiar story of his

⁴²⁹ See, for example, Rivers's discussion of the use of classical precedent in seventeenth-century poetry. In descriptions of public order, the country model forms a microcosm for the English state. Rivers, *The Poetry of Conservatism 1600-1745*, 12-20. McClung also discusses the use of a classical golden age in country house poems. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, 7-17.

grandfather's destruction of a grove of old and cherished trees, celebrated in the community for supplying beauty to the eye and shelter from the elements.⁴³⁰ The indulgent act of the latter is compared to Charles's standard of common good:

To see a sheltering grove the prospect bound
 Just rising from the same prolific ground,
 Where late it stood, the Glory of the Seat,
 Repell'd the Winter blasts, and screened the summer's heat;
 So prais'd, so loved, that when untimely Fate,
 Sadly prescrib'd it a too early Date,
 The heavy tidings caused a gen'ral Grief,
 And all combine to bring a swift relief.
 Some plead, some pray, some counsel, some dispute,
 Alas in vain, where Power is absolute. (23-32)

Finch characterizes the third earl's poor stewardship as a failure of sense experience: blind to the estate's traditional qualities and orderly operation, he also proves deaf to good advice and reason. He sacrifices the well-being of Eastwell to ambition, severs power from its sustaining base, and violates the old system of virtue and merit that called up a mythic past and looked to a prosperous future. The results bring to mind ancient remains:

Her lofty Grove, her ornamental shield,
 Turn'd to a Desert, and forsaken field. (42-44)

The estate then falls like the wealthy city of Persepolis, the ceremonial capital of the Persian Empire, founded in c. 515 BCE and razed and plundered in 330 BCE by Alexander the Great

⁴³⁰ Although Finch does not identify the grove as oaks, she repeats Audrey's note that cites Heneage Finch's "leading stroke" (39). Aubrey writes: "I cannot omit here taking Notice of the great Misfortunes in the Family of the Earl of *Winchilsea*, who at *Eastwell* in *Kent*, felled down a most curious Grove of *Oaks*, near his noble Seat, and gave the first Blow with his own Hands. Shortly after, his *Countess* died in her Bed suddenly, and his eldest *Son*, the Lord *Maidstone*, was killed at Sea by a Cannon Buliet." Aubrey refers to the death of Finch's second wife, Mary Seymore, who died in 1672, and Charles's father and the younger Heneage's elder brother William, Viscount Maidstone, who was killed in the same year at the Battle of Sole-bay. Aubrey, *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey*, 2:34.

during a drunken pillage.⁴³¹ The third earl's ruined landscape is likened to Alexander's waste, and Finch takes care to draw the similarity only to the Macedonian king's failures, not his successes.

The second half of "Upon My Lord Winchilsea's Converting the Mount" details the improvement and profit of Charles's restoration. He removes the offending hill, constructs a terrace from its spoils, and enlarges the house's small Elizabethan windows. The process restores light and vision, expanding far views and creating near garden walks. The civilizing effects – the rich blessing of the arts – are again distinguished from the poor government and wayward results of Charles's loose-living grandfather:

The new wrought gardens give delight,
Where every fault that in the old was found
Is mended, in the well disposed ground.
Such are th'effects, when wine, not loose delights,
Devour the day, not waste the thoughtless nights,
But generous arts, and succeeding age. (66-71)

This additional allusion to the ills of drink is another reminder of Alexander's ruin of Persia's richest city, as well as a suggestion of the third earl's poor conduct while in the East. In a

⁴³¹ The story of Persepolis's destruction is related in Book 17 of Diodorus's *Bibliotheca historica*, published in Latin in the mid-sixteenth century. The first English edition was issued in 1569, and several other editions in English were published during the seventeenth century. See Diodorus Siculus, *A righte noble and pleasant history of the successors of Alexander surnamed the Great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus: and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch* (London: By Henrie Bynneman, dwelling in Knightrider streat at the signe of the Mermayd, for Humfrie Toy, 1569); Siculus Diodorus, *The history of Diodorus Siculus: containing all that is most memorable and of greatest antiquity in the first ages of the world until the war of Troy* (London: Printed by John Macock, for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at his shop, 1653); Diodorus Siculus, *The historical library of Diodorus the Sicilian: in fifteen books: the first five contain the antiquities of Egypt, Asia, Africa, Greece, the islands, and Europe: the last ten an historical account of the affairs of the Persians, Grecians, Macedonians and other parts of the world: to which are added the fragments of Diodorus that are found in the Bibliotheca of Photius: together with those publish'd by H. Valesius, L. Rhodomannus, and F. Ursinus* (London: Printed by Edw. Jones for Awnsham and John Churchill and Edw. Castle, 1700).

domestic capacity, he served the Stuart regime as Lord Lieutenant of Somerset from 1675 to 1683, vice-admiral of Kent from 1672 to 1687, and as Lord Lieutenant of Kent until his death in 1689; from 1660 to 1668 he held the English ambassadorship to Turkey, residing in Constantinople.⁴³² Anne implies that her father-in-law's aesthetic sensibility was adversely influenced by foreign morals and, in particular, represents a betrayal of grounding ethics and native identity. She ties contemporary taste to both traditional values and English honor, then compares the virtues of this heritage with the ruinous effects of alien disorder.⁴³³

With the return of light and vision, her imagery of war is also replaced by the benefits of peace. She hopes that Charles's work will be repaid with the just rewards of country house legend; that plenty will surround the estate, and its strength and beauty grow; that the increase of pleasure will be commensurate with the rising fertility of the newly plowed soil. Although these concluding wishes call again upon the expectations of security, merit, and tribute promised by an

⁴³² The third earl served as ambassador in Constantinople by recommendation of the king, but was actually paid for this office by the Levant Company. His appointment began in 1660 with the Restoration and was officially revoked by Charles II in 1668. See the letters pertaining to this appointment. Great Britain. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch, esq., of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland* (London: Published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1913), 1:80-81, 343, 511.

⁴³³ Although the third earl enjoyed four country houses in Constantinople, he was forced to remain in his position in Turkey because of debt. See letter to John Finch, 1666, Jan. 13-23, letter to the duchess of Somerset, 1668, Aug. 3, and letter to Sir Heneage Finch, 1667, Aug. 8. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch, esq.*, 1:448, 470-72. Finch's poor opinion of her father-in-law may also reflect his late political allegiance and her distrust of the Dutch and thus William III. Although the third earl of Winchilsea had also been a lifelong royalist, in 1689 he voted for the succession of William and Mary, a politically expedient choice and one that, like the destruction of Eastwell's grove, may have been viewed by Finch as self-serving at best. However, Finch makes no mention in the poem of her father-in-law's political decisions or of her own opinion of William III. For Anne Finch's political views, see McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography*, 55-62.

orderly society, they do not reestablish a traditional country house ideology. Rather, the ideals of the past remain in the arenas of myth and history. Finch's use of the genre of country house poetry articulates first a loss of tradition and destruction of established models, followed by a renewal and return to an accustomed footing, but the honors of service are no longer assured. Even though Charles united function and beauty and rebuilt according to order and grace, Finch gives no pledge that the same symmetry will favor his own life. There is no guarantee that the correspondence between old hierarchies and natural order will continue with the restoration of nature's orderly processes. Finch's use of the country house format, then, exaggerates the changes in the representation of the political state between Jonson's early praise of the Sidneys and her tribute to the fourth earl of Winchilsea. The values and principles of the historic past still legitimize authority, but, ironically, legitimate authority and merit are no longer rightfully acknowledged with either the privilege of rule or the honor of reward. For poets like Finch, the resulting uncertainty interrupts the force of natural law as a founding basis of landed power and hierarchal order.

Estate Poems and Paintings and the Issue of "false Relish"

Just as later seventeenth-century country house poems rework Jonsonian constructions of virtue, they also alter the correspondence between natural order and social order, while still honoring the ability of the estate's owner to govern. The productivity of the land, the well-being of the rural community, and the transmission of England's heritage all serve as indicators of an owner's active stewardship and personal merit. However, later country house poems additionally fit the estate into an interlocking pattern of national successes as a component of the country's political and economic reach, and not merely as a microcosm of the larger whole. Through its

aesthetic accouterments, the richly built estate often demonstrates England's growth as a wealthy international power; and it backs wealth from trading enterprises with the same ethical values that distinguish the early seventeenth-century poems. As a representation of its owner's social position and personal resources, the estate translates a changing understanding of state power. Reflecting the diverse fortunes of such writers as Waller, Cowley, Shipman, Dryden and Finch, for example, the celebration of the country house supports a variety of reactions to new economic and political relations. Principally, it reforms early ideals of the genre to fit contemporary conditions outside the conventions of the Jonsonian model, or even the traditional channels of privilege and patronage. Legitimizing comparisons diverge from the negative examples connected to Jonson's showy palaces, and in turn, institute other critical criteria to express new complaints.

Correspondences between country house poems and estate paintings show a like ideology and accommodate similar differences in cultural values between the beginning and end of the seventeenth century. Both forms of praise, for example, legitimize through the ability of a patron to identify and maximize obligation. Just as the first estate paintings portray the royal estate as an enduring monument within the broader landscape and social environment, early country house poems incorporate the country estate within a traditional hierarchy of royal power. Both poetry and painting of the century's first half smooth distinctions of time and space, presenting ancient architecture as a monument to a far-reaching tradition, one sound enough to subsume temporal events. Both poet and painter describe changes in scale and rank, allowing a long and inclusive view that ties English well-being to the cyclical structure of natural order. In the portraits, the eye travels easily from country lanes to palace lawns, from common river trade to courtly games

(figs. 1.4, 1.5); in the poem, farmer, tenant, poet, and prince pass over Sidney's threshold and into Penhurst's great hall. Both formats contain a leisurely shift between the trifling and the grand, and neither moves far from the comfortable rhythms of ordinary life. Yet in both, power also rests on the material supports and satisfactions of bounty.

By the end of the seventeenth century, representations of visual splendor replace the integrated social fabric common to the early paintings of royal palaces and the poems celebrating country estates. Both include new signs of favor and wealth as embodiments of power. The extent, complexity, and geometrical patterning of the landholding is shown by expansive bird's-eye views that portray, if not a divinely patterned hierarchy, at least the material means to extensively reorder a sweeping section of the concrete world. The resulting depiction of possession and privilege shows the importance of size and new design by exaggerating the physical manifestations of taste and wealth. Personal success is synonymous with the wide-ranging domain of an important house and large landholding, whether acquired through commercial or financial ventures, from political office or family inheritance. In visual representations, the high perspective detaches ownership from the mundane exercises and possible uncertainties of power, yet illustrates the assets required to aggressively extend material boundaries.

These extravagant attributes of prestige, however, also prompted debates warning that aesthetics was an operation of judgement, and thus inextricably bound to moral values. In the early eighteenth century, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), the third earl of Shaftesbury, cautioned that beauty must be the result of reflection and contemplation, and not merely a function of happy sensation:

Tis evident however from Reason it-self, as well as from History and Experience, that nothing is more fatal, either to Painting, Architecture, or the other Arts, than this *false Relish* which is govern'd rather by what immediately strikes the Sense, than by what consequentially and by reflection pleases the Mind, and satisfies the Thought and Reason. So that whilst we look on Painting with the same eye, as we view commonly the rich Stuffs and colour'd Silks worn by our Ladys, and admir'd in Dress, Equipage, or Furniture, we must of necessity be effeminate in our taste, and utterly set wrong as to all Judgment and Knowledg in the kind. For this *imitative Art* we may justly say, That tho it borrows help indeed from Colours, and uses them, as means, to execute its Designs; it has nothing, however, more wide of its real Aim, or remote from its Intention, than to make a *shew* of Colours, or from their mixture, to raise a *separate and flattering* Pleasure to the Sense.⁴³⁴

Shaftesbury specifically distinguishes sense experience from such conceptual elements of beauty as virtue, honor, and character. He advocates the contemplation of inner thought and classical form – abstract ideals – rather than the seductive appeal of temporal appearances, but he still bases his idea of aesthetic judgement on the perception of the material world. He concludes that while the worldly eye delivers the material of judgement, reason alone should divide the ideal from the lavish matrix of visual delight.

Shaftesbury's concerns address the same changes in taste and aesthetics as those found in

⁴³⁴ Shaftesbury wrote his treatise on the importance of a painting's intellectual conception, rather than a painter's pictorial invention. He chose as his subject matter a painting of Hercules's choice between the world of appearances and the more enduring values of the mind. Because he advocated classical simplicity, as opposed to courtly splendor, Shaftesbury's aesthetic critique is incorporated in the worldly mechanics of political and moral judgement. First written in French and sent to Lord John Somers in 1712 from Naples, the treatise was published in *Journal des Scavas* that same year; the English version was translated by Shaftesbury and published in London the next year. Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, *A notion of the historical draught or tablature of the judgment of Hercules, according to Prodicus, Lib.II. Xen. de Mem. Soc.* (London: printed for A. Baldwin, 1713), 46-47. Voitle discusses information relating to the writing and publication of Shaftesbury's essay. See Robert Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State Univeristy Press, 1984), 451-54.

estate poetry and painting and describe the difficulty of reconciling traditional moral values with new modes of experience, artistic fashions, and sources of wealth.⁴³⁵ This move from publicly manifested attributes of power to individually affected qualities of mind is registered in country house poetry by a change of language that expresses private elements of thought. In Edmund Waller's *Upon Her Majesties New Buildings at Somerset House*, Henrietta Maria's finely wrought renovations are modeled on the orderly state and represent "a pattern of her mind" (32).⁴³⁶ Similarly, John Dryden describes his kinsman's wise rule of the rural community as a quality of judgement, "like your own soul, serene; a pattern of your own mind" (16). The exceptionalism of Anne Finch's nephew, too, depends on his "ripened judgement" (13) in the governing of both community and country. Where Jonson located Robert Sidney within a traditional mythology that modeled an elite hierarchy on divine rule, the later poets imagine successful lordship as modern statecraft, including the ability to apply ancient laws to the challenges of contemporary life. In these poems, anecdotes of age-old communal occupations give way to descriptions of estates bound tightly to their owners' personal achievements and cultural insights.

Nonetheless, unlike the confident estate portrayals in country house paintings, where monumental size alone affirmed fortune and land guaranteed permanence, estate poetry, especially at the end of the seventeenth century, carried implied warnings of the hazards of success. The possibilities of political downfall or financial failure included loss of office, of position, of heirs,

⁴³⁵ For contemporary references to Shaftesbury's work see, Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 41 (1951): 371-76.

⁴³⁶ Edmund Waller, *Upon Her Maiesties New Buildings at Somerset-House* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New-Exchange, 1665).

of funds, of land. The comparisons, antitheses, and conflicts used by the country house poet to distinguish a patron – the longest lineage, highest principles, truest spirit, finest sensibility, or keenest mind – threatened to unbalance hard-won achievement despite rare and enduring qualities of character and intellect. Whereas a later seventeenth-century estate painting always measured the unequivocal power of landed property, extending exponentially across the land, a poem often warned of political disfavor and signaled that a prosperous and well-ordered estate may no longer fulfill its traditional return.

Like later estate paintings, country house poems also adapted the conventional representation of sovereign rule by overrunning the natural signs of that rule. In Edmund Cowley's "On the Queen's Repairing Somerset House," Charles II's authority flows naturally like the tide – an unstoppable force pushing to the globe's far shores. In Thomas Shipman's "Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem," power is similarly expressed as a manifestation of empire. Belvoir's grand stair rises as wide as "heaven's highway," its table caters to half the world, its furnishings come from the ends of the earth. In paintings, garden statues show to finer effect than toiling field hands; topiary proves a nicer ornament than grazing cows. Intricate geometric structures organize sizeable spans of land and graphically translate the extent and degree of possession. The geographic space of both state and estate is reimagined in economic and political dimensions organized according to rational contemporary principles. This reconception expresses the accumulation and exercise of power as a redefinition of all types of traditional boundaries and frameworks and, particularly, of the laws maintaining those frameworks. Metaphors for governing networks thus were developed to describe the flow of authority; the estate, in both literature and painting, was represented as an ever-multiplying and enriching system. Similarly, an estate

owner's status was articulated through tangible signs of power called up by changes in cultural products, structures of rule, or sources of wealth and luxury goods. The governing abilities of Dryden's cousin represent contemporary changes in parliamentary rights and power as advances in the nation's political and constitutional foundation; the aesthetic sensibilities of Finch's nephew show recent conceptions of refined judgement as inherent elements of personal worth.

The expression of standing, too, was a function of transforming traditional boundaries – those of both intellectual scope and global operation. Lordship was now connected to statesmanship, landholding with ownership, and the country house with aesthetic taste rather than ancestral architecture. Estate poetry still celebrated landed property as a basis of social standing and right rule, yet reformulated this equation to prove that the resulting hierarchy was a reasonable outcome of personal talents, distinctions, and liberties. Once the estate was imagined as an institutional state, it was redefined according to this new pattern. The new lord, however, appeared as rightful and deserving as his celebrated predecessors remembered from England's feudal past.

Chapter IV. Painting English Seasons

Calendar scenes – the yearly labors of the farmer and the seasonal pastimes of the aristocrat – form the subject matter of many landscape paintings executed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Well-known from the sculpture on portals of churches and the calendar sections of medieval and Renaissance prayer books, images of the seasons – pruning, plowing, sowing, harvesting, and feasting – describe an orderly community prospering as a result of responsible government and right rule.⁴³⁷ In total, they explain the benefits of culture through the works of nature. By drawing on regenerative cyclical images that repeat rhythms of the natural year, such iconography cites a familiar and reassuring vocabulary of return. Moreover, seasonal iconography functions as a natural document to accredit the standing of institutions as well as the

⁴³⁷ Calendar scenes, for example, were incorporated into the unusual cycle of illustrations in the *Luttrell Psalter*, c. 1330-1345, and confirmed the natural sequence of earthly order on the estate of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, a wealthy English landowner, knight, and Lord of Irnham in Lincolnshire. An eight-page series of labors in the lower margins of the devotional text acts as a visual introduction to the estate's agricultural production, documenting its owner's good stewardship and husbandry, particularly by identifying Luttrell's lordship with nature's accord. The eight scenes depicting calendar imagery – plowing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, breaking dirt clods, weeding, stacking sheaves, and driving a full harvest wagon – begin with Psalm 93. London, British Museum, MS. Add. 43130, fols. 170r, 170v, 171r, 171v, 172r, 172v, 173r, 173v. The illustrations correspond to a later group of feasting scenes in which the earth's provisions are prepared and then served at Luttrell's table. As a narrative, the series illustrates the rewards of labor and faith in terms of a natural progression throughout the material year, but further, it explains the needs and work of the body as counter-examples to those of the mind and spirit. The four-page sequence begins with Psalm 113:4 and includes: roasting meat; cooking, chopping, and grinding; carving and serving; and feasting. London, British Museum, MS. Add. 43130, fols. 206v, 207r, 208v, 208r. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, The Four Seasons were also a popular subject for Netherlandish paintings and prints. See Table III for "Winter pieces" and "Other season pieces" in the Ogden's compilation of auction data. Henry V. S Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955), 90.

acts of their representatives.

In the seventeenth century this imagery was represented in a variety of both public and private art forms using a range of media. In 1688 the German engraver David Loggan (c. 1634-c. 1692), for example, illustrated *Cantabrigia illustrata* (fig. 4.1) with conventional views of both harvesting and hunting to define the university as an important traditional force within English culture.⁴³⁸ Cambridge stretches along a distant horizon in both prospects and is viewed against country fields to the east in one and to the west in the other, creating a detailed account of the university's framework. In "*Prospectus Cantabrigæ Occidentalis*" an over-full haywain travels north in the middle ground, and in the foreground harvesters reap and load sheaves of wheat, replaying the annual patterns common to late-summer chores. In "*Prospectus Cantabrigæ Orientalis*" leisurely activities slow the pace of the foreground scenes: both shepherd and sheep rest in freshly cut fields at the right, while travelers head south along the road skirting Cambridge and hunters at the left return to town. These mundane and elite rituals mark the parameters of English civic life – they contrast the countryside's routine activities with the university's stable outline, centrally dividing the land and sky. Cambridge's measure as an intellectual center is thus understood with reference to the cycle of yearly renewal, a structure in which the university's

⁴³⁸ Scaled at 16 inches to about a mile, the views reduce the suburban development around Cambridge and show an idealized view of the university and its domination of the town. David Loggan, *Cantabrigia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ istius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ academicæ, scholarum publicarum, sacelli coll.: nec non totius oppidi ichnographia / deliniatore & sculptore Dav. Loggan* (Cantabrigiæ: [s.n.], 1690), first illustration. Also see Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge, and of the colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (Cambridge: University Press, 1886), 1:cvii-cxiii. Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688) includes Loggan in his compendium of artists. Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675. Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister. Hrsg. und kommentiert von A.R. Peltzer* (München: G. Hirth, 1925), 356, 368.

scholarly return sustains the orderly habits of utilitarian life and, through association, shares their longevity.

As the first illustrations in Loggan's series of engravings, the prospects then represent the university as both an institutional and a topographical landmark, reminding the viewer of its traditional authority and its formation of literate culture. However, this seasonal imagery also connects the engravings to illuminated devotional calendars in psalters and books of hours and places it within the understanding of those early models. Such imagery reiterates the obligations binding the Christian community and invokes the language, as well as the requirements, of the promise of redemption. Meaning is built through oppositions between the transience of the temporal year and the immutability of the divinely determined plan; accordingly, the small incidentals of the material world are invested with the significance of sacramental grace. Introducing the unique architecture of Cambridge and the university's singular opportunities, these familiar seasonal scenes hold nothing special or unexpected; rather, their commonality differentiates the unprecedented and transcendent. Perhaps because *Cantabrigia illustrata* was issued in the year that William of Orange and Mary Stuart assumed the throne, calendar scenes here may also cite customary principles as a reminder to the new regime of the continuity and order of long-established English institutions.⁴³⁹ Similar scenes had already been successfully

⁴³⁹ Criticism of universities often centered on their lack of relevance to contemporary needs. Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), third earl of Shaftesbury, for example, later criticized universities for sophistry and pedantry and for no longer having any relevance to worldly experience. He argued that in present practice universities failed to meet past standards; that they maintained landed interests and were unproductive ties to the past: "I am sensible, that of old 'twas the Custom to send the Youth of highest Quality to *Philosophers* to be form'd. 'Twas in their Schools, in their Company, and by their Precepts and Example, that the illustrious Pupils were inur'd to Hardship, and exercis'd in the severest Courses of Temperance and Self-denial. By such an early Discipline, they were fitted for the Command of others; to maintain their

published by Loggan in his series of engravings for the older and more conservative University of Oxford, first issued in 1675.⁴⁴⁰ As with those illustrations, the fabric of the natural cycle recalls a hierarchy of rule that patterns the earth on the order of heaven and manipulates the conventions of authority to celebrate dynastic monarchy as well as institutional power.

As in the paintings of country estates, northern artists first adapted calendar imagery to the English countryside, especially by offering novel products to a select viewership.⁴⁴¹ In England painters from the Southern Netherlands continued to produce imagery that was identified with their homeland and thus cited the fame of Lowlands art. Landscape paintings based on calendar

Country's Honour in War, rule wisely in the State, and fight against Luxury and Corruption in times of Prosperity and Peace. If any of these Arts are comprehended in *University-Learning*, 'tis well. But as some Universitys in the World are now model'd, they seem not so very effectual to these Purposes, nor so fortunate in preparing for a right Practice of the World, or a just Knowledge of Men and Things." See Section IV in "*Senus Communis*, or an Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," in Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times. In three volumes. Vol. I. I. A letter concerning enthusiasm. II. Sensus Communis, or an essay on wit, &c. III. Soliloquy, or advice to an author. Vol. II. IV. An Inquiry concerning virtue and merit. V. The moralists: a philosophical rhapsody. Vol. III. VI. Miscellaneous reflections on the said tratises, and other critical subjects* ([London]: [printed by John Darby], 1711), 1:122-23.

⁴⁴⁰ The prospects of Cambridge are similar to the subject matter, perspective, and placement of those that introduce the series of engravings in Loggan's *Oxonia illustrata*. The seasonal scenes in the Cambridge series, however, are more specifically developed and foregrounded as calendar imagery. David Loggan, *Oxonia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ istius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, scholarum publicarum, Theatri Sheldoniani, nec non urbis totius scenographia / delineavit & sculpsit Dav: Loggan* (Oxonix: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1675).

⁴⁴¹ With few exceptions, painters who developed the new genre of landscape painting in England were artists originally trained in the Low Countries. Peter Hecht discusses Dutch painters in England, examining the writings and early bibliographies of Dutch artists. The most successful – such as Peter Lely (Pieter van der Faes) – painted for the English court or specialized in portraits. Hecht finds that, for the most part, commissions from English patrons were geared toward the documentation of property, position, and family. See Peter Hecht, "Dutch Painters in England: Readings in Houbraken, Weyerman, and Van Gool," in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (Zutphen: Walburg Institute, 1994), 132-50.

imagery usually portrayed such specific themes as summer scenes with full harvests, laden wagons, and peasants bearing baskets of ripe produce. Both Dutch and Flemish painters emigrating to England similarly tailored their imagery to the specifics of the English landscape. I argue that calendar imagery in England is reinterpreted to discern the workings of natural law and succession in landed property, identifying ownership as an aristocratic value, whether acquired through commerce or inheritance. Imagery that once defined community through yearly ritual, seasonal fertility, or natural abundance is redesigned to express participation in new economic achievement and contemporary privilege. The same scenes that rooted monarchal, governmental, and educational institutions in the power of ancient law or custom are formatted to recognize the order of hierarchy in all high degrees of success.⁴⁴²

English Country Scenes

When Jan Siberechts (1627- c. 1703) first arrived in England in about 1672 or 1673 at the invitation of the duke of Buckingham, his landscape paintings still featured rural imagery popular in the Southern Lowlands and included farm carts fording slow streams, herders moving cows or sheep along country lanes, and peasants returning from fields.⁴⁴³ Although Siberechts shows the

⁴⁴² See, for example J. G. A. Pocock's discussion of the basis of the ideology of law and custom in the seventeenth century. He argues that many writers in the seventeenth century interpreted English law and custom through an ancient basis in common law and an ancient constitution. New political ideas used antique precedent to validate contemporary claims. See J. G. A. Pocock, *The ancient constitution and the feudal law; a study of English historical thought in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 30-50.

⁴⁴³ See note 517 below. Timon Fokker divides Siberechts's paintings into three periods: an early period influenced by Italian pastoral imagery; a middle period portraying Flemish rural imagery; and a later period in England where he concentrates on English topological scenes. Timon H. Fokker, *Jan Siberechts, Peintre de la Paysanne Flamande* (Bruxelles and Paris: Librairie Nationale D'Art et D'Histoire, 1931), 12-60. Also see Yvonne Thiery and Michel Kervyn de Meerendre, *Les peintres flamands de paysage au XVIIe siècle: le baroque anversois et l'école bruxelloise* (Bruxelles: Lefebvre et Gillet, 1987), 77-96. For Siberechts's country house

influence of Italianate painters, particularly Jan Brill (1554-1626) and Jan Wildens (1586-1653), his motifs are directly adapted from Peter Paul Rubens's Flemish landscapes, painted from the second decade of the seventeenth century to about four years before Rubens's death in 1640 (fig. 4.2).⁴⁴⁴ Siberechts borrowed such seasonal imagery as milkmaids with gleaming copper urns, laden haywains and vegetable carts, wading livestock, pack horses, tree-lined streams, and golden fields. Rubens's iconography allowed Siberechts to identify his own work with Rubens's fame and appeal to Rubens's international clientele. Several drawings from this period also develop landscape elements that Rubens continually repeated in his own landscapes.⁴⁴⁵ Siberechts's study of three gnarled tree trunks (fig. 4.3) and another of four views of a Flemish milkmaid (fig. 4.4), for example, show his interest in establishing a skillful storyteller's landscape repertoire.⁴⁴⁶ While

paintings and early mentions of his work in England, see my Chapter II.

⁴⁴⁴ Similar imagery occurs in many landscapes by Rubens: *The Farm at Laeken*, c. 1618, London, Buckingham Palace, The Royal Collection; *Summer: Peasants going to Market*, c. 1618, London, Buckingham Palace, The Royal Collection; *Summer*, c. 1620s, London, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection; *Peasants with Cattle by a Stream in a Woody Landscape: 'The Watering Place,'* c. 1620, London, National Gallery, *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen in the Early Morning*, c. 1636, London, National Gallery, *Landscape with a Rainbow*, c. 1636, London, Wallace Collection.

⁴⁴⁵ Herders tending cattle and other stock animals continued to be a popular subject in landscape imagery. Prints after the mid-seventeenth-century drawing of Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683) were published by Johannes Visscher (c. 1633-c. 1692) in the later half of the century. See nos. 73-76 and nos. 95-98. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts. ca. 1450-1700: Johannes [De] Visscher to Robert van Voerst*, ed. Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1992), 41:56-57, 66-68.

⁴⁴⁶ The *Studies of Four Women* has the inscription "N. Berchem F" written in the lower center. The inscription was a later addition and probably added because the Dutch Italianate landscape painter Nicolaes Berchem was popular with eighteenth-century British collectors. The study of milkmaids is in London, The Courtauld Institute, and the study of tree trunks is in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. A similar milkmaid is featured in Rubens's *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen in the Early Morning*, c. 1636, London, National Gallery, and prominent old tree trunks are focal points in *Peasants with Cattle by a Stream in a Woody*

in Antwerp, narrative scenes and figurative details became foreground features and recurrent themes in his work, but in England he also created imagery that could be admired for its associations with English terrain and tradition. Siberechts established a specialty in depictions of the countryside that offered signs of status and distinctions of place, as well as familiar depictions of the accustomed patterns of changing seasons.

In *River Landscape with Carriage Drawn by Six Horses* (fig. 4.5), painted after 1674, he portrays a mid-day country setting with a flooded roadway and several cows led by a dairymaid along a roadside path.⁴⁴⁷ In place of the typical farm wagon, however, Siberechts substitutes a liveried coach drawn by three pairs of matched white horses; two riders follow and onlookers note the coach's progress through the watery lane. The addition of the coach creates a distinctive theme that survives in four versions, with variations on types of carriages and landscape details.⁴⁴⁸ The carriage, or sometimes a smaller chaise, supplies a new element to the conventional imagery of

Landscape: 'The Watering Place,' c. 1620, London, National Gallery, and *A Shepherd with his Flock in a Woody Landscape*, c. 1620, London, National Gallery. Both motifs are used by Siberechts in *Crossing a Creek*, 1669, Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Illustrated in Fokker, *Jan Siberechts, Peintre de la Paysanne Flamande*, Plate 16.

⁴⁴⁷ Flemish imagery is particularly featured in Antwerp paintings of the 1660s and 1670s. See Siberechts's *A Cowherd Passing a Horse and Cart in a Stream*, c. 1658, London, National Gallery, and *The Afternoon*, c. 1666-1667, Rotterdam, Museum Boyman-van Beuningen. Also see *The Flooded Roadway* (Hanover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum), 1664, and *Milkmaid and Vegetable Seller*, 1667 (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), illustrated in Sutton. Peter Sutton, *The Age of Rubens* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts; Ghent: Ludion Press, 1994), 493-94.

⁴⁴⁸ Fokker notes *A Carriage and Six Horses* at the Galerie van Diemen, Berlin, signed and dated 1674, which has a carriage, while the version in the collection of the Marquis of Bath, has a chaise instead. *A Chaise and Six Horses* in the Warde collection at Squerries Court (Westerham, Kent), signed and dated 1674, has similar landscape details to the Galerie van Diemen version, but has a chaise in place of the larger carriage. Fokker, *Jan Siberechts, Peintre de la Paysanne Flamande*, 84, 97, 104-05. The copy in the Getty (78.PA224) replicates the background of the Marquis of Bath's version, but has the large carriage rather than the chaise. Los Angeles, Getty Museum.

monthly labors and aristocratic pastimes: it refers directly to a contemporary sign of wealth and one associated with English court culture.⁴⁴⁹ This theme may have been influenced by Netherlandish paintings and prints depicting ceremonial processions by coach. In the Lowlands, images of historical arrivals and departures typically celebrated special events. Such commemorations usually featured important visitors or patrons surrounded by a large entourage and within a wide landscape.⁴⁵⁰

In England, however, the arrival of a family at their country estate had long been an

⁴⁴⁹ See, for example, the description of the thirteen coaches in the possession of Roger Palmer (1634-1705), the first earl of Castlemaine, during his term as ambassador in Rome to Pope Innocent XI from 1686 to 1688. Michael Wright (1617-1694), a painter of portraits who was appointed King's Painter, explains the importance of coaches as vehicles of "publick Entry": they establish "splendor and magnificence" and keep up "Port and Dignity." Michael John Wright, *An account of His Excellence, Roger Earl of Castlemaine's embassy from His Sacred Majesty James IId, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. to His Holiness Innocent XI. Published formerly in the Italian tongue, By Mr. Michael Wright, Chief Steward of His Excellences House at Rome. And now made English, with several Amendments and Additions* (London: Printed by Tho. Snowden for the Author, 1688), 21-47. On 24 February 1671, Robert Montague, earl of Manchester, wrote to Henry Bennet, the first earl of Arlington (one of five privy councillors to Charles II), informing him of the gift of a coach sent from Paris. Montague describes it as much like the one already presented to the queen and states that he is "over-stocked with coaches." Great Britain, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry K.G., K.T., preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall* (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899-1926), 1:497. In his diary, Samuel Pepys also mentions the importance of carriages for status. On 10 July 1668 and 30 October 1668, Pepys notes the type and appearance of equipment. On 5 November 1668, he discusses the process of purchasing a carriage for town and settles on one that is "light, and will be very gent and sober – to be covered with leather, but yet will hold four." On 12 December 1668, he receives his "fine pair" of black coach horses, and on 18 March 1669, he reports that his new equipment was much admired in Hyde Park, where he "with mighty pride rode up and down." See respectively, Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert C. Latham and William Matthews (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1976), 9:260, 342, 352, 392, 487.

⁴⁵⁰ While in Brussels, Adam Frans van der Meulen (1625-1674) painted the arrivals and departures of nobles and royalty in carriages with generalized landscape settings. See Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Philippe-François d'Arenberg Saluted by the Leader of a Troop of Horsemen*, 1662, London, The National Gallery.

important characteristic of country house portraits, functioning in several ways to extend the value of the painting with respect to both the painter's talent and the patron's status. Like the propertied estate, the horse-drawn carriage distinguishes elite privilege and serves as familiar evidence of standing. Joris Hoefnagel's 1568 drawing of the south front of Nonsuch (fig. 4.6), Henry VIII's hunting retreat and private country palace, shows Elizabeth I and her court en route to the castle.⁴⁵¹ Wenchelaus Hollar's 1630s drawing of Albury Place in Surrey portrays the arrival of Thomas Howard and Aletheia Talbot, the twenty-first earl and the countess of Arundel, and was later engraved (fig. 4.7) and published in Antwerp about 1644 to 1646.⁴⁵² Jacob Knyff's estate painting of Durdans in Surrey, c. 1673, similarly depicts a carriage on the road fronting the estate and a party of visitors just within the gates.⁴⁵³ Siberechts features carriages drawn by six matched horses in two of the three estate portraits of Longleat, painted for Sir Thomas Thynne from 1675 to 1678.⁴⁵⁴ The artist's bird's-eye view of Cheveley Park, Cambridgeshire, for Henry Jermyn, the first Lord Dover, also includes a carriage with three pairs of horses, as do two of the painter's

⁴⁵¹ Joris Hoefnagel's *PALATIVM REGIVM IN ANGLIAE REGNO APPELLATUM NONCIVITZ* is in the British Museum. An etching of the drawing was first published in Georg Braun's and Franz Hogenber's *Civitate Orbis Terrarum*, 1582. See British Museum 1870,0514,335.

⁴⁵² *Alburgum in Comitatu Surriæ, vulgo Albury* is one of a series of etchings made from drawings executed around Albury Place, Arundel's country home. Several are in the British Museum and six are at Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection.

⁴⁵³ Jacob Knyff, *Durdans, Surrey* (104.4 x 181 cm.) is at Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire and is mentioned by Harris. Kyff (1639-1681) was born in Harlem, the son of the painter Wouter Knyff and elder brother of Leonard Knyff. See John Harris, "Draughtsman's Contracts," *Country Life* 8 (1983): 628-29.

⁴⁵⁴ Two of the views of Longleat House, Wiltshire, are still in Longleat House and were painted by Siberechts in 1675 and 1676; the later painting contains the horse-drawn carriage and the earlier example shows a group of huntsmen instead. The third picture of Longleat was painted in 1678 and is in the Government Picture Collection, now on view in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

perspective of Wollaton Hall for Sir Thomas Willoughby.⁴⁵⁵ Adriaen van Diest (1655-1704) uses a like carriage and entourage approaching the estate gates in his country house painting of Dunham Massey, Cheshire, executed about 1697.⁴⁵⁶

While the arriving carriage is a claim to rank – as well as to fashion – and identifies the landscape as a possession and an extension of ownership, it also acts as a narrative element, expressing the experience and pattern of ceremony, and, in effect, constructing a representation of an estate's material life and political worth. In his *River Landscape with Carriage Drawn by Six Horses* (fig. 4.5), Siberechts brings this sign of status to the foreground as the organizing narrative feature. Led by a liveried rider, the coach traveling through the countryside becomes a generic focus of the landscape and a novel addition to imagery portraying elite country life. He uses it as a prestigious accouterment, part of the equipment of elite status, social and political connections, and financial resources. Judging from Siberechts's extant English paintings, the combination of aristocratic themes and Flemish motifs proved to be an effective device, attracting commissions from wealthy patrons throughout the country.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵ *Cheveley Park*, 1681, is in Belvoir Castle, Rutland. One portrait of Wollaton Hall with a carriage is at the Yale center for British Art and the other is in the collection of Lord Middleton. I discuss Wollaton Hall in Chapter II of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁶ Andiaen van Diest, *Dunham Massey*, c. 1697, National Trust, Dunham Massey, Cheshire. According Buckeridge, Adriaen van Diest was a Dutch painter who emigrated to London and worked at Longleat for John Granville, the earl of Bath. Buckeridge, "Essay towards an English-School," 453.

⁴⁵⁷ In addition to the work in Yorkshire for the first duke of Buckingham, and Derbyshire for the first duke of Devonshire, as well as the country house paintings in Wiltshire (Longleat House), Cambridgeshire (Cheveley Park), and Nottinghamshire (Wollaton Hall), Siberechts also worked in Kent, where he included horse-drawn carriages in the estate portraits of Bridge Place, 1670s (London, private collection), as well as the two paintings of Bayhall (Yale, Yale Center for British Art, and Raleigh, North Carolina, Tyrone Palace). John Harris also publishes *Richmond, Surrey, from Richmond Hill above the Thames*, 1677 (Northamptonshire, Easton Neston, collection of Lord Hesketh). In this bird's-eye view of the Thames, a foreground carriage

Nottingham: Country Pleasures

Siberechts builds his patronage base by offering a number of new landscape themes that are themselves graphic measurements of a family's advantages. As in estate poetry, the countryside surrounding a property identifies its social order and signals financial and political scope.⁴⁵⁸ Even in contemporary travel accounts, a region's noted attractions are often identified as the assets of important estates. During her 1697 tour through Kent and the north of England, Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) describes areas of the countryside by citing well-known houses or castles, and portrays the surrounding landscape as a resources of those estates.⁴⁵⁹ After a brief account of Nottingham, she writes of the large house built by the duke of Newcastle in 1674:

The town of Nottingham is the neatest town I have seen, built of stone and delicate large and long streetes much like London and the houses lofty and well built, . . . There are severall good houses in the town, there are 3 or 4 large houses of the Duke of Newcastle with the Castle, which is a fine thing stands very high on a hill and when you come to the Castle you ascend 40 steps to the Court and Hall, the roomes are very lofty and large, 6 or 7 state roomes, and a long gallery hung with fine Pictures of the family, the wanscoate is

introduces the deep panorama. John Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*, rev. ed. (London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), 68.

⁴⁵⁸ Particularly in the later seventeenth century, the country house is the focal point of a power structure extending across the landscape. See Thomas Shipman's description of Belvoir Castle, an encomium to the duke of Rutland, published in 1683. "Belvoir, *A Pindaric Poem, or a faint Draught of that stately Fabrick; with some short characters of the Noble Founders, Owners, with their Alliances*. 1679," in Thomas Shipman, *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems* (London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and William Crook without Temple-Bar, 1683), 230-39. Shipman's country house poem is discussed in my Chapter III.

⁴⁵⁹ Celia Fiennes, daughter of Col. Nathaniel Fiennes and sister of the third Viscount Saye and Sele, began her journeys through England in the mid-1680s. She generally traveled on horseback with several servants and a guide. Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. and introd. Christopher Morris (London, Cresset Press, 1947). Also see Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle, in the Time of William and Mary*, introd. Emily Wingfield Griffiths (London and New York: Field & Tuer; Scribner & Welford, 1888).

most of Cedar; some roomes are hung with good tapistry, the Chamber of State is hung with very rich tapistry so much silver and gold in it that the 3 pieces that hung the roome cost 1500£; the bed was rail'd in as the presence chamber used to be – the bed was damaske; the floore of the roome was inlay'd with Cyphers and the Corronet, here the Princess Anne lay when she fled in King James's tyme when the Prince of Orange was coming over.⁴⁶⁰

The journal continues, detailing the surrounding topography as a portion of the castle's furnishings and distinctions:

. . . on the Leads you have a very fine prospect of the whole town and river, you see the Earle of Kingstones and Sir Thomas Willoughbys fine house [Wollaton] on the other side of town, and at a distance we see Beavior [Belvoir] Castle, the Earle of Rutlands house, a prospect more than 20 miles about shewing the diversities of Cultivations and produce of the Earth, the land is very rich and fruitfull, so the green meadows with the fine Corn fields, which seemes to bring forth in handfulls, they sow most of the Barley and have great encrease, there is all sorts of Graine besides, and Plaines and Rivers and great Woods, and little towns all in view.⁴⁶¹

In her account Fiennes first notes the long and rising approach to the house, then the size of the rooms and the richness of the fittings, and finally, the prospect from the grounds and the productivity of the land. The house's many luxuries are matched with the amenities of its view; nature's treasures are further benefits of Newcastle's estate, and the fruitful landscape is a repetition of the castle's choice offerings. Towns spring up in the distance like crops in the field; art, riches, and vistas all belong to Newcastle's list of possessions. The Castle too is complemented by other fine houses and rich estates, designating the power concentrated in the locale. In Fiennes's description, the degree of the duke's status is built through the process of accretion – through the accumulated items of material worth and the details of spatial reach.

⁴⁶⁰ Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 72-73.

⁴⁶¹ Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 73.

In combination with the castle's many treasures, the prospect forms an idea of the estate's exceptionalism. Siberechts develops a corresponding concept of exclusiveness in three landscapes of the area, painted for Newcastle's neighbor Sir Thomas Willoughby (1672-1729), the first baron of Middleton.⁴⁶² The views were executed at about the time of Fiennes's northern journey and depict the same celebrated attractions. All portray Wollaton Hall rising on its steep hill with the fertile countryside below, but each painting features the house from a different perspective.⁴⁶³ Because of similar proportions and contrasting vantage points, two of the paintings may have been designed as a pair. In *View of Nottingham and the Trent* (fig. 4.8) Siberechts shows Wollaton at the far left with the Trent in the foreground, meandering through hedged fields toward the town of Nottingham in the distance; workers travel riverside paths, tend grazing livestock, and harvest crops. The dominant position of the house, far across the valley, forms a distinctive feature of the long river view. *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill* (fig. 4.9), conversely, presents Wollaton on the horizon at the far right with the River Leen and Lenton Mill in the foreground. Again, Siberechts illustrates the season's mundane yearly labors and daily farming chores; cattle wade near the river's banks and pack horses follow the waterway. But here an estate wagon, drawn by a single line of four horses and an outrider, fords the river, marking the Willoughbys' territory from the mill to the horizon. In a preparatory drawing (fig. 4.10), Siberechts establishes the particulars of

⁴⁶² See John Throsby's history of the house. Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger-books other manuscripts, and authentic authorities. Beautified with maps, prospects, and portraitures*, ed. John Throsby (Nottingham: printed by G. Burbage, 1790), 2:214-15. See my Chapter II.

⁴⁶³ Jan Siberechts, *View of Nottingham and the Trent*, c. 1695, 109.22 x 146.05 cm., and *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill*, c. 1697, 108.5 x 143.5 cm. are in Birdsall House, collection of Lord Middleton; Jan Siberechts, *Nottingham from the East*, c. 1695, 58.4 x 120.7 cm. is in the Castle Museum, Nottingham.

the estate's watermill and the house on its rise.⁴⁶⁴ In the painting, however, he increases the height of the hill and substitutes the larger wagon and four plumed horses for the simple farm cart in the foreground of the drawing. Distinct horizontal divisions – structured by the drying laundry, bridge, and roadway in the middle ground and the wagon, horses, and cattle in the foreground – separate the viewer from the Willoughbys' private domain

In both *View of Nottingham and the Trent* (fig. 4.8) and *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill* (fig. 4.9), sunshine highlights the solid profile of the family's still dominant seat, and in both, Wollaton is fixed as a lasting landscape feature. Like early seventeenth-century paintings of the king's properties along the Thames, a noted characteristic of Siberechts's two prospects is the house's visual control of the country community.⁴⁶⁵ The vantage points reverse the perspectives from the estate and conceptualize the benefits of the land. Siberechts shows such traditional country industries as growing wheat, raising livestock, milling grain, and barging goods – all signs of natural order and prosperity set within the bounds of the country house, all signs that affirm established hierarchies and values. While the many popular bird's-eye views of country houses

⁴⁶⁴ In the center near the top margin, Siberechts's drawing is inscribed: "van tfort near Nottingham 20 April 1695." While Siberechts uses watercolor for the majority of the drawing, several details are drawn in black lead or pencil, including the house rising on the hill in the distance and the vignette with the horse-drawn cart fording the stream in the middle ground. Jan Siberechts, *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill*, 1695, black lead and watercolor, Plymouth, Plymouth City Art Gallery.

⁴⁶⁵ Fiennes often describes visual expanse as an aspect of power and nobility. Hampton Court "looks like a little town the buildings run to so great a length." Burghley House, home of the earl of Exeter, is sited at the edge of a hill, but nevertheless commands the landscape: "you ascend to the house thro' the midst of rows of trees on either side of a broad Glide or vисто that looks finely to the River and to the adjacent hills, a distance cloth with fine woods; the town of Stamford appears very fine on the left hand and most noble woods on the right hand, the house looks very nobly, the Gardens very fine within one another and lower higher walls deck'd with all sorts of trees and greens . . ." Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 59, 68.

organize space and present domain through expanding networks of axially aligned avenues and geometrically plotted gardens, Siberechts's two vistas of the area surrounding Wollaton describe ownership in respect to as specific assets of the land and traditional rural prosperity. Just as Fiennes discusses the merits of the landscape as rich products and fine qualities, Siberechts translates the distinctive features of the Willoughbys' view as privileges with a range of quantifiable values. Recording the estate's terrain and the property's resources, he interprets the iconography that expresses dynastic continuity.

Nottingham from the East (fig. 4.11), the third painting in the sequence, portrays Wollaton in the distance at the far right, but includes the estate as only one of the region's important landmarks. The bird's-eye perspective from above Colwick Hill shows the strategic and commercial benefits of the town itself, emphasizing Nottingham's location overlooking the Trent, the river's long flood plain, and the area's fine architecture.⁴⁶⁶ The bright perpendicular facade of St Mary's Church identifies the town's high point and features the church's distinctive three-stage tower with its medieval pinnacles and battlements. At the right of St Mary's, Siberechts sites Holme Pierrepont Hall, a large medieval house built east of the town by Sir William Pierrepont in about 1500 and renovated in 1628 by Robert Pierrepont (1585-1643), created Baron Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont and Viscount Newark in 1627 and first earl of Kingston-upon-Hull in 1628 – all

⁴⁶⁶ Thoroton gives a history of Nottingham and includes a plan of the town as well as two perspectives, one from the northeast and the other from the south. Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures* (London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock . . . , 1677), 433-507. Also see Pevsner's discussion of the buildings of Nottingham. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin, 1979), 219-28.

purchased titles.⁴⁶⁷ At the left of St Mary's is the smaller church of St Nicholas and on the hill above Nottingham, the artist portrays the seventeenth-century ducal palace of William Cavendish (1592-1676), first duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁴⁶⁸ Built on the site of a fortress originally constructed by William the Conqueror in 1067, the old castle was for long periods a royal stronghold and only passed into private ownership in 1622 when James I sold it to Francis

⁴⁶⁷ For the titles purchased by Pierrepont, see Charles R. Mayes, "The Sale of Titles in Early Stuart England," *The Journal of Modern History* 29 (1957): 32. P. R. Seldon, "Pierrepont, Robert, first Earl of Kingston upon Hull (1584-1643)," in *Oxford dictionary of national biography: in association with the British Academy: from the earliest times to the year 2000*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 44:264. Fiennes describes the approach to the earl of Kingston's house as part of her account of traveling along the Trent toward Nottingham: "and a little farther you see Lord Kingston's house which is contiguous to Nottingham town called Home Peirpoynt which looks finely in woods." Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 72. For the building history of Holme Pierrepont Hall, see Pevnsner, *Nottinghamshire*, rev. ed., 225-27.

⁴⁶⁸ In her history of the life of John Hutchinson, Lucy Hutchinson describes the region as "wholly for the King," especially "all the Nobility and Gentry and their dependants." She mentions both William Cavendish and Robert Pierrepont as royalists whose sympathies were the result of social and material ambitions rather than ethical or political beliefs. Hutchinson writes: "The greatest famely was the Earle of Newcastle's, a Lord so much once beloved in his Country that, when the first expedition was against the Scotts, the gentlemen of the Country sett him forth two troopes, one all of Gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the North at their owne charges. He had indeed, through his greate estate and liberall hospitality and constant residence in his country, so endear'd them to him that no man was a greater prince than he in all that Notherne quarter, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to Court, where he ran himselfe much in to debt to purchase neglects of the King and Queene and scornes of the proud Courtiers. Next him was the Earle of Kingston, a man of vast estate, and not lesse covetousnesse, who devided his sonns betweene both Parties and conceal'd himselfe, till at length his fate drew him to declare absolutely on the King's side, wherein he behav'd himselfe honorably, and died remarkably." According to Hutchinson, the fault in both men stemmed from their deviation from traditional English values. Both Cavendish and Pierrpont were royalists, while John Hutchinson was a Puritan and a parliamentarian. He served on the High Court of Justice and was one of the 59 commissioners to sign Charles I's death warrant. Lucy Apsley Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. James Sutherland (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 60-61.

Manners, sixth earl of Rutland.⁴⁶⁹ During the civil war it was occupied first by royalist forces and then by the parliamentary army under the command of Colonel John Hutchinson, the governor of the Castle.⁴⁷⁰ In 1651 Hutchinson received permission to demolish the building to prevent the king's sympathizers from reoccupation, and three years after the return of the Stuarts, Cavendish purchased the castle ruins and surrounding grounds. In 1674 he began the construction of his new house on the old foundations, but the work was incomplete at his death and the house was only finished in 1679 by Henry Cavendish (1630-1691), his son and heir.

In *Nottingham from the East*, Siberechts shows the long entrance front of the Cavendishes' rectangular baroque palace, especially picking out manneristic details on the important rusticated facade facing the town.⁴⁷¹ In the distance the area's two other large houses are balanced on each side of the prospect and frame the Trent's wide course. At the right Wollaton Hall is identified by its four towers and tall prospect room, and at the left on an exaggerated hill above the river bank, Siberechts portrays Clifton Hall, the seat of Gervase Clifton (1587-1666), fourth baronet of Clifton.⁴⁷² Below, the small village of Wilford hugs the river just beyond a bend. Siberechts shows the sun-lit tower and nave of St Wilfrid's, increasing the size of the medieval church and marking

⁴⁶⁹ See Throsby's history of the house. Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, and ed. Throsby, 2:17-25. Charles Deering also notes the history of the house in his work on Nottinghamshire. Charles Deering, *The History of Nottingham* (Nottingham: George Ayscough and Thomas Willington, 1751), 170-86.

⁴⁷⁰ For Lucy Hutchinson's early 1640s description of the town and her husband's appointment, see Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Sutherland, 82-84.

⁴⁷¹ Summerson identifies the house with the Artisan school of English architecture. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 154-56.

⁴⁷² In his history of the Cliftons, Thoroton includes an engraving of the north face of Clifton Hall rising on the hill above the Trent. Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), 52-57.

the village on the south side of the Trent. In the foreground the little town of Sneiton is half-hidden among the trees lining the road to Nottingham. Like Fiennes, Siberechts describes the pleasure to be had from modest landscape features, as well as recording the region's largest estates.

A number of these sites are listed in Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff's early eighteenth-century engraving, *Perspective of Nottingham From ye East* (fig. 4.12), partially based on earlier representations of the town.⁴⁷³ Unlike Siberechts's painting, Knyff concentrates on Nottingham itself: he raises the perspective and flattens the landscape, emphasizing the architecture and grounds of the area's most significant buildings. The print identifies the town's three churches – St Mary's, St Peter's, and St Nicholas's – as well as the Castle, Holme Pierrepont House, Wollaton Hall, and Wilford. Knyff places Newcastle's palace between St Mary's Church and Holme Pierrepont House, eliminating Siberechts's view of the bridge over the Trent and presenting only a sketchy portrait of Wollaton at the far right. He fronts the east facade of Holme Pierrepont House with formal gardens and portrays the neat divide of crops planted in adjacent fields.⁴⁷⁴ The engraving differentiates the structures and grounds at the top of the two hills, and in effect, depicts Nottingham as a succession of important buildings ringed by the town. In Kip and Knyff's

⁴⁷³ Johannes Kip, "Prospect of Nottingham from ye East," *Britannia illustrata: or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates* (London: Sold by David Mortier, 1707), 75. The plates were prepared by Kip from bird's eye perspectives by Knyff. In preparing the drawings Knyff probably adapted both Siberechts's *Nottingham from the East* and the views from Thoroton's earlier history. Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), plate inset between pages 488 and 489.

⁴⁷⁴ A undated low view of the east face and formal garden of Holme Pierrepont House is at Yale, Center for British Art (*Pierrepont House*, c. 1705, Paul Mellon collection, B1976.7.125). The painting, probably executed soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century, is by an unknown artist, but the view of the brick house and garden is similar to that in Knyff's engraving.

prospect, the surrounding valley and far hills act as a foil to indicate the advantages of the town in its Nottinghamshire location.

Siberechts's *Nottingham from the East*, conversely, balances Nottingham on the right with the exaggerated serpentine sweep of the Trent on the left. The road running straight from the town to the river bisects the panorama and divides the middle ground; it repeats the long line parting the earth and sky, and emphasizes the breadth of the territory. On the left, the course of the Trent connects the foreground plane to the horizon just as does the winding road on the right. In the foreground, Siberechts portrays the valley much as it appears in contemporary accounts, but he probably overdraws the distance between the Trent and the town.⁴⁷⁵ Writing in 1643, Lucy Hutchinson describes the flood plain of the River Leen at the foot of the Castle's high hill: "On the other side the Castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flat meadows bounded by the river of Trent."⁴⁷⁶ In Robert Thoroton's 1677 history of Nottingham, these meadows front a topographical view of the town from the south side of the Trent (fig. 4.13).⁴⁷⁷ On the same page, Thoroton also supplies a prospective from the northeast, but both panoramas concentrate on Nottingham and not its surrounding landscape. In comparison, Siberechts's landscape, although from a viewpoint slightly to the east, focuses on the wide flat valley that stretches to the Derbyshire

⁴⁷⁵ At the time, the Leen was diverted downstream at Nottingham and flowed around the base of the town's sandstone outcrop and east under the Leen bridge, then met the Trent a little further downstream at Snienton meadows. Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, 2:166. For the early history of the Nottingham bridges, see John Potter Briscoe, "History of the Trent Bridges at Nottingham," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1873): 212-16.

⁴⁷⁶ Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 84.

⁴⁷⁷ "A North East Prospect of NOTTINGHAM from Newmarte Road in Sneynton field neare Carletan Hill" and "a prospect of NOTTINGHAM from the Medow on the South side." Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), plate inset between pages 488 and 489.

hills in the distance. Harvesters cut grain in the foreground, livestock graze in the meadows mentioned by Hutchinson and Fiennes, and flat-bottomed ketches ferry goods to towns and villages along the Trent.⁴⁷⁸ The stone arches so carefully delineated in *Nottingham from the East* are described by Charles Deering as twenty stone archways supporting “a strong causway, well secured with brick-work, and covered in flat stones leading to the higher parts of the meadows.”⁴⁷⁹ Like the clean line of hills in the distance, this important road between Nottingham and London becomes an organizing feature of Siberechts’s landscape.

Although Siberechts devotes only about twelve percent of the picture plan to the town, he still celebrates its medieval fabric. The protective castle, parish church, and navigable river establish a core of civic success, and the natural boundary formed by Nottingham’s hill identifies strategic benefits. Siberechts outlines the same orderly structure of the early town found in both Thoroton and Kip’s designs, but in creating a panorama of Nottingham and its surrounding topography, he adds details of the town’s material and social pleasures. He records the area as networks of county seats, improved roadways, high bridges, arable fields, and outlying villages. The resources of the territory support numerous fine estates, which in turn patronize large churches; fertile acres and communication channels ensure agricultural products and inland

⁴⁷⁸ Fiennes, for example, mentions the area’s ale, brick, tile, and textiles, but most of her account is devoted to aesthetic attractions, the well-built town, and the region’s large properties. In her account of other areas of England, however, it is primarily a region’s manufacturing and industry that she describes. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 71-73.

⁴⁷⁹ Deering writes that these bridges were replaced after a flood in 1683 damaged the northern span. Deering, *The History of Nottingham*, 164.

commerce, and in particular, underwrite continuing prosperity.⁴⁸⁰

Within the next hundred years, however, the taste for this type of countryside perspective changed from one that praised large estates and good husbandry to one that required a picturesque sentiment. In 1790, when John Throsby amended and reissued *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire*, he recommended the vista from the southern meadows as a complement to the view toward the town and Wollaton Hall: "The beautiful little church of Wilford, and Sir Jervas Clifton's towery embowered dwelling, over the Trent, are delightful scenes which present themselves in your meadow walks near Nottingham. In an opposite direction Wollaton-Hall and Nottingham are a fine contrast."⁴⁸¹ Throsby repeats the original southern prospect of the town published by Thoroton, but pairs it with an enlarged foreground view of the Trent, including carriage traffic, sportsmen fishing, and a family enjoying the riverside (fig. 4.14).⁴⁸² This

⁴⁸⁰ Deering's description from 1751 is much like Siberechts's view. He lists the fine prospects, good houses, busy markets, and industries. Deering, "The History of Nottingham. Sect. I.," *The History of Nottingham*, 1-7.

⁴⁸¹ Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, 2:130. Throsby's aesthetic sentiments and picturesque ideals are absent from both Thoroton's 1677 history and Deering's 1751 account.

⁴⁸² The foreground of Throsby's engraving adapts imagery similar to Richard Wilson's classicizing river scenes. Influenced by the formal compositions and subject matter of Claude Lorraine, Wilson (c. 1714-1782) reduces scenery elements and portrays partial views, muted features, and contrasts between foreground and background components. His landscapes evoke the experience of nature from a contemplative point of view, specifically promoting new ideas about art and aesthetics. Wilson's river views also usually include foreground figures or vignettes: Richard Wilson, *River Dee*, 1770, London, Courtauld Institute of Art; *River Landscape with a Boy Fishing*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; *View of the Thames near Twickenham*, c. 1772, London, Twickenham, Marble Hill House. The latter is the most copied of Wilson's British landscapes. See David H. Solkin, *Richard Wilson, The Landscape of Reaction*, exh. cat. (London: The Tate Gallery, 1982), 213-14. Wilson was also influenced by the popularity of Edmund Burke's writings on aesthetics. On beauty, Burke explained that the senses, imagination, and judgement determine concepts of beauty and the sublime, both of which can be combined in art to inspire awe as well as affections, a positive social quality. Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry INTO THE Origin of our Ideas OF THE SUBLIME AND*

perspective introduces the town with an ideally composed and tranquil setting and reduces Thoroton's high profile to emphasize the nearby scenes. It is perhaps meant to allude to the picturesque elements in Throsby's written description. Popular in travel literature at the time, accounts of contrasting landscape features created an imaginative aesthetic frame and encouraged a heightened perception or emotional identification.⁴⁸³ Throsby rewrites Thoroton's history to adapt the original account to contemporary rules of taste, and in the process, reforms Thoroton's *prospect of NOTTINGHAM from the Meadow on the South side* according to a recent system of aesthetic thought.⁴⁸⁴ With the addition of the foreground vignettes, he adds a new emotive tone to the

BEAUTIFUL (LONDON: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-mall, 1757).

⁴⁸³ Whether as an aid for the traveler or an amusement for the reader, descriptions of England's less traveled areas were meant to create a picturesque sensibility for the audience. Anglican clergyman William Gilpin (1724-1804), for example, formulated rules of picturesque beauty to order views of the land. For popular early travel literature see: William Gilpin, *Remarks on forest scenery, and other woodland views, (relative chiefly to picturesque beauty) illustrated by the scenes of New-Forest in Hampshire . . .* (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1791); William Gilpin, *An essay upon prints containing remarks upon the principles of picturesque beauty, the different kinds of prints, and the characters of the most noted masters* (London: Printed for J. Robson, 1768); William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England: particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1787); William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty: made in the Summer of the year 1770, second edition* (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1789); Thomas West, *A guide to the Lakes: dedicated to the lovers of landscape studies, and to all who have visited, or intend to visit, the lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire / by the author of The antiquities of Furness* (London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart and W. Pennington, 1778); James Clarke, *A survey of the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: together with an account, historical, topographical, and descriptive, of the adjacent country. To which is added, a sketch of the border laws and customs* (London: printed for the author, 1789).

⁴⁸⁴ In his section entitled, "On the real cause of beauty," Edmund Burke, for example, writes: "Now certainly, since it is no creature of our reason, since it strikes us without any reference to use at all can be discerned, since the order and method of nature is generally very different from our measures and proportions, we must conclude that beauty is, for the greater part, some merely sensible quality, acting mechanically upon the human mind by the intervention of the senses." Part III, Sect. XII. In Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry INTO THE Origin of our*

borrowed prospect.

In amending the earlier material, he also suggests improvements to reconfigure the view according to popular artistic requirements. He critiques the duke of Newcastle's mannerist palace for failing to rise to the opportunities of the site:

But to return to the castle. Whatever might be the intention of its noble founder in erecting this building cannot be certain. If for a family residence its situation is no ways fitted for that purpose; as an object of admiration to the surrounding country, in union with the rock on which it stands, it falls very short of our wishes and expectation. Could nature, in all her wanton sports, effected a better site for a study of architectural harmony than this? Far and near it strikes the beholder with ideas of the sublime if not beautiful; when contrasted, at that near view, with the delightful meadows below, it is a venerable object, delectable from its apparent years. Art should here have been in effect as bold as nature: a lofty and massy pile towering towards the heavens, with turrets and embattled walls, the taste of ages past, placed on its brow, instead of the present formal and squat edifice, would have created a scene of splendour, not in seemingly irregular order.⁴⁸⁵

Throsby faults the castle's order, proportions, and regularity as detriments to an imaginative or creative response. Too low, symmetrical, repetitive, and measured, the building's design points to continental taste and the results of great fortunes. Where both Siberechts and Fiennes describe riches and grandeur in Newcastle's house, Throsby wants a building that would animate the imagination with dramatic comparisons: in this case, the contrasts inspired by an old medieval stronghold overlooking the river and the green valley floor.⁴⁸⁶ He culls English history for

Ideas OF THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL, 95.

⁴⁸⁵ Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, 2:25.

⁴⁸⁶ William Gilpin codifies a proper view according to picturesque principals. Although he cites Edmund Burke (1729-1797) on the beautiful (Burke, *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*), he differs in preferring a rougher and more fragmentary ideal. William Gilpin, *Three essays: On picturesque beauty; On picturesque travel; and On sketching landscape: to which is added a poem, On landscape painting* (London: printed

emotional possibilities and revises objects within the landscape to arouse poetic sentiments.

Siberechts's panoramas, on the other hand, were painted for an earlier audience that admired representations of both rural and urban prosperity – the territory's material pleasures – and not an identification with the refined emotional experience that characterizes Throsby's description. Much of Siberechts's subject matter includes the land's benefits and revenues as the basis of growing enterprises, and thus regional industries are part of the landscape's appeal. His English prospects depict the type of scenery praised by Celia Fiennes and indicate a similar appreciation of a region's commercial success. In Fiennes's account, an area is recommended because of its variety and richness as well as its built fabric. She more often writes of vistas of towns and productive fields than she does of impressive approaches to large houses. A good view results from the quality of an infrastructure, efficient management of land, and the quantity of available resources.⁴⁸⁷ She compliments good enclosures and complains about poorly drained fens;⁴⁸⁸ bad roads cause "long miles," while "fruitful" fields, strong forests, and "neat towns"

for R. Blamire, 1792), 3-6. Throsby, however, describes scenery and antiquities using the specific vocabulary of this sensibility without regard to the distinctions of meaning. The aim seems to be audience interest and appeal as well as conformity with contemporary travel literature. The sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque (vastness, smoothness, and affective contrast) are included in most descriptions of views to provide a variety of experience.

⁴⁸⁷ See the descriptions of Norwich, Petersborough, and Duddington. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 147-150, 160-62.

⁴⁸⁸ After passing Bosworth, Fiennes describes a "great flatt full of good enclosures" as a productive use of the "deep rich land," which differs from her earlier experience of the fens before arriving at Ely. She writes: "and considering the vast allowance yearly for draining those fenns at least 3000£ per annum I wonder they have not perfectly runn off the water, and so barracadoed it as not to soe it often overflows it againe as it does many places – but they are such a lazy sort of people and are afraid to do too much." See, respectively, Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 164, 159.

shorten a journey.⁴⁸⁹ Fiennes combines utility and aesthetics in assessing a site's special attributes and in determining the artfulness of a vista; but a good landscape also demonstrates human resources and moral resolve. Poor roads and mean houses are not just a consequence of inadequate conditions – the land's deficit itself “shews something of the lazyness of the people.”⁴⁹⁰ Landscape features, in effect, signify the worthiness or character of the land's inhabitants. They reflect the tidiness of daily routines and the regiment of yearly growing cycles: fertile soil expresses nature's right order in the same way that its opposite – barren ground – implies the withdrawal of god's blessing for good reason. A fine view, and consequently a people's moral strength, is the natural state; impediments caused by the lands's hardness spoil the prospect and serve as evidence of human failings.

Henley-on-Thames and Country Bounty

From 1692 to 1698, Siberechts draws on the themes of good fortune and godly order in a number of views of the territory near the southern Oxfordshire town, Henley-on-Thames, again describing the broad cultural appeal of an area through a detailed aerial panorama. Siberechts's Henley series includes at least four extant paintings of the prosperous river valley that center on a

⁴⁸⁹ Even in Lancashire and the Lake District, Fiennes complains of poor roads and barren hills: “Here I came to villages of sad little hutts made up of drye walls, only stones piled together and the roofs of same slatt; there seemed to be little or noe tunnells for their chimneys and have no mortar or plaister within or without, . . . they are 8 miles from a market town and their miles are tedious to go for illness of way and length of the miles.” In comparison, see Fiennes's description of her travels from Stamford to Nottingham. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 196-97; 67-71.

⁴⁹⁰ Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 196.

distant town rather than on a large country house.⁴⁹¹ *Henley from the Walgrave Road II* (fig. 4.15), signed and dated 1698, shows the town downstream from the northwest and from a vantage point on the Berkshire side of the Thames. Siberechts's landscape minutely details a number of activities and resources that maintain inland commerce and guarantee the town's well-being as a transshipment port as well as an agricultural center. The late-spring chores of mowing and haymaking fill the acres along the river, the summertime wheat harvest takes up many of the adjacent fields, and the forest atop the far hills supplies wood for the timber business. A barge – loaded with malt, grain, and logs – moves into a flashlock and begins the journey past the mill, toward Henley, and on to London. A second approaches the town downstream and a third passes the granaries lining the riverfront. Eyots, the small islands surrounding the town, shield river traffic from the lock's strong current and supply a safe passageway for barges moving toward the busy wharf. The sixteenth-century tower of St Mary's Church rises above the rooftops of timber-framed houses and identifies the town, stretched along the Thames at the foot of the Chiltern hills. The bridge, built of timber with stone arches at each end, fronts Siberechts's view of Henley.

On the wide foreground road, farmers ready an overflowing haywain, and nearby two women ride out of town, passing several workers carrying hay and others traveling toward Henley. Alongside the wagon, a team of horses, like those in *Wollaton Hall from Lenton Mill* (fig. 4.9), are

⁴⁹¹ Laura Wortley discusses five extant paintings identified with Henley-on-Thames: *Henley from the Walgrave Road I*, c. 1696, 83 x 126.5 cm. (Private collection), *Henley from the Walgrave Road II*, 1698, 90 x 120.6 cm. (Henley-on-Thames, River and Rowing Museum), *Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames*, 82.5 x 103 cm. (London, Tate), *A Prospect of the Thames near Henley*, 1697, 181.5 x 161.5 cm. (Private collection), *Landscape with a View of Henley-on-Thames*, 1692, 43 x 51 cm. (Private collection). Laura Wortley, "City Merchants Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the Paintings of Jan Siberechts," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004), 93-95.

outfitted with tasseled harnesses and high-plumed headdresses. Although the decorative gear indicates an important estate or a large landholding, the view points out more commonplace commercial and agricultural elements. The material of production overwhelms the scenery; the neat fields barely contain their crops and harvests flow from the land like the hay from the wain. Both road and river are portrayed as well-maintained transportation systems leading to the region's small towns and beyond: rich yields feed the mill, fill storehouses, and lade barges; they secure profits for landowners, merchants, rivermen, and farmers alike. In Siberechts's prospect, interrelated production processes and nature's yearly cycles depict a continual stream of goods – malt, barley, wheat, and timber – en route to far markets.⁴⁹²

Landscape with Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames (fig. 4.16), probably painted by the artist in the early 1690s, looks southeast from a point on the Buckinghamshire side of the river just outside the town.⁴⁹³ Siberechts exaggerates a curve in the Thames to include both the town and a team of haulers pulling a barge upstream toward Henley's working dock. A dairy maid in the foreground tends her cows and livestock graze in the long field bordering the river. Across the Thames, a skein of hedgerows marks the divided fields, and above, a double rainbow signals the passing of a storm. The rainbow, a symmetrical framing device in several of Peter Paul Rubens's landscapes, traditionally references god's covenant after the flood. In northern art it acts as a sign of peace and

⁴⁹² See, for example, Simon Townley's discussion of seventeenth-century industry in the region. Simon Townley, *Henley-on-Thames: town, trade and river* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), 66-72.

⁴⁹³ Wortley includes a map of probable viewpoints for the six paintings she identifies as Siberechts's Henley prospects. See Wortley, "City Merchants Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the Paintings of Jan Siberechts," 96-97; Laura Wortley, "Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004), 154.

promise, functionally joining the disparate sections of the picture plane and figuratively uniting past labors and future rewards. For instance, in Rubens's *Landscape with a Rainbow* (fig. 4.2), c. 1636, the rainbow stands as a good omen complementing the full summer's harvest and linking the picture plane from background to foreground and from left to right.⁴⁹⁴ In Siberechts's view of Henley, double arches bisect the far horizontal plane of hills and sky, moving the eye toward the contemporary sun-lit village below. Similarly, the lines formed by the rainbow, hedgerows, and river converge on the town, promising full harvests and ready markets, again like the blessings guaranteed to the chosen.

Siberechts's image of the successful country town matches sustaining rural industries to the needs of national trade – any tension between innovation and change on the one hand, and custom and tradition, on the other, is offset by the smooth cycle of natural growth and human enterprise. But even in the sixteenth century the web of trade would have signaled the familiar annual cycle of chores. Rural communities were linked to larger spaces through interregional and national trade – foodstuffs, raw materials, specialized goods, and luxury products – migrated to and from small towns and important cities. The common pattern of systematically worked and divided land is repeated in both the stacked sheaves and tightly loaded barges, a reminder of such

⁴⁹⁴ A double rainbow unites the picture plane in Peter Paul Rubens's *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow*, c. 1632-35, and a rainbow also appears in David Teniers the Younger's, *Reaping*, c. 1645; both are in the Hermitage Museum, Russia, and are reproduced in Christina Corsiglia, ed., *Rubens and his age, treasures from the Hermitage Museum, Russia* (London: Merrell, 2001), 84, 122. Shortly after Rubens's painted *Landscape with a Rainbow*, Jan Wildens produced *Stormy Landscape*, 1640, now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Wildens makes use of the religious value of both the storm and the rainbow. Another landscape with a double rainbow, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts), by Peter Paul Rubens and his workshop, was recorded in the collection of Louis XIV before 1683 and, additionally, was copied by Lucas van Uden (Vienna, Kunsthistorische). See Christopher Brown, *Making and Meaning: Ruben's Landscapes*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery Publications, 1996), 81-82.

accustomed depictions of yearly labors as the Limbourgs' early fifteenth-century June mowers, working rhythmically as one across orderly fields.⁴⁹⁵ The harvest in the Henley landscapes is shown with the same regulated design, however, in Siberechts's larger image the cut and gathered crops move from fields, over hills, down roads, and to the river to begin the journey toward London and the sea.

Siberechts's ideal scenes of communal order coincide with descriptions in contemporary letters and diaries. Writing in 1693, John Evelyn's daughter Susanna (1669-1754) describes Perkes Place (Park Place) – an estate to the southeast of Henley belonging to her father-in-law – as “cituated upon the tope of a very high hill & has before it at the bottom the prospect of the river thames a variety of countrey hills, fields & woodes on one side of the house a wood & on the other a greene field with a rowe of very high trees . . .”⁴⁹⁶ Earlier in the century Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1675) included a more detailed account of the area's virtues and benefits in his personal history. At the time, Sir Bulstrode, a Member of Parliament and a parliamentarian, owned estates in the vicinity of Henley, including Phyllis Court, Fawley Court, Greenlands, and Yewden Manor.⁴⁹⁷ In his history for the year 1653 he writes:

These hills are richly adorned with pleasant woods & Groves,

⁴⁹⁵ See the Limbourgs' famed June calendar page (Fol. 6v., MS. 65, Bibliothèque Musée Condé, Chantilly). Jean Longnon, Raymond Cazelles, and Millard Meiss, *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: musée Condé Chantilly* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 8.

⁴⁹⁶ William Draper's father, Edmund Draper, was part owner of Perkes Place. Susanna, Evelyn's third daughter, wrote to her parents on October 4, 1693. BL, Add. MS 78433, Evelyn's papers. The Royal Collection holds a series of three panoramas, c. 1742-43, by Henry Wootton that depict the areas around Henley. One of these portrays Park Place on a distant hill.

⁴⁹⁷ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, ed. Ruth Spalding, Records of social and economic history, new ser., 13 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1990), 272; John Southerden Burn, *A history of Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford* (London: Longman and Co., 1861), 273, 306-07.

consisting for the most part of Beech, which crowne the toppes of the Hills, & att the foot of them, gently glides the River Thames, offering to carry their burdens, (which are not small) of wood and corne, to their chiefe citty, London, which both he doth, & returnes money & other necessary Commodities in exchange for them.⁴⁹⁸

As in Siberechts's Henley landscapes, Sir Bulstrode's description portrays profitability as a by-product of the cyclical harvest, imagined as part of an aesthetic economy where ornament is refashioned and recirculated for the common good. Harvests are heavy and the Thames a ready partner in efficiently exchanging the land's bounty for the citizen's worldly riches.⁴⁹⁹ A natural aesthetic, balanced between social bonds and earthly goods, establishes a conventional moral or ethical frame of interpretation.

Of the many contemporary regional histories written for publication, however, only Richard Blome (1635-1705) and Robert Plot (1640-1696) discuss Henley, but fail to find any attributes of cultural importance worth addressing at length. In *Britannia*, first issued in 1673, Blome briefly mentions Henley's bridge, then discusses the town's government and the territory's basic commercial enterprises. He writes that Henley,

enjoyeth a considerable *trade* for *Maulting*, its *Inhabitants* (which for the most are *Bargemen* and *Watermen*) gain a good livelyhood by transporting of *mault*, *wood*, and other *goods* to *London*, and in return for such *commodities* as they and the *Inhabitants* of the

⁴⁹⁸ See the entry for September 10, 1653, in "Whitelocke's History of the year 1653," which was originally part of "Whitelockes History of the fourtey-eight year of his age [1653], with Lectures to his children instructing them in private duty." BL Egerton MMS 997, fol. 22v. Also in Burn, *A history of Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford*, 289; Wortley, "Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames," 152.

⁴⁹⁹ Whitelocke used the resources from Phyllis Court and Henley Park, in part, to pay for the purchase of those properties. He writes that from Phyllis Court woods he received £800 for timber and, in addition, a profit of £3000 for firewood: "there he cutt 6000 loades of firewood & 4000 loades in Fawley woods, in all 10000 load . . ." Diary entry for 1638/1639. Spalding, ed. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, 118.

adjacent *Towns* have need of, at easie rates: and its *market*, which is on *Thursdays*, is very considerable for *corn*, especially *barley*; which is brought them for their great *Mault-trade* . . .⁵⁰⁰

Blome depicts Henley just as he does the string of similar market towns located on Oxfordshire rivers, listing only one point of distinction and no aesthetic qualities of note.

Published several years after Richard Blome's geographical survey, Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxford-shire* also concentrates on the town's commercial circumstances.⁵⁰¹ Plot, a newly elected fellow of the Royal Society, adopted the Society's philosophical methods of observation in recording the region's art and nature, yet finds little about Henley to include in his new regional compendium of "Natural and Artificial things."⁵⁰² He mentions that Henley is most likely the "ancientest *Town* of the whole *County*" and cites its malting industry, but provides

⁵⁰⁰ Richard Blome, *Britannia, or, A geographical description of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the isles and territories thereto belonging: and for the better perfecting of the said work, there is added an alphabetical table of the names, titles, and seats of the nobility and gentry that each county of England and Wales is, or lately was, enobled with: illustrated with a map of each county of England, besides several general ones* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for the undertaker, Richard Blome, 1673), 189.

⁵⁰¹ An enthusiastic reviewer in the *Philosophical Transactions* writes that Plot, "having very generously undertaken to make a fuller and stricter survey of the Natural and Artificial things of *England*, than hath been made hitherto, and being induced to this undertaking by the consideration of advancing thereby both the knowledge of *Nature*, and the business of *Trade*; hath begun to execute this Noble design by giving us a very particular account of what occurred to him, for the most part upon his own personal inquiry, in *Oxfordshire*." "An Account of Some Books: The Natural History of Oxfordshire, being an Essay toward the Natural History of England by Robert Plot," *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-1678) 12 (1677-1678), 875-879.

⁵⁰² Plot became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1677 and its secretary in 1682. In 1683 he was appointed keeper of the Ashmolean Museum by Elias Ashmole and in 1688 James II appointed him Historiographer Royal. Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ oxonienses. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the most antient and famous University of Oxford, from the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh, A. D. 1500, to the author's death in November 1695. Representing the birth, fortune, preferment, and death of all those authors and prelates, the great accidents of their lives, and the fate and character of their writings. To which are added, the fasti, or annals, of the said University* (London: Printed for R. Knaplock, D. Widwinter, and J. Tonson, 1721), 2:121-22.

neither a description of the town nor its antiquities, architecture, churches, or important families.⁵⁰³

While the journals, letters, and personal accounts specify the area's elite draws – the rich woods, productive fields, shady groves, and fine views – the published histories discuss Henley's contribution to the country as a byproduct of its function as a working town.

At the time of Siberechts's confident Henley landscapes, the town continued to serve London's growing needs, yet commercial successes came with changes in customs, including social hierarchies and cultural mores. New wealth meant new landowners as families rose and fell according to political favor as well as professional and business achievements. Many of Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke's properties, for instance, lay in waste after the civil war, and after the Restoration he was without regular income other than small receipts from rents and legal fees.⁵⁰⁴ His will, dated 17 May 1675, cites financial failings and poor circumstances for his inability to properly provide for his third wife and their children, thus leaving his heirs without an income

⁵⁰³ For Henley's malting industry and its antiquity see respectively: Robert Plot, *The natural history of Oxford-shire: being an essay toward the natural history of England* (London: At Mr. S. Millers . . . , 1677), 180, 265, 332.

⁵⁰⁴ See the description of the ruin of Fawley Court by the king's army in the account for 1642/1643 and the damage done to Greenlands and Phyllis Court in 1643/1644. Spalding, ed. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, 138, 150. Sir Bulstrode complains continually in his diary of lack of funds and wrote to his son William that he lived off borrowed money. See Sir Bulstrode's record of loans. Spalding, ed. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, (March 23, 1663) 680, (June 7, 1665) 693, (May 7, 1666) 704, (June 21, 1670) 757, (Dec, 10, 1668) 736; Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Contemporaries of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675: Biographies, Illustrated by Letters and Other Documents*. Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 14, ed. Ruth Spalding (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1989), 452. For the sale of Greenlands, see Spalding, ed. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, 727-29.

large enough to maintain the social standing of their birth.⁵⁰⁵

By the 1680s much of the property once controlled by Sir Bulstrode was in the hands of successful merchants, overseas traders, and financiers. The lease on Fawley Court, inherited by Sir Bulstrode upon his father's death in 1632, was purchased by William Freeman in 1679.⁵⁰⁶ A wealthy West Indies sugar merchant, plantation owner, and slave trader, Freeman retired to Henley and established Fawley Court as his country seat. The house had been sacked by parliamentary troops during the civil war, but was rebuilt by Freeman and ready to house William of Orange on his journey to London in 1688.⁵⁰⁷ Freeman chose Henley for the site on the river, and he chose a country retirement for the advantages and privileges of estate ownership:

I have lately purchased a small seat 30 miles from London on the Thames near Hen, where I now spend most of my time in order to the settling of myselfe, beinge resolved to withdraw from London, havinge left all other concerns, except such publyqye ones as have been of late put upon mee against my will yet at such a time that I

⁵⁰⁵ Sir Bulstrode mentions his reduced circumstances in his will, which Spalding reproduces. Ruth Spalding, *The improbable puritan: a life of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), 254. His letter to "My dear children," in "Whitelocke's History of the year 1653," also cites his poor circumstances. He speaks of being blessed with sixteen children, but states: "be not troubled that I have left you less an estate than those in my employment have commonly left their children." BL Eg. MS. 997, fol. 2. Reproduced in part in Spalding, *The improbable puritan: a life of Bulstrode Whitelocke*, 206.

⁵⁰⁶ In March 1682/83 Freeman purchased his first lease of Fawley Court from Sir James Whitelock, Sir Bulstrode's son and heir. In 1679 he acquired a long lease on the property. Buckinghamshire County Record Office, Aylesbury, Mackenzie Family records, Indentures of Bargain and Sales; Spalding, ed. *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*, 40, 138-40, 660, 700, 730; William Page, *The Victoria history of the counties of England: Buckinghamshire* (Folkestone [Eng.]: Published for The University of London, Institute of Historical Research by Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969), 3:40.

⁵⁰⁷ Henry Hyde Clarendon and Laurence Hyde Rochester, *The correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and his brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester; with the diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690, containing minute particulars of the events attending the revolution and the diary of Lord Rochester during his embassy to Poland in 1676*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London: H. Colburn, 1828), 224-25.

cannot refuse.⁵⁰⁸

Other estates once owned by Bulstrode Whitelocke were held by absentee landlords. Sir Robert Clayton, for example, a lord mayor for the city of London (1679-1680) and MP in nine parliaments (1679-81, 1690-1707), bought manors at Hambleton and Hurley near Henley.⁵⁰⁹ For his own country seat, however, he chose Marden in Surrey, a more fashionable area of the country and one within a day's travel of London. Clayton, whom Evelyn described as "this prodigious rich Scrivener," had long been involved with mortgage loans and property management in Henley as well as other areas of England.⁵¹⁰ His particular specialty involved monies lent and collected on the security of agricultural rents – a financial expertise that relied on local knowledge and a wide circle of business connections.⁵¹¹ Clayton was able to accurately assess an estate's revenues,

⁵⁰⁸ Letter 326. To Thomas Hill, Deputy Governor of St. Christopher, St. Christopher. London, September 8, 1683. David Freeman, *The Letters of David Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685*, ed. David Hancock (London: London Record Society, 2002), 338.

⁵⁰⁹ See Evelyn's description dated 18 Nov. 1679. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:185-86. Also see Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2-4; Basil Duke Henning, *The House of Commons, 1660-1690* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983), 2:87.

⁵¹⁰ Clayton bought Marden from a relative of Evelyn. On 12 Oct. 1677, Evelyn writes, "With Sir Robert Clayton to Marden, an estate he had recently bought of my kinsman Sir John Evelyn of Gladstone in Surry: which from a despicable farme house Sir Robert had erected into a Seate with extraordinary expense: Tis seated in such a solitude among hills, as being not above 16 miles from Lond, seemes almost incredible, the ways also to it so winding & intricate: The Gardens are large & walled nobly, & the husbandry part made so convenient, & perfectly understood, as the like I had not seene: The barnes, the stacks of Corne, the Stalls for Cattell, Pidgeon house, &c of most laudable example: Innumerable are his plantations of trees, espially Wallnuts, the Orangerie & Gardens very curious; large & noble roomes in the house. He & his Lady (very curious in Distilling &c) enterain'd me 3 or 4 dayes very freely": Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:121. Also see the description of Clayton's London house in diary entry of Aug. 27, 1678. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144-45.

⁵¹¹ Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658-1685*, 159-197.

investing in short-term loans with both his firm's own funds and those deposited with his firm. As with other professional and commercial men who grew rich from trade and financial services, Clayton's profits depended on the interrelationship between London's economy and its supporting rural industries.

Like Siberechts, Clayton's involvement in the area was also probably driven by aristocratic clients.⁵¹² In 1671 Clayton and his partner, John Morris, were appointed as two of the six trustees selected by George Villiers, the second duke of Buckingham, to manage his landed holdings.⁵¹³ This included securing monies for the building of Cliveden House, a magnificent four-story country house designed by William Winde in the French manner and meant to celebrate Buckingham's position at court.⁵¹⁴ The site, just five miles from Windsor and twelve miles from

⁵¹² Siberechts was introduced to this area by the duke of Buckingham. See note 519 below.

⁵¹³ Buckingham's lands were placed in a freehold trust both for better management and to preserve the estates from confiscation in case of changing political fortunes. Specializing in the management of mortgaged estates, Clayton and Morris made regulatory and legal decisions on lands, audited accounts, and collected rents. According to Melton, Buckingham's holdings prospered under the firm's management and Buckingham died a wealthy man. See Frank T. Melton, "A Rake Refinanced: The Fortune of George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1671-1685," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 51 (1988): 297-318. Also see Buckingham's note about security in the face of political problems. Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, *Buckingham, public and private man: the prose, poems, and commonplace book of George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687)*, ed. Christine Phipps (New York: Garland Pub., 1985), 204.

⁵¹⁴ Winde's designs and building records have not survived, but Winde is mentioned as the architect by George Vertue (*Walpole Society* 26). See George Vertue, *Vertue note books* (Oxford: Printed for the Walpole Society by John Johnson at the University Press, 1955), 5:11. Colen Campbell also published plans and elevations of the house, including Winde's west front. Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus; or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates . . . in II volumes Vol.II. by Colen Campbell Esqr.* = *Vitruvius Britannicus, ou l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des bâtimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, . . . en deux tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell* (London: Sold by the author, John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W.

Westminster via the Thames, was chosen for its proximity to the capital city, as well as for its high chalk cliff above the river and an expansive view of the countryside. Buckingham acquired the property in the mid 1660s and began construction by 1670, most likely completing the house in the late 1670s.⁵¹⁵ He had already been impeached by parliament and dismissed from court offices in 1674; in 1677 he was released from a short confinement in the Tower of London and thereafter had no involvement with official political life.⁵¹⁶ When Charles II died in 1685, Buckingham left Cliveden and London permanently and retired to his estates in Yorkshire.⁵¹⁷ After his own death in 1687, the house was sold to its sixteenth-century owners, the Manfield family,

Taylor, Henry Clements, and Jos. Smith, 1717), 2:plates 73-74.

⁵¹⁵ Melton writes that Buckingham bought Cliveden upon the advice of Clayton and Morris, although he provides neither footnotes to support this conclusion nor any documentation to explain any building activity at Cliveden. Melton, "A Rake Refinanced: The Fortune of George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1671-1685," 303.

⁵¹⁶ For Buckingham's relationship with Charles II, see Maurice Lee, *The Cabal* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 172-201. Also see Pepys's *Diary* for 30 Dec. 1667, 17 Jan. 1668, 15 May 1668. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Latham and Matthews, 8:597, 9:26-28, 201. Also see the account of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time. . . . Containing, I. A Summary Recapitulation of affairs in Church & State, from K. James I. to the in 1660. II. The History of the Reign of K. Charles II. from 1666. to 1670.* London [i.e. The Hague]: printed for the Company of Booksellers [or rather, T. Johnson], M.DCC.XXV [1725], 1:182-83. Also see Letter No. 162, from Sir Gilbert Talbot, MP, written from Whitehall, Jan. 2, [1673-74]. William Dougal Christie, ed., *Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while plenipotentiary at the congress of Cologne in the years 1673 and 1674* (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1874), 105-06. Great Britain, *The history and proceedings of the House of Lords, from the Restoration in 1660 to the present time. Containing the most remarkable Motions, Speeches, Debates, Orders and Resolutions. Together with all the Protests during that Period* (London, Printed for Ebenezer Timberland, 1742-1743), 2:36.

⁵¹⁷ Sir George Etherage, a playwright and an ambassador to Germany at the time, wrote to Buckingham from Ratisbon. See Etherage's letter dated 21 Nov. 1686. Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, *The works of His Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham. In two volumes* (London: printed for Sam. Briscoe, and sold by Fardinando Burleigh, 1715), 1:185-87.

and nine years later it was purchased by George Hamilton, the first earl of Orkney.⁵¹⁸

It was at this house that Siberechts first executed paintings for Buckingham and was first introduced to the area surrounding Henley.⁵¹⁹ It was also here that he met many of his future patrons and developed his reputation as a country house and landscape painter. Even though Cliveden served as an apt subject for house portraits, the site lacked the type of landscape needed for an aerial or panoramic view. John Evelyn, who visited the property in 1679, mentions its multiple advantages and one critical failure:

I went to *Clifden* that stupendious natural Rock, Wood, & Prospect

⁵¹⁸ In 1714, John Macky still describes the house as “*a la Moderne*”: “Two miles further from *Stoke* lies *Clifden*, Built by *Villars* Duke of *Buckingham*, and now belongs to the Earl of *Orkney*. This Palace is situated on the Top of a Hill, wash’d with the *Thames* Five Miles *West* from *Windsor*, and overlooks all the Country round it: it is a Noble Building *a la Moderne*. The great *Terrass* which fronts the Garden, with the *Parterre* are well disposed. Under the *Terrass* are 26 Niches, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* designed to place Statues bigger than Life; and in the middle of a pretty Alcove with Stone Stairs, which ascends to the Apartments. The Earl of *Orkney* is the Son of the House of *Hamilton* in *Scotland*, Grandson to that Duke who was beheaded for King *Charles* the First, and Brother to the Duke lately killed in a Duel. This Lord hath been bred to War from his Infancy, is an Old Lieutenant-General, and reckoned to be One of the Best Foot Officers the Queen has.” John Macky, *A journey through England. In familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad* (London: printed by J. Roberts, for T. Caldecott, at the Sun against St. Dunstan’s Church in Fleet street, 1714), 31. For a history of Cliveden under Buckingham and Orkney, see James Crathorne, *Cliveden: The Place and the People* (London: Collins and Brown, 1995), 10-49.

⁵¹⁹ Bainbridgg Buckeridge writes: “The occasion of his coming was this: the duke of Buckingham, in his way home from his embassy in France, passing through the Netherlands, staid some time in Antwerp, where meeting with several of his master’s works in landskip, he was so well pleased with them, that he invited him over to England, and promised to make his Painter in that way; which upon his coming over he preformed; and he did a great number of those pictures for him at Cliveden-house; However, after three or four years stay with him, he left him, and performed several pieces for the nobility and gentry of England, among whom he was for some time in vogue.” Bainbridgg Buckeridge, “Essay towards an English-School with the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters,” in Roger de Piles, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school* (London: printed for J. Nutt, 1706), 425-26. See my Chapter II.

of the Duke of *Buckingham*s, & building of extraordinary Expense: The Grotts in the Chalky rock are pretty; 'tis a romantic object, & the place alltogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of a solitude, precipice, prospects & whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations; The <house> stands somewhat like *Frascati* [Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, near Rome] as to its front, & on the platforme is a circular View to the uttmost verge of the Horison, which with the serpenting of the *Thames* is admirably surprizing: The Staire Case, is for its materials, singular: The *Cloisters*, Descents, Gardens, & avenue through the wood august & stately: but the land all about wretchedly barren, producing nothing but ferne.⁵²⁰

Evelyn ironically notes the difference between the duke's grand building project and nature's lean shrubbery. While the house's continental architecture, high terraced rise, and large formal gardens would be ideal for a country house painting, the grounds bordering the view of the countryside lack trees important for framing a prospect, and, consequently, the site would be inappropriate for a contemporary landscape perspective.⁵²¹ A country house portrait of Cliveden by William Tompkins (fig. 4.17), painted in the mid-eighteenth century, still shows this long garden front and "wretchedly barren" slope over the Thames.⁵²² Unlike the later example, taste at the time that Siberechts painted his landscapes favored a treed introduction to the view and included foreground landscape elements to situate the viewer. Siberechts's Henley paintings from sites only about twelve miles from Cliveden would have offered aristocratic visitors to Buckingham's

⁵²⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:176-77.

⁵²¹ Evelyn continues his account of Cliveden, relating a conversation with Charles II: "& indeed, as I told his Majesty that evening, (asking me how I liked *Clifden*?) Without flattery: that it did not please me yet so well as Windsore, for the Prospect & Park, which is without compare; There being but one opening, & that but narrow, which let one to any Variety, where as That of Winsore is every where greate & unconfin'd." Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:4, 177.

⁵²² William Tompkins, *View of Cliveden*, c. 1750, oil on canvas, 112 x 136 cm., Buckinghamshire, Maidenhead, Taplow, Cliveden, National Trust. Another painting, also painted c. 1750 but by an anonymous artist, shows a view of the house and barren cliff. See National Trust, *Cliveden, Buckinghamshire* (London: National Trust, 1994), 15.

country house landscape prospects better fitted to contemporary fashion. I find it more likely that the Henley landscapes would have had a general appeal to patrons wanting English scenes or graphic reminders of the area, rather than, exclusively, to local landowners and investors, wanting portraits of their holdings around Henley.⁵²³ For an audience familiar with his work, these paintings would have built on Siberechts's reputation for innovation, while also expanding his repertoire.⁵²⁴ He repeats successful iconography, but also reconfigures visual strategies already popular with his wealthy client base. His prospects thus memorialize English locations and introduce new themes to the genre.

As with the Henley paintings, Siberechts's views of the countryside favor framing devices that define all proportions of the landscape. A large foreground tree and a road or walkway orient the audience, establishing a viewpoint well above the prospect and opening the landscape's scope to its viewers' interests. Throughout his compositions, small and carefully wrought details

⁵²³ Aristocrats belonging to the circles of Siberechts's early clients would be more likely patrons. Wortley, conversely, identifies probable patrons of Siberechts's Henley paintings as landed proprietors, financiers, and merchants, many of whom had financial and familial interrelationships in the area. Her two studies discuss this patronage base. In the first, Robert Clayton – the financier, land manager, and landowner of several estates near Henley – is suggested as the patron of *A Prospect of Thames near Henley*. Wortley's second article discusses landownership in the area in relationship to the patronage of Siberechts's four other paintings of Henley. Probable patrons include William Freeman of Fawly Court, William Whitelock of Phyllis Court, Roger Draper of Perkes Place (Park Place), and the families of Robert Clayton and his partner, John Morris. See, respectively, Wortley, "City Merchants Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the Paintings of Jan Siberechts," 96-102; Wortley, "Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames," 148-57. Robert Clayton, however, seems like an unlikely patron. Melton finds that Clayton was ill during the 1690s; his London business operation was greatly reduced and he devoted his time to his country seat. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658-1685*, 207-08.

⁵²⁴ Pepys, conversely, ordered copies of famed views directly from Hendrik Danckerts's shop. These were known from the important collections of aristocratic or noble families, such as those of Charles II and the earl of Radnor. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Latham and Matthews, 9: 421, 423, 434, 487, 504, 539. See my Chapter II.

compete for the audience's eye. Although roadways, rivers, and sunlit fields move the viewer from the foreground to the distant hills, the paintings' many tiny vignettes continually absorb attention along the way. In *A Pastoral Landscape* (fig. 4.18), 1684, for example, Siberechts elaborates on the particulars of wooded tracts, freshly cut crops, and a small English town – the same details that feature in the descriptions of popular English travel writers.⁵²⁵ Much of this imagery, however, is reworked from his Flemish landscapes: an ancient oak grounds the painting at the left and shields both the cowherd and the surrounding countryside, and the farm animals and small stream remain familiar foreground stock. But flowers now overflow the vegetable basket and a donkey replaces the pack horse. At the right, a circle of narrative groupings balances this introductory scene and also updates the subject matter, specifically by establishing iconography identified with paintings executed in England. Defining the village, Siberechts adds a town wall and an enclosed gate fronting the large gothic church. His customary three-tiered tower rises above the bordering territory and a high arched window advertises the size of the nave. Near the right margin, riders race toward the town, as two warmly dressed women travel an opposite course. In an excavation just to their left, Siberechts portrays a worker loading stones – an anecdote easy to miss without the plumed horses hitched to the cart. These modest comings and goings, orderly fields, and productively worked land – are developed as stock images that associate the landscape with England's topography rather than that of continental Europe. Yet through his innovations, Siberechts also promotes himself both as a cosmopolitan Flemish painter identified with the competitive tradition of his homeland and as the creator of novel art genres.

⁵²⁵ *Pastoral Landscape* (60.6 x 73.2 cm.), signed and dated 1684 at the lower right, is in Denver, The Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum.

Values of Property

Although Siberechts constructs an image of that very rural home-market success that fed national industry, secured paper assets, and supported landed society, he tempers contemporary signs of financial well-being with conventional calendar scenes grounded in landownership.⁵²⁶ The fact that this iconography is ancient and hierarchical is important to the creation of a new and ideal English scene. Siberechts constructs a positive representation of changing economic conditions that extended landed identity at a time when commercial and urban influences seemed to oppose commonplace virtues.⁵²⁷ But that his bright outlook strained tradition's ability to accommodate change is reflected in polemics on new sources of wealth and social mobility.⁵²⁸ A variety of literary forms comment on political values important to the construction of authority and often criticize the vagaries of social change.

In fictional as well as non-fictional accounts, each side of a controversy adapts notions of country virtues and courtly vices to support their causes. Many satires of the period, for example,

⁵²⁶ In Fiennes's diary progressive industries are tempered by important families long associated with a region or town. When discussing an area's large estates and its successful industries or products, for example, she often mentions the houses and landholdings associated with her relatives. Most of these properties are connected to her grandfather, the first viscount Say and Sele. See Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris, 42-45.

⁵²⁷ See the example of William Harrison, who first published his social account in 1578 and notes the difference between previous periods and his own. William Harrison, *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877), 1:341. Ben Jonson also criticizes estate owners who do not adhere to old cohesive social values. See Benjamin Jonson, "To Penshurst," (1-8), *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson* (London: printed by W: Stansby, and to be sould by Rich: Meghen, 1616), 819.

⁵²⁸ In the second half of the seventeenth century, Evelyn, for example, visited Robert Clayton's large house in London just to show the countess of Sunderland the degree of display: "that she might see the pomp & ceremonies of this Prince of citizens, there never having ben any, who for the statlinesse of his Palace, prodigious feasting & magnificence exceeded him." Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:4, 185.

ridicule the untempered promotion of national trade and the progressive improvement of rural industry. Conversations in *The Spectator*, a periodical published six times a week by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele from 1711 to 1712, play on stereotypical characteristics of both city entrepreneurs and old country-gentry families.⁵²⁹ While *The Spectator* exaggerates Whig rhetoric and its Tory counterpart, the periodical also promotes commerce by aligning trade with the common good and advances the businessman by identifying him as the more able national manager. Sir Andrew Freeport, one of *The Spectator's* regular group of fictional characters, represents the Whig merchant as an advocate of national and international trade and as an authority on efficient mercantile practices. Sir Andrew argues from a city position as opposed to country interests, usually appealing to practical concerns, yet he also demonstrates the extremes of a progressive commercial ideology.⁵³⁰ As a spokesman for Whig political leanings, he acts as a

⁵²⁹ Mr. Spectator – Addison's narrator – explains that the conversations between the characters in *The Spectator* are representative of all of England's differing ranks and degrees: "The Club of which I am a Member is very luckily composed of such Persons as are engaged in different Ways of Life, and deputed as it were out of the most conspicuous Classes of Mankind: By this Means I am furnished with the greatest Variety of Hints and Materials, and know every Thing that passes in the different Quarters and Divisions, not only of this great City, but of the whole Kingdom." April 9, 1711. Addison, *The Spectator*, 1:No. 34, 127. Also see Swift, who concludes his satire against abolishing Christianity with the argument that contrary to accepted opinion, the abolition of Christianity would not be an advantage to trade, but instead a detriment: "the Bank, and *East-India* Stock, may fall at least One *per Cent*." Jonathan Swift, *An argument to prove, that the abolishing of Christianity in England, may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce those many good effects propos'd thereby* (London: printed for Timothy Atkins, 1717), 38.

⁵³⁰ Sir Andrew's point of view is also interpreted as an unsatirical or direct representation of Whig politics and as a pointer to Addison's own political beliefs. Charles Knight, for example, argues that *The Spectator's* mercantilist ideology naively promotes commercial values at the expense of religious concerns and traditional public benefits. He states that as a representative of an ideal merchant, Sir Andrew serves, in part, as an example to the periodical's landowning readership. He applies merchant practices to land management, and thus the virtues of trade – merit, skill, and industry – replace an old tradition based on inheritance, title, and lineage. However, both Tories and Whigs promoted trade, and monied interests were often criticized by

reasonable foil for the landed and insular attitudes of the provincial squire, but with accumulated mercantile earnings, Sir Andrew extends his field and appropriates many of rural England's parochial practices.

In his later years Sir Andrew retires to a country estate and trades commercial success for landed property, including that asset's more enduring and stable qualities:

As the greatest Part of my Estate has been hitherto of an unsteady and volatile Nature, either tost upon Seas or fluctuating in Funds; it is now fixt and settled in Substantial acres and Tenements. I have removed it from the Uncertainty of Stocks, Winds, and Waves, and disposed of it in a considerable Purchase. This will give me great Opportunity of being charitable in my way, that is in setting my poor Neighbours to Work, and giving them a comfortable Subsistence out of their own Industry.⁵³¹

He interprets his new venture as a move from the risks of speculative investments and the hazards of open seas to the surety and safety of native soil. He specifically defines his estate as a secured and sizable holding – “Substantial acres” and “a considerable Purchase” – as opposed to those shaky enterprises involving markets and industries built on foreign trade. Stock ventures are linked to storms of fate and landed estates to the virtues of charity, a traditional comparison that remedies the uncertainties of chance with salvation. Addison references symbolism associated with *Fortuna* to characterize Sir Andrew's former livelihood as dependent on the transience of prosperity's rewards, while his new holdings look ahead to more faithful and trustworthy

both as interests that encouraged public credit to only their own advantage. See Charles A. Knight, “The *Spectator's* Moral Economy,” *Modern Philology* 2 (1993): 167-69. Also see Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, *Joseph Addison's Sociable Animal, in the Market Place, on the Hustings, in the Pulpit* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971), 25-28; Kenny, *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature 1688-1750*, 34-36.

⁵³¹ Nov. 29, 1712. Addison, *The Spectator* 7:No. 549, 425.

blessings.⁵³² However, in Addison's parody, the old vices associated with well-being are little changed in the contemporary setting and connect the admission to privileged society with the self-serving ways of traditional sins.

In his prime years Sir Andrew tended to the business of this life, and in his retirement he would prepare his accounts for the next. But, he explains, the new project would be managed with the same careful economy as the old. Efficient regulation and calculated yields would protect expected profits and ensure measured gains – a program that under his systematic stewardship would eliminate the historic evils of want and waste:

My Gardens, my Fishponds, my Arable and Pasture Grounds shall be my several Hospitals, or rather Work-houses, in which I propose to maintain a great many indigent Persons, who are now starving in my Neighbourhood. I have got a fine Spread of improvable Lands, and in my own Thoughts am already plowing up some of them, fencing others; planting Woods, and draining Marshes. In fine, as I have my Share in the Surface of this Island, I am resolved to make it as beautiful a Spot as any in Her Majesty's dominions; at least there is not an Inch of it which shall not be cultivated to the best Advantage, and do its utmost for its Owner. As in My Mercantile Employment, I so disposed of my Affairs, that from whatever Corner of the Compass the Wind blew, it was bringing home one

⁵³² Fortune was an active force in the material world, requiring faith, prudence, and restraint as reserves against temporal loss. But the riches of fortune, from fame as well as achievement, were also ennobling. In the sixteenth century, fortune was sometimes personified as a woman balancing on an orb, as in the engraving of *The Large Fortune*, c. 1502, by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). In Roemer Visscher's emblem book, *Fortuna* balances on an orb upon the sea with a city on the left and an expanse of open ocean on the right. Her head is shaved with a forelock blowing in the wind for those ready to catch opportunity. However, the captions reads: *Virtus liberalior* (virtue is more generous). See "Het derde schock" (third section), emblem no. LV in Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen van Roemer Visscher* ('Amsterdam: by VVillem Iansz. op't water inde Sonnewyser, 1614), 177. In Dutch and Flemish art of the seventeenth century, *Fortuna* – the precarious quality of life – was also represented by ships in a stormy or open sea. For this imagery, see Lawrence Otto Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwrecks in Dutch and Flemish Art: Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 164-77. Also see my Chapter II.

or other of my Ships; I hope, as a Husband-man, to contrive it so,
that not a Shower of Rain, or a Glimpse of Sunshine, shall fall
upon my Estate without bettering some part of it, and contributing
to the Products of the Season.⁵³³

The same entrepreneurial skills common to the trading house are applied to the manor, and although Sir Andrew looks to the customary benefits of the seasons, his plan for improvement omits the scriptural references that gave rewards to good husbandry and guaranteed its success. Rather than relying on the traditions of the country estate, he adopts commercial practices effective in the market place with the confidence that they will prove equally profitable in a changed venue. Even so, Sir Andrew's business proposal repeats the self-sufficient process of the medieval manor, and the area's vagrants are absorbed in an antiquated system of feudal tenure.

Addison first constructs a set of differences between old and new models. On Sir Andrew's estate the political economy that supports the country community reverses the conventions of good stewardship celebrated, for example, in Ben Jonson's tribute to the Sidneys in "To Penshurst."⁵³⁴ Unlike the Sidneys's ancient customs and Penshurst's extended community, Sir Andrew's design for his estate includes neither hereditary obligations nor historical country virtues. Instead, he inverts many of Jonson's praised relationships and pictures an estate that deftly takes of nature's resources – not one that freely distributes its own natural bounty. Charity depends on maximizing his neighbors' labor; natural beauty results from nature's best production. He transfers the language of urban ills to the country and equates aesthetic value with the surpluses of the balance sheet. In tying industry more readily to gain than to virtue, Sir Andrew

⁵³³ Nov. 29, 1712. Addison, *The Spectator* 7:No. 549, 425-26.

⁵³⁴ "To Penshurst" was published as the second poem in *The Forrest*, Jonson, *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson*. See my Chapter III.

bypasses the authority of tradition and institutes contemporary financial practices usually associated with risky speculative ventures. Where Penshurst's cycle of rich growth is formulated as an organic manifestation of the family's moral worth, Sir Andrew's bounty is a product of the business of cultivation. And where Jonson publicly honors Sidney's good husbandry, hospitality, and generosity, Sir Andrew prizes his own imagined eden and his own good intentions.⁵³⁵

Addison, however, uses the implied comparison between the former model and the new counterpart to expose the commonalities beneath the antithesis. He measures changing methods of commerce against longstanding ideals of country life and finds that prosperity based solely on material success deforms nature's landscape. Addison then parodies Jonson's image of the Sidneys's eden and the celebration of traditional relationships of power – the former guaranteed a perfect natural balance and the latter mitigated uncertain political circumstances.⁵³⁶ Mimicking the good works of country house ideology, *The Spectator's* Sir Andrew demonstrates that the same limited designs underpin both customary and commercial values: any post-lapsian paradise is corrupted by similar wrong causes and false standards. Moreover, by offsetting the extreme effects

⁵³⁵ In the same letter to Mr. Spectator, Sir Andrew closes with an invitation to visit his imagined estate: "If your Affairs will permit you to take the Country Air with me sometimes, you shall find an Apartment fitted up for you, and shall be every Day entertained with Beef or Mutton of my own feeding; Fish out of my own Ponds; and Fruit out of my own Gardens. You shall have free egress and Regress about my House, without having any Questions asked you, and in a Word such an hearty Welcome as you may expect from *Your most Sincere friend and humble Servant*, Andrew Freeport." Nov. 29, 1712. Addison, *The Spectator*, 7:No. 549, 427. Compare, for example, Addison's parody to a description of the Sidneys's hospitality and Penshurst's bounty. Jonson, *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson*, "To Penshurst" (19-75).

⁵³⁶ Paul McSorley argues that in "To Penshurst" Jonson creates an ideal that offers a traditional respite from political tension and, at the same time, recalls and institutes the stability of old social orders. This secure feudal world, he writes, was then being constructed for just such a purpose. Paul McSorley, "Local History: Property, Place and History in the English Country House Poem," in *The Political Subject: Essays on the Self from Art, Politics and Science*, ed. Wendy Wheeler (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2000), 47-49.

of conservative beliefs with those of progressive or liberal policies, Addison attempts to present *The Spectator* as a balanced and impartial publication. This strategy increases the periodical's market appeal and deflects criticism, or more crucially, adverse official consequences, from its writers. Addison prompts an analysis of the nature and effect of change as well as stasis, and through their opposition he shows that the economic benefits of increased trade can favor the merchant and landowner alike.⁵³⁷ Where *The Spectator* devotes most of its material on commerce to undermining the rationale of conventions and to supporting innovative trading conditions, it also aims to create a venue, or evaluative context, for revision. Addison may have satirized the overly industrious business man, but in the process he opened the door for the landed proprietor's

⁵³⁷ The benefit to landowner and merchant of well-tended enterprises and informed monetary practices was discussed in a number of contemporary tracts, as was the type of monetary policy best suited to the interests and wealth of the entire nation, including all its social and economic classes. Locke argued that the landed classes would reap higher prices for the products and resources of their land, as well as higher rents, if market forces were allowed to determine rates of interest and thus to maintain a favorable balance of trade. Prosperity and profit would follow the free and unregulated circulation of money; the benefits of supply and demand would reward landowner, merchant, and laborer. See John Locke, *Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money: in a letter to a member of Parliament* (London: Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill . . . , 1692), 49-87. Sir Josiah Child (1630-1699) also argued for a common basis of well-being for both the merchant and landowner, but one predicated on a lower rate of interest – thus governmentally regulated interest – which, he argued, would result in both increased trade and a higher price for land. A reduction in the legal maximum rate of interest would raise the purchase price of land because income from land was capitalized at a rate dependant on interest rates. See Sir Josiah Child, *A new discourse of trade: wherein is recommended several weighty points relating to companies of merchants: the act of navigation, naturalization of strangers, and our woollen manufactures, the balance of trade, and the nature of plantations, and their consequences in relation to the kingdom, are seriously discussed and some proposals for erecting a court of merchants for determining controversies, relating to maritime affairs, and for a law for transferrance of bills of depts* (London: Printed, and sold by John Everingham . . . , 1693).

full economic control of the estate.⁵³⁸ In this formulation the natural abundance of the land is easily identified with the natural interest of the landowner.

Siberechts's Henley prospects promote a like natural resourcefulness. But by explicitly illustrating conventional moral and ethical values with regard to the area's industry, Siberechts expressly relates the land's bounty and the town's trade to the territory's natural beauty. Here he signals the authority of the Christian iconography used to such satiric effect by Addison: merits of labor and virtues of moderation result in an agrarian paradise. Imagery of the unfailing yearly renewal shapes a continuum where a prosperous present is sustained and sanctified by the values of the past and, in turn, assures future fortune. Thus Siberechts's landscapes place old practices of agriculture within new imperatives of trade, an accommodation that still honors customary social

⁵³⁸ At the time, there was also a debate on the value, function, and purpose of satire, including its related forms – paradox, irony, and parody. John Dryden (1631-1700) argued for satire's moral worth, for its use as an art form, and for its imitation of Roman models, especially Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. See John Dryden, *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire*, in *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis. Translated into English verse By Mr. Dryden and Several other Eminent Hands. Together with the Satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus. Made English by Mr. Dryden. With Explanatory Notes at the end of each Satire* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1693). Criticizing contemporary satire, Sir Richard Blackmore satirized the excesses of satire written after the Restoration. See Sir Richard Blackmore, *A Satyr against Wit* (London: Printed for Samuel Crouch, 1700). In the mid-seventeenth century Andrew Marvell (1621-1678) included a warning on the evils of satire in his tribute to the recently published poems of Richard Lovelace (1618-1658):

I see the envious Caterpillar sit
On the faire blossome of each growing wit.
The Ayre's already tainted with the swarms
Of Insects which against you rise in arms.
Word-peckers, Paper-rats, Book-scorpions,
Of wit corrupted, the unfashion'd Sons.

Marvell's poem, along with others, served as an introduction to Lovelace's collection. See "To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his POEMS," in Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c. To Which Is Added Aramantha, A Pastorall. By Richard Lovelace* (London: Printed by Tho. Harper, and are to be sold by Tho. Evvster, at the Gun, in Ivie Lane, 1649), a5v-a6r.

hierarchies and traditional ways of life, yet, in the language of trade, maximizes profits. By casting images of contemporary industry within an old symbolic structure, Siberechts relies on a historical means of giving the mundane a higher order. In this case, the traffic of commerce is imagined as a natural component of the season's ritual of change.⁵³⁹ All the regularities of the calendar year serve to integrate new or atypical imagery with familiar signs of nature's good fortune.

The perception that Henley's traditional country community was changing and that this change required a new and inspirational form of representation is also evident in contemporary literary descriptions of the region. Daniel Defoe's account of Henley from *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, for example, cites the town's riches, but contradicts Siberechts's image of natural, social, and aesthetic order. Probably based on his travels before 1714 and published in three volumes, the first issued in 1724, Defoe's *Tour* notes Henley's industry, but finds nothing else of consequence in the town.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Inappropriate social behavior, errors of thought, and failures of perception are critically framed as "out of season." In *The Tatler*, a periodical published by Steele and Addison from 1709 to 1711, Richard Steele, for example, describes spiteful or over-biting satire as a result of an unseasonable turn. See No. 242, "From my own Apartment, Oct. 25." Richard Steele, *The Tatler* (London) October 24, 1710-October 26, 1710.

⁵⁴⁰ Defoe's original edition was issued anonymously in three volumes, the first published in 1724, the second in 1725, and the last in 1727. The account of Henley is in Letter IV of Defoe's first volume and entitled, "Letter IV. *Containing a Description of the North Shore of the Counties of Cornwall, and Devon, and some Parts of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.*" Most studies cite G. D. H. Cole's edition, which uses Defoe's original text but changes what Cole regards as misprints. Citations are to volume and page number in Cole. See, Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*, ed. G. D. H. Cole and Herman Moll, 2 vols. (London, P. Davies, 1927). With the exception of London and East Anglia, J. H. Andrews finds that Defoe completed his travels over a decade before the first volume was published. Defoe assembled new information from many sources, including recent publications and his own research in government record offices. See J. H. Andrews, "Defoe and the Sources of His 'Tour,'" *The Geographical Journal* 126 (1960): 271-75.

There are Two other Towns on the *Thames*, which I have already mentioned, viz. *Henly* and *Maidenhead*, which have little or nothing remarkable in them: but that they have great Business also, by Trade for Malt and Meal and Timber for *London*, which they ship, or load, on their great Barges for *London*, as the other Towns do.⁵⁴¹

He mentions Henley's commercial enterprises and contributions to national trade, yet the town itself appears indistinct from other rural markets along the Thames.⁵⁴² With nothing of aesthetic or cultural worth to raise Defoe's interest, Henley remains another gear in the great works, moving products to the capital city for consumption there and for distribution beyond.

Defoe's firsthand accounts of England include up-to-date assessments of each location on his circuit, and although he typically describes a site's commercial activities, manufacturing, and trade, he also details the beauty of land that produces such profitable commodities and natural resources. But he writes as well of the pleasures of appealing towns and constructs a registry of all manner of distinctive artefacts – the fine houses, royal palaces, important churches, ancient monuments, and renowned gardens that create important cultural territory. The lackluster description of Henley may relate to his rhetorical technique of contrasting the strengths and weaknesses of neighboring locales, opposing one area's abundance to the next's dearth, or one town's rise to another's decline.⁵⁴³ Defoe, for instance, moves directly from Henley's

⁵⁴¹ Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain.*, I:301.

⁵⁴² Defoe's previous mention of Henley is in his account of riding to meet William, Prince of Orange, and the prince's army at Henley in 1688. Also present were Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke's son, Sir William Whitelocke, and Sir Robert Clayton. Prince William had just arrived from the United Provinces and was on his way to London and to England's crown. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, I:299. Also see Burn, *A history of Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford*, 279-80.

⁵⁴³ For the use of contrasts in Defoe, see Pat Rogers, "Literary Art in Defoe's Tour: The Rhetoric of Growth and Decay," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2 (1972-1973): 174-85.

unremarkable offerings to the introduction of his lengthy account of the graces of Windsor:

And now I am, by just Degrees, come to *Windsor*, where I must
leave talking of Trade, River, Navigation, Meal, and Malt, and
describe the most beautiful, and most pleasantly situated Castle,
and Royal Palace, in the whole Isle of Britain.⁵⁴⁴

The attractions of the site and prospect, the antiquity of castle and town, the palatial architecture and dense woodlands, as well as the lavish furnished and decorated interiors, present an antithesis to Henley's small manufacturing. The town shares none of the favors of its great neighbor and seems only worth mention as a foil.

Those sites that Defoe celebrates as important for their connection to English culture and history are presented in part with the language of tradition and with the same conventions established by early country house poems. Like Windsor Castle, they are typically magnificent houses that demonstrate power through the claims of their owners' wealth, lineage, and long authority. Descriptions of aesthetically pleasing landscapes connected to these estates are usually explained in terms of the conventional structures of elite landownership.⁵⁴⁵ But these values also encompass new social distinctions. In his account of Wilton House, the seat of Thomas Herbert, the eighth earl of Pembroke, Defoe bases introductory remarks on such customary ideals as Ben Jonson's early seventeenth-century definition of good stewardship:

⁵⁴⁴ Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, 1:301.

⁵⁴⁵ Examining conduct literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Anna Bryson concludes that elite manners changed due to the influence of London. As part of the shift in the perception of social conduct, she argues that the basis of behavior codes shifted from traditional social relationships to values determined by the individual self. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 107-150. Also see Ian Warren, "The English Landed Elite and the social Environment of London c. 1580-1700: the Cradle of an Aristocratic Culture?" *English Historical Review* 126 (2011): 44-73. In the visual representations of the landscape, however, old images of the land and its traditional relations still dominated.

Nor is the blessing of this noble Resident extended to the Family only, but even to all the Country round, who in their Degree feel the Effects of the general Beneficence; and where the Neighbourhood, however Poor receive all the good they can Expect, and are sure to have no Injury, or Oppression.⁵⁴⁶

After linking the eighth earl's natural place in the family's line to old country ideals, Defoe next adopts the model of late seventeenth-century country house poems.⁵⁴⁷ The list of Lord Herbert's talents and accomplishments parallel the extent of his property and are not different in kind than the many other possessions found at Wilton House. The size, number, and value, the variety, rarity, and quality of decorations show genius, taste, worth, and merit – a formulation in which things manifest the values given to knowledge:

As the present Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord of this fine Palace, is a nobleman of great Personal Merit, many other Ways; so he is a Man of Learning, and Reading, beyond most Men of his Lordship's high Rank in this Nation, if not in the World; and as his Reading has made him a Master of Antiquity, and a Judge of such peices of Antiquity, as he has had Opportunity to meet with in his own Travels, and otherwise in the World; so it has given him a love of the Study, and made him a Collector of valuable Things, as well in Painting as in Sculpture, and other Excellencies of Art, as also of Nature; in so much that *Wilton-House* is now a meer Museum, or a Chamber of Rarities, and we meet with several Things there, which are to be found no where else in the World.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, 1:1,193.

⁵⁴⁷ For changing country house values, see my Chapter III.

⁵⁴⁸ Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, vol 1, 194. Other tributes include Defoe's description of Blenheim Palace and Chatsworth, Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, II:427, 581-84. In his account of Chatsworth, Defoe cites as his models both Thomas Hobbes's *Mirabilibus Pecci*, published in 1678 in Latin with a parallel English translation, and Charles Cotton's *The Wonders of the Peake*, published in 1681 and reissued in 1683. Hobbes dedicated his poem to William Cavendish, the third earl of Devonshire, and praises Chatsworth as the first of the famed seven wonders of the Peak. See Thomas Hobbes, *De mirabilibus pecci: being the wonders of the peak in Darby-shire, commonly called the Devil's arse of peak*. In *English and Latin* (London: Printed for William Crook, 1678), 2-15. Cotton's tribute to Chatsworth to William Cavendish also cites Hobbes. Cotton's poem was reissued in

To celebrate Wilton's architecture and art, Defoe turns to contemporary examples of praise in which exceptional riches and luxuries are important indicators of a family's ability to pass amassed wealth and political power to future generations.⁵⁴⁹ By combining traditional tenets with new material values, he legitimizes great displays of wealth as signs of both personal power and England's continuing glory, and by extension, as fitting private shares of national fortune.⁵⁵⁰

Throughout his account, economic success is dependent on growing industry and expanding markets, but the prosperity of an estate, a town, or a region is always subject to the variability of fortune. Defoe, in fact, introduces his tour with a discussion of the theme of change:

The Fate of Things gives a new Face to Things, produces Changes
in low Life, and innumerable Incidents; plants and supplants
Families, raises and sinks Towns, removes Manufacturers, and
Trade; Great Towns decay, and small Towns rise; new Towns, new
Palaces, new Seats are built every Day; great Rivers and good
Harbours dry up, and grow useless; again, new Ports are open'd,

1683, 1694, and 1699. Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peake* (London: Printed for Joanna Brome . . . , 1681), 73-86. In his account of Blenheim, the palace of John Churchill, the first duke of Marlborough, Defoe describes the house as a national monument rather than a private palace. Blenheim was built out of public monies to honor Marlborough for his victories in the War of Spanish Succession and for his service to the nation, but much criticism met Blenheim's steep cost, massive scale, and extravagance, as well as the ambition of its owner. See, for example, the comments of Mrs. Manley – Mary De La Riviere (1667-1724) – in the *Examiner*, No. 51 (Thursday July 12, to Thursday July 19, 1711). *The Examiner* (London: Printed for J. Morphew, 1710), 1:189.

⁵⁴⁹ In addition to Cotton's panegyric, Thomas Shipman's *Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem*, published in 1683, also praises an estate's owner through a list of his house's material assets. See Thomas Shipman, *Belvoir, A Pindaric Poem, or a faint Draught of that stately Fabrick; with some short characters of the Noble Founders, Owners, with their Alliances*, in Thomas Shipman, *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems*. London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and William Crook without Temple-Bar, 1683, 235-51. Also see my Chapter III.

⁵⁵⁰ See, for example, Defoe's discussion of the immense wealth of new families and the many retreats along the Thames built by men in business and the professions as escapes from both the rigors of commerce and the dirt of the city. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, 1:168-69.

Brooks are made Rivers, small Rivers, navigable Ports and
Harbours are made where none were before and the like.⁵⁵¹

Artefacts follow a natural cycle of erosion and decay, a pattern that ties the decline of social order to nature's sequence of change. Yet Defoe's transformations cite the unpredictability of natural power, and failure strikes cities, harbors, valleys, and families at random and without regard to prior strengths. When applied to the larger world, the natural succession of rebirth and renewal loses its familiar order and is imagined with the same uncertainty as political fortune. In this analysis, the greatest results of culture are redefined as accumulated surpluses spent according to turns of fate.

Defoe's discussion of arbitrary change coincides with a downward trend in agricultural-land revenue in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as the variable fortunes of landowners.⁵⁵² For most of the seventeenth century the net yield for land was at 3 to 3½ percent, but after 1690 the amount of land on the market fell and the price rose slightly.⁵⁵³ Heavy

⁵⁵¹ Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, 1:1, 2.

⁵⁵² John Habakkuk investigates private acts of parliament that were obtained to allow the sale of land to discharge debt secured by that property. He finds that from 1690 to 1713 there was an increase in estate Acts enabling the sale of land for the payment of debts: 77 from the Restoration to the Glorious Revolution and 260 from 1689 to 1714. In addition, most landowners selling property to discharge debt needed no act of parliament. John Habakkuk, "Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: II," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1980): 200-11.

⁵⁵³ The return of land purchase was calculated as the ratio between the yearly value of a property at the time of purchase and the price of purchase, or selling price. It was formulated by stating the selling price as annual value: land with the annual value of £100 and purchased for £2,000 had a return of 5 percent and was thus bought for twenty years' purchase. The price of land was calculated at its rack-rent value in which deductions were made for fixed charges, but not such varying expenses as land taxes and repairs. See H. J. Habakkuk, "The long-term rate of interest and the price of land in the seventeenth century," *Economic History Review*, New Series 5 (1952): 26-27, 34-36; H. J. Habakkuk, "English landownership, 1680-1740," *Economic History Review* 10 (1940): 11-12; Richard Grassby, "The Rate of Profit in Seventeenth-Century England," *The English Historical Review* 84 (1969): 739. Although Christopher Clay argues that

land taxes, however, reduced profits, and rents either leveled off or fell, further lowering the net yield.⁵⁵⁴ In comparison, secured private loans – on mortgages or bonds – paid 5 to 6 percent in the later seventeenth century, giving gains from the money market a higher return than those from land.⁵⁵⁵ Investors in the securely serviced national debt did even better: lotteries and annuities paid 8 percent in the 1690s, and the long-term rate of interest on government stock was between 7 and 14 percent.⁵⁵⁶ As no limits were set on government borrowing, the high return meant that money

from 1690 to 1704 there is insufficient information for an analysis and accurate estimation of land value, the data he gives indicates a slight rise in land prices. Christopher Clay, “The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The Economic History Review* 27 (1974): 174-76. Robert Allen finds that the return on land was actually higher than that determined by Habakkuk because of the appreciation of landed rentals. From the period 1690-1703 he calculates a net return at 4.01 percent and a gross return at 4.76 percent on a twenty-one years purchase and applies a .375 percent allowance for taxes and estate administration to determine the net return. He does not, however, calculate under-rented farms, accumulated arrears, or failures from tight credit. See Robert C. Allen, “The Price of Freehold Land and the Interest Rate in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The Economic History Review* 41 (1988): 33-35.

⁵⁵⁴ Annual land yields also fell because of accumulated arrears and untenanted farms, as well as higher costs of goods and services. For problems with income from land, see Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 280-88; Habakkuk, “English landownership, 1680-1780,” 9-11; John Habakkuk, “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: III. Did the Gentry Rise?,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981): 215-17; John Habakkuk, “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 202-03; Clay, “The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” 181-82.

⁵⁵⁵ The maximum rate of interest on mortgages was fixed at 6 percent from 1649 to 1714, and yields in the last decade of the seventeenth century reached that limit. Habakkuk, “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: II,” 206; Habakkuk, “The long-term rate of interest and the price of land in the seventeenth century,” 33; Habakkuk, “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800,” 202-03.

⁵⁵⁶ Grassby, “The Rate of Profit in the Seventeenth Century,” 743.

was lent to the government that may have otherwise gone to the purchase of land.⁵⁵⁷ Some contemporary writers argued that land taxes – raised to service the national debt – would drive land values down as investors moved their money from landed estates to government loans.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, during the years of war with the French – from 1689 to 1713 – funds were not only diverted from mortgages, but also from investments in land, and in many cases, from the establishment of country seats by financiers and other commercial men occupied with wartime concerns.⁵⁵⁹

In spite of the lower yields on land compared to those of the money market, investors still bought land, suggesting that the cultural advantages of landownership were distinct from its monetary returns. In the mid-seventeenth century, Henry Philipps writes that men with funds bought land even when the earnings on landed property, and therefore its value, were below the

⁵⁵⁷ Because of war profits – both from opportunities and investments – many financiers devoted time and money to business concerns rather than purchasing country estates. John Habakkuk, “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800,” 195-96; J. V. Beckett, “The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales, 1600-1880,” *The Economic History Review* 37 (1984): 3-4.

⁵⁵⁸ See John Briscoe’s “Preface,” arguing that the increase in interest rates hurt the landowner and trader and benefitted only “Monied Men.” John Briscoe, *A discourse on the late funds of the Million-Act, Lottery-Act and Bank of England: shewing that they are injurious to the nobility and gentry and ruinous to the trade of the nation: together with proposals for the supplying Their Majesties with money on easy terms exempting the nobility, gentry &c. from taxes, enlarging their yearly estates and enriching all the subjects in the kingdom / humbly offered and submitted to the consideration of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled by J.B* (London: Printed by J.D. and sold by R. Baldwin, 1694), viii-ix.

⁵⁵⁹ According to J. V. Beckett and Michael Turner, land and assessed taxes from 1688-95 were 41.1 percent of the government revenue, from 1696-1700 they were 36.3 percent, from 1701-05 they were 34.9 percent, and from 1706-10 they were 38.6 percent. These years made up the largest land tax percentage of government revenue from 1671 through 1799. J. V. Beckett and Michael Turner, “Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series 3 (1990): 378-387. Also see Habbakuk’s discussion of the beneficial effects of the wars with Louis XIV on the profits of commercial men and financiers as opposed to the problems of property owners in obtaining mortgages and credit for their estates. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and The Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950*, 499-505.

profit on interest income. He offers four “good reasons” explaining this phenomenon, and begins by identifying the dignity of historical landownership with the preservation of material wealth and the deliverance from temporal loss.⁵⁶⁰

First, Because though every thing be subject to casualty in this uncertain World, yet an estate in Land is lesse subject to danger, and of more sure continuance, both for a mans own life, and his posterity after him.⁵⁶¹

The provision of the land, Philipppes contends, lasts for the lifetime of its owner and endures to assure the standing of his heirs. Like other writers, he recognizes the cost of risk and its increased charge, but trusts in the long-term value of landed property in building a secured estate, as opposed to the variability of assets held as personal property.⁵⁶² On much the same theme, he next argues that while the return on land may be lower than interest on money ventures, the landowner

⁵⁶⁰ Philipppes (d. 1677), or sometimes Philipps, wrote on methods of calculating value in real estate. His treatise is part of the production of pattern books, important in the promotion of investing in real estate and in the building market. The first section of Philipppes’s publication was part of a debate on the value of land and interest rates. *The purchasers pattern* was first published in 1653 and was reissued in various forms in 1654, 1656, 1663, 1667, 1670, 1677, and 1719. According to Philipppes, the contemporary expectation in most regions of England was 5 percent return on land at 20 years purchase and 6 percent on interest. Henry Philipppes, *The purchasers pattern: in two parts: the first shewing the true value of the purchase of any parcel of land or houses, by lease or otherwise: also new tables of interest and rebate at 6 per cent: the second part shewing the measuring of land, board and timber, and the false rules and deceits of many therein: also the gauging of all vessels, with many other rules about weights and measures, and several tables of accounts, with many other rules and tables of daily use for most men* (London: Printed by R. and W. Leybourn for Thomas Pierrepont . . . , 1656), 4, 6.

⁵⁶¹ Philipppes, *The purchasers pattern*, 4.

⁵⁶² Josiah Child also notes the importance of security for investments. Josiah Child, *Brief observations concerning trade, and interest of money by J.C* (London: printed for Elizabeth Calvert at the Black-spread-Eagle in Barbican, and Henry Mortlock at the sign of the White-Heart in Westminster-Hall, 1668), 19.

always holds expectations for future growth.⁵⁶³ The hope of rising land markets and increasing farm yields promises higher returns in the years to come and, as a component of economic welfare, encourages faith in future prosperity associated with the traditions of social stability: landownership functions as an old standard that determines wealth and gains its benefits.

If Philippes's second reason for purchasing land relies on confidence in the future, his third turns to the mores that strictly guided opinion in the past:

Thirdly, In point of Piety, many men had rather lay out money in Land, though with lesser profit; then let it out to interest: Because Usury, through ill practices of many, hath gotten such an odious name, and been so generally condemned by many godly men.⁵⁶⁴

He suggests that the practice of usury – the taking of interest on loans – is dishonored by the effects of private vice and self-interest, and inherently falls outside the natural system of godly order.⁵⁶⁵ Philippes refers to a common sixteenth-century attitude that relates usury to the

⁵⁶³ Philippes explains, “Secondly, It hath been hitherto, and it is like to be so still, that the price of money falls cheaper, and the price of Land riseth dearer; and that not only (as I said before) in proportion to the rate of Interest, but in respect of the value of the things themselves; in such wise, that a Farme that formerly was worth 30 pounds a year, is now worth 50 pounds, or more. So that old Rents of Land, may in a short time be much improved, whereby the Land-Lord may in a short time mend his bargain, if it be any good peny-worth when he bought it.” Philippes, *The purchasers pattern*, 4-5.

⁵⁶⁴ Philippes, *The purchasers pattern*, 5.

⁵⁶⁵ Thomas Willsford, who wrote on mathematics and natural phenomenon, explains how the corruption of usury is to be resisted and notes its dangers without the restraints of moderation. See the conclusion of Part II of Book I: “*Usury* is like a Cancer, which by an unperceptible Consumption gratefully wastes that body shere by Corruption it tood a being; I wish none to adore the Golden Calf, not yet slight the materials, thier use being good and laudable, where Vertue is Treasurer, Discretion Controller, and Charity Purse-bearer: but if abused by being cast in another mould, or the three adverse parties in office, it will as easily catch those (who make worldly wealth their Mammon) as lime does Birds; so the danger is great, and the more, when usually the love of Money multiplies, as their Stocks and Magazines encrease; and those who have most are often most miserable in want, ignoreant in the use of temporall blessings, and glutted with excesse, become immedicable by those surfeits; like men in Dropies, the more waterish they grow, the more they desire drink, with an unsatiable thirst, so feeds the humours, and that the

covetousness of commercial practices harmful to the public good and without community award.⁵⁶⁶ Because licit economic growth is commensurate with proper moral actions or right conduct, interest income threatens the smooth operation of hierarchical networks and lacks the traditional sanction of English culture. According to *The purchasers pattern*, the medieval stigma attached to usury still acts as a social deterrent and still separates honorable men – landowning men – from financial or monied men.⁵⁶⁷

Lastly, Philippon writes that men with large estates can well afford to buy land at low rates

disease.” Thomas Willsford, *The scales of commerce and trade: ballancing betwixt the buyer and seller, artificer and manufacture, debtor and creditor, the most general questions, artificiall rules, and usefull conclusions incident to traffique: comprehended in two books. The first states the ponderates to equity and custome, all usuall rules, legall bargains and contracts, in wholesale ot [sic] retaile, with factorage, returnes, and exchanges of forraign coyn, of interest-money, both simple and compounded, with solutions from naturall and artificiall arithmetick. The second book treats of geometricall problems and arithmetically solutions, in dimensions of lines, superficies and bodies, both solid and concave, viz. land, wainscot, hangings, board, timber, stone, gaging of casks, military propositions, merchants accounts by debtor and creditor; architectonice, or the art of building* (London: Printed by J.G. for Nath: Brook, at the angel in Cornhill, 1660), 2:100.

⁵⁶⁶ Repealing a 10 percent limit on interest rates enacted by Henry VIII’s parliament in 1545, the parliament of Edward VI wrote in its statute of 1552 that usury “is by the worde of God utterly prohibited, as a vyce moste odyous and detestable.” The earlier statute was, however, restored five years later by the parliament of Elizabeth I. Munro cites this example in his discussion of usury acts and instruments of credit in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He concludes that one reason for high short-term interest rates in England and the Netherlands was the premium the lender charged in compensation for usury’s adverse public opinion. See John H. Munro, “The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, Rentes, and Negotiability,” *The International History Review* 25 (2003): 553-62. Also see Helmolz’s discussion of the effect of canon law on parliamentary acts and common law cases with respect to usury. He finds that medieval church courts enforced cases in which undue or excessive amounts were charged over the principal. See R. H. Helmolz, “Usury and the Medieval English Church Courts,” *Speculum* 61 (1986): 364-380. For the ideology of usury in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 63-72.

⁵⁶⁷ Evelyn, for example, writes that Robert Clayton had been criticized as “guilty of hard dealing,” although Evelyn himself “never saw any ill by him, considering the trade he was of.” See Evelyn’s description dated 18 Nov. 1679. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:185-86.

of profit:

Fourthly, There is much equity herein. For as men who have geater Stocks, and Trade by Whole-sale; may live upon a lesser rate of profit then those who have but small Stocks, and Trade by Retail. So men who have great Estates, to buy land therewith; may very well lay out their money at lesse profit then other men, and yet live better thereof.⁵⁶⁸

Great enterprises fund great returns, but also function as signs that the wealth of vast holdings is itself a separate and real well of riches and status. Once acquired, sizeable landed estates are self-perpetuating, naturally generating their own material rewards and guaranteeing ever larger portions of wealth. Philippes, thus, bases his entire rationale for land acquisition, even during periods of low annual yields with respect to higher interest rates, on cultural values. Although he cites comparative examples – economic data both from previous years and other countries – to support his argument, his actual authorities and proofs are old mores that viewed landed property as the foundation for every measure of power. In Philippes's discussion it is social motives that underlay landownership: they offer the best incentive for land purchase and promise the best return.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ Philippes, *The purchasers pattern*, 5.

⁵⁶⁹ For an alternative perspective, see Sir Thomas Culpepper's early treatise, arguing for low interest rates because of economic rather than social reasons: high interest rates deterred trade and land investment and caused land prices to fall. Culpepper (1578-1662) reasoned that the rate of interest determined the growth of land, agriculture, and commerce, and was directly responsible for increased wealth and prosperity. Thomas Culpeper, *A tract against vsurie: Presented to the High Court of Parliament* (London: printed by W[illiam]. I[aggard]. for Walter Burre, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1621). Josiah Child printed Culpepper's treatise anonymously at the end of his own treatise on trade and interest rates. See Child, *Brief observations concerning trade, and interest of money*, 23-37. Culpepper's tract was again reprinted in 1709. Thomas Culpeper, *Sir Thomas Colepeper's tracts concerning usury reprinted. Shewing its biting quality on the private and publick With some animadversions on the writings of Dr. Lock, on that subject* (London: printed, and sold by J. Morphew, 1708 [1709]). For the debate on interests rates from the period of the Restoration to

Later in the century John Locke expressly appealed to the interests of the landed classes through a strictly economic analysis of the price of money and the price of land. Locke addressed his argument to those men in parliament who controlled economic policy and could better direct the country's prosperity if they understood that their own interests in the form of rents, or the price of land, were subject to the forces that naturally determined interest rates, or the price of money:

When a Nation is running to decay and ruine, the Merchant and Monied Man, do what you can, will be sure to starve last: Observe it where you will, the decays that come upon, and bring to Ruine any Country, do constantly first fall upon the Land; and though the Country Gentleman, (who usually securely relies upon so much a Year as was given in at his Marriage Settlement, and thinks his Land an unmoveable Fund for such an Income) be not very forward to think so; yet this nevertheless is an undoubted truth, that he is more concern'd in Trade, and ought to take a greater care that it be well manag'd and preserved than even the Merchant himself; for he will certainly find, that when a decay of Trade has carried away one part of our Money out of the Kingdom, and the other is kept in the Merchant and Tradesmans Hands, that no Laws he can make, nor any little Arts of Shifting Property amongst our selves, will bring it back to him again; But Rents will fall, and his Income every day lessen, till general Industry, and Frugality, join'd to a well ordered Trade, shall restore to the Kingdom the Riches and Wealth it had formerly.⁵⁷⁰

Locke explains that any shortage of money would first and foremost affect the landowner by reducing the profit on production – from, for example, his produce, his wool, and his cattle – and thus reducing his rents. By limiting the number of buyers for his land, the lack of loanable funds would also reduce its price. A favorable balance of trade, consequently, was primarily in the

the third quarter of the seventeenth century, see Tim Keirn and Frank T. Melton, “Thomas Manley and the Rate-Of-Interest Debate, 1668-1673,” *The Journal of British Studies* 29 (1990): 147-173.

⁵⁷⁰ Locke, *Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money*, 86-87.

interest of the landowning classes and must be secured by increasing the amount of money in circulation.⁵⁷¹ Locke argues that once the level of national prosperity fell it could only be restored through work, thrift, and the promotion of trade – not through property laws or exchanges. To increase the force of his argument, Locke, like Philipppes, also relies on the threat that the commercial classes posed to traditional social roles. In this case, the capital holdings of the landowner are lost to the merchant through the mechanics of commerce, and power slips from the heritable fund of the “Country Gentleman” to the low use of the “Tradesmans Hands.” In the final analysis, the interest of the landowner and the merchant depend on the same set of monetary factors, and the riches of the nation depend on the economic education of its ruling classes.

Riches of the Land and the Market for Display

Siberechts’s paintings of prospects around rural towns and country estates may have supplied visual assurance of England’s continuing “Riches and Wealth” explained in such theories as Locke’s monetary policy. The painter reiterates Locke’s model of prosperity by portraying the familiarity of secure and rational pairings, especially those that would appeal to audiences who profited from the acquisitions of industry and the productive management of property. He omits the uncertainties of both Defoe’s description of changing social conditions and the actual decline of land revenues in the later seventeenth century. To counteract any adverse effect of change, Siberechts’s prospects feature the continuity and value of landed holdings, and further, support the accustomed view that land perpetuates lineage and preserves long-established hierarchies. In these landscapes, tenants and laborers, mills and farms, and working waterways

⁵⁷¹ Locke, *Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money*, 112-16.

and rural streams make up the large sweep of countryside. In the distance aristocratic houses often dominate hilltops, and in the foreground armorial trappings distinguish teams of horses. The obligations and benefits of good government thus are demonstrated in seasonal work and the succeeding abundant yields. In Siberechts's account the advance of growing industry is an extension of the yearly labors and just as dependable as seasonal change. Fortune, too, facilitates enterprise and loses the instability of its medieval persona.

The cycles of labor and growth, ordinary signs of time's passage in rural communities relate fertility and husbandry to biblical history and to a founding moral economy.⁵⁷² The resulting prosperity is structured according to the dictates of the divine plan for mankind, where earthly design decrees social benefit. To locate his landscapes solidly within this pattern, Siberechts reproduces the same images that long expressed natural order, political control, and dynastic rule in illustrated prayer books and traditional books of hours. His reference to such seasonal

⁵⁷² Many of the contemporary debates on labor and the land discussed the morality of plowing, tilling, and improving the soil. Writers interpreted the interrelationship between the order of nature and man, joining nature's workings to a moral economy. See, Thomas Burnet, *The theory of the earth: containing an account of the original of the earth, and of all the general changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo till the consummation of all things: the two first books concerning the deluge and concerning paradise* (London: Printed by R. Norton, for W. Kettilby . . . , 1691); John Woodward, *An essay toward a natural history of the earth: and terrestrial bodies, especially minerals: as also of the sea, rivers, and springs: with an account of the universal deluge: and of the effects that it had upon the earth* (London: Printed for Ric. Wilkin . . . , 1695); John Woodward, "Some Thoughts and Experiments Concerning Vegetation," *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 21 (1699): 193-227. In respect to contemporary economic policy, Locke argued that improvement from labor rightly used the gift of the earth to men and rightly provided benefits. Men appropriated property through labor, and value accrued through improvement added new property. Locke built his argument on the premise that god intended the earth for the preservation of mankind. See John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, The False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, And His Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter is an Essay concerning The True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth . . . , J. Pemberton . . . , and E. Symon, 1728), 2:5, §32-40, 163-170.

iconography still drew on the connection between both agricultural production and industrious labor and the matching of cultivation and salvation. Tidy fields, riverside roads, and well-worn paths suggest the civilizing outlines and rituals of country life that, by the date of Siberechts's paintings, were already described as distinctive elements of the English landscape. The orderly hierarchy of the labors and pastimes still articulated the effects of the chain of rewards and obligations, and still founded present material rewards and social advantages on the sanctioned practices and laws of distant history.

Siberechts's scenes of a growing market economy, however, also show that traditional values were handed down with procedures that authorized new practices. Past gauges of rank could readily underpin changing determinants of well-being, and to greater consequence, depict unseasoned processes as right improvements of nature's gifts.⁵⁷³ Refinements to transportation

⁵⁷³ Scripturally based versions of labor and industry paired production with a moral economy. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Walter Blith published several editions of his treatise on the improvement of land. Walter Blith, *The English improver, or a new survey of husbandry: Discovering to the kingdome, that some land, both arrable and pasture, may be advanced double or treble; other land to a five or tenfold: and some to a twenty fold improvement: yea, some now not worth above one, or two shillings, per acre, be made worth thirty, or forty, if not more. Clearly demonstrated from principles of sound reason, ingenuity, and late but most certaine reall experiences. Held forth under six peeces of improvement: viz. 1. By floating or watering such lands as are capable thereof. 2. By reducing boggy or drowned land to found pasture. 3. By such a way of ploughing and corneing old courser pasture, as not to impoverish it; and by such a method of enclosure, as shall provide for poore, and all interests without depopulation. 4. By discovering divers materials for soyle and compost, with the nature and use of them, as both tillage and pasture be advanced as high as promised. 5. By such a new plantation of divers sorts of woods, as in twenty yeares, they shall rise more than in forty yeares naturally. 6. By a more moderate improvement of other sorts of lands, according to their capacities they lye under, by more common experiences* (London: printed for J. Wright at the Kings Head in the Old-Bayley, 1649). Toward the end of the century, Locke additionally extended man's call to improve and civilize the earth, arguing that it was art that created plenty. Locke's treatise was originally printed in 1689. John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding: In Four Books. Written by John Locke . . .* The Eleventh ed., (London: E. Parker; J. and J. Pemberton; and E. Symon: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch), 1735), vol. 2,

systems – for example, the series of locks that aid navigation in the Henley paintings – are incorporated in the system of river traffic; and the onset of contemporary commerce – so much a theme in Defoe’s tour of England – is shown as inseparable from the customary production of the land. Siberechts’s landscapes often position an identifiable town or estate as a conceptual center and dispose the qualities of the surrounding territory as attributes of that center. Power is portrayed as the control of converging systems – patronage networks, mercantile networks, and governmental bodies – that were once envisioned only as functions of noble or royal rule. An important aspect of this visual representation is its versatility in translating social standing to images expressing private and commercial interests, in effect, extending the criteria for positions of political authority. Siberechts explains elite identity by reimagining social and political power traditionally attached to landownership. He uses the flexibility and authority of calendar imagery to envision new channels of rewards, particularly rewards that were previously represented as the advantages of landed estates. In his paintings the horse-drawn carriage marks privilege and acres of working farmland indicate the measure of holding. An active country life parallels its urban counterpart and suggests connections to large centers of political or commercial control. His landscapes illustrate the public potential of the rural community and by extension the political influence of those controlling the land or benefitting from its products.

Siberechts moves from the generalities of his own early Flemish landscape paintings and his Southern Lowland models to the specifics of English locations, translating and adapting the iconography of the monthly labors to depict signs of sustained wealth and status. Even with land passing in and out of families and the addition of newcomers moving up from commercial or

professional backgrounds, he builds an image of the stability of property and elite landownership. His formulation of economic strength indicates that landed holdings could advance old sources of power and generate the means to develop new ones. While the former recall emotional bonds with the past, the latter calculate confidence in progress as a figure of continuing fortune. In combining local landmarks – parts of a region's collective memory – and scenes that feature the rhythms of seasonal passage and those that bear the marks of industry or innovation, he taps old social conventions, but measures contemporary advances by the difference from one period to the next. Commerce emerges as another natural support of landed power and in turn lends wealth itself the dynamic of an extended political base.

Chapter V. Influences of Science and Natural History – Resources of Land and Culture

Scientific associations and communities that formed during the mid-seventeenth century helped to establish values and knowledge about natural history, and at the same time, defined the way learning was determined, expressed, and communicated. In their working methods, these groups celebrated ingenuity and experimentation as functional elements in the construction of knowledge and advertised their approaches as novel departures from the past. I argue that the publications, organizations, and activities devoted to the new natural philosophy also created a market for innovative landscape genres. Such imagery paralleled contemporary concerns with investigation, documentation, and classification of the natural world, and targeted elite communities concerned with new methods of examining nature. Paintings of birds and animals portrayed against landscape settings, for example, specifically suggest the importance of natural history as it was promoted by recently formed philosophical circles in London and around university centers. Painters graphically replicated the style and subject matter that interested this audience and adhered to the rhetoric that these groups advertised. I show that painters adopted the imagery of contemporary scientific culture, and further, used that imagery to reimagine the concept of elite standing. By devising a fresh aesthetic approach, they created a means of associating their work with the values of experimental inquiry and of positioning their imagery as a profit of discovery.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ In a letter written in 1592 to his uncle William Cecil, first baron of Burghley, Francis Bacon (1561-1626) described his project for intellectual inquiry: “Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous

New Philosophy, the Royal Society, and the Formation of Knowledge

Ideas on the formation of knowledge were debated in seventeenth-century intellectual circles and included themes on the membership and the social role of scientific communities, as well as the contributions new discoveries made to the public well-being. The most successful organization advancing experimental research in natural philosophy – the Royal Society of London – persuasively linked new knowledge with the language of social order and the benefits of the communal good.⁵⁷⁵ Founded in 1660 at Gresham College, the Society was granted a royal

disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province.” Bacon’s letter enlisting his uncle’s support is entitled, “To My Lord Treasurer Burghley.” Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon: Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, and Lord High Chancellor of England*, ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862), 8:109.

⁵⁷⁵ Studies on the Royal Society and its formation include: R. H. Syfret, “The Origins of the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 5 (1948): 75-137; Douglas McKie, “The Origins and Foundation of the Royal Society of London,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960): 1-37; Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1967); A. Rupert Hall and Mary Boas Hall, “The Intellectual Origins of the Royal Society – London and Oxford,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 23 (1968): 157-168; Christopher Hill, “The Intellectual Origins of the Royal Society – London and Oxford?” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 23 (1968): 144-156; Charles Webster, “The Origins of the Royal Society,” *History of Science* 6 (1968): 106-28; Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Robert G. Frank, Jr., *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists: A Study of Scientific Ideas and Social Interaction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980); Lotte Mulligan and Glenn Mulligan, “Reconstructing Science: Styles of Leadership and Social Composition of the Early Royal Society,” *Social Studies of Science* 11 (1981): 327-64; Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an early scientific institution* (Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks, England: British Society for the History of Science, 1982). Also see Mordechai Feingold, “Tradition versus Novelty: Universities and Scientific Societies in the Early Modern Period,” in *Revolution and continuity: essays in the history and philosophy of early modern science*, ed. Peter Barker and Roger Ariew (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 51-59.

charter two years later and a revised charter in 1663.⁵⁷⁶ The royal charter gave the organization the patronage of the king, the privilege to meet freely, and the license to correspond with colleagues on the continent – concerning all scientific subjects – without censure. Additionally, pursuant to the Licensing Act of 1662, the royal charter granted the right to publish works on science and the new philosophy without the censorship of bishops.

Citing the writings of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) from the 1620s, the Society advocated knowledge and understanding of the natural world based on the observations of the senses and empirical experiments – not *a priori* reasoning associated with scholasticism and past authorities.⁵⁷⁷ Confidence in the power of reason, however, was placed in a historical continuum that acknowledged traditional philosophical methods, yet explained the new philosophy as a

⁵⁷⁶ With the first charter, granted by Charles II on July 15, 1662, the organization became the Royal Society; by the second charter granted April 22, 1663, it became the Royal Society of London for Improving Experimental Knowledge. Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, ed. Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1959), 134-48; Thomas Birch, *The history of the Royal Society of London for improving of natural knowledge, from its first rise . . .*, 4 vols. (London: printed for A. Millar, 1756-57), 1:88-96, 221-30; Michael Hunter, *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 2-4; Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*, 33-37.

⁵⁷⁷ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 30-32. Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London* ([London] [J. Martin], 1667), Frontispiece. Visually, this association was made in the frontispiece to the large-type edition of Sprat's history. The engraving portrays Bacon on the right as "ARTIVM INSTAVRATOR" (arts restorer) and on the left, the society's first president, Lord Brouncker. Between the two, a pedestal with the bust of Charles II identifies the king as the Society's royal patron, here crowned by Fame. In the background are texts by ancients and moderns, as well as practical inventions and scientific instruments. For the history of the frontispiece, designed by John Evelyn and engraved and etched by Wenceslaus Hollar, See Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*, 194-97.

contemporary development for determining truth in the material world.⁵⁷⁸ In the promotion of the scientific formation of knowledge, the Royal Society firmly instituted rationalistic explanation as an extension of traditional moral and religious life. Even though the Society's views and means were not unconditionally accepted, the organization, I argue, helped form the way knowledge was defined, expressed, and institutionalized.⁵⁷⁹ Through publications, lectures, and correspondence, its members developed modes that legitimized knowledge and were indeed borrowed by other fields to promote their own products.⁵⁸⁰ I contend that the methods advertised by the Royal Society

⁵⁷⁸ The appeal to practicality for Bacon and future advocates of the new philosophy did not include an actual involvement in the mechanical arts, but rather a stance against scholasticism and its traditions of speculative thought. For practical applications of the mechanical arts, see Walter Houghton's discussion of the history of trades. Walter E. Houghton, Jr., "The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought as Seen in Bacon, Petty, Evelyn, and Boyle," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1941): 33-60.

⁵⁷⁹ Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), for example, argued against the Society's ideology and was one of its most arguable critics. He believed that in natural causes the philosophical experimenter could only find probability and never certainty. Robert Boyle (1627-1691), conversely, contended that the Royal Society was discovering new "matters of fact." Hobbes, in turn, criticized the Society's empirical methods, citing the failings of Boyle's air pump, in particular. See Thomas Hobbes, *Dialogus physicus, sive, De natura aeris conjectura sumpta ab experimentis nuper Londini habitis in Collegio Greshamensi, item de duplicatione cubi* (Londini: Typis J.B. & prostant venales apud A. Crook, 1661). See Michael Hunter, *Science and the shape of orthodoxy: intellectual change in late seventeenth-century Britain* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995), 13-14; Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 111-54. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 73. Samuel Butler (1612-1682) also criticized the Society's efforts in his satires. See "Paedants," in Samuel Butler, *Satires and miscellaneous poetry and prose*, ed. Renei Lamar (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 166.

⁵⁸⁰ An example is John Gedde's patent for and promotion of his bee house. He cites the Royal Society's approval and uses their concise and descriptive language to advertise his invention. He claims the bee box as his own unique invention and supports this claim with a narrative of the box's history. Gedde writes with a logical format and gives numbered reasons and explanations for his hives' construction, placement, and use. In addition, he provides illustrations of both the bee box and its construction. John Gedde, *A New Discovery of an Excellent Method of Bee Houses & Colonies: To Free the Owners from the Great Charge and Trouble that Attends the Swarming of Bees, and Delivers the Bees from the Evil Reward of Ruine*

not only advanced standards of credibility, but also introduced new conceptual models that themselves carried a variety of incentives. By associating its new knowledge with social standing, the Society offered its followers a means of increasing wealth and reputation, as well as the promise of acceptance or participation in cultural institutions. For artists, such channels encouraged creativity and also the understanding that improvements and novelties based on inventiveness held social and economic benefits for the inventor.

The “colours of Rhetorick”

The Royal Society’s most direct promotional project was its official history, commissioned from Thomas Sprat and first published in 1667. After Sprat’s dedication to Charles II, positioning him as a monarch in the line of old biblical kings, the history begins by enfolding the Society within the larger imagery of the familiar biblical story. Abraham Cowley’s prefatory poem introduces the opening of new routes to knowledge as paths to a reborn eden:

*The Orchards open now, and free;
Bacon had broke that Scar-crow Dietie;
Come, enter, all that will,
Behold the rip’ned Fruit, come gather now your Fill.*⁵⁸¹

Citing iconography that saw the Old Testament as a precursor to the New, Cowley describes the

for the Benefit They Brought Their Masters; Advantaging Their Owners Many-fold Above Whatever Any Method Heretofore Practic’d Doth. Experienced Seven Years by John Gedde, Gent. Inventor; and Approved by the Royal Society at Gresham-Colledge (London: Printed for the author, and sold by D. Newman . . . , 1675). For patent application to Charles II, see ‘Charles II: April 1675,’ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1675-6*, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, vol. 18 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1907), 57. For the history of Gedde’s bee box and its promotion by the Royal Society, see D. J. Bryden, “John Gedde’s Bee-House,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of the Royal Society of London* 48 (1994): 193-213.

⁵⁸¹ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, B1v-B2r.

fall of false idols and the phenomena of the natural world open for investigation.⁵⁸² The knowledge of nature is here recast as the pattern of god's mind, and the pursuit of knowledge is therefore justified as a way of understanding god's creation.⁵⁸³ Cowley legitimizes the Society as an extension of Bacon's formative work and promotes its foundation as a true scientific institution. As a spokesman for the Royal Society, the poet differentiates the antique speculative philosophy that dominated the last "*Three or four thousand years*" from the present interest in the observation of the natural world, subject matter that he terms "*Nature's endless Treasurie*."⁵⁸⁴ In "To the *Royal Society*" he advances the Society's contribution to knowledge as a new dawn in the progress of mankind and a rebirth of right reason.⁵⁸⁵ Similarly, the overthrow of coercive past authorities creates a "season" for debate and experiment.⁵⁸⁶ Philosophical inquiry then emerges in the natural course of the calendar year, a year that has the ritual underpinnings of true authority.

John Evelyn addressed the Society's need for political and social acclaim when he wrote to Cowley in 1667 regarding the poet's progress on his prefatory poem. Endorsing the Royal

⁵⁸² Cowley refers to the "images or false idols" discussed by Bacon. Francis Bacon, *The novum organum of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans: epitomiz'd, for a clearer understanding of his natural history* (London: Printed for Thomas Lee . . . , 1676), 4.

⁵⁸³ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, B2r, B3r..

⁵⁸⁴ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, B1r-B1v.

⁵⁸⁵ Sprat wrote that a treatise published by Cowley influenced the founders of the Royal Society when they were first establishing their "platform." Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 59; Abraham Cowley, *A proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy* (London: Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman; and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Blew-Anchor in the lower-walk of the New-Exchange, 1661). Although Sprat's acknowledgment of Cowley's essay in the formation of the Royal Society is inaccurate, Sprat probably tried to make the Society's founding membership as broad and diverse as possible. See: "Appendix A" in Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 65.

⁵⁸⁶ Sprat, for example, argued that the year 1666 was the "fittest season" to begin the practice of experiment. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 362.

Society in a public forum, Evelyn explains, would serve the organization's cultural purposes – its much needed “veneration in the world” – as well as its practical requirements, attracting “benefactors” for material support.⁵⁸⁷ He asks that Cowley answer those detractors who question: “What have the Royal Society done? Where their College?” Specifically, Evelyn requests Cowley to show how fellows of the Society “have laid solid foundations to perfect all noble arts, and reform all imperfect sciences.”⁵⁸⁸ He writes that the Society's inventions have already outdone antiquity's accomplishments, and that “only the devil, who was ever an enemy to truth, and to such as discover his prestigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a design so destructive to his dominion.” Cowley, then, celebrates the Society's new program with a traditional figural relationship that again encapsulates familiar biblical analogies. He describes the founders – likened to “Gideon's *little Band*” – as continuing Bacon's work in exposing false gods, and he advertises the new philosophy as a vision of the “*blest promis'd Land*.”⁵⁸⁹ The resurrection of learning, mirroring its Christian exemplar, is the call to overcome old sins and past errors.

Apologists for the Royal Society were careful to explain the new science as an element of god's enterprise and as a means of knowing the various aspects of the material world. Consequently, the evidence of such topics as medicine, chemistry, physics, optics, and astronomy,

⁵⁸⁷ The letter from Evelyn to Cowley, dated March 12, 1666/67, offers suggestions for the content of Cowley's verse and urges him to quickly complete his poem. Cowley's letter in response, dated May 13, 1667, apologizes for both his tardiness and disregard of Evelyn's “excellent hints” as they “afford too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a poem, or the History itself.” John Evelyn, *Diary and correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.: to which is subjoined the private correspondence between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Sir Richard Browne*, ed. William Bray, 4 vols. (London: G. Bell, 1889-1891), 3:194-96.

⁵⁸⁸ Evelyn, *Diary and correspondence of John Evelyn*, 3:194-95.

⁵⁸⁹ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, B2v.

as well as ancient artefacts, classical literature, and scripture, was often interrelated to explain the workings of nature.⁵⁹⁰ Perhaps to assure the orthodox leanings of this all-embracing project, literature publicizing the Royal Society, like Cowley's introductory poem, cited Bacon's methodology as well as his rhetoric, couching the new philosophy within the sanction of established religious experience. Bacon thus supplied the Society with an accepted intellectual model for change and a conception of scientific progress as a difference from past models and practices. While his philosophy of natural knowledge formulated both a program and rationale for experiment, it also instrumentally justified scientific inquiry through "an improvement in man's estate, and an enlargement of his power over nature":

For man by the Fall fell at the same time from his state of
innocency and from his dominion over Creation. Both of these
losses however can even in this life be in some part repaired; the
former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹⁰ In a letter to Boyle dated Feb. 24, 1665/66 Oldenburg writes: "We are now undertaking several good things as ye Collecting a Repository, ye setting up a Chymicall Laboratory, a Mechanicall operatory, an Astronomicall Observatory, and an Optic Chamber." The Repository – a collection of animals, plants, minerals, and other rarities – was an element of the equipment necessary for examining the natural world. Henry Oldenburg, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. and trans. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 12 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965-1981), 3:45. Robert Hooke (1635-1703) further explains that artefacts and monuments of antiquity will also act as witnesses, adding to the store of natural history. Robert Hooke, "A Discourse of Earthquakes," in *The posthumous works of Robert Hooke, . . . containing his Cutlerian lectures, and other discourses, read at the meetings of the illustrious Royal Society. . . . Illustrated with sculptures. To these discourses is prefixt the author's life*, ed. Richard Waller (London: printed by Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1705), 335.

⁵⁹¹ Francis Bacon, *The works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, vol. 4 (London: Longmans, 1858), 247-8. Bacon's summary appears at the end of the second book of the *Novum organum* – the advancement of learning – and was first published in 1620: "*Homo enim per lapsum & de Statu Innocentiæ decedit, & de Regno in Creaturas. Utraque autem res etiam in hâc vita nonnullâ ex parte reparari potest; prior Religionem & Fidem, postier per Artes & Scientias.*" Francis Bacon, *Franciscy de Verulamio, summi Angliæ cancellarij instauratio magna* (Londini: Apud [B. Nortonium &] Ioannem

Bacon suggests that mankind's losses at the fall could now be partially restored: lost innocence remedied by religion, lost rule by arts and sciences. Although moral faults could be set right by faith, recovering man's dominion – his proper place and authority in the full order of creation – entailed a new means of investigating the natural world, and thus a methodology for determining truth and recreating the path to the knowledge undone in eden.⁵⁹² Accordingly, Bacon's program specified procedures for the examination, the knowledge, and ultimately, the control of nature. Knowledge was to be discovered and legitimized through the observation of the particulars of nature; the generalities and regularities that followed were to be tested, and if proven through rigorous experiment, would produce the laws that constituted nature.⁵⁹³

Referencing Bacon's empirical practice, the inquiries of the Royal Society were to be collaborative in process, utilitarian in nature, and progressive in scope.⁵⁹⁴ The project itself

Billium typographum Regium, 1620), 359-60. Also see "The Preface to the Reader" in the first, but abridged English translation of Bacon's *Novum organum*. Bacon, *The novum organum of Sir Francis Bacon*, A2r-A2v.

⁵⁹² The seventeenth century interpreted the loss of innocence at the fall as a loss of both mankind's dominion over, as well as its perfect knowledge of, natural creation and god's creatures. See Peter Harrison, "Reading the passions: the Fall, the passions, and dominion over nature," in *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 66-72.

⁵⁹³ Bacon, *The novum organum of Sir Francis Bacon*, 14-17. Also see aphorism 19 in the second book of *Novum organum*. Bacon, *Franciscy de Verulamio, summi Angliae cancellarij instauratio magna*, 2:210.

⁵⁹⁴ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 76-77. Also see "The Preface" to Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*. Hooke (1635-1703), a fellow of the Royal Society, describes the Society's aims. *Micrographia, or, Some physiological descriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glasses: with observations and inquiries thereupon* (London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry . . . and are to be sold at their shop . . . , 1665), A1r-C1r. Also see Joseph Glanvill, *Plus ultra, or, The progress and advancement of knowledge since the days of Aristotle: in an account of some of the most remarkable late improvements of practical, useful learning, to encourage philosophical endeavours: occasioned by a conference with one of the notional way* (London: Printed for James Collins . . . , 1668), 64.

positioned natural philosophy as a means to no less a goal than determining the universal knowledge and truth underlying godly creation.⁵⁹⁵ Further, the Society's methods set up a system for regulating and controlling the formation, explanation, and distribution of knowledge. While the Royal Society was not responsible for all research in scientific fields, literature of the time equated it with the new philosophy and new discoveries. The work and successes of individual members were often advertised as accomplishments of the Society as a whole through their publication in *Philosophical Transactions*, a journal founded, edited, and published by Henry Oldenburg (1619-1677), one of the Society's first secretaries.⁵⁹⁶ Recording important papers read at the group's weekly meetings, as well as letters from its members and noted foreign correspondents, Oldenburg advertised the organization's experiments and inquiries, promoted its programs, and recruited new members. Most research was done individually, and not collaboratively as originally planned, but the journal's publication of discoveries did much to accredit information, advance enthusiasm for scientific causes, and stimulate the public imagination.

⁵⁹⁵ Henry Oldenburg, as the most prominent of the secretaries of the Royal Society from 1660 to his death in 1677, set out the Society's goals in his correspondence. He was a German theologian and acted as the chief science editor and international promoter. On the restoration of man's natural dominion, see the letter to the French astronomer Adrian Auzont (1622-1691), May 24, 1666. Oldenburg, *The Correspondence*, 3:140-41. On the Society's objectives, see Henry Oldenburg, *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-1666): 65; letter to Richard Norwood, March 6, 1663/64, Oldenburg, *The Correspondence*, 2:146.

⁵⁹⁶ For the history of the *Philosophical Transactions*, see E. N. Da C. Andrade, "The Birth and Early Days of the Philosophical Transactions," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 20 (1965): 9-27; Dwight Atkinson, *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975* (Mahwah, New Jersey and London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999), 17-21; Marie Boas Hall, "Oldenburg, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and Technology," in *The Uses of Science in the Age of Newton*, ed. John G. Burke (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1983), 21-47.

The publications that promoted the Royal Society advertised its membership as belonging to the nation's social, religious, and political elite – literally, a membership in Restoration power. However, Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society*, was also careful to present the corporate venture as a pattern for the nation's common good.⁵⁹⁷ He identified the supporters of the Royal Society in terms of a broad national leadership, signaling, among the many benefits of the Society, the organization's maintenance of a traditionally strong social fabric and its contribution to international renown. To establish the idea of a commonwealth, Sprat began his account of the Society's membership with the most successful members of ordinary society and built on this base in tiers of ever-increasing authority. The Society's supporters are thus characterized as a diverse but select segment of the wider English nation: "our chief, and most wealthy *Merchants*, and *Citizens*." Sprat next moves to medical practitioners: "*our physicians*, many of the most judicious, have contributed their *purses*, their *hands*, their *judgments*, their *writings*." He continues, including "our *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, the most *Noble* and *Illustrious* have condescended, to labour here with their *hands*, to impart their *discoveries*, to propose their *doubts*, to assist, and defray the charge of their *Trials*." He then adds, "our *Ministers of State at home* and our *Embassabours abroad*," "our *Greatest Captains*, and *Commanders*," "our *Churchmen* the *Greatest* and most *Reverend*," and finally ends with "the protection, and favour of the *King*, and the *Royal Family*."⁵⁹⁸ His roster of contributors, advocates, advisors, and patrons thus moves up society's hierarchical pyramid, listing important practitioners in all fields, as well as the Society's most wealthy and influential members. At the conclusion of his *History*, Sprat again lists the Society's members;

⁵⁹⁷ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 110, 257.

⁵⁹⁸ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 129-33.

this time, however, he begins with the king and records the almost 200 fellows by name and in alphabetical order.⁵⁹⁹

In his review of Sprat's *The History of the Royal Society* in the second volume of the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1666-1667, Oldenburg summarizes the titles and social standing of noted members, but unlike Sprat, arranges the "Catalogue" of supporters in order of social rank and totals the number of fellows in each category.⁶⁰⁰ Only the king and royal family are identified by name; all other members are grouped by title: "two *Archbishops of England*, and four *Bishops*; of *Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts*, and *Barons, English and Scotch*, twenty nine; of *Knights*, thirty five; of *Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity*, fourteen; of *Doctors and Candidates of Physick*, twenty one; of *Esquires*, and other *Gentlemen*, and *Merchants*, sixty-four; of *Strangers*, sixteen." In a document written four years earlier, Oldenburg had also recorded the fellows according to first, their social rank, and second, their education.⁶⁰¹ At the end of the roll he tallied the results: "18 Earls, 22 Knights, 47 Esquires, 32 Doctors, 2 Bach: Divin, 2 Mast: Arts, 8 Strangers – 131 in all." In his summary of Sprat's *History*, Oldenburg thus reverted to his own original format, emphasizing the Society's prestigious makeup, rather than its egalitarian base or

⁵⁹⁹ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 431.

⁶⁰⁰ Henry Oldenburg, "An Account of Some Books. I. The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, by Tho. Sprat," *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666-1667): 505.

⁶⁰¹ British Library, Add. Manuscript 4441, fol. 79. Hunter reproduces this manuscript page that lists the fellows of the Royal Society. Dated November 20, 1663, the list identifies 131 fellows, 21 belonging to the Society's Council. Arranged according to their social rank, they include in order: 1 Duke, 1 Marquis, 7 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 7 Lords, 4 Knights of Bath, 1 Knight and Baronet, 17 Knights, 47 Esquires, 8 Strangers (foreign born members listed by the countries of their birth), 32 Doctors (6 Doctors of Divinity, 1 Doctor of Law, and 25 Doctors of Physicks and Medicine), 2 Bachelors of Divinity, and 2 Masters of Arts. See Hunter, *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society*, 49, 72-73.

unifying function. Oldenburg also published annual member lists, demonstrating that the Society's corporate goals had the support of a wide, learned, and elite membership, and one that represented the country's leadership.⁶⁰² Those involved in the production of knowledge were, accordingly, a select community equipped by rank to formulate knowledge and add to its common fund. Where Sprat established the Society's power as a reflection of its broad social foundation and wide potential benefit, Oldenburg typically positioned power as an inherent function of the membership's social status.⁶⁰³ The authority associated with rank and conduct was called upon to endow the new organization with credibility and standing as an institution producing knowledge.

The Design of Knowledge

The fellows reported their findings and discoveries at the meetings, correlated inquiries, and planned projects, but in addition they served as witnesses for the experiments and as judges for reports and papers. Collectively they verified experiments and findings, certifying that the

⁶⁰² Birch lists the notes of a council meeting on November 9, 1663, in which it was ordered that the fellows should be listed in alphabetical order with the council members listed in a separate column. From that year forward, lists of fellows were published annually in the *Historical Transactions*. See Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, 1:328.

⁶⁰³ See Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 72. However, like other members, in advocating the Society's authority, he also emphasizes its gentlemanly style of argument. See, for example, Joseph Glanvill's promotion of Boyle's contributions to experimental philosophy. He first introduces Boyle in terms of credibility as an "*Honourable Gentleman*," noting his civility, generosity, modesty, and devoutness as partial proof of accomplishment. Glanvill, *Plus ultra*, 93-94. Glanvill, in his defense of the Royal Society from the criticism of Henry Stubbe, refers to the reliability of the Society's membership as men of "wit and Fortune." Joseph Glanvill, *A præfatory answer to Mr. Henry Stubbe, the doctor of Warwick: wherein the malignity, hypocrisie, falshood of his temper, pretences, reports, and the impertinency of his arguings & quotations in his animadversions on Plus ultra are discovered* (London: Printed by A. Clark for J. Collins . . . , 1671), 143.

newly determined knowledge had the credibility and legitimacy of true or factual information.⁶⁰⁴ In this, the membership's social status and education served as a two-fold guarantee of the validity of the new discoveries: status assured an honest and reliable attestant, and learned accomplishment underwrote authentic discernment. As a collective, as opposed to singular or private interests, they could determine a disinterested truth value.⁶⁰⁵ In concluding his *History* Sprat writes,

⁶⁰⁴ See, for example, Sprat's explanation of collective witnesses. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 100. Also see Robert Hooke, *Philosophical experiments and observations* (London: Printed by W. and J. Innys, 1726), 27-28. Oldenburg's correspondents were also concerned about the credibility of their witnesses. See Nathaniel Fairfax's letter to Oldenburg of April 26, 1668. Oldenburg, *The Correspondence*, 4:337. Boyle argues that moral proofs in respect to Christianity are much like multiple witnesses in a court of law. See Robert Boyle, *Some considerations about the reconcileableness of reason and religion* (London: Printed by T.N. for H. Herringman . . . , 1675), 93-96. Contemporary writers, however, generally considered the evidence of multiple witnesses to be factual and applied that principle to biblical accounts. See Sir Matthew Hale (1609-1676), the common-law lawyer, on the veracity of witnesses and biblical matters of fact. Sir Matthew Hale, *The primitive origination of mankind, considered and examined according to the light of nature* (London: Printed by William Godbid for William Shrowsbery . . . , 1677), 129. On the factual aspect of the Royal Society's discoveries and inventions see: David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, "Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communications at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution," *History of Science* 36 (1998): 179-83; Steven Shapin, "Pump and Circumstances: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology," *Social Study of Science* 14 (1984): 481-90; Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*, 26-30; Loraine Daston, "Baconian facts, academic civility, and the prehistory of objectivity," *Annals of Scholarship* 8 (1991): 337-63; Peter Dear, "Totius in Verba, Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society," *Isis* 76 (1985): 145-61. In respect to witnesses and credibility, see Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact, England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 117-24. Also see Shapiro's discussion on the rationality of evidence in law. She sees the attempt to determine credibility in experimental philosophy as a reflection of the legal system's efforts to guarantee impartiality. She argues that the language describing credible witnesses moved from a legal venue to English culture in general. Barbara J. Shapiro, "The Concept 'Fact': Legal Origins and Cultural Diffusion," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 26 (1994): 232-47.

⁶⁰⁵ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 61-62; Oldenburg, 3:193. Steven Shapin argues that experimental philosophy was accepted because it wed conventions of gentlemanly behavior to the practice of the new philosophy. Honesty was viewed as a characteristic of genteel conduct and gentlemen were a mainstay of civic order. Steven Shapin, *A social history of truth: civility and science in seventeenth-century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42-100, 126-92. Shapin also argues that the degree of a witness's credibility followed

My Reader now beholds an Assembly settled of many eminent men
of all Qualities: who have ingag'd to bestow their labors, on a
design so public, and so free from all suspicion of mean, or private
Interest.⁶⁰⁶

He takes care to imply that the venue was as open as the membership was elite; that findings, discoveries, and demonstrations were available to circles of interested gentlemen. As a wide forum that advertised its learned and privileged membership, the Society styled itself much like a republic of letters – a traditional scholarly community that in its objectives, activities, and correspondence, held authority and esteem.⁶⁰⁷ While the Society promoted its methodology as new

society's social scale and that the public nature of the place of experiment increased credibility. Steven Shapin, "The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England," *Isis* 79 (1988): 373-404. Atkinson discusses genteel, author-centered description in the Royal Society's writings and the promotion of special claims to truth that the Society enjoyed by virtue of its genteel membership. Dwight Atkinson, "The 'Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,' 1675-1975: A Sociohistorical Discourse Analysis," *Language in Society* 25 (1996): 333-36, 341-44, 347, 359-64. On the qualifications for trust and gentility – birth, wealth, learning, and habits of prudence and self-control – see Adrian Johns's discussion on the social identity of the new natural philosopher and how natural knowledge was constructed in early modern England in respect to systems of trust. Adrian Johns, "Identity, Practice, and Trust in Early Modern Natural Philosophy," *The Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 1141-145. On trustworthiness and the collective voice, Sprat argues that the role of judge is a collective endeavor and that the "whole Company" must be "fully satisfi'd of the certainty and constancy; or, on the otherside, of the absolute impossibility of the effect." Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 98-100.

⁶⁰⁶ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 431.

⁶⁰⁷ Sprat describes the undertaking as establishing a "constant intelligence" and creating a "general bank" for all "civil Nations." Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 64. Oldenburg also maintained a broad and active correspondence with both English and European communities interested in developments in natural philosophy. In her biography of Oldenburg, Marie Boas Hall documents his correspondence as secretary for the Society. Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg, Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 52-265. Steven Shapin argues that to legitimize its enterprise the Royal Society redefined the idea of both a scholar and a gentleman, uniting the previously oppositional relationship of the two concepts. Shapin, however, concludes that the effort to formulate the new philosophy as a practice of genteel scholars was largely a failure. Steven Shapin, "'A Scholar and a Gentleman': The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England," *History of Science* 29 (1991): 295-312; Mario Biagioli, "Etiquette, Interdependence, and Sociability in Seventeenth-

and progressive – especially its reliance on observation – many of the group’s other practices depended on the prestige of authoritative conventions in the literary arts, as well as polite modes of conduct that followed traditional social hierarchies.

Part of the Royal Society’s advertised acclaim was also, as explained by Sprat, the Englishman’s natural suitability for observing and reporting the phenomena of the world.⁶⁰⁸

And it is a good sign, that Nature will reveal more of its secrets to the English, than to others; because it has already furnish’d them with a Genius so well proportion’d, for the receiving, its mysteries.⁶⁰⁹

Sprat argues that the Royal Society is not only designed to determine new knowledge by virtue of the intellectual and social preferments of its members, but also because of the god-given attributes and noble qualities of the English themselves. He implies that northern Europeans are too uncivilized and those from the south too artful for disinterested investigations and insights; that in his divine wisdom god revealed the world – the effects of nature – to the English, and as a representative of the chosen, the Society serves a privileged part in this process of revelation.⁶¹⁰

Century Science,” *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1996): 208-12.

⁶⁰⁸ Sprat distinguishes the English as occupying a preferred middle-ground between other nationalities: “if there can be a true character given to the *Universal Temper* of any Nation under Heaven: than certainly this must be ascrib’d to our Countrymen: that they have commonly an unaffected sincerity; that they have the middle qualities, between the subtle Southern, and the rough unhewn Northern people.” He writes that the English should be “commended for an honourable integrity; for a neglect of circumstances, and flourishes; for regarding things of *greater* moment, more than *less*; for a scorn to deceive as well as to be deceiv’d: which are all the best indowments, that can enter into a *Philosophical Mind*.” Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 114-15.

⁶⁰⁹ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 115.

⁶¹⁰ Oldenburg also advises that the Society’s members should, “hasten to our *Christian* Philosophers, and they will forth-with acquaint you with the true Works and wonderful Contrivances of the Supreme Author.” Oldenburg, *Philosophical Transactions*, 1666, 2:413.

Sprat notes that, in line with the English preference for honest discourse, his *History* is in accord with the “*English Genius*” which “generally love to have Reason set out in plain, undeceiving expressions,” and thus he contrasts the “Artifice of Words” to a “bare knowledge of things.”⁶¹¹ To accomplish its plan, the Society has:

indeavor’d, to separate the knowledge of *Nature*, from the colours of *Rhetorick*, the devices of *Fancy*, or the delightful deceit of *Fables*. They have labor’d to enlarge it, from being confin’d to the custody of a few; or from servitude to private interests. They have striven to preserve it from being over-press’d by a confus’d heap of vain, and useless particulars; or from being straitned and bounded too much up by General Doctrines.⁶¹²

The use of a plain style was in keeping with the requirement of direct experience and observation, as opposed to the reliance on past authority, but it also retold the experience of an experiment for the reader, allowing the Society’s audience to evaluate the procedure and weigh the evidence themselves.⁶¹³ It thus advanced another form of direct experience and a means of determining reliable testimony. In appealing to a conventional idea of Englishness, Sprat identified the English gentlemen of the Royal Society as a community of trustworthy individuals suited to establishing

⁶¹¹ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 40.

⁶¹² Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 62.

⁶¹³ Boyle also prefers a style accessible and useful to his audience. In 1661 he writes that except in particular circumstances, he has declined to use “divers new words and expressions . . . which custom has not rendered familiar.” He explains that in an effort to include all elements in his explanations and descriptions he has “knowingly and purposely transgressed the laws of oratory,” and that he “chose rather to neglect the precepts of rhetoricians, than the mention of those things, which I thought pertinent to my subject, and useful to you, my reader.” See “A Poëmal Essay, wherein, with some considerations touching Experimental Essays in general, Is interwoven such an Introduction to all those written by the Author, as is necessary to be perused for the better understanding of them.” Robert Boyle, *The works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. In six volumes. To which is prefixed The life of the author . . .* (London: printed for J. and F. Rivington, L. Davis, W. Johnston, S. Crowder, T. Payne . . . , 1772), 1:305. Also see Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 112.

knowledge by virtue of their civic commitment and social practice. He positioned the honor of gentlemen, the reliability of their observations, and the open nature of their communication as foundations in the formation of new knowledge. The very participation in this process granted credibility to practitioners and facilitated the acceptance of the Society's authority.

Illustrations as Evidence

In addition to credible eyewitnesses, records, and accounts, illustrations helped to further describe an observation or experiment, in effect fleshing out the textual information and supplying another type of verification of the actual event. As trustworthy images of natural phenomena, visual evidence drew on a traditional form of authority associated with both religion and scholasticism. General drawings of plants and animals had long accompanied medieval bestiaries, herbals, and therapeutic treatises, but in the mid-sixteenth century, illustrations of precise and detailed natural specimens were included in compendiums of plants and animals as documents of the natural world.⁶¹⁴ In 1542 the Swiss botanist Leonhart Fuchs (1501-1566) published his illustrated *De historia stirpium*, which provided 512 woodcuts of the general characteristics of plants, including roots, stalks, leaves, and flowers.⁶¹⁵ Within ten years Fuchs's countryman, the

⁶¹⁴ For the history of medieval illustrated herbals, see Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals, the Illustrated Traditions* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2000).

⁶¹⁵ Albrecht Meyer drew the plants; woodcuts were executed by Heinrich Füllnauer and Veit Rudolf Speckle. Fuchs included portraits of these artists on the last page of his history, as well as his own portrait on the recto of the title page. In his introduction Fuchs explains that pictures could communicate information in a much clearer manner than even the words of great orators, and he thus promises his readers accuracy in illustrations. See Fuchs's preface, Leonhart Fuchs, *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes: maximis impensis et vigiliis elaborati adjunctis earundem vivis plvsvam quingentis imaginibus, nunquam antea ad naturæ imitationem artificiosius efictis & expressis / Leonharto Fuchsio autore; accessit iis succincta admodum uocum difficultium & obscurarum passim in hoc opere occurrentium explicatio; unâ cum quadruplici indicens uorum primus quidem stirpium nomenclaturas Græcas, alter Latinas, tertius officinis seplasiariorum & herbariis usitatas, quartus Germanicas continebit* (Basileae: In

physican Konrad Gesner (1516-1565), published the first book of his *Historiæ animalium*, illustrated with woodcuts of all the animals discussed in the compendium.⁶¹⁶ Gesner compiled his inclusive history of the world's known animals – birds, beasts, and fish – from both past literature and contemporary knowledge, illustrating the text with drawings from life as well as images copied from famed prints and early bestiaries.⁶¹⁷ The bestiaries, in particular, occupied a genre of literature that combined illustrations with moral or religious lessons and formulated allegorical exemplars for virtuous Christian behavior.⁶¹⁸ Such animals appeared in sculptural programs on

Officina Isingriniana, 1542), x-xi. On Fuchs, see the commentary on and facsimile of his *De historia stirpium*: Frederick G. Meyer, Emily Emmart Trueblood, and John L. Heller, *The great herbal of Leonhart Fuchs: De historia stirpium commentarii insignes, 1542 (notable commentaries on the history of plants)*, 2 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). A German edition of *De historia stirpium* was issued a year after the 1542 Latin text. Fuchs's title page in this edition assures the reader that the images of plants are done from life. Leonhart Fuchs, [Das Kreüterbuch, von Leonhart Fuchs] (Getruckt zu Basell: durch M. Isingrin, 1543) and the reproduction of Fuchs's own copy, Leonhart Fuchs, *The new herbal of 1543 = New Kreüterbuch* (Köln; London: Taschen, 2001).

⁶¹⁶ Gesner's *Historiæ* was published in five volumes, the fifth issued after his death. Konrad Gesner, *Historiæ animalium* (Tiguri: C. Froschouerum, 1551-1587).

⁶¹⁷ Gesner borrowed imagery as diverse as Albrecht Dürer's popular print of a rhinoceros and a much-copied classical image of a camelopardalis, a giraffe-like animal, then reported to be the product of a camel and a leopard. By the early sixteenth century the camelopardali was found in both paintings and prints. It appears on the animal page of Bernhard Von Bredenbach's *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* as well as on the left wing of Hieronymous Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*, c. 1510, Museo del Prado, Madrid. See Bernhard von Breydenbach, [Die heyligen Reyssen gen Jherusalem] (Mainz: Erhard Reuwick, 1486; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, trans. Nicolas Le Huen (Lyon: Michel Topie and Jacques Heremberck, 1488).

⁶¹⁸ Bestiaries were compiled from a number of early Christian texts, among them: *Pysiologus*, originally a Greek treatise on virtues and vices which was Christianized in the early Middle Ages to tell the story of the birth and resurrection of Christ; Isodore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; Ambrose's *Hexaameron*; *Debestiis et aliis rebus*; Hugh of Fouilloy's *De avibus*, Solinus's *Collectioanea reum memborabilium*; Petrus Londiniensis's *Pantheologus*; and Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire*. See, for example, MS Bodley 764 (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library), an illustrated bestiary compiled in the mid-thirteenth century. Debra Hassig examines twenty-eight English Bestiaries and devotes one chapter to each of the twelve animals

churches, but more commonly were used in sermons as engaging and memorable examples.⁶¹⁹ As a reference aid, the bestiaries themselves were usually arranged according to moral categories or religious narratives, offering both ethical models and theological citations for a preacher's varied audiences. The moral tales of the bestiaries often followed organizational principles based on the dictates of particular workshops or patrons; Gesner, however, produced an encyclopedia of animals categorized according to such topics as habits, foods, habitats, and uses to man. The new arrangement of knowledge established a popular way to organize contemporary discoveries, but the compendia still included information contained in antique treatises and medieval bestiaries. Even during the second half of the seventeenth century, illustrated texts on naturalism drew on sixteenth-century examples, usually identifying the new work with the authority or fame of the earlier exemplar.⁶²⁰ The Jesuit scholar Gaspar Schott (1608-1666), for instance, borrowed some of

discussed. See Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Ron Baxter discusses the development of bestiaries and specific animal images in relation to the accompanying text. Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton Pub.; London: Courtauld Institute, 1998).

⁶¹⁹ In addition to supplying examples for sermons, Baxter writes that bestiaries were placed in libraries with treatises on virtue and vice, penitentials, and sermons. Bestiary material could be arranged alphabetically as encyclopedia headings or chronologically, following the cycle of the liturgical year. Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages*, 34-62, 192-202. For a study of the compilations of preaching handbooks during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries on exempla from the phenomena – birds, animals, and plants – from the natural world, see John B. Friedman, "Peacocks and Preachers: Analytic Technique in Marcus of Orvieto's *Liber de moralitatibus*, Vatican lat. MS 5935," in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages, The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, ed. Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 179-96.

⁶²⁰ This practice was consistent with that of manuscript illumination and book illustration. In discussing the illustrations of texts of the plants and animals of the natural world, Bert Hall cites several examples of borrowed plates. John Gerard's *The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plants* (1597) was illustrated with examples from Tabernaemontanus's *Eicones plantarum* that were copied in part from Leonhart Fuchs's *De historia stirpium*. The 1633 edition of Gerard's *The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plants*, however, replaced the earlier illustrations with examples published by Christophe Plantin's famed Antwerp press, De Gulden Passer (The

Gesner's illustrations for his popular *Physica curiosa*, first published in 1662 and styled as an encyclopedia of familiar natural phenomena, as well as abnormalities, antiquities, foreign animals, monsters, and other exotica.⁶²¹ Schott copied previously published prints, passing on old knowledge that was combined with and could then be compared to illustrations of contemporary scientific work and recent New World discoveries.

Golden Compass). See Bert S. Hall, "The Didactic and the Elegant: Some Thoughts on Scientific and Technological Illustrations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *Picturing Knowledge, Historical and Philosophical Problems Concerning the Use of Art in Science*, ed. Brian S. Baigrie (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 116-20. Also see Jean Givens's study of the transmission of the *Tractuatus de herbis et plantis* from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Jean A. Givens, "Reading and Writing the Illustrated *Tractuatus de herbis*, 1280-1526," in *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200-1500*, ed. Jean A. Givens, Karen M. Reed, Alain Touwaide (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 115-45.

⁶²¹ Schott's popular publication included 62 drawings, most after other works. For example, he copied Gesner's camelopardalis. See Iconismus XXXI in Gaspar Schott, *Physica curiosa, sive, Mirabilia naturæ et artis libris XII. comprehensa: quibus plera[que], quæ de angelis, dæmonibus, hominibus, spectris, energumensis, mon* (Herbipoli [Würzburg]: Sumptibus Johannis Andreae Endteri & Wolffgangi Jun. Hæredum, excudebat Jobvs Hertz Typographus Herbipol, 1662), 950. As late as 1658 Edward Topsell (1572-c. 1625) published an English translation of Gesner's history that added new material from English authors and used woodcuts copied from Gesner, as well as his chapter organization. Topsell included an English translation of Thomas Moffett's *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum*, first published in London in 1634), an encyclopedia of insects that itself used unpublished material from Gesner. See Edward Topsell, *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents: describing at large their true and lively figure, their several names, conditions, kinds, virtues . . . countries of their breed, their love and hatred to mankind, and the wonderful work by Edward Topsell; whereunto is now added, The theater of insects, or, Lesser living creatures . . . by T. Muffet* (London: Printed by E. Cotes for G. Sawbridge . . . T. Williams . . . and T. Johnson . . . , 1658). Topsell's first edition was published in 1607. Edward Topsell, *The historie of foure-footed beastes: Describing the true and liuely figure of euery beast, with a discourse of their seuerall names, conditions, kindes, vertues (both naturall and medicinall) countries of their breed, their loue and hate to mankinde, and the wonderfull worke of God in their creation, preseruacion, and destruction. Necessary for all diuines and students, because the story of euery beast is amplified with narrations out of Scriptures, fathers, phylosophers, physitians, and poets: wherein are declared diuers hyerogliphicks, emblems, epigrams, and other good histories, collected out of all the volumes of Conradus Gesner, and all other writers to this present day* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1607).

The Royal Society, however, gave the practice of supplementing a text with visual images a more exacting methodology, one which was meant to assure the reader of the author's own observational powers and expertise. Although illustrations from many sixteenth-century texts, especially herbals, had portrayed both the specific details and typical structure of a natural object, the Royal Society publications were careful to illustrate experiments or observations prepared according to the specifications of each individual research project.⁶²² The drawings and text thus were offered as empirical evidence and records of eyewitness accounts. Both purported to document procedures and findings of individual observations or experiments and were themselves claims of proof. Hooke's thirty-eight detailed engravings in his *Micrographia*, for instance, substantiated the entire apparatus of an experiment as well as the author's conclusions. Hooke carefully registered his observations through the eyepiece of a microscope, revealing an object's minute complexity and often comparing the microscopic details with a description of its appearance to the naked eye.⁶²³

⁶²² Boyle's drawings of a revised air pump, for example, are specific to his new experiments. The first two plates, illustrating both the appearance and internal mechanisms of the air pump, are placed after the preface and before the text describing his experiments. Robert Boyle, *A continuation of new experiments physico-mechanical, touching the spring and weight of the air and their effects. The I. part: whereto is annexed a short discourse of the atmospheres of consistent bodies* (Oxford: Printed by Henry Hall . . . for Richard Dairs, 1669), Plate I, II.

⁶²³ See, for example, "Obsev. XIV. of Several kindes of frozen Figures," including snow and ice crystals, illustrated by Scheme 13, as well as "Obsev. XXIX. Of the Seeds of Tyme," illustrated by Scheme 18. Hooke, *Micrographia*, 88-93, 153-54. A review of Hooke's *Micrographia*, published in a supplement to the Athenian Society's journal in 1691 and later extracted in a volume of important English writings collected to illustrate work and opinions on the controversy between the ancients and modern, states: "the Microscope hath discovered unto us, upon the Earth, a little World, altogether new, and hath made us perceive in each thing an infinity of small creatures, which are not less admirable than all those which have been known hitherto." See *The Young-students-library: containing extracts and abridgments of the most valuable books printed in England, and in the forreign journals, from the year sixty five, to this time: to which is added a new essay upon all sorts of learning . . . / by the Athenian Society; also,*

Early in his career, Hooke worked as an apprentice to the painter Peter Lely and used this training in preparing visual material in support of written descriptions.⁶²⁴ In his *Micrographia*, some objects are isolated and schematically depicted, others are drawn with precision, and still others are grouped and arranged carefully over the picture plane. The published engravings portray the variety of species and offer a wide sampling of seeds, plants, and insects to engage the curious, and perhaps promote interest in the Society's projects and methods.⁶²⁵ They are, however, a compilation of different views or angles which enabled Hooke to illustrate more detail and information than a single viewpoint would allow. As part of the experiment itself, this drawing process is described to his readers and is explicitly represented as an important element of his expertise and as a guarantee of credible observation.⁶²⁶ Hooke's engravings, thus, reproduce the

a large alphabetical table, comprehending the contents of this volume, and of all the Athenian Mercuries and supplements, etc. (London: Printed for John Dunton . . . , 1692), 221.

⁶²⁴ For Hooke's apprenticeship, see Richard Waller's introduction in Robert Hooke, *The posthumous works of Robert Hooke: containing his Cutlerian lectures, and other discourses, read at the meetings of the illustrious Royal Society . . . : to these discourses is prefixt the author's life, giving an account of his studies and employments: with an enumeration of the many experiments, instruments, contrivances and inventions, by him made and produc'd as curator of experiments to the Royal Society / publish'd by Richard Waller* (London: Royal society, 1705), iii.

⁶²⁵ Jancie Neri discusses the history of Hooke's *Micrographia* as a project motivated by a series of microscopic images drawn by Christopher Wren and given to Charles II in 1661. Jancie Neri, "Between Observation and Image: Representations of Insects In Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*," in *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400-1850*, ed. Therese O'Malley and Amy R. W. Meyers (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 84-88.

⁶²⁶ Hooke records his "usual method" of examination in a description of a "large grey Drone-fly" in which he relates the process used to examine the fly and produce a drawing. After "cutting off its head, I fix'd it with the forepart or face upwards upon my Object Plate . . . Then examining it according to my usual manner, by varying the degrees of light, and altering its position to each kinde of light, I drew that representation of it which is delineated in the 24 Scheme, and found these things to be plain and evident, as notable and pleasant." Hooke, *Micrographia*, 175.

experience of microscopic analysis to an audience who lacked access to such optical instruments or the expertise to accurately observe, interpret, and relate scientific findings. He structures his illustrated observations as a departure from past forms of knowledge and as singular records of his scientific work. Yet the findings themselves are positioned as just one further step in a continuing, progressive, and orderly investigation of the natural world.⁶²⁷

In his preface Hooke characterizes this investigation as an attraction for aesthetic and material interests, as well as a methodology for intellectual or scholarly discoveries:

*And I do not only propose this kind of Experimental Philosophy as a matter of high rapture and delight of the mind, but even as a material and sensible Pleasure. So vast is the variety of Objects which will come under their Inspections, so many different wayes there are of handling them, so great is the satisfaction of finding out new things, that I dare compare the contentment which will injoy, not only to that of contemplation, but even to that which most men prefer of the very Senses themselves.*⁶²⁸

Probably to counteract charges of pedantry, Hooke emphasizes the sensual appeal of material objects as holding a greater draw for his audience at large than the rewards of intellectual contemplation. By combining the benefits of art and science, he aimed at an established readership, one for which the judicious study of the natural world was a part of a leisurely and liberal pursuit.⁶²⁹ Hooke thus established a continuum between sensual perception and philosophical concerns and set the Society's investigation of nature as an inclusive venture with

⁶²⁷ Throughout his observations Hooke distinguishes the objects studied as aesthetically pleasing in their "order, variety, and curiosity" and describes them as providing the "curious observer" with an "almost endless" number of shapes. See, for example, "Observ. XXXI. Of Purslane-seed." Hooke, *Micrographia*, 156.

⁶²⁸ "Preface," Hooke, *Micrographia*, D2r.

⁶²⁹ Also see Sprat's discussion of the Royal Society's proposed audience. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 403-09.

complementary appeals and approaches. The acquisition of knowledge is here associated with the wonder and pleasure of learning in civil society, legitimizing curiosity about all aspects of the world's diversity. Hooke avoids promoting utilitarian elements of experimental investigations, and instead cites the nuances of aesthetic and scientific observation, a perspective that relies on the accepted ideals of balance in a humanistic education.

Learned Collections: Evidence and Aesthetics

Practitioners of natural philosophy often collected both visual material and natural specimens, each supplying aesthetically pleasing and representative examples. The illustrations in the collections of such naturalists as Francis Willoughby, owner of Wollaton Hall, were themselves a means of acquiring facts and conceptualizing new theories of the natural world. Sir Francis gathered albums of skillfully executed illustrations of birds, insects, and fish from a variety of regions, to which he added his own drawings of specimens. His daughter, Cassandra Willoughby, explains that during her father's travels to the continent, he collected accurate drawings and paintings as an integral element of his collections of natural objects:⁶³⁰

⁶³⁰ Cassandra writes: "Mr. Willoughby, observing in the busie and inquisitive age he lived in, the history of the animals alone to have been in great measure neglected by English men, he made the study thereof his province, applying himself with all diligence to the cultivating and illustrating of it: which, that he might the more effectually do, he not only read what had been writen by others, but did himself accurately describe all the animals he could find and procure, either in England or beyond the seas, making a voyage into foreign countries chiefly for that purpose, to search out, view and describe the several species of nature; and tho he was not long abroad, yet travelled he over a great part of France, Spain, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries, in all which places he was so inquisitive and successful that not many sorts of animals described by other escaped his diligence. He drew them out or described them with a pencil which are with great curiosity engraved on copper plates at the charge of his Relict, Emma, and are printed in the Lat. and English edition of the said *Ornithologia*." Cassandra Willoughby Brydges Chandos, *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family*, ed. A. C. Woods (Eton: Published for the University of Nottingham by the Shakespeare Head Press, 1958), 104.

When Mr. Willoughby was abroad he made a collection of as many pictures of fish and fowle and insects, drawn in colours by the life, as he could. At Strasburgh he purchased a book containing the pictures of all the fowle frequenting the Rhine near that city, and also all the fish and water insects found there, drawn with great curiosity and exactness by an excellent hand. At Nuremberg in Germany he bought a large volume of pictures of birds drawn in colours. He also caused divers species, as well seen in England as beyond the seas, to be drawn by good artists.⁶³¹

Cassandra's account is summarized from the preface to the 1678 English edition of her father's work on ornithology, translated from the Latin, edited, and issued after his death in 1672 by his collaborator, the historian of naturalism, John Ray (1627-1705).⁶³² First, Cassandra comments on the extent and inclusiveness of the drawing collections, and then on the merit of the drawings themselves. She interprets the quality of this visual material as a corollary to the professionalism of Francis Willoughby's enterprise and as the result of research meant to advance the knowledge of nature. The skill of the artist not only guarantees credibility, but also allows a drawing to directly replace its physical source. The resulting learned collection forms a body of material

⁶³¹ Chandos, *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family*, 107.

⁶³² Francis Willoughby, *The ornithology of Francis Willoughby . . . : in three books: wherein all the birds hitherto known, being reduced into a method sutable to their natures, are accurately described: the descriptions illustrated by most elegant figures, nearly resembling the live birds, engraven in LXXVIII copper plates / translated into English, and enlarged with many additions throughout the whole work; to which are added, three considerable discourses, I. Of the art of fowling: with a description of several nets in two large copper plates, II. Of the ordering of singing birds, III. Of falconry*, ed. John Ray (London: Printed by A.C. for John Martyn, 1678), A4v. The illustration for the ostrich and cassowary in Tab. XXV, for example, are probably borrowed from Francis Barlow's collection of prints and drawings. Willoughby's background is taken from a print of two ostriches inscribed "F Barlow inuenit, R Gaywood fecit," c. 1654-58. London, British Museum 1997, 0928. 14.53. Another print designed by Barlow also shows an ostrich and cassowary, See London, Tate, T11234. Additionally, two paintings by Barlow resemble Willoughby's examples. See *A Cassowary* and *An Ostrige*, Clandon Park, Surrey.

evidence that makes expert analysis possible.⁶³³

Ray published Willoughby's *Ornithology* in Latin in 1676 and issued an expanded English edition in 1678; in 1688 he edited and published Willoughby's *De historia piscium*.⁶³⁴ All three works are carefully illustrated, with the 1678 *Ornithology of Francis Willughby*, for example, containing seventy-eight engraved pages or tables of birds and two additional pages portraying the use of snares and nets. Ray describes the compendium's engravings, incised for the most part from Sir Francis's collections of drawings, as a true repository of natural examples: "the best and truest, that is, the most like Birds, of any hitherto engraven in Brass."⁶³⁵ He writes that these

⁶³³ The same point is made by Ray, who describes the case for Willoughby's expertise as "a deep insight into those Sciences which are most abtruse and impervious to Vulgar Capacities, I mean the most subtil parts of the Mathematicks." See "The preface" in Willoughby, *The ornithology of Francis Willughby*, ed. Ray, A2r.

⁶³⁴ Francis Willughby, *Francisci Willughbeii de Middleton in agro Warwicensi armigeri e Regia Societate Ornothologiae: libri tres: in quibus aves omnes hactenus cognitae in methodum naturis suis convenientem redactae accuratè describuntur, descriptiones iconibus elegantissimis & vivarum avium simillimis, aeri incisis illustrantur / totus opus recognovit, digessit, supplevit Joannes Raius; sumptus in chalcographos fecit Emma Willughby* (Londini: Impensis Joannis Martyn, 1676); Francis Willughby, *De historia piscium libri quatuor, jussu & sumptibus Societas regiae londonensis editi. In quibus non tantum de piscibus in genere agitur, sed & species omnes, tum ab aliis traditæ, tum novæ & nondum editæ bene multæ, naturæ ductum servante methodo dispositæ, accurate describuntur. Earumque efligies, quotquot haberi potuere, vel ad vivum delineatæ, vel ad optima exemplaria impressa; artificii manu elegantissime in æs incisæ, ad descriptiones illustrandas exhibentur. Cum Appendice historias & observationes in suplementum operis collatas coplectente. Totum opus recognovit, coaptavit, supplevit, librum etiam primum & secundum integros adjecit Johannes Raius e Sodietate Regia* (Oxonii: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1686). Willoughby's history of fishes was financed by the Royal Society, and individual plates were paid for by individual members.

⁶³⁵ Other collectors had paintings and woodcuts produced from natural objects and kept in albums as part of their collections. Ray writes that such collections as those of Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovandi, although "large and bulky Volumes," made mistakes, listing the same species under different titles. Ray explains that, even though he is not completely satisfied with the engravings published in *The ornithology*, they are still the best so far produced. See Willughby, *The ornithology of Francis Willughby*, ed. Ray, A3v-A4v. For Aldrovandi's 1595 description of the paintings and drawings made for his collection, see Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 154; Paula

illustrations are ordered by characteristics or distinguishing traits and arranged according to classification. A few, like the page of owls (fig. 5.1), indicate a bird's habits and habitat, but as a whole they systematically establish an orderly array of species categorized according to difference. Birds are divided, for example, between those specifically equipped for either land or water, and these are then subdivided according to the shape of beaks and feet. However, while Willoughby's taxonomic criteria are new, the illustrations themselves are isolated on a page and presented without a background, in the manner of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century treatises on plants and animals. They act as a reference to scholarly treatises and as a visual result of learned observation and research, in effect supplying a model of Sir Francis's methodology. The same two elements also assured the legitimacy of the illustrations: the engravings followed artistic conventions of a scholarly format, and they accompanied learned texts. They could, consequently, exemplify theory, making external features visible and encapsulating the scientific rationale for Sir Francis's classification of nature. Moreover, such illustrated pages provided a diverting visual record when written description was weighted and dulled with exhaustive detail.⁶³⁶ The Royal Society's unadorned style was lacking the metaphors and allusions of literary writing and was often composed as a string of exacting particulars. In producing new knowledge, simplified language – without the aesthetic component of linguistic complexity – allowed straightforward and unambiguous access to complex phenomena. To supplement the written record, illustrations not

Findlen, *Possessing nature: museums, collecting, and scientific culture in early modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 17-31.

⁶³⁶ In "The preface" Ray apologizes for Willoughby's overlong text, writing that although the descriptions are sometimes "too scrupulous and particular" in detail, Ray "dared" not change them, presumably to remain true to Willoughby's text. Ray, however, often blames the work's shortcomings on factors that fall outside his professional control. Willoughby, *The ornithology of Francis Willoughby*, ed. Ray, A3r.

only had a documentary role, they also constructed the “curiosity” necessary for social and cultural interest. They attempted to stand in for the missing aesthetic component of figurative language.

Other publications of the Royal Society were more directly concerned with the aesthetic aspect of the material world, particularly the development of an artistic sensibility in regard to Renaissance humanism and the study of the arts in a classical framework.⁶³⁷ But, as with the scientific publications of the Royal Society, they too promoted knowledge as a contemporary enterprise important for social and national standing and as a base for continued intellectual power. In addition to works on practical knowledge, John Evelyn, for example, published texts designed to refine artistic taste and develop aesthetic criteria – a program, he advised, that was necessary for the education and cultural awareness of both the art practitioner and the educated Englishman.⁶³⁸ *Sculptura, or, The history, and art of chalcography and engraving in copper* was

⁶³⁷ William Aglionby (1640-1705), for example, translated works on chemistry and history in addition to publishing a treatise on art. Elected as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1667, Aglionby presents painting in the tradition of Italian humanism and explains critical criteria for the arts through examples of Italian painting. His treatise relies on Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy’s *De arte graphica* and Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori*. See William Aglionby, *Painting illustrated in three dialogues: containing some choice observations upon the art together with the lives of the most eminent painters from Cimabue to the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo: with an explanation of the difficult terms* (London: Printed by John Gain for the author and are to be sold by Walter Kettilby and Jacob Tonson, 1686).

⁶³⁸ In addition to *Sylva* (1664), also authored by other members of the Royal Society, Evelyn published essays on such practical concerns as gardening, husbandry, and air pollution. See, for example, John Evelyn, *Fumifugium, or, The inconveniencie of the aer and smoak of London dissipated together with some remedies* (London: Printed by W. Godbid for Gabriel Bedel and Thomas Collins . . . , 1661); John Evelyn, *A philosophical discourse of earth: relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants, &c. as it was presented to the Royal Society, April 29, 1675* (London: Printed for John Martyn . . . , 1676). Craig Hanson argues that Evelyn’s publications on fine-arts subject matter are an extension of his work in the history of the trades project, and thus there is a connection between the trades

presented to the Royal Society in 1662 as a history of sculpture and engraving that described the progress of European art from biblical to contemporary artists. Evelyn next translated two of Roland Fréart's art treatises, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* in 1664, and two years later, *Idée de la perfection de la peinture*.⁶³⁹ In his note "To the reader" in Fréart's treatise on painting, Evelyn explains that these three works form a compendium on the three interrelated arts and are meant to recommend sculpture, architecture, and painting to England and especially to its nobility.⁶⁴⁰ While Evelyn's publications on art were consistent with new philosophy's intent to

program and such work as *Sculptura*. There was, however, little interest in doing the practical research necessary for a history of the trades, and one was never published. *Sculptura*, too, is concerned with knowledge of the arts rather than the practice of trades. See Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 80-90.

⁶³⁹ Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray, *A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern: in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders . . . : the three Greek orders, Dorique, Ionique, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this treatise, and the two Latine, Tuscan and Composita, the latter / written in French by Roland Freart, sieur de Chambray; made English for the benefit of builders; to which is added An account of architects and architecture, in an historical and etymological explanation of certain tearms particularly affected by architects; with Leon Baptista Alberti's treatise Of statues, by John Evelyn, Esq* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Place . . . , 1664). Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray, *An idea of the perfection of painting: demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of the antient painters, parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin / written in French by Roland Freart, sieur de Cambray; and rendred English by J.E., Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman . . . , 1668).

⁶⁴⁰ Concerning Fréart's *Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, Evelyn writes: "But this small *piece* coming casually to my hands and from an *Author* whose knowledge of the most polite and useful *Arts* has celebrated him *Abroad*; and upon a *Subject* I had formerly bestowed some *Reflections* on; partly, in that *Paralel* of *Architecture* (which from the same *hand*, I not long since publish'd for the Assistance and Encouragement of *Builders*) and partly my *History* of *Sculpture*; I did believe I might do some service not only to *Architects* and *Sculptors*, but to our *Painters* also, by presenting them with this curious *Treatise*, which does, I think, perfectly consummate that *designe* of mine, of recommending to our *Countrey*, and especially to the *Nobless*, those *Three* Illustrious and magnificent *Arts*, which are so *dependent* upon each other; that they can no more be *separated*, than the very *Graces* themselves, who are always

promote contemporary knowledge, they also recommended traditional humanistic practices to his intellectual circles. He advocated learning in the arts as a priority for those interested in new methods of investigation, and further argued that specialization in natural history and in scientific experiment was not itself separate from the growth of liberal knowledge. However, Evelyn's writing sanctioned both hierarchically determined genres in the arts and accuracy in visual representation. The former, which often promoted the idealization of nature, was somewhat at odds with the latter, which relied on exact and skillful reproduction. Yet, as the descriptions of Cassandra Willoughby and John Ray suggest, the benefits of precision in representation were also important artistic criteria that legitimized drawings and paintings. They were not necessarily separate from the traditions of aesthetic experience or from Renaissance art theory.

The examination of the natural world also figured in collections of rarities as an increasingly important element of elite culture and learned pursuits. Most contemporary English accounts of collections point out the diversity and imagination in the works of both man and nature as components of a collection's appeal; however, they also frame those pleasures as part of the history of knowledge.⁶⁴¹ As early as 1654 Evelyn describes visiting John Wilkins (1614-1672),

represented to us holding hand in hand, and mutually regarding one another." Evelyn, "To the Reader," in Fréart, *An idea of the perfection of painting*, b4r-b4v.

⁶⁴¹ John Ray, for example, visited the collection of William Courten (William Chareilton) to examine specimens of fruits and nuts. Charles E. Raven, *John Ray, naturalist, his life and works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942), 228-29. A letter from Tancred Robinson to Ray, dated July 12, 1683, also mentions Courten's help in procuring specimens for scientific use. John Ray, *The correspondence of John Ray: consisting of selections from the philosophical letters published by Dr. Derham, and original letters of John Ray in the collection of the British Museum*, ed. Edwin Lankester (London: Printed for the Ray Society, 1848), 132-33. Several studies of collections also discuss collecting in England. Katie Whitaker argues that collections were designed to provoke wonder and specifically ordered to contrast one object with another. Contemporary accounts, however, also stress the scholarly appeal of collections and their use of a like classification. Katie Whitaker, "The culture of curiosity," in *Cultures of natural history*, ed.

then Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and viewing his collection of curiosities as one of the “Civilities” of Oxford. After citing Wilkins’s “*Transparant Apiaries*” and a “hollow Statue which gave Voice, & uttered words, by a long & concealed pipe which went to its mouth,” Evelyn surveys Wilkins’s collections:

He had above in his Gallery & Lodgings variety of *Shadows*, Dyals, Perspetives, places to introduce the *Species*, & many other artifcial, mathematical, Magical curiosities: A Way-Wiser, a *Thermometer*; a monstrous *Magnes*, *Conic* & other *Sections*, a Balance on a demie circle, most of them of his owne & that prodigious young Scholar, Mr. *Chr: Wren*, who presented me with a piece of *White Marble* he had stained with a lively red very deepe, as beautifull as if it had ben naturall.⁶⁴²

The diarist gives a sampling of the range of items in the collection, but particularly distinguishes the dyed marble according to its aesthetic properties and in terms commonly used to express the attractions of architecture or interior decoration. Although differing in education and profession, Evelyn and Wilkins shared a similar philosophical approach and were both important early supporters of the Royal Society, participating in groups investigating the natural sciences before

N. Jardine, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 85-105. Marjorie Swann discusses various types of seventeenth-century collections, including naturalia, texts, art, and antiquities, and relates them to commercial and institutional purposes as well as personal ambitions. She argues that new social groups used collections as a means of establishing identities and power within the emerging political order. Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and texts: the culture of collecting in early modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). For the history of collections, see Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*. Alexander Marr reviews much of the literature published on collecting as a manifestation of the culture of curiosity in the early modern period. See Alexander Marr, “Introduction,” in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 6-17.

⁶⁴² In his diary entry of July 13, 1654, Evelyn relates dining with “that most obliging & universaly Curious Dr. *Wilkins*’s, at Waddum.” Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:110-11.

the Society's foundation.⁶⁴³ Their interest in collections of mechanical instruments and natural objects was a sign of intellectual productivity and represented an idea of curiosity that included new work in the subjects and technologies of both science and art. The Royal Society maintained a similar repository of rarities, natural specimens, and instruments, which its fellows felt was necessary to establish the group's professional status, as well as to draw visitors to their institution.⁶⁴⁴

That such repositories were a tangible sign of learned contemporary culture is indicated in Cassandra Willoughby's description of her father's collection as a portion of the family's

⁶⁴³ Wilkins was a member of a group of those interested in experimental philosophy that met at Wadham College in Oxford and was at the originating meeting of the Royal Society on November, 28, 1660. Evelyn was proposed for membership at the meeting of December, 26, 1660. See Hunter's table on the members of the Royal Society. Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an early scientific institution* (Bucks: British Society for the History of Science, 1982), 160, 166; McKie, "The Origins and Foundation of the Royal Society of London," 13-18; Michael Hunter, "John Evelyn in the 1650s: a virtuoso in search of a role," in, *Science and the shape of orthodoxy: intellectual change in late seventeenth-century Britain*, 67-98.

⁶⁴⁴ The Society's collection as a repository is first cited in Evelyn's diary on Sept. 3, 1662: "There was presented for the Repository a piece of Elephant skin, which was about an inch-thick." Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:166-67. Sprat additionally mentions the repository. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 251. Most descriptions of the collection note the oddity of an item as its point of interest. For the Royal Society's collection see Hunter's chapter 4: "Between cabinet of curiosities and research collection: The history of the Royal Society's 'Repository.'" Hunter, *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society*, 123-55. A catalogue of the Society's repository was published in 1681 by Royal Society fellow Nehemiah Grew (1641-1712), reissued in 1684 (printed for Tho. Malthus) and again in 1686 (printed for S. Holford). It includes a description of the exhibits arranged by types of objects, including beasts, serpents, birds, fish, shellfish, insects, fruit, nuts, plants, minerals, mathematical and mechanical instruments, and intellectual and material artefacts. Grew includes 31 pages of engravings that illustrate many of the collection's objects and specimens. Nehemiah Grew, *Musæum regalis societatis, or, A catalogue and description of the nature and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham Colledge made by Nehemiah Grew . . . ; whereunto is subjoyned the Comparative anatomy of stomachs and guts, by the same author* (London: Printed for W. Rawlins for the author, 1681).

inheritance – as both a material asset and an intellectual heirloom. She writes that she and her younger brother, Thomas Willoughby, took care to unpack and label the “fine collection of valuable meddals, birds, fish, insects, shells, seeds, minerals and plants and other rarities.”⁶⁴⁵ The assemblage of natural objects and artefacts was part of the collection compiled by Sir Francis for his studies on naturalism and used to produce illustrations for his published work. Cassandra characterizes both the material store and the learned endeavor as a legacy, and she identifies her brother’s interest in collections as right behavior. Distinguishing between this serious and scholarly course and the mere elite amusements or “diversions of town,” she writes:

Seeing things curious gave him greater pleasure. One day I remember we were entertained by Mr Flamstead at Greenwich with his astronomicall instruments. Another day we saw Mr Charlton’s collection of rarities which he left to Sir Hans Sloan, and several curiosities of that sort my bror gave me the pleasure of seeing with him.⁶⁴⁶

The Willoughbys’ 1689 London excursion included a visit to two recently compiled collections of different subject matter and function. Cassandra first cites the instruments assembled and used by John Flamsteed (1646-1719), the first Royal Astronomer, and housed in the Royal Observatory, constructed at Greenwich in 1676.⁶⁴⁷ Next she mentions the collection of rarities newly installed by William Courten (1642-1702) in his museum in the Middle Temple, London. Courten, who was also often called Charleton, set up the display in 1684, but probably began collecting during

⁶⁴⁵ Chandos, *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family*, 137.

⁶⁴⁶ Chandos, *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family*, 136-37.

⁶⁴⁷ See John Flamsteed, *An account of the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer-Royal; compiled from his own manuscripts, and other authentic documents, never before published, & Supplement to the account of the Revd. John Flamsteed*, ed. Francis Baily (London: Dawsons, 1966) (London, 1835), xviii-xxx. John Flamsteed, *The Correspondence of John Flamsteed, the First Astronomer Royal*, ed. Eric G. Forbes, Murdin Lesley and Frances Willmoth (Bristol, UK: Institute of Physics Pub, 1995).

his travels to the continent in the early 1660s.⁶⁴⁸ While Flamsteed researched, compiled, and published findings on geology and astronomy in a scientific capacity, Courten managed his own business affairs and devoted leisure time to building his collection. Cassandra, however, describes the technological instruments in the semi-public institution and the rarities in the private museum as equivalent draws, both demonstrating the workings of nature and the art of human ingenuity. The ties between the two collections include a mutual interest in the theory and observation of nature as well as the audience's acknowledgment of the collections themselves as marvelous attractions. Cassandra records her visits as ideal urban activities of a learned and polite society. For her, the serious display of natural knowledge was instructional, but it was also among the many opportunities of leisured entertainment.

By the time of the Willoughbys' visit, Courten's collection must have already been of some renown, for three years earlier, on December, 16, 1686, it was the object of a visit by Evelyn and Lady Sunderland.⁶⁴⁹ For Evelyn, the attraction of the rarities is expressed as an interest in all

⁶⁴⁸ Carol Gibson-Woods describes Courten's collection and its history, particularly analyzing prints, paintings, and drawings in the collection. She finds that patrons like Courten valued a close representation of nature rather than an idealized image and concludes that there were criteria for judging visual representations other than those advocated by classical art theory. She thus sees two different ways of valuing visual representation as art products. However, in contemporary accounts, such as Evelyn's, viewers combined both methods as ways of describing the interesting, skillful, curious, and novel. But Woods does convincingly demonstrate that these images contributed to the store of the knowledge of naturalism. The collection was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane and became part of his collections bequeathed to the nation on his death in 1753 and by an act of parliament became the British Museum. Carol Gibson-Woods, "Classification and Value in a Seventeenth-Century Museum: William Courten's Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997): 61-77.

⁶⁴⁹ Evelyn's friend Lady Anne Digby (1646-1715) was the daughter of George Digby, second earl of Bristol and Lady Anne Russell. On 10 June, 1665, she married Robert Spencer, second earl of Sunderland, son of Henry Spencer, first earl of Sunderland and Lady Dorothy Sydney. Upon her marriage Anne Digby became the countess of Sunderland. G.E. Cokayne, et. al., eds., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United*

aspects of novelty for a cultured audience:

I carried the Countess of Sunderland to see rarities of one Mr. Charleton at the Middle Temple, who shewed us such a Collection of Miniatures, Drawings, Shells, Insects, Medailes, & natural things, Animals whereoff divers were kept in glasses of Sp: of wine, I think an hundred, besides, Minerals, precious stones, vessels & curiosities in Amber, Achat, chrystal &c: as I had never in all my Travells abroad seene any either of private Gent: or Princes exceede it; all being very perfect & rare in their kind, especaly his booke of Birds, Fish: flowers, shells &c drawn & miniatured to life, he told us that one book stood him in 300 pounds: it was painted by that exellent workeman whom the late Gastion duke of Orleans employed: This Gent:’s whole Collection (gathered by himselfe travelling most parte of Europe) is estimated at 8000 pounds.⁶⁵⁰

Evelyn emphasizes the breadth of Courten’s museum, listing types and kinds of art, animals, plants, and minerals, and he weights importance by largeness of scale, rarity of objects, the esteem of the collection, and the owner’s active participation in acquisition. But he also specifies the value of the collection as an estimation of economic worth – an evaluation in which prestige is determined according to monetary purchase. In Evelyn’s account, an album of naturalia drawn from life is singled out by Courten as a costly sampling of his collected rarities. Itself an assemblage of the skill of man and the variety of nature, the album epitomizes the special properties of the museum’s remarkable offerings. Evelyn mentions the charge for the book at the end of his long list of the collection’s items as a particular exemplar of the museum’s quality and a proof of its worth. He prizes the drawings and paintings from life for their aristocratic association and market value alike. The patronage of the duke of Orleans corroborates the

Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant, new ed., 6 vols. (Gloucester, U.K.: Alan Sutton Publishing, 2000), 1:485-86. Also see my Chapter V.

⁶⁵⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:531-32.

painter's skill, and the album's high price substantiates Evelyn's evaluation of the collection as a whole.

These accounts suggest that for the contemporary viewer, art and nature held parallel powers to fascinate and inform. Because collections were composed to meet a variety of needs and to serve various audiences, the repositories themselves could act as artefacts, archives, or laboratories. Presumably, the countess of Sunderland – characterized as perceptive but not erudite – had a different perspective on Courten's collection than did her companion, John Evelyn.⁶⁵¹ Nevertheless, Evelyn describes the museum just as he does the extraordinary qualities of many houses, or with the same enthusiasm as that used to detail outings to other famed attractions.⁶⁵² The museum is celebrated as a cultural event that, by virtue of scope and extravagance, carries a

⁶⁵¹ Evelyn suggested that collectors be among those honored with medals. He writes: "Among these may come in the Diligent and Curious Collectors of both Artificial, and Natural Curiosities, Types, Models, Machines, &c. such as were *Favi, Adrovandus, Imperanti; Mascardi, Septalius, Wormius, Paule Contant, Calceolarius, Piso, Caval. Pozzo, Ferdinando Gospi, Io. Tradescant*, and above them all, the worthy Mr. *Charleton*, &c." John Evelyn, *Numismata, a discourse of medals, ancient and modern: together with some account of heads and effigies of illustrious, and famous persons in sculps, and taille-douce, of whom we have no medals extant, and of the use to be derived from them: to which is added a digression concerning physiognomy* (London: Printed for Benj. Tooke . . . , 1697), 282. For an account of the countess of Sunderland, see J. P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, 1641-1702* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), 6-9.

⁶⁵² Almost seven years before the visit to Courten's museum, Evelyn had also escorted the countess of Sunderland to another London attraction – a dinner given by Sir Robert Clayton, a wealthy scrivener and the Lord Mayor of London. The diary entry of November 18, 1679, praises the lord mayor's table with an enthusiasm similar to that in the description of Courten's rarities: "I dined at my *Lo: Majors*, being desired by the *Countesse of Sunderland* to carry her thither on a Solemn Day, that she might see the pomp & ceremonie of this Prince of Citizens, there never having ben any, who for the statlinesse of his Palace, prodigious feasting & magnificence exceeded him." Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:185. In Evelyn's description of Ham House – "indeed inferior to few of the best Villas in Italy itselfe" – he lists all the individual amenities and features of the house's newly renovated gardens, and as in his description of Courten's collection, Evelyn evaluates the garden through the variety of offerings and extent of design. See the diary entry of Aug. 27, 1678. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144-45. Also see my Chapter II.

high visual impact and vivid novelty. Although many viewers may have been drawn to collections exclusively for the sensational appeal of rare curiosities, for others repositories and museums most likely stimulated inquiries relating to the man-made and natural world and shaped conceptions and explanations of art and nature. These collections, like investigations and experiments, were examples of the greater concern with the experience and explanation of the physical world. Just as Hooke's microscope and Flamsteed's telescope enlarged the senses, repositories of rarities both met and inspired appetites for curious phenomena. In Evelyn's accounts, the success of collections is also a function of their social power to attract important visitors and amaze with material innovation and spectacular display.

New Genres of Landscape and Markets for Art

Publications on the history of art, contemporary methodologies of documenting scientific discoveries, recently learned information on naturalism, and the vogue for collecting were overlapping subjects that served the interests of a number of audiences. New subject matter motivated by the emerging market for natural knowledge was also apparent in the development of landscape genres in the visual arts. Artists could reference contemporary concerns and practices in the sciences and perhaps appeal to those attracted to the Royal Society, as well as to other patrons concerned with the novel draws of natural-history collections. Paintings drew on the framework established by publications concerning the natural world, and further, situated artworks within the contemporary interest in science. Similarly, painters adopted the familiar relationship between a topic and generic conventions to reference the context of specific types of knowledge. New subjects in painting, therefore, looked back to old models as well as ahead to new ones. A systematic display of nature's variety could be assembled against a traditional landscape setting

and cite traditional iconography, yet like the publications in the new philosophy, the paintings could also be presented as a departure from past models. In attending to new directions in science – and in particular their processes and methods – artists, too, positioned themselves as innovators. They identified artistic products with the prestige of knowledge, attempting to associate works created by the hand with those of the mind.

In England the most prolific specialist portraying birds and animals, and one who cultivated the contemporary interest in the order and diversity of the natural world, was the native-born artist Francis Barlow (c. 1626-1704).⁶⁵³ Barlow must have developed this landscape genre at the beginning of his career, as the single entry in Evelyn's diary for February 19, 1656, states: "Went with Dr. *Wilkins* [since Bishop of *Chester*] to see Barlow the famous Paynter of fowle Beasts & Birds."⁶⁵⁴ The genre must have also been a successful specialty for Barlow; over fifty years later, in his 1709 essay on English painters, Bainbrigg Buckeridge (1668-1733) still records Barlow as a painter of that genre. Buckeridge writes that the artist,

Was born in *Lincolnshire*, and at his coming to *London*, put Prentice to one *Shepherd*, A Face-Painter, with whom he liv'd but few years because his Fancy did not lie that way, his Genius leading him wholly to drawing of Fowl, Fish and Beasts, wherein he arriv'd to that Perfection, that had his Colouring and Pencilling been as good as his Draught, which was most exact, he might have

⁶⁵³ The only monograph on Francis Barlow is Edward Hodnett's study of the artist's illustrated books. See Edward Hodnett, *Francis Barlow, First Master of English Book Illustration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). See also the exhibition catalogue from Clandon House, Surrey: Nathan Flis, *Francis Barlow: Painter of Birds and Beasts*, exh. cat (London: Robert Boyle Project, 2011). Barlow is also the subject of Nathan Flis's 2012 dissertation from St. Catherine's College, University of Oxford: Nathan Flis, *From the life: the Art of Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704)*. Also see Nathan Flis, "The Drawings of Francis Barlow: from Apprenticeship to Aesop's Fables, 1648-66," *Master Drawings* 49 (2011): 479-532.

⁶⁵⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:166-67. John Wilkins (1614-1672) was the first secretary of the Royal Society and chaired its first meeting.

excell'd all that went before him in that kind of Painting, of which
we have an Instance the six Books of Prints after him, now sold by
Mr *Tempest*.⁶⁵⁵

Buckeridge repeats the aesthetic criteria mentioned by Evelyn in relation to the albums of natural objects – “drawn & miniatur'd to life” – in Courten’s collection. Barlow is complemented for the exactness of his drawing – his skill and accuracy – but criticized by Buckeridge for the lesser quality of his painting and color.⁶⁵⁶ According to contemporary opinion, he was known for his specialty rather than his artistic expertise.

Barlow’s early paintings, the object of the visit by Evelyn and Wilkins in the mid-seventeenth century, are meant to attract an audience interested in naturalism and novelty – two subjects of related appeal that could be combined to advantage in painting. Barlow poses birds and animals in a foreground landscape, while the background consists of a generic view of the distant land without the specificity of region or location. Often pairs of birds show the male and female of a species, satisfying the philosophical interest of the naturalist as well as creating parallel structures for aesthetic ends. In *Landscape With A Green Woodpecker, A Jay, Two Pigeons, A Redstart, A Lizard, And Two Frogs* (fig. 5.2), c. 1550, he poses a familiar sampling of

⁶⁵⁵ Bainbrigg Buckeridge, “Essay towards an English-School with the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters,” in Roger de Piles, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school* (London: printed for J. Nutt, 1706), 402. Vertue’s entry on Barlow’s life, in the section “Lives of the Artists,” is closely based on Buckeridge. See “Vertue II,” *The Walpole Society* (1931-1932): 135-36.

⁶⁵⁶ Barlow’s use of color with respect to his landscapes with fish and fowl is criticized more specifically in Richard Symonds’s commonplace notebooks, probably written in the mid-1650s after his tour of Roman art collections. A collector of primarily Italian prints and drawings, Symonds (c. 1617-1692) complains that: “In his Paeses he uses Speklis for ye skye & has no good greene for his ground & grasse.” London, British Museum, MS Egerton 1636, fol. 95r.

woodland birds close to the front of the picture plane and in positions that allow him to detail characteristic habits and feather patterns. A woodpecker, for example, clings to the bark of the tree, using stiff tail feathers for support, and nearby a redstart perches on a small tree branch, its ideal feeding spot for insects and berries. Below, Barlow's audience is offered two views of pigeons on the ground, and above, the full wings of a jay in flight. The birds, however, have most likely been copied from drawings or from stuffed specimens and resemble those displayed in the cabinets of naturalists.⁶⁵⁷ The high vantage point allows Barlow to place the birds against a neutral sky, and the near ground plane provides immediate views of the foraging pigeons and small reptiles. By focusing on the description and position of his subjects, he suggests an authentic or reliable record and an empirical system of representation. Similarly, by omitting narrative components, Barlow forgoes a story line, and instead presents the birds as individual specimens, like those used by practitioners of natural history to formulate knowledge of the physical world. In isolating his subject matter, he duplicates the new methods of inquiry into the natural world, expressly illustrating the material of that world and identifying his work with innovative modes of investigating natural objects.

Many of Barlow's later paintings develop pictorial strategies established in his prints, a medium also mentioned by Buckeridge and one which, like the painted work, features avian and animal subjects. Throughout his career Barlow collaborated with a number of other artists and printmakers on books predominately based on illustrations of animals and often featuring animal

⁶⁵⁷ See, for example, the title page – *Musei Wormianae historia* – of Ole Worm's catalogue of his museum of natural history. The collection was kept at Worm's house in Copenhagen. Ole Worm, *Museum Wormianum: seu historia rerum rariorum, tam naturalium, quam artificialium, tam domesticarum, quam exoticarum, quae Hafniae Danorum in ædibus authoris fervantur* (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Iohannem Elsevirium, 1655), frontispiece.

narratives.⁶⁵⁸ The Tate has several incomplete series of bird and animal prints after designs by Barlow, in addition to thirteen watercolor and pencil drawings on paper by the artist, twelve portraying birds within landscapes and one showing predatory birds in a barn.⁶⁵⁹ The latter – *Hawks and Owls*, c. 1658, (fig. 5.3) – depicts several falcons, a pair of small raptors, and two types of owls. Barlow unites the composition with a sharp diagonal shaft of light that connects the owl at the left with the falcons on the right, and also illuminates the barn's interior. The lattice window screen secures the birds within their enclosure and indicates the room's use as housing for the sport of hawking.⁶⁶⁰ Barlow specifically characterizes the predatory nature of the birds and

⁶⁵⁸ A title page prepared for one series reads: William Faithhorne, *Diverseae Avium Species studiosissime ad vitam delineatae Per Fra: Barlow insignissimū: Anglum Pictorem-Guilm: Faithorne excudit 1658*. Another series was issued in 1671: Francis Barlow and Wenceslaus Hollar, *Multi et diversae Avium Species Multifarijs Formis & Pernaturebus Figuris* (London: Printed and sould by Iohn Overton . . . , 1671). Vertue mentions the latter publication: "a book fowles drawn by Barlow. & etched by Hollar." "Vertue II," *The Walpole Society* (1931-1932): 13. The plates were also copied, amended, and reissued several times in the eighteenth century. See Francis Barlow, *Sixty-seven excellent and useful prints of birds and beasts; being the chief works of that great master, Francis Barlow, and engraved by himself, Hollar, Place, &c. . . .* (London: printed for Robert Sayer, [1760?]). Also see Hodnett, *Francis Barlow, First Master of English Book Illustration*, 102-03.

⁶⁵⁹ London, Tate Britain, Patrick Allan Fraser Album, T08581, T08083-T08094. The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, also has eight drawings (ink and water color) on paper by Barlow. The drawings may have been developed for printed work and for use as a studio model book. They could also have been shown to patrons as advertisements. Some designs also appear in his paintings and are familiar from collections of Netherlandish prints. For example, a painting in the Walter Mellon collection at Yale portrays a rooster, two hens, and chicks – a subject common to a farmyard and one which Barlow treats as an integrated scene. The scene is also one represented by Frans Snyders (1579-1657), the Flemish painter of birds, animals, still lifes, and hunts, and appears as the subject of northern prints. The painting is signed: "F. Barlow pinxit 1655." A drawing of a similar scene (London, Tate Britain, T08580, (part of Oppé Collection) is dated 1680 and signed by Barlow. "Hawks and Owls, c. 1658, is London, Tate Britain, Patrick Allan Fraser Album, T08581.

⁶⁶⁰ Joseph Strutt writes: "The sport is generally placed at the head of those amusements that can only be practised in the country, and probably it obtained this precedence from its being a pastime so generally followed by the nobility, not in this country only, but also upon the continent. Persons of high rank rarely appeared without their dogs and their hawks; the latter they

their association with hunting: two birds hold prey in their talons, the owlette is tethered to its perch, one falcon wears a plumed hood, and a falconer's glove is draped over the low wall at the left.⁶⁶¹ The scene describes birds of prey as part of a country estate's hunting resources and aristocratic traditions. Where the precise attributes of the birds drew those interested in scientific classifications and relationships, Barlow also catered to viewers attracted to such activities as aristocratic pastimes.

The raptor drawing, for example, represents an elite tradition that still required skill and wealth. In his treatise on sports and pastimes published in 1801, Joseph Strutt estimates that at the beginning of the seventeenth century "a gos-hawk and a tassel-hawk were sold for one hundred marks [sixty-six pounds], which was a large sum in those days. Such as were properly trained and

carried with them when they journeyed from one country to another, and sometimes even when they went to battle, and would not part with them to procure their own liberty when taken prisoners. Sometimes they formed part of the train of an ecclesiastic. These birds were considered as ensigns of nobility; and no action could be reckoned more dishonourable to a man of rank than to give up his hawk." Joseph Strutt, *The sports and pastimes of the people of England from the earliest period, including the rural and domestic recreations, May games, mummeries, pageants, processions and pompous spectacles*, 1801, new ed., much enl. and cor. by J. Charles Cox, ed. (London: Methuen & Co. [1903]), 29. In the mid-1800s Francis Salvin and William Brodrick write that "a regular Hawking establishment would incur a considerable expenditure. For this purpose, about eight Hawks would be necessary, as also a Falconer and his assistant, with one or two good horses and three or four dogs." Francis Henry Salvin and William Brodrick, *Falconry in the British Isles* (London: John Van Voorst, 1855), 21.

⁶⁶¹ Accounterments of hawking, including the tether, hood, and glove in Barlow's drawing, as well as various types of hawks and falcons, are illustrated in the engraving that introduces Nicholas Cox's second section, "The Gentlemen's Recreation: being, a treatise of hawking and faulconry. Fitted for the Delight and Pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen." Nicholas Cox, *The gentleman's recreation: in four parts, viz. hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing: wherein these generous exercises are largely treated of, and the terms of art for hunting and hawking . . . with an abstract at the end of each subject, of such laws as relate to the same* (London: Printed by J.C. for N.C. and are to be sold by Tho. Fabian . . . , 1677), plate after page 158.

exercised were esteemed presents worthy the acceptance of a king or emperor.”⁶⁶² By the second decade of the eighteenth century, Giles Jacob’s *The compleat sportsman* notes that the “Diversion of Hawking, by reason of the Trouble and Expence in keeping and breeding the Hawk, and the Difficulty in the Management of her in the Field, is in great Measure dissus’d.”⁶⁶³ By cropping his drawing on the right and including several types of birds, Barlow is able to indicate the expense born by a large estate and its customary gaming provisions. Here, the small contextual details suggest a large park, open fields, and the many acres necessary for the hereditary pastimes common to great households.

Other printed work includes an edition of *Aesop’s Fables in English, French, and Latin*, first issued in 1666, and again in 1687 with changes to the French verse and a new English text by

⁶⁶² Strutt, *The sports and pastimes of the people of England from the earliest period, including the rural and domestic recreations, May games, mummeries, pageants, processions and pompous spectacles*, Cox, ed., 29. In the mid-1800s Francis Salvin and William Brodrick write that “a regular Hawking establishment would incur a considerable expenditure. For this purpose, about eight Hawks would be necessary, as also a Falconer and his assistant, with one or two good horses and three or four dogs.” Francis Henry Salvin and William Brodrick, *Falconry in the British Isles* (London: John Van Voorst, 1855), 18. Barlow’s drawing is also etched and printed in reverse in William Faithorne, *Diverseae Avium Species studiosissime ad vitam delineatae Per Fra: Barlow insignissimī: Anghum Pictorem-Guielm: Faithorne excudit 1658*. See London, British Museum, 1875,0710.548.

⁶⁶³ Giles Jacob, *The compleat sportsman. In three parts. Part I. Containing the nature and various kinds of game, under their several Denominations, with the best Methods of taking the same, by Shooting, Hunting, Dogs, Nets, and otherwise; and the Laws and Statutes made for Preservation of the Game, with Warrants to impower Game-Keepers, &c. Part II. Of the best Situations and Methods of erecting and Management of Parks, Warrens, &c. Of Hunting the Buck, Doe, &c. And a concise Abridgment of the Forest-Laws, and of all the Laws and Statutes relating to Deer: Methodically interspersed with Precedents of Warrants for Deer, &c. Part III. Of fish and fishing; the most successful Methods of Angling; the only proper Baits, Tackle and agreeable Seasons for taking all Sorts of Fish; and the Rivers wherein they are to be found; with the Statutes relating to Fishing, &c.* ([London]: In the Savoy, printed by Eliz. Nutt, and R. Gosling, (assigns of Edward Sayer Esq;) for J. Tonson, and W. Taylor, 1718), 29.

Aphra Behn (1640-1689).⁶⁶⁴ Barlow devised fully developed landscapes for 110 fables, siting the stories in naturalistic countryside settings with typical farmyards, rural lanes, ponds, pastures, and woods. In his note “To the reader” he explains that he was encouraged in the project by a friend, who argued that the subject matter of the fables would especially fit the painter’s talents:

“conceiving it to sute much with my fancy, as consisting so much of Fowl and Beasts, wherein my Friends are pleas’d to count me most Eminent in what I doe.”⁶⁶⁵ To recommend his specialty and promote his style, Barlow distinguishes his illustrations from both past and present examples.

Although he borrows motifs from various popular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Aesop’s fables – including the work of Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, Francis Cleyn, and

Wencelaus Hollar – he often redraws the borrowed components to appeal to naturalists.⁶⁶⁶ Animals – the protagonists in many of the fables – are portrayed in correct anatomical postures and not as

⁶⁶⁴ Francis Barlow, *Aesop’s fables with his life: in English, French & Latin / the English by Tho. Philipott Esq.; the French and Latin by Rob. Codrington M.A.; illustrated with one hundred and twelve sculptures by Francis Barlow* (London: Printed by William Godbid for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by Ann Seile . . . and Edward Powell . . . , 1666); Francis Barlow, *Aesop’s fables with his life: in English, French and Latin / newly translated; illustrated with one hundred and twelve sculptures; to this edition are likewise added, thirty one new figures representing his life, by Francis Barlow* (London: Printed by H. Hills, Jun., for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by Chr. Wilkinson . . . Tho. Fox . . . and Henry Faithorne . . . , 1687).

⁶⁶⁵ “To the Reader,” in Barlow, *Aesop’s fables with his life*, b2r.

⁶⁶⁶ For Marcus Gheeraerts’s designs, see Edewaerd De Dene, *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* (Brugghe: Inde Peerde strate by Pieter de Clerck . . . om, en ten coste . . . Marcus Gheeraerts, den xxvj Augustj 1567). The designs of Wenceslaus Hollar and Franz Cleyn are published in John Ogilby, *The fables of Aesop paraphras’d in verse, and adorn’d with sculpture* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls church-yard, 1651). Also see Edward Hodnett, *Aesop in England: the transmission of motifs in seventeenth-century illustrations of Aesop’s Fables* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1979), 2-14.

anthropomorphic, upright, or talking stand-ins for human counterparts.⁶⁶⁷ But Barlow is still able to retain old moralistic analogies between the animal stories and human conduct, primarily because he preserves traditional narrative structures and his economical foreground narrative mimics the fable's succinct format. The naturalism of Barlow's designs also reinforces Aesop's naturalization of social inequities through typical animal relationships or behaviors.

Barlow's scientific or empirical techniques again call attention to his own expertise and renown as an animal painter, and further emphasize the fitness of Aesop's antique wisdom to contemporary circumstances.⁶⁶⁸ The popular fable "The Oake and the Reed" (fig. 5.4), 1666, for example, is set in the countryside and tells the tale of a great, proud oak that stands unyielding in the path of an oncoming storm.⁶⁶⁹ The sturdy oak finally breaks before high winds, while the nearby reeds, which easily sway with the slightest breeze, survive. To illustrate the fable, Barlow enlists a series of pairings and oppositions: two herons frame the scene; reeds grow slender and bow gracefully on one side of the stream, and on the other a thick, fallen oak lies rigid and uprooted over the bank; above the landscape, a flock of ducks flies into the foreground and below, the stream flows into the distance. Pictorial likenesses and antitheses frame the scene and characterize the differences between the reeds and the oak, allowing Barlow to develop his

⁶⁶⁷ Katherine Acheson argues that Barlow depicted his animals not as allegorical representations, but as realistic portrayals. She sees these illustrations as a means of posing epistemological questions with respect to man and nature, but cites no contemporary evidence to support her interpretation. See Katherine Acheson, "The Picture of Nature: Seventeenth-Century English Aesop's Fables," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9 (2009): 25-50.

⁶⁶⁸ Barlow applied his specialty to what was already a popular genre. Joseph Addison, for example, gives a contemporary account of the pleasures and advantages of fables. Joseph Addison, "On Giving Advice," *The Spectator*, No. 512, October 17, 1712.

⁶⁶⁹ The fable's moral lesson – flexibility and intelligence trump power and pride – is explained in the verse below Barlow's illustration. Barlow, *Aesop's fables with his life*, 67.

landscape's naturalistic elements as narrative supports. Although other mid-seventeenth-century examples of this fable also rely on contemporary landscape environments, they personify the wind as great breaths of air let loose by Aeolia, the keeper of the wind from Greek myth and Homeric legend. John Ogilby's 1651 edition of *The fables of Aesop*, for instance, portrays the opening line in "The Oake and the Reeds" (fig. 5.5) with a literal depiction of the medieval four winds, and thus directly explicates the text.⁶⁷⁰ The personification reinforces the story's structure and its function as allegory, yet at the expense of the naturalistic setting. In a literary genre that uses a symbolic mode to communicate moral meaning, Barlow's fable illustrations, conversely, accommodate both naturalism and allegory, and, in effect, combine the experience of a country landscape with the authority of traditional literature. And in two marginal genres – fables and landscapes – the naturalistic designs make use of the social status of new methods of observation to elevate both art forms.

Barlow's later landscape paintings also play on two modes of representation: they include portrayals of birds and animals that specifically cite the rhetoric of the new philosophy, as well as a narrative content associated with traditional values and visual conventions. This dichotomy between recent investigative procedures and old forms of knowledge was part of the contemporary debate on the formation of knowledge and is expressed in John Ray's preface to *The ornithology of Francis Willughby*. In explaining the value of his own classification of birds,

⁶⁷⁰ The same four elements – the tree, the reeds, the stream, and the personification of the wind – are repeated in numerous editions of the fable. For example, see John Ogilby, *The fables of Aesop paraphras'd in verse, and adorn'd with sculpture* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651), 67. For an early example, see Aesop, *Vita et Fabulae*, trans. and comp. Heinrich Steinhöwel (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1498), 82.

Ray argues against all former explanatory methods and systems of interpretation:

Having acquainted the Reader with our principal aim in this Work, which was to give certain Characteristic notes of the several kinds, accurately to describe each *Species*, and to reduce all to their proper *Classes* or *Genera*: We shall further add, that we have wholly omitted what we find in other Authors concerning *Homonymous* and *Synonymous* words, or divers names of birds, *Heiroyphics*, *Emblems*, *Morals*, *Fables*, *Presages* or ought else appertaining to *Divinity*, *Ethics*, *Grammar*, or any sort of Humane Learning.⁶⁷¹

Here Ray perhaps references the title description of Edward Topsell's 1658 edition of *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents* and contrasts his own work with this popular compendium of oddments, which Topsell had, in fact, advertised as a virtual cornucopia of knowledge:

Describing at Large Their True and Lively *Figure*, their several *Names*, *Conditions*, *Kinds*, *Virtues* (both Natural and Medicinal) *Countries* of their *Breed*, their *Love* and *Hatred* to Mankind, and the wonderful work of God in their Creation, Preservation, and Destruction. Interwoven with curious variety of Historical Narrations out of Scriptures, Fathers, Philosophers, Physicians, and Poets: Illustrated with divers Hieroglyphicks and Emblems, &c. both pleasant and profitable for Students in all Faculties and Professions.⁶⁷²

Topsell writes that *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents* is an encyclopedic work containing the sum of accumulated types and kinds of information from all authoritative and learned sources. He further suggests that it encourages a symbolic manner of reading – a means of interpretation that Ray censures when he mocks such histories for condensing their content to omens and old moral tales.

The methods promoted by such Royal Society fellows as Ray and Willoughby, however,

⁶⁷¹ Ray, ed., *The ornithology of Francis Willughby*, A4r.

⁶⁷² See the title page, Topsell, *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents*.

were also criticized, especially for reducing the investigation of nature to the externals of microscopic revelation and the knowledge of nature to classificatory orders, systems, and schemes.⁶⁷³ At about the time that Ray published Willoughby's work on ornithology, Margaret Cavendish (c. 1624-1674), duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, characterized the means of experimental philosophy as a "brittle Art." She distinguished her husband William's contemporary interests and traditional cultural pursuits from the single focus of the new science practitioners:

IN this present Treatise, I have ventured to make some observations upon Experimental Philosophy, and to examine the Opinions of some of our Modern Microscopical or Dioptrical Writers; and though your Grace is not onely a lover of Vertuosoes, but a Vertuoso your self, and have as good, and as many sorts of Optick Glasses as any one else; yet you do not busie your self much with this brittle Art, but employ most part of your time in the more noble and heroick Art of Horsemanship and Weapons, as also in the sweet and delightful Art of Poetry, and in the useful Art of Architecture, &c. which shews that you do not believe much in the Informations of those Optick glasses, at least think them not so useful as others do that spend most of their time in Dioptrical

⁶⁷³ In her essay *Observations upon experimental philosophy*, Margaret Cavendish criticizes the microscope's limited vision in revealing nature and the overconfidence of men with such small scope. She charged the Royal Society with using the authority of experimental philosophy as a proof in and of itself. Her essay was published with a novel describing an interior world of fantasy, one that offered an antithetical view to that of the new science. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Observations upon experimental philosophy: to which is added The description of a new blazing world / written by the thrice noble, illustrious, and excellent princesse, the Duchess of Newcastle* (London: Printed by A. Maxwell . . . , 1666). Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Observations upon experimental philosophy*, ed. Eileen O'Neill (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4. Thomas Shadwell (c.1642-1692) also criticized knowledge for its own sake, satirizing the subject matter of the new philosophy as trifling and low, and parodying the actual experiments carried out by members of the Society, notably Robert Hooke. Thomas Shadwell, *The virtuoso: a comedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre* (London: Printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman . . . , 1676). For other contemporary critiques of the Royal Society and the work of its fellows, see R. H. Syfret, "Some Early Critics of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 8 (1950): 20-64.

inspections.⁶⁷⁴

Cavendish's critique is directed toward the limited materialism of empirical observation that – in opposition to nature's irregularity, transience, and complexity – reduces perception and limits ways of knowing the world. Her writing, similarly, contradicts the Society's promotion of plain speech and exhaustive detail to describe its observations and experiments, and instead favors older metaphorical constructions and allusions built around sight and vision.⁶⁷⁵

There is no evidence that Barlow participated in this debate, but his work after the Restoration does meet the broader taste of an audience appreciative of decorative refinement and literary allusion. He develops pictorial schemes that appeal to the popular vogue for innovation in all subjects. His work, moreover, displays both general cultural trends and responds to the particular interests of individual patrons.⁶⁷⁶ The topics investigated by the Royal Society – “all the Objects of Men's Thoughts” – especially meant a viewership for diverse artefacts and entertainments.⁶⁷⁷ But the subject matter of birds and animals alone may have presented too

⁶⁷⁴ Cavendish, *Observations upon experimental philosophy*, b1r-b1v.

⁶⁷⁵ Lisa Sarasohn discusses Cavendish's critique of natural philosophy in her chapter, “Cavendish against the Experimenters.” Lisa T. Sarasohn, *The natural philosophy of Margaret Cavendish: reason and fancy during the scientific revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 149-72.

⁶⁷⁶ In 1653 Barlow dedicated an engraving to John Evelyn, attempting to draw his patronage. Although the subject was a painting by Titian, a popular artist in court circles, Barlow was unsuccessful. Evelyn responded, complimenting the engraving and thanking the painter, but did not offer monetary support. Letters relating to the incident are in Evelyn's correspondence for 22 December 1656 and 23 December 1656. Evelyn, *Diary and correspondence*, ed. Bray, 3:81-83.

⁶⁷⁷ Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 81.

restricted a field for patrons drawn to the “curious” display of varied, complex, or rare objects.⁶⁷⁸

The long arc of English history adhered to a familiar narrative structure, and new designs were even more seductive when encapsulating a similar story-telling mode.

Court Taste and Furnishings “like a greate Princes”⁶⁷⁹

In two paintings for the duke and duchess of Lauderdale, Barlow developed themes relating to birds that rely on both contemporary and historical associations. The paintings were commissioned by the Lauderdale family as part of a decorative plan for Ham House that itself was meant to arouse the senses through the luxury of material and variety of every type or kind.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁸ To advertise the Society’s work, Robert Hooke encouraged a wider definition of curiosity and of the pleasures of new inventions and discoveries. In “The Preface” to *Micrographia*, he sets out both intellectual and material benefits of new knowledge: “*The good success of all these great Men, and many others, and the now seemingly great obviousness of most of their and divers other Inventions, which from the beginning of the world have been, as ‘twere, trod on, and yet not minded till these last inquisitive Ages (an Argument that there may be yet behind multitudes of the like) puts me in mind to recommend such Studies, and the prosecution of them by such methods, to the Gentlemen of our Nation, whose leisure makes them fit to undertake, and the plenty of their fortunes to accomplish, extraordinary things in this way. And I do not only propose this kind of Experimental Philosophy as a matter of high rapture and delight of the mind, but even as a material and sensible Pleasure. So vast is the variety of Objects which will come under their Inspections, so many different wayes there are of handling them, so great is the satisfaction of finding out new things, that I dare compare the contentment which they will injoy, not only to that of contemplation, but even to that which most men prefer of the very Senses themselves.*” See “The Preface.” Robert Hooke, *Micrographia: or, Some physiological descriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glasses: with observations and inquiries thereupon* (London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, Printers to the Royal Society, and are to be sold at their Shop at the Bell in S. Paul’s Church-yard, 1665), d3.

⁶⁷⁹ Describing a visit to Ham House on 25 August 1678, John Evelyn wrote, “The house furnishd like a greate Princes.” Evelyn was impressed with the rich variety of decorations and the total effect of display rather than individual works. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144.

⁶⁸⁰ When Ham was refurbished between 1672 and 1679, the Lauderdale family commissioned paintings that covered an all-inclusive range of subjects, including mythological, religious, and genre scenes, as well as landscapes, seascapes, battle-pieces, and portraits. Antonio Verrio (c. 1639-1707), an Italian painter patronized by Charles II, and later James II and William III, painted the Italianate ceiling in the White Closet, and among the Dutch artists, Dirck van den Bergen (1640-1695) contributed nineteen inset pastoral or Italianate paintings and Abraham

Barlow's bird paintings were intended for the bedroom originally occupied by the duchess before her marriage and refitted for her during the renovations. While the duke's bedchamber was decorated with four inset seascapes by Willem Van de Velde, bird paintings were apparently chosen as gender-appropriate for the duchess.⁶⁸¹ The subject matter may also have been selected to present an antithetical pairing between the two apartments on opposite ends of the house's new suite of rooms. Each set of suites flanks a central dining room hung with gilt leather and originally tiled with black and white marble.⁶⁸² The symmetrically arranged apartments give the classical floor plan a surprisingly elaborate opposition of themes and materials, an effect that seems carefully contrived by the Lauderdale's. Although the duke and duchess exchanged bedchambers at some point before May of 1677, the decorations remained unchanged and the couple retained the

Jansz Begeyn (1637-1697) painted an additional fourteen inset pastoral scenes. Thomas Wyck (1616-1677) provided views of foreign ports, and Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633-1707) painted the seascapes. Many paintings were set into panels and others hung over brightly-colored mohair, damask, and gilt leather. The 1683 inventory of "Her Graces Bed-Chamber" describes the walls as "Hung with foure peices of Morella mohayre Scarlet and black with embroidered borders with black and blew tufted frings." The 1683 inventory of the "Anti-roome" (the duke's dressing room before his death) states "Hung wth three peices of Crimson & gould colour Damasusk wth black & gould fringe," and the "Reposing Closet (the Duke's closet) states "Hung with three peices of black and Gold colour Damusk with a black and Silver foote with Scarlet fringe." The inventory is titled, "A true and perfect Inventory of her Grace ye Duchess of Lauderdale's Goods in Ham-House taken this 13th day of August 1683." Also see my Chapter II.

⁶⁸¹ The 1679 inventory, headed "A true Inventory of his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale in Ham-house, taken the 4th of August 1679" lists the paintings as "Four sea peices over the doores"; the 1683 inventory identifies the seascapes as, "Four fixt pictures over the doores of Vandevelde." Barlow's bird paintings are entered in the 1679 inventory as "two fixt pictures over the doores" and in the 1683 inventory as "two fixt pictures of Barlow."

⁶⁸² In both the 1679 and the 1683 inventories this informal dining room is titled "The Marble Dineing Roome," and contains three oval tables of cedar with leather covers and two side tables of cedar with leather covers. Both the inventories describe the room as hung with six "peices of guilt leather." A 1672 mason's bill describes the floor. Lincolnshire, Buckminster Estate Office, Buckminster Park Archive, 442.

use of the original antechambers for each bedroom.⁶⁸³ The luxurious effect appears to be of primary importance and this effect seems to work just as well for the duke as for the duchess.

Barlow's paintings were to complement large bird cages or aviaries built on each side of the room's bay window and to contribute to a scheme that figuratively united the room with the new axially designed south garden front.⁶⁸⁴ The avian imagery would have linked the interior decoration to the formally laid geometry of the gardens.⁶⁸⁵ After the duke's death in April of 1682, the bed and bed furnishings were removed, and by the time of the 1683 inventory, the bedchamber was described as "The Volury Roome," a reference to the attached aviary.⁶⁸⁶ Barlow's two paintings, high above the doors, would have extended the theme, but probably would have been overshadowed by the room's many other decorative objects. According to a 1679 valuation of the

⁶⁸³ An inventory prepared in 1677 lists this bedchamber as "Her Graces Bed Chamber." The inventory has no heading but does list the the duke's wardrobe as: "An Inventor of Goods In the Wardrobe belonging to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham and in John Marks his Custodie May the 29 1677." The duchess apparently exchanged bedrooms with the duke because she installed a bathing room in the basement after the renovations had been partially completed. The 1679 inventory lists a "bathing tubb" which was placed on the black and white tile floor in the basement under the bedchamber. That side of the house contained both the kitchen, located next to the new bathing room, as well as the house's water supply. The duke's bedroom would allow her easy access to the bathing room via a new circular stair. Thorton and Tomlin also surmise that the duke's side of the house provided enough space for a bedroom for the duchess's lady-in-waiting. Thorton and Tomlin, *The Furnishing and Decoration of Ham House*, 48.

⁶⁸⁴ The wood-framed birdhouses were equipped with lead cisterns set on stone, and water for the cages was supplied by pipes. Lincolnshire, Buckminster Estate Office, Buckminster Park Archive, 438, 441, 443. The birdhouses are seen flanking the two bay windows on Hendrik Danckert's painting of Ham House (fig. 2.2).

⁶⁸⁵ It is in his description of the gardens that Evelyn mentions the aviaries at Ham. See Evelyn's diary entry for August 28, 1678. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144. They are also mentioned by Roger North in Roger North, Howard Colvin, and John Newman, *Of building: Roger North's writings on architecture* (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press, 1981), 144.

⁶⁸⁶ The 1673 joiner's bill lists "4 birdcages on ye garden side." Lincolnshire, Buckminster Estate Office, Buckminster Park Archive, 411.

paintings, three other works in the bedchamber are listed as “A Still Life, by John Dehame,” a “Satyr and a Woman, after Rubens,” and a “Chymist, of old Wick.”⁶⁸⁷ The large stilllife, likely by the Dutch artist Jan Davidsz de Heem, was set above the fireplace, and the two free-hanging paintings would have been mounted against “three peices of yealow damusk paned with blew mohayre with blew and yealow fringe.”⁶⁸⁸ The variety of both subject matter and materials in the relatively small bedchamber additionally addresses the Lauderdale’s resources and continental taste. The decoration points out the aesthetic processes that contribute to the room’s elaborate effects and the couple’s ability to assemble a wide range of genres from painters known for specific types and styles of painting.⁶⁸⁹ The richness of the decorations, based on courtly rooms in grandly proportioned houses, is even more pronounced in Ham House’s intimate apartments.

To distinguish his bird paintings from the house’s many other material attractions, Barlow plays on the collection of songbirds in the aviary, especially commenting on the aural effect. In *A Goose and Other Birds* (fig. 5.6), dated 1673, a lake sets the scene for a variety of wetland or wading birds.⁶⁹⁰ A lapwing harasses a gosling at the right and a goose at the left gives a call of

⁶⁸⁷ The estimate of paintings is on a single sheet and entitled “An Estimate of the Pictures in Ham-House” and includes all free-hanging paintings, but not those typically inset into the paneling. The paintings in the bedchamber are numbered respectively 50, 45, and 46. Another version of the estimate is in the Buckminster Park Archive, 361. In the 1683 inventory, De Heem’s picture is most likely described as “One picture with a guilt Carv’d frame over the Chimney.”

⁶⁸⁸ The 1683 inventory, “The Voluary Room.”

⁶⁸⁹ Continental artists included Anthony van Dyke, Peter Lely, Abraham Bloemaert, Antonio Verrio, Franz Cleyn, Dirk van Bergen, Bartolomeus Breenberg, Jan Wyck, Cornelius Vroom, and Hendrik Danckerts, among others. See the estimate of pictures, Lincolnshire, Buckminster Estate Office, Buckminster Park Archive, 361. Most artists represented were better known than Barlow and most had more paintings in the Lauderdale’s collection.

⁶⁹⁰ The surface paint on Francis Barlow’s *A Goose and Other Birds* is, unlike its matching overdoor, very abraded and damaged, preventing an adequate reproduction.

alarm at another lapwing flying overhead. Barlow treats the group of foreground birds as both a compositional and a narrative device for displaying a variety of birds in different positions in the air and on the ground. Angry birds and their warning calls also provide the subject matter for the painting's pendant, hung above the opposite doorway. In *An Owl and Other Birds* (fig. 5.7), Barlow details a number of species of birds common to the English countryside and here arranges them around an owl perched in the center of a tree hollow. Scolding magpies, jays, and songbirds circle the owl and indicate the motif of predator and prey. On the right, birds gather on branches dense with foliage; on the left, the view opens to country fields, small farms, and distant mountains. Several swallows soar against the cloudy sky and others perch on small tree limbs and on the ruins of a grand stone wall. Both paintings refer to the room's innovative decorative attraction, and both cite old subjects as well as new genres.

Particularly in *An Owl and Other Birds*, Barlow differentiates the creative potential of his specialty from the many other works at Ham House. By extending the iconography of his group of birds to include literary allusion as well as empirical observation, he competes with the more well-known artists and the higher genres chosen by the Lauderdale family to decorate their villa. Barlow thus develops all aspects of contemporary and historical iconography. His theme – an owl mocked by other birds – is from a common morality tale appearing in many bestiaries and fables of the Middle Ages. According to the entry in the late thirteenth-century Bodley MS 764, the screech owl (fig. 5.8) hid at night in the darkness of evil and in opposition to light as a symbol of truth and justice.⁶⁹¹ When discovered by other birds during the day, the owl is harassed and taunted, a scene

⁶⁹¹ University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 764.

allegorically interpreted as the sinner caught in the day's full light and exposed by the faithful.⁶⁹²

The story appeared in prints during the sixteenth century and recurred in continental collections of Aesop's Fables, yet with the passage of time and with changes in context, the moral and religious dimensions of the tale shifted. The theme was repeated in a woodcut designed by Albrecht Dürer and produced as a broadsheet (fig. 5.9) in c. 1540 by Hans Glaser.⁶⁹³ The caption, "Der Eülen seyndt alle Vögel neydig und gram" ("All Birds are angry and aggressive towards the Owl"), and the accompanying poem, however, interpret the image as unjust persecution. The subject of the owl mocked by other birds assumed various meanings, depending on context and commentary, and shifted from medieval examples in which the apparatus of exegesis securely tied the story to Christian history.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹² Richard W Barber, *Bestiary: being an English version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764: with all the original miniatures reproduced in facsimile* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 148-49.

⁶⁹³ According to Walter Strauss, the broad sheet is rare. He produces a drawing of the owl and birds by Dürer as well as the woodcut. Walter Strauss, ed., *Albrecht Dürer, Woodcuts and Woodblocks* (New York: Abaris Books, 1980), 514-15, 617. A similar image of an owl mocked by birds was issued without a caption on a set of French playing cards between 1435 and 1455. "Sept d'oiseaux" (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Estampes, Kh 25 Rés.) is illustrated in plate 31: Marie-Hélène Tesnière, *Bestiaire medieval: enluminures: exposition, Bibliothèque nationale de France du 11 octobre 2005 au 8 janvier 2006* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005), 78.

⁶⁹⁴ The sixteenth-century Nuremberg printmaker Virgil Solis (1514-1562) used the idea of the owl mocked birds on a number of his designs. In a series of ten prints of animals and birds and their identifications, Solis includes the owl scolded by birds in three of the engravings. Other prints in the series include a pelican surrounded by birds and a peacock surrounded by birds. He additionally uses the theme of the owl and other birds in two friezes. See Jane S. Peters, and Adam von Bartsch, *German masters of the sixteenth century, Virgil Solis: intaglio prints and woodcuts*, The illustrated Bartsch, 19, pt. 1. (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), 182-83, 215. Also see Wolfgang Harms, "On Natural History and Emblematics in the 16th Century," *The Natural sciences and the arts: aspects of interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th century, an international symposium* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985), 67-83; Arnold Clayton Henderson, "Medieval Beasts and Modern Cages: The Making of Meaning in Fables and Bestiaries," *PMLA* 97 (1982): 40-49. Jakob Rosenberg discusses various meanings of the owl in

By the seventeenth century the theme of “the Owl and the Birds” became popular in Flemish art, with the many versions of that subject produced by the Antwerp painter Frans Snyders and his followers. In one interpretation, an owl tethered to a pole acts as a decoy, drawing birds to a hunter’s snare in much the same way as the theme was illustrated in hunting scenes common to both fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts and prints.⁶⁹⁵ In such texts the owl often functions to satirize foolishness, particularly as a stand-in for the devil and as bait for human weakness and folly.⁶⁹⁶ But in one of Snyders’s most flamboyant iteration, *Concert of Birds* (fig. 5.10), the mocking birds play on the well-known allegory of hearing: the cacophony of sound in Snyders’s comic version functions as a parody of the traditional image of a musical concert. As

paintings by Bosch, concluding that the artist alludes to a range of motifs, but is continually concerned with the effect of evil and the punishment for vice and folly. Jakob Rosenberg, “On the meaning of a Bosch drawing,” in *De artibus opuscula XL; essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Milliard Meiss, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 1:422-27. Piotr Paskiewicz discusses the many interpretations of the owl, particularly in Netherlandish art of the seventeenth century, often citing examples of the owl as an emblem of stupidity, foolishness, deception, and trickery. Piotr P. Paskiewicz, “Nocturnal Bird of Wisdom: Symbolic Functions of the Owl in Emblems,” *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 23 (1982): 56-84;

⁶⁹⁵ Simon Bening’s book of hours known as “Book of Golf,” c. 1530, shows an owl tethered to a pole as a lure in a scene that portrays several ways of trapping birds. The illumination appears in the bottom margin of the calendar page for August and is opposite a full page illustration of the harvest. London, The British Library, Add. ms. 24098, f. 26r. Frans Snyders collaborated with Jan Wildens on a similar scene where an owl tied to a central perch drew other birds to sticky snares in nearby trees. The moral – the pitfalls of blind hatred – explained that the ignorant harm only themselves. See Frans Snyders and Jan Wildens, “The Bird Trap,” c. 1620, plate 119: Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman, *The Age of Rubens*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts in association with Ghent, 1993), 563-64.

⁶⁹⁶ Jeroen Stumpel reproduces several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript illustrations and prints of an owl sitting on a pole and used as a decoy. Jeroen Stumpel, “The foul fowler found out: on a key motif in Dürer’s ‘Four witches,’ ” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30 (2003): 146-48. An owl tied to a perch is also represented as an emblem illustrating the lures of women and the perils of love. The woodcut is by Virgil Solis for Resner’s *Emblemata. Ama quod foemina debes* (Woman, love what you should know). Peters, and Von Bartsch, *German masters of the sixteenth century, Virgil Solis: intaglio prints and woodcuts*, 575.

part of the series of the Five Senses, the allegory of hearing references all aspects of sound, featuring instruments, clocks, musical scores, concerts, songbirds, and even parrots mimicking the musical arts.⁶⁹⁷ Displayed with paintings of the other senses, it offered artists subject matter for highly detailed scenes of the fruits of both natural and human ingenuity.⁶⁹⁸ These series usually portray encyclopedic collections meant to arouse all the senses, entertaining the eye and mind with visual elaboration and literary allusion. They recreate a gallery of art – a *kunstkamer* – that portrays princely lifestyles, rich with the products of cultural civility and invention. In them, scientific and musical instruments, paintings, prints, and sculpture, architectural ornaments and formal gardens, and arrays of glittering luxury objects overflow tables, walls, apartments, and views.

Snyders links his *Concert of Birds* to these large collections of instruments and elegant groups of musicians, exaggerating the excesses of courtly treasures and the seriousness of high style. The parody allows him to comment on the ambition of his fellow Antwerp artists and possibly to cite the pitfalls of other pretensions to culture and fame, while also assembling another type of compendium. Collecting a sampling of creation's wide range of birds from different environments and regions of the world, he combines raptors, songbirds, and waterfowl; he

⁶⁹⁷ See catalogue entries 192-201. Hella Robels, *Frans Snyders, Stilleben- und Tiermaler, 1579-1657* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1989), 304-09. For the development of the iconography of "Concerts of the Birds" and the owl as primarily a symbol of foolishness, especially in the art of seventeenth-century Flanders, see A. P. de Mirimonde, "Les concerts parodiques chez les maitres du nord," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (1964): 263-70.

⁶⁹⁸ For an example of allegories of the Five Senses, see the five panels of the series by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, dated 1618. Anne T. Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel: a working friendship*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum; The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery; Zwolle: In association with Waanders Publishers, 2006), 90-99.

presents peacocks, pigeons, magpies, and eagles, as well as toucans, parrots, and macaws. The birds still flock around an owl, but now they sing to sheet music suspended from his perch and cite a range of aesthetic subjects. In Snyders's overblown parody, the difference between the customary allegory of hearing and the artist's comic interpretation celebrates his own ingenuity and the unique talent of Antwerp's inventive painters. Snyders manipulates parodic devices to place his own self-confident work among the paintings of the North's famed artists.

In choosing the mocked owl as his subject, Barlow alludes to his Flemish predecessors, and in contrast offers an updated version of "the Owl and the Birds" that would appeal to the English naturalist's more specialized interests.⁶⁹⁹ He dispenses with the allegorical reference and revises the function of the mocking flock, now presenting the birds as a collection of familiar species from England's countryside. At Ham House they act as a counterpart to the birdcages' captive occupants, especially because their strident calls mock the concert presented by the aviaries' songbirds. In referencing an older form of painting and interpretation, Barlow also makes a case for empirical observation as the more progressive subject for studies of art and science alike. Thus, the emblematic material of the owl and the mocking birds – as a religious allegory,

⁶⁹⁹ Richard Blome describes the use of an owl as a decoy for smaller birds, writing: "You must know that all *Birds* that sleep in the *Night*, are Enemies to those that take their Rest in the *Day*. Such that sleep by *Day* are several sorts of *Owls*, the *Ospreys*, &c. and when any of the *Day Birds* espy them, they gather about them both great and small, endeavoring to kill them." Richard Blome, *The gentlemen's recreation: in two parts: the first being an encyclopaedia of the arts and sciences . . . the second part treats of horsemanship, hawking, hunting, fowling, fishing, and agriculture: with a short treatise of cock-fighting . . . : all which are collected from the most authentick authors, and the many gross errors therein corrected, with great enlargements . . . : and for the better explanation thereof, great variety of useful sculptures, as nets, traps, engines, &c. are added for the taking of beasts, fowl and fish: not hitherto published by any: the whole illustrated with about an hundred ornamental and useful sculptures engraven in copper, relating to the several subjects* (London: Printed by S. Roycroft for Richard Blome . . . , 1686), 161.

morality tale, and later, a parody of the senses – is recast by Barlow as a natural-history display.⁷⁰⁰ Rather than moving from the literal to the analogical or from the natural to the social, he argues for empirical evidence as the basis of painting and for the generation of new forms from old processes. *An Owl and Other Birds* may itself be a critique of reading the physical world in an allegorical context, and additionally, a means of demonstrating Barlow's knowledge of the subject matter. In placing the old fable in a contemporary context – particularly one that depicts the scientific basis for the production of knowledge – Barlow also positions the material of the lower genres into higher frames of reference, and consequently, to claims of greater status.

Barlow repeated this strategy in new versions of other traditional landscape subjects, especially hunting scenes, again reinterpreting customary subject matter for a contemporary venue.⁷⁰¹ In an account of a visit to Pyrford, Denzil Onslow's country estate, John Evelyn mentions Barlow's paintings of birds and hunting. Evelyn's diary entry of 24 August 1681 first describes the estate's provisions and the host's hospitality, then mentions Barlow's subject matter as a clever means of showcasing Onslow's property.

⁷⁰⁰ This motif – an owl mocked by birds – is the subject of several designs by Barlow. The basic composition is repeated in London, Tate Britain, part of the Oppé Collection, T11268. Engraved and etched on paper, the print is published as no. 48 in Barlow, *Various birds and Beasts Drawn from Life*. Here, a woodpecker, magpie, and several small birds attack an owl before a hollowed-out tree. This print is issued in reverse and signed “F. Barlow delin., F. Place fecit, P. Tempest ex.” London, British Museum, Gg.4L.29. It is from the series *Multae et diversae avium species variis formis et pernatura libus figuris per Fra. Barlow Anglum . . .*, 1694. On the same theme but with a river landscape, Barlow designed an owl attacked by a heron, two cormorants, a woodpecker, a magpie, and a large variety of other birds. London, British Museum, Q.5.551.

⁷⁰¹ Barlow also produced drawings to illustrate *Seuerall Wayes of Hunting, Hawking, & Fishing according to the English Manner*. His twelve designs were etched by Wenceslaus Hollar. See Francis Barlow, *Seuerall wayes of hunting, hawking and fishing according to the English manner / invented by Francis Barlow; etched by W. Hollar* (London: And are to be sould by Iohn Overton . . . , 1671).

I was invited to Mr. *Denzil Onslows* at his estate at *Purford*, where was much company, & such an extraordinary feast, as I had hardly ever seene at any Country Gent: table in my whole life; but what made it more remarkable was, that there was not any thing, save what his Estate about it did not afford; as Venison, Rabits, hairs, Pheasants, Partridge, pigeons, Quaile, Poultrie, all sorts of fowle in season (from his own Decoy neere his house) all sorts of fresh fish; so Industrious is this worthy Gent: After dinner we went to see sport at the decoy, I never saw so many herons &c. The seate stands on a flat, the ground pastures, rarely watred, & exceedingly improved; since Mr. Oslow bought it of *Sir Rob; Parkhurst*, who spent a faire Estate &c.: The house is Timber, but commodious, & with one ample dining roome, & the hale adorned with paintings of fowle, & hunting &c: the work of Mr. *Barlow*, who is excellent in this kind from the life:⁷⁰²

He notes the Elizabethan country house and indicates the traditions that secured the productive estate to an old moral economy.⁷⁰³ In Evelyn's view, the virtues of Pyrford are materialized as fruits of a good estate and nature's customary response to a worthy lord: they overflow table, forest, farm, field, and stream. Onslow (c. 1642-1721) had, in fact, just acquired the seat of Pyrford in 1677, not long after his marriage to Sarah Foote, a daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Foote as well as the wealthy widow of the first baronet, Sir John Lewis.⁷⁰⁴ In the literary tradition of the country house, Evelyn's compliments to his host are also by way of a critique of Pyrford's

⁷⁰² Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:255.

⁷⁰³ Evelyn often emphasized the importance of the park, garden, and grounds in describing country houses and most often relies on traditional formulas of praise. In addition to his similar account of Ham House, also see the description of Lord Sunderland's house and garden on 14 July 1674. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:69-70.

⁷⁰⁴ See C. E. Vulliamy's history, based on an unpublished family history by the fifth earl of Onslow. C. E. Vulliamy, *The Onslow family, 1528-1874, with some account of their times* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1953), 24-25. Also see E. W. Brayley, John Britton, Gideon Algernon Mantell, *A topographical history of Surrey*, 5 vols. (Dorking: Robert Best Ede; London: Tilt and Bogue, 1841), 2:141-47.

previous owner, Sir Robert Parkhurst, who spent the estate's proceeds and neglected its upkeep.⁷⁰⁵ In contrast, Onslow settled into the duties of country life, improved his estate, and once established, quickly entered politics, becoming a MP for Surrey in 1679.⁷⁰⁶ According to Evelyn, Onslow maintains the ideals of stewardship so important to English tradition: the provision of the land funds hospitality just as the architecture of the house supports the values of community and pleasures of art.

After defining the estate's resources, recreations, and comforts, Evelyn turns to the house's aesthetic elements. On the walls of Pyrford's hall are at least four paintings by Barlow that visually introduce the guest to the same aristocratic pastimes, well-governed holdings, rich apartments, and intellectual interests mentioned by Evelyn.⁷⁰⁷ The decorative program, in effect, refigures the great hall according to its symbolic function as a center for the estate's ceremonies and entertainments. Barlow's introductory set of paintings plays on his renown as a painter of birds and animals to showcase new imagery specifically related to Pyrford's prosperity. In

⁷⁰⁵ Sir Robert Parkhurst, son of Robert Parkhurst, the Lord Mayor, died in 1674 and a grandson, also named Robert Parkhurst, inherited and sold the Pyrford to Denzil Onslow. The house was eventually demolished in 1776 by Robert Lord Onslow. See Henry Elliot Malden, *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, vol. 3 (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1911), 431-33.

⁷⁰⁶ For Onslow's parliamentary career and support of Whig interests, see Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, and D. W. Hayton, eds., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715*, History of Parliament Trust, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5:19-20.

⁷⁰⁷ The four paintings by Barlow are now at Clandon Park, Guildford, Surrey, originally an Elizabethan house bought in 1641 by Denzil Onslow's father, Sir Richard Onslow, the first baronet. The house was razed and rebuilt as a Palladian-style mansion in the early 1720s by Lord Onslow, the second baron. For Clandon Park and the Onslow family, see Brayley, Britton, and Mantell, *A topographical history of Surrey*, 2:54-60. *The Southern-Mouthed Hounds*, and *A Decoy* are reproduced in Sophie Chessum and Christopher Rowell, *Clandon Park* (Swindon, Wilts: National Trust, 2002), 34, 38. Two other paintings by Barlow – *A Cassowary* and *An Ostrige* – are also at Clandon Park, but were probably acquired at a later date.

Southern-Mouthed Hounds (fig. 5.11), a pack of hunting dogs fills the full twelve feet of a narrow frieze: as the hunt begins, dogs in the foreground stop to catch the scent, while those in the background gain slow momentum up a long, low hill. Moving in the opposite direction, a hare looks at the viewer from a safe corner of the foreground path. Rather than providing a typical hunting scene, the artist portrays the elements that underpinned the entire structure of a country house's recreation and hospitality. Thus, the hunting dogs – often bred on an estate exclusively for the requirements of local land and game – are a sign of the sport itself, and in *Southern-Mouthed Hounds*, Barlow characterizes the details of the dogs and the behavior of the breed, rather than the process of the hunt.⁷⁰⁸

A second painting, *A Farm Yard* (fig. 5.12), turns from the estate's breeding of hounds for sport to the flocks of domestic birds that fill the barnyard and provision the table. Barlow shows

⁷⁰⁸ The dogs may be those identified in Blome's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1686) as southern-mouthed hounds: "Your large, tall and big *Hounds*, called *Deep-mouthed*, or *Southern-mouthed Hound*, and are heavy and slow, and fit for *Woodlands* and *Hilly Countrys*; they are of *deep Mouths* and swift *Spenders*; they are generally higher behind than before, with thick short *Legs*, and are generally great of *Body* and *Head*, and are most proper for such as delight to follow them on Foot, as *Stop-Hunting*, as some call it; but by most it is termed hunting under the pole." However, as many estates bred their own hunting dogs at that time, the particular bred is probably difficult to distinguish. Blome only divides his section on dogs into hounds, beagles, terriers or harriers, "tumblers and lurchers," and great hounds. He is critical of Nicholas Cox's classification of hounds by their color. Cox devoted 26 pages to dogs in his 1677 edition of *The gentleman's recreation*. Although Cox's edition was a third the size of Blome's, it appears to be the more popular volume. It was first published in 1674, with an amended edition in 1677, and was reissued in 1686, 1697, 1707, and 1721. The single edition of Blome's large compendium was lavishly illustrated and included ten pages of his subscribers' coats of arms. See respectively, Blome, *The gentleman's recreation*, 86; Nicholas Cox, *The gentleman's recreation: in four parts, viz. hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing: wherein these generous exercises are largely treated of, and the terms of art for hunting and hawking . . . with an abstract at the end of each subject, of such laws as relate to the same* (London: Printed by J.C. for N.C. and are to be sold by Tho. Fabian . . . , 1677), 24-51. A drawing similar to *Southern-mouthed Hounds* is now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

the yard brimming with birds common to an estate's home farm: peafowl, chickens, geese, ducks, and turkeys crowd the lowly enclosure. The barn at the right, however, is matched on the left by a grand classical structure, one column seemingly ruined by the marks of time; in the background, the lantern of an eclectic English manor provides a high perch for yet more birds. *Farm Yard* may signal the commonplace subject matter of the lower genres, but the painting's other trappings contradict typical generic conventions.⁷⁰⁹ In size (over thirteen by nine feet) it cites the grand Flemish hunt and trophy paintings that often transformed small genre paintings to scenes of monumental scale and, like extravagant Netherlandish still-lives, the sheer number of birds overwhelms any individual storyline.

The offerings of the estate's poultry yard are matched by the provisions from Pyrford's fields and waterways in two other paintings, again measuring over thirteen by nine feet each, in Onslow's hall. The first portrays products from the lakes and streams, and the second shows the estate's large stock of waterfowl. The former, *Landscape with Birds and Fishes* (fig. 5.13), dated 1667, displays the day's take – salmon, trout, eel, carp, and pike – in the foreground, where two magpies and a heron eye the catch. In the background, poplars line a road to the left, and on the right, tree-covered banks mark the course of a waterway, probably the River Wey. The painting's pendant, *A Decoy* (fig. 6.14), depicts the site of the decoy mentioned by Evelyn, and it too is an illustration of wildlife for the naturalist just as much as it is a picture of the seat's hunting

⁷⁰⁹ Several of the paintings of Jan van Kessel I place birds in a setting with a traditional Netherlandish village in the background, for example, Jan van Kessel I, *A River Landscape with Turkeys and Poultry*, c. 1660. Many of these paintings were part of elaborate sets, with a central painting that depicted a city or town and smaller paintings of views of the surrounding territory. On Van Kessel's small paintings with birds, see Olaf Koester, *Flemish Paintings, 1600-1800* (Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2000), 154-55.

preserves.⁷¹⁰ Over forty-five birds – ducks, teal, hawks, herons, lapwings, and sparrows among them – cover the sky and foreground plane. Startled by a kite that swoops from the right, the birds on the ground look up in alarm, while those in the air form a great arc overhead. In the middle ground a huntsman's shed stands in the shade of a tree with a games-keeper just visible in the doorway; nearby, streams feed the wetland. The scene portrayed by Barlow is much like the description of Pyrford in John Aubrey's *History of Surrey*, begun in 1673 and first published in 1718. Aubrey mentions the property's many streams and the "rich Meadows water'd by them," writing that the park, "a very delightful Place; . . . is three Miles about" and "Adjoyning to this Park is a very pleasant Decoy Pool with four Tunnels."⁷¹¹ In Barlow's views of Pyrford, the hunting habitats and game preserves – the famed recreational features of country life – are combined with a sample of the estate's many species of birds, defining two claims to elite culture. The resources shared through Onslow's hospitality and noted in Evelyn's diary entry are, in

⁷¹⁰ A decoy is mentioned several times in contemporary literature in connection with elite parks. On 9 March 1665 Evelyn writes about the water birds at the decoy created by Charles II in St. James Park: "The *Parke* was at this time stored with infinite flocks of severall sorts of ordinary, & extraordinary Wild fowle, breeding about the Decoy." He again mentions the decoy on 29 March 1665. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:399, 404. A decoy is also mentioned by Blome as a important element in a park, and a decoy pond, using domestic fowl to lure wild ducks and teal, is described in his section on fowling. Blome, *The gentlemans recreation*, 113, 128.

⁷¹¹ John Aubrey, *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey. Begun in the year 1673, by John Aubrey, Esq; F. R. S. and continued to the present Time. Illustrated with proper Sculptures*. 5 vols. (London: printed for E. Curll, 1718-19), 3:197-98. As late as 1734 Defoe also mentions the park and decoy, but borrows his description from Aubrey. See Daniel Defoe, *Curious and diverting journies, Thro' the whole Island of Great-Britain. Containing, I. A particular description of the principal cities and towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The customs, manners, speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and employment of the people. III. The produce and improvement of the lands, the Trade, and Manufactures. IV. The sea ports and fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The publick edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful observations on the whole. Particularly fitted for the Reading of such as desire to Travel over the Island* (London: printed and sold by G. Parker, 1734), 88.

Barlow's *A Decoy*, remodeled as important aesthetic and intellectual components of refined experience.

The reinterpreted themes of country life in Onslow's hall were also a means of innovatively presenting the material of the rural estate in a new narrative context. The over-filled poultry yard framed by different types of architecture, the long line of hunting dogs, and the preserves of fish and fowl detail both the traditional interests of country society and contemporary directions in the knowledge of the natural world. Barlow's paintings, possibly commissioned by Robert Parkhurst and acquired by Denzil Onslow when he bought Pyrford Park in 1677, functioned to greet the visitor with a conception of the estate's full fare. They cast the old Elizabethan hall – the central symbol of hospitality – as a figural cornucopia where the house's bounty would match the products cultivated in encircling fields, farms, parks, and gardens.⁷¹² Where Barlow's landscapes present the estate as a parallel of its owner's command of large holdings and heritable customs, they also advertise Onslow's participation in contemporary advances. New methods of determining and depicting knowledge are among the many distinctions of the landed estate, and Barlow's feast for the eye is one for the senses as well as the intellect. He alters the traditional representation of landed property as a ceremonial center by including the

⁷¹² A traditional identification of the rich estate as a metonym for its prosperous owner is expressed in an entertainment poem, published in 1675 by Richard Leigh (c.1649-1728), that describes the bounty of park and table of another large Elizabethan manor:

How many Parks and Chasses call him Lord?

That pay so vast a Tribute to his Board

“On the Duke of Newburgh's Entertainment, and Musick,” Richard Leigh, *Poems upon several occasions, and, to several persons* (London: Printed by Andr. Clark for William Hensman . . . , 1675), 23. The poem is reproduced with notes in Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, 354-57.

interests of science and in the process redefines the resources of the estate.⁷¹³

Many other paintings were produced for the open market or commissioned for smaller spaces. In *A Roller, Two Peregrine Falcons, and a Long-Eared Owl with Her Young* (fig. 5.15) Barlow catalogues only three types of birds. Two falcons, perched on a high branch at the painting's mid-point, direct the action: one glances at a roller flying just out of danger overhead, and the other looks down on three owlettes huddled under the protection of their mother's wing.⁷¹⁴ Barlow shows his birds in a variety of poses – in flight, on the ground, and on a tree limb – and builds both the composition and story on the interaction between predator and prey. While the peregrines traditionally symbolize the royal and aristocratic sport of hawking and the owls suggest birds of the night, it is the behavior of the birds themselves that provides the storyline in this intimate landscape painting. If, however, the birds once held a conventional reference, Barlow shows that it is no longer as relevant as new directions in empirical observation. The European roller, for example, is not native to England and was probably illustrated from a naturalist's collection. It supplies this small narrative grouping with an atypical element and signals that Barlow has arranged the birds as an object of study. In developing a genre not common in England, he makes an appeal to the taste of his audience for innovative subject matter and ingenuity in its treatment. But the diversity of nature is again featured by Barlow to present natural

⁷¹³ Flis argues that Barlow satirized Restoration politics and that his paintings can be interpreted as allegories and satires of religious and political events. Although Barlow also illustrated books and designed political broadsheets, he more likely worked toward the interests of patrons rather than his own political views. Flis, *Francis Barlow: Painter of Birds and Beasts*, 9-12, 20-21, 26-28.

⁷¹⁴ As Hodnett points out, the falcons are probably stuffed models because their feet do not curl around the branch. Hodnett, *Francis Barlow, First Master of English Book Illustration*, 19.

specimens and to display his own talent as equal draws for the viewer.

Where Barlow's smaller paintings condense the new subject matter around narrative themes involving avian behavior, in the large decorative program for the hall at Pyrford, this topic is only of incidental interest. The Pyrford paintings are designed to illustrate the nature of a particular country estate through their size as well as the number and variety of specimens they depict. All are decorative components geared to create a surprising and spectacular effect. These paintings thus complement the estate itself, suggesting that one of the products of the land is intellectual advantage. Species of birds are portrayed as a part of an owner's grasp of technological progress and are shown as another result of the well-managed English estate. They do not just function to display naturalia, but to showcase the value of novelty itself. Old ideas of privilege are combined with new scientific subjects to introduce the social consequence of knowledge and mark the estate as a site of contemporary achievement.

Such paintings of birds within a landscape differ from many of those popular on the continent that were influenced by the hunting scenes of Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders and often featured fierce attacks.⁷¹⁵ The emotional impact of the attack itself is a large element of the subject matter and came to particularly define the sub-genre in Antwerp. Few painters working in England consistently held to the Flemish example, with the exception of Abraham Hondius (c.1628-1695), who was born in Rotterdam and emigrated to England before the third quarter of

⁷¹⁵ For example, an engraving inspired by Frans Snyders was designed by Barlow and published by Pierce Tempest: "*F. Snyders pinx/ F. Barlow delin/ P. Tempest Ex.*" The print belongs to a page from *Diverse avium species* and depicts a fox who has just captured a partridge and has in turn just been caught by a greyhound. Syders's clever design plays on old parables, new naturalia, and skillfully portrayed emotional narratives. London, British Museum, 1997,0928.14.18.

the century.⁷¹⁶ Instead, Barlow and many of his followers generally illustrated arrays of birds and animals in generic landscape settings. Several painters, including Marmaduke Craddock (c. 1660-1717), copied both Barlow's subject matter and his compositions.⁷¹⁷ In one example, Craddock applied the genre to the decoration of a tea canister, featuring a continuous background landscape with birds arranged in the foreground (fig. 5.16).⁷¹⁸ A pair of turkeys, a dove, and a peacock dominate the front face of the locked container, c. 1715, designed to hold two types of tea and a bowl.⁷¹⁹ Usually constructed of foreign hard-woods and equipped with silver or brass fittings, tea

⁷¹⁶ See Buckeridge's entry on Hondius (De Hondt): "He was a Painter whose *Manner* was universal. He drew *History*, *Landskip*, *Cielings*, and small *Figures*; but above all the rest Beasts & Hunting Pieces were his principal Study." Buckeridge, "An essay toward an English school of painting," 436-37. See Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists from Barlow to Herring*, 49-50; plate 6. Vertue also mentions Hondius in his notes on picture sales. He writes, "May. 1726 Mr Halsteds sale of pictures" and records that one of Hondius's paintings was included: "The Celebrated Dog Markett. 'Abraham Honidus 1677.' this picture being much noted. & esteemd as his Master peice." For his entry, Vertue uses Buckeridge's history. See respectively, "Vertue II," *The Walpole Society* (1931-1932): 13, 123.

⁷¹⁷ Vertue also mentions Craddock in the Halsted sale: "in this Sale several of the best pieces of L . . . Craddock of fowles which he painted in a bold strong manner." "Vertue II," *The Walpole Society* (1931-1932): 13. For Craddock, see Maurice Harold Grant, *A chronological history of the old English landscape painters (in oil) from the XVIth century to the XIXth century*, rev. ed. (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1957), 1:60-61; Plate 18, no. 38. The Yale Center for British Art also has a variation of a Barlow painting by Craddock: *Peacocks, Doves, Turkeys, Chickens and Ducks in a Classical Ruin in a Landscape*, c. 1700, B1981.25.169.

⁷¹⁸ The multi-part canisters were more common beginning in the mid-1700s. Craddock's cannister is oil paint on metal and was the earliest tea container in the 150 piece collection of tea caddies donated to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Thomas Sutton. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, W.70-1919

⁷¹⁹ Samuel Pepys was introduced to tea for the first time in the course of his business for the admiralty and records the experience on September 25, 1660. It was still a luxury product in the early 1700s and was only available to less-prosperous clients after middle of the eighteenth century. With a stable relationship with Canton established in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, 2.146 million pounds of tea were imported between 1713 and 1720. Between 1721 and 1739, 8.877 million pounds were imported. K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 388. It's properties, as well as other elite products popular at coffee houses, are discussed

chests stored and protected the then exotic and fashionable herb. The specialty chests themselves were aesthetic objects of display, and judging from extant examples, were very rare in the early 1700s. In Craddock's depiction, empirical observation records nature and introduces the other stimulants available to the senses from within the canister. Indicating the sense-experience of sight, smell, and taste, he points out both innovative commodities and changing social rituals. Craddock thus uses a new genre to distinguish a new product – a coupling that promotes the ingenuity of art, science, and trade.

Other painters also adapted bird and animal subject matter to the requirements of individual patrons and the particulars of specific estates. In *Black Game, Rabbits and Swallows in the Park of a Country House* (fig. 5.17), c. 1700-10, Leonard Knyff (1650-1722) arranges small game in the foreground of a well-kept park. A refurbished castle – a sign of old dynastic architecture and a fanciful new conceit of power – stands on a low middle-ground hill, and a gothic steeple rises above trees in the distance. Knyff's tranquil scene serves as a portrait of the estate's game as well as its large park and long vistas: blackcocks preen beside two rabbits sitting in the sun, while in the background deer graze by a winding stream. Knyff groups the pheasants and rabbits in the foreground and shows the fine house and treed park from across a field of hay. This informal vantage point separates the park and formal gardens from the arable land, creating an unusual perspective to display both the estate's material and aesthetic offerings. A long avenue

by John Chamberlayne (1668/9-1723), writer, translator, and literary editor, who translated many letters from foreign scholars into English for publication in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. John Chamberlayne, *The Natural history of coffee, thee, chocolate, tobacco: in four several sections; with a tract of elder and juniper berries . . . collected from the writings of the best physicians and modern travellers* (London: Printed for Christopher Wilkinson at the Black Boy over against St. Dunstan's church in Fleetstreet, 1682), 8-12.

of trees connects the house on the right with the grazing herd, and there joins another row of trees marking the bank of the stream to the left. The rolling green border matches both the array of game on the frontal plane and the string of birds flying overhead, dividing the painting into horizontal bands of field, park, and sky.

In developing subject matter for the market, Knyff follows the northern precedent that favored distinctive themes of art, especially genres that would complement new modes in the design of houses, gardens, and furnishings. He was born in Haarlem to the landscape painter Wouter Knyff and arrived in England by 1681, becoming a naturalized citizen in 1694.⁷²⁰ By the second decade of the eighteenth century he was remembered in Vertue's notebooks as a painter of birds and animals, but principally as a topographical artist famed for his bird's-eye perspectives of large country estates and royal palaces.⁷²¹

Leonard Knyff a (dutch) painter chiefly fowls dog. &c. born in holland died in 1721. at westminster, where he liv'd & dealt in pictures but the most remarkable of his works are the views drawn & painted by him of the Palaces & noblemens houses & seats from whence Mr. Kip Engravd his Plates of which there are a great Number. in the sale of his pictures. May. 1723.⁷²²

In the few surviving animal paintings mentioned by Vertue, Knyff often sets animals and fowl common to a country house against the familiar landscape of the estate. By portraying a continuous line of parkland and far views of the countryside, he suggests that the estate extends into the surrounding territory. Hounds, fowl, deer, and other game confirm the prosperity of the country house and position its customs and benefits as the rightful experience of its owners.

⁷²⁰ For Knyff, see Hugh Honour, "Leonard Knyff," *The Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954): 335-338; Harris, *The Artist and the Country House*, 91-95.

⁷²¹ For Leonard Knyff's country house paintings, see my Chapter II.

⁷²² "Vertue I," *The Walpole Society*, 18 (1931-1932): 117-118.

Circling the estate, protective parks surround meadows, orchards, and fields, preserving game and repeating the orderly traditions of elite standing.⁷²³ Yet, rural peace here is also a setting for the naturalist. In *Black Game, Rabbits and Swallows* the designs of nature are detailed by Knyff in the patterns of feathers and fur, and narrative interest takes a scientific turn in the distracted hen watching the antics of the blackcocks. By adding opportunities for the naturalist to the list of the estate's aristocratic pastimes, the painter establishes a contemporary version of civil society where new forms of knowledge amend traditional imagery of country house life.

In this variation of landscape painting, the portrayal of birds and animals advertised new knowledge of the natural world and incorporated that progress in the conventional representation of order. Although imagery still conveyed a country ideal of custom and place, it was also commensurate with changes in the formation of knowledge. Both Barlow and Knyff use the subject matter of scientific enquiry to portray the estate's bounty as the result of hereditary social advantages as well as new intellectual enterprises.⁷²⁴ Birds and animals – specifically described in the foreground of country scenes – structure the estate as a measure of the larger world and frame its good governance with respect to advances derived from new empirical methods. In this, the

⁷²³ The landscape is much like Blome's description of the "beauty and advantages" of a park with "three sorts of Land: . . . The *Mountainous part* should be well-covered with high *Woods*, at least a third part thereof; the *Downs* and *Hilly* part, should have one third part *Coppices* and low *Woods*; and the *Plains*, at least one third part *Meadows*, with some *Arable for Corn*." Blome also writes: "*PARKS* and *WARRENS* may not improperly be termed the *Nurseries* and *Storehouses of Game*, as being always furnished with *Deer*, *Hares*, and *Coneys*, and generally with *Pheasants*, and other winged *Fowl*." Blome, *The gentlemen's recreation*, 113.

⁷²⁴ For example, in advertising for international scientific correspondents for the Royal Society, its secretary, Henry Oldenburg, used the hereditary nobility and historical properties of its members to recommend the Society. Writing to the Canon of Milan, Tommaso Cornelio, to solicit his scholarship and experimental findings, Oldenburg cited Henry Howard, the grandson of the duke of Arundel, and Arundel House, Howard's hereditary house in London, to guarantee the Society's importance and its credibility. *The Correspondence*, 3:339-41.

authority of scientific observation – a dominant theme of the Royal Society – is borrowed to align the estate with contemporary systems of influence; similarly, innovative illustration – pictorial representation based on natural models – is set within the social and aesthetic conventions of country house imagery. The emphasis on the descriptive detail of a species reconstructs the landscape according to the prescripts of the new philosophy in, as Hooke notes in relation to the microscope, the “surveying of the already visible World.”⁷²⁵ Intellectual pursuits thus were reimagined in landscape painting as among the distinctions of landed property, and they supplied yet another means of envisioning the large estate as a dynamic source of cultural power.

A set of landscape paintings, such as those decorating Onslow’s hall, lists the achievements of the estate, just as the portraits of accomplished family members illustrate the importance of that family in relation to others of note. The new sub-genre of English landscape paintings documents a landed holding within a changing social structure and portrays that estate as a progressive force with current political strength. In line with the Royal Society’s promotion of changes in the formation of knowledge, painters developed imagery to celebrate landed property as the consequence of intellectual successes. They borrowed visual strategies that referenced scientific methods of recording nature and depicted the customary rewards of lineage as synonymous with the merits of knowledge. Improvements to an estate could be imagined, like the new discoveries, as innovations advancing order and assuring resource. Paintings that cited new ways of viewing and interpreting the natural world celebrated these practices as transformational imagery. Picturing new expertise and experience, such imagery shifted an insular and traditional moral economy to a broad and contemporary political venue.

⁷²⁵ “Preface.” Hooke, *Micrographia*, D2v.

Continuations: An Epilogue

In English landscape painting, estates and land remained the primary indicators of political power, as well as indices of social standing. But new forms of English imagery included intellectual and aesthetic ideas of property as marks of consequence. Paintings translated cultural innovations and political accomplishments, bringing both within the standard practices of representation and within a legitimizing process. Landscape imagery was adapted too for its symbolic value in celebrating contemporary events, especially rites and ceremonies honoring monumental circumstances. As a means of tribute, the iconography of the land appeared in various contexts to signal national improvements, advances, and well-being.⁷²⁶ For example, the commemoration medals for the Peace of Utrecht toward the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), designed by John Croker (1670-1741), German sculptor and chief engraver to the Royal Mint, were devised to publicly recognize the benefits of an important treaty and to advertise

⁷²⁶ At the time, descriptions of the land were concerned with advances, especially in the debate on the well-being of England, centered on both land improvements and overseas products and raw materials. Like many who argued for advances, the navigational engineer Andrew Yarranton linked foreign trade with the safety and growth of dominion. A nation's "wealth and power," he wrote, should be "sufficient to support their Ambition." Andrew Yarranton, *England's improvement by sea and land The second part. Containing, I. An account of its scituation, and the growths, and manufactures thereof. II. The benefit and necessity of a voluntary-register. III. A method for improving the Royal-Navy, lessening the growing power of France, and obtaining the fishery. IV. Advantageous proposals for the City of London, for the preventing of fires therein; and for lessening the great charge of the trained bands. V. The way to make New-Haven in Sussex, fit to receive ships of burthen. VI. Seasonable discourses of the tin, iron, linnen, and woollen trades: with advantageous proposals for improving them all. Illustrated with seven large copper-plates* (London: To be sold by Tho. Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheap-side, near Mercers-Chapple, 1698), 17.

Britain's acknowledged position as a naval power.⁷²⁷ They formed part of the effort glorifying Queen Anne's peace with Spain and France, an event that was also celebrated in at least seventy poems.⁷²⁸ The medals show a laureate bust of Queen Anne with her titles on the obverse and on the reverse, Britannia flanked by merchant ships at sea on the left and a plowman and sower on the right.⁷²⁹ Issued in 1713 in gold, silver (fig. C.1), and bronze, the medals were distributed to those with political influence, including members of both Houses of Parliament.⁷³⁰ The legend –

⁷²⁷ The Peace of Utrecht (1713) was a series of treaties at the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) between England, the United Provinces, the Holy Roman Empire, Savoy, Prussia, and Portugal on one side and France and Spain on the other. Fred L. Israel, ed. *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648-1967* (New York: Chelsea House, 1967), 177-239.

⁷²⁸ Poems listed by David Foxon include: "The Triumph of Virtue A, Poem upon the Peace, by a Gentleman of North Britain" (London, 1713); "The Triumph of Peace, A Poem, by Nahum Tate" (London, 1713); "Peace, A Poem, by Joseph Trapp" (London, 1713); "The Patriot, A Poem, by George Sewell" (London, 1712); "A Poem, On the Prospect of Peace, by Thomas Tickell" (London, 1713); "A Hymn on the Peace, by Samuel Wesley" (London, 1713). David Foxon, *English verse 1701-1750: a catalogue of separately printed poems with notes on contemporary collected editions* (London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975). Also see Alexander Pope, *Windsor-Forest. To the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdown. By Mr. Pope* (London: printed for Bernard Lintott, 1713).

⁷²⁹ Croker (Johann Crocker) was born in Dresden and worked in both Germany and the Lowlands before immigrating to England in 1691. He was appointed assistant engraver to the Royal Mint in 1697 and chief engraver eight years later. See J. G. Pfister, "Memoir of Johann Crocker," *Numismatic Chronicle* (old ser.) 15 (1853): 67-73; Report dated 20 June 1706, read 18 Aug. 1706 in Great Britain, *Calendar of treasury papers, 1702-1707* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 98:1868-89), 445; C. E. Challis, "Mint officials and moneyers of the Stuart period," *British Numismatic Journal* 59 (1989): 163.

⁷³⁰ Croker designed dies for two sizes: approximately 35 mm and approximately 59 mm. Two slightly different busts of Queen Anne were devised for the obverse, and for the reverse, he created one view of Queen Anne standing and one of her seated. In both reverse views she carried a spear with shield in her right hand and an olive branch in her left. For the bronze, see London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 1851-1877. South Kensington Museum, *List of Objects in the Art Division, South Kensington Museum, Acquired During the Year 1877, Arranged According to the Dates of Acquisition, with Index and Appendix* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1878), 169.

COMPOSITIS. VENERANTVR. ARMIS. (They honor [peace] by laying aside their arms) – defines the aims of Anne’s reign, while the medals themselves formally ritualize a victory of her rule.⁷³¹

Britannia stands on the shore, balanced between ships in a harbor and farmers in the fields – a pairing that depicts civic prosperity as the goal of international power. To summarize the present regime’s accomplishments, the medals counter the cost and destruction of the recent war with productive labor on land and profitable trade across the seas. They thus imaginatively chronicle the peace as two interchanges: the first, an exchange of swords for plowshares, and the second, a transposition of armies on foreign soil for ships within the protection of English harbors.⁷³² In Croker’s design, Britain’s newly established sea power secures military strength, global trade, and domestic commerce; and the old images of the plowman and the sower position this emerging maritime empire as natural and just. The tiny figures of rural labors then identify a divinely sanctioned pattern and situate Britain’s triumphs and grand ambitions within this order.

⁷³¹ Anne’s titles are listed around the outer edge of the medals: ANNA.D.G.MAG. BR.FR. ET.HIB.REGINA. (Anne, by Grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland). Britannia, probably inspired by coins of Hadrian and Antonius Pius from the second century BCE, was used for the first time on the copper halfpenny and farthing in 1672 (British Museum, 1870-5-7-37). Interestingly, Francis Stuart, the Duchess of Richmond and a mistress of Charles II, sat as a model for the figure of Britannia. For the use of Britannia as an allegorical figure for Britain, see Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart monarchy pageantry, painting, iconography* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995), 139-41; Derk Kinnane-Roelofsma, “Britannia and Melita: Pseudomorphic Sisters,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 130-32; Andrew Burnett, *Coins, Interpreting the Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 38-39; R. A. G. Carson, *Coins: ancient, mediaeval & modern* (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 244.

⁷³² William Diaper, for example, describes the war as “the fruitless Toil” and the possibilities offered by the peace as “now the *British* Fleets in Southern Seas/ . . . The Pow’rs protect, who rule the restless Seas.” See William Diaper, *Dryades; or, the nymphs prophecy. A poem. By Mr. Diaper* (London: printed for Bernard Lintott, 1713 [1712]), 28, 32.

Such iconography promoted the commercial potential of the nation's maritime strength and backed that economic and political force with the legitimacy of ancient rites and natural succession.

Landscape themes in other venues detailed success from commercial ventures, prestige from architectural and garden improvements, and knowledge from intellectual achievements. These topics celebrated an English identity within a traditional value structure, yet opened that structure to recent attainments in wealth, position, honor, or fame. Although many new landscape themes were specific to English locations, buildings, and events, all suggested that the opportunities of the wider world were available for England's acquisition and use. Both Jan Siberechts and Francis Barlow, for example, recorded advances important to English institutions. Siberechts depicted the growth of commercially thriving English towns and the power of prosperous estates; Barlow designed images promoting English contributions to natural history. Siberechts's expanding estates and Barlow's ever-larger menageries commemorated England's increasing gains. In the arts, the changing systems of progress were recognized by painters as markets for new subject matter. To promote their paintings, artists relied on the bonds and networks created by recently established organizations and through the opportunities of new regimes, as well as the shared interests of those audiences.

Imagery of Foreign Lands: "other estates as valuable as the lands themselves"

The curiosity about new information, artefacts, materials, or discoveries also became the basis for developing particularly English landscape sub-genres and, additionally, for structuring graphic depictions that stood apart from continental models. Novel images, for example, extended conventional ideas of landed property by assimilating values symbolized by the English country

house. One instance of this extension of authority was the rise of a landscape sub-genre featuring exotic lands.⁷³³ The English painter Robert Robinson (1651-1706), in particular, took advantage of the interest in foreign regions by designing thematic fantasy landscapes installed within the wainscoting of painted paneled rooms.⁷³⁴ Portraying strange and alien worlds as new ventures for gain and exploration, Robinson formulated an image of foreign lands as a benefit to England in the form of exotic property. His wondrous landscape settings presented the potential expansion of English power and thus bypassed any negative associations connected to either commerce or moneymen. Instead, the possibilities attached to a command of global territories pictured the extension of English cultural and economic success. Of my two examples of Robinson's exotic landscapes, the first illustrates the potential riches associated with trading ventures, and the

⁷³³ An earlier seventeenth-century example of this type of subject matter was executed by Edward Pierce for the fourth earl of Pembroke at Wilton House in the early 1650s. Known as the Hunting Room and part of the state apartments on the first floor of the south range, the room is decorated by two rows of large panels set into the wainscoting. The paintings thus provide a consistently themed decorative program from the floor moldings to the cornice. The landscapes include hunting scenes from both the West and exotic foreign lands that, according to Edward Croft-Murray, were inspired by the prints of the Italian painter and engraver Antonio Tempesta (1556-1630). In his later years Tempesta worked in Rome and associated with Flemish painters. Several of the Wilton Hunting Room scenes are reproduced in plates 79-82. See Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England* (London: Country Life, 1962), 1:41.

⁷³⁴ In addition to paintings and prints, Robinson worked as a stage designer and set painter. His contract, dated 1700, to paint the sets for the Royal Theater in Drury Lane is published by Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1928), 344. Also see Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the theatre* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), 288. Robinson is the subject of a dissertation by James Ganz. James A. Ganz, *Robert Robinson (1651-1706): Painter-Stainer and Peintre-Graveur*, Ph.D dissertation (New Haven and Yale, 2000). Records regarding Robinson's entry into the Painter-Stainers' Company, on 12 May 1674, are in Guildhall MS. 5667. Also see Edward Croft-Murray, "An English Painter of Chinoiserie," *Country Life Annual* (1955): 174-79.

second, the appeals of foreign exploration and new knowledge.⁷³⁵

Robinson's largest extant painted room comprises thirty-three painted panels originally set in the wainscoting of a large house at No. 32 Botolph Lane, Eastcheap, London.⁷³⁶ The panels, one signed "R. Robinson" and dated 1695 (fig. C.2), were moved to their present location when the house was demolished in 1906. At that time, E. W. Tristram described the room's original appearance and executed a watercolor (fig. C.3) of the fireplace facade and its adjoining walls. According to his account, the small parlor measured fifteen by eighteen feet and was finely appointed, with a decorative plaster-work ceiling and finely carved mantle. Due to its location close by the wharves and the Customs House, it is assumed that the house was owned by a merchant who probably had his business establishment on the ground floor and his private rooms

⁷³⁵ Other painted paneled rooms were also executed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Mireille Galinou describes fifteen large monochromatic panels, c. 1700, that decorate a room at Norton Court in Kent. They depict foreign sea journeys and exotic locals. See Mireille Galinou, "Merchants' Houses," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004), 38-39. Croft-Murray lists a number of painted rooms, many of which are no longer intact. He describes a series of panels from a house in Chichester, Sussex, built by John Edes in 1695. Although the panels are now missing, Croft-Murray writes that they were set into the wainscoting and portrayed scenes of North and South American Indians after prints in Theodore de Bry's ten-volume series, *America*, published in 1590. Additionally, the door and stiles of a house in Northaw Place, Hertfordshire, contain japanned painting with Chinese scenes; however, the main panels were removed and are now missing. The stiles and door at Carshalton House, Surrey, are painted with the same type of exotic scenery. Croft-Murray also describes two missing panels from another painted room, one depicting Peruvian Indians and the other an outdoor architectural scene with a pagoda, enthroned prince, and slaves. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, 1:224-25.

⁷³⁶ E. W. Tristram provides a description of this room as well as a watercolor of its original configuration. The house was destroyed in 1906 and the panels moved to their present location in the board room of John Cass's Primary School, Aldgate. Their order in the new location is different due to the differences in room size and door placement. E. W. Tristram, "A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 3 (1913-1914): 75-81.

on the floor above.⁷³⁷ The ground floor consisted of four rooms, two deep and arranged symmetrically on each side of a central entry hall and staircase.⁷³⁸ Designed as a tour de force, the painted room itself was located to the left of the hall and lit by the two windows on its long wall.⁷³⁹ The individual panels form a consistent program of decoration, sharing a yellow and green tonality, a low horizon, blue skies, and a high cloud cover. Most of the paintings are set on the banks of a river, lagoon, or sea and contain similar fantastic and foreign imagery. Golden cityscapes are fashioned from both southern Baroque architectural forms and extravagant Asian structures, and the land's inhabitants include both natives in feathered costumes and elegantly dressed women wearing Eastern robes. Imaginary and exotic flora and fauna feature a variety of palm trees, as well as a horned giraffe, Boschian sea monster, rhinoceroses, elephants, llamas, jaguars, and domesticated crocodiles.

In the overmantel (fig. C.4), elaborate gondolas travel along the waterway of a glowing city built directly on a lagoon.⁷⁴⁰ Around the base of a pagoda-like tower, parasols and a palm tree

⁷³⁷ Galinou discusses plans of the original house and its rooms. Examining their function, she speculates that this exotically decorated room once served as a partner's room and would have provided an impressive setting for clients and a means of advertising the success of its owners' enterprises. Following Tristram's analysis, she also suggests the house once belonged to a tobacco merchant. Galinou, "Merchants' Houses," 29-37. Tristram, "A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century," 75. Although there is no substantiating evidence, Ganz also suggests the room was commissioned by a tobacco merchant. See James A Ganz, "A City Artist: Robert Robinson," in *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, ed. Mireille Galinou (London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004), 113.

⁷³⁸ The floor plan is published by C.J. Paget. See C.J. Paget, "Wren's Reputed House in Botolph Lane," *The Architectural Review* 19 (1906): 147-51.

⁷³⁹ Tristram, "A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century," 75-76.

⁷⁴⁰ Ganz writes that it is likely that the overmantel represents El Dorado, located by Sir Walter Raleigh in Guiana. The other panels, he writes, would then represent cities in northeast Venezuela, then thought to be the location of El Dorado. There are, however, no extant examples to support his interpretation. See Ganz, *Robert Robinson (1651-1706): Painter-Stainer and*

shelter near-naked figures from the heat of the tropical sun. In the center, men smoke long-stemmed pipes, and at the left another rides into the scene on the back of a water buffalo. One panel, originally located to the left of the fireplace (fig. C.5), portrays an enormous tobacco plant framed by a serpent and two small lizards in the foreground.⁷⁴¹ In the background, natives tend a crop of tobacco, while others rest in the cooling shelter of a small farm hut. Like the room's other panels, this imagery fuses European building and landscape components with elements from Asia, India, the Americas, and the East and West Indies. Leafy European trees shade Brazilian Indians and black Africans alike, while nearby, imaginative hybrid animals wander through bizarrely conceived cities. Other pleasures include a flying-fish excursion (fig. C.6) where Africans paddle a decoratively rigged Chinese junk along a tropical coast under golden skies. In the Botolph Lane parlor, the vision of foreign lands indicates the enormous profits to be made from trade, as well as

Peintre-Graveur, 113-16.

⁷⁴¹ Engravings and prints of the tobacco plant were common in herbals from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were part of a popular record of new discoveries and information, appealing to a wide and educated audience. For example, see John Frampton's translation of Nicholas Monarde's treatise, *Delle cose che vengono portate dall' Indie Occidentali* (Of the things that have been brought from the West Indies). Monarde's treatise was published in Venice by Giordano Ziletti in 1575 and contains a description of the benefits of tobacco and a woodcut of a tobacco plant. Libro I:3. See John Frampton, *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newfound World, Wherein Are Declared the Rare and Singular Vertues of Divers and Sundrie Herbs, Trees, Oyles, Plants & Stones, with Their Applications, Aswell to the Use of Phisicke, as Chirurgery; Which Being Wel Applied, Bring Such Present Remedy for All Diseases, As May Seeme Altogether Incredible: Notwithstanding By Practize Found Out, To Be True. Also the portrature of the sayde herbes, very aptly described: Englished by John Frampton Merchant. Newly corrected as by conference with the olde copies may appeare. Wherunto are added three other bookes treating of the bezaar stone, the herb escuerconera, the properties of yron and steele, in medicine and the benefits of snowe* (London: in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Quenes Armes, by William Norton, 1580), Fol. 34.

the trader's important experience and participation in England's commercial empire.⁷⁴²

Consistent with debates at the time, property in the form of foreign real estate and financial investment served as signs of the national well-being. Charles Davenant, for example, promoted overseas trade as the "chief Strength and Support of the Kingdom."⁷⁴³ The amalgamation of exotic and domestic imagery in Robinson's painted room also suggests several contemporary practices involving both the importation of goods and the development of colonial plantations.⁷⁴⁴ Commodities brought into England came from a worldwide trading network, so much so that an issue of the May 1711 *Spectator* noted that merchants raise "Estates for their own Families, by bringing into their Country whatever is wanting, and carrying out of it whatever is

⁷⁴² Those with the knowledge of trades were important additions to councils determining the regulation of commerce. Contemporary arguments were made both for and against the inclusion of active overseas traders in governmental institutions. John Cary, a mercantilist writer, argued for an effective council of trade and the expertise of traders on the newly formed Board of Trade (1696) and in parliament. The regulation of trade was part of the state bureaucracy that increased both the state and its base of global power. See John Cary, *An essay on the coyn and credit of England as they stand with respect to its trade* (Bristol: Printed by Will. Bonny and sold by the Booksellers of London and Bristol, 1696), 29-30.

⁷⁴³ Charles Davenant, *An essay on the East-India-trade*. London: [s.n.], 1696), 11.

⁷⁴⁴ According John Pollexfen's contemporary account, items imported by joint stock companies and listed in the Custom House books include "Druggs, Saltpetre, Wrought Silks, Diamonds, Spices, Thrown Silk, Raw Silk, Callicoes, Indigo, Sheets, Shifts, Cabinets, China Ware, Cornelion Rings, Quilts, Petticoats, Gowns, Neckcloths, Ebony Chairs, Cotton Yarn, Cotton Wooll, Erony Yarn, Clouts, Fans, Guinea Shifts, Goats Hair, Girdles, Garters, Ink, Wax, Hankerchiefs, Muslins, Persian Silks, Herba Taffities, Herba Longees, Japan Ware, Heads for Canes, Lacquared Dishes, Plates, Bowles, Trunks, Chests, Skreens, Pillowbeers, Landskips, Pictures, Red Earth, Silk knobs, Wrought Silks with Gold, Slippers, Shooes, Silk Flowers, Table Cloths, Baskets, Combes, Umbrelloes, Wax Candles." Pollexfen (1636-1716) a wine merchant, Privy Council member, and MP, was on the Board of Trade and argued against many of the policies proposed by Davenant. John Pollexfen, *A discourse of trade and coyn* (London: [s.n.], 1697), 98.

superfluous.”⁷⁴⁵ The article concludes:

Trade, without enlarging the *British* Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates as Valuable as the Lands themselves.⁷⁴⁶

Examples of flora and fauna and luxuries and staples came from all parts of the world and were as eagerly sought by the members of the Royal Society as they were by the patrons of coffee houses and the decorators of houses.⁷⁴⁷ The practice of moving goods around the world included

⁷⁴⁵ The topic of this issue of *The Spectator* is the Royal Exchange: “this Metropolis a kind of *Emporium* for the whole Earth.” Mr. Spectator mentions Sir Andrew Freeport and likely reiterates a city view of commerce and advocates Whig concerns. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19, 1711; Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator* I (1712), 295-96. Also see Kathleen Wilson, “Introduction: histories, empires, modernities,” in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

⁷⁴⁶ Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19, 1711.

⁷⁴⁷ The demand for imported products is noted by Pollexfen, who complains of the evils of the large unregulated import trade on English manufacturing. “As ill Weeds grow apace, so these Manufactured Goods from *India* met with such a kind reception, that from the greatest Gallants to the meanest Cook-Maids, nothing was so through so fit, to adorn their persons, as the Fabricks of *India*; nor for the ornament of Chambers like *India-Screens*, *Cabinets*, *Beds* and *Hangings*; nor for Closets, like *China* and *Lacquered Ware*; and the Melting down of our Milled Money, that might by the name of *Bullion* be Exported to purchase them, not at all considered.” John Pollexfen, *A discourse of trade, coyn, and paper credit and of ways and means to gain and retain riches: to which is added The argument of a learned counsel upon an action of the case brought by the East-India-Company against Mr. Sands an interloper* (London: Printed for Brabazon Aylmer . . . , 1697), 99. See also, John Pollexfen, *A discourse of trade and coyn* (London: [s.n.], 1697), 100. Addison and Steele, however, celebrate the new wealth as the ability to mine nature’s blessings: “Nature seems to have taken a particular Care to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest. Almost every *Degree* produced something peculiar to it. The Food often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in another. The Fruits of *Portugal* are corrected by the Products of *Barbadoes*: The Infusion of a *China* Plant sweetned with the Pith of an *Indian Cane*. The *Philippick* Islands give a Flavour to our *European* Bowls. The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of a hundred Climates. The Muff and the Fan come together from the different Ends of the Earth. The Scarf is

transferring plants for cultivation from colony to colony.⁷⁴⁸ Plants for cash crops – sugar cane, indigo, and tobacco – were transported to the Caribbean Islands from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. If land for colonies was already controlled by other European powers, produce from one area of the world could be profitably grown in another with a similar climate.

Colonial trade not only moved diverse goods and crops from continent to continent, but the enterprise also brought people from one region to work on the plantations of another. As many as 175,000 slaves were shipped to the West Indies between 1675 and 1700, the great majority by the Royal African Company.⁷⁴⁹ With the use of forced labor, colonial plantations produced enormous quantities of goods for export, many of which were no longer luxuries, but common products of even lower-class homes.⁷⁵⁰ By 1672 England had imported 17.6 million pounds of tobacco; by 1700 the quantity had grown to 33 million pounds. Sugar increased from 200,000 hundredweight a year in 1670 to 370,000 hundredweight by 1700. Portions of these imports were also re-exported to Europe to meet the growing continental demand for foreign

sent from the Torrid Zone, and the Tippet from beneath the Pole. The Brocade Petticoat rises out of the Mines of *Peru*, and the Diamond Necklace out of the Bowels of *Indostan*.” Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, No. 69, May 19, 1711.

⁷⁴⁸ See, for example, Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 7.

⁷⁴⁹ David Loades, *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 219-20.

⁷⁵⁰ Prices dropped for all commodities and inexpensive types of cotton and linen, as well as sugar and indigo, were cheap enough to be available to the lower classes. Luxury items, however, were still costly. Like Pollexfen, others also advocated for restrictions on foreign imports. See, for example, T. S., *Reasons humbly offered for the passing a bill for the hindering the home consumption of East-India silks, bengals &c. And an answer to the author of several objections against the said bill, in a book, entitled, an essay on the East-India trade*. (London: Printed by J. Bradford in New-street without Bishopsgate, 1697), 7.

commodities.⁷⁵¹ With the rise of the country's trading empire, the specifics of different climates, topographies, natural resources, racial groups, and cultural practices were blurred by the number and distance of the colonies, as well as the variety of imported goods. By 1640 England had bases on a range of overseas territories: Bantam on the island of Java; Surat on the north-west coast of India; St. Christopher, Barbados, Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua in the West Indies; and Newfoundland, Virginia, and Maryland on the coast of North America.⁷⁵² Jamaica was added in 1655, the Cayman Islands between 1655 and 1670, the Virgin Islands in 1660, and the Bahamas in 1670.⁷⁵³ The rapid growth of English colonization was fueled by the increasing demand for assorted extra-European products and by the development of efficient financial practices.⁷⁵⁴ Both

⁷⁵¹ Ralph Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, Macmillan; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1962), 17.

⁷⁵² Elizabeth Mancke, "Chartered Enterprises and the Evolution of the British Atlantic World," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore and London: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 240-44; Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1983), 177-78.

⁷⁵³ Loades, *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690*, 217.

⁷⁵⁴ Changes in financial practices and institutions included the foundation of the Bank of England (1694), the institution of long-term borrowing and long-term debt, as well as recoinage and the circulation of paper money based on the value of metal. Larry Neal's analysis uses a statistical database composed of price shares of joint stock companies. He argues that the creation of rational markets began in the early eighteenth century. See Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Nathan Sussman and Yishay Yafeh, however, find that new financial institutions were only trusted after a period of time, and interest rates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not rise to meet institutional changes, including the protection of private property, but instead followed the cost of wars and global financial markets. Nathan Sussman and Yishay Yafeh, "Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain 1690-1790," *The Journal of Economic History* 66 (2006): 906-11.

involved intellectual advances and both evidenced changing concepts of property.⁷⁵⁵

The Botolph Lane painted room connects England's emerging colonial empire with an exotic paradise that promises new knowledge, experience, discoveries, and commodities. The very movement of goods, ideas, and people necessary to maintain English economic power is here imagined as part of the offerings of a wondrous golden land. But primarily, the paneled room presents a vision of world economic success – the ability to command global territories and remake them for the advantage of English trade. The elision of races, cultures, and foreign lands establishes an exotic ideal, and in the process obscures the low reputation of commerce, as well as the brutal actualities of the colonial marketplace. Rather, Robinson's panels bring the image of riches to the forefront: first, they enfold commerce within the visual conventions of aristocratic representation, and second, they picture trade as a necessary course to luxury and wealth. The same associations that connect the landed estate with social and political power are here enlisted to refigure colonial trade and commercial opportunity as a right of possession. Pamphlet literature, as well as treatises, record the resulting changes in ideology.

As early as 1666 George Saville, the first marquis of Halifax, linked trade, liberty, and empire together as essential components of English greatness: “wee are a very little spot in the

⁷⁵⁵ See, for example, Evelyn's promotion of trade in his account of maritime history. John Evelyn, *Navigation and commerce their original and progress : containing a succinct account of traffick in general, its benefits and improvements, of discoveries, wars and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day, with special regard, to the English nation, their several voyages and expeditions, to the beginning of our late differences with Holland, in which His Majesties title to the dominion of the sea is asserted, against the novel, and later pretenders* (London: Printed by T.R. for Benj. Tooke, 1674), 11-13.

Map of the World, and made a great figure onely by trade, which is the Creature of Liberty.”⁷⁵⁶

According to Halifax, liberty was a higher calling, implying freedom from servitude to low appetites. It was again part of a moral hierarchy that proved a nation’s greatness and demonstrated the reasons for divine favors. In a like vein, Charles Davenant was later to argue that industry’s foundation was in liberty, and further, that empire was compatible with liberty only if its underpinnings were maritime and commercial, not territorial and military.⁷⁵⁷ Thus, trade based on liberty assured empire.⁷⁵⁸ In an era of international military conflict – King

⁷⁵⁶ George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, “A Rough Draft of a New Modell at Sea,” in *The Works of George Saville Marquis of Halifax*, ed. Mark N. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1:300.

⁷⁵⁷ Charles Davenant, “An Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making the People Gainers in the Balance of Trade (1699),” in *The Political and Commercial Works of Charles Davenant LL.D.*, ed. Charles Whitworth (London, 1971), 2:275. Davenant warns of the corruption of trade and the evil of private business but encourages commerce if it is in the national interest, supports the state’s greatness in the world, and is not at the expense of the liberty of the people. He argues for free trade without state restriction or regulation, believing that trade will follow natural demand and be naturally regulated. This perspective also counters the use of military imagery common to Restoration rhetoric. See, for example, the military analogy made by Abraham Cowley in his “To the Royal Society,” which likened the Society’s mission to a “Troop” engaged to conquer. “To the Royal Society,” (VI. 5-8). See Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, ed. Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1959), B2v.

⁷⁵⁸ The ideal of liberty was used to both praise and criticize. For John Milton it served as a means of political criticism, signaling a corrupt regime. See John Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*, first published in 1671:

But what more oft in Nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love Bondage more than Liberty,
Bondage with ease than strenuous Liberty;
And to despise, or envy, or suspect,
Whom God hath of his special favour rais’d
As their deliv’rer; if he aught begin,
How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds?

John Milton, *Paradise regain’d. a poem. In four books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. And Poems upon several occasions. Compos’d at several times* (London: Printed for Jacob

William's War from 1689 to 1697 and the War of Spanish Succession from 1701 to 1714 – only a maritime empire could bring a nation riches and power while also guaranteeing the freedom of its people. This formulation was part of an ongoing debate in which empire would follow dominion just as power followed property.⁷⁵⁹ The Botolph Lane painted panels draw on a related set of analogies. The paintings lend to a foreign land and exotic society a number of the indicators of English order: social hierarchies; wealthy, civilized cities; architectural monuments; and manufactured luxuries. Like English landscapes that present land as a dynamic symbol of economic weight, the painted panels offer potential goods as a property base. As colonial holdings became routes to commercial wealth, this pairing of power and profit acquired many of the same meanings as that of land and authority. With its image of a richly built golden city and agreeable natives tending the plantations, the painted parlor associates commerce with all the benefits of growing empires.⁷⁶⁰ In such imaginative scenes, unending stores of riches could freely

Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate next Grays-Inn Lane, 1707), 115.

⁷⁵⁹ Henry Nevill, for example, states that the monarchies of France and several other countries are changed by “dilating their Power by great Conquests.” He writes, “for there is no Maxim more Infallible and Holding in any Science, than this is in the Politicks, *That Empire is founded in Property*. Force or Fraud may alter a Government; but it is Property that must Found and Eternise it.” Nevill argues that it was property itself that gave power and that with the accumulation of property came the distribution of political power. Nevill first published his discourses on government in the form of a dialogue in 1681. Henry Nevill, *Discourses concerning government, in a way of dialogue wherein, by observations drawn from other kingdoms and states, the excellency of the English government is demonstrated, the causes of the decay thereof are considered, and proper remedies for cure proposed* (London: Printed, and sold by A. Baldwin . . . , 1698), 34-35. David Armitage discusses the beginnings of this controversy, which involved formulating justifications for *dominium* and *imperium* in the first half of the seventeenth century. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 125-45.

⁷⁶⁰ By 1700, close to the time of Robinson's painted room, there were approximately 1,000 London merchants trading with the Americas, particularly capitalizing on the popularity of sugar and tobacco. Alison Gilbert Olson, *Making the empire work: London and American interest groups, 1690-1790* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992), 52. Ian Kenneth

flow from distant lands and circulate throughout England.

Another group of eleven panels by Robinson, all of which are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was perhaps more directly designed for audiences interested in the natural history of a territory, and in particular, its treasures and curious marvels. Part of an unidentified room painted at about the same time as the parlor in the Botolph Lane house, these panels depict a fanciful Asian-inspired landscape, with the steep rocky terrain and low gorges common to imported Chinese paintings of the period.⁷⁶¹ Set on riverbanks, most of the panels portray either processional themes or hunting topics. Both subjects emphasize the wealth and rituals of a civilized but alien land; both incorporate exotic events, structures, topography, and plants and animals. Of the panels portraying alien customs, one (fig. C.7) describes the novel rites of a foreign religion. Protected by a feathered parasol and surrounded by a small retinue, a richly dressed Asian woman bows before an elaborately enshrined Buddha. In the background, a pagoda and other buildings rise against a cliff located in China's steep mountainous terrain. In the foreground, a tall banana tree and large orchid grow along the riverbank, and a bird of paradise soars overhead. Another processional scene (fig. C.8) features a Chinese nobleman

Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: an exploration of communication and community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 92.

⁷⁶¹ Eight of the eleven panels have a tall vertical format and three are horizontally oriented panels (P.6 to P.16-1954). All are from an unidentified house, although two panels may identify families. The latter pair of narrow vertical panels depict Indians with feathered headdresses, as well as coats of arms, devises, and banners that probably designate the owners of the room. (P.15 and P.16-1954). The panels may well have appealed to viewers with a broader fascination for the wealth and experience of foreign lands. For example, when Thomas Sprat promoted the newly formed Royal Society, he distinguished members as gentlemen interested in the broad acquisition and advancement of knowledge. He excluded men seeking only financial gain, as well as masters and scholars who isolated themselves from the world. In Sprat's view, both profit alone and intellectual rigidity were "two corruptions of Learning." Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 67.

seated on a canopied throne carried by four bearers along a riverside path. A long line of attendants follow, a tall palm shades the travelers, and above a bird of paradise again marks the sky. In the middle ground, steps rise to Robinson's inventive temple architecture, here seemingly emerging from the mist.

The panels also show imagined exotic hunting scenes: a native aims his arrow at an indigenous creature, a fisherman casts his line at a crocodile (fig. C.9), and horsemen armed with spears chase a fanciful deer (fig. C-10). Scenes include flying fish, rare species, a golden dragon-boat (fig. C.11), and unfamiliar fruit. In one painting an elephant pulls a gilded chariot (fig. C.12), and, in another, a giant fish – outfitted with reins, a fringed carpet, and a parasol – serves as ready water transport (fig. C.13). Robinson has probably copied this imagery from a number of sources, including maps, prints, and overseas luxury products.⁷⁶² The panels especially mimic the verticality and flatness of the Asian landscapes that decorated blue and white ceramics, chased silver, scrolls, lacquered cabinets, tapestries, and folding screens – all with vignettes of fantastic terrain, architecture, villages, travelers, processions, rites, and rituals. Thematically, the panels

⁷⁶² Luxury objects from Japan and China, as well as English imitations, are still in the collection of Ham House. These include the pier table and mirror, c. 1675, now in the withdrawing room (the anteroom of the dining room) and the japanned cabinet, c. 1675, on a Baroque stand in the long gallery. Johannes Nieuhof's description of China, originally published in 1669, contains many illustrations of the rites, architecture, people, and flora and fauna. Engravings include Chinese men (p. 180), Chinese priests and monks (p. 190), an interior of a pagoda (plate inset between p. 194 and p. 195), an elephant, deer, and a camel (p. 235). See Johannes Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, emperor of China: delivered by their excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his imperial city of Peking wherein the cities, towns, villages, ports, rivers, &c. in their passages from Canton to Peking are ingeniously described by John Nieuhoff; also an epistle of Father John Adams, their antagonist, concerning the whole negotiation; with an appendix of several remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher; Englished and set forth with their several sculptures by John Ogilby*, 2nd ed. ([London]: Printed for the Author, 1673).

may well portray the long journey of an emperor and empress through their realm. Similar subject matter was used in tapestries woven in Beauvais, Brussels, and London at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.⁷⁶³ The Seattle Art Museum, for example, has four tapestries that depict the travels of an Asian prince, but more specifically emphasize Eastern imagery already popular on decorative items. In all panels, colorful scenes stand out against a dark brown background, probably to mimic the visual effect of lacquered screens.⁷⁶⁴ One panel, *The Voyage of a Prince* (fig. C.14) shows an enthroned Asian emperor traveling in a

⁷⁶³ The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, has nine tapestries from *L'Histoire de l'empereur de la Chine* series after designs by Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648-1729), Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636-1699), and Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653-1715). Designed in c. 1690 and woven between 1697 and 1705, the tapestries were one of the first series based on Asian-inspired iconography and were produced at the Beauvais Manufactory, founded in 1664, and under the direction of Philippe Béhagle (1641-1705). Gillian Wilson, and Catherine Hess, *Summary Catalogue of European Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 146-47. In the early eighteenth century, the Judocus de Vos workshop in Brussels, the city's largest tapestry producer, used Chinese iconography for several series. The Seattle Art Museum has four tapestries (2002.38.1, 2002.38.2, 2002.38.3, 2002.38.4) from a set of Chinese-themed scenes. These tapestries are signed "I.D.VOS" for the weaver, Judocus de Vos (1661/62-1734), and B.B, the Brussels town mark. For De Vos, see Koenraad Brosens, "Brussels Tapestry Producer Judocus de Vos (1661/62-1734) – New Data and Design Attributions," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9 (2002): 58-86. Other tapestries woven in the Soho section of London have Indo-Chinese imagery, but, like those in the Seattle Art Museum, also use the format of scenes on a lacquered or japanned screen. John Vanderbank the Elder (1682-1717), head of the Great Wardrobe workshop from 1689-1717, developed this theme in England. Two tapestries c. 1691-92 remain at Belton House, Lincolnshire. National Trust nos. 43699.1 and 34699.2. Vanderbank also wove two Indo-Chinese inspired tapestries, c. 1690-1715, for Queen Mary's apartments in Kensington Palace: nos. 53.165.1 and 53.165.2. For tapestries woven in Soho, see "Appendix 1: The Soho Tapestry Makers," *The Survey of London*, St Anne Soho, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London: London County Council, 1966), 33-34:515-20.

⁷⁶⁴ These tapestries are probably those mentioned in a nineteenth-century inventory of the Arenberg family, which records a set of twelve Chinese-inspired tapestries signed I.D.VOS. See Brosens, "Brussels Tapestry Producer Judocus de Vos (1661/62-1734) – New Data and Design Attributions," 67-68. According to Julie Emmerson, past Curator of Decorative Arts of the Seattle Art Museum, the set was commissioned for Duke Leopold-Philippe d'Arenberg's house in Brussels in 1717.

dragon boat, surrounded by a crowded pastiche of small vignettes. Pagodas, pavilions, garden houses, large rocks, and tropical foliage form the backdrop of small processions, ceremonies, and journeys. Robinson's panels would have used the grand ornamental effect of a tapestry set to decorate the entire room, and would have depended on the narrative program to supply a uniform iconographic theme or storyline. But most particularly, they established a unique decorative scheme contrived to distinguish an English room.

All Asian imagery, however, was a popular subject for elite objects. John Evelyn, for example, mentions the artworks imported from China and Japan among the riches he records in his diary. In the summer of 1682, he writes of the decoration in the house of his neighbor, Christopher Boone, a "rich Spanish merchant" and member of the governing body of the East India Company.⁷⁶⁵ Evelyn likens the visual effect to a cabinet of curiosities, complimenting Boone,

whose whole house is a Cabinet of all the elegancies, especially *Indian*, and the Contrivement of the *Japon* Skreenes instead of Wainscot in the *Hall*, where an excellent *Pendule*-Clock inclosed in the curious flower-work of Mr. *Gibbons* in the midst of the *Vestibule*, is very remarkable; and so are the Landskips of the Skreenes, representing the manner of living, & Country of the *Chinezes* &c.⁷⁶⁶

Boone framed his room with the landscape panels of Japanese folding screens and outlined the ceiling, chimney, and moldings with the work of Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721), London's finest carver.⁷⁶⁷ Combined with Gibbons's continental designs, the novelty of the screens positioned the

⁷⁶⁵ 25 August 1679. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:180.

⁷⁶⁶ 30 July 1682. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:288.

⁷⁶⁷ Evelyn mentions Gibbons on 18 Jan. 1671, writing on the quality of the carver's work and reporting that on that day he had brought Gibbons to the attention of Charles II. Further, he asked leave to introduce Gibbons and his sculpture to the king. *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 3:567-68.

room as a decorative masterpiece and celebrated the ingenuity and world-wide knowledge of its owner. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the popularity of this type of design became widespread, and plans for similar Asian-inspired rooms could be copied from prints.⁷⁶⁸ The French designer, engraver, and architect Daniel Marot (1661-1752), for example, published a design for a fireplace (fig. C.15) that integrated eastern motifs, Chinese ceramics, and Baroque architectural detailing.⁷⁶⁹

Exotic objects were also customary components of the exceptionalism of princely collections.⁷⁷⁰ On a visit to Charles II in October of 1683, Evelyn describes the treasures that

⁷⁶⁸ The Victoria and Albert Museum has a small painting (26.3 x 43.6 cm.) executed in gouache on paper and mounted on panel. The painting, c. 1680-1700, shows a shop selling all manner of products from the East: ceramics, screens, paintings, and furniture depict figures from northeastern China, Japan, and Persia. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, P.35-1926.

⁷⁶⁹ The etching is one of six plates published with the title plate, *Nouvelles Cheminée faite en plusier en droits de la Hollande et autres Prouvinces*. Beginning in 1703, Marot issued several series of his designs in this format. Other plates in the series feature continental Baroque designs. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 13857:4.

⁷⁷⁰ In the late 1690s, Daniel Marot designed a room, or cabinet, for William III in the Palace of Het Loo. The room is Baroque in its architecture and furnishings, but includes a large collection of Chinese ceramics. In 1694 Marot followed William III to England, becoming one of the king's royal designers. An etching of the cabinet in Het Loo was issued as Plate 3 of the six etchings gathered in *Nouveau Livre da Partements*, published in 1703 in The Hague. The prints, however, would have also been sold separately. The plate is included in Marot's collected work: Oxford, Bodleian Library. *OEUVRES DU Sr D MAROT ARCHITECTE DE GUILLIAUME III Roy de la Grande BRETAGNE Contenant Plusieurs pensées utiles aux Architectes, Peintres, Sculpteurs, Orfeures, lardiniers & autes; Le tout en favour de ceux qui s'appliquent aux Beaux Arts A LA HAYE CHEZ PIERRE HUSSON Marchand Libraire, sur le coin de Speuy près de Capelbrugh Avec Privilege de no Seigneurs le Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies de Holland & d'West-Frise*. Also see Adam Bowett, "THE ENGRAVINGS OF DANIEL MAROT," *Furniture History* 43 (2007): 87. Daniel Defoe also attributed the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century vogue for Chinese designs to Queen Mary's displays of Chinese porcelain. Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation, viz. I.A description of the principal cities and towns, their situation, magnitude, government, and commerce. II. The customs, manners, speech, as also the exercises, diversions, and employment of the people. III. The produce and improvement of the lands, the trade, and manufactures. IV.*

“ingag’d my curiositie” in the duchess of Portsmouth’s dressing room. Among the “rich and splendid furniture” were “*Japon Cabinets, Skreenes, Pendule Clocks*, huge *Vagas* of wrought plate, *Tables, Stands, Chimny furniture, Scounces, branches*, *Braseras* &c they were all of massive silver, & without number, besides of his Majesties best paintings.”⁷⁷¹ Even within the costliest of rooms, Evelyn records novel Asian imports as part of the standard sequence of objects that define a collection’s rarity and worth. For the audience, the exclusive nature of the duchess’s dressing room was immediately apparent by the heightened level of luxury and decorative invention. While power was expressed more formally in the procession of state rooms, personal anterooms had the appeal and interest of cabinets of curiosities. As a whole, the large collection of diverse items represented the treasures of empire. As an international element in Evelyn’s list of royal ornaments, exotic arts additionally envisioned the extent of crown rule: despite the confines of private space, they still portrayed the idea of territorial dominion as both the accumulation of material riches and the control of global geography.

Maps of far regions served as another source of exotic imagery for western audiences. Vignettes describing geographical power, for example, circulated on world maps as personifications of the Four Continents, popular iconography that detailed the four parts of the

The sea ports and fortifications, the course of rivers, and the inland navigation. V. The publick edifices, seats, and palaces of the nobility and gentry. With useful observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the island. By a Gentleman (London: Printed, and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill. W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. R. Francklin, under Tom’s Coffee-house, Covent-Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall. R. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, and J. Graves, in St. James’s-Street, MDCCXXIV. [1724]), 1:122.

⁷⁷¹ 4 Oct. 1683. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:343.

world with conventional views of customs, costumes, architecture, flora, and fauna.⁷⁷² The Americas are typically identified by natives wearing feathered skirts and headdresses, equipped with bows and arrows, and accompanied by parrots, armadillos, lizards, and crocodiles. Sometimes small middle-ground tents are added to portray temporary campgrounds and indicate habitual ways of life. On the continent of Africa, elephants, lions, alligators, and snakes live near deserts and drink from palm-lined rivers. In the foreground, parasols shade the inhabitants from the hot tropical sun, and in the background, obelisks and pyramids show the continent's famed monuments. Asia is illustrated with camels, birds of paradise, and pagodas, while elaborate robes and extravagant hats identify its people. Artists sometimes included exotic caravan travelers from the far East, seated before sumptuous tents and flanked by piles of tightly bound goods. The scepter, orb, crown, and horse distinguished Europe, whose personification is surrounded by numerous discoveries and innovations. Artists arranged these symbols of the West hierarchically, moving from heaven to earth and citing Christianity's power to rule the world, a king's temporal authority, and a people's productive use of the land. The iconography of Africa and the Americas, conversely, are often combined and their accouterments interchanged. Both continents could be illustrated with the same costumes and animals, and both Africans and Indians live in similar villages composed of mean little huts. The Four Continents are most frequently produced as

⁷⁷² The Metropolitan Museum, New York, acquired 150 items from the James Hazen Hyde collection of the Four Continents, including rugs for tables, metal plates, plaques, ceramics, and graphic works. Imagery from the Four Continents was disseminated principally through engravings and other prints. In the Hyde collection, prints issued by Martin de Vos and engraved by Adrien Collaert II are representative of the iconography: 49.95.1515, 49.95.1516, 49.95.1517, 49.95.1518. Also see the engravings of the Four Continents by Julius Goltius: 49.95.1523, 49.95.1224, 49.95.1525, 49.95.1526. Many sets of engravings of the Four Continents were also copied after those of Marcus Gheraerts: 59.654.52, 59.654.53, 59.654.54, and 59.654.55.

etchings or engravings, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries their personifications formed a popular subject for decorative items in every medium.

Robinson drew on all exotic imagery, especially the more detailed vignettes of the Continents common to world maps and sea charts produced in the Netherlands. Illustrations symbolized not only parts of the world but political interactions and relationships. Such maps as Willem Janszoon Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrogr.*, c. 1606-07, relate the differences between peoples and cultures, and through those differences envision the unique and precious commodities available in remote and unaccustomed lands.⁷⁷³ In a large vignette beneath Blaeu's map (fig. C.16), all continents pay tribute to a personification of Europe. Seated on an orb with her feet resting on a cross, "Europa" is underpinned by religion, but also supported by the many instruments of war, industry, and the arts, all scattered across the ground beneath her throne. Blaeu's allegory demonstrates Europe's cultural and scientific achievements, assuring the West's worldwide expansion as well as bounty available from trade. Among "Europa's" store of inventions are massed the tools and devices of architecture, music, drama, literature, navigation,

⁷⁷³ Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrogr. Tabula: Ex Optimis in Hoc Opere Auctorib[us] Desumpta*. Amsterodami sub signo solarii deaurati ([Amsterdam]: excudebat Gulielmus Ianssonius alcmarianus, 1607). A four-sheet map is in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek in Bern, Collection Johann Friedrich Ryhiner, 5:nos. 61-64. However, this copy is missing the original border, including city views, renowned world rulers, the peoples of the world, and other vignettes, as well as text relating geographical, historical, and ethnographic information. A photograph of a lost unabridged copy is in Amsterdam, Het Scheepvaartmuseum. A copy of Blaeu's map (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France) was later issued by Pieter van den Keere (1571-1646): *Nova orbis terrarum geographica ac hydrographica tabula ex optimis in hoc opere auctoribus desumpta / Auctore Petro Koerio* (Amstelodami: P. Kaeruis excudit, 1619), FRBNF40751632. See Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700* (London: Holland Press, 1983), plates 203, 209. Günther Schilder traces the influence of Blaeu's map on later examples. Günther Schilder, "Willem Jansz. Blaeu's Wall Map of the World, on Mercator's Projection, 1606-07 and its Influence," *Imago Mundi* 31 (1979): 36-54.

geometry, painting, and sculpture, as well as representations of the purely mechanical arts. The mask of comedy, an easel for painting, and the implements of writing are included with maps, charts, and a globe. On the left, the Americas (“America septen. et merid.”) offer homage: two Indians presenting golden chains are followed by an armadillo bearing sugar cane, hides, and spices. Perched atop this wide load, a wayward parrot catches a ride. On the right, “Asia” and “Africa” represent all land to the east and south of Europe. Figures in exotic eastern dress lead a camel laden with bushels and baskets of silks, furs, and other products from the reaches of Muscovy, China, and the Levant. Behind them a black African brings gold beads and fragrant herbs, and an alligator packs ivory tusks.⁷⁷⁴ According to Blaeu’s vignette, Europe’s great material gain results from the western heritage of knowledge and power, particularly the political mechanisms of imperial drive and military force.

While Blaeu’s designs celebrate the greater advances of Europe in general – probably to increase the market for his maps – Robinson applies the same iconography to England’s accomplishments, aiming at a national audience. He portrays global expansion as a new aesthetic

⁷⁷⁴ Although the image on the map does not completely duplicate the information in its accompanying verse, it still personifies Europe’s concept of dominion: the Queen on high treads over all, with the world at her feet; most powerful on land and sea through Mars and the arts, she possesses all the rich goods. “Regina tanquam summa calcat totius/ Pedibus globum orbis: Marte et arte praepotens Terrâ mariq[ue] et dives omnibus bonis.” Schilder translates the entire poem: “To whom do the Mexicans and Peruvians offer gold necklaces and shining silver jewels? To whom does the armadillo bring skins, sugar cane and spices? To Europe, enthroned on high, the supreme ruler with the world at her feet: most powerful on land and at sea through war and enterprise, she owns a wealth of all goods. O Queen, it is to you that the fortunate Indian brings gold and spices, while the Arabs bring balsamic resin; the Russian sends furs and his eastern neighbour embellishes your dress with silk. Finally, Africa offers you costly spices and fragrant balsam and also enriches you with shining white ivory, to which the dark coloured people of Guinea adds a great weight of gold.” Schilder, “Willem Jansz. Blaeu’s Wall Map of the World, on Mercator’s Projection, 1606-07 and its Influence,” 54.

value, composed of diverse ideas, forms, artefacts, and architecture. Even though he adopts the iconography of exotic lands, he points to the achievements of England's distinct international market. Here, the spectacles, rituals, and resources of foreign regions make up large decorative programs unique to English houses. As a new direction in painting, Robinson's imagery facilitated the types of mobility that could best incorporate the structures of global mercantilism into elite social life. In this formulation, commodities from trading ventures were made acceptable as aesthetic and cultural phenomena. Their value, thus, had both an economic and social foundation, and additionally, signified intellectual achievement. A similar concept of foreign lands as source material for advancing English arts was developed as early as 1661 by Joseph Glanvill. In his support of the Royal Society, he also promoted the "Treasures" and knowledge to be had from exploration: "That all Arts, and Professions are capable of maturer improvements; cannot be doubted by those, who know the least of any. And that there is an *America* of secrets, and unknown Peru of Nature, whose discovery would richly advance them, is more than conjecture."⁷⁷⁵

The undiscovered benefits from faraway lands, Glanvill argues, would supply the means and inspiration for every sort of English improvement.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁵ Joseph Glanvill, *The vanity of dogmatizing, or, Confidence in opinions manifested in a discourse of the shortness and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its causes: with some reflexions on peripateticism, and an apology for philosophy* (London: Printed by E.C. for Henry Eversden at the Grey-Hound in St. Pauls-Church-Yard, 1661, 178-79).

⁷⁷⁶ Glanvill, chaplain to Charles II from 1672, is among a number of writers who recommended trade in commodities from extra-European lands. A member of the retinue of Henry Howard (1628-1684), a grandson of Thomas Howard the earl of Arundel, Glanvill cited the benefits of the foreign goods from Africa. As a participant in Howard's 1669 exhibition to north Africa, he detailed the resources, commodities, flora, fauna, geography, and inhabitants of the territory, including what use England could make of the area. See S L, Gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's retinue, *A Letter from a gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's retinue, to his friend in London dated at Fez, Nov. 1, 1669 wherein he gives a full relation of the most remarkable passages in their voyage thither, and of the present state of the countries under*

Robinson's painted rooms suggest that another benefit from exploration and trade was the ability to transfer wealth from goods to the more esteemed qualities associated with land, an advantage especially available to the successful merchant. When land was expensive, buyers with cash from profitable enterprises were often necessary for the growth of rural towns. With landownership came new privileges, offering an incentive for investment in real estate at times that land was dear. In his comprehensive description of England, *The New State of England Under Our Present Sovereign Queen Anne*, Guy Miège's explains:

Whereas our *English* Merchants, having the Opportunity of Injoying the Fruits of their Industry, in a spacious, fine, and fruitful Country, by purchasing Estates for themselves and Families, are apt to yield to the Temptation, and to rest themselves from the Trouble and Hurry of *Trade* in the Pleasures of a County *Life*.⁷⁷⁷

The shift from commercial ventures to landownership opened land-based authority to families whose major qualification was affluence.⁷⁷⁸ In Miège's example the land itself is the civilizing

the power of Taffaletta, emperour of Morocco: with a brief account of the merchandizing commodities of Africa: as also the manners and customs of the people there (London: Printed by W. G. For Moses Pitt . . . , 1670).

⁷⁷⁷ Guy Miège (1644-c. 1718) wrote political and geographical descriptions of England and other European states. Miège's analysis of the benefits available to English traders is framed as a comparison to Dutch merchants, "who being confined as they are within the narrow Bounds of a Water-Country, find little Land to purchase with the Returns of their Trade. Which puts 'em upon a kind of Necessity of improving still their Stock, and sending back those Riches a floating upon the Seas, which they cannot fix on the Land." In Miège's estimation, this English advantage strengthens the country's commerce. See Guy Miège, *The New State of England Under Our Present Sovereign Queen Anne. The fourth edition, with a supplement of the new established officers in church and state to September 1702, and a list of the present Parliament* (London: Printed by R.J. for H. Mortlock and J. Robinson . . . , 1702), Part II, Chapter IV, 29.

⁷⁷⁸ Upon his retirement from London and his trading ventures, William Freeman writes: "As for the purchis I have made, after I can draw of from my troublesome affaires in that part of the world, I promise myselfe some retire,t. . . . It's a pleasant place but cost mee to deare, yet pleases mee at an extrordinary rate, viz. Above 25 years purchas, a rate that noe man would give a f. but I am content can I get my little home to pay for it that is abroad." Freeman used the fortune made from his foreign trade and plantations to purchase Fawley Court, close to Henley-

medium, raising rank and value through traditional aesthetic and moral operations. Following this pattern, Robinson's rooms show the effects of capitalizing on new sources of wealth and transforming those resources into taste and knowledge. Like other English themes of landscape painting, scenes of both exotic property of foreign realms and merchant ships within the safety of England's harbors present imagery of the land from a particularly English perspective.

on-Thames, about 30 miles from London. Letter 350 to Robert Helme in Nevis, from London, Feb. 18, 1683/84. David Hancock, ed., *The Letters of William Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685* (London: London Record Society, 2002), 368.

Conclusion: The Shape and Shaping of Property

By the end of the seventeenth century the themes of landscape painting celebrated multiple cultural endeavors as national advances and successes, including subjects as diverse as maritime feats, scientific achievements, commercial investments, and colonial dominion. However, in response to England's transformation from a monarchy to a national state, landscape themes also expressed political and social tensions. My study of paintings of English castles, towns, houses, enterprises, and discoveries relies on a context of various controversies and changes that shaped political, social, and economic development during the seventeenth century. To my knowledge, this dissertation is the only study that synthesizes landscape themes of exclusively English subject matter and also investigates those subjects in the context of shifting structures of power, advances of new wealth, empirical enquiries, and the establishment of an international economy.⁷⁷⁹

As my Introduction explains, compared to painters on the continent, English artists were disadvantaged by the lack of an active art clientele, the proscriptions of guild regulation, and the hard division between liberal and manual arts. As expressed in England by such writers as the herald and illuminator Edward Norgate, and according to the evidence of early seventeenth-century courtly collections, landscape paintings similarly suffered as a lower genre, less

⁷⁷⁹ Due to the extensive debates and political culture in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many of the contemporary arguments are cited in footnotes, allowing my text to be less cumbersome for the reader.

important than history, portrait, or even flower painting.⁷⁸⁰ Additionally, most artists responsible for the development of landscape painting emigrated from the Northern or Southern Lowlands, which had their own innovative practices and aesthetic expertise, as well as their own bodies of art theory. My dissertation argues that the painters of landscape themes in England borrowed the sanction of landed property, important houses, scientific inquiry, and other English achievements to provide status for their new English genre. Each chapter discusses a topic in the development of landscape painting within a broad historical context. My introductory chapter is meant to set the stage for landscape themes that developed after the first half of the century's new Stuart regime and the upheavals of the civil war and interregnum.

Chapter I's discussion of the palaces and castles of the monarchy relates writings on history, geography, and architecture to changes in social discourse and the interpretation of history's records and circumstances. Both the early seventeenth-century writers Peter Heylen and Thomas Smith explained events with respect to a singular social and political context. Their new understanding of history challenged set views of old crown monuments as permanent symbols of power; instead, their interpretations of historical awareness accommodated the transition from

⁷⁸⁰ See note 12 above on early seventeenth-century courtly collections. The collection of the duke and duchess of Lauderdale at Ham House shows that, after the Restoration, the couple valued flower painting above landscapes. The cost of flower pieces is consistently above the valuation of landscapes or prospects, except in the case of renowned painters. With the exception of the country house painting by Danckerts and the bird paintings in landscape settings by Barlow, all other landscape paintings at Ham House were Italianate landscapes or bucolic landscapes in the Roman manner. Both styles were executed by predominantly Netherlandish painters. The estate painting by Danckerts was hung on the the second floor and is listed in The 1683 Inventory at Ham House in "The Closset," a room adjoining "Coll Tollemach's Chamber: "One Fixt picture of Ham house." As fixed paintings, Barlow's two overdoor paintings and Danckerts's country house portrait do not appear in the 1683 *An Estimate of Pictures in Ham House* (BPA 361). Also see Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 212-14.

one regime to the next. That such context was important to changing social and political structures is evidenced, for example, by Adriaen van Stalbemt and Jan van Belcamp's "View of Greenwich," c. 1632. In this celebration of Charles I's reign, the king and his court stand on high ground above Henry VIII's old Tudor palace, but with the subtle addition of Inigo Jones's classical Queen's House (fig. 1.3) newly built into the old palace wall. Interpreting paintings within varied contexts and within the dynamics of multiple contemporary records yields new analytical directions and techniques. The ambassador and art advisor Henry Wotton's description of the estate as involving the "*Lordship . . . of the Eye*" with an "usurping Sense," for example, colors the political landscape of estates, whether public or private.⁷⁸¹

In Chapter II the ideology of castles and palaces is extended to paintings of private estates, in which old hierarchies are manipulated to focus authority on the unique qualities of a house centered within its surrounding grounds. Developed after the Stuart return to rule in 1660, the early country house portraits include much of the interpretative framework of the first half of the seventeenth century, but feature the talents and triumphs of individual owners as reflected in signs of taste and symbols of wealth. Decorative programs could align an estate with court society or indicate the aesthetics of a more commercial course. This chapter offers literature that both verifies and questions the special qualities of the occupants and their estates, mediating the reading of houses and histories. While the diarist John Evelyn enthusiastically praises the duke and duchess of Lauderdale's newly renovated estate at Ham House, Bishop Gilbert Burnet finds great fault with the couple's courtly ambitions: the duke given to "luxury and "sensuality" and

⁷⁸¹ Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture. Collected by Henry Wotton Knight from the best Authors and Examples* (London: printed by John Bill, 1624), 4-5.

the duchess “ravenously covetous.”⁷⁸² Against these readings, Hendrik Danckerts’s *Ham House* (fig. 2.2), c. 1675-79, also allows extended interpretations. Portrayed between over life-size statues of *Mercury* and *Fortuna*, the Lauderdales may prompt the audience to recall the hazards of both trade and gain, in addition to the vagaries of fame and fortune, but within Danckerts’s opulent setting the noble couple more fully enjoys the combined advances of art and nature.

Writings at the end of the century also pointed out tensions that colored the interpretations of paintings executed at that time. The continental influences and aggressive geometric division of Jan Siberechts’s *Wollaton Hall* (fig. 2.9), 1695, for instance, are at odds with Joseph Addison’s writings on the “polite Imagination,”⁷⁸³ a contradiction that foregrounds the developing inroads to power and revised sentiments or forms of thought. Against a climate of changing of aesthetic opinion, Siberechts’s country house portrait remodels yet still forcefully instills customary hierarchies and signs of authority. Unlike much of the previous scholarship on seventeenth-century landscape painting in England, the context throughout my study is constructed from divergent points of view and the multiple concerns and struggles of the contemporary audience.

This method is brought to the forefront in Chapter III, which discusses the literary genre of the country house poem as a similar form of praise to landowners through the good graces of their estates. While country house paintings honored owners through portraits of their rich holdings, country house poetry was most often literature built upon complaint. Thus, the slights and omissions suffered by the owner serve to better highlight his or her exceptional qualities,

⁷⁸² See, respectively, Evelyn’s diary entry is for August 28, 1678. Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, 4:144 and Burnet, *Bishop Burnet’s History of his own time*, 1:161, 405.

⁷⁸³ Addison, *The Spectator*, 6:No. 411, 64.

especially qualities of character maintained against hardships of political change. As in the early paintings of castles and palaces, traditional practices and insular power structures safeguard the surrounding community, maintaining ritual and its mythic past. Later poems, like the country house paintings, feature landholdings so rich that nature itself is “turned up-side down.”⁷⁸⁴

Country house poetry thus presents a complement to estate paintings, furnishing a like rhetorical structure for praising status, while also supplying a history of the seventeenth century’s social and political revisions as they impacted the owners of large estates. The variety of responses to changing circumstances reveals the difficulty of reconciling old values with new modes of wealth and remodeled parliamentary system. To a greater extent than other studies, this chapter extends the comparison between visual and literary expressions of country house praise, providing estate paintings with additional context.

In Chapter IV, titled *Painting English Seasons*, the rhetoric of the country house is repeated by contemporary travelers touring England and enjoying the land’s pleasures. However, this chapter turns from paintings centered on a house to those oriented to the surrounding land and the prospering rural community. Reversing the pattern of country house painting, now the landscape itself is the subject matter and the house only hazily outlined in the distance. Yet symbols of aristocratic advantage give importance to the landscape, whether foregrounded as rich carriages or backgrounded as fine houses and fertile estates. Jan Siberechts, the most productive painter of such imagery, adopts northern iconography to the specifics of English land, towns, and

⁷⁸⁴ “Belvoir, *A Pindaric Poem, or a faint Draught of that stately Fabrick; with some short characters of the Noble Founders, Owners, with their Alliances*. 1679,” in Thomas Shipman, *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems* (London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and William Crook without Temple-Bar, 1683), 242; line 198.

countryside. Relying on contemporary records, this chapter teases out interpretations of Siberechts's work through a series of visual and textual oppositions. Siberechts's *Nottingham from the East* (fig. 4.11), for example, is compared to Celia Fiennes's account of the town during her 1697 tour of the region, to Johannes Kip's 1707 "Prospect of Nottingham From ye East" (fig. 4.12), and to Robert Thoroton's illustrated history of Nottingham (fig. 4.13), published in 1677.⁷⁸⁵ In turn, Thoroton's history, revised in 1790 with new illustrations (fig. 4.14), points to large changes in aesthetic taste toward the end of the eighteenth century.⁷⁸⁶ To his elite audience at the close of the seventeenth century, the comparison, however, reveals the special importance of Siberechts's celebration of productive land dotted with fine churches and stately homes.

Comparisons of diverse literature also form the context of my discussion of several paintings by Siberechts that depict the prosperity of a simple market town, paintings that are of such ordinary subject matter that the identity of their patron is perplexing. Yet the beauty of the land in these paintings of Henley-on-Thames is repeated in descriptions by both Susanna Evelyn, a daughter of John Evelyn, and Bulstrode Whitelock, a longtime resident of Henley.⁷⁸⁷ Their good opinions, however, are countered by the antiquarian writers Robert Plot and Richard Blome, who

⁷⁸⁵ Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures* (London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock . . . , 1677), 433-507.

⁷⁸⁶ Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, 2:25.

⁷⁸⁷ See the entry for September 10, 1653, in "Whitelocke's History of the year 1653," which was originally part of "Whitelockes History of the fourtey-eight year of his age [1653], with Lectures to his children instructing them in private duty." BL Egerton MMS 997, fol. 22v.

find nothing of culture to note about this common trading town.⁷⁸⁸ Daniel Defoe reiterates the lackluster comments on Henley, reducing its prosperity to the boredom of malt, meal, and logs. Criticism continues with Joseph Addison's parody of the rich city merchant retired to the peace of a country estate. Addison's satire could easily apply to William Freeman, one of Henley's new residents, who wrote happily about his retirement from the business of colonial plantations and overseas trade. Siberechts's imagery also supports the town's role in prosperity and national trade, foregrounding the productive land and subverting contemporary criticism. In *Landscape with a Rainbow, Henley-on-Thames* (fig. 4.16), for example, the town is doubly blessed by the traditional symbol of god's promise to the chosen. Situating Siberechts's new landscapes of the English countryside within current social and political interests explains the attractions of such paintings to a wealthy clientele.

New themes of landscape painting are continued in my fifth chapter, which concentrates on the influences of science and natural history. Here, portraits of birds and animals surrounded by landscape settings are featured as another subject for the landscape painter. No longer was the palace, town, country house, estate, or productive land the central regard of English landscape paintings; rather, some painters focused on recent scientific interests to attract patronage. Chapter V's discussion of the formation of the Royal Society, for example, serves as a model of how

⁷⁸⁸ Robert Plot, *The natural history of Oxford-shire: being an essay toward the natural history of England* (London: At Mr. S. Millers . . . , 1677), 180, 265, 332. Richard Blome, *Britannia, or, A geographical description of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the isles and territories thereto belonging: and for the better perfecting of the said work, there is added an alphabetical table of the names, titles, and seats of the nobility and gentry that each county of England and Wales is, or lately was, enobled with: illustrated with a map of each county of England, besides several general ones* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for the undertaker, Richard Blome, 1673), 189.

power was created, expressed, and promoted, and especially how knowledge was legitimized and circulated within society. As this chapter suggests, such painters as Francis Barlow designed images of nature validated by the experimental method of empirical observation, positioning themselves as innovative investigators of nature and advertising their works as advances on past methods. In later work Barlow extended his small bird and animal paintings to meet the dimensions of his patron's large landholdings at Pryford. By duplicating the multiple offerings of that estate in three paintings measuring almost nine by twelve feet, he also compared the new themes of landscape painting with the high order of history painting. Painters inspired by empirical observation attempted to cite science's gentlemanly standing and to appeal to the gentility of that power base.

An epilogue discusses the extension of landscape imagery, expanding both the historical context and the direction of themes of the land. Seasonal labors, long familiar from calendars of books of hours as well as paintings of the four seasons, sanction maritime trade and England's expanding empire in a medal commemorating the Peace of Utrecht (1713). Traditional imagery of the land thus becomes a sign of legitimacy and an authority in and of itself. In contrast to this very public celebration, I introduce Robert Robinson's exotic foreign landscapes as they are used to decorate painted rooms, creating for the artist's patrons a continuous narrative of novel subject matter. Although both the medals and the painted panels rely on very different landscape subjects, both promote English concerns, support English projects, and express the contemporary English belief that empire was founded on property. Writers addressing the debate on the importance of overseas lands to England's well-being presented a context in which the freedom and liberty of the nation was connected with images of land. I argue that this national context

raised all landscape imagery associated with England to a new level of significance.

Refigured Landscapes

In graphic depictions, the work of the plowman, the changing of the seasons, and architectural improvements still indicated the value of an orderly estate, but the estate itself was no longer characterized primarily by its location or history. Size and innovation – assets signaling power – became important attributes and distinguishing factors. Both land and houses were ordered according to the uniformity of the overall fabric and the repetition of regularly designed units. The resulting pattern allowed any audience to estimate the estate's acreage and determine the likely degree of fortune. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, endless avenues marked the breadth of landholding and the command of the wider world.⁷⁸⁹ Such country house paintings as Jan Siberechts's bird's-eye perspectives broadened boundaries of authority, just as Robert Robinson's foreign landscapes narrowed the oceans' long divides. Unlike much country house poetry, where enthusiasm was often tempered by hints of past ills and present wants, estate portraits fully exaggerated the benefits of the estate, connecting ownership with surpluses of land, wealth, and status. That idealized image met an aristocratic audience's taste for courtly display by placing the estate on a par with royal splendor. With the nation's well-being dependent on global competition and naval power, knowledge and riches from international expansion were also safeguards of English prosperity and civic order. Landscapes thus did more than designate spheres of influence; by adapting the patterns of state control, they also indicated

⁷⁸⁹ Kip and Knyff, for example, picture Britain as an accumulation of radiating estates. Johannes Kip, *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: Sold by David Mortier, 1707).

the sanction of right and lawful enterprises. Even inventions were legitimized within the rhetorical structure of accepted cultural processes. For artists, such methods encouraged creativity and the understanding that improvements, novelties, and specialties held social and economic benefits for their inventors.

An additional measure of landscape imagery's potency was its ability to transfer meaning from the traditional ownership of English land to the power of both territorial control and new commercial profit. The iconography of the land thus was used to speak to England's many new ambitions, in particular, its global economic and political success. Painters drew on the associations of the English landscape – estate, wealth, rank, lineage, leisure, and knowledge – to confer a concept of natural and legitimate rule. As a cultural medium the landscape restated social value, allowing real and material property to be transformed into an ideal – a prospect of natural harmony that interpreted history, yet expressed the possibilities of recent fortune. By incorporating novel imagery into the natural order, new forms were tied to the conventions of political influence and power, and helped accommodate shifts in social standing without the stigma of inauthenticity. Upwardly mobile families could identify with the established order, and old dynasties could display new areas of command.

In themes of the land, innovations and novelties drew on the fashion for curiosities as well as the regularities of old hierarchies and the assurances of familiar cyclic patterns. Such paintings were fixed to standards that in the past had predicted success. Painters promoted their own ingenuity by reimagining the glories of worldly achievement and intellectual advances as extensions of the traditional power of landholding. In these paintings, all successes were made noble through views of a productive English landscape and depictions of England's expanding

control overseas. The new modes or subjects of painting promoted a reevaluation of customary patterns. Similarly, new sources of prosperity and intellectual skills brought the same political advantages as old grants of property.

As my Introduction explains, new landscape subjects may have also argued for elevating the status of painting to that of a liberal art. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, painting still suffered from England's deep respect for letters and comparatively low regard for the visual arts. In the sciences, the contemporary approach to empirical enquiry had inspired the formation of the Royal Society in 1660, but it was not until 1711 that Godfrey Kneller opened his private, studio-type academy for drawing and painting.⁷⁹⁰ In spite of the positive influence of Netherlandish painters and their inspirational treatment of genres and innovative methods of painting, England's lack of widespread literature on art theory and its continued low regard for the work of the hand proved forceful negative factors. Unlike its impact on the continent, for example, Franciscus Junius's *De pictura* (Amsterdam, 1637) did not significantly motivate English painters until Jonathan Richardson's and Joshua Reynolds's publications on art theory in the eighteenth century.⁷⁹¹ Throughout the seventeenth century, the visual arts remained under guild

⁷⁹⁰ See notes 13 and 27 above.

⁷⁹¹ Richardson and Reynolds were, above all, painters who theorized about the essential nature of art, as well as the relationship of art to letters, in a critical language of aesthetics. Joshua Reynolds's lectures were delivered at the Royal Academy of Arts in London between 1769 and 1790. See respectively: Franciscus Junius, *Francisci Iunii F. F. De pictura veterum libri tres* (Amstelaedami: Apud Iohannem Blaeu, 1637); Franciscus Junius, *The painting of the ancients in three bookes: declaring by historicall observatsions and examples, the beginning, progresse, and consummation of that most noble art. And how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie. Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F.F. And now by him Englished, with some additions and alterations* (London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinsonne; and are to be sold by Daniel Frere, at the signe of the Bull in Little-Britain, 1638); Jonathan Richardson, *An essay on the theory of painting: By Mr. Richardson* (London: Printed by W. Bowyer, for John Churchill at the Black-Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1715); Joshua

regulation, and painting continued to be associated with the hand rather than the mind. To raise their discipline, landscape painters aligned their work with the prestigious characteristics of the changing English state – a strategy meant to attract audiences that celebrated the advantages of innovations and enjoyed the benefits of increasing authority in the wider world. In addition, the work of seventeenth-century artists contributed a foundation to the later importance of landscape imagery. Their paintings mediated the conflicts, upheavals, and disputes during the development of English landscapes and before the fuller emergence of a recognized English landscape genre in the fourth and fifth decades of the eighteenth century.

Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1975). In the first half of the eighteenth century, other British writers, including Charles Lamotte, Francis Hutcheson, Hildebrand Jacobs, and James Harris, contributed to the discourse on art, but they were not art practitioners. There is a large body of literature on eighteenth-century aesthetics, mostly framed in terms of such categories as neoclassical or Augustan literature and Enlightenment aesthetic theory. Although published in 1997, the most useful and comprehensive annotated bibliography of primary sources and literature on eighteenth-century culture is provided by John Brewer. John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination, English culture in the eighteenth century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 668-91. A few of the early writers on art are also mentioned in Kristeller's discussion of this topic. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics, Part I," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951): 29-31.

Bibliography

Manuscript References

- British Library, London. Fellows of the Royal Society, November 20, 1663. Add. MS 4441, fol. 79.
- British Museum, London. Inventory of the Royal Collection taken in 1688. MS Harl. 1890.
- British Library, London. Lucas de Heere. *Corte Beschryuinghe van Enghekanssd, Schotland, ende Irland*, c. 1570s. ADD MS 28330.
- British Museum, London. Richard Symonds's commonplace book: Secrets in painting learnt at Rome in 1650 and 1652, together "with notes of certain old paintings I have seen in London since my return from Italy," c. 1655. MS Egerton 1636.
- British Museum, London. "Whitelocke's History of the year 1653." Egerton MMS 997.
- Chatsworth. Payment record for "Landscape of Chatsworth," by Sieberchts. Devonshire MS First Duke Building Accounts. Vol. 5, fol. 6.
- Ham House, Surrey. Ham House Papers.
- Buckminster Estate Office. Grantham, Lincolnshire. Budckminster Park Archives. Tollemache Papers.
- Kingston, Surrey. Kingston Record Office. Tollemache Papers.
- United Kingdom. Corporation of London Record Office, Guildhall Library, London. Grant of the merger petition uniting the Painters Company and Stainers Company of London (1502). Guildhall Library, London Letter book M, F. 36b.
- . Guildhall Library, London. Robert Robinson's entry into the Painter-Stainers' Company, on 12 May 1674. Guildhall MS. 5667, Vol. II.
- . Parliamentary Archives. Statute of Monopolies. Westminster (1624). An Act concerning Monopolies and Dispensations with Penal Laws and the forfeitures thereof, 1624. 21 Jac.I, c.3.
- . Parliamentary Archives. The Statute of Anne (1710). An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such

Copies, during the Times therein mentioned. 8 Anne c. 19.

- . Public Record Office. London. Account of the artist's studio in Orchard Street, Westminster, let to James I for the use of Alexander Kierincx and Cornelius Pollenbrugh. E403/2758, f. 53v.
- . Public Record Office. London. Will of Sir William Kingsmill. Prerogative Court of Canterbury records, 135, May 1661. Prob. 11/305.
- . Public Record Office, London. "To the Kings most Excellent Majestie. The humble Petition of John Webb Esq. Surveyor assistant for yor Majestys works at Greenwich." SP 29/251 120.

University of Nottingham Library, Nottingham. Department of Special Collections. Willoughby household accounts. MS MiLM26.

Printed References

- Abbot, George. *A briefe description of the whole worlde: Wherein is particularly described, all the monarchies, empires, and kingdomes of the same: with their seuerall titles and scituations thereunto adioyning*. London: Printed by T. Iudson, for Iohn Browne, and are to be sould at the signe of the Bible in Fleete-streete, 1599.
- Acheson, Katherine. "The Picture of Nature: Seventeenth-Century English Aesop's Fables." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9 (2009).
- Addison, Joseph. *The Spectator*. No. 69. May 19, 1711: 295-96.
- Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele. *The Spectator*. 6th ed. 8 vols. London: printed for J. Tonson, 1723.
- . *The Spectator* (1712).
- Alciati, Andrea. *ANDREÆ ALCIATI EMBLEMATA LIBELLVS, NVPER IN LVCEM EDITVS*. Vetiis: Aldvs, 1546.
- . *OMNIA ANDREAE ALCIATI V. C. EMBLEMATA: Cum Commentariis, Quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine, mens auctoris explicatur, et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur: Per Claudium Minoem Diuionensem*. Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1577.
- Aldridge, Alfred Owen. "Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. New Series. 41 (1951): 371-76.

- Allen, Robert C. "Britain's economic ascendancy in a European context." In *Exceptionalism and Industrialization*, edited by Leandro Prados de la Escosura. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "The Price of Freehold Land and the Interest Rate in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 41 (1988): 33-50.
- Ancram, Robert Kerr, William Kerr Lothian, and David Laing. *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian*. Edinburgh: [Printed by R. & . R. Clark], 1875.
- Anderson, Christy. *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance." In *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, edited by Lucy Gent. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- . "Masculine and Unaffected: Inigo Jones and the Classical Ideal." *Art Journal* 56 (1997): 48-54.
- . "Monstrous Babels: Language and Architectural Style in the English Renaissance." In *Architecture and language: constructing identity in European architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650*, edited by Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley. Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Andrade, E. N. Da C. "The Birth and Early Days of the Philosophical Transactions." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 20 (1965): 9-27.
- Andrews Keith, "Adriaen van Stalbemt as Figure Painter." *The Burlington Magazine* (1973): 301-307.
- Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques, *Le premier volyme des plus excellents bastiments de France.: Auquel sont designez les plans de quinze bastiments, & de leur contenu: ensemble les eleuations & singularitez d'un chascun*. Paris: Pour ledit Iacques Androuet, du Cerceau, M. D. LXXVI [1576]).
- Appleby, Joyce Oldham, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- . "The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England." *The American Historical Review* 81 (1976): 499-515.

- Armytage, George J. *The visitation of the county of Kent, begun A.D. 1663, finished 1668*. Vol. 54. London: Harleian Society, 1906.
- Ashmole, Elias, Wenceslaus Hollar, and William Sherwin, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter collected and digested into one body*. London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke . . . , 1672.
- Atkinson, Dwight. *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975*. Mahwah, New Jersey and London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999.
- . “The ‘Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,’ 1675-1975: A Sociohistorical Discourse Analysis.” *Language in Society* 25 (1996): 333-371.
- Aubrey, John. *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey. Begun in the year 1673, by John Aubrey . . . and continued to the present time. Illustrated with proper sculptures*. 5 vols. London: Printed for E. Curll, 1718-1719.
- Avery, Charles. *Giambologna: the complete sculpture*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1987.
- Badeslade, J., and J. Rocque. *Vitruvius Britannicus, volume the fourth, being a collection of plans . . . of the royal palaces, noblemen and gentlemen’s seats in Great Britain*. London: J. Wilcox, 1739.
- Bacon, Francis. *The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall*. Edited by Michael Kierman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- . *Franciscy de Verulamio, summi Angliae cancellarij instauratio magna*. Londini: Apud [B. Nortonium &] Ioannem Billium typographum Regium, 1620.
- . *The novum organum of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans: epitomiz’d, for a clearer understanding of his natural history*. London: Printed for Thomas Lee . . . , 1676.
- . *The Works of Francis Bacon: Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, and Lord High Chancellor of England*. Edited by James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862.
- Balis, Arnout. “De nieuwe genres en het burgerlijk mecenaat.” In *Stad in Vlaanderen: cultuur en maatschappij, 1477-1787*, edited by Jan Van der Stock. Exh. cat. Brussel: Gemeentekrediet: Vlaamse Gemeenschap, Administratie Externe Betrekkingen, 1991.

Balfour, James. *The historical works of Sir James Balfour*. 4 vols. Edinburgh: [Printed by W. Aitchison], 1824-1825.

Bannatyne Miscellany. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827.

Barber, Peter. "England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court to 1550." In *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, edited by David Buisseret. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Barber, Peter and Tom Harper. *Magnificent maps: power, propaganda and art*. Exh. cat. London: The British Library, 2110.

Barbon Nicholas. *An apology for the builder, or, A discourse shewing the cause and effects of the increase of building*. London: Printed by Cave Pullen at the Angel in St. Pauls-Church-yard, 1685.

———. *A Discourse of Trade*. London: Printed by Tho. Milbourn for the Author, 1690.

Barash, Carol. "The Political Origins of Anne Finch's Poetry." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 (1991): 327-5.

Barlow, Francis. *Æsop's fables with his life: in English, French & Latin / the English by Tho. Philipott Esq.; the French and Latin by Rob. Codrington M.A.; illustrated with one hundred and twelve sculptures by Francis Barlow*. London: Printed by William Godbid for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by Ann Seile . . . and Edward Powell . . . , 1666.

———. *Æsop's fables with his life: in English, French and Latin / newly translated; illustrated with one hundred and twelve sculptures; to this edition are likewise added, thirty one new figures representing his life, by Francis Barlow*. London: Printed by H. Hills, Jun., for Francis Barlow, and are to be sold by Chr. Wilkinson . . . Tho. Fox . . . and Henry Faithorne . . . , 1687.

———. *Sixty-seven excellent and useful prints of birds and beasts; being the chief works of that great master, Francis Barlow, and engraved by himself, Hollar, Place, &c. . . .* London: printed for Robert Sayer, [1760?].

Barlow, Francis, and Wenceslaus Hollar. *Multi et diversae Avium Species Multifarijs Formis & Pernaturalebus Figuris*. London: Printed and sould by Iohn Overton . . . , 1671.

Bartsch, Adam von. *Le peintre graveur*. 21 vols. Vienne: J.V. Degen, 1803-1821.

- Bätschmann, Oskar, and Pascal Griener. *Hans Holbein*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Baxter, Ron. *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages*. Stroud: Sutton Pub.; London: Courtauld Institute, 1998.
- Beard, Geoffrey W. *Craftsmen and interior decoration in England, 1660-1820*. Edinburgh: J. Bartholomew, 1981.
- . "William Winde and Interior Design." *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 156.
- Beckett, J. V. "The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales, 1600-1880." *The Economic History Review* 37 (1984): 1-22.
- Beckett, J. V., and Michael Turner, "Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England." *The Economic History Review*, New Series 3 (1990): 377-403.
- Beer, Barrett L. "Northumberland: The Myth of the Wicked Duke and the Historical John Dudley." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 11 (1979): 1-14.
- Bernard, Stephen, ed. *The literary correspondences of the Tonsons*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Beresford, Maurice. "Habitation versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement." In *Essays in the economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England*, in honour of R.H. Tawney, edited by F. J. Fisher. Cambridge: University Press, 1961.
- Berman, Harold J. "The Origins of Historical Jurisprudence: Coke, Selden, Hale." *The Yale Law Journal* 103 (1994): 1694-1702.
- Biagioli, Mario. "Etiquette, Interdependence, and Sociability in Seventeenth-Century Science." *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1996): 193-238.
- Bie, Cornelis de. *Het gulden cabinet vande edele vry schilderconst waer-inne begrepen is den onsterffelijcken loff vande vermaerste constminnende geesten ende schilders van dese eeuw, hier inne meest naer het leven af-gebeldt, verciert met veel vermakelijcke rijmen ende spreucken*. T'Antwerpen: Ghedruckt by Juliaen van Montfort, 1662.
- Birch, Thomas. *The history of the Royal Society of London for improving of natural knowledge, from its first rise . . .* 4 vols. London: printed for A. Millar, 1756-57.
- Blackmore, Richard, Sir. *A Satyr against Wit*. London: Printed for Samuel Crouch, 1700.

- Blagden, Cyprian. *The Stationers' Company; a history, 1403-1959*. Vol. 2. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960.
- Blaeu, Willem Janszoon. *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrogr. Tabula: Ex Optimis in Hoc Opere Auctorib[us] Desumpta*. Amsterodami sub signo solarii deaurati. [Amsterdam]: excudebat Gulielmus Ianssonius alcmarianus, 1607.
- Blith, Walter. *The English improver, or a new survey of husbandry: Discovering to the kingdome, that some land, both arrable and pasture, may be advanced double or treble; other land to a five or tenfold: and some to a twenty fold improvement: yea, some now not worth above one, or two shillings, per acre, be made worth thirty, or forty, if not more. Clearly demonstrated from principles of sound reason, ingenuity, and late but most certaine reall experiences. Held forth under six peeces of improvement: viz. 1. By floating or watering such lands as are capable thereof. 2. By reducing boggy or drowned land to found pasture. 3. By such a way of ploughing and corneing old courser pasture, as not to impoverish it; and by such a method of enclosure, as shall provide for poore, and all interests without depopulation. 4. By discovering divers materials for soyle and compost, with the nature and use of them, as both tillage and pasture be advanced as high as promised. 5. By such a new plantation of divers sorts of woods, as in twenty yeares, they shall rise more than in forty yeares naturally. 6. By a more moderate improvement of other sorts of lands, according to their capacities they lye under, by more common experiences*. London: printed for J. Wright at the Kings Head in the Old-Bayley, 1649.
- Bloom, Edward A., and Lillian D. Bloom, *Joseph Addison's Sociable Animal, in the Market Place, on the Hustings, in the Pulpit*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1971.
- Blundeville, Thomas. *A briefe description of vniuersal mappes and cardes, and of their vse: and also the vse of Ptholemey his tables. Necessarie for those that delight in reading of histories: and also for traueilers by land or sea*. London: Printed by Roger Ward, for Thomas Cadman, 1589.
- Bohls, Elizabeth A. "Disinterestedness and denial of the particular: Locke, Adam Smith, and the subject of aesthetics." In *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art*, edited by Paul Mattick, Jr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Bok, Martin Jan. "The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural center: the market for paintings, 1580-1680." In *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, edited by Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein't Hart, and Herman van der Wee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bold, John. *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

- . *John Webb, architectural theory and practice in the seventeenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Borg, Alan. *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters, Otherwise Painter-Stainers*. Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, 2005.
- Bowett, Adam. "THE ENGRAVINGS OF DANIEL MAROT." *Furniture History* 43 (2007): 85-100.
- Boyle, Robert. *A continuation of new experiments physico-mechanical, touching the spring and weight of the air and their effects. The I. part: whereto is annexed a short discourse of the atmospheres of consistent bodies*. Oxford: Printed by Henry Hall . . . for Richard Dairs, 1669.
- . *Some considerations about the reconcileableness of reason and religion*. London: Printed by T.N. for H. Herringman . . . , 1675.
- . *The works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. In six volumes. To which is prefixed The life of the author . . .* London: printed for J. and F. Rivington, L. Davis, W. Johnston, S. Crowder, T. Payne, . . . , 1772.
- Brathwaite, Richard. *The schollers medley, or, an intermixt discourse vpon historicall and poetick relations: A subiect of it selfe well meriting the approbation of the iudicious, who best know how to confirme their knowledge, by this briefe suruey, or generall table of mixed discourses*. London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for George Norton, and are to bee sold at his shop neere Temple-barre, 1614.
- Braun, Georg, Franz Hogenberg, and R. A. Skelton, *Civitates orbis terrarum, 1572-1618*. 3 vols. Cleveland: World Pub. Co., 1966.
- Braun, Georg, Franz Hogenberg, Stephan Füssel, and Benedikt Taschen. *Cities of the World (Civitates orbis terrarum)*. Hong Kong: Taschen, 2008.
- Brennan, Michael G. *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500-1700*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Brewer, John. *The pleasures of the imagination, English culture in the eighteenth century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.
- Breydenbach, Bernhard von. [Die heyligen Reyssen gen Jherusalem]. Mainz: Erhard Reuwick, 1486.

- . *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. Translated by Nicolas Le Huen. Lyon: Michel Topie and Jacques Heremberck, 1488.
- Briggs, Asa. *A Social History of England*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983.
- Briscoe, John. *A discourse on the late funds of the Million-Act, Lottery-Act and Bank of England: shewing that they are injurious to the nobility and gentry and ruinous to the trade of the nation: together with proposals for the supplying Their Majesties with money on easy terms exempting the nobility, gentry &c. from taxes, enlarging their yearly estates and enriching all the subjects in the kingdom / humbly offered and submitted to the consideration of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled by J.B.* London: Printed by J.D. and sold by R. Baldwin, 1694.
- Briscoe, John Potter. "History of the Trent Bridges at Nottingham." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1873): 212-16.
- Brockett, Oscar G. *History of the theatre*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968.
- Brogden, William Alvis. "Stephen Switzer, 'La Gand Manier'." In *Furor Hortensis: Essays on the history of the English Landscape Garden in memory of H.F. Clark*, edited by Peter Willis. Edinburgh: Elysium Press, 1974.
- Brosens, Koenraad. "Brussels Tapestry Producer Judocus de Vos (1661/62-1734) – New Data and Design Attributions." *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9 (2002): 58-86.
- Brown, Chrisopher. *Making and Meaning: Ruben's Landscapes*. Exh. cat. London: National Gallery Publications, 1996.
- Brown, Keith M. "The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38." *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 534-76.
- Bruce, Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury. *Memoirs of Thomas, earl of Ailesbury, written by himself. . . . Printed for the Roxburghe Club*. 2 vols. Westminster [London]: Nichols and sons, 1890.
- Bruin, G. and F. Hogenbergius. *Civitates orbis terrarum*. Coloniae: Agrippinae, 1612.
- Bryden, D. J. "John Gedde's Bee-House and the Royal Society." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of the Royal Society of London* 48 (1994): 193-213.
- Bryson, Anna. *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

- Buck, George, John Stow, and Edmund Howes. *The third universitie of England. Or A treatise of the foundations of all the colledges, auncient schooles of priviledge, and of houses of learning, and liberall arts, within and above the most famous cittie of London. With a briefe report of the sciences, arts, and faculties therein professed, studied, and practised.; Together with the blazon of the armes, and ensignes thereunto belonging./ Gathered faithfully out of the best histories, chronicles, records, and archives, by G.B. Knight.* Imprint: [Londini: [Printed by Thomas Dawson] impensis Thomæ Adams,] Anno Domini, 1615.
- Buckeridge, Bainbrigg. "Essay towards an English-School with the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters." In Roger de Piles, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school.* London: printed for J. Nutt, 1706.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of. *Buckingham, public and private man: the prose, poems, and commonplace book of George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687)*, edited by Christine Phipps. New York: Garland Pub., 1985.
- . *The works of His Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham. In two volumes.* London: printed for Sam. Briscoe, and sold by Fardinando Burleigh, 1715.
- Burke, Bernard. *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry*, edited by Peter Townsend. 3 vols. London: Burke's Peerage, 1965-72.
- Burke, Edmund. *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful.* London: printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1757.
- Burlington Magazine. "Robert Streater." *Burlington Magazine* 84 (1944): 2-12.
- . "Sir Peter Lely's Collection." *Burlington Magazine* 83 (1943): 186-91.
- Burn, John Southerden. *A history of Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford.* London: Longman and Co., 1861.
- Burnett, Andrew. *Coins, Interpreting the Past.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Burnet, Gilbert. *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time . . . Containing, I. A Summary Recapitulation of affairs in Church & State, from K. James I. to the Restoration in 1660. II. The History of the Reign of K. Charles II. from 1666. to 1670.* Vol. I. London [i.e. The Hague]: printed for the Company of Booksellers [or rather, T. Johnson], M.DCC.XXV [1725].
- Burnet, Thomas. *The theory of the earth: containing an account of the original of the earth, and of all the general changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo till the consummation of all things: the two first books concerning the deluge and concerning paradise.* London: Printed by R. Norton, for W. Kettilby . . . , 1691.

- Butler, Martin. "‘Servant, but not Slave’: Ben Jonson at the Jacobean Court." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 90 (1996): 65-93.
- Butler, Samuel. *Satires and miscellaneous poetry and prose*. Edited by René Lamar. Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1928.
- Cambrensis, Giraldus. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Containing the Topography of Ireland, and the History of the Conquest of Ireland*. Revised and edited with additional notes by Thomas Wright. London: George Bell, 1887.
- Camden, William. *Britain, or, A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie: beautified with mappes of the severall shires of England / written first in Latine by William Camden; translated newly into English by Philmon Holland; finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author*. London: Printed by F.K.R.Y. and I.L. for Ioyce Norton, and Richard Whitaker, 1637.
- . *Camden’s Britannia, newly translated into English: with large additions and improvements. Publish’d by Edmund Gibson*. London: Printed by F. Collins, for A. Swalle, at the Unicorn at the west-end of St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1695.
- . *Camden’s Britannia, 1695, A fascimile of the 1695 edition published by Edmund Gibson*. Introduced by Stuart Piggot. New York and London: Johnson reprint Corporation, 1951.
- Campbell, Colen. *Vitruvius Britannicus; or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates . . . in II volumes Vol.II. by Colen Campbell Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus, ou l’architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des bâtimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, . . . en deux tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell*. London: Sold by the author, John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W. Taylor, Henry Clements, and Jos. Smith, 1717.
- Campbell, Mary B. *The witness and the other world: exotic European travel writing, 400-1600*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Cantor, Leonard. *The Changing English Countryside: 1400-1700*. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Carson, R. A. G. *Coins: ancient, mediaeval & modern*. London: Hutchinson, 1962.
- Cary, John. *An essay on the coyn and credit of England as they stand with respect to its trade*. Bristol: Printed by Will. Bonny and sold by the Booksellers of London and Bristol, 1696.
- Casid, Jill H. *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

- Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. *Observations upon experimental philosophy: to which is added The description of a new blazing world / written by the thrice noble, illustrious, and excellent princesse, the Duchess of Newcastle*. London: Printed by A. Maxwell . . . , 1666.
- . *Observations upon experimental philosophy*. Edited by Eileen O'Neill. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Challis, C. E. "Mint officials and moneyers of the Stuart period." *British Numismatic Journal* 59 (1989): 157-197.
- Chamberlain, John. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*. Edited by Norman Egbert McLure. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939.
- Chambers, Robert, ed. *A biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen*. 4 vols. London: Blackie and son, 1835.
- Chandos, Cassandra Willoughby Brydges. *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family*. Edited by A. C. Woods. Eton: Published for the University of Nottingham by the Shakespeare Head Press, 1958.
- Chaney, Edward, ed. *Inigo Jones's "Roman sketchbook."* 2 vols. [London]: Roxburghe Club, 2006.
- Chernaik, Warren L. *The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Chettle, George H. *The Queen's House, Greenwich, Being the Fourteenth Monograph of the London Survey Committee*. Greenwich: Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, 1937.
- Child, Josiah, Sir. *Brief observations concerning trade, and interest of money by J.C.* London: printed for Elizabeth Calvert at the Black-spread-Eagle in Barbican, and Henry Mortlock at the sign of the White-Heart in Westminster-Hall, 1668.
- . *A new discourse of trade: wherein is recommended several weighty points relating to companies of merchants: the act of navigation, naturalization of strangers, and our woollen manufactures, the balance of trade, and the nature of plantations, and their consequences in relation to the kingdom, are seriously discussed and some proposals for erecting a court of merchants for determining controversies, relating to maritime affairs, and for a law for transferrance of bills of depts.* London: Printed, and sold by John Everingham . . . , 1693.
- . *A treatise wherein is demonstrated, I. That the East-India trade is the most national of all foreign trades, II. That the clamors, aspersions, and objections made against the present East-India company, are sinister, selfish, or groundless, III. That since the discovery of the East-Indies, the dominion of the sea depends much upon the wane or increase of that trade, and consequently the security of the liberty, property, and protestant religion of this*

kingdom, IV. That the trade of the East-Indies cannot be carried on to national advantage, in any other way than by a general joynt stock, V. That the East-India trade is more profitable and necessary to the kingdom of England, than to any other kingdom or nation in Europe. London: Printed by T.F. for Robert Boulter, 1681.

Clarendon, Henry Hyde, and Laurence Hyde Rochester. *The correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and his brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester; with the diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690, containing minute particulars of the events attending the revolution and the diary of Lord Rochester during his embassy to Poland in 1676.* Edited by Samuel Weller Singer. London: H. Colburn, 1828.

Clarke, James. *A survey of the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: together with an account, historical, topographical, and descriptive, of the adjacent country. To which is added, a sketch of the border laws and customs.* London: printed for the author, 1789.

Clay, Christopher. "The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review* 27 (1974): 173-89.

Cokayne, George E., ed. *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant, by G.E.C.* Rev. ed. 12 vols. London: The St. Catherine press, ltd., 1910-59.

Cokayne, G.E. et. al., eds. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant.* New ed. 6 vols. Gloucester, U.K.: Alan Sutton Publishing, 2000.

Collins, Minta. *Medieval Herbals, the Illustrated Traditions.* London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Colvin, Howard. "Thorpe Hall and its Architect." In *Essays in English Architectural History.* New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1999.

———, ed. *The history of the King's works.* 6 vols. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1963-2007.

Cope, Ester S. *Politics without Parliaments, 1629-1640.* London: Allan and Unwin, 1987.

Cormack, Lesley B. *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Corsiglia, Christina, ed. *Rubens and his age, treasures from the Hermitage Museum, Russia.* London: Merrell, 2001.

Cotton, Charles. *The Wonders of the Peake.* London: Printed for Joanna Brome . . . , 1681.

Cowan, William and Harry R. G. Inglis. *The Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh.* *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 35 (1919): 315-27.

- Cowen, Tyler. "Nicholas Barbon and the Origins of Economic Liberalism." *Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology* 4 (1986): 67-84.
- Cowley, Abraham. *Poems: Viz. I. Miscellanies. II. The Mistress, or Love Verses. III. Pindarique Odes. And IV. Davideis, or, A Sacred Poem of the Troubles of David*. London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Prince's Arms in St Pauls Church-yard, 1656.
- . *A proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy*. London: Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman; and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Blew-Anchor in the lower-walk of the New-Exchange, 1661.
- . *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley*. London: Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1668.
- Cox, Nicholas. *The gentleman's recreation: in four parts, viz. hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing: wherein these generous exercises are largely treated of, and the terms of art for hunting and hawking . . . with an abstract at the end of each subject, of such laws as relate to the same*. London: Printed by J.C. for N.C. and are to be sold by Tho. Fabian . . . , 1677.
- Crathorne, James. *Cliveden: The Place and the People*. London: Collins and Brown, 1995.
- Croft-Murray, Edward. *Decorative Painting in England*. Vol. I. London: Country Life, 1962.
- . "An English Painter of Chinoiserie." *Country Life Annual* (1955): 174-79.
- Cromartie, Alan. "The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England." *Past and Present* 163 (1999): 81-84.
- Cruft, Kitty, John G. Dunbar, and Richard Fawcett. *Borders*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Cubeta, Paul M. "A Jonsonian Ideal: 'To Penshurst.'" *Philosophical Quarterly* 42 (1963): 14-24.
- Culpeper, Thomas. *Sir Thomas Colepeper's tracts concerning usury reprinted. Shewing its biting quality on the private and publick With some animadversions on the writings of Dr. Lock, on that subject*. London: printed, and sold by J. Morphew, 1708 [1709].
- . *A tract against vsurie: Presented to the High Court of Parliament*. London: printed by W[illiam]. I[aggard]. for Walter Burre, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1621.
- Cunningham, Peter. *Inigo Jones. A Life of the Architect*. London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848.
- Cust, Lionel. "The First Pineapple Grown in England." *Apollo* 3 (1926): 75-76.
- Cust, Lionel, and Mary L. Cox. "Notes on the Collections formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surry, K.G." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19 (1911): 278-86.

- Daly, James. "The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Historical Journal* 21 (1978): 227-250.
- Daniell, F. H. Blackburne, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1675-6*. Vol. 18. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1907.
- Darby, H. C. "The Agrarian Contribution to Surveying in England." *The Geographical Journal* 82 (1933): 529-35.
- Daston, Loraine. "Baconian facts, academic civility, and the prehistory of objectivity." *Annals of Scholarship* 8 (1991): 337-364.
- Daston, Lorraine, and Katherine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Davenant, Charles. *An essay on the East-India-trade / by the author of The essay upon wayes and means*. London: [s.n.], 1696.
- . "An Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making the People Gainers in the Balance of Trade (1699)." In *The Political and Commercial Works of Charles Davenant LL.D.*, edited by Charles Whitworth. Vol. II. London, 1971.
- . *An Essay upon Ways and Means of suppling the war Discourses on the publick revenues, and on the trade of England: in two parts, viz. I. Of the use of political arithmetick, in all considerations about the revenues and trade, II. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be restored, III. On the management of the King's revenues, IV. Whither to form the revenues may not, in this juncture, be most for the publick service?, V. On the public debts and engagements*. London: Printed for James Knapton, 1698.
- Davies, Randall. "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635." *The Burlington Magazine* 10 (1907): 376-382.
- Davis, Ralph. *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. London, Macmillan; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1962.
- Dawson, Mark. *Plenti and Grase*. Devon: Prospect Books, 2009.
- Deering, Charles. *The History of Nottingham*. Nottingham: George Ayscough and Thomas Willington, 1751.
- Dear, Peter. "Totius in Verba, Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society." *Isis* 76 (1985): 144-161.
- De Dene, Edewaerd. *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren*. Brugghe: Inde Peerde strate by Pieter de Clerck . . . om, en ten coste . . . Marcus Gheeraerts, den xxvj Augustj 1567.

- Defoe, Daniel. *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*, edited by G. D. H. Cole and Herman Moll. 2 vols. London: P. Davies, 1927.
- . *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation, viz. I. A description of the principal cities and towns, their situation, magnitude, government, and commerce. II. The customs, manners, speech, as also the exercises, diversions, and employment of the people. III. The produce and improvement of the lands, the trade, and manufactures. IV. The sea ports and fortifications, the course of rivers, and the inland navigation. V. The publick edifices, seats, and palaces of the nobility and gentry. With useful observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the island. By a Gentleman.* Vol. 1. London: Printed, and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill. W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall. R. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, and J. Graves, in St. James's-Street, MDCCXXIV [1724].
- De Marchi, Neil, Hans J. Van Miegroet, and Matthew E. Raiff. "Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the Mid Seventeenth-Century Antwerp to Paris Art Trade." In *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, edited by Michael North and David Ormrod Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Dent, John. *The Quest for Nonsuch*. London: Hutchinson, [1962].
- Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex. *An apologie of the Earle of Essex: against those which iealously, and maliciously, tax him to be the hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country. Penned by himselfe in anno 1598*. London: Richard Bradocke, 1603.
- Diaper, William. *Dryades; or, the nymphs prophecy. A poem. By Mr. Diaper*. London: printed for Bernard Lintott, 1713 [1712].
- Dickinson, William Croft, Gordon Donaldson, [and] Isabel A. Milne, eds. *A source book of Scottish history*. Vol. 3. London; New York: Nelson [1954].
- Donald, Peter. "The Scottish National Covenant and British Politics, 1638-1640." In *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, edited by John Morrill. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Donaldson, Gordon. *The making of the Scottish prayer book of 1637*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1954.
- Dougal, Christie William, ed. *Letters addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while plenipotentiary at the congress of Cologne in the years 1673 and 1674*. Vol. 2. Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1874.
- Downname, John. *Lectures vpon the foure first chapters of the prophecie of Hosea: Wherein the text is expounded and cleered, and such profitable instructions obserued, and applied, as*

naturally arise out of this holie Scripture, and are fit for these times. By Iohn Dovvname Bachelor in Diuinitie, and preacher of Gods word. London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston [and T. East], for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound, 1608.

Dryden, John. *Annus mirabilis, The year of wonders, 1666: an historical poem containing the progress and various successes of our naval war with Holland, under the conduct of His Highness Prince Rupert, and His Grace the Duke of Albemarl: and describing the fire of London.* London: Printed for Henry Herringman . . . , 1667.

———. *Astræa redux: A poem on the happy restoration & return of His sacred Majesty Charles the Second.* London: printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Blew-Anchor, in the lower walk of the New-Exchange, 1660.

———. *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, in The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis. Translated into English verse By Mr. Dryden and Several other Eminent Hands. Together with the Satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus. Made English by Mr. Dryden. With Explanatory Notes at the end of each Satire.* London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1693.

———. *Fables ancient and modern translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, & Chaucer, with original poems.* London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1700.

———. *The Letters of John Dryden.* Edited by Charles E. Ward. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942.

Dubrow, Heather. "The Country-House Poem: A Study in Generic Development." *Genre* 12 (1979): 153-79.

Dufresnoy, Charles-Alphonse. *De arte graphica = The art of painting; with remarks; translated into English, together with an original preface containing a parallel betwixt painting and poetry, by Mr. Dryden; as also A short account of the most eminent painters, both ancient and modern, continu'd down to the present times, according to the order of their succession, by another hand.* London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers . . . , 1695.

Dugdale, William. *The history of St. Pauls Cathedral in London from its foundation untill these times extracted out of originall charters, records, leiger books, and other manuscripts: beautified with sundry prospects of the church, figures of tombes and monuments.* London: Printed by Tho. Warren, 1658.

———. *Monasticon anglicanum, or, The history of the ancient abbies, and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches, in England and Wales with divers French, Irish, and Scotch monasteries formerly relating to England / collected, and published in Latin, by Sir William Dugdale, Knight . . . , in three volumns; and now epitomized in English, page by page; with sculptures of the several religious habits.* London: Printed, for Sam Keble . . . , 1693.

- Dugdale, William, Roger Dodsworth, and John Stevens. *Monasticon Anglicanum, sive, Pandectae coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem ex MSS. codd. ad monasteria olim pertinentibus, archivis Turrium, Londinensis, Eboracensis, Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum, bibliothecis Bodleianâ, Coll. Reg. Coll. Bened., Arundellianâ, Cottonianâ, Seldenianâ, Hattonianâ aliisque digesti per Rogerum Dodsworth . . . Gulielmum Dugdale . . .* Londini: Impensis Christopheri Wilkinson, Thomae Dring, & Caroli Harper, 1661.
- Dunbar, John G. "The Building-activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670-82." *The Archaeological Journal* 132 (1975): 202-31.
- . *Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences during the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods*. East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell, 1999.
- . "Some Aspects of the Planning of Scottish Royal Palaces in the Sixteenth Century." *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 15-24.
- Dubrow, Heather. "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Reinterpreting Formalism and the Country House Poem." *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61 (2000): 59-77.
- Dunche, William, A. G. W. Murray, and Eustace F. Bosanquet. *The manuscript of William Dunche: being the Book of the new ordinary of the king's most honourable household, anno 31 Henry VIII: transcripts*. Exeter [Devon]: William Pollard & Co., 1914.
- Duthie, Elizabeth. "'A Memorial of My Own Principles': Dryden's 'To my Honour'd Kinsman.'" *ELH* 47 (1980): 682-704.
- Dutton, Richard. "Introduction." In Ben Jonson, *Epigrams and The Forrest*, edited by Richard Dutton. Manchester: Carnanet Press, 1984.
- Eck, Caroline van, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Edie, Carolyn A. "The Popular Idea of Monarchy on the Eve of the Stuart Restoration." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1976): 343-73.
- Edmond, Mary. *Hilliard and Oliver: the lives and works of two great miniaturists*. London: R. Hale, 1983.
- Edwards, Jess. *Writing, geometry and space in seventeenth-century England and America: circles in the sand*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Edwards, Ralph and Peter Ward-Jackson. *Ham House*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1950.

- Elioseff, Lee Andrew. *The Cultural Milieu of Addison's Literary Criticism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963.
- Elyot, Thomas. *The boke named The gouvernour deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knight*. Vol. I. Edited by Henry Herbert Stephen Croft. London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1880.
- Engerman, Stanley L. "Institutional change and British supremacy, 1650-1850: some reflections." In *Exceptionalism and Industrialization*, edited by Leandro Prados de la Escosura. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Evans, Robert C. *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989.
- Evelyn, John. *An apology for the royal party: written in a letter to a person of the late council of state by a lover of peace and of his country; with a touch at the pretended plea for the army*. London: [s.n.], 1659.
- . *Diary and correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.: to which is subjoined the private correspondence between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Sir Richard Browne*. Edited by William Bray. 4 vols. London: G. Bell, 1889-1891.
- . *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Edited by Esmond Samuel De Beer. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- . *Fumifugium, or, The inconveniencie of the aer and smoak of London dissipated together with some remedies*. London: Printed by W. Godbid for Gabriel Bedel and Thomas Collins . . . , 1661.
- . *Navigation and commerce, their original and progress containing a succinct account of traffick in general: its beneficts and improvements: of discoveries, wars, and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day, with special regard to the English nation: their several voyages and expeditions, to the beginning of our late differences with Holland: in which His Majesties title to the dominion of the sea is asserted, against the novel, and later pretenders*. London: Printed by T.R. for Benj. Tooke, at the Sign of the Ship in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1674.
- . *Parallel of the antient architecture with the modern, in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cataneo, L. B. Alberti and Viola, Bullant and De Lorme, compared with one another. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray. To which is added, An account of architects and architecture, With Leon Baptista Alberti's treatise of statues. The third edition, with the addition of The elements of architecture; collected by Sir Henry Wotton and also other large additions*. London: printed by T. W. for D. Browne, J. Walthoe, B. and S. Tooke, D. Midwinter, W. Mears, and F. Clay, 1723.

- . *A philosophical discourse of earth: relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants, &c. as it was presented to the Royal Society, April 29, 1675*. London: Printed for John Martyn . . . , 1676.
- . *Sculptura, or, The history, and art of chalcography and engraving in copper: with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works: to which is annexed a new manner of engraving, or mezzo tinto, communicated by His Highness Prince Rupert to the authour of this treatise*. London: Printed by J. C. for G. Beedle and T. Collins, 1662.
- . *Silva, or A Discourse of Forest-trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions*. London: Printed for Robert Scott in Little-Britain; Richard Chiswell in St. Paul's Church-yard; George Sawbridge in Little-Britain; and Benj. Tooke in Fleetstreet, 1706.
- Everitt, Alan. *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966.
- The Examiner*. 6 vols. London: Printed for J. Morphew, 1710-1714.
- Fairfax, Brian. *A catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens. With the life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the celebrated poet. Written by Brian Fairfax, esq. . . . Also, A catalogue of Sir Peter Lely's capital collection of pictures, statues, bronzes, &c., with the exact measures of the pictures in both collections: A description of Easton-Neston in Northamptonshire, the seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pomfret; with an account of the curious antique statues, busto's, urns, & c: A description of the cartoons at Hampton-Court: A letter from Mr. I. Talman to Dr. Aldrich . . . giving an account of a fine collection of drawings of Monsignor Marchetti, Bishop of Arezzo; collected by the celebrated Father Resta*. London: Printed for W. Bathoe, at his Circulating Library near Exeter Change, in the Strand, 1758.
- Farrer, William, and Charles Travis Clay, eds. *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Vol. 4. *The Honour of Richmond*, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Fear, H. J. "Westcombe." *Transactions of the Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian Society* 7 (1964): 8-13.
- Ferne, John. *The Blazon of Gentrie Devided into two parts. The first named The Glorie of Generositie. The second, Lacyes Nobilitie. Comprehending discourses of Armes and of Gentry. Wherein is treated of the beginning, parts and degrees of Gentlenesse, vvith her lawes: Of the Bearing, and Blazon of Cote-armors: Of the Lawes of Armes, and of combats*. London: Printed by John VVindet, for Toby Cooke, 1586.
- Fiennes, Celia. *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*. Edited and introduced by Christopher Morris. London: Cresset Press, 1947.

- . *Through England on a Side Saddle, in the Time of William and Mary*. Introduced by Emily Wingfield Griffiths. London and New York: Field & Tuer; Scribner & Welford, 1888.
- Filmer, Robert. *Patriarcha, or, The natural power of Kings*. London: Printed and are to be sold by Walter Davis . . . , 1680.
- Finch, Anne, Countess of Winchilsea. *Miscellany poems, on several occasions. Written by a lady*. London: printed for J. B. and sold by Benj. Tooke, William Taylor, and James Round, 1713.
- . *The Poems of the Anne, Countess of Winchilsea*. Eited by Myra Reynolds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903.
- Findlen, Paula. *Possessing nature: museums, collecting, and scientific culture in early modern Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Finet, John. *Ceremonies of Charles I: the note books of John Finet, 1628-1641*. Edited by Albert J. Loomie. New York: Fordham University Press, 1987.
- Finkelstein, Andrea. *Harmony and Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Flamsteed, John. *An account of the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer-Royal; compiled from his own manuscripts, and other authentic documents, never before published, & Supplement to the account of the Revd. John Flamsteed*. Edited by Francis Baily. London: Dawsons, 1966.
- . *The Correspondence of John Flamsteed, the First Astronomer Royal*. Edited by Eric G. Forbes, Murdin Lesley, and Frances Willmoth. Bristol, UK: Institute of Physics Pub, 1995.
- Fleming, Giles. *Magnificence exemplified: and, the repaire of Saint Pauls exhorted unto In a sermon appointed to be preached at St. Pauls-Crosse, but preached in the church. August the 31. 1634. By Gyles Fleming Mag. in Art. and preacher of Gods Word at Waddingworth, in Lincolne-shire*. London: Printed by Richard Badger for Thomas Alchorn, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Green-Dragon, 1634.
- Flis, Nathan. *Francis Barlow: Painter of Birds and Beasts*. Exh. cat. London: Robert Boyle Project, 2011.
- . “From the life: the Art of Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704).” D.Phil. diss. St. Catherine’s College, University of Oxford, 2012.
- . “The Drawings of Francis Barlow: from Apprenticeship to Aesop’s Fables, 1648-66.” *Master Drawings* 49 (2011): 479-532.

- Foister, Susan. "Foreigners at court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company." In *Art and patronage in the Caroline courts: essays in honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, edited by David Howarth. Cambridge England; New York, N.Y., USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Fokker, Timon H. *Jan Siberechts, Peintre de la Paysanne Flamande*. Bruxelles and Paris: Librairie Nationale D'Art et D'Histoire, 1931.
- Forsett, Edward. *A comparatiue discourse of the bodies natural and politique: Vvherein out of the principles of nature, is set forth the true forme of a commonweale, with the dutie of subiects, and right of soueraigne: together with many good points of politicall learning, mentioned in a briefe after the preface*. London: Printed [by Eliot's Court Press] for Iohn Bill, 1606.
- Fowler, Alister. "The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's To Penshurst." *The Review of English Studies* 24 (1974): 266-82.
- . *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.
- . "Country-House Poems: The Politics of a Genre." *The Seventeenth Century* 1 (1986).
- . "Georgic and the Pastoral: Laws of Genre in the Seventeenth Century." In *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, edited by Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor. Leicester University Press, 1992.
- Foxe, John. *Actes And Monuments Of These Latter And Perillous Dayes Touching Matters Of The Church*. Imprinted at London: By Iohn Day, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate. Cum priuilegio Regi[a]e Maiestatis, [1563 (20 March)].
- Foxon, David. *English verse 1701-1750: a catalogue of separately printed poems with notes on contemporary collected editions*. London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Frampton, John. *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newfound World, Wherein Are Declared the Rare and Singular Vertues of Divers and Sundrie Herbs, Trees, Oyles, Plants & Stones, with Their Applications, Aswell to the Use of Phisicke, as Chirurgery; Which Being Wel Applied, Bring Such Present Remedy for All Diseases, As May Seeme Altogether Incredible: Notwithstanding By Practize Found Out, To Be True. Also the portrature of the sayde herbes, very aptly described: Englished by John Frampton Merchant. Newly corrected as by conference with the olde copies may appeare. Wherunto are added three other bookes treating of the bezaar stone, the herb escuerconera, the properties of yron and steele, in medicine and the benefits of snowe*. London: in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Quenes Armes, by William Norton, 1580.
- Frank, Robert G., Jr. *Harvey and the Oxford Physiologists: A Study of Scientific Ideas and Social Interaction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980.

Fréart, Roland sieur de Chambray. *An idea of the perfection of painting: demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of the antient painters, parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin / written in French by Roland Freart, sieur de Cambray; and rendred English by J.E., Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman . . . , 1668).

———. *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne. English Title A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern: in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders: the three Greek orders, Dorique, Ionique, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this treatise, and the two Latine, Tuscan and Composita, the latter/ written in French by Roland Freart, sieur de Chambray; made English for the benefit of builders; to which is added An account of architects and architecture, in an historical and etymological explanation of certain tearms particularly affected by architects; with Leon Baptista Alberti's treatise Of statues, by John Evelyn, Esq.* London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Place, 1664.

Freeman, David. *The Letters of David Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685*. Edited by David Hancock. London: London Record Society, 2002.

Friedman, Alice T. "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House." *Assemblage* 18 (1992): 41-61.

———. *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Friedman, John B. "Peacocks and Preachers: Analytic Technique in Marcus of Orvieto's *Liber de moralitatibus*, Vatican lat. MS 5935." In *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages, The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, edited by Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

Fuchs, Leonhart. *De historia stirpivm commentarii insignes: maximis impensis et vigiliis elaborati adjectis earvndem vivis plvsqvam quingentis imaginibus, nunquam antea ad naturæ imitationem artificiosius efictis & expressis / Leonharto Fvchsio autore; accessit iis succincta admodum uocum difficilium & obscurarum passim in hoc opere occurrentium explicatio; unà cum quadruplici indicens\uorum primus quidem stirpium nomenclaturas Græcas, alter Latinas, tertius officinis seplasiariorum & herbariis usitatas, quartus Germanicas continebit*. Basileae: In Officina Isingriniana, 1542.

———. *The new herbal of 1543 = New Kreüterbuch*. Basil, 1543. Köln; London: Taschen, 2001.

Fuller, Thomas. *The history of the worthies of England: who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties: together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county*. London: Printed by J.G.W.L. and W.G., 1662.

- Gadd, Ian. "The Mechanics of Difference; a Study in Stationers' Company discourse in the Seventeenth Century." In *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris. Winchester, Hampshire: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1997.
- Galinou, Mireille, ed. *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720*. Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004.
- Galinou, Mireille. "Merchants' Houses." In *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, edited by Mireille Galinou. London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004.
- Ganz, James A. "A City Artist: Robert Robinson." In *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, edited by Mireille Galinou. London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004.
- Gedde, John. *A New Discovery of an Excellent Method of Bee Houses & Colonies: To Free the Owners from the Great Charge and Trouble that Attends the Swarming of Bees, and Delivers the Bees from the Evil Reward of Ruine for the Benefit They Brought Their Masters; Advantaging Their Owners Many-fold Above What-ever Any Method Heretofore Practic'd Doth. Experienced Seven Years by John Gedde, Gent. Inventor; and Approved by the Royal Society at Gresham-Colledge*. London: Printed for the author, and sold by D. Newman . . . , 1675.
- Gesner, Konrad. *Historiæ animalium*. Lib. 1[-5]. Tiguri: C. Froschouerum, 1551-1587.
- Gibson-Woods, Carol. "Classification and Value in a Seventeenth-Century Museum: William Courten's Collection." *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997): 61-77.
- Gifford, John. *Fife*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988.
- Giles Jacob, *The compleat sportsman. In three parts. Part I. Containing the nature and various kinds of game, under their several Denominations, with the best Methods of taking the same, by Shooting, Hunting, Dogs, Nets, and otherwise; and the Laws and Statutes made for Preservation of the Game, with Warrants to empower Game-Keepers, &c. Part II. Of the best Situations and Methods of erecting and Management of Parks, Warrens, &c. Of Hunting the Buck, Doe, &c. And a concise Abridgment of the Forest-Laws, and of all the Laws and Statutes relating to Deer: Methodically interspersed with Precedents of Warrants for Deer, &c. Part III. Of fish and fishing; the most successful Methods of Angling; the only proper Baits, Tackle and agreeable Seasons for taking all Sorts of Fish; and the Rivers wherein they are to be found; with the Statutes relating to Fishing, &c.* [London]: In the Savoy, printed by Eliz. Nutt, and R. Gosling, (assigns of Edward Sayer Esq;) for J. Tonson, and W. Taylor, 1718.
- Gilpin, William. *An essay upon prints containing remarks upon the principles of picturesque beauty, the different kinds of prints, and the characters of the most noted masters*. London: Printed for J. Robson, 1768.

- . *Remarks on forest scenery, and other woodland views, (relative chiefly to picturesque beauty) illustrated by the scenes of New-Forest in Hampshire . . .* London: printed for R. Blamire, 1791.
- . *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England: particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland.* London: printed for R. Blamire, 1787.
- . *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty: made in the Summer of the year 1770, second edition.* London: printed for R. Blamire, 1789.
- . *Three essays: On picturesque beauty; On picturesque travel; and On sketching landscape: to which is added a poem, On landscape painting.* London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792.
- Giraroud, Mark. *Elizabethan Architecture, It's Rise and Fall, 1540-1640.* Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- . *Robert Smythson and The Elizabethan Country House.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Givens, Jean A. "Reading and Writing the Illustrated *Tractatus de herbis*, 1280-1526." In *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200-1500*, edited by Jean A. Givens, Karen M. Reed, and Alain Touwaide. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006.
- Glanvill, Joseph. *Plus ultra, or, The progress and advancement of knowledge since the days of Aristotle: in an account of some of the most remarkable late improvements of practical, useful learning, to encourage philosophical endeavours: occasioned by a conference with one of the notional way.* London: Printed for James Collins . . . , 1668.
- . *A præfatory answer to Mr. Henry Stubbe, the doctor of Warwick: wherein the malignity, hypocrisie, falshood of his temper, pretences, reports, and the impertinency of his arguings & quotations in his animadversions on Plus ultra are discovered.* London: Printed by A. Clark for J. Collins . . . , 1671.
- . *The vanity of dogmatizing, or, Confidence in opinions manifested in a discourse of the shortness and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its causes: with some reflexions on peripateticism, and an apology for philosophy.* London: Printed by E.C. for Henry Eversden at the Grey-Hound in St. Pauls-Church-Yard, 1661.
- Gomme, Andor, and Alison Maguire. *Design and plan in the country house: from castle donjons to Palladian boxes.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008.
- Goodall, John A. A. *The English castle, 1066-1650.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

- Goedde, Lawrence Otto. *Tempest and Shipwrecks in Dutch and Flemish Art: Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation*. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989.
- Gordon, Andrew. "Performing London: the map and the city in ceremony." In *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, edited by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Graham, Richard. "A short account of the most eminent painters." In Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, *De arte graphica = The art of painting; with remarks; translated into English, together with an original preface containing a parallel betwixt painting and poetry, by Mr. Dryden; as also A short account of the most eminent painters, both ancient and modern, continu'd down to the present times, according to the order of their succession, by another hand*. London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers . . . , 1695.
- Grassby, Richard. "The Rate of Profit in Seventeenth-Century England." *The English Historical Review* 84 (1969): 721-51.
- Grew, Nehemiah. *Musæum regalis societatis, or, A catalogue and description of the nature and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham Colledge made by Nehemiah Grew . . . ; whereunto is subjoynd the Comparative anatomy of stomachs and guts, by the same author*. London: Printed for W. Rawlins for the author, 1681.
- The Guardian*. London: printed for J. Tonson, 1714.
- Guicciardini, Lodovico. *The description of the Low countreys and of the prouinces thereof, gathered into an epitome out of the historie of Lodouico Guicchardini* London: By Peter Short for Thomas Chard, 1593.
- Gunther, R. T. *The architecture of Sir Roger Pratt, Charles II's commissioner for the rebuilding of London after the great fire: now printed for the first time from his note-books*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972.
- Habakkuk, John. "English landownership, 1680-1740." *Economic History Review* 10 (1940): 2-17.
- . "The long-term rate of interest and the price of land in the seventeenth century." *The Economic History Review New Series* 5 (1952): 26-45.
- . *Marriage, Debt, and The Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . "Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 187-207.
- . "Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: II." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1980): 199-221.

- . “Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: III. Did the Gentry Rise?” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981): 195-217.
- Hale, Sir Matthew. *The primitive origination of mankind, considered and examined according to the light of nature*. London: Printed by William Godbid for William Shrowsbery . . . , 1677.
- Hall, Bert S. “The Didactic and the Elegant: Some Thoughts on Scientific and Technological Illustrations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.” In *Picturing Knowledge, Historical and Philosophical Problems Concerning the Use of Art in Science*, edited by Brian S. Baigrie. Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Hall, A. Rupert, and Mary Boas Hall, “The Intellectual Origins of the Royal Society – London and Oxford.” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 23 (1968): 157-168.
- Hall, Edward. *Hall's chronicle; containing the history of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550*. London, Printed for J. Johnson, 1809.
- Hall, John. *The true cavalier examined by his principles and found not guilty of schism or sedition*. London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, 1656.
- Hall, Marie Boas. *Henry Oldenburg, Shaping the Royal Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . “Oldenburg, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and Technology.” In *The Uses of Science in the Age of Newton*, edited by John G. Burke. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1983.
- Hamilton, James, Duke of. *The Hamilton papers: being selections from original letter in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, relating to the years 1638-1650*. Edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner. [Westminster]: Printed for the Camden society, 1880.
- Hancock, David. “‘A World of Business to Do’: William Freeman and the Foundations of England’s Commercial Empire, 1645-1707.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57 (2000): 3-34.
- Hanson, Craig Ashley. *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Harris, John. *The history of Kent In five parts. Containing, I. An exact topography or description of the county. . . . V. The natural history of Kent*. London: printed: and sold by D. Midwinter, 1719.

- Harris, John. *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain, 1540-1870*. Rev. ed. London: Sotheby's Publications, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985.
- . "Draughtsman's Contracts." *Country Life* 8 (1983): 628-29.
- , comp. *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Inigo Jones and John Webb*. [Farnborough, Hants, Eng.], 1972.
- Harris, John, Kimberly Kostival, and Sarah Orchart, *The artist and the country house: from the fifteenth century to the present day*. Exh. cat. [London]: Sotheby's Institute, 1995.
- Harrison, Peter. "Reading the passions: the Fall, the passions, and dominion over nature." In *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Stephen Gaukroger. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Harrison, William. *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*. Edited by Frederick J. Furnivall. 3 vols. London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877.
- Hart, Vaughan. "Inigo Jones, 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'" *Architectural History. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* 53 (2010): 2-39.
- Hart, Vaughan, and Richard Tucker. "'Immaginacy Set Free': Aristotelian Ethics and Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 39 (2001): 151-167.
- Härting, Urusula. "Adriaen van Stalbeemt als Figuremaler." *Oud Holland* 95 (1981): 3-15.
- Harwood, Thomas. *Alumni Etonenses or, a catalogue of the provosts & fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge, from the foundation in 1443, to the year 1797; with an account of their lives & preferments . . .* Birmingham: Printed by T. Pearson, for Messrs. Cadell, jun. and Davies, London; J. Deighton, Cambridge; and M. Pote, Eton. 1797.
- Haskell, Francis, and Karen Serres. *The King's Pictures: the formation and dispersal of the collections of Charles I and his courtiers*. New Haven: Published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2013.
- Hasler, P. W., ed. *The House of Commons, 1558-1603*. London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by H.M.S.O., 1981.
- Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Hasted, Edward. "Parishes: Bridge," *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Containing the Antient and Present State of It, Civil and Ecclesiastical: Collected from Public Records, and Other Authorities*. Vol. 9. Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800.

- Hay, Millicent V. *The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1984.
- Hearn, Karen. "Merchant clients for the painter Jan Siberechts." In *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720*, edited by Mireille Galinou. Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004.
- Hecht, Peter. "Dutch Painters in England: Readings in Houbraken, Weyerman, and Van Gool." In *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle. Zutphen: Walburg Institute, 1994.
- Helmolz, R. H. "Usury and the Medieval English Church Courts." *Speculum* 61 (1986): 364-380.
- Henning, Basil Duke. *The House of Commons, 1660-1690*. History of Parliament. 3 vols. London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983.
- Herendeen, W. H. "Introduction: On Reading the 1616 Folio." In *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, edited by Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Heylyn, Peter. *Aerius redivivus, or, The history of the Presbyterians: containing the beginnings, progress and successes of that active sect, their oppositions to monarchical and episcopal government, their innovations in the church, and their imbroylments of the kingdoms and estates of Christendom in the pursuit of their designs: from the year 1536 to the year 1647*. Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Printed for John Crosley, and are to be sold in London by Thomas Basset . . . , 1670.
- . *Cosmographie in four books: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas, and isles thereof*. London: Printed for Henry Seile . . . , 1652.
- . *Microcosmus, or A little description of the great world: A treatise historicall, geographical, politicall, theologicall*. Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short printers to the famous Vniversitie, 1621.
- Hibbard, G. R. "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956): 159-74.
- Higgott, Gordon. "The Design and Setting of Inigo Jones's Queen's House, 1616-40." *The Court Historian* 11 (2006): 135-48.
- . "Inigo Jones's Designs for the Queen's House in 1616." In *The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700*, edited by Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack. Reading: Spire Books, 2007.

- . “The Making of an Architect: Inigo Jones’s Second Tour of Italy, 1613-14.” In *Inigo Jones: complete architectural drawings*, edited by John Harris and Gordon Higgott. New York: The Drawing Center, 1989.
- Highley, Christopher. “The remains of Henry VIII.” In *Henry VIII and his afterlife: literature, politics, and art*, edited by Mark Rankin, Christopher Highley, and John N. King. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Hill, Christopher. “The Intellectual Origins of the Royal Society – London and Oxford?” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 23 (1968): 144-156.
- Hilliard, Nicholas. *Nicholas Hilliard’s Art of limning, A New edition of A treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning, writ by N Hilliard*. Edited by Arthur F. Kinney and Linda Bradley Salamon. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.
- Hinnant, Charles H. *The Poetry of Anne Finch: An Essay in Interpretation*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994.
- Hipple, Walter John Jr. *The Beautiful, The Sublime, and The Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *De mirabilibus pecci: being the wonders of the peak in Darby-shire, commonly called the Devil’s arse of peak. In English and Latin*. London: Printed for William Crook, 1678.
- . *Dialogus physicus, sive, De natura aeris conjectura sumpta ab experimentis nuper Londini habitis in Collegio Greshamensi, item de duplicatione cubi*. Londini: Typis J.B. & prostant venales apud A. Crook, 1661.
- Hodnett, Edward. *Aesop in England: the transmission of motifs in seventeenth-century illustrations of Aesop’s Fables*. Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1979.
- . *Francis Barlow, First Master of English Book Illustration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Hoffman, Arthur W. “Dryden’s Panegyrics and Lyrics.” In *John Dryden*, edited by Earl Miner. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *The first and second volumes of Chronicles comprising 1 The description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland, 3 The description and historie of Scotland: first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent and others. With conuenient tables at the end of these volumes* [London]: Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie

- Denham, and Thomas Vwoodcocke. London: printed [by Henry Denham] in Aldersgate street at the signe of the Starre, [1587]].
- Hollstein, F. W. H. *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts. ca. 1450-1700. Vol. 41: Johannes [De] Visscher to Robert van Voerst*. Edited by Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer. Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1992.
- Hooke, Robert. "A Discourse of Earthquakes." In *The posthumous works of Robert Hooke, . . . containing his Cutlerian lectures, and other discourses, read at the meetings of the illustrious Royal Society . . . Illustrated with sculptures. To these discourses is prefixt the author's life*, edited by Richard Waller. London: printed by Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1705.
- . *Micrographia, or, Some physiological descriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glasses: with observations and inquiries thereupon*. London: Printed by Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry . . . and are to be sold at their shop . . . , 1665.
- . *Philosophical experiments and observations*. London: Printed by W. and J. Innys, 1726.
- Hooker, Richard. *The works of Mr. Richard Hooker (that learned and judicious divine), in eight books of ecclesiastical polity: compleated out of his own manuscripts, never before published: with an account of his life and death*. London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb for Andrew Crook . . . , 1666.
- Houghton, John. *A collection for the improvement of husbandry and trade*. 4 vols. London: printed for Woodman and Lyon in Russel-street, Covent Garden, 1727-1728.
- Houghton, Walter E., Jr. "The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-Century Thought as Seen in Bacon, Petty, Evelyn, and Boyle." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1941): 33-60.
- Howarth, David. *Lord Arundel and his circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Howard, Deborah. "Scotland's 'Thrie Estates.' " In *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, edited by Lucy Gent. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Hulton, P. H. "Drawings of England in the Seventeenth Century by Willem Schellinks, Jacob Esselens and Lambert Doomer, from the Van der hem Atlas of the National Library, Vienna. Part One: Introduction of the Catalogue. Part Two: The Plates." *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 35 (1954): iii-64.
- Hunt, John Dixon. *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
- Hunter, Michael. *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society*. Woodridge: Boydell Press, 1989.

- . *The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an early scientific institution*. Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks, England: British Society for the History of Science, 1982.
- . *Science and Society in Restoration England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Hutchinson, Lucy Apsley. *Memoirs of the life of Colonel Hutchinson*. Edited by James Sutherland. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- I'Anson, Arthur Bryan. *The History of the Finch Family. With Plates, Including Portraits*. London: Janson, 1933.
- Israel, Fred L., ed. *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648-1967*. New York: Chelsea House, 1967.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Ives, Eric. "Henry VIII: the Political Perspective." In *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, edited by Diarmaid MacCulloch. Houndsmill and London: MacMillan Press, 1995.
- Jacob, James R. "The Political Economy of Science in Seventeenth-Century England." *Social Research* 59 (1992): 505-532.
- Jacques, David. "Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century." *Architectural History* 44 (2001): 365-76.
- Jefferson, Lisa. "MS Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter MS." *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 356-385.
- Jenkins, Hugh. *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998.
- Johns, Adrian. "Identity, Practice, and Trust in Early Modern Natural Philosophy." *The Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 1125-1145.
- Johnson, Samuel. *The lives of the English poets: and a criticism on their works*. 3 vols. Dublin: printed for Wm. Wilson, 1780-81.
- Jones, Inigo. *Inigo Jones's "Roman sketchbook"*. Edited by Edward Chaney. 2 vols. [London]: Roxburghe Club, 2006.
- Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson*. Edited by C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1952.

- . *THE WORKES of Benjamin Jonson*. London: Printed by W: Stansby, and are to be sould by Rich: Meighen, 1616.
- Jordan, Nicolle. “Anne Finch and the fallen country house.” In *The intellectual culture of the English country house, 1500-1700*, edited by Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, and Margaret Healy. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- . “Where Power is absolute: Royalist politics and the improved landscape in a poem by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea.” *The Eighteenth Century* 46 (2005): 255-275.
- Jose, Nicholas. *Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-71*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Junius, Franciscus. *Francisci Iunii F. F. De pictura veterum libri tres*. Amstelaedami: Apud Iohannem Blaeu, 1637.
- . *The painting of the ancients in three bookes: declaring by historicall observations and examples, the beginning, progresse, and consummation of that most noble art. And how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie. Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F.F. And now by him Englished, with some additions and alterations*. London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinsonne; and are to be sold by Daniel Frere, at the signe of the Bull in Little-Britain, 1638.
- Kain, Roger J. P., John Chapman, and Richard R. Oliver. *The enclosure maps of England and Wales, 1595-1918*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1957.
- Kay, Christian, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels, and Irené Wotherspoon, eds. *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Keirn, Tim and Frank T. Melton, “Thomas Manley and the Rate-Of-Interest Debate, 1668-1673.” *The Journal of British Studies* 29 (1990): 147-173.
- Kelsall, Malcolm. *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature*. New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Kemp, Martin. “From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts.” *Viator* 8 (2008): 347-98.
- Kenny, Virginia C. *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature 1688-1750: Themes of Personal Retreat and National Expansion*. Sussex and New York: The Harvesters Press and St. Martin's Press, 1984.

- Kenyon, J. P. *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, 1641-1702*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958.
- Key, Newton E. "The Localism of the Country Feast in Late Stuart Political Culture." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58 (1995): 211-37.
- King, Daniel. *The cathedrall and conventvall churches of England and Wales. Orthographically delineated by D K*. [London]: Printed and sould by Iohn Ouerton at ye White horse in Little Brittain[e], [1656].
- Kinnane-Roelofsma, Derk. "Britannia and Melita: Pseudomorphic Sisters." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 130-32.
- Kinsley, James, ed. *Dryden: the critical heritage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Kip, Johannes. *Britannia illustrata: or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates*. London: Sold by David Mortier, 1707.
- Kipling, Gordon, ed. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*. Oxford; New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Kivy, Peter. *The Seventh Sense: Francis Hutcheson and Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- Kitchen, Frank. "John Norden (c. 1547-1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker and Devotional Writer." *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 51-54.
- Kléber, Paul. *Jacobism and the English People, 1688-1788*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Klein, Bernhard. *Maps and the writing of space in early modern England and Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Knight, Charles A. "The *Spectator's* Moral Economy." *Modern Philology* 2 (1993): 161-79.
- Knowles, Ronald. "The 'All-Atoning Name': The Word 'Patriot' in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Modern Language Review* 96 (2001): 636-43.
- Knyff, Leonard and Johannes Kip. *Britannia illustrata or views of several of the royal palaces as also of the principal seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain*. London: David Mortier, 1707.
- . *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des palais de la reine, et des maisons les plus considerables des seigneurs et des gentilshommes de la Grande Bretagne*. London: David Mortier, 1708.

- Kollmann, Stefanie. *Niederländische Künstler und Kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: George Olms, 2000.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics, Part I." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951): 496-527.
- Lambard, William. *The perambulation of Kent containing the description, history and customs of that county*. London: Printed for Matthew Walbqncke, and Dan. Pakeman, 1656.
- Langbaine, Gerard. *An account of the English dramattick poets, or, Some observations and remarks on the lives and writings of all those that have publish'd either comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, masques, interludes, farces or opera's in the English tongue*. Oxford: Printed by L.L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691.
- Lansberry, Frederick. "'Tempered Despotism?': The Government of the County." In *Government and Politics In Kent, 1640-1914*, edited by Frederick Lansberry. Boydell Press and Kent County Council: Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, N.Y., 2001.
- Lafreri, Antonio. *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae: Omnia fere quacunq; in urbe monumenta extant, . . .* Romae: [Drucker:] Lafreri, [ca 1575].
- Larkin, James F., and Paul L. Hughes, eds. *Royal proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.
- Laud, William, William Scott, and James Bliss. *The works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*. Vol. 1. Sermons. Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1847.
- L'Estrange, Roger. *A short view of some Remarkable Transactions, Leading to the happy Settlement of these Nations under the Government of our Lawfull and Gracious Sovereign, Charls the II, whom God Preserve*. London: Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-Lane, 1660.
- Lee, Maurice. *The Cabal*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965.
- . *The road to revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Lee, Rensselaer W. "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting." *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197-269.
- Leland, John. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, parts VII and VIII*. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909). Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Vol. IV. London: George Bell and Sons, 1909.
- Leonard, E. M. "The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. New Series, 19 (1905): 101-46.

- Levine, Jay A.. "John Dryden's Epistle to John Driden." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 63 (1964): 450-74.
- Levy, F. J. "Henry Peacham and the Art of Drawing." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 174-90.
- Lewalski, Barbara Keifer. "The Lady of the Country House Poem." In *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops, Gordon J. Schochet, et al. Washington D.C. and Hanover, N.H.: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1989.
- Leybourn, William. *The compleat surveyor containing the whole art of surveying of land by the plain table, theodolite, circumferentor, and peractor: together with the taking of all manner of heights and distances, either accessible or in-accessible, the plotting and protracting of all manner of grounds, either small inclosures, champion plains, woodlands, or any other mountainous and un-even grounds: hereunto is added, the manner how to know whether water may be conveyed from a spring head to any appointed place or not, and how to effect the same: with whatsoever else is necessary to the art of surveying*. London: Printed by R. & W. Leybourn, for E. Brewster and G. Sawbridge, 1653.
- Loach, Judi. "Architecture and urban space in London." In *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, edited by Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein't Hart, and Herman van der Wee. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Loades, David. *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- . *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland: 1504-1553*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- . *Politics and nation: England, 1450-1660*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- . *The Tudor Court*. London: B. T. Bradson, 1986.
- Locke, John. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding: In Four Books. Written by John Locke* . . . The Eleventh ed. 2 vols. London: E. Parker; J. and J. Pemberton; and E. Symon: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1735.
- . *Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money: in a letter to a member of Parliament*. London: Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill . . . , 1692.
- . *Two Treatises on Government* (1690). Edited and introduced by Peter Laslett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

- . *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, The False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, And His Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter is an Essay concerning The True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government*. London: Printed for A. Bettesworth . . . , J. Pemberton . . . , and E. Symon, 1728.
- Loggan, David. *Cantabrigia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ istius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ academicæ, scholarum publicarum, sacelli coll. regalis: nec non totius oppidi ichnographia Cantabrigiæ*: [s.n.] 1690.
- , *Oxonia illustrata, sive, Omnium celeberrimæ stius universitatis collegiorum, aularum, bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, scholarum publicarum, Theatri Sheldoniani, nec non urbis totius scenographia*. Oxoniæ: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1675.
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo. *Trattato dell'arte della pittvra, scoltvra, et architettvra di Gio. Paolo Lomazzo milanese pittore : diuiso in sette libri, ne' qvali si discorre de la proportionne, de' moti, de' colori, de' lumi, de la prospettiu, de la prattica de la pittura, et finalmente de le istorie d'essa pittura : con vna tauola de'nomi de tutti li pittori, scoltori, architetti, & matematici antichi & moderni*. In Milano: Per Paolo Gottardo Pontio . . . , a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1585.
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo, and Richard Haydocke. *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge caruinge buildinge written first in Italian by Io: Paul Lomatius painter of Milan and Englished by R.H student in physik*. Printed at Oxford: by Ioseph Barnes for R[ichard] H[aydock], 1598.
- Longnon, Jean, Raymond Cazelles, and Millard Meiss, *The Treſ Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: museè Condeſ Chantilly*. New York: George Braziller, 1969.
- Louw, H. J. "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c. 1600-c. 1660." *Architectural History* 24 (1981): 1-23, 152-144.
- Lovelace, Richard. *Lucasta Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c. To Which Is Added Aramantha, A Pastorall. By Richard Lovelace*. London: Printed by Tho. Harper, and are to be sold by Tho. Evvster, at the Gun, in Ivie Lane, 1649.
- Lubbock, Jules. *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Lux, David S., and Harold J. Cook. "Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communications at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution." *History of Science* 36 (1998): 179-212.
- MacInnes, Allan I. *The British Revolution, 1629-1660*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- . *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-1641*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1991.

- McBride, Kari. *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- McClung, William Alexander. "The Country-House Arcadia." In *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops, Gordon J. Schochet, et al. Studies in the History of Art, 25. Washington D.C. and Hanover, N.H.: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1989.
- . *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*. Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1977.
- McEvansoneya, Philip. "A Note on the Duke of Buckingham's Inventory." *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 607.
- . "An Unpublished Inventory of the Hamilton Collection in the 1620s and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures." *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992): 524-526.
- McGovern, Barbara. *Anne Finch and Her Poetry, A Critical Bibliography*. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
- McGuire, Mary Ann C. "The Cavalier Country-House Poem: Mutations on a Jonsonian Tradition." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 19 (1979): 93-108.
- McKie, Douglas. "The Origins and Foundation of the Royal Society of London." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960): 1-37.
- McRae, Andrew. *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . "To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of the Land in Early Modern England." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 56 (1993): 333-57.
- McSorley, Paul. "Local History: Property, Place and History in the English Country House Poem." In *The Political Subject: Essays on the Self from Art, Politics and Science*, edited by Wendy Wheeler. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2000.
- Macky, John. *A journey through England. In familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad*. London: printed by J. Roberts, for T. Caldecott, at the Sun against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet street, 1714.
- Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale. *The Lauderdale papers*. Edited by Osmund Airy. 3 vols. [Westminster]: Printed for the Camden society, 1884-85.
- Mancke, Elizabeth. "Chartered Enterprises and the Evolution of the British Atlantic World." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

- Mandeville, Bernard, *The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits. Containing, several discourses, to demonstrate, that human frailties, . . . may be turn'd to the advantage of the civil society, . . .* London: printed for J. Roberts, 1714.
- . *The grumbling hive: or, knaves turn'd honest*. [London], 1705.
- Marr, Alexander. "Introduction." in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Marshall, Pamela. *Wollaton Hall, An Archaeological Survey*. Nottingham: Nottingham Civic Society, 1996.
- Marvell, Andrew. *The first anniversary of the government under His Highness the Lord Protector*. London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, and are to be sold by Samuel Gellibrand at the golden Ball in Pauls Church-yard, near the west-end, anno Dom: 1655.
- Mason, John Hope. "Thinking about genius in the eighteenth century." In *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art*, edited by Paul Mattick, Jr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Matthew, H. C. G., and Brian Harrison, eds. *Oxford dictionary of national bibliography: in association with the British Academy: from the earliest times to the year 2000*. 56 vols. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Mayhew, Robert. "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600-1800." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004): 251-76.
- Melton, Frank T. "A Rake Refinanced: The Fortune of George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1671-1685." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 51 (1988): 297-318.
- . *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Miége, Guy. *The New State of England Under Our Present Sovereign Queen Anne. The fourth edition, with a supplement of the new established officers in church and state to September 1702, and a list of the present Parliament*. London: Printed by R.J. for H. Mortlock and J. Robinson . . . , 1702.
- Millar, Olivar. "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651." *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 43 (1970): iii-458.
- . *The Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*. 2 vols. London: Phaidon Press, [1963].
- Milton, John. *Paradise regain'd. a poem. In four books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. And Poems upon several occasions. Compos'd at several times*. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate next Grays-Inn Lane, 1707.

- . *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda. Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos*. Londini: Typis Neucomianis, 1654.
- Mingay, G. E. *The gentry: the rise and fall of a ruling class*. London and New York: Longman, 1976.
- Montagu, Jennifer. *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Morgan, Victor. "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England." *Transactions of the Royal Society, Fifth Series*, 29 (1979): 129-54.
- Molesworth, Charles. "In More Decent Order Tame": *Marvel, History, and the Country-House Poem*. PhD. Diss. Buffalo: State University of New York, 1968.
- . "Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century." *Genre* 1 (1968): 141-57.
- . "'To Penshurst' and Jonson's Historical Imagination." *Clio* 1 (1971): 5-13.
- Mulligan, Lotte, and Glenn Mulligan. "Reconstructing Science: Styles of Leadership and Social Composition of the Early Royal Society." *Social Studies of Science* 11 (1981): 327-364.
- Munro, John H. "The Medieval Origins of the Financial Revolution: Usury, Rentes, and Negotiability." *The International History Review* 25 (2003): 505-62.
- Mylne, Robert Scott. *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scott & Ferguson and Burness & Co., 1893.
- Neal, Larry. *The Rise of Financial Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Neri, Janice. "Between Observation and Image: Representations of Insects In Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*." In *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400-1850*, edited by Therese O'Malley and Amy R. W. Meyers. Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Nevill, Henry. *Discourses concerning government, in a way of dialogue wherein, by observations drawn from other kingdoms and states, the excellency of the English government is demonstrated, the causes of the decay thereof are considered, and proper remedies for cure proposed*. London: Printed, and sold by A. Baldwin . . . , 1698.
- Newman, John. *The Buildings of England: North and East Kent*. 3rd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- . *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969.

Nicoll, Allardyce, and John Ramsay. *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: The University Press, 1928.

Nieuhof, Johannes. *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, emperor of China: delivered by their excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his imperial city of Peking wherein the cities, towns, villages, ports, rivers, &c. in their passages from Canton to Peking are ingeniously described by John Nieuhoff; also an epistle of Father John Adams, their antagonist, concerning the whole negotiation; with an appendix of several remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher; Englished and set forth with their several sculptures by John Ogilby*, 2nd ed. London: Printed for the Author, 1673.

Norden, John. *Civitas Londini by the industry of Jhon Norden*. No. 94. London: London Topographical Society, 1961.

Norden, John. *Speculvm Britanniae. an historicall, and chorographicall discription of Middlesex, wherein are also alphabeticallie sett downe, the names of the cyties, townes, parishes, hamletes, howses of name and c., with direction spedilie to finde anie place desired in the mappe and the distance betwene place and place without compasses, Cvm privilegio the first parte* [London]: [s.n.].

———. *Speculum Britanniae. The first parte an historicall, & chorographicall discription of Middlesex. Wherin are also alphabeticallie sett downe, the names of the cyties, townes, parishes hamletes, howses of name &c. W.th direction spedelie to finde anie place desired in the mappe & the distance betwene place and place without compasses* [London: Printed at Eliot's Court Press, 1593].

———. *The surueiors dialogue: very profitable for all men to peruse, but especially for all gentlemen, or any other farmar, or husbandman, that shall either haue occasion, or be willing to buy or sell lands: as in the ready and perfect surueying of them, with the manner and methode of keeping a court of suruey with many excellent rules, and familiar tables to that purpose. As also, the true and right vse of the manuring of grounds, or occupation thereof, as well in the lords, as in the tenants: being the true facultie of surueying of all manner of lands and tenements, &c. Diuided into sixe bookes by I.N.* London: Printed by I. W[indet] for I. Busby, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstanes Church yard in Fleetstreet, 1610.

———. *The surueyors dialogue: Diuided into fiue bookes: very profitable for all men to peruse, that haue to do with the reuenues of land, or the manurance, vse, or occupation thereof, both lords and tenants: as also and especially for such as indeuor to be seene in the faculty of surueying of mannors, lands, tenements, &c.* London: Printed by Simon Stafford for Hugh Astley, dwelling at S. Magnus corner, 1607.

- Norgate, Edward. *Miniatura; or the art of limning, by Edward Norgate; ed. from the manuscript in the Bodleian library and collated with other manuscripts by Martin Hardie*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.
- . *Miniatura, or, The art of limning*. Edited by Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997.
- North, Dudley. *Discourses upon trade, principally directed to the cases of the interest, coynage, clipping, increase of money*. London: Printed for Tho. Basset, at the George in Fleet-street, 1691.
- . *The lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, baron Guilford, lord keeper of the great seal, under King Charles II and King James II. The Hon. Sir Dudley North, commissioner of the customs, and afterwards of the Treasury, to King Charles II. And the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North, master of Trinity college, Cambridge, and clerk of the closet to King Charles II. By the Hon. Roger North*. 3 vols. London: H. Colburn, 1826.
- . *Of building: Roger North's writings on architecture*. Edited by Howard Colvin and John Newman. Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Ogden, Henry V. S., and Margaret S. Ogden. *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955.
- Ogilby, John. *The fables of Aesop paraphras'd in verse, and adorn'd with sculpture*. London: Printed by Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls church-yard, 1651.
- Oldenburg, Henry. "An Account of Some Books. I. The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, by Tho. Sprat." *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666-1667): 177-182.
- . *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*. Edited and translated by A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall. 12 vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965-1981.
- Oldys, William, and Robert Harley, eds. *Belvoir: Being a Pindaric Ode upon Belvoir Castle the Seat of the Earls of Rutland, Made in the Year 1679*. In *The Harleian miscellany: a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print. Selected from the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. Interspersed with historical, political, and critical notes*. Vol 5. London: Osborne, 1745.
- Olson, Alison Gilbert. *Making the empire work: London and American interest groups, 1690-1790*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Ormond, David. "Origins of the Eighteenth-Century London Art Market." In *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, edited by Michael North and David Ormrod. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

- Ottenhym, Konrad. *2016 SAHGB Annual Lecture*. Courtauld Institute, 17 October 2016.
- Otten, Robert M. *Joseph Addison*. Boston: Twayne, 1982.
- Paget, C. J. "Wren's Reputed House in Botolph Lane," *The Architectural Review* 19 (1906): 147-54.
- Paget, William and Bartlett L. Beer. "A Critique of the Protectorate: An Unpublished Letter of Sir William Paget to the Duke of Somerset." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34 (1971): 277-83.
- Parker, Henry, and Stationers' Company, London, England. *To the High Court of Parliament: the humble remonstrance of the Company of Stationers*. [London: 1643].
- Paton, Henry M., ed. *Accounts of the Masters of Works for building and repairing royal palaces and castles*. Vol. 1 Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957.
- Paul, James Balfour. *The Scots peerage; founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's peerage of Scotland; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom*. 9 vols. Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1904-1914.
- Peacham, Henry. *The art of dravving vvith the pen, and limming in water colovrs, more exactlie then heretofore tavght and enlarged with the true manner of painting vpon glasse, the order of making your furnace, annealing, &c. Published, for the behoofe of all young gentlemen, or any els that are desirous for to become practitioners in this excellent, and most ingenious art*. London: Printed by Richard Braddock, for William Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606.
- . *The compleat gentleman fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman. By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Arts sometime of Trinity Coll: in Cambridge*. London: by John Legat for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lion in Paules churchyard, 1622.
- . *Graphice or The most auncient and excellent art of drawing and limming disposed into three bookes. By Henrie Peacham Master of Artes, sometimes of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge*. London: Printed by W.S[tansby] for Iohn Browne, and are to bee sold at his shop in S. Dunstantes church-yard in Fleetestrete, 1612.
- Peck, Linda Levy. "Benefits, brokers and beneficiaries: the culture of exchange in seventeenth-century England." In *Court, country, and culture: essays on early modern British history in honor of Perez Zagorin*, edited by Perez Zagorin, Bonnelyn Young Kunze, and Dwight D. Brautigam. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1992.
- . *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

- . *Northampton: Patronage Policy at the Court of James I.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982.
- Peers, Charles Reed. *Richmond Castle, Yorkshire.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1953.
- Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys.* Edited by Robert C. Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1976.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Academies of art, past and present.* 1940 reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.
- . *Nottinghamshire.* Rev. ed. Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin, 1979.
- . *Yorkshire: the West Riding* ([Harmondsworth]: Penguin Books, 1967.
- Pfister, J. G. "Memoir of Johann Crocker." *Numismatic Chronicle* (old ser.) 15 (1853): 67-73.
- Philipot, John. *Villare cantianum, or, Kent surveyed and illustrated.* London: Printed by William Godbid, and are to be sold at his house . . . , MDCLIX [1659].
- . *The visitation of Kent, taken in the years 1619-1621.* Edited by Robert Hovenden. Vol. 42. London: [Harleian Society], 1898 [i.e. 1900].
- Philippe, Henry. *The purchasers pattern: in two parts: the first shewing the true value of the purchase of any parcel of land or houses, by lease or otherwise: also new tables of interest and rebate at 6 per cent: the second part shewing the measuring of land, board and timber, and the false rules and deceits of many therein : also the gauging of all vessels, with many other rules about weights and measures, and several tables of accounts, with many other rules and tables of daily use for most men.* London: Printed by R. and W. Leybourn for Thomas Pierrepont . . . , 1656.
- Pickard, Richard. "Environmentalism and 'Best Husbandry': Cutting Down Trees in Augustan Poetry." *Lumen: selected proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17 (1998): 103-26.
- Piles, Roger de. *The art of painting and the lives of the painters: containing, a compleat treatise of painting, designing, and the use of prints: . . . Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, an essay towards an English-school, . . .* London: printed for J. Nutt, 1706.
- Pinhorn, Malcolm. "Lesser Known Buildings: Bridge Place, Kent." *Blackmansbury* 5 (1968): 63-67.
- Platt, Colin. *The Great Rebuilding of Tudor and Stuart England.* New York and London: Routledge, 2004.

- Pratt, Roger, Sir. *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt: Charles II's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire: Now Printed for the First Time from His Note-Books*. Edited by R. T. Gunther. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1928.
- Pocock, J. G. A. *The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Pollexfen, John. *A discourse of trade and coyn*. London: [s.n.], 1697.
- . *A discourse of trade, coyn, and paper credit and of ways and means to gain and retain riches: to which is added The argument of a learned counsel upon an action of the case brought by the East-India-Company against Mr. Sands an interloper*. London: Printed for Brabazon Aylmer . . . , 1697.
- Ponet, John. *A shorte treatise of politike pouuer: and of the true obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men, compyled by. D. I.P. B. R. VV* [Strasbourg: Printed by the heirs of W. Köpfel], 1556.
- Pope, Alexander. *Windsor-Forest. To the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdown. By Mr. Pope*. London: printed for Bernard Lintott, 1713.
- Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his pilgrimage. Or Relations of the vworld and the religions obserued in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation vnto this present: In foure partes. This first containeth a theologicall and geographicall historie of Asia, Africa, and America, with the ilands adiacent. Declaring the ancient religions before the Floud . . . With briefe descriptions of the countries, nations, states, discoueries, priuate and publike customes, and the most remarkable rarities of nature, or humane industrie, in the same*. London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613.
- Purver, Margery. *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1967.
- Radcliffe, David Hill. "Genre and Social Order in Country House Poems of the Eighteenth Century: Four Views of Percy Lodge." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 30 (1990): 445-65.
- Raleigh, Walter, Sir. *The cabinet-council containing the cheif arts of empire and mysteries of state: discabineted in political and polemical aphorisms grounded on authority, and experience: and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations / by the ever-renowned knight, Sir Walter Raleigh; published by John Milton, Esq.* London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Tho. Johnson . . . , 1658.
- . *The history of the world. In Fiue Bookes*. London: Printed [by William Iaggard, W. Stansby and N. Okes] for Walter Burre [and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane], 1614 [i.e. 1621].

- Rathborne, Aaron. *The surueyor: in foure bookes*. London: Printed by W: Stansby for, W: Burre, 1616.
- Raven, Charles E. *John Ray, naturalist, his life and works*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942.
- Ray, John. *The correspondence of John Ray: consisting of selections from the philosophical letters published by Dr. Derham, and original letters of John Ray in the collection of the British Museum*. Edited by Edwin Lankester. London: Printed for the Ray Society, 1848.
- Reeve, Thomas. *England's beauty in seeing King Charles the Second restored to majesty*. London: Printed by I.R. for the authour, 1661.
- Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses on art*. Edited by Robert R. Wark. New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1975.
- Richardson, Jonathan. *An essay on the theory of painting: By Mr. Richardson*. London: Printed by W. Bowyer, for John Churchill at the Black-Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1715.
- Ridgway, Christopher and Robert Williams. *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730*. Stroud: Sutton Pub. in association with the National Trust, 2000.
- Row, John. *The historie of the Kirk of Scotland, M.D.LVIII.-M.DC.XXXVII. By John Row, minister of Carnock. With additions and illustrations. By his sons*. Edited by D. Laing. 2 vols. [Edinburgh]: Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842.
- Royle, George. "Family Links between George London and John Rose: New Light on the 'Pineapple Paintings'." *Garden History* 23 (1995): 246-249.
- Round, J. H. "The Origin of Belvoir Castle." *The English Historical Review* 22 (1907): 508-10.
- Rubens, Peter Paul. *The letters of Peter Paul Rubens*. Edited and translated by Ruth Saunders Magurn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Rubinstein, G. M. G. "Artists from the Netherlands in Seventeenth-Century Britain: an Over-view of their Landscape Work." In *The exchange of ideas: religion, scholarship and art in Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century: [papers delivered to the eleventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, Oxford 1991]*, edited by Simon Groenvelt and Michael Wintle. Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994.
- Russell, Conrad. *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Rye, William Brenchley. *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth & James the First. Comprising translations of the journals of the two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and*

1610; both illustrative of Shakespeare. With extracts from the travels of foreign princes and others, copious notes, an introduction, and etchings. London: J. R. Smith, 1865.

Rypson, Piotr. "Homo quadratus in labyrintho: The Cubus Visual Poem from Antiquity until Late Baroque." In *European Iconography East and West. Selected Papers of the Szeged International Conference June 9-12, 1993*, edited by György E. Szönyi. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

S L, Gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's retinue. *A Letter from a gentleman of the Lord Ambassador Howard's retinue, to his friend in London dated at Fez, Nov. 1, 1669 wherein he gives a full relation of the most remarkable passages in their voyage thither, and of the present state of the countries under the power of Taffaletta, emperour of Morocco: with a brief account of the merchandizing commodities of Africa : as also the manners and customs of the people there*. London: Printed by W. G. for Moses Pitt . . . , 1670.

Salvin, Francis Henry and William Brodrick, *Falconry in the British Isles*. London: John Van Voorst, 1855.

Sandart, Joachim von. *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675. Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*. Hrsg. und kommentiert von A.R. Peltzer. München: G. Hirth, 1925.

Sanderson, William. *Graphice. The use of the pen and pensil. Or, the most excellent art of painting: in two parts*. London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658.

Sarasohn, Lisa T. *The natural philosophy of Margaret Cavendish: reason and fancy during the scientific revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Saville, George, Marquis of Halifax. "A Rough Draft of a New Modell at Sea." In *The Works of George Saville Marquis of Halifax*, edited by Mark N. Brown. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Saxton, Christopher. [*Atlas of the counties of England and Wales*] [London: s.n., 1580?].

———. *Christopher Saxton's 16th century maps: the counties of England & Wales*. Introduced by William Ravenhill. Shrewsbury: Chatsworth Library, 1992.

Schapelhouman, Marijn, Peter van der Coelen, and Jan van der Waals. *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: van kunst tot kastpapier*. Exh. cat. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, [2006].

Schellinks, William. *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*. Edited by Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehman. Camden 5th series. Vol. I. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College, 1993.

- Schilder, Günther. "Willem Jansz. Blaeu's Wall Map of the World, on Mercator's Projection, 1606-07 and its Influence." *Imago Mundi* 31 (1979): 36-54.
- Schott, Gaspar. *Physica curiosa, sive, Mirabilia naturæ et artis libris XII. comprehensa: quibus plera[que], quæ de angelis, dæmonibus, hominibus, spectris, energumensis, mon.* Herbipoli [Würzburg]: Sumptibus Johannis Andreæ Endteri & Wolffgangi Jun. Hæredum, excudebat Jobvs Hertz Typographus Herbipol, 1662.
- Scott, David. *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637-49*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- Scottish Record Office. "Account by the Same of her services to the late King, in sending provisions for Ireland, supplying powder, &c., to the fleet of 1648, serving under Prince Rupert with his ship, and aiding at the in serving the fleet for His Majesty." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reign of Charles II, 1660-1661, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. 1. London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860.
- . *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England/ arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer*. Vol. 4, part 3. London: Longman, Trübner; Oxford: Parker; Cambridge: MacMillan; Green; Dublin: A. & C. Black, A. Thom., 1876.
- . Privy Council, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. 2nd Series. Vol 1. Edinburgh: His Majesty's General Register House, 1877.
- Scottish Record Office and Allen B. Hinds. *Calendar of State papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy, 1632-1636*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921.
- Scottish Record Office and Henry M. Paton. *Accounts of the Masters of Works for building and repairing royal palaces and castles*. Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957.
- Selden, John. *The historie of tithes that is, the practice of payment of them, the positieve laws made for them, the opinions touching the right of them: a review of it is also annex, which both confirms it and directs in the vse of it* [London: s.n.], M.DC.XVIII [1618].
- Semler, L. E. "Breaking the Ice to Invention: Henry Peacham's 'The Art of Drawing' (1606)." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004): 735-750.
- . "Inigo Jones, Capricious Ornament and Plutarch's Wise Man." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 123-42.
- Shadwell, Thomas. *The virtuoso: a comedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre..* London: Printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman . . . , 1676.

- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper. *Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times. In three volumes. Vol. I. I. A letter concerning enthusiasm. II. Sensus Communis, or an essay on wit, &c. III. Soliloquy, or advice to an author. Vol. II. IV. An Inquiry concerning virtue and merit. V. The moralists: a philosophical rhapsody. Vol. III. VI. Miscellaneous reflections on the said treatises, and other critical subjects.* [London]: [printed by John Darby], 1711.
- . *A notion of the historical draught or tablature of the judgment of Hercules, according to Prodicus, Lib. II. Xen. de Mem. Soc.* London: printed for A. Baldwin, 1713.
- . *Second Characters, or The Language of Forms.* Edited by Benjamin Rand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.
- Shapin, Steven. “‘A Scholar and a Gentleman’: The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England.” *History of Science* 29 (1991): 279-327.
- Shapin, Steven, and Simon Schaffer. *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- . “Pump and Circumstances: Robert Boyle’s Literary Technology.” *Social Study of Science* 14 (1984): 481-520.
- Shapiro, Barbara J. *A. Culture of Fact, England, 1550-1720.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- . “The Concept ‘Fact’: Legal Origins and Cultural Diffusion.” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 26 (1994): 227-252.
- Sharpe, Kevin. *The personal rule of Charles I.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- . *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Shaw, W. A., ed., *Huguenot Society* 18 (1911): 82.
- Shelby, Lonnie Royce. *John Rogers: Tudor Military Engineer.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Sheppard, F. H. W., ed. “Appendix 1: The Soho Tapestry Makers.” In *The Survey of London*. Vol. 33-34: St Anne Soho. London: London County Council, 1966.
- Shigiao, Li. *Power and Virtue: Architectural and intellectual change in England, 1660-1730.* London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Shipman, Thomas. *Carolina, or, Loyal Poems.* London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and William Crook without Temple-Bar, 1683.
- Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700.* London: Holland Press, 1983.

Sibbald, Robert. *An account of the Scottish atlas, or, The description of Scotland ancient & modern: by His Sacred Majestie's special command to be published presently by Sir Robert Sibbald D.M. His Majestie's physician in ordinary, and geographer for his ancient kingdom of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Printed by David Lindsay, Mr. James Kniblo, Josua van Solingen, and John Colmar, 1683.

Siculus, Diodorus. *The historical library of Diodorus the Sicilian: in fifteen books: the first five contain the antiquities of Egypt, Asia, Africa, Greece, the islands, and Europe: the last ten an historical account of the affairs of the Persians, Grecians, Macedonians and other parts of the world: to which are added the fragments of Diodorus that are found in the Bibliotheca of Photius: together with those publish'd by H. Valesius, L. Rhodomannus, and F. Ursinus*. London: Printed by Edw. Jones for Awnsham and John Churchill and Edw. Castle, 1700.

———. *The history of Diodorus Siculus: containing all that is most memorable and of greatest antiquity in the first ages of the world until the war of Troy*. London: Printed by John Macock, for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at his shop, 1653.

———. *A righte noble and pleasant history of the successors of Alexander surnamed the Great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus: and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch*. London: By Henrie Bynneman, dwelling in Knightrider streat at the signe of the Mermayd, for Humfrie Toy, 1569.

Sidney, Philip *The complete works of Sir Philip Sidney*. Edited by Albert Feuillerat. 4 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1912-26.

Silver, Larry. *Peasant scenes and landscapes: the rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art market*. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Sim, Stuart, and David Walker. *The Discourse of Sovereignty, Hobbes to Fielding: The State of Nature and the Nature of the State*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Sked, Philip and Jim Proudfoot. *The Royal Palace of Falkland*. Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1983.

Skelton, R. A. *County atlases of the British Isles, 1579-1850: a bibliography*. London: Carta Press, 1970.

Smith, Joan Sumner. "The Italian Sources of Inigo Jones's Style." *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 200-07.

Smith, John. *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles; with the names of the adventurers, planters, and governours from their first beginning an: 1584. to this present 1624. With the proceedings of those severall colonies and the accidents that befell them in all their journeys and discoveries. Also the maps and descriptions of all those countryes, their commodities, people, government, customes, and religion yet*

- knowne. Divided into sixe bookes.* London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes, 1624.
- Smith, Pearsall. *Henry Wotton, Life and Letters*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Smith, Richard S. *Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall*. Nottingham: City of Nottingham Arts Department, 1988.
- Smith, Thomas. *DE REPUBLICA ANGLORVM, The maner of governement or policie of the Realme of Englande, compiled by the honorable man Thomas Smyth, Doctor of the civil lawes, Knight, and Principall Secretarie vnto the two most worthie Princes, King Edwarde the sixt, and Queene Elizabeth*. London: Printed by Henrie Midleton for Gregorie Seton, 1583.
- Smuts, R. Malcolm. *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Solkin, David H. *Richard Wilson, The Landscape of Reaction*. Exh. cat. London: The Tate Gallery, 1982.
- Sommerville, J. P. "John Selden, the Law of Nature, and the Origins of Government." *The Historical Review* 27 (1984): 437-47.
- Soo, Lydia M. *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- South Kensington Museum, *List of Objects in the Art Division, South Kensington Museum, Acquired During the Year 1877, Arranged According to the Dates of Acquisition, with Index and Appendix*. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1878.
- Spalding, John. *The history of the troubles and memorable transactions in Scotland and England: from 1624 to 1645*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: [Printed by Ballantyne], 1828.
- Spalding, Ruth. *The improbable puritan: a life of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975.
- Speed, John. *An epitome of Mr. John Speed's theatre of the empire of Great Britain: And of his prospect of the most famous parts of the world. In this new edition are added, the descriptions of His Majesties dominions abroad, viz. New England, New York, 226 Carolina, Florida, 251 Virginia, Maryland, 212 Jamaica, 232 Barbados, 239 as also the empire of the great Mogol, with the rest of the East-Indies, 255 the empire of Russia, 266 with their respective descriptions*. London: printed for Tho. Basset at the George in Fleet-street, and Ric. Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1676.
- . *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans: Their originals, manners, warres, coines & seales: with ye successions, lives,*

acts & issues of English monarchs from Iulius Caesar, to our most gracious soueraigne King Iames. London: William Hall and John Beale to be solde by Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, 1611.

- . *A prospect of the most famous parts of the vworld: Viz. Asia, 3 Affrica, 5 Europe, 7 America. 9 VVith these kingdomes therein contained, Grecia, 11 Roman Empire, 13 Germanie, 15 Bohemia, 17 France, 19 Belgia, 21 Spaine, 23 Italie, 25 Hungarie, 27 Denmarke, 29 Poland, 31 Persia, 33 Turkish Empire, 35 Kingdo: of China, 37 Tartaria, 39 Sommer Ilands, 41 Ciuill Warres, in England, Wales, and Ireland. You shall finde placed in the beginning of the second booke marked with these [3 asterisks in triangle formation] and (5) Together with all the prouinces, counties, and shires, contained in that large theator of Great Brittaines empire.* London: Printed by Iohn Dawson for George Humble, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1631.
- . *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England.* Imprinted at London: [By William Hall] anno cum privilegio 1611 and are to be solde by Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, [1611, i.e. 1612].
- . *Theatrum imperii Magnæ Britanniae: exactam regnorum Angliæ Scotiæ Hiberniæ et insularum adiacentium geographia[m] ob oculos ponens: vna cum comitatibus, centurijs, vrbibus et primarijs comitatum oppidis intra regnum Angliæ, divisio et descriptis. Opus, nuper quidem à Iohanne Spédo cive Londinensi Anglicè conscriptum: nunc verò, à Philemone Hollando, apud Coventrianos medicinæ doctore, Latinitate donatum.* Imprinted at London: Excusum [T. Snodham] apud Ioann: Sudbury a Georg: Humble, 1616.
- Sprat, Thomas. *The History of the Royal Society.* Edited by Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones. St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1959.
- . *The History of the Royal Society of London.* [London] [J. Martin], 1667.
- . *The History of the Royal-Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge.* London: Printed by T.R. for F. Martyn at the Bell . . . , 1667.
- Steele, Ian Kenneth. *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: an exploration of communication and community.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Steele, Richard. *The Tatler* (London) October 24, 1710-October 26, 1710.
- Stone, Lawrence. *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558-1641.* London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- . *Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642.* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- . “Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700.” *Past and Present* 33 (1966): 16-55.

- Stow, John. *The annales of England faithfully collected out of the most autenticall authors, records, and other monuments of antiquitie, from the first inhabitation vntill this present yeere 1592 by Iohn Stow citizen of London*. Imprinted at London: By Ralfe Newbery [and Eliot's Court Press, 1592].
- Strong, Roy. *Gloriana : The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Pimlico (Series); 581. London, Eng.: Pimlico, 2003.
- . *The Tudor and Stuart monarchy: pageantry, painting, iconography*. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995.
- Strutt, Joseph. *The sports and pastimes of the people of England from the earliest period, including the rural and domestic recreations, May games, mummeries, pageants, processions and pompous spectacles, 1801. A new edition much enlarged and corrected by J. Charles Cox*. London: Methuen & Co. [1903].
- Summers, David. "Pandora's crown: on wonder, imitation, and mechanism in Western art." In *Wonders, marvels, and monsters in early modern culture*, edited by Peter G. Platt. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.
- Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain: 1530 to 1830*. 9th ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Surrey Archaeological Society. *Surrey archaeological collections, relating to the history and antiquities of the county*. Vol 5. London: Published for the Surrey Archaeological Society by Lovell Reeve & Co., 1871.
- Sussman, Nathan and Yishay Yafeh. "Institutional Reforms, Financial Development and Sovereign Debt: Britain 1690-1790." *The Journal of Economic History* 66 (2006): 906-11.
- Swann, Marjorie. *Curiosities and texts: the culture of collecting in early modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Swift, Jonathan. *An argument to prove, that the abolishing of Christianity in England, may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce those many good effects propos'd thereby*. London: printed for Timothy Atkins, 1717.
- Switzer, Stephen. *Ichnographia rustica; or, The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation. Containing directions for the general distribution of a country seat into rural and extensive gardens, parks, paddocks, &c., and a general system of agriculture; illus. from the author's drawings*. London: D. Browne, 1718.

- Syfret, R. H. "Some Early Critics of the Royal Society Some Early Critics of the Royal Society." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 8 (1950): 20-64.
- . "The Origins of the Royal Society." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 5 (1948): 75-137.
- T. S. *Reasons humbly offered for the passing a bill for the hindering the home consumption of East-India silks, bengals &c. And an answer to the author of several objections against the said bill, in a book, entitled, an essay on the East-India trade*. London: Printed by J. Bradford in New-street without Bishopsgate, 1697.
- Taylor, E. G. R. *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650*. London: Methuen, 1934.
- Temple, William. *Miscellanea, the second part in four essays: I. Upon ancient and modern learning; II. Upon the gardens of Epicurus; III. Upon heroick vertue; IV. Upon poetry*. London: Printed by J.R. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690.
- Thiery, Yvonne, and Michel Kervyn de Meerendre, *Les peintres flamands de paysage au XVIIe siècle: le baroque anversois et l'ècole bruxelloise*. Bruxelles: Lefebvre et Gillet, 1987.
- Thijs, Alfons K. L. "Antwerp's Luxury Industries: the Pursuit of Profit and Artistic Sensitivity." In *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, edited by Jan Van der Stock. Exh. cat. Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1993.
- Thomas, A. H., and I. D. Thornley, eds. *The Great chronicle of London*. London: Printed by G. W. Jones at the sign of the Dolphin, 1938.
- Thomson, Gladys Scott. *Life in a noble household: 1641-1700*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- Thornton, Peter, and Maurice Tomkins. "Franz Cleyn at Ham House." In *National Trust Studies, 1980*, edited by Gervase Jackson-Stops. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet by P. Wilson Publishers, 1979.
- . *The Furnishing and Decoration of Ham House*. London: Furniture History Society, 1980.
- Thoroton, Robert. *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire: extracted out records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities: beautified with maps, prospects, and portraictures*. London: Printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock, 1677.
- . *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger-books other manuscripts, and authentic authorities. Beautified with maps, prospects, and portraitures*. Edited by John Throsby, 3 vols. Nottingham: printed by G. Burbage, 1790.

- Thurley, Simon. "Greenwich Palace." In *Henry VIII: a European Court in England*, edited by David Starkey. Exh. cat. New York: Cross River Press, 1991.
- . "The Old Palace." In *Sumerset House, The History*. London: Somerset House Trust, 2009.
- . *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1557*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Tomlin, Maurice. *Ham House*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986.
- Topsell, Edward. *The historie of foure-footed beastes: Describing the true and liuely figure of euery beast, with a discourse of their seuerall names, conditions, kindes, vertues (both naturall and medicinall) countries of their breed, their loue and hate to mankinde, and the wonderfull worke of God in their creation, preseruatiō, and destruction. Necessary for all diuines and students, because the story of euery beast is amplified with narrations out of Scriptures, fathers, phylosophers, physitians, and poets: wherein are declared diuers hyeroglyphicks, emblems, epigrams, and other good histories, collected out of all the volumes of Conradus Gesner, and all other writers to this present day*. London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1607.
- . *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents: describing at large their true and lively figure, their several names, conditions, kinds, virtues . . . countries of their breed, their love and hatred to mankind, and the wonderful work by Edward Topsell; whereunto is now added, The theater of insects, or, Lesser living creatures . . . by T. Muffet*. London: Printed by E. Cotes for G. Sawbridge . . . T. Williams . . . and T. Johnson . . . , 1658.
- Townley, Simon. *Henley-on-Thames: town, trade and river*. Chichester: Phillimore, 2009.
- Townsend, Dabney. "Shaftsbury's Aesthetic Theory." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 41 (1982): 205-13.
- Tristram, E. W. "A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century." *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 3 (1913-1914): 75-81.
- Turner, James. *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660*. Oxford: Basil Blackell, 1979.
- United Kingdom. *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VI. Vol. II. 1429-1436*. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1907.
- . *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-1679*. Vol. 5. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1911.

- . *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1672-1675*. Vol. 4. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1909.
- . *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1702-1707*. Vol. 98. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1874.
- . *The history and proceedings of the House of Lords, from the Restoration in 1660 to the present time. Containing the most remarkable Motions, Speeches, Debates, Orders and Resolutions. Together with all the Protests during that Period*. 8 vols. London: Printed for Ebenezer Timberland, 1742-1743.
- . Historical Manuscript Commission. *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de Lisle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place*. 6 vols. London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1925-66.
- . Historic Manuscript Commission. *Review of Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire*. Vol. 17. Edited by M. S. Giuseppi. London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1938.
- . Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch, esq., of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland*. 4 vols. London: Published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1913-1922.
- . Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Report on the manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry K.G., K.T., preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*. 3 vols. London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899-1926.
- . Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*. Vol. 2, 12th Report, App., Pt. 5. London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889.
- . Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall*. London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.
- . Digby Wentworth Bayard Willoughby Middleton, and William Henry Stevenson. *Report on the manuscripts of Lord Middleton, preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*. London: Published for H. M. Stationery Office, printed by the Hereford Times Ltd., 1911.
- . Public Record Office, and Mary Ann Everett Green. *Calendar of state papers: domestic series of the reign of James I, 1611-1618 preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. 9. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858.

- Van der Doort, Abraham, and Oliver Millar. *Abraham Van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I.* [London]: Printed for the Walpole Society by R. Maclehose [at] the University Press, Glasgow, 1960.
- Vertue, George. *Vertue note books*. 6 vols. Oxford: Printed for the Walpole Society by John Johnson at the University Press, 1930-1955.
- Visscher, Roeme. *Sinnepoppen van Roemer Visscher*. Amsterdam: by VVillem Iansz. op't water inde Sonnewyser, 1614.
- Voet, Leon. "Antwerp, the Metropolis and its History." In *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, edited by Jan Van der Stock. Exh. cat. Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1993.
- Voitle, Robert. *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.
- Vries, Jan de. "Art History." In *Art in history, History in art: Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, edited by David Freeberg and Jan de Vries. Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, 1991.
- Waagen, Gustav Friedrich. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated MSS., &c. &c.* London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1854.
- Waller, Edmund. *On the park at St. James's*. [London]: Printed for Tho. Dring, [1660?].
- . *A panegyrick to my Lord Protector, by a gentleman that loves peace, union, and prosperity of the English nation*. London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, in Thames-street over against Baynards-Castle, 1655.
- . *Upon Her Maiesties New Buildings at Somerset-House*. London: Printed for Henry Herringman at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New-Exchange, 1665.
- Walpole, Horace. *Anecdotes of painting in England; with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. By Mr. Horace Walpole*. 4 vols. [Twickenham]: Printed by Thomas Farmer at Strawberry-Hill, MDCCLXII. [1762].
- Warren, Ian. "The English Landed Elite and the social Environment of London c.1580-1700: the Cradle of an Aristocratic Culture?" *English Historical Review* 126 (2011): 44-74.

- Waterhouse, E. K. "Paintings from Venice for seventeenth-century England: some records of a forgotten translation." *Italian Studies* 7 (1952): 1-23.
- Waterhouse, Edward. *The gentlemen's monitor, or, A sober inspection into the vertues, vices, and ordinary means of the rise and decay of men and families with the authors apology and application to the nobles and gentry of England seasonable for these times*. London: Printed by T.R. for R. Royston . . . , MDCLXV [1665].
- Wayne, Don E. *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.
- Webster, Angus Duncan. *Greenwich Park: its history and associations*. Greenwich: Henry Richardson Bold, 1902.
- Webster, Charles. *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform 1626-1660*. London: Duckworth, 1975.
- . "The Origins of the Royal Society." *History of Science* 6 (1968): 106-28.
- Wee, Herman van der, and Jan Materné. "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Antwerp: story of a metropolis, sixteenth to seventeenth century*, edited by Jan Van der Stock. Exh. cat. Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1993.
- Weir, Alison. *Henry VIII: The King and his Court*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2001.
- West, Thomas. *A guide to the Lakes: dedicated to the lovers of landscape studies, and to all who have visited, or intend to visit, the lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire / by the author of The antiquities of Furness*. London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart and W. Pennington, 1778.
- Whitaker, Katie. "The culture of curiosity." In *Cultures of natural history*, edited by N. Jardine, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode. *Contemporaries of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675: Biographies, Illustrated by Letters and Other Documents*. Records of Social and Economic History; new series, 14. Edited by Ruth Spalding. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . *The diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1675*. Edited by Ruth Spalding. Records of social and economic history; new series, 13. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1990.

———. *Memorials of the English affairs, or, An historical account of what passed from the beginning of the reign of King Charles the First, to King Charles the Second his happy restauration: containing the publick transactions, civil and military: together with the private consultations and secrets of the cabinet.* London: Printed for Nathaniel Ponder . . . 1682.

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Willis, Peter. *Charles Bridgeman and the English landscape garden.* London: A. Zwemmer, 1977.

Willis, Robert, and John Willis Clark. *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge, and of the colleges of Cambridge and Eton.* Cambridge: University Press, 1886.

Willsford, Thomas. *The scales of commerce and trade: ballancing betwixt the buyer and seller, artificer and manufacture, debtor and creditor, the most general questions, artificiall rules, and usefull conclusions incident to traffique: comprehended in two books. The first states the ponderates to equity and custome, all usuall rules, legall bargains and contracts, in wholesale ot retaile, with factorage, returnes, and exchanges of forraign coyn, of interest-money, both simple and compounded, with solutions from naturall and artificiall arithmetick. The second book treats of geometricall problems and arithmetick solutions, in dimensions of lines, superficies and bodies, both solid and concave, viz. land, wainscot, hangings, board, timber, stone, gaging of casks, military propositions, merchants accounts by debtor and creditor; architectonice, or the art of building.* Vol. 2. London: Printed by J.G. for Nath: Brook, at the angel in Cornhill, 1660.

Willughby, Francis. *De historia piscium libri quatuor, jussu & sumptibus Societas regiæ londinensis editi. In quibus non tantum de piscibus in genere agitur, sed & species omnes, tum ab aliis traditæ, tum novæ & nondum editæ bene multæ, naturæ ductum servante methodo dispositæ, accurate describuntur. Earumque efligies, quotquot haberi potuere, vel ad vivum delineatæ, vel ad optima exemplaria impressa; artificii manu elegantissime in æs incisæ, ad descriptiones illustrandas exhibentur. Cum Appendice historias & observationes in supplementum operis collatas coplectente. Totum opus recognovit, coaptavit, supplevit, librum etiam primum & secundum integros adjecit Johannes Raius e Sodietate Regia.* Oxonii: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1686.

———. *Francisci Willughbeii de Middleton in agro Warwicensi armigeri e Regia Societate Ornothologiae: libri tres: in quibus aves omnes hactenus cognitæ in methodum naturis suis convenientem redactæ accuratè describuntur, descriptiones iconibus elegantissimis & vivarum avium simillimis, aeri incisis illustrantur / totus opus recognovit, digessit,*

supplevit Joannes Raius; sumptus in chalcographos fecit Emma Willughby. Londini: Impensis Joannis Martyn, 1676.

- Wilson, A. J. N. "Andrew Marvell's 'The First Anniversary of the Government under Oliver Cromwell': The Poem and Its Frame of Reference." *The Modern Language Review* 69 (1974): 254-273.
- Wilson, Gillian, and Catherine Hess. *Summary Catalogue of European Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Los Angeles, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001.
- Wilson, John Marius, comp. *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*. London: A. Fullerton & Co., 1870.
- Wilson, Kathleen. "Introduction: histories, empires, modernities." In *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, edited by Kathleen Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Winn, James A. *John Dryden and His World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- . "Past and Present in Dryden's *Fables*." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 63 (2000): 170-74.
- Withers, Charles W. J. "Geography, Science and National Identity in Early Modern Britain: The Case of Scotland and the Work of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722)." *Annals of Science* 53 (1996): 29-73.
- Withers, Charles W. T., and Robert J. Mayhew. "Rethinking 'Disciplinary' History: Geography in British Universities, c.1580-1887." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17 (2002): 11-29.
- Woods, A. C., ed. *The Continuation of the History of the Willouby Family By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos*. Eton, Windsor: Shakespeare Head Press, 1958.
- Woodward, John. *An essay toward a natural history of the earth: and terrestrial bodies, especially minerals: as also of the sea, rivers, and springs: with an account of the universal deluge: and of the effects that it had upon the earth*. London: Printed for Ric. Wilkin . . . , 1695.
- . "Some Thoughts and Experiments Concerning Vegetation," *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 21 (1699): 193-227.

- Worsley, Giles. *Inigo Jones and the European classicist tradition*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007.
- Wortley, Laura. "Jan Siberechts in Henley-on-Thames." In *City Merchants and the Arts, 1670-1720*, edited by Mireille Galinou. London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004.
- . "Landownership around Henley-on-Thames and the painting of Jan Siberecht." In *City merchants and the arts, 1670-1720*, edited by Mireille Galinou. Wetherby: Oblong for the Corporation of London, 2004.
- Wotton, Henry. "Elementa Architectura, Collecta ab Henrico Wottonio, Equite." In *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem*, edited by Ioanne de Laet. Amsterdam: Ludovicum Elzevirum, 1649.
- . *The Elements of Architecture. Collected by Henry Wotton Knight from the best Authors and Examples*. London: printed by Iohn Bill, 1624.
- . *Reliquiae Wottonaianae. or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems; with Characters of Sundry Personages: And Other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art*. London: printed by Thomas Maxey, for R. Marriot, G. Bedel, and T. Farthwait, 1651.
- Wren, Christopher. *Parentalia, or, Memoirs of the family of the Wrens: viz. of Mathew bishop of Ely, Christopher dean of Windsor, &c. but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren, late Surveyor-General of the royal buildings, president of the Royal Society, &c. &c.: in which is contained, besides his works, a great number of original papers and records on religion, politicks, anatomy, mathematicks, architecture, antiquities and most branches of polite literature / compiled by his son Christopher; now published by his grandson, Stephen Wren, Esq.; with the care of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries*. London: printed for T. Osborn, in Gray's-Inn; and R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1750.
- Wright, Michael John. *An account of His Excellence, Roger Earl of Castlemaine's embassy from His Sacred Majesty James IId, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. to His Holiness Innocent XI. Published formerly in the Italian tongue, By Mr. Michael Wright, Chief Steward of His Excellences House at Rome. And now made English, with several Amendments and Additions*. London: Printed by Tho. Snowden for the Author, 1688.
- Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Yarranton, Andrew. *England's improvement by sea and land: To out-do the Dutch without fighting, to pay debts without moneys, to set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own lands. To prevent unnecessary suits in law; with the benefit of a voluntary register. Directions where vast quantities of timber are to be had for the building of ships; with the advantage of making the great rivers of England navigable. Rules to prevent fires in London, and other great cities; with directions how the several companies of handicraftsmen in London may always have cheap bread and drink.* London: printed by R. Everingham for the Author, and are to be sold by T. Parkhurst at the Bible and three Crowns in Cheap-side, and N. Simmons at the Princes Arms in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1677.

———. *England's improvement by sea and land The second part. Containing, I. An account of its scituation, and the growths, and manufactures thereof. II. The benefit and necessity of a voluntary-register. III. A method for improving the Royal-Navy, lessening the growing power of France, and obtaining the fishery. IV. Advantageous proposals for the City of London, for the preventing of fires therein; and for lessening the great charge of the trained bands. V. The way to make New-Haven in Sussex, fit to receive ships of burthen. VI. Seasonable discourses of the tin, iron, linnen, and woollen trades: with advantageous proposals for improving them all. Illustrated with seven large copper-plates.* London: To be sold by Tho. Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheap-side, near Mercers-Chapple, 1698.

The Young-students-library: containing extracts and abridgments of the most valuable books printed in England, and in the forreign journals, from the year sixty five, to this time: to which is added a new essay upon all sorts of learning . . . / by the Athenian Society; also, a large alphabetical table, comprehending the contents of this volume, and of all the Athenian Mercuries and supplements, etc. London: Printed for John Dunton . . . , 1692.

Zaller, Robert. *The discourse of legitimacy in early modern England.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.