

# Matthew Brettingham the Younger, Foods Cray Place, and the Secularization of Palladio's Villa Rotonda in England

*to the memory of Rudolf Wittkower*

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In the British Library, affixed at the back of a copy of Isaac Ware's *Palladio* (1738), are four previously undiscussed eighteenth-century architectural drawings [Figures 2–5].<sup>1</sup> The drawings comprise a set of three plans (the basement, principal, and attic-story plans) and a corresponding “Front Elevation which Represents all The other Fronts” for a villa on the model of Palladio's Villa Capra, or Villa Rotonda. It is commonly said that four such villas were built in England in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It is readily revealed that the unknown drawings correspond closely to the engraved representations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 4 (1767) of one of these Anglo-Palladian villas, Foods Cray Place in Kent [Figures 6–8].

Foods Cray Place [Figures 1, 9] is of uncertain authorship. In a publication of 1767, Thomas Martyn observed that Foods Cray “was built” by its original owner, Bourchier Cleeve.<sup>3</sup> Although “was built” could simply point out that the house was built by the present owner rather than being inherited or purchased, or indicate that Cleeve oversaw the construction himself, or aggrandize collaboration with an architect, in the absence of a known architect some scholars assign the building to Cleeve.<sup>4</sup> The house has also been attributed to Isaac Ware, a noted architect within the Palladian circle of Lord Burlington, and the translator of the Burlingtonian edition of *Palladio* in a copy of which the drawings in question are to be found.<sup>5</sup> Foods Cray is commonly said to have been designed ca. 1754, corroborated by a visit of Dr. Richard Pococke in August 1754 with the house in construction. Pococke writes of “a house which is building for Mr Cleves . . . on the design of Palladio,” but gives no information on the designer.<sup>6</sup> Though the date of the house is thus known to a close approximation, attribution of the design of the house, which was demolished after a fire in 1949, is unresolved.<sup>7</sup>

The appearance of these drawings of Foods Cray in a copy of Ware's *Palladio* would seem to corroborate the attribution of the villa to Ware and to invite the question of why these drawings

should have been placed in this volume. We can go some distance in answering this question. This British Library copy of Ware's *Palladio* is bound in fine blue leather with gilt decoration bearing the arms of Joseph Smith, the famous Englishman resident in Venice from about 1700 until his death in 1770. Smith was the British consul in Venice from 1744 to 1760. Also in the British Library is a copy of the catalogue of the library of Consul Smith of 1755, annotated for the purchase of the library for King George III in 1763, a collection that later came into the library of the British Museum, now the British Library. The Smith catalogue contains an entry for a copy of Ware's *Palladio* that can only be the one in the British Library.<sup>8</sup> The catalogue entry makes no mention of any extraneous materials in this *Palladio*. Nonetheless there are at least two reasons to assign more than casual significance to the appearance of the English drawings in this volume. That the drawings are fixed in a volume that bears the arms of Joseph Smith and corresponds to the contemporary catalogue argues that Smith was involved in giving the drawings this home, probably by 1755, and no later than its sale to King George III in 1763. Furthermore, Smith was not only knowledgeable about architecture, but was a particular devotee of Palladio and an active agent in fostering the extraordinary appreciation of Palladio by eighteenth-century English amateurs and architects.<sup>9</sup> The appearance of these drawings in this place is, then, not to be taken casually. Drawings of a building usually attributed to Ware appearing in Joseph Smith's copy of Ware's *Palladio* might lend at least a degree of support to the attribution of Foods Cray to Ware.

However, preceding the title page of Smith's volume, yet another—and the only other—extraneous document is affixed, a letter from Matthew Brettingham the Younger to Joseph Smith, dated Vicenza, 8 August 1754.<sup>10</sup> Matthew Brettingham the Elder (1699–1769)<sup>11</sup> was a provincial builder-architect who rose to some renown as the executant in the construction of the great neo-Palladian house, Holkham Hall, a collaborative work of Lord Burlington, William Kent, and the patron Lord Leicester,<sup>12</sup> conceived ca. 1730–34. The younger Matthew Brettingham (1725–1803), setting out from England

in August 1747, studied both architecture and sculpture in the Mediterranean for some years. In 1748, he visited Naples in the company of Gavin Hamilton, James Stuart, and Nicholas Revett, when a project of documentary research of Greek antiquities was conceived. Colvin claims that Brettingham visited Greece in the company of Stuart and Revett when they carried out their celebrated studies (1751–53). There seems, however, no evidence to support this claim.<sup>13</sup> Brettingham remained in Rome until 1754, studying, supporting himself as an agent for the English nobility, notably in collecting paintings and sculpture for Lord Leicester, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Egremont,<sup>14</sup> as well as his father.<sup>15</sup> Since Brettingham is known to have been back in England in 1754, it must have been en route to England that he stopped in Venice and Vicenza, having the occasion to reside with, and then write to, Consul Smith. Since Brettingham's letter is unpublished and so well illuminates the setting we encounter, it is appropriate to quote it in full:

p.1

Vicenza Agosto 8<sup>o</sup> 1754

/Sr

I have the pleasure to find myself in y<sup>e</sup> Place which after so many years desire to See, answers fully my expectation, I need not enter into a description of Palladio Works so well known to yourself already, no farther than to Remark that I find in them all y<sup>e</sup> Beauties of y<sup>e</sup> Antique Architecture of Rome and many more that this divine Architect has known how to Supply, we may say that Palladio so fully imbibed the August Tast of y<sup>e</sup> Antients by a long and attentive Study of their most correct Peices, so as to become intirely Master of their Principles to act as it were animated with y<sup>e</sup>

same Soul, from observing this perfect correspondence to y<sup>e</sup> Antique Gout in our great Author, it goes a great way to make me believe Pythagoras's doctrine of Transmigration, and that Vitruvius's Soul after many Changes had at last appeard again in y<sup>e</sup> Body of Palladio, with this difference however that whereas Vitruvius's Tast of Proportion is generally heavy and inelegant, Palladio's on the contrary is always Gracefull and delicate, with more of y<sup>e</sup> true Polish'd Nobleness of Style, and Elegance; than what we find in any of y<sup>e</sup> other followers of Vitruvius, we may conclude then that Nature had given his that nice discernment to pick and Cull out what was Beautyfull in y<sup>e</sup> Antient Author and to reject y<sup>e</sup> rest, and as it has been always the Case, were one great Genius has followed the steps of an other, having possessed himself of what his Master knew, by y<sup>e</sup> strength of an equal Genius went on still farther refining till by the light of y<sup>e</sup> Antient remains of Architecture withall, he had formed to himself a Manner more purged and correct—— not to tire you with these dry reflections, I proceed to assure you that y<sup>e</sup> Rotonda of Marchesa Capra please me as much as it has even done y<sup>e</sup> rest of our Country Man. I am told that My Lord Charlimont<sup>16</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Murphew<sup>17</sup> spent many hours considering of it and that y<sup>e</sup> Later<sup>18</sup> measured it very minutely, my Guide (who is y<sup>e</sup> keeper of y<sup>e</sup> Theater Olympico) tells me moreover

p.2

by what he could gather from their discourse his Lordship has a mind to build it again in Ireland<sup>19</sup>, tis certainly one of y<sup>e</sup> compleatest thoughts that ever entered into y<sup>e</sup> head of Man, The Eye is so perfectly contented and finds a Harmony and concurrence in every Part, neither is its conformity to y<sup>e</sup> situation less admirable, no form of Building can be so proper to Crown y<sup>e</sup> Summit of a Hill, that ascends gradually on every side, and whose Slopes meeting on ye Point, just leaves a level space above for y<sup>e</sup> extent of y<sup>e</sup> Building,

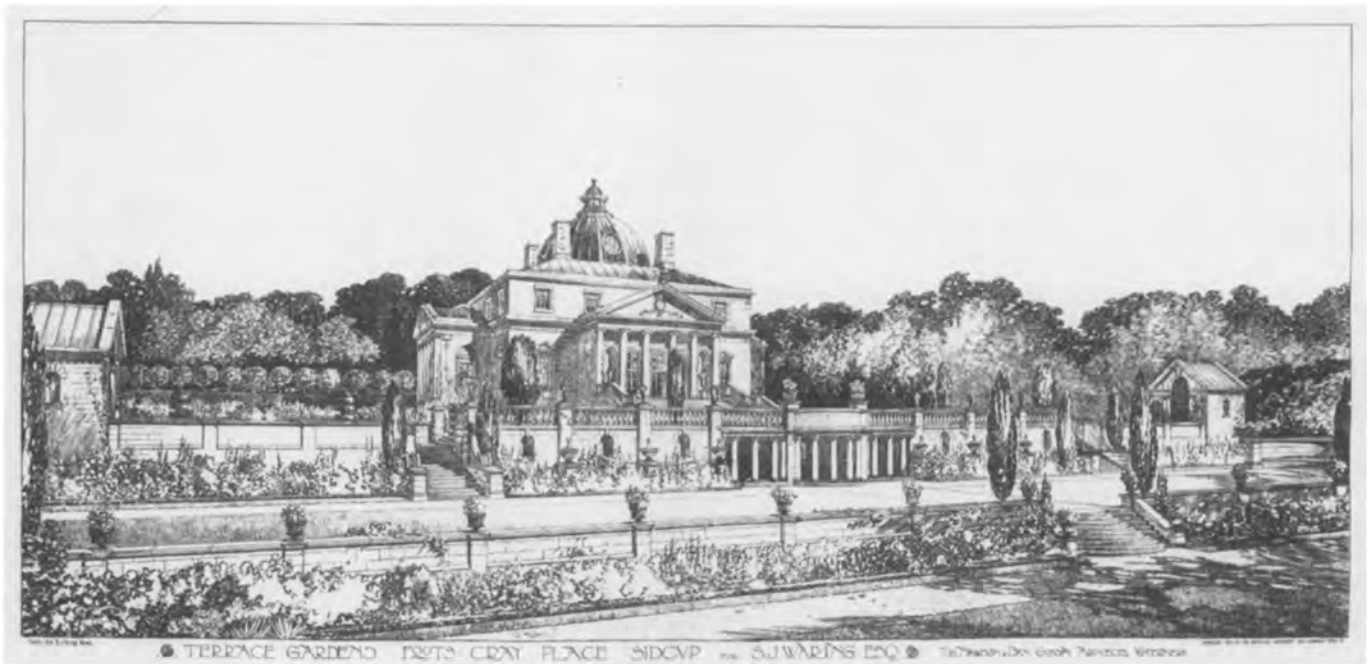


FIG. 1: Foots Cray Place, "Terrace Gardens Foots Cray Place . . .," signed and dated C. F. Mallows [18]91 from *American Architect and Building News* (1902).

which is so formed as to become its proper Terminus, if it had been only a Round Portico covered with a Dome, a proper contrast would have been wanting, but Palladio by uniting y<sup>e</sup> Square of y<sup>e</sup> Body, y<sup>e</sup> Porticos breaking out of each Side, and by Crowning y<sup>e</sup> Mass with a Rotondity, has known how to give harmony at once and Variety, and at y<sup>e</sup> same time to adapt all together to y<sup>e</sup> shape of y<sup>e</sup> Hill—and this I take to be y<sup>e</sup> utmost degree of finesse that the thought is capable of;

The Olympick Theatre is a most Elaborate Work and certainly y<sup>e</sup> most beautiful of y<sup>e</sup> kind in Being, but I can't say contents me so much as the Ritonda I find y<sup>e</sup> Scena of too Minute a Style and too much loaded, besides a very great inconvenience is y<sup>e</sup> Wall (that divides y<sup>e</sup> stage from y<sup>e</sup> Seats) projecting so much as to obstruct y<sup>e</sup> view of a considerable part of y<sup>e</sup> Spectators but I shall consider it more attentively, and endeavour to convince myself of those excellencies which I shall rather think a want of me to perceive, than not to be in so admired a Work, —————

I have to Thank you Kind S<sup>r</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> reception I met with from Sig<sup>r</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Modena who was so good to provide me with a Lodging where I board and have every thing to my satisfaction, I have not deliverd the other Letters you was so obliging to procure me, Palladio takes up so much my thoughts that I can't think of being deprived of enjoying every moment of my time with him ——— I staid only at Padua y<sup>e</sup> Morning after to see y<sup>e</sup> Certosa, which

pleased me much and y<sup>e</sup> Saturday following arrived at Vicenza, pray my Compliments to y<sup>e</sup> young Gentleman that was pleased to commend so much my designs, I promise myself y<sup>e</sup> honour to Send him a draught of y<sup>e</sup> first I execute in England, after it has passed review before My Lord ye Earl of Leicester, when I am sure it will prove more to my advantage and his Satisfaction, if Sig<sup>r</sup> Visentino<sup>20</sup> could do me those designs, last noted

p.3 before I leave Vicenza I shall esteem it a great Favour, your goodness will excuse this trouble and put it to y<sup>e</sup> account of y<sup>e</sup> Civilities that I receiv'd under your Hospitable Roof, I should be ungrateful not to acknowledge them, and to wish for an occasion wherin to show my due Sense of them, I hope you will not good S<sup>r</sup> deprive me of that advantage when it occur and believe me with all esteem S<sup>r</sup>

your most humble Servant

Matthew Brettingham

N:B y<sup>e</sup> Building markd for Palladio on y<sup>e</sup> Mapp at Lisiera,<sup>21</sup> is positively not by him, there are memoirs in y<sup>e</sup> House of Count Valmarana of its being rebuilt intirely by a modern architect

I take y<sup>e</sup> Liberty obliging S<sup>r</sup> to beg you'd please to forward y<sup>e</sup> two enclosed letters —————

I should be glad to know how I could Send a Drawing of Mons<sup>r</sup> Clarisseau<sup>22</sup> that I unlucky forgot to leave with you.<sup>23</sup>



FIG. 2: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, 1754 (?). Foots Cray Place, "The Front Elevation which Represents all The other Fronts." Pen and ink with gray wash (243 x 334 mm).

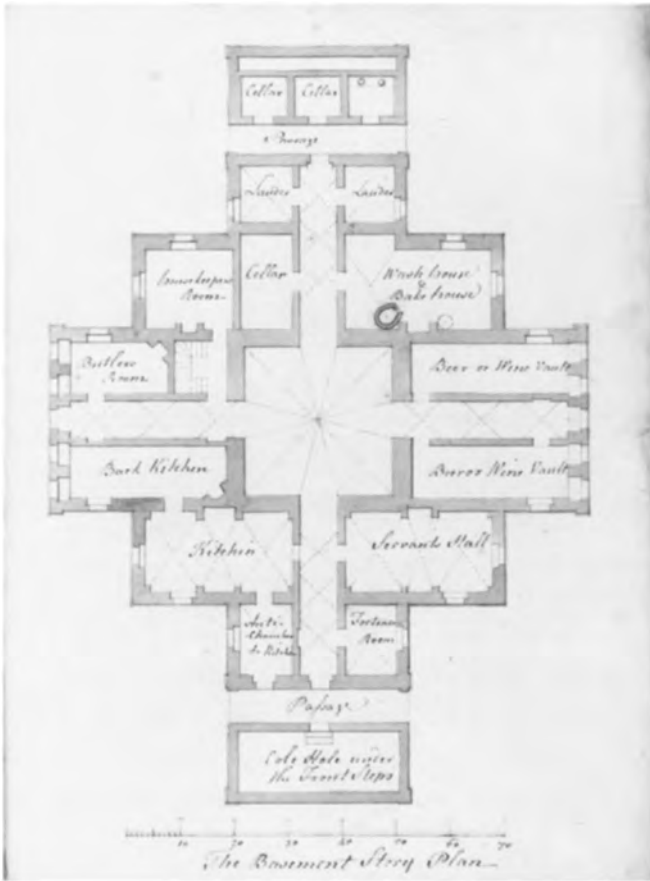


FIG. 3: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, 1754 (?). Foots Cray Place, "The Basement Story Plan." Pen and ink with gray wash *poché* (332 x 246 mm).

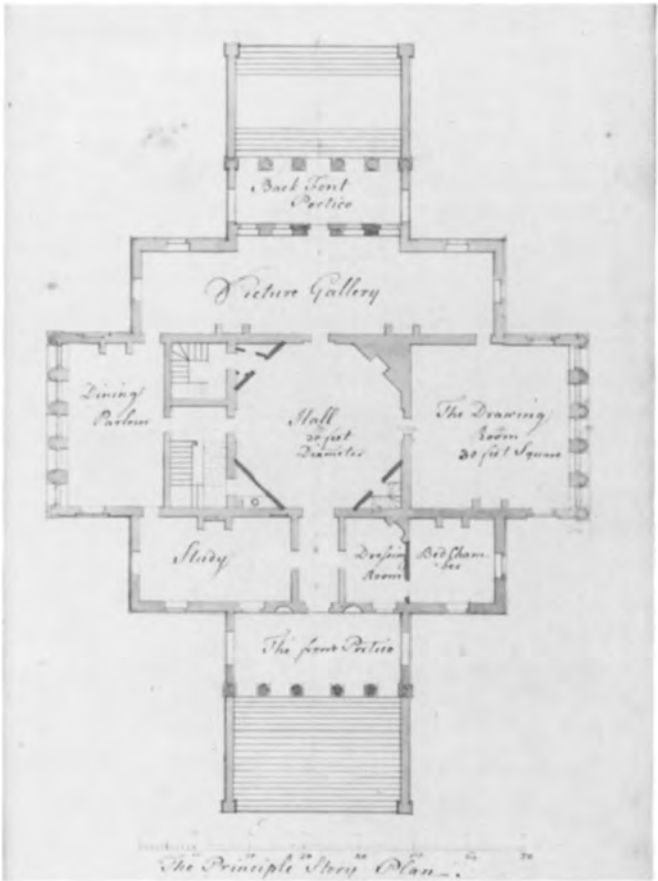


FIG. 4: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, 1754 (?). Foots Cray Place, "The Principle Story Plan." Pen and ink with gray and amber *poché* (330 x 243 mm).

Thus Consul Smith's copy of the great English edition of Palladio contains two extraneous documents, the autograph letter of Matthew Brettingham the Younger, extolling Palladio and particularly the Villa Rotonda, and a set of four drawings of an English version of the Villa Rotonda. One must entertain the possibility that the letter and the drawings are linked; that is, that Brettingham may be the author of the drawings and, indeed, of Foots Cray Place itself.

If we are to deliberate on the assignment of the Foots Cray drawings either to Ware or to Brettingham, an obvious place to begin is with other drawings and designs by the two architects, considered for their content, draftsmanship, and physical characteristics. The subjects of the Ware drawings in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum and the Avery Library of Columbia University, both in New York, are not suggestive for Foots Cray, while the draftsmanship is superior to that of the Foots Cray drawings.<sup>24</sup> In his noted, encyclopedic work, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, prepared and published in just the years Foots Cray was built, Ware shows no version of the Villa Rotonda, though he does present two buildings with rotunda halls on axis.<sup>25</sup> Ware's plate 49, "Design for a person of distinction in the County of York," and plate 50, "Elevation of a Building intended for a Mansion House for the Lord Mayors of

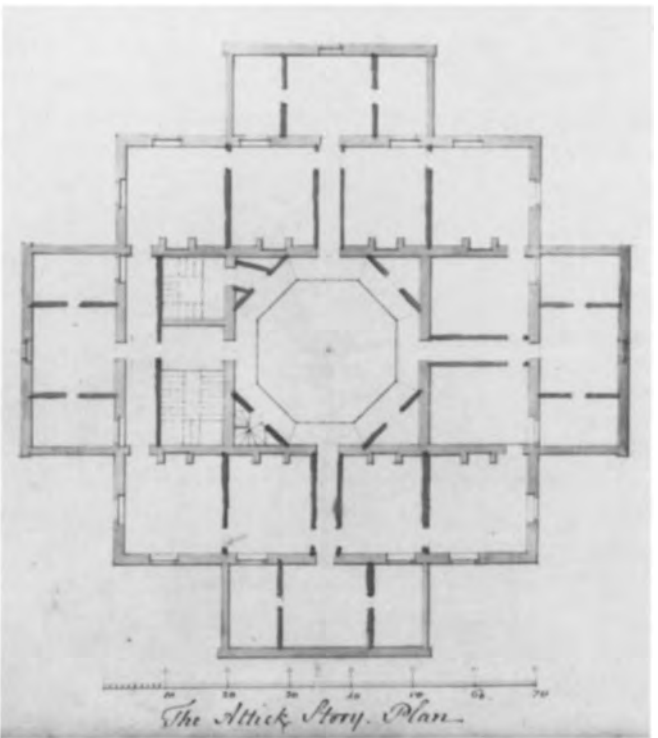


FIG. 5: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, 1754 (?). Foots Cray Place, "The Attick Story Plan." Pen and ink with gray and amber *poché* (242 x 324 mm).



FIG. 6: "Elevation of Fooks Cray in Kent, the Seat of S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Ladbrooke," James Gandon, delin. Engraving publ., 1767.

London," both display the comparatively low, windowless, segmental domes preferred by the Burlington circle. In Burlington's villa at Chiswick of about 1725 [Figure 16] and the elevation on Old Palace Yard of William Kent's design for the Houses of Parliament, as shown in a drawing of 1739, the central hall is lit through thermal windows in a drum below the vault, a device that also appears in Ware's design for the villa in the county of York.<sup>26</sup> Finally, as would be expected, in his edition of *Palladio*, Ware's image of the Villa Rotonda [Figure 11] is faithful to that of Palladio's 1570 edition, while the variant of Leoni's edition [Figure 10], disappointing to Burlingtonians and the basis for Hoppus's view, is much closer to the design of Fooks Cray, particularly in the placement of skylights in the dome.<sup>27</sup> In sum, while Ware was not always rigorously faithful to Burlingtonian neo-Palladianism, the evidence is that he would vary from a revered prototype such as the Villa Rotonda only in the manner that Lord Burlington himself had done.

The British Architectural Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects preserves the Italian sketchbook of Matthew Brettingham the Younger, which contains a sizable number of studies of central plan buildings, both of ancient buildings such as the Minerva Medica (fol. 19) and Santa Costanza (fol. 6), and studies of villas or larger buildings (fols. 44v, 47v, 70v, 92v).<sup>28</sup> The RIBA also preserves a set of drawings attributed to Brettingham, described as "(18) Designs for a house proposed for the Earl of Leicester" for Berkeley Square in London.<sup>29</sup> The verso of sheet nine of this group contains a light pencil sketch of a compact rectangular building with a central octagonal hall with a large staircase to one flank, not unlike the central arrangement at Fooks Cray. These materials reveal Bretting-

ham's strong, sustained interest in a building type of which the Villa Rotonda is a leading exemplar.

At the Soane Museum, the original table of contents of an album titled "Miscellaneous Drawings of Architectural Designs/ No.1" specifies pages thirty-six to seventy-three as "Miscellaneous Sketches of Architectural Designs by M. Brettingham and others, unknown, numbered 1-41."<sup>30</sup> The title, the inclusion of at least one French drawing (no. 29), and the diversity of the other drawings, require that we assign any of these drawings to Brettingham with care. Only one drawing (no. 30), in pen and wash on laid paper, is signed "M. Brettingham Roma 1752" [Figure 12]. The recent interim catalogue of the Soane Museum described the drawing as a "Design for a Bookcase (?)," while Colvin earlier offered "probably a street fountain." It may be a design for an altarpiece.<sup>31</sup> While the object represented is unrelated to the Fooks Cray drawings, the technique and style of the Soane drawing compares quite closely with the elevation of Fooks Cray [Figure 2].

Several of the drawings in the Soane Museum "Brettingham and others" collection are of a draftsmanship clearly superior to that of either the signed drawing in that collection or to the Fooks Cray drawings.<sup>32</sup> While other drawings in the Soane collection could be plausibly related to what we know of Brettingham's style, only one demands attention in the present context.<sup>33</sup> Drawing number 23 [Figure 13] is an elevation based on the Villa Rotonda. It shares with Brettingham's signed drawing in the same collection a similar type and level of technique. With the Fooks Cray drawings, it shares the theme of the rotunda. These drawings are also similar in their moderately strong draftsmanship and use of pen and wash on laid paper, even bearing the same watermark.<sup>34</sup> The two Soane

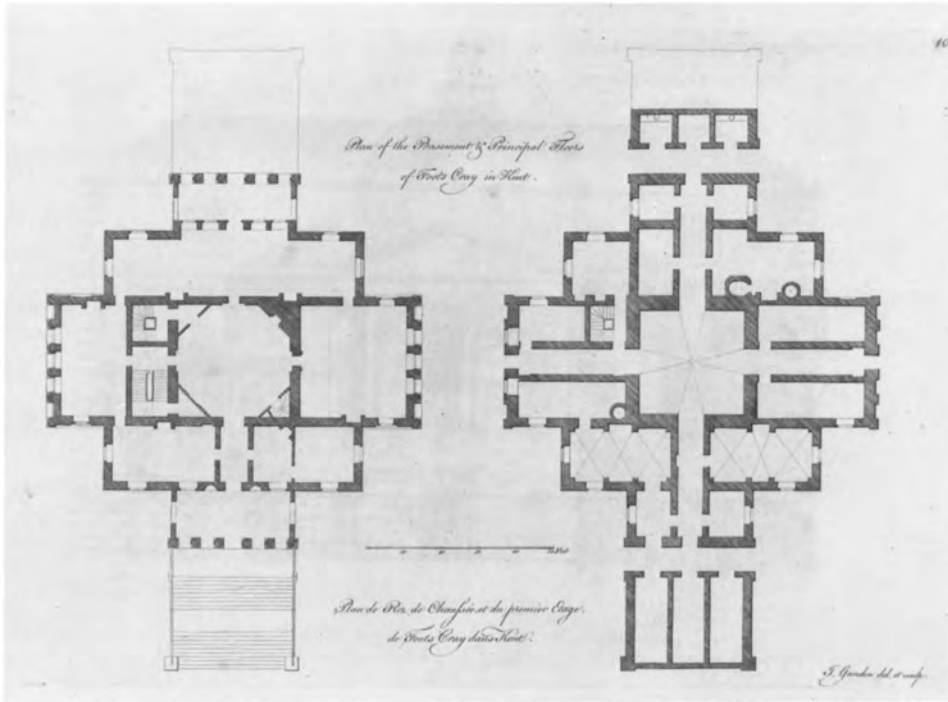


FIG. 7: "Plan of the Basement and Principal Floors of Foots Cray in Kent," James Gandon, delin. Engraving, publ. 1767.

FIG. 8: "Section of Sir Robt Ladbrookes House at Foots Cray," J. Gandon, delin. Engraving, publ. 1767.

Museum drawings (the signed Brettingham drawing and the free copy of the elevation of the Villa Rotonda) and the Foots Cray elevation [Figures 2, 12, 13] make a convincing group by content, style, and technique.

Thus the comparison of the Foots Cray drawings with those of Ware and of Brettingham better sustains their attribution to the latter.<sup>35</sup> But does this argue for Brettingham as the architect of Foots Cray? Any such claim must face a chronological problem within the records already presented. Brettingham's letter to Smith, written from Vicenza, and with which I am associating the drawings of Foots Cray, is dated 8 August 1754.

Pococke saw Foots Cray in construction in late August 1754, shortly before Brettingham's return to Britain.

It may still be argued that Brettingham sent drawings ahead for the start of construction prior to his return. This possibility receives support from other information on Brettingham. His "Account book of Works of Art purchased at Rome by the Earl of Leicester for Holkham" includes a transcript of a letter by him "To Ralph Howard Esq. in Dublin Jan 10 1755."<sup>36</sup> The text reveals that Brettingham had known Howard in Rome and had previously sent him a plan and elevation, presumably for a house (as proposed by Colvin). Brettingham observes that if

there had been any problem he is sure Howard would have informed him. He then notes that he is returned to London and preparing to commence business as an architect. If in his early career Brettingham was making the acquaintance of patrons in Italy and sending plans and elevations for anticipated execution by others, it is at least a possible speculation that this was also the case at Foots Cray.

The logic of the argument thus far would require that the Consul Smith [Brettingham] drawings are preliminary drawings for Foots Cray. There are several reasons to dismiss any suggestion that these drawings record Foots Cray as built. The least of these arguments is chronological: If the drawings came into Smith's possession at about the time of the 1754 letter, this is too early for the completion of Foots Cray.<sup>37</sup> Also, by the time Foots Cray was finished, there would have been no compelling reason for the transmittal of these drawings to Smith. We should also bear in mind that the Smith catalogue that lists the Ware volume, bound then as now, was compiled in 1755.

A comparison of the Consul Smith drawings with the representation of Foots Cray in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is conclusive that the drawings are earlier than the engravings. In "The Principle Story Plan" [Figure 4] four walls (three defining angles of the octagonal central hall and one between the dressing room and bed chamber) are drawn differently, and crudely

washed in amber ink, apparently distinguishing nonbearing walls. This distinction is significant in the stages of planning and construction, but is understandably eliminated in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving [Figure 7]. In the drawing of the basement plan [Figure 3] the bake oven is loosely located and crudely drawn, while it is neatly organized into the masonry *poché* of the engraving [Figure 7].

While these differences are sufficient to establish the temporal priority of the drawings to the engravings, it is in fact the close agreement of these two sets of plans that is more notable. Other than the differences just noted and a few minor variations (the precise location of fireplaces and the organization of interior stairs, for example), the only significant differences are in the main stairs to the front and back porticos. For this comparison it is helpful to introduce an engraved view of Foots Cray by William Woollett, which may be dated to 1760 [Figure 9].<sup>38</sup> In this view, we see Foots Cray sited on sloping ground, approached from the lower side. Note that the Consul Smith plan [Figure 4] presumes this condition in that it shows a long run of continuous risers at the front, but a middle landing and thus fewer risers at the rear. The configuration shown in *Vitruvius Britannicus* [Figure 7] differs from the drawing but is consistent with Woollett's view. At the front, a longer more gracious stair incorporates landings both at mid-level and at the



FIG. 9: "A View of Foots-Cray Place in Kent, the Seat of Bouchier Cleeve, Esq'," William Woollett, delin. and engraver, 1760, second state (330 x 510 mm).

colonnade. To the rear, the *Vitruvius Britannicus* plan shows only a dotted outline that one is led to interpret as a shorthand notation for a replication of the front stair. What this ambiguous notation conceals is revealed in the Woollett view: in the executed Foots Cray the back portico opens on a high terrace that gives access to the rising ground beyond. Additionally, a difference of lesser significance may be noted: while the Consul Smith plan and elevation show the main stair flanked by embracing masonry walls (as at the Villa Rotonda), the similar images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the Woollett view agree in showing treads that extend over the supporting walls and carry metal hand-rails.

Several conclusions are warranted. The Consul Smith drawings [Figures 2–5] are not an “ideal plan,” for they assume a sloping site and thus may, with high probability, already envision the site of Foots Cray. The significant differences at the porticos when matched with Woollett’s view assure us that the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engravings do show the executed Foots Cray. The present information supports the received view that Foots Cray was designed and built from ca. 1754. It must have been finished by 1760, and probably earlier.

If we consider the graphic similarity of the interior organiza-



FIG. 10: Andrea Palladio, Vicenza, Villa Rotonda. Section and elevation from Giacomo Leoni’s edition of *Palladio* (London, 1715–16).

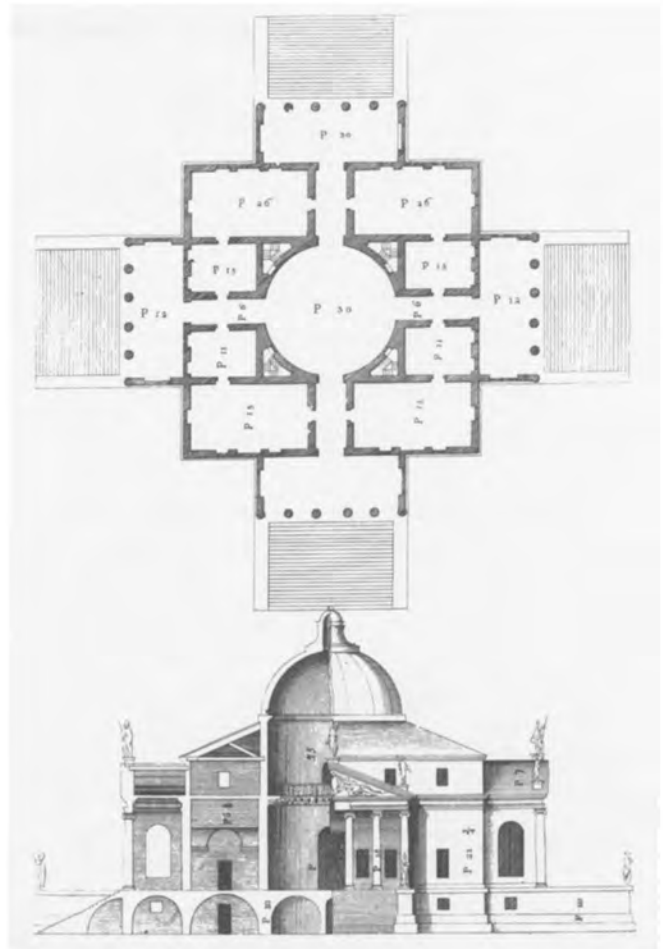


FIG. 11: Palladio. Vicenza, Villa Rotonda. Plan and elevation/section in Isaac Ware’s edition of *Palladio* (London, 1738).

tion as shown in the plans of Consul Smith and *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the speculation is invited that the former served as the model for the latter, perhaps through an intermediary. This speculation is encouraged by the agreement of the two sets of plans in the unnecessarily impossible communication between the kitchen and the dining parlor. Returning to Brettingham’s letter, the latter part of that text is admittedly vague, but may suggest the role of the Consul Smith drawings and the existence of an intermediary set of drawings.

Recall the passage of the letter that reads:

[P]ray my Compliments to y<sup>e</sup> young Gentleman that was pleased to commend so much my designs, I promise myself y<sup>e</sup> honour to Send him a draught of y<sup>e</sup> first I execute in England, after it has passed review before My Lord ye Earl of Leicester, when I am sure it will prove more to my advantage and his Satisfaction.

Could the Consul Smith drawings be ones that Brettingham, after his return to England, transmitted to Smith to be given to “y<sup>e</sup> young Gentleman”? This is unlikely for several reasons. If the drawings were incorporated in Smith’s volume of Ware by 1755 (which is admittedly not certain), Brettingham would



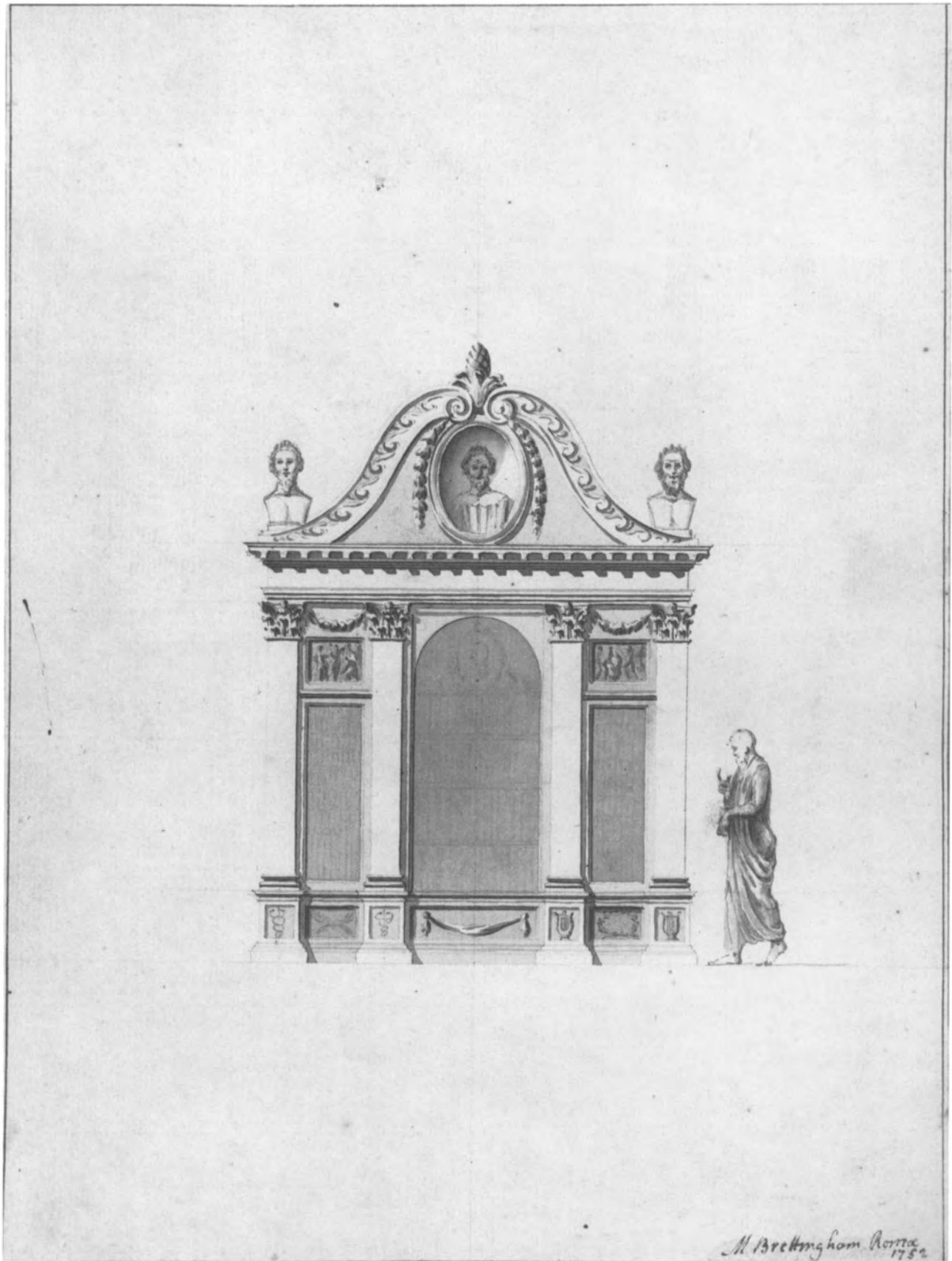


FIG. 12: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, design for a bookcase or altarpiece, signed and dated "M. Brettingham Roma 1752." Pen and wash (297 x 235 mm) from the "Miscellaneous Sketches of Architectural Designs by M. Brettingham and others, unknown," no. 30, in Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

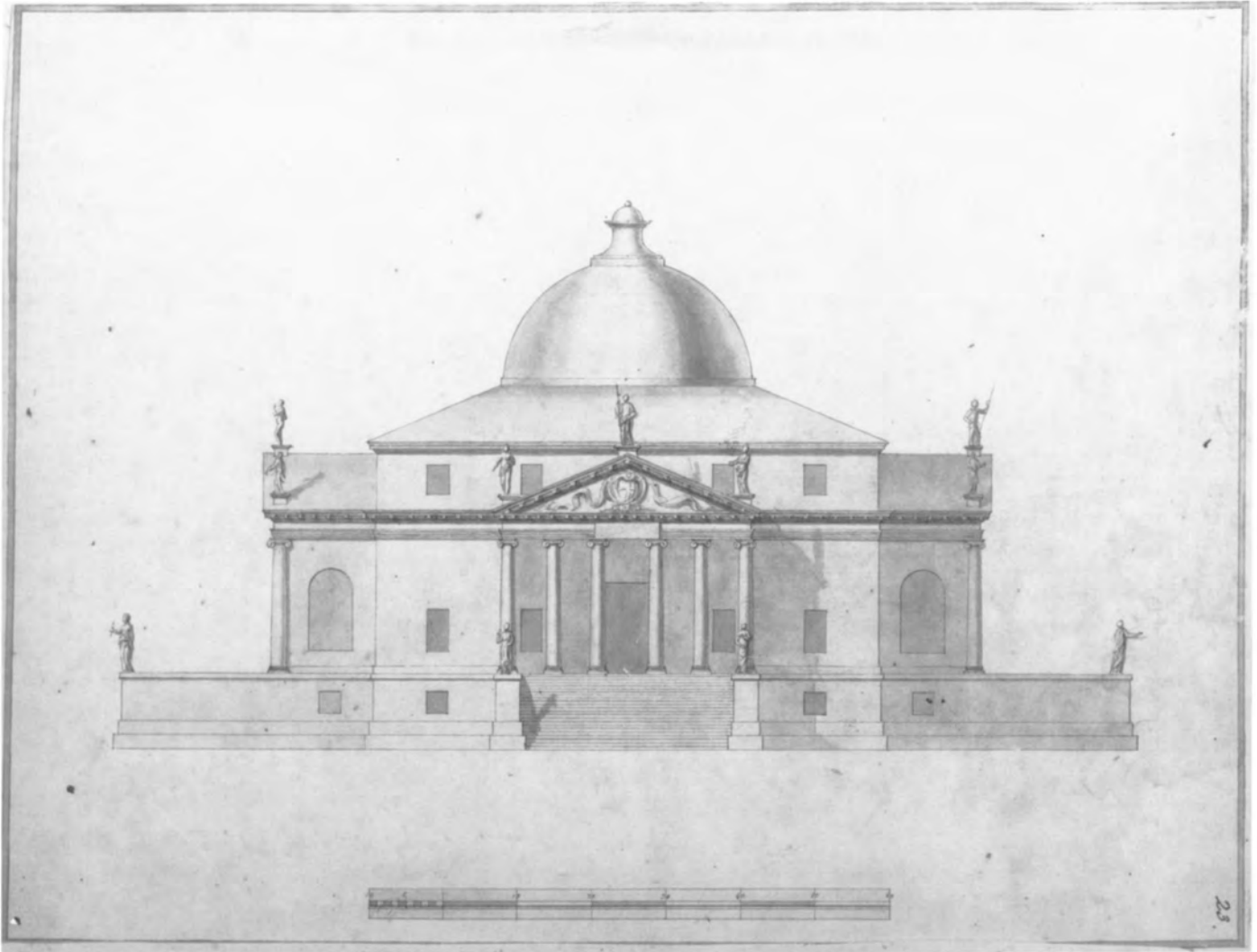


FIG. 13: M. Brettingham the Younger (attributed), a free copy from, or preliminary design based on, engravings of the elevation of Palladio's Villa Rotonda, 1754(?). Pen and wash (233 x 314 mm); from "Miscellaneous Sketches," no. 23, see fig. 12.

have had to send the drawings to Italy as soon as he arrived in England. More tellingly, if it might be contended that Brettingham would go to the trouble to send to his Venetian admirer, via the eminent Consul Smith, the somewhat scruffy plans of the basement and principal floors, it is inconceivable that he would have sent the "Attick Story Plan." This plan is inconsistent with regard to the level at which the plan section is cut (at the normal window level of the attic but at the floor level of the spaces behind the pediments), and it is especially burdened with crude emendations of nonstructural walls. This plan, though of interest to the patron, is in no way intrinsic to the concept of the design; in this form it surely would not have been sent to Venice.

We may now resume Brettingham's letter where we left off:

[I]f Sig<sup>r</sup> Visentino could do me those designs, last noted before I leave Vicenza I shall esteem it a great Favour.

May I interpret this passage as follows? Matthew Bretting-

ham left his designs that pleased "y<sup>e</sup> young Gentleman" in the shop of the noted Venetian architect/draftsman Antonio Visentini in order that a new set of drawings of the design might be made, superior in the subtleties of the classical orders as well as in draftsmanship and consistency. These drawings Brettingham was to receive before his departure from Vicenza en route to England where he would be able to make the finest possible presentation to his economic and intellectual patron, the earl of Leicester, and to the patron of Fooks Cray.

My observations are thus the following: There is no direct evidence linking Isaac Ware and Fooks Cray. From the available evidence there is no compelling reason to attribute either Fooks Cray or the Consul Smith drawings to Isaac Ware. The Consul Smith drawings are not of Ware's normal standard. Architecturally, it would not be inconceivable for Ware to have designed Fooks Cray; but from the information adduced here, including the Soane Museum drawing of the Villa Rotonda, which may now more securely be attributed to Brettingham, Fooks Cray is

more consistent with the predilections of Brettingham.

Thus it may be asserted that the set of drawings affixed in Consul Smith's copy of Ware's *Palladio* and now preserved in the British Library are Matthew Brettingham the Younger's design for Foots Cray. The plans of this set are composed of the carefully drafted elements which comprise the conceptual design as well as a rendering of the principal masonry walls. These drawings, perhaps initially Brettingham's retained "draught" of presentation/construction drawings sent to England, could serve as the basis for more refined drawings by Visentini or his assistants. When Consul Smith sent the Visentini drawings to Brettingham in Vicenza in 1754, he retained, I suggest, Brettingham's originals, placing them in his copy of Ware for their mutual association with Anglo-Palladianism. The hypothesized set of drawings by Visentini were carried to England by Brettingham where they served as presentation drawings and perhaps even in the final stages of construction of Foots Cray, further adapted for site conditions as previously discussed. Woollett's engraving [Figure 9] gives us the best eighteenth-century view of Foots Cray as built.

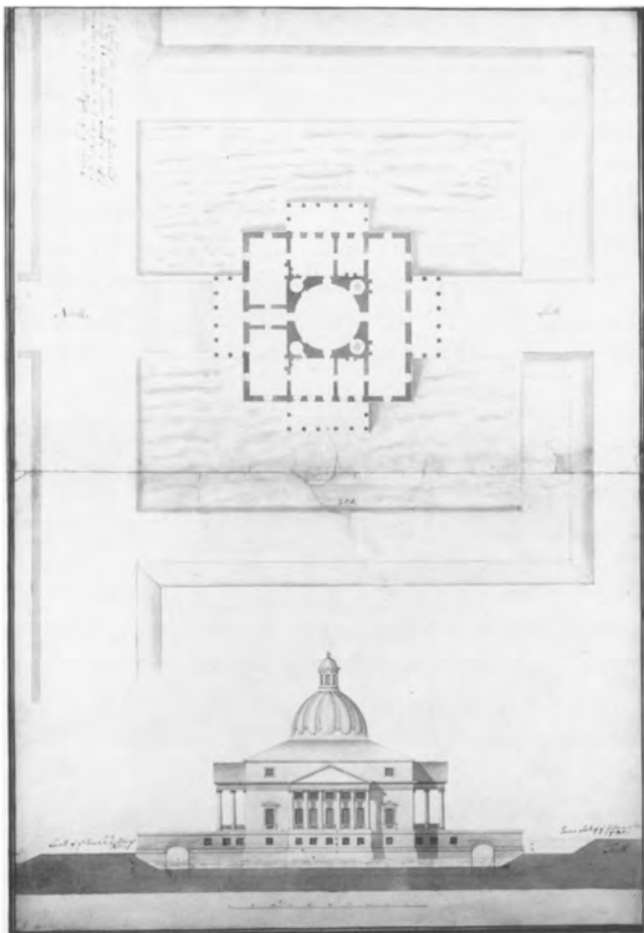


FIG. 14: Colen Campbell, Mereworth, preliminary design: site plan with plan of the villa and elevation with section through the moat. Drawing by Campbell, pen and wash (730 x 510 mm.), ca. 1721/22.

The *Vitruvius Britannicus* presentation of Foots Cray reflects knowledge of the siting and exterior details of the house as built. However, the close correspondence of the interior organization in Brettingham's original (Consul Smith) design and that of the Gandon engravings in *Vitruvius Britannicus* suggest the possibility that the putative Visentini drawings still served as source material for Gandon. It may be noted that the two sets of plans, measured by their respective graphic scales, yield the same principal dimensions. Even more remarkably, the elevations of the two sets correspond dimensionally for heights of the portico landing, cornice, top of pediment, and top of attic wall.

What, then, may be said of Foots Cray, which John Harris ranks as the least of the four British neo-Palladian villas commonly associated with the Villa Rotonda—namely Mereworth in Kent (ca. 1721–22) by Colen Campbell; Chiswick House near London (ca. 1724) by Lord Burlington; Nuthall Temple, Nottinghamshire (ca. 1754), attributed to Thomas Wright; and Foots Cray Place (ca. 1754)?<sup>39</sup> To this list, Harris proposes the addition of a fifth villa based on designs of John Sanderson (ca. 1753).<sup>40</sup>

Kurt Forster, seeking verifiable antecedents for the Villa Rotonda, proposed a set of criteria "to define adequately the villa's typological identity":

1. An elevated site with a privileged view over the surrounding gardens and the countryside, yet not far removed from a town;
2. Use of the building as a place of *studia* and *otium* [study and leisure];
3. A cubic unity in the outer shape, and
4. A conspicuously symmetrical plan, relating both to the siting and the stereometry of the building;
5. A central domed hall;
6. An integrated series of proportional relationships throughout the distribution of architectural parts (with a preference for the ratios 1:2 and 4:5:10);
7. Neo-antique formal elements, partly related to those employed in sacred architecture.<sup>41</sup>

While any such list must reflect the compiler's interpretation of the work in question, I reproduce this example because Brettingham's letter touches on all seven of Forster's criteria. Brettingham, however, adds another criterion, which, if accepted, would rule out the massive Sicilian precedents offered by Forster—namely, Palladio's grace and delicacy, "more purged and correct," in comparison to the ancients.

If we look now to the English Palladian villas cited as versions of the Villa Rotonda, and if we accept, as I think we must, Forster's admonition that we apply any proposed set of typological criteria "integrally and not singly," then the later works are divergent.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, I shall argue that Nuthall and the design

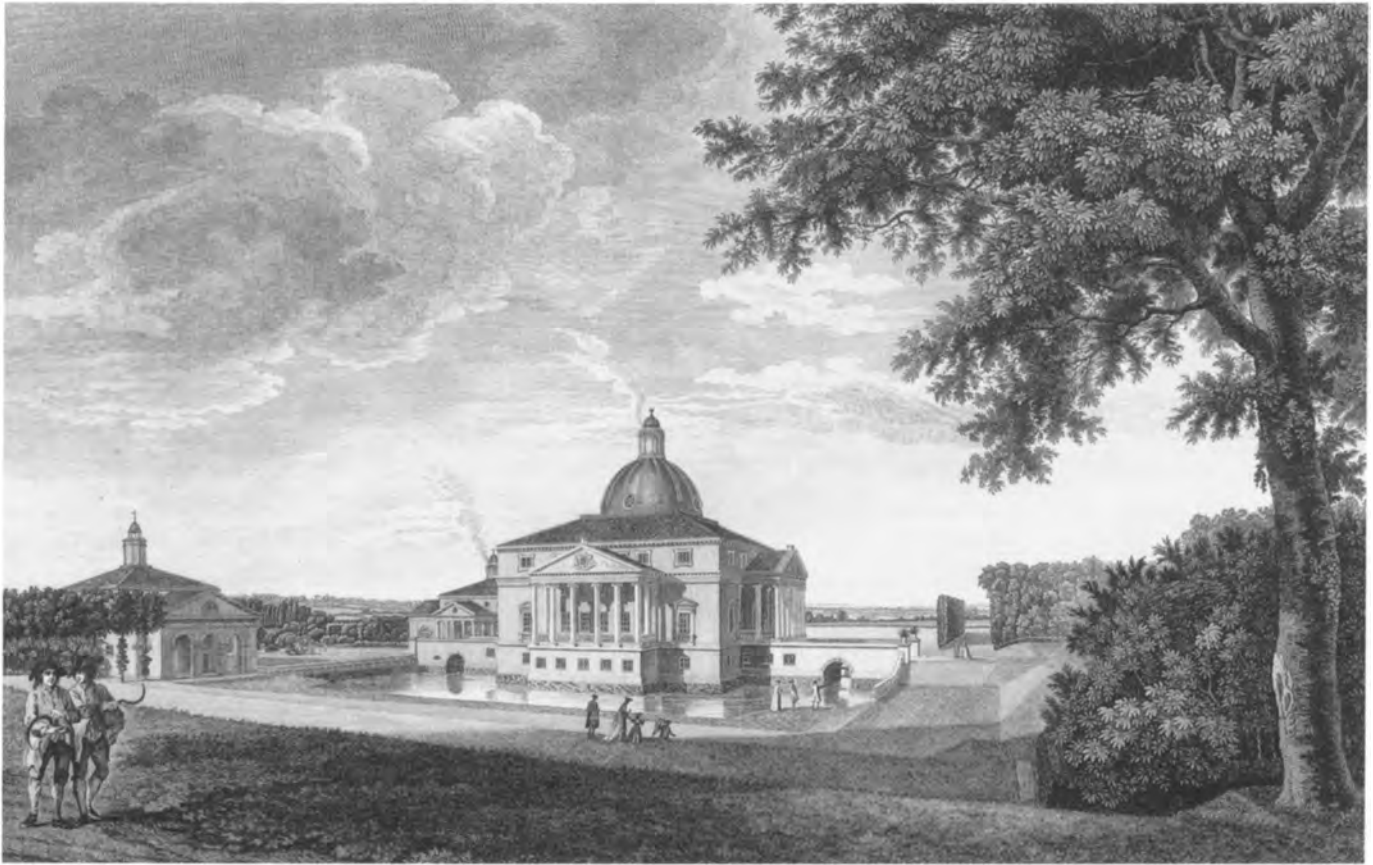


FIG. 15: Campbell, Mereworth, "A View of the Earl of Westmoreland's Villa in the County of Kent, taken from the Park," William Woollett, delin. Engraving (324 x 510 mm), ca. 1760.

by Sanderson should not be taken to have the Villa Rotonda as their most significant precedent.

Campbell's moated Mereworth [Figures 14, 15] and Burlington's level-sited Chiswick do not possess elevated sites. Woollett's view of Foots Cray [Figure 9] amply demonstrates that this house enjoyed "a privileged view over the surrounding gardens and the countryside," though even it did not crown a hill as Brettingham himself had admired at the Villa Rotonda. Of the English examples, only Chiswick could be said to be "not far removed from a town," and then not with the intimacy of Vicenza and the Villa Rotonda. The rigorous bi-axiality of Palladio's Villa Rotonda [Figure 11], which might be seen as the ideal of Forster's fourth point, is diminished or destroyed in the English examples, a point to be elaborated below. Since the principal rooms of the Villa Rotonda only approximate the proportion of 3:5 (15:26), and this is not one of the ratios that Forster cites as being favored, it is difficult to say whether the English works show any less concern with proportional relationships, except where they allow "unclassical" ratios, as in the characteristically English long halls or galleries of Mereworth and Foots Cray [Figures 14 and 4; both of ratio 1:4] or the more articulated one in Sanderson's design.

With the latter point we touch on the real difference of the English examples from that of Palladio. It is not only that the English works fail the proposed criteria but that they demand

additional criteria. There is the criterion of "grace and delicacy" adduced in Brettingham's letter. More significant is the privileging of the perceptual over the conceptual experience of the viewer. Chiswick is early and emphatic in this respect, from its complex, multiple-entry stairs, to the circuit of diverse interiors [Figure 16],<sup>43</sup> to the position of the villa itself as one among many architectural adornments of the garden. Sanderson's design [Figures 17–18], like Chiswick, offers biaxial internal movement and a circuit of varied rooms, but without the garden access. Most unusually, Sanderson shifts the main orientation of interior spaces to the cross-axis. Nuthall Temple [Figures 19–20] begins with a return stair to a portico *in antis* and extends the main axis only to, not through, its octagonal central space. There is neither direct nor cross-axial communication among the rooms, though they are located on axes. Rather, complex diagonal and tangential routes are required to move from one to another. As compared to the experience at the Villa Rotonda, where arrival at the center of the villa places one also at the crown of the hill and arrays both the villa and its surroundings in static order, Chiswick and its sisters offer formal, functional, and phenomenological promenades. If it can be argued that Scamozzi's Rocca Pisani, which employs diagonal lines of movement from the central rotunda [Figure 21], is the more appropriate prece-

dent for Chiswick, this is still more true for Sanderson's design and emphatically so for Nuthall Temple.<sup>44</sup>

Chiswick is the intermediate, historically mediating, example in this set of Anglo-Palladian villas, a complex ensemble combining Italian precedent, the example of Mereworth, and innovation—all appropriate to the informed and energetic amateur who was its author. The topology of its internal organization is not so different from that of the Villa Rotonda, as is its pursuit of visual variety in

siting, movement, and differentiation of rooms. Sanderson's design extends this drive, and Nuthall distinctly jumps out of the type of the Rotonda. Only Mereworth and Foots Cray should properly be seen as closely allied to the Villa Rotonda, and even here we note significant differences. In comparison with the rigor of the Villa Rotonda's bilateral

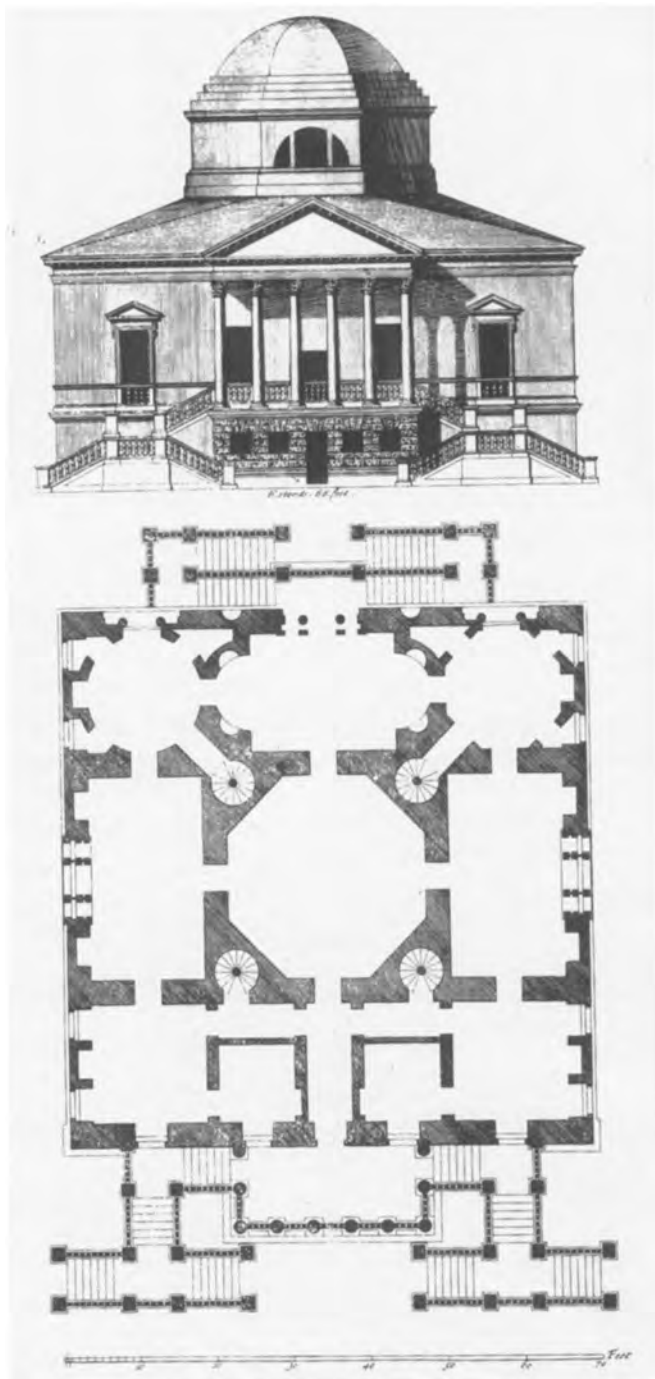


FIG. 16: Lord Burlington, Chiswick House, ca. 1724, front elevation and main floor plan. Engraving, publ. 1727.

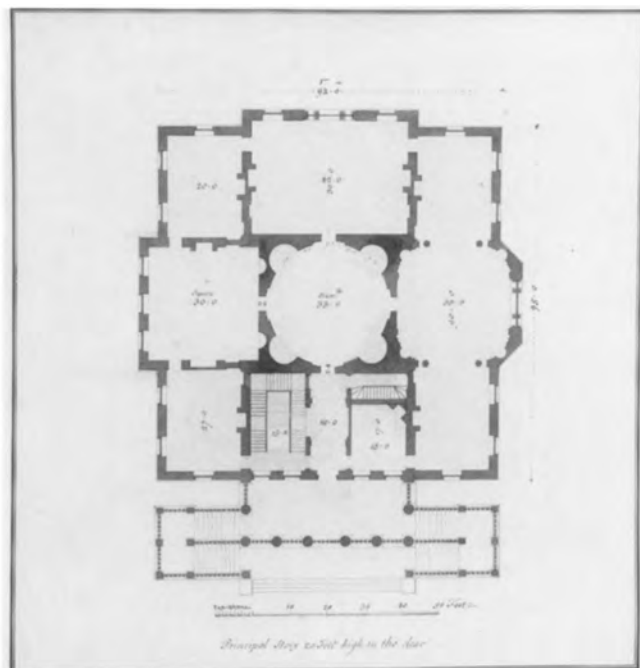


FIG. 17: John Sanderson, country house (possibly a design for Copped Hall), plan, ca. 1753. Pen and wash (300 x 285 mm).



FIG. 18: John Sanderson, country house, elevation with high dome drawn on a hinged leaf, ca. 1753. Pen and wash (300 x 285 mm).

symmetry and the replication of identical quadrants (except for mirror symmetry), Mereworth is only strictly symmetrical about the main axis; and Foots Cray, while clearly a variant of Mereworth, pursues a more conventionally livable plan that retains only notional symmetries.

Chiswick, as an addition to an existing house and as Lord Burlington's architectural polemic in bricks and mortar, was largely absolved of practical demands, yet even it entered upon what is emphatic at Mereworth, Foots Cray, Nuthall Temple, and in Sanderson's design: the increasing worldliness of what was previously acknowledged as the hybridization of sacred elements with the domestic. In Nuthall Temple, Mereworth, and Foots Cray, the pursuit of domestic organization familiar to the privileged classes led not only to the variation of rooms that broke formal symmetries, but also to the incorporation, in Mereworth and Foots Cray, of the previously mentioned long hall or gallery across the garden fronts of these villas (and in Sanderson's design on the cross-axis).

If, then, we extend the list of criteria required to embrace these Anglo-Palladian villas, and if we continue to apply the criteria integrally rather than singly, then even Mereworth and Foots Cray do not possess the Villa Rotonda typologically, but only as one significant source. In all these villas, we observe the increasingly quotidian use of "neo-antique formal elements, partly related to those employed in sacred architecture,"<sup>45</sup> which would shortly lead to the increasingly picturesque use of antique precedent, the pasting of pediments on groups of row houses, and the theatricalization of entire urban sectors as in John Nash's Regent Street.

Yet in the villas under consideration here the dialectic between the sacred and the domestic is not yet empty of meaning; indeed, it still deserves consideration. It then might be posited that, if one moves away from the ideal rigor of the Villa Rotonda to a position that incorporates the additional criteria already mentioned, then the quotidian aspect of this sacred/domestic spectrum should receive due attention. And if this step is taken, then Foots Cray may after all not be the least of the English villas.

Consider, for example, the architectural form and use of the porticos/pavilions that extend from the sides of the cubic core of these villas. With Palladio all four porches are open, projected entrances. Despite that fact, these porticos take the curious form of mixing the columnar temple-front with side wall elements that do not even allow an intercolumnal space at the corner column (as engraved in Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, and in the Ware edition, the columns are engaged at the end of the side walls [Figure 11]).<sup>46</sup> Seeking further to "purge and correct,"<sup>47</sup> both Campbell and Burlington, rather than the wall unit, use a single column in the return of the portico. Campbell's Mereworth preserves four porches, two as entrances and two as loggias [Figure 14], while the designs of Burlington

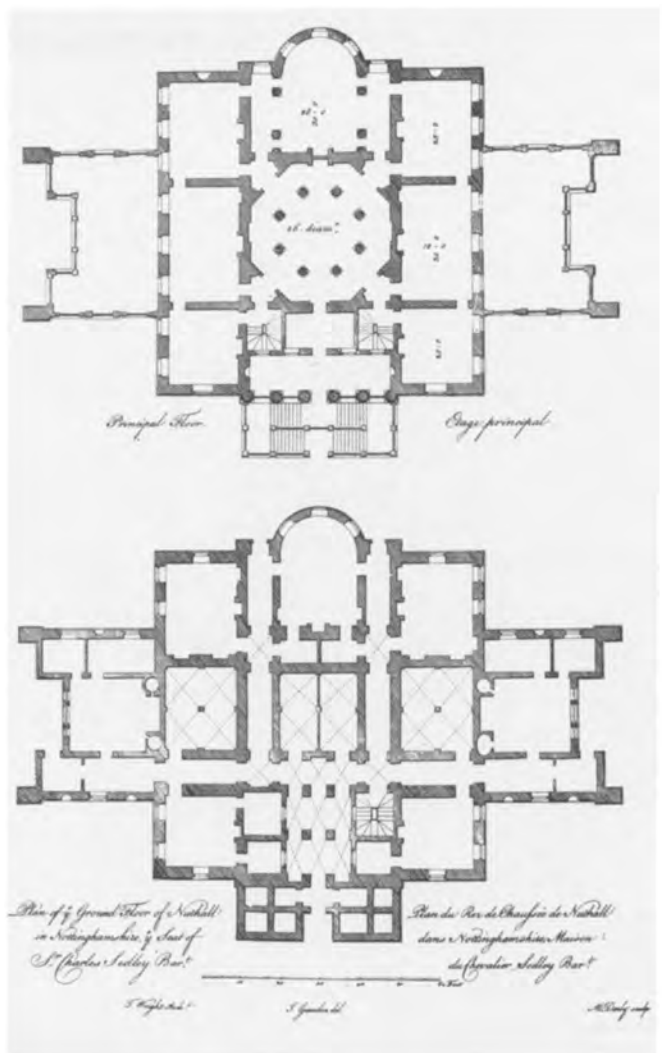


FIG. 19: Thomas Wright, Nuthall Temple, ca. 1754, plan of the principal floor, J. Gandon, delin. Engraving, publ. 1767.

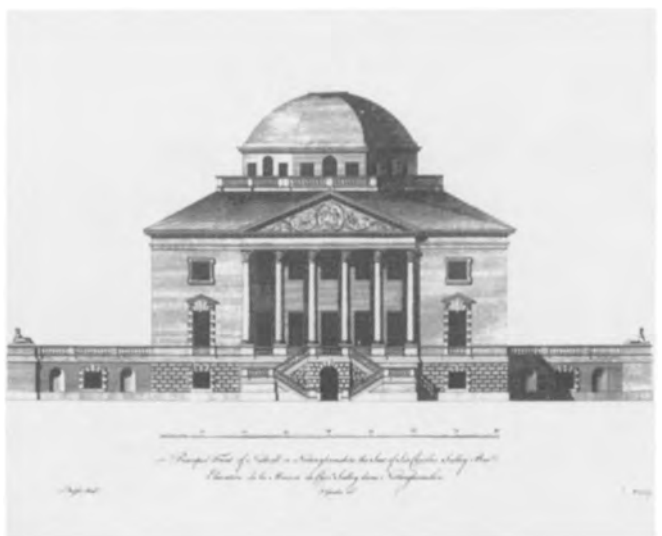


FIG. 20: Thomas Wright, Nuthall Temple, front elevation, James Gandon, delin. Engraving, publ. 1767.

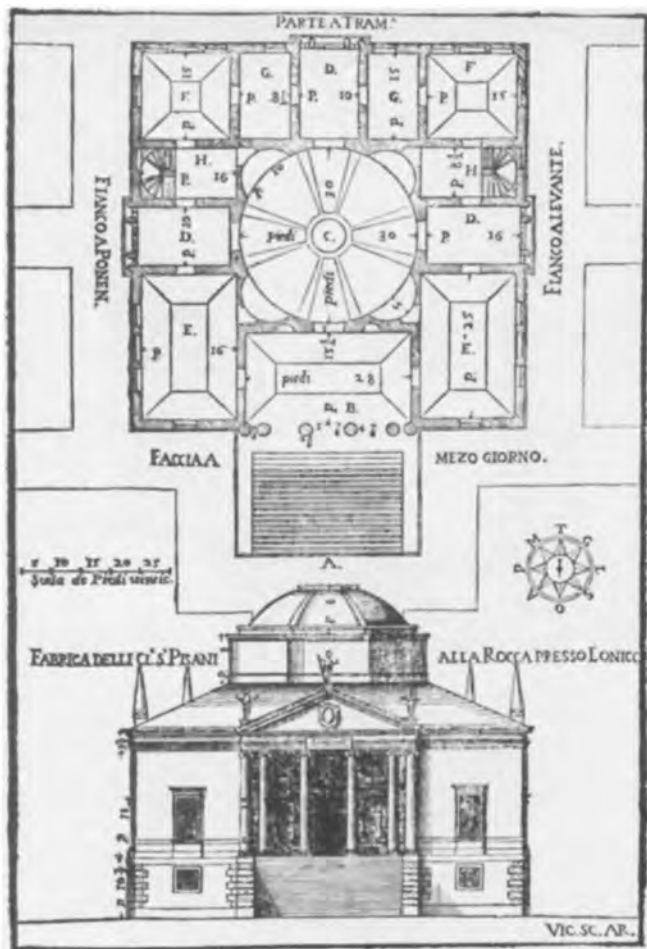


FIG. 21: Vincenzo Scamozzi, Lonigo, Rocca Pisani, plan and elevation from *L'idea della architettura universale*, 1615.

[Figure 16] and Sanderson retain only the front portico entered aclassically, but with experiential delight, from the side. Brettingham makes a sensible move: he returns to the walled portico of Palladian precedent, but now for the reason that these flanking wall elements allow the projection, on the cross-axis, of principal interior spaces beyond the cubic core [Figures 2, 9]. In so doing, he facilitates both spatial variety and functional requirements, while restoring a significant formal attribute of Palladio's villa.

Or again at Foots Cray, the large terrace to the rear [Figure 9], which seems to have been an embarrassment to the compilers of *Vitruvius Britannicus* [Figure 7], may be seen as an inventive resolution of the rising site condition while also offering a sensible sequence of progressively less closed and covered spaces as one moves, with minimal changes of level, from the center of the villa to the gallery, porch, terrace, gardens, and further landscape.<sup>48</sup>

When Matthew Brettingham the Younger has been noticed at all, it has often been for how little is known of him. His extensive remodeling of Charlton Park, Wiltshire [1772–76; Figure 22], his only known executed work, earned him recogni-

tion as “a very competent, novel, architect”<sup>49</sup> and commendation from Christopher Hussey.<sup>50</sup> Footh Cray Place, when not treated as anonymous, has received an unlikely attribution to its original owner, Bouchier Cleeve or an uncertain one to Isaac Ware.<sup>51</sup> If the argument of the present paper is accepted, not only does Footh Cray Place receive an author, but Matthew Brettingham the Younger, possessed now of an executed work that goes beyond remodeling, is given a presence. Further, by insisting on the necessity of distinguishing the Anglo-Palladian villas from their oft-cited precedent, one admits of additional architectural concerns that Brettingham, at Footh Cray Place, innovatively addressed in a dialogue with the rigors of the Villa Rotunda.

## APPENDIX I

### Chronological list of works by

#### Matthew Brettingham the Younger (1725–1803)

**Footh Cray Place, Kent.** 1754 to no later than 1760. See, appendix 2.

**Ireland. “Plan and elevation,” presumably for a house in Ireland, 1754.** Noted as having been sent previously in a letter to Ralph Howard Esq. in Dublin, 10 Jan. 1755. (Holkham MS 744, 133.) “‘Plan and elevations’” (no doubt for a house in Ireland) for Ralph Howard, later Viscount Wicklow, but it does not appear to have been built.” (Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* [see n. 5], 137–38.)

**London (?). “Tis proposed to build a Small Academy,” last half 1750s.** (Holkham MS 744, 139.) Plans for building “an Academy of Design in England.” Colvin, relying on Holkham MS 744; but is Colvin correct in implying that Brettingham's plan was more than verbal?

**London. Berkeley Square.** Designs for a house proposed for the earl of Leicester, d. 1759. London, RIBA, Catalogue (see n. 28), 103. Drawings 1–18, presented to the RIBA in 1964. Unsigned, but strongly attributed by the RIBA, with reference to the signed drawing of the Soane Museum. In a personal communication, Damie Stillman calls these designs as “probably by Matthew Sr.”

**Plan of a house with an octagonal rotunda or hall.** In the RIBA drawings noted above for the proposed house for the earl of Leicester, no. 9 verso: (in pencil) plan of a house with an octagonal rotunda or hall. Insc. verso “A sketch of a Plan 100 x 90 ft.” (By implication, this is a different project on the back of a Berkeley Square drawing.)

**Possible collaborations on projects with his father** (dates are those of journeys to the sites by father and son as noted in the father's account book at the Public Record Office, London (C108/362):

**Beechwood** for Sir Thos. Sebright. 5 Sept. 1759;

**Shadwell** for John Burton. 25 Jan. 1760;



FIG. 22: Matthew Brettingham the Younger, Charlton Park, Wiltshire, the hall.

**Packington** for the earl of Aylesford. 19 Aug. 1762, and 30 July 1763;

**London, Pall Mall**, new house for the Duke of York. Travels to Oxfordshire to negotiate leases in Pall Mall and making plans of the house, 20 Nov. 1760.

(I am indebted to Damie Stillman for this information and the information in the following entry.)

**London, Piccadilly. House of Sir Richard Lyttleton, 1761–64.**

Collaboration of unknown extent with his father. Hertfordshire Record Office (Ashbridge MSS II), a bill from father and son for the building of the house.

**London. Designs for rebuilding part of Lincoln's Inn, 1771ff.**

Not adopted. W. P. Balldon, ed., *The Records of the Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books* (London, 1897–1968), 3:407, 410; 4:5, 7. Drawings formerly preserved in the library of Lincoln's Inn, since lost. (Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* [see, n. 5]). Paul Jeffery, "The Church that Never Was: Wren's St Mary, and other projects for Lincoln's Inn Fields," *Architectural History* 31 (1988):136–47; tentatively attributes five of the Soane Museum drawings (see n. 30), including no. 12, to Brettingham and this project for Lincoln's Inn.

**Charlton House, or Charlton Park, Wiltshire.** Extensive remodeling, 1772–1776. Hussey, "Charlton Park" (see n. 50). "[R]ebuilt the north and east fronts and remodelled the interior, filling the central quadrangle with a domed hall in an elegant neo-classical style. Even here the hall was left unfinished at Lord Suffolk's death in 1779, and was still in an incomplete state in the early nineteenth century. . . ." Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* (see n. 5).

Copy of measured drawing, before alterations, 1772–76. Harris, *British Drawings* (see n. 24), 36–37.

**Cambridge University. Plans and estimates for a botanical and chemical lecture room at the southeast corner of the Botanical Garden.** Commissioned 3 Dec. 1784; submitted in 1785. Not approved. Robert Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols. (1886), 3:153. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* (see n. 5).

**Cambridge University. Plans and estimates for the completion of the Quadrangle of the Senate House.** 1785. Not approved. Willis and Clark, 3:74; not in Colvin.

**Trewithen, Cornwall.** "Unexecuted designs for remodelling that house c. 1790 endorsed 'Brettingham's plans.'" Colvin, 138.



APPENDIX 2

**Foots Cray Place, Kent, England**

**Archival and Other Primary Material**

**London. British Library (BL). Three plans and front elevation of Foots Cray Place (identified and discussed in the article above). Affixed at the back of Joseph Smith's copy of Isaac Ware's edition of Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladios Architecture* (London, 1738), BL 60.g.1.)** This volume acquired for King George III, 28 January 1763; see Smith, *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (Venice, 1755), BL 823.h.26. "The Front Elevation which Represents all The other Fronts." Pen and gray wash on paper with half of a watermark: crown above half of a shield (see next drawing). Graphic scale. (243 x 334 mm.) "The Basement Story Plan." Ink with gray wash *poché* on paper with other half of above watermark: bottom of shield with *fleur de lys*, below which is *LVG*. All spaces except central octagon and axes are labelled. Same scale as elevation. (332 x 246 mm.) "The Principle Story Plan." Ink with gray *poché* and amber *poché* (for thinner walls) on paper with countermark *IV* [same as Brettingham collection, no. 23, Soane Museum]. All rooms labeled. Same scale. (330 x 243 mm.) "The Attick Story Plan." Ink with gray and amber *poché* as above, on paper without watermark. No rooms labeled. Same scale. (242 x 324 mm.)

**Prints.** William Woollett. Engraved view of Foots Cray [1760]. First State. Fagan saw it in British Museum and in the collection of I. B. Muir, 78, Alderney Street, W. Louis A. Fagan, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of William Woollett* (London, 1885), 15. Second State. "A View of Foots-Cray Place in Kent, the Seat of Bouchier Cleeve, Esq<sup>r</sup> [also in French]" "Printed for John Boydell in Cheapside, John Bowles in Cornhil, Carington Bowles in St Pauls Church Yard, Robert Sayer in Fleet Street, and Henry Parker in Cornhil." And to the right: "W. Woollett del. et Sculp." (330 x 510 mm.) BL Map Library Kings 17.36.1. The print also exists at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings Division.

J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4:1767. Text, p. 3: "This house was built by the late Bouchier Cleeve, esquire, and is now the property of Sir William Yonge, baronet." In BL copy, pencil note scratches out William and gives "George." No designation of architect. No explanation of discrepancy of Ladbroke on plates and Yonge in text. Pl. 8: "Elevation of Foots Cray in Kent, the Seat of S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Ladbroke [also in French]." "J. Gandon del." "M. Darly sculp." Pl. 9: "Section of Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Ladbroke House at Foots Cray [also in French]." "J. Gandon del." "M. Darley sculp." (Transverse section looking toward the front of the house.) Pl. 10: "Plan of the Basement and Principal

Floors of Foots Cray in Kent [also in French]." "J. Gandon del. et sculp."

John Hassell (1767–1825). "Foots Cray Place, the seat of Harence Esq<sup>r</sup>" "Drawn by I. Hassell, Aquatint D. Havell, Publ. London, I. Hassell 1 Nov 1817." Inserted at p. 106 (p. 107 of BL copy) of J. Hassell, *Picturesque Rides and Walks*, vol. 2 (London, 1818). Harris (see "Other Prints" below), 21b. BL 290.c.18,19. See also Ronald Russell, *Guide to British Topographical Prints* (London and North Pomfret, Vt., 1979), 200.

John Preston Neale. *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland*, series 2, vol. 4 (1828), unpag. Harris (see "Other Prints" below) 30d. BL 10362.b.2. From the description to the engraving titled "Foot's-Cray Place, Kent; the Seat of the Right Honourable Nicholas Vansittart, Lord Bexley": "This elegant Villa was built in the year 1752, by Bouchier Cleve, Esq., . . ." The Vansittart family owned Foots Cray from early in the nineteenth century until gradual dispersal in the twentieth. KAO U855; family descent, E16.

**London. National Monument Record.** Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London

**Photographs.** Numerous excellent photographs of Foots Cray, its interior, gardens, and dependencies.

**Print.** "Foots-cray Place, the Seat of Benj<sup>n</sup> Harenc Esq<sup>r</sup>." A naive delineation and engraving, not further identified. ca. 1800; Harenc bought Foots Cray on 4 Dec. 1772. KAO, U855 T1/3. Harenc's property placed at sale in Sept. 1820. KAO, U855 E4/3.

**Maidstone, Kent. Kent County Council, County Hall, Kent Archive Office (KAO)** "Particulars of and Conditions of Sale for, that Magnificent Freehold Villa, With the Park, Lawns, River, Plantations, and Estate of the Late Bouchier Cleeve, Esq; Deceased; Called Foots-Cray-Place, In the County of Kent. Which will be sold by Auction, . . . On Tuesday the 14th of April 1772 . . . Lot I. This Villa is built of stone, on a plan of Palladios, with portico's, &c. and contains a Rustic Story, a Principal Story, and an Attic Story." Continues in two pages of description and one page of conditions of sale. 4pp. KAO, Cat. Mark U855 T1/3. "Particulars of the very valuable freehold and small part leasehold Estate, . . . Foots Cray, in the County of Kent. Lot I. The elegant Villa, Foots Cray Place, erected in the Italian style, . . ." Continues with brief descriptions of the principal rooms. 1 p. (incomplete copy ?) plus site plan. There is no description of lots other than Lot 1. KAO, Cat. Mark U855 E4.

**Other Prints.** See John Harris, *A Country House Index* (Isle of Wight, 1971).

*A New Display of the Beauties of England*, vol. 1 (1776); Harris, 31a.

Harrison & Co., *Picturesque Views of the Principal Seats of the Nobility* . . . (ca. 1788); Harris, 20. Not found BL; possibly that in the NMR (see above)?

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Ware's edition of Palladio, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture* (London, 1738), British Library shelf-mark 60.g.1.

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Stroud, "Four Palladian Villas," *Country Life* 104 (8 Oct. 1948): 728–31, and often repeated by such authorities as John Summerson and John Harris. These villas will be more fully discussed below, along with a fifth design introduced into the group by Harris.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Martyn, *The English Connoisseur* (Dublin, 1767), 1:34: "Foot's Cray Place. The Seat of Bourchier Cleeve, Esq. in Kent, Was built by himself, after a design of Palladio. . . ." The *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1887), 11:23, describes Cleeve (—1 Mar. 1760) as "a writer on finance, a prosperous pewterer in London." Additional information on Cleeve and other early owners of Foots Cray appears in notes 37 and 38 below.

<sup>4</sup> Among those who attribute Foots Cray to Cleeve is John Harris, *Sir William Chambers. Knight of the Polar Star* (University Park, Pa., 1970), 45–47.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Leeds, "Chronological Lists of Works of Architects who died in the 18th and 19th centuries," *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 3 (1840): 113, gives the design of Foots Cray to Isaac Ware. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 2d edition (London, 1978), 866, observes: "There seems to be no evidence that this Palladian villa was designed by Ware, but the attribution is acceptable on stylistic grounds." John Summerson, "The Classical Country House in 18th-Century England: Three Cantor Lectures," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 107 (July 1959): 577–78, accepted Ware as the probable architect of Foots Cray.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Pococke, *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke . . . during 1750, 1751, and later years*, ed. J. J. Cartwright (London, 1889), 2:69: "Knole, Aug. 28th, 1754. On the 20th I rode at the back of Sr Gregory Page's, . . . I went by Eltham and about three miles farther to Crayfoot, to a house which is building for Mr Cleves, a pewterer on Cornhill, on the design of Palladio, after which my Lord Westmoreland's house is built; but they say it is on a smaller scale, however, by taking in two of the porticos into the house. The two side rooms are larger than his Lordship's; the staircase is taken out of one side of it. This has a very bad effect on the outside, as have four ugly chimneys round the dome; but the water of the Newel made serpentine, and the lawn to it is very fine. This house is built by contract for £8,000, and some thousands more has been laid out on this place."

<sup>7</sup> Anon., "Foots Cray Place: Destruction of a Palladian Villa," *Buider* 177 (28 Oct. 1949): 541.

<sup>8</sup> *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (Venice, 1755), with a note at the end of the "Addenda" signed *Richd Dalton*, dated "Venice 28 January 1763," acknowledging the receipt of the books mentioned in the catalogue, in good order, for the Library of King George III. On page cccxvi of the catalogue, ticked off in chalk, presumably in Dalton's inventory, is this item: "Palladio . . . translated into English . . . London, printed by Isaac Ware, 1738. fol bound in blew Turkish leather, and richly gilt."

<sup>9</sup> See the writings of Frances Vivian, including "Joseph Smith and the Cult of Palladianism," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (1963): 157–62; and *Il Console Smith, mercante e collezionista* (Vicenza, 1971). See also John McAndrew's introduction to the *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Antonio Visentini* (Farnborough, 1974).

<sup>10</sup> Kevin Fromings of the preservation section of the British Library informs me that one cannot determine when the drawings of Foots Cray Place were glued into the back of Smith's copy of Ware. The Brettingham letter (unlike the drawings) is hinged on paper that Fromings estimates to be of the early nineteenth century. Assuming this to be the case, then at least the present form of attachment of the letter is well after the time of Smith. The attribution of Foots Cray to Ware, dating from at least as early as 1840, could also suggest that the inclusion of these extraneous materials in Smith's copy of Ware is a late action of British librarians. However, this seems unlikely. Interpolated materials in architectural treatises in the British Library are not common. More importantly,

the Brettingham letter has no reason to be associated with Ware in and of itself. Only if the letter is first associated with the drawings, and then all of these extraneous materials are associated with the development of English neo-Palladianism does the ensemble make sense. Since the letter is addressed to Smith the year before the volume is catalogued and shortly before its sale to King George III, the most plausible argument is that Smith inserted these materials in his copy of Ware, perhaps even having them glued in.

<sup>11</sup> Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* (see n. 5), 134, provides a family tree of the Bretchinghams as well as entries on the several architects of the family.

<sup>12</sup> In 1744, the year after the death of Jocelyn Sidney, Lord Leicester, Thomas Coke, Baron Lovel (ca. 1695–1759), was made earl of Leicester.

<sup>13</sup> Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* (see n. 5); but the Brettingham and Stuart articles don't fully agree. David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart: Pioneer of the Greek Revival* (London, 1982), 15–17, repeats the story of the trip to Naples (without documentary citation), but notes the separation of Hamilton and Brettingham from the Greek enterprise and does not speak of any visit by Brettingham to Greece.

<sup>14</sup> William Legge, first earl of Dartmouth (1672–1750), and Charles Wyndham, second earl of Egremont (1710–63).

<sup>15</sup> Brettingham's "Account of Monies Recievcd on My Lord the Earl of Leicesters Account and of my Fathers Beginning from my first Setting out of England August 1747" (Holkham MS 744). See also Brettingham the Younger's preface and additions to the second edition of M. Brettingham [the Elder], *The plans, elevations and sections, of Holkham in Norfolk, the seat of the late Earl of Leicester. To which are added, the ceilings and chimney-pieces; and also a descriptive account of the statues, pictures, and drawings; not in the former edition* (London, 1773).

<sup>16</sup> James Caulfeild (sometimes Caulfield), fourth Viscount (later first earl of Charlemont (1728–99), Irish statesman. Francis Hardy, *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont* [1810], 2d edition, 2 vols. (London, 1812); Maurice James Craig, *The Volunteer Earl, Being the Life and Times of James Caulfeild First Earl of Charlemont* (London, 1948).

<sup>17</sup> Rev. Edward Murphy, from 1744 tutor, and later major domo, to Charlemont. Not an architect, he served as Charlemont's assiduous *cicerone*, accompanying him throughout his travels, including their notably early travel to Greece, Constantinople, and Egypt in 1749 (which also included Richard Dalton, an architectural draftsman, whom we have already noted as later making the King's inventory of Consul Smith's library [see n. 8]). See Craig, *Volunteer Earl* (see n. 16), 29–30, 45–55.

<sup>18</sup> This word is unclear due to being written over; the meaning is surely "latter."

<sup>19</sup> Charlemont did not build a facsimile of the Villa Rotonda. However, the "Casino" (which Hardy, *Caulfeild* [see n. 16], 1:322, calls a "Temple") at his Irish seat Marino near Clontarf could be seen as a radical and inventive transformation of the underlying concept of the Villa Rotonda. The Casino (1758) is usually attributed to William Chambers though Charlemont himself is often given much credit (Hardy, *op. cit.*, 2:436).

If we may follow Steffi Roettgen, Anton Raphael Mengs painted an *Allegorical Portrait of James Caulfeild* (1755–56; National Gallery, Prague) in which the young Caulfeild, holding the attributes of an architect, is confronted by the figure of Architecture who commends the example of Palladio as a practitioner rather than the theory of Vitruvius (see Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs 1728–1779 and his British Patrons* [London, 1993], 52–55).

<sup>20</sup> Antonio Visentini (1688–1782), Venetian architect, draftsman, and engraver, closely allied with Consul Smith, not least in the propagandizing of Palladio. See McAndrew, *Antonio Visentini* (see n. 9).

<sup>21</sup> The Villa Valmarana-Scagnaroli at Lisiera, near Vicenza. The existing building is radically different from that shown in Book 2, plate 42 of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (Venice, 1570). Since some of those changes are of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Brettingham may well have seen documents that suggested removing this work from Palladio's *oeuvre*.

<sup>22</sup> Charles-Louis Clérissseau (1721–1820), French architect, archeologist, and artist. At the time of Brettingham's letter, Clérissseau was just departing, acrimoniously, from the French Academy in Rome, where he had spent the years 1749–54. Clérissseau was briefly the teacher of William Chambers and in 1755 began a long and involved association with Robert Adam. Since Brettingham had been in Rome until June 1754, his reference to a drawing of Clérissseau may indicate that he was bearing a gift from Clérissseau to Smith. It was Smith who sponsored Robert Adam's research at Diocletian's palace at Spalato (1757),

a trip in which Clérissieu joined and for which he made drawings, some of which appear, unacknowledged, in Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London, 1764). See Thomas J. McCormick, *Charles-Louis Clérissieu and the Genesis of Neo-Classicism* (New York and Cambridge, Mass., 1990), chap. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Manuscript letter from Matthew Brettingham the Younger to Joseph Smith affixed in the front of what was originally Smith's copy of Ware's *Palladio* (British Library shelf-mark 60.g.1).

<sup>24</sup> See John Harris, *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture, Decoration, Sculpture and Landscape Gardening 1550–1900 in American Collections* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1971).

<sup>25</sup> Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), pls. 49 and 50.

<sup>26</sup> The drawing is preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and is illustrated in Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London and New York, 1974), fig. 153.

<sup>27</sup> Giacomo Leoni, ed., *The Architecture of Andrea Palladio in Four Books* (London, 1715–16), pls. xiv–xv. Edward Hoppus, ed., *Andrea Palladio's Architecture in Four Books* (London, 1735), pls. xiv–xv.

<sup>28</sup> London, Royal Institute of British Architects, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. B (Farnborough, 1972). Brettingham's Italian Sketchbook has the reference L/4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> London, Soane Museum, a leather-bound volume inscribed on the spine: *Miscellaneous Drawings of Architectural Designs No. 1* (4D, ff. 36–73: "Miscellaneous Sketches of Architectural Designs by M. Brettingham and others, unknown, numbered from 1–41").

<sup>31</sup> Margaret Richardson, assistant curator of the Soane Museum, in a personal communication notes that the drawing cannot be of a fountain and that it would also make a rather strange bookcase. She adds that a former curator, Walter Spiers, listed the design as an altarpiece.

<sup>32</sup> This group of drawings would include those numbered 20, 22, 27, 34, and possibly 39. Ms. Richardson, who is engaged in a study of these drawings, kindly supplied me with copies and her tentative attributions to which I refer in this and the following notes. She tentatively attributes number 22 to Matthew Brettingham the Elder, as she does 19 and 23.

<sup>33</sup> In this group, I would include the finished drawings numbered 7, 11, 13, 19, 23, 31, and 36–38, though it must be admitted that some of these are of a sufficiently conventional drafting style that attribution is not easy. There are other sheets with sketches or incomplete drawings (1–5, 8–10, 12, 15–16, 24–26, 28, 32, 35, and 40–41) that are not easily compared to the signed drawing by Brettingham the Younger. It is from this group that Ms. Richardson attributes drawings to Brettingham the Younger (nos. 1–3, 12, 24, and 32). Within this group, attributions could most readily be made by comparisons with Brettingham's Italian Sketchbook referenced at note 28, but also by first attempting attributions within the first group mentioned in this note.

<sup>34</sup> The drawing is surely made after published elevations of the Villa Rotonda. In not being strictly faithful to any such elevation, it may be a preliminary design. Aside from the windowless dome, it is in most respects close to the Villa Rotonda elevations in the Leoni and Hoppus editions of *Palladio*.

The watermark is the crowned *fleurs de lys* with the initials "LVG" of Lubertus van Gerrevink, with the countermark "IV" of J. Villedary of Hattem, Holland. See watermark no. 406, p. CCCI, W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935). The references of the initials are taken from related watermarks nos. 408 and 414.

<sup>35</sup> In a personal communication, a supporter of the attribution of Fooks Cray to Cleeve argues that the Smith drawings might be by Cleeve, sent to Smith for his comment. Indeed anything is possible, but there is no way to support an attribution of the drawings to Cleeve (as I have attempted to demonstrate for Brettingham), and little reason for Cleeve to go so far afield for advice with so many Palladian architects and connoisseurs at hand in Britain.

<sup>36</sup> Holkham MS. 744, 133–34.

<sup>37</sup> Cleeve bought the estate only on 22 Dec., 1752 (Maidstone, Kent Archive Office, Doc. U855 T1/1: Bargain and sale in process of the final sale of Fooks Cray Place to Bouchier Cleeve, £5450 for all lands, live stock, etc.)

<sup>38</sup> This engraved view identifies Fooks Cray as the "Seat of Bouchier Cleeve Esqr." The first state of the engraving (as described in Louis Fagan, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of William Woollett* [London, 1885], 15, cat. no.

XXXIV) includes both "W. Woollett del. et sculp." and "Published according to Act of Parliament July 1760 & Sold by John Tinney. . . ." Thus the engraving cannot be earlier than 1760. In a publication of the Fine Arts Society, *Catalogue of the Engraved Works, etc. of William Woollett* (London, May 1885), cat. no. 36, Fagan notes that Woollett was apprenticed to Tinney, and that his first work of note, *Niobe*, after Richard Wilson, appeared in 1761. This led to an agreement with John Boydell, publisher. The second state of the Fooks Cray engraving is altered only in the omission of the reference to the Act of Parliament and in noting "Published for John Boydell. . . ." Fagan also notes (6) that on those engravings "which were produced for Tinney, Woollett's name occurs both as designer and engraver." Adding to this information the fact that Bouchier Cleeve died on 1 Mar. 1760 (*Dictionary of National Biography* [London, 1887], 11:23), we may be quite secure in placing the first state of Woollett's Fooks Cray engraving in 1760.

The last will (12 Sept. 1759) of Bouchier Cleeve designates his wife Mary as heir and, after her death, their daughter Anne (Maidstone, Kent Archives Office, Doc. U855 T1/1). According to the *DNB*, Cleeve's wife (identified as Elizabeth) died on 28 Dec. 1760. Cleeve's estates were inherited by their daughter (variously identified as Elizabeth and Anne, but the latter is the name given in the will just cited), and then came into the possession of Sir George Yonge, bart, upon his marriage with her. Though not specifically naming Fooks Cray, the *DNB*, in the article on Yonge, notes that "he parted with various properties." The *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving of Fooks Cray (published 1767) identifies it as the "Seat of Sr Robt Ladbroke"; however, the text of the same volume (3) makes it "the property of Sir William Yonge, baronet," which, in the British Library copy is corrected in pencil to "George" Yonge. (Since Yonge traveled, it may be that Ladbroke leased the property. The *DNB* notes only a Robert Ladbroke "of humble origin" who was a landscape painter ca. 1800. The catalogues of the British Library do list a Sir Robert Ladbroke who was a "Senior Alderman and One of the Representatives of the City of London" in notes of 1769 and 1771.)

According to another document in the Kent Archives (KAO, U855 T1/3), Fooks Cray was put up for sale at auction from the "Estate of the late Bouchier Cleeve" on 14 Apr. 1772; the sale of the mansion and grounds by Yonge to Benjamin Harenc of Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, Middlesex County, for £12,000, was consummated on 4 Dec. 1772.

<sup>39</sup> John Harris, *The Palladians* (London, 1981), 38. General comment on the group was initiated in Stroud (see n. 2), 728–31. See also, in addition to Harris, John Summerson, "The Classical Country House" (see n. 5); Cinzia M. Sicca, "Il palladianesimo in Inghilterra," in the exhibition catalog, Vicenza, *Palladio, la sua eredità nel mondo* (Venice, 1980), 31–71; and James Ackerman, "The Palladian Villa in England," in *The Villa* (Princeton, 1990), chap. 6. On Mereworth: Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian* (London, 1955), 58–65; and Howard E. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester, 1967). On Chiswick House: Rudolf Wittkower, "Lord Burlington and William Kent," *Royal Archeological Journal* 102 (1947), reprinted in his *Palladio and English Palladianism* (New York, 1974), 113–32; and John Charlton, *A History and Description of Chiswick House and Gardens* (London, 1958, and later editions). On Nuthall Temple: Christopher Hussey, "Nuthall Temple, Nottingham: The Seat of The Rev. R. Holden," *Country Life* (28 Apr. and 5 May 1923): 570–76, 606–12.

<sup>40</sup> In the *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (Farnborough, 1973), 4:14, John Harris notes that ". . . there may have been a fifth [executed Anglo-Palladian villa based on the Villa Rotonda] if designs by John Sanderson in the RIBA are to be regarded as working drawings." In vol. S [13] of the same *Catalogue* (1976), 18–38, Margaret Richardson treats these as preliminary, unexecuted designs for Copped [Copt] Hall, Essex, the house from which the drawings came into the RIBA collection. Harris also notes this possibility and gives a date of about 1753 (Harris, *Palladians* [see n. 39], 24).

<sup>41</sup> Kurt Forster, "Is Palladio's Villa Rotonda an Architectural Novelty?" in K. Forster and Martin Kubelik, eds., *Palladio. Ein Symposium* (Rome, 1980), 27–34, figs. 1–8. Forster's last point would include the dome—the particularly innovative element of the Villa Rotonda. See Wolfgang Lotz, "La Rotonda: edificio civile con cupola," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio'* 4 (1962): 69–73; translated as "The Rotonda: A Secular Building with a Dome," in his *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 190–96.

<sup>42</sup> Forster, "Villa Rotonda" (see n. 41), 28.

<sup>43</sup>This is the distinction, involving the loss of strict symmetry, by which Chiswick House is removed, I think rightly, from the progeny of the Villa Rotonda in Christia Goedicke, Martin Kubelik, and Klaus Slusallek, *Palladios Rotonda. Einige Bemerkungen* (Vienna, 1989), 5–9.

<sup>44</sup>This is to make more emphatic and to extend the reach of the argument in Goedicke et al., *Palladios Rotonda* (see n. 43). The authors quite plausibly see Vincenzo Scamozzi's Rocca Pisani at Lonigo as a more adequate precedent for Chiswick House. The range of criteria discussed in the present text give additional reasons to resist the primary association of Chiswick House with the Villa Rotonda, and the same may be said of Nuthall Temple. Among other issues, Nuthall Temple also shares with the Rocca Pisani a portico *in antis*. One may argue that houses such as Chiswick House and Nuthall Temple (and the Sanderson design) have basically square plans but that they share their most important qualities with rectangular-planned Anglo-Palladian villas that have a single principle façade and a central rotunda. One then concludes that the English variants of the Villa Rotonda (and then significantly varied) should be limited to Mereworth and Foots Cray Place.

<sup>45</sup>Forster, "Villa Rotonda" (see n. 41), 28.

<sup>46</sup>Palladio, *Quattro Libri* (see n. 21), Book 2, 19.

<sup>47</sup>Brettingham's letter, reproduced above.

<sup>48</sup>This resolution of the main axis is anticipated at Mereworth (Fig. 15) where, despite the leveling influence of the moat, a berm to the rear of the house permits a more gentle descent to the gardens than do the monumental stairs at the front of the house.

<sup>49</sup>RIBA catalogue (see n. 28), 102.

<sup>50</sup>Christopher Hussey, "Charlton Park, Wiltshire," *Country Life* 74 (14 and 21 Oct. 1933): 388–94, 420–25; and (4 Nov. 1933): 483. Part 1 concerns the seventeenth century house of the countess of Suffolk. Part 2 concerns "large alterations . . . made 1774ff" and which Hussey here ascribes as the early work of

James Wyatt. The issue of 4 Nov. contains a letter from Hussey to the editor, stating that he has learned from an inscription in the roof that the remodeling is the work of Matthew Brettingham the Younger, 1772–76. Hussey notes how little is known of this architect.

<sup>51</sup>This is not to deny the possibility that Cleeve took a hand in the conception and execution of his seat. The most obvious precedent, Mereworth, was nearby, and as we have seen, construction of Foots Cray began before the return of Brettingham to England. The eighteenth-century references to Cleeve and Foots Cray require, indeed suggest, no more than this.

#### Photo Credits

Fig. 1. *American Architect and Building News*, 75 (25 Jan. 1902): unpag. plate

Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 10. British Library

Fig. 6. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4: pl. 8

Fig. 7. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4: pl. 10

Fig. 8. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4: pl. 9

Fig. 9. British Library, Map Library, Kings 17.36.1

Fig. 11. MIT, Rotch Library

Fig. 12, 13. Sir John Soane Museum, London

Figs. 14, 17, 18. British Architectural Library, RIBA, London

Fig. 15. British Library, Map Library, Kings 17.42b

Fig. 16. William Kent, *The Designs of Inigo Jones*, 1: fig. 71

Fig. 19. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4: pl. 56

Fig. 20. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 4: pl. 57

Fig. 21. Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Venice, 1615)

Fig. 22. Christopher Hussey, "Charlton Park, Wiltshire," *Country Life*, 74 (21 Oct., 1933): 421; photo: British Library)