

# Mythic Landscapes and Hellenic Detail

## Latrobe's early work in Sussex

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of Part Two of the  
Diploma in Architecture, Cambridge University, by Michael Trinder, Jesus College.  
**Volume I** — January 1994

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## Introduction

In the course of my ramble in the South of England, I had an opportunity of seeing a country seat, built for Mr Fuller, by your American architect, Latrobe...

Mr Fuller's House is evidently the work of a less ripened taste than the Bank of Pennsylvania, for it is a more complicated thing, for a less complicated use: but it is, notwithstanding this, an exquisite morsel.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Henry Latrobe is mentioned by this anonymous writer as an American architect, and so he will always be known. He became the New World's first qualified architect, and, through his shared love of the Classical age with Thomas Jefferson, provided America with an architectural language with which it could express its own ideas of democracy. The Greek Revival style became synonymous with civil architecture in America and remains so today: Latrobe's work on the Capitol building in Washington, the Bank of Pennsylvania and the South front of the White House (figs 3,4,5,6) is well known across the world.

The work that he carried out in England is, in contrast, extremely obscure. Latrobe lost all but one of the documents regarding these buildings —the *Benjamin Henry Latrobe Notebook*<sup>2</sup>— during his hurried

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From a letter published in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* on the 28th of August 1805. The author remains anonymous, signing as 'Your Constant Reader.'

This single notebook exists in the collection of the Library of Congress. It contains notes on flat roof construction and limestone assay copied from Smeaton's office (reproduced in Appendix A) as well as drawings of buildings executed under SP Cockerell. In addition are details for Ashdown House and a view of an unknown house proposed in Tunbridge Wells (figs 87-92). I am indebted to Michael Fazio for the photocopies of this document. (Hereafter *Notebook*).

*emigration and only a short list have been identified as his work.<sup>3</sup> Most of these were alterations, but he did create two new houses, both in Sussex: Hammerwood Lodge (now Park) and Ashdown House, the 'exquisite morsel' discovered by our anonymous Rambler above (figs 1 & 2).*

*The papers and journals that Latrobe kept in America do survive, and one of these, the *Essay on Landscape*, is of particular interest as within it Latrobe attempted to pass on his aesthetic judgement. Whilst the *Essay* concerns itself with Landscape Painting, the intellectual bond that existed at the time between landscape and architecture, created by the discovery of the Picturesque, allows us to infer Latrobe's thinking about design in general. Given that the essay was written only three years after he left England, where his taste was still 'ripening,' this manuscript is probably as close as we will get to documentation of his English work.*

Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House still stand testament to an early force of the Greek Revival which sought not to copy Classical monuments but to emulate their spirit, and deserve to be examined as such. These buildings are dealt with in two sections, looking at their landscapes and then their details.

To set the agenda it is important to first discuss the *Essay on Landscape* and relate it to country house designs that precede and

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A list is given in Appendix B

accompany Latrobe's work.

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## An Essay on Landscape

This little Volume I have now to present to you, is a new proof of how much I owe to my slight acquaintance with the art. It has rendered my medical imprisonment, while I was recovering from an inflammatory fever, a source of amusement to me; and has enabled me to express in a manner, which, I hope will be as improving to you, as it has been agreeable to me, how sincerely Your talent and your Work are esteemed by Your faithful friend and Servant,

Benjn. Henry Latrobe

Richmond Sepr. 1st 1798<sup>4</sup>

The *Essay on Landscape* was composed as a personal favour to Susan Catharine Spotswood who, as can be seen from his above conclusion to Volume I, had attracted Latrobe's attention during his few years in Virginia. The essay therefore forms a strange mixture of art theory, watercolour painting manual and love letter, which accounts for its somewhat unstructured and familiar character. Miss Spotswood is not mentioned in Latrobe's papers after the composition of the Essay and Latrobe was soon to move to Philadelphia, marrying Mary Elizabeth Hazlehurst on 1 May 1800, so it must be concluded that his efforts in the last category were in vain.<sup>5</sup> However the Essay does succeed as an

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Benjamin Henry Latrobe "An essay on Landscape", from *The Virginia Journals of BH Latrobe*, p 494. (Hereafter *Essay*).

Susan Catharine Spotswood (1774–1853, fig 7) was the great grand daughter of Virginia Governor, Alexander Spotswood, and it seems Latrobe passed on painting materials and instruction over a period of time whilst he was in Virginia. See the editorial notes, *Ibid.* p 457.

example of the amateur landscape painting manual, a phenomenon starting to appear at the turn of the century.

The first two pages of the manuscript have been lost and it is therefore impossible to tell how much space Latrobe dedicated to Miss Spotswood and how much to the prehistory of painting, but it seems that Latrobe opened his work with a general account of the history of landscape painting. His discussion of Renaissance

painting is just concluding in the surviving text, and in summation he perceptively writes that 'fewer painters have successfully painted Landscape, than History.'<sup>6</sup> With our collective cultural memory of later painters such as Turner and Constable at odds with this view, it is important to note that the English concept of *Landscape* was relatively new in Latrobe's time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the spreading of the British Empire and a greater propensity to world travel had brought an increasing number of wealthy Englishmen into contact with culturally rich countries. Inspired, these men returned as patrons determined to reverse the neglect of the visual arts they saw in the mother country.

### The Picturesque Landscape

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*Ibid.* p 468.

As the works of the Renaissance began to be taken seriously by the educated population, artists funded by enlightened patrons began to evolve an entirely new English aesthetic in the form of the Picturesque. The natural surroundings of man's creations took on a new significance that was, in fact, at odds with the work that inspired it.

At the Villa Emo, Palladio had dealt with the encompassing Veneto landscape by laying a cartesian axis across it, scoring lines of trees over its surface to culminate in the central theme of the composition, the villa itself. To a lesser extent, the Villa Rotunda takes the same dominant stance over nature. Such designs were thoroughly consistent with Humanist thinking, in which the work of man would always take precedence over that of Nature. When painters and writers of the period explored the qualities of landscape, it was always as a secondary theme, a subplot to the achievements of the thinking mind: Magaretha Lagerlöf points out that the landscapes of Carracci, Poussin and Lorrain,

...always show traces of civilisation. Unless it included some sign of man, the landscape was not an interesting subject.<sup>7</sup>

Familiar with a countryside peppered with the monuments and ruins of former civilisations, these artists were predisposed to using the relics to structure their landscapes and metaphorically to represent both a previous golden age and the inevitability of death.<sup>8</sup> Their pastoral mode of

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Lagerlöf, *Ideal Landscape* p 4.

*Ibid.* p 10. For example, see Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (fig 19). Incidentally this also forms part of one the early monuments of the Greek Revival, the Shepherd's Monument at Shugborough (fig 20).

expression looked back to the Arcadian myth created by Theocritus and Virgil,<sup>9</sup> a respect for the achievements of antiquity that fuelled humanist philosophy and so much of the Renaissance.

However, when the paintings of Poussin and Lorrain came under English scrutiny, they arrived devoid of the Arcadian myth in which they were based and abstracted from the classical civilisation that underpinned them. Similarly, landscape paintings from the Netherlands arrived free of cultural associations. Although, with the grounding of a classical education, there is no doubt that the early Neo-Classicalists understood the myths from which these landscapes sprung, their pictorial composition was taken literally. Seeing landscapes so artfully composed caused a re-assessment of the concept of Nature— an idea that garden designers began to make explicit by structuring the countryside as a series of pictures, creating the term Landscape in the process from the Dutch *Landschap*, meaning a picture of the countryside.

At the start of the Neo-classical movement in England, architects had initially copied the forms of Palladio, reproducing the symmetrical wings, central block and implied world axes to focus many a rich gentleman's estate. However by the time the majority of these buildings had been completed, the geometry of the humanist tradition had fallen from favour:

Shortly after 1700 English men of letters had begun to argue against the traditional kind of occidental garden from the position of Enlightenment philosophy and a modification of humanist art theory.

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*Ibid.* p 9, specifically Theocritus's *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*. On p.66, Lagerlöf notes that 'Arcadia was antiquity's antiquity.'

They condemned the geometric patterning of walks, beds, and trees as a tyrannical violation of nature.<sup>10</sup>

Marc-Antoine Laugier wrote in 1753 that,

The grand manner of symmetry is not at all suitable for beautiful nature. There must, indeed, be selection, order and harmony but nothing which is too constricted and too formal. The *fer à cheval*, the parterres, avenues and groves are all done with a constraining accuracy very much removed from nature's pleasant carelessness and piquant *bizarrierie*.<sup>11</sup>

Some of Latrobe's first words in the Essay elaborate this point of view,

For my part, I find nothing so instructive as the contemplation of the works of creation; and had I been appointed to settle the ceremonial of the arts, I believe I should have given the precedence to the representation of the Beauty of Nature, and not to that of the actions of Man.<sup>12</sup>

What the visual arts had discovered from a (mis)interpretation of Renaissance Utopian landscapes, contemporary philosophers had argued as a solution to the dilemmas thrown up by Science. Research into physics had outlined a structure to the universe which was in conflict with that described by the documents and traditions of Christianity. Galileo's description of the solar system, for example, seemed at first to undermine the whole of Christian teaching until it was argued that a rational universe was perfect evidence of the existence of a Creator. The Moravian Church,

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From the editorial notes to "An Essay on Landscape" *Op.Cit.* p 460.

Marc-Antoine Laugier *An Essay on Architecture* 1753, Trans. W & A Herrmann, LA 1977, p 138.

*Ibid.* p 468.



a huge influence in Latrobe's early life,<sup>13</sup> was steeped in this thinking and hence placed great emphasis on the education of its members. Whilst concentrating on ancient languages, philosophy, history, Biblical history and theology, the seminary at Barby which Latrobe attended in the 1780's regarded the sciences as complementary to its theological purpose, and also provided instruction in physics, botany, natural history, astronomy and pneumatics.<sup>14</sup>

Latrobe's words above, therefore reflect the general interest in the phenomenal world, placing Nature at the forefront of all creative endeavour; the geometric enclosed landscapes of previous ages could only be intellectually and spiritually ill-conceived.

Since nature was the context, the Picturesque was primarily a landscape movement: it proposed no new accompanying theory of architecture. In fact, the Palladian mansion within Picturesque grounds became the dominant form of the Neo-Classical country house. Stourhead in Wiltshire is an excellent example of the advance of landscape gardening over architecture, where the existing Palladian house was surrounded by gardens that have come to symbolise the essence of the Picturesque movement.

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Benjamin Latrobe, BH Latrobe's father, was the Provincial Helper, head of all the Moravian settlements in England. The Moravian Church placed the community over the family, separating its members into Choirs according to age, marital status and sex, and educated them at its many schools and seminaries. The two Latrobe brothers, Benjamin Henry and Christian Ignatius, were sent to the best Moravian schools in Silesia at Neisky and Barby, due to their family's status in the church, when BH Latrobe was 12.

*Correspondence of BH Latrobe*, Volume I, p 9.

## The Pleasure Gardens of Stourhead

In 1704 the ancient Stourton family house was offered for sale for £11,000 having been ransacked during the Civil War. It was purchased by Henry Hoare, a second generation banker, part of the growing number of newly wealthy families appearing at this time, in order to create a family seat for his descendants.<sup>15</sup> In 1718 Henry Hoare commissioned a new house from Colen Campbell in the Palladian style, comprising the central block of the present house. This was only the second Palladian house to be built in Britain<sup>16</sup> and Stourhead, as it was called, was therefore a radical design, embodying the initial, pre-picturesque, values of the Neo-Classical movement.

As a culmination of the site, it was important that the house appear to sit upon and within the surrounding landscape rather than be separated from it. Campbell sited the building on a small rise elevating it from its garden, but, through the use of a ha-ha, brought the countryside right up to the house in a single visual sweep. The cartesian axes inherent in the design of the building were allowed to extend across the countryside in true Palladian style. The map of Stourhead (fig 11) by FM Piper in 1779, *A General plan of the Pleasure Garden at Stourton (with key)*, shows the square block of the house with its southern axis running toward in a statue of Apollo Belvedere. It also shows the 1746 addition of an Obelisk

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Woodbridge, Kenneth *The Stourhead Landscape* 1982 National Trust, pp. 5–6.

*Ibid.*

copied from the Porta del Popolo in Rome as a finial to the western axis.

The placing of this obelisk was the work of Henry Hoare's son, Henry Hoare II, who had begun to embellish the landscape of Stourhead in 1744 to the designs of William Kent. In the fourteen years between the construction of the house and the start of landscape gardening, the Palladian aesthetic had, as we have seen, fallen from favour. To contain the domination of the house over its landscape, Hoare turned an open axis into a view of an obelisk.

This was one of the first steps in the realisation of a Picturesque treatment for which Kent was already well known. He had constructed the Elysian Fields at Stowe in 1730, described at the time as 'the painting part' of the gardens<sup>17</sup> and more recently as an attempt,

to raise Nature to the human mind and by the same process raise the mind by exhibiting Nature's purest, ie ideal, truth, as manlike God intended her to be before Man's Fall degraded her with him.<sup>18</sup>

Kent's Picturesque took the basic elements of Nature, the Water, Trees and Ground that Richard Payne Knight later identified in *The Landscape*,<sup>19</sup> and, in order to make their inner truth explicit, created a series of their re-compositions around a single structural device. This device was the Circuit Walk which Kent had used previously at Rousham in 1739. The Circuit is a natural complement to a pictorial aesthetic,

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Woodbridge, Kenneth *Landscape and Antiquity* 1970 Clarendon Press, p 9. Quoting Southcote's comments on the taste of Lord Cobhan.

Hussey *English Gardens* p 100.

*The Landscape, A Didactic Poem* London 1794

allowing a series of ideas to be hung together, in much the same way as the modern road movie. Stourhead's pathway takes the visitor into a self-contained world quite separate from the actual house: the visitor enters an aesthetic creation designed for their pleasure, and is led on a journey along which,

if you start where you should do from the lawn by the house, each feature is only gradually revealed, lost and found, until crossing the Zeals road by the rockwork bridge and climbing to Apollo's temple the whole lies open before you.<sup>20</sup>

The buildings Kent employed on this route include a Pantheon (fig 12), originally called the Temple of Hercules, which enjoys the longest vista within the park, a Grotto (fig 13) with 'accompanying *rigoles*, minor cascades, bath-cisterns and statues,<sup>21</sup> the Temple to Flora (fig 16), an Orangery and the aforementioned artificial rock bridge and Temple of Apollo, based on an etching by Robert Wood (figs 14 & 15).<sup>22</sup> These buildings' dedications are quite deliberate. The painterly tricks involved in the park, using the works of man that structured the Claudian utopias to lead the eye, and thus the visitor, around a specific route represent only one level of William Kent's design. The route itself is pervaded with a literary and pictorial symbolism which associates the creation of the

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Woodbridge *Stourhead Landscape* National Trust 1982, p 11.

From *A General Plan of the Pleasure Garden at Stourton (with key)* by FM Piper 1779, reproduced in *Ibid.* pp. 44-45.

Robert Wood *The Ruins of Balbec*. Henry Hoare had bought a copy in 1757. Another precedent is William Chamber's Temple of the Sun at Key (1761), also based on this same etching. *Ibid.* p 55.

Hoare family seat with the foundation of Rome.<sup>23</sup>

This intention for the pleasure gardens is clearly seen in the first buildings constructed, the Grotto and the Temple of Flora. The former was built as part of the initial landscaping, when a series of dams were created to the River Stour, producing an artificial lake around which the garden (and the route) could be structured. It features a statue of a River God (fig 17) based on an etching by Salvator Rosa from *The Dream of Aeneas*, intended to link the spirit of the River Stour and that of the Tiber by referring to the story of Aeneas and to the creation myths of Rome. The latter building bears an inscription, 'Procul, O procul este profani,'<sup>24</sup> which is spoken by the Cumaean Sybil before taking Aeneas down into the underworld in the *Aeneid*.

The most significant evidence for the symbolism, in that it returns to the pictorial source of the garden itself, is the similarity between the temple and Doric portico which structure Claude Lorrain's *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas* (fig 18) and the Pantheon and Temple of Flora at Stourhead. The coincidences of detail and composition point to this painting being the starting point of Stourhead.

This use of recognisable elements of classical myth within the picturesque tradition was important to its development. It created both

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This conclusion, and the following description, is based on the findings of Kenneth Woodbridge, *Ibid.* pp. 18–21.

Begone, you who are uninitiated! Begone! *Ibid.*

intellectual depth in what could have been a wholly subjective and romantic movement and initiated a re-connection of the picturesque with its Arcadian source. The placing of the Temple of Ancient Virtue facing the Temple of British Worthies across the water at Stowe had drawn a similar analogy of the recreation of classical antiquity. Such symbolism is also present in Latrobe's work, but, in order to understand its significance, it is important to examine his theory of landscape in detail, for the Picturesque was merely his starting point.

## Latrobe's theory of landscape

The first volume of Latrobe's essay was a tightly structured affair in comparison to the second and he followed on his praise for the picturesque with a systematic explanation of the principles of landscape. These principles are pervaded throughout by two grand themes those of Truth and Nature; in fact the majority of the second volume is dedicated to Nature in a discussion of the theory of the Great Chain of Being<sup>25</sup> and Erasmus Darwin's poem, *The Botanic Garden*. Both these obsessions mark Latrobe as a product of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The

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A contemporary theory of classification in which characteristics are traced through the animal kingdom from the simplest to the most complex, placing Man second to the beings of Spirit. Latrobe's religious beliefs had been altered by his ejection from the seminary at Barby, due to his expressed interest in Engineering, and it seems that he saw the spiritual as representing Nature and not a God figure.

popularisation of science and scientific principle which was occurring had led many writers to attempt to find objective truth in the world around them: architecturally, what Perrault had started in the 1680's<sup>26</sup> had been crowned by Laugier's *Essai Sur L'Architecture* in 1753. JM Crook summarises the *Essai* as,

the climax of French rationalist thinking in architecture, a tradition gradually developed during the previous century... It was a tradition concerned less with form than with explanation, and less with function than reason.<sup>27</sup>

Latrobe does not mention Laugier specifically in his own Essay, but he does quote Darwin's poem from memory<sup>28</sup> and the Botanic Garden's delight in the sensations of Nature cause him to become distracted from his primary subject on several occasions. The first half of the second volume serves ostensibly to teach the drawing of trees and their foliage, but it dissolves rapidly into a familiar theme, a tirade against the geometric 'garden' in favour of the picturesque, using Darwin's descriptions of the animate nature of plants as a mainstay of the argument:

It was the fashion in England, and indeed all over Europe less than a century ago— a fashion which our ancestors transplanted hither to admire nature in every shape but her own... But *modern Philosophy*...

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After translating Vitruvius into French in 1673, Perrault wrote the *Essais de Physique* (Paris, 1680--1688) and then an analytical study of the classical orders in *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens* (Paris, 1683).

JM Crook *The Greek Revival*, p 84.

He notes at the end of the second volume that he had had to correct some mistakes in an earlier quote when he was able to consult the original in Philadelphia. *Essay* p 531.

has done *this* good— to banish... that arrogance, which exalting the arbitrary fancy of man above the simplicity of nature, taught us to set a higher value on that which it is difficult to obtain, than on what it is useful to possess.<sup>29</sup>

It is from this reverence for the natural world that Latrobe set out the principles of his first volume. He defines his principles by first explaining, in a rather disappointed tone, that they are a series of artifices; almost as if the painter should be able to create beauty from the raw materials available to Nature, but is limited by his or her mortality. The principles are a series of

*knacks*, to produce effect. They are a sort of stage-trick to which the imperfection of human art renders it necessary that the greatest painters should stoop.<sup>30</sup>

Each painter, through skill and practice, will acquire a *trick* of their own, which Latrobe defines as a *Manner*, noting that too much trickery results in paintings 'censured as being *Mannered*.'<sup>31</sup> The four categories of Manner are then listed as being Composition, Lighting, Tinting and Handling of Subject: these are the dialects of the language of painting.

## I      **Composition**

With the exception of 'subject,' whose wordiness and digression we will come to, the treatise on composition is by far the longest, mostly

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*Essay* p 500. His emphasis.

*Ibid.* p 469.

*Ibid.*



because Latrobe is still defining his terms. Using what he calls the modern psychology of the *mind's eye*, he defines the effect of a painting as the result of its manipulation of the perceptions— perceptions which are relative:

One thing seems small, because we compare it to something else which is much larger another distant, because we perceive other objects which are much nearer... The happiness of finding a friend, depends in a great measure, upon the painful recollection of having wanted one.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, perceptions that are contrary are in *Contrast* and those that are similar are in *Harmony*. With these two tools of perception the painter can create, bounded by a third principle:

The line, beyond which contrast becomes harsh, and harmony insipid, cannot perhaps be accurately laid down by rules. It is a matter of Taste.

To illustrate the principles of Taste, Harmony and Contrast, Latrobe uses a quick watercolour sketch of a lighthouse on a promontory (fig 8). Contrast is given by the perpendicular relation of the two elements of land and lighthouse, the danger and roughness of the cliff and the colouration of the land and sky, setting warm and cold hues against each other. Similarly, Harmony is demonstrated by the perception of solidity in the foundation of the building and the continuity of tone and shading between it and the rock.

Latrobe's discussion so far carries at least two subtexts which bear

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*Ibid.* p 470.

mention. His final example of relative perception is another incidence of the friendship Latrobe felt for Miss Spotswood, but it is his preceding examples which are the more important. These ideas are not specific to landscape painting, but deal with sculptural effect in general. His examples come directly from his own architectural taste and memory; a predilection to sculpture was one of Latrobe's favourite architectural Manners, as will be seen clearly in his work at Hammerwood Park and Ashdown House; a lighthouse would have been a familiar subject for an ex-pupil of John Smeaton.<sup>33</sup> His theory of landscape painting can therefore be correlated directly to his architectural experiences and ideas.

Latrobe finally proposes a fourth, binding principle to composition. Just as Harmony and Contrast are juxtaposed by the principle of Taste, the harmonious and contrasting elements of the painting are distributed with regard to Keeping.

Keeping means that mode of placing, and coloring the different objects of a picture, that persuades the eye that they are at their proper distances from each other.<sup>34</sup>

This is not perspective, which Latrobe proposed to cover in a third, undiscovered or unwritten, volume, but an overseeing attention to the harmony and contrast of the whole picture in order 'to *tell the story* of the

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Latrobe's *Notebook* carries details 'copied from Smeaton' of the securing of Eddystone lighthouse into the rockface— see Appendix A.

*Essay* p 472.

landscape.’<sup>35</sup>

Trying to explain his last and most important principle clearly to his student, Latrobe identifies why he is interested in landscape painting at all. He wishes to identify, record and pass on for the enlightenment of others the character of a place which, in his eyes, is defined by its landscape: within the Picturesque Landscape is the truth of nature. The Essay continues to elucidate rules of the picturesque (he identifies the contrast of land and water as one method by which the landscape may come alive and the effect of seeing a distant view through a screen of closer objects as a second) but which are presented with examples ‘scrupulously copied from views taken upon the spot.’<sup>36</sup> These examples are not picturesque compositions but studies of specific landscapes. He presents generative models for, rather than illustrations of, the Picturesque, warning his reader that the rules have a tendency to be addictive, and can form ‘such a habit, that it is impossible to recognise the *Character* of the countries they represent.’<sup>37</sup>

This insistence on truth to an original landscape is a progressive view of the picturesque. Turner’s investigation of nature ‘taken upon the spot,’ appears similar to Latrobe’s proposal, but it is not an attempt at the resolution of the divine structure of Nature. Rather it is an understanding by Latrobe of a landscape as an identifiable whole —a *place*— whose

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*Ibid.* p 473. His emphasis.

*Ibid.* p 475.

*Ibid.* His emphasis.

Story can be told, whose character can be made extant through painting, or, in his professional life, through architecture. He continues to insist on a Truth in his discussion of Sunlight.

## II Light and Shadow

This short section serves to make a single point: Latrobe insists that, as there is only one natural Sun, a solitary light source should be used in a painting, preferably to illuminate the primary landmass of the composition. Multiple light sources are an untruth:

The french artists are much guilty of this error... The Italian school was always much more correct. The art of massing light and shadow is however now much better understood than formerly. I believe we are in this respect much indebted to the Dutch painters.<sup>38</sup>

Whilst acknowledging the debt that Landscape Painting owed to Europe, Latrobe is once more describing a Picturesque manner shorn of its earlier invention and regulated by a respect for Nature. He had obtained his appreciation of the mechanics of sunlight and the value of Nature not only his scientific education under the Moravian Church, but also through his reading of Erasmus Darwin. The description of the effects of the atmosphere and the physical relationship of the sun and the planets comes early on in *The Economy of Vegetation*,

Where lighter gases, circumsused on high,  
Form the vast concave of exterior sky;

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*Ibid.* p 477.

With airy lens the scatter'd rays assault,  
 And bend the twilight round the dusky vault;  
 Ride, with broad eye and scintillating hair,  
 The rapid Fire-ball through the midnight air;  
 Dart from the North on pale electric streams,  
 Fringing Night's fable robe with transient beams,  
 —Or rein the Planets in their swift careers,  
 Gliding with borrow'd light their twinkling spheres;  
 Alarm with comet-blaze the sapphire plain,  
 The wan stars glimmering through its silver train;  
 Gem the bright Zodiac, stud the glowing pole,  
 Or give the Sun's phlogistic orb to roll.<sup>39</sup>

Understanding the mechanics of the solar system, Latrobe's only conclusion is that the lighting of a painting should be used to effect but without artifice, for artifice denies natural truth.

### III Tinting

After a short discourse on the propensity of certain watercolours for certain landscape elements, Latrobe reminds his student that colouration is a skill which must be learnt under the precepts of Taste and Truth, especially as...

Rocks and buildings admit of almost every possible tint, Taste must direct their application, and while the *Spirit* of Contrast may be

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Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, London 1791, lines 123–136. The poem is extensively footnoted with the relevant scientific information for each concept developed by the poem. For example, *And bend the twilight* is accompanied by a long discussion on the refractive nature of the atmosphere and its estimated height.

infused, the stillness of Harmony should not be violated.<sup>40</sup>

Significantly, Latrobe does not propose any colour theory apart from the few mixing details already mentioned. All colours used are to be determined by the painter's own perception.

#### IV Treatment of Subject

Each volume of the Essay is rounded off with a series of examples of subjects without a specific heading and as such form the lengthiest sections of each. However, they group well as the fourth Manner that Latrobe had proposed and serve to tell of the cultures and places that influenced Latrobe's early life. The paintings of the first volume illustrate the events up to his arrival in America.

Latrobe was born on May 1st 1764 in Fulneck, Yorkshire, a rapidly growing community named and founded, just west of Leeds, by the Moravian Church.<sup>41</sup> His father, the Reverend Benjamin Latrobe, was a leading figure in Fulneck and went on to become one of the most respected members of the Church hierarchy.<sup>42</sup> The first two paintings that he includes in the Essay are of Ravenstones at Saddleworth and Kirkstall Abbey (figs 9 & 10), both nearby to Fulneck. The latter was a memory of an earlier drawing 'of Kirkstall Abbey, from nature, made by

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*Essay* p 478.

Edward Langton *History of the Moravian Church* Unwin 1956 p 130

*Ibid.* p 144. The *London Chronicle* speaks of him firmly establishing the reputation of the Church.

him in his twelfth year, the accuracy and force of which, in all its Gothic details, would do credit to any artist.<sup>43</sup>

At the time he made the original drawing he would have been about to leave the Fulneck boarding school to venture to the Paedagogium at Niesky in Silesia, a college set up by the Moravians for the children of its missionaries and ministers. Latrobe had started school at the age of three, learning to read and write, and the Paedagogium was merely the next stage before moving on to the church's foremost seminary at Barby, aged seventeen. The next two examples show scenes of Wilke in Upper Silesia and The Tollenstein in the Bohemian mountains.

The final four vignettes depict the coast of England at Hastings and Dover and then Little York in Virginia and parallel Latrobe's departure from England to America in 1795. Latrobe had left the Barby seminary having professed an interest in engineering;<sup>44</sup> prior to moving there he had met a Prussian engineer and spent some time with him.<sup>45</sup> During the late eighteenth century, engineering was a military concern, dealing exclusively with the design of weapons and fortifications. The Unity Elders Conference of 27 March 1783 felt that this interest conflicted with their commitment to pacifism, saying that

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Talbot Hamlin *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, NY 1955, p 11, quoting *The Journal of Latrobe* by JH: Latrobe, p viii.

Latrobe later wrote to Thomas Jefferson saying that he had wished to enter this profession. Letter to Jefferson July 4th 1807, *Correspondence of BH Latrobe*.

This was Heinrich August Reidel, a Prussian Engineer, see *Correspondence of BH Latrobe* Vol I pp 6-7. Latrobe's military involvement is hinted at by Talbot Hamlin, *Op.Cit.* p 14

Doubt and disbelief concerning the truth of evangelical teaching is expressed by a number of students, most of whom however... let themselves be freed from their doubts by the Saviour's grace. Only one, or at most two, find pleasure at persevering in this state. This is particularly the case with Benjamin Latrobe, whose continued stay here at the seminary seems very questionable and would cause a great deal of damage.<sup>46</sup>

As a result Latrobe came back to England, arriving in 1784 having spent the intervening period travelling in Europe. He was soon working for John Smeaton's London office, as a draughtsman for two or three years and on designs for the Basingstoke Canal in particular, but further European travel in 1786 led to a re-assessment of his career. He had already considered architecture after encouragement from Baron von Schachmann whilst in Silesia,<sup>47</sup> and having gained his confidence (and experience) planning buildings for the Moravian Church in Manchester, he worked for SP Cockerell on a variety of projects.<sup>48</sup> In 1791 he married Lydia Sellon and started to practice on his own on the strength of a commission from John Sperling, for Hammerwood Lodge; he was soon designing Police stations in London and Ashdown House in Sussex. Latrobe's move to America came after his wife's death and just before his scheduled appearance in court for bankruptcy; his involvement with the embryonic police force and secret service may also have contributed to

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*Correspondence of BH Latrobe* Vol I p 9

*Ibid.* p 15

The Admiralty Building in particular. *Ibid.* p 28. Hamlin suggests that Latrobe's entry into the profession was eased somewhat by family connections.



his having to leave.<sup>49</sup> By the time of the *Essay*, Latrobe had settled into America as his future home, and, as if to emphasise this, all but one of the examples of Subjects of the second volume were American scenes, ‘made at Richmond in Virginia during the Months of September and October 1798.’<sup>50</sup>

Although they document it, this biographical history does not accompany Latrobe’s examples—presumably it was already known to Miss Spotswood, or he felt it inappropriate to the context. What does accompany the paintings are jovial anecdotes, designed no doubt to amuse and impress his reader. For instance, Latrobe recalls betting with his friends in 1787 whether the rocks of the Ravenstones could be blown down by all the gun powder of the party: one member was so unconvinced that he climbed the rock just before the explosion, and nearly fell into the valley with it. However, these stories also serve another role—they are the Story of the Place, they are Latrobe’s initial reaction to and memories of specific landscapes he personally had encountered and, as such, are the textual complement to his paintings. When Latrobe speaks of Landscape, he is describing an entire situation and its character. Landscape painting should elucidate this character

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Latrobe’s wife died in November 1793. Hamlin *Op.Cit.* p 53 notes that Latrobe was declared bankrupt in the *European Magazine* for July–December 1795 on December 5th. Latrobe left for America aboard the *Eliza* on November 25th. Quite what Latrobe was doing with what was to become MI5 is to be revealed by Elizabeth Sparrow in a forthcoming book, and so awaits this publication. I must thank her for revealing to me as much as she has.

*Essay* pp. 515 onwards.

through attention to detail, picturesque composition and an understanding of the physics of Nature. Most important is that he takes a holistic view of a landscape.

Latrobe could be shocked by artists who collected pieces of landscapes to be worked up later, especially when they then contradicted his memory of the place:

“Sir,” said he, “...I have here twenty of the most enchanting scenes in the world.” He pulled out his Sketch-book. It was full of pen and ink drawings...

I smiled at the *most beautiful Scenery in the World*, although I discover'd in every one of his Scratches strong Character of bold composition. He invited me to call on him in a Week, and then indeed he had produced Landscapes, such, as for composition, light, coloring, richness of detail, and correctness of drawing, I never saw surpassed in Water colors. But as soon as my first emotions of admiration had subsided, I discovered the grossest errors in the Geography of his pictures. Islands, mountains, and palaces were shifted about by his magic pencil at random, and ... sold at high prices for “Views in the bay of Naples taken on the Spot.” This is not fair. It is to me, I think, a considerable advantage to be a very indifferent painter. I shall never be an eminent one, but I hope always to be correct.<sup>51</sup>

This memory is particularly important as it links Latrobe to Naples, which he visited after leaving Smeaton's office.<sup>52</sup> Dr. Johnson had said at the time, ‘A man who has not been to Italy is always conscious of an inferiority,’ and Latrobe's family were well connected with Johnson's circle in London. Whilst his first short tour of Europe had most probably

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*Essay* pp. 475–476.

Hamlin *Op.Cit.* p 16, n 14, determines this visit to have been on his second European Tour.

been planned by Baron von Schachmann as a fortuitous route from Silesia to England and he had made a point of visiting Soufflot's Ste. Geneviève in Paris (figs 100 & 101),<sup>53</sup> where he could have seen the French architect's 'rather dumpy Greek Doric columns'<sup>54</sup> for the first time, the thoughts of the London intellectual circles that influenced his second trip definitely looked toward the settlement just south of Naples— Paestum. As Goethe pointed out in his Italian diary,<sup>55</sup> the sublime power of Paestum was hard, if not impossible, to record on paper: encouraged to visit these ruins, Latrobe would have been left with an influential memory and an insight into the driving force of the Greek Revival.

### The Greek Revival Landscape

The burgeoning interest in Greece and its ancient monuments was a natural extension of the rational search for the truth of architecture. Once recognised as an earlier source of design than Vitruvius, closer to the

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Latrobe would have seen the crypt, which was one of the only elements of the scheme that was not altered over time, and was built between 1760 and 1763, see Rykwert *The First Moderns* p 450 ff. The columns were based on those at Paestum, which Soufflot had visited in 1750. See Braham "The Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte-Geneviève" *Burlington Magazine* CXIII (Oct 1978) p 585. Soufflot's drawings of Paestum itself were published in 1764 by G-M Dumont and in 1765 by Filippo Morghen, and so would have been available for Latrobe's study. JM Crook *The Greek Revival* 1972 p 22.

Rykwert *Op.Cit.* p 453.

'Reproductions give a false impression... It is only by walking through them and round them that one can attune one's life to theirs and experience the emotional effects which the architect intended. I spent the whole day doing this...' From Goethe's *Italian Diary*, quoted in JM Crook *Op.Cit.* pp. 22-23.

*Primitive Hut*, rather than a primitive forebear of Roman classicism, the Hellenic ruins proved irresistible, especially to minds tuned to the ground rules of the Picturesque.

It was the Society of Dilettanti, founded in 1732, which actively pursued this appreciation of Greece and helped promote the Greek Revival in general. Weighed down by its origins as a drinking club for Grand Tourists, the Society simultaneously produced some of the first accurate drawings of classic monuments and was responsible for their pillaging: Lord Elgin's contribution to Anglo-Greek relations and the British Museum's catalogue is well known. Even earlier, Lord Sandwich,

came back in 1739 laden with mummies, papyri, medals and marbles... He measured the principal Athenian monuments and produced creditable ground-plans and a few brave elevations... Together Dashwood and Sandwich helped make classical archaeology something of a sport. They made it fashionable and they made it fun.<sup>56</sup>

The foundations of the Greek Revival had been laid in fashion. It was not until professionals joined the gentlemen of the Dilettanti that it began to be taken, and take itself, seriously. The most significant of such members were James Stuart and Nicholas Revett. Funded by subscription and sponsored by the Society, they set out to document the buildings of Paestum and Greece as the *Antiquities of Athens*. Due to delays and the authors' considerable ability to distract themselves from the work, the first volume of *Antiquities* was not published till 1762. The drawings of

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*Ibid.* p 7.

Paestum, although dated 1792, did not appear until 1794. Although earlier travellers had also published their findings, the aforementioned 1750 Paestum drawings by Soufflot in 1764–5 and Thomas Major's views of Paestum in 1767<sup>57</sup>, it was Stuart and Revett's work which found the widest audience.<sup>58</sup>

When Stuart and Revett came to create the first Greek Revival buildings, they stuck with the romance of their archaeological investigations and abandoned the picturesque: the radical nature of the early Greek forms was seen to be an entirely new aesthetic. As we have seen the picturesque tradition was founded in an appreciation of Italian, not Greek, landscapes. These had been interpreted initially without reference to their mythical origins. The picturesque Hellenic ruins were similarly imported shorn of their context to form the starting point of the Greek Revival. Whilst the Picturesque had been re-connected with its origins, as we have seen at Stourhead, the references to Roman myth used were at odds with the perceived character of Stuart's antiquities: for a while the monuments themselves dominated the Greek Revival. Revett designed significant buildings within this aesthetic at Standlynch, Wiltshire (c.1766, fig 102) and Ayot St. Lawrence in Hertfordshire (1778, fig 104), but Stuart preceded him: the gardens of Shugborough were his embodiment of this view.

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JG Pedley *Paestum* p 169.

The list of subscribers in the first volume lists not only aesthetically inclined noblemen and intellectuals but architects, engineers and booksellers. Smeaton is listed, so Latrobe had easy access to at least one copy.

## Shugborough Park

The ground-breaking development of Shugborough Park owes its existence to Thomas Anson who during his lifetime bought up property around his country house in order to surround it with landscape. By the time of his death, this included most of Shugborough Village and 71,000 acres of Cannock Chase overlooking it. John Robinson describes the park's creation:

The gardens and park as developed in these years must have been largely Thomas Anson's own brain-child, though involving a series of designers for different features. First came a Rococo layout with serpentine walks and water, shrubberies and light-hearted architecture, though later the park developed into the *Locus Classicus* of early Neo-classicism and the serious Greek Revival.<sup>59</sup>

This Rococo design was by Thomas Wright and forms the bones of the park, although Anson's interest in the Greek was evident even at this stage— one of the light-hearted pieces used to structure it was Wright's Shepherd's Monument (fig 20). This shrine-like composition houses a marble relief based on Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (fig 19), which carries not only a reference to death and hence the status of memorial, but also an evocation of Arcadia. When Anson inherited enough money to continue his developments in 1762, he turned to 'Athenian' Stuart whose drawings had just been published. Stuart turned the park into a three dimensional facsimile of *The Antiquities of Athens* (figs 21 & 22), linking

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JM Robinson *Shugborough* National Trust 1989, p 20.

his work with that of Wright by adding Rustic Doric columns to the Monument.

The Greek reproductions that Stuart added were allowed to pepper the surface of the park somewhat randomly. The Arch of Hadrian for example stands proud on a hillside as an isolated sculpture (see fig 23). This relationship to the landscape appears to be a regression to the domination of the works of Man over Nature that the picturesque had argued successfully against. Anson and Stuart were both well educated men, well versed in Classical cultures; Anson's library contained, among others, JJ Winkelmann's 1764 *Lettre sur les Découvertes à Herculanéum* and a complete series of Piranesi's engravings of Rome. Therefore, both would have realised the difference between the Claudian landscapes that had structured the picturesque routes of Stourhead and the spirit of the Greek monuments that Stuart had personally documented with Revett. They would have realised that the picturesque had originated in Roman myth, and so Shugborough as completed by Stuart was neither a Rococo nor a Picturesque composition, it was one of the first attempts to create a Greek landscape for the Greek Revival. However, Stuart's memories of Greece were shaped by his primary interest in archacology— although he had included landscape views of the ruins in the *Antiquities*, in truth the documented buildings were all that he had to recreate the spirit of Greece.

His buildings are faithful transportations of the Hellenic originals, careful

and exacting in their reproduction and restoration, but one might say that they obey the letter rather than the Spirit of the law.<sup>60</sup> When Winkelmann had opened his essay *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*<sup>61</sup> with the words ‘Good taste... was born under the sky of Greece,’ it was the spirit of the work which moved him. As JM Crook puts it, ‘It is not so much what Winkelmann said that mattered. It was the way that he said it.’<sup>62</sup> The Greek Revival landscape that Anson and Stuart had concocted was not a Greek landscape.

### The Greek Landscape

The archaeological approach was symptomatic of the English Greek Revival. It set the agenda for much of the early work, and pervaded the investigation of classical monuments. The search for a rational definition of beauty had led the Neo-classical movement into the arguments over proportions, precedents, measurements and details which continue today.

In 1962, Vincent Scully followed the few previous attempts to redress this

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Latrobe was certainly aware of the tendency to do as the Greeks did rather than think as the Greeks did, refuting criticism that he reproduced Greek forms in the *Washington Federalist* 30th April 1808, ‘the grossest ignorance alone could assert that the Bank of Pennsylvania is the copy of a Greek Temple All that is said on this subject is as absurd as it is false.’ The subject, however, fascinated him and later on he admits to hoping ‘for the opportunity of erecting a correct copy of a Grecian Temple.’

1755, London. Trans. H.Fuseli 1765

JM Crook *Op.Cit.* p 28.



prejudice by investigating the relationship between the Greek temple forms and their sites— returning to study the sculptural power that had sparked off the Greek Revival in the first place. He saw the exclusion of the landscape within which these monuments were set from any discussion of their nature as ‘obdurate blindness’ which is ‘hardly less than humanistically irresponsible.’<sup>63</sup>

The fundamental nature of the Greek temples lay in the fact that they were not intended as human shelters but as houses for specific gods. They were architectural projections, within landscape, of the deity’s qualities. Since the sites were regarded as holy in themselves, well before the building of any temple, these qualities were to be found primarily in the landscape. In other words, the architecture was a secondary element with regard to the nature of the landscape as a whole. Edith Hamilton summed this up neatly:

to the Greek architect the setting of his temple was all-important. He planned it in clear outline against sea or sky, determining its size by its situation on plain or hilltop or the wide plateau of an acropolis... he conceived of it in relation to the hills and the seas and the arch of the sky... So the Greek temple, conceived as a part of its setting, was simplified, the simplest of all great buildings of the world...<sup>64</sup>

The Greek conception of landscape was Scully’s starting point: what he identified were the landscape features that the Greeks thought significant.

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Vincent Scully *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* Revised Edition 1979, p ix.

Edith Hamilton *The Greek Way* NY 1930, pp. 201–202.

Structured by an anthropomorphic religious tradition, the Greek mind saw the land as physically embodying the powers that ruled the world. From early Cretian beliefs in the earth as mother, and a reverence for the herbivorous animals which both represented her and were her creation (all of which, except the horse, bore horns),<sup>65</sup> the essential elements of an expressive landscape distilled as,

first, an enclosing valley... in which the palace is set...; second, a gently mounded or conical hill on axis with the palace to north or south; and lastly a higher, double-peaked or cleft mountain some distance beyond the hill but on the same axis.<sup>66</sup>

All the early Minoan palaces, Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia, Gournia are structured in this way, and the later Hellenic temples built upon these theoretical foundations, identifying the character of particular landscapes. For example, at Paestum, the two temples of Argive Hera are oriented eastward towards a conical hill, and beyond that a cleft peak (see figs 35 & 36). The simple, repetitive nature of the buildings both allows the eye to take them in and contain them in one place, but also carries it away into space, following the implied axis to the specific landforms of the earth mother. The axis is developed as a connection of land, temple and sea, arcing across the sky to form a fundamental measure for the colonial town.

Scully refutes criticism that the Greeks can have had no such conception of landscape, because they did not paint it, with an important

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*Scully Op.Cit.* p 10.

*Ibid.* p 11.

point. To notice the Character of a landscape as described by Homer,<sup>67</sup> the ancient Greeks must have appreciated landscape as a full-scale, three dimensional reality: as a holistic entity in their minds there could be no such thing as a 'picture' of it. Such an appreciation is wholly at odds with the archaeological garden that is Shugborough. It is closer to a refined, reduced, *Greek Picturesque*, treating the landscape as a powerful generator within which architecture can be set.

It is, in fact, the dedication to the *story of the place* that Latrobe had set out in his Essay on Landscape.

Whether Latrobe's holistic appreciation of landscape was confirmed or inspired by the sculptural siting of Paestum is of no importance; it is still a fundamental part of his aesthetics. He is personally rather modest about the role of landscape in his architectural thought, writing in his essay that his profession,

though one of the arts to which painting is nearly related, does not depend upon a *practical knowledge* in either Landscape or figures, and besides, occupies the time in which it might be acquired.<sup>68</sup>

However the tone of the Essay as a whole refutes this; he cannot have maintained separate aesthetic judgements regarding painting and architecture. What remains most significant about the Essay on Landscape is that here, as an amateur painter, he is attempting to reconcile his

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Scully cites the Homeric Hymns as the start of a Greek literature of landscape, *Ibid.* p 2.

*Essay* p 493. By 1807 he had certainly acquired the confidence to design entire landscapes, writing to Jefferson on April 29th that 'I hope to accomplish your objects as respects the arrangement of the grounds around the President's home.' and referring to a plan of these improvements, shown in figure 95. See Nichols & Griswold *Thomas Jefferson Landscape Architect* 1978, p 72.

memories of the ancient Greek landscape with his appreciation of the Picturesque ideal. As a professional architect inspired by the Greek spirit, Latrobe's attempts to re-connect a picturesque tradition originating in Arcadian myth with his memories of ancient Greek composition stand today, largely unaltered, in Sussex.

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## Mythic Landscapes

It [the Bank of Pennsylvania] was a plaything to me, and so in fact, are all my designs... My designs come of themselves unasked in multitudes, and I commonly welcome the first that comes and execute it with very little if any alterations.<sup>69</sup>

...in addition... two large and completely new houses by Latrobe still stand in England— Ashdown House and Hammerwood Lodge. Both are obviously the work of a young designer full of imagination and eager to try his wings.<sup>70</sup>

If we can believe Latrobe's hindsight of his design process, his two English houses should retain between them telling details of his imagination. Latrobe's biographer Talbot Hamlin shows that Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House are often treated as a pair exhibiting the enthusiasm Latrobe felt for Architecture. They are referred to as a single entity, with Hammerwood as the male partner of the female Ashdown, and indeed there are striking similarities of situation, atmosphere and disposition between the two. As they are situated but a few miles apart, in parallel valleys, and were built within a year of each other this can hardly be surprising. Treating these buildings as siblings warrants a comparison of their characters— in this case, this comparison can be made in the light of Latrobe's ideas of design already described:

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Latrobe recalling his designs for the Pennsylvania Bank in 1806, Carter *Op.Cit.* Vol III, p 48.

Hamlin *Op.Cit.* p 44.

how did his landscape painting influence his architecture?

Latrobe had already worked on 'country' houses of similar sizes under the tutelage of SP Cockerell; he took down a later design of Cockerell's in his Notebook (figs 89 and 98–99). Even in 1791, he would have been well prepared when,

Whilst pursuing his studies at home, he was visited by a friend, Mr Sperling, who, finding him disengaged, and admiring his growing talents, commissioned him to design and build a mansion near East Grinstead, to be called Hammerwood Lodge.<sup>71</sup>

John Sperling was a contemporary of Latrobe's. Born in Essex a year before him, he was married in 1786. Seeking to establish a country residence for himself, an ambition of many of the wealthy men of the time, he purchased a property known as The Bower in mid 1792. This house cannot have been the building named 'The Bower House' that exists today in Hammerwood Village,<sup>72</sup> but seems likely to have been Hammerwood Lodge's precursor. The Bower certainly existed in the 1560's and, some time after 1588, the owners founded an iron forge in the valley, continuing a local tradition of ironworking; The Bower would have overlooked it from Sperling's site. His naming the new building Hammerwood was a romantic gesture toward what had come before.

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*Ibid.* p 45 Quoted from Latrobe's Obituary.

In 1766 the Payne family, owners of The Bower, paid a Window Tax based on 41 lights: it was therefore an extremely large building, one which would not correspond with the size of the Tudor farmhouse that was Bower House at the time. Furthermore, a Tudor building would have been out of fashion in the 1790's for a family as wealthy as the Paynes. See Jonathan Small, "Hammerwood Pre-1792" in *Hammerwood Guidebook*, pp. 4–5 for more details of the site history. The unfashionability of the Tudor style will be encountered again at Ashdown House.

## Hammerwood Lodge

The overall disposition of Hammerwood Lodge is the classic Palladian form that had become iconic of the country house— a large central block flanked by two wings. These wings are terminated in perhaps the house's most striking features, a pair of temple porticoes detailed with four greatly distended columns supporting each plain pediment. Evidence of the previous structure is scarce, but some anomalies of Latrobe's plan may result from its incorporation. Along the west wall of the central block can clearly be seen a foundation running at an angle of one or two degrees away from it (see figure 30). When the present owners stripped the plaster from the northern end of this wall, in what is now the staircase hall, they found a rogue bricked up window within it and evidence of different construction techniques. Measurements of the west wing determined that its north and south walls are not parallel: the north wall sits at an angle consistent with it following a foundation line at right angles to that appearing beside the central block.<sup>73</sup>

please  
see figure  
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Latrobe took on the context of an existing building and adapted a few of its features in the generation of a totally new construction. As Sperling's personal statement of his status, the house, although of modest size for the time, is designed to look huge from its original approach road

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The anomaly is confirmed by the trouble the west wing roof presented to slate layers restoring it: the trapezoidal ground plan required extra slates above the portico. It is in the design of this portico that the extra width is taken up, with its western return visibly larger than its eastern, compare figures 39 and 40.

to the south and west. With the hill behind the house as a backdrop, Latrobe put all his effort into the south facade of his creation (fig 24). He used the fat columns and implied size of the temple fronts to fool the eye, inviting the observer to associate the giant order of the central block with the set back porticoes and thereby create a false perspective by which they seem further away,<sup>74</sup> just as he noted in the Essay,

One thing seems small, because we compare it to something else which is much larger another distant, because we perceive other objects which are much nearer...<sup>75</sup>

Latrobe was very fond of the southern aspect, writing to Hugh Henry Brackenridge in 1803 to,

explain a *law*, which is thereby imposed upon the Architecture of our Country: it is, to reserve the Southern aspects of every building in the erection of which the choice is free, for the inhabited apartments, and to occupy the Northern aspects by communications, as Stairs, Lobbies, Halls, Vestibules, etc.<sup>76</sup>

He follows his doctrine perfectly at Hammerwood, ranging the main rooms along his grand facade, a drawing room and ballroom in the central block and a library and dining room in the wings (the plan is shown in fig 27). Placing only two rooms within the block presented a logistic conflict with the four giant order pilasters outside, which needed to visually match the portico columns. Latrobe solved the distribution of

This works best when viewing the facade obliquely, as a visitor would have done coming up the approach road.

*Essay* p.470.

Letter to HH Brackenridge regarding Dickinson College, Pa. May 18th 1803. *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of BH Latrobe* Vol I, p 297.



an odd number of windows between two similar spaces in the same manner as his old employer— a blank window covers the central dividing wall on all three floors, just as at Gore Court, Sittingbourne which appears in his Notebook.<sup>77</sup>

Before discussing the general design of Ashdown House, it is important to note that Hammerwood was not finished in Sperling's day: its northern 'Stairs, Halls, Vestibules, etc.' have been altered.

Photographs taken in the mid 1800's show no banked gardens but landscape running right up to the house, the east wing as a single story construction and the central block and ~~east~~<sup>west</sup> wing as slightly squatter.<sup>78</sup> In fact, the three courses of stone that were added to give their current proportions are still clearly visible (see figs 41 & 42). The rear elevation was also much different (compare figs 43 & 44) and the staircase bears on one of its timbers a written confirmation that it was relocated. It seems that when the Sperlings sold the lodge to the Dorrien Magens family, they fleshed out the design into a house.<sup>79</sup>

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Compare fig 89, page 3 of the Notebook with figs 98 & 99, from Richardson *The New Vitruvius Britannicus* Vol I, Plate XI. Gore Court was built by SP Cockerell for Colonel G Harper in 1795: quite who was copying whom is a good question, if they were 'copying' at all. It is unlikely that the design was started before 1792, and so Latrobe's sketches were most probably done as the building was completed. Furthermore, Latrobe titles the drawing, Mr [Fort's ?] house, Salisbury: it is so close to Gore Court, the confusion must be Latrobe's.

These photographs exist in the possession of David Pinnegar, and Mr Sykes of Hammerwood Village. Mr Sykes's copy is a cropped version of Mr Pinnegar's, showing only the central block and the east wing. Unfortunately I cannot reproduce either here.

The Dorrien Magens family were very wealthy bankers. Magens Dorrien Magens bought the house in the late 1790's from the Sperlings who had had to return to Essex to look after John's father in 1795. Magens's brother lived at Thornhill, a house on Hammerwood's approach road. See *Hammerwood Guidebook* pp. 24–31 for histories of the many residents of the house.

The architect cited for this aggrandisement is SS Teulon, with a tentative date of 1864.<sup>80</sup> Teulon was a prolific architect, well known for the use of earth banks in his work and it could be that he is the source of the stepped and banked garden to the south and east. The stonework of the west wing, consistent throughout its two storeys (with the exception of the aforementioned topmost courses), tells us that this was the original intention for the east wing. Teulon must have recognised this as his alterations 'continued' the house according to this premise, whilst adding stonework to the rest of the building to raise the second floor ceiling height. This would have been a hugely expensive project but well within the grasp of the Dorrien Magens, who supplied silver bullion to the Royal Mint amongst their banking activities.

Significantly, the disposition of the four main spaces was unaltered<sup>81</sup> and the spirit of Latrobe's facade with its heightened perspective was allowed to remain: all these were obvious artefacts of his design and were treated sympathetically. The stripped, simple detailing of the frieze which runs across the building devoid of any decoration, and of the porticoes with their columns derived from a Paestumesque, primitive model, remains as the first indication of Latrobe's intense interpretation of the

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This attribution is by Matthew Saunders in *The Churches of SS Teulon*, London 1982, whose introduction states 'This booklet is confined to Teulon's churches, but his range was much broader... He made alterations at Latrobe's chaste Neo-classical cube, Hammerwood Lodge, Sussex in 1864.'

The dining room in the east wing may have been rotated to run North-South as opposed to the East-West orientation of the Library, but this can be only speculation.

Greek. Stuart and Revett's careful reproductions bore none of this starkness and even Thomas Harrison's monumental Chester Castle (figs 105 & 106) had not used quite such radical forms. Perhaps closest were the columns of St James Church, Great Packington (1789–90, figs 107 & 108) by Joseph Bonomi, the ex-employee of the Adam brothers.

Latrobe left a message to his contemporary and future critics to explain the thinking behind his first house. He carved it into the reverse of the capitals of the west portico, high up where it would not weather but would only be found by the intrigued observer (see fig 32). It reads,

THC. TOY IWANNON Y CPERLINGOY  
 EPA Y LEW C PROSTY LH  
 PRWTH. ARCITEKTWN LATROBE. EPOIE TON AYQB  
 ENEAY TON. IHCOY CRICTO Y KAI. TON.  
 DEY TERON TH C C'MB'  
 OL Y MPIADAC

This translates as, 'This is the first portico of John Sperling's home. The architect is Latrobe. He made it in the 1792nd year of Jesus Christ and the second year of the 642nd Olympiad.' Dated as if the Olympic games had never halted, this portico is a written expression of his attempts to recreate the Greek civilisation, it is truly the *architecture parlante* proposed by Ledoux. Whilst Shugborough had hinted at the spirit of Arcadia with its reference to Poussin at the Shepherd's Monument, the inscription had been in Latin. Latrobe's use of ancient Greek heralded the true Greek Revival, and it would certainly have attracted the eye of two cousins, John Trayton Fuller and 'Mad Jack' Fuller.

## Ashdown House

The Fuller family came from Brightling, where they owned a large estate, Rosehill. John Trayton Fuller had been married to the daughter of Lord Heathfield in 1776 and, in a similar fashion to John Sperling, was looking to build a new residence. Fuller had acquired the mortgage to the estate that was to be Ashdown in 1791, with it becoming rightfully his in 1793: he cannot feasibly have started building before this date.<sup>82</sup> Ashdown sits just to the south of Hammerwood and, as Sperling was already ordering linen for his new home in November 1792,<sup>83</sup> it could be that Fuller visited the site and was impressed by the design. However it seems more likely that it was Fuller's cousin, 'Mad Jack', who recognised Latrobe's talent.<sup>84</sup> Mad Jack, who lived at Heathfield Park at Rosehill, had earned his epithet through his predilection for extravagant follies: Heathfield's grounds received all manner of buildings in much the same spirit as Shugborough. He was a man of taste, familiar with the aesthetic grounding of the Greek Revival. The opportunity to raise his cousin's standing as an artistic patron by employing a young architect with a radical grasp of Greek architecture would have been too good to miss.<sup>85</sup>

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An Act of Parliament passed in 1793 had allowed Fuller to pass on the estate to his heirs.

Jonathan Small *Op.Cit.* p 5.

Thomas Delmar, a history of art student at UEA, is currently researching the Fullers and Ashdown House in depth and has come to this conclusion.

In 1858, the Fullers' Library contained, amongst others, Roland's *Histories*, the *Antiquities of Athens*. Evelyn's *Architecture*, Aristotle, Plutarch, Vitruvius, Euclid and Palladio. The family were clearly well

Like Hammerwood, Fuller's site contained structures that pre-dated Latrobe's involvement. In this case Latrobe was asked to extend a late sixteenth century Tudor farmhouse, something that would have grated at least Jack Fuller's aesthetics, and Latrobe fulfilled this request by adding a solid Neo-classical cube to its south front (figs 55 & 67-69). This block is highly reminiscent of Hammerwood's, and there is some speculation that wings were intended for it.<sup>86</sup> However, perhaps under the influence of Jack Fuller, Ashdown was not completed as a Palladian form, remaining as one without Roman associations.

Latrobe divided the south facade of his block into three, with the main spaces of the house to either side of an entrance and stair hall. The central element is again triple divided, on the first floor by four plain pilasters which set off the central window, and below by the four freestanding ionic columns of the ten that form a circular domed portico half embedded in the house. A faint drawing that may well be a sketch of this layout by Latrobe can be found in his Notebook (fig 92).<sup>87</sup> This portico has since been glazed to create a convex entrance, but it was originally open, creating an entrance set back into the block.<sup>88</sup> Behind this entrance is the stair hall (fig 62), from which lead the two ground floor rooms, the connection through to the

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versed in Classicism at this point.

Again, the conclusions of Thomas Delmar after studying the junction between Latrobe's work and the Tudor elements.

This was noted by Michael Fazio on the photocopies of the Notebook.

The original state is hinted at by the drainage channels running across the portico's interior, see figure 61.

original building and the stair up to a pedimented entrance to the first floor of the Tudor wing. The stair then turns back to a crescent shaped landing (fig 65).

The internal layout of Ashdown has undergone little of the change that Hammerwood encountered, and its elements can all be seen as Latrobe's design with only a few reservations about the staircase. The first flight of this stair currently runs along the east wall of the hall, across one door of the present library, forcing one to duck underneath it in order to use this entrance (fig 63). This is hardly convenient, and could not have been the arrangement seen by the previously quoted visitor of 1805 who continued his description,

I can, indeed, see nothing in Mr Fuller's house which is not right; the arrangement is judicious and perfectly convenient; no room is lost; everything is where it should be; and the staircase and landing above is a picture worthy of Malton's pencil.<sup>89</sup>

The stair was clearly different at this time, although there is no record of when or why it was altered. A clue as to its original configuration lies in the inserted rectangle of stone in the centre of the hall (see fig 64). That this could be the footprint of the original lower flight is supported by a drawing of Latrobe's that he made in 1799— 'A view in perspective of Mr Pennock's Hall & Staircase' (fig 70). The visual impact of a central, cantilevered flight leading up and back to the delicately detailed landing would easily explain the attention the stair hall received.

The spaciality of the hall would have also been significantly different.

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See note 1.

Upon entry through the portico, the visitor would be presented with the doorways to the two main rooms on either side and a route upwards toward the light of the north window. The strength of this upward route could well have been a reason why the stair was altered, in an attempt to confer more privacy on the upper floor, but it seems fundamental to Latrobe's design. Climbing the stair, visitors are turned back on themselves to a 'Piano Nobile' from which vantage point they are re-presented with the countryside through which they have come (figs 62, 66 & 54): the building is an elaborate platform from which to view the landscape.

#### The Southern Landscapes

Just as at Hammerwood, the main spaces of Ashdown all look towards a southern landscape, but neither of Latrobe's designs face directly south. The central axis at Hammerwood lies just to the west, whilst Ashdown faces slightly to the east. At less than two miles apart, the buildings are obviously aligned neither to each other nor to any cardinal point. They are aligned to their landscapes.

Latrobe's siting of Ashdown house on a rise overlooking the valley below was such that the house lines up directly with a large smoothly sculpted hill. Figure 54 shows the view south from the portico and figure 53 plots this sight line on the map. This alignment is a direct quote from the landscape of Paestum. He has taken all the visual power from the geometric axes that he argued against and subjugated it to the surrounding

which Latrobe later described in the Essay. However, unlike the circuit of views that Kent designed, the series of pictures they generate are all centred on the house itself: the view is always northwards towards Latrobe's grand facade until the visitor reaches it. Then the massed south-facing rooms direct the attention to a vista over the entire section of the valley. The blind central windows reveal their artifice in reflecting the landscape and prompt the visitor to turn around (fig 48). The eye is again drawn away to the hill on the horizon as the summation of arrival.

The presence of picturesque elements, added to Hammerwood's landscape, that increase its subtle complexity in comparison to the stark straightforwardness of Ashdown can be attributed to a number of factors: Hammerwood was the earlier commission, and an experimental ground for Latrobe's ideas, and we know he personally favoured this particular landscape treatment. Also, it is probable that Jack Fuller would have rejected any thought of picturesque additions to Ashdown in favour of exploiting its Hellenic qualities, but most convincingly, the difference in treatment can be attributed to Latrobe's ideas of Contrast.

Hammerwood's bold, fat columns and its sense of huge, weighty form are used to elucidate the subtle and gentle nature of the landscape, whilst Ashdown's more delicate and refined nature, employing the fine decoration of the Erechtheion Ionic order, is placed in contrast with a simple, almost Platonic setting. Both landscapes use the same Contrast that Latrobe discussed with his sketch of a lighthouse:

The effect of this view depends upon the Contrast of danger and the



landscape, confronting the viewer with the fundamental power of Nature. Ashdown is set within a landscape re-connected with Greek myth. Hammerwood's siting is more subtle. It too is placed to take in a view of the valley from its edge, sat upon a partially artificial levee.<sup>90</sup> Tucked between two wooded ridges, such that it is invisible from the ends of the valley, the house's view (fig 49) is channelled across the axis of the valley in a vista which extended over the lake and ironworker's cottage and between two more ridges toward Pock Hill.<sup>91</sup> The view is not as obvious as that at Ashdown, for the distant hills are obscured by banks of trees, planted on intervening ridges to elicit a sense of distance,<sup>92</sup> but the topography of the ridges can be clearly understood from the computer model of the valley shown in figures 51 and 52. The axis is again shown on figure 53, along with the original southern approach route.

The banks of trees through which this approach weaved its way and the lake with its embellishing cottage are both elements of the Picturesque

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The existence of a cellar under only the eastern most part of the house, connected to the servants wing by a long corridor, suggests that the land was built up on this side to form an outcrop and the cellars created opportunely: it would be easier to bury them at a distance from the service wing than dig them closer by. The sudden steepness of the hill behind the house suggests that the earth needed for this landscaping came from the area immediately beside the present building.

Pock Hill is the highest point in the area, is well known for being named after the local fairies, deriving from Puck. Its companion Pixton Hill has similar associations. See Roger Penn *Portrait of Ashdown Forest* London 1984 p 34.

This was a favourite picturesque device of Repton (see fig 50), and there is some evidence held by David Pinnegar to suggest that Latrobe was on friendly terms with Repton's son and could have been involved in the landscaping of Hammerwood. On 24th October 1792, Latrobe's brother Christian Ignatius visited the site and was told of Sperling's plan for improvements. Certainly trees felled by the 1793 gales dated to 1793–1796. Latrobe was also interested in trees, writing, 'For my own part, I have a particular attachment to trees. Considering them as beings endowed with sensation—in which opinion I am not at all singular or original—I feel pleasure in preserving as many as possible from pain, mutilation, and death.' *Essay*, p 500.

roughness of the cliff, with the safety and regularity of the building.<sup>93</sup>

Whilst Ashdown can be seen as the more explicitly Greek in its conception, both landscapes carry the holistic treatment we would expect from Latrobe. They are not the harmonious, leafy views of Stourhead, nor are they like the building-spattered landscape that Shugborough became. They are two examples of landscape designed for the Greek Revival, re-connected with its origins in Greek antiquity, and a true evocation of the Arcadian myth— ‘conceived in relation to the hills and the sea and the arch of the sky.’<sup>94</sup>

The sites of Ashdown House and Hammerwood Lodge show that Latrobe’s theory of landscape had been governing his design in the years before he crystalised it in the form of the Essay. According to his own principles, he would have attempted to *tell the Story* of these landscapes in his designs. To find these stories, we must examine the designs in detail.

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*Essay* p 471.

Edith Hamilton *Op.Cit.*

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## Hellenic Details

There was a dutch painter, for instance —I forget his name— who knew how to paint soap bladders inimitably, and could represent the reflected images of the windows, and their various colors, so as to deceive a skilfull eye. The Dutch painters are celebrated for this talent of detail. Another, is famous for the natural appearance of the Warts and pimples upon the noses of his drunken peasants, and a third is not to be rivalled in broken tobacco pipes, straw, cards, and crumbs of bread and cheese.<sup>95</sup>

I have seen some Ladies —who had more of the knowledge of the *truth* of Nature, than of the power of Art— try to represent Oaks, by an arrangement of correctly shaped Oak leaves. The Truth of the picture in detail, destroyed its resemblance in general effect. A Mass of rude blots heaped together apparently by chance would have succeeded better.<sup>96</sup>

Whilst Latrobe appreciated the power of a correct detail, he knew better than to over-detail. His advice on drawing trees as abstracted elements upon which the painting's detail may sit was derived not from a disrespect for trees, but an understanding of self-restraint highly reminiscent of his sparse, stripped approach to architecture. At both Hammerwood and Ashdown he rejected the flurry of curves, rebates and string courses that had begun to characterise the Neo-classical facade and spaced his few, specific Greek elements out on a broad sandstone canvas.

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*Essay*, p 498.

*Essay*, p 510..

Rather than discuss the Story of each building separately, it makes sense to focus on the particular elements he used in the composition of both siblings, starting with the canvas.

Both buildings are constructed from ashlar sandstone, with a crisp limestone used for simple details such as the columns and pilasters. High detail elements are invariably Coade Stone castings (all three stones are shown together in the cover illustration). In his choice of materials, Latrobe set up a simple hierarchy; each is used according to its nature to tell an increasingly complex story.

## A Hierarchy of Materials

### I **Sandstone**

When East Grinstead Church's tower collapsed in 1786 it was immediately the scene of a major building project: peripatetic masons would have been used to carry this out, bringing their particular stone handling techniques with them. They must have remained in the area, for the Church, Hammerwood Lodge, Ashdown House, Kidbrook Park and Saint Hill Manor (fig 96), among others, are not only all built from ashlar sandstone, but exhibit identical texturing of the blocks. This surface pattern of long incisions bordered by marks perpendicular to each edge is a recurrent feature of contemporary buildings in the area— compare, for

example, details taken recently of Hammerwood and Ashdown (fig 29 and the cover).

The stone's working was obviously out of Latrobe's hands, and he treated it merely as a backdrop for more complex ideas. The source of the stone was not. In 1803 he wrote to a client regarding the source of building materials,

In respect to material, I would, certainly, recommend that you should build your external walls of the limestone of your valley, rather than of brick.<sup>97</sup>

Latrobe had been advocating in his Essay that a painting should be constructed as the material embodiment of its Place. Here he is suggesting that a building should be constructed from the material of its Place.

The East Grinstead area has no limestone, but a deep hollow to the northwest of Hammerwood points to an abundant local source for its sandstone. Ashdown's sandstone may well have come from the Fuller family's own quarries,<sup>98</sup> which they used for all the other family buildings, but the basic premise remains the same. At the most basic level, Latrobe's buildings are reacting to the nature of the area. They are in Keeping with it.

The sandstone used in both cases has the characteristic, slightly crumbly, texture that glows with a mid-tone yellow on sunny days, whilst

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Letter to HH Brackenridge regarding Dickinson College, Pa. May 18th 1803. *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of BH Latrobe* Vol I, p 297. The discussion of materials immediately follows the earlier quoted recommendation of the southern aspect.

This was suggested to me by Thomas Delmar who has studied the bills sent to Fuller for the stone, which are extremely cheap. Although the quarry was not mentioned, Brightling is only 20 miles away from Ashdown, and it could be that the bill was only for the transportation costs.

becoming a dark green black when wet (cf figs 39 & 40). Both extremes would set off the original white of the limestone elements Latrobe arranged on its surface.

## II **Limestone**

Limestone was a particular obsession of Latrobe's, as is hinted by its whole-hearted recommendation as a construction material above. He made copious notes as to its assay in his Notebook (reproduced here in appendix A) and followed this with tables of the properties of each of Britain's limestones, determined by these tests, and of a multitude of lime mortar mixes. The mixes are ascribed appropriate uses and individually costed.

According to the heading he wrote above all this information, he learnt about limestone at Smeaton's office. Latrobe specifically noted the proportion of clay in each limestone to assess its validity for 'Aquatic Building,'<sup>99</sup> or in his experience, the construction of canals, with which he was involved both in England and America. This engineer's respect for limestone comes through in his use of it for the columns and pilasters on both buildings.

As mentioned above, the whiteness of this stone would have contrasted excellently with the sandstone canvas. From the approach road at Hammerwood, the limestone vertical elements are picked out; details

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*Notebook*, p 17.

amongst the *Baumschlag*, the indistinct foliage that Latrobe recommended.<sup>100</sup> The visual correlation between pilasters and distant columns used by Latrobe to increase the apparent size and depth of the house depends on this material distinction. Ashdown's columns play a different game of Contrast, poising a delicate ring of columns between two simple solids, the cube of the house and the mounded hill. Wrought from a more precise refined material, the limestone columns are allowed a greater part in the identity and symbolism of each house. Additionally, Hammerwood's powerful, 'gouty,' forms act as an introductory message, setting the starting point for interpretation firmly in the Greek.<sup>101</sup>

### III Coade Stone

Latrobe's third material can be placed at the top of the hierarchy. Eleanor Coade's product was the perfect invention for the Neo-classical age; a stoneware ceramic capable of being moulded precisely. Furthermore, Mrs Coade's particular formula shrank by a predictable and very small amount when dried and fired, enabling her factory to turn out replica details to match ancient precedents. The technological

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*Essay*, p 510. 'The *manner* therefore of expressing the foliage of trees without detailing the leaves, is the most important acquisition, at which you are to aim. The Germans give to this *knack* a particular name, which well represents, by the difficulty of pronouncing the Word, that of acquiring the art it expresses. It is *Baumschlag*.'

The reaction of the established Palladian architect to the Greek Neo-Doric forms arrived in a diatribe led by Sir William Chambers, who in the 1791 third edition of his *Treatise on Civil Architecture* called the characteristic columns 'gouty'. Similarly, JM Crook *Op.Cit.* p 86 quotes James Elmes as in 1823 remembering how many architects had hated 'the newfangled Doric without a base as much as they did a shirt without ruffles... [they] lamented the shocking innovations of Wyatt and Soane, the more dreadful importations of Stuart, and were nearly going into a fever when the portico at Covent Garden Theatre was opened.'



sophistication of her methods,<sup>102</sup> combined with the tight secrecy kept over the formula, have lent Coade Stone a fabulous quality over and above the respect it earned in its day. Today it is often treated as rare and mysterious, if it is recognised at all: its similarity to stone is such that, apart from its characteristic pinkish colour, it usually goes unrecorded.

In Latrobe's time, the Coade catalogue served as one of the easiest ways to obtain exact classical (and gothic) details, perfect for the archaeologically obsessed architect. Latrobe no doubt saw in Coade Stone an accurate source for the specific elements that appear at his Sussex buildings. Its skilfully advanced production and precise, clean character placed it technically and conceptually above sand and lime stones for the expression of detail. Furthermore, it was cheaper than instructing the local masons to carve from Stuart and Revett's diagrams. Hammerwood's columns (fig 31) are topped by the 6BC capitals of the Temple of Hera I at Paestum, whilst the bases and capitals of Ashdown's portico (figs 57–59) are taken from the Erechtheion.

That Latrobe's agenda was the Greek is obvious. His suppression of decoration throughout his facades shows that his particular aesthetic did not lie in the archaeological, but equally this was not pattern-book design. The capitals for both projects were special orders from the factory:

Among the Coade etchings, Capital 172 is of special interest. Apart

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See Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone*, Self published, 1990, Chapter 4 (pp. 55–63) for a complete description of the manufacture of Coade Stone and comments on the advanced nature of the Coade kilns and firing techniques.

from the band of decoration on the necking, it reproduces the capital from the North portico of the Erechtheion. At Ashdown House... these same capitals appear, but with the necking corrected to follow the Erechtheion design exactly.<sup>103</sup>

In fact, the only drawings that remain of either building are three pages of the Notebook which detail these Erechtheion capitals exactly as Stuart and Revett had drawn them (compare figs 78–85). Presumably these were made for Mrs Coade's, and John Trayton Fuller's, instruction.

Hammerwood's capitals are the only known examples of Coade's Paestum copies. They were first catalogued after the construction of the house, and thus they too would have been to Latrobe's order; their detail was most probably copied from Thomas Major's drawings (fig 37), as the third volume of *Antiquities* was published too late to be used.<sup>104</sup> Such special orders show that Latrobe knew exactly which mouldings he wished to use on his buildings, correcting them to follow the ancient original where necessary.

If Latrobe's careful specification of the capitals he required starts to elucidate his design thinking, the dimensions of the Hammerwood porticoes add a further clue: throughout they are in exact numbers of feet.

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*Ibid.* p 151. The numbering of capitals comes from Coade's catalogues; Ashdown House and Hammerwood Lodge are both listed in the 1799 handbook of Coade's Gallery, held in the British Library, see p 18. In fact the majority of Coade's work was to special order, the catalogue listed little speculative material in favour of promoting the designs for which the moulds were already available. In the United States, Latrobe continued to place special orders-- a letter dated 9th July 1806 about the Chestnut Street Theatre speaks of an 'Arms of the State of Pennsylvania' which is 'a very handsome and appropriate decoration.' *Ibid.* p 286.

Thomas Major published a survey of Paestum in 1768. Stuart and Revett dealt with the temples in Volume III of their work, published 1794. The plates themselves are dated 1792 and so might have been available.

The columns are two feet across at the base, nine feet high and at five, six and five foot centres (see fig 28). The relationships between each of the portico's elements are carefully deployed, but bear no resemblance to any proportional 'system' of architecture— they speak of self-conscious design.

Latrobe later wrote that he felt the inter-proportions of classical architecture were arbitrary.<sup>105</sup> This was an increasingly popular view since Perrault had carefully distinguished the intrinsic beauty of the classical orders —their disposition, materials and craftsmanship— from their associative beauty of form in the late seventeenth century. As special orders to be incorporated into a design governed by his own sense of pictorial composition, the Coade Stone mouldings are used by Latrobe not simply to recreate a Greek Order, but to tell a specific story by reference to their classical antiquity. He not only wished to elicit an atmosphere of the Greek through detail and massing, but a history as well.

The sculpture that he removed from the facades is reproduced internally at both houses— Hammerwood's southwestern drawing room is bordered with oversize guttae reminiscent of huge Lego blocks and the same southwestern space at Ashdown is bordered by an Erechtheion frieze (see figs 47 & 77). Playing down the decoration in this way, moving it off the facade for later, internal appreciation, Latrobe frees his Greek quotes to

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See p 531 and note 1 of *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of BH Latrobe Vol I.*

start working in a more knowing fashion.

## Landscape Stories

Certainly the Coade details that Latrobe ordered adhere closely to his commitment to Truth outlined in the Essay. The capitals at Hammerwood are beautiful copies of the Paestum originals that had proved so formative in his life<sup>106</sup>— see figures 33 and 34. However, looking carefully at the entire Coade moulding presents a question: why did Latrobe order a few inches of the fluted column, below the capital itself, to be included with his capitals if he was going to use them on top of plain drums of limestone?

Talbot Hamlin concluded that the order was in fact the Delian order,<sup>107</sup> which had been used previously by Start on the Shepherd's Monument and by Revett at New St. Lawrence Church (fig 20 & 104). These columns were well known for having only bands of fluting, and, were often employed to produce an 'archaic' effect, especially in

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His second European trip confirmed in his mind the move into architecture he had been contemplating. When he returned from Paestum he went almost directly to work for SP Cockerell.

The question over the precedent of Hammerwood's Order is outlined by CD Lewis *Greek Revival Style* Unpublished thesis in Library of Department of Architecture and History of Art, Cambridge University. P 27, and notes 102 & 103. He visited the building in 1962 and decided that the columns were definitely Paestum based and that Hamlin was confused through not having visited in person.

buildings which were set in natural surroundings.<sup>108</sup>

However, Latrobe used another Coade Stone element in his composition which lends a different explanation. Over the small doorway in each portico is one of two plaques that Mrs Coade had derived from the Borghese Vase:

the [vase] shows Bacchanalian revellers and Apollo... the revellers on the Borghese Vase could be divided into two groups, each of which made a plaque.<sup>109</sup>

These plaques (figs 45 & 46) depicting Apollo are placed by Latrobe behind columns reminiscent of Paestum and the Delian order, which in turn came from Revett's survey of the Temple to Apollo on Delos (fig 103). He is deliberately drawing our attention to the spirit of Apollo. Here is his re-connection of Hammerwood's design with Greek myth.

## Apollo

Apollo was the brother of Athena, offspring of the two great gods Zeus and Hera. As such an important, and wide-ranging, deity, Apollo has come to symbolise many concepts.<sup>110</sup> In one interpretation, he is one half of the Greek Sun. Whilst his companion, Helios, represented the real Sun, the Sun was not,

worshipped only as the real luminary which brings forth the fruits of

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Simoncini "Forms of the Neo-Doric", *Paestum and the Doric Revival* Florence 1986, p 101.

Kelly *Op.Cit.* p 200. These plaques are now quite rare, Kelly reports seeing the only other pair she knew of being smashed by builders demolishing White Cottages, Ascot.

DE Gershenson *Apollo the Wolf God* 1991 p 4, notes that 'Apollo was a thoroughly Indo-European god, the majority of whose cult-forms are directly associated with Indo-European traditions.' Apollo is to be found behind many European myths in addition to those of the Greeks.

the earth. One general tendency of mythical symbolism is to transpose outer or vegetative productivity onto a psychic and ethical level. In this way the fruits of the earth become the symbol of 'the fruits' of the soul... The Sun itself becomes a symbol of the productivity of the soul and of harmonisation of desires.<sup>111</sup>

Hence the anthropomorphic concept of Apollo as Sun over time became re-evaluated as the symbol of Apollo as artistic endeavour.

Another facet of his character comes from his name itself: respect for Apollo was such that this name was merely an epithet, an adjective, deriving from 'strength' or 'power,' used in place of his real name. Calling a god by such a euphemism was a kind of insurance against blasphemy, a concept present in our own Christian culture. Strength and Power were the positive aspects of Apollo, used to please him, which came from his association with the wolf and the hunt.<sup>112</sup> The Apollonine hunt was not the bloody, violent occasion that Artemis embodied; on the Parthenon frieze, Artemis and Apollo are shown facing away from each other as opposite poles of the hunt. Apollo was rather the more Arcadian ideal of the placid martial spirit, the calm, thoughtful Greek warrior.<sup>113</sup>

Both these characteristics are symbolised in the Borghese plaques (figs 45 & 46) quite clearly. The god, being anointed as confirmation of his

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*Diel Symbolism in Greek Mythology: human desire and its transformations* London 1980, p 52.

Gershenson *Op.Cit.* p 127.

The romantic Greek view of its warrior spirit surfaces in contemporary concepts of the nobility of war. Nietzsche's superman was based directly on this understanding. Latrobe's military interest that alienated him from the Moravians could well have been founded on a similar fascination with the Greek warrior.

status, is shown wrapped in an animal skin playing a pipe with two women accompanying on a harp and tambourine. Other revellers dance to the music, and one last bacchanal is being supported after indulging too greatly. Apollo is shown after the hunt, wrapped in its spoils, in his capacity as musician.

Hammerwood is identified by Latrobe with the spirit of Apollo through his use of Coade Stone. Ashdown too sports Coade mouldings in addition to those already described. A dome over the circular entrance is constructed entirely from Coade Stone, and there are further Erechtheion details within the stair hall. On the crescent landing above are examples of Coade's Capital No. 181,<sup>114</sup> described by her to be a 'Fancy Capital,' but clearly derived from Stuart and Revett's delineation of the Tower of the Winds in their first volume of *Antiquities* (compare figs 71 & 72).

### The Tower of the Winds

This building in Athens, also called the Octagon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhertes, was one of the Greek Revival's most exciting discoveries. It had been mentioned in chapter six of Vitruvius's first book, and by later visitors such as George Wheler in 1682:<sup>115</sup> it had a documented history right back to the ancients. The first British drawings were made in 1749

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Kelly *Op.Cit.* pp. 155–156.

George Wheler *Journey into Greece*, see JM Crook *Op.Cit* p 4.

by Richard Dalton on a Dilettanti sponsored tour, but it was Stuart and Revett's later tour that actually excavated it, publishing their drawings in 1762 (see figs 72–76).<sup>116</sup>

When Stuart and Revett found the Tower, it was buried in sixteen feet of earth except for one entrance where only ten or twelve feet were hidden. The part that was visible, Stuart describes as being aligned exactly to the compass points that would have existed in Athens at the time: he notes that it required this alignment to fulfil its uses as a wind vane and sundial.<sup>117</sup> Excavation discovered a three quarter circle tubular tower on the south side and a marble floor,

inwrought with certain cavities and channels, which are accurately expressed in the Plan and Section. Plate II, and Plate IV of this chapter.<sup>118</sup>

The channels were determined by them to be part of a *Clepsydra*, or water dial, fed from the supply tower to the south. Stuart concluded that this building was a scientific instrument, incorporating accurate timekeeping and weather study.<sup>119</sup>

When these notes and drawings reached an England where, as we have seen, the scientific investigation of Nature was at a forefront, the building swiftly became an icon of Greek thought. Stuart built one at Shugborough in 1704 (fig 109) and, more significantly, James Wyatt used its form and

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JM Crook *Op.Cit* p 15.

Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* Volume I, 1762, p 14.

*Ibid.* Plates II & IV are reproduced here as figures 75 and 76.

*Ibid.* pp. 16–17.



details as the basis of the Radcliffe Camera in Oxford (1773–94, fig 110), building a contemporary observatory out of the ancient precedent.

At Ashdown, Latrobe used six columns and six pilasters derived from the Tower with no hint of an octagonal form. Whilst he would have seen the Dilettanti drawings at Smeaton's office,<sup>120</sup> he may well have been prompted to its use by Jack Fuller, who numbered a lone 'Tower of the Winds' column amongst the assorted architecture of his Heathfield garden.<sup>121</sup> Latrobe's use of the order associates symbolically with that of the Erechtheion.

### The Erechtheion

The temples of the Acropolis were documented in volume II of the *Antiquities*, with the second chapter dedicated to the temple of Erechtheus (figs 79–82). It attracted attention not only from the obvious cultural importance of its siting, but from the refinement of its orders. A visiting Cambridge graduate in 1794 described it thus,

I never saw the Ionic order more beautiful, and begin really to think the ancient Grecians were inspired by some genius of elegance and taste that has since given over business, for we do not make any more of these kinds of miracles now.<sup>122</sup>

More importantly to Latrobe's use, Stuart's accompanying notes described the Erechtheion as a double temple, founded on the site of the

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As mentioned in note 58, Smeaton was a subscriber to the *Antiquities* listed in its first volume.

This was pointed out to me by Thomas Delmar.

Morrit of Robely, quoted in JM Crook *Op.Cit.* p 33.

struggle of Neptune with Minerva for patronage of the city, and celebrating both deities.<sup>123</sup> More recently Vincent Scully described it in greater conceptual detail, writing that,

The Erechtheion, as a complex and elaborately scaled set of interlocking parts, is the only Greek temple which may be said to have been designed wholly in terms of existing conditions and wholly in response to other forms, those both of landscape and of other buildings... the courageous decision taken by its architects to unite several separate shrines in a single monumental temple of such unprecedented asymmetry must have been justified by them in part because the result would serve the Parthenon so well. In this way the old earth cults were made to enhance the citizen's Athena.<sup>124</sup>

Latrobe is at once referring to the origins of Ashdown as an amalgam of two buildings, and to the chthonic qualities of Minerva, one of the original anthropomorphic deities of the earth. His careful copies of the details of the Portico of Minerva Polias in the Notebook are used not only as contrasting delicate elements against the solidity of the landscape, but also to note the Harmony between two chthonic entities, the hill and Minerva. The visual immediacy of the Erechtheion order is confined to the interior, where the stair hall is decorated with all the sculptural delight that it engendered (figs 78 & 79).

In the light of this, the ascent from landscape to piano nobile to view described earlier becomes enriched by a description of contemporary philosophy. The visitor moves from base Nature through a hall

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Stuart and Revett *Op.Cit.* volume II, chapter II, p 16.

Scully *Op.Cit.* p 182.

resplendent with artistic inspiration and up toward the light, toward the Enlightenment symbolised by the scientific endeavour associated with the Tower of the Winds. The investigations of science are then subjugated by the controlling forces of Nature on reaching the window. At the same time, Latrobe is placing a Corinthian form of capital above the Ionic in accordance with the general theory of architecture founded in Vitruvius.

The Apollonine dedication of Hammerwood is reflected in its planning in a similar fashion. The Palladian form adopted by Latrobe resulted in a naturally polarised plan. He made use of this differential to make the symbolic layout of the house complete, placing the plaque depicting Apollo on the west portico, over the door to the library, whilst the rest of the revellers herald the entrance to the dining room. The more cerebral wing of the house is allowed the closest connection with the noble spirit: the figure anointed with wine on one wing is contrasted with the figure suffering from its consumption on the other.

Hammerwood's original plan had one major anomaly that, one suspects, Teulon solved in his remodelling: it had no entrance, by which I mean it certainly had doors, but there was no *front* door. The most obvious doors, in the porticoes, turn out to be tiny things three feet wide, and the central block's entertaining rooms are entered, via a few steps, through their windows (fig 38). When Teulon became involved the approach route had moved to arrive behind the house and here a large

entrance portico was created,<sup>125</sup> but before this, all the main rooms of the house had been entered directly from the southern landscape. The reason for this again lies in the Coade Stone details of the west portico.

The Borghese plaques depict Apollo and other revellers dressed in animal skins as an evocation of the divine hunt. A careful translation of Latrobe's hidden inscription reveals that, describing his design, he used not the words for house, *'oikoV* or *domoV*, but *EPA\|D\|BA1()Y\|D\|BA1()LEWC* which is derived from the word for cattle-fold. Latrobe's deliberate use of this descriptive, in combination with the plaques, is thoroughly consistent with Hammerwood's intended use as a Hunting Lodge. The main space of the house is not the library, or the drawing room, or the dining room but the hunting room, the landscape laid out around the house and aligned to it. Just as Latrobe's hellenic details sit upon the canvas of site-supplied sandstone as a summation of the house's character, so the house sits as the architectonic description of its landscape.

John Trayton Fuller's home sits more explicitly as an art object, a deliberate display of not only Greek Revival forms but Greek Revival philosophy. It fulfils its brief to raise the aesthetic status of its owner by elucidating the relationship between Man and Nature in its site and its

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Quite when the portico first appeared is unknown, for it was certainly at one time half the present size (see figs 43 & 44). The present portico comes complete, unfortunately, with a Latin inscription *Pax Intransibus, Exeuntibus Pax*.

symbolism.

Both are fascinatingly complex descriptions of the attitude to landscape and architecture which lies between the lines of the architect's *Essay on Landscape*.

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## Conclusion

Countless drawings by Inigo Jones, Wren, Burlington, Colen Campbell, Chambers or Adam reveal only elevations or, if perspectives, the suppression of everything but the building itself.<sup>126</sup>

Paul Vonberg's reaction to visiting the RIBA drawings collection is instructive of the chasm that lay between the eighteenth century obsessions of the Picturesque and Neo-classical architecture.

Latrobe's holistic appreciation of landscape and respect for the Story of the place which he explained so carefully in the *Essay on Landscape* therefore marks him out from his contemporaries. The designs for Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House clearly show that his design sensibility sprang in each case from the landscape context. The length of the section he drew through the Capitol is a good example of this, and demonstrates that he was able to translate his thinking to an urban context.

His sensitivity to the Greek landscape he encountered at Paestum, over and above the primitive forms that inspired his colleagues, allowed him to structure the landscapes of Hammerwood and Ashdown with reference to the Greek rather than the Roman myths, which had run so successfully through the gardens of Stourhead. Designing his buildings in dialogue

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Vonberg "Between Earth and Sky We Build: a discussion of the relationship between buildings and the land" Unpublished Dissertation, Dept of Architecture, Cambridge, 1987, p 13.

with the landscape rather than in domination of it, he is able to exploit the similarities of his Enlightenment philosophy with the ancient Greeks, to re-connect the archaeologically obsessed English Greek Revival with its sources in the Arcadian myth. These designs are extremely early examples of the understanding that Soane explained to his students in 1809,

We must be intimately acquainted with not only what the Ancients *have* done, but endeavour to learn from their Works what they *would* have done. We shall thereby become Artists not mere Copyists.<sup>127</sup>

Latrobe's aesthetic was not therefore the essentially pictorial approach that was the early English Greek Revival, but was closer to the French intellectual interpretation. His education and travel in Europe opened him to a symbolic use of the Greek spirit.

Soane wished to invent with inspiration from the ancients, and his daring use of light and space were stunning even when constrained by an 'order' (fig 111). Latrobe was not so adverse to copying— whilst the overall designs of Hammerwood and Ashdown are freely made within the Greek spirit, the details he used are deliberate and exact copies of Greek precedents. Using these ancient details as a language he is able not only to evoke the atmosphere of Greece but to structure his buildings with a symbolic representation of their landscape, their design and their use.

When Latrobe arrived in America he found in the emblematic values of

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Quoted from the first of Soane's 'lectures on architecture' given at the RA 1809–36, Bolton (Ed.) *Sir John Soane—RA Lectures*, 1929, p 16.

the new nation a perfect partner for his commitment to Greece and to symbolic architecture.

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## Mythic Biblio

### Appendix A

Benjamin Latrobe's Notebook is held among the Latrobe papers in the Library of Congress, and I must thank Michael Fazio of Mississippi State University for copies of this work. It reads from both ends, both indexed, and thus is made up of two entities. The first has seven numbered pages and contains sketches of buildings. There is a faint pencil sketch after page 7 (fig 92) which Fazio notes as possibly being of Ashdown House. The index is as follows:

Page 1	Plan of houses to be built at Tunbridge Wells	(fig 87)
Page 2	Elevation of above	(fig 88)
Page 3	Plan of Mr [Fort's ?] house, Salisbury <sup>128</sup>	(fig 89)
Page 4	Mem. about bricks	
Page 5	Plan of a cottage for America by Mr Noble (fig 90)	
Page 6	Plan of a Country house for Mr B.	(fig 91)
Page 7	Sketches for [Baths ?] <sup>129</sup>	

The second entry has twenty four numbered pages and starts with details of the Erechtheion Capitals used at Ashdown House, reproduced as figures 83, 84 and 85. Page 8 shows a doric temple (fig 86). From page 10 onwards, Latrobe has taken notes on architectural matters: page 10 covers the anchoring of the Eddystone Lighthouse, pages 11–13 deal with flat roofs and pages 14–24 investigate the assay of limestone and the mixing of lime mortars. The first and last of these topics are noted as 'Extracts from Smeaton.' The text is reproduced below.

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<sup>128</sup> In fact, his drawing appears to be Gore Court, built by SP Cockerell for Colonel G Harper in 1795 in Sittingbourne, Kent (figs 98 & 99).

<sup>129</sup> This page was not among the photocopies lent to me.

(Mr Smeaton) p. 21

Mr [Pudgers?] method of fixed his iron bolts into the Eddystone Rock<sup>130</sup>

The hole being each finished & fitted with their respective bolts or branches, and cleared of water, a considerable quantity of melted tallow was poured into each hole the branch key being then heated to about a blue heat & being put down into the tallow and the key firmly driven , by these means all the space unfilled by the iron would become full of tallow, and the surplus made to run over. When this was done, all remaining hot, a quantity of coarse pewter being made red hot in a ladle and run in the chinks, as being the heaviest body would drive out the superfluous melted tallow; and so effectually had this operation succeeded that on those branches which were cut out in 1756 & had remained, the whole cavity had continued so thoroughly full, that the pewter & tallow was still found, nor was the iron rusted in the least.

Earl Stanhope's Cement for Roofs or Decks of Ships

"Take of the strongest Tar 4 Quarts (or 8<sup>lbs</sup>) of prepared Chalk \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ 9 Quarts, well mixed together, afterwards to be put into a kettle to boil, to be constantly stirred till well incorporated together and then to be poured hot upon the surface."

Mem: It may be spread thin upon the roofs with hot Trowels (such as are used by Plaisterers) and should not exceed the Thickness of an half crown\_

The roofs themselves may be laid nearly flat, as a descent of about 2 inches in a yard will be a sufficient drain for the Rain Water, and in order that the Inhabitants may have the Pleasure and Convenience of Walking

on the Roofs for Air and retirement, the rafters should be covered with planks or Boards of a proper thickness for flooring, having the edges of each plank ploughed half an inch deep with a grooving plane so as to form a groove of one inch broad, between every 2 planks when laid together, as in the representation underneath of 2 such planks laid together side by side, the 2 ends will have this appearance\_

A strong lathe of tough wood one inch broad and of a proper thickness must be thrust into each groove, which will prevent the cement from running through between the planks, and will prevent [chasens?] when the planks shrink. The Planks must be as dry as possible when the cement is laid on in order that the hot cement may penetrate the farther  
Page 13 into the pores of the Wood. Sometime after the Cement has been laid on the Creases between the Boards (as they shrink) must be filled up with fresh Cement in order to make an even Surface, & after it has been finished sometime it will acquire by the Air and Water a very near resemblance to Lead, in appearance. If the planks are not groved & connected with lathe as above recommended they should be caulked with Oakum, before the Cement is poured on.

Page 14      EXTRACTS from SMEATON

XXX About which time the learned Dr Black discovered that limestone by burning would lose 4/9 of its weight by the expulsion of fixed Air which is driven off by the fire. A [up force?] of fire, however long continued, then will reduce its weight in the above degree, is not sufficient, completely to flake it. (Dr Higgins)<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> This paragraph is an insertion to be read at a later point: the symbol XXX appears later at two points, one of which has been crossed through. It appears above the main title of the piece which was written in the centre of the page.

### Mode of Analysing Limestone

p107 § p 177 I took about the quantity of five penny weight (or a guinea's weight) of the limestone to be tried, and bruised to a coarse powder, upon which I poured common aquafortis, but not so much at a time as to occasion the effervescence to overlap the glass vessel in which the limestone was put, and added fresh aquafortis after the effervescence of the former quantity had ceased till no further ebullition appeared by the addition of the acid. This done and the whole being left to settle,

Page 15the liquor will generally acquire a tinge of some transparent color, and if from the solution little or no sediment drops, it may be accounted a pure limestone (which is generally the case with white Chalk, and several others) as containing no uncalcareous matter; but if from the solution a quantity of matter is deposited in the form of mud: this indicates a quantity of uncalcreous matter in its composition. When this is well

settled, pour off the water and repeated add water in the same way stirring it and letting it settle, till it becomes tasteless [!]. After this let the mud be well stirred into the water and without giving it time to settle, pour off the muddy water into another vessel, and if there is any sand or gritty matter left behind, as will frequently be the case, this collected by itself will ascertain the quantity and species of [fabulous?] matter that

Page 16entered into the texture of the limestone. Letting now the muddy liquor settle, and pouring off the water till no more can be got without, an admixture of mud, leave the rest to dry, which when it comes to the consistence of clay or paste make it into a ball and dry it for further examination.<sup>xxx</sup> Aberthaw limestone, (the best known in England), produce, so treated, a great quantity of fine blue clay. Chalklime was entirely dissolved.<sup>xxx</sup>

From the experiments now related, I was convinced that the most pure limestone was not the best for making mortar, especially for building in mortar, and that brought to mind a maxim I had learned from workmen, that the best lime for the land was seldom the best for building purposes of which the reason now appeared; which was, that the most

Page 17pure lime affording the greatest quantity of limesalts would best answer the purposes of Agriculture whereas, when a limestone is intimately mixed with a proportion of Clay which by



burning is converted into Brick it is made to act more strongly as a cement. This suggested to me the idea, that an admixture of clay in the composition of limestone when treated as above specified might be the most certain Index of the validity of a limestone for Aquatic Building, nor has any experience since contradicted it, as all the limestone in repute for water works that I have met with have afforded this mark, even Dorking lime, is plainly nothing but a species of Chalk impregnated with Clay, of which it makes full one 17th part of the original weight.

Page 18

Terra Prygolana

is a porous substance, alike the Tarras, produces an effervescence with aquafortis; it has the appearance of a Volcanic production, is of a brown color, & is said to contain iron. It has the look of an iron render porous or burnt to a cinder by fire. The best sort of Prygolana comes from Civita Vecchia that from Naples is not half so good and is not so red.

Tarras

Is a stone of a lightish grey or ash color, rather tender, & somewhat resembling a pumice stone.

Page 19

Places where [blue lyas?] limestone is found.

Aberthaw

Wales

Watchet

on the Bristol channel & many other places in

Somersetshire

Barrow

Leicestershire thro' Lancastershire to Long Bennington in

Lincolnshire

Lewes

in Sussex, the Clinchlime

Dorking

in Surrey

Sutton

lime in Lancashire

Grey

lime, Portsmouth from Berryton near Petersfield Hants

Guilford Surrey where a clayey looking sort of limestone is found, a species of chalk

Lyme in Dorsetshire

Species of Limestone	Prop. of Clay	Color of Do	Reduction in Weight
Aberthaw	3/23	Lead Color	4 to 3
Watchet	3/25	Do	4 to 3
Barrow	3/14	Do	3 _ 2
Long Bennington	3/22	Do	3 _ 2
Sussex Clunch	3/16	Ash Color	3 _ 2
Dorking	1/17	Do	
Berryton	1/12	Do	Do
Guilford	2/29	Do	
Sutton	3/16	Brown	

Pages 20 to 24 then give extensive details of different mortar mixes `suited to different Situations or Circumstances.'

## Appendix B

The list of Latrobe's works in England has expanded enormously in the last few years as more research has been done on this period of his life. Some of the attributions are more questionable than others, but all of the following were, whether wholly or in part, designed by Latrobe from 1784 to 1795, with the majority falling in the last three years of this period.

Date	Buildings	Notes
Unknown(c. 1784)	The Oeconomy House, Fulneck Yorkshire	Sections and elevations in the library, Moravian Church House, 5-7 Muswell Hill, London.
1784	Chapel, Congregation House, Single Sisters House, Single Brethrens House, Shop & Inn. Droylesdon settlement, Fairfield, Manchester	Plans, sections, elevations & measured details (figs 93 & 94). At Moravian Church House. <sup>132</sup>
1784-86	Works for Smeaton	
1787-91	Works for SP Cockerell, including the Admiralty Building, Barham Court, Maidstone and Gore Court, Sittingbourne.	
1792	Hammerwood Lodge (now Park), Sussex	For John Sperling
Unknown	Teston Hall	For Sir Charles Middleton. This is attributed by Talbot Hamlin.
1792-95	Work on Police Stations: Bow Street Queens Square	

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<sup>132</sup> For a full discussion of these buildings see Gillian Darley "The Moravians, building for a higher purpose" *Architectural Review* Vol CLXXVII pp. 45-49. The drawings, discovered in the Moravian Church's archives at Herrnhut in Saxony, were executed by Latrobe just after he came back to England for the first time, before working for either Smeaton or SP Cockerell. The drawings would have been at Herrnhut for the planning approval that all new Moravian settlements had to apply for from the mother church. See Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning* 1967, p 9.

Hatton Garden

Worship Street As Surveyor to the fabric of the Public Offices, Latrobe was involved in the setting up of the first police stations.<sup>133</sup> Latrobe was appointed by Sir Charles Middleton, of Teston Hall, which begs the question did the commission for Teston follow the job or vice-versa. He lost the job not wishing to condone the nepotism of Henry Dundas, the home secretary.<sup>134</sup>

Date	Buildings	Notes
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Whitechapel

Shadwell

Southwark

Gt. Malborough St

1793	Ashdown House, Sussex	For John Trayton Fuller
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1793-94	Chelmsford Canal	See Hamlin p 47.
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Undated	Frimley, alterations	
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(extent unknown)Hamlin notes the pedimented central pavilion as being particularly Latrobe.

1795	Sheffield Park, Sussex, alterations	
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(extent unknown)Latrobe is mentioned as working here under James Wyatt by the owner, see Hamlin.

Undated

(c.1794)	Saint Hill Manor, Sussex, alterations	
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(extent unknown, but alteration certainly occurred around the time Latrobe was in the area.

compare figures 96 & 97)In the 1790's Saint Hill was owned by a the Crawford family which may correspond to the Craufurd mentioned by Latrobe.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> The Westminster Police Bill was passed in the House of Lords on 13th June 1792. This marked the official creation of the Police Force, and the legitimisation of the activities of the 'alien office.' Latrobe's employment by the embryonic Metropolitan Police to create the first police stations in London, and perhaps some links between Latrobe and the anti-revolutionary Secret Services is covered in a forthcoming book on the history of the Secret Service between 1792 and 1815 by Elizabeth Sparrow.

<sup>134</sup> This is revealed in a letter from Latrobe to his brother, Christian Ignatius, dated January 5th 1807.

Undated

(c.1793/4) Kidbrook Park, Sussex, alterations This has been suggested by David Pinnegar on account of certain Latrobe-like details.

Unknown Houses at Tunbridge Wells

(not yet identified, or not built) These drawings are in Latrobe's Notebook, see Appendix A

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<sup>135</sup> Evidence for work at Saint Hill is based on a reference by Latrobe to a Mr Craufurd in a letter to his brother Christian Ignatius Latrobe on the 3rd of November 1805 — 'Russel the carpenter also has sent me over an acct. containing charges for work done for Sperling, Fuller & Craufurd.' — *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of BH Latrobe* Vol II, p 156. At the time, Saint Hill was owned by a Mr Crawfurd. Sperling was the owner of Hammerwood Lodge and Mr Fuller the owner of Ashdown House.



SMythic PlatesMythic Landscapes

and Hellenic Detail  
Latrobe's early work in Sussex





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*Figure 1* Hammerwood Lodge (now Park) South Front.

Photograph taken from Owlett's Farm across the valley.

*Figure 2* Ashdown House, South Facade and Southwest view.

*Figure 3* Perspective of Capitol, Washington.

*Figure 4* South elevation and section through Capitol, Washington.  
Design proposal by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1810–11. Note the section line includes the spaces around the building, and also marks the high water level of the Potomac.

*Figure 5* Bank of Pennsylvania. 1798

*Figure 6 (below)* South portico of the White House, 1807 (built 1824)

*Figure 7 (above)* Susan Catherine Spotswood in 1850.

*Figure 8 (above)* Latrobe's lighthouse sketch, from the *Essay on Landscape*.

*Figure 9 (below)* Ravenstones, Yorkshire, also from the *Essay*.

*Figure 10* Kirkstall Abbey, nearby to Fulneck in Yorkshire.

*Figure 12* The Pantheon at Stourhead from across the lake.  
Henry Flitcroft, c.1754.

*Figure 13* The Grotto at Stourhead. Plan and Section by FM Piper, 1779.

*Figure 14 (below)* Temple of Apollo at Stourhead with  
Temple of flora in the distance. Flitcroft, 1765.

*Figure 15 (above)* Temple illustrated by Robert wood in *Ruins of Balbec*, 1757.

*Figure 16 (above, left)* Temple of Flora at Stourhead. Flitcroft, 1744–46.

*Figure 17 (above, right)* The River God statue at Stourhead.

*Figure 18 (below)* Claude Lorrain, *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas*.

*Figure 19* Poussin, *Et in Arcadia Ego*.

*Figure 20* The Shepherd's Monument, Shugborough.  
Thomas Wright, with columns added by James Stuart.

*Figure 21* C.Dahl, *Landscape and Ruins*, Shugborough, c.1769.

*Figure 22* Nicholas Dall, *Ruins at Shugborough*, 1775.  
The isolated Arch of Hadrian can be clearly seen on the left.

*Figure 23* The Arch of Hadrian, Shugborough. James Stuart.