THE SYMBOLIC FUNCTION OF THE BANK OF MONTREAL BUILDING ON THE PLACE D'ARMES, 1846: AN IMAGE OF THE ENGLISH MERCANTILE ARISTOCRACY

by

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This study explores the symbolic function of the Bank of Montreal Building, on the Place d'Armes, in Montreal, By John Wells, of 1846.

Looking at the structure in historic perspective, its inherent symbolic function within the context of Montreal during the first half of the nineteenth century is unravelled by an examination of the "roots" of the artistic form. The historic battles of the English landowning class, within the European framework, became the basis of the 'country house image', to which the Bank of Montreal was heir.

The fight against bureaucratic monarchy, the desire to 'do what one would with ones own', became the foundations of the triumph of the Whig nobility at the start of the eighteenth century.

The desire of a 'natural world', a rational space, was expressed by the agrarian image of the victorious Whig nobility. When the aristocracy conscripted the Palladian style as their visual metaphor in 1714, the 'temple house' image became tied to the concept of oligarchial government, and the agricultural revolution taking place in the countryside.

The agricultural revolution, reformed, and reorganized the economy, the entire way of life in England. The Palladian style spread to Scotland, and Ireland, as the symbol of the new economic order, capitalism.

The 'agrarian image', the Palladian temple house form, was adopted by the banks in the English-speaking world as their architectural image. In the United States, in Canada, the agrarian image of the English mercantile aristocracy, reappeared as the symbol of the new economic order.

The Bank of Montreal Building of 1846, within the context of Montreal of the first half of the nineteenth century, was an invitation to the conquered French to come and participate in the new economic system. So, in Lower Canada, the historic symbol of reformed agriculture, the English mercantile aristocratic image, stood in opposition to the way of life of the vast majority of the French-speaking population, locked into a pattern of semi-feudal, unreformed agriculture, as the basis of the economic system.

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In the eighteenth century in England...

...The landlords, on the other hand, were more powerful than they had ever been, for the confiscated Church property had been used by Henry VIII to reward his servants and allies, mostly new men from the world of commerce and finance, and not to enrich the State or to strengthen the Crown. Their political power had increased with the Whig Revolution, which had decided that they and not the Crown should be the masters of Parliament. The aristocracy then alone in Europe could do as it pleased with the village, for in every other country the aristocracy either lacked power, as in France, or shared it with a rival, as in Austria or Bavaria or most of the petty States of Germany.

The village with this mediaeval pattern was an obstacle to the development of agriculture. Its system of common regulation had helped progress in earlier stages, for it has imposed discipline on the less industrious peasant and maintained a common standard. But the needs of agriculture demanded reform if the soil was to be made more productive. Reform is difficult in a society that looks to the past more than to the future, and honours custom rather than science, piety rather than enterprise...

J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Rise of Modern Industry (London: University Paperbacks, Methuen & Co., 1966), p.85

INTRODUCTION

There are two interrelated schools of thought in the field of art historical research. The first is 'history in art', the second, 'history of art'. Within the implicited meanings of two small prepositions, lies two complimentary, though contrasting, perceptions of artistic artifacts and monuments.

Alan Gowans, through such works as Images of American Living, and Building Canada, emphasized the concept of art as cultural-historical expression; the discipline known as 'history in art'.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, in a work like Early Victorian Architecture in Britain, on the other hand, emphasized the study of artistic 'style'; the discipline known as 'history of art'.

This study of the "The Symbolic Function of the Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes, 1846", is part of the discipline of 'history in art'. Taking the somewhat unusual approach of starting with an artistic monument, and seeking its intrinsic origins in history, makes the inherent social function of the work much clearer.

Seeking the 'voice' of an artistic monument takes one back through time, to the age and attitudes that created it, and gave it life. The appearance of an eighteenth century English architectural form, in Lower Canada, for a bank, during the first half of the nineteenth century, becomes as much a primary source historical document of the society

that built it, as any example of the written word.

The Bank of Montreal in the Place d'Armes (plate 2) was an outstanding example of the English country house image. The symbolic function of the English country house stood for oligarchal freedoms. The Palladian style, the original 'temple house' form of the English country house, had the function of being the visual metaphor of the benefits of English laws and customs for the new economic oligarchy which had grown up during the eighteenth century in England. The political and economic benefits that aided Britain to world economic pre-eminence in the nineteenth century, were the result of the victory by the aristocracy-gentry (country house image) over absolute monarchies (Papal Catholic, Spanish Catholic, French Baroque, Stuart Baroque), that represented bureaucratic regulation.

The first manifestation of the new economic order, capitalism, was in the agrarian reform movement of the early eighteenth century. The image of capitalism was inexorably tied to the Palladian agrarian image of the English aristocracy. James S. Ackerman observed this historic relationship of the Palladian style and the agrarian image in his study of Palladio.

> But the Palladian vogues were motivated by more than Protestant culture and the accessibility of books. Palladio's clients were the country gentry in much the same way that British squires and

> American plantation owners were. The country landowner in eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxon culture, like his predecessor in the Veneto of the sixteenth century, was economically tied to the land as overseer of the crops and the herds, but a classical education and the ambitions of a Humanist gave him city tastes. Seeking models for his dwelling, he would not have been attracted to the scenic Tuscan or Roman villa with its cypresses and formal parterres; northern weather and an agrarian economy did not encourage vast ornamental landscaping schemes in which the utility structures were pushed into the background by pools and fountains. He preferred the Palladian Villa, designed for an economic and social situation nearly identical to his own.[1]

The agrarian image served the identical symbolic function for the banks in the English speaking world as it had for the nobleier residence. The 'temple house' style of banks, such as the Bank of Montreal, symbolically stood for a new economic order. In this study, an attempt will be made to investigate the symbolic function of the most elaborate example of the agrarian image in Montreal, during the first half of the nineteenth century.

It was at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Montreal held in the 1819 Head Office Building (plate 1), on November 5, 1844, that Peter McGill, the president, first raised the question of a new bank building in the city.[2] A committee of three

directors, John Redpath, John Try, and William Lunn, was established to investigate whether to build a new bank building, or simply enlarge the existing one.[3] In March of 1845, the committee recommended that the current bank house be abandoned, because the necessary repairs would have entailed the moving of business into another building of an "insecure and inconvenient character".[4]

The Board of Directors published a competition for the proposed new bank building on May 23, 1845 in the local papers.[5] A premium of £50 was to be awarded for the best design.[6] As well as establishing the commission for Montreal architects, the bank also looked to contemporary examples of bank architecture in Edinburgh and Glasgow.[7]

Nine Montreal architects entered the competition, and their plans were in the hands of the Board by August 1, 1845.[8] The Board also had possession of elevation sketches of the British Linen Bank in Edinburgh by that date.[9]

On Friday, August 8, the Building Committee reported that the £50 premium should be awarded to both the firms of John Wells & Son, and Springle.[10] The bank, however, still refused to commit itself on either a final design, or architect. In their report to the board, the Building Committee stated:

> ... it being clearly understood that the committee may not follow any of the plans as they now are, nor that such decision will give either of the Gentlemen

> any preference to be employed in the superintendance of the building.[11]

In the end, the committee did exactly as it said it might do, and decided to base the design of the new Bank of Montreal Building on the Commercial Bank of Scotland Building on George Street in Edinburgh of 1844-46.[12] John Wells was hired as the supervising architect.[13]

The design of the Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes (plate 2), derived from the Commercial Bank Building (plates 3a,b), conformed to the requirements stated by the president. Peter McGill had said that the new bank house should be:

> a structure of convenient dimensions, and classical taste, that will do credit to the Stockholders of the oldest Bank of British North America and be an ornament to the Capital of the Province.[14]

Montreal was the capital of the united province of Canada from 1843 to 1849.[15] The new Head Office Building of the Bank of Montreal was designed to be the most impressive edifice in the city. In the masonry contract with James Morrison and William Hutchinson (March 10, 1846), the aspect of 'superiority' was clearly spelled out by the bank:

> The whole of the work in the building to be executed in the best and most workmanlike manner, and with the best materials - and to be superior to any that can be pointed out in town.[16]

A comparison of the completed Bank of Montreal Building by John Wells, seen in the 1848 print by Cornelius Kreighoff, and its prototype, the Commercial Bank by David Rhind, known for two contemporary drawings in the Bank of Montreal Archives, reveals striking similarities, and notable changes.[17] In Montreal, a narrower lot caused the use of single, instead of double pilasters, to flank the portico.[18] The ornate balustrade above the Edinburgh cornice was omitted by Wells. The more elegant rounded windows with a complimenting balustrade, were dropped in the Montreal design in favor of a rectangular window topped by a triangular motif, which was more in the Palladian vocabulary (plate 4). More Importantly, a square drum and saucer-shaped dome were added by Wells to the Montreal structure. These changes established the artistic independence and integrity of the Bank of Montreal design.

In terms of style, the Bank of Montreal Building was basically an eighteenth century structure. It had a great deal in common with the chaste form of classicism of the Palladian (English) country house, developed in the early 1700's by such men as Lord Burlington at Chiswick House of 1725 (plate 5)[19]. Both Chiswick House and the Bank of Montreal were derived from the work of the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio (1518-80),[20] as interpreted by English architects and connoisseurs as Inigo Jones (1573-1652),[21] Colen Campbell (? 1676-1729),[22] William Kent (1685-1748),[23] and Lord Burlington (1694-1753),[24]

to name a few.

The artistic form of Wells' Bank of Montreal Building was part of the Whig-Palladian strain of the English country house. As such, the Bank of Montreal was also heir to the original symbolic function of the English proto-types.

Chapter I: The English Country House Image as a Symbol of Aristocratic Freedoms

Montesquieu, wrote of eighteenth century England in his Travel Notes:

England is the freest country in the world. I make exception of no republic. And I call it free because the sovereign, whose person is controlled and limited, is unable to inflict any harm on anyone.

reprinted in Elizabeth Burton's The Pageant of Georgian England (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p.69

The aristocracy emerged at the start of the eighteenth century as the ruling group in England (plate 6).[1] Absolute Monarchy had been defeated (plates 7a,b,c), and in architectural terms, the nobility sought a building style which was "founded in truth and nature" (plates 8a,b).[2] The country house image (plate 9) became the visual metaphor of a class which had successfully fought off the attempts by bureaucratic absolute government to negate their historic rights and freedoms (plates 10a,b,c).[3] In order to fully comprehend the English country-house as a symbol of freedom, the battle to maintain the rights and privileges of the landowning class must be viewed in historical perspective.

The primary economic function in Europe before the Industrial Revolution (c.1750-1880) was agriculture.[4] The feudal system of government was born out of the need to protect this fundamental economic activity.[5] The aristocracy was the creation of the feudal system of land tenure.[6] In Europe, society and government became rigidly divided into three power groups, the king (court), the feudality (temporal and clerical lords), and the commons (peasantry and bourgeoisie).[7]

In England, the period between the Norman Conquest (1066), and the triumph of the Whig nobility (1714), was a seemingly constant struggle between the king and the feudality for one power group to dominate the government.[8] The commons acted as the deciding factor, and increasingly held the balance of power between these two senior factions.[9]

The English situation was different from the European matrix of feudalism from the time of the Invasion of 1066.[10] For one thing, the Norman Conquest was primarily an aristocratic movement.[11] There was no large-scale tribal or national migration in 1066 as had occurred earlier with the German tribes, or even the Danes.[12] The famous Domesday Survey (1085-86) underscored the concept of "aristocratic" conquest, for it showed that only the landowners changed, and not the locations, or means of agricultural production.[13]

William the Conqueror (1066-87) was painfully aware of the inherent power of the feudality, and had taken steps at the conquest to lessen the power of this class in England.[14] Unfortunately for succeeding English monarchs, he did not realize his objectives. Despite his initial division of feudal fiefs over the entire country (and thus not concentrated to serve as a power base), the feudal system remained unshaken.[15]

Thus, the castle image, with its evolving plan from the square keep of Norman times (plate 11), to the massive asymmetrical Plantagenet (1154-1485) bastions (plate 12), dictated by the surrounding terrain, stood as the visual metaphor of the feudal system.[16] There was little discernible difference between the keep of the White Tower in London (plate 13), started by William I, and the keep of Hedingham Castle (plate 14), a nobleier residence.[17] The architectural image of king

and noble was one in the same. This artistic coincidence symbolically illustrated the fact that in theory, both king and noble were simply feudal magnates with different responsibilities.[18]

Safe within their castles (plate 14), and required to render military service to the king for only short prescribed periods, the aristocracy exercised their feudal rights to give justice, regulate life within their fiefs and attempt to increase their incomes.[19] Another fundamental right was to participate in the government of the country.[20] Three times a year, before the process of consultation was formalized by parliaments, the feudality met with the king.[21] For example, at the feast of Whitsuntide, celebrated at Westminster Hall (plate 15), the nobility consulted with the monarch informally.[22]

During the course of the Middle Ages (1066-1485), the English aristocracy displayed an unfaltering desire to protect their feudal freedoms. In 1215, the feudality rose against the arbitrary King John (1199-1216), and forced him to sign the Magna Carta.[23] This historic document put down on paper exactly what the rights of the feudality were, and the nobility expected future monarchs to respect them.[24] Again, in 1258, the feudality bridled the inefficient Henry III (1216-72) by the Provisions of Oxford.[25] In 1265, Simone de Montford first brought the commons into the battle of king versus nobility, by broadening the representative base of Parliament to include knights and free

citizens.[26] The message of commons support was not lost on succeeding English monarchs, and Edward I (1272-1307) wisely institutionalized the role of the commons in Parliament.[27]

In the architecture of England and France at the start of the sixteenth century, the increasing power of the centralized monarchies, based on the support of the commons, was made visible by the decline of the castle image. At Nonsuch Palace (plate 16a), begun by Henry VIII in 1538 (plate 16b), and Chambord (plate 17a), built by Francis I (plate 17b) from 1519 to 1537, the introduction of Renaissance forms and philosophies had given the former medieval mass of towers, turrets, and pinnacles, a new order and balance.[28] The abundance of glass, and the ridiculously low outer wall of Henry VIII's Hampton Court Palace (plate 18) of 1533, testified that the castle image had lost its social function to defend and guarantee the independence of those within.[29]

A similar development to Hampton Court, could be seen in nobleier-gentry architecture. Oxburgh Hall (plate 19), like Hampton Court, had all the outward apparatus of fortification, yet as Nigel Nicholson observed, the defensives "could not have resisted an organized attack for a single day".[30]

Oxburgh Hall, and the famous 'black and white' Speke Hall (plate 20), were symptomatic of the number of manor houses which were built for the small landowner, the gentry, under the Tudors.[31] William

Harrison, in his Description of England (1577), accurately observed the rising country house image:

> The ancient manors...of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber... Howbeit such as be lately builded are commonly either of brick or hard stone, or both.[32]

Wollaton Hall (plate 21), Burghley House (plate 22), and Hatfield House (plate 23), the so-called "prodigy houses" of late Tudor and early Stuart times, displayed a political-architectural duality.[33] The Renaissance influences, the use of symmetry, proportion, and classical decorative motifs, were homage to the new world view of the centralizing monarchs who had given these families positions in the aristocracy.[34] Yet, Wollaton Hall had maintained the castle image. Burghley House looked back to Hampton Court, but it too maintained the fortress image through the use of towers and crenelated walls. Hatfield House, despite the continental influences seen in the cupola and stonework, still remained faithful to its medieval roots.[35]

This situation was also expressed in the work of William Shakespeare (1564-1616),[36] where the dichotomy of the Renaissance position of the monarch was contrasted to existing feudal freedoms and institutions. In Macbeth, the world underwent frightening supernatural manifestations because the monarch, King Duncan, had been murdered.[37] The 'sacred' person of the monarch was somehow tied to the cosmic order.[38] In Richard II, Bolingbroke (the future Henry IV), was shown to have

legitimate cause for rebellion against his anointed sovereign King Richard, based on feudal rights. The monarch, who claimed divine sanction for his rule (plate 24), had arbitrarily violated the feudal inheritance laws by withholding Bolingbroke's succession to his paternal Duchy of Lancaster.[39]

Henry VIII (plate 25), and Elizabeth I (plate 26), had claimed to be 'renaissance princes', and attempted to rule as arbitrarily as Machiavelli's model, yet even they had only managed to dominate the existing body of laws and feudal institutions by the sheer weight of their personalities.[40] This message was seemingly lost on their successors, James I (plate 27) and Charles I (plate 28).[41]

England had experienced a broadening of land ownership during the sixteenth century because of the Reformation.[42] The 'squirarchy' was expended as former church and crown lands were sold in large quantities.[43] A new attitude paralleled the extension of the landowning group, and it contained the startling concept of 'private property'.[44] John Clapham accurately summed up the attitude of the country house image when he observed:

> An English landlord of the sixteenth and seventeenth century had to negotiate or fight - and he might fight without much scruple - to get that free hand to "do what he would with his own".[45]

The Roman Catholic Church posed the first great threat to the increasingly independant, Protestant, English country house image (plate 29).[46] In the spiritual realm, the inherent nature of Catholicism (plates 30a,b,c), and the stress laid on unquestioning obedience (plates 30d,e,f), ran counter to the Renaissance concept of the dignity and freedom of the individual (plate 31), which helped bring about the change in attitude which was the country house image.[47] In the political realm, the fact that the two major Western European monarchies, France (plate 32) and Spain (plate 33), remained Catholic, invited national-religious confrontation with England.[48]

The Tudor country house image (plate 20), stood alone against the Spanish Habsburgs, who nominally acted as the secular arm of the Catholic Church.[49] Horror stories of the Inquisition, and the slaughter of Protestants in the Low Countries, were in part expressions of the fanatic desire for political uniformity under the absolute bureaucratic rule of centralized government.[50]

The Escorial (plate 34), built by Philip II of Spain from 1563 to 1584, symbolically illustrated the concept of centralized monarchy.[51] The functions of church and state were combined at the Escorial (plate 35), and kingship took the position of 'divine monarchy', where the monarch's reign and rule were sanctioned by divine authority (plate 36).[52]

The famous Medici Series, by Rubens in the 1620's, nicely illustrated the adoption of 'divine monarchy' in France.[53] The artist idealized the life of Queen Consort Marie de Medici (plates 37a,b,c,d), wife of Henry IV (plate 38), by drawing on the religious-artistic tenets of the Catholic Reformation.[54] In such a scene as The Portrait of Marie de Medicis presented to Henry IV (plate 37b), classical deities, Jupiter and Juno, were substituted for the Christian figures of Christ and the Virgin.[55] The intimation of divine sanction was obvious.

A similar trend of 'personalization' of the arts around the figure of the monarch also took place in French architecture under the Bourbons (plates 39a,b). Gerard Hubert, said of architecture during the reign of Louis XIII (1610-43):

> It was a time of great town-planning, exemplified in regular squares surrounded with identical houses forming a setting for a royal statue - an alarming symptom of the ever-growing cult of the personality of the sovereign.[56]

In England, Palladianism, as a symbol of the new world order, was first employed to illustrate the concept of divine monarchy under the Stuarts (plate 40). Inigo Jones, court architect to James I (1603-25), developed the unique style of Palladio (plates 41a,b,c) in order to set 'royal' structures apart from 'classical' nobleier buildings. The sophistication and simplicity of the Queen's House

at Greenwich Palace (plate 42) of 1616-35, and the Banquet House at Whitehall Palace (plate 43) of 1619-22, with the emphasis on balance and harmony, contrasted strongly with the eclectic nature of Longleat House (plate 44), or Wollaton House (plate 21).[57] Palladian imagery was certainly far removed from previous royal images as Hampton Court (plate 18), or Nonsuch Palace (Plate 16a). The underlying castle image was dropped, and with it the implication that the monarch was simply part of the tripartite division of power inherent in the feudal system. The king now ruled alone (plate 45).

There were of course many aspects of Palladianism in Europe, but the function that was manifested in and for English society was an image of absolute monarchy. In this respect, the symbol of Palladianism shifted from the Italian models built by Palladio in the sixteenth century, to a different function in the transplanted strain fostered in England. Alan Gowans pointed out that the arts served an inherent social function to persuade people to hold certain convictions or beliefs.[58] The architecture of Palladio, regarded as the closest to antique Roman architecture, in England, served to propagate the concept of a settled and peaceful world under the benevolent rule of a "Godly-Prince".[59]

The ceiling decoration by Rubens for the Banquet House (plate 46a), commissioned by Charles I (1625-49), clearly underlined the visual metaphor of the architecture.[60] In the central tondo (plate 46b), an

apotheosis of the deceased James I took place.[61] It had been James who best summed up the new attitude of 'divine monarchy' in England by declaring:

> God gives not Kings the style of Gods in vain,
> For on his throne his scepter do they sway:
> And as their subjects out them to obey,
> So Kings should fear and serve their God again.[62]

Royal symbolism in architecture proliferated in court circles under Charles I (plate 47). Wilton House (plate 48a), was transformed into an image of the new order by Isaac de Caus and Inigo Jones (plates 48b & c), for William Herbert, the fourth Earl of Pembroke, a royal functionary. Bishop Laud had St. Paul's Church in London restored in the new vernacular by Jones (plate 49)[64]. A huge classical portico was rather unharmoniously added to the medieval structure. The church took on the appearance of a temple, and thus symbolic of the new world order under 'divine monarchy'.

Interestingly enough, Jones was engaged by the fourth Earl of Bedford in 1630 to design the first square in England.[65] Parallels in social function of Jones' Covent Garden (plate 50a), and the Bourbon equivalent Place Royale (plate 39a), were obvious. Even though the commission was an aristocratic enterprise, the king and his council apparently intervened and forced the earl to build Covent Garden in the new royal style.[66]

The Church of St. Paul's (plate 50b) at Covent Garden was the first instance of Palladianism being used as a symbol of 'freedom'. The church was constructed around the Tuscan order, and in Jones' own terms 'looked like a barn'.[67] The primitive architecture, like the Protestant Church, was pure bacause it was not corrupted by association with Rome.[68] Therefore, in the face of increasingly ritualistic church celebrations under royal sponsorship, St. Paul's, the first church built in its entirety since the Reformation, was designed as a symbol of the fundamentalist character of Protestantism,[69] a message lost on the king and the royal council.[70]

H.R. Trevor-Roper, in his essay "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century", advanced the thesis that the pan-European uprisings of the century, in Spain, the Fronde in France, and the English Civil War of 1640-45, were "essentially... demands for emancipation from the burden of centralization".[71] The cross-class uprisings in England, which Roper viewed as pitting the "court" against the "Country", took place because of:

> ... the vast, oppressive, ever-extending apparatus of parasitic bureaucracy which had grown up around the throne and above the economy of England.[72]

The English revolt against bureaucratic monarchy was the only European uprising to succeed.[73] The Bourbon Monarchy of France, under

Louis XIV (plate 51), became the epitome of centralized absolutism in Europe.[74] The increasingly independent attitudes of the English landowners, who demanded a free hand to "do what he would with his own", contrasted strongly with the Baroque image of centralized bureaucracy which attempted to regulate all aspects of life within the state.[75]

The East Front of the Louvre (plate 52), which Kenneth Clark described as being "not the work of craftsmen, but wonderfully gifted civil servants", showed the bureaucratic nature of the French monarchy.[76] In the gardens of Versailles by Le Notre (plate 53), the statue group of Latona (plate 54a), warned of the consequence of mortal rebellion against divine authority (plate 54b).[77] After the Versailles complex was expanded by J.H. Mansart in 1678 to house an impotent aristocracy, the interior decoration (plates 55a,b,c), the massive scale of the Garden Façade (plate 56), were calculated to literally crush the spectator.[78] The same clear clean lines and massive scale of Versailles (plate 57), the East Front of the Louvre (plate 52), and even the earlier Escorial (plate 34), were the unadulterated statements of centralized authority, such as the famous boast, "L'Etat, c'est moi".[79]

The magnificent stucco tondo by Coysevox (plates 58a,b,c,d), in the Salon de la Guerre at Versailles (plate 59), was typical of what Emil Bayard referred to when he observed: "Sous Louis XIV, l'art s'enconca selon une mode, d'ou une uniformite."[80] The divine communication between God and Louis as he crosses the Rhine River can be compared to the standard idiom of a Baroque religious drama, such as Bernini's

Cornaro Chapel (plate 60), where the viewer participated in the revelation of a divine mystery.[81]

The Baroque arts of Absolute Monarchy served one purpose, to overawe the individual (plate 61). Conscious elaboration (plates 62a,b,c), inferences of divine sanction (plates 63a,b,c), manipulation in terms of space and design (plates 64a,b,c), made the individual insignificant in the face of centralized power. Money was not considered an object in the Baroque states, for the arts were a reflection of the 'glorie' of the monarch; or as Bishop Bossuet told Louis XIV, "The Prince's 'glorie' is the support and the adornment of the entire State... While he sustains his 'glorie', he sustains the public welfare."[82] Louis XIV was keenly aware of the propaganda qualities of art, and he severely critized his first cousin, Anne-Marie d'Orléans, for not ornamenting the façade of her new house at Choisy:

> We have no right to be careless... We must know how to carry our burden, and we must lay it down at no time and in no place.[83]

Hugh May's remodeling of Windsor Castle (plate 65), in 1675 clearly showed that the restored Stuarts had not given up their aspirations to divine monarchy.[84] The allegorical crowning of Charles II in the central oval of St. George's Hall (plate 66), obviously continued the social function of Ruben's Whitehall Ceiling (plate 46b). The same was true for Wren's Anglican St. Peter's (plate 64a), the Church of

St.Paul's in London (Plate 67), where the design of Jone's Banquet House (plate 43), was engrafted for the screen walls (Plate 67b).[85]

The austere and functional brick design of Royal Chelsea Hospital (plate 68a), by Wren, was a more accurate symbol of the new political realities in England of a limited monarchy, than the Baroque pretentions of Webb's design for the Palace of Greenwich (plate 69). A comparison of Chelsea Hospital (Plate 68c), to the nearly contemporary French equivalent of the Invalides (plate 70), presented a study of simplicity to the Baroque grandiose. The tempered design of Chelsea, built around the simple Doric order, was a reflection of the nature of the commission. In France, the monarch paid the entire bill for the Invalides, for technically he had all the resources of the state at his command.[86] In England, the cost of Chelsea was borne by the king's privy purse, and a fund formed through deductions in the solders' pay. Clearly, Charles II did not wield the kind of absolute power that his mentor did in France.[88]

The tempering influence of limited monarchy reappeared again and again in the most Baroque symbols of absolute power commissioned for the Stuarts. Winchester Palace (plate 71), built by Wren for Charles II in 1683-85, was left unfinished after the king's death.[89] Greenwich Palace (plate 69), and the later Greenwich Hospital complex suffered from lack of money (plate 72a,b).[90] Even Hampton Court Palace was only partially completed (plates 73 a&b).[91]

It was Castle Howard (plate 74) of 1699-1712, and Blenheim Palace (plate 75) of 1705-24, by Vanburgh, which developed the Baroque style to its most elaborate expression in England.[92] A comparison of these ducal images to the contemporary royal images underscored an important symbolic transfer during the last years of the Stuarts.[93] Castle Howard, and Blenheim Palace, dwarf Kensington Palace (plate 76), the brick London home of the British monarchs.[94] Moreover, the ducal residences were basically completed according to plan, whereas royal palaces, Greenwich (plate 69), and Hampton Court (plate 73), were left nowhere near a state of completion, or at best, only half finished.[95]

The transfer of the Baroque style to the major aristocratic families was both short-lived and unpopular.[96] The Baroque style could not serve the symbolic function in architecture of illustrating the victory of the landowning class over absolute monarchy, for it was the monarchial style. Baroque scale was huge and awe inspiring (plage 74). The design was an attempt to control the individual (plate 75). This obviously ran counter to the victory of the individual landowner against bureaucracy.[97] More to the point, the Whig (country) party was too broad based for only the senior dukes to adopt the symbols of power.[98] The final judgement on Baroque symbols, such as Versailles and Blenheim, belonged to the contemporary critic Alexander Pope (1688-1744). Pope said of Vanburgh's Blenheim Palace:

See, sir here's the grand approach;
This way is for his grace's coach;
There lies the bridge, and here's the clock,
Observe the lion and the cock,
The spacious court, the colonade,
And mark how wide the hall is made!
The chimneys are so well designed,
They never smoke in any wind.
The gallery's contrived for walking,
The windows to retire and talk in;
The council chamber for debate,
And all the rest are rooms of State.
"Thanks, sir," cried I, "'tis very fine,
But where d'ye sleep, or where d'ye dine?
I find by all you have been telling,
That 'tis a house but not a dwelling."[99]

John Summerson, in his study of Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, accurately distilled the attitude of the victorious Whig aristocrat s after 1710, when he observed, "[the Earl of] Shaftesbury was the complete Whig and, according to him, the British people, having solved the fundamental problem of government, were now in the best position possible to develop the arts".[100] Summerson supported the concept of 'freedom' in the arts, when he enumerated the bogies of the new English rulers as "The Stuart dynasty, the Roman Catholic Church, and most things foreign".[101] In artistic terms, these dislikes were translated into an abhorrence of "the court taste of the previous half century, the work of Sir Christopher Wren in particular, and anything in the nature of the Baroque".[102]

In 1714, with the accession of the German Hanovers, the Whig aristocrats took control of the English government (plate 77).[103] This power transfer was symbolically illustrated by the nobility conscripting the Palladian style, the style of James I and Charles I, as their architectural image (plate 78). The visual metaphor of the Whigs, the country house image (plate 79), like its predecessor (plate 43) promised a settled and peaceful world, not under the rule of a single "Godly-Prince" (plate 45), but rather under an oligarchy (plate 80).[104]

A study of the 'Rotunda type' house underscored the democratic associations of Palladianism.[105] Mereworth by Colen Campbell (plate 81) of 1723 was the first example of the strain from which the Bank of Montreal would eventually descend.[106] The combination of dome and portico was derived from Palladio's Villa Rotonda at Vicenza (plate 82), which was itself a reinterpretation of the Roman Pantheon.[107] Lord Burlington at Chiswick House (plate 83) followed the Palladian formula, but instead of a saucer-shaped dome, the earl substituted an octagonal one.[108]

The dome of Chiswick House reappeared in the designs for the English and Irish Parliament Buildings. The octagonal dome of Kent's proposed design for the English Houses of Parliament of 1739 (plate 77) was given a definite 'Pantheon' feeling by the portico breaking away from the colonade.[109] The dome of Chiswick was directly borrowed for the House of Commons of the Irish Parliament Building in Dublin by Pearce (plate 84) of 1728-39.[110]

The seemingly incongruous adoption of the aristocratic country house image as a symbol of 'freedom' and 'democracy' by Kent and Pearce was supported by the nineteenth century historian Macaulay. In his discourse on the nature of British democracy, Macaulay, through mid-nineteenth century eyes, explained the relationship of the nobility and democracy.

> Seated in that house [of Commons from 1485 on], the heirs of the great peers naturally became as zealous for its privileges as any of the humble burgesses with whom they mingled. Thus our democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and our aristocracy the most democratic in the world; a peculiarity which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects.[111]

Chapter II: The Agrarian Image: The English Country House as a Symbol of the New Economic Order

Arnold Toynbee, wrote in his study of The Industrial Revolution:

> The historical method is supposed to prove that economic changes have been the inevitable outcome of natural laws. It just as often proves them to have been brought about by the self-seeking action of dominant classes...The more we accept the method of historical inquiry, the more revolutionary shall we tend to become in practice.

reprinted in Christopher Hill's Reformation to Industrial Revolution (New York: Pantheon Books, Random House, 1967), p. 239

The Palladian country house (plate 85), was symbolically the first building representative of the new economic order, which was land-based capitalism.[1] The nobility during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had effectively destroyed the last vestiges of the feudal system through their undisputed control of parliament (plate 77).[2] The enclosure movement began the massive reorganization of the English economy which eventually led to the new industrial system in the nineteenth century.[3]

Agrarian reorganization in England from 1660 to 1815,[4] had created an entrepreneurial atmosphere in British monied classes, where capital was willingly invested in new commercial projects.[5] Christopher Hill, quoting Mr. Thompson, said of the relationship of the agrarian image and the new economic order:

> "The 18th century gentry", in the words of Mr. Thompson; "made up a superbly successful and self-confident capitalist class. They combined, in their style of living, features of an agrarian and urban culture". He refers to "the profoundly capitalist style of thought of the class - zestfully acquisitive and meticulous in attention to accountancy...Laissez-faire emerged, not as the ideology of some manufacturing lobby, not as the intellectual yarn turned out by the cotton mills, but in the great agricultural corn-belt. Smith's argument (in The Wealth of Nations) is derived, very largely, from agriculture".[6]

The Royal Exchange (plate 86a) in London by Jerman was one of the first structures rebuilt after the Great Fire of 1666.[7]

Like most buildings constructed after the Great Fire, the Exchange became a symbol of the pretentions of Baroque Monarchy, such as Winchester Palace (plate 71), or St. Paul's (plate 67). The building was a rather unharmonious composition, for the architect remained faithful to the Elizabethan roots of the institution (plate 86b), through the maintenance of the Flemish arcade (plate 86c).[8] At the same time, the old design was encased in a rather Baroque version of Inigo Jones, seen in the double story triumphal arch motif topped by a Wren-like steeple (plate 87).

A more accurate symbolic reflection of economic and political realities was Wren's Custom House (plate 88) in London. The composition of a broad middle section flanked by smaller side pavillions, according to John Summerson, may suggest the influence of Dutch architecture, such as Campan's Town Hall in Amsterdam (plate 89).[9] Dutch architectural-agricultural influence as seen at the Customs House was nearly paralleled by similar stylistic developments in the English country house. Pratt's Coleshill (plate 90), and May's Eltham Lodge (plate 91), seemed to look to Campan's Mauritshuis at The Hague (plate 92), for general form and double story pilasters.[10] Belton House by Stanton (plate 93), and Clarendon House by Pratt (plate 94), possibly showed the influence of Campan's Town Hall (plate 89).[11]

The agrarian image, the world view of the Whig aristocrats, based on enclosure and Dutch farming methods, manifested itself in the adoption of the Palladian style for the Bank of England Building

in London by Sampson (plate 85) of 1732-34.[12] The first story rustication, the double story Ionic pilasters on a smooth stone façade, combined with the slight portico-like projection of the four engaged columns, were pure Palladianism (plate 95).[13] The union of the Whig agrarian image (plate 95), and the new economic order (plate 85), became sealed in the adoption of the Palladian style for the most important financial institution in the English-speaking world.[14]

The sharing in common of the agrarian image by both the aristocracy and the new financial institutions was underlined in the 1740's by Hogarth in his Marriage à la Mode Series.[15] In the scene of the Marriage Contract (plate 96), the artist provided a valuable illustration of one of the great social phenomena of the agrarian image, where the new commercial wealth married into the landed aristocracy.[16] In the background, the unfinished Palladian mansion (plate 96b),[17] was satirically included as the common visual metaphor of the new mercantile aristocracy.

The Palladian style (plate 95) was indeed founded, in the Earl of Shaftesbury's terms, in "truth and nature".[18] The agrarian image symbolically stood for the natural functioning of the world, free from bureaucratic checks and impediments (plates 64a,b,c). 'Laissez-faire', the signs were there before Smith coined the phrase in 1776.[19] The 'Laissez-faire' attitude applied to everything from

the social order, to the new complex economics. Voltaire, Rousseau, the Philosophes, and the Physiocrats in France, were all extended manifestations of the English agrarian image with its concern for natural law.[20]

The concern for nature and natural law, the extension of the desire for "truth and nature", was even reflected in garden design (plate 97). Baroque garden design (plates 98a,b,c), pioneered by Le Notre for Louis XIV (plate 98d), had organized the gardens of Absolute States into huge manipulative parterres and long vistas.[21] The gardens of Baroque Monarchy became vegetation-like extensions of palace architecture (plate 98e), where their design served to control and manipulate the individual by artificial and uniform design. The English aristocrats turned away from the garden design of Baroque Monarchy after 1740, and pioneered what Rudolf Wittkower called "carefully planned Elysiums".[22] Based in part on the classical strain of Baroque painting led by Claude (plate 99) and Poussin (plate 100), the English garden consciously derived its sense of informality and carefully achieved naturalism (plate 101), from the 'ideal' combination of sources (plate 102).[23]

The concern for 'nature' was symbolically reflected in the illustration of the agrarian image in painting. George Stubbs (1724-1806) painted the major concerns of the English, their outdoor

sports (plate 103), and their horses (plate 104).[24]

Gainsborough (1727-88) best preserved the images of the new oligarchy in a Baroque portrait formula derived from Van Dyck, court painter to Charles I (plate 105).[25] The Hon. Mrs. Graham (plate 106) utilized the classical pillar and lush 'natural' landscape to portray the Anglo-Scot aristocrat in her element, the agrarian image. In Blue Boy (plate 107), Gainsborough lifted the figure of a Prince of Wales directly from a Van Dyck canvas (plate 108), for the representation of an iron monger's son, the offspring of the new economic order.[26]

In the Palladian heyday, Alexander Pope had made two very inspired observations on the future of the Palladian country house in his satirical "Epistle to Lord Burlington" (1731).[27]

> You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,
> And pompous buildings were once things of Use.
> Yet shall (my lord) your just, your noble rules,
> Fill half the land with Imitating Fools;
> Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,
> And of one beauty many blunders make;
> Reverse your Ornaments; and hang them all
> On some patch'd dog-hole ek'd with ends of wall;
> Then clap four slices of Pilaster on't,
> That, Lac'd with bits of rustic, makes a Front
> Shall call the winds thro' long arcades to roar,
> Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door;
> Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
> And if they starve, they starve by rules of art.[28]

The first prediction made by Pope, that the academic precision of the Palladian style pioneered by Lord Burlington (plate 109), would undergo changes and modifications (plates 110 & 111), certainly came true in later decades. The second prediction that the style would spread over half the country was even more correct. The agrarian image (plate 85) spread not just over half of Britain, but indeed, over half the world (plates 112a,b), as the symbol of the new economic order of capitalism based on agricultural reform.

The first appearance of the English country house in Scotland was due to Sir William Bruce and his work on a residence like Kinross House of 1685-95 (plate 113).[29] Kinross bore a striking resemblance to Clarendon House (plate 94) or Belton House (plate 93), of the same period in England.

Yester House (plate 114) by William Adam, was one of the first manifestations of the English agrarian image in Scotland, after the formerly independent kingdom was merged with England by a coalition of English commercial interests and the Scots aristocracy.[30] As T.W. West said in his History of Architecture in Scotland:

> William Adam's practice covers the first half of the eighteenth century and during it the Palladianism, first transplanted by Bruce, successfully established itself. From this time begins the golden age of the country house consequent on internal peace and the

> new prosperity based on the increased trade which eventually (though not at first) followed the Act of Union in 1707 and upon the agricultural revolution that was in progress on the great estates. The Palladian style is one which is therefore particularly identified with the ethos of this expanding period.[31]

The links of the English agrarian movement with the new economic order in Scotland was symbolically illustrated by Hopetown House (plate 115) of 1721 by Adam, which was a rather rich restatement of Winde's Buckingham House of 1703-5 (plate 116) in London, or Wotton House of 1704 (plate 117).[32] John Summerson supported the perception of the union of the country house image and agricultural reform in Scotland when he observed:

> After 1715 and much more after 1745, opportunities for architecture did gradually increase in Scotland, thanks to those noblemen and lairds who began to enclose land and enrich themselves and the country by adopting English methods of agriculture.[33]

The heavier version of the English country house seen at Duff House (plate 118) of 1735 by William Adam, the pristine Palladianism of Penicuik House of 1770 by his more famous son Robert Adam (plate 119), and one of the finest pieces of town planing in Europe, the new town of Edinburgh (plate 120) by the Adam brothers of the 1770's, were all manifestations of the agrarian image.[31]

In Catholic Ireland, the social function of the English agrarian image as a symbol of the new economic (plate 121) and political order (plate 122), took on the added dimension of 'conquest'.[35] The foreign aspect of the transplanted English country house (plate 123) was beautifully summed up by Elizabeth Bowenscourt when she described her sadness at closing the great hall door in the evenings - "at shutting Ireland out".[36]

The early Anglo-Dutch houses of Beaulieu (plate 124), and Carton (plate 125), of 1660 to 1670, served to link Hibernia with the Dutch-derived English agricultural movement, symbolically seen in structures of the design of Honington Hall of 1671 in Warw (plate 126).[37]

In the uneasy peace which followed the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, numerous Palladian houses were built by the narrow Protestant aristocracy that controlled the country.[38] Castletown of 1722 by Ducart (plate 127) was the first Palladian house in Ireland.[39] The compositional arrangement of a central block linked by patio-colonades to the two matched wing-pavilion, had precedent in the English models of Buckingham House (plate 116), and Wooton House (plate 117).

The link between 'official' architecture and the English agrarian image, was best expressed in the Parliament Buildings in Dublin by Pearce (plate 128). The nominally "Irish" institution was pure

Palladianism in its symbolic meaning, even to the inclusion of an octagonal dome first pioneered by Lord Burlington at Chiswick House (plate 128b).[40]

The link between 'official' architecture and the country house image became clearer at Kilshaning by Ducart of 1765 (plate 129).[41] The agrarian image of Kilshaning was repeated for the Customs House in Limerick of 1765 and 1769 (plate 130), by the same architect.[42] The message that both structures were symbols of English domination would not be lost on the Catholic natives, despite the differences in actual functions.[42]

The Palladian (Georgian) front of Castleward of 1760 (plate 131), built of imported English stone, and the pristine elegance of the English vernacular at Lucan House in Dublin by Vessey (plate 132) served to illustrate the numerous strains of the agrarian image being built in Ireland.[44]

The adoption of the Palladian based agrarian image for the buildings of the new economic order could be seen in Cooley's Royal Enchange in Dublin of 1769-79 (plate 133).[45] The compositional arrangement of a Pantheon derived dome, and a six columned portico, served as an interesting precursor to the Bank of Montreal (plate 2). The pairing of the end columns in Cooley's design had precedent in the English country house, and was used in the nearly contemporary

design of Wardour Castle by Paine of 1770-76 (plate 134).[46]

The oversized Custom House in Dublin of 1781-91 (plate 135), and the Four Courts of 1776-96 (plate 136), both by James Gandon, were heavily indebted to the English Baroque of Sir Christopher Wren.[47] The general design, and the dome, of the Custom House looked back to Wren's plans at Chelsea (plate 68), and Greenwich Hospital (plate 72).[48] The drum of the Four Court's low dome bore a striking resemblance to the drum of St. Paul's Church in London (plate 67).[49] Symptomatically, the rather elaborate statements of English domination came at the time when the Irish began to agitate for structural reforms in the government during the 1780's and 1790's.[50]

The connection of the landed aristocracy and the banks, first seen with Sampson's Bank of England (plate 85), was reinforced in 1803, when the Bank of Ireland moved into the Palladian Houses of Parliament (plate 128).[51] In 1801, the English Parliament had dissolved the separate representative assembly in Ireland because the English could not keep effective control during the war with revolutionary France.[52]

In Scotland, there occurred a similar symbolic union of the existing eighteenth century images of the landed aristocracy and the banks as had taken place in Ireland. In 1828, the Royal

Bank of Scotland Head Office was moved into the nobleier residence built for Lord Lawrence Dundas (plate 137) in 1770.[53] Lord Dundas had been a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland in the late eighteenth century.[54] Not surprisingly, no changes were made in the exterior of the aristocratic residence cum bank, for the images of the nobility and the banks were the same.

The perception of the Palladian country house as a symbol of freedom and aristocratic control of governmentwas reinforced in the adoption of the agrarian image as the 'official' architecture of the independent republic of the United States.[55]

Hoban's White House (plate 138) of 1792 was a classic Georgian-Palladian mansion.[56] Milton W. Brown, in his study of American Art to 1900, suggested that Hoban borrowed the design from a plate in Gibbs, and therefore, the White House was based, with some modifications, on Leinster House in Dublin of 1779 (plate 139).[57] The symbolic image presented at the official residence of the American head of state, and chief executive, was simply that of an elected member of an oligarchy-aristocracy.

The union of the landed 'aristocracy' and the banks was expressed in the United States by the sharing of a common architectural image (plate 140a,b,c). The First Bank of the United States Building in Philadelphia by Blodget of 1797 was visually part

of the aristocratic agrarian image.[58] The First Bank Building was built in the Palladian idiom, as was the case with the later Bank of Montreal (plate 2). The porticos of both structures were supported by six double story corinthian columns, though the arrangement of the United States Bank was more like Cooley's Royal Exchange in Dublin (plate 125). The walls were articulated by double story pilasters. Both structures had three rectangular windows flanking on either side a centralized door. Unlike the Bank of Montreal, but like its proto-type, the Commercial Bank of Scotland Building by Rhind of the 1840's (plates 3a,b), the United States Bank utilized a balustrade above the cornice.

The 'rotunda' strain of the agrarian image was developed in the United States by Thomas Jefferson (plate 141). Jefferson's home at Monticello (plate 142) was symbolically transformed by its owner between the years 1796 and 1809 into a symbol that in the American republic the values and virtues of the ancient Roman republic were reborn again.[59] Jefferson's plan for the University of Virginia campus at Charlottesville of 1821-26 (plate 143), according to Alan Gowans, unified the diverse buildings around the Pantheon-Rotunda (plate 144), "so all the diverse peoples settled in the United States might be unified by a common body of law and culture they all inherited from antiquity".[60]

Benjamin Latrobe's Bank of Philadelphia, of 1798-99 (plate 145), pointed to the new direction for bank architecture in the United States.[61] Though technically part of the 'rotunda' strain of the English agrarian image, the pure white marble building symbolically illustrated that the 'bank' was not only an instrument of the mercantile aristocracy, rather it was also the means through which the common man could attain financial independence.[62] John Summerson spoke of the break between the British tradition, and the architectural forms in America, when he said:

> It occured when Latrobe married English-Neo classicism to Jeffersonian Neo-classicism (itself in a sense a recapitulation of Burlington's Palladianism) in the Philadelphia Bank of 1798. From that moment, the classical revival in America took on a national form.[63]

Jefferson's wish to stress the link with antiquity, and at the same time the nineteenth century desire for more democratic associations in architecture, caused the Palladian agrarian image to be revised from c. 1820 to c. 1840 in the form of the Greek Revival (plate 146).[64] According to Alan Gowans, Strickland's Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia of 1819-24, "marked a triumph of Greek over Roman neoclassicism in the United States".[65] Further, Alan Gowans explained the symbolic differences between the Palladian-Roman form of classicism, and the Greek Revival, in terms of Strickland's bank building:

> The Roman style was somehow tied up with opposition to the tariff, to moneyed aristocracy, to the class privilege. As such, it was anathema to the very people who in the nature of things were most likely to give important architectural commissions. All this put the young American-born architect who might sympathize with Jeffersonian architectural ideals in an unpleasant dilemma indeed. It was no accident that the Directors of the United States Bank in their 1818 competition specified "Grecian architecture in its purest form"; a Roman building, associated as it must have been with the party which proclaimed a national bank the most horrible of threats to free institutions, would have been altogether too paradoxical. Greek architecture, by contrast, stood for liberty in general; it seemed to be above party, universally applicable, by all kinds of people.[66]

In Britain, the classical revivals obviously could not have the same political connotations as in France or the United States. Rather, they tended to be associated with culture and so were used for museums (plate 147), high schools (plate 148), concert halls, and the like.

In terms of the English agrarian image, the bank (plate 149), the government office (plate 150), and aristocratic residences (plates 151 & 152), had Greek decorative details engrafted into the existing Roman-Palladian forms. The porticos became Ionic or Doric, the detailing less profuse, the classical elements more pronounced, but the original agrarian image of oligarchial government and land based capitalism was intact. 'Palatial', rather than 'republican', associations were being

expressed.

John Summerson, in his study of The Architecture of Victorian London, illustrated the architectural-structural problems posed as the agrarian image based economic order became more complex with industrialization, and the corresponding rise of different forms of capital institutions:

> The main bidders for conspicuous sites in the City (London's financial district) of the thirties and forties were joint-stock banks and assurance companies, and of the two it was the assurance companies which were the more competitive and the more ambitious to make an architectural hit. Banking was an essentially conservative area of English life, bound up with family traditions and aristocratic and political relationships. The private banker was a man of peculiar esteem. His bank was also his residence, barely differentiated from any other rich man's residence. The coming of the joint-stock bank, a business sheltering under corporate anonymity, was a shock to this traditional system. But the shock was soon absorbed, and the joint-stock establishments quickly earned the the trust and esteem awarded to the private houses. One of the first joint-stock banks to be accepted was the London and Westminster (plate 153). Founded in 1833, it built itself new premises in Lothbury, opposite the north front of the Bank of England (plate 154), in 1839, the directors employing the Bank of England architect, C.R. Cockerell (he had succeeded Soane there in 1833), for the façade. The building was unmistakably an official, not a domestic building, the first bank apart from the Bank of

England to look like a bank, with allegories of London and Westminster above the cornice.[67]

London of the 1830's and 1840's was definitely not the best source for interpretations of the nobleier agrarian image. The rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament (plate 155) by Barry and Pugin from 1840 in the Gothic Revival had symbolically signalled the end of the exclusive aristocratic control of the government.[68] The London and Westminister Bank by Cockerell was rather plain and symbolically illustrated that the financial organization of the City had moved far away from its eighteenth century origins in merchant trade and land based capitalism, and into a new age of complex industrial capital formation.[69] The Royal Exchange by Tite of 1840-44 (plate 156) maintained the 'temple' form of the agrarian image, but the architecture was too overblown and self-conscious to be convincing.[70]

By writing to Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1845, the Bank of Montreal, with unerring instinct, availed itself of the richest expression of the agrarian image manifested in bank architecture in all of the English-speaking world.[71]

The Commercial Bank of Scotland Building by David Rhind on George Street in Edinburgh (plates 157a,b,c) of 1844-46, was the chief bank building of the mid-1840's in Scotland.[72] The Commercial Bank on George Street was, according to Rhind's obituary in The Builder, "the first work of importance carried out from his designs".[73] The

corinthian portico was singled out for having "been much admired".[74]

According to The Illustrated News of London, the pediment composition (plate 158), by Ritchie, from a model by James Wyatt, formed "a portion of the architect's design instead of appearing like an afterthought".[75] The sculptural group thus served to illustrate the rather complex metaphor of Rhind's architecture. The pedimental composition presented the vision of a new world order, that had begun with land based capitalism, the agrarian image of the eighteenth century mercantile aristocracy, and by the 1840's had come to fruition. The commercial system encompassed, and reformed, all of man's activities.

> The group consists of, in the centre, a figure of Scotland, supported by Justice and Enterprise, receiving from the hands of Plenty the fruits of her industry. Impersonations of Agriculture and Navigation, with emblems and accessories, fill up the dexter side of the pediment. On the sinister side, are figures representing Merchandise and Science; while a group of three children peering into the peculiarities of a notched wheel completed the group.[76]

H.R. Hitchcock, in his study of Early Victorian Architecture in Britain, said that David Rhind "was not in the least Palladian".[77] The fact that Rhind was not personally well disposed to Palladianism, but designed in that manner for the Commercial Bank of Scotland, showed that

in this period, architects were expected to design appropriate visual metaphors for their patrons, and not exercise their own personal sensitivities at their patron's expense.[78]

The question raised by the mid-nineteenth century, concerning the 'freedom' of the artist, was just one symptom of the changing concept of architecture as visual metaphor. This shift in awareness of the basic function of architecture was manifested by an increasing confusion of forms.

In Great Britain, the so-called 'battle of the styles', was played out in microcosm between Lord Palmerston and Sir Gilbert Scott.[79] In 1859, Lord Palmerston calmly set aside Scott's plan to build the Foreign Office Building, Whitehall, in a Gothic style.[80] Palmerston demanded Italian, not Venetian Gothic, not Byzantine, but "ordinary Italian".[81] In the end, the artist-architect, Scott, had to give way to his patron in order to save himself from ruin.[82] Nevertheless, when a national monument was proposed to Prince Albert (d.1861) in Hyde Park, Palmerston again suggested the classic tradition, "an open Grecian temple".[83] Scott, however, built a rather hybrid form of classical-Byzantine-Gothic (plate 159).

The same situation took place in the United States where the idea of architecture as a visual metaphor faded out during the course of the nineteenth century. According to Alan Gowans, the breakdown began after 1850.[84]

Chapter III: The Mercantile Palace Image: The Styles of the English Country House in Montreal (1800-1850)

Joseph Bouchette, travelling through British North America, said of Montreal in the 1830's:

> In its present state Montreal certainly merits the appellation of a handsome city. ...The streets are airy, and the new ones particularly, of a commodious width; some of them running the whole length of the town, parallel to the river, intersected by others at right angles. The houses are for the most part built of a greyish stone, many of them large, handsome, and in a modern style...

The British Dominions in North America, 2 vols., (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1832), I, p.216

Montreal architecture during the first half of the nineteenth century can generally be characterized into three stylistic phases. The first phase, from c.1800 to c.1819, continued the typical natural stone façade construction of the eighteenth century, with only a few 'official' buildings reflecting the styles of the English country house. The structures built during the second phase, from c.1819 to c.1836, were characterized by relatively plain smooth stone fronts, with slight 'classical' articulation. The third phase, from c.1836 to c.1850, was of the more elaborate 'Mercantile-Aristocratic Palace Image' of the Palladian mode.

The Court House (plate 160) of 1800, looked back to the style of the pre-Whig English country house.[1] The composition of a broad middle section, with flanking side projections, was a descendant of the Anglo-Dutch country house (plates 88,93,94), which was the symbolic manifestation of English agricultural reorganization based on imported Dutch crops and techniques in the late seventeenth century.

The Old Jail of 1806 (plate 161), likewise displayed a dependence on the Anglo-Dutch mode of the country house, even in the adoption of the Palladian derived cupola.[2]

The situation in Montreal on the eve of the second phase was accurately summed up in the nearly contemporary description of city architecture in 1816:

> The buildings of the city were small, or one or two stories in height, a few three stories, build mostly of small rough stones or rubble, loosely put together, the interstices filled with mortar, and the whole plastered over. Hammerdressed stone was coming into use, but there were only two hewn-stone buildings in the main city, the dwellings of Ross and Beaubien on St. Gabriel St. In 1818 a large hewn-stone store was put up by John Torrance on the corner of St. Nicolas and St. Paul Streets and became the wonder of everybody. There was only one all-wood house within the city limits, that of James Brown, proprietor of the Gazette at that time, standing on the corner of St.François Xavier and Notre Dame Streets...Most of those in the suburbs were wooden. Brick had been used in one or two buildings, but there was great prejudice among stonemasons against its introduction...Most of the houses had heavy iron doors and shutters; many had vaulted cellars, and the attics floored with timbers eight or ten inches thick, covered with several inches of stone and earth, so that a roof might burn off and leave the square standing unburned. The roofs were sloping, and most of them covered with tin as an additional protection against fire. There was little or no attempt at ornamental architecture... There was but little public protection against fire and robbery, plenty of surface room, small traders, little individual wealth, and scanty education, and the buildings of the city with their equipment took their character accordingly...[3]

Building methods in Montreal changed radically during the second phase (c.1819-1836). This period saw the introduction of the professional architect, the design specialist, into the city building

scene. Before the second phase, the design of a building was undertaken by the actual building, the master mason or the master carpenter, in consultation with the proprietor.[4]

It would seem that this was the case with the first Bank of Montreal Head Office Building on St. James Street of 1819 (plate 162).[5] The contract for the carpentry between the bank and Andrew White, carpenter, stated:

> carpentry for a cut stone bank according to the plans of 'AW' contractor.[6]

Twenty years later, Hochelaga Depicta (1839) described the Bank of Montreal Building as:

> The present edifice was erected at the expense of more than eleven thousand pounds. It is a large and elegant building of cut stone, ornamented in four compartments with emblematical devices of Agriculture, Manufacture, Arts, and Commerce, executed in bas-relief. The portico is of the Doric order.[7]

The first Bank of Montreal Head Office Building, possibly by Andrew White, was typical of early commercial architecture in the city. The structures were 'English' to the extent that the symmetry, the smooth stone finish, and classical porticos, set them apart from

buildings in the French-Canadian architectural tradition (plate 163).

The first manifestations of the mercantile palace image in Montreal was tied to the coming of the professional architect. The first architects to establish permanent practice in the province of Lower Canada were almost invariably of British origin and training. Among them were George Brown (born in Belfast, 1811, first came to Quebec in 1830),[8] John Ostell (born in London, 1813, first came to Montreal around 1831),[9] John Wells (apparently born in England, practising in Montreal as early as 1831),[10] and one Mr. Thompson (the partner of Wells, practising in Montreal in 1832).[11]

The change in stylistic phases around 1835, to the more elaborate Palladian based mercantile-aristocratic form of the English country house image, was indicative of the contemporary spirit of "improvement" in the city. Newton Bosworth, in Hochelaga Depicta, described the situation on the eve of the third phase:

> When at length, by the merciful Providence of God, this awful and calamitous scourge was removed [Asiatic Cholera outbreak of 1834], the spirit of enterprise and improvement returned in all its previous vigour; and the citizens of Montreal were by no means backward in their efforts to increase the accommodations and beauty of the city and its suburbs. A better style of building prevailed. Instead of the slight frame houses,

> or more substantial ones of rough stone, which were formerly erected, nearly all the recent structures, whether for private residence or mercantile stores, are formed of hewn stones in front, and many of them display considerable taste. Several lines of such erections adorn various parts of the city. The harbour has been improved, and the streets are kept in better order, and an attention to convenience and comfort has become far more general than at any former period.[12]

The description of Montreal architecture of the third phase stood in marked contrast to the situation in 1816, and illustrated the spread of the English architectural style from only two structures in the first phase, to general use by the late 1830's:

> The recent houses are almost invariably built of the greyish limestone which the vicinity of the mountain affords in abundance; the fronts of the same material, hewn and squared, even the new stores and warehouses are finished in the same manner, exhibiting an appearance far more agreeable than those which were constructed of the rough stones, made to fit as far as the mere placing of them could do it, and their interstices filled up with smaller stones and mortar. Many of the houses are large, handsome, and in modern style, and some of them display great taste in design. The prevalent feature is the union of chasteness and elegance in various proportions, with a commendable absence of meretricious style and ornament. The best houses, and most churches, are covered with plates of tin, a far better material for this purpose than the wooden shingles which are frequently

> used, and though more expensive in the first cost, are cheaper in the end, beside the advantage of safety from fire when burning flakes from neighbouring houses fall upon the roof.[13]

John Ostell's Custom House on Place Royale of 1836 (plate 164) was the first building of the third phase of English architecture in the city.[14] The composition was divided into two zones, with the first story rusticated in the Pallaidan mode, and the upper story of cut, hammered, stone. The lower story windows were rounded, and the upper fenestration rectangular. The small classical portico opening onto the square was of the Tuscan order.[15]

The central block of Ostell's McGill College Building of 1839-42 (plate 165), was an interesting illustration of the union of 'official' architecture and the mercantile palace image.[16] The first story rustication, the second story smooth stone finish, (despite the addition of an attic story which made the façade even more Palladian (plate 85)), illustrated that the McGill College Building was a copy of the slightly earlier Customs House (plate 164). The five bay front, the pediment supported by Tuscan pilasters, some of the detailing of the window casements, and the general proportions, underlined the union of the educational institution, the non-commercial manifestation of the mercantile palace image in the city, and the government building.

The overall design of the McGill College was definitely Palladian in nature. The composition of a central block (plate 166), with a double story classical portico, connected by patio-colonades to matching flanking structures, was a formula which was unequivocally part of the English country house tradition (plates 116, 117, 127).

It would seem that the famous landmark of McGill College-University, the lantern-cupola (plate 167), was not part of Ostell's original submission to the Board of Regents.[17] This feature of the design was possibly engrafted from the plans of one of the competing architects, George Brown, for the commission of 1839.[18] Though a strong case could be made that the addition of the lantern-cupola was simply part of the Palladian formula, an equally convincing case perhaps could be made that the concept came from existing collegiate architecture in the United States, as did its pretentious statements about liberal and democratic education in the founding constitution (plates 168a,b,c,d).[19] Of course domes and cupolas were old symbols of civic and community buildings; and one could even argue that the octagonal lantern-cupola of McGill might be a descendant of Lord Burlington's octagonal dome at Chiswick (plate 77, 83, 84).

Other examples of mercantile palace forms of the old eighteenth century sort were not lacking on the Montreal scene before Wells designed the Bank of Montreal on the Place d'Armes.

The Bank of British North America by G.L. Dickinson of 1844 (plate 169) on Great St. James Street was definitely of the Palladian mercantile palace image.[20] The composition of the first story rustication, topped by an upper story. amd a third floor 'attic', combined with the centralizing effect of the pseudo-pediment of the Greek Ionic order, bore a striking resemblance to the contemporary Head Office Building of the Royal Bank of Scotland (plate 137), the former residence of Lord Lawrence Dundas.[21]

The change in bank images from the existing rather plain City Bank (plate 170), a perfect example of the second phase of Montreal architecture, to the wonderfully Palladian City Bank on the Place d'Armes of 1845 (plate 171), nicely illustrated the growth of the mercantile palace image from the second to third phase before the Bank of Montreal was completed.[22] The second City Bank Building under discussion, by McFarlane and Brown, was of the style of the Palladian mansion that Hogarth had satirized as far back as the 1740's, in his Marriage à la Mode Series (plate 96).[23]

The change from the second phase Bank of Montreal (plate 163), possibly by Andrew White, to the more elaborate Palladian 'Rotunda' building by Wells on the Place d'Armes (plate 172), had definite precedent in bank architecture at the time. Hochelaga Depicta, reissued in 1846, said of the new Bank of Montreal Building by John Wells:

> The order of architecture adopted for this Bank (which is now in course of erection), is

> the Corinthian. The front will have a portico of 6 columns 40 feet in height, the entire height, from the pavement to the apex of the pediment of the portico, being 63 feet 6 inches. The length is 93 feet fronting on the Place d'Armes, and the depth 63 feet. The design was furnished by Mr. Wells, and the building is expected to be completed in 1847.[24]

The commission for the Bank of Montreal Building by John Wells had already been discussed (see Introduction). The Bank of Montreal with its prominent double story classical portico, and Pantheon-inspired dome, fronting on the Place d'Armes, was certainly one of the outstanding edifices built during the third phase in the city. The fact that the Building Committee had John Wells base his design on David Rhind's Commercial Bank of Scotland Building on George Street in Edinburgh, did not seem to limit the architect's originality in design.[25] The building by Wells was of a more pristine classicism than the structure by Rhind.[26] The Bank of Montreal was decidely more Palladian, and thus an original manifestation of the type of architecture characterized by the third phase.

It was not only the banks which were constructed in a richer vocabulary during the third phase. The Second Congregational Church by Wells on Gosford Street of 1845 (plate 173), was built in the Grecian strain of the temple house image.[27] The Court House by John Ostell of 1851 (plate 174), again copied the 'temple-house' premise of the mercantile palace image.[28]

Chapter IV: The English Agrarian Image: The Symbolic Function of the Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes

Lord Durham wrote in his famous report:

> The English farmer carried with him the experience and habits of the most improved agriculture in the world. ...He often took the very farm which the (French-) Canadian settler had abandoned, and, by superior management, made that a source of profit which had only impoverished his predecessor.

reprinted in R.L.Jones "French-Canadian Agriculture in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1815-1850"
in W.T. Easterbrooke, & M.H. Watkins, eds., Approaches to Canadian Economic History, Carleton Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), pp. 111-112.

The symbolic function of the Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes of 1846 was an unconscious expression by the commissioners, architect, indeed the Anglo-Saxon community in Montreal, of their belief in the superiority of English-British laws, customs, and economic system. In short, the Bank of Montreal Building by John Wells was yet another symbolic manifestation of the agrarian image, the visual metaphor of the change in the world's economy that had begun in eighteenth century England (plate 85), which led to a capitalist economy, and spread to Scotland (plates 157a,b,c), Ireland (plate 133), and the United States (plates 140a,b,c).

The English agrarian image, like the theory of capitalism, had its basis in the reorganization of the primary factor of production, namely agriculture.[1] The diametrically opposite attitudes between English and French in Europe was paralleled in the nineteenth century by the same misunderstanding in the new world. (For an interesting contrast, see Appendix A). In Lower Canada, the misunderstanding was tinged with mistrust and fear.

R.Cole Harris and John Warkentin, in their study of Canada Before Confederation, described the initial clash of English and French perceptions of agriculture in Quebec in the late eighteenth century:

> The English introduced several new crops, among them potatoes, but the habitants' agricultural system was slow to change.

> Wheat and untended meadow or pasture were still the dominant land uses and were combined in the same loose system of convertible husbandry. This style of husbandry horrified Englishmen who had any knowledge of the improved farming practices of their day, and in 1789 the governor, Lord Dorchester, organized an agricultural society in hopes of modernizing it. The society, composed largely of English-speaking merchants and professional men, began ambitiously by sending agricultural instructions to the local militia captains and parish priests, but soon found that, if read at all, the instructions were "almost totally and shamefully neglected". The feeling that the habitants were insouciant and shiftless grew.[2]

The placing of four classical bas-relief panels dedicated to Agriculture, Manufacture, Arts and Commerce (plate 1), on the 1819 Bank of Montreal Building, was not simply an 'aesthetic' exercise.[3] Like the illustration of the bank building as the central motif on the first paper currency issued by the Bank of Montreal in the same year (plate 180), the four panels symbolically proclaimed the desire of the English to reorganize the economy. The concept of the English agrarian image as the new economic order was expressed.

Donald Creighton, in The Empire of the St. Lawrence, said of the larger conflict between the English, who wanted to reorganize the social and economic structure of the St. Lawrence River basin,

and the French, who for the most part, wanted things to remain as they were:

> When, however, they (the English) turned impatiently to the task or reorganization, they found to their dismay that the French-Canadians did not cherish their objectives nor share their enthusiasm. The fur trade in fact, was the first and possibly the last great continental enterprise in which the French ever actively participated. In the direction of the new staple trades, in the banks, land companies, canal companies, in all the commercial projects characteristic of the new Canadian economy, they took if any, a definitely subordinate part. As the old generation of French-Canadian merchants and 'bourgeois' died off, the society turned inward upon itself and poured its brains and energy into the professions, the church, the petty trades and agriculture. Sullen, suspicious and unresponsive, the French watched the development of the commercial program with an apathy which deepened into hatred. They refused to co-operate in the necessary adjustments. As the pressure upon them mounted, they organized their own defence, employed their most stimulating slogans and appealed to their sacred minority rights. The two groups were divided in their economic interests; but they were also separated by different creeds, languages, customs and habits of thought. And each side grasped its own appropriate weapons in a quarrel which became one of the central tragedies of Canadian history.[4]

Creighton, no doubt, was speaking of overall interests in his analysis of the French-English conflict. Recent scholarship has

pointed out, that French-Canadian entrepreneurs played a significant role in the development of trade and commerce in the St. Lawrence River basin during the first half of the nineteenth century.[5] Collective attitudes do not imply universality, and indeed, in Upper Canada, the English Reformers in the 1830's, led by William Lyon Mackenzie, were as hostile to the new commercial system,[6] as the French 'Patriotes' led by Papineau in Lower Canada.[7] Creighton significantly titled this conflict as "commerce versus agriculture".[8] The improved agrarian image of the English mercantile-aristocracy, versus the semi-feudal agricultural-based economic system.

Joseph Bouchette, writing in The British Dominions in North America (1832), gave a contemporary hint of how divergent attitudes between the generally tradition bound French-Canadians and the English agrarian image, were symbolically perceived in terms of architecture. Bouchette dismissed the Government House in Montreal, the Chateau de Ramesay, built in 1705 (plate 181)[9]:

> The Government-House, usually classed among the public buildings, is on the south side of Notre Dame Street: Being very old, and an early specimen of the unpolished architecture of the province, it is not entitled to notice; it is however, kept in good repair.[10]

Bouchette's standards of architectural 'significance' were set with his lavish praise of the Palladian Province House in Halifax

of 1819 (plate 182)[11]:

> The Province Building is the best-built and handsomest edifice in North America. It is built of freestone, and is 140 feet in length, seventy in width, and forty-two in height. It contains all the provincial offices - ...[12]

The clash of the English agrarian image, and the tradition-bound French outlook, was the Rebellion of 1837.[13] Newton Bosworth, editor of Hochelaga Depicta (1839), gave vent to the priorities of the English population of the city during the upheavals of 1837. At a meeting held on October 23 of the "loyal and constitutional inhabitants", the people gathered for:

> maintenance of good order, the protection of life and property, and the connection now happily existing between this Colony and the United Kingdom at present put in jeopardy by the machinations of a disorganizing and revolutionary faction within this Province.[14]

The adoption of the title "Doric Club" by the militant English Tories during the Rebellion of 1837,[15] was an interesting inference of architectural-political symbolism tied to the classical tradition in Montreal. In Masonic terminology, for example, the Doric order (plate 183), related to Hiram, King of Tyre, and thus "strength".[16] "Strength", was a fitting appellation for a group of English Tories to use in a French Catholic sea, in defence of economic, social and political systems, born out of the agrarian image of the eighteenth century.

In the bitter aftermath of the Rebellion of 1837, it did indeed seem to the British, like Lord Durham in 1838, that the French Canadians:

> clung to ancient prejudices, ancient customs and ancient laws, not from any strong sense of their beneficial effects, but with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and unprogressive people.[17]

Lord Durham, like the Tory merchants of Montreal, believed in 1838 that the only way to solve the problem of the anti-commercial French, was to "anglicize them".[18] With this ambition in mind, J.M.S. Careless, in The Union of the Canadas, reported on the background behind the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840, of which Montreal would become the capital in 1843:

> The Canadian rebellions had been small, localized, and soon put down. Yet in Lower Canada, at least, there had been hard skirmishes and sharp suppression by British forces, and considerable French-Canadian sympathy manifested for the rebel champions of popular rights, Louis-Joseph Papineau and his fellow 'patriote' radicals. Here in consequence, rebellion's aftermath was acrid with French-English rancour and suspicion. It was scarcely surprising that Durham, centering his attention on this more populous and deeply troubled province, had concluded that the greatest source of Canadian ills was the warring of "two nations",

> French and English, within one body politic. Hence he had proposed the union of Upper and Lower Canada, to turn the French into a minority in a predominantly English-speaking colony. Then, assuredly, they would abandon their deluded efforts to preserve a backward little French enclave in a vast progressive British Empire, and gradually of their own volition embrace the benefits of assimilation. One nation would disappear within the other, and the strain and conflict of duality be gone. So great was a nineteenth-century British liberal's faith in the superiority of English-speaking civilization, with its parliamentary constitution, steam engine and world-wide industrial leadership.[19]

The stated ambition of the English to 'anglicize' the French went a long way in explaining the sudden appearance of consciously British architectural forms during the so-called third phase (c.1836-1850). Hochelaga Depicta of 1839, gave the English of Montreal a perception of their role in Lower Canada, and in doing so, gave credence to the historical function of the Palladian mercantile-palace form as anti-feudal, anti-despotic, and a symbol of freedom.

The Bank of Montreal Building, like all the architecture produced during the third phase, expressed the British conviction that the French-Canadians were lucky to have been conquered in 1759, and thus able to participate in the political and social benefits of the

of the English agrarian order. Newton Bosworth, editor of Hochelaga Depicta, quoted from Martin's Political Annals of Canada, and said:

> It ever there was a people that had a reason to rejoice in a change of masters, the French Canadians were that people. The conquest was a blessing to them. Under their former rulers - or rather owners, for they were despotically governed - they suffered much and enjoyed little. Peculation and fraud in the revenue enriched the few at the expense of the many. The feudal law was oppressive and degrading; the criminal code was vague in its provisions, and capricious in its administration. Under the English Government some of these evils were at once removed or mitigated; and the people in general were gratified with the change.[20]

The English viewed the period 1760 to 1793, the time when they took the country away from a heritage of "despotical government" and "feudal law", the heritage of the Versailles Monarchy (plate 184 a&b), as:

> An interval of thirty-six years of security was well improved; agriculture was extended; trade in all its departments, flourished, with a rapidity before unexampled; the Fur trade especially, which always found its safest and most valuable depot in Montreal was resumed with a spirit and enterprise

> of the most promising character, and an influx of imigration to the city and surrounding country took place which was truely astonishing.[21]

The artistic form of the English Bank of Montreal Building, within its historic social function, spoke an invitation to the conquered French, to come and participate in the new social and economic order which the English had given birth to. Bosworth gave vent to the unspoken message of Well's bank building, when he said:

> previous history affords no example of such forebearance and generosity towards the conquered - forming such a new era in civilized warfare that an admiring world admitted the claim of Great Britain to the glory of conquering a people less from the views of ambition, and the security of her colonies than from the hope of improving their situation, and endowing them with the privileges of free men.[22]

Thus, being British was equated with being a "free" man. This perhaps explained why the inherent 'Englishness' of the architectural images produced during the third phase (c.1836-50), was reinforced by the apparent trend to plan for overt British symbols in the pedimental compositions. In Hochelaga Depicta (1839), the royal arms of a lion and a unicorn flanking a heraldic shield was illustrated in the pediment of the Customs House by Ostell (plate 164a). In actuality,

that particular pediment was left blank (plate 164b). On the back pediment (plate 185), a cast figure of Britannia was placed. The appearance of British symbols, the royal arms, and Britannia was not so incongruous, because the Customs House was an 'official' building.

The illustrations of Hochelaga Depicta of 1846 again continued the representations of British symbols, but this time in the pediments of the banks. The royal arms reappeared in the pediment of the Bank of British North America (plate 169). In the same issue, the illustration of the Bank of Montreal (plate 186) was endowed with a figure of Britannia in a composition of foliage. Whether the illustrator of Hochelaga Depicta of 1846 was privy to the lost designs of Wells can not be determined. However, the composition of Britannia for the Bank of Montreal pediment was not carried out (plate 187).

The appearance of the royal arms in the pediment of the Bank of British North America, and Britannia in the pediment of the Bank of Montreal, in Hochelaga Depicta, was not incongruous, given the relationship of the banks and the government in both architectural and symbolic images. An interesting passage in the Resolve Books dated December 3, 1844 explained in terms of a new seal for the Bank of Montreal, the symbolic interrelationship of the bank and the government:

> The President read the solicitor's opinion respecting the style of the inscription upon a new seal for the use of the Bank submitted for approval which seal bears the words "Bank of Montreal" over the device and the words "Chartered by Act of Parliament" underneath the same and the solicitor being of the opinion that such words were perfectly legal and proper, it was resolved unanimously that the old seal be laid aside and destroyed and that the new seal be and hereby adopted.[23]

An offshoot of the symbolic union of 'government' and the 'bank', was the fact that the Bank of Montreal apparently wanted the government of the city to enclose the Place d'Armes. The Bank of Montreal not only pressed to have the square in front of its new head office enclosed, and thus make the façade by Wells even more imposing, but also wanted the city corporation to borrow the necessary capital investment from the bank itself. Following the mixture of profit and aesthetics with respect to the Place d'Armes, it was not surprising to see that the board was very specific in 1845, as to what it wanted fronting their new head office:

> A letter from the City Council on the subject of the improvement and enclosing of the Place d'Armes was read. Whereupon some conversation arose on the character of the work, the plans effect & when finally the Cashier was instructed to inform the corporation that the Directors adhere to their previously expressed opinion that the square be enclosed (for which purpose the Bank had

> advanced £1750) and the Wall or Coping (?) should not exceed 18 inches in height, surmounted by an iron railing of 4 1/2 or 5 feet. Messrs. Masson and Redpath declined voting on the subject, all the other members in favor of the above.[24]

Symbolically speaking, the Place d'Armes itself distilled the essence of the cultural-political situation in Lower Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century, where the heritage of Baroque Monarchy, the Church of Notre Dame of 1824 by James O'Donnely (plate 188) was contrasted against the "progressive" English agrarian image (plate 172).[25] The Bank of Montreal Building by Wells of 1846 was in an artistic style pioneered by the anti-Baroque, anti-Catholic, (and since the Versailles monarchy epitomized both, by extension, anti-French), English aristocracy of the eighteenth century, stood dramatically across from the major symbol of French Catholicism in the city. Alan Gowans, in his study of Building Canada, said of the symbolic contrast of the Place d'Armes:

> Behind the 1722 parish church of Notre-Dame (plate 189) the new Gothic Revival church takes shape, it forms a symbol of 'Frenchness' and 'Catholicism' in the face of the challenge represented by the banks on the east side of the square (most notably the Bank of Montreal, built to the designs of John Wells in 1846), whose English classical forms with equal assertiveness, symbolize the 'Britishness' and 'Protestantism' of 'their' builders.[26]

The Place d'Armes was a microcosm of the world views of both French and English groups in Montreal. Newton Bosworth, writing in his 'Concluding Remarks' in Hochelaga Depicta (1839), came closest to putting into words, the world view of the English minority, symbolically stated by the Bank of Montreal Building:

> The state of society, whether viewed in classes, or in the aggregate, or as composed of individuals, and whether it be considered in its social, its civil, or its moral characteristic, will always be regarded as worthy of serious attention. From the manner in which the country was at first settled, and in which the population of this city has since been formed, two things were naturally to be expected; first, that the majority of inhabitants would for a long time continue to be French and Roman Catholics, and in the second place, that the number of British would be continually increasing, so as gradually to bring the two races nearer to an equality. This is precisely the case at present, and is likely to be more so, if such public measures be adopted as will call forth and reward the enterprise and energy ready to act and extend themselves wherever there is any promise of success. In every large community there must be a great diversity of talent and condition, restricting the intercourse, in a great degree, to particular classes, without much admixture with individuals of other classes. Whether the privileges of 'caste' (italics) are more jealously maintained, and the lines of demarcation more distinctly drawn, in Montreal than in other cities of equal magnitude,

> it may not be possible absolutely to determine, though suggestions have been made to the effect of showing its probability.[27]

The inherent symbolsim of Well's bank building as the visual metaphor of 'Britishness', 'Protestantism', and most importantly, the new economic system born out of the English agrarian revolution, was reinforced in the pedimental composition done in the 1860's by John Steel (plate 190).[28]

The left hand figure of a crouching Indian (Plate 191), in a 'Thinker' position (plate 192), was an unconscious reference to the conquest of 1759. The pose and figure of the Indian from the Bank of Montreal pediment, though clothed, was drawn directly from the Mohawk warrior (?) of Benjamin West's famous painting of The Death of General Wolfe (plate 193) of the early 1770's.[29]

The rather classical figure of the Bank of Montreal's pediment admittedly bore little resemblance to the veristic representations of native peoples in the nearly contemporary work of Cornelius Kreighoff (plate 194).[30] The source for the bank's pediment was the eighteenth century West. The American-born artist was known to confuse the Indian and antique classical statues. Once, when shown the epitome of classical statuary, the Hellenistic Apollo Belvedre (plate 195),

West reputedly exclaimed, "How like a Mohawk warrior!"[31] Thus, in the heart of the new world, the native Indian was represented as a noble Greek savage, within the English agrarian image.

By what has come to be the normal pattern of cultural lag, the great symbols of Palladian mercantile palaces which mark the first British Empire, were just being completed in Montreal during the 1840's, when the style was decisively displaced by the picturesque which was the style of Britain's second Empire, beginning with Windsor Castle (plate 196), and the Houses of Parliament (plate 159). To detail this account would indeed require another book, and another thesis. Yet another study would be required to develop the revival of the eighteenth century classical image in "imperial bombast" at the end of the nineteenth century: an expression of an increasingly different Imperialism being shored up by an increasingly pompous architectural frame.[32]

Conclusion

The Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes of 1846 continued the historic symbolic function of its eighteenth century prototypes, as a symbol of the new economic order, capitalism, the agrarian image of the mercantile aristocracy.

J. L. and Barbara Hammond, in the frontispiece to this study, established the historic matrix of the agrarian image. They contrasted the improving English landlords of the eighteenth century, creators of the agrarian image, against the mediaeval village representing unreformed agriculture. They concluded:

> ...Reform is difficult in a society that looks to the past more than the future, and honours custom rather than science, piety rather than enterprise.[1]

The English, confronted by the French Catholic population in Lower Canada, who as a group refused to partake in the advantages of English rule and their new economic order "as free men", failed to see the fears of this group that clung so stubbornly to the past.[2] The English concluded the French were, to paraphrase Lord Durham, "an uneducated and unresponsive people".[3]

After the stated English aim was to 'anglicize' the French[4] a political union was established to carry through this objective in 1840.[5] Montreal became the capital in 1843,[6] and therefore, the symbolic soul of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada. Then, perhaps

fortuitously, the architecture produced, most prominently by Wells' Bank of Montreal Building, became overtly 'British'.

The French Canadians, for their part, would seem to have recognized the architectural images of the mercantile aristocracy for what they were, symbols of a new economic order. In Joseph Legaré's (1795-1855)[7] mysterious painting of Caldwell Manor and the Etchemin Mills (plate 197), outside Quebec City, done after 1840,[8] was perhaps an illustration of the symbolic accommodation of French Canada to the English agrarian image. In the left foreground of the canvas, an Indian, symbolic of French Canada, a device Legaré used before (plate 198), approaches a son of the Palladian-based (plate 129), neo-classical manor, representative of the English.[9] The child's straw hat has fallen to the ground, and he holds a toy in his hands. The approaching Indian carries fish, the fruits of the wilds. Between the two personifications of the English and French ways of life, two trees interweave their branches.

The English agrarian image, the symbol of Montreal's mercantile aristocracy, was all-prevading, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliations. In terms of architectural symbolisms, the house of Joseph Masson of 1849 (plate 199), by Pierre Morin, provided an interesting example of the "image" of a French-Canadian businessman who

took part in the new economic order of the English.[10] Masson, among other things, was a member of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Montreal when Wells was building the new head office on the Place d'Armes.[11] Masson's architectural image was a definite manifestation of the English agrarian image (plates 93 & 94).

In this study, little differentiation was made between the actual symbolic forms of classical architecture in the English-speaking world. This was done in order to focus upon the contrast in attitudes between English and French towards economic reorganization. Though the agrarian image was a general symbolic manifestation of these attitudes, the concept of symbolisms in nineteenth century classical architecture must be explained. Alan Gowans, in Building Canada, said:

> The eighteenth-century classical tradition was one thing; 'classical revivals' quite another. It is important to understand the distinction, and easy too, as long as one remembers that the determining factor in any architectural tradition is not the outward forms of buildings but the way those forms are conceived - what they mean to the builders. Thus builders in the eighteenth-century classical tradition were primarily concerned with inherently architectural qualities, with achieving a kind of order, symmetry, and unity, and expressing a command over materials and effects of controlled space that corresponded to their belief in an orderly, rational, controllable world and so seemed self-evidently right; if they

used Renaissance or Graeco-Roman forms, it was because these forms seemed the most suitable means of creating the kind of architecture they wanted. But the end for which classical-revival builders used these same forms was very different. They used them because of certain ideas associated with them, ideas that had nothing inherently to do with architecture at all. This principle of using forms symbolically is the basis of what we call the Victorian tradition, which will dominate the architecture of the nineteenth century. Because classical revival architecture used the same forms as eighteenth-century classical buildings, it served historically as a vehicle for effecting the transition from one tradition to another. As in any such transition, some confusion was inevitable. People did not go all at once from one way of looking at architecture to another, any more than they woke up on the first day of the year 1400 in Florence and said, 'Ah! the Middle Ages are over; the Renaissance has begun'. And architects themselves who lived and worked through the transition did not always or entirely understand how and in what ways their approach to their own work was changing; only in retrospect does it become quite clear what was going on. This was particularly true in the more sophisticated and complex society of Britain. There a symbolic element is already evident in the work of Robert Adam as early as the 1760's, while Charles Barry as late as the 1840's and '50's still retains a good deal of the spirit of eighteenth-century classicism; in the work of men like Soane or Nash in the early 1800's the two approaches coexist inseparably. In the simpler society of North America, ends and means were less complicated; one of the great advantages of beginning a study of architecture with

> North America and proceeding thence to Europe is precisely, that, on the smaller New World stage, all cultural movements are simplified and seen with the clarity of an image at the wrong end of a telescope. So in Canada the relatively simple and generalized character of eighteenth-century classical buildings makes much more obvious the contrast between them and those more or less exact reproductions of Greek or Roman buildings inspired by the symbolic values of the classical revival. Furthermore, it is also relatively easier to recognize the different kinds of symbolic values attached to classical architecture by American and British classical revivalists respectively. For they were quite different; in few other areas are the effects of the Revolution so plain as in the differing concepts inspiring American and British Classical Revival architecture. Both are well represented in Canada, indeed, this is one of the aspects of Canadian architecture that is of peculiar significance.[12]

In its final form, the Bank of Montreal Building (plate 200), was a product of a sort of Palladian-Jeffersonian revival in the English-speaking world around the turn of the century. Alan Gowans pointed out that after the American Civil War (1861-65), the premier architectural firm in North America during the late nineteenth century, McKim, Mead and White, were "primarily concerned to build more democratic statements of (the) democratic faith".[13]

In 1895-96, McKim, Mead and White restored Jefferson's Rotunda Building along what the Victorian taste considered the more correct lines

(plate 201).[14] The firm also added the overscaled Cabell Hall (plate 202) to close the south end of the University of Virginia campus.[15]

In 1904, the American architectural firm renovated the Bank of Montreal Building on the Place d'Armes along the same 'correct' Victorian lines.[16] The dome was rebuilt, and the interior expanded.

The firm also designed the Bank of Montreal Building at Portage and Main in Winnipeg in 1911 (plate 203).[17] It was, according to Alan Gowans, from this type of classical bank that the small prefabricated banks, erected on the Prairies, were descended.[18]

Thus, the appearance of the English agrarian image across the country in the form of classical bank buildings was not simply a question of being artistically derivative. The symbolic function of the English agrarian image was to symbolize the concept, and form, of the economic system that reorganized, and built, the modern Canadian economy.

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71-David Walker, of the Scottish Development Department: Historic Buildings Branch, Edinburgh, in a letter dated August 11, 1978, gave the following list of Scots banking houses in the period 1800-1850.

"...The first bank to build a stately head office was the Aberdeen Bank for whom James Burn of Haddington built a Doric version of the Jones-Webb building at Old Somerset House in 1801. Thereafter came the Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh, Adam classical by Robert Reid and Richard Crichton (1802-06); the Leith Bank in Bernard Street, Leith, by John Paterson 1806 with semi-circular Ionic portico; the Ship Bank, Glassford Street, Glasgow, the centre 66 ft, a 222 ft classical terrace frontage by David Hamilton, 1825 (demolished); the Aberdeen Town and Country Bank Union Street,Aberdeen by Archibald Simpson 1826-27, a Greek version of the Aberdeen Bank design; the Royal Bank, Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow, hexastyle Greek Ionic by Archibald Elliot II, 1827 (see Gomme and Walter, The Architecture of Glasgow); Sir William Forbe's Bank, Parliament Square, Edinburgh by William Burn, 1827, a large utilitarian fireproof structure with no front elevation; the Clydesdale Bank, 13 Queen Street, Glasgow by David Hamilton, 1838, a three-storey, three windows wide, late classical box with Doric porch, now demolished; the North Scotland Bank, Castlegate, Aberdeen, by Archibald Simpson 1839, classical with quadrant Corinthian portico; the Edinburgh and Leith Bank, George Street, Edinburgh, 1840 by David Bryce, three-storey, Graeco-Roman five bay front with upper distyle Corinthian porticoes at the ends; the Western Bank, Miller Street Glasgow, by David Hamilton, 1840 free late classic with Egyptianizing elements, demolished; the British Linen Bank, 110 Queen Street, Glasgow by David Hamilton 1840, late classical baroque plazzo with circled corner, now demolished; the Union Bank on Ingram Street, Glasgow, remodelled by David Hamilton 1841 with a Roman Doric plantation house type portico, now Lanarkshire House and since remodelled; the Commercial Bank, Edinburgh (see plates 157a,b,c); the British Linen Bank, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, by D. Bryce 1844-50; the Western Bank, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, by

D. Bryce 1846, a larger plazzo, now demolished; the Exchange Bank of Scotland, a smaller plazzo at 23 St. Andrew Square also by D. Bryce 1846 and still happily extant."

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6-Bank of Montreal Archives, Contract #2099, between Andrew White and the Committee for the Bank of Montreal, passed before H. Griffin, January 23, 1818

7-Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, p.165

8-Fonds Morriset, La Patrimoine, Ministere des Affaires Culturelles, Quebec fiche 06294, "Save Montreal Organization": reference, George Brown

9-Olivier Maurault, Saint Jacques de Montreal: L'eglise - la paroisse (Montreal: Saint Jacques, 1923), pp.39-40

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12-Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, p.86

13-Ibid., p.93

14-Ibid., p.166

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20-Newton Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta: or the History and Present State of the Island and City of Montreal (Montreal: William Greig, 1846), p.17

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23-Sean Shesgreen, ed., Engravings by Hogarth, p.xxvii

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Appendix A: The Agrarian Image in France

Despite the raucous assertions of Watteau's L'Esigne du Gersaint (plate 204) of 1710, or the frivolity of the Rococo after 1715, the form of the rigid Baroque state of Louis XIV (plate 205), was more or less intact at the accession of both Louis XV (plate 206), and Louis XVI (plate 207).[1]

The diametrically opposite political and agricultural attitudes between French and English in Europe after 1715, were symptomatic of the root of a problem which would reappear in Lower Canada during the nineteenth century. The symbolic function of the agrarian image in England was the antithesis of the stagnate agricultural situation in France.[2]

The authorative and centralized nature of Baroque monarchy, was not conducive to any structural reorganization of French agriculture, unless the initative came from the top. When attempts were made by the central government, for example in 1764 and 1766, the tradition bound attitudes of both landlord and peasant doomed any innovation to failure.[3]

The major landowners, the French feudality, squandered their vast revenues on the life they led at Versailles, unlike their English counterparts who had accumulated capital for investment in the land.[4] Again, unlike the English nobility, the French aristocracy had very little contact with their lands because of their constant attendance at the court of centralized absolute monarchy.[5]

The divergent attitudes between French and English over agricultural reorganization became even more apparent when the French attempted to copy the English agrarian image after 1750. Voltaire (1694-1778), tongue in cheek, accurately observed the 'fashionable' nature of the French agrarian movement when he said:

> Around 1750 the nation, satiated with verses, tragedies, comedies, operas, novels, romanesque stores, even more romanesque reflections, theological disputes over Grace and cunvulsions, at last began to think about grain. Even vines were forgotten in the chatter about wheat and rye. Useful things were written about agriculture; everyone read them except the farmers. After attending the 'opera-comique' one would think that France had a prodigious surplus of corn.[6]

Voltaire was right, the French copied only the artistic form, a fashion, and not the intellectual or economic substance of the English agrarian image. Louis XV at Petit Trianon (plate 208) of 1762 was the first example of the transplanted English agrarian image in France.[7] The chateau in the gardens of Versailles was a gem of Palladian-derived architecture (plate 209). So edifying was the connection with the soil thought to be, that in 1769 a pastoral scene, in rather doubtful taste, titled The Dauphin Toiling (plate 210), was sent to the future Louis XVI's bride, the Habsburg, Marie Antoinette.[8]

Marie Antoinette, as consort of Louis XVI (1774-93) was typical of the French reaction to the agrarian image. French society consumed

hundreds of gallons of tea, and even adopted horse racing, in imitation of the English nobility.[9] In order to follow the agrarian image, the queen in 1778 played at being a "lemonade seller" at a mock country fair set up in the gardens of the Petit Trianon.[10]

The desire to follow the agrarian image even extended to the standard female attire at the queen's private residence of Petit Trianon.[11] In the Portrait of Marie Antoinette a Petit Trianon (plate 211), by her favourite artist Mme. Vigee-Le Brun, the monarch was painted in her official costume of a white linen dress, a "gaulle" and a straw hat.[12] Unfortunately, that the agrarian image was not understood by all classes was obvious, when some scribbled underneath the painting in an act of 'lese-majeste' at the Salon of 1783:

> France, under the features of Austria, reduced to covering herself with a rag.[13]

A telling contrast in symbols between English and French perceptions of the agrarian image was seen in Marie Antoinette's Hameau (plate 212) of 1783-87.[14] At the Hameau, a mock peasant village set in the grounds of the Petit Trianon, the French Royal Family more or less 'played" at farm life in imitation of the agrarian image.[15] As Leon Rey said in his study of Le Petit Trianon et le Hameau de Marie Antoinette:

> En faisant construire ce village en miniature, Marie-Antoinette a cede a la mode du jour. Elle a voulu realiser a Trianon quelque chose d'analogue a ce qu'elle vue a Chantily chez le Duc d'Orleans, a Montreuil chez la Comtesse de Provence.[16]

King George III (1760-1820) was the first Hanover who was determined to be 'English', so he actively promoted the agrarian image in imitation of the English Aristocracy.[17] The English monarch established model working farms at Windsor, and even wrote anonymously, but not too anonymously, as Mr. Robinson, for Arthur Young's famed "Annals of Agriculture".[18]

The Salon of 1785 symbolically marked the turning point for the agrarian image in France. In the arrangement of the paintings, (plate 213), two manifestations of the agrarian image were unconsciously juxtaposed to each other. The "revolutionary" Oath of the Horatii by David of 1784 (plate 214)[19] was placed directly above Wertmuller's painting of Marie Antoinette avec le Dauphin et Mme. Royale at Petit Trianon (plate 215).[20]

Wertmuller's painting of the queen and her children was a pastiche of the agrarian image. David, through his invocation of Roman virtue, came closer to the political philosophy of the English model. Like the desire of the English aristocrats to live in temple-like

Palladian houses, the Oath of the Horatii in France likewise appealed to class interests to take an active role in the governing of their own destinies. The noble Roman virtue of David's work was certainly comparable to such manifestations of the agrarian image as Bank's Death of Germanicus (plate 216) of 1774 for the Palladian Holkham Hall (plate 217), or even West's famous painting of The Death of General Wolfe (plate 193), or 1771.[21]

Symbolically, the 'fashionable' Hameau of the 1780's illusted that concerted agrarian reorganization was beyond the capabilities of the stilted French aristocracy, which was the direct result of the heritage of Baroque Monarchy under Louis XIV in the seventeenth century. Louis XIV had indeed succeeded, the feudality was 'useless', for there was no individual initiative.[22] Thus Gay and Webb, in their history of Modern Europe to 1815, could observe:

> When Arthur Young traveled through France in the years from 1787 to 1789 to write his famous comparison between French and English conditions, he was amazed at the low productivity of French agriculture, appalled at the "miserable state of the labouring poor", and constrained to observe that the average French peasant's morale was irremediably low. They were "content merely to live".[23]

The English inhabitants of Lower Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century expressed a similar amazement at the

the state of French Canadian agriculture, the heritage of Baroque Monarchy in the New World.[24]

NOTES

Appendix A:

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7-P.A. Tomory, Foundations of European Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1969), pp.200-201

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11-Ibid., p.125

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13-André Castelot, Queen of France, A Biography of Marie Antoinette, trans. Denise Folliot, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1954), p.174

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17-Peter Mathias, The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1914 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969), p.58

18-Ibid.

19-Alan Gowans, Images of American Living, p.253

20-Michael Levey, Painting at Court (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971) pp.155-156

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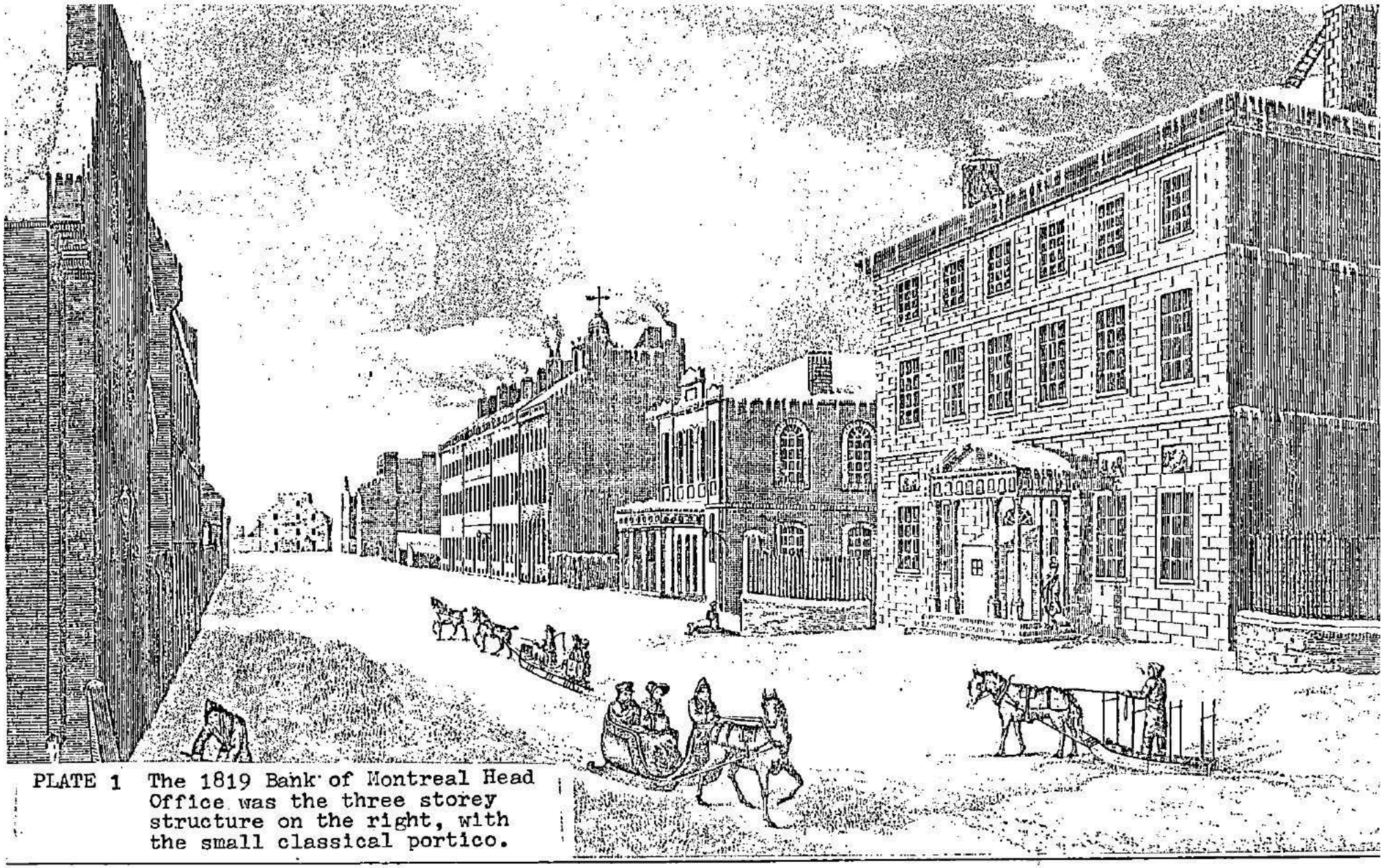


PLATE 1 The 1819 Bank of Montreal Head Office was the three storey structure on the right, with the small classical portico.

' Sproule Del'

Saint James's Street

MONTREAL.

Published by A Fleming Montreal 1830

W. L. L

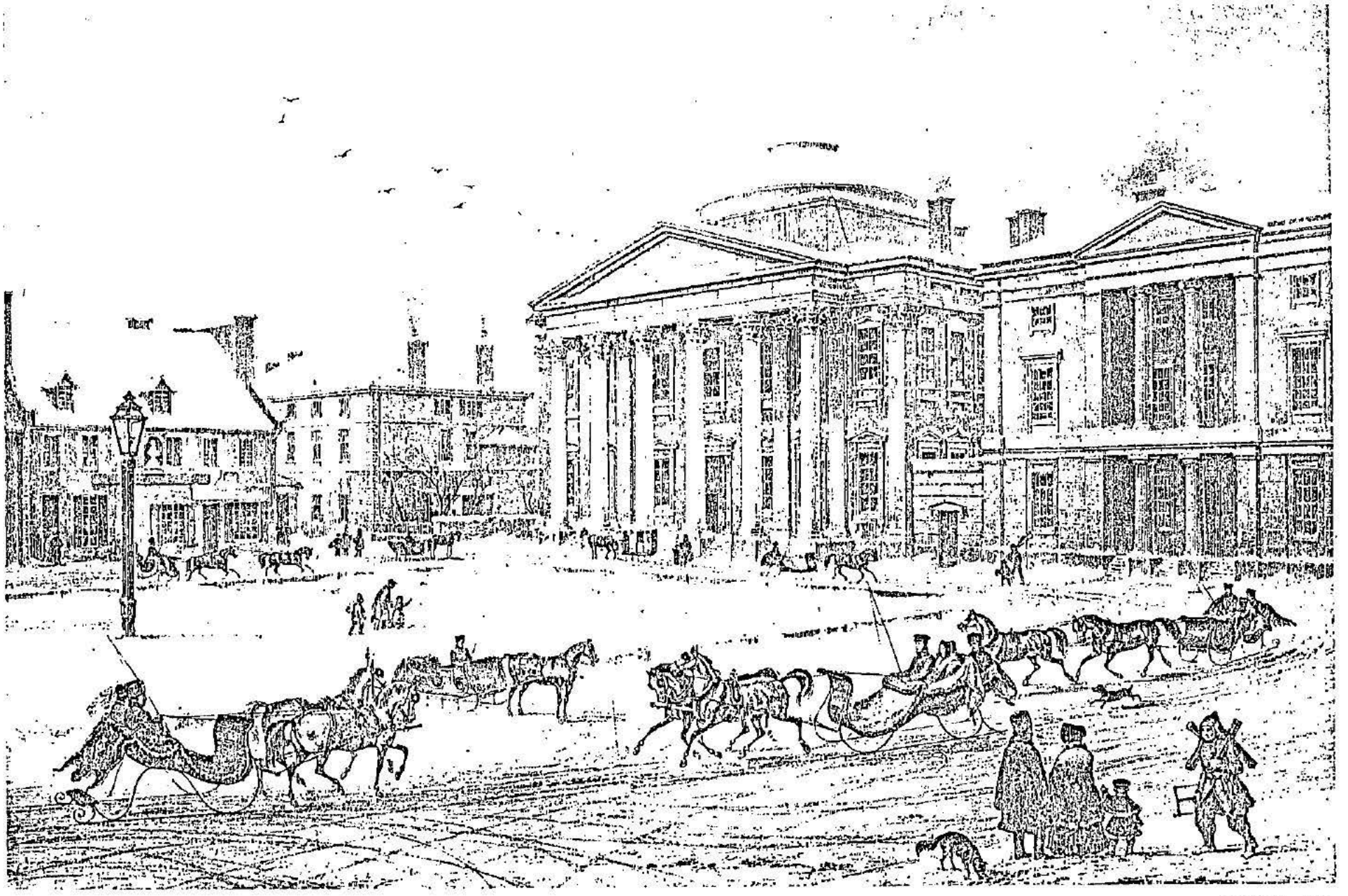


PLATE 2 The Bank of Montreal Building by John Wells of 1846.

Lithographie d'A. Borum d'après une peinture de C. Krieghoff.

By C. Krieghoff, lithographed by A. Borum, Munich, 1848.

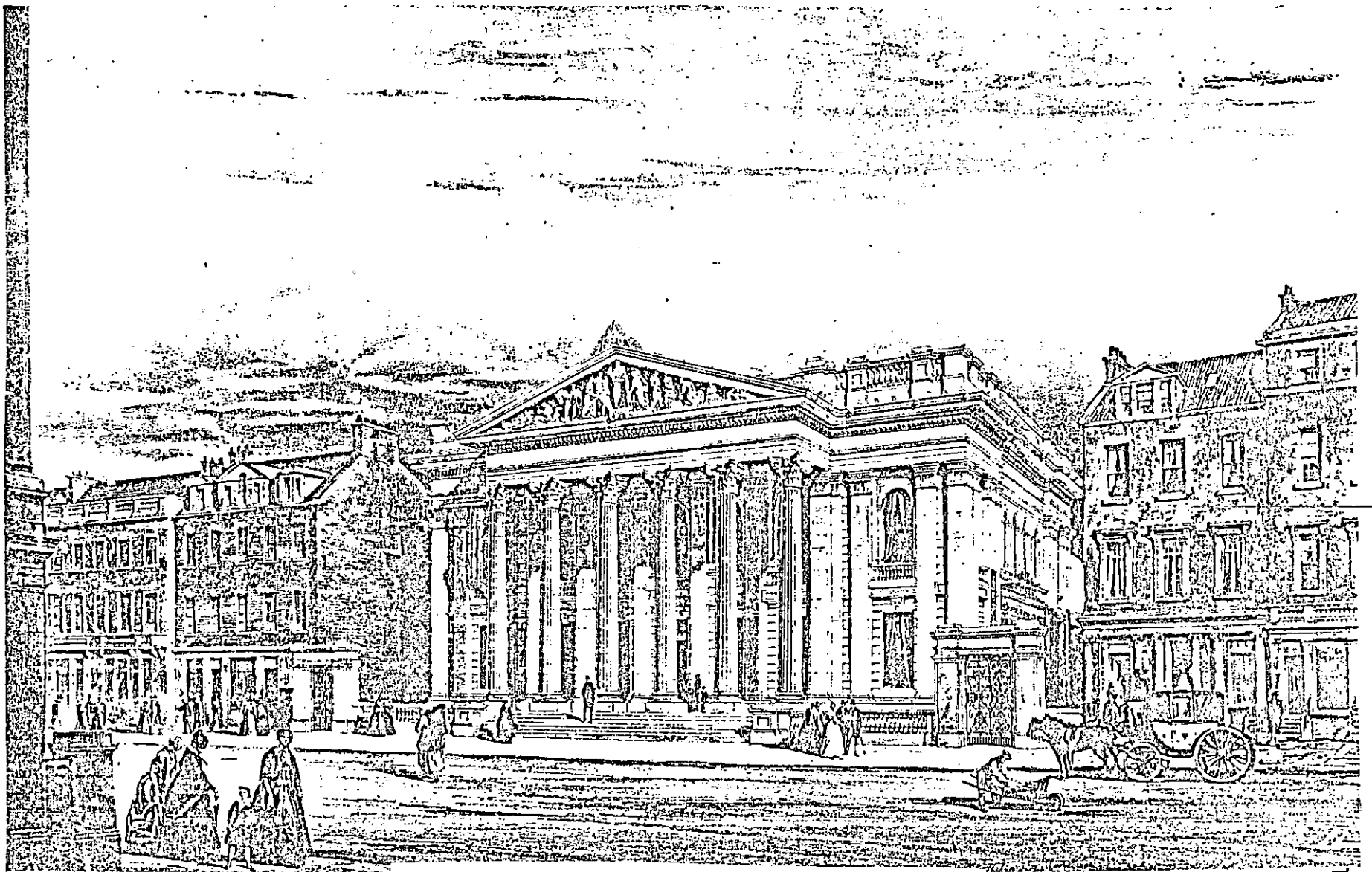


PLATE 3a David Rhind's Commercial Bank of Scotland Building on George Street in Edinburgh. (plate courtesy Bank of Montreal)

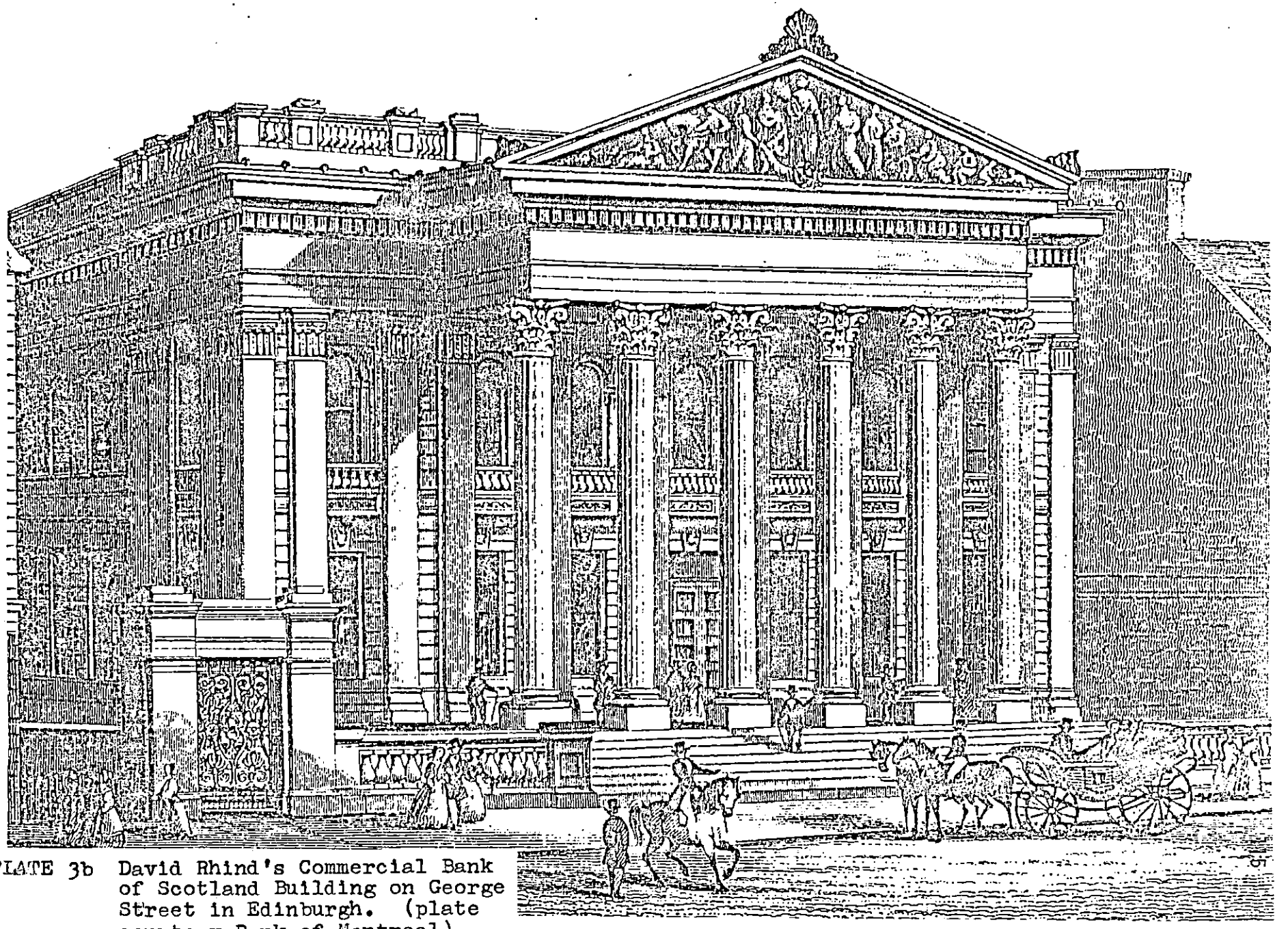


PLATE 3b David Rhind's Commercial Bank of Scotland Building on George Street in Edinburgh. (plate courtesy Bank of Montreal)

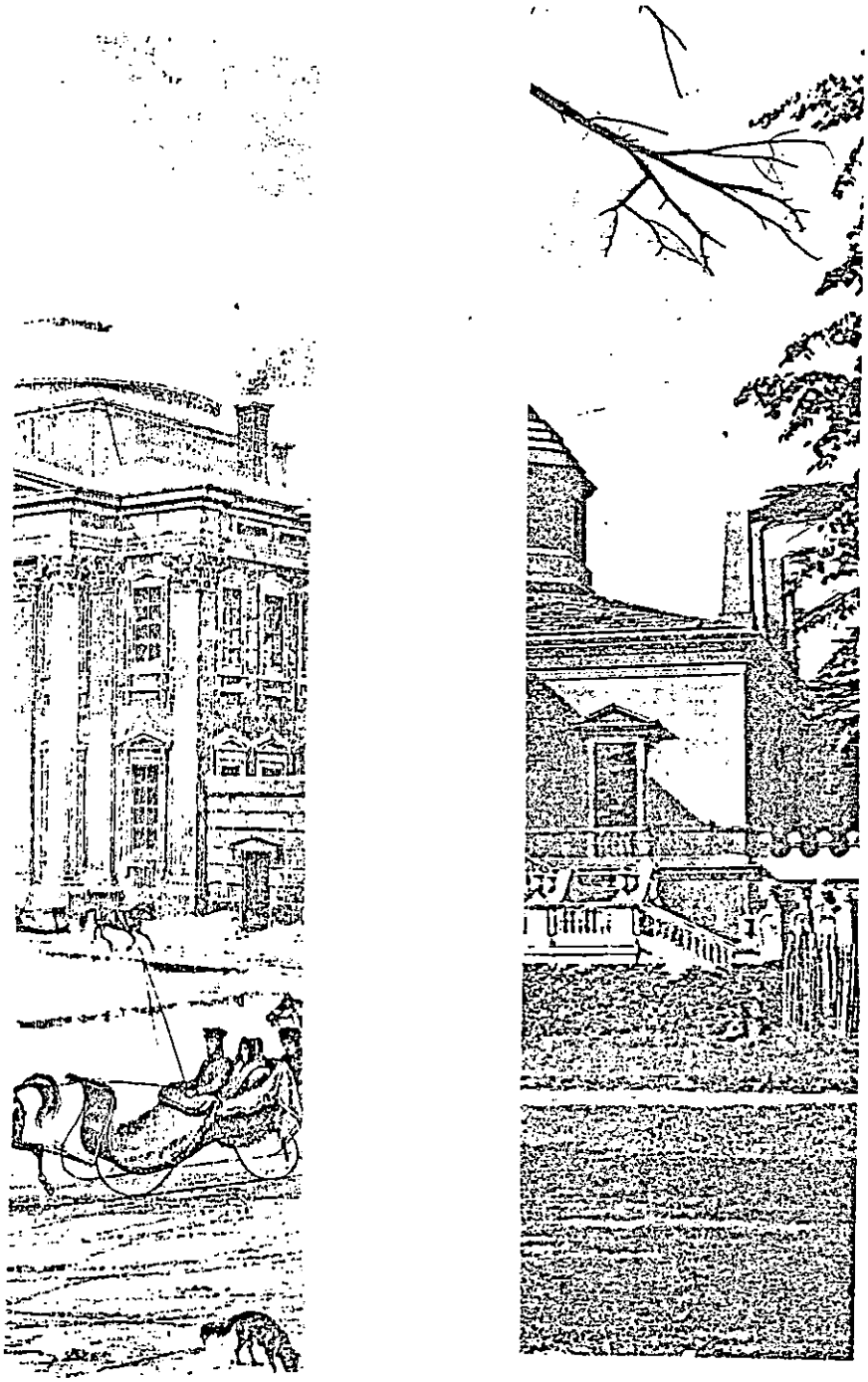


PLATE 4 A comparison of the type of window used by Wells at the Bank of Montreal (left), and that of Chiswick House (right), by Lord Burlington, of c.1725.

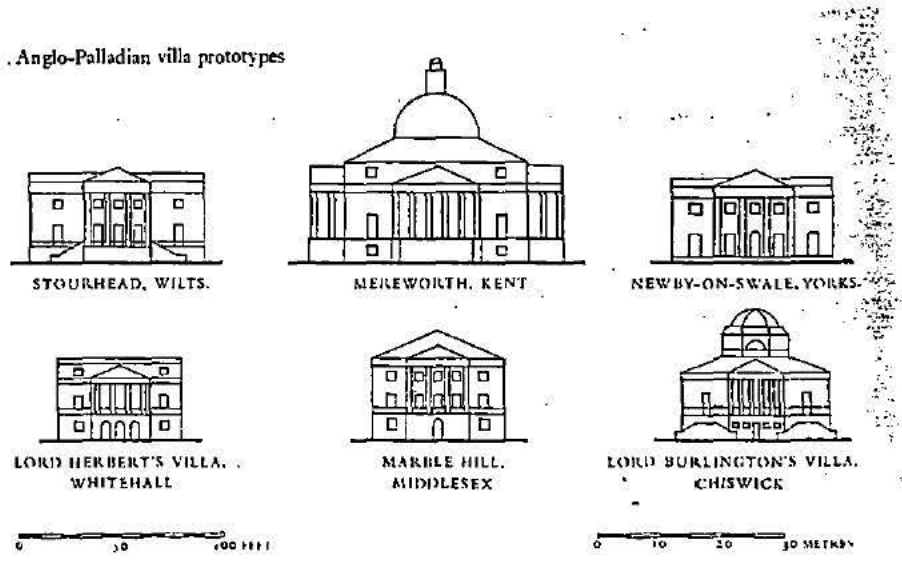
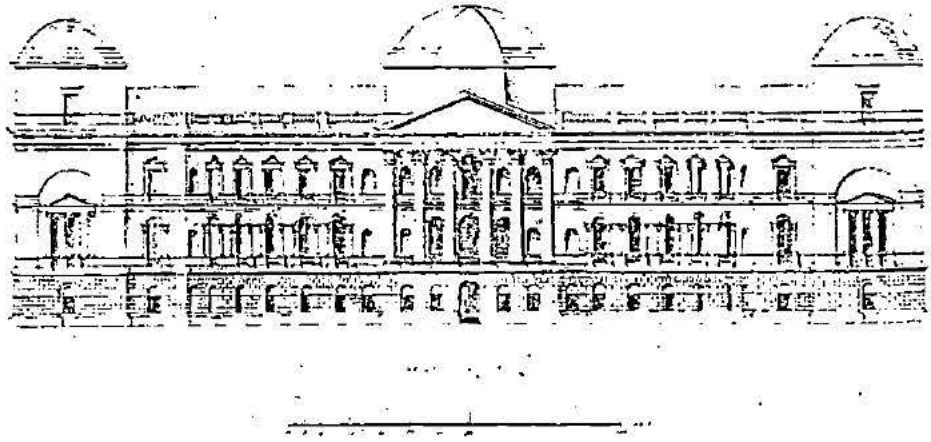


PLATE 5 A diagram illustrating the early 'types' of the Palladian country house image.



William Kent. Design for Houses of Parliament (Elevation to Old Palace Yard), 1739

PLATE 6

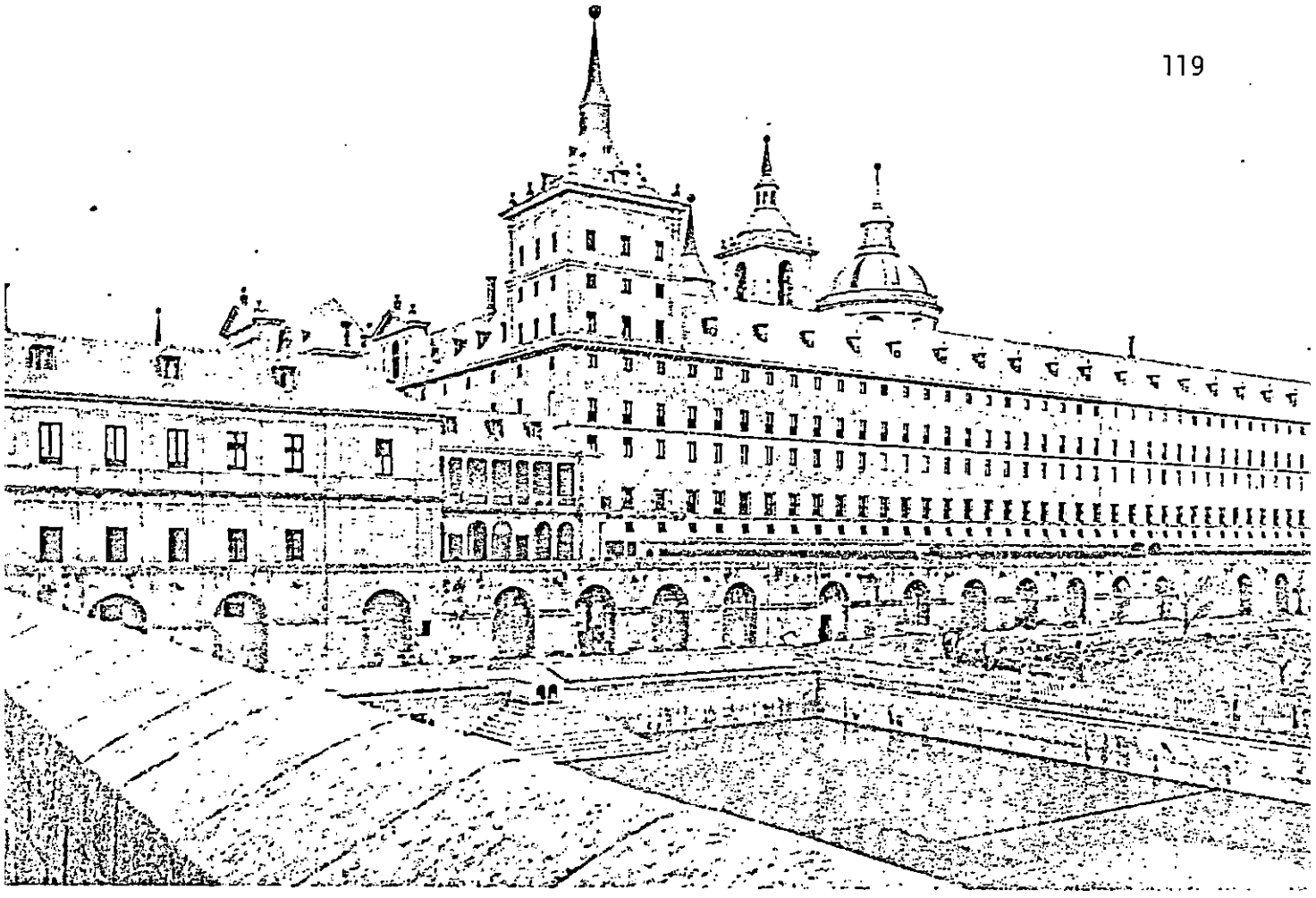
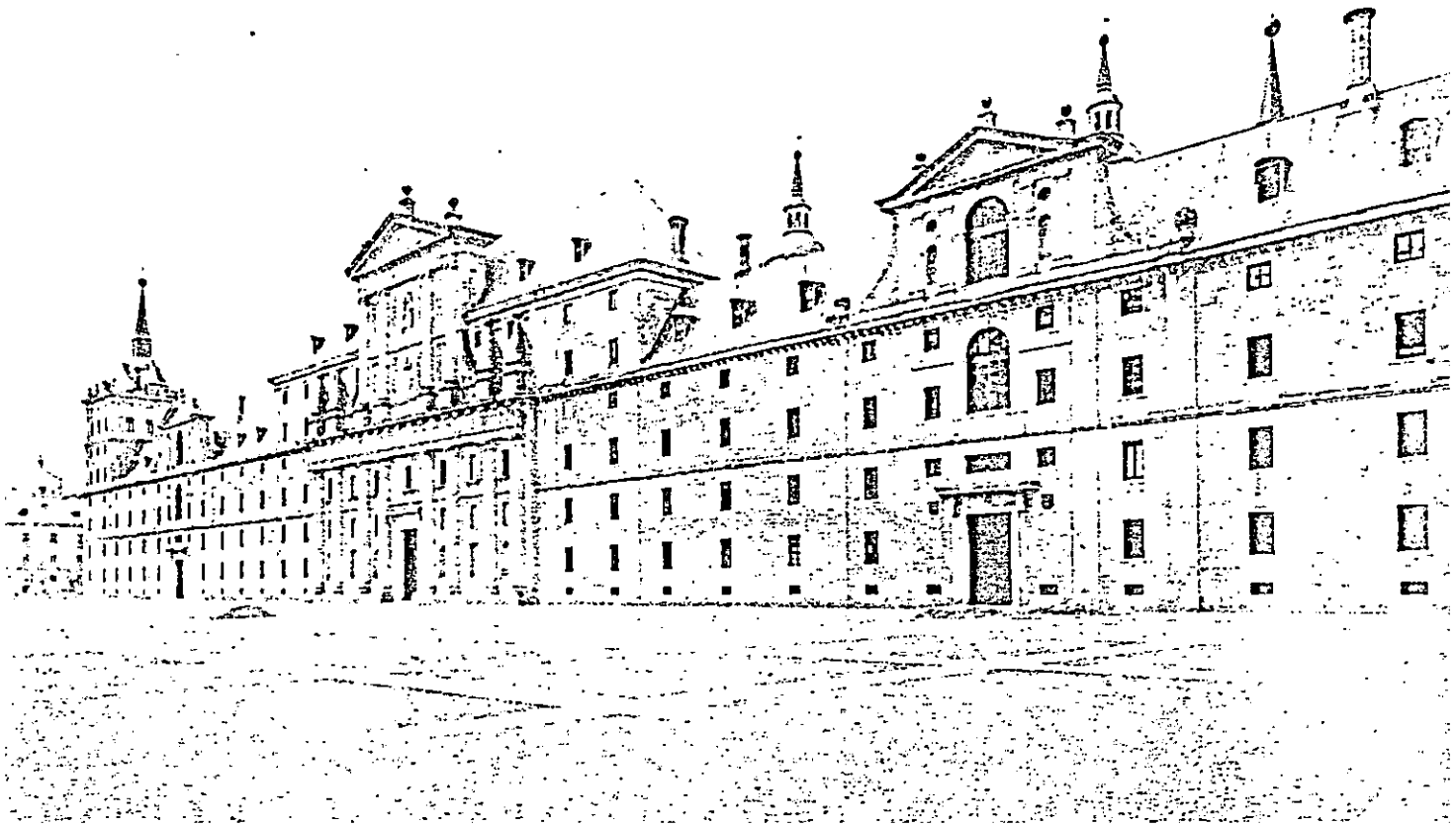


PLATE 7a The Escorial built by Philip II of Spain.



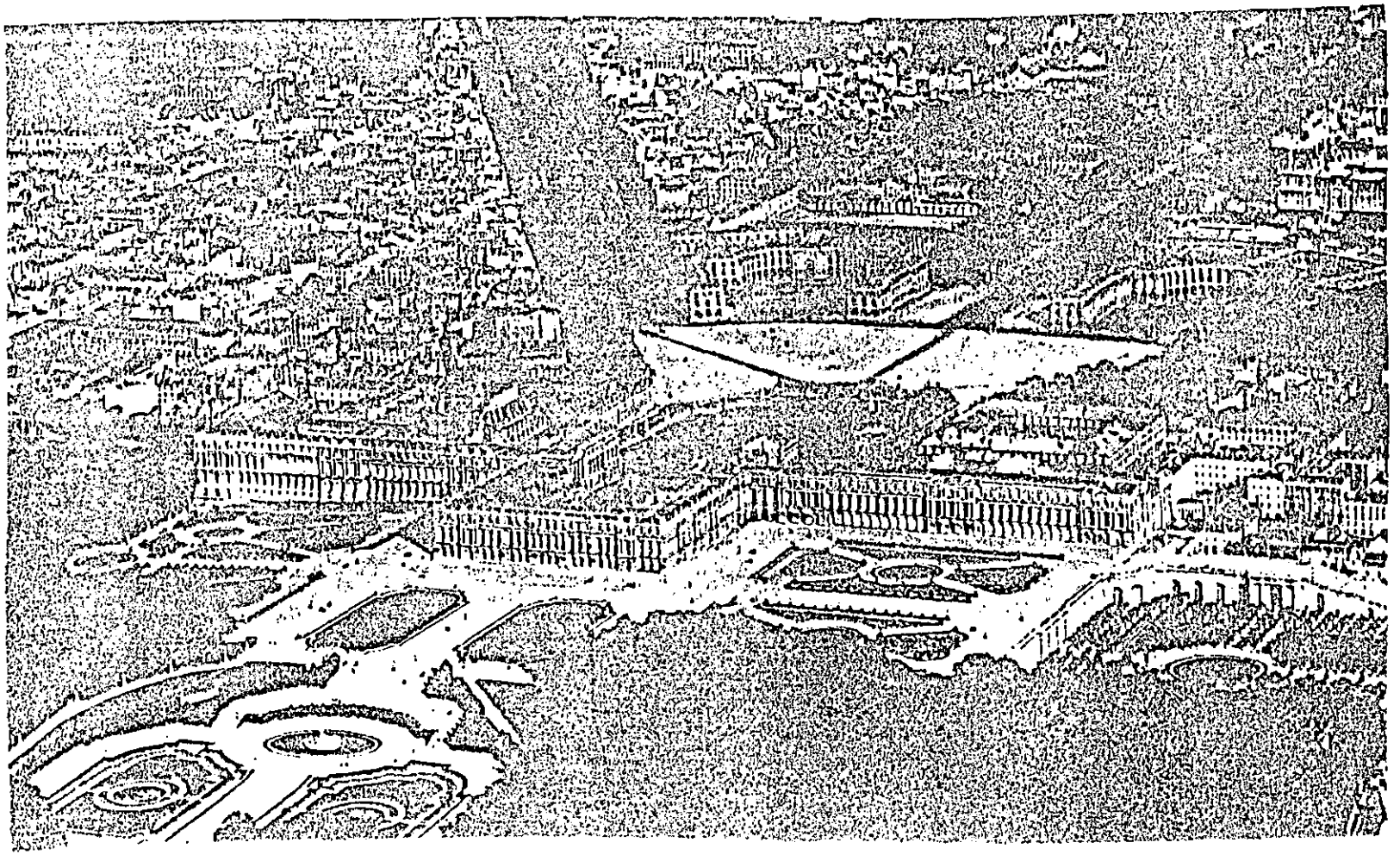
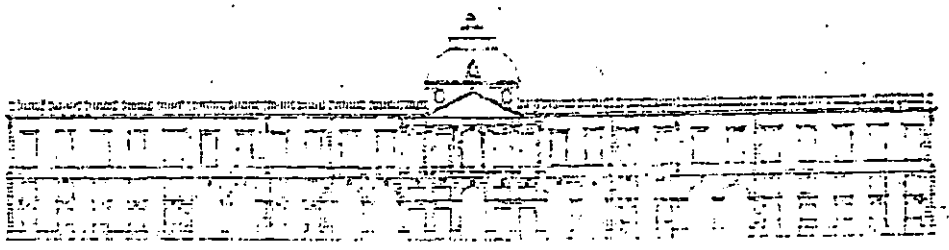
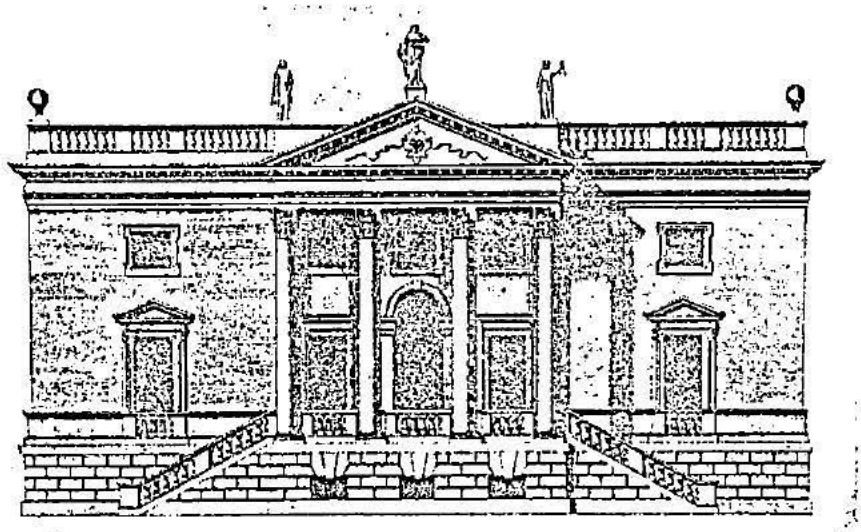


PLATE 7b Overview of Louis XIV's Palace at Versailles 1669-1715.



Sir Christopher Wren. Winchester Palace. Preliminary design, 1682–3

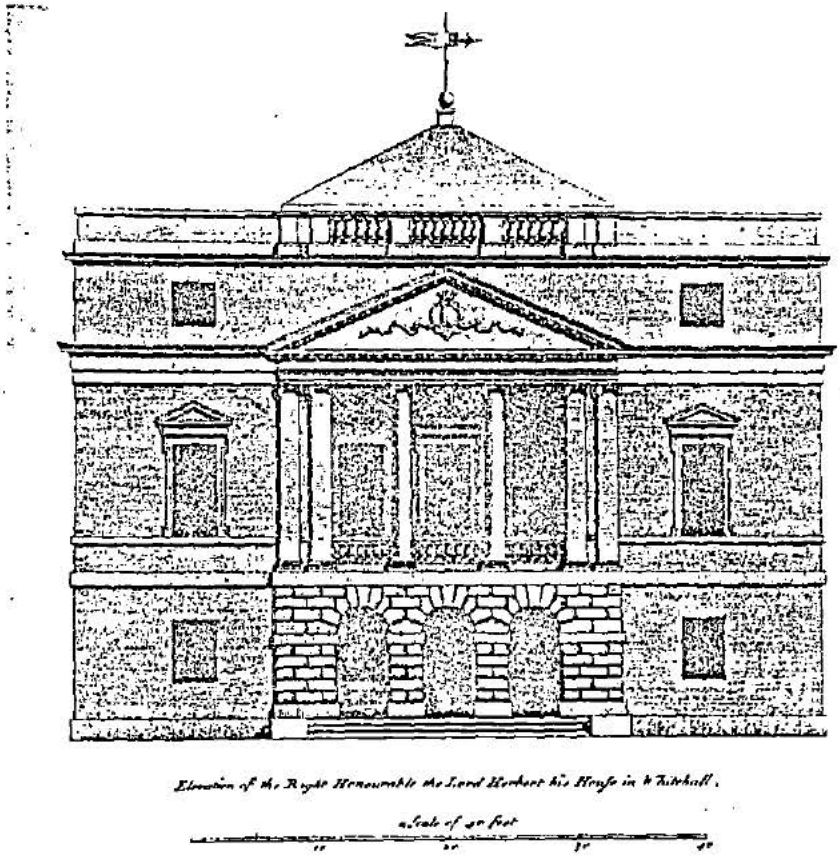
PLATE 7c Winchester Palace was built for King Charles II of England.



Colen Campbell: Stourhead, Wilts,
first design, *c.* 1721

PLATE 8a This structure represents the ideal fostered by the Palladian aristocracts in response to the arts of absolute Baroque monarchy which was totally out of scale to the human. This design represents a very 'human' kind of architecture.

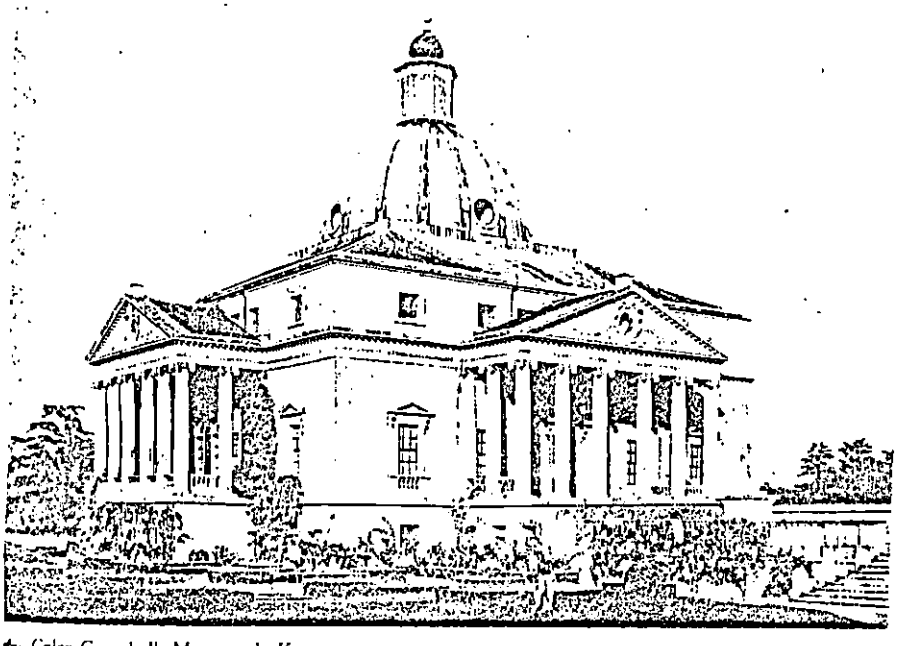
. Colen Campbell: London, Lord Herbert's house,
Whitehall, c. 1723–4 (demolished)



Elevation of the Right Honourable the Lord Herbert his House in Whitehall.

a Scale of 40 feet

PLATE 8b The Palladian 'temple-house' took many forms. This structure represents one of early forms of urban Palladian architecture.



Colen Campbell: Mereworth, Kent, 1723

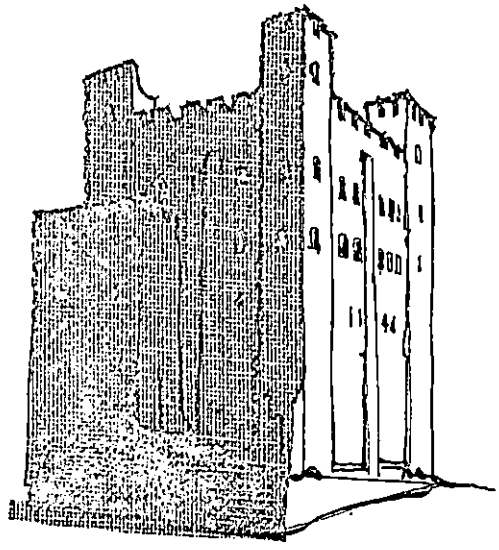
PLATE 9 This Palladian country house was almost an exact of Palladio' Villa Capra (or Rontonda) near Vicenza of 1567.

Workshop of Titian: *Philip II.* 1553. Madrid, Prado Museum
(Cat. no. 83)

PLATE 10a Philip II, the builder of the Escorial, sent an armada against England. Head of Catholic Spain, a scion of the Habsburgs, he personified the dream of one universal Catholic Empire.

PLATE 10b King Charles I of England, by Van Dyck of 1635. Here the monarch was portrayed as the first gentleman of the kingdom out hunting.

PLATE 10c Louis XIV by Hyacinthe Rigaud of 1701. Compare this work to the Charles I, to



The square keep—
Rochester Castle (c. *1130*)

PLATE 11

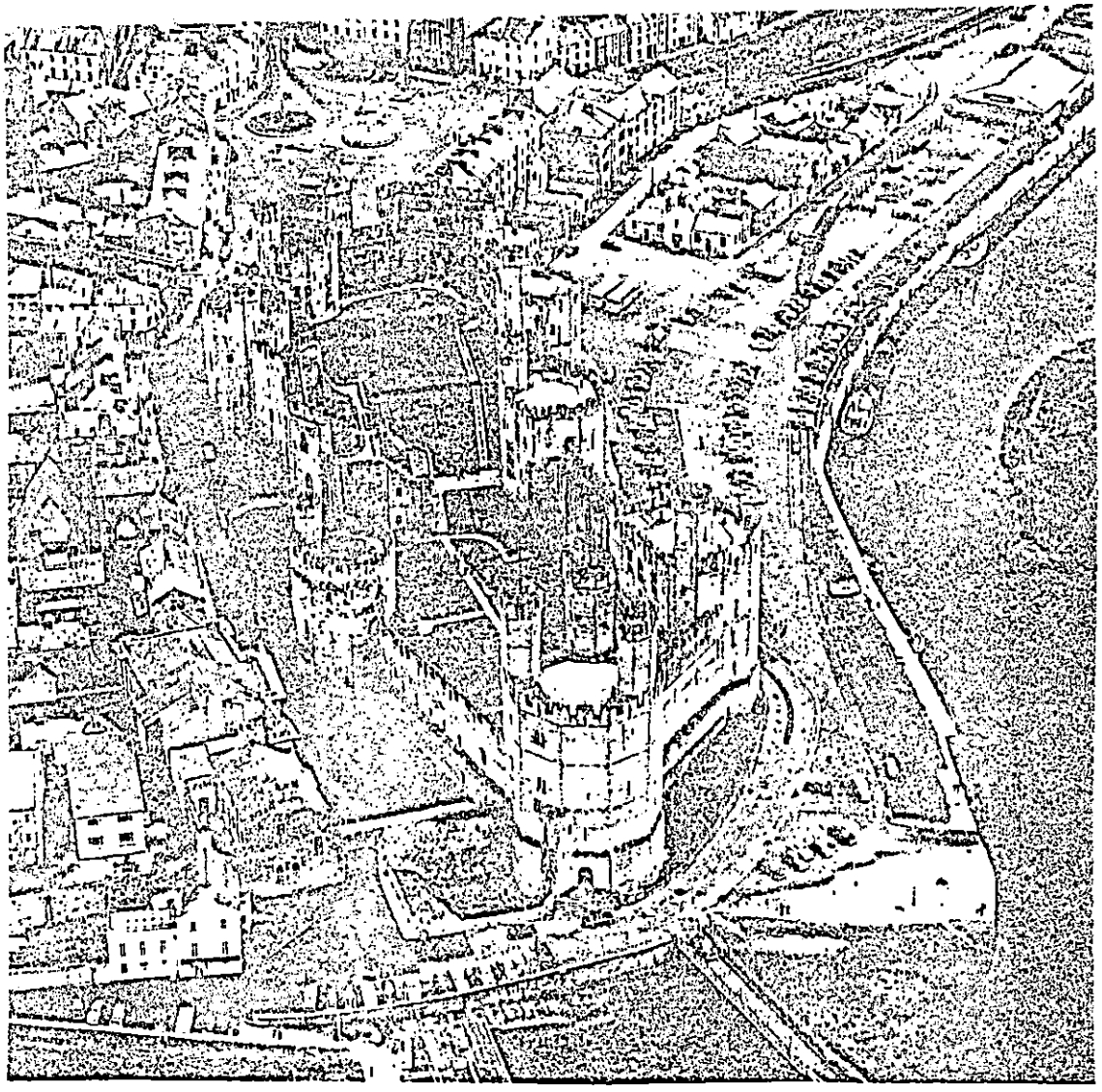


PLATE 12 Caernarvon Castle 1285-1322 in Wales. Built by Edward I, who constructed a series of such bastions to hold his newly conquered principality of Wales for England.

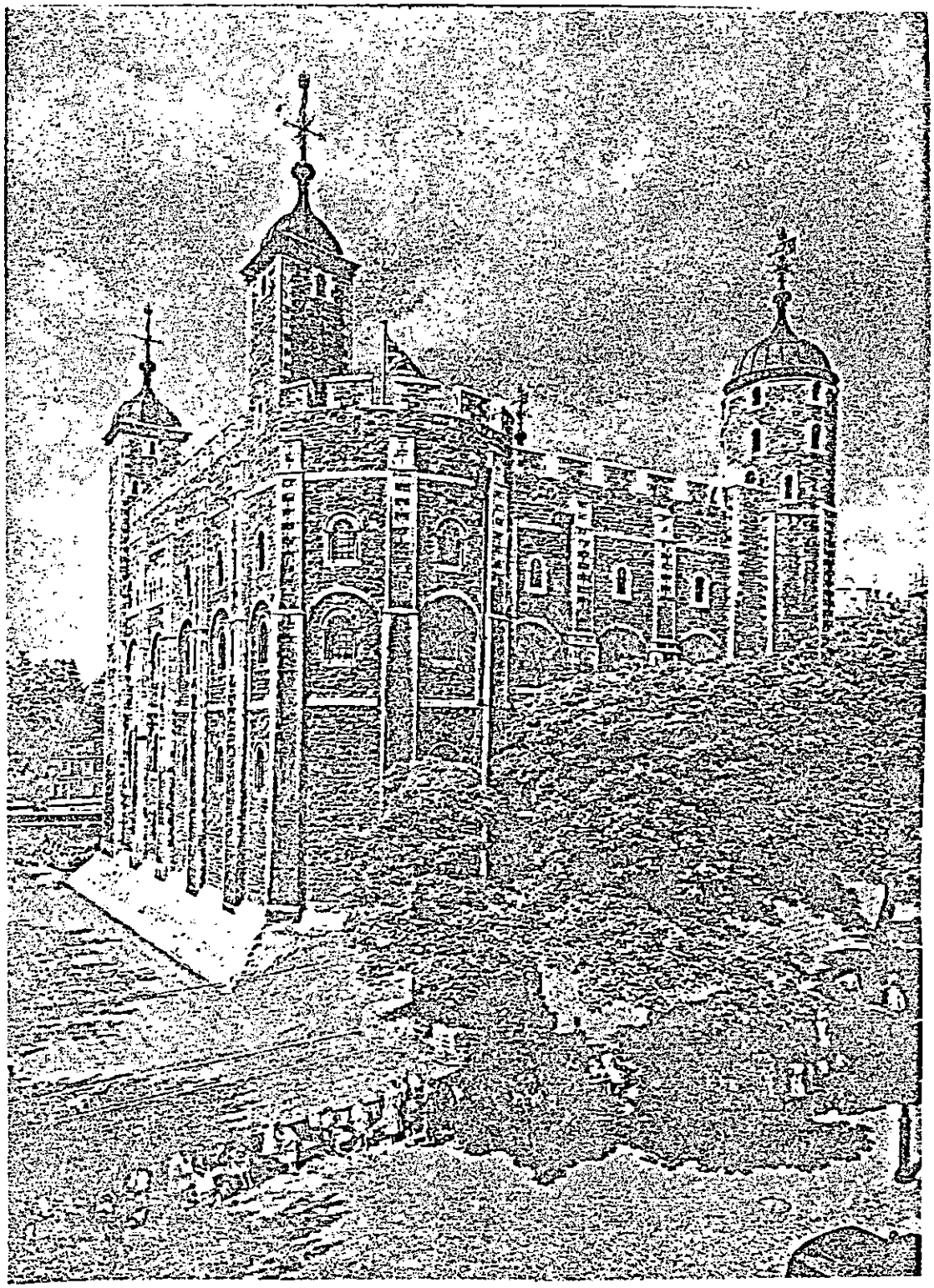


PLATE 13 The White Tower in London, built by William I, seen here in the present day after a number of additions.

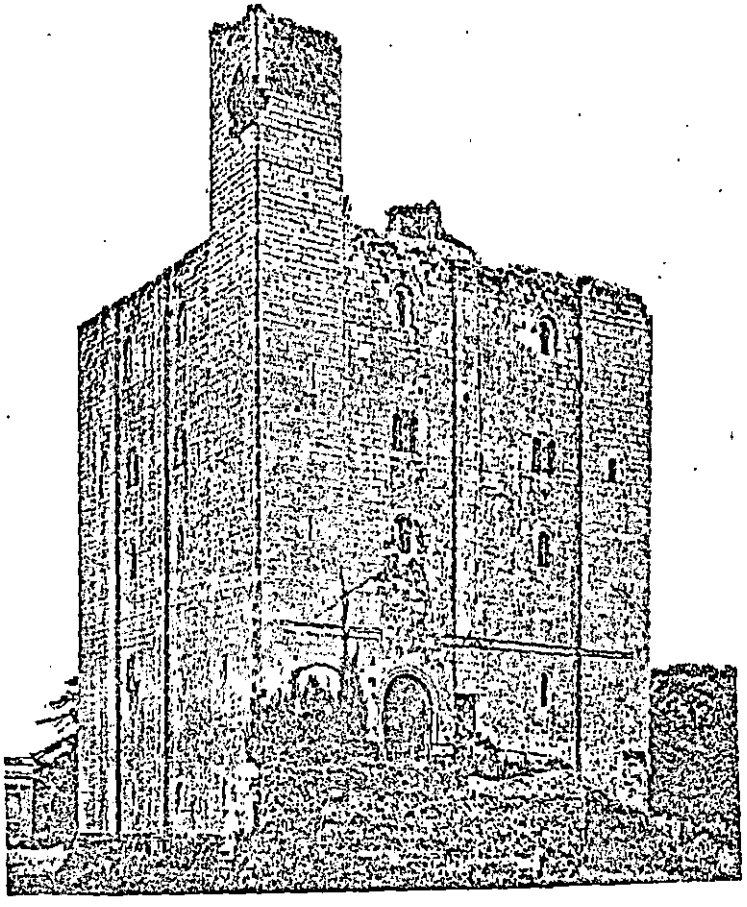
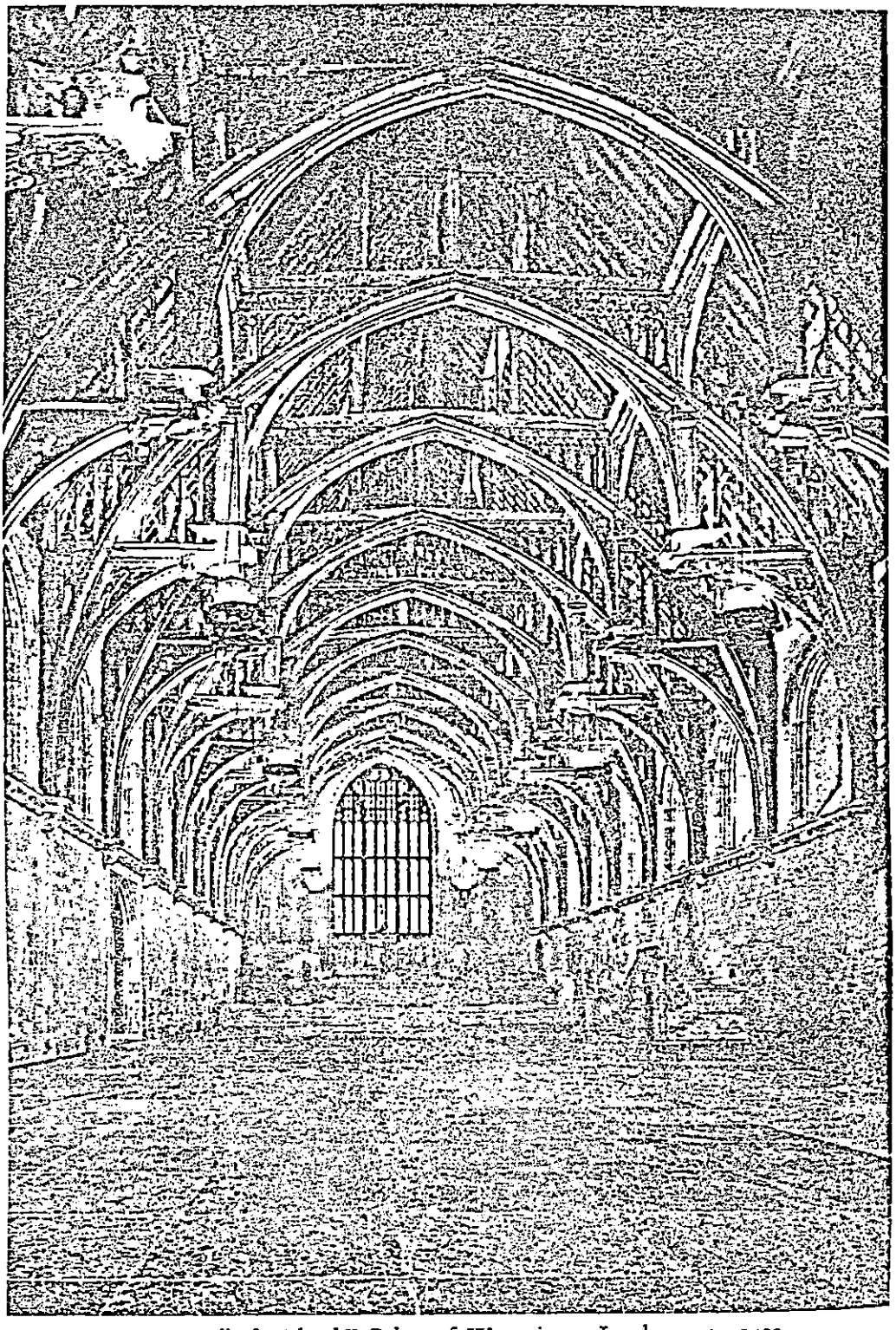
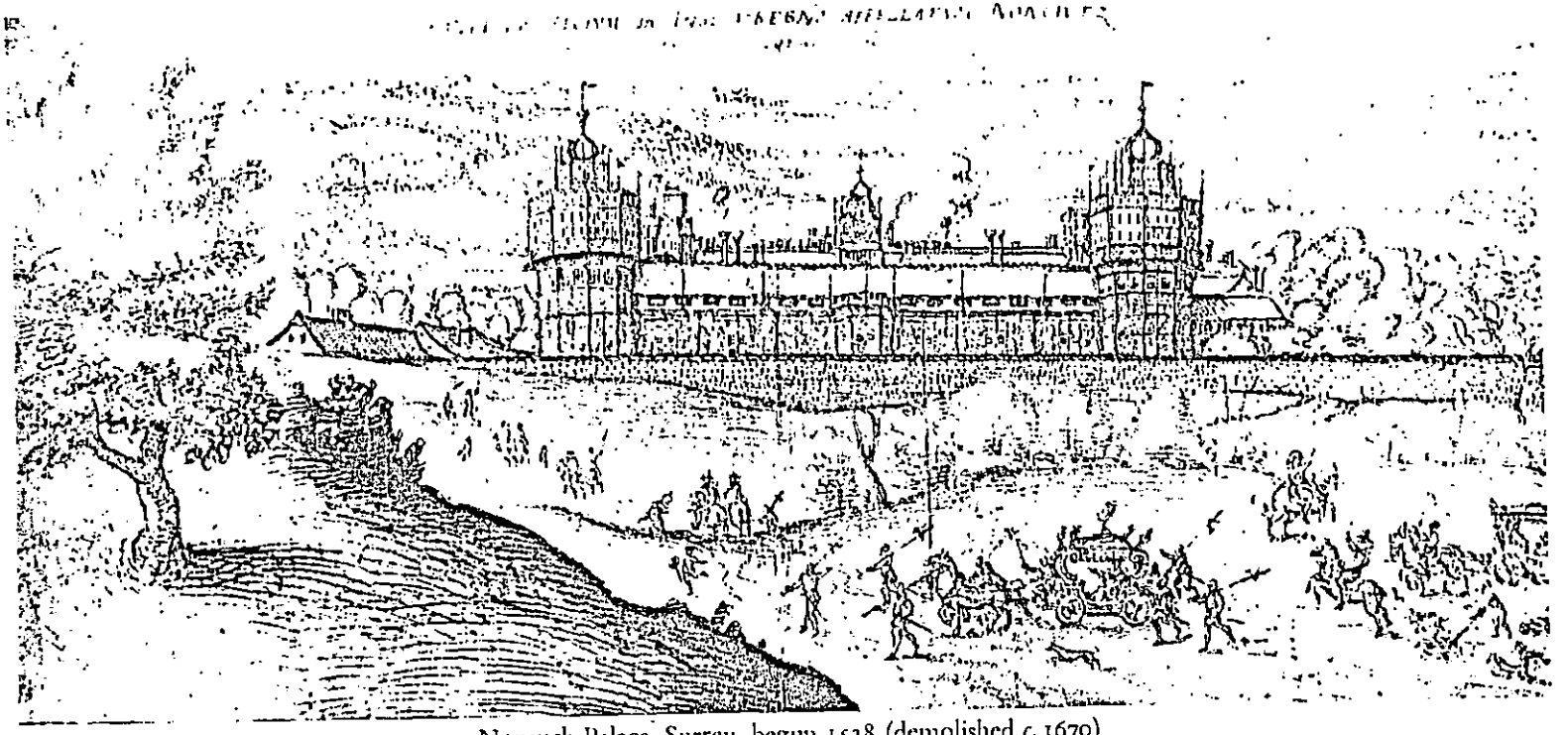


PLATE 14 Hedingham Castle



Great Hall of Richard II. Palace of Westminster, London. 1394–1402

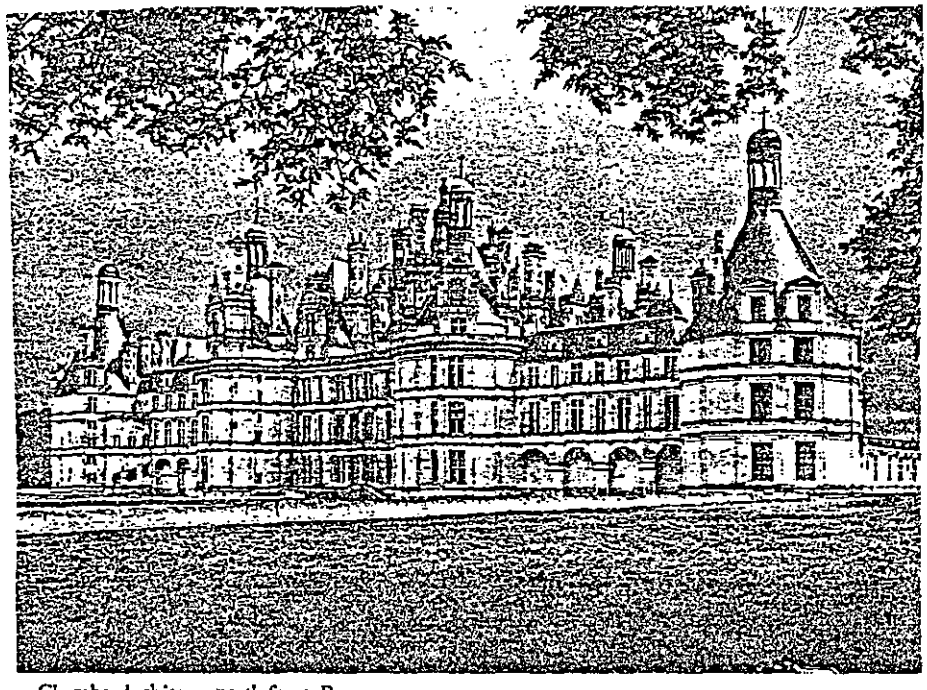
PLATE 15 This structure was built on the shell of the Norman Hall constructed by William II (1087-1100).



Nonsuch Palace, Surrey, begun 1538 (demolished *c.* 1670)

PLATE 16a

PLATE 16b The Chatsworth Cartoon of Henry VIII and his family, by Holbein, of c.1537.



Chambord, château, north front. Begun 1519

PLATE 17a

The Conquest of Ignorance. *An engraving after a fresco by Rosso Fiorentino in the chateau of Fontainebleau. King Francis I opens the door of the temple of Jupiter to his blind and ignorant subjects, an allegory of the renaissance of art and letters and of the rebirth of virtue and true learning. Metropolitan Museum, New York.*

PLATE 17b The king of France was the patron of the French Renaissance, as a symbol of a new political order. As this fresco implies, it was the monarch who led his subjects into the new world.

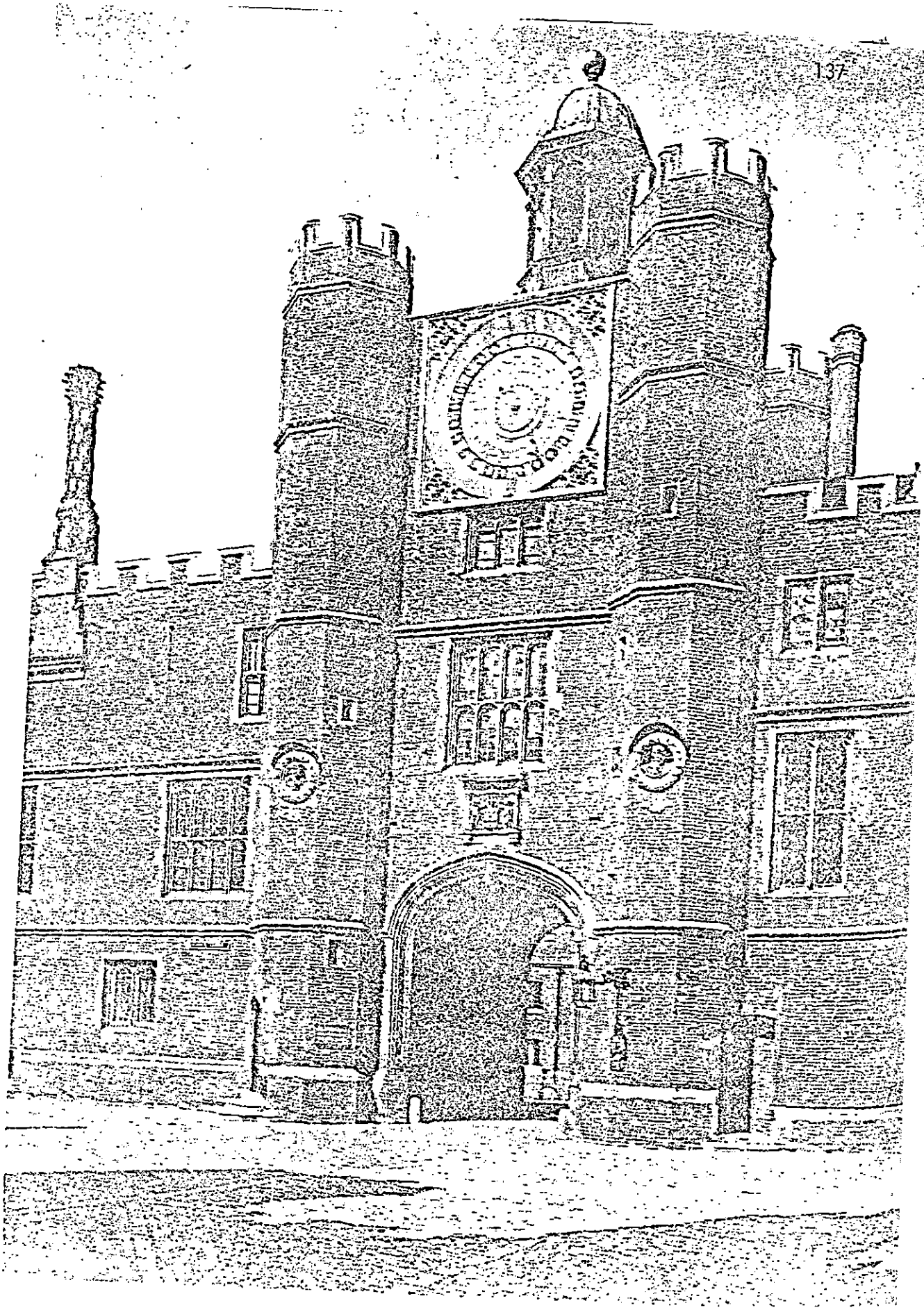
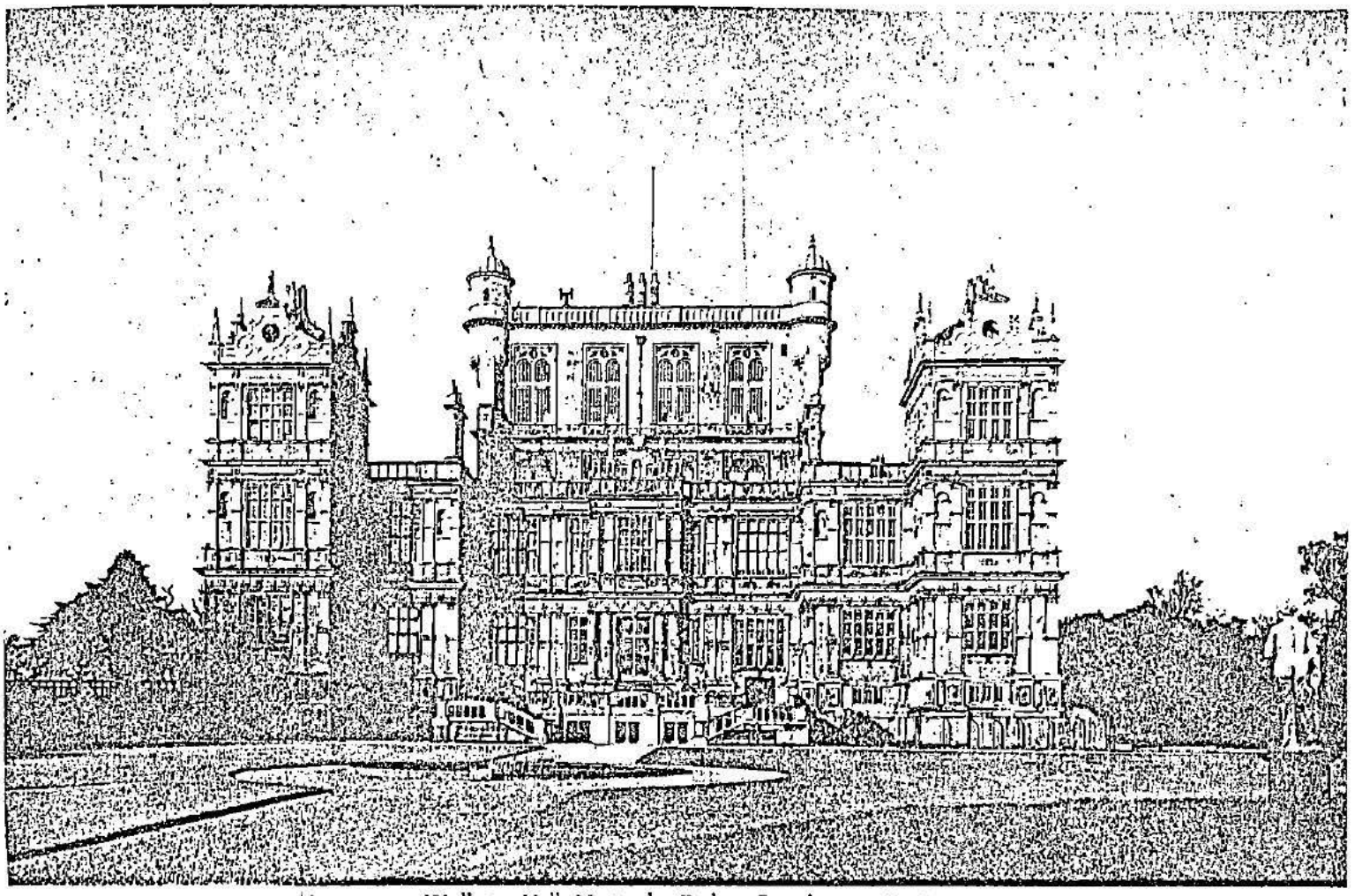


PLATE 18 The Clock Tower at Hampton Court,

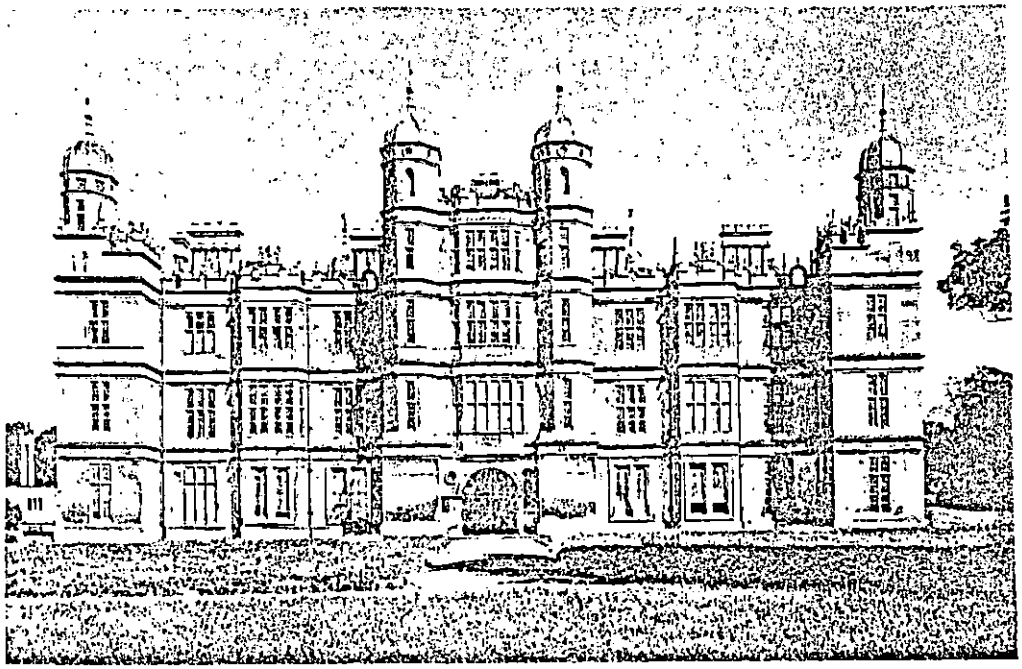
PLATE 19 Oxburgh Hall, reconstructed after 1500.

PLATE 20 Speke Hall of about 1570.



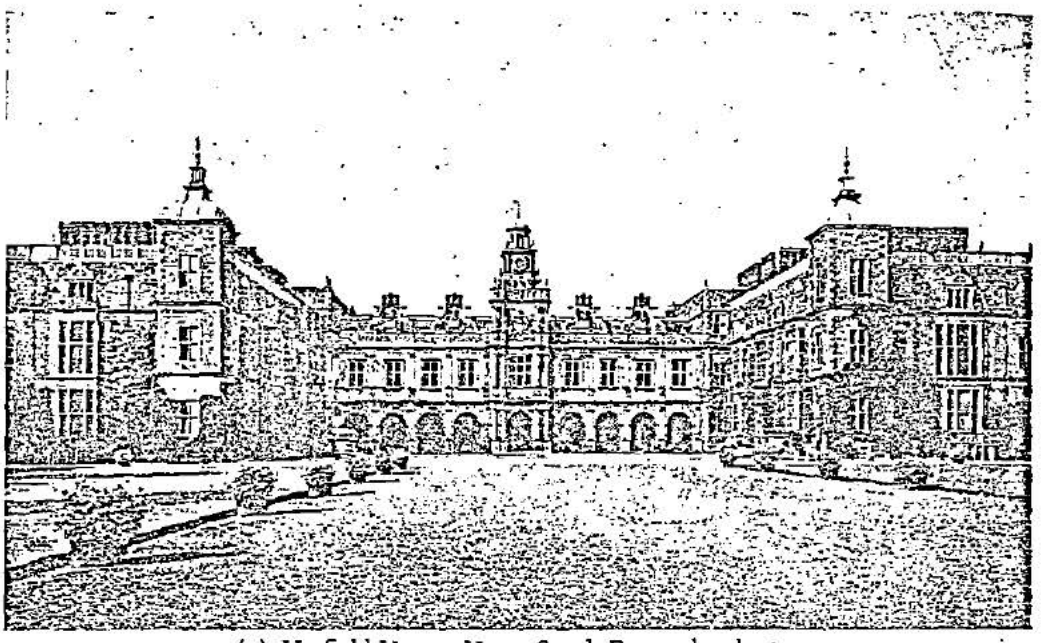
Wollaton Hall, Notts., by Robert Smythson, 1580–8

PLATE 21

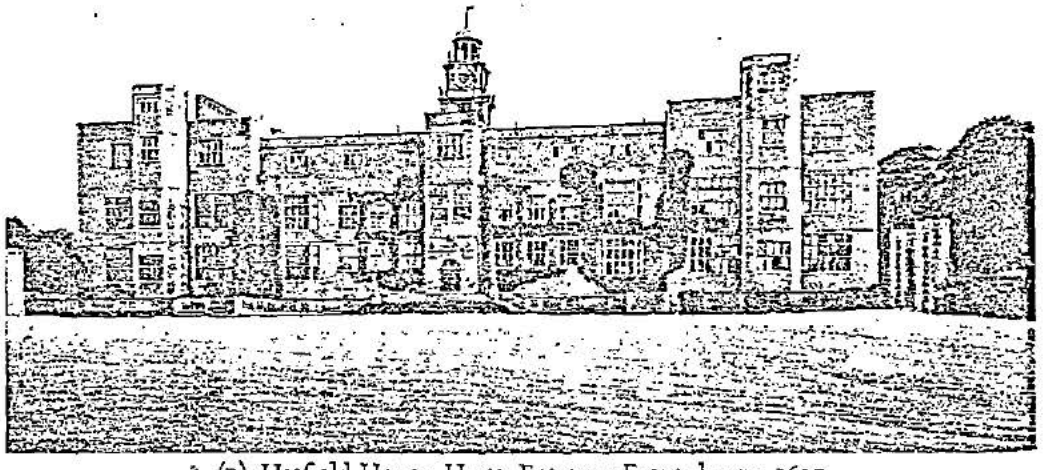


Burghley House, Northants. Entrance Front, 1575 onwards

PLATE 22



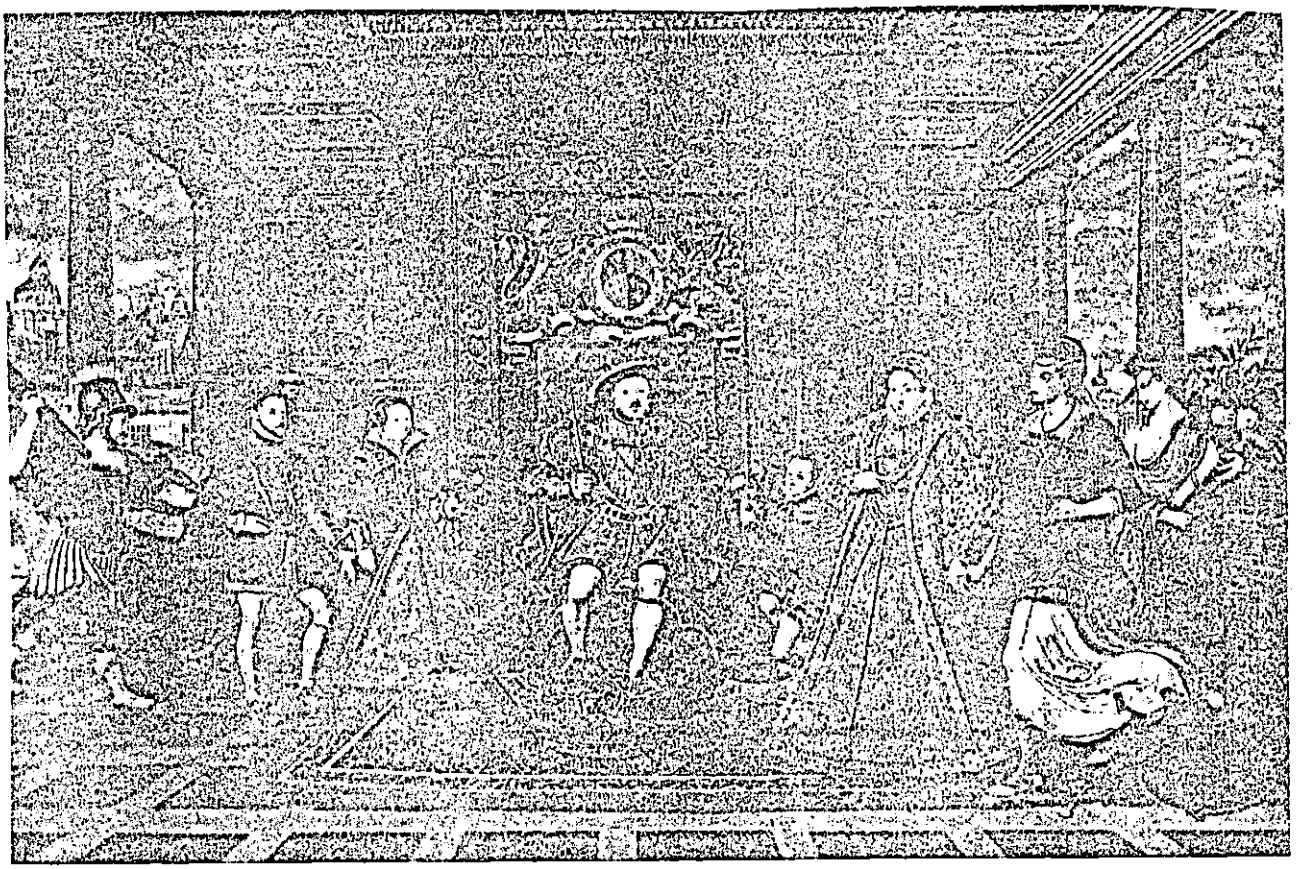
(A) Hatfield House, Herts. South Front, dated 1611



(B) Hatfield House, Herts. Entrance Front, begun 1607

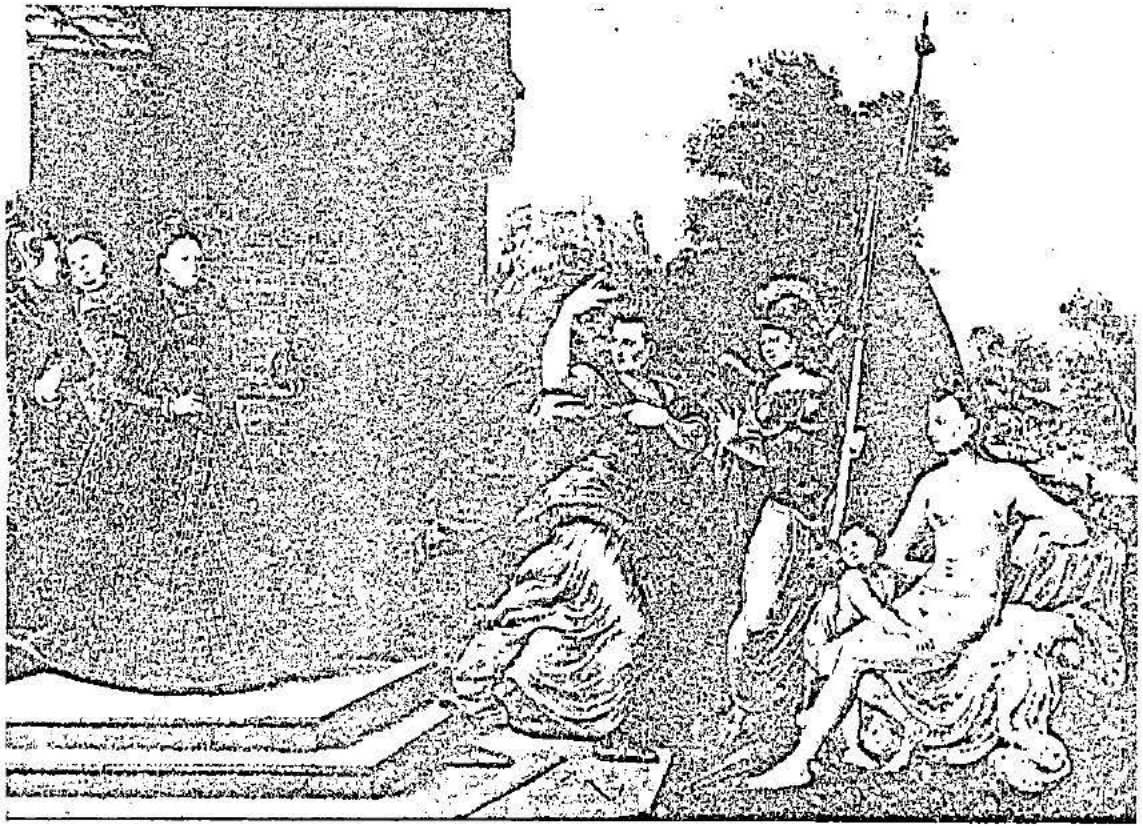
PLATE 23

PLATE 24 The Wilton Diptych of about 1383. Notice the king wears his emblem of the white hart, and that the angels surrounding the Virgin and Child do also.



Henry VIII and his children, with Philip of Spain. Philip and Mary are shown accompanied by War, Elizabeth by Peace and Prosperity
From a painting by Hans Eworth, c. 1570

PLATE 25



Elizabeth bears the apple (orb) in contest against Juno, Minerva and Venus
From a painting by Hans Eworth, 1569
Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen

PLATE 26

The Union of England and Scotland. Hermitage, Leningrad.

PLATE 27 King James I of England
from Ruben's drawing for
The Whitehall Ceiling.

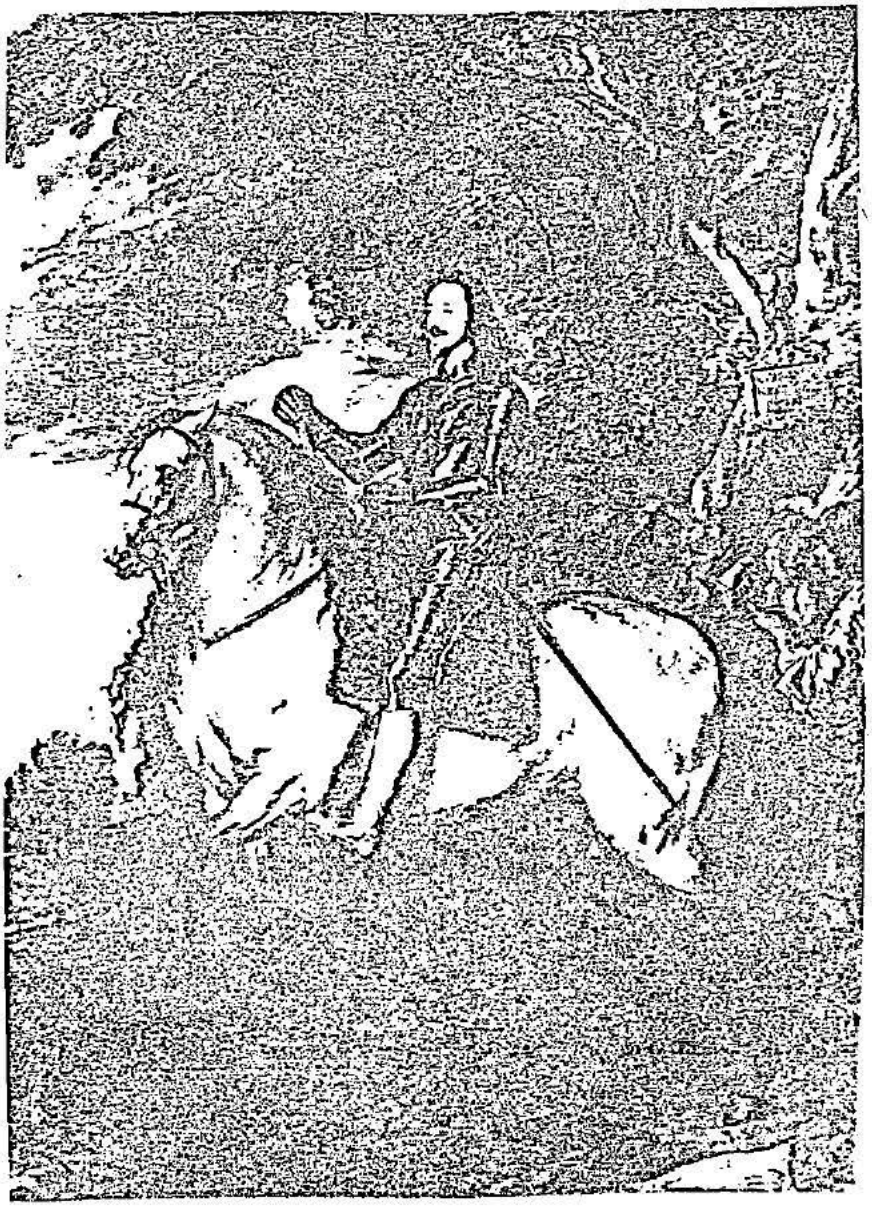
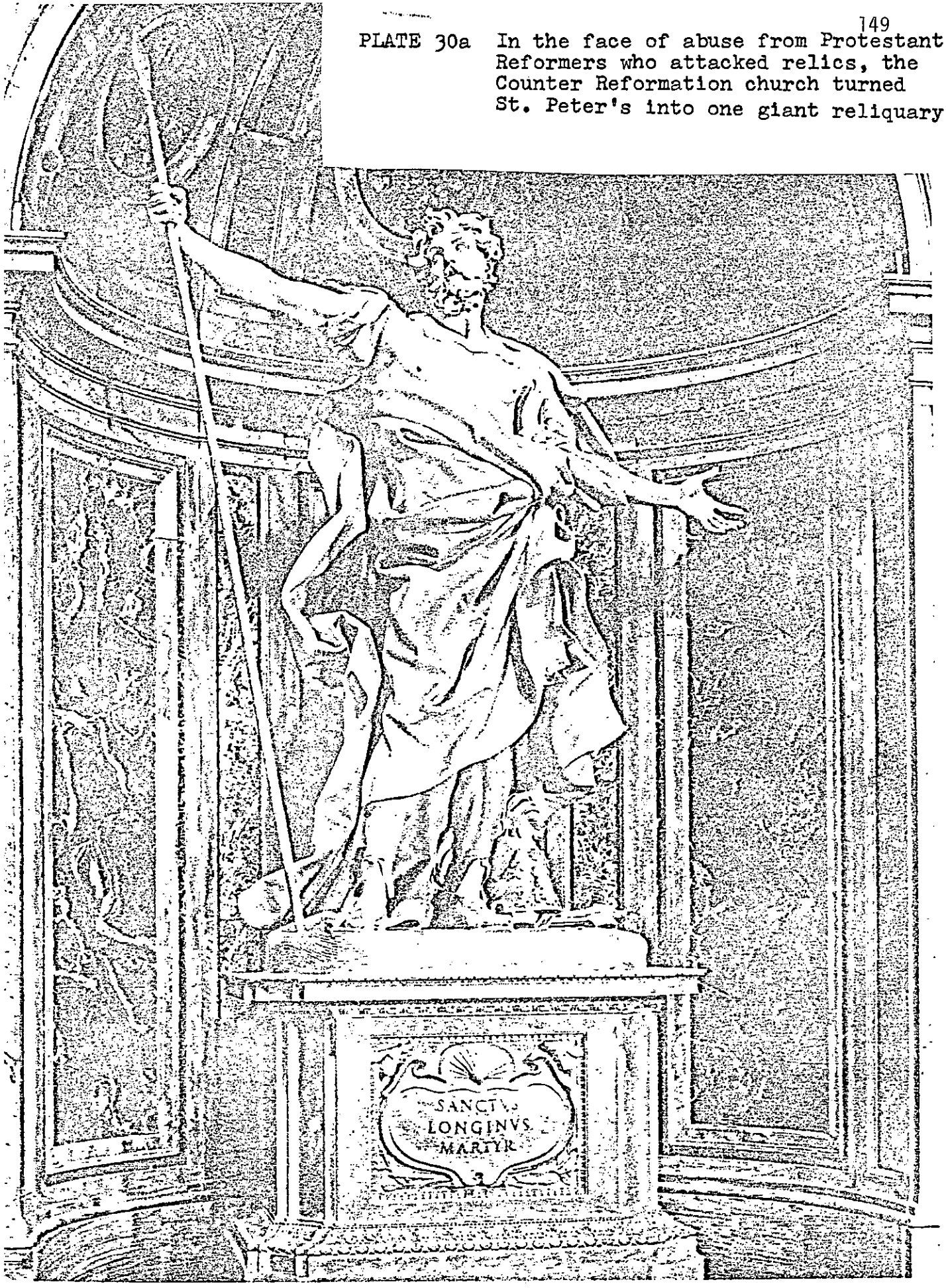


PLATE 28 Van Dyck's Charles I
on horseback, c.1537

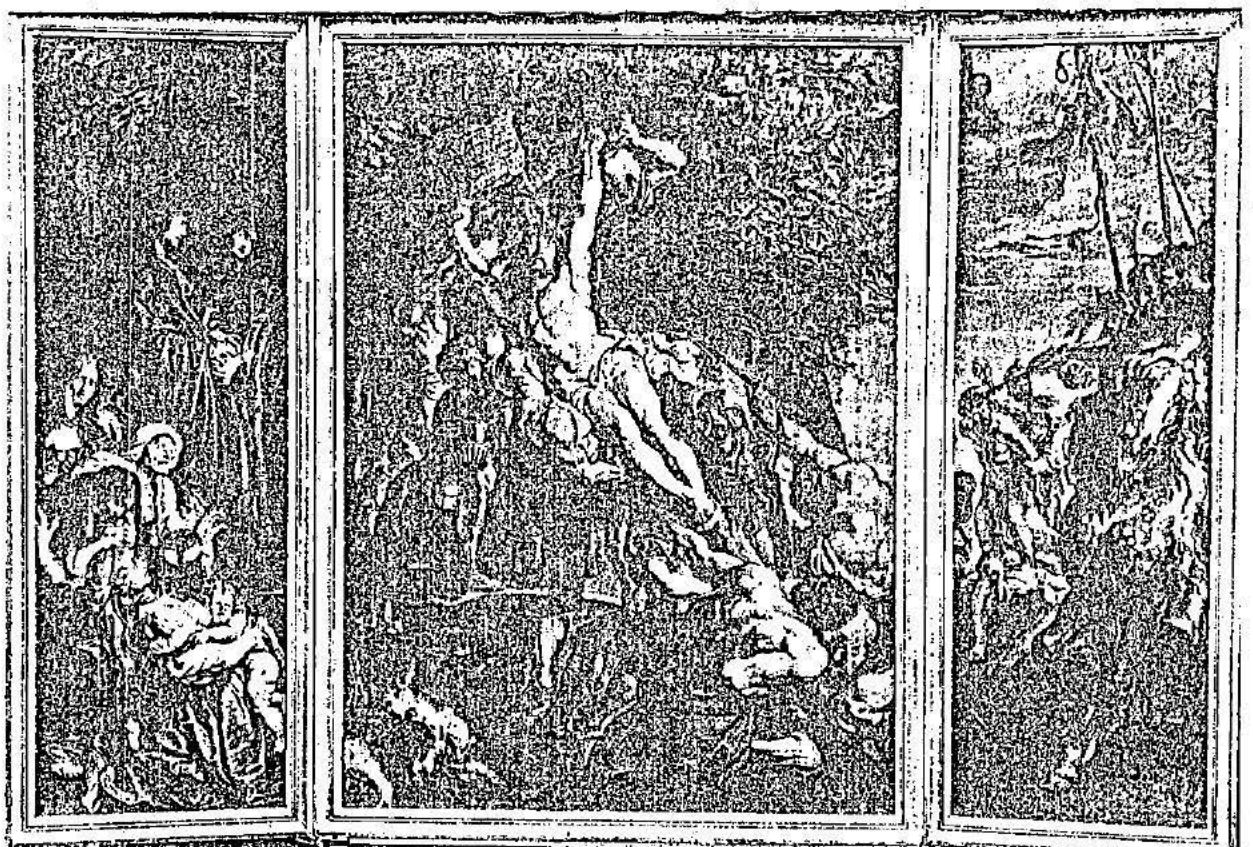
Middle House, Mayfield, Sussex, dated 1575

PLATE 29

PLATE 30a In the face of abuse from Protestant Reformers who attacked relics, the Counter Reformation church turned St. Peter's into one giant reliquary.



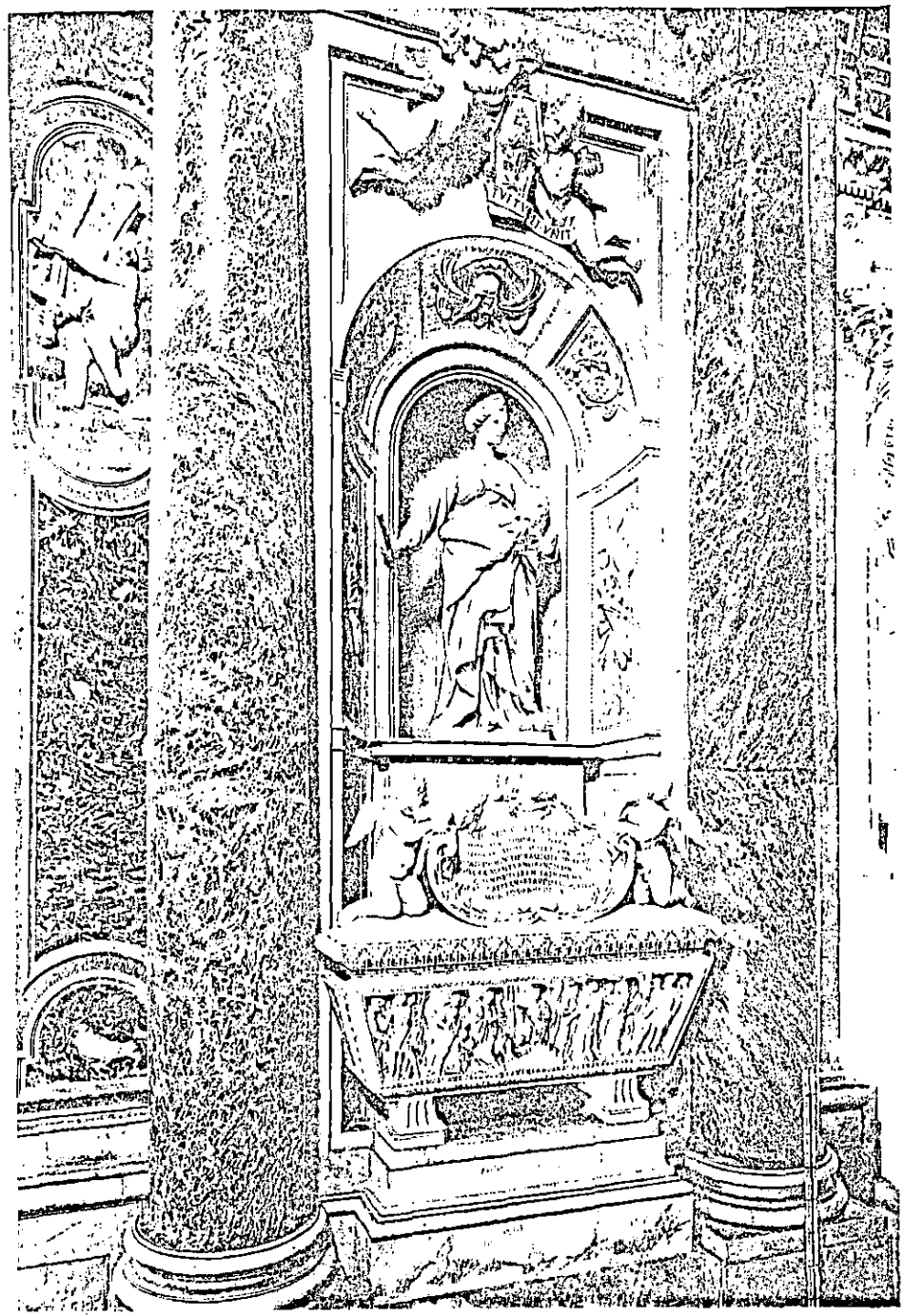
ST. LONGINUS. Monumental size. 1629–38. In the N.E. pillar under the dome of St. Peter's, Rome (Cat. No. 28)



The Triptych of the Raising of the Cross. Antwerp, Cathedral

PLATE 30b

PLATE 30c Bernini's Ecstasy of St. Teresa c.1642-52. St. Teresa was a Spanish nun who claimed to have a spirtual revelation from heaven. The divine mystery was portrayed in this sculptural group in an etheral manner.



G. L. Bernini: Grabmal der Markgräfin Mathilde, St. Peter

PLATE 30d This monument was part of the political program of St. Peter's to stress the uneqestionable divine authority of the popes. The Emperor HenryIV was shown at Canova, doing homage to Pope Gregory VII.

G. L. Bernini: Das Monument jenseits der Vorhalle von St. Peter

PLATE 30e The Emperor Constantine was portrayed at the moment he saw the sign of the cross in the sky at the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312), and then went on to conquer the Roman Empire. This statue was placed at the entrance to the papal apartments for foreign ambassadors. Like Constantine, the Papacy hoped that foreign rulers would see the divine message that the pontiff-led church was divinely appointed.

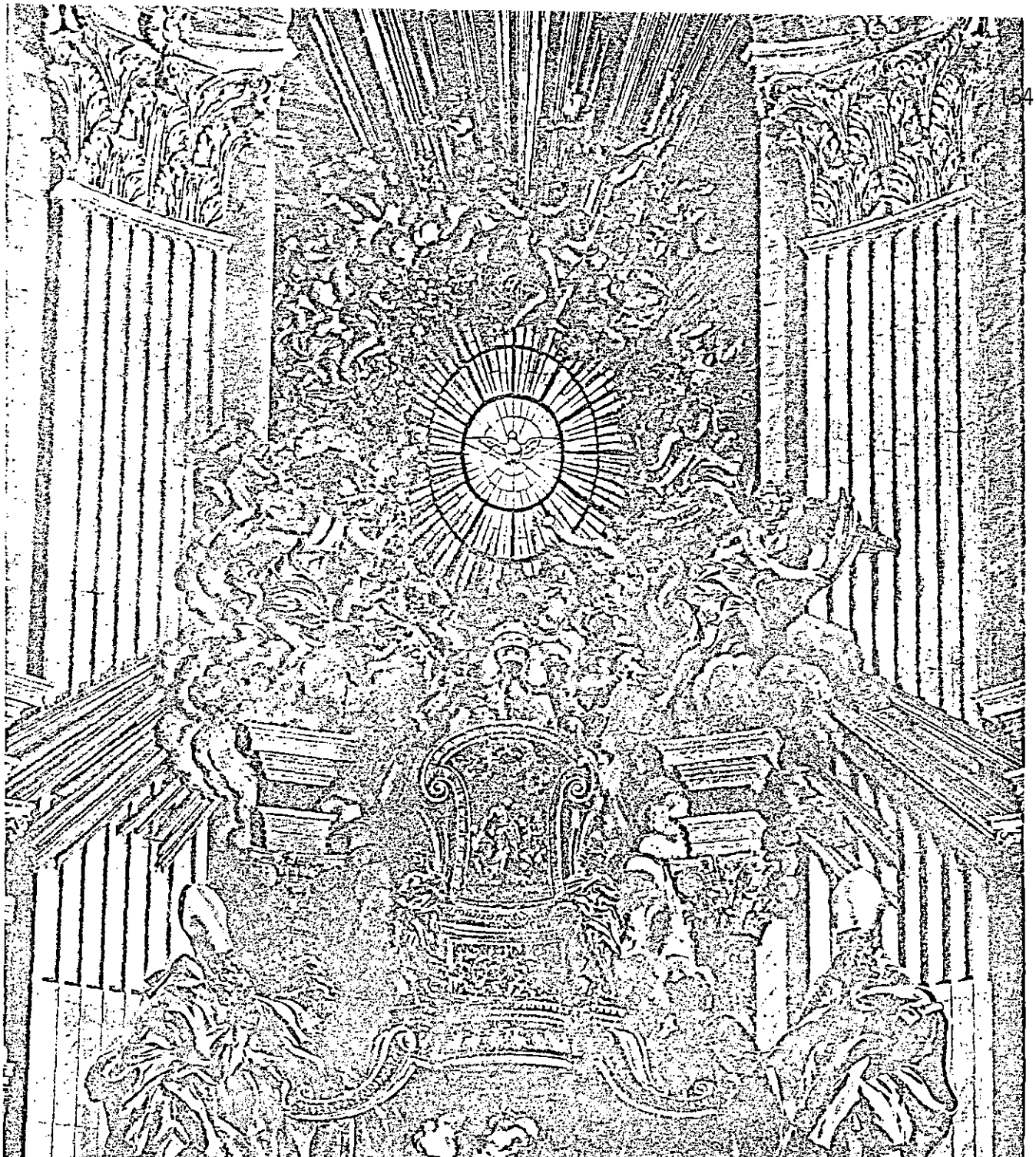
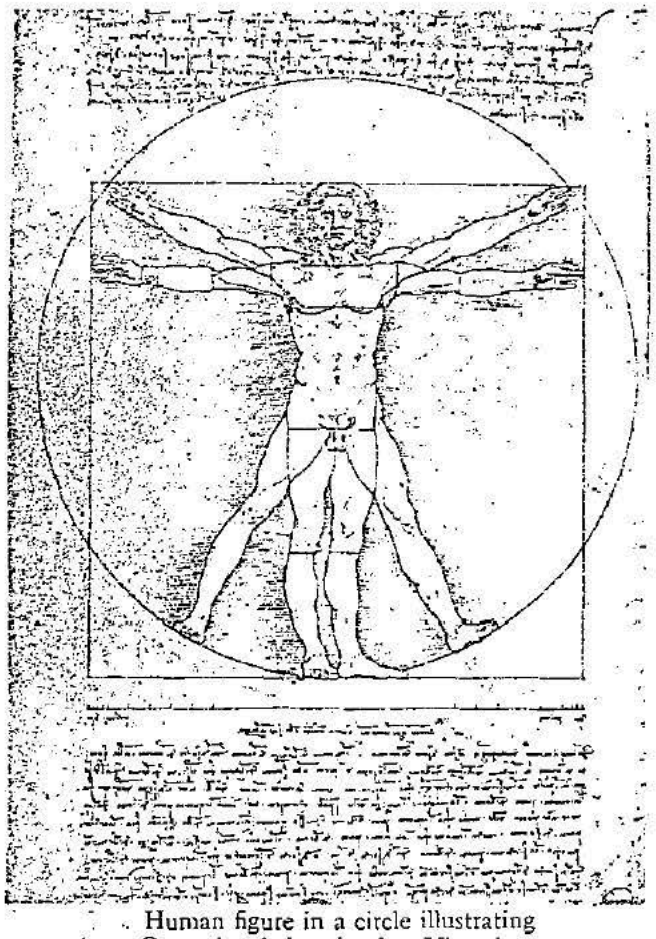


PLATE 30f The Cathedra Petri was constructed to house the throne of St. Peter, the first pope. Bernini turned the composition into a celebration of the divine appointment of the papal office. Christ was shown in gilt relief on the back of the bronze chair appointing St. Peter as shepard of his flock. Two putti uphold the Papal tiara and keys, while the Holy Spirit decends. The entire composition was 'supported' by four doctors of the western and eastern churches, thus implying that the papal office had justification in scripture.

CATHEDRA PETRI. Marble, gilt bronze and stucco. 1657–66. Apse, St. Peter's, Rome (Cat. No. 61)

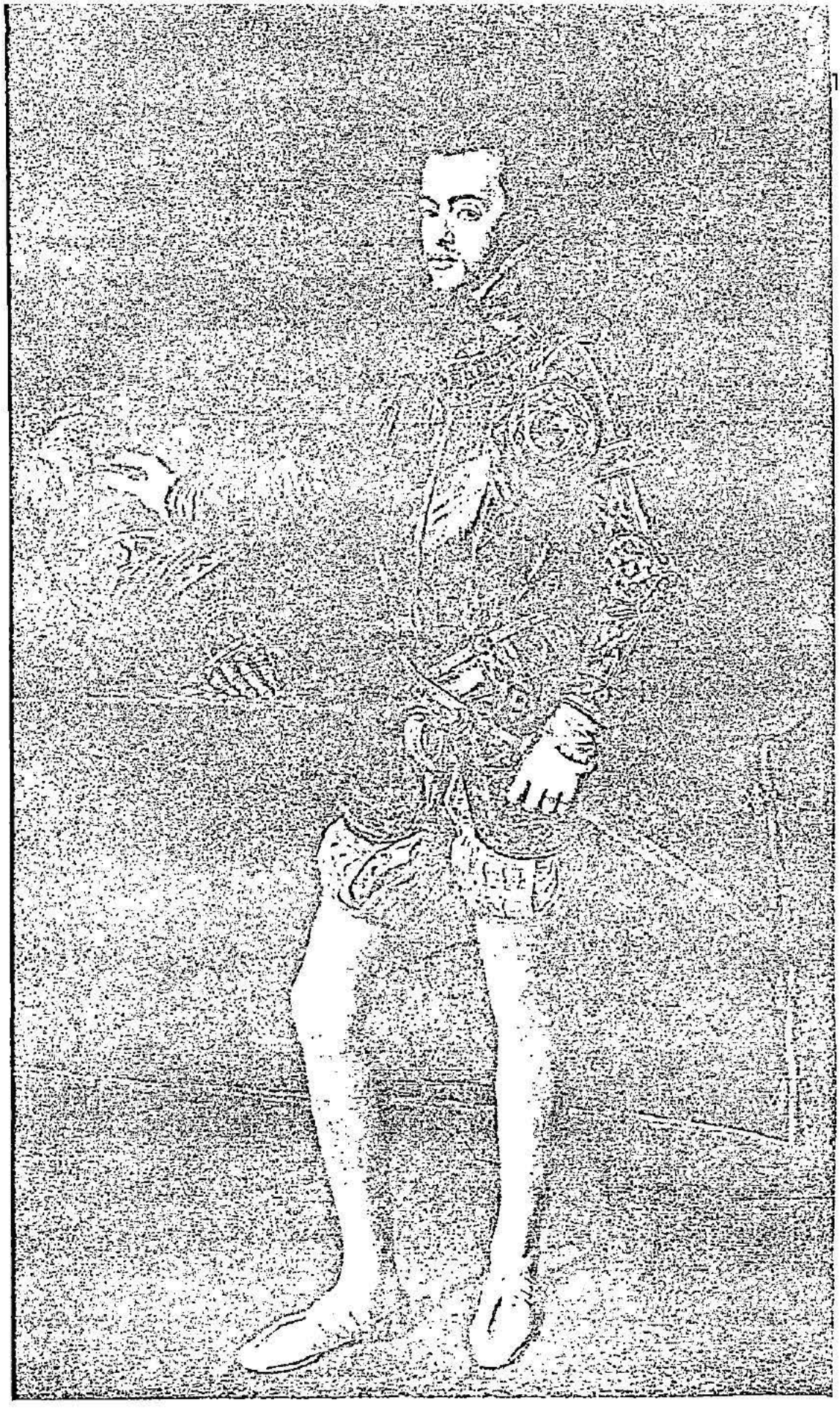


. Human figure in a circle illustrating proportions. Quotation below is after Vitruvius. Academy, Venice (photo by Alinari).

PLATE 31 Leonardo da Vinci's famous drawing of relating the circle and square of Renaissance architecture to the human scale.

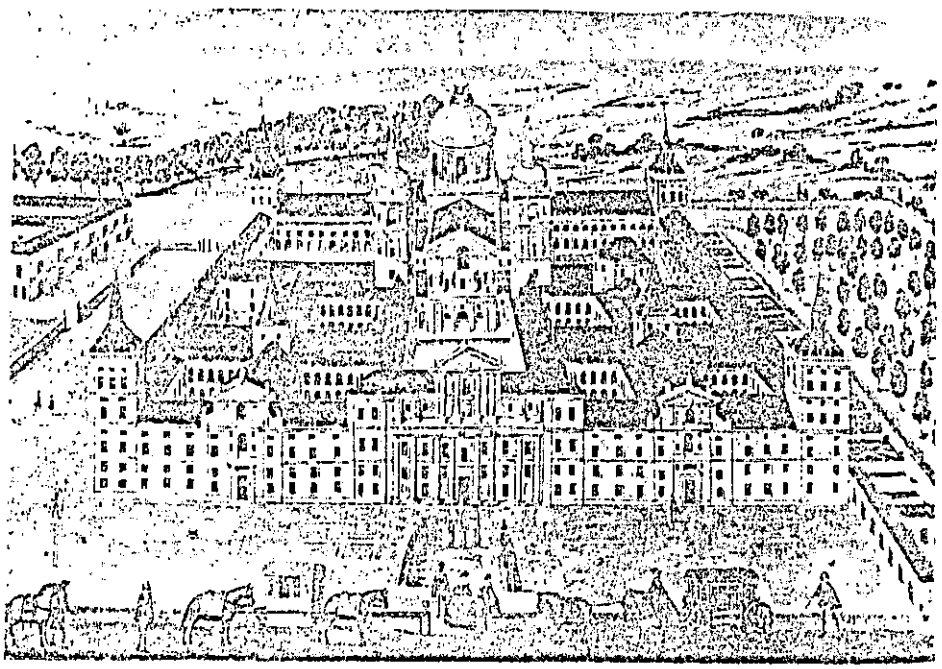
Lafosse (after): *Dome of the Invalides*

PLATE 32 Louis XIV adoring Christ, and offering his sword, and shield in the service of Catholicism.



Titian: *Philip II in Armour*. 1550–1551. Madrid, Prado Museum (Cat. no. 78)

PLATE 33



The Escorial. *Painting by an unknown artist. The isolated setting, huge bulk, gridiron design, and monastic severity of Philip II's retreat are clearly shown. Standing in the center of the complex is the domed church.*

PLATE 34

Titian and workshop: *Philip II, Allegorical Portrait (Allegory of Lepanto)*. 1573–1575. Madrid, Prado Museum (Cat. no. 84)

PLATE 35 **Philip II in the guise of secular priest, offers up his victory over the Ottoman-Turks to God.**

Titian: *Charles V, Philip II, and the Royal Family*. Detail of the *Trinity* (*La Gloria*). 1554. Madrid, Prado Museum

PLATE 36

PLATE 37a

The Education of Marie de Medicis

PLATE 37b Henry IV sees the portrait of Marie.

PLATE 37c The Marriage by proxy.

PLATE 37 d Marie arrives at Marsailles.

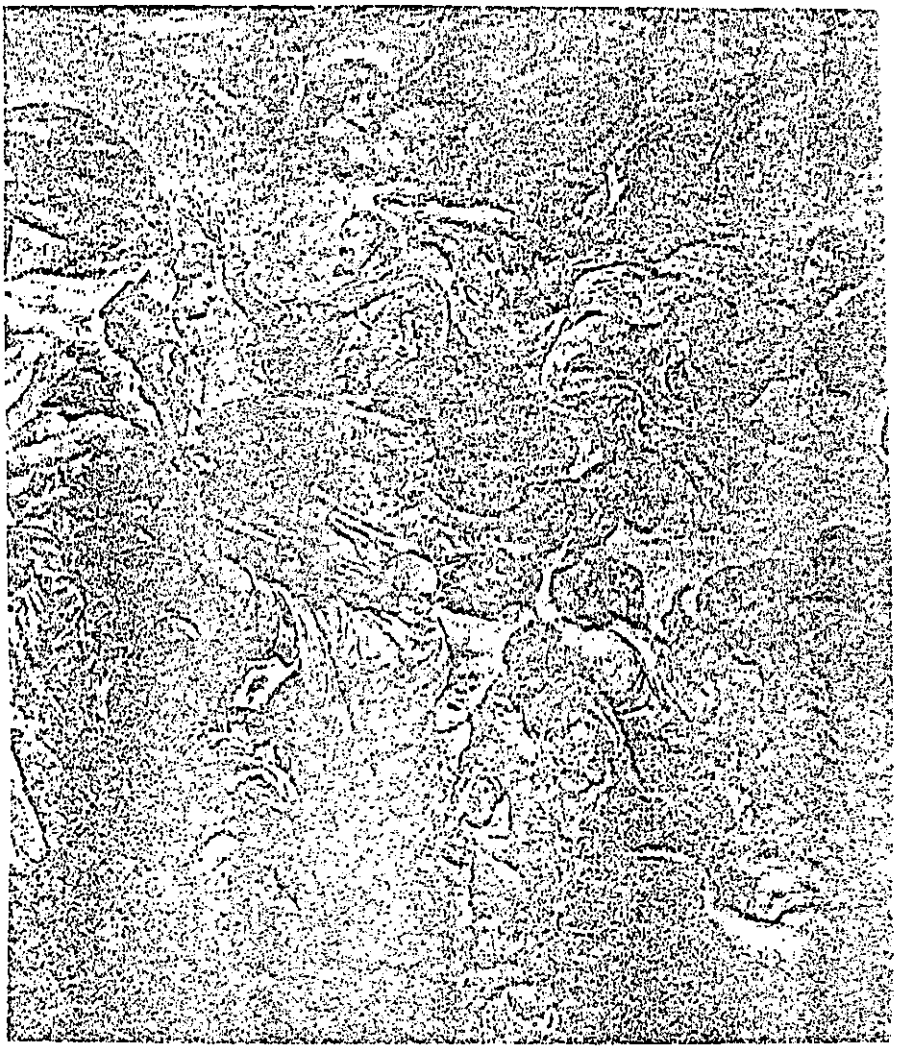


PLATE 38 Henry IV'S triumphal entry into Paris (detail), from Life of Henry IV Cycle by Rubens c.1630.

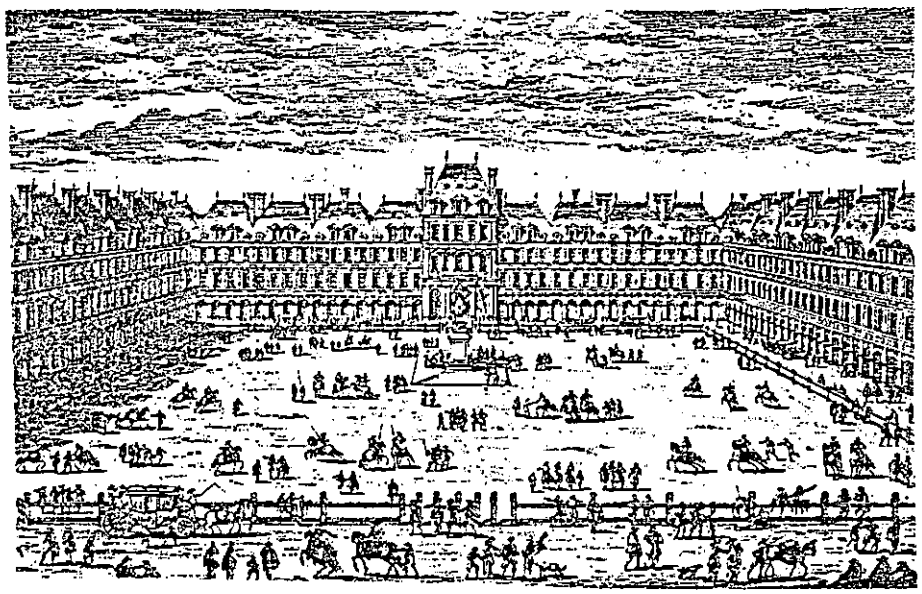
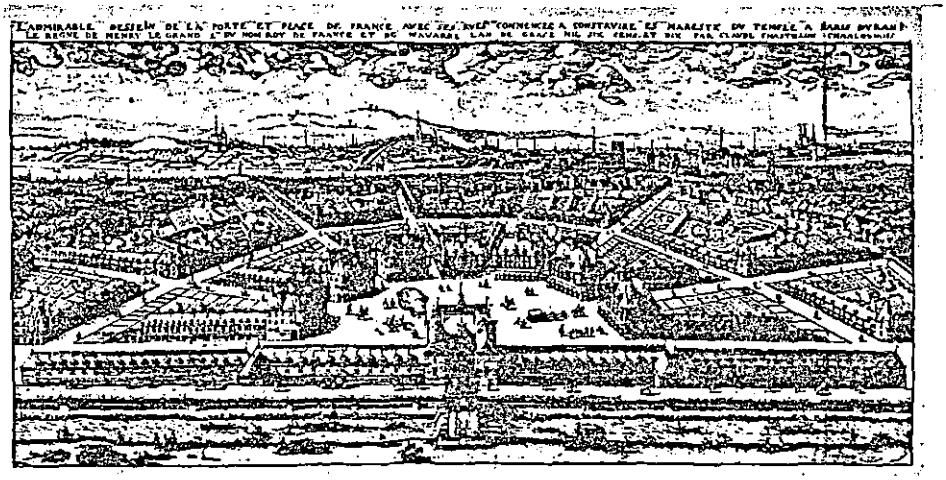


PLATE 39a The Place Royale,
begun 1605



Claude Chastillon and Jacques Alleaume: Paris, Place de France. 1610. Engraving by Chastillon

PLATE 39b

JAMES I AND ANNE OF DENMARK
From an engraving by Renold Elstruck in the Print Room of the British Museum

PLATE 40

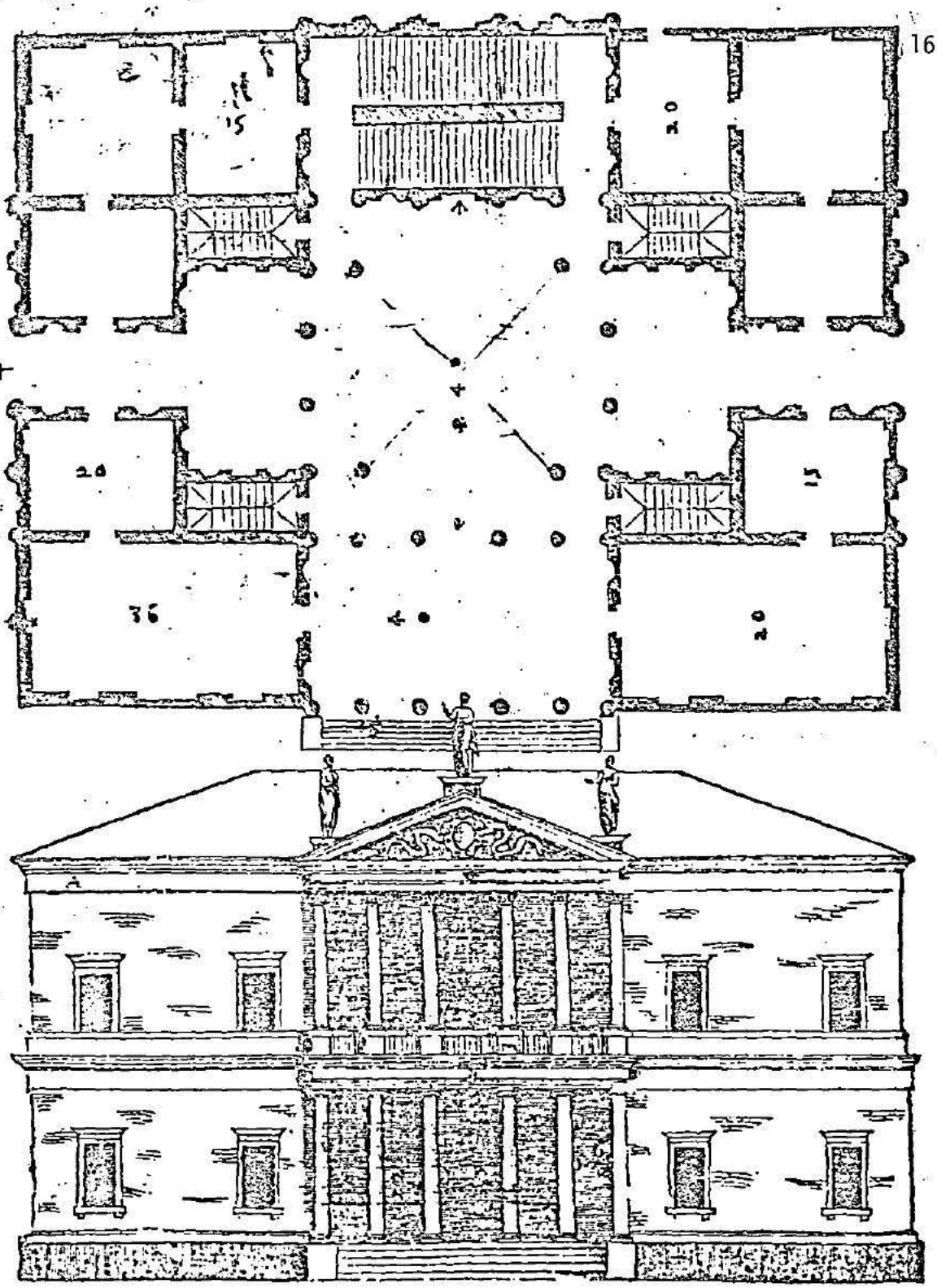


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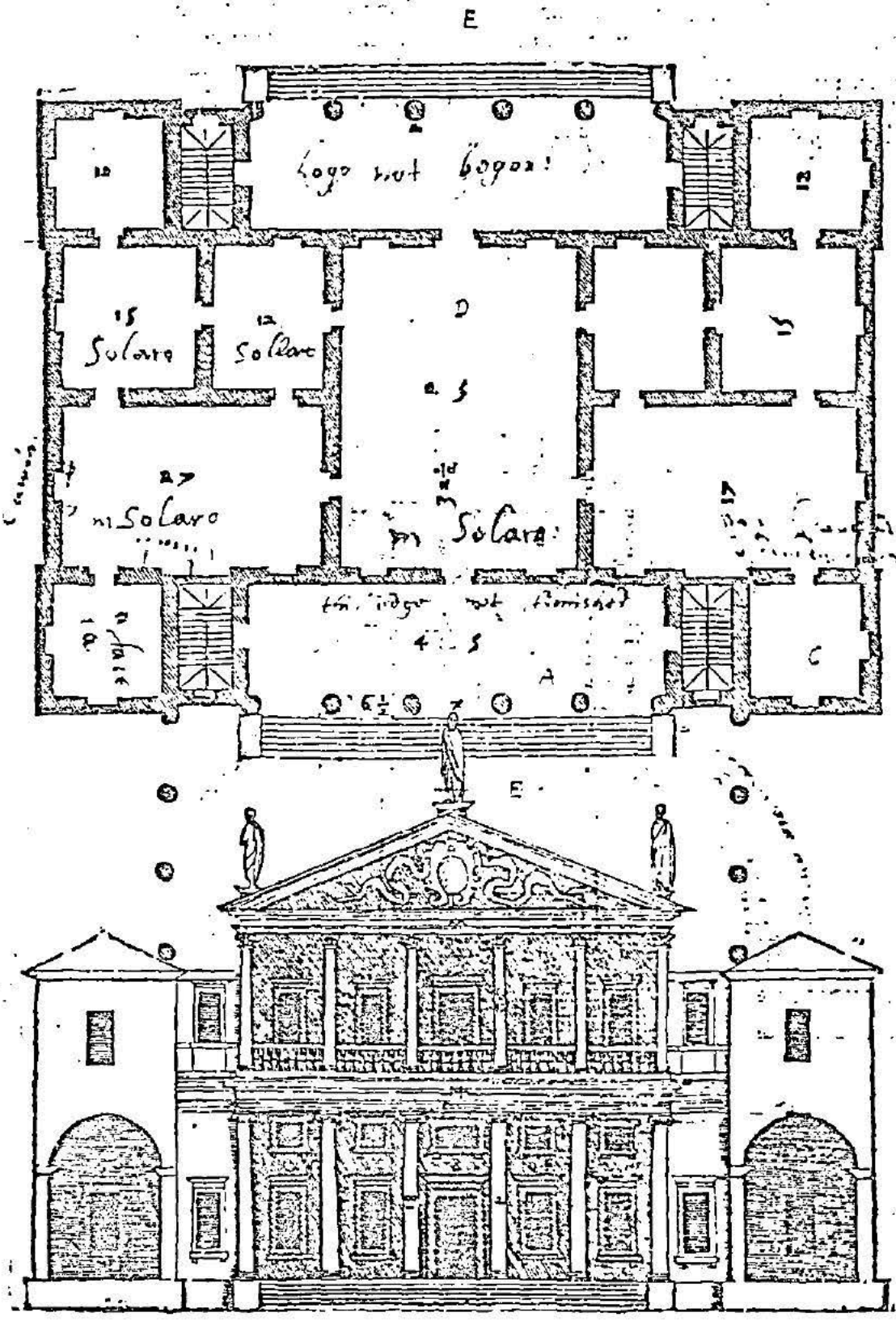
PLATE 41a A page taken from Inigo Jones' copy of Palladio, preserved at Worcester College, Oxford.

nti all'vso di Villa.



HH 2 LA SE-

PLATE 41b A page taken from Inigo Jones' copy of Palladio, preserved at Worcester College, Oxford.

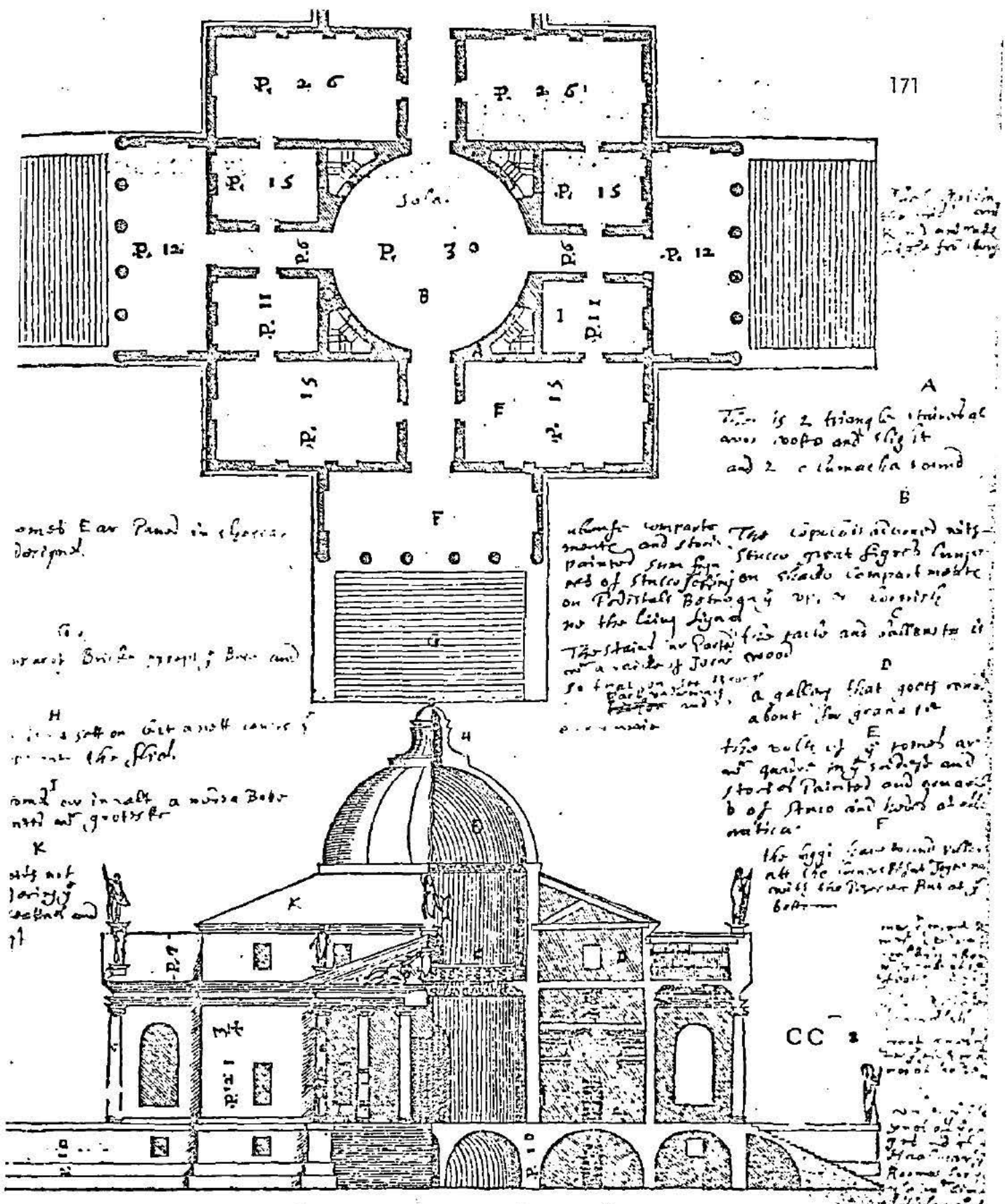
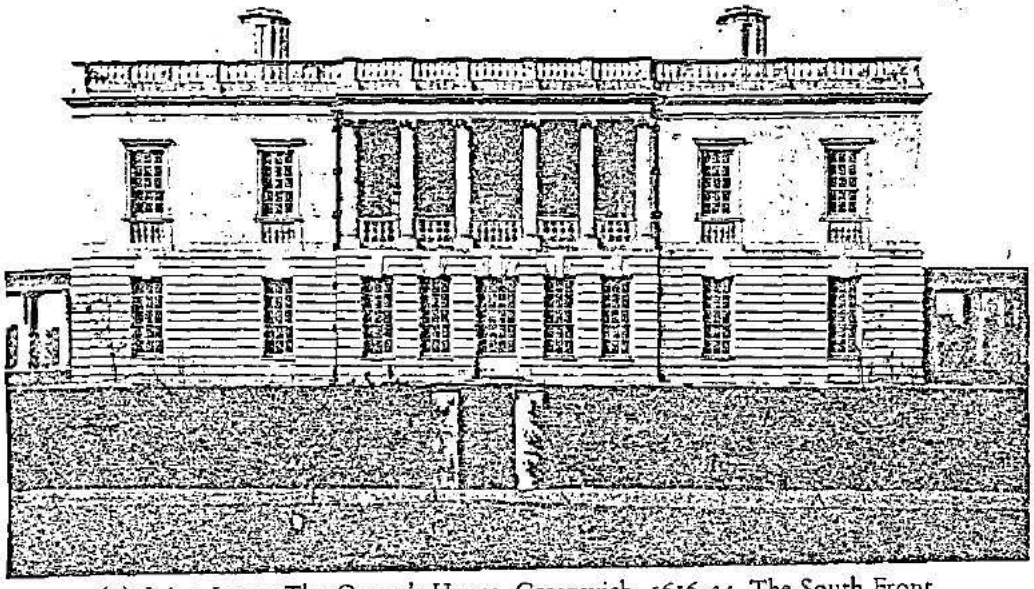
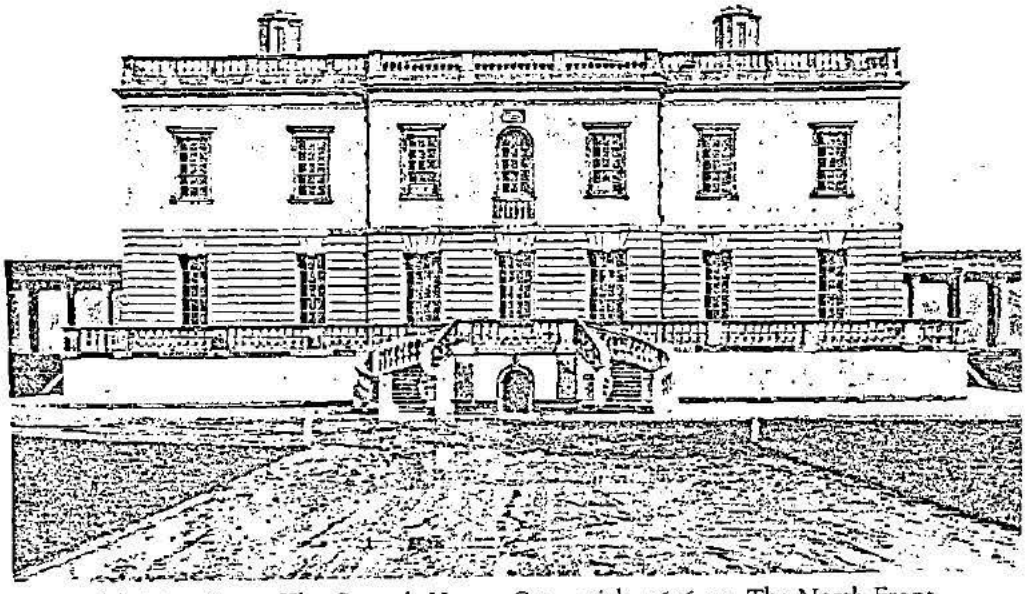


PLATE 41c A page taken from Inigo Jones' copy of Palladio, illustrating the famous villa at Vicenza, begun 1567.

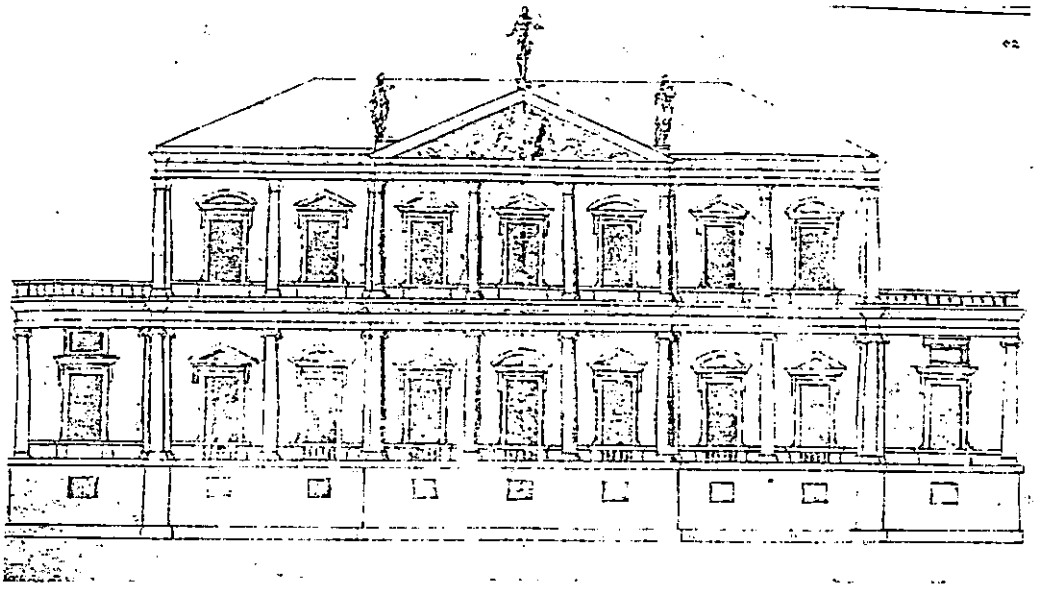


(A) Inigo Jones. The Queen's House, Greenwich, 1616–35. The South Front

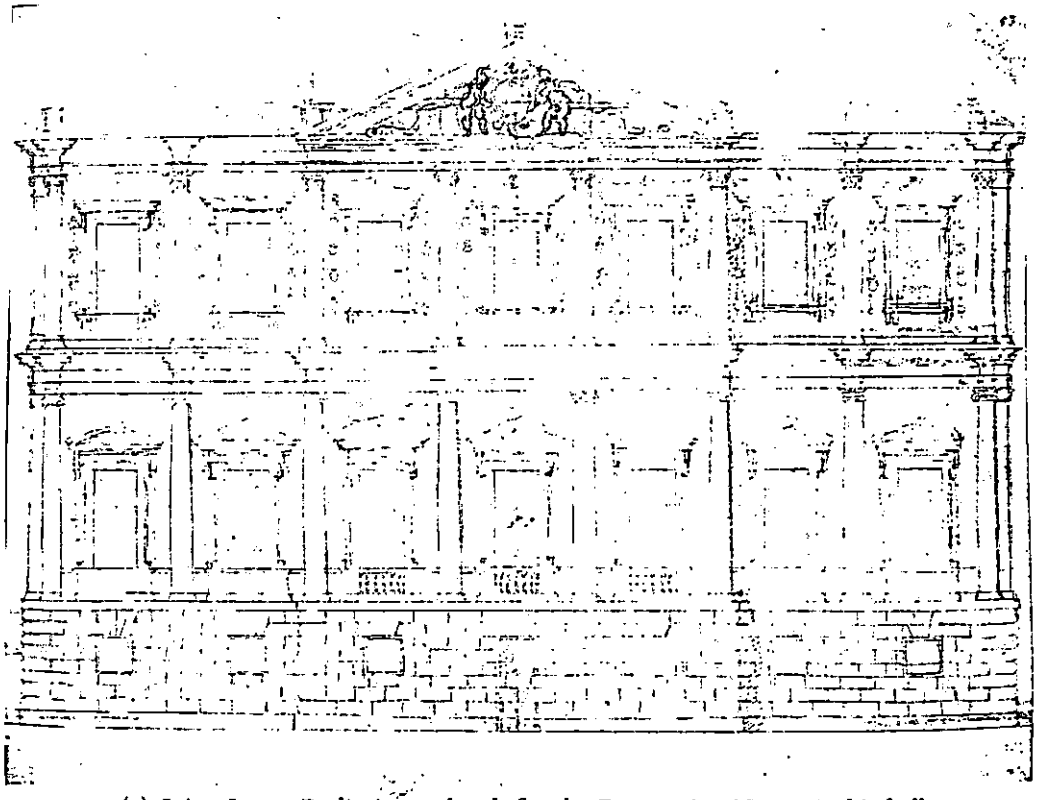


(B) Inigo Jones. The Queen's House, Greenwich, 1616–35. The North Front

PLATE 42

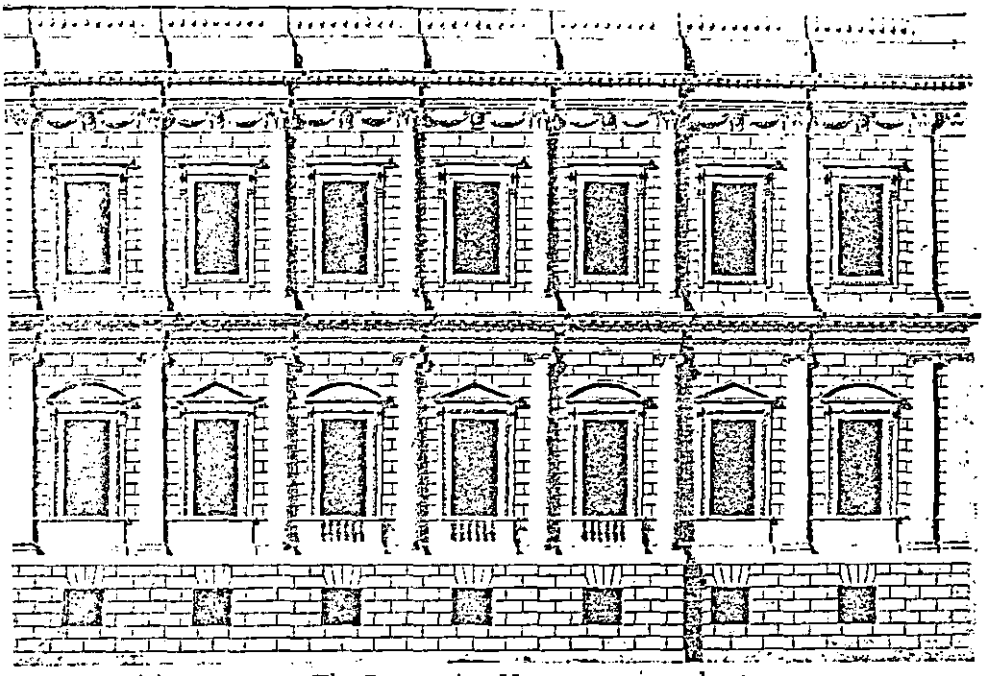


(A) Inigo Jones. Preliminary sketch for the Banqueting House, Whitehall

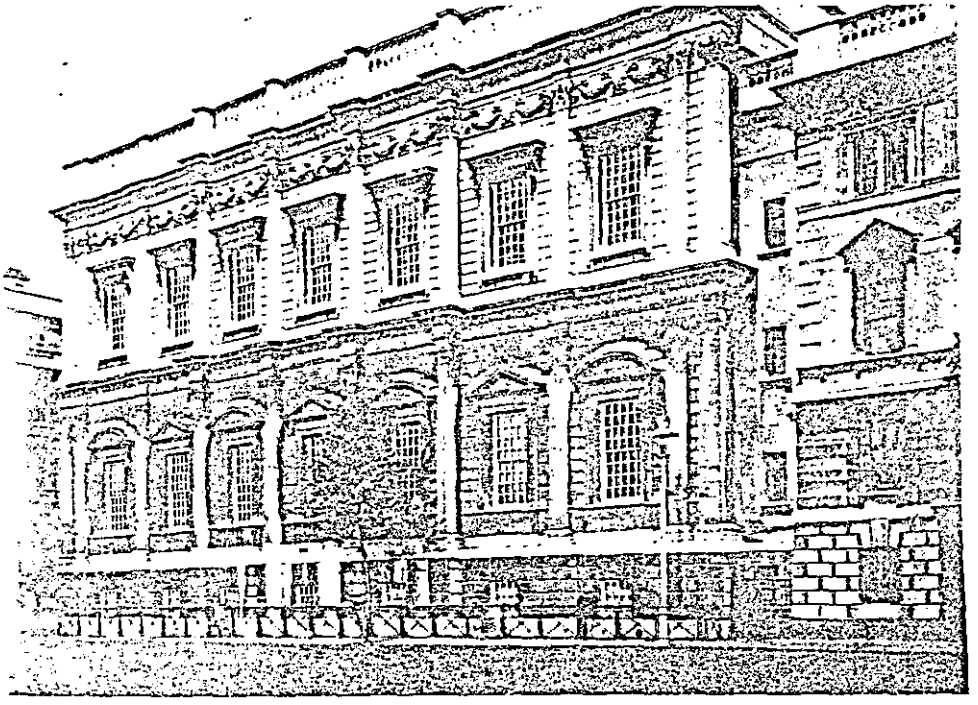


(B) Inigo Jones. Preliminary sketch for the Banqueting House, Whitehall

PLATE 43

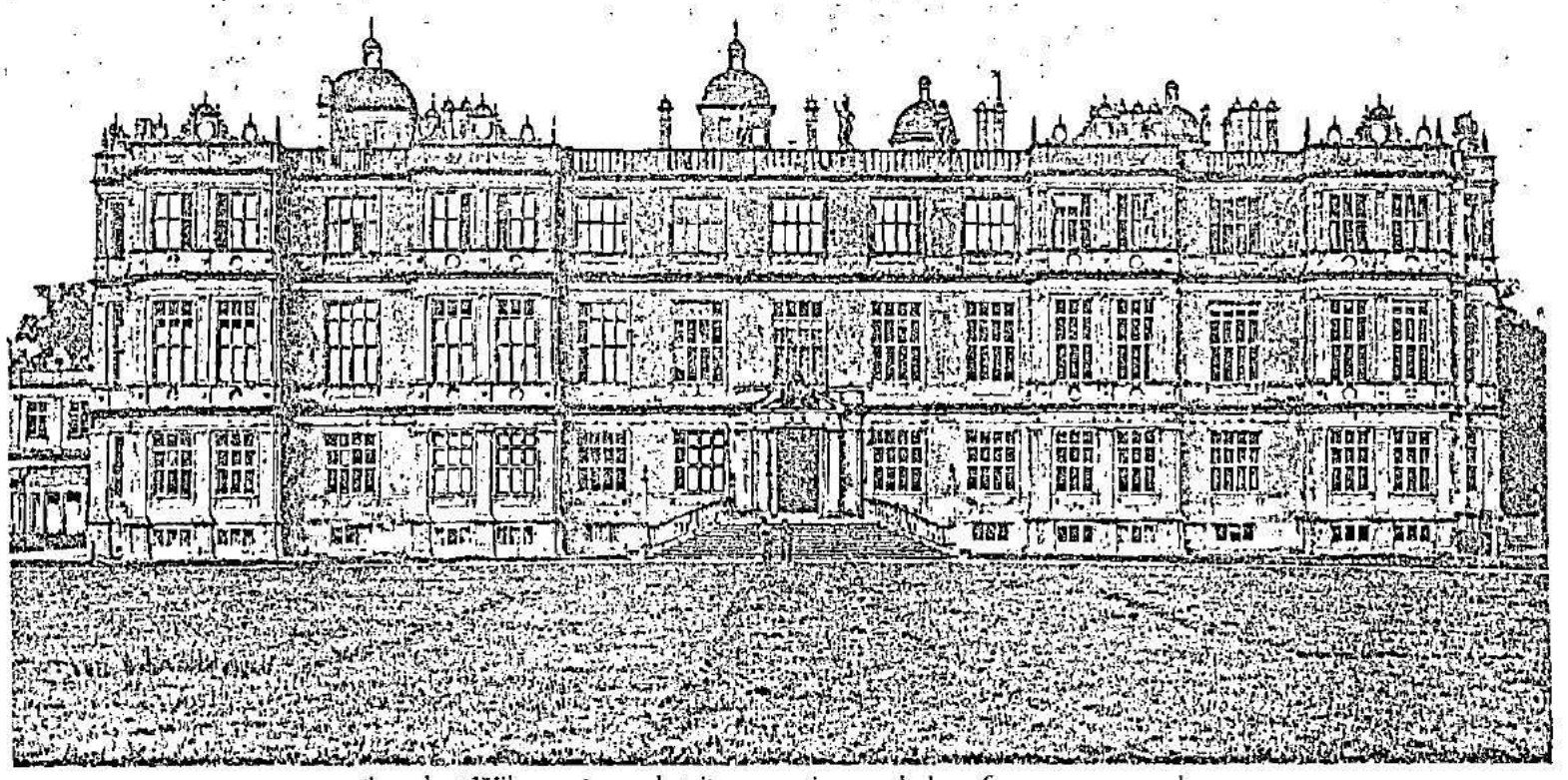


(C) Inigo Jones. The Banqueting House, as executed, 1619–22



(D) Inigo Jones. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, 1619–22

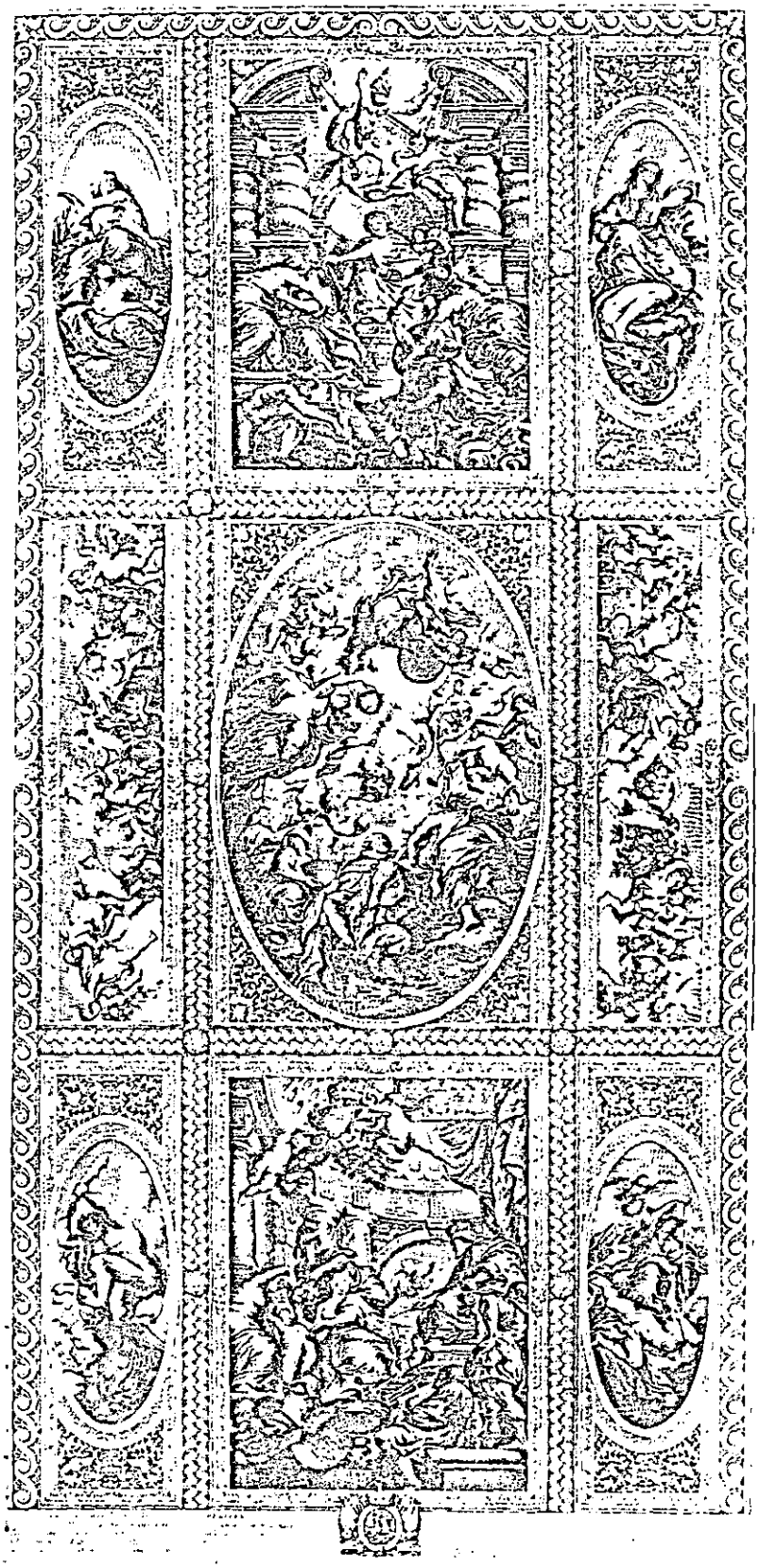
PLATE 43



Longleat, Wilts., 1567–75, but incorporating work done from 1553 onwards

PLATE 44

PLATE 45 James I, by Paul van Somer, c.1620. Here the new order of absolute monarchial government was illustrated. The king was portrayed in full regalia, with the architectural symbol of the new order, the Whitehall Banquet House by Jones in the background.



PL. III. The Rubens ceiling. Engraving by Simon Gribelin, 1720.

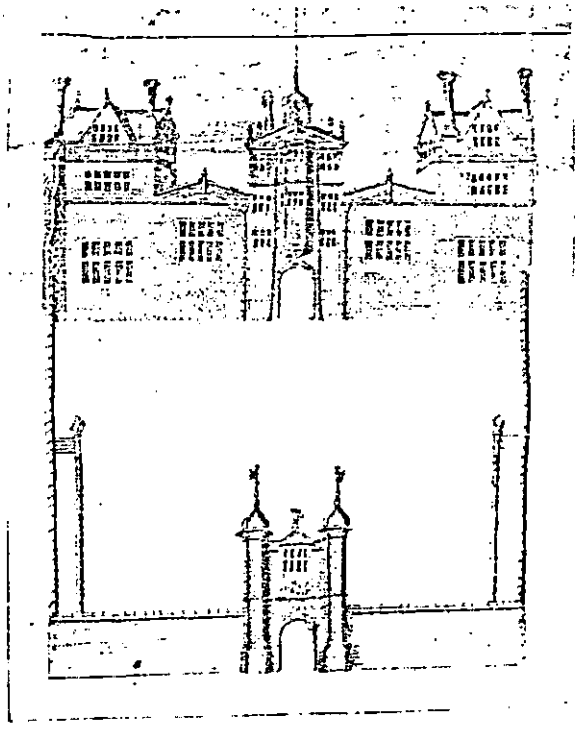
PLATE 46a

The Apotheosis of James I. The Banqueting House.

PLATE 46b

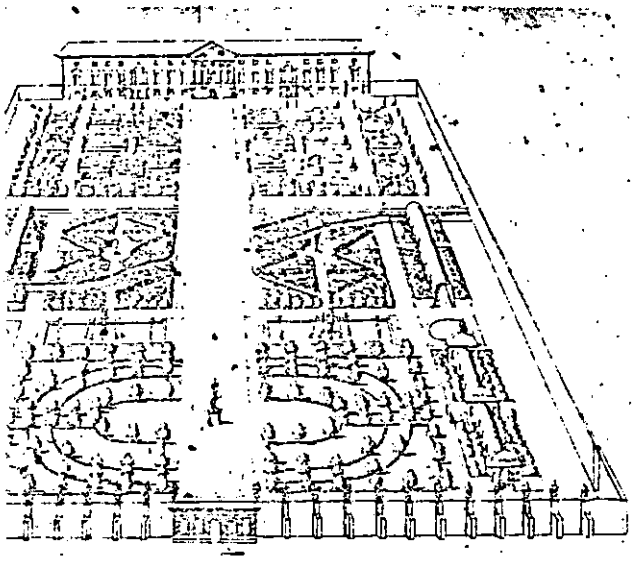
Charles I. *Painting by Van Dyck. The portrait was painted about 1635, when the king seemed to be winning his battle against Parliament and the Puritans. Louvre, Paris.*

PLATE 47



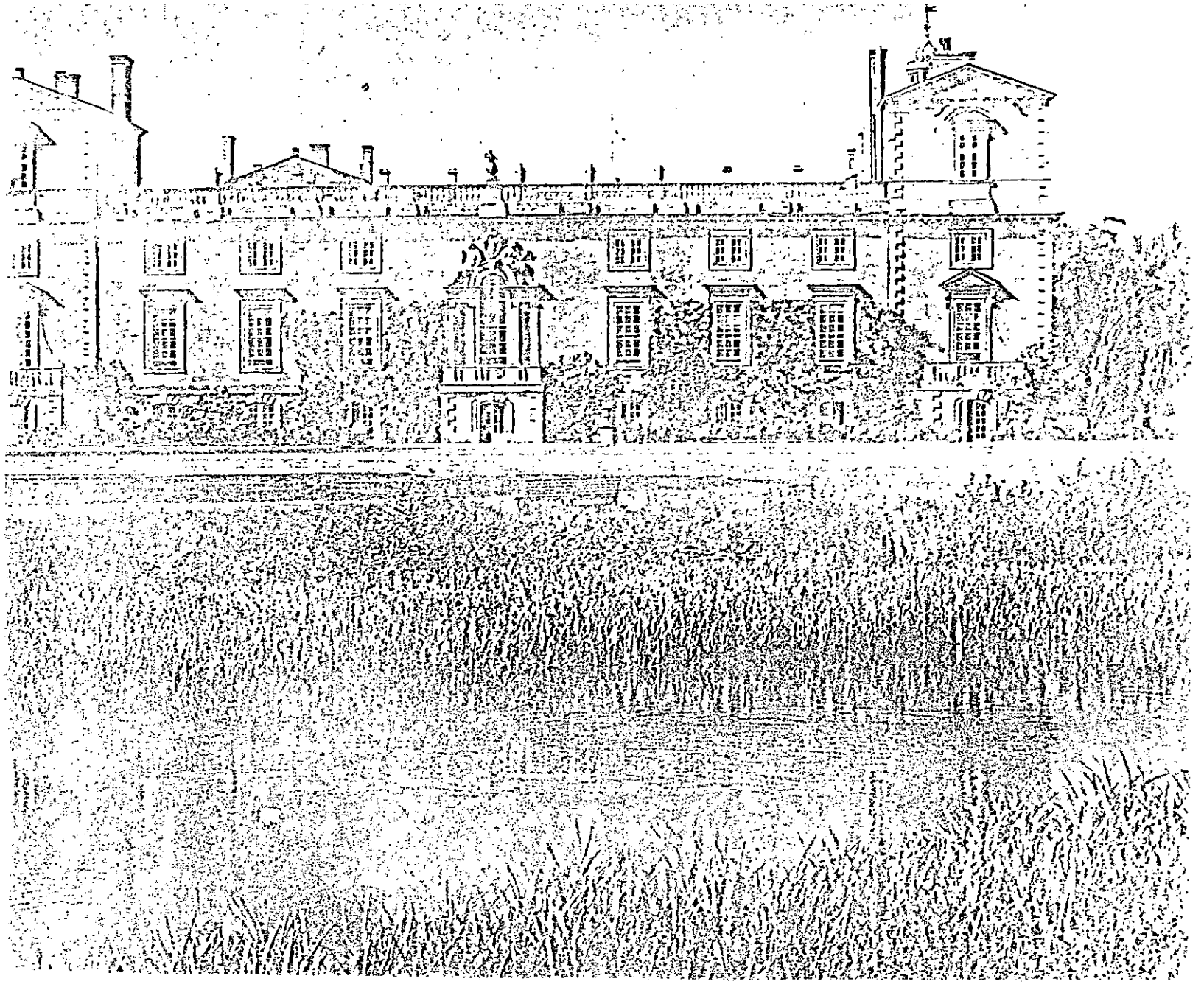
A drawing of the east front of the Tudor house as it appeared in 1566, taken from a scroll of the first Earl's estates still preserved at Wilton

PLATE 48a



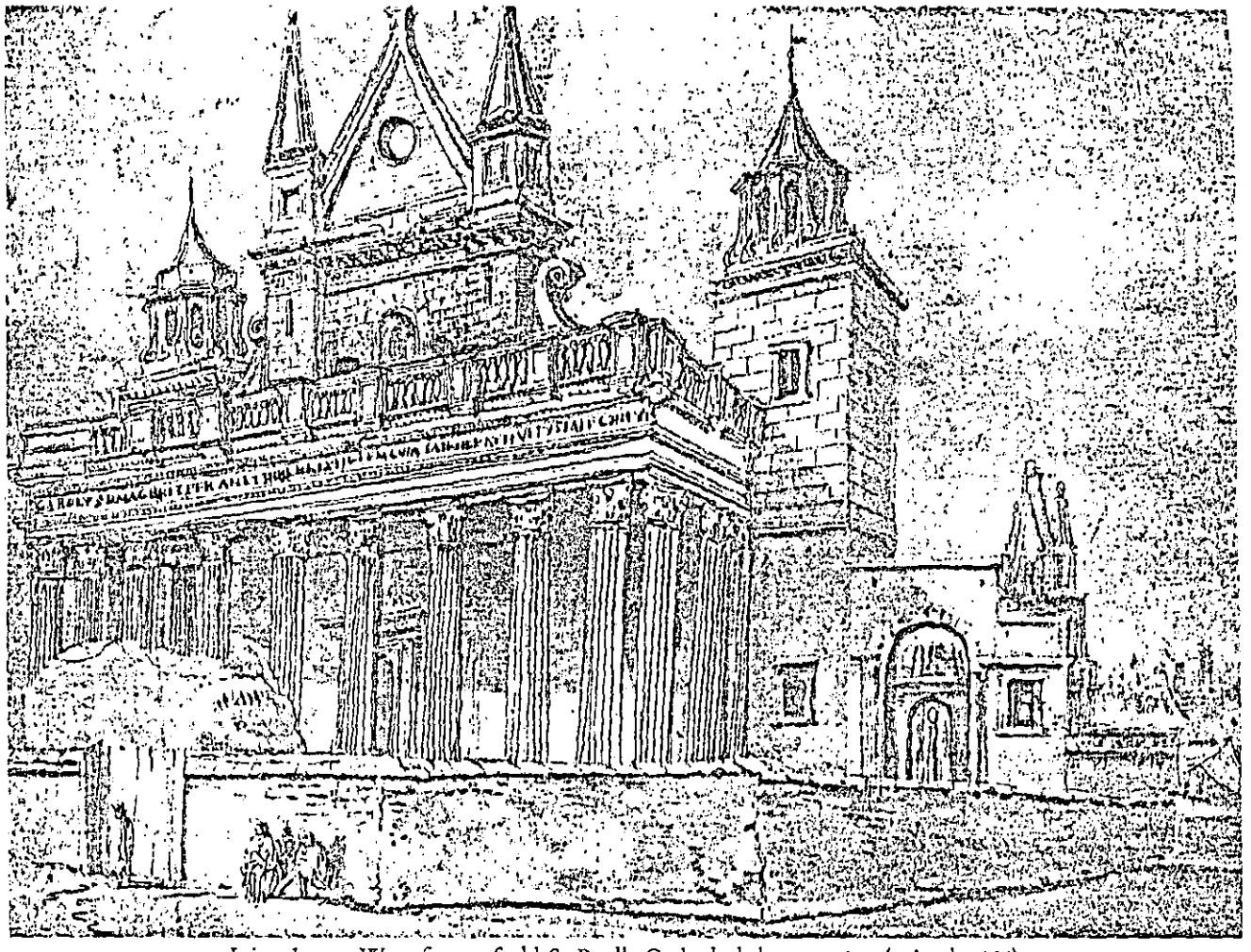
A drawing by de Caus at Worcester College, Oxford, showing the original plan for the south front. Only the right-hand wing of the building was completed, but the garden, crossed diagonally by the River Nadder, was actually constructed

PLATE 48b



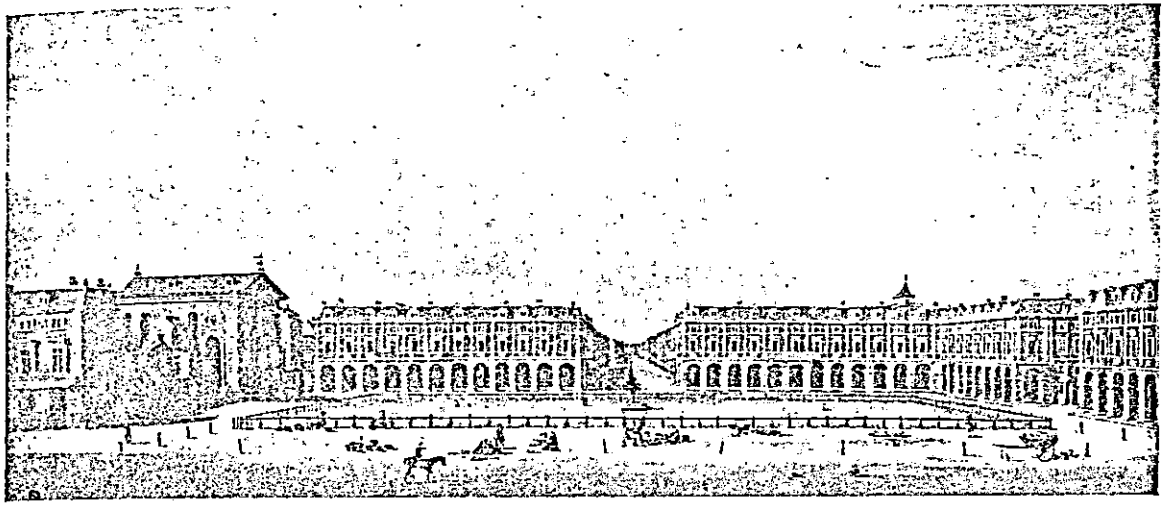
The south front constructed in about 1635–40 by Isaac de Caus under the direction of Inigo Jones. It was originally intended as one wing of a much larger house

PLATE 48c



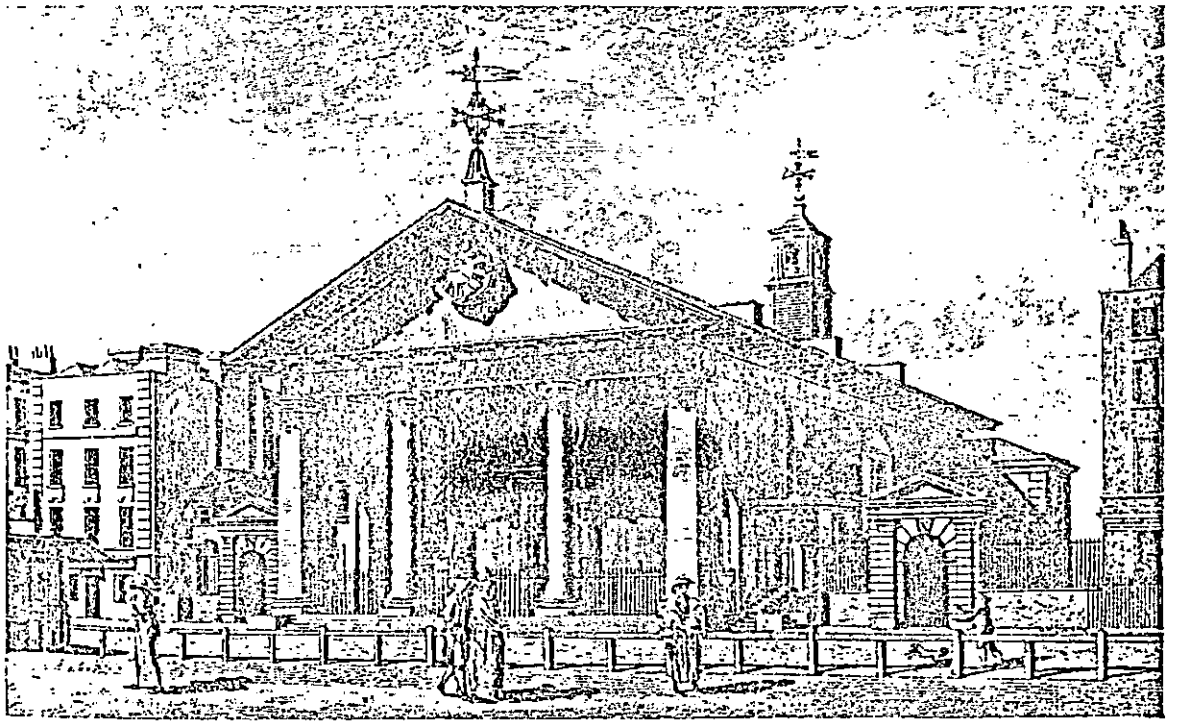
Inigo Jones. West front of old St Paul's Cathedral, begun 1633 (ruined 1666)

PLATE 49



Covent Garden, 1631–8. View of North Side, showing Church and part of East Side. Architect almost certainly Inigo Jones. (From a painting by Samuel Scott at Wilton House)

PLATE 50a



St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 1638. Architect: Inigo Jones. The church has been several times restored. (From an engraving by Thomas Malton)

PLATE 50b

PLATE 51 A detail of a tapestry after Charles Le Brun of 1670, showing Louis XIV visting the Gobelins, the artistic factory set up by the royal government to standardize all art to one purpose, to glorify the rule of the monarch.

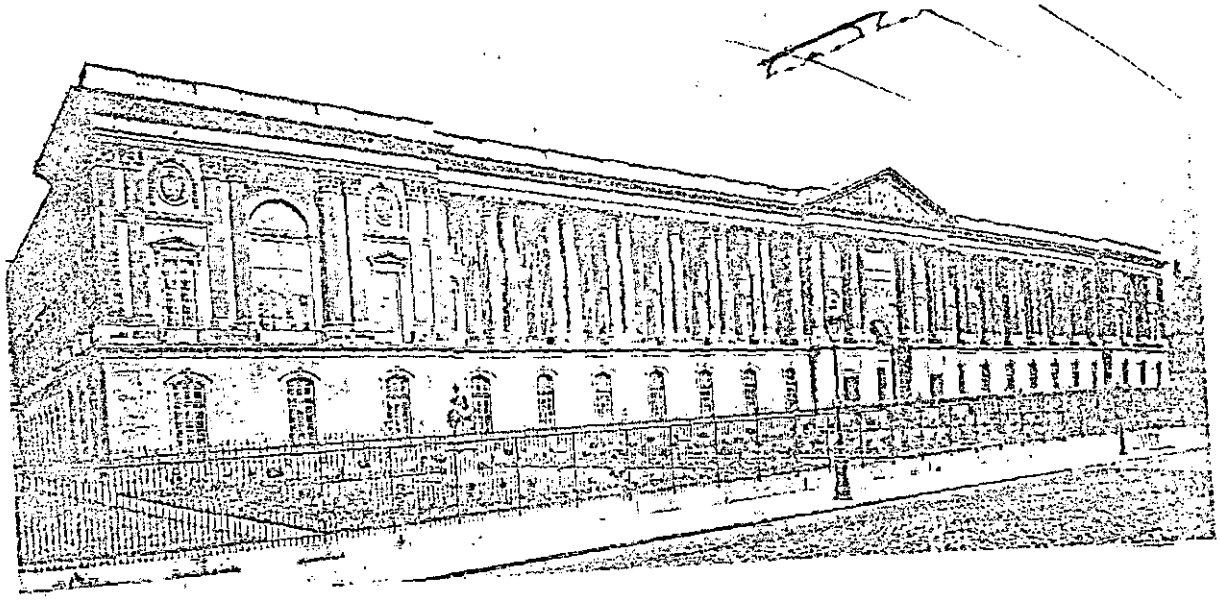
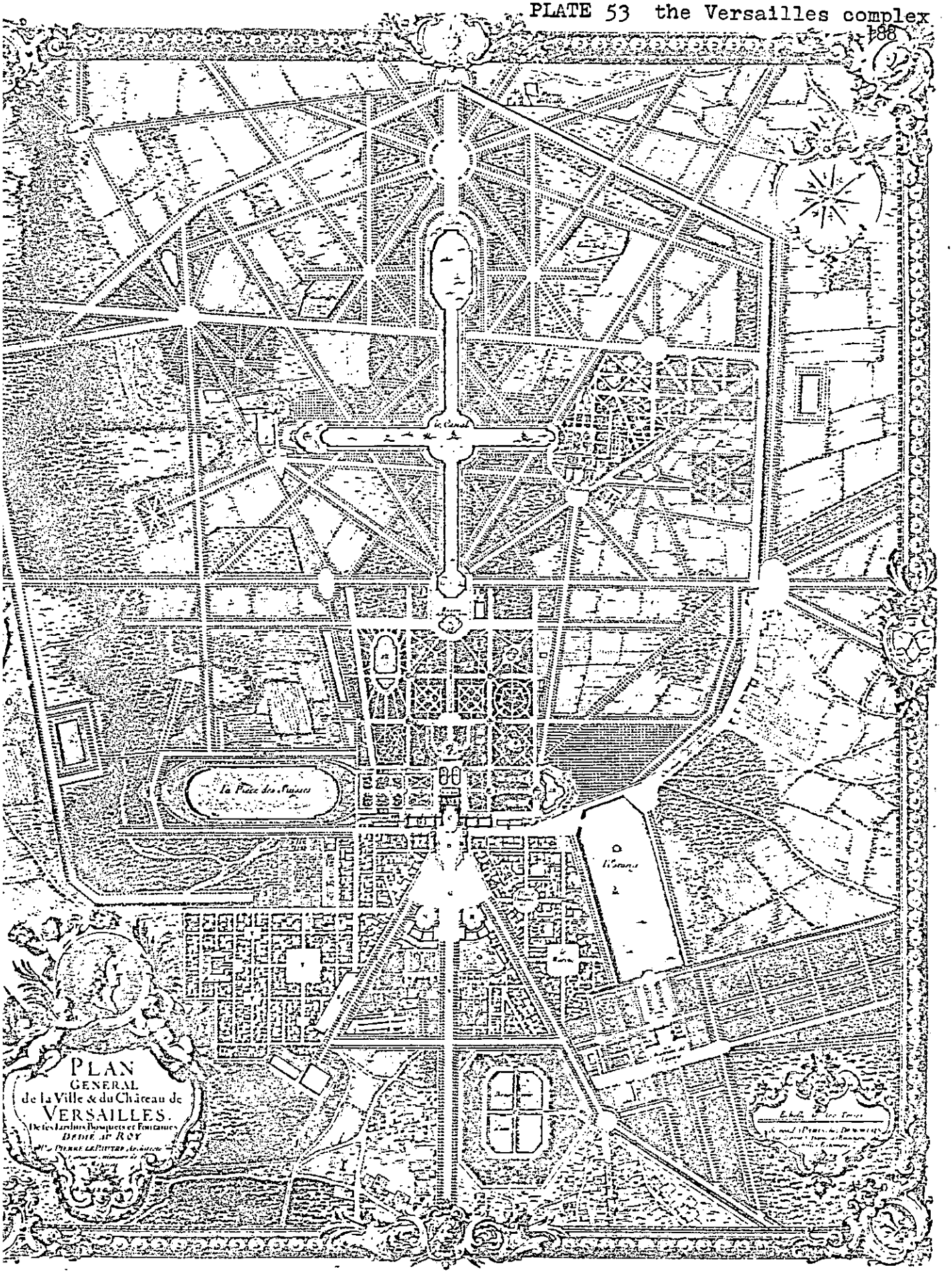


PLATE 52 Louvre - Louis Le Vau, Charles Perrault, and Charles Le Brun, East Front, 1667-70.

PLATE 53 the Versailles complex



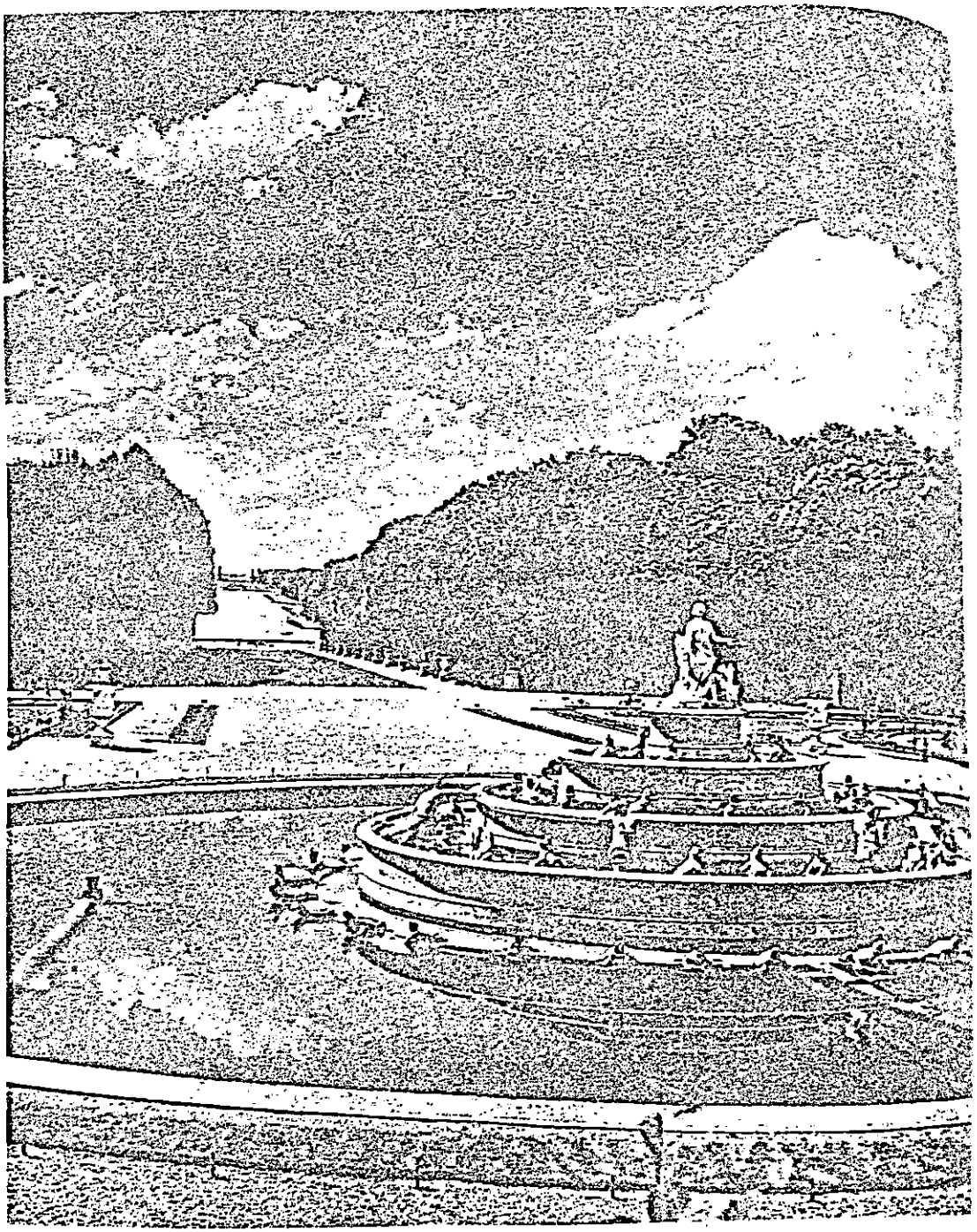


PLATE 54a The Fountain of Latona. Latona was the mother of Apollo. Once, when harrassed by a group of mortals she cried out to her lover Jupiter to protect her and his child. Angered by the motal abuse of the divine, Jupiter turned them into frogs. This was analogous to the political situation during the minority of Louis XIV (Apollo) under his mother Ann of Austria.

One of the 1,400 fountains in Louis XIV's gardens at Versailles. *Engraving by Mercy. This scene suggests the enormous size of Louis XIV's pleasure garden for the privileged French aristocracy and the crushing strain such building projects imposed on the state budget.*

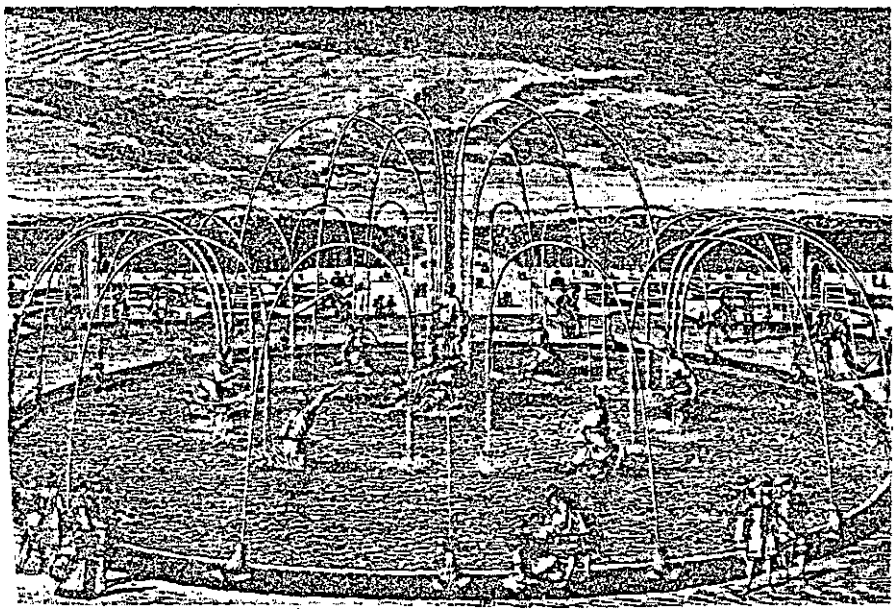
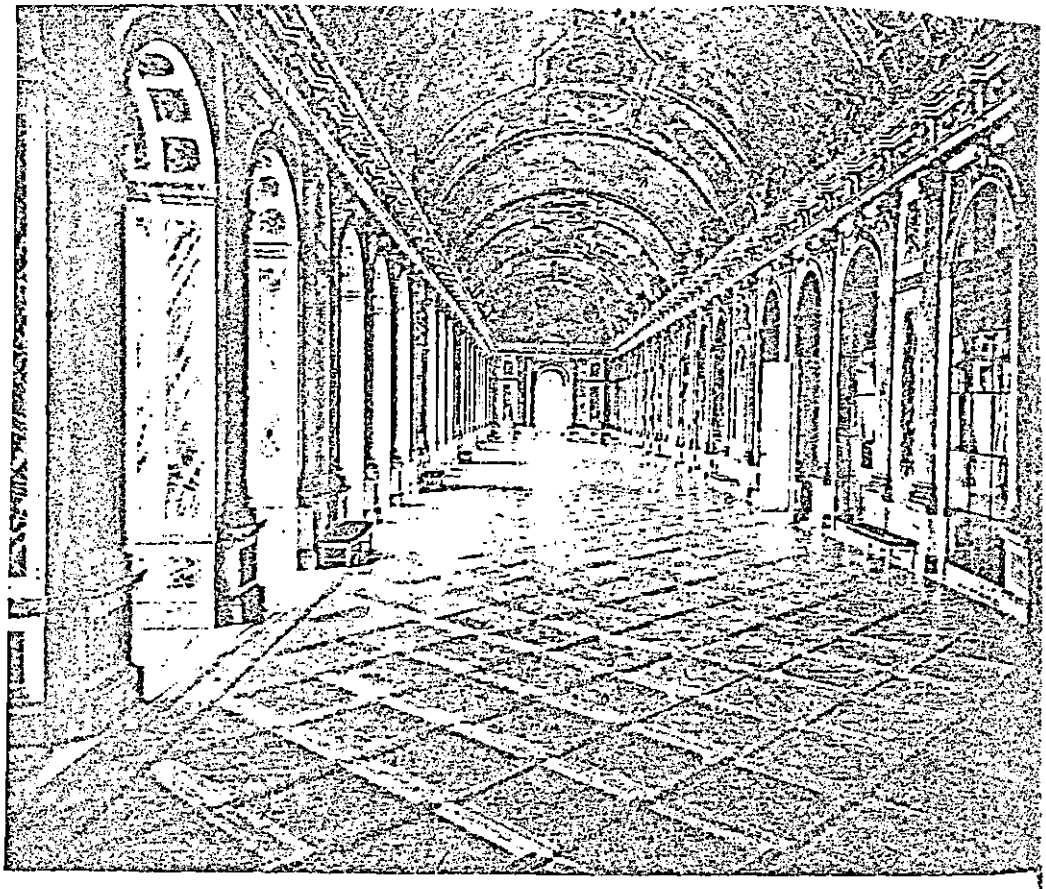


PLATE 54b

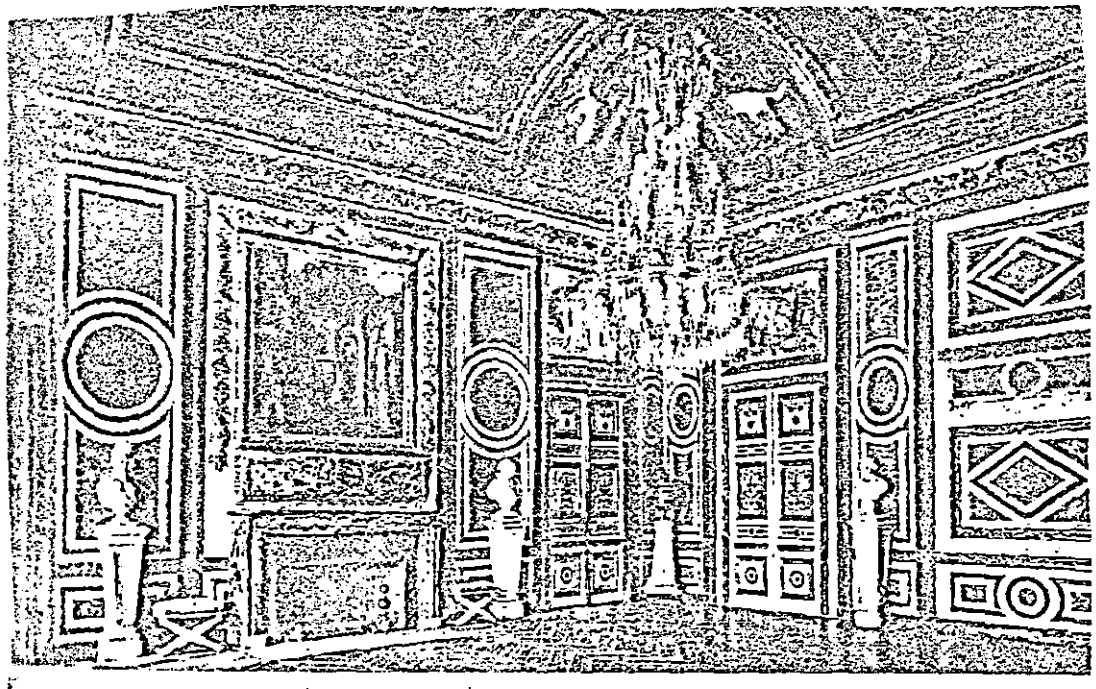


LA GALERIE DES GLACES

PLATE 55a

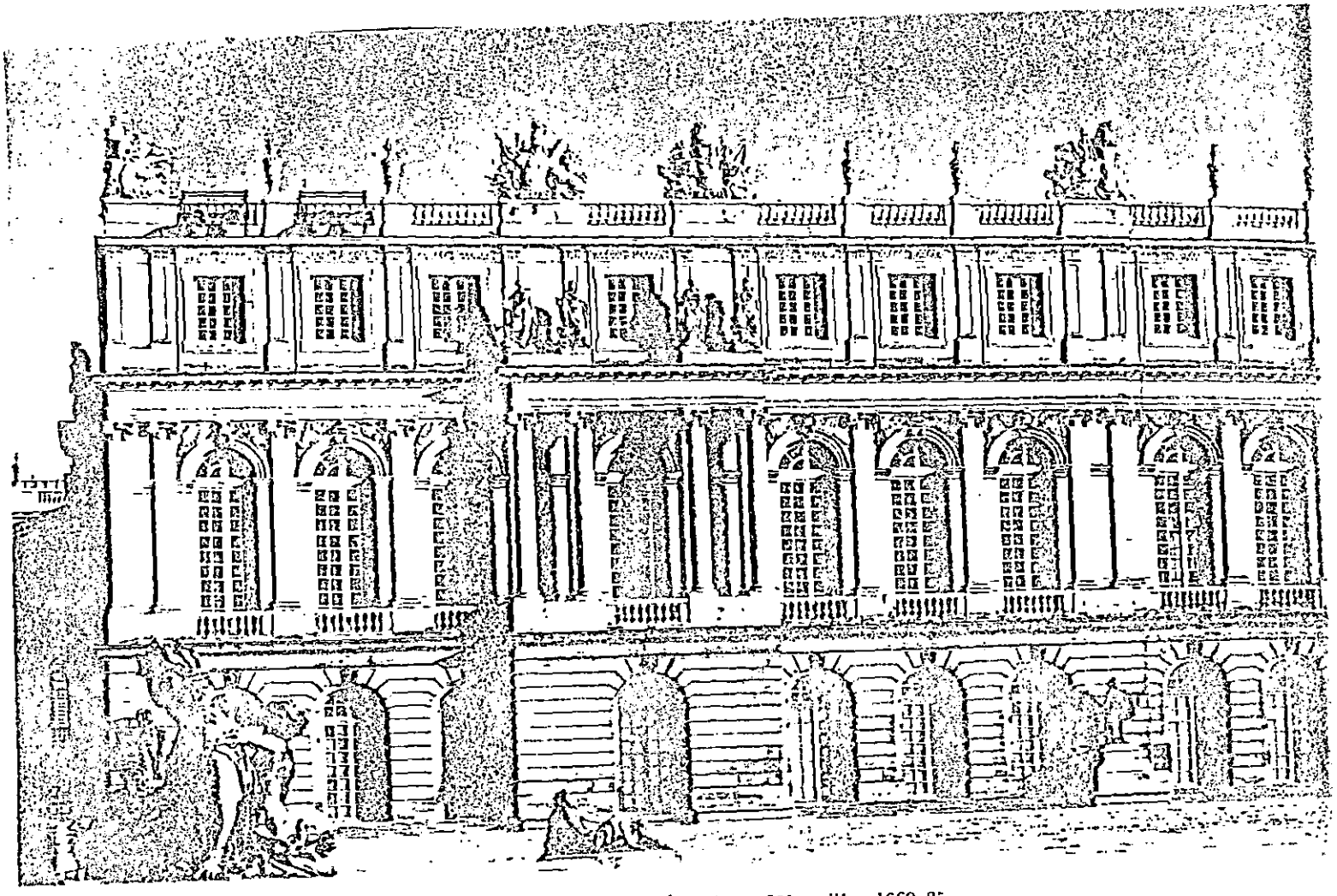
L'ESCALIER DE LA REINE

PLATE 55b



SALLE DES GARDES DE LA REINE

PLATE 55c



LOUIS LE VAU and JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART. Garden Façade, (portion), Palace of Versailles. 1669–85

PLATE 56

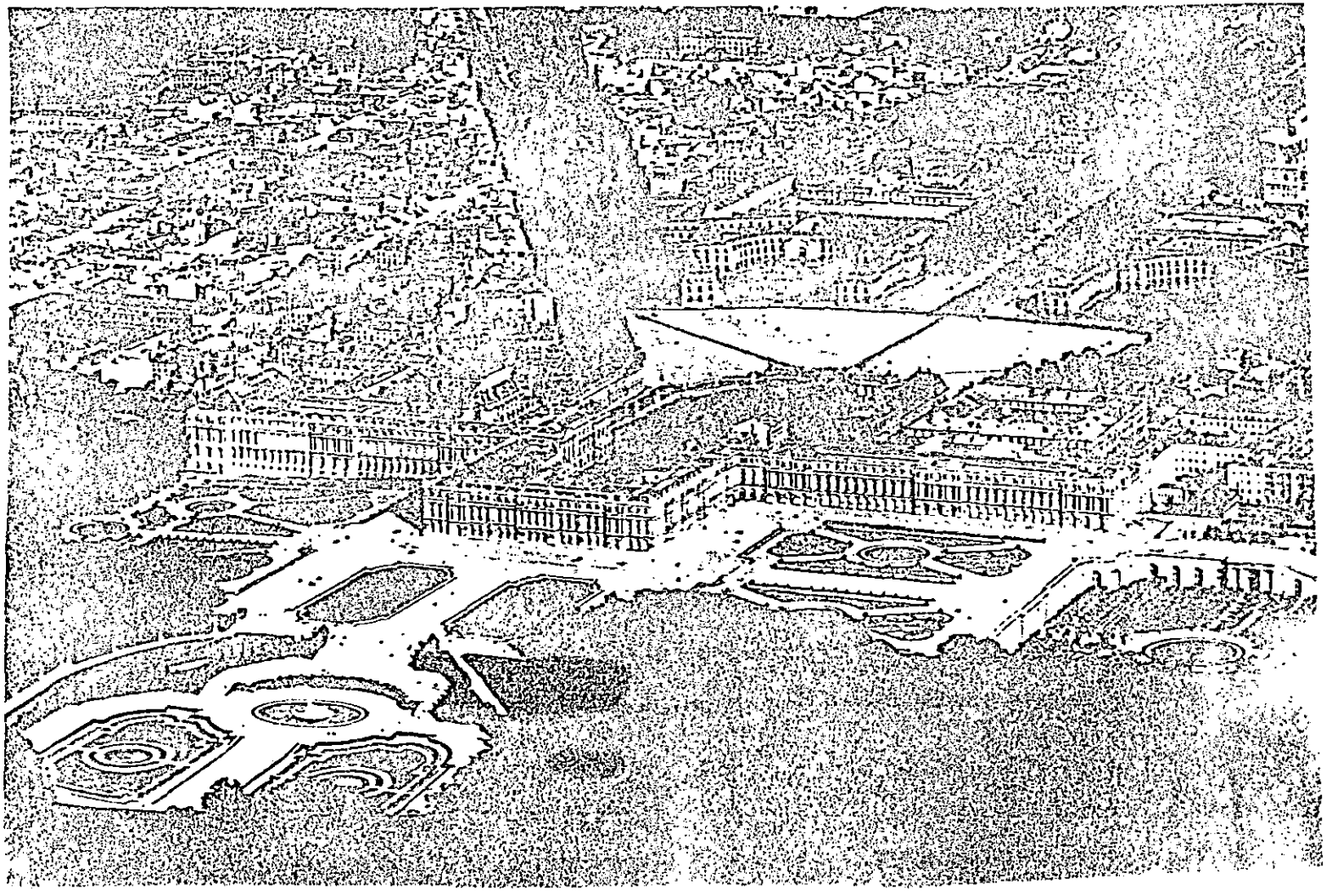


PLATE 57

SALON DE LA GUERRE (DÉTAIL DU BAS-RELIEF DE COYSEVOX

PLATE 58a In tracing the possible artistic sources for Coysevox's tondo of c.1683, the origins, and concepts, of Baroque monarchy become much clearer (see 58b).

LUDWIG XIV. WIRD VON DER SIEGESGÖTTIN GEKRÖNT.
Zeichnung von Charles Le Boun, etwa 1679

PLATE 58b Charles Le Brun was in charge of the decoration of the interior of Versailles, thus it was more than likely that he offered at least one design for the important commission of the tondo - perhaps this sketch in the Louvre.

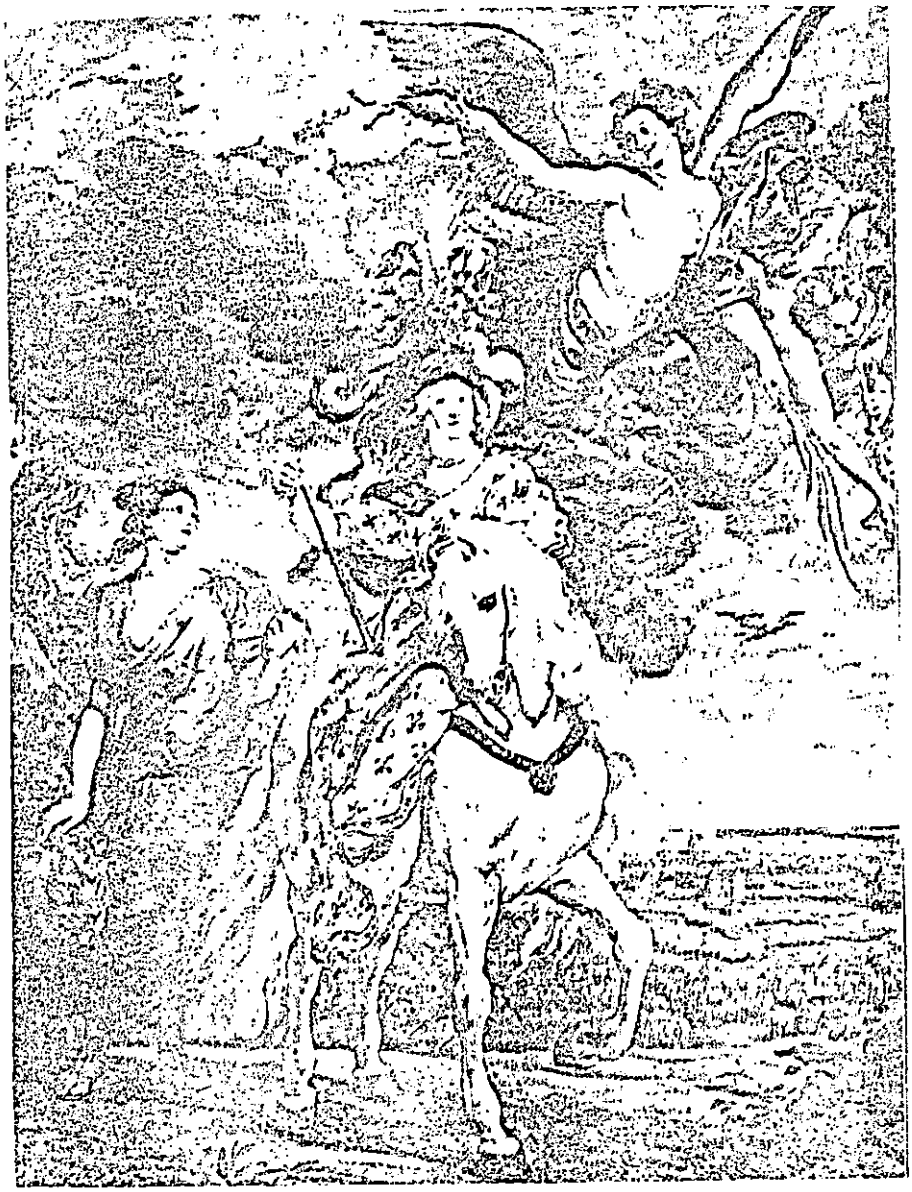
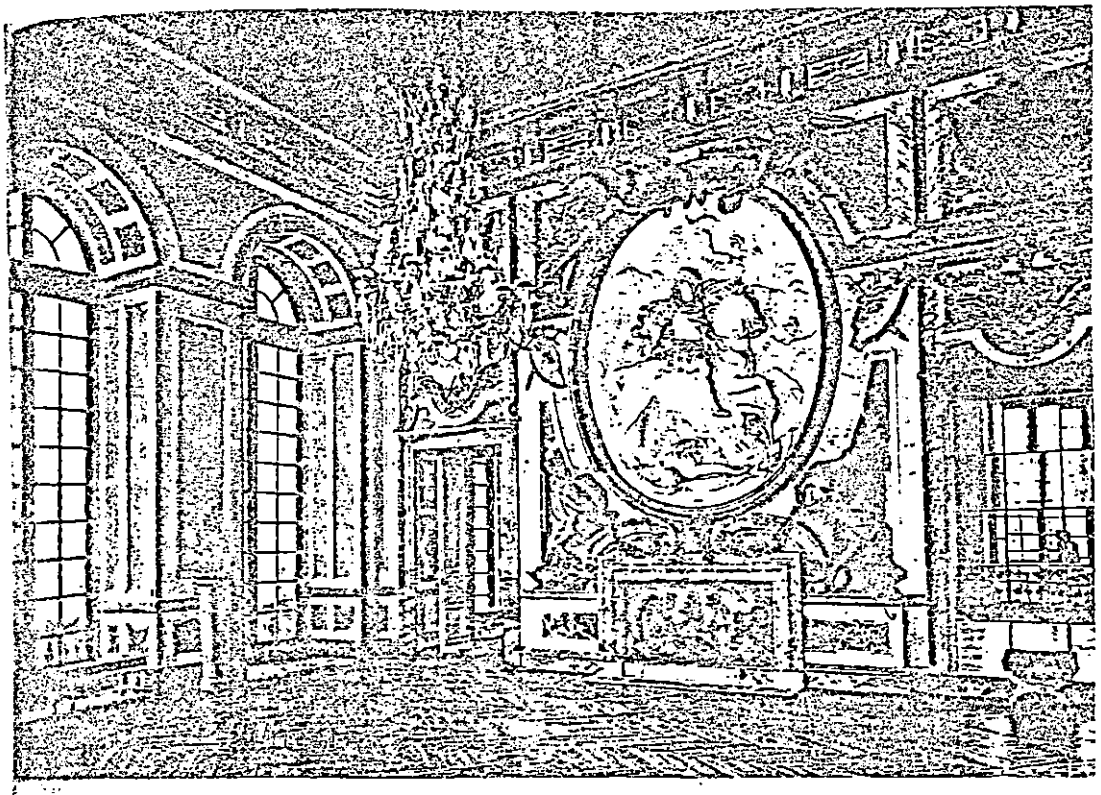


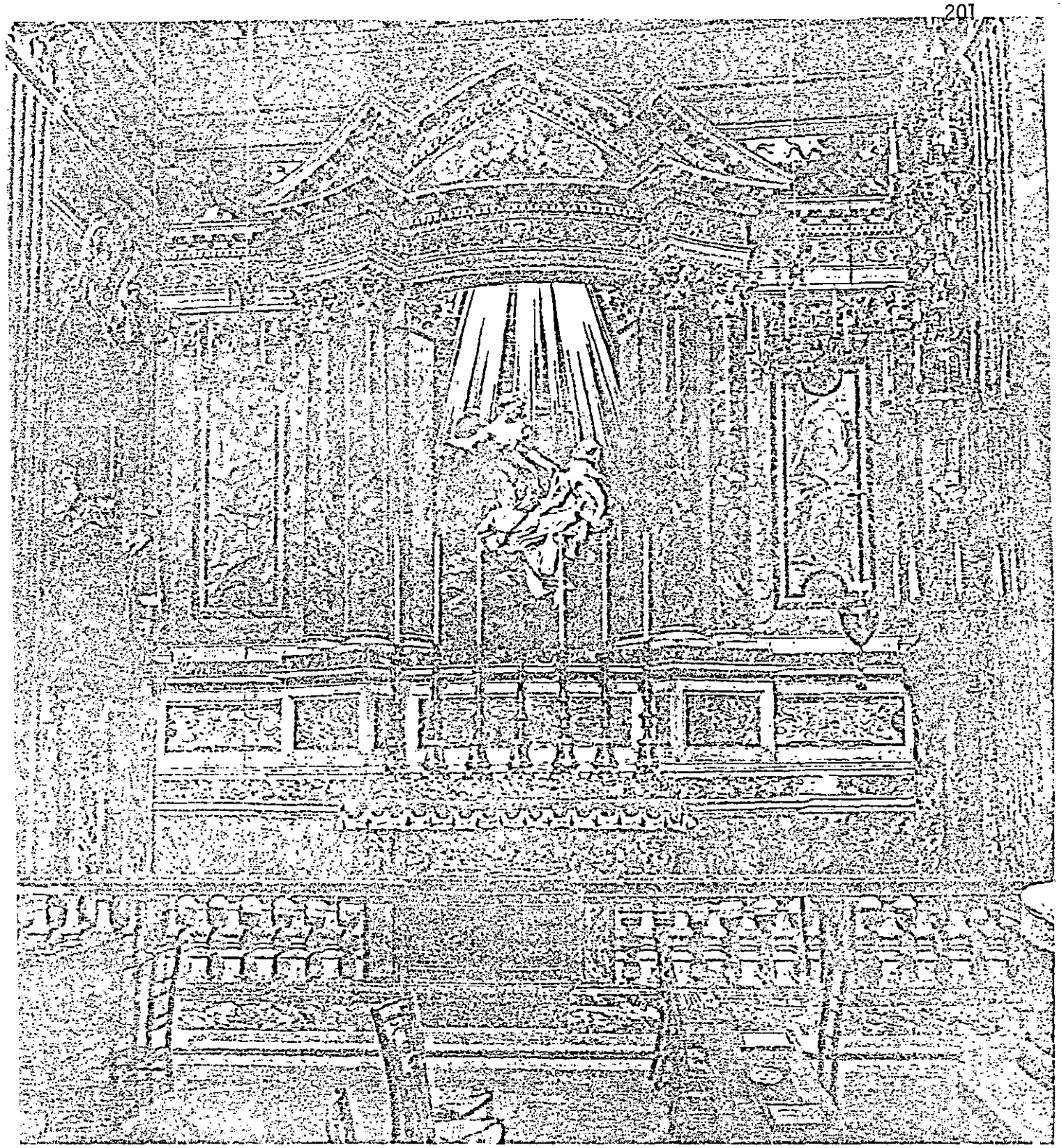
PLATE 58c The source for the Le Brun sketch was obviously Ruben's Journey of Queen Marie de Medicis to Ponts de Cé (Anjou) from the Life of Marie de Medicis Cycle of the 1620's.

PLATE 58d The Barberini Ivory of c.527, showing the Emperor Anastasius in armour and on horseback. The presence of the nike-angel was common to all three French works, as well as the implied favor of the Holy, represented here, but only implied in the other compositions.



LE SALON DE LA GUERRE

PLATE 59



THE ALTAR OF ST. TERESA. Life-size figures. 1645–52. Cornaro Chapel, S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome (Cat. No. 48)

PLATE 60

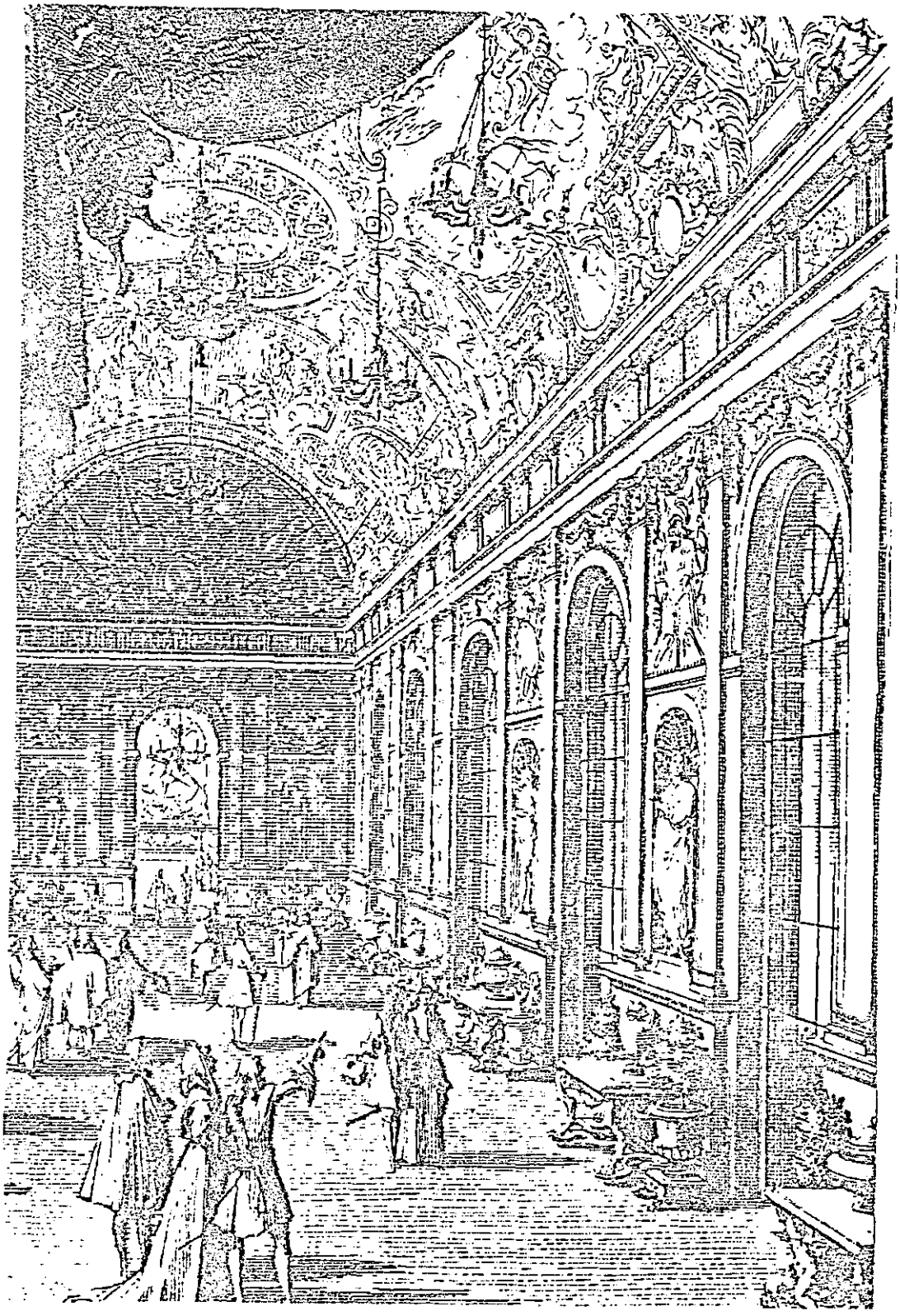
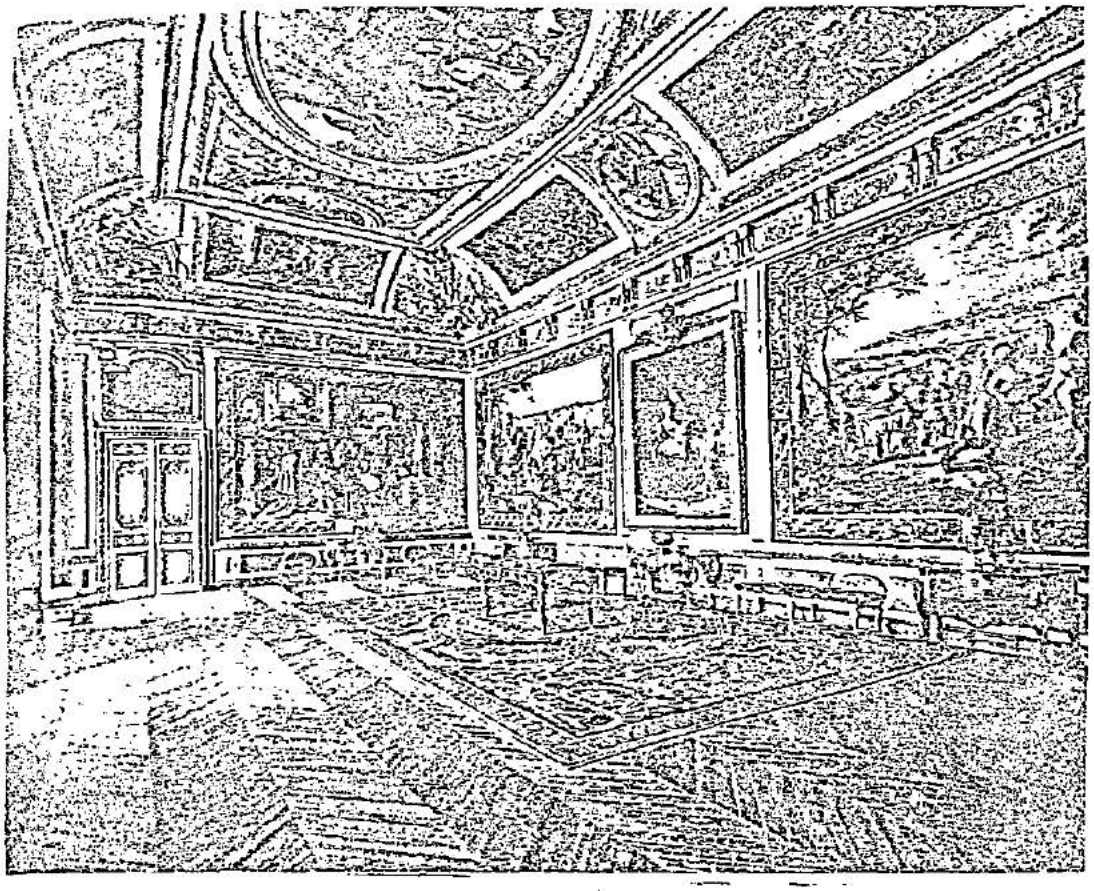


PLATE 61 The Galerie des Glaces, egraving by Lecrec, done before 1690. The duitful subjects point in wonder at the creations done in glory of the king, while the engraver for his part misplaced the stucco tondo by Coysevox in order to

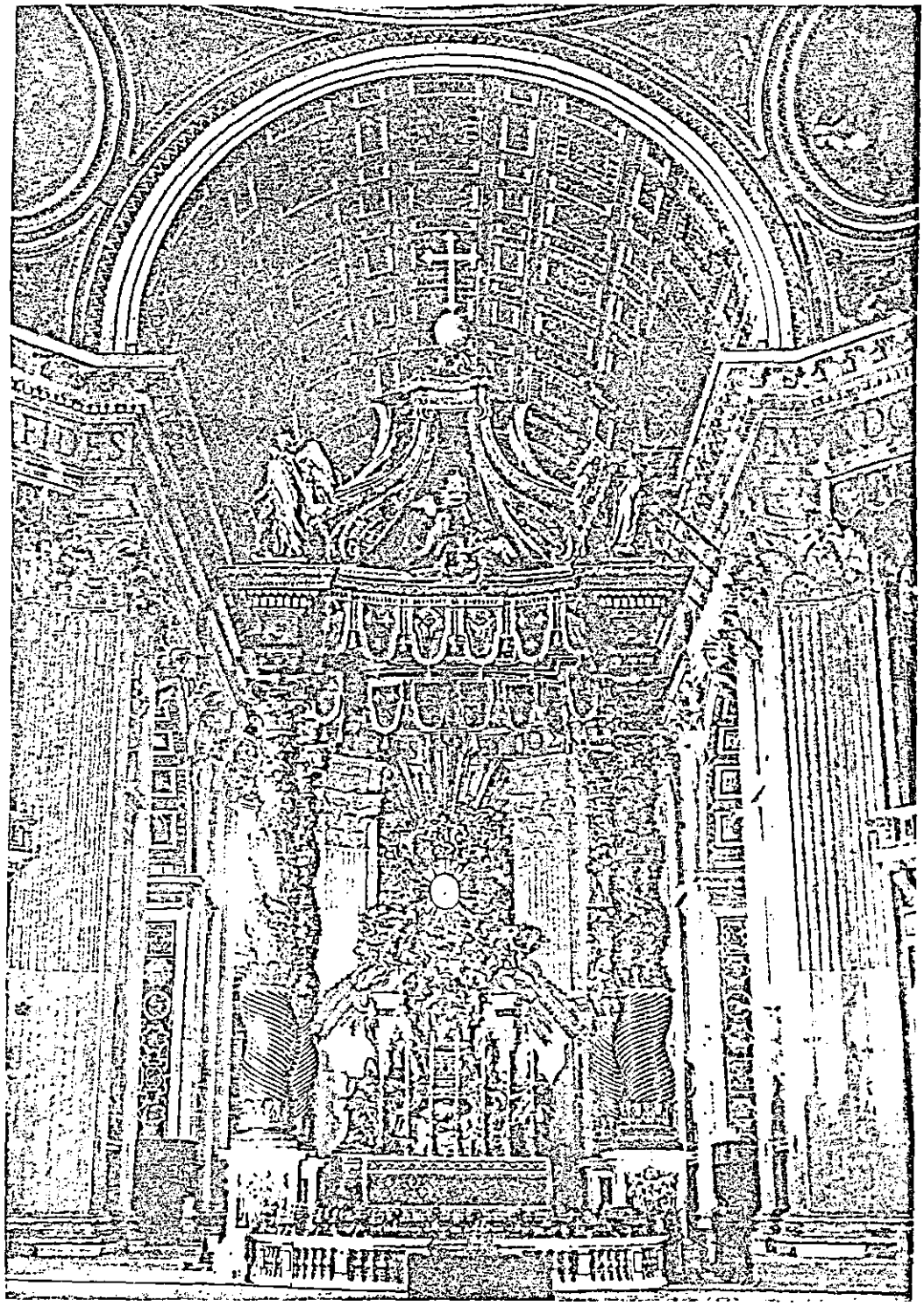
PLATE 62[a] Glorification of Urban VIII's Reign by Cortona, 1633-39, Rome.



LE SALON DU GRAND COUVERT

PLATE 62b Versailles

PLATE 62c Anne of Denmark in Hunting Attire, by Paul van Somer, 1617. In the background is her favourite palace of Oatlands, with a new classical doorway by Inigo Jones.



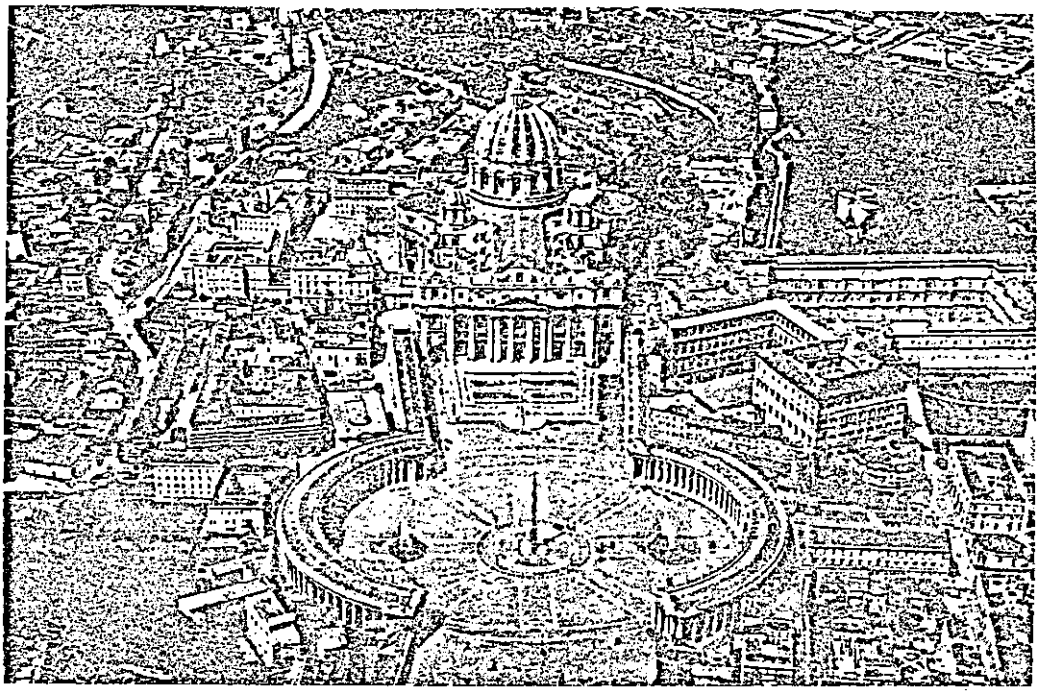
Gianlorenzo Bernini: Baldacchino, 1624–33. Bronze. *Rome, St Peter's*

PLATE 63a The Baldacchino, and the Cathedra Petri, were direct referances to St. Peter, and the divine authority of the popes. The Baldacchino makred the grave of St. Peter,

PLATE 63b Louis XIV adoring the Risen Christ, 1674, by Charles Le Brun. The king offers his reign to God.

The Benefits of the Government of James I. Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.

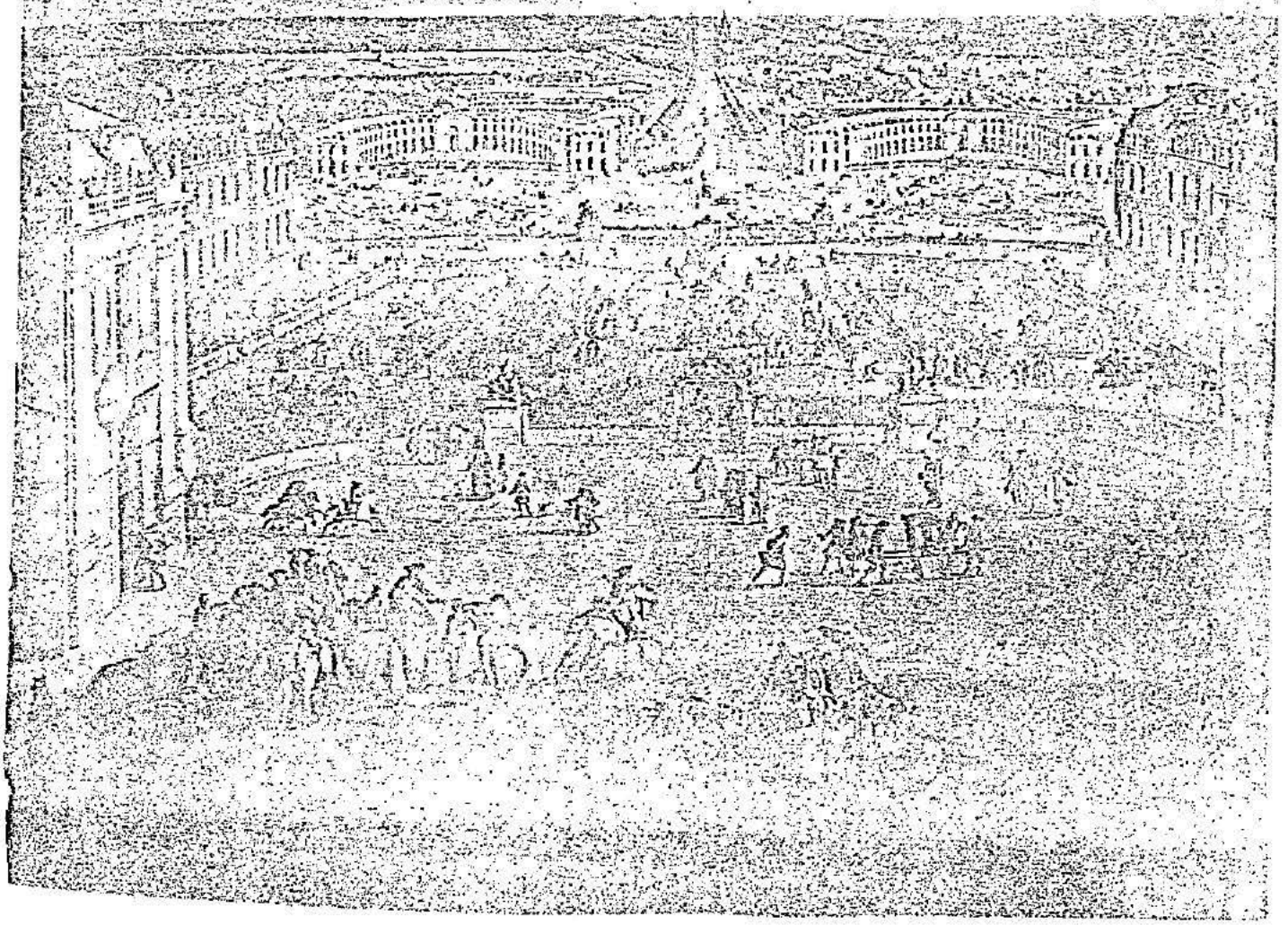
PLATE 63 c Sketch by Rubens for the Whitehall Ceiling.

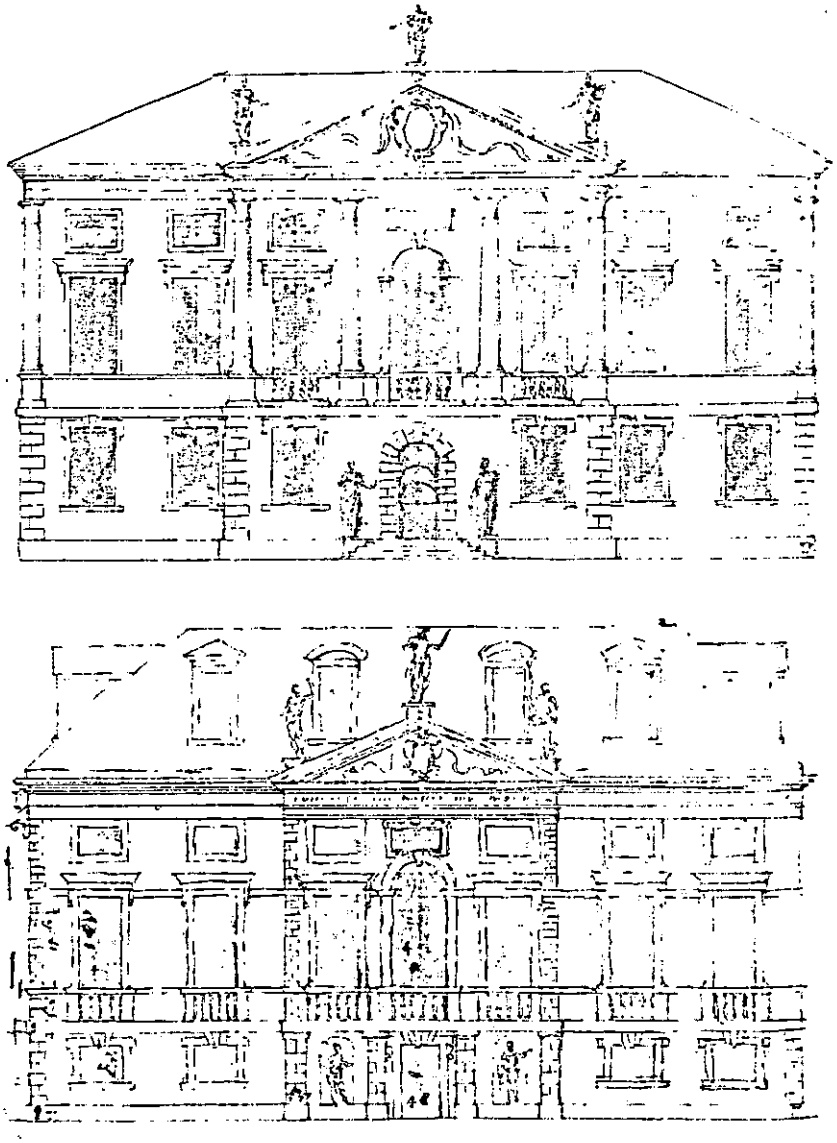


(A) Gianlorenzo Bernini: Rome, The Piazza of St Peter's, begun 1656. Aerial view

PLATE 64 a

PLATE 64b The View of the Stables from the Chambres du Roi, by Martin, c.1685.





Inigo Jones: Design for the Prince's Lodging, Newmarket, 1619

PLATE 64c

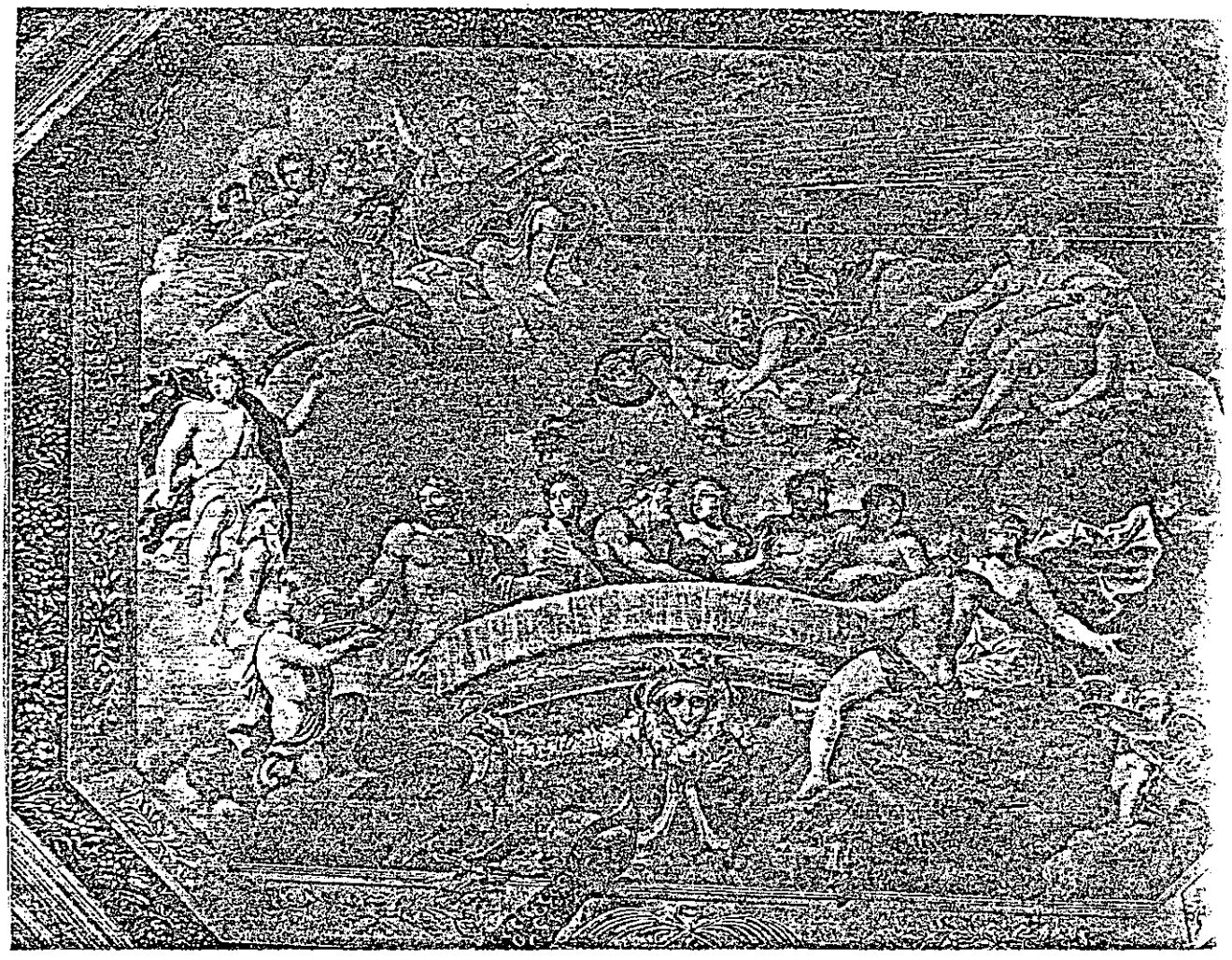


PLATE 65 Of Hugh May's original program for Windsor castle in the 1670's, only three State Aparments ceilings by the Italian Verrio remain. In Charles II's dining room, the subject matter for the ceiling, not surprisingly was The Feast of the Gods illustrated above.

Hugh May: Windsor Castle, St George's Hall,
1675 (destroyed 1826)

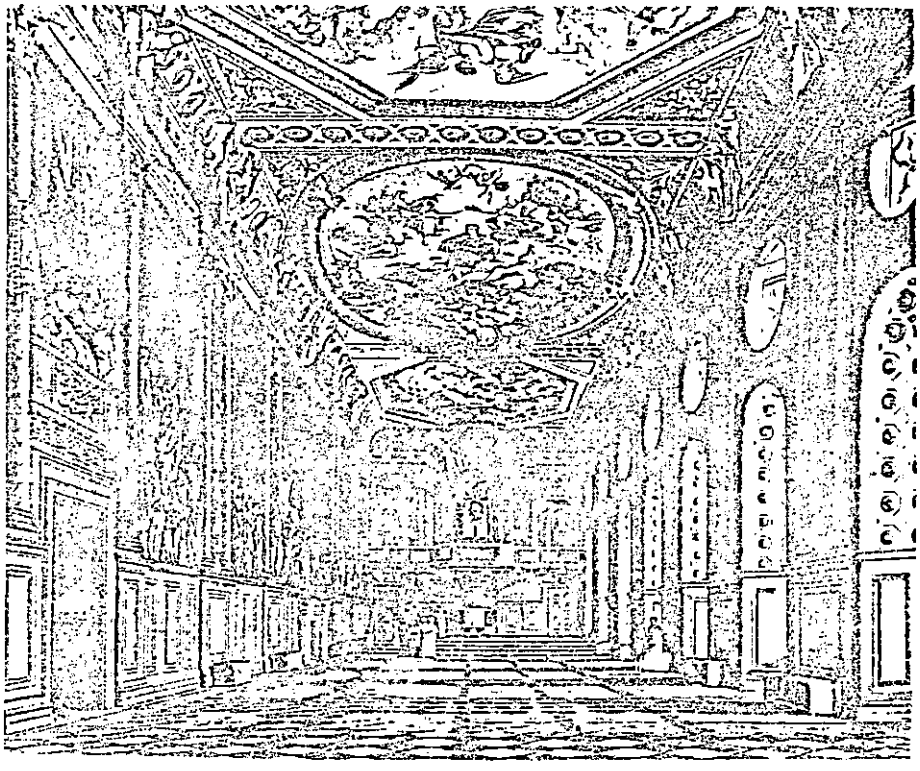
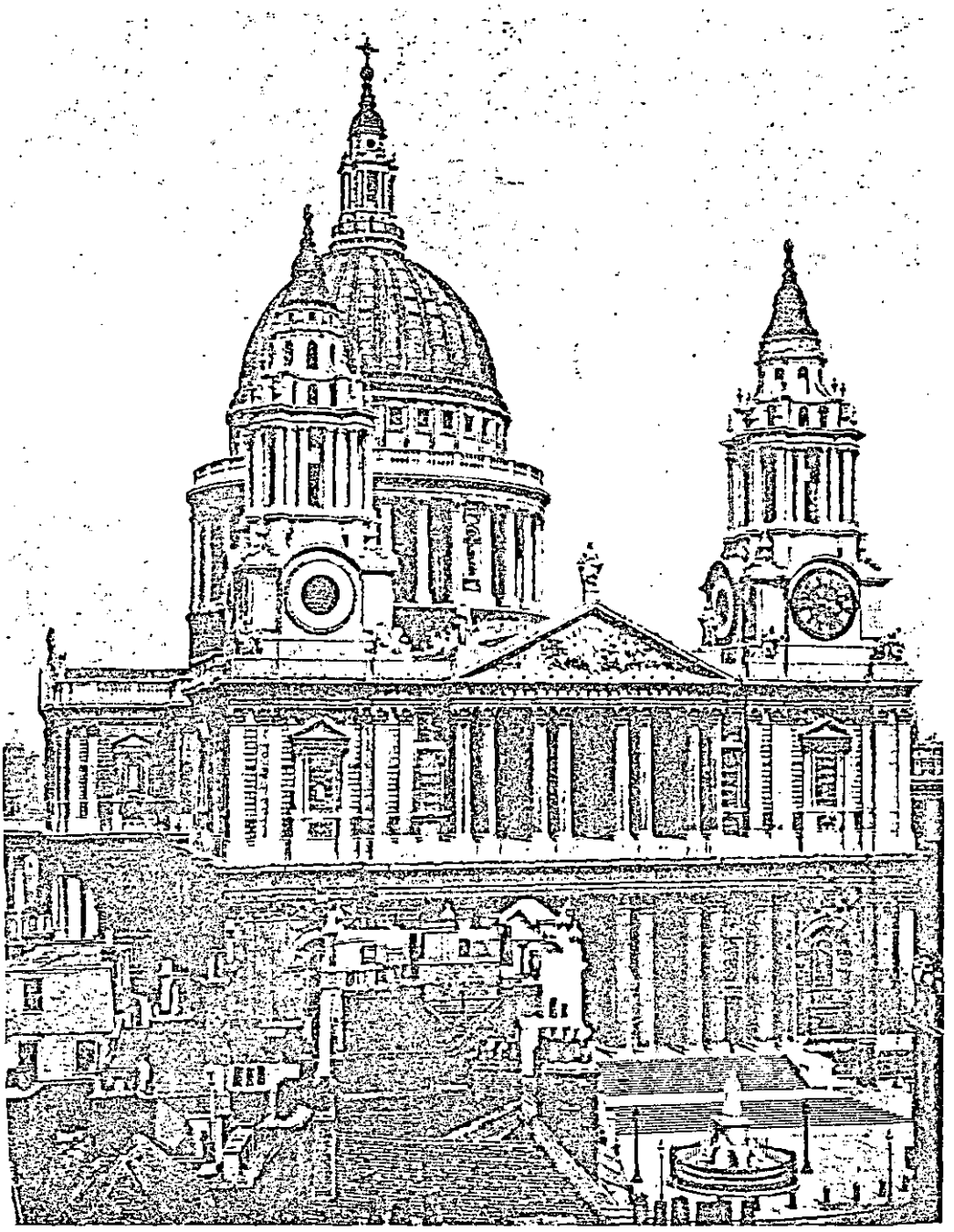
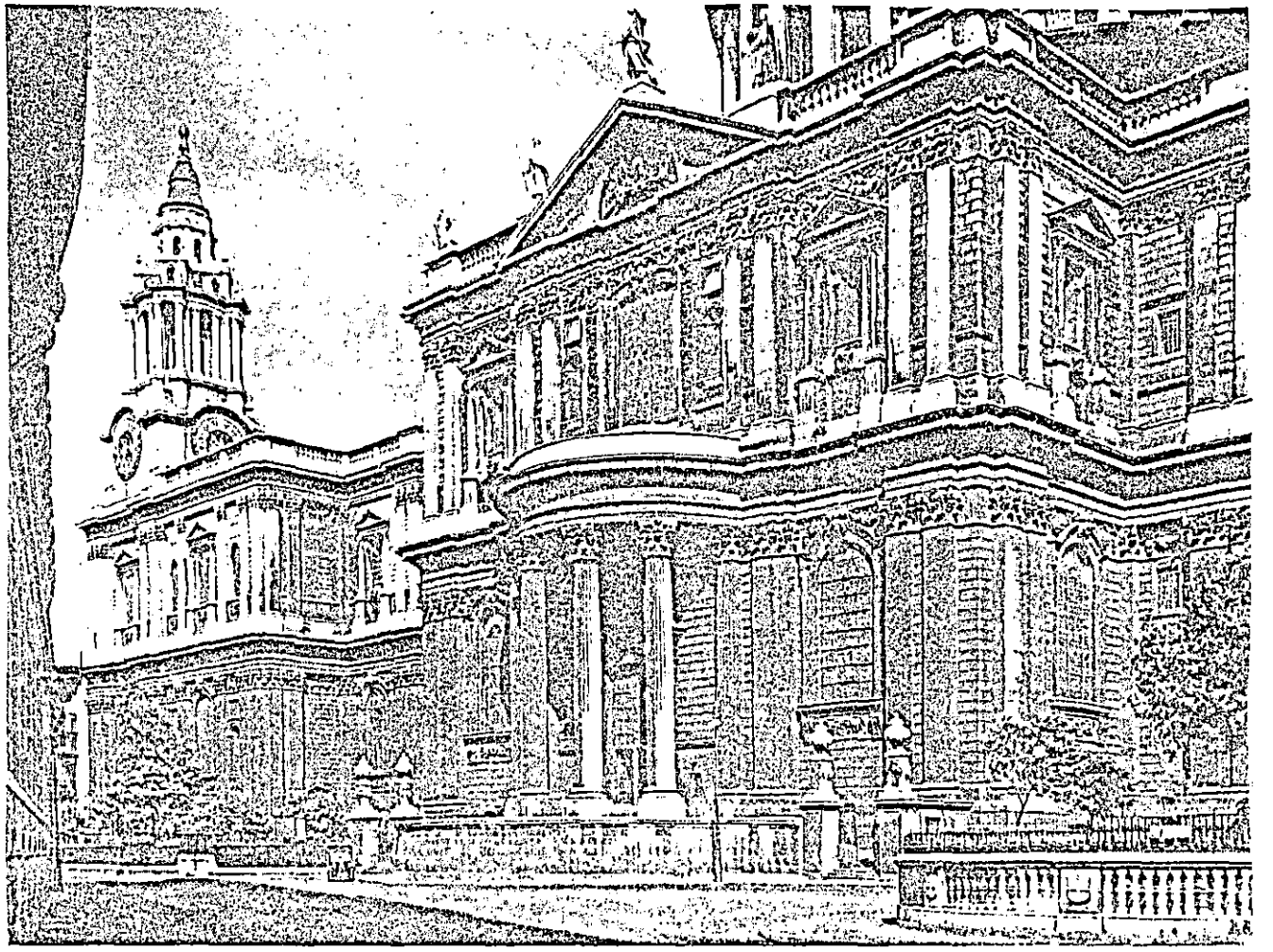


PLATE 66



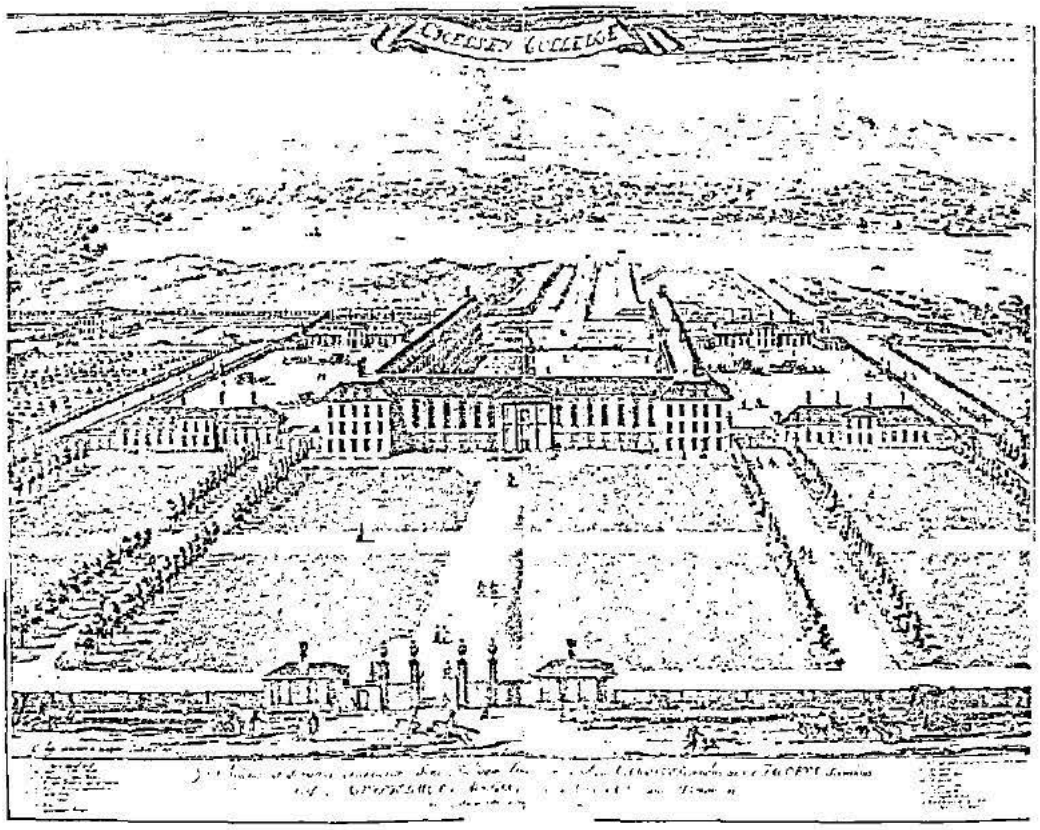
Sir Christopher Wren. St Paul's from the North-west

PLATE 67a

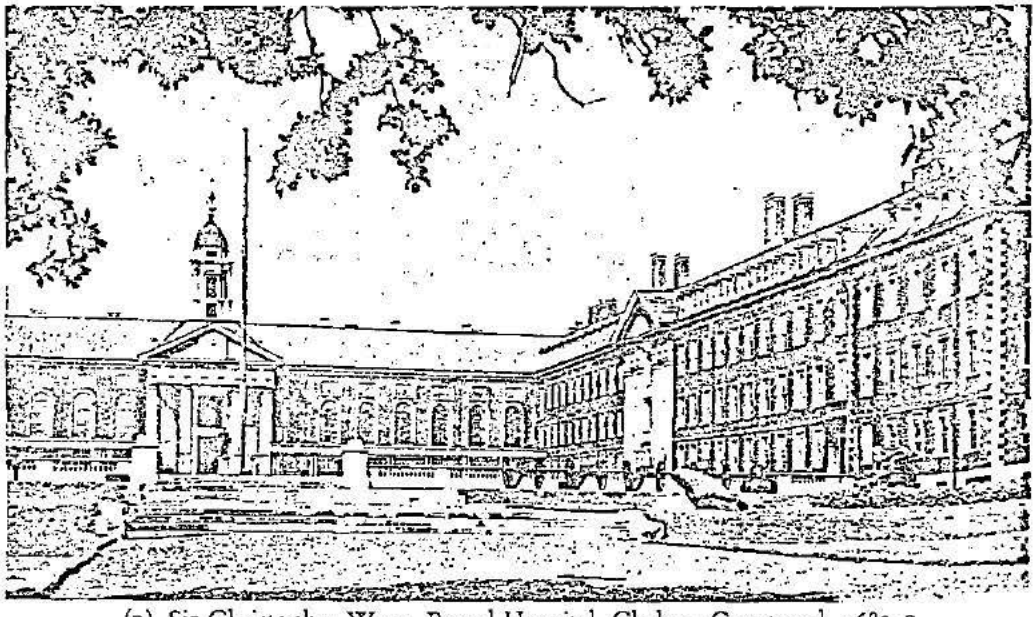


Sir Christopher Wren. St Paul's. South Transept and South-west Tower

PLATE 67b

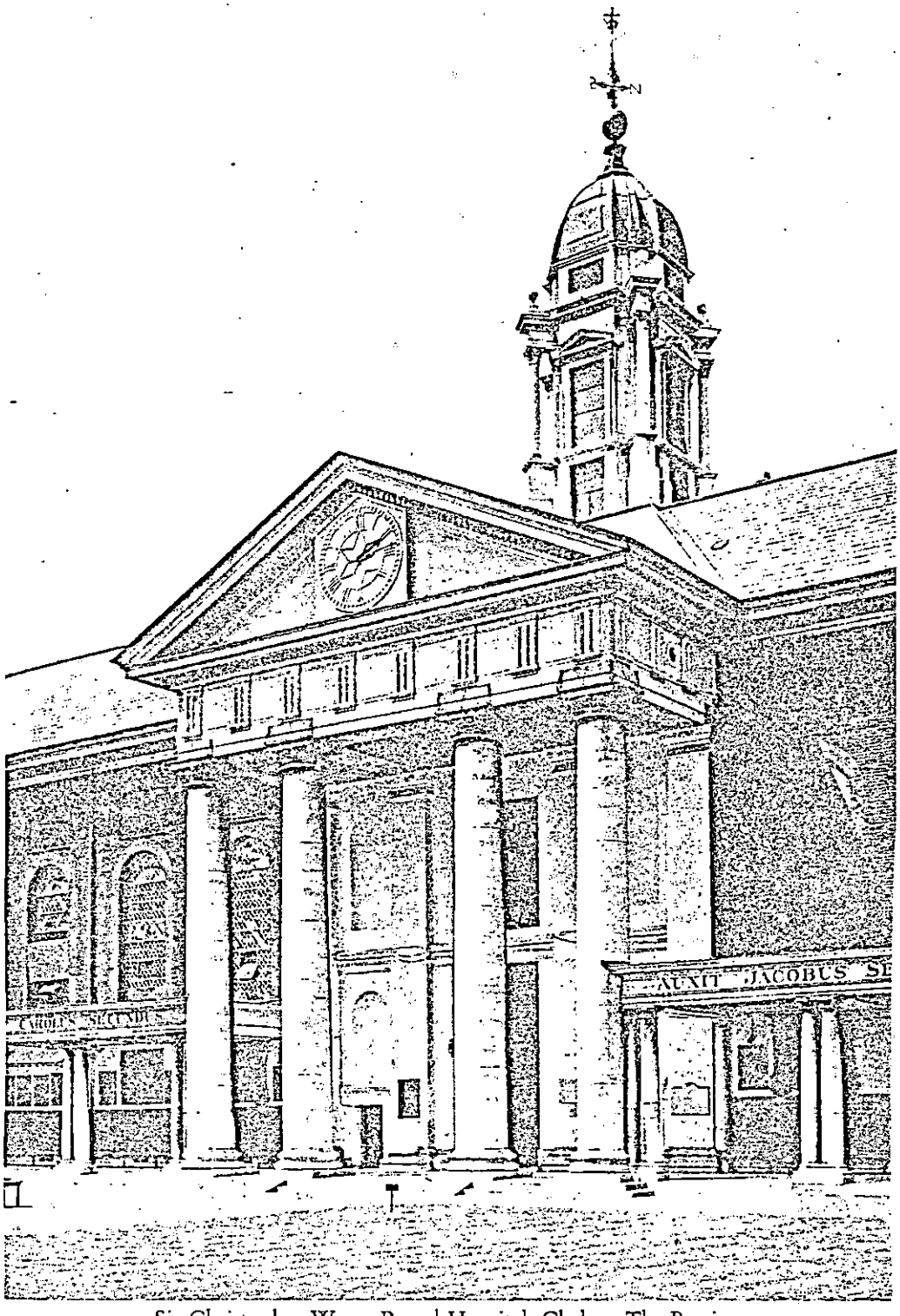


(A) Sir Christopher Wren. Royal Hospital, Chelsea, from the North, 1682–9



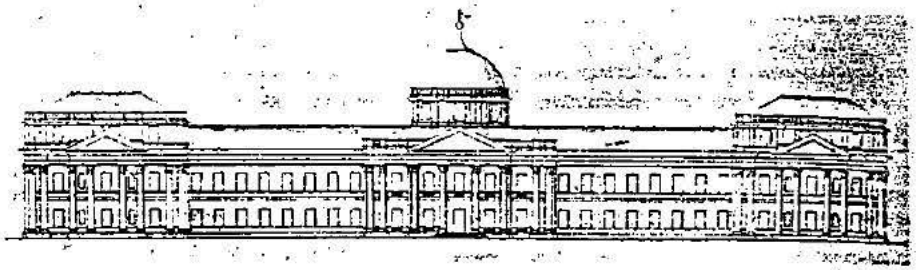
(B) Sir Christopher Wren. Royal Hospital, Chelsea. Courtyard, 1682–9

PLATE 68

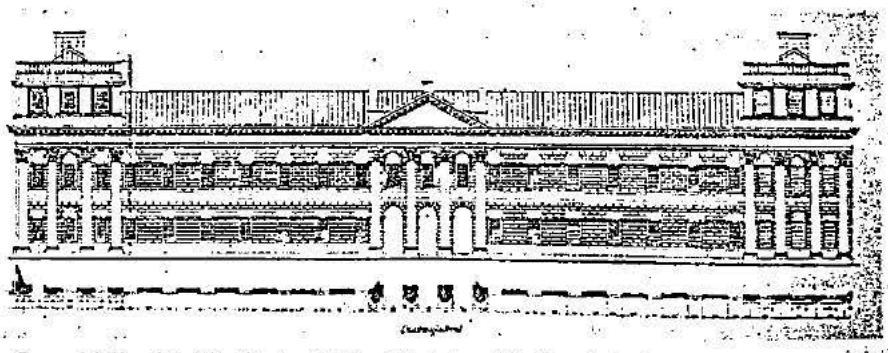


Sir Christopher Wren. Royal Hospital, Chelsea. The Portico

PLATE 68c



John Webb: Design for the Palace of Greenwich. Only the west (right-hand) wing was executed, 1662–9



Greenwich Hospital, King Charles Building. West wing of the intended palace, drawn to a larger scale than 146

Webb's project for Greenwich Palace

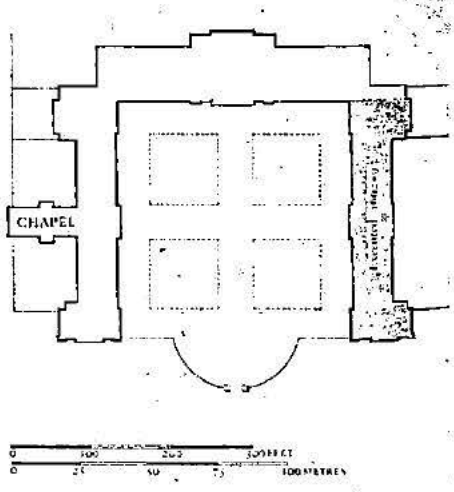


PLATE 69

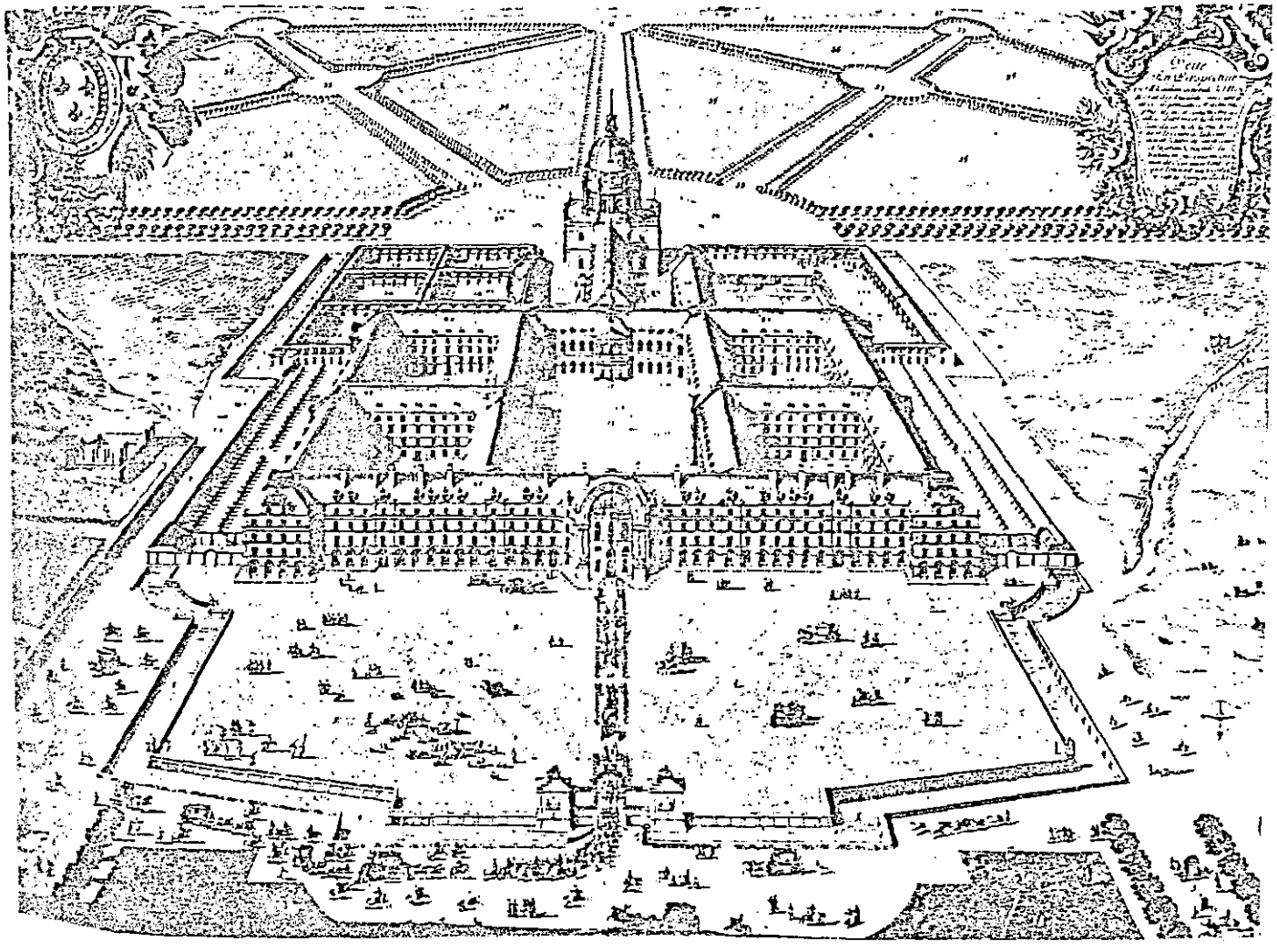
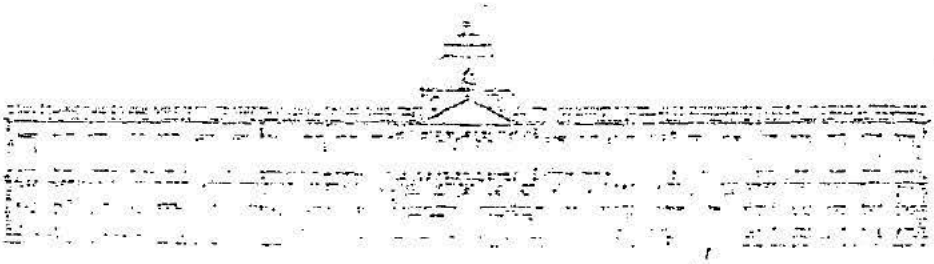
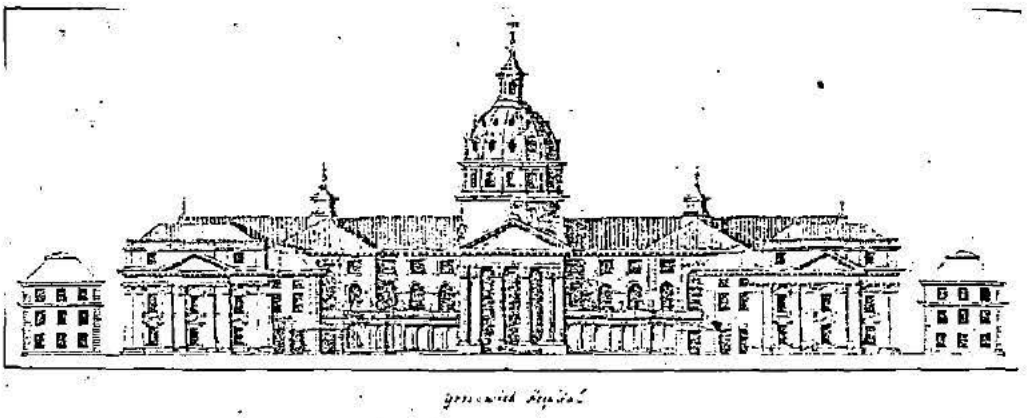


PLATE 70

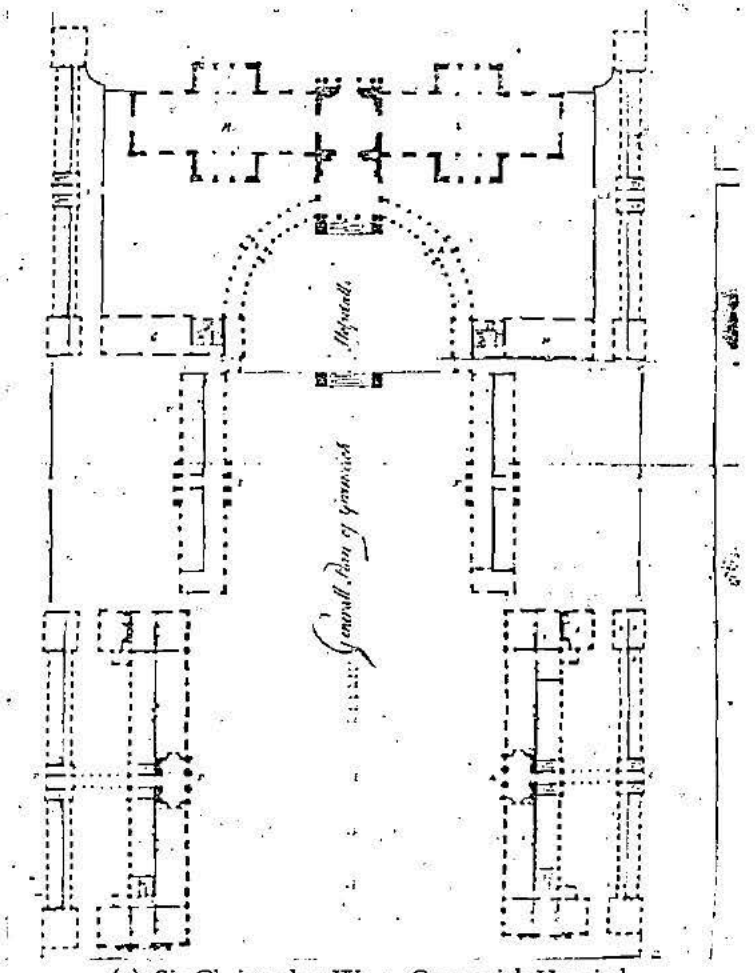


(A) Sir Christopher Wren. Winchester Palace. Preliminary design, 1682–3

PLATE 71

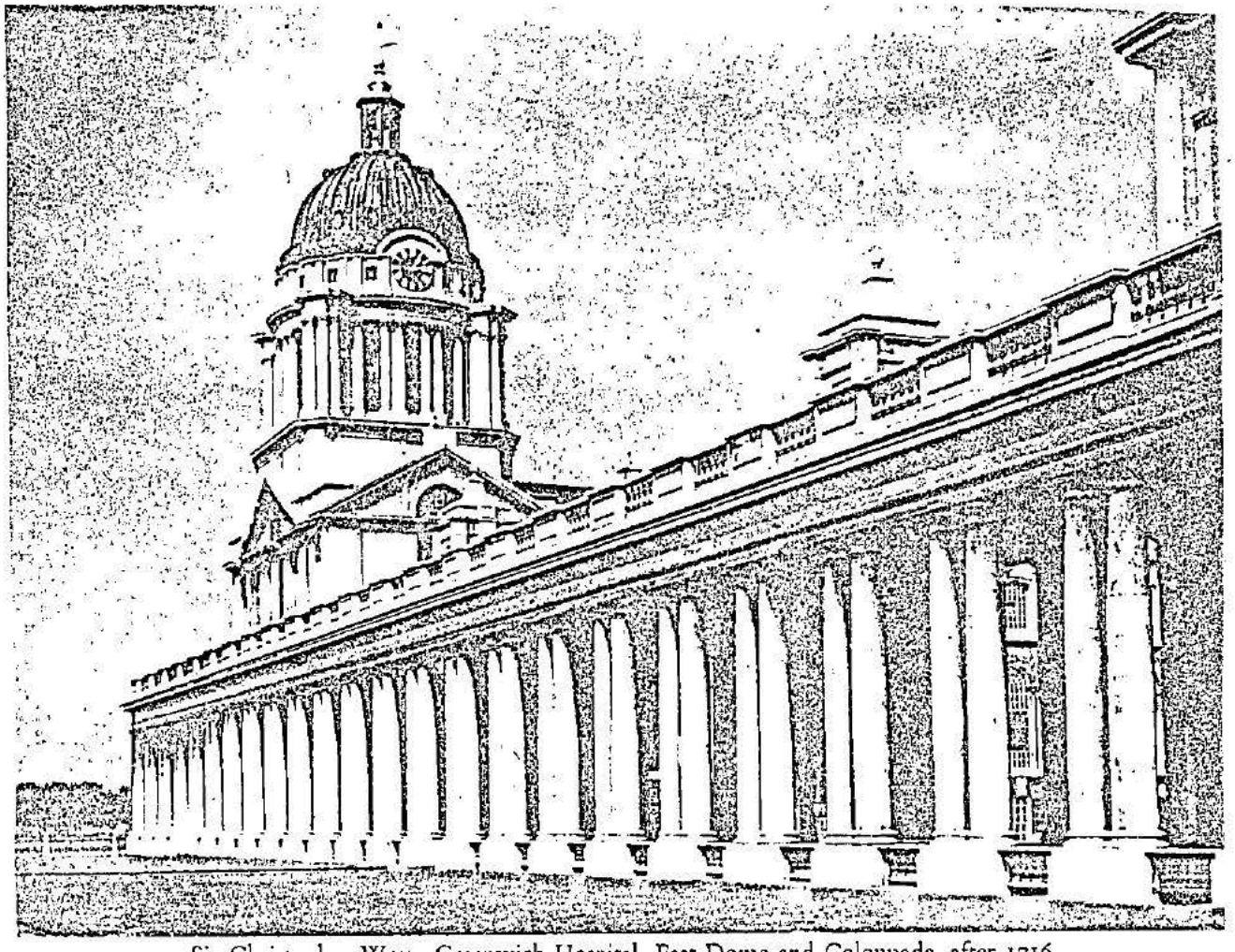


(A) Sir Christopher Wren. Greenwich Hospital. Elevation of 1695 Design



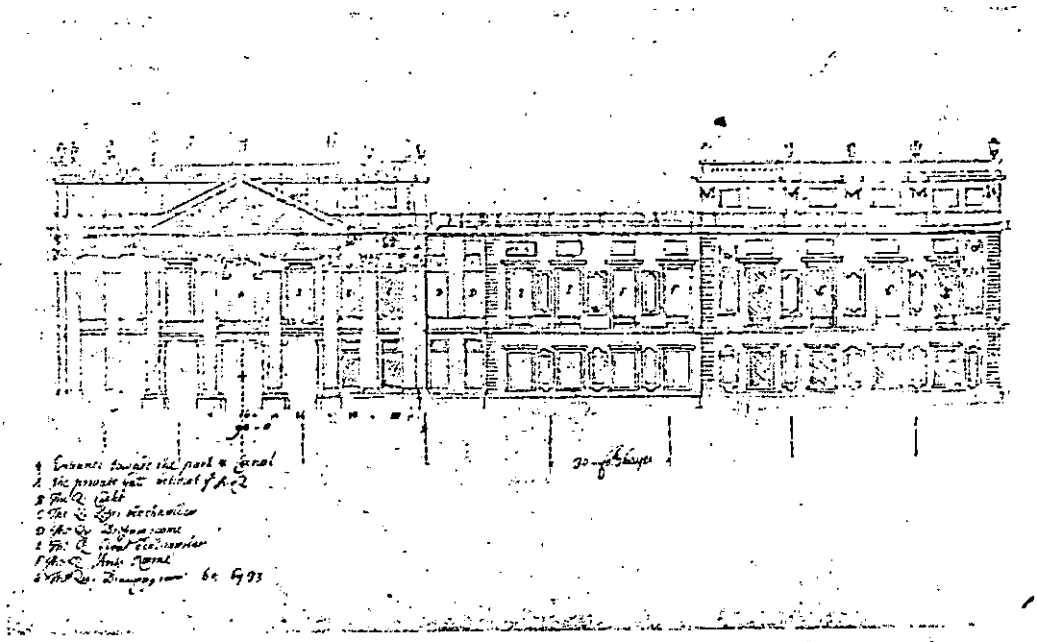
(B) Sir Christopher Wren. Greenwich Hospital.
Plan of 1695 Design

PLATE 72 A



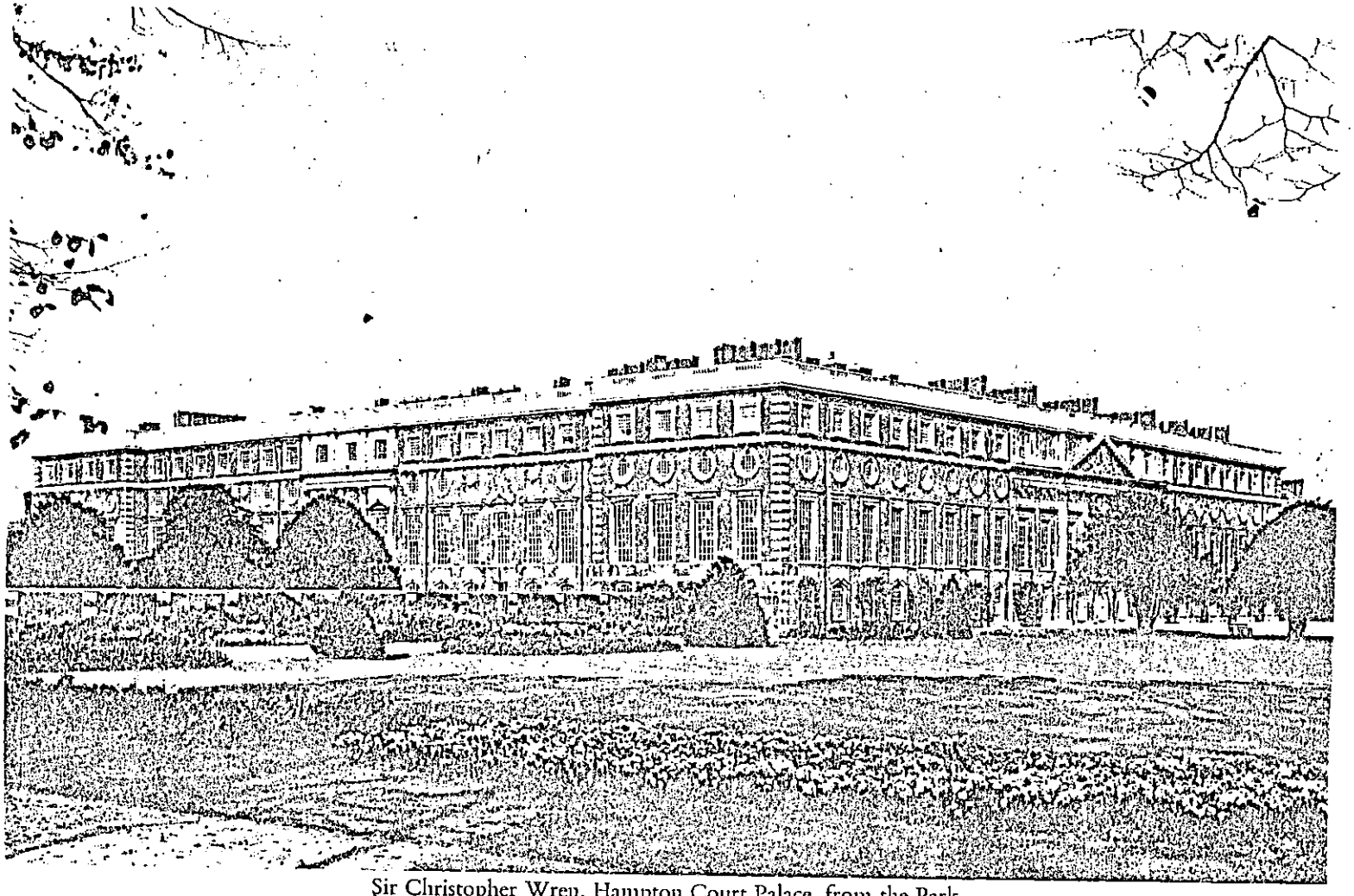
Sir Christopher Wren. Greenwich Hospital. East Dome and Colonnade, after 1716

PLATE 72b



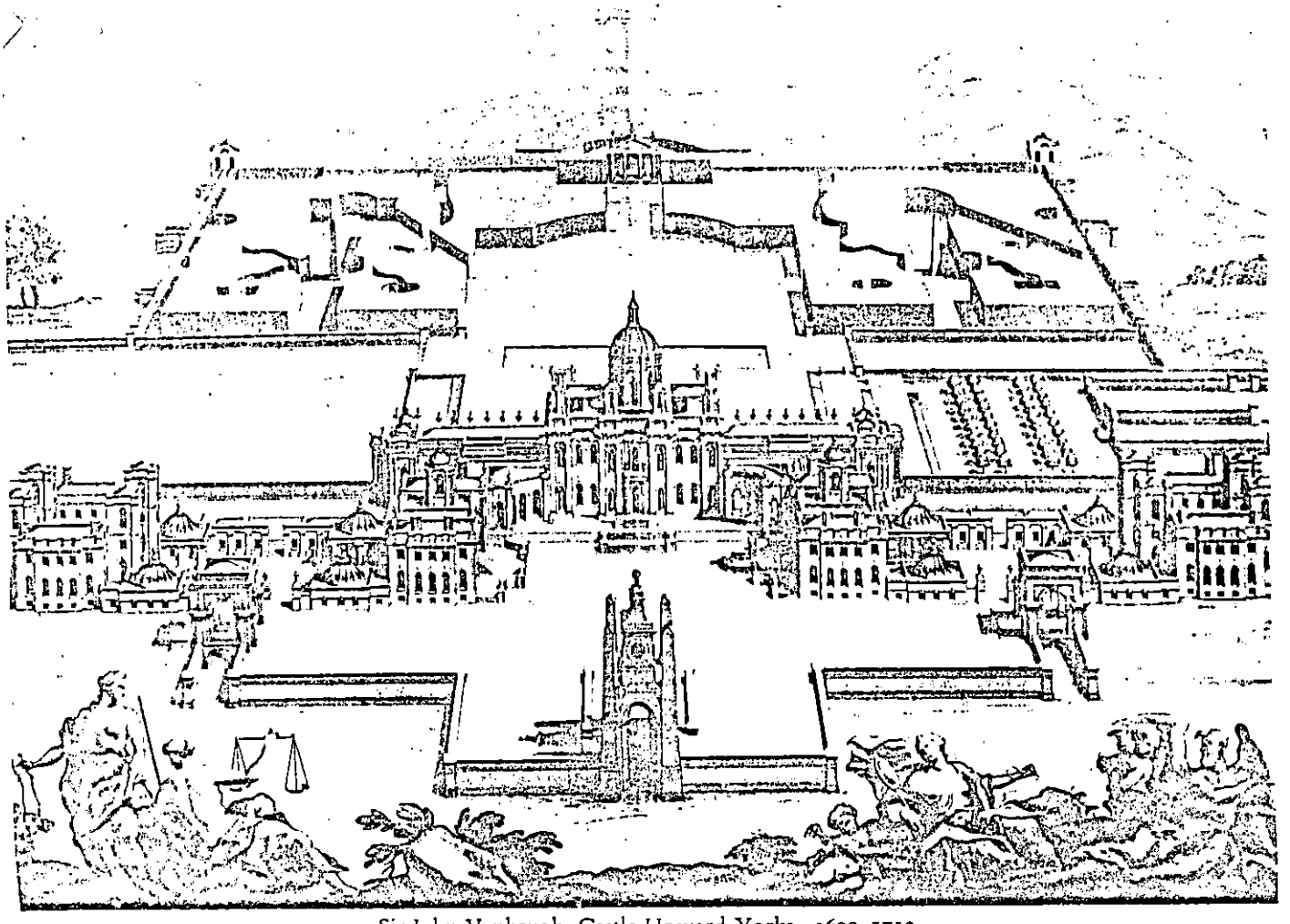
Sir Christopher Wren. Hampton Court Palace. Preliminary design, 1689

PLATE 73a



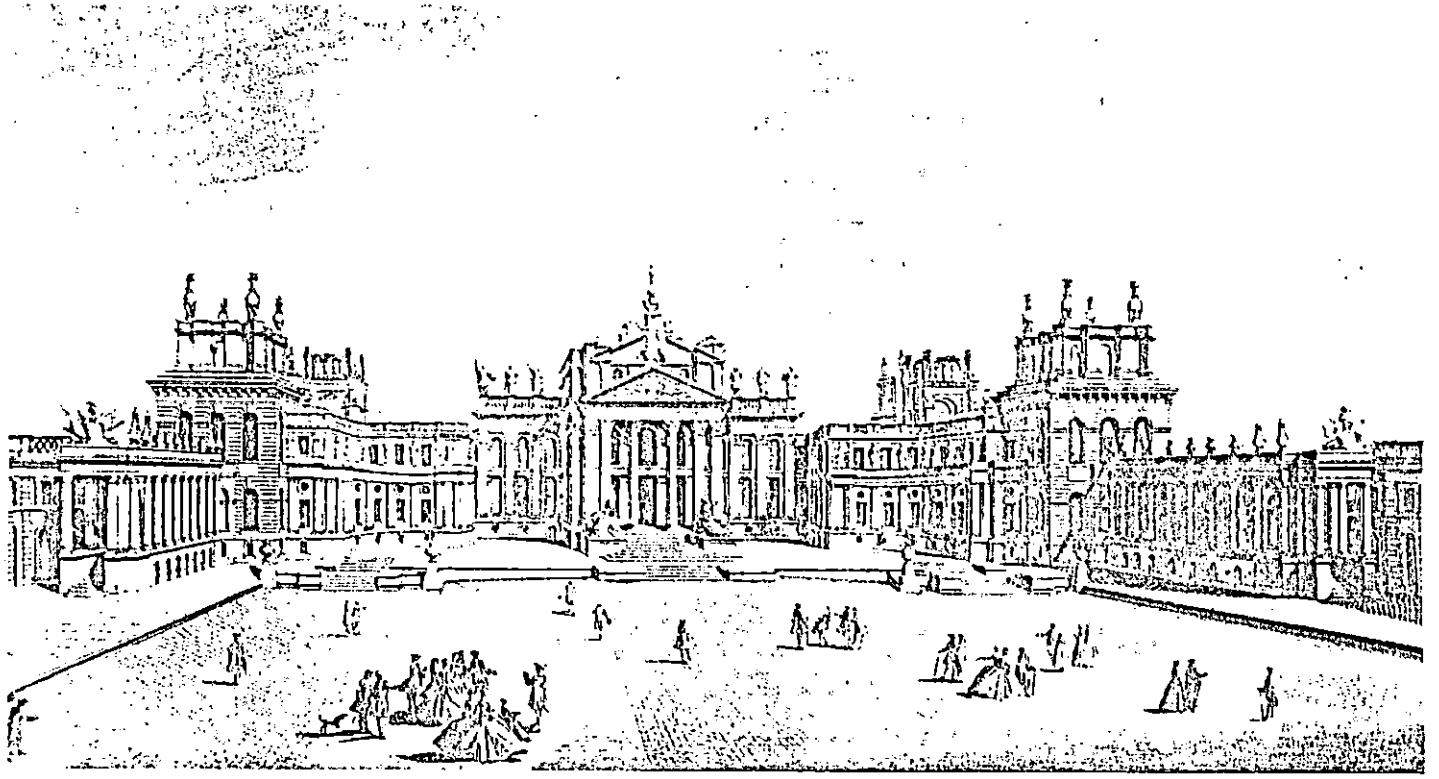
Sir Christopher Wren. Hampton Court Palace, from the Park

PLATE 73b



Sir John Vanbrugh. Castle Howard, Yorks., 1699–1712

PLATE 74



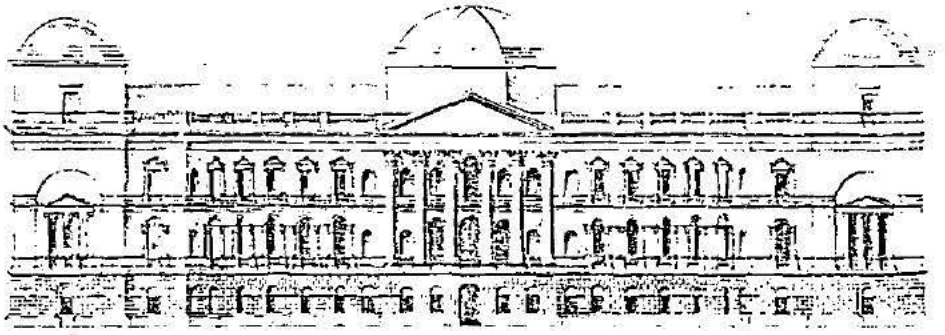
Sir John Vanbrugh. Blenheim Palace, Oxon., 1705–24

PLATE 75

Valentine

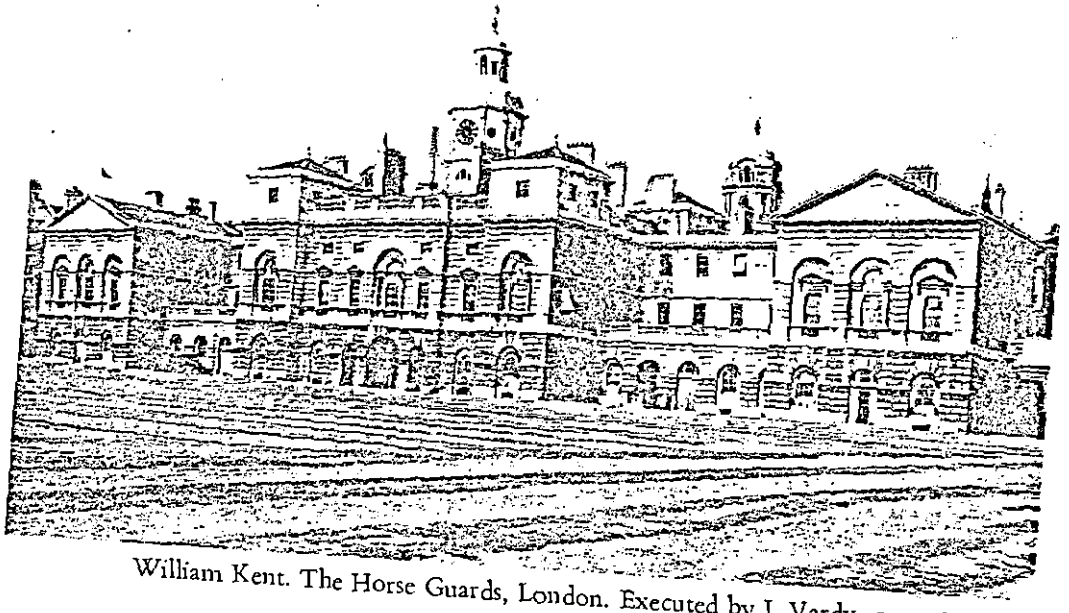
KENSINGTON PALACE

PLATE 76



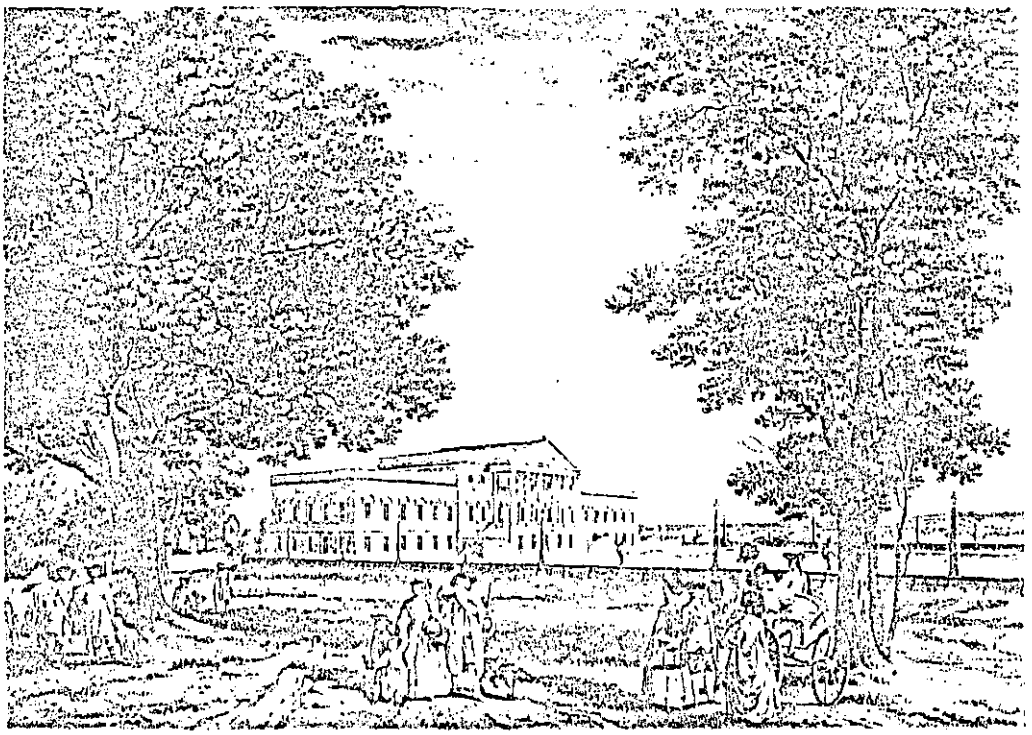
William Kent. Design for Houses of Parliament (Elevation to Old Palace Yard), 1739

PLATE 77



William Kent. The Horse Guards, London. Executed by J. Vardy, 1751–8

PLATE 78



Colen Campbell. Wanstead House, Essex, 1715–20 (demolished 1822)

PLATE 79

Colen Campbell: Design for Houghton Hall, park front, 1722

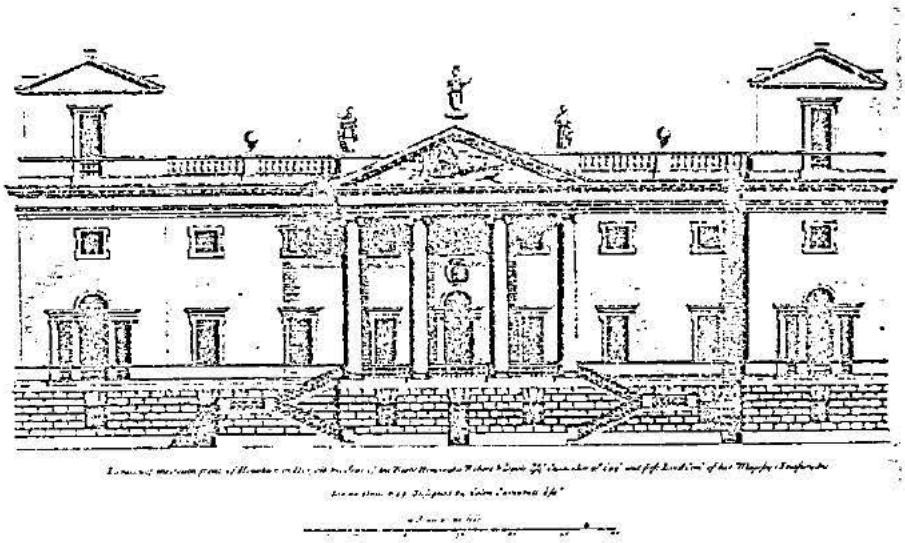


PLATE 80

The west front. This, and the opposite east front, are not approached by steps, but otherwise all four façades are identical. The house was originally surrounded by a moat, removed in the nineteenth century

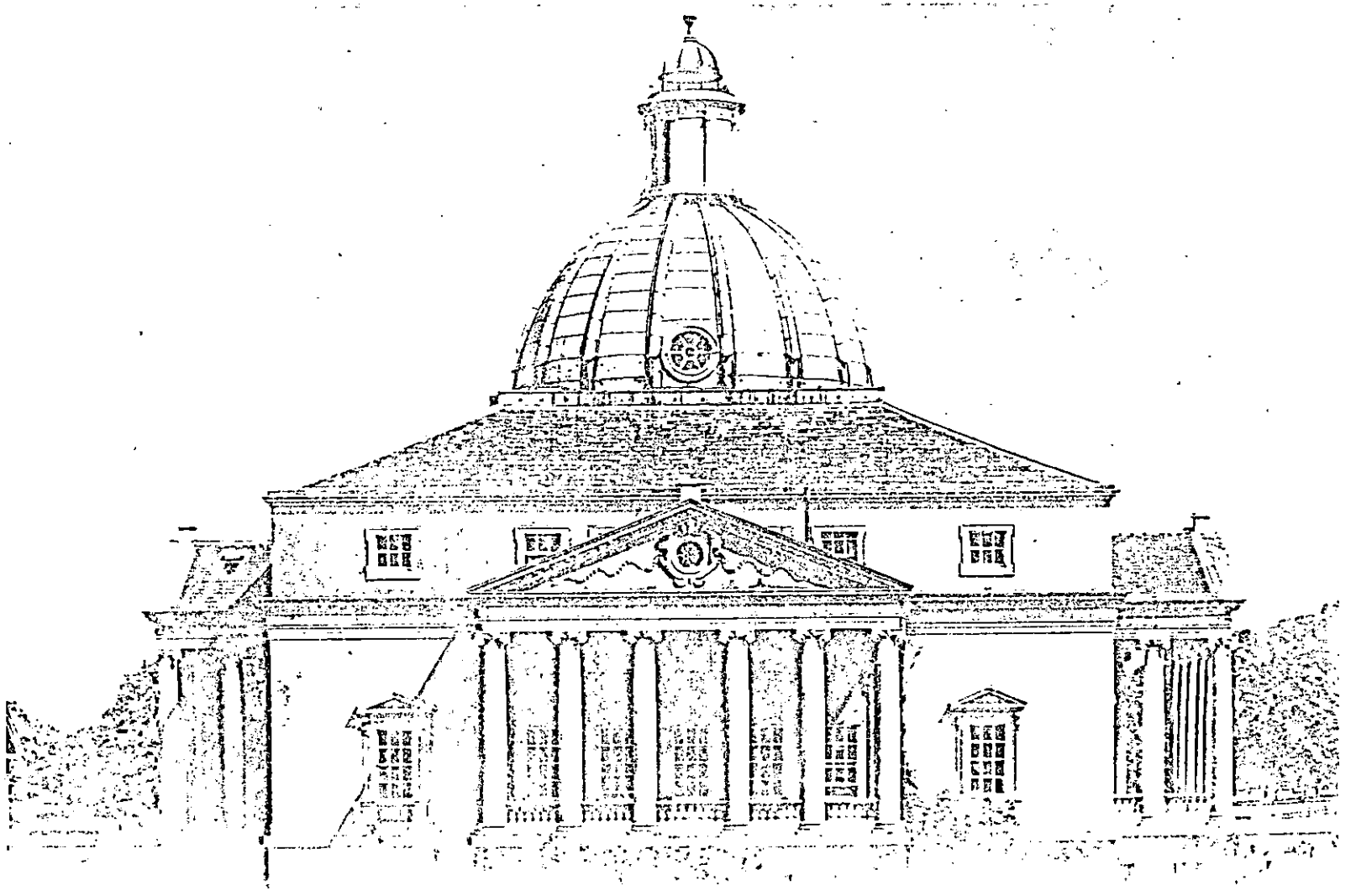
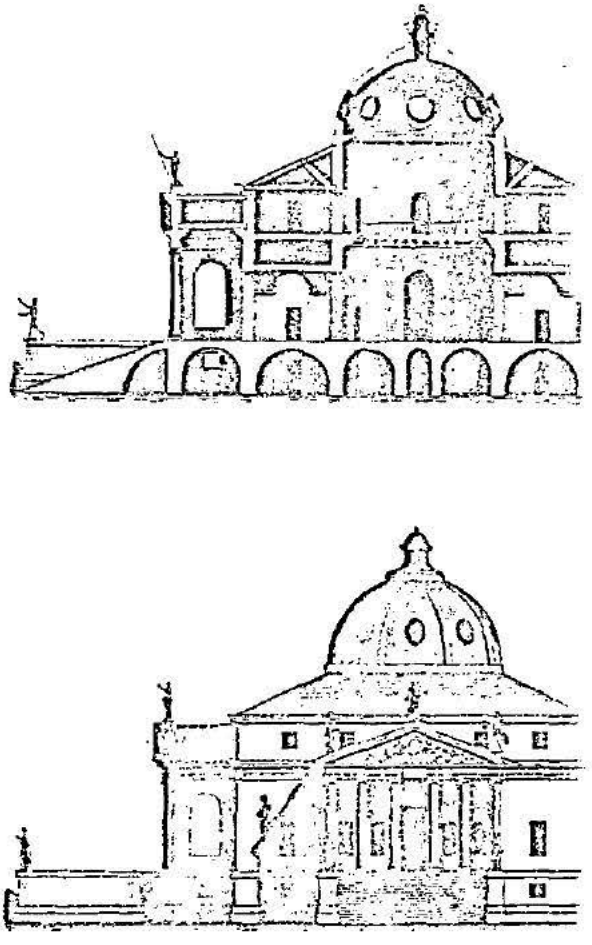
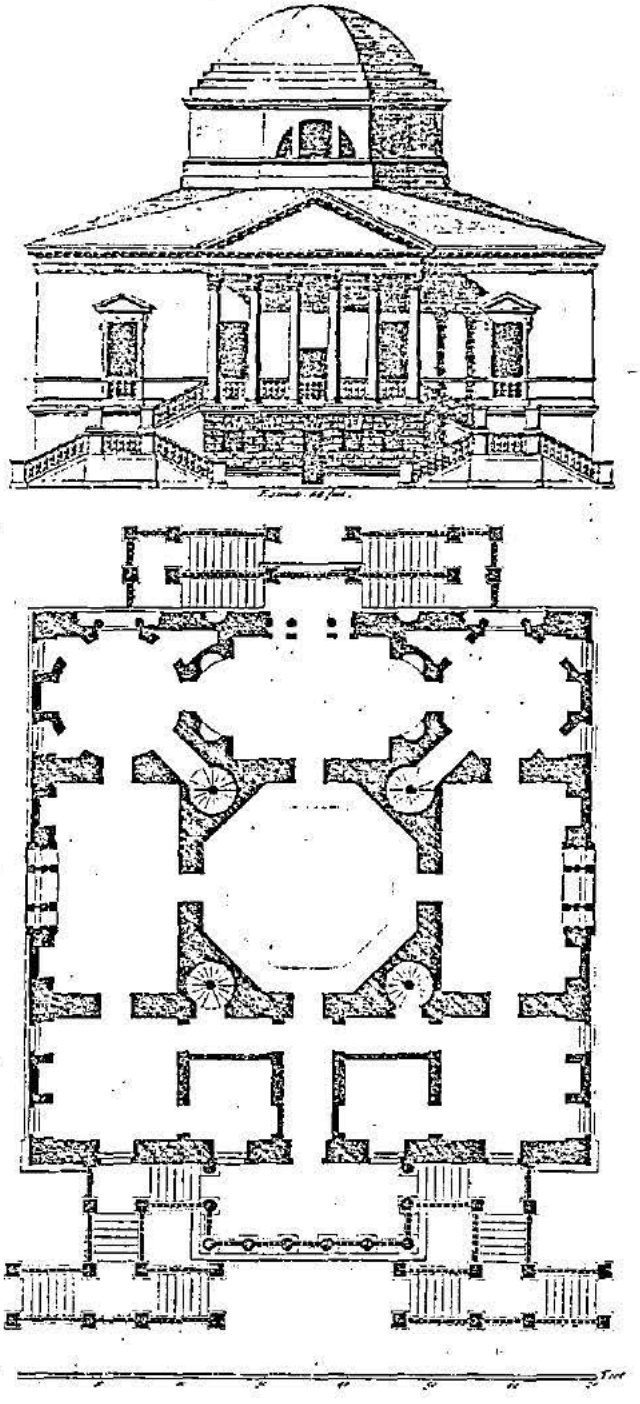


PLATE 81



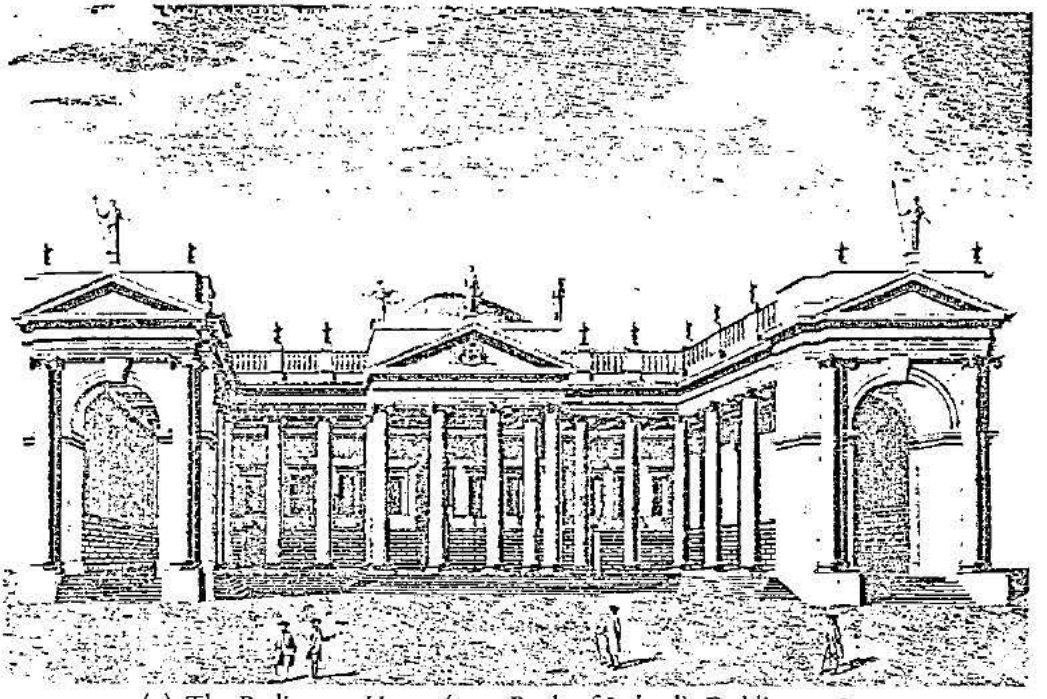
A cross section and elevation of Palladio's Rotonda at Vicenza, on which Colen Campbell modelled Mereworth. An engraving from the 171 edition of *The Architecture of Palladio* by Giacomo Leoni

PLATE 82

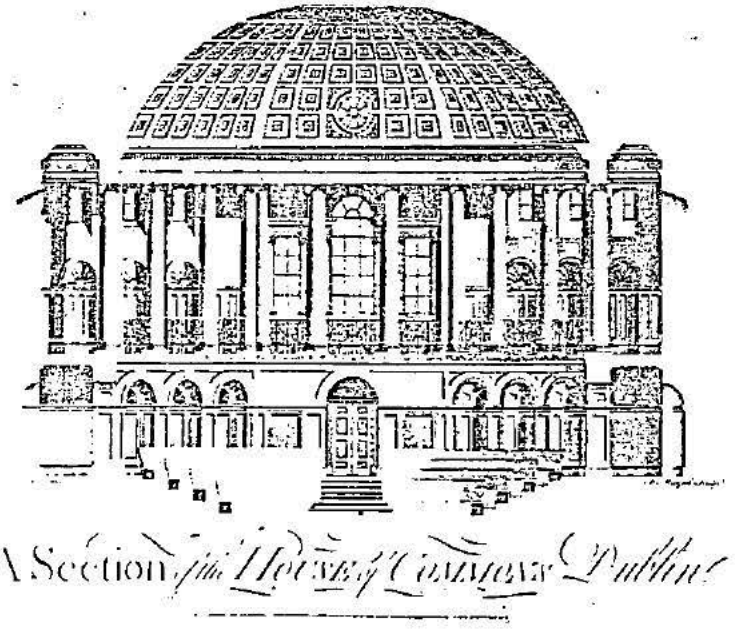


Lord Burlington. Chiswick House, begun 1725

PLATE 83

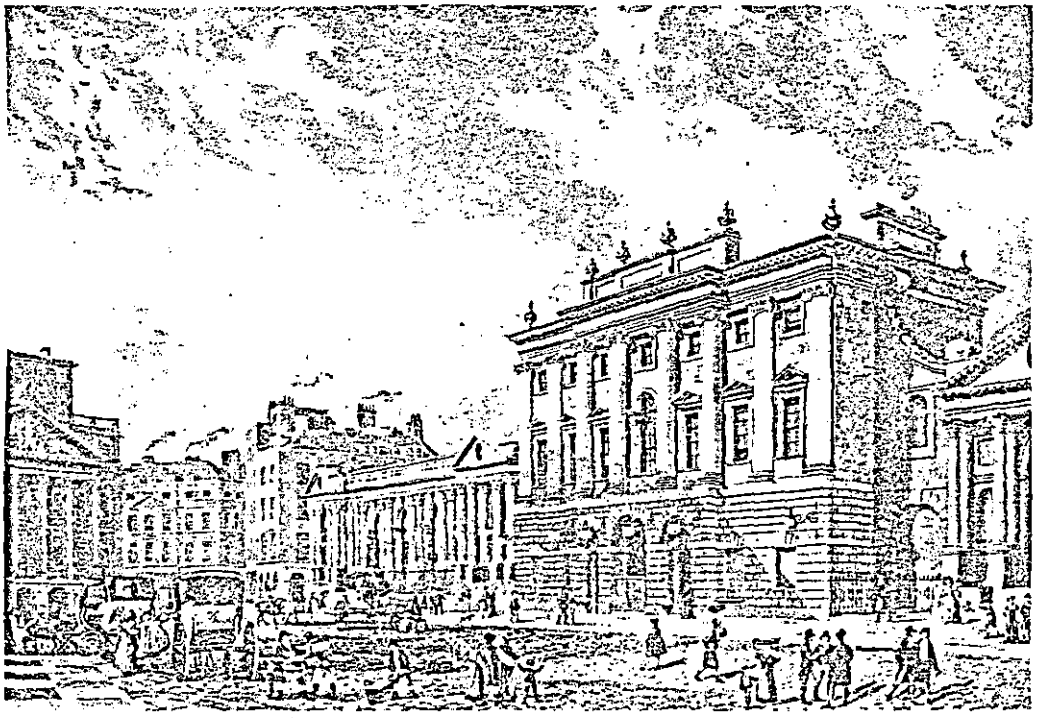


(A) The Parliament House (now Bank of Ireland), Dublin, 1728–39



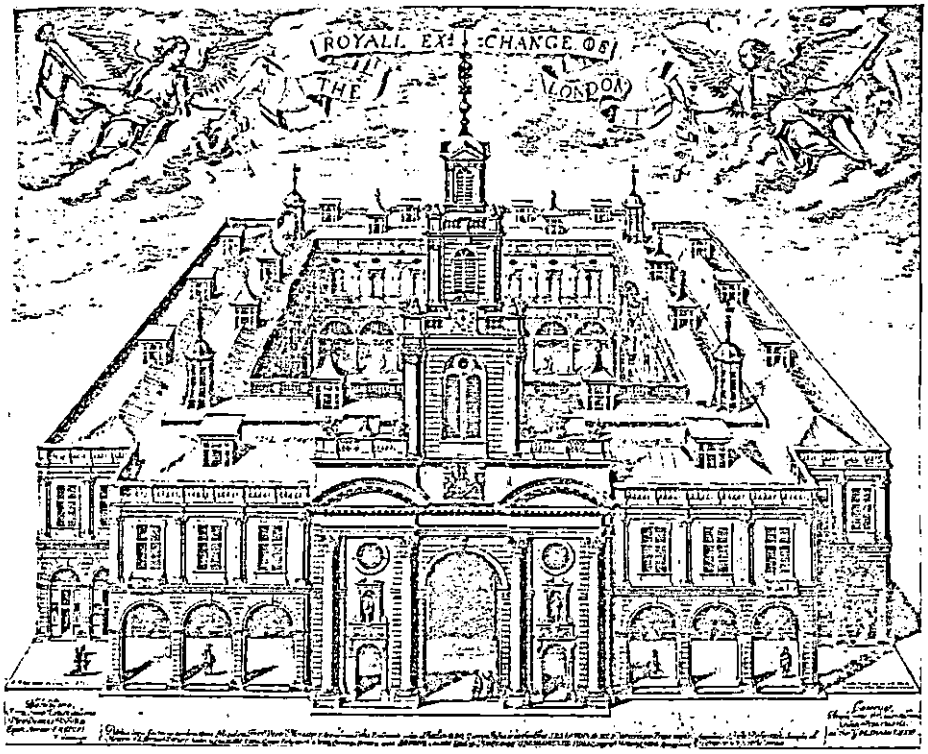
(B) The House of Commons in the Parliament House, Dublin, 1728–39
(demolished 1804)

PLATE 84



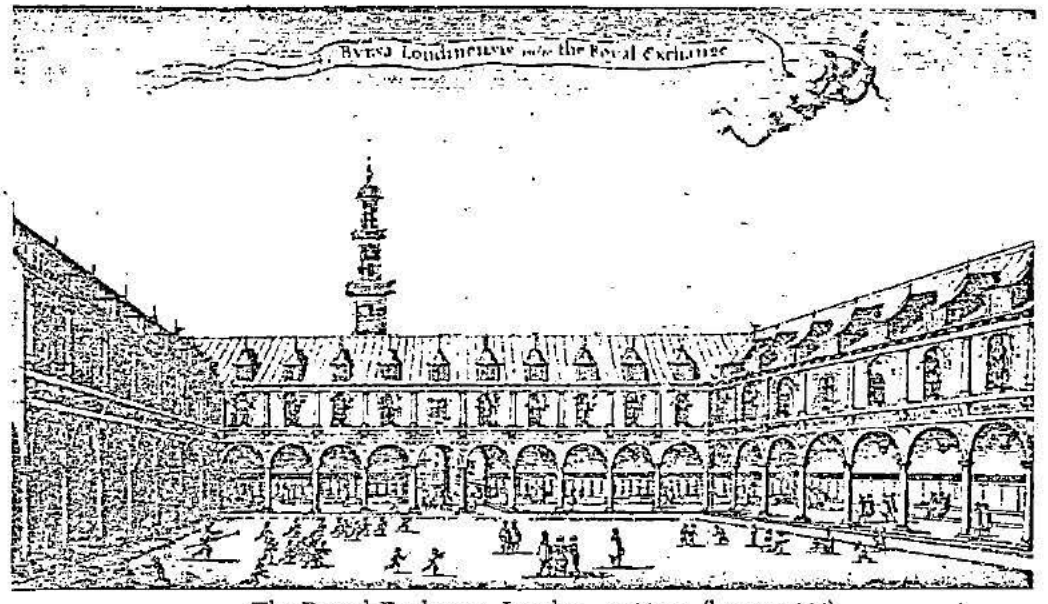
The Bank of England. The centre block by George Sampson, 1732–4, the wings by Sir Robert Taylor, 1766–83 (all demolished)

PLATE 85



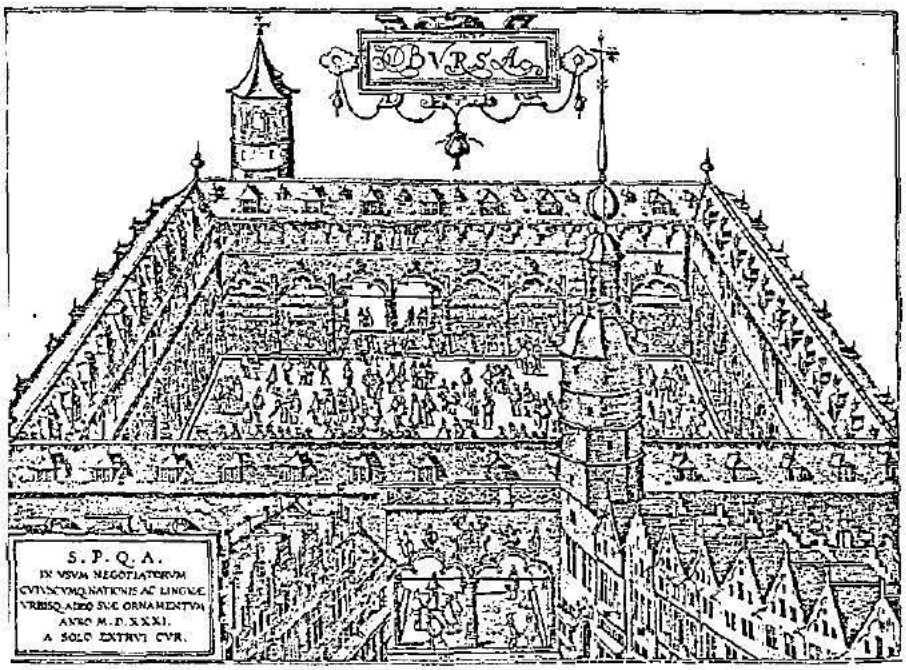
(A) The Royal Exchange, London, as rebuilt after the fire by Edward Jerman and completed 1671 (burnt down 1838)

PLATE 86a



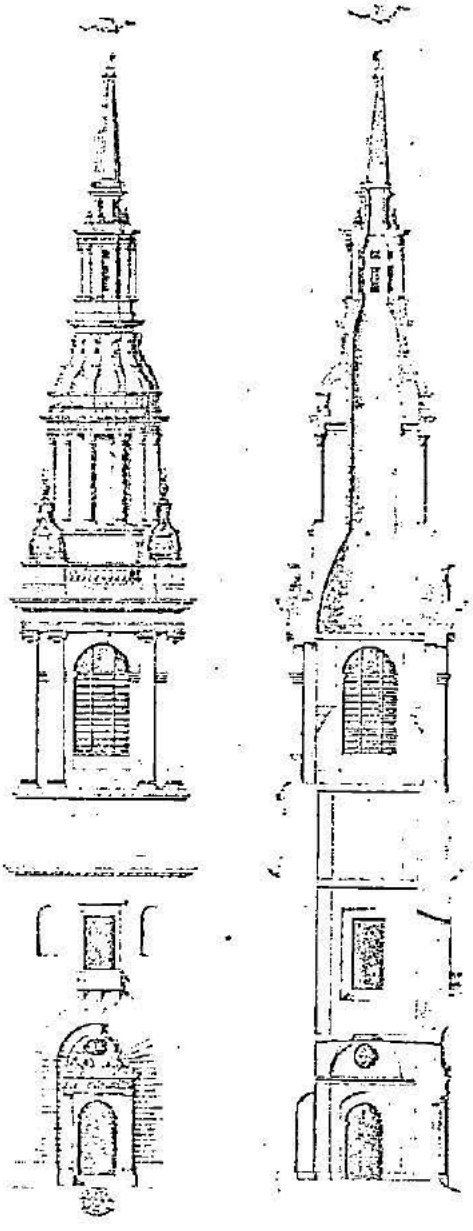
The Royal Exchange, London, 1566–71 (burnt 1666)

PLATE 86b

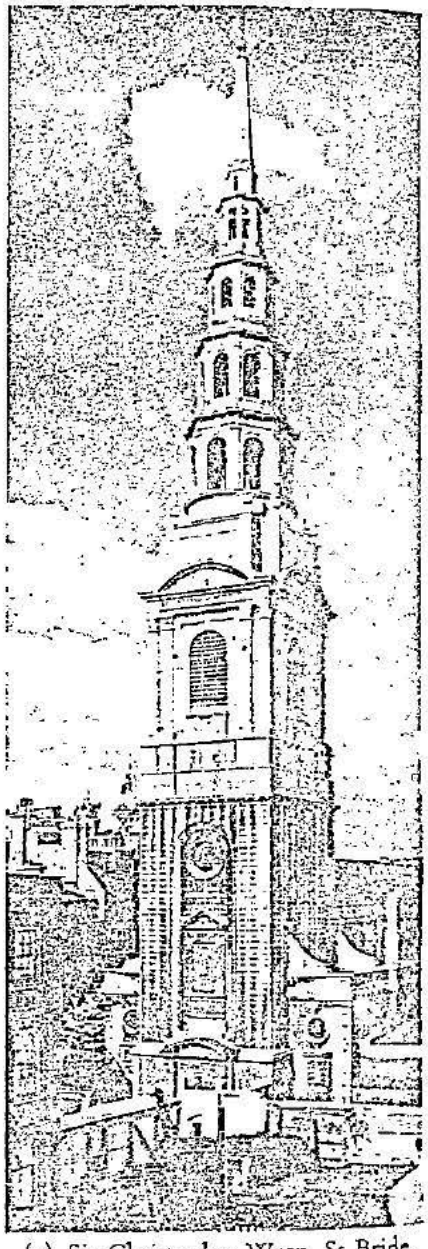


The Antwerp Bourse. *Engraving from Ludovico Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries, published in 1565. The inscription reads:* Erected in 1531 by the senate and people of Antwerp for the use of the merchants of every nation and language and to enhance the beauty of their city.

PLATE 86c

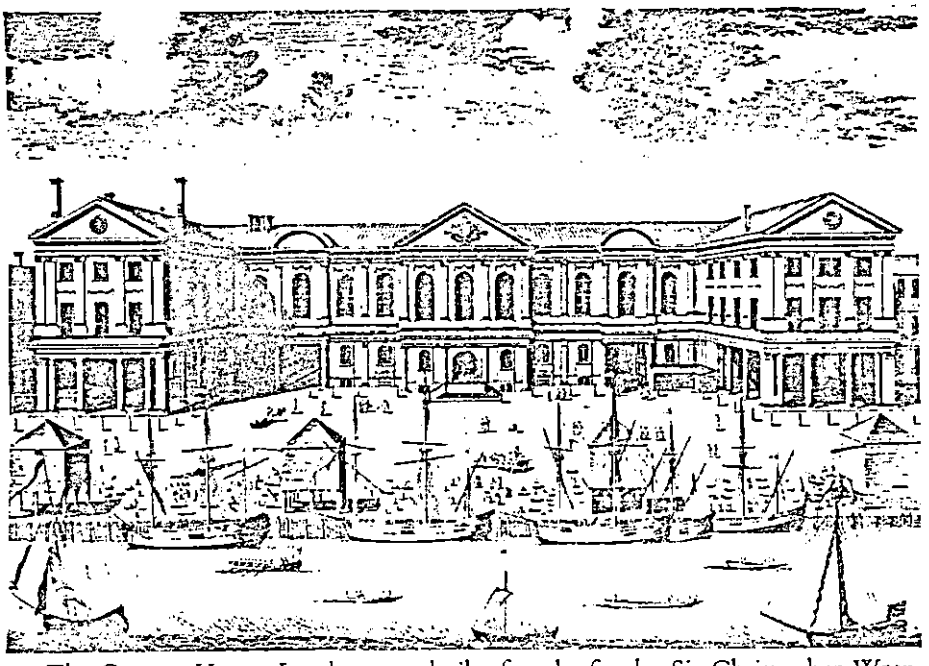


(A) Sir Christopher Wren. St Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, London, 1670–7



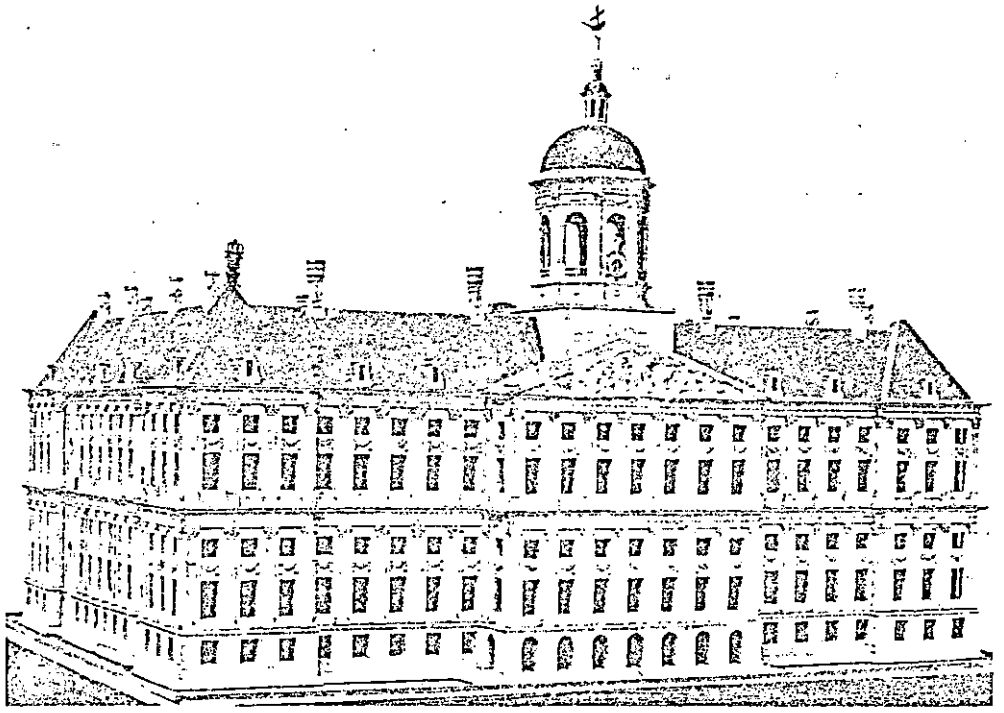
(B) Sir Christopher Wren. St Bride, Fleet Street, London, 1670–84. Spire, 1702

PLATE 87



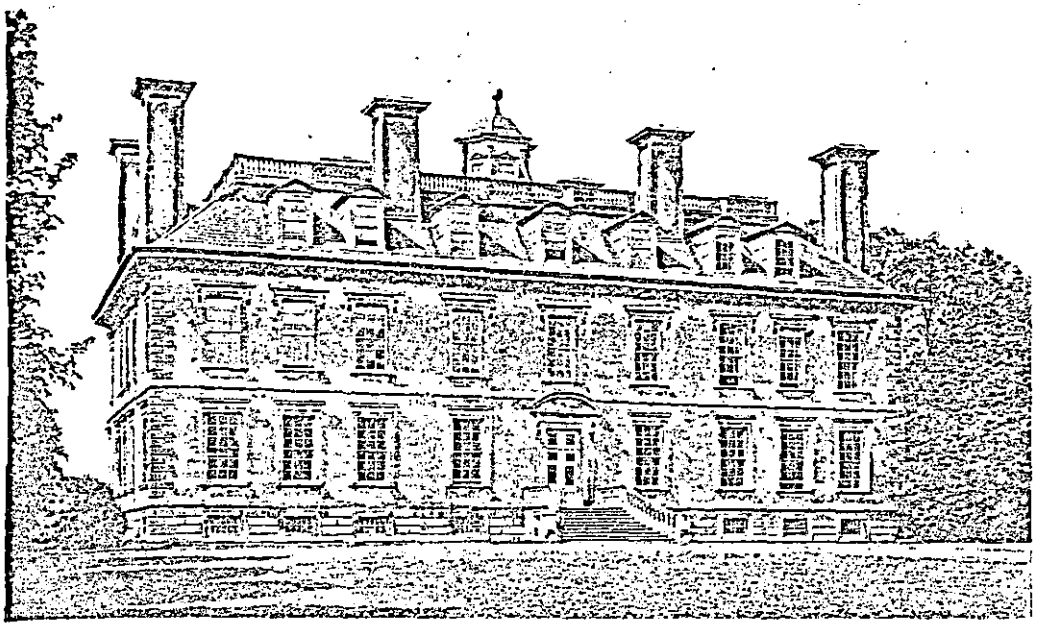
The Custom House, London, as rebuilt after the fire by Sir Christopher Wren, 1669 (burnt down 1718)

PLATE 88



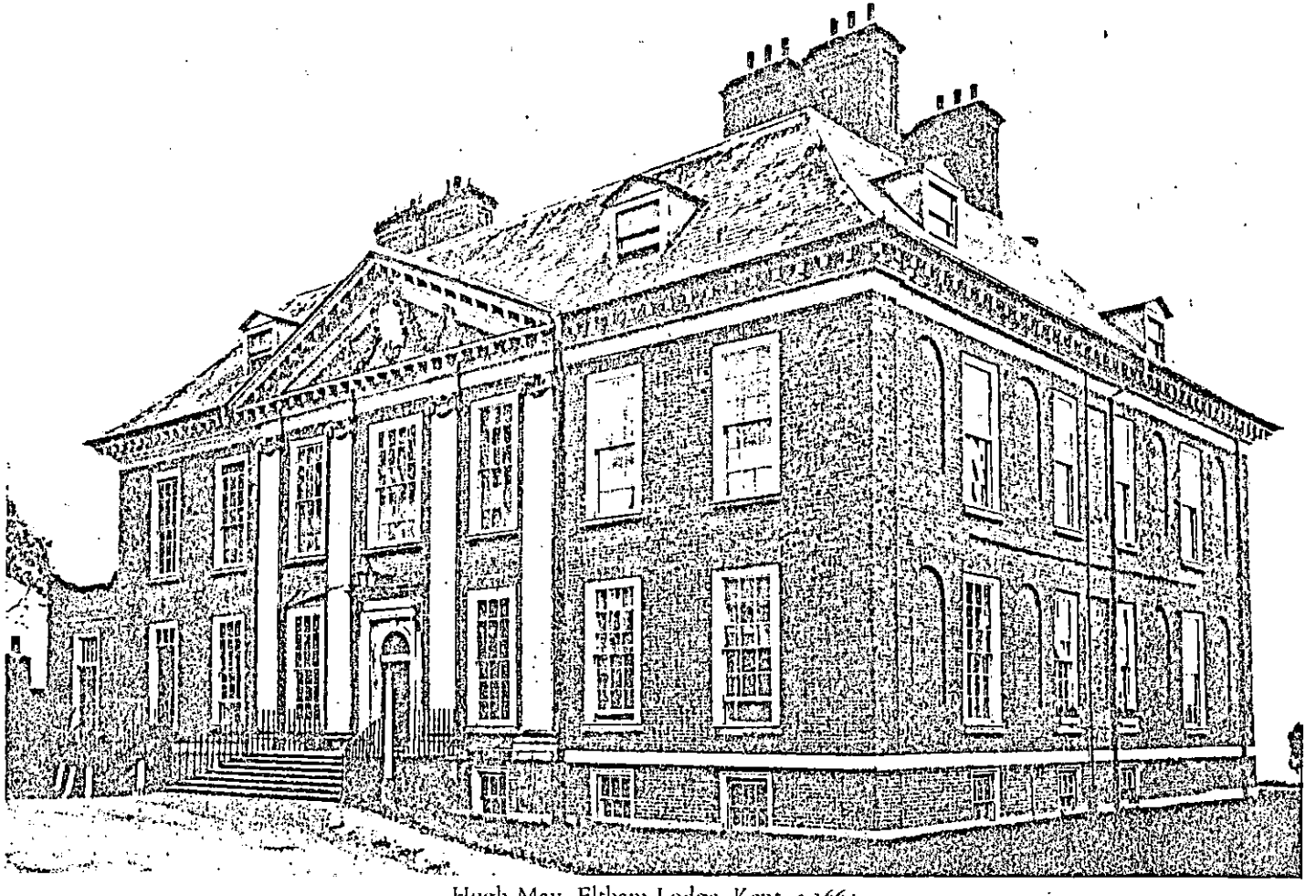
i. Model for the seventeenth-century Town Hall. c. 1648. Historisch Museum De Waag, Amsterdam.

PLATE 89



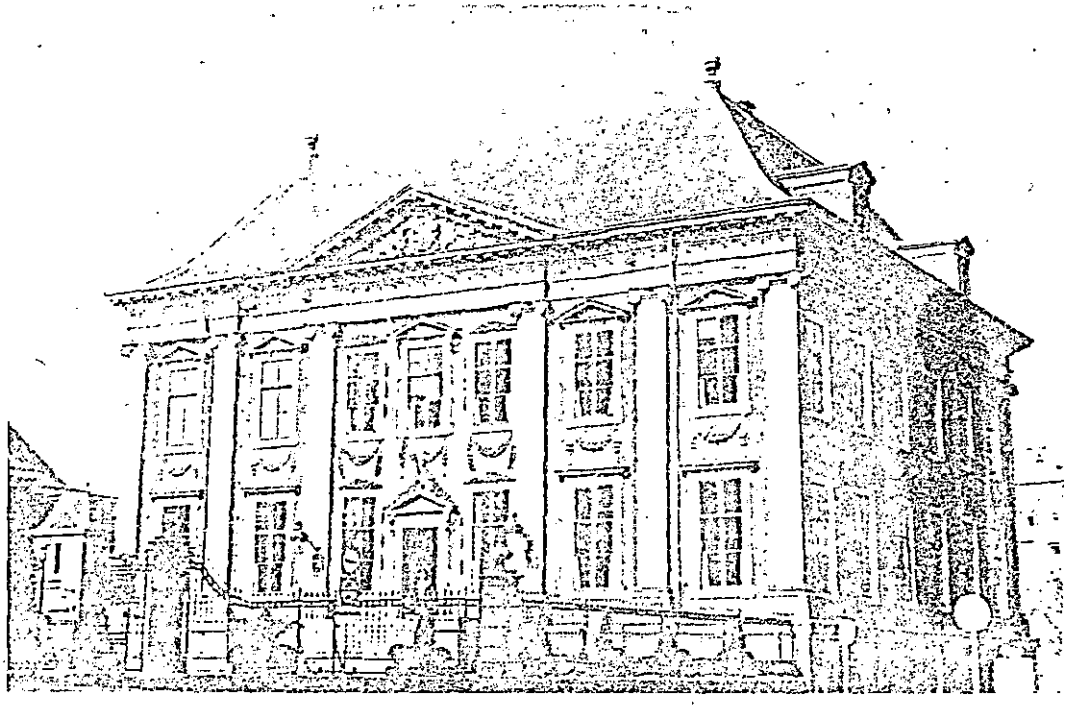
Roger Pratt. Coleshill, Berks., *c.* 1650 onwards (burnt down 1952) (*Copyright Country Life*)

PLATE 90



Hugh May. Eltham Lodge, Kent, *c.*1664

PLATE 91

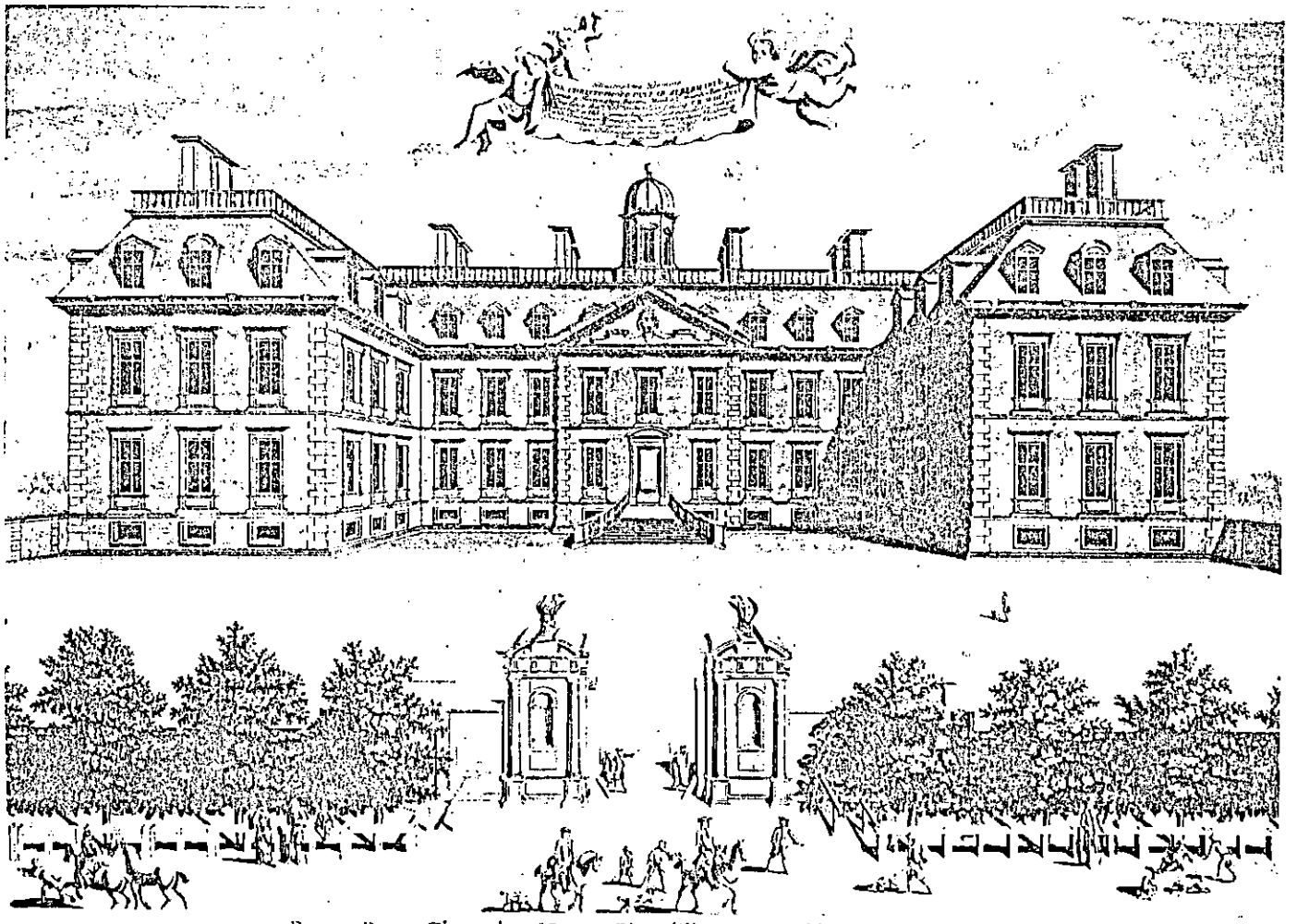


Van Campen. Mauritshuis, The Hague. Begun c. 1633.

PLATE 92

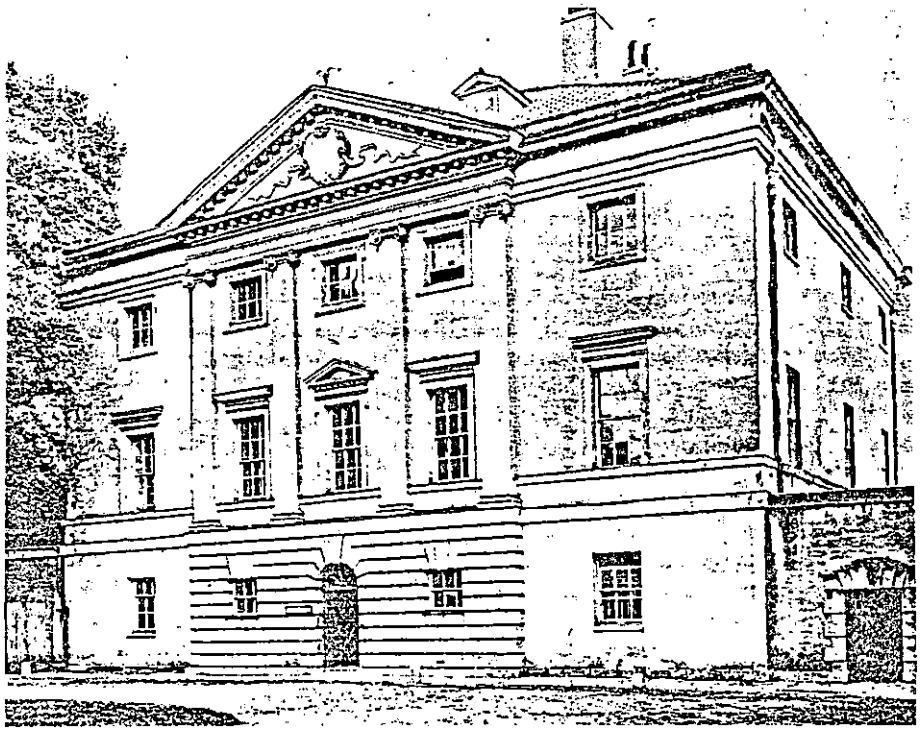
Belton House, Lincs. William Stanton, mason, *c.* 1689

PLATE 93



Roger Pratt. Clarendon House, Piccadilly, 1664–7 (demolished 1683)

PLATE 94



Lord Pembroke and Roger Morris:
Twickenham, Marble Hill, *c.* 1728

(photograph copyright *Country Life*

PLATE 95

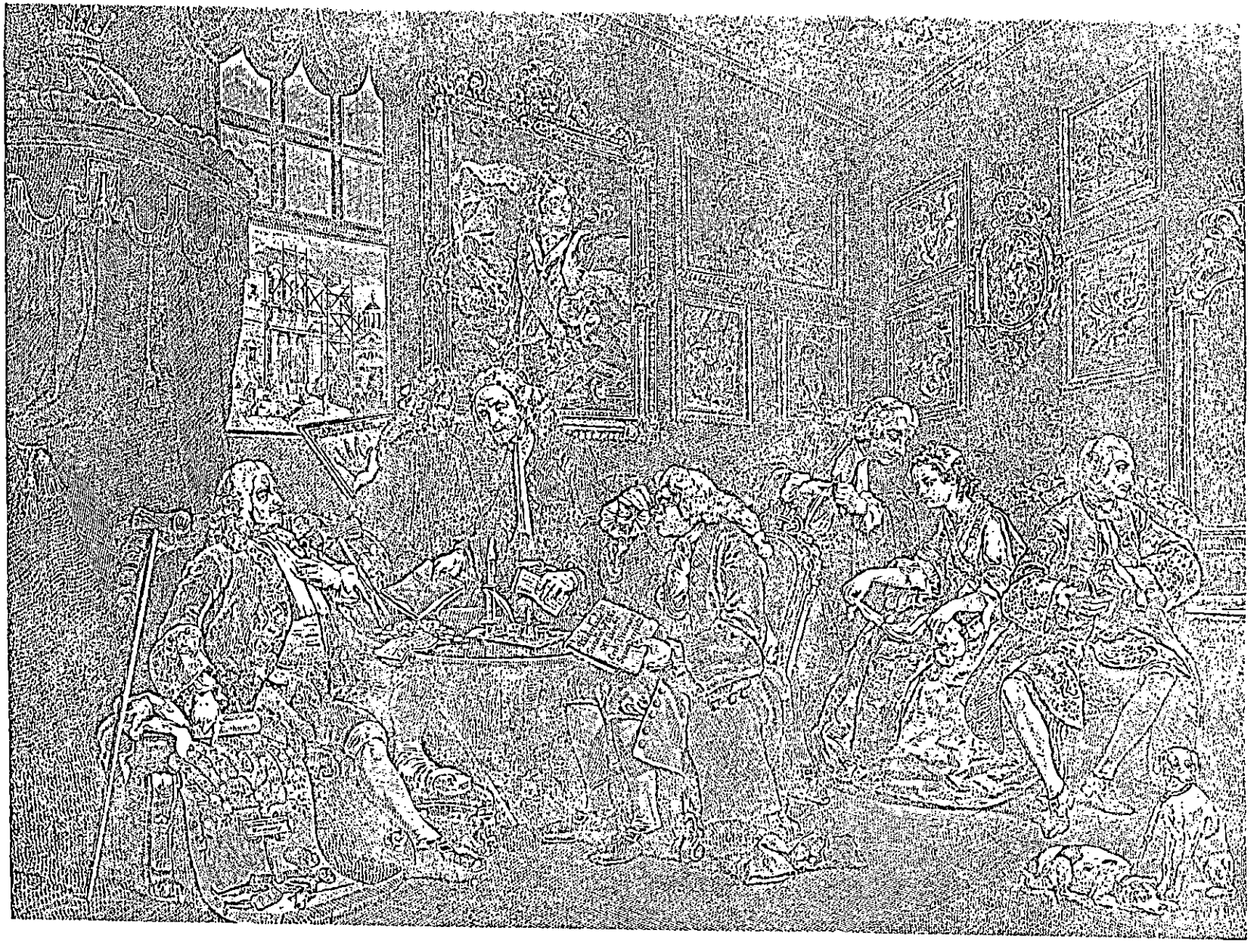


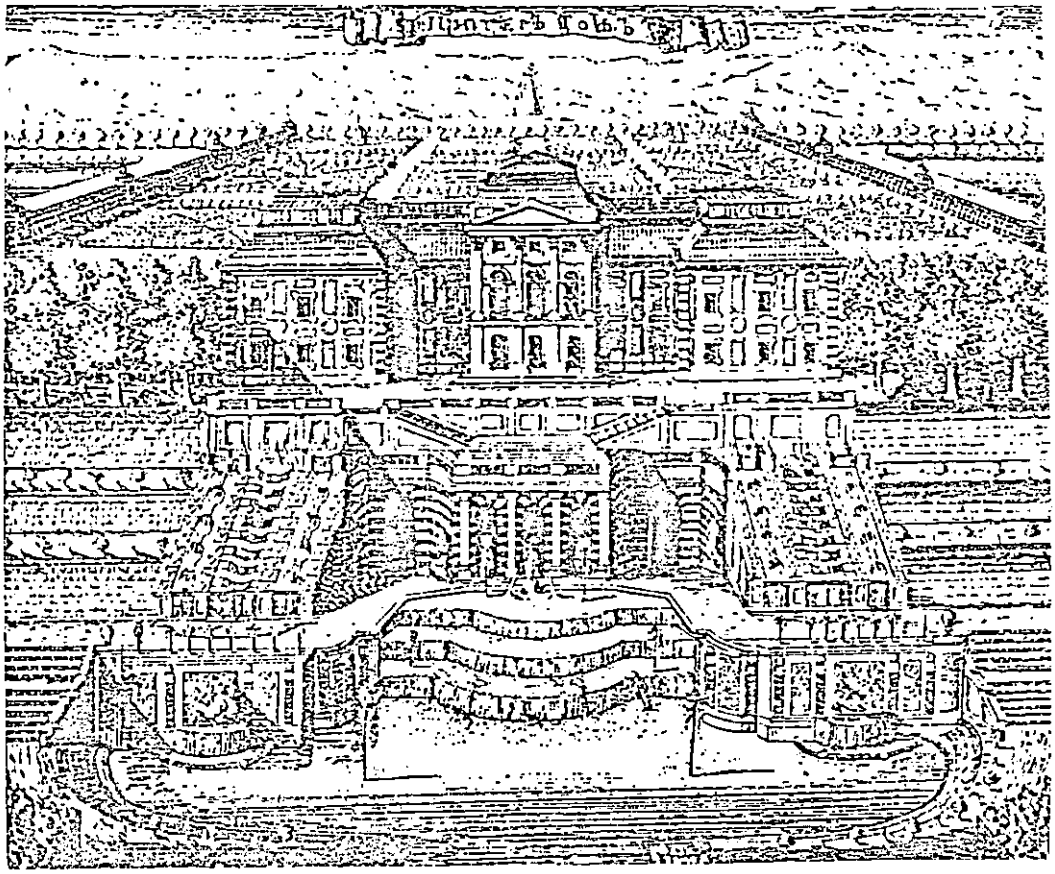
PLATE 96 Hogarth

PLATE 96b

A BROWN LANDSCAPE THROUGH CONTEMPORARY EYES.
Croome, Worcestershire, painted by Richard Wilson in 1758

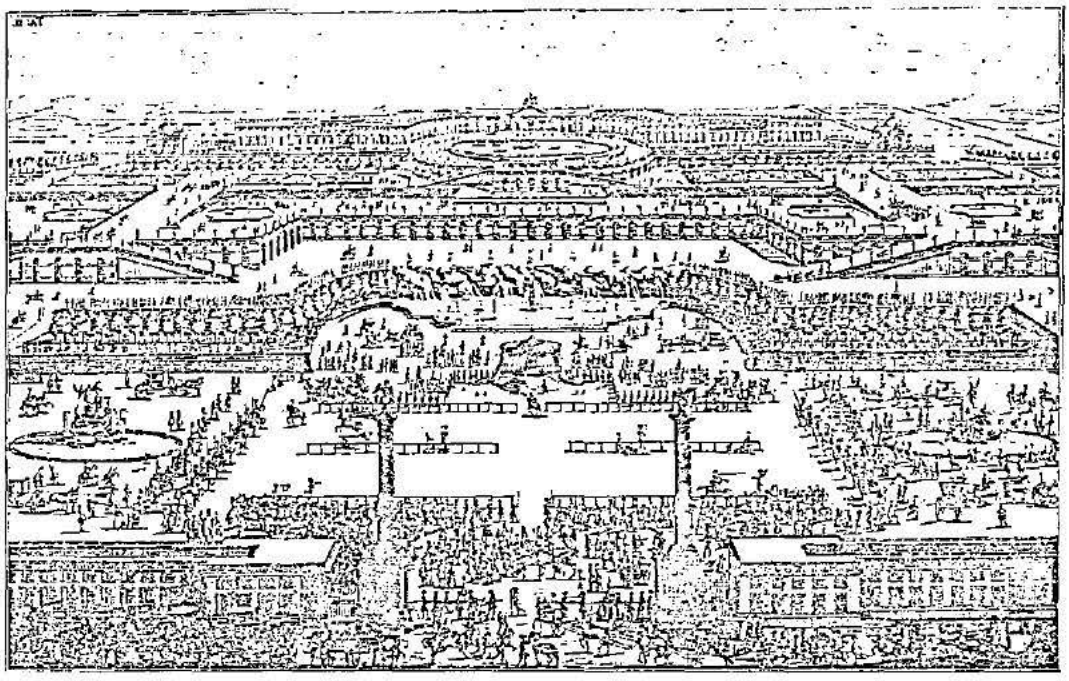
Croome Estate Trust

PLATE 97

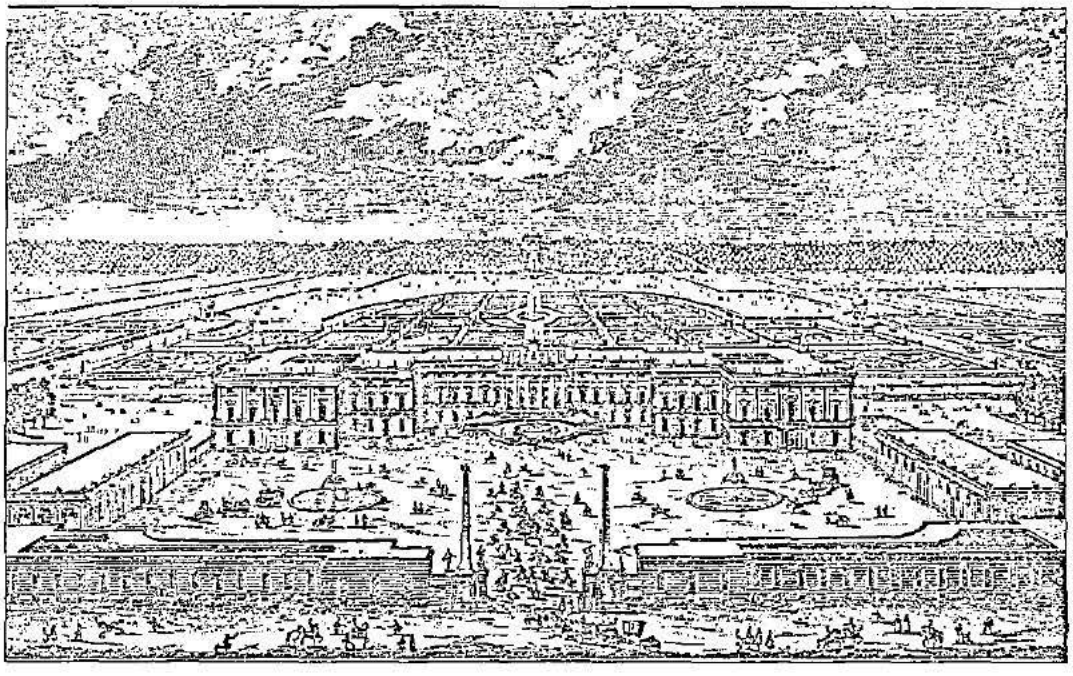


Peterhof near Leningrad, cascade and upper garden, engraving by A. Rostovtzev, 1717

PLATE 98a

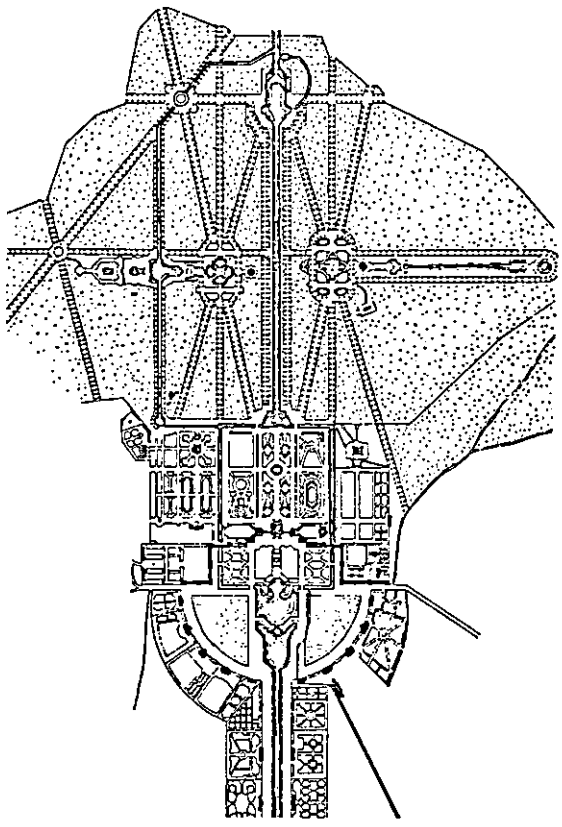


. Schönbrunn, Vienna, first design by J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, 1721

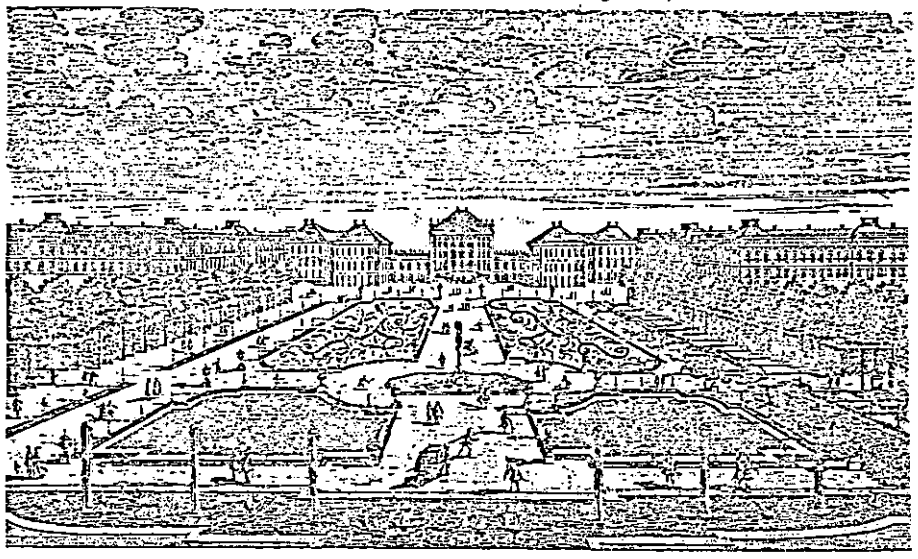


Schönbrunn, Vienna, second design by J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Anfang . . . Vorstellungen der . . . Gebäude*, 1715

PLATE 98b

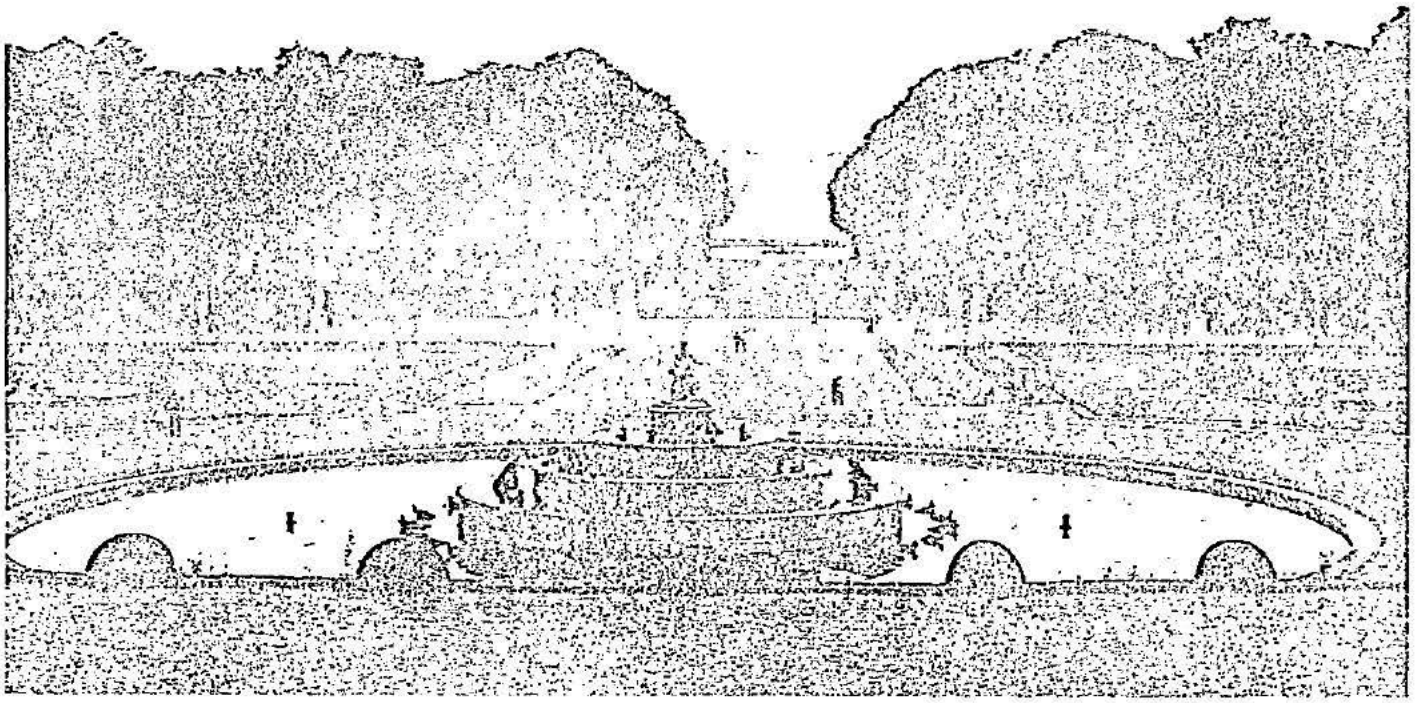


. Nymphenburg, Munich, original layout, 1755
(photo: from Fariello, *Architettura dei giardini*)



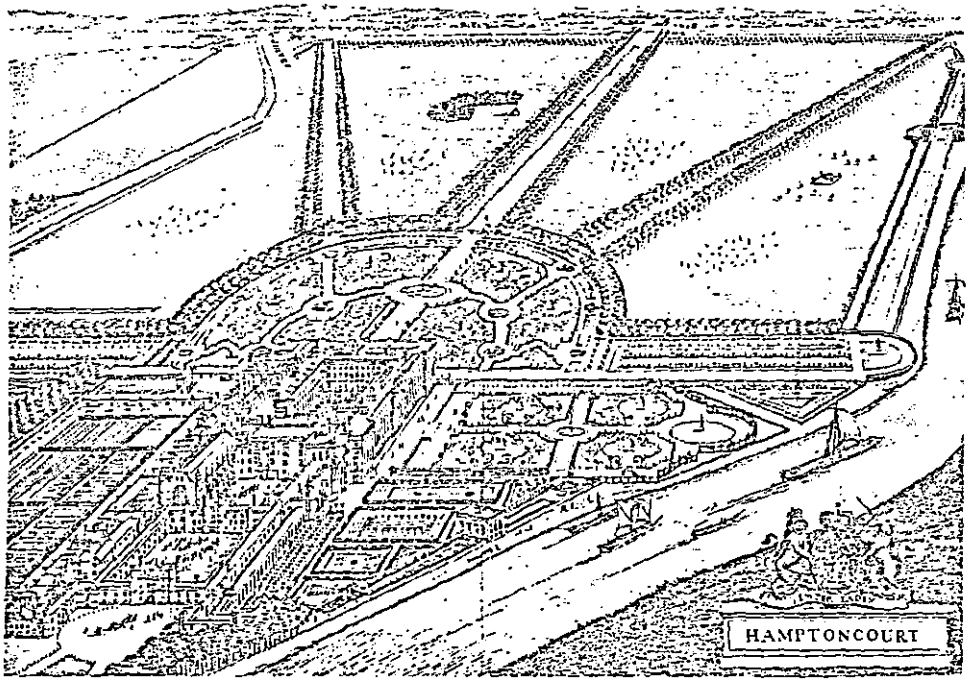
. Nymphenburg, Munich, garden façade, engraving by Mathias Diesel, *Erlustierender Augen-Weyde . . .*, ca. 1720

PLATE 98c



Versailles, the grand vista with Fountain of Latona.

PLATE 98d



Hampton Court, bird's-eye view, engraving by L. Knyff in Kip, *Britannia Illustrata*, 1709

PLATE 98e

CLAUDE LORRAINE *Aeneas arriving at Delos*

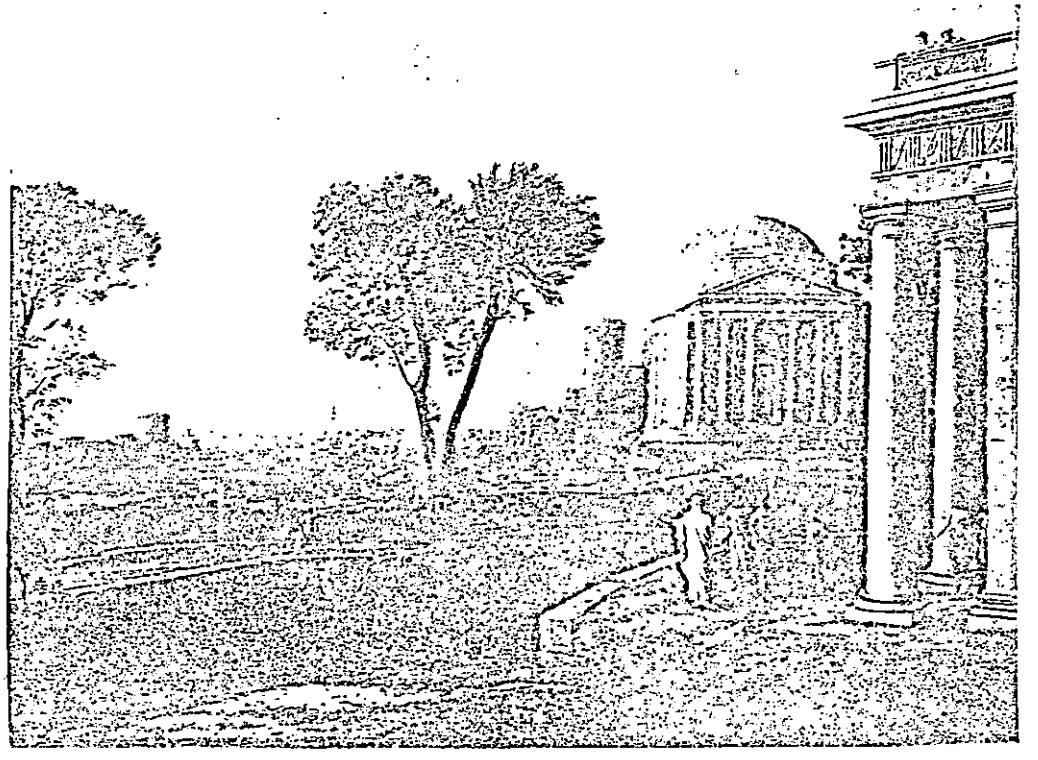
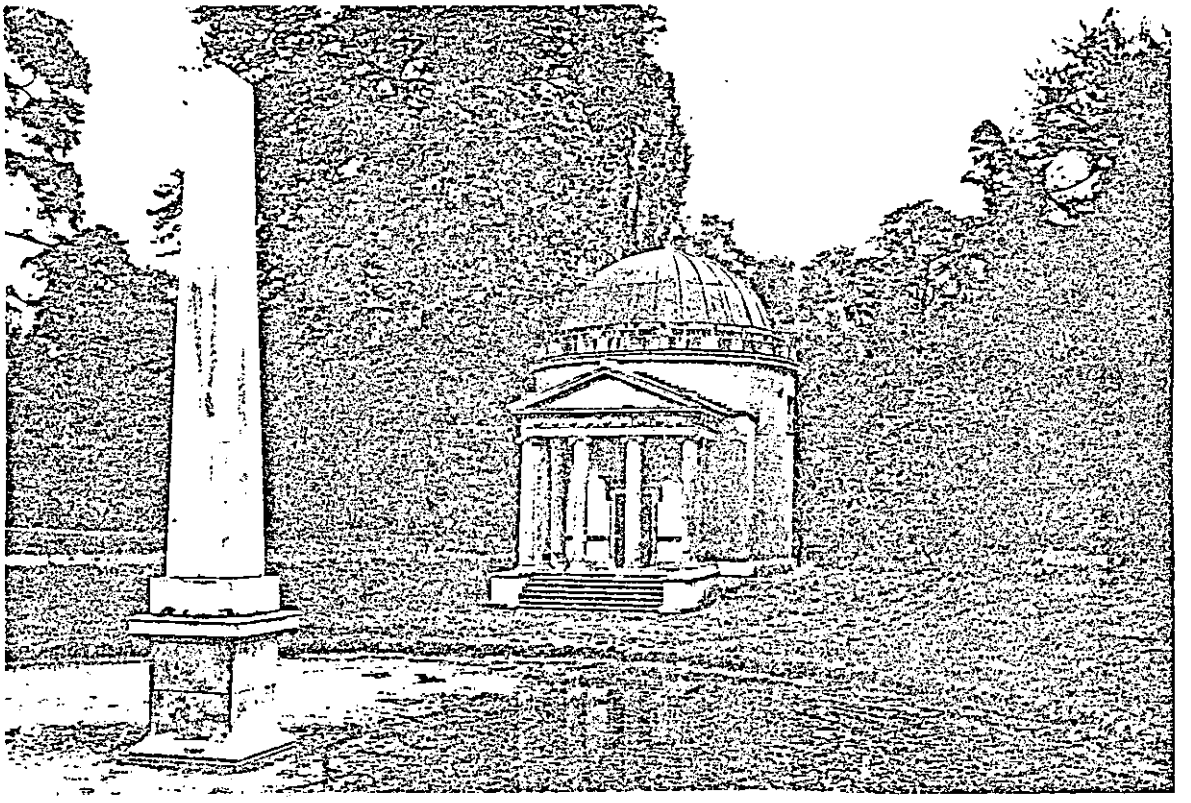


PLATE 99

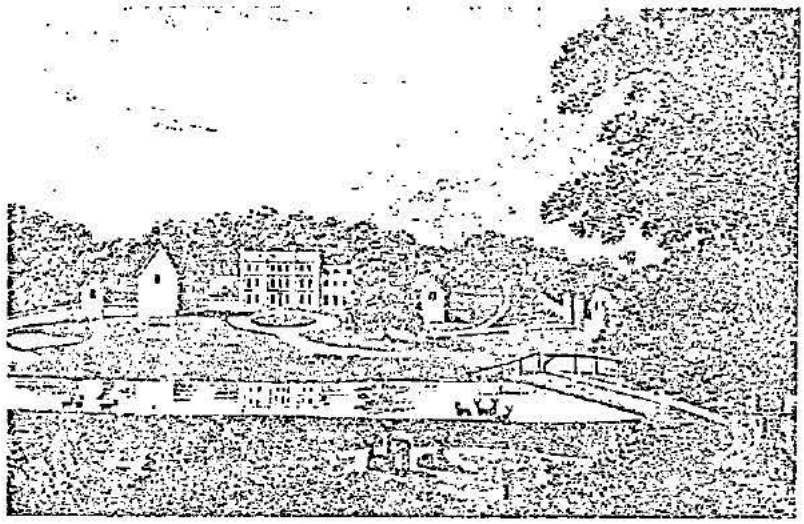
NICHOLAS POUSSIN *Orpheus and Eurydice*

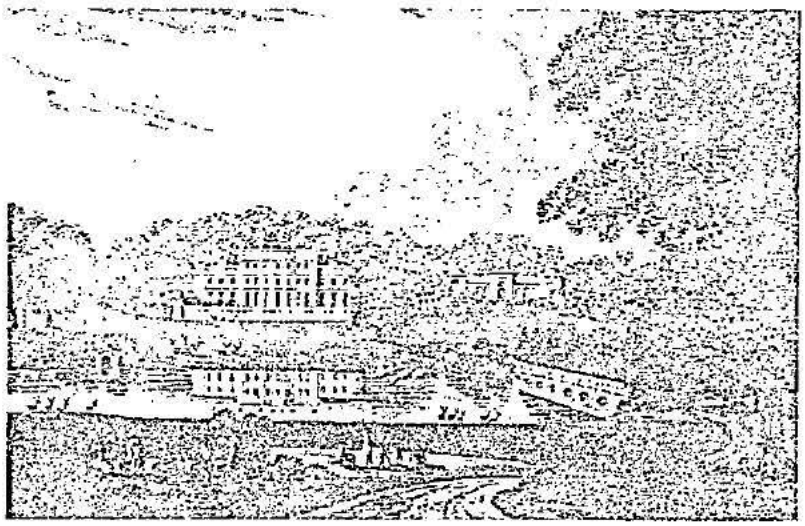
PLATE 100



WILLIAM KENT.
Obelisk and Tempietto,
Chiswick

PLATE 101

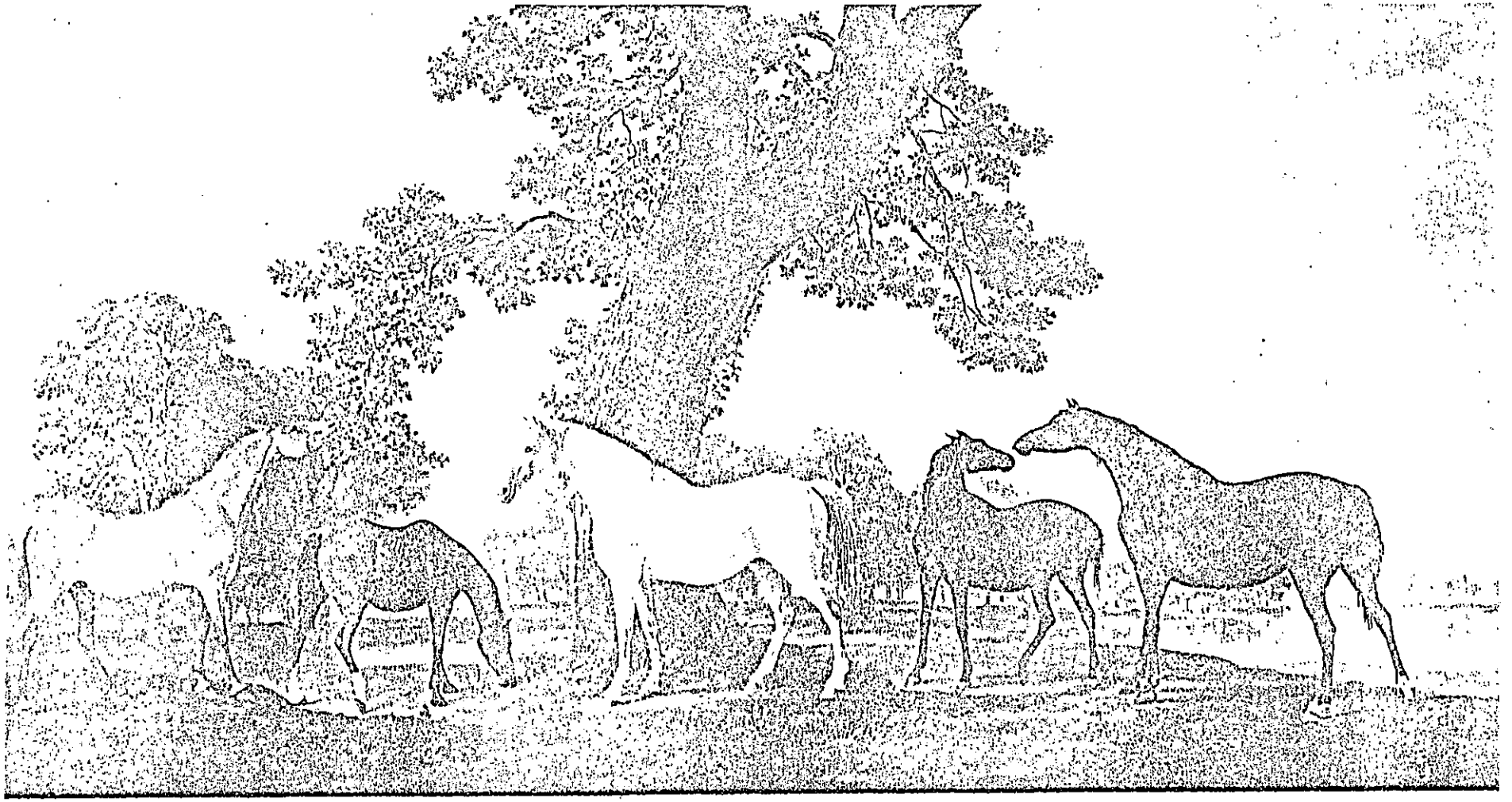




. *Harleston House and Park, Northampton. Before and after Repton had transformed it. The illustrations are from his* Fragments, etc. *(see text). The work was done in about 1808/9 for Robert Andrew, High Sheriff of Northamptonshire. The house is believed to be the original of Jane Austen's* Mansfield Park.

PLATE 102

JOHN AND SOPHIA MUSTERS OUT RIDING AT COLWICK HALL. Dated 1777.
38 × 50½ in. Oil on panel. Private Collection



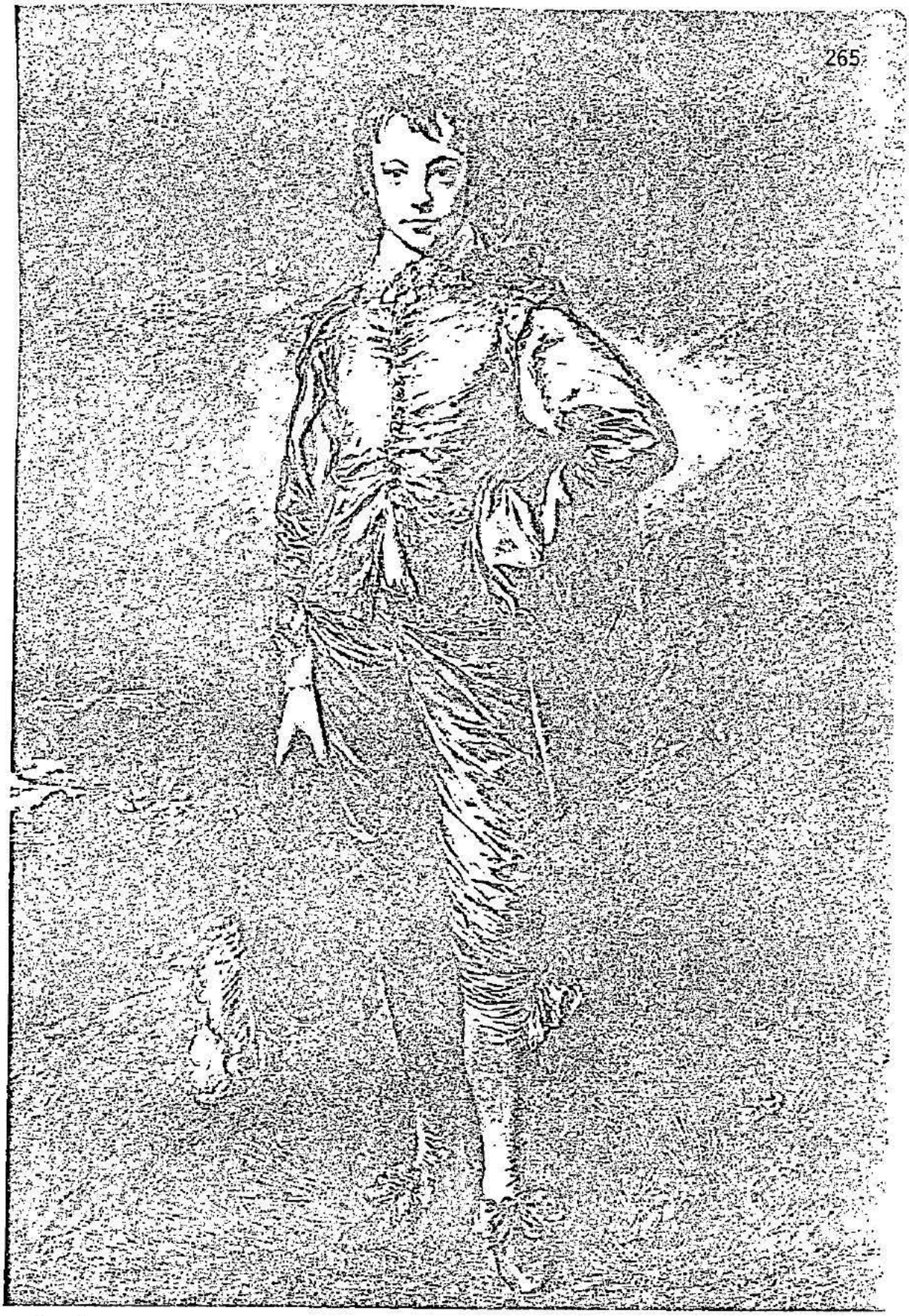
MARES BY AN OAK-TREE. 1764–5. 39 × 74 in. Ascott, Wing, The National Trust (Rothschild Collection)

PLATE 104

PLATE 105 Queen Henrietta Maria With her Dwarf by Van Dyck.

The Hon. Mrs. Thomas Graham (1757-92). Canvas, 93½ × 60¾ in. Exhibited R. A. 1777 (133). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (Note 88)

PLATE 106



Jonathan Buttall (d. 1805), known as '*The Blue Boy*'. Canvas, 70 × 48 in. Exhibited R. A. 1770 (85). San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery (Note 73)

PLATE 107

PLATE 108 The Family of Charles I by Van Dyck of 1637.

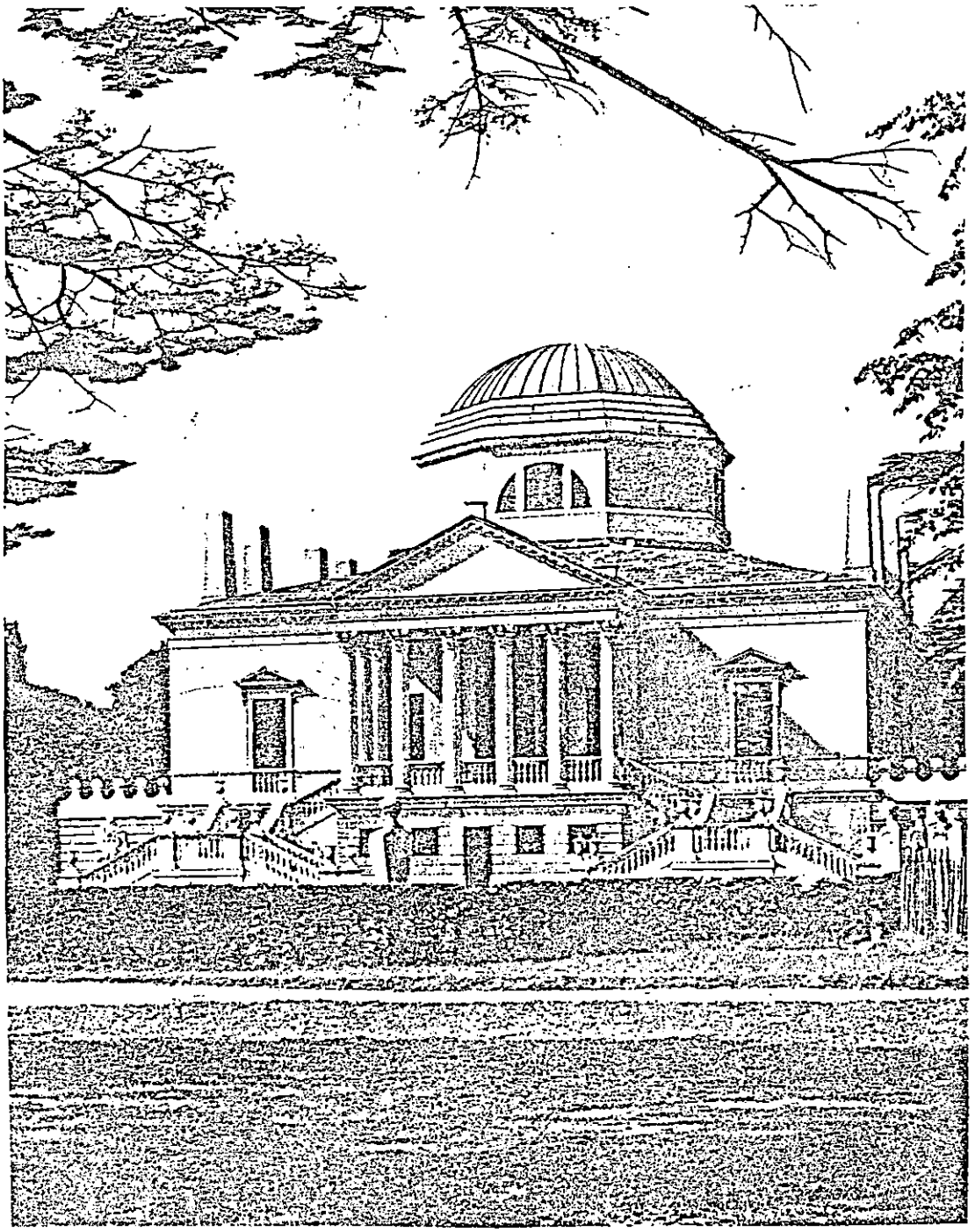


PLATE 109 Chiswick House by Lord Burlington, c.1725.

; William Chambers: Duddingston, Edinburgh, 1762–3

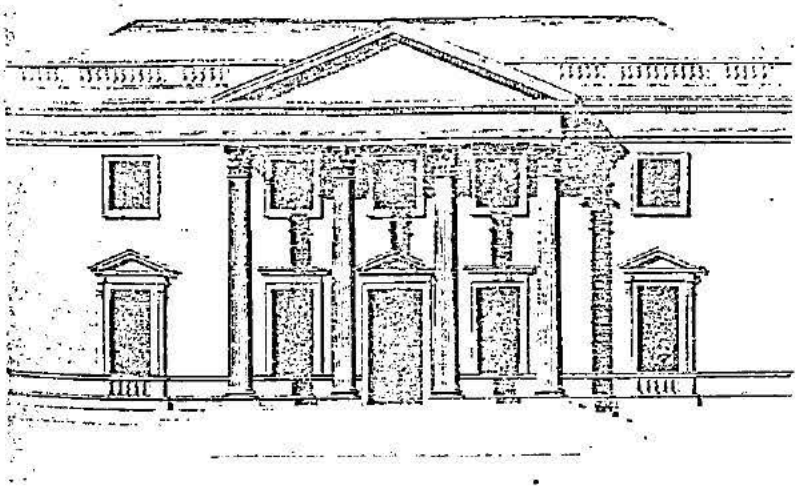


PLATE 110

. Robert Adam: Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, south front, *c.* 1761

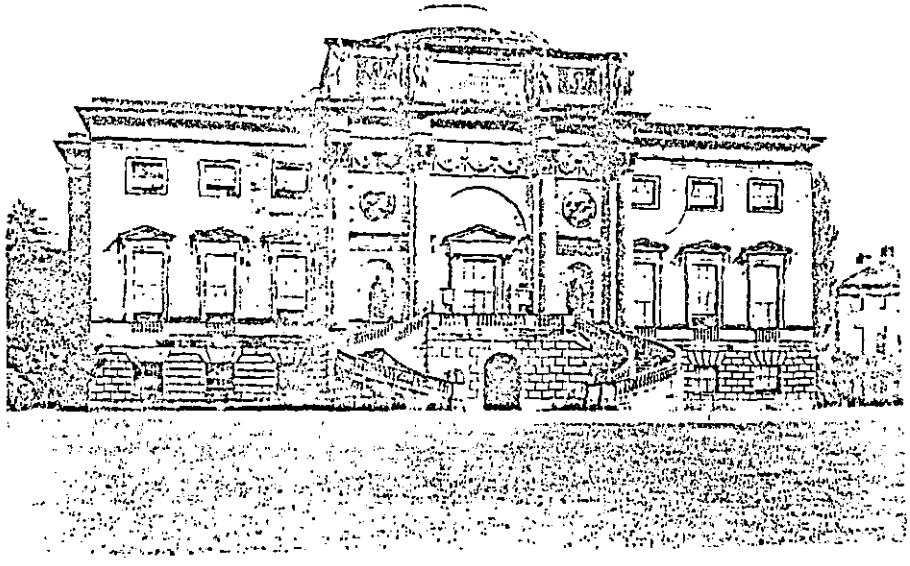
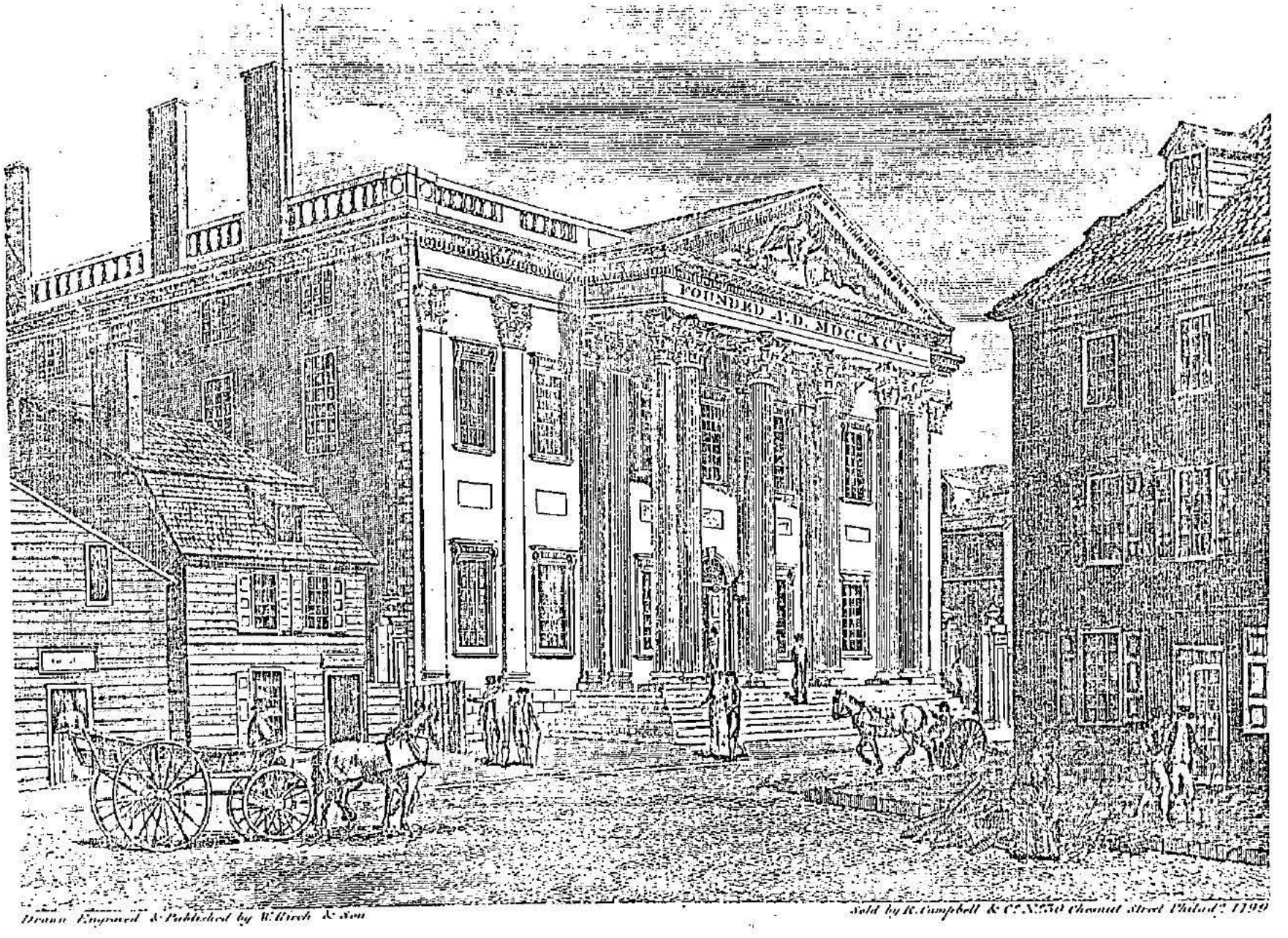


PLATE 111



BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, in Third Street PHILADELPHIA.

PLATE 112a

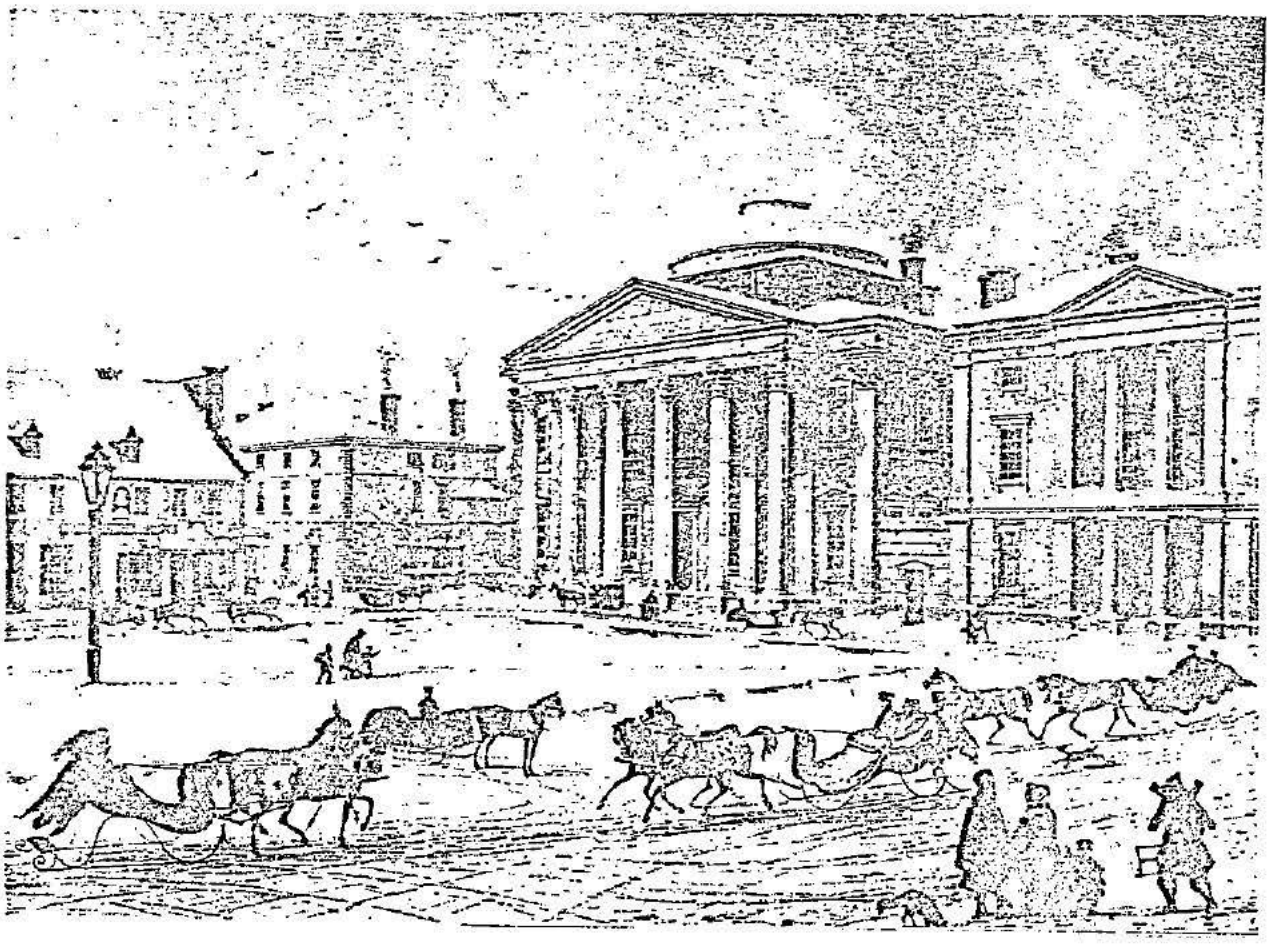
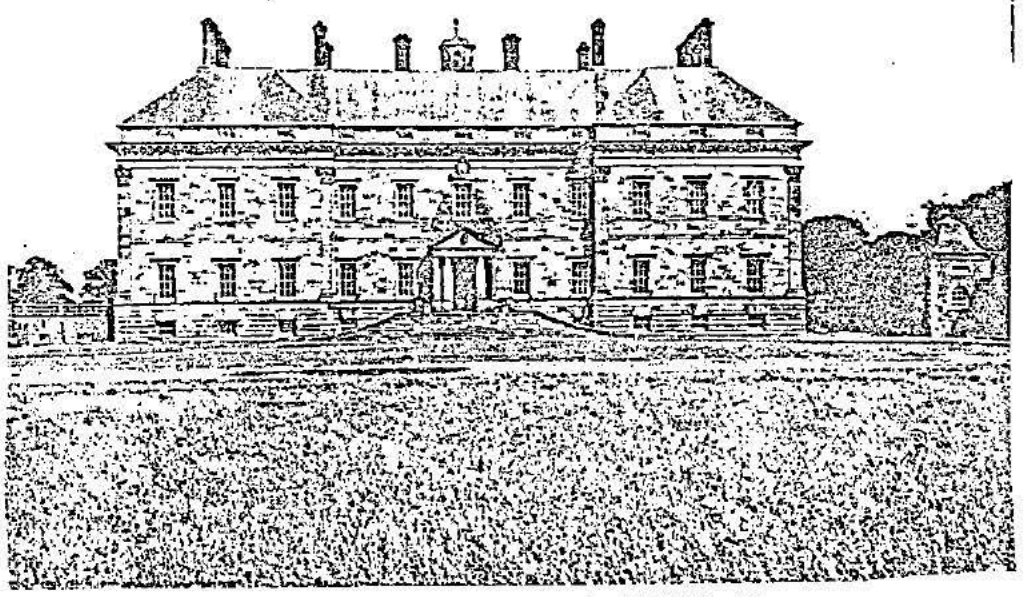
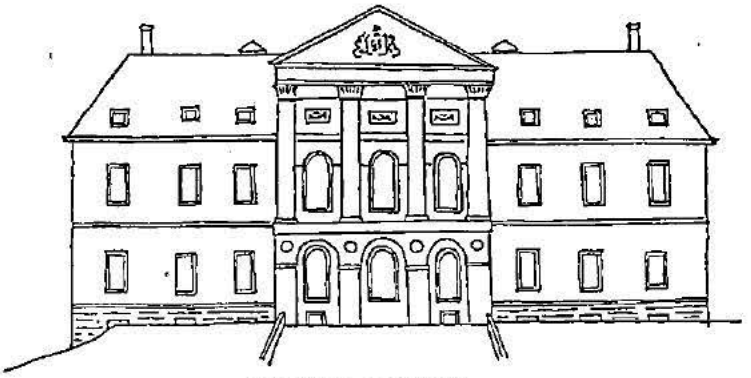


PLATE 112b John Wells' Bank of Montreal Building, 1846.



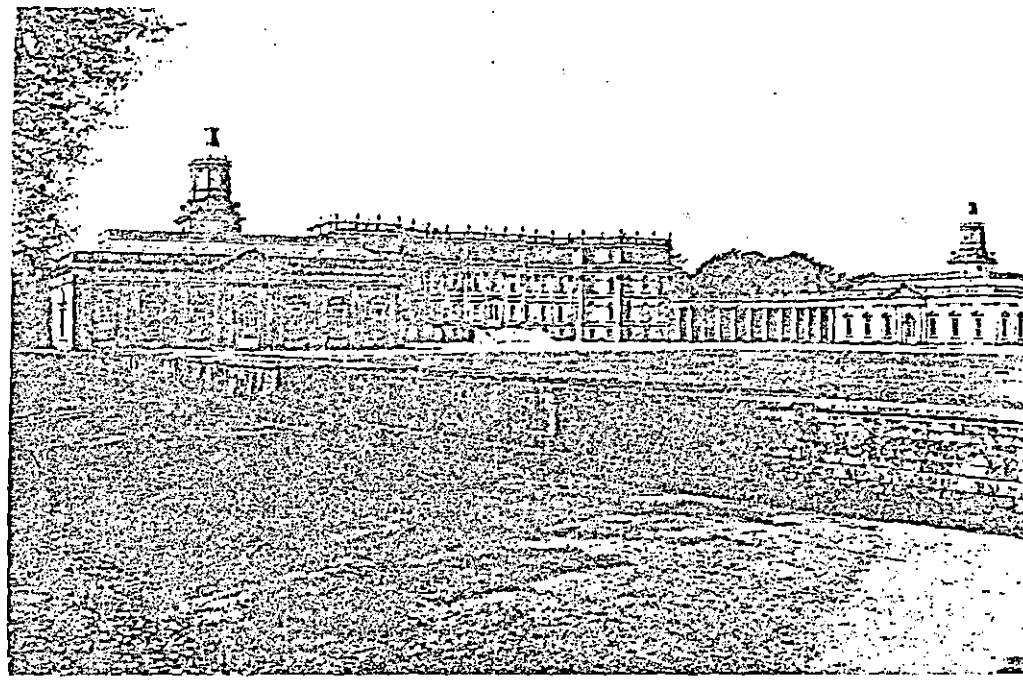
Kinross House. A compact classical house by Sir William Bruce showing the sophisticated break with tradition in the late seventeenth-century.

PLATE 113



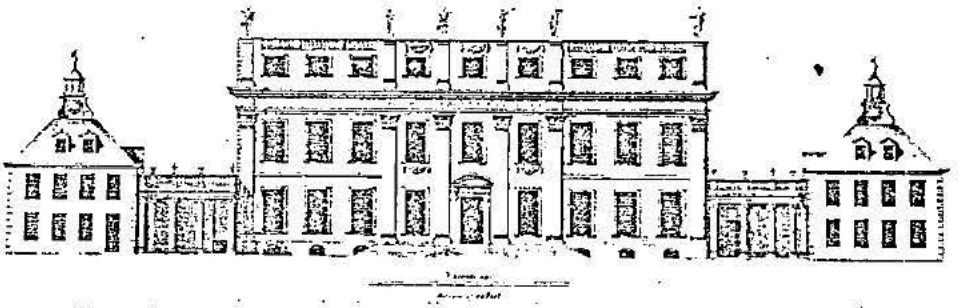
YESTER HOUSE

PLATE 114 Drawing by T.W. West



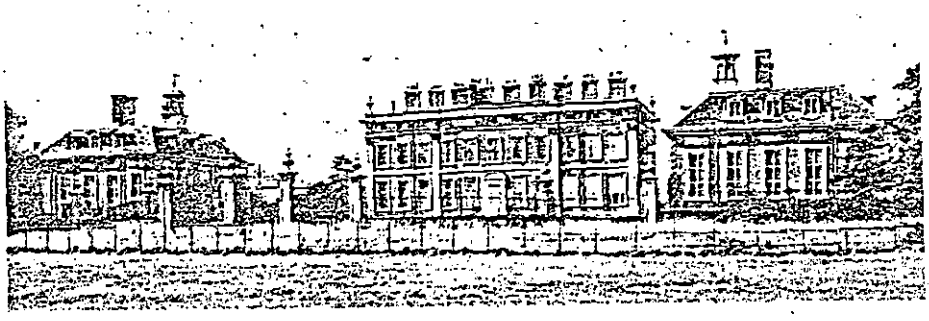
William Adam. Hopetoun House, Linlithgowshire

PLATE 115



( ) William Winde. Buckingham House, London, 1703–5 (destroyed 1825)

PLATE 116



Wotton House, Bucks, begun *c.* 1704

PLATE 117

: Duff House. The heavier and more dramatically composed façade by William Adam – father of the more famous Robert – is characteristic of his version of Classicism.

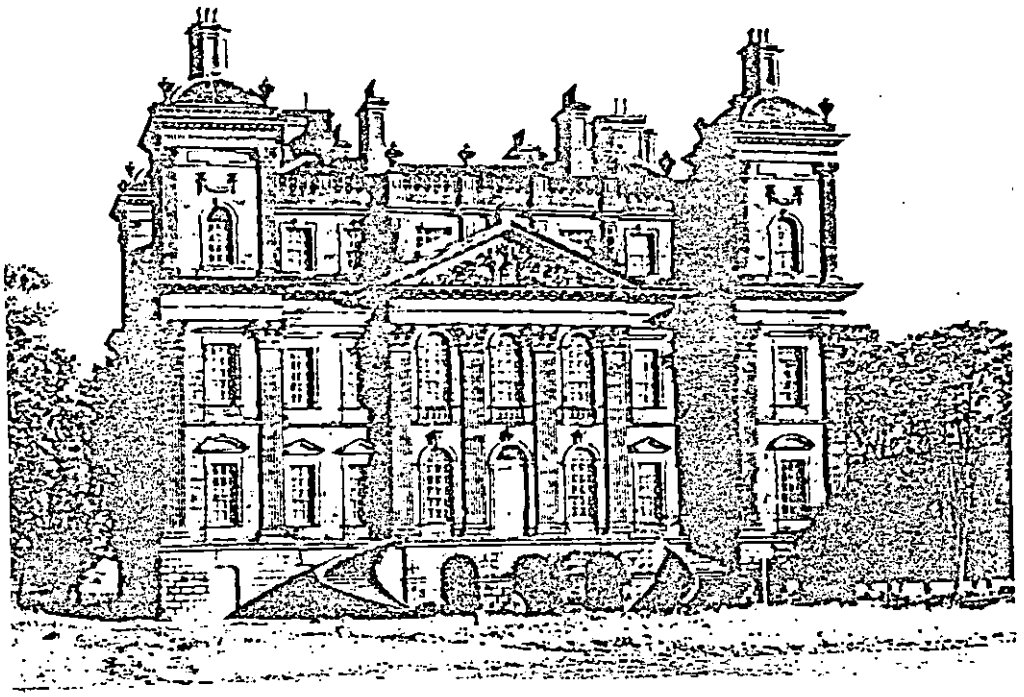
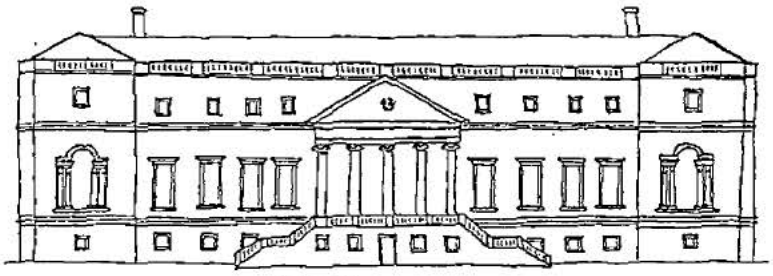
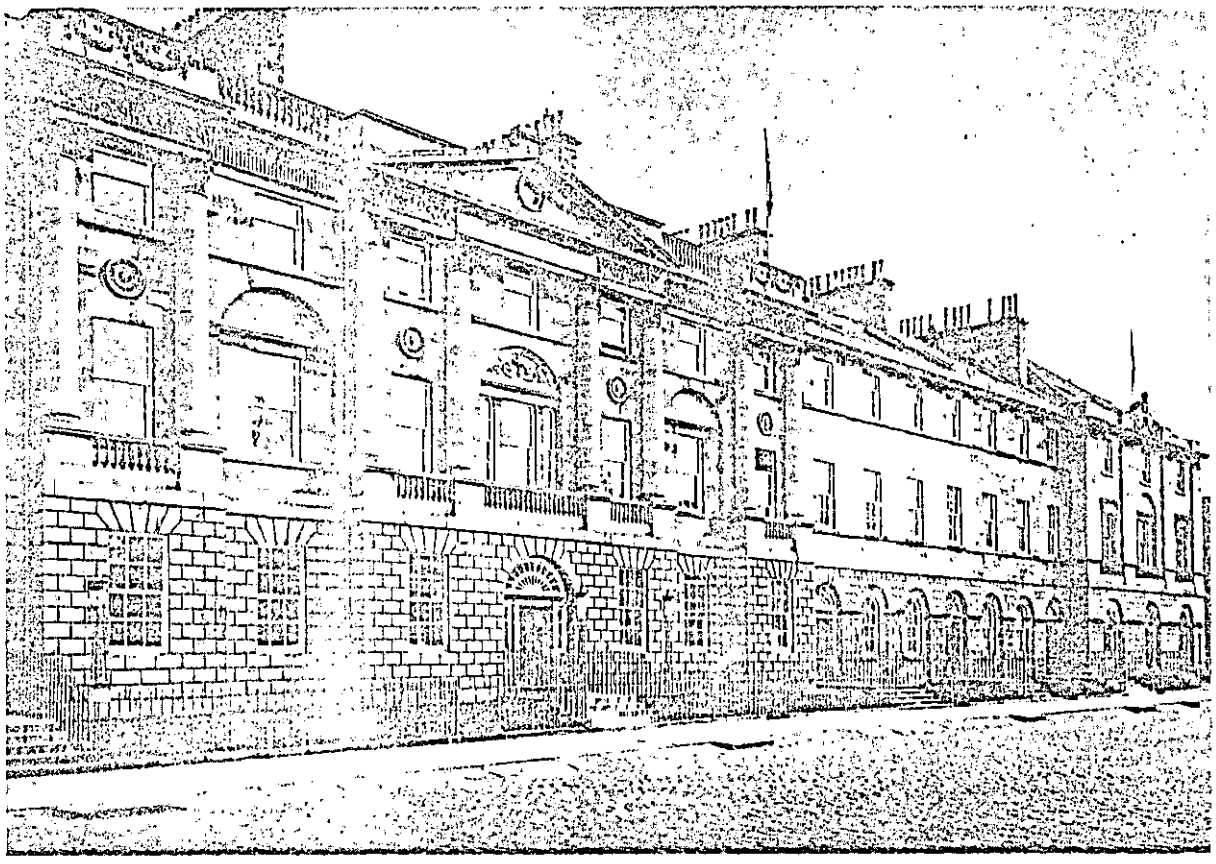


PLATE 118



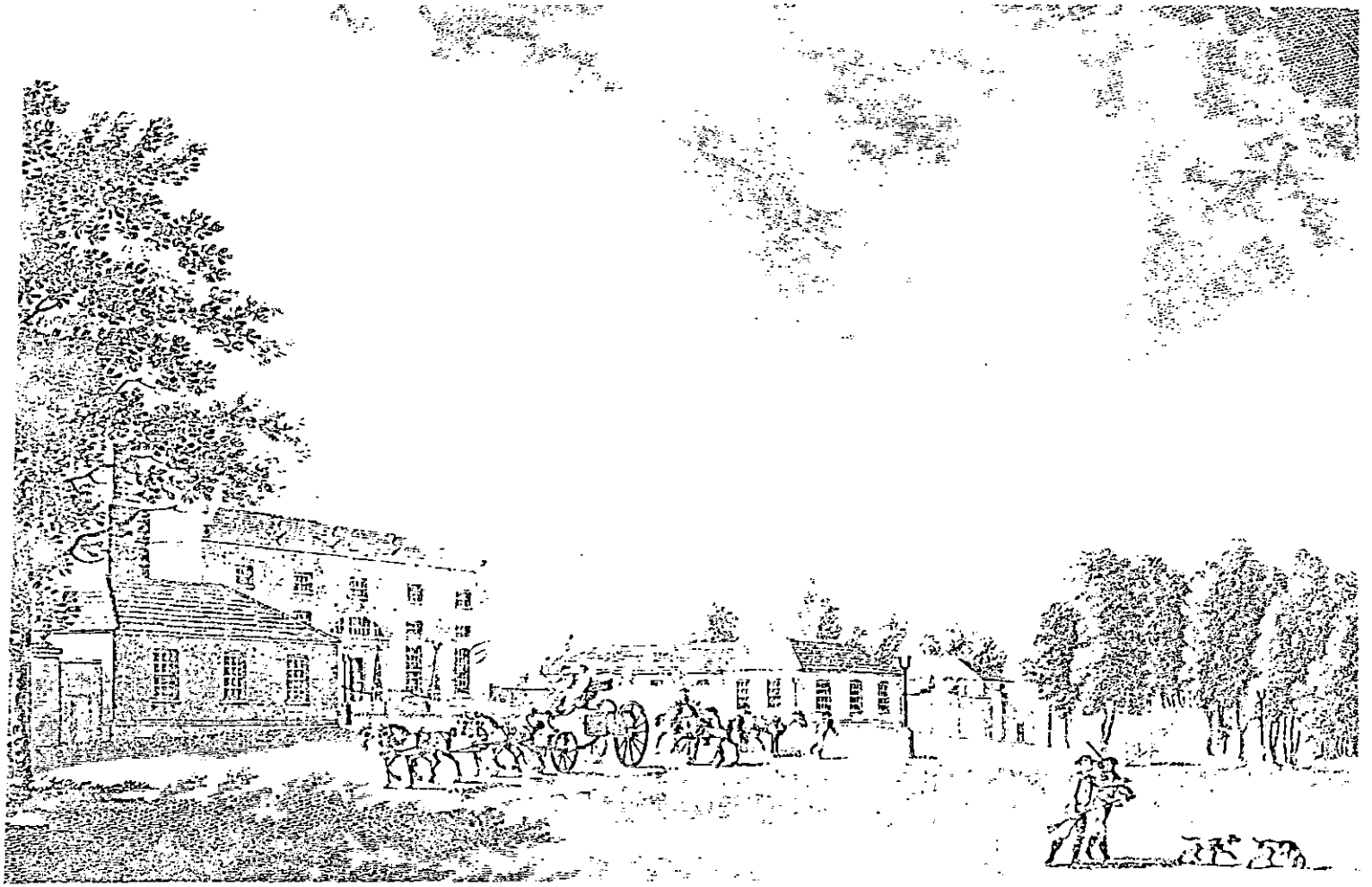
PENICUIK HOUSE

PLATE 119 Drawing by T.W. West



Robert Adam, Charlotte Square, New town, Edinburgh

PLATE 120

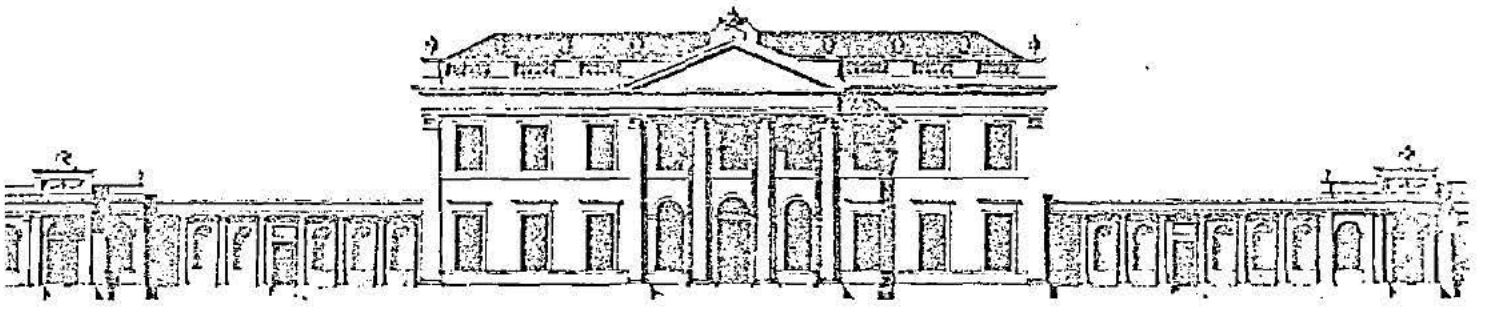


Phoenix Lodge, the house designed by Nathaniel Clements in 1751 as published by Thomas Milton in his Views of Seats, *1783*

PLATE 121

The garden front with its Ionic portico, added by Francis Johnston in 1815 residence for British Lord Lieutenant since 1782

PLATE 122



Castlecoole : Richard Johnston's elevation for the entrance front, on which Wyatt's design was based, and his drawing for the north-west front. Both signed and dated, Dublin 1789

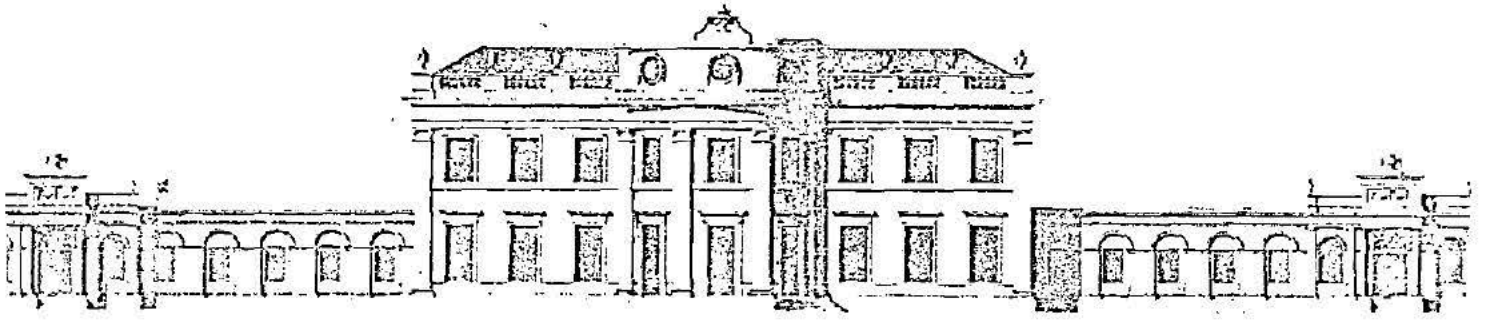


PLATE 123

PLATE 124 Beaulieu House of 1660.

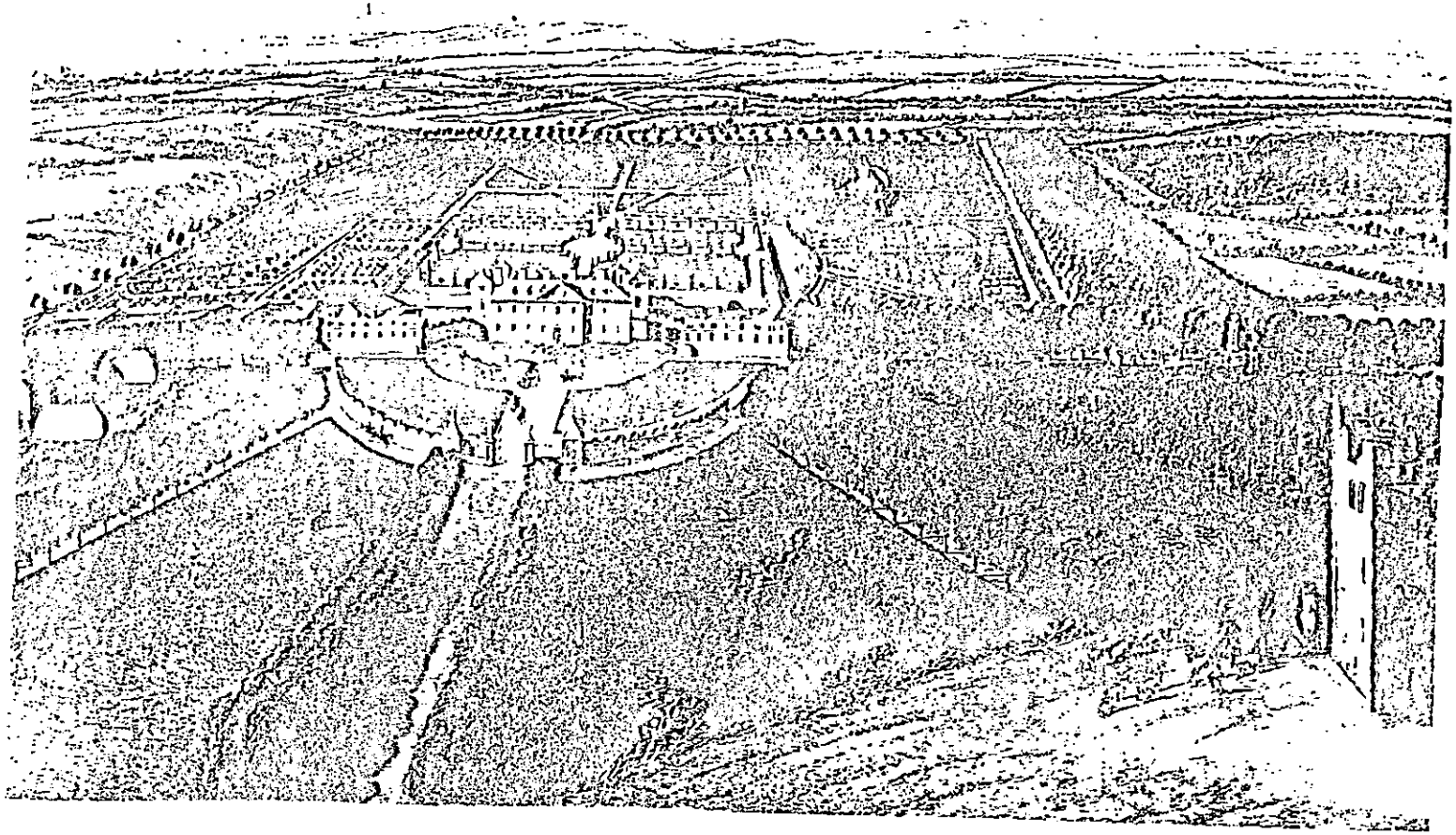


PLATE 125

'Carton before 1738', a painting by Van der Hagen that hangs in the front hall

Honington Hall, Warw, *c.* 1671
(photograph copyright *Country Life*)

PLATE 126

The south front, originally the entrance front. The curved sweeps that linked the house to the wings were removed in 1815, and extra rooms were added on either side of the central block

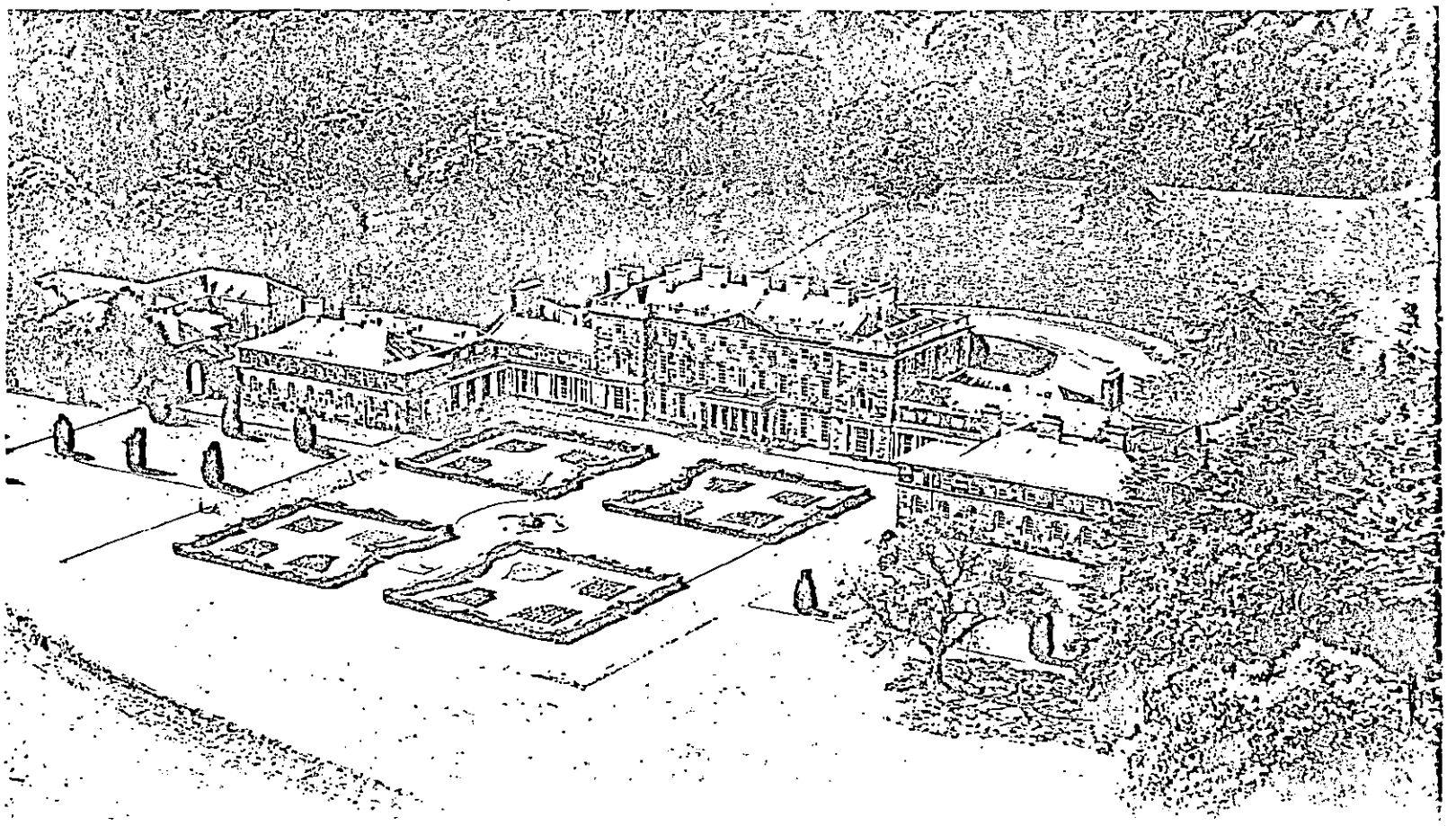
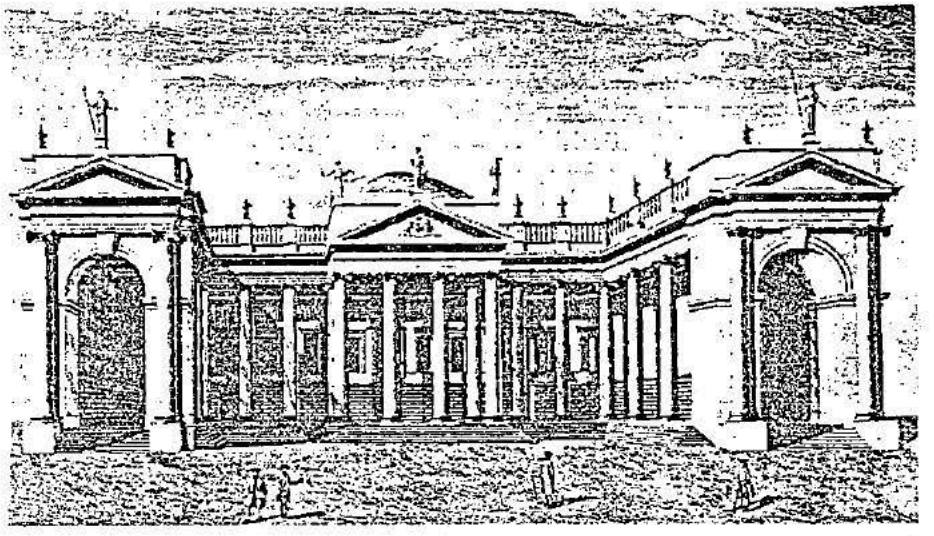


PLATE 127



Sir Edward Lovet Pearce: Dublin,
Parliament House (now Bank of Ireland), 1728–39

PLATE 128a

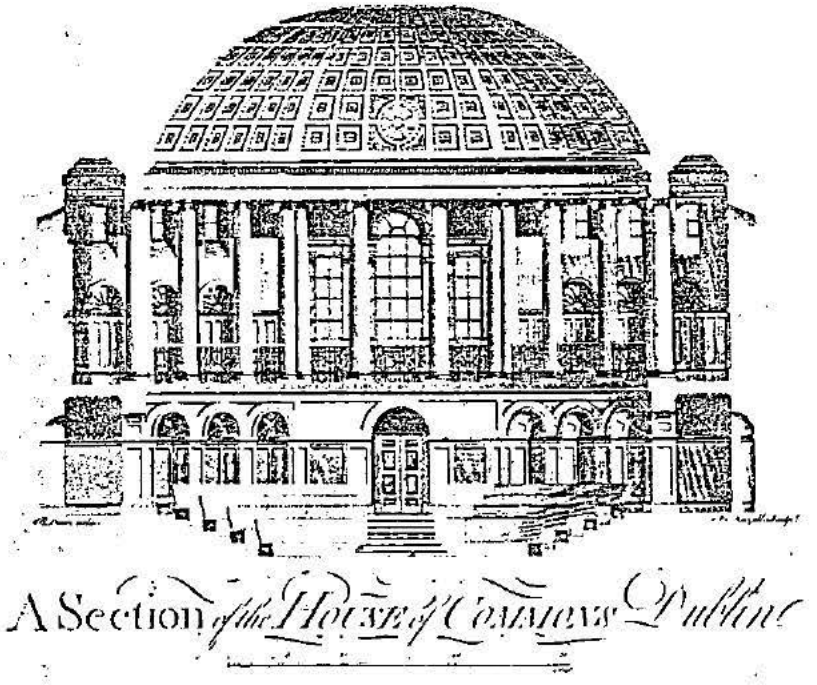
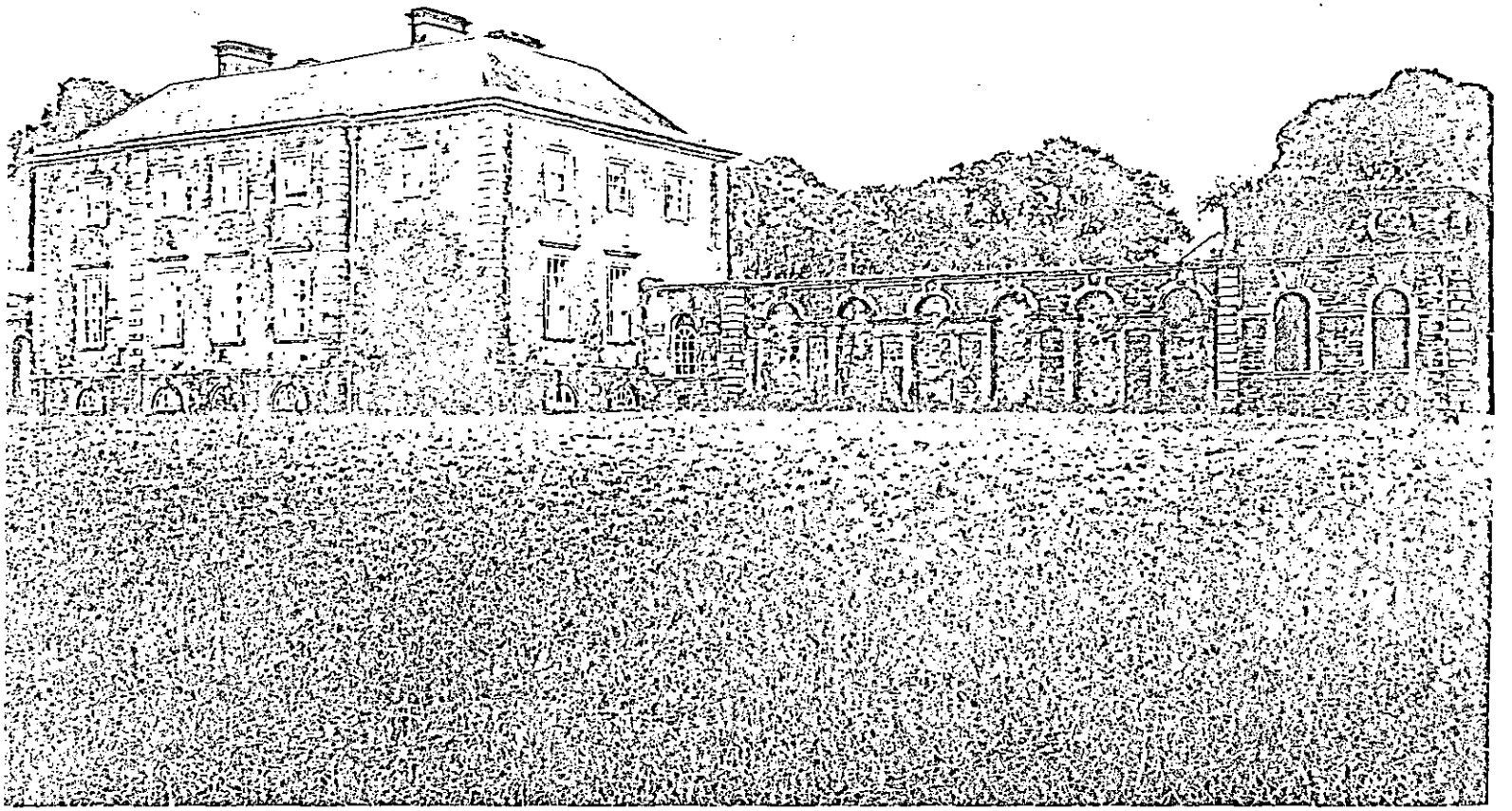


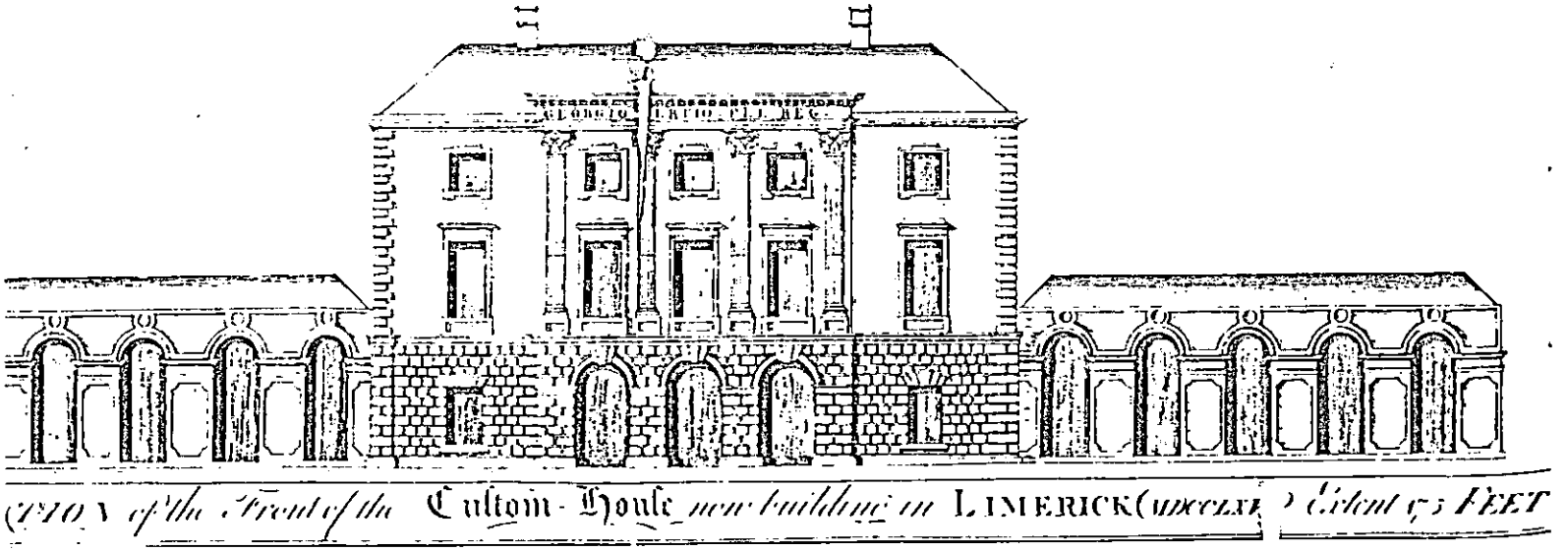
PLATE 128b



Kilshannig, Co. Cork, designed by Davis Ducart and built in 1765. The back of the house

PLATE 129

(Below) The Custom House, Limerick, also designed by Davis Ducart and built between 1765 and 1769



(A View of the Front of the Custom-House now building in LIMERICK (...) Extent 95 FEET

PLATE 130

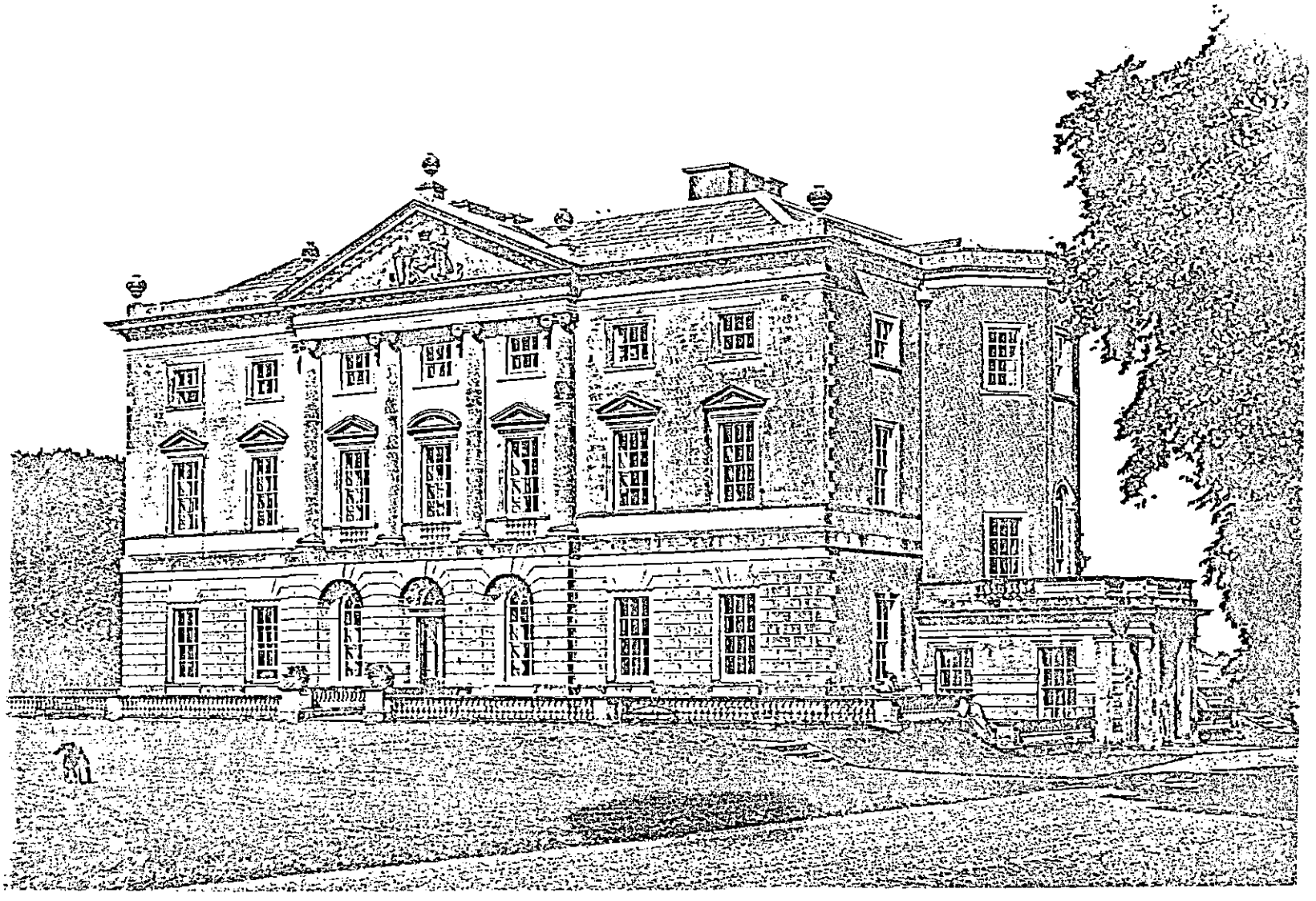


PLATE 131 Castleward of 1770.

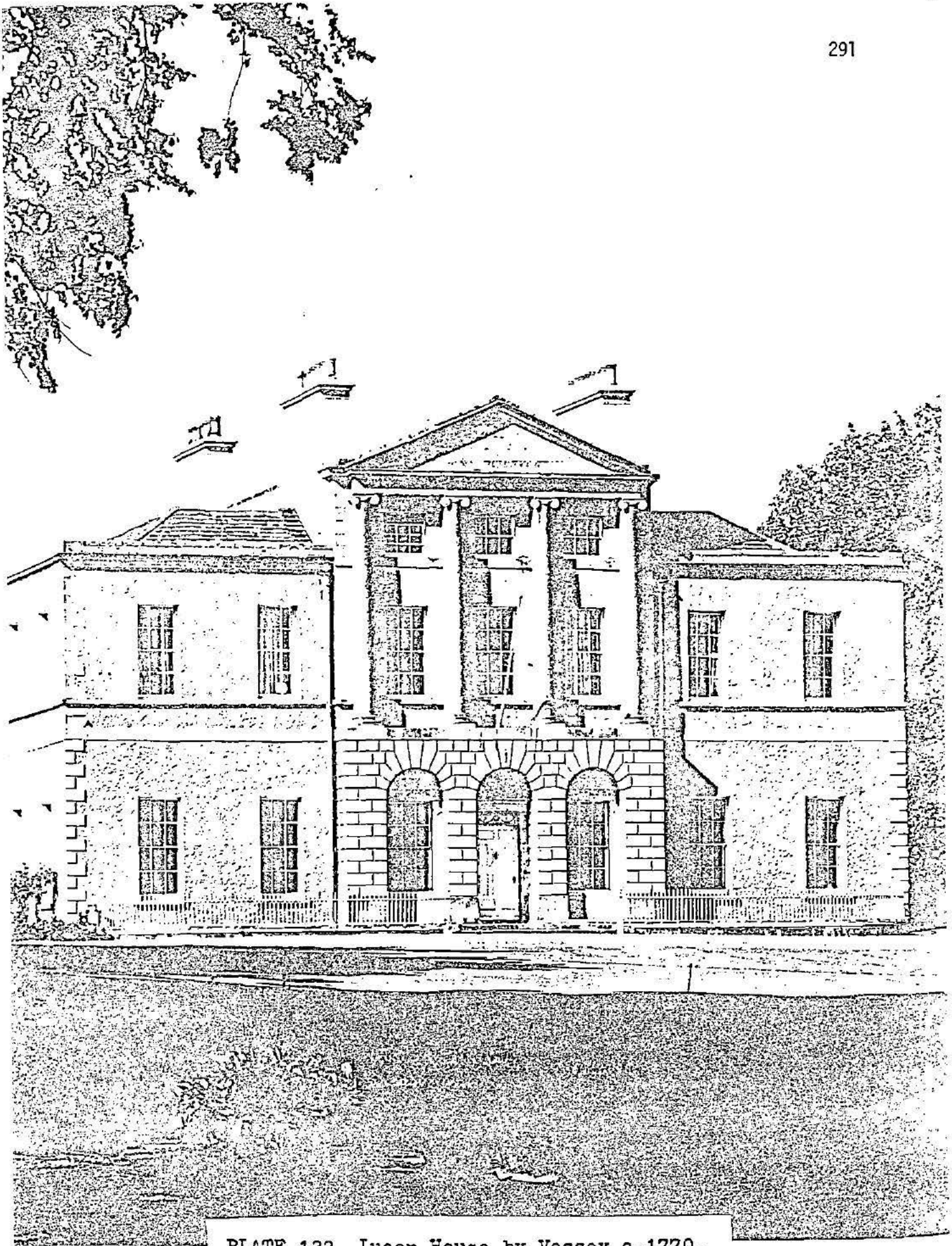
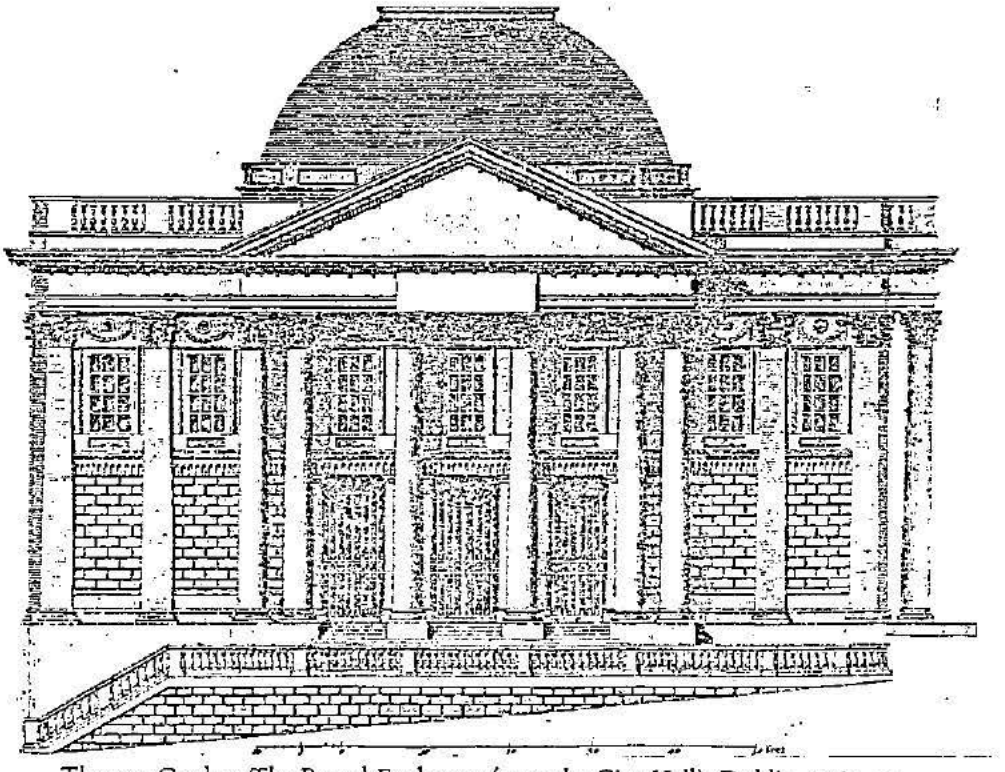
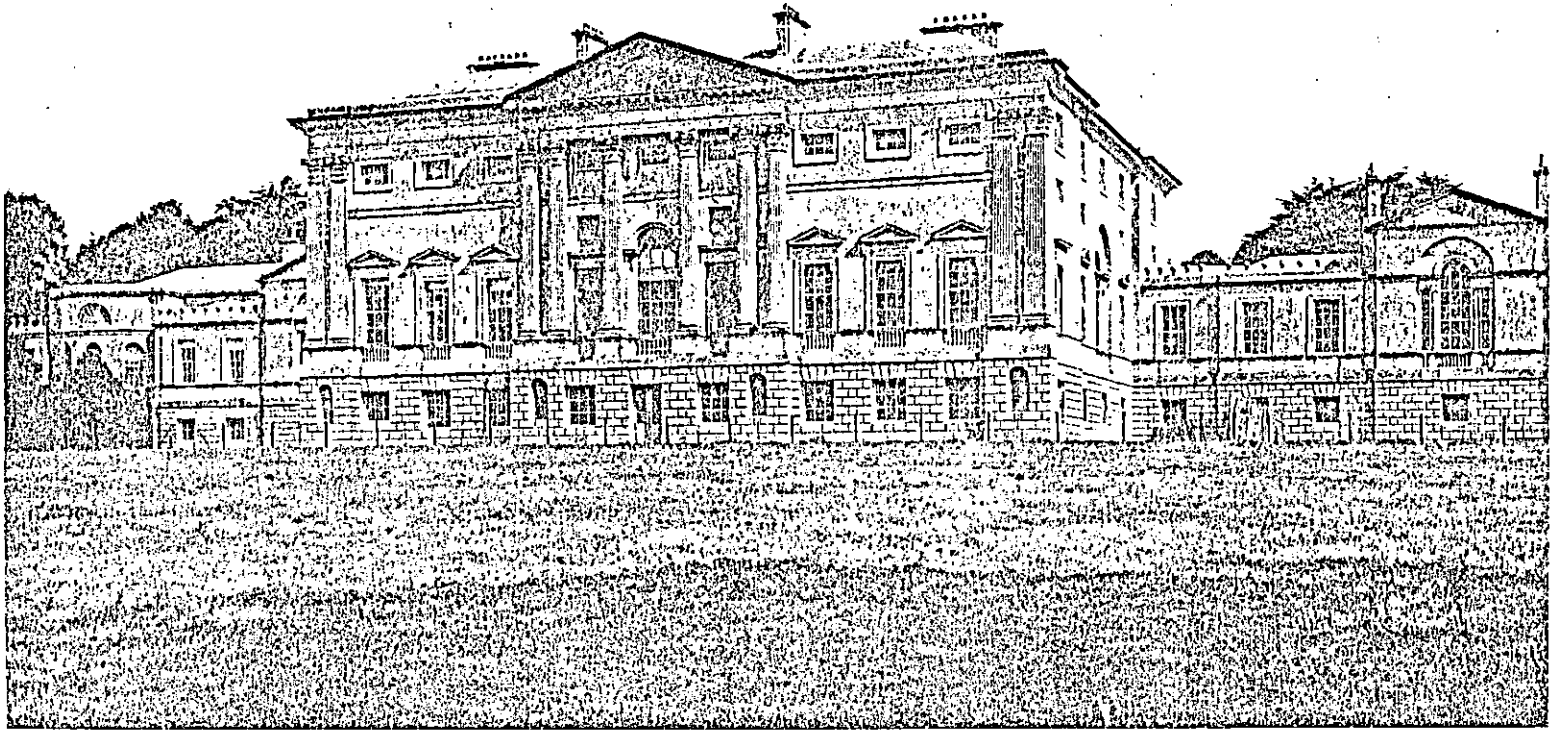


PLATE 132 Lucan House by Vessey c.1770.



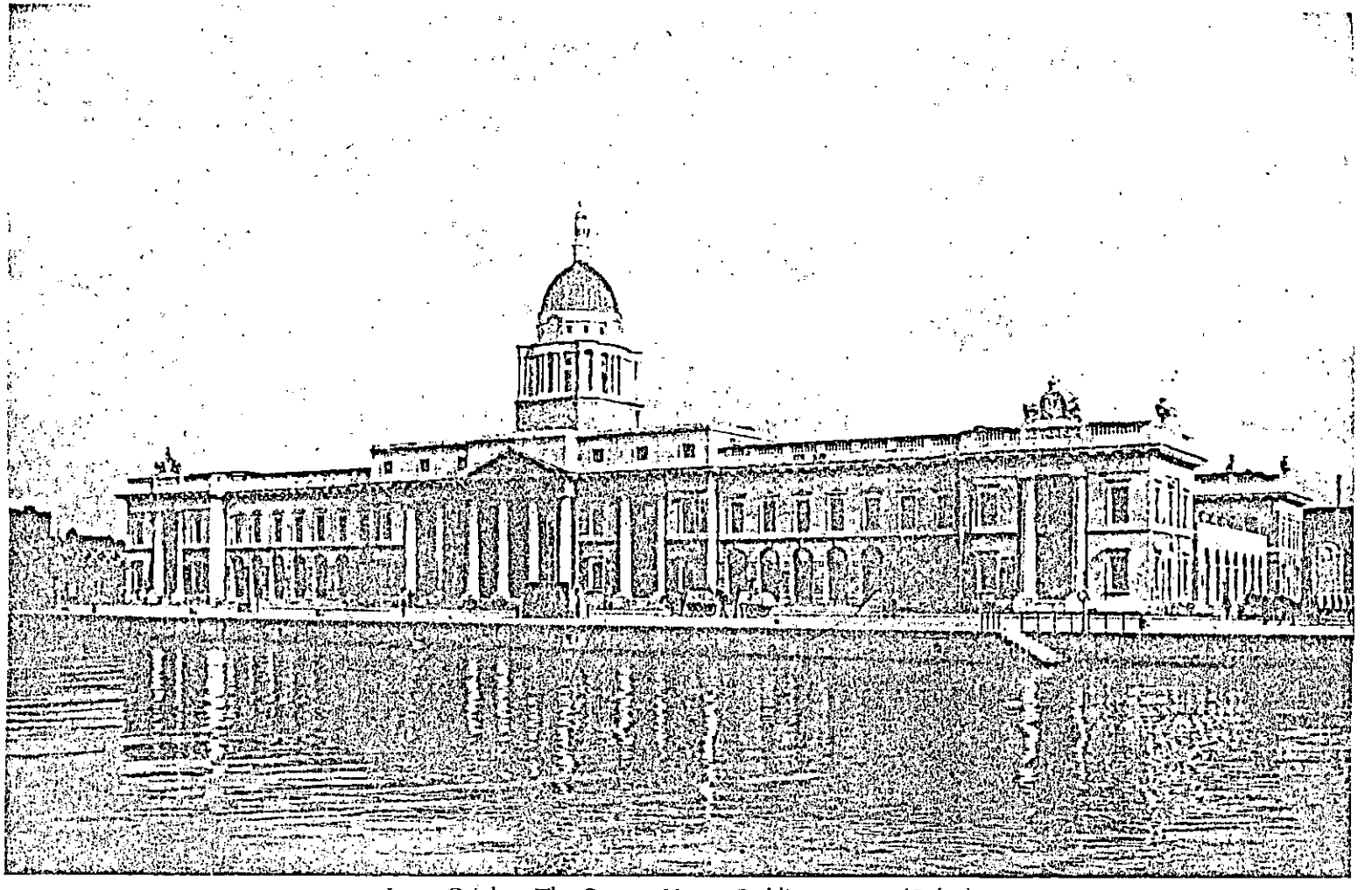
Thomas Cooley. The Royal Exchange (now the City Hall), Dublin, 1769–79

PLATE 133



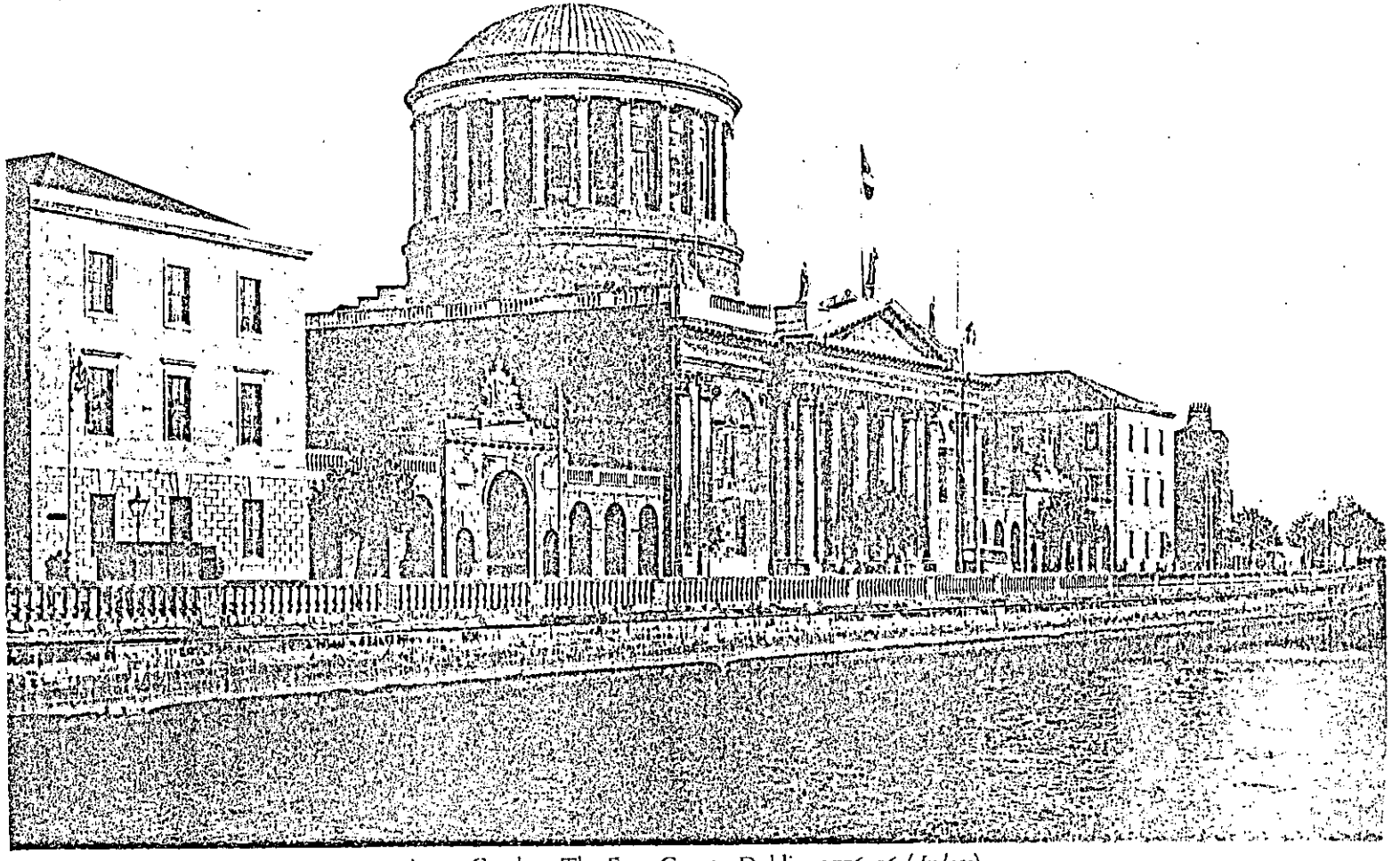
James Paine. Wardour Castle, Wilts., 1770–6 (*Copyright Country Life*)

PLATE 134



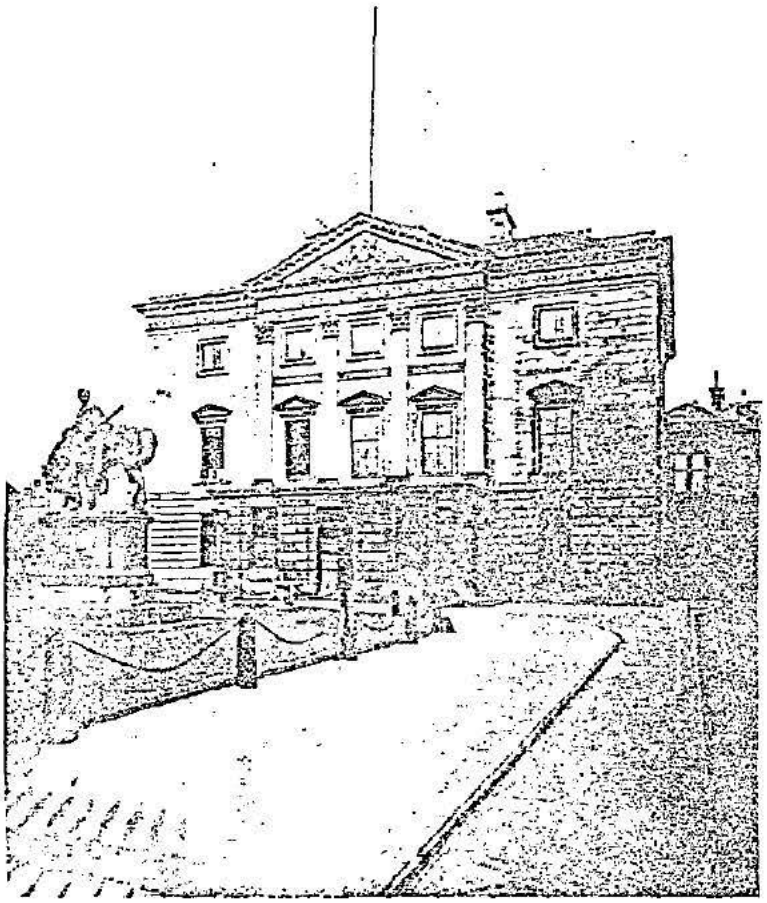
James Gandon. The Custom House, Dublin, 1781–91 (*Judges*)

PLATE 135



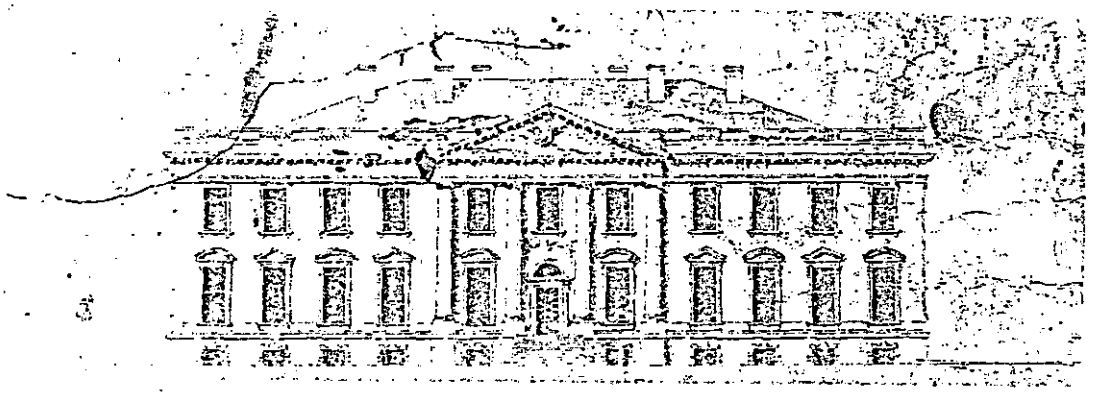
James Gandon. The Four Courts, Dublin, 1776–96 (*Judges*)

PLATE 136



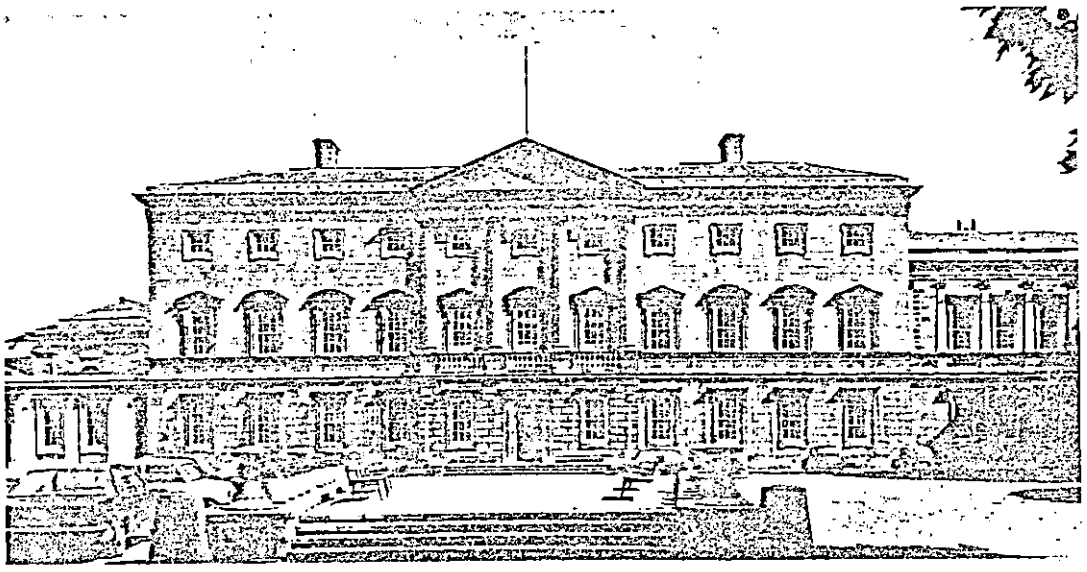
FRONT VIEW OF HEAD OFFICE, EDINBURGH
Formerly the Mansion-house of Sir Lawrence Dundas

PLATE 137



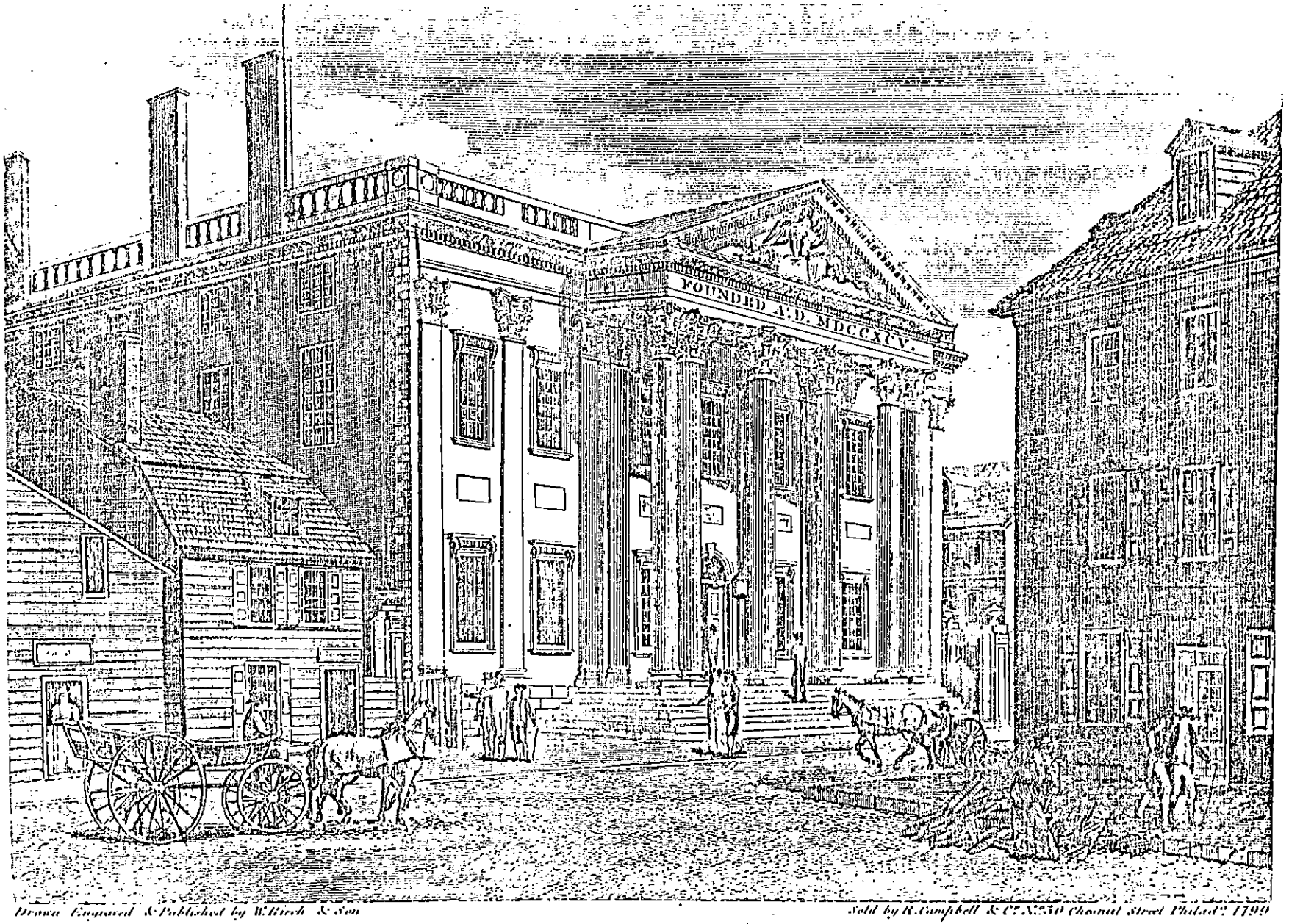
James Hoban. Design for an elevation of the White House, Washington, D.C. 1792. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

PLATE 138



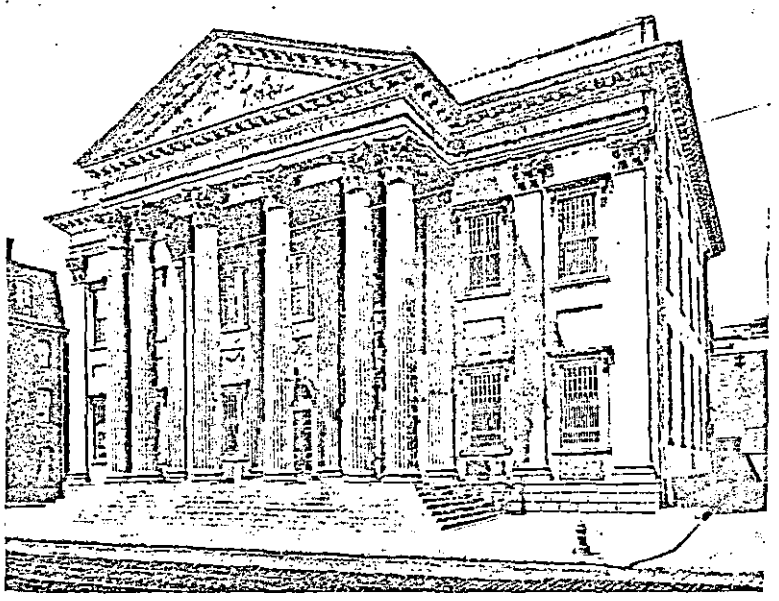
Leinster House, Dublin, Ireland. 1779

PLATE 139



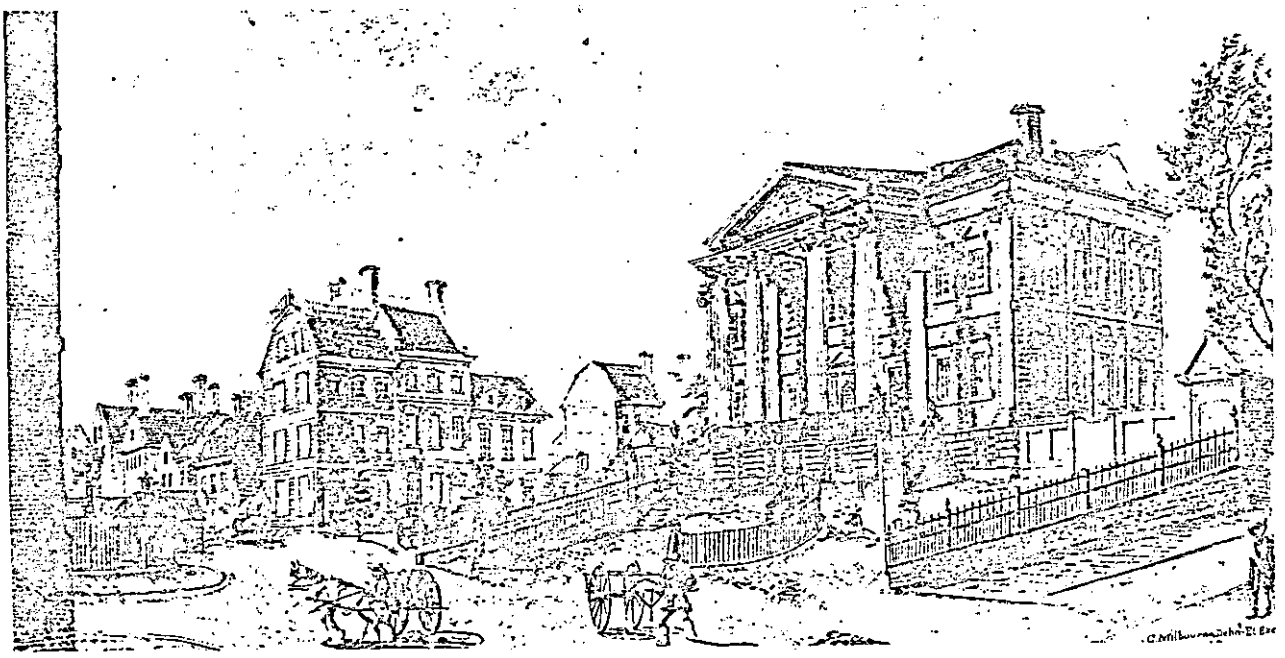
BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, in Third Street PHILADELPHIA.

PLATE 140a



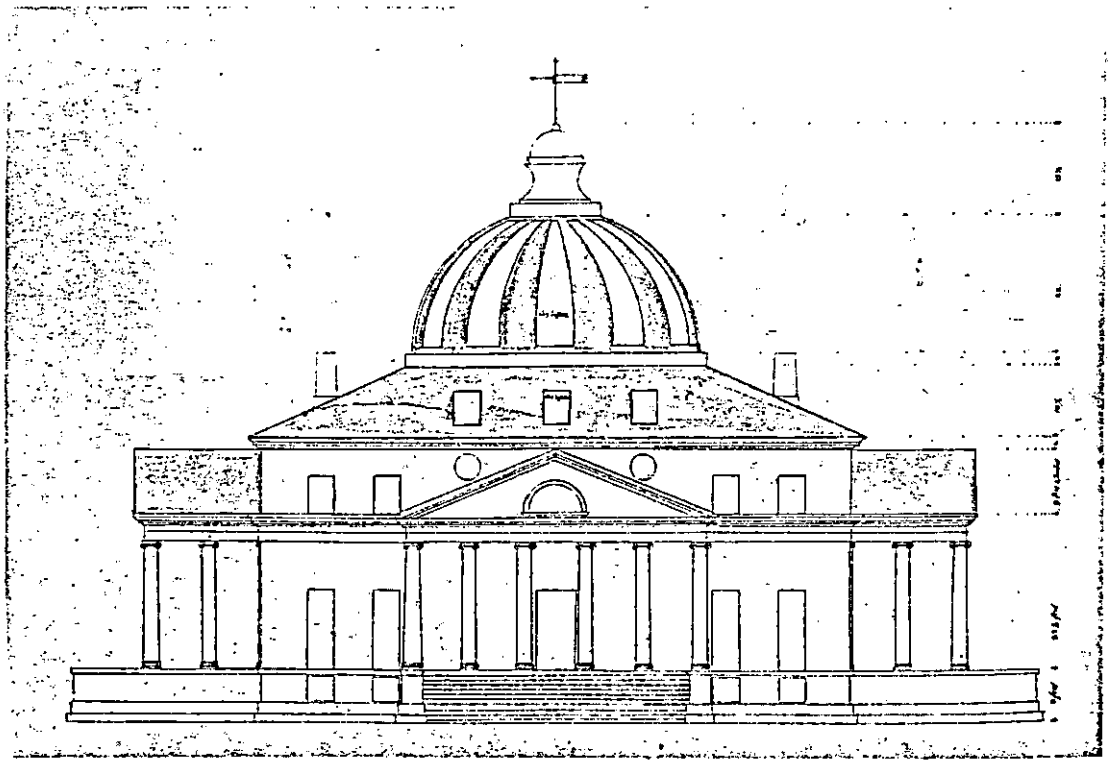
— Old Stock Exchange, Walnut and Dock Streets
Girard National Bank, 116 South Third Street.

PLATE 140b



John McComb (1763–1853)
GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *New York, N. Y., 1790*
(watercolor by Cotton Milbourne)
Photograph courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.

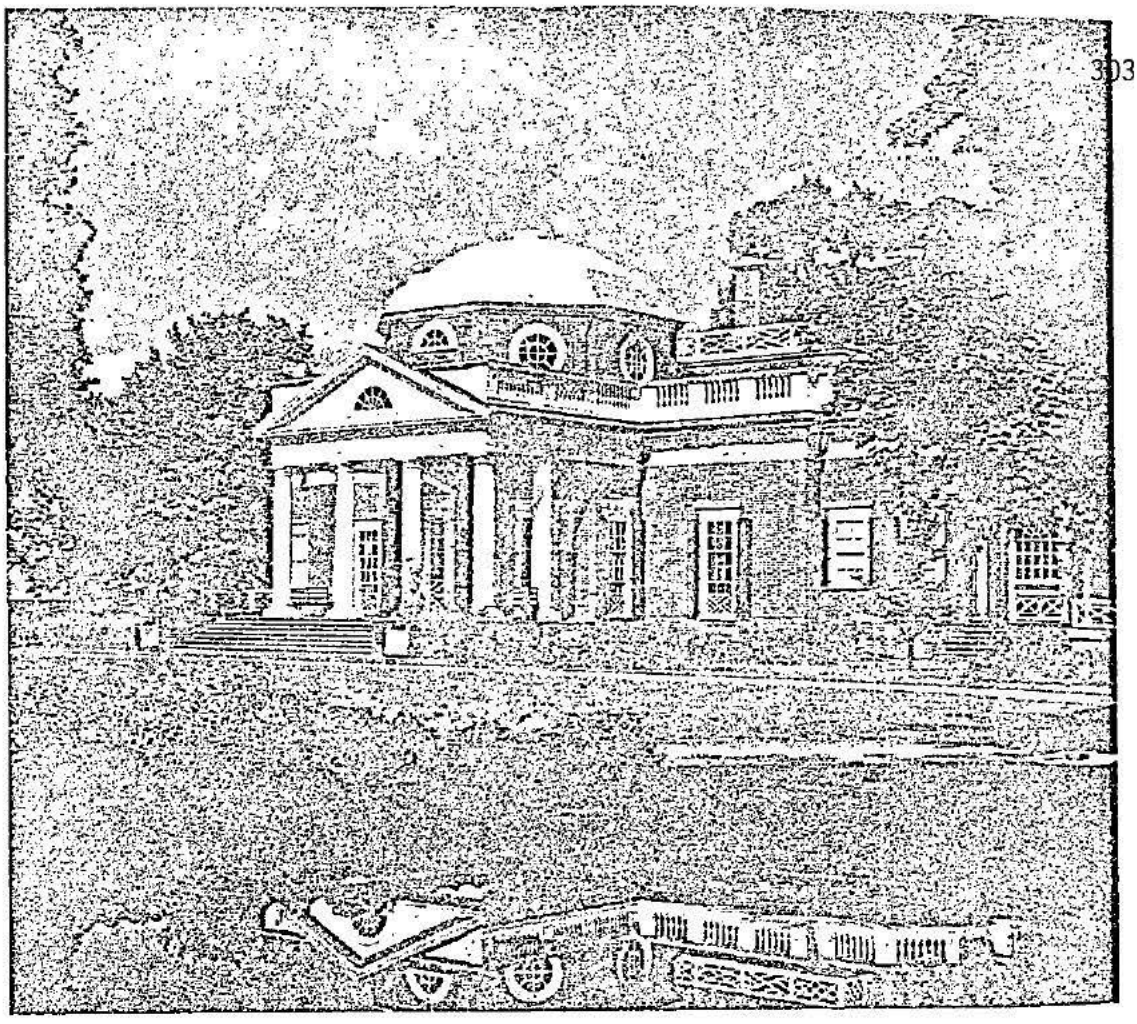
PLATE 140c An interesting feature of the First Bank of the United States Building, was its close resemblance to McComb's Government House, which was built as the first residence of the President of the Republic, though never occupied because the capital was moved.



Thomas Jefferson. Design for the President's House competition. 1792. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

PLATE 141

Jefferson's design was a direct copy of Palladio's 'Rotonda' at Vicenza (plates 41c, 82). It is interesting to compare Jefferson's 'American' version of the villa at Vicenza, to the earlier 'English' interpretation by Colen Campbell at Mereworth (plate 81).



MONTICELLO, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Home of Thomas Jefferson. Originally built c.1773–c.1779, remodeled over the years 1796–1809.

(A) Garden façade, present appearance.

(B) Elevation of the central pavilion (left), *compared with its probable inspiration, "Elevation of a Garden House," Pl. 43 of Robert Morris,* Select Architecture, *1755* (right).

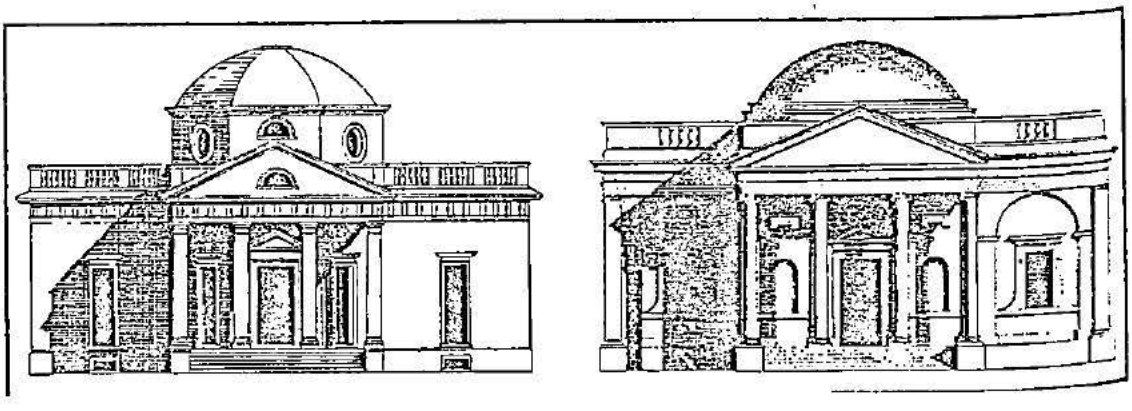


PLATE 142

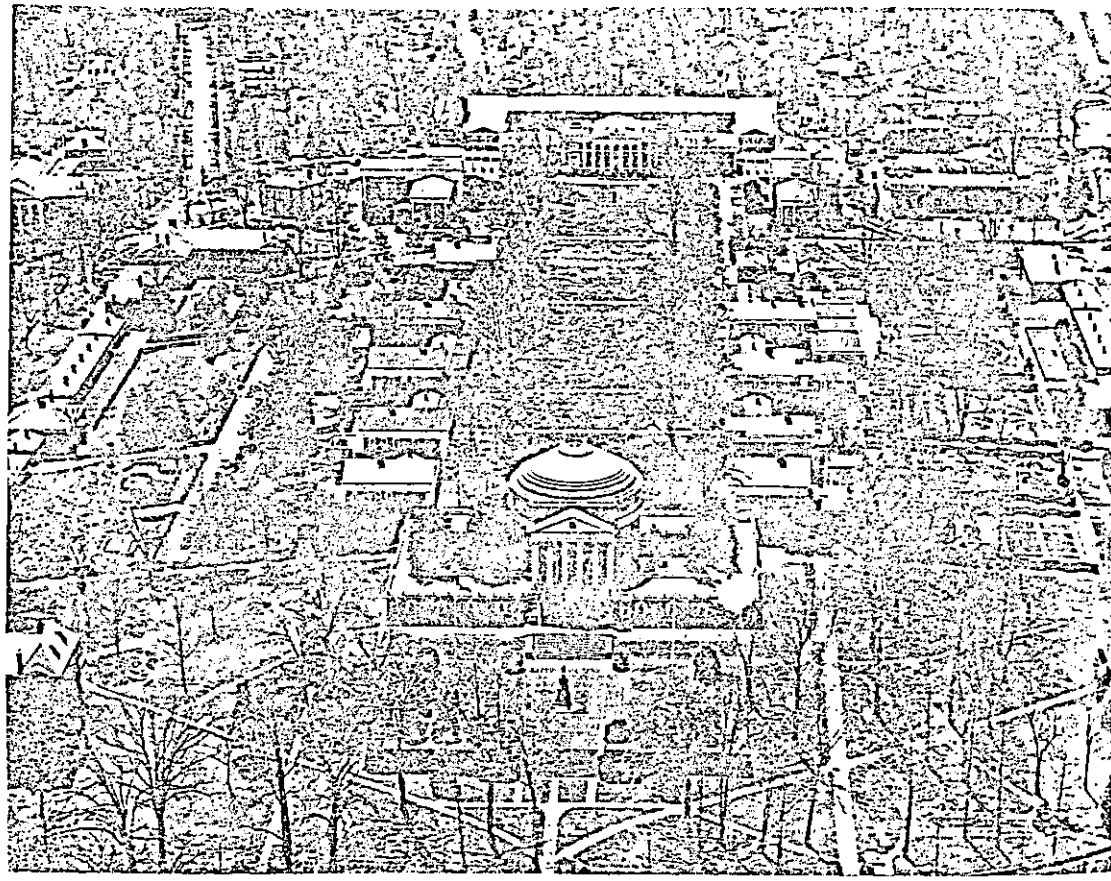
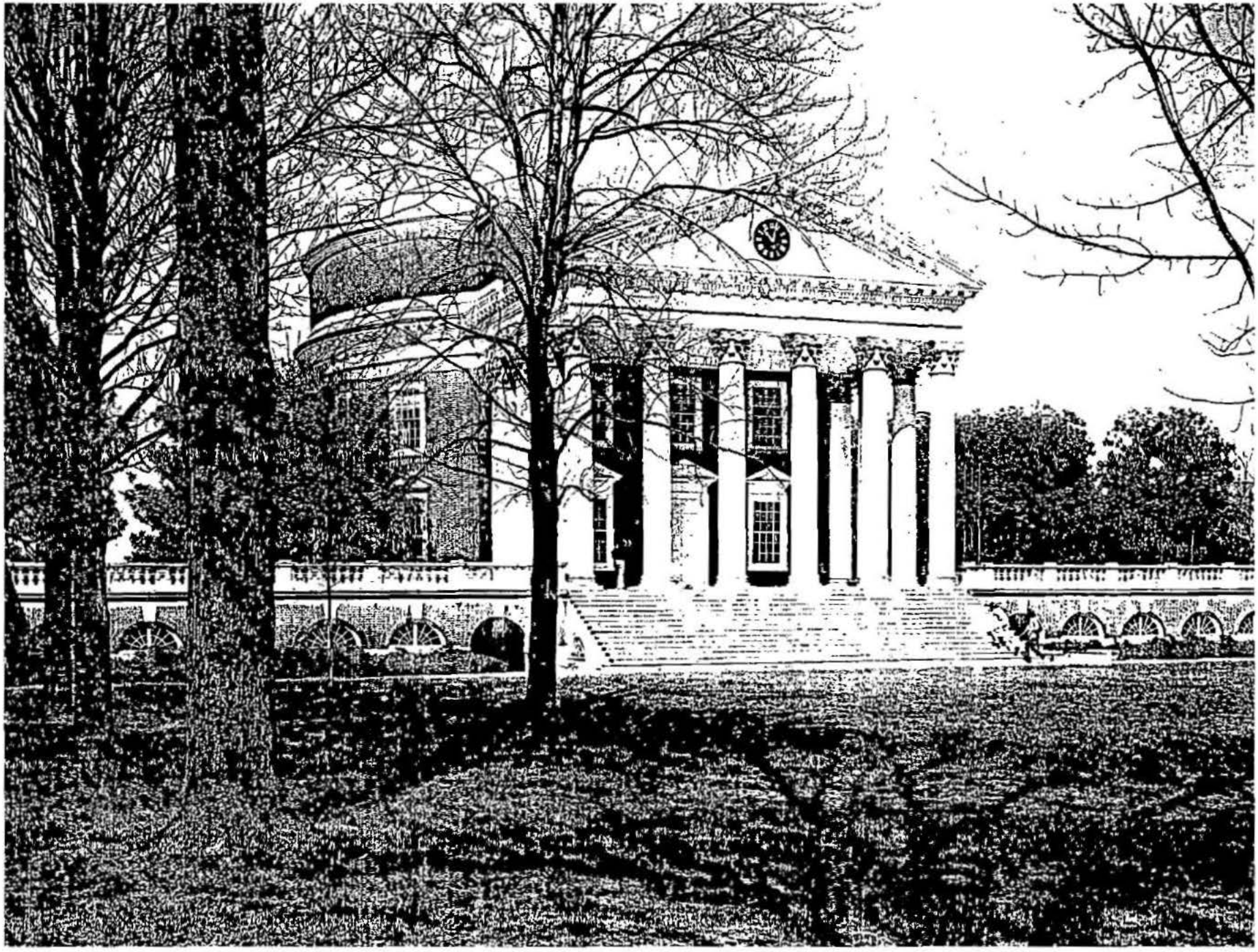


PLATE 143 The University of Virginia campus by Thomas Jefferson.



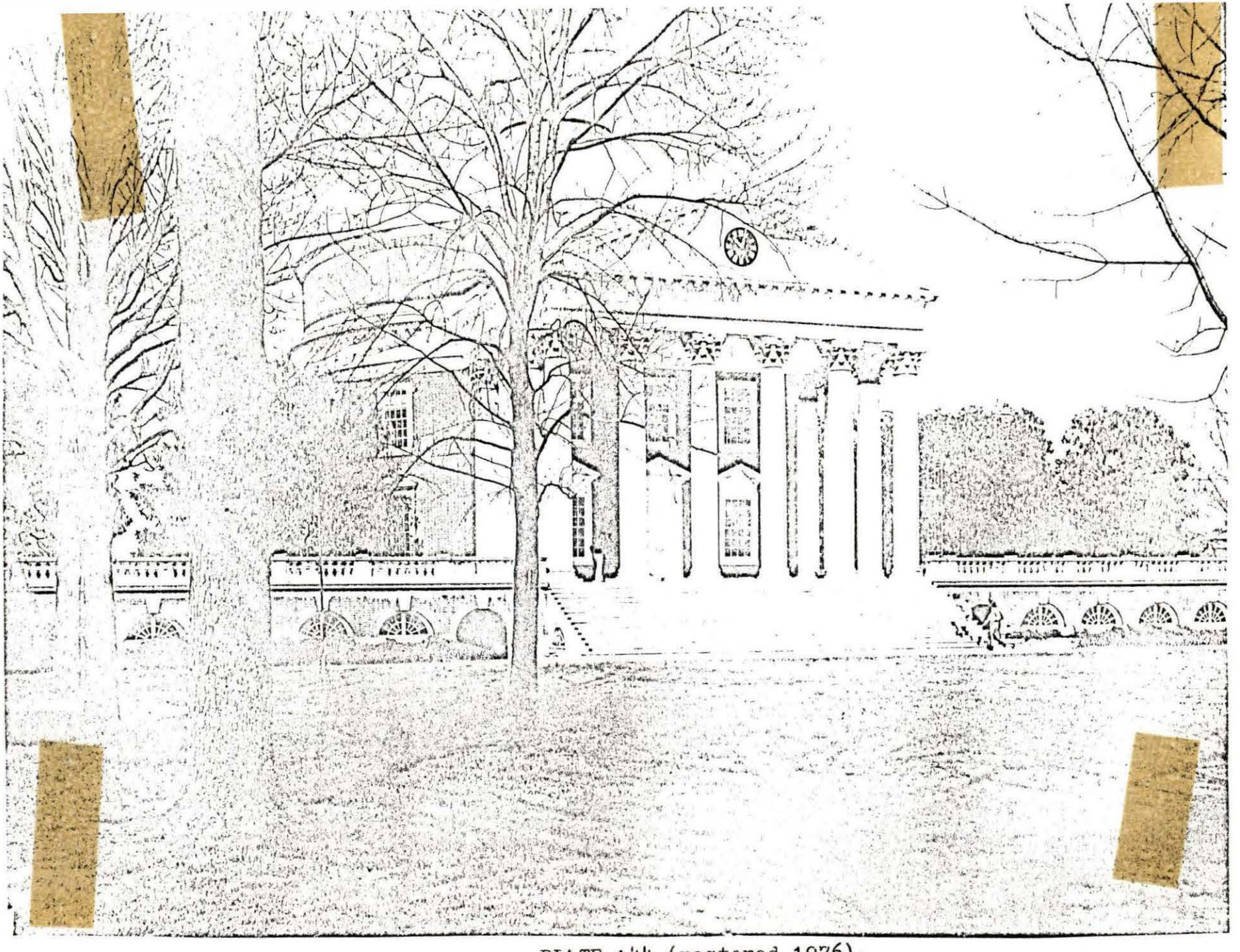


PLATE 144 (restored 1976).

141. Benjamin Latrobe: Philadelphia, U.S.A., Bank of Philadelphia, 1798–9 (demolished)

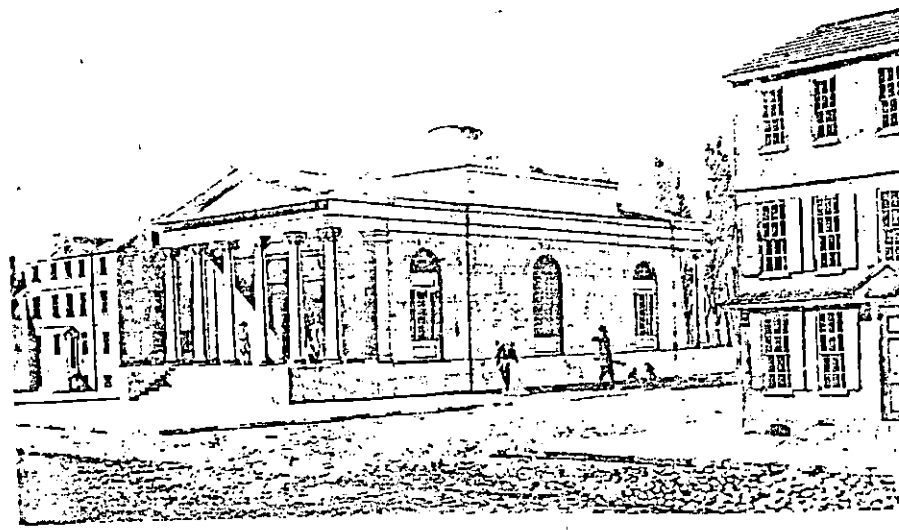
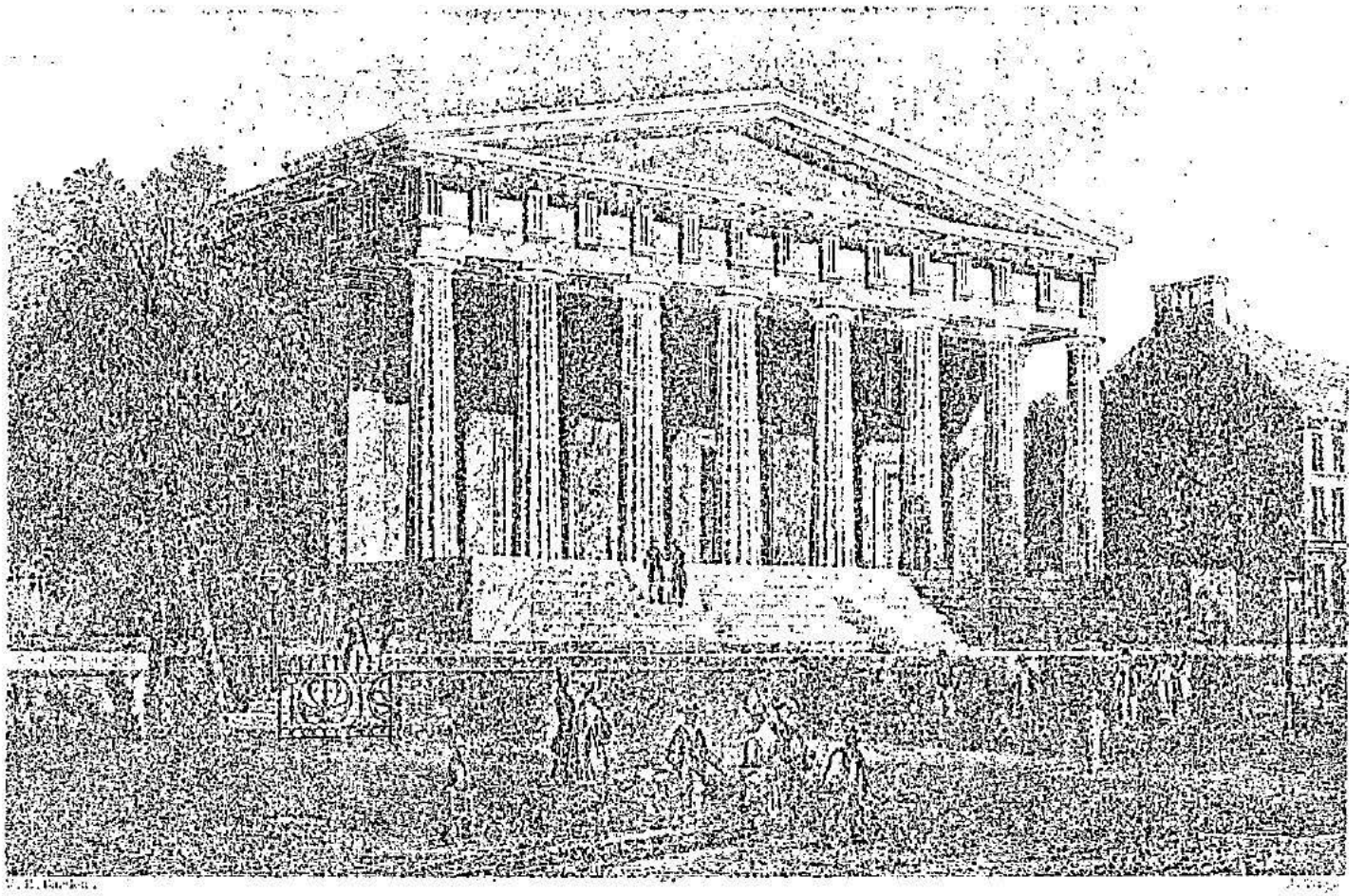
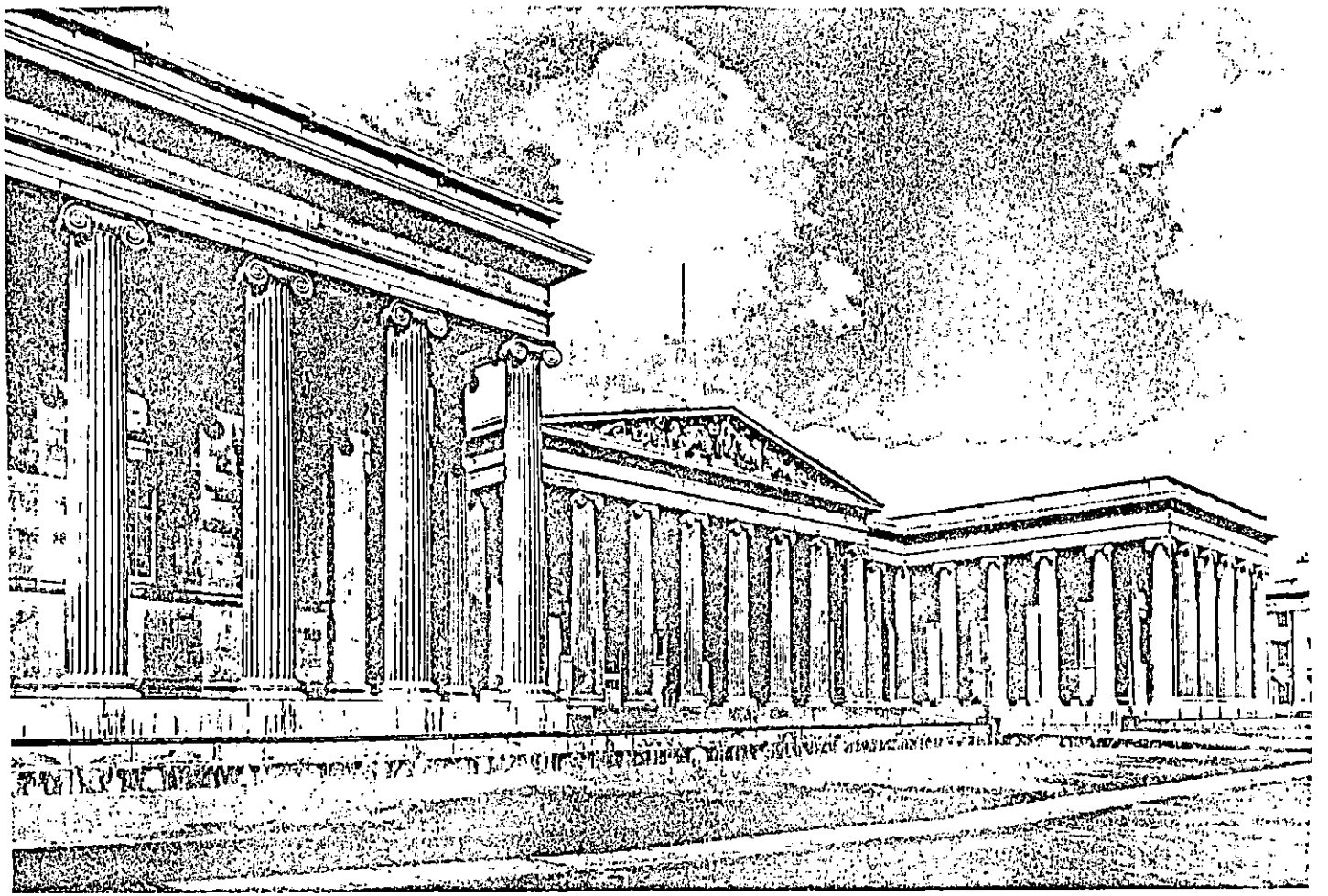


PLATE 145 The Bank of Philadelphia Building, by Benjamin Latrobe.



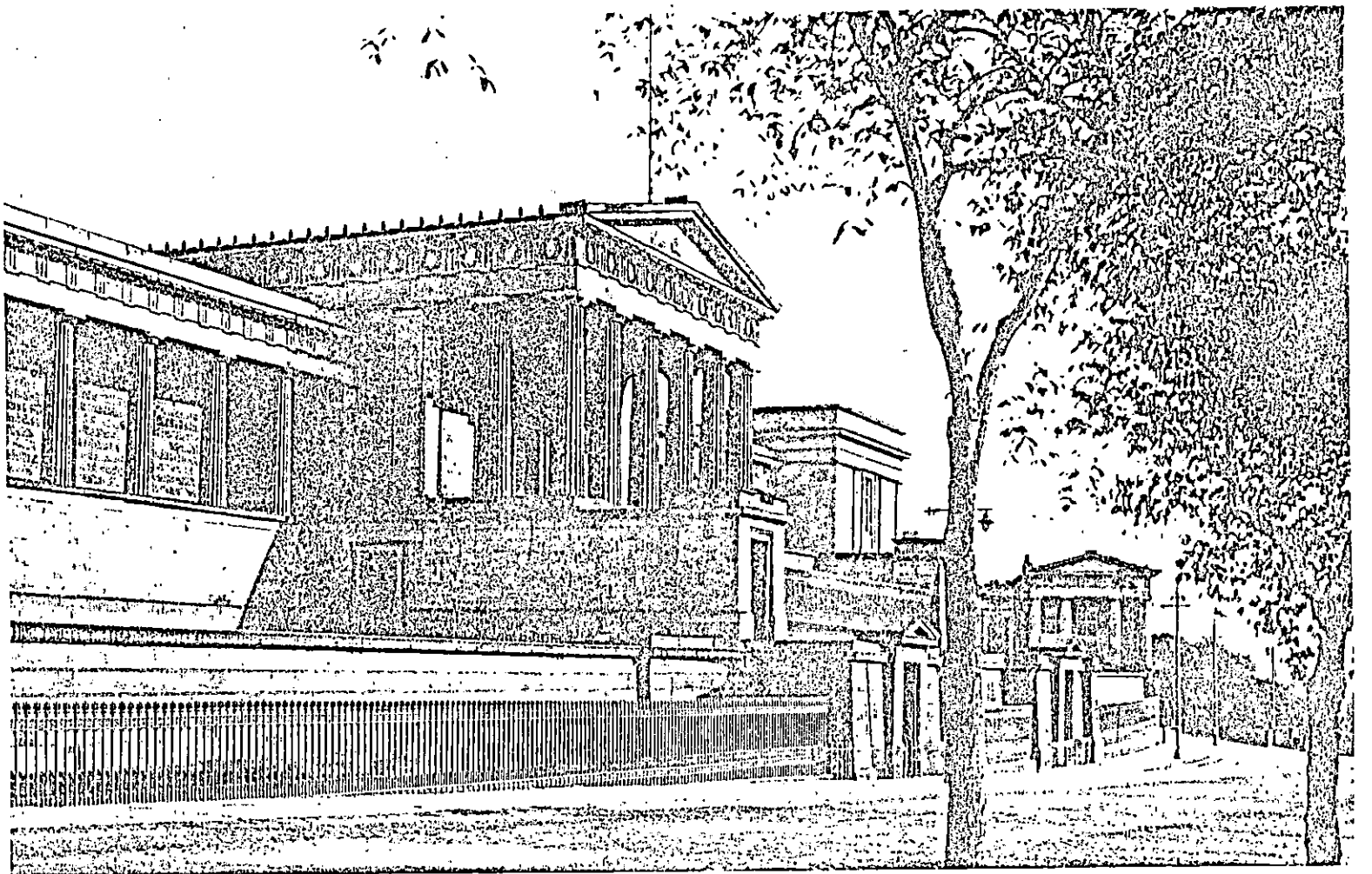
THE UNITED STATES BANK, PHILADELPHIA.

PLATE 146



Sir Robert Smirke: London, British Museum, south front, completed 1847

PLATE 147



Thomas Hamilton. The High School, Edinburgh, begun 1825

PLATE 148

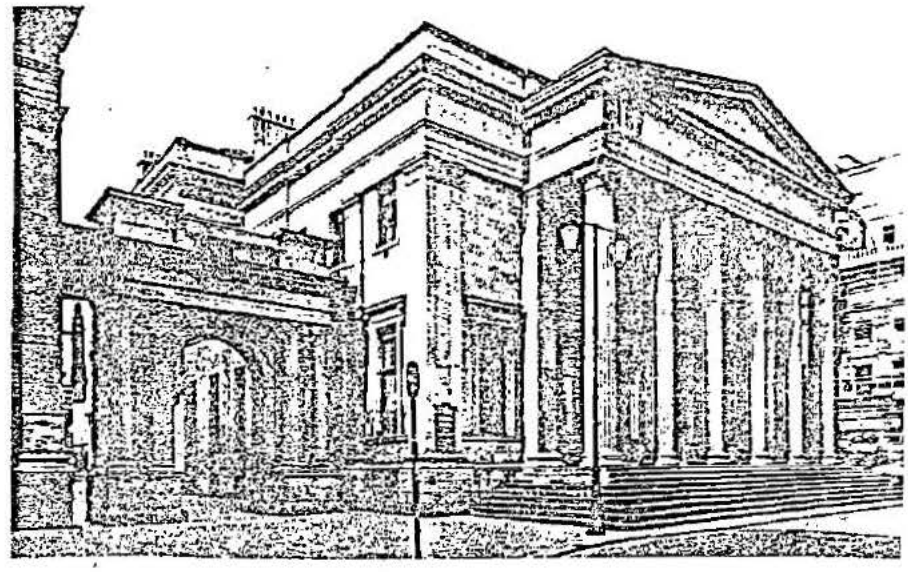


PLATE 149 The Royal Bank of Scotland Building, in Glasgow, of 1827, by Archibald Elliott, junior.

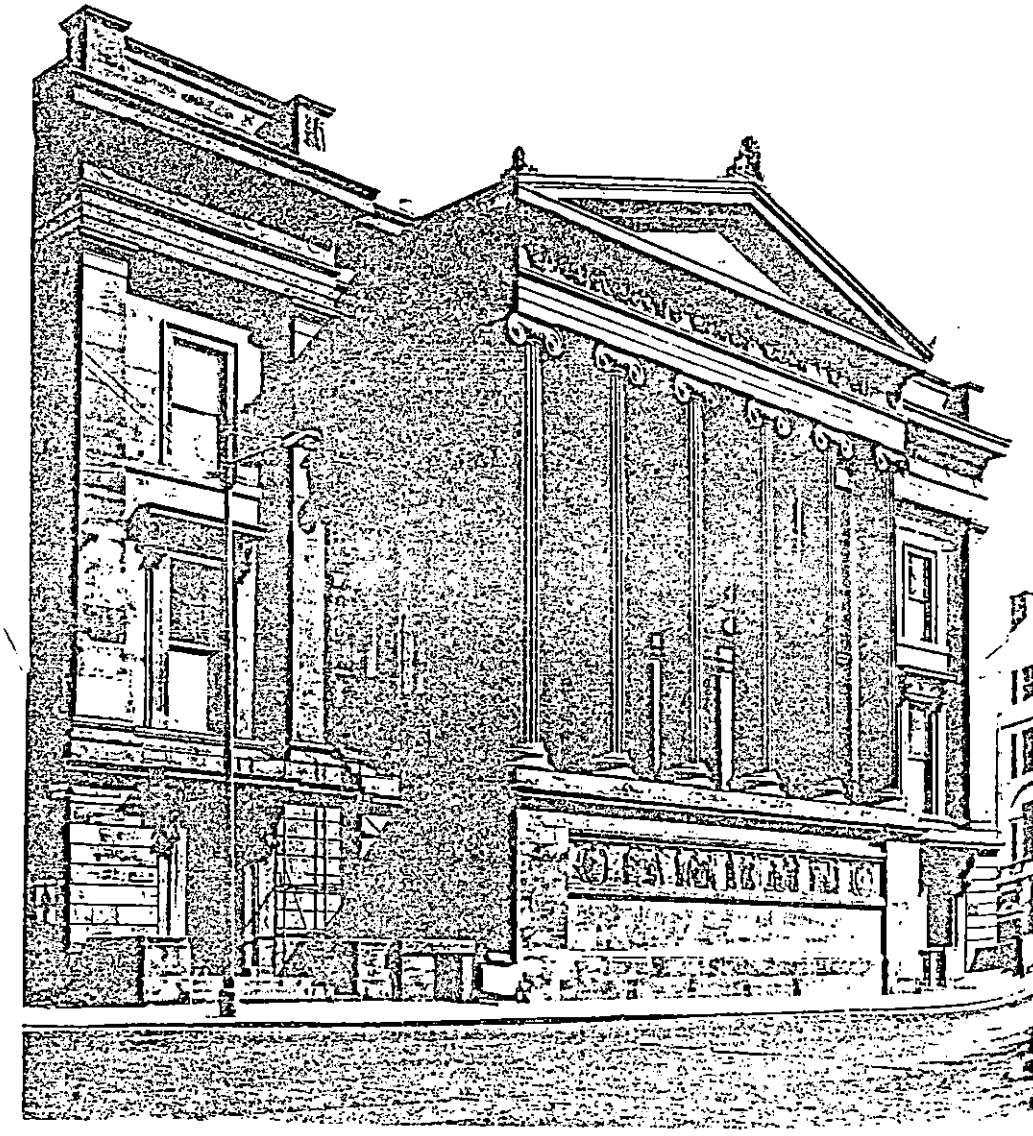
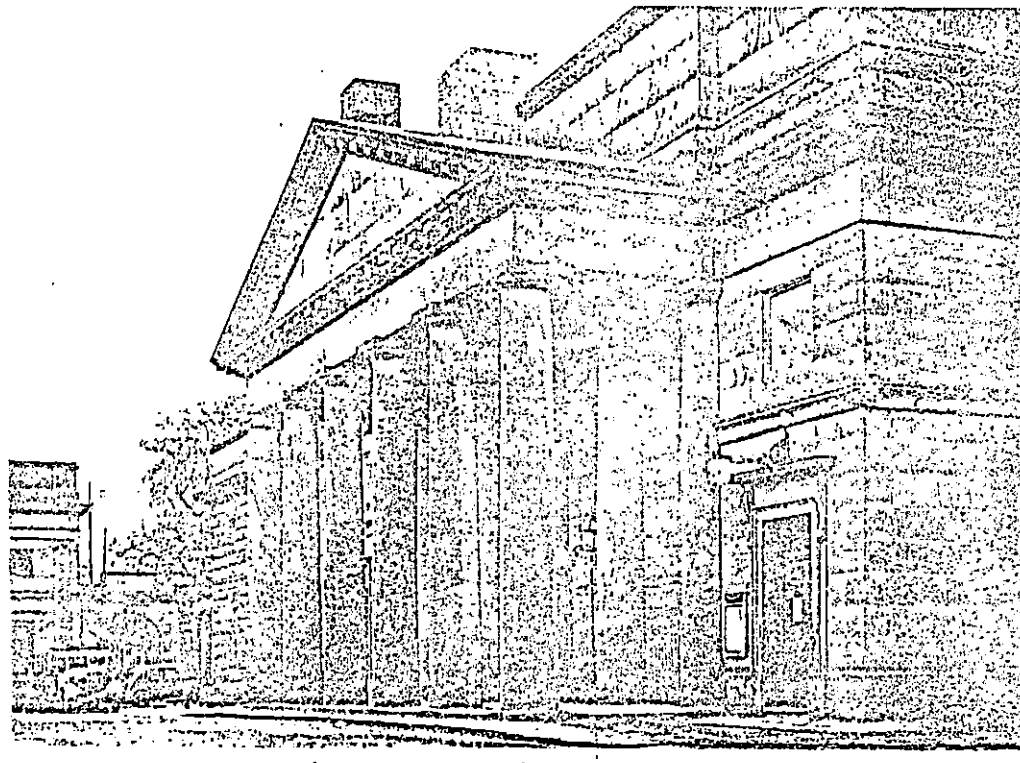
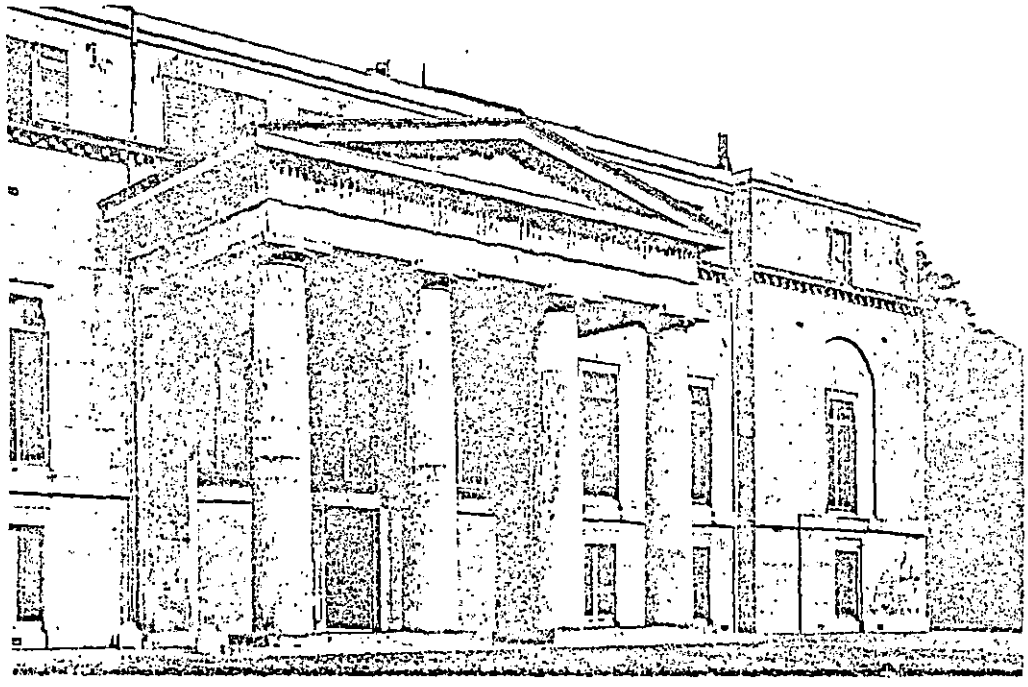


PLATE 150 The City and County Buildings, Wilson Street of 1842, in Glasgow, by Clark and Bell.



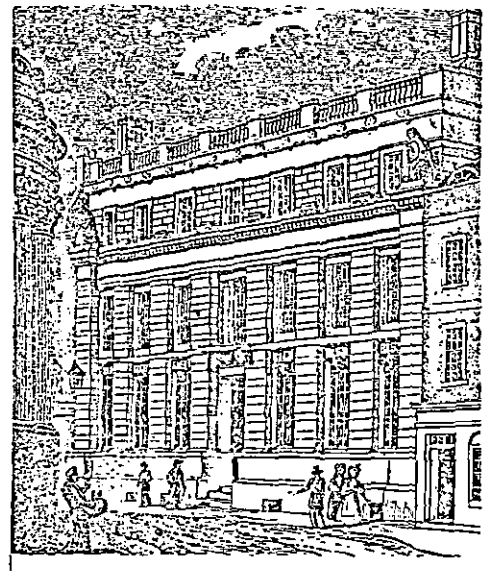
Thomas Harrison. Chester Castle, 1793–1820

PLATE 151



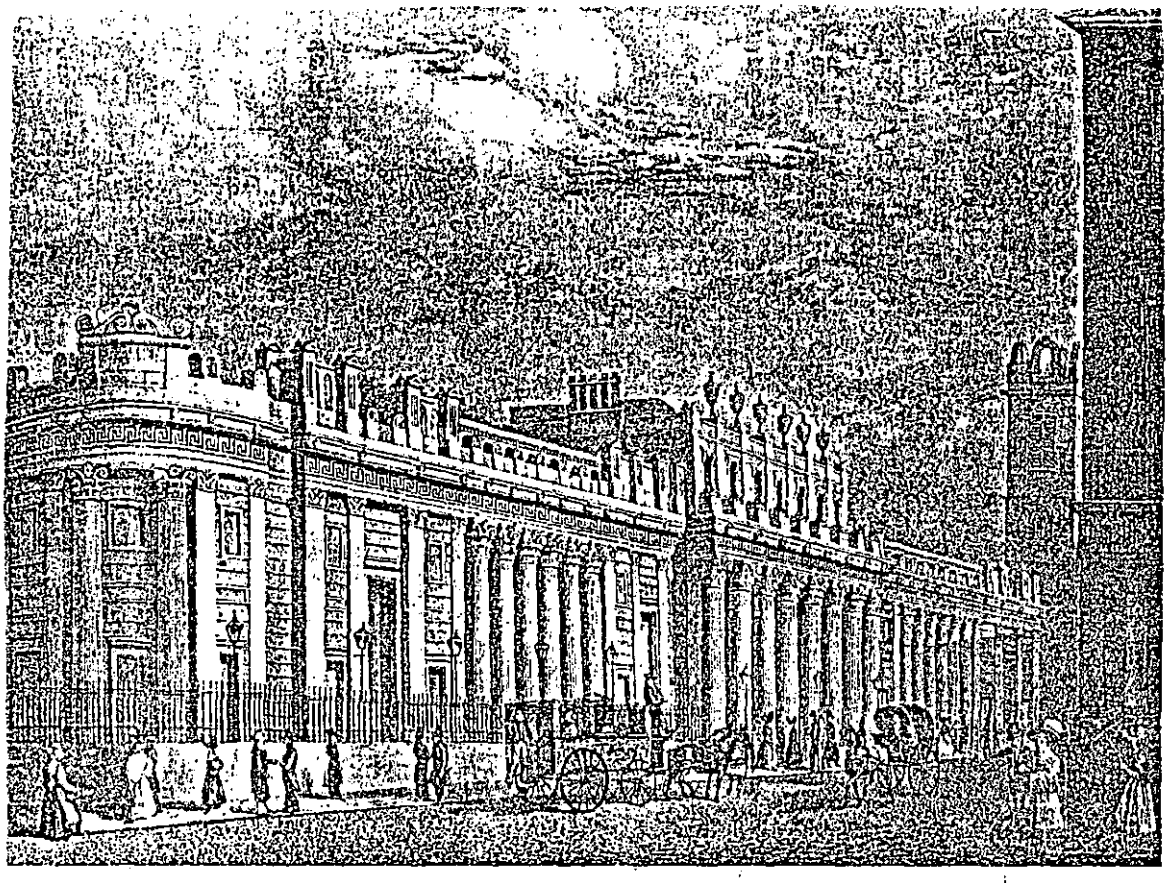
George Dance II. Stratton Park, Hants, 1803–4

PLATE 152



London and Westminster Bank, London. By C. R. Cockerell, 1837–38. Original façade.

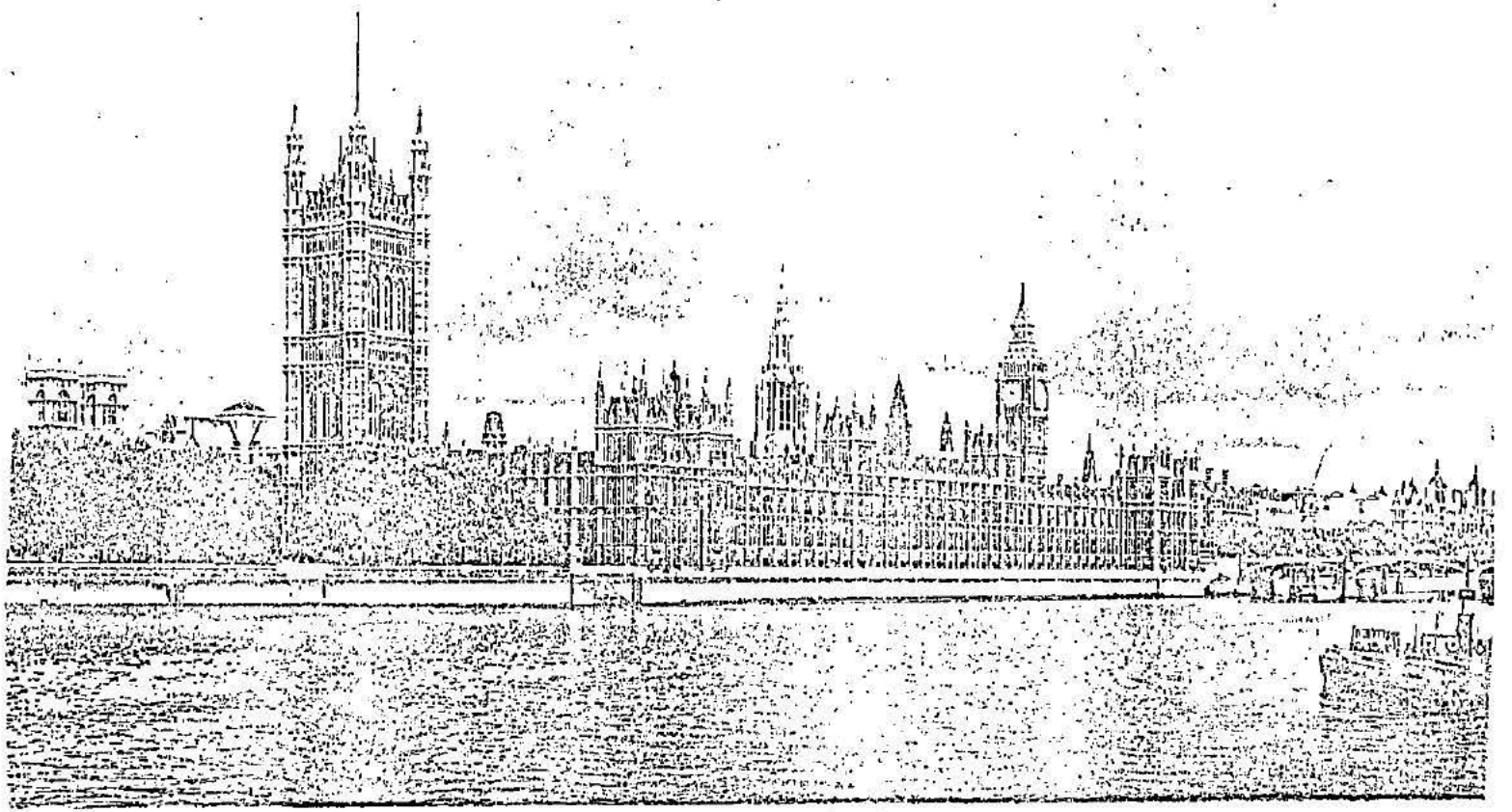
PLATE 153



SOUTH FRONT OF THE BANK, AS REBUILT BY SOANE

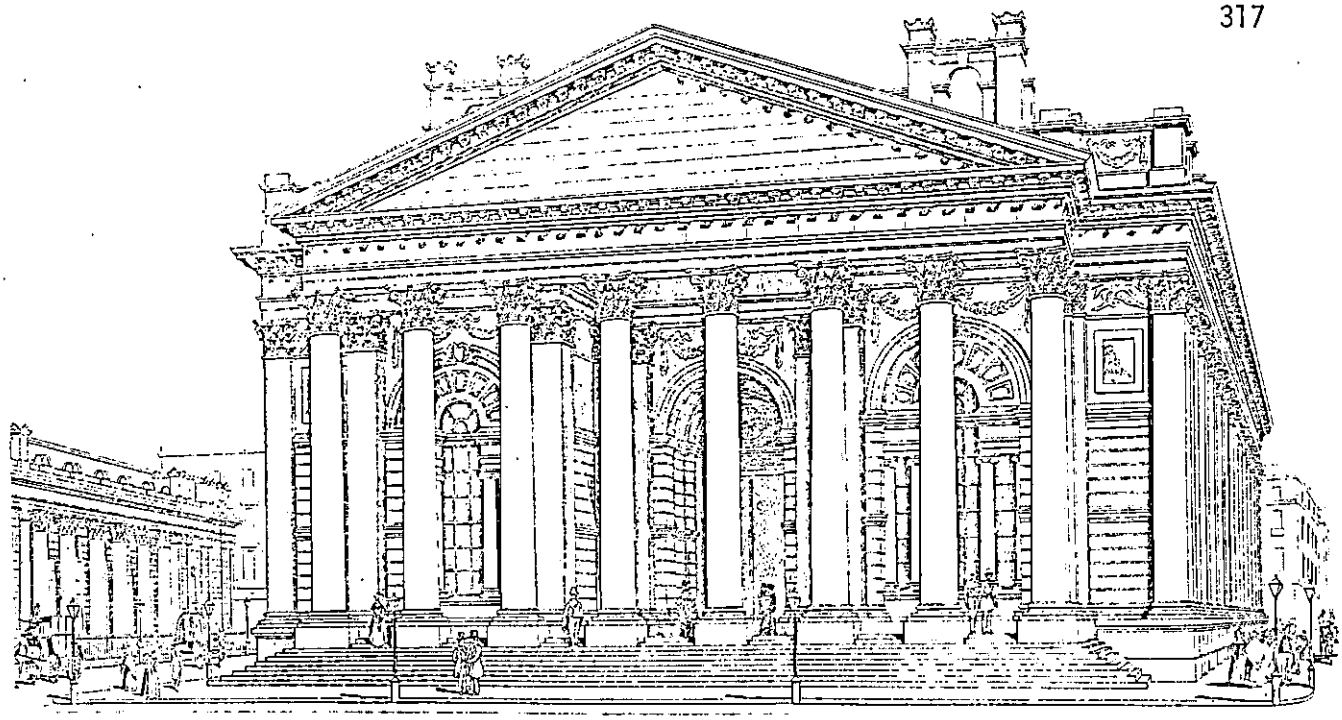
(Plate to Elmes's *Metropolitan Improvements, or London in the Nineteenth Century*)

PLATE 154

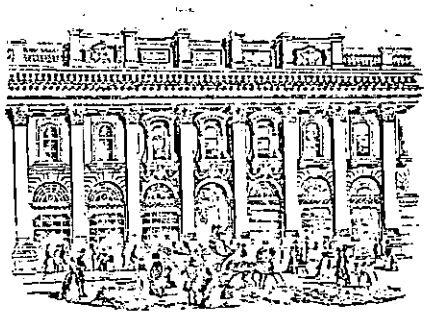


Sir Charles Barry: London, Houses of Parliament, 1840–65

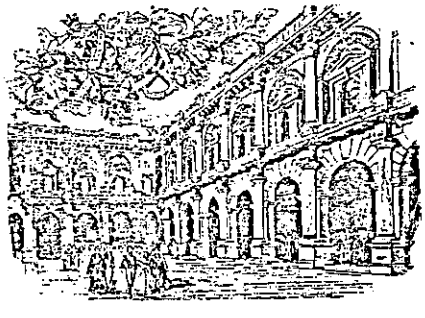
PLATE 155



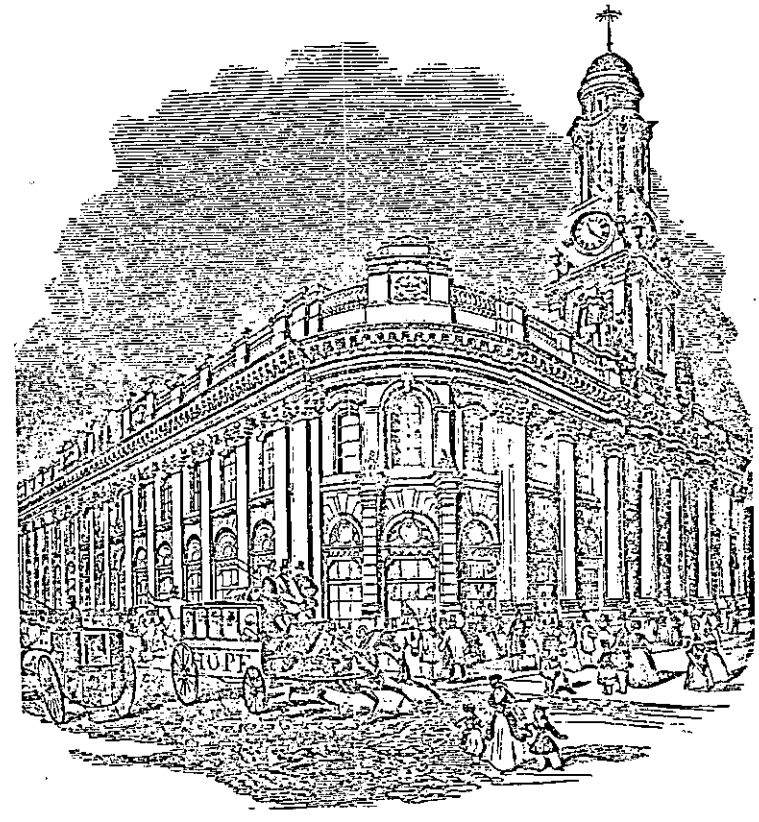
X 1 The Royal Exchange, London. By Sir William Tite, (1839) 1840–44. West front.



X 2 South front.

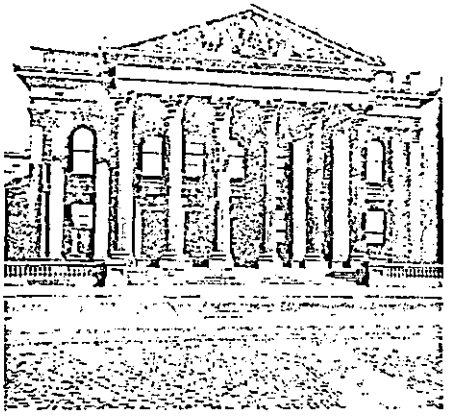


X 3 The court, with Royal procession at the opening.



X 4 South and east fronts.

PLATE 156



Commercial Bank of Scotland,
George St., Edinburgh.
By David Rhind, 1844–46.

PLATE 157a

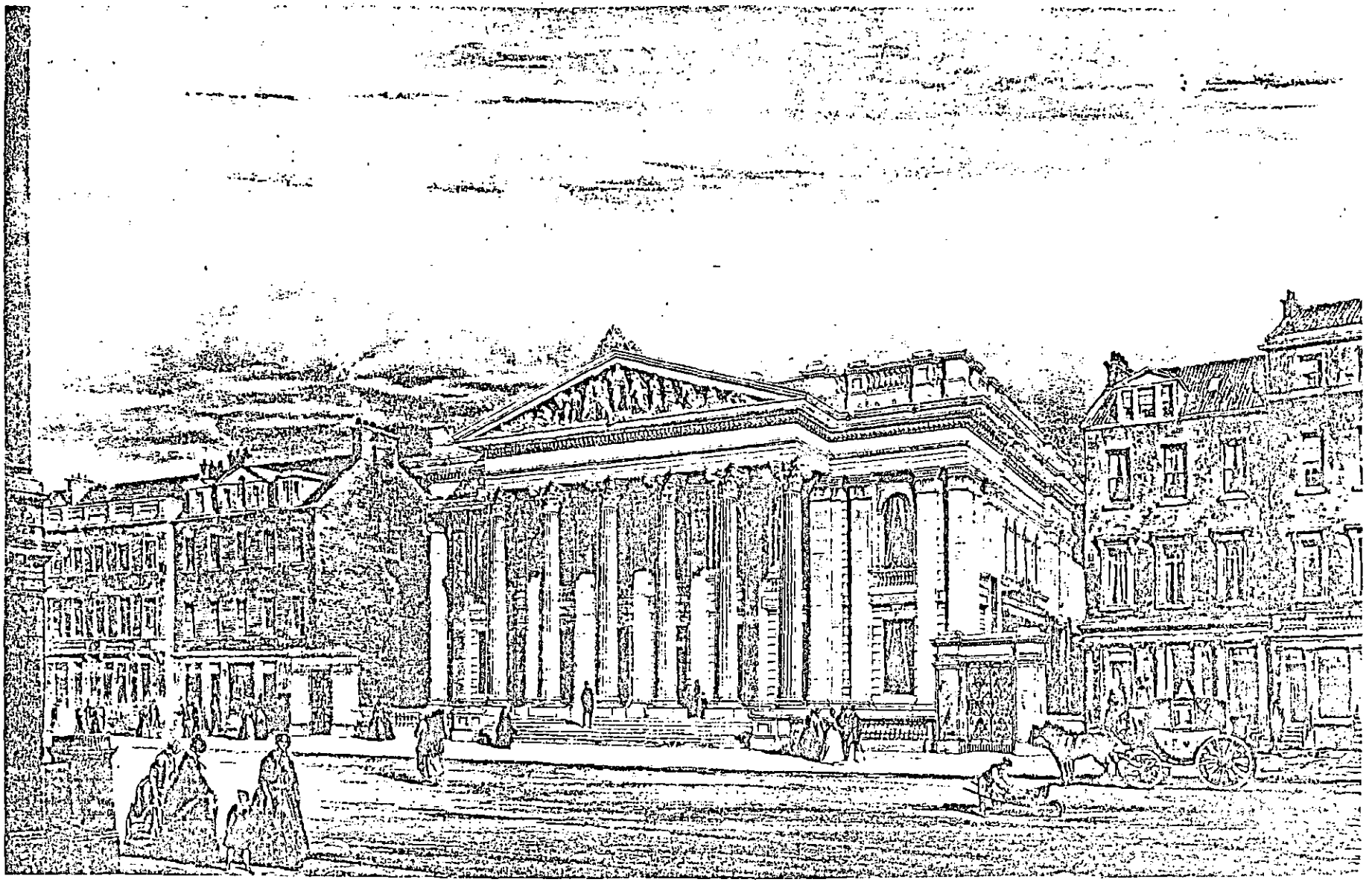


PLATE 157b The Commercial Bank of Scotland Building by David Rhind.

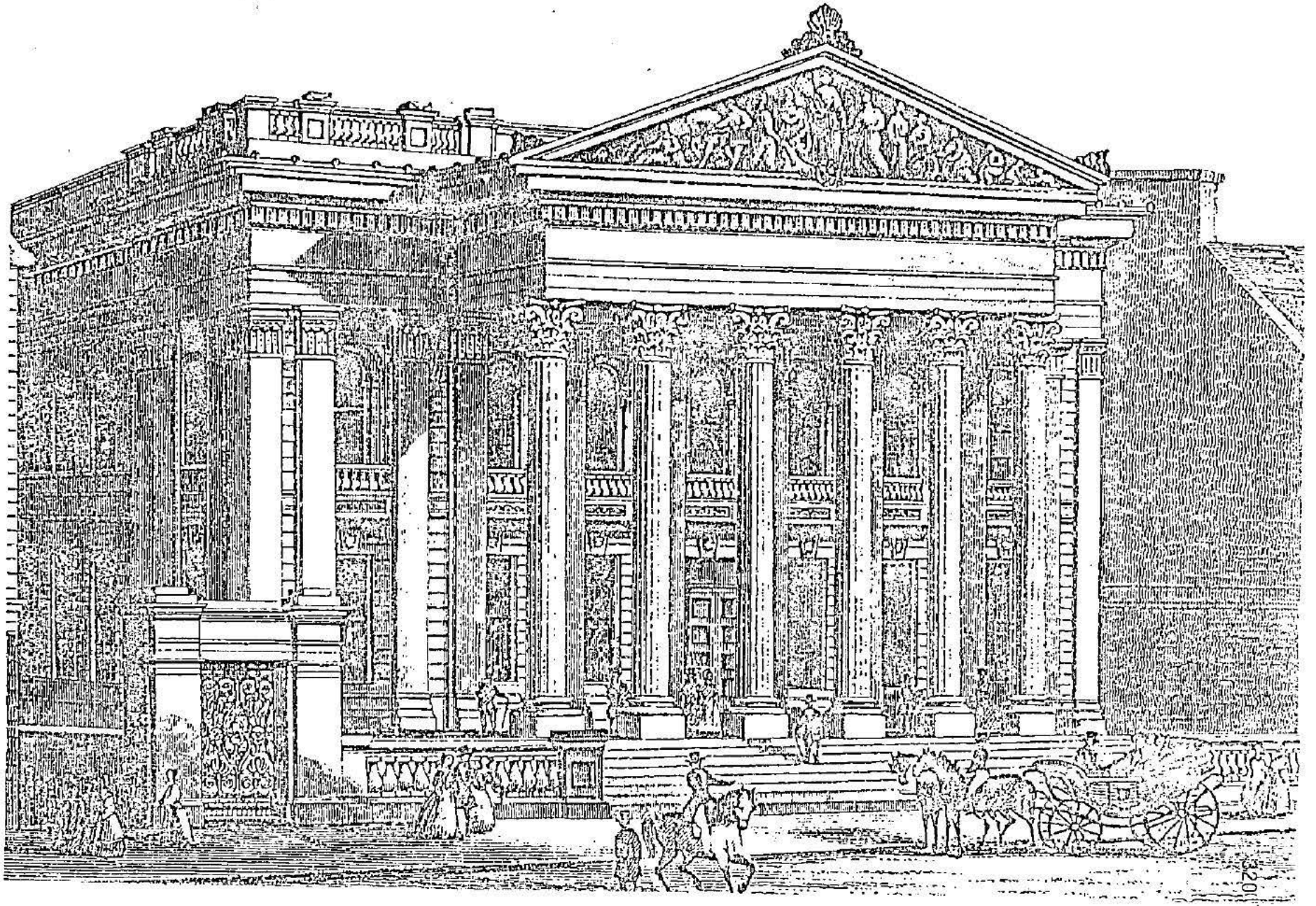


PLATE 157c The Commercial Bank of Scotland Building by David Rhind.

SCULPTURE IN THE PEDIMENT OF THE NEW COMMERCIAL BANK, EDINBURGH.—DESIGNED BY MR. JAMES WYATT.

of death, however, appears to have been the rupture of an internal vessel. At the moment the event took place, Sir Nicolas was lying in his bed, and using not the slightest exertion.

Of a man endowed with such public virtue, it is also gratifying to relate, that his private worth was no less. Adored by his family, revered by his friends, he lived in the utmost affection of all who knew him: as an instance, we find Lord Lyndhurst, and Lord Brougham—who was his pupil—both unable to refrain from tears when announcing his death in the House of Lords. Indeed, if ever the public have cause to grieve, it is when the hand of fate falls upon their surest safeguard, the intellectual and immaculate judge, such as this man was,—*In memoriâ æternâ erit justus.*

NOOKS AND CORNERS OF OLD ENGLAND.

RUINS OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY, NEAR NEWCASTLE.

This picturesque ruin is one of the antiquarian curiosities of the environs of Newcastle. The village of Tynemouth adjoins North Shields, and lies upon the summit of perpendicular cliffs, inaccessible from the sea.

The Priory—the architectural beauty of which is attested by the above remains—was founded by Oswald, King of Northumberland, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It was plundered by the Danes on three of their incursions, in the last of which it was, with its inmates, reduced to ashes. It remained in ruins until the reign of Edward the Confessor, when it was rebuilt by Tostan, Earl of Northumberland, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Oswin. Soon after the Conquest, it was degraded to a cell, and made subservient to the monastery at Girwy, afterwards to Durham, and lastly to St. Albans.

From various records, it appears that the Priory of Tynemouth possessed the royalties of twenty-seven villages in Northumberland, and several in Durham. After the Suppression, the site and ruins were granted to the Duke of Northumberland, but again reverted to the Crown, in whose hands they remained until the death of Queen Elizabeth.

On its being converted into a Fortress, it was called *Tynemouth Castle;* and, from its peculiar situation, it seems to have been formed by nature as a stronghold, and to possess remarkable facilities for the protection of the port and shipping.

During the Civil Wars, it was besieged and taken by the Scots, in 1644, with a loss to the Royalists of thirty-eight pieces of ordnance. The garrison were allowed to march out, and the Parliament ordered £5000 to repair this fortress and the works at Newcastle, and appointed Colonel Henry Lilburn, governor. He and most of the garrison, however, shortly afterwards declared for the King, on which the Governor of Newcastle marched against him, and, having besieged the Castle, put all to the sword, and Lilburn being slain, his head was fixed on a pole.

We find these details opportunely enough in "The Handbook of Newcastle," by Llewellyn Jewitt; a very cheap Guide, prepared expressly for visitors to the Agricultural Show, and furnishing just the kind of information they are likely to stand most in need of. It is a meritorious performance, and is worthy of the encouragement of visitors and the good people of Newcastle, at all seasons.

RUINS OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY, NEAR NEWCASTLE.

To return to the Priory remains. They are, adds the "Handbook," judiciously enough, "extensive in their proportions, picturesque in their appearance, varied in their style, and exquisitely beautiful in their various bits of architectural detail. The principal parts of the ruins are in the early English style, and many fine specimens of the characteristic 'tooth ornament' may be found, especially upon the elegant series of arcades, and upon some of the doorways. The Priory was for many years used as the parish church; but, being much decayed, and the parishioners being debarred from using it during the Civil Wars, a new church was erected; but many of the families of the town still bury in the old ground."

At Tynemouth, near the cliff, by the way, has lately been placed Lough's noble statue of Lord Collingwood, engraved in No. 189 of the ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.

THE NEW COMMERCIAL BANK, EDINBURGH.

A NOBLE edifice, in the Corinthian style of architecture, has just been completed for the business of the New Commercial Bank, at Edinburgh. It is situate in George-street, termed the finest street in Europe; and the building forms a grand addition to the already highly-embellished "Queen of the North."

Perhaps, the most interesting feature of the structure is a group of sculpture, executed by Mr. A. H. Ritchie, from a model by Mr. James Wyatt, whose very meritorious share in modelling the colossal statue of the Duke of Wellington, we noticed last week.

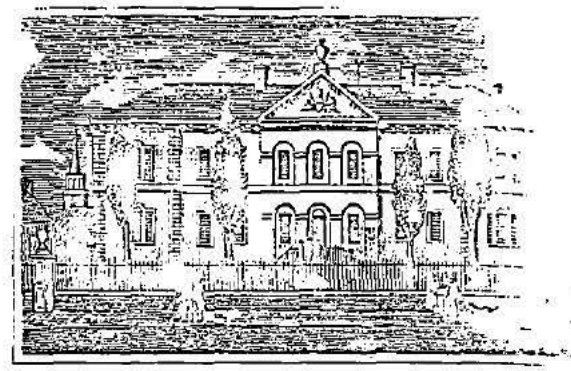
The figures of the Edinburgh group, which we have engraved, are in full relief, and of colossal life-size. They entirely fill the tympanum of the Bank pediment, just as in Mr. Lucas's clever model of "The Parthenon Restored;" the sculpture thus forming a portion of the architect's design, instead of appearing like an afterthought. The experiment was a bold, but successful, one; and great credit is due for it to Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Ritchie, the sculptor, and Mr. Rhind, the architect of the Bank building.

The group consists of, in the centre, a figure of Scotland, supported by Justice and Enterprise, receiving from the hands of Plenty the fruits of her industry. Impersonations of Agriculture and Navigation, with emblems and accessories, fill up the dexter side of the pediment. On the sinister side, are figures representing Merchandise and Science; while a group of three children peering into the peculiarities of a notched wheel complete the group. The figures are all well modelled and sculptured, and the draperies light and flowing; the three children are exquisite, and have rarely been equalled in modern sculpture.

The design, we should add, was submitted to competition: and to Mr. Wyatt was awarded by the Bank Directors, the prize for his very tasteful composition.

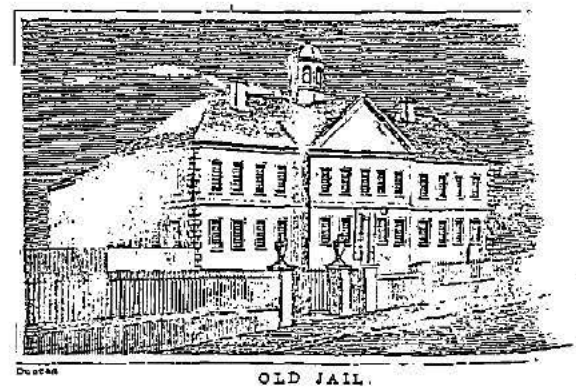
Sir G. G. Scott: London, Albert Memorial, 1863–72

PLATE 159



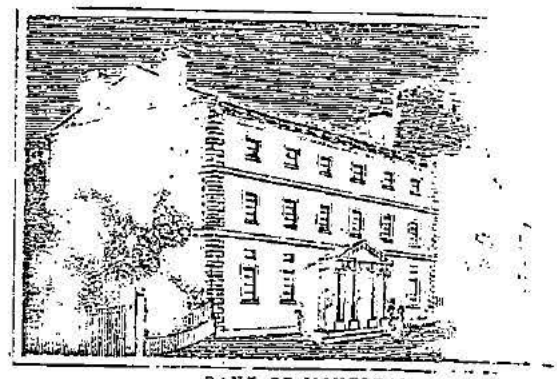
COURT HOUSE

PLATE 160 illustration from
Hochelaga Depicta (1839)



OLD JAIL.

PLATE 161 illustration from
Hochelaga Depicta (1839)



BANK OF MONTREAL.

PLATE 162 illustration from Hochelaga Depicta (1839)

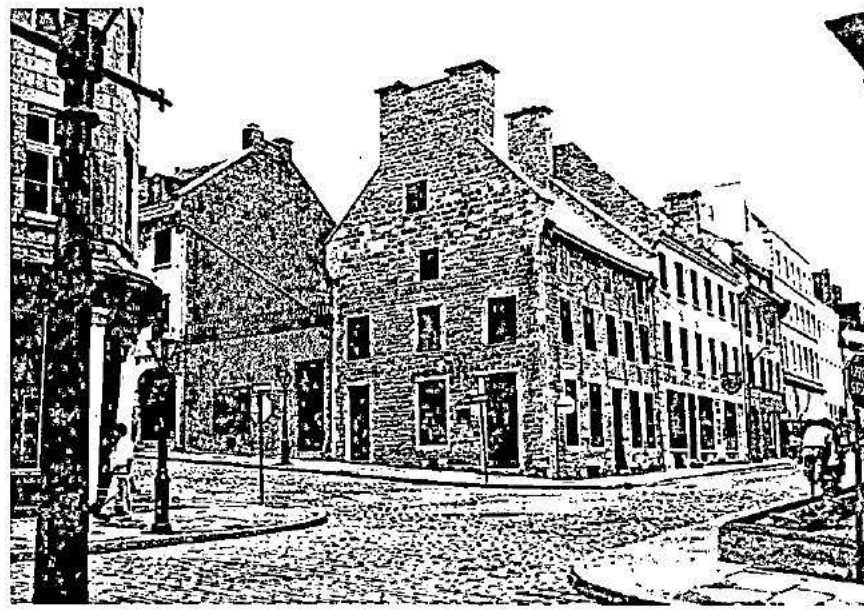


PLATE 163 Masion Calvert, c.1750

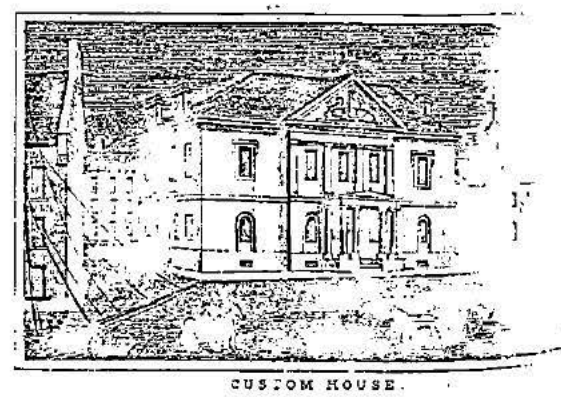


PLATE 164a Illustration from Hochelaga Depicta (1839)

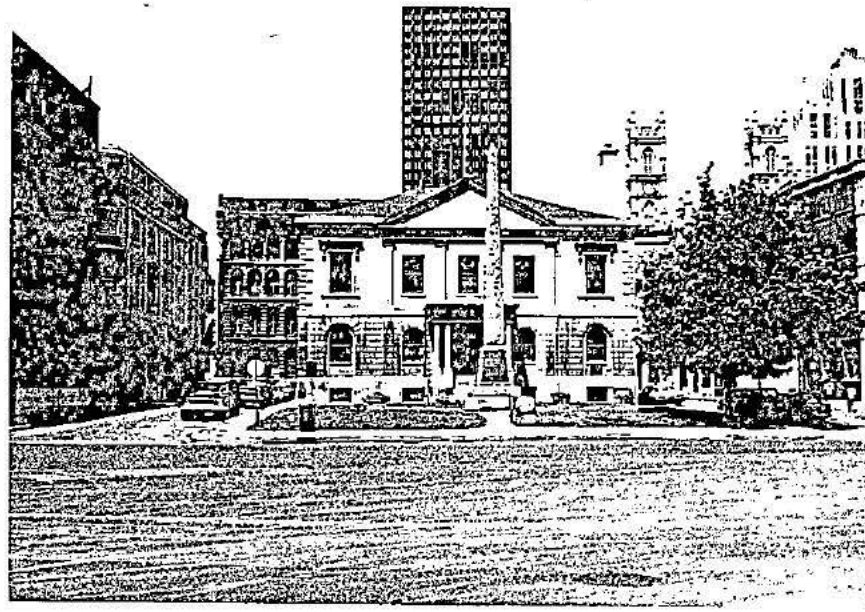


PLATE 164b

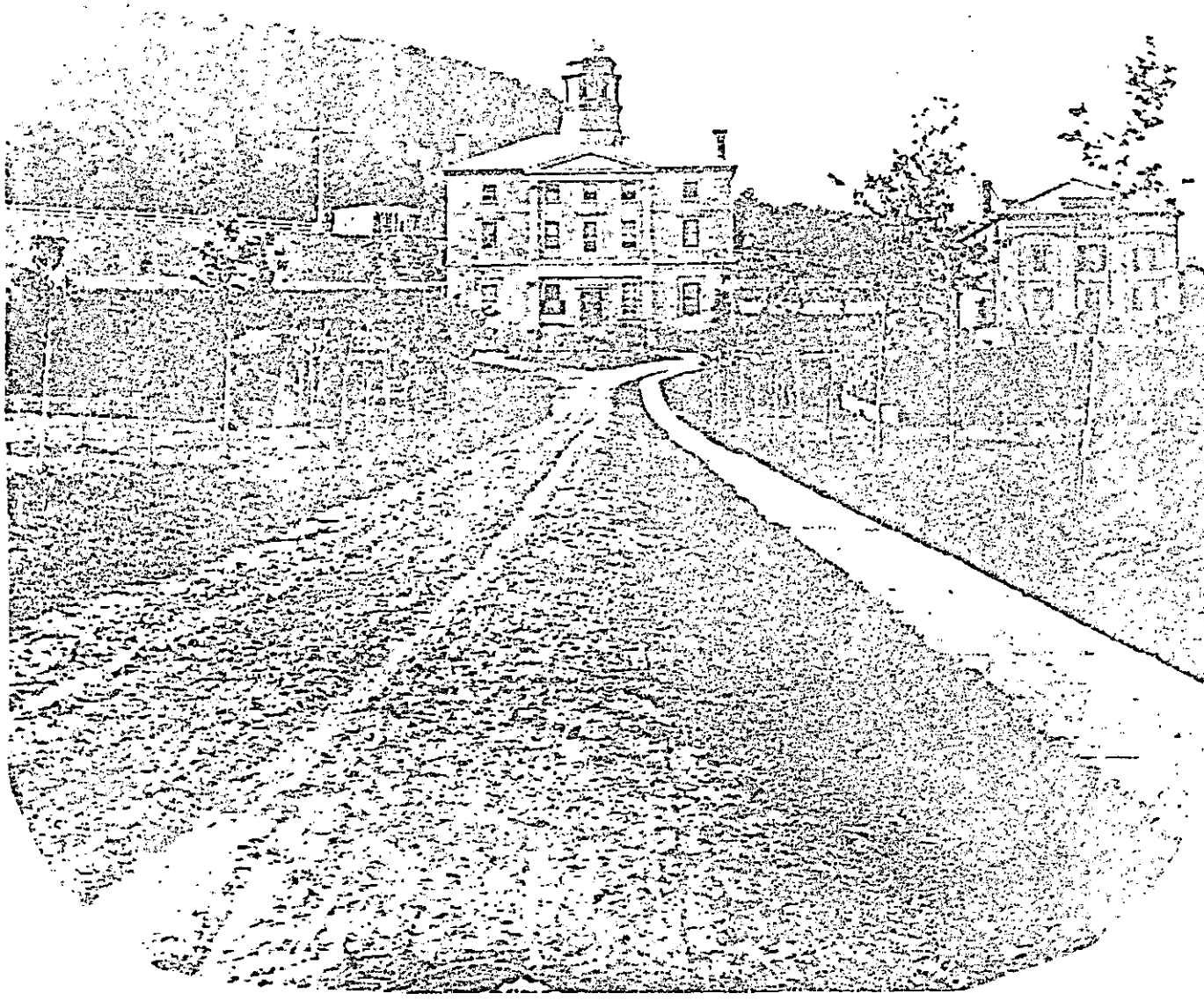
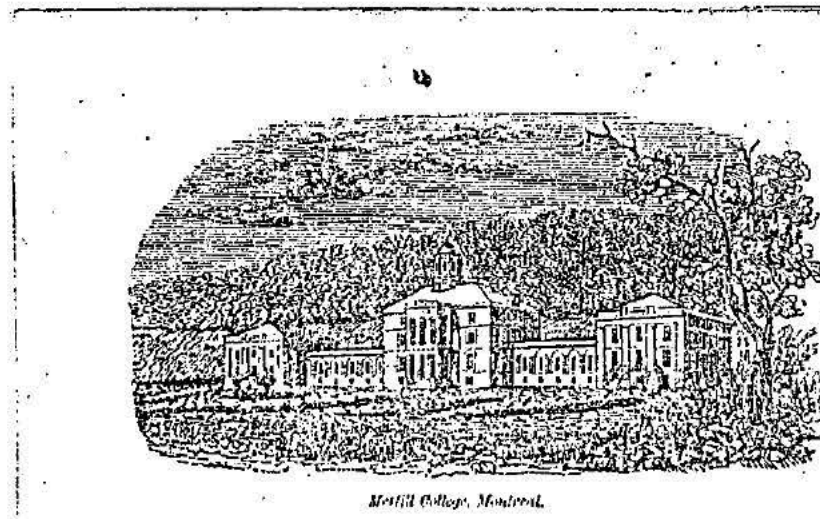


PLATE 165 The Central Block, McGill College Building, photo c.1860.



Morrill College, Montreal.

PLATE 166 Illustration from
The Montreal Pocket Almanac
and General Register (1846)

PLATE 167

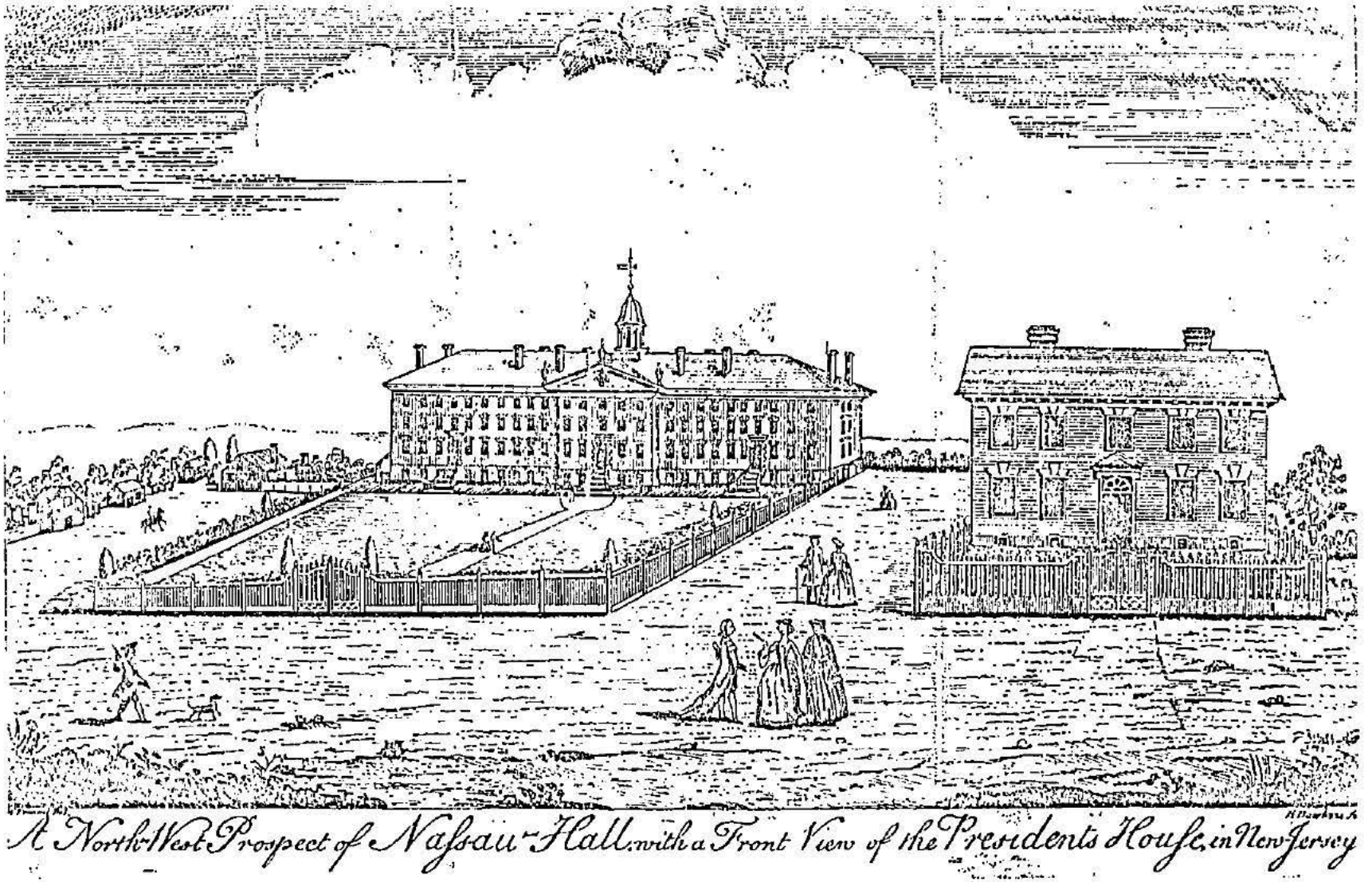
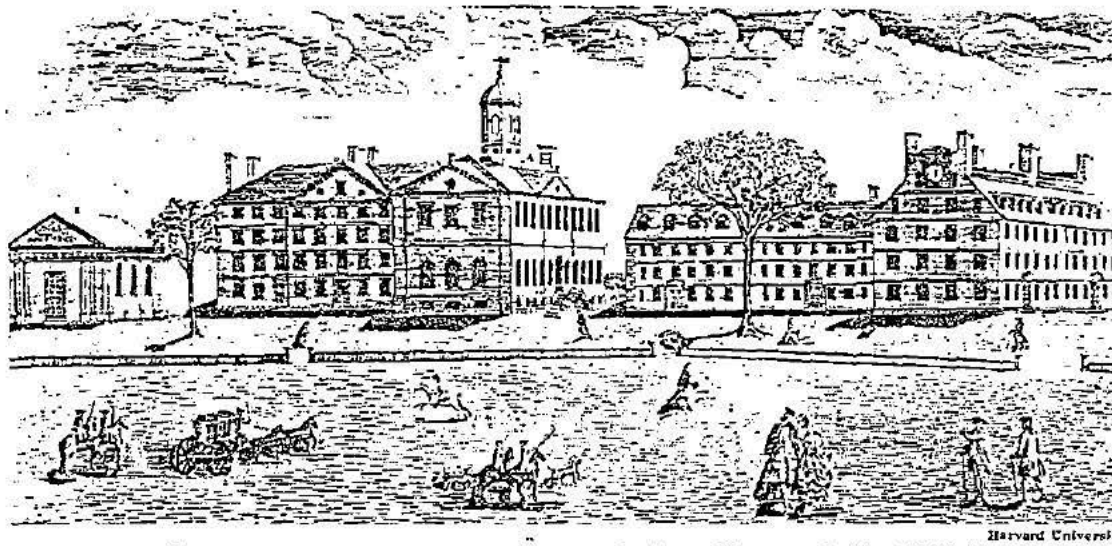


PLATE 168a Nassau Hall, Princeton University, of 1754, set the mode for collegiate architecture in North America to utilize the latern-cupola motif. This view shows the building in 1764. The engraver was H. Dawkins



Harvard University

The Harvard College Yard, center of the original college, still keeps much of its Old World charm and dignity today. This picture comes from an engraving made in the 1770's by Paul Revere, the colonial patriot and silversmith. The small Holden Chapel, *left,* was built in 1744. The other four buildings, built in the Georgian Colonial style of architecture, are, *left to right,* Hollis Hall, Harvard Hall, Stoughton Hall, and Massachusetts Hall.

PLATE 168b

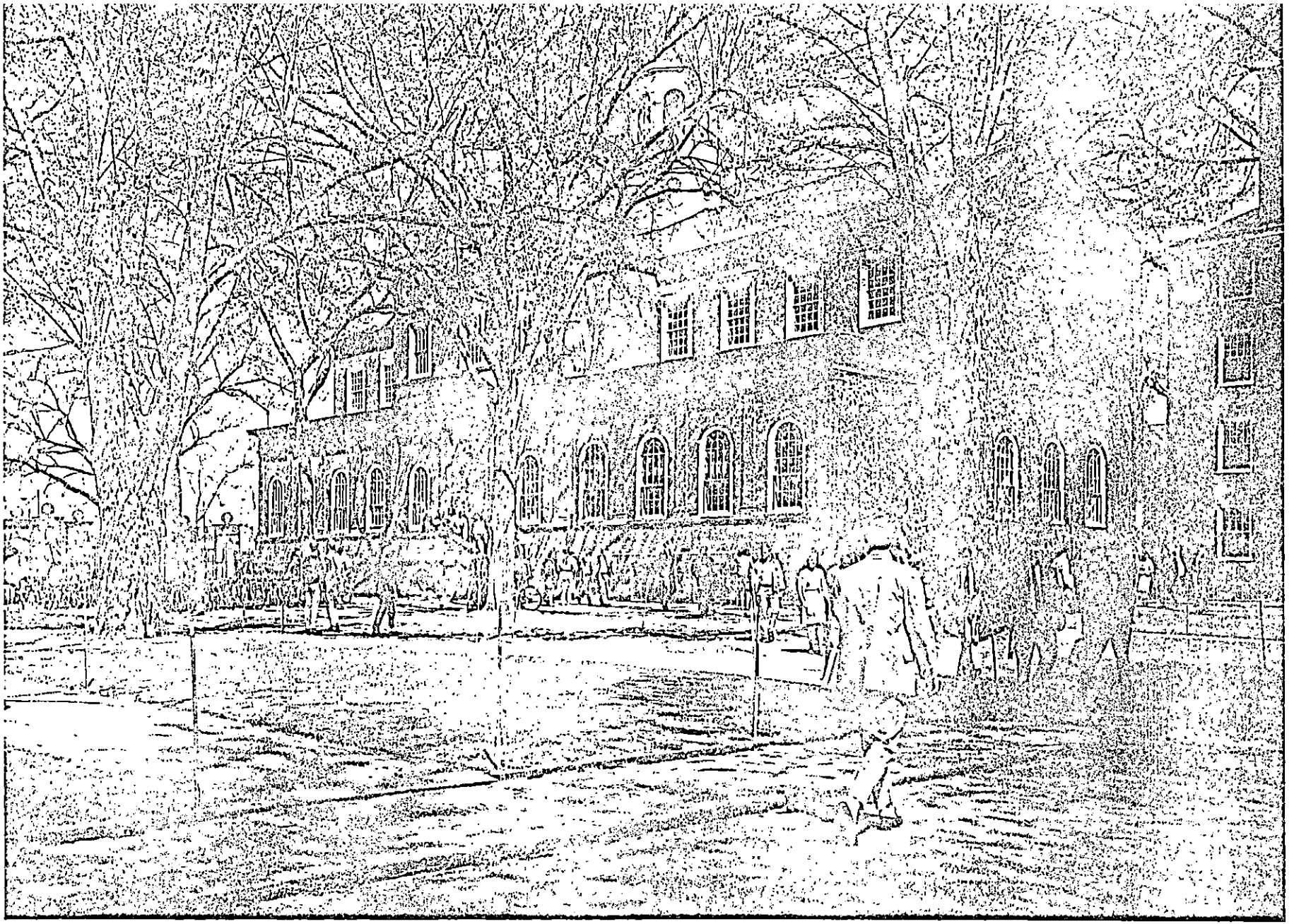


PLATE 168c Harvard Hall, Harvard University, in 1966.

Where late the Savage roam'd in search of prey,
Their science spreads her all enlivening ray.
The ancient forest falling, its inmates fled;
See Arts and Sons of learning in their stead!
Such scenes like these, that freedom's pow'r disclose,
She makes the desert blossom like the rose.

This view of the principal Buildings of Dartmouth University *is most humbly inscribed to the Honorable* Josiah Wheelock, *Esquire, L.L.D. President, &c*

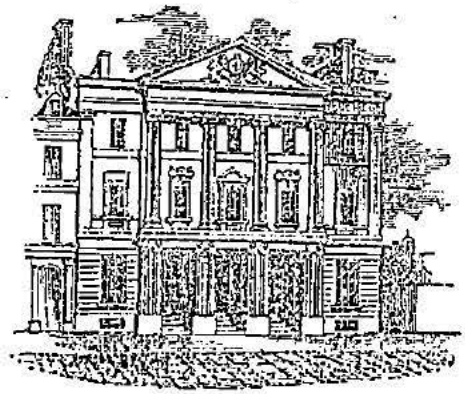
by George Fickner, Delineator.

Hartford, Printed by Lyon, Stewart & Co. *and sold at their store.* [illegible]

Col. 1803

PLATE 168d Dartmouth College, July 1803

erected under the superintendence of Messrs. M'Farlane and Brown, Architects, is in the Grecian style of architecture. The length fronting on the square is 70 feet, with two wing walls of 15 feet each. The depth of 50 feet, and the height of the front from the pavement, is 48 feet. Its erection has added very much to the appearance of the Place D'Armes, which will be still farther increased when the New Montreal Bank, which adjoins it, is completed. It was opened for public use in 1845.

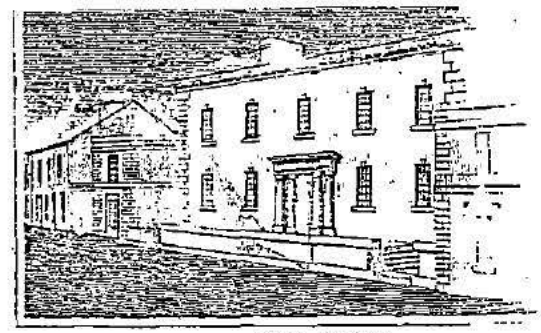


BANK OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA,

GREAT ST. JAMES STREET.

The front of this building consists of three divisions, or members in height; a Rustic Basement, a central portion of one story faced with a series of eight ¾ columns of the Grecian Doric order—12 feet 6 inches high, with bold Entablature. The central portion of the upper two stories is faced with a series of 4 Ionic ¾ columns 24 feet high, with pilasters, and crowned with a bold entablature and pediment. The height is

PLATE 169 Bank of British North America, page reproduced from Hochelaga Depicta (1846).

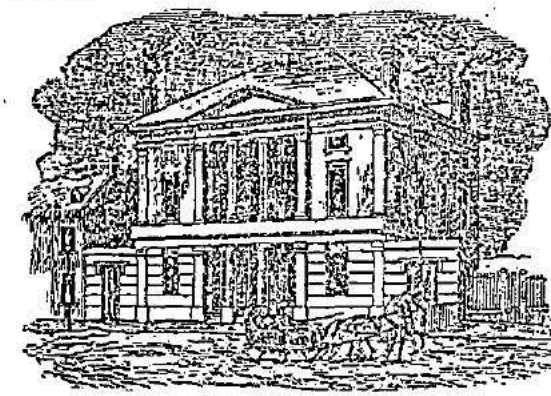


CITY BANK.

PLATE 170 illustration from Hochelaga Depicta (1839)

reserved exclusively for ladies, in front of that on the right side, the corresponding space on the left side being occupied by the reporters for the press. Behind the chair, on each side, are spaces reserved for members of the Council; and the extreme west end of this wing is devoted to the rooms of the speaker and clerk, the wardrobe and the smoking room. The furniture and decorations of the Assembly Chamber are in very good taste, and it is now lighted up with the bude light, the same as the English House of Commons. The Library of the Assembly is in the third story, directly above the lobby and refreshment rooms.

The alterations made in this building to render it suitable for its present use, were carried out under the directions of George Brown, Esq., architect, and it is generally admitted that they are all that could be expected, considering the basis to which he was restricted.

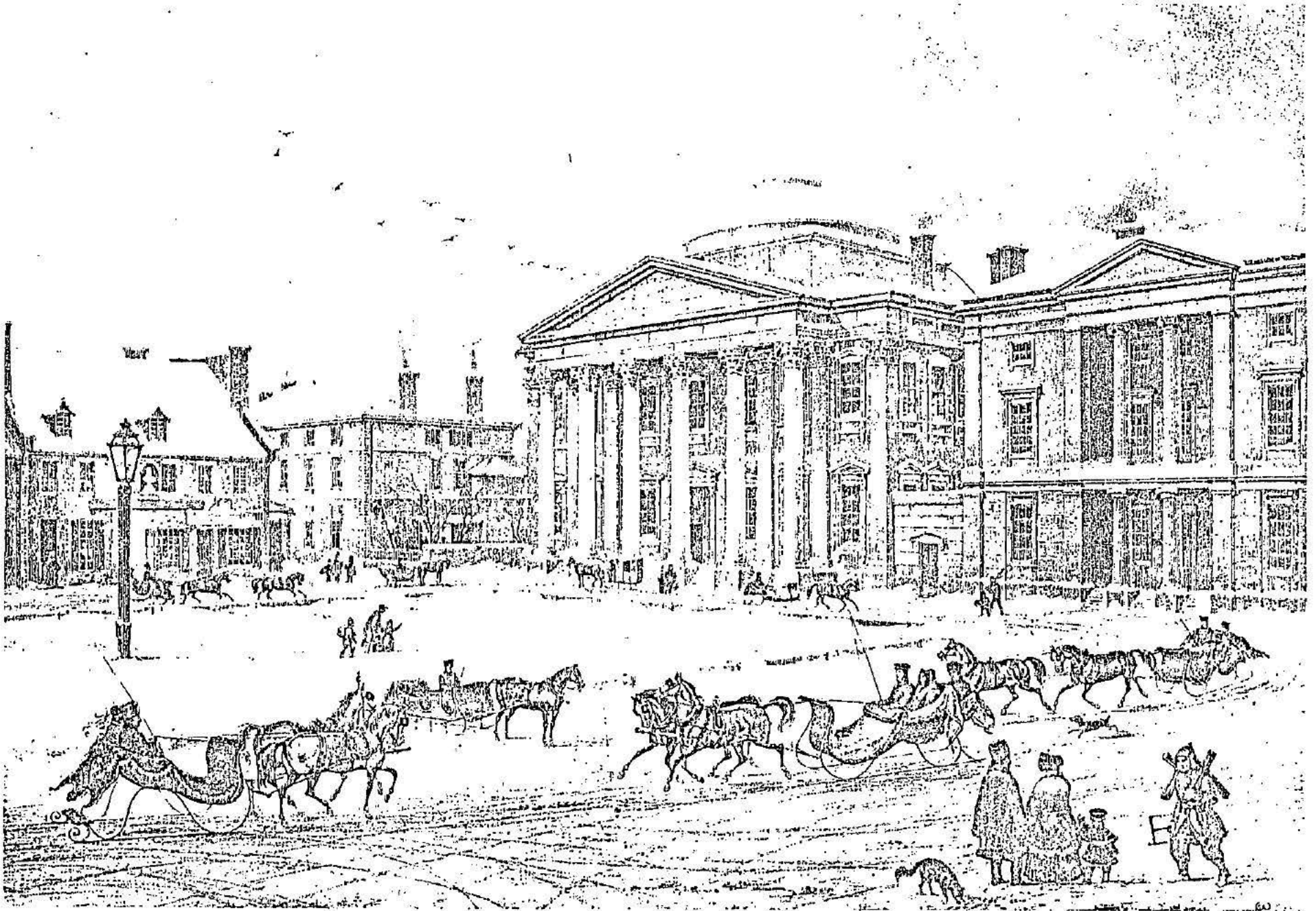


CITY BANK.

PLACE D'ARMES.

This convenient and elegant edifice, which was

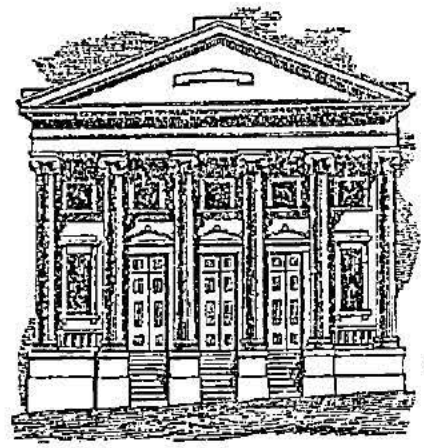
PLATE 171 page reproduced from Hochelaga Depicta (1846)



335

PLACE D'ARMES A MONTREAL.

PLATE 172



SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

COSFORD STREET.

This Church, which was also erected from designs furnished by Mr. Wells, is in the pure Grecian style of Architecture. The length of the building, including the Portico, is 78 feet; the width 50 feet, and the height from the pavement to the apex of the pediment opposite the centre of the front, is 50 feet. The Portico has six Ionic Columns 26 feet 6 inches in height. The Church is under the charge of the Rev. Doctor Carruthers, and is calculated to seat 900 persons. It was opened in 1845.

UNITARIAN CHURCH,

LAGAUCHETIERE STREET.

The length of this building is 56 feet, including a Portico of six Grecian Doric Columns, and the width is 48 feet. The height of the Columns is 18 feet 6

PLATE 173 Illustration from Hochelaga Depicta (1846)

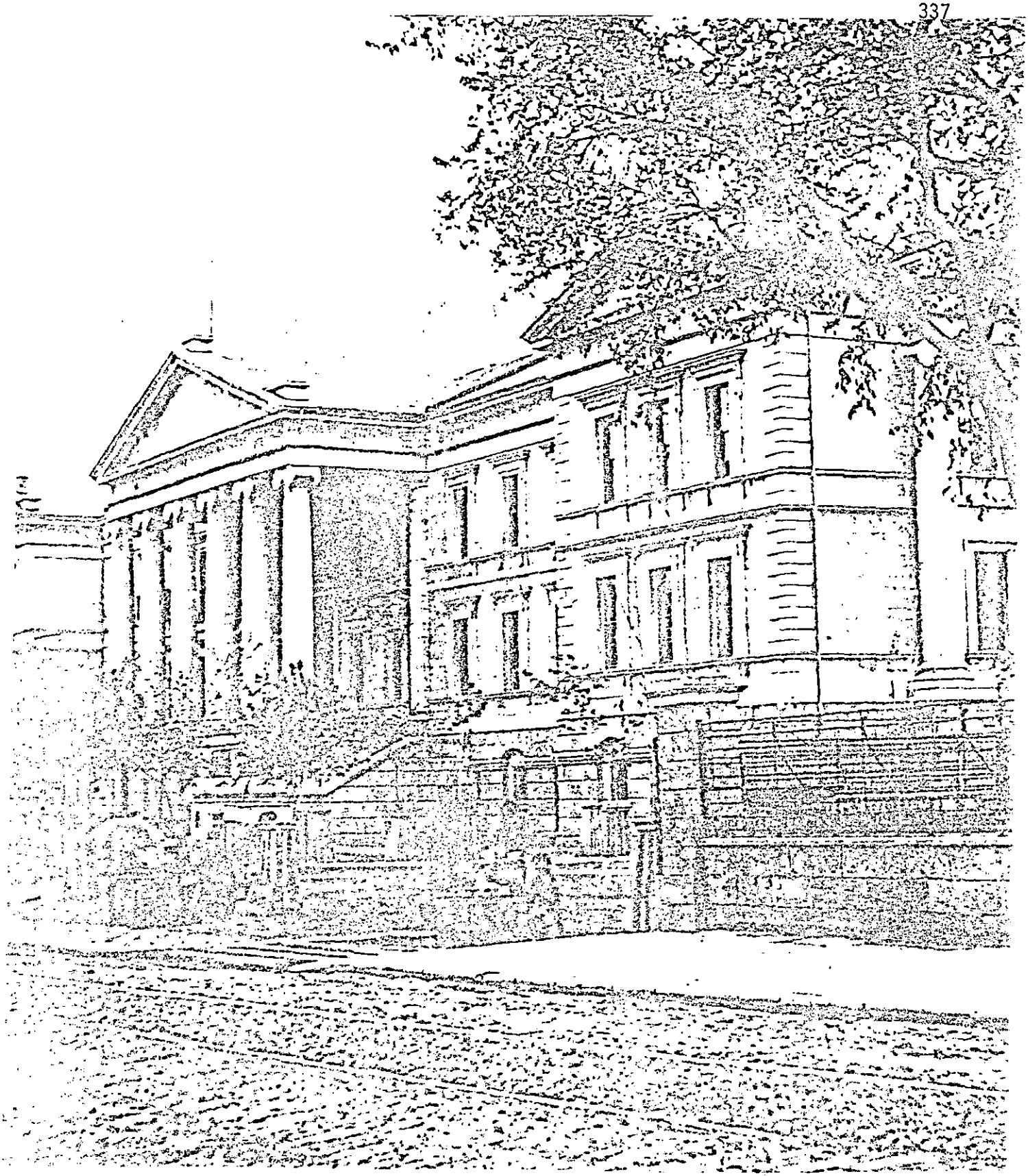


PLATE 174

Some derivatives of the mercantile palace image in the city were simply engrafted from known examples in the British Isles, see plates 175 to 179.

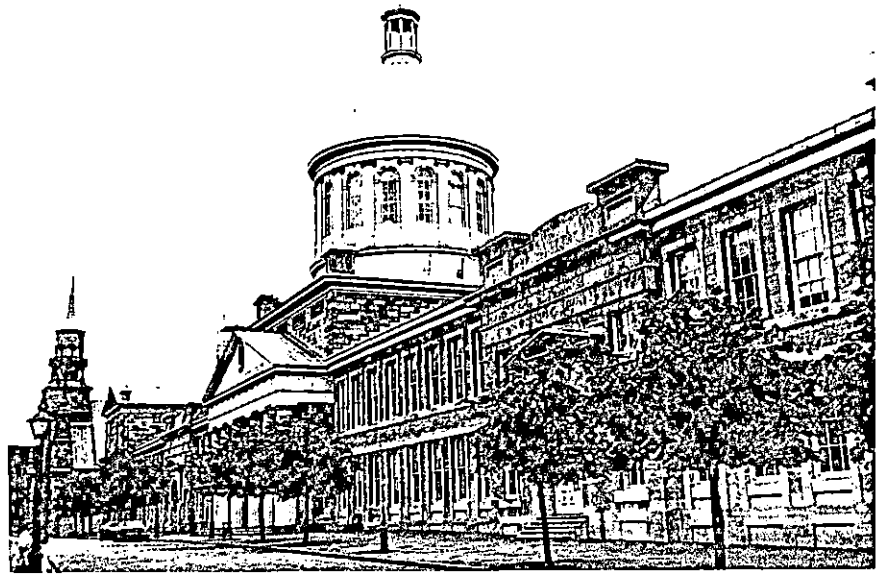


PLATE 175a street facade

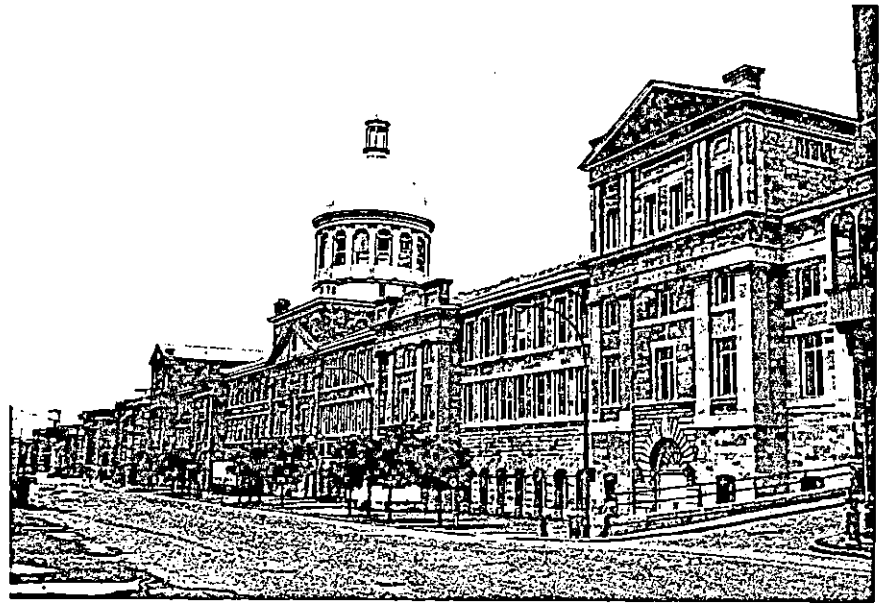
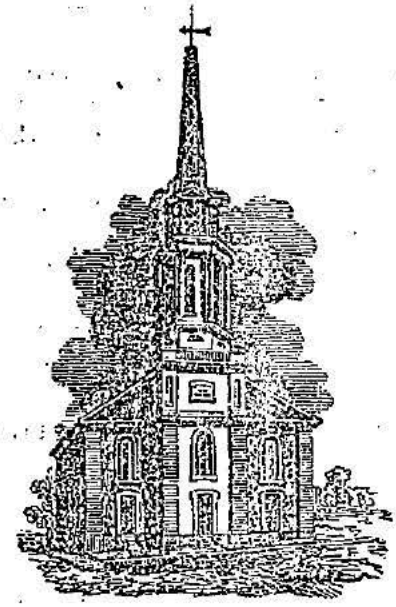


PLATE 175b river facade

The 'New' Market by Footner on St. Paul Street of 1846, was a Grecian restatement of Dublin's Custom House of 1781-91 (plate 135). 29



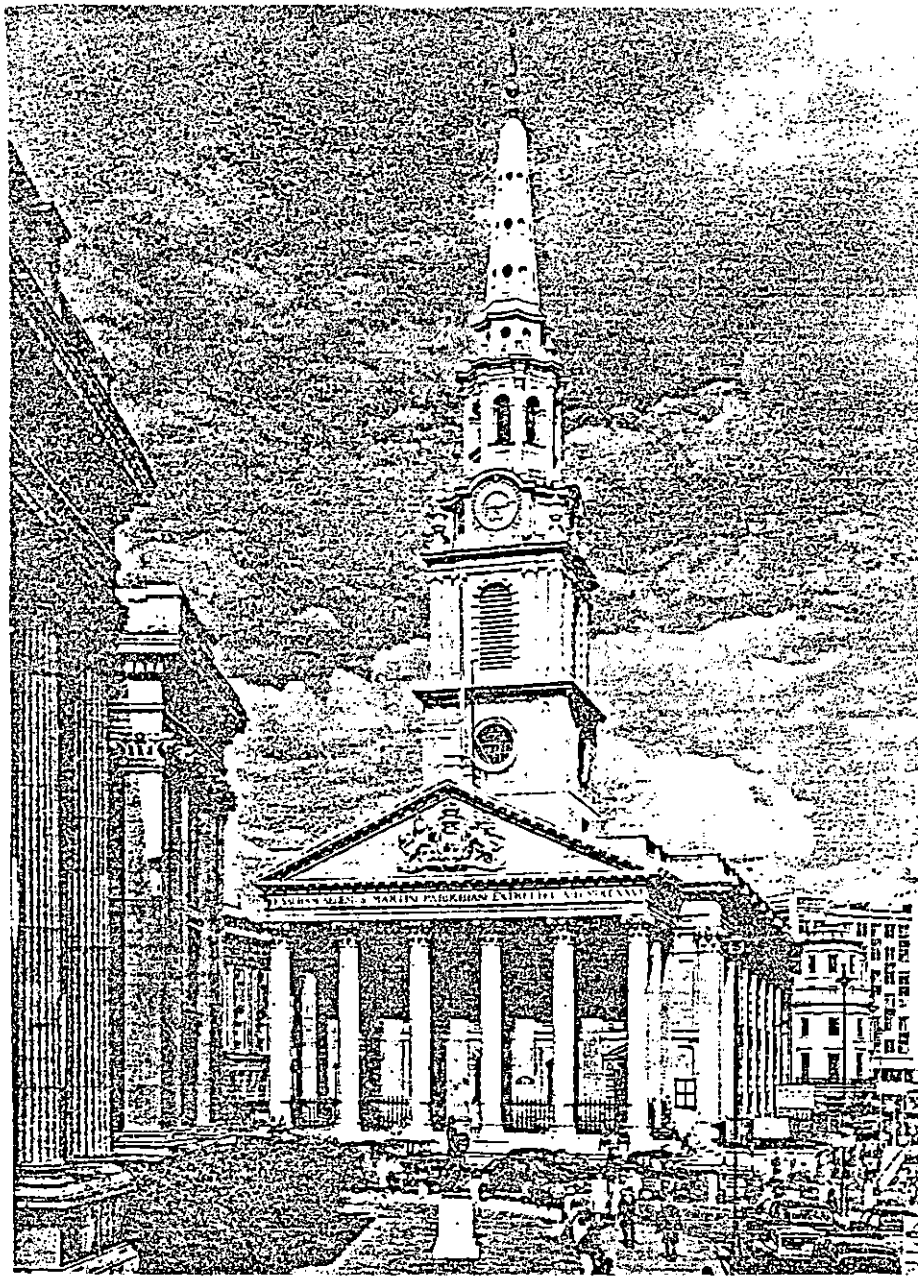
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

RADIGOND STREET.

This Church, which is under the pastoral care of the Rev. H. Wilkes, is in the Anglo-Italian style of Architecture. The length, including the projection of the base of the tower, is 89 feet, and the width 65 feet. The tower, above the roof of the Church, is of an Octangular form, ornamented with eight Doric Columns, and its entire height is 160 feet. The Church is calculated to seat over 1000 persons, and was erected under the supervision of John Wells, Esq., Architect. It is expected to be opened for public service early in the present summer, 1846.

PLATE 176 illustration from
Hochelaga Depicta (1846)

The First Congreational Church by John Wells on Radigond Street of 1846 was a structure in the Gibbsian mode (see plate 177). 30



James Gibbs: London, St Martin-in-the-Fields, 1721–6

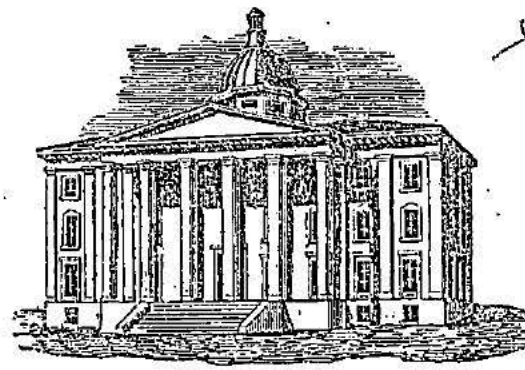
PLATE 177

Grecian Doric style of architecture; it was opened in 1845.

MONTREAL INSURANCE COMPANY AND PROVIDENT AND SAVINGS' BANK,

GREAT ST. JAMES STREET.

This building, which occupies the site of the old Wesleyan chapel, is in the Grecian style of architecture, with Doric fluted columns. The lower story fronting on Great St. James Street, is divided into two handsome shops, in rear of which are the apartments used for the Savings' Bank. The upper stories are appropriated to the Insurance Company. It was opened in April, 1846.

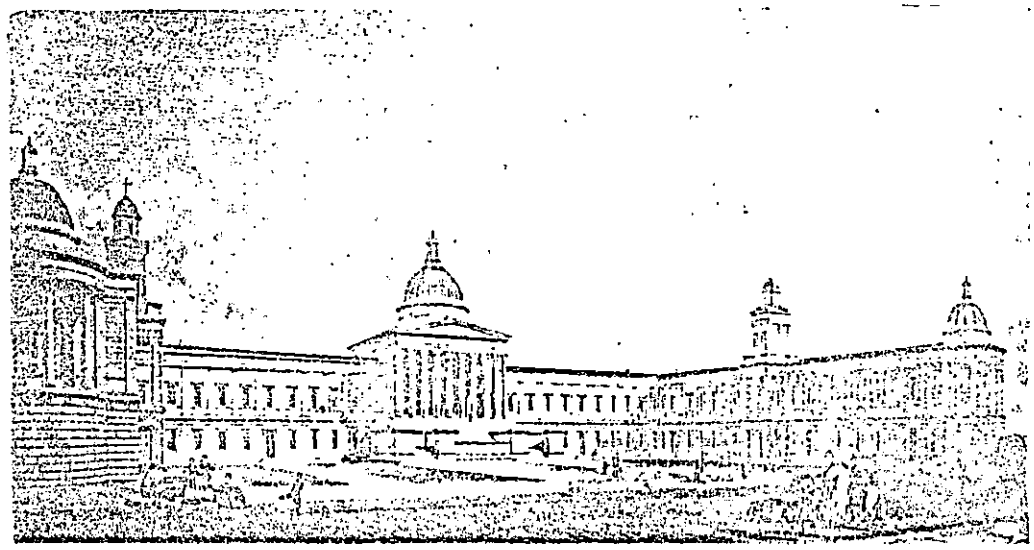


CANADA BAPTIST COLLEGE.

The first stone of this building, which was designed by J. H. Springle, Esq., architect, was laid on the 7th of May, 1845, by John Try, Esq., (a liberal contributor towards its erection,) and it will be completed in the month of August, of the present year (1846); it

PLATE 178 page reproduced from Hochelaga Depicta (1846)

The Canada Baptist College of 1846 by John Try (31), was based, perhaps, on the center block of the University of London Building by William Wilkins of 1827-28 (see plate 179). 32



William Wilkins. The London University (now University College), 1827–8

PLATE 179

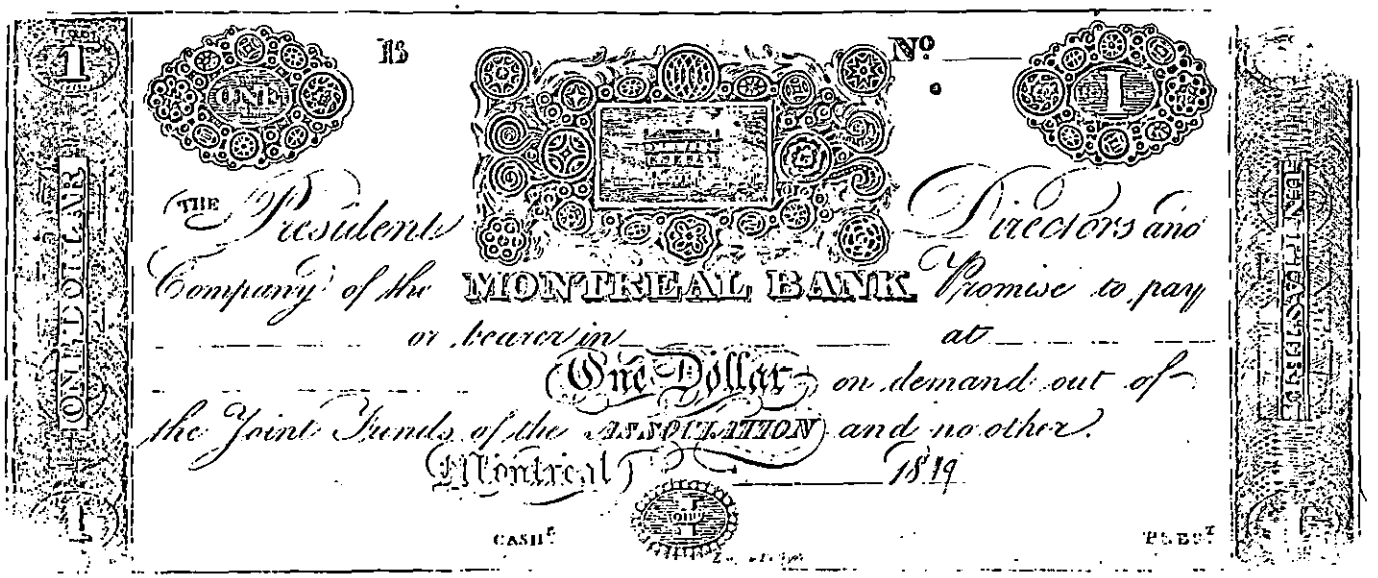


PLATE 180a

The 1819 Bank of Montreal Building also served as the central motif of 'tokens' issued by the bank: see plates 180b & c.

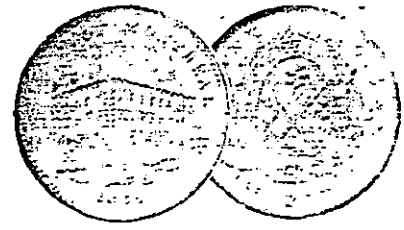


PLATE 180b Bank of Montreal side view
half penny 1838-1839.

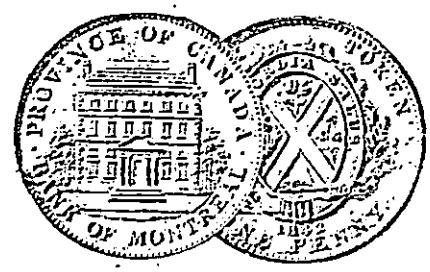


PLATE 180c Bank of Montreal front view
penny 1842-1844.

PLATE 181a & b Château de Ramesay, by master-mason Pierre Couturier, c.1705.

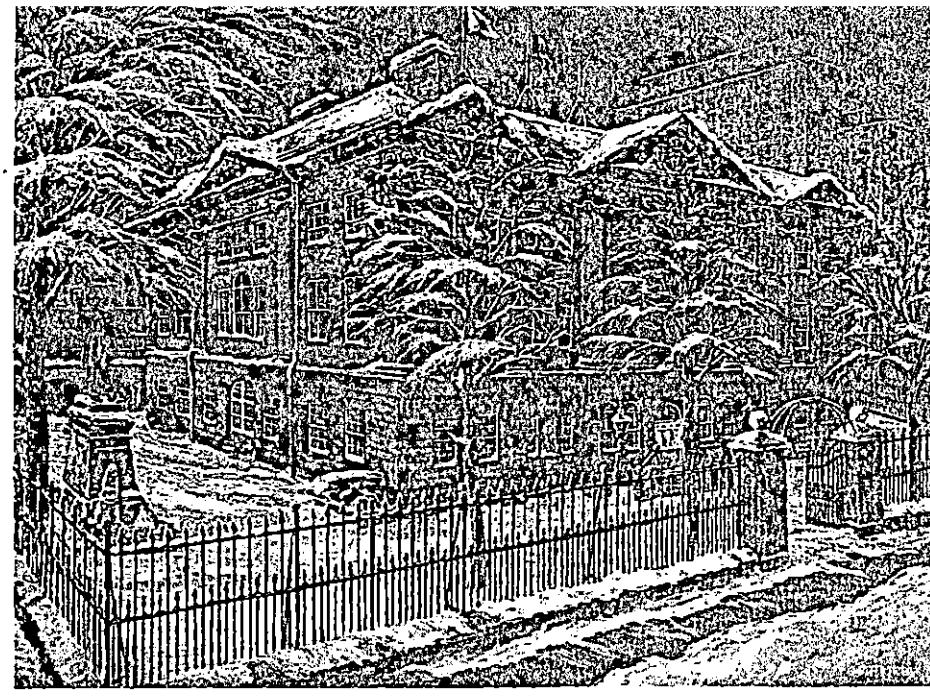


PLATE 182a "Province House in Winter", from an oil painting by Fred C. Kirby.

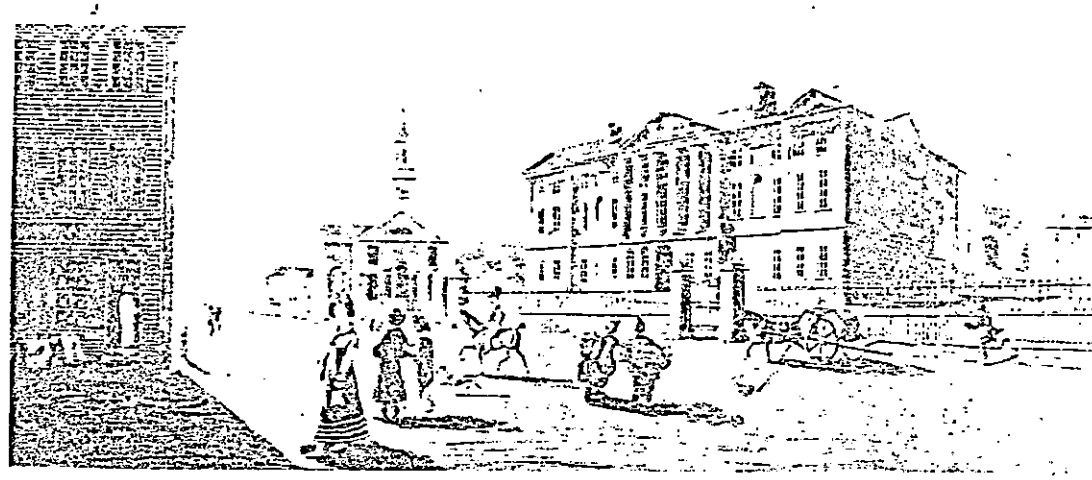


PLATE 182b "Perspective View of the Privince Building", J.E. Woolford, 1830.

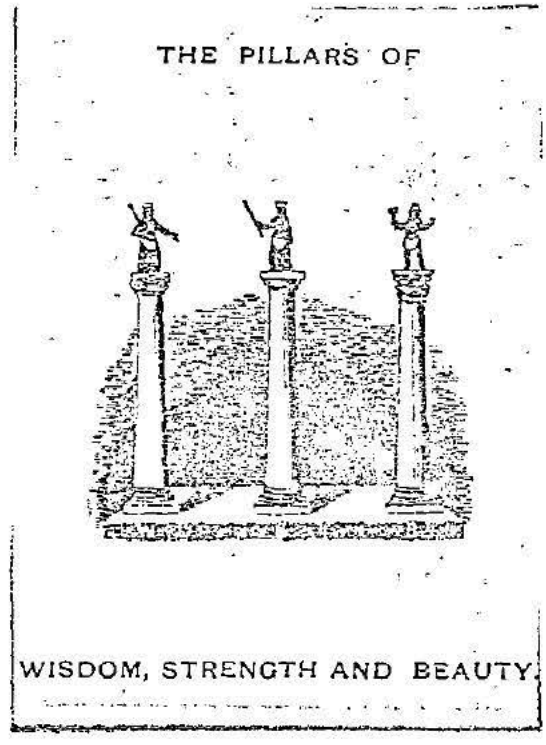
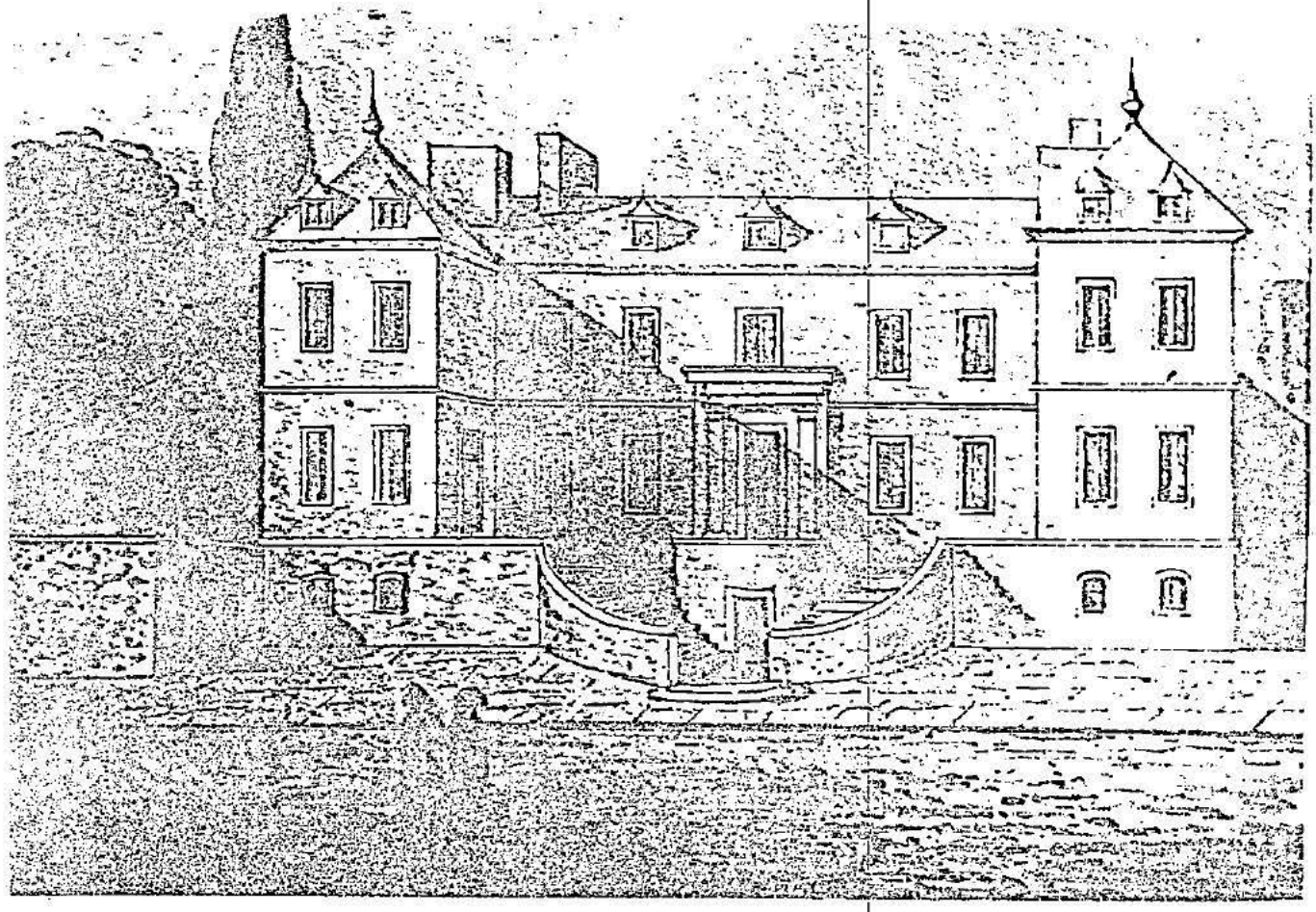


PLATE 183



MONTREAL, QUE. *Château Vaudreuil, as it was about 1802*. This drawing by William Berczy (1748-1813: an itinerant German colonizer, painter, and amateur architect—he designed the first Anglican Cathedral of Montreal in 1805) shows the residence of the French governors of Montreal before its destruction by fire in 1803. Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry (1682-1756), Royal Engineer of New France, designed it in 1723; he was also responsible for the fortifications of Montreal, and for the façades of the Jesuit Church, Quebec, and Old Notre-Dame (*see plates* 18 and 25).

PLATE 184a

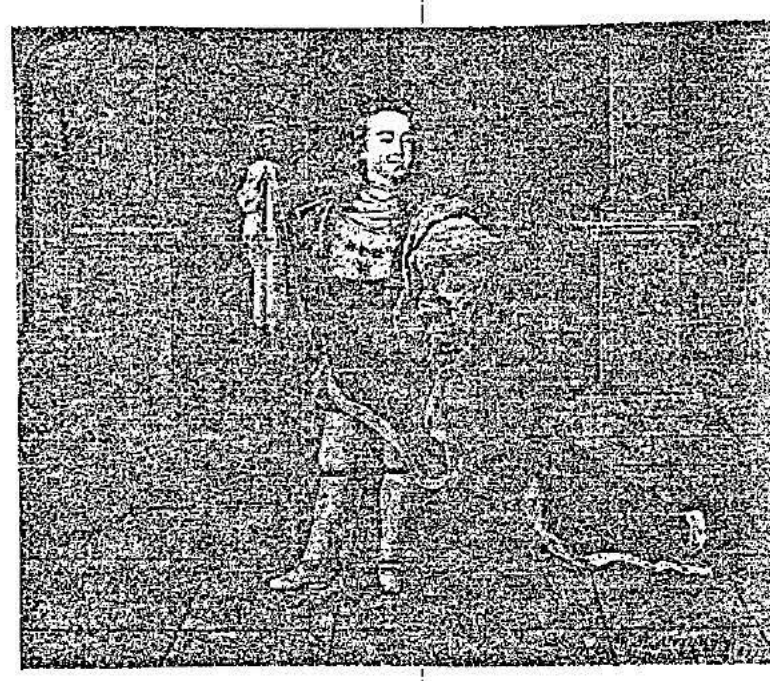


PLATE 184b Saint Louis tenant la couronne d'epines (1777), by Jean-Antoine Aide-Crequy.

This work, obviously based on Rigaud's Louis XV (plate 206), was painted, according to J. Russell Harper in Painting in Canada: A History, to honor Louis XVI's accession to the French throne in 1774. "Aide-Crequy painted the canvas to express his continuing fealty to France and the French crown."

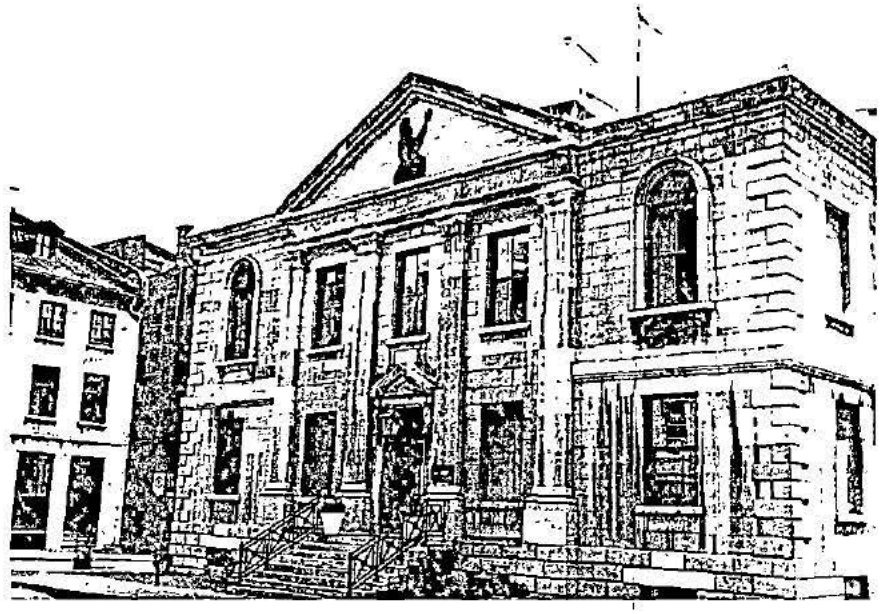
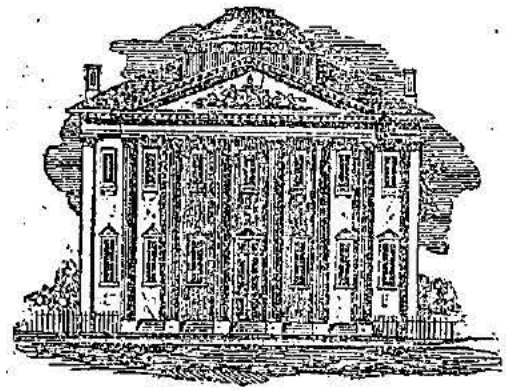


PLATE 185

50 feet from the pavement; the building is 72 feet front, 61 feet deep; it was opened to the public in 1844. The architect who superintended the building, was Mr. G. L. Dickinson.



BANK OF MONTREAL,

PLACE D'ARMES.

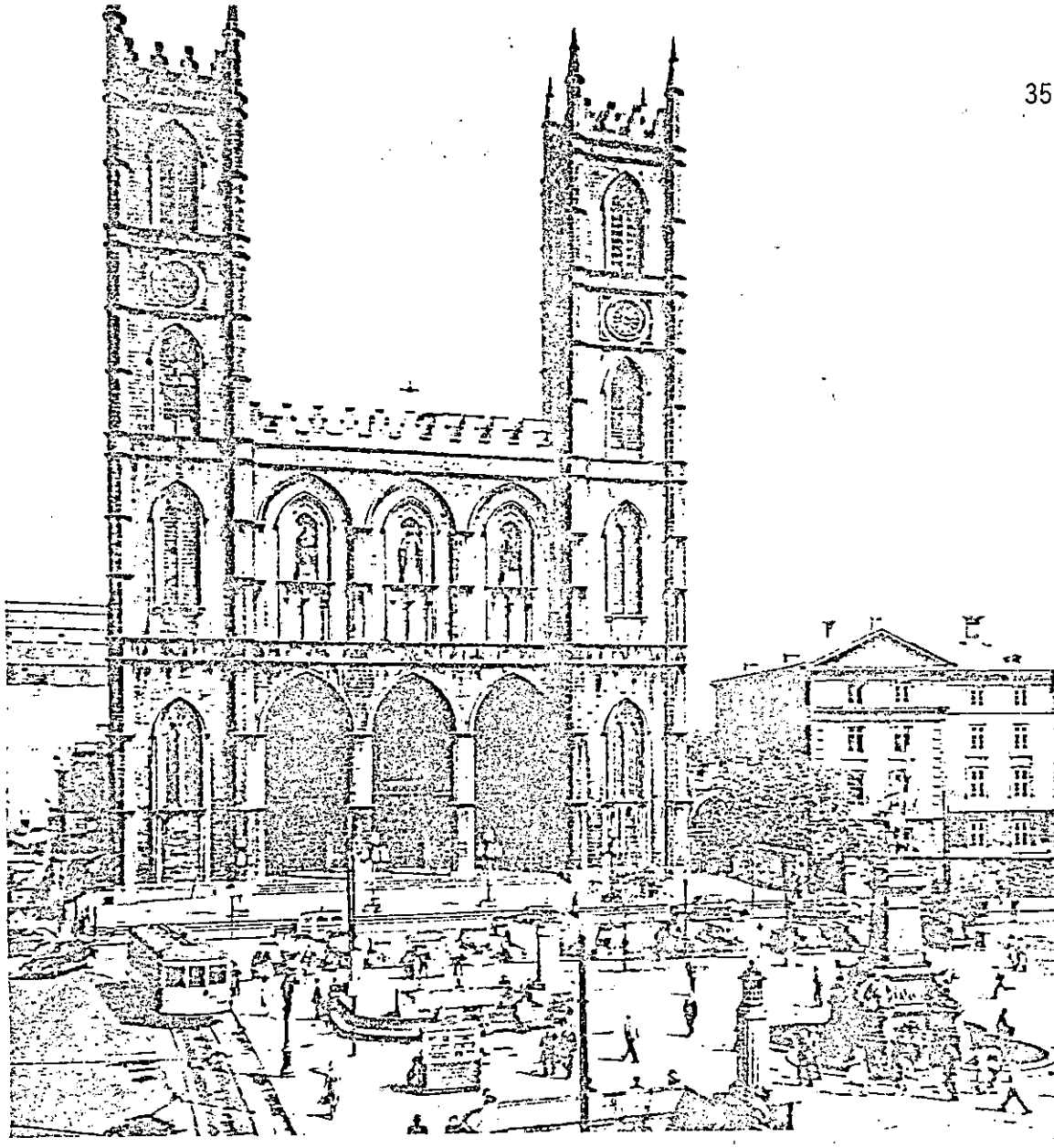
The order of architecture adopted for this Bank (which is now in course of erection), is the Corinthian. The front will have a portico of 6 columns 40 feet in height, the entire height, from the pavement to the apex of the pediment of the portico, being 63 feet 6 inches. The length is 93 feet fronting on the Place D'Armes, and the depth 63 feet. The design was furnished by Mr. Wells, and the building is expected to be completed in 1847.

COMMERCIAL BANK,

GREAT ST. JAMES STREET.

This commodious and elegant building, which adjoins the Odd Fellows' Hall, is a good specimen of the

PLATE 186 page reproduced from Hochelaga Depicta (1846).



MONTREAL, QUE. *Parish Church of Notre-Dame ('La Paroisse'): Exterior.* Designed by James O'Donnell (1774-1830) in 1823, begun in 1824, opened in 1829; towers completed in 1841 and 1843. Not the first Gothic Revival building in Canada, but certainly the one which attracted most public attention and inspired widespread interest in reviving medieval architectural styles. Although the façade was intended to recall Notre-Dame in Paris, O'Donnell seems to have borrowed his details more from Westminster Abbey in London than anywhere else; the probability is that his Gothic was learned, directly or indirectly, from James Wyatt, the great late-eighteenth-century restorer of English cathedrals.

PLATE 188

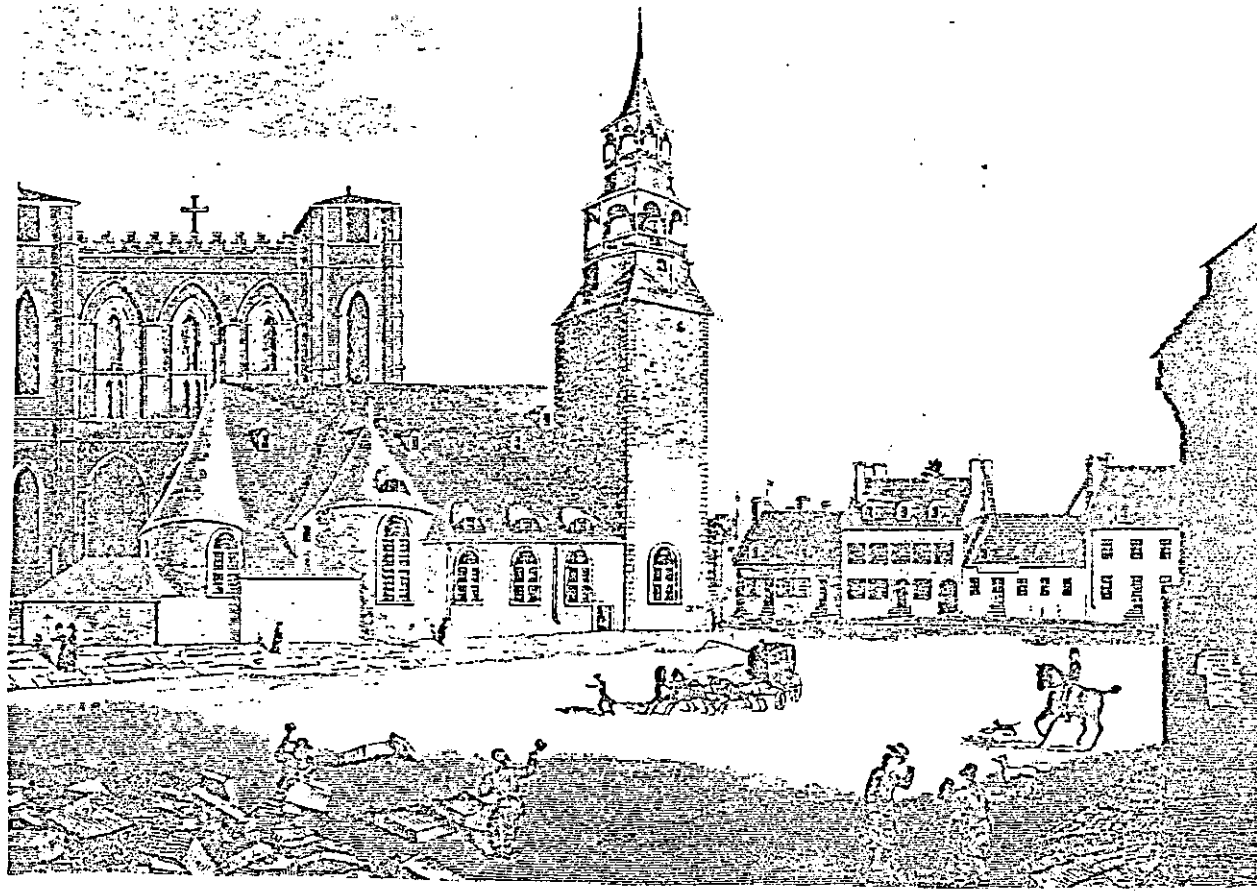


PLATE 189 Sproule's engraving of the "South Side of the Place d'Armes", 1830.

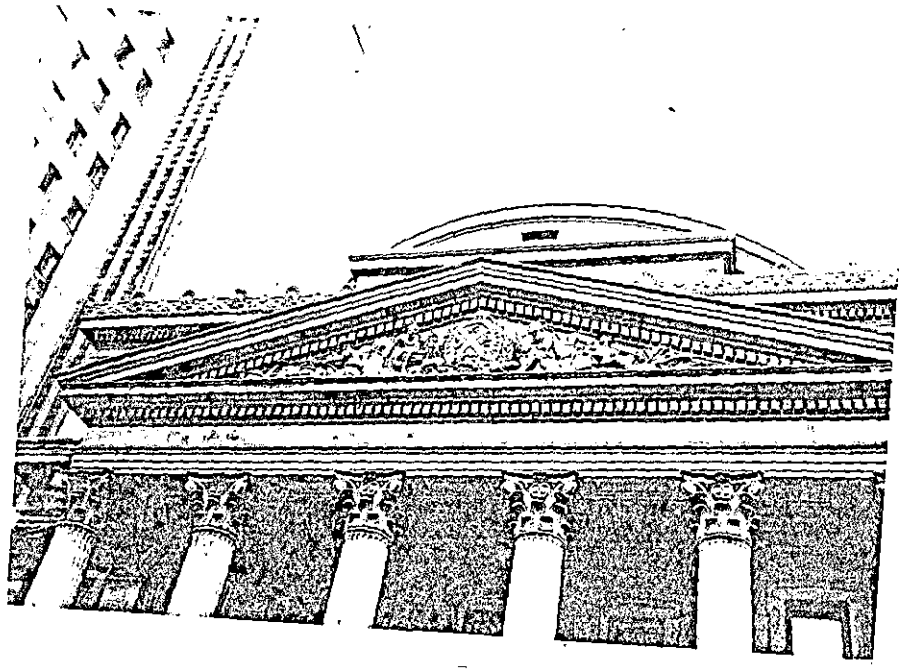


PLATE 190

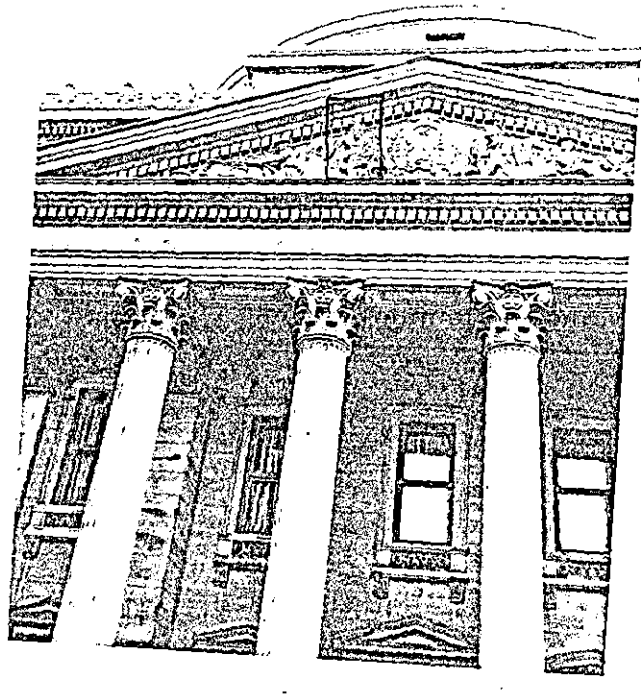


PLATE 191

AUGUSTE RODIN. *The Thinker*. 1879–89. Bronze, height 27 1/2". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Gift of Thomas F. Ryan, 1910)

PLATE 192

PLATE 193

INDIANS AND SQUAWS OF LOWER CANADA.

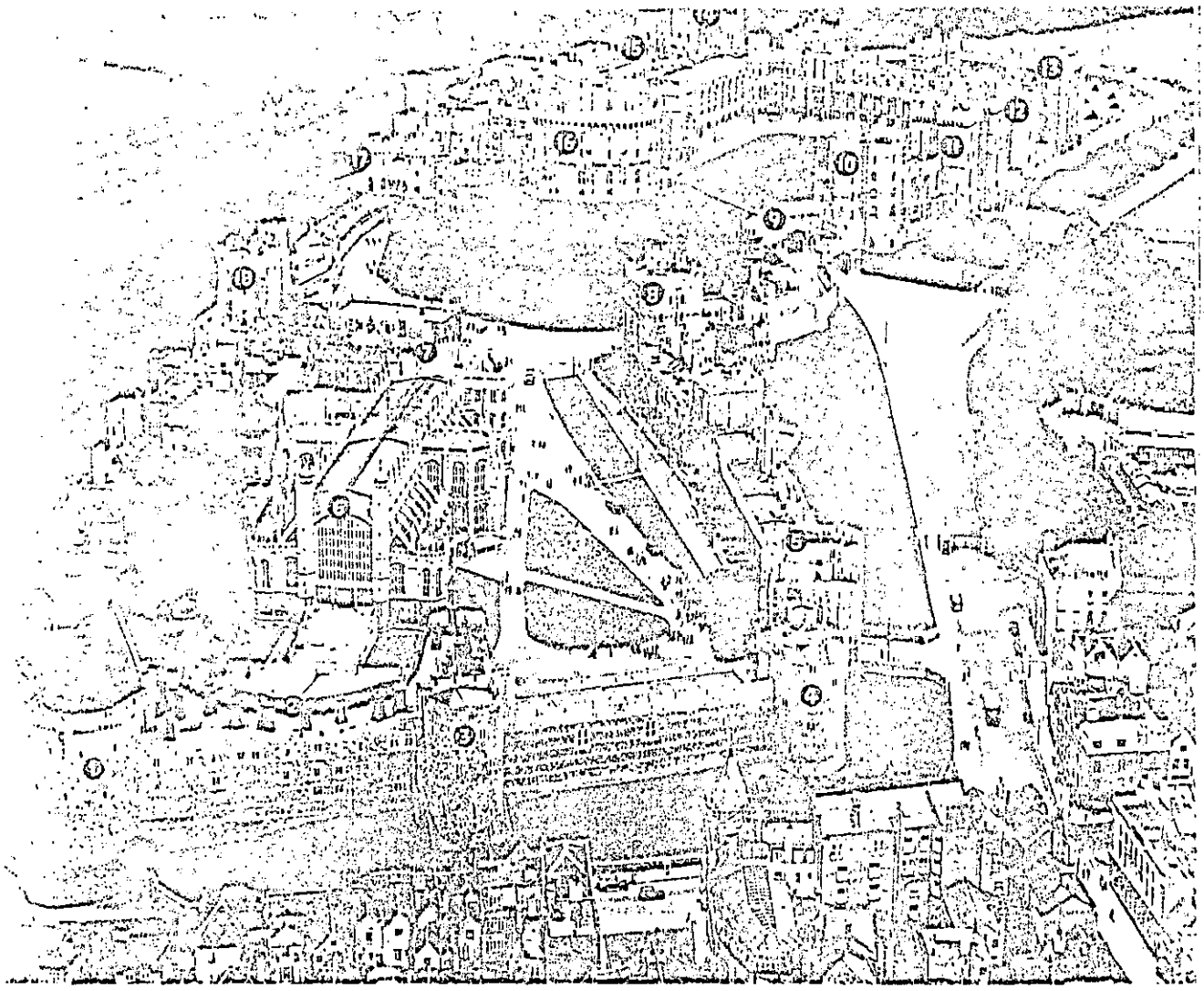
Montreal,

Published and Sold by John Mc Coy, Group St James Street

PLATE 194 engraving by Cornelius Krieghoff

Apollo Belvedere, Roman copy.
Original 200-150 B.C.
Vatican Museum

PLATE 195



THE ROYAL PALACE AND FORTRESS OF WINDSOR

This aerial view shows (1) The Curfew Tower (2) The rooftops of the Horseshoe Cloisters (3) The Garter Tower (4) The Salisbury Tower (5) King Henry VIII's Gateway (6) The main door of St. George's Chapel (7) The Albert Memorial Chapel, below which lies the Royal Tomb House (8) Henry III's Tower (9) St. George's Gate, which leads into the Great Quadrangle (10) Edward III's Tower (11) George IV's Gateway (12) The Visitors' Apartments (13) The Queen's Tower, which marks the beginning of the Royal Family's Private Apartments. These extend to the north-east corner (14) where the Principal Dining Room is situated. On the left are (15) The State Apartments (16) The Round Tower (17) The Norman Gate (18) The Winchester Tower. This picture shows how the castle still retains its 14th-century division into Upper, Middle and Lower Wards (Photograph by Central Press). FACING PAGE:

PLATE 196

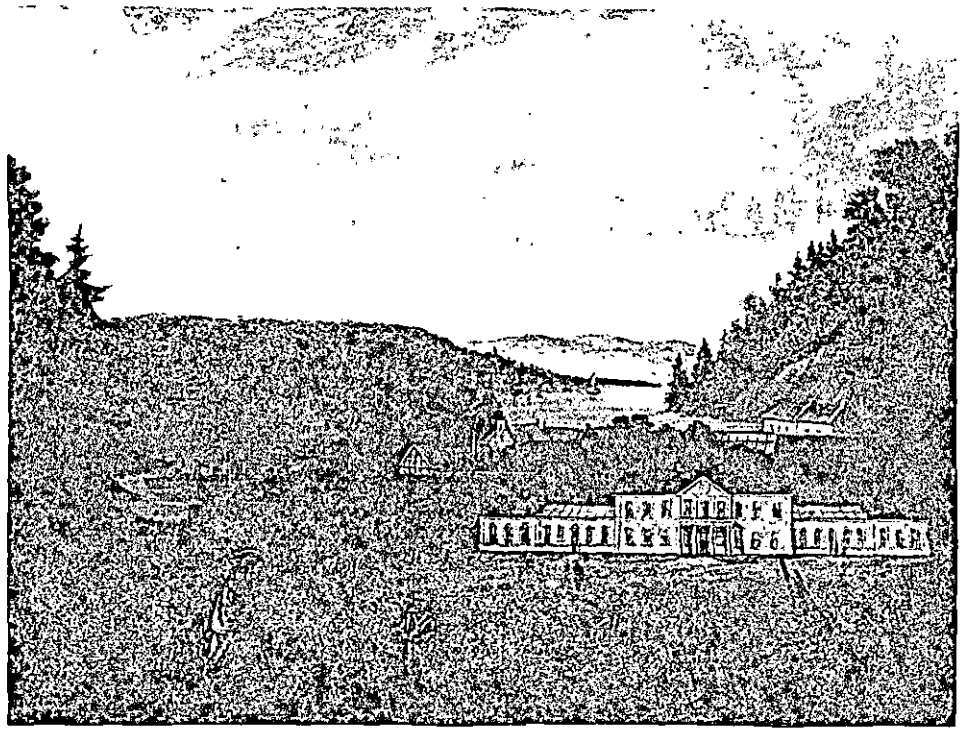


PLATE 197

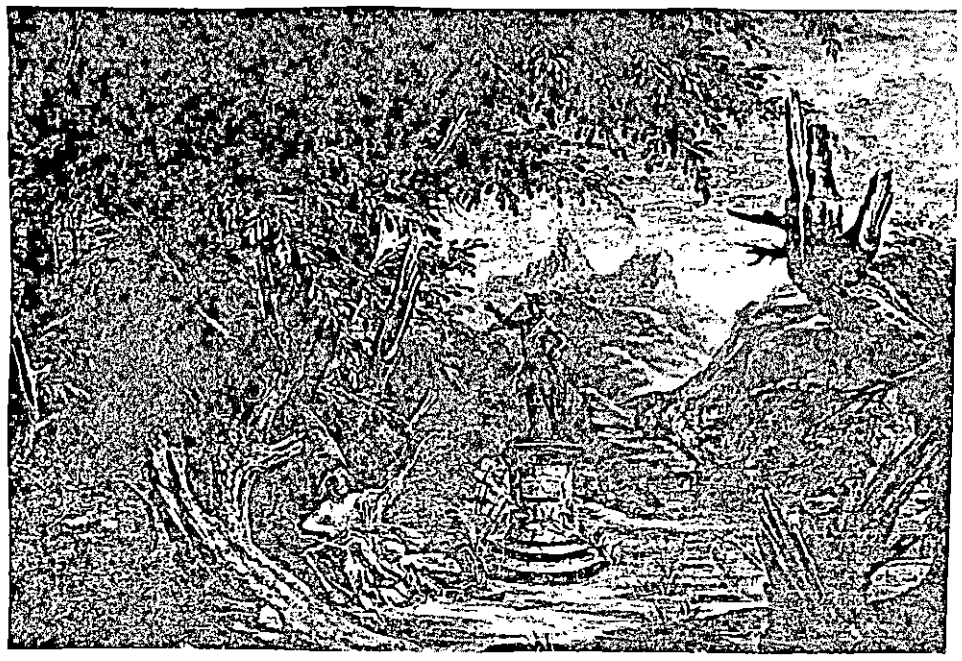
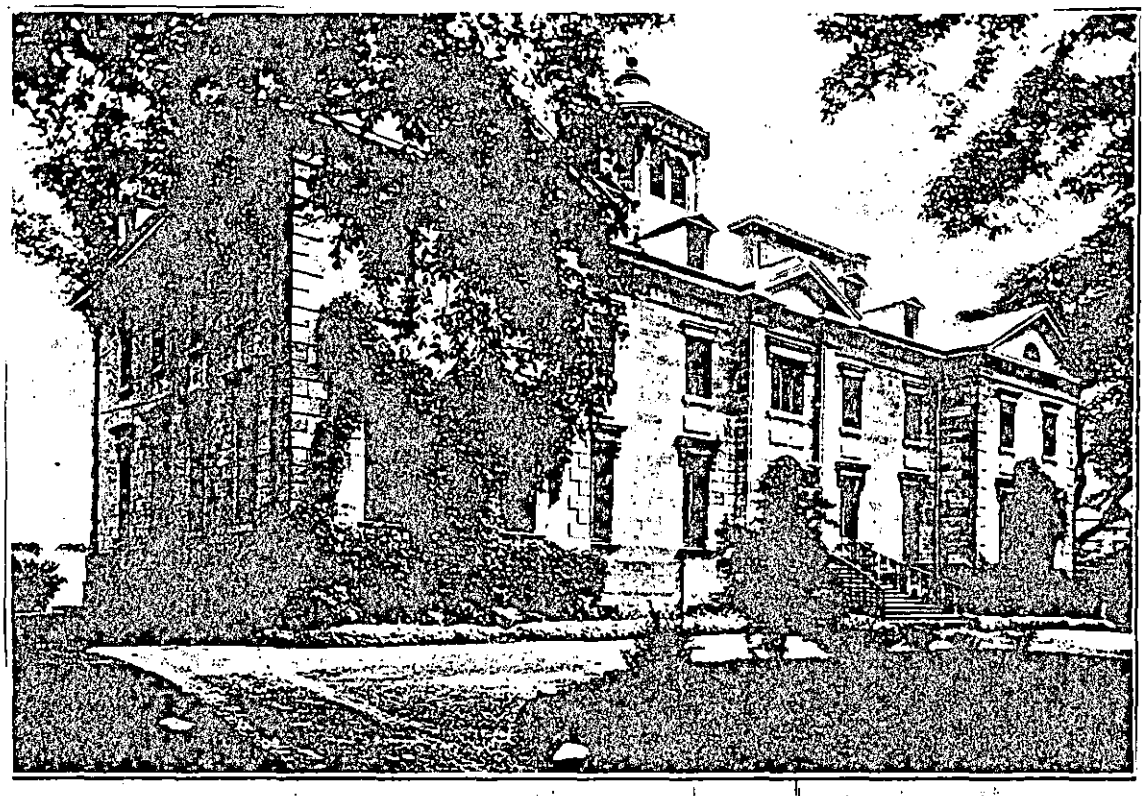


PLATE 198 Legare's "Paysage au monument Wolfe", undated. The indian, in this work, represents French Canada surrendering his arms to the conquering English general.



LE CHÂTEAU OU MANOIR MASSON À TERREBONNE

PLATE 199

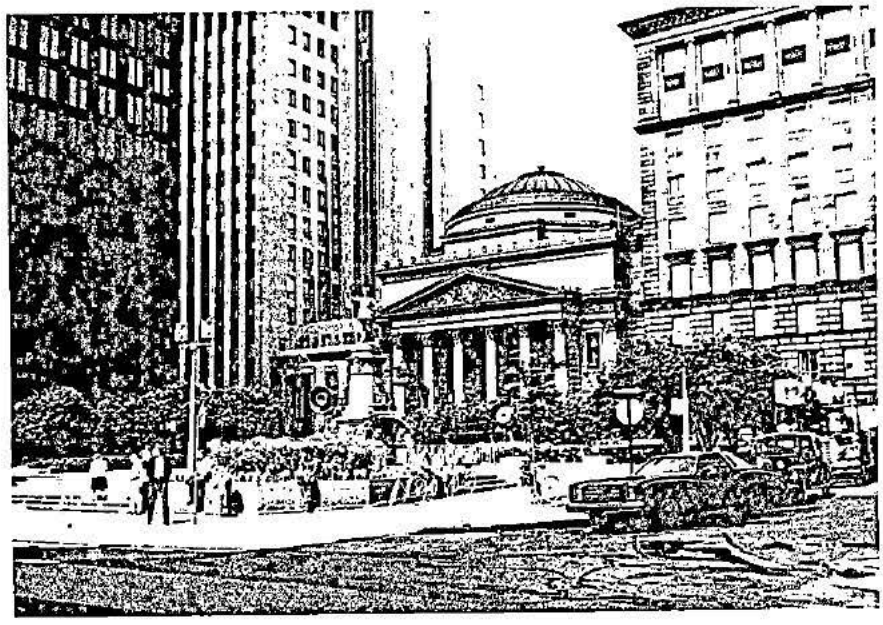


PLATE 200a

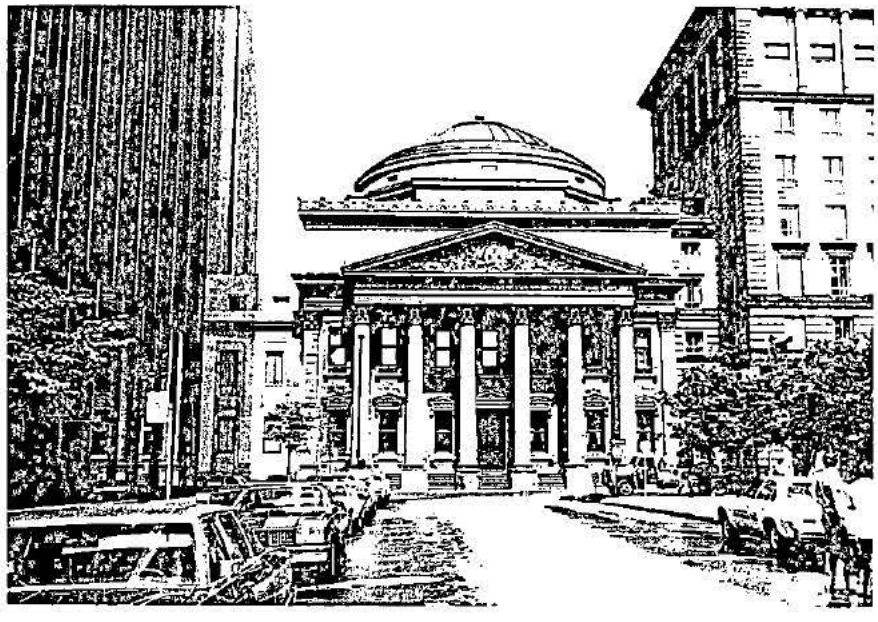


PLATE 200b

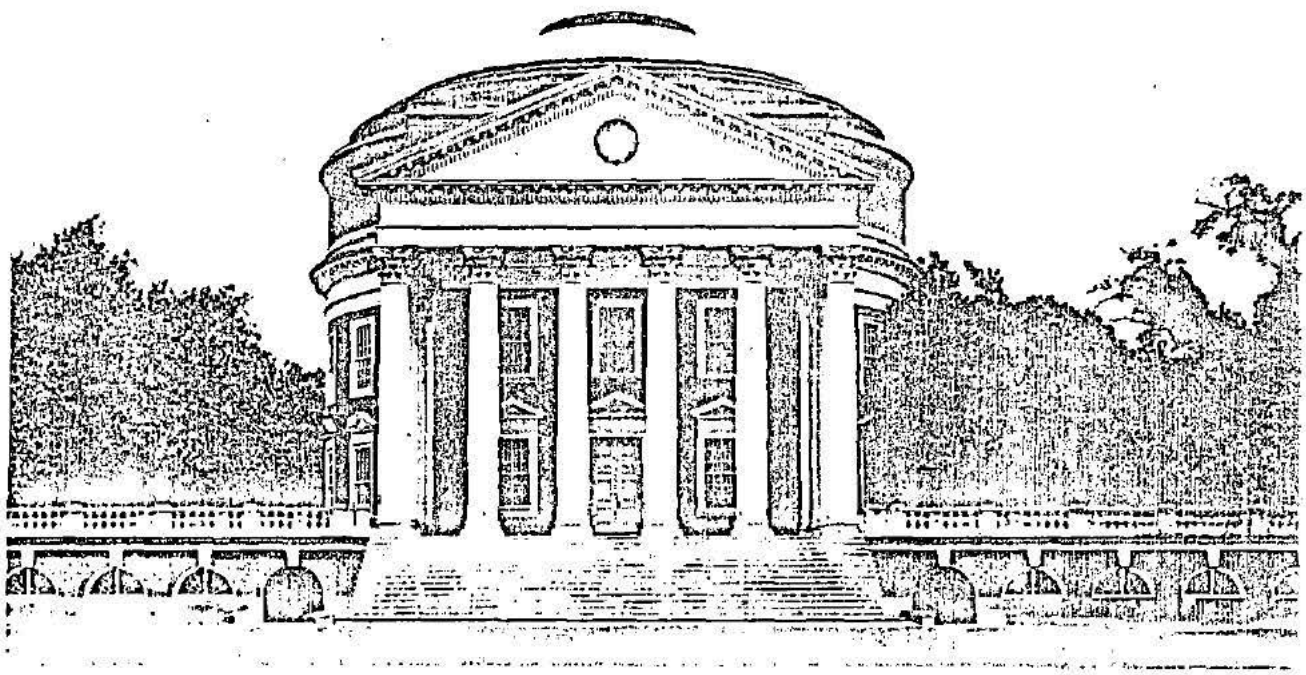


PLATE 201 McKim, Mead & White's restoration of Jefferson's Rotunda, 1896-1976.

209
JEAN-ANTOINE WATTEAU
L'enseigne de Gersaint
(Signboard for the Art-Dealer Gersaint)

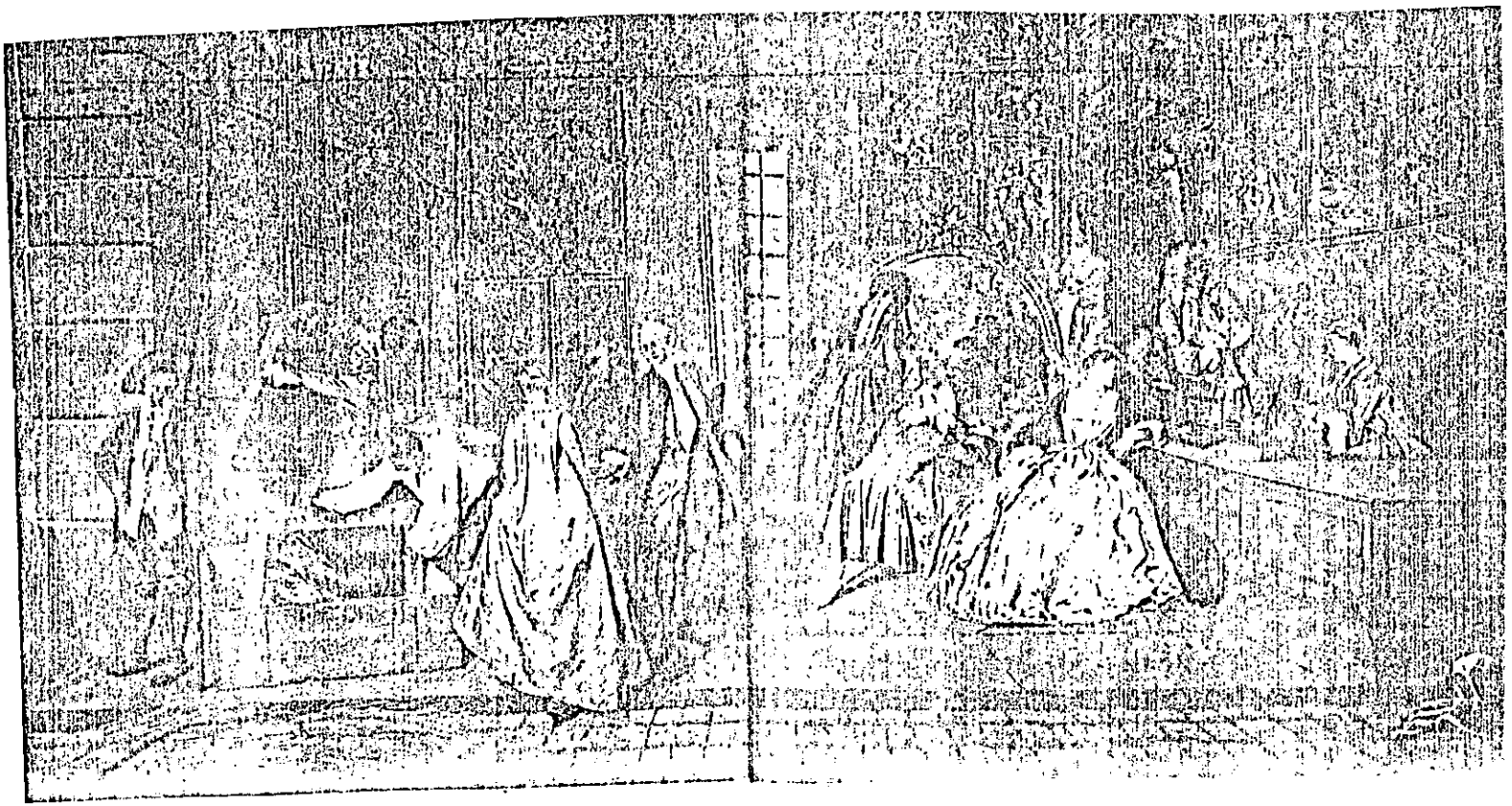


PLATE 204

On the left side of the painting, the old order, exemplified by Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV was put away, while the patrons of the art shop embark on the sensual indulgence of the Rococo, on the right.

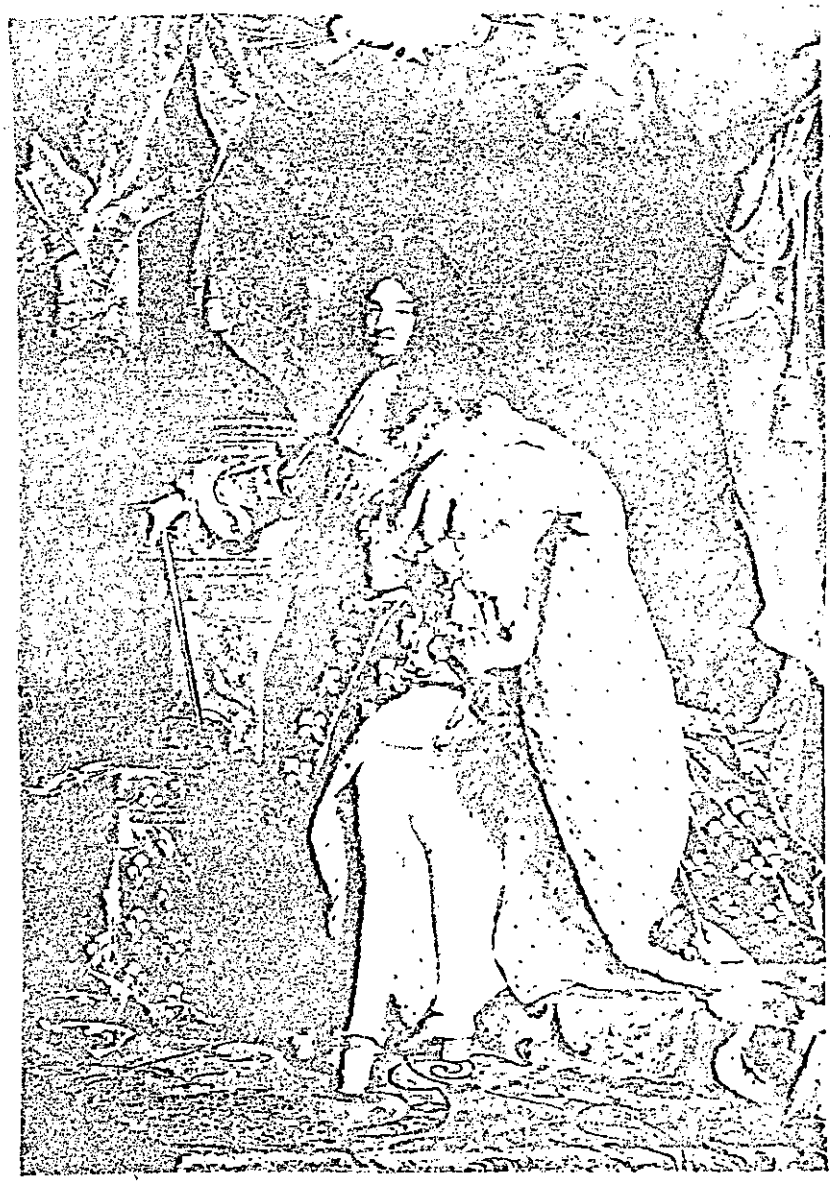
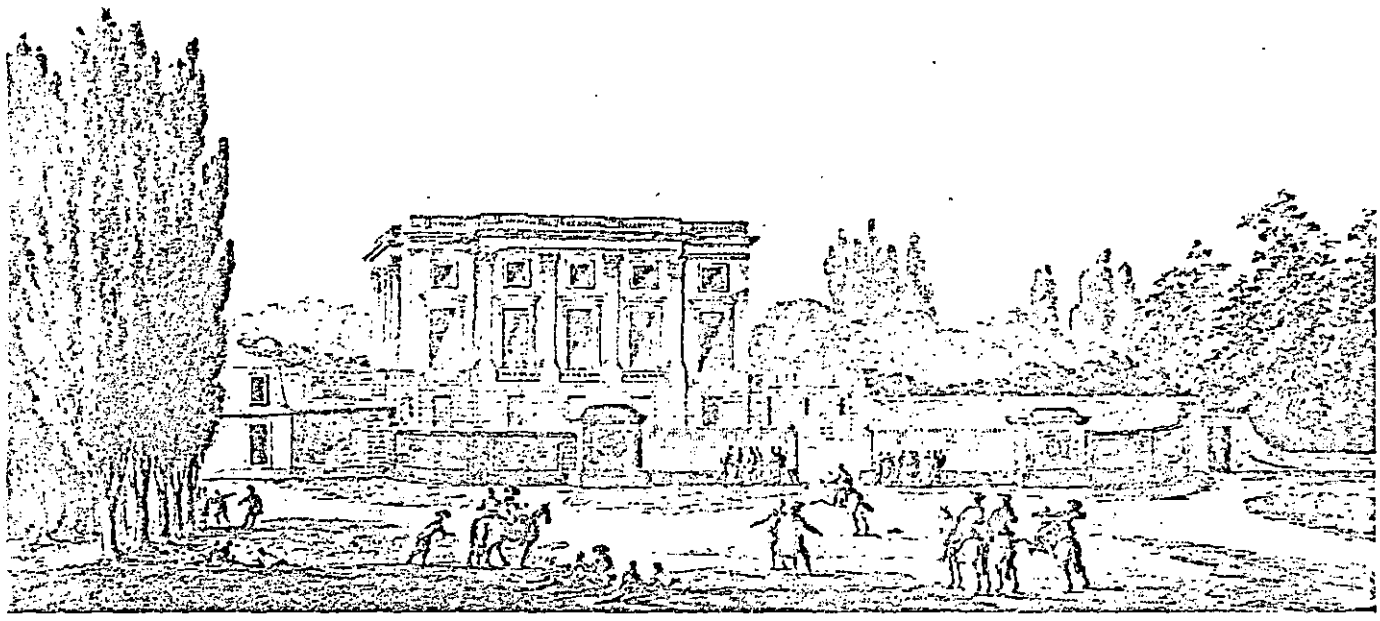


PLATE 205 Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV, of 1701.

PLATE 206 Rigaud's portrait of Louis XV of 1715.

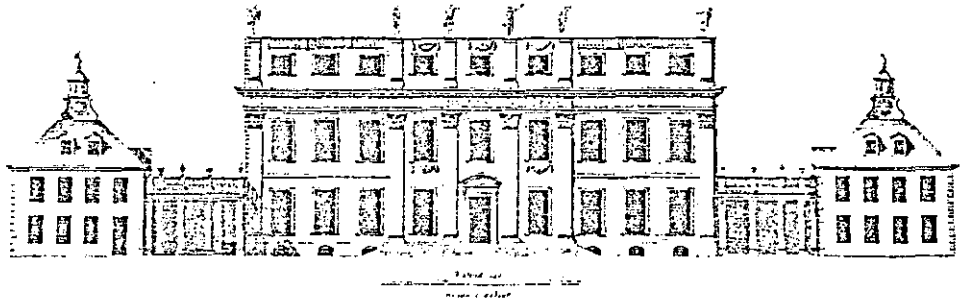
King Louis XVI. *Portrait by Callet. Petit Trianon, Versailles.*

PLATE 207



Jacques-Ange Gabriel began to build the Petit Trianon in 1762.

PLATE 208



( ) William Winde. Buckingham House, London, 1703–5 (destroyed 1825)

PLATE 209

Two months before the date fixed for her daughter's marriage, Maria Theresa noticed that she still did not have any picture of Louis Auguste. Louis XV had this print sent of "The Dauphin Toiling", a pastoral scene in rather doubtful taste. At the beginning of April two portraits of the Dauphin in ceremonial robes were sent to the young bride.

PLATE 210

PLATE 211 Marie Antoinette a Petit Trianon, by Vigee-Le Brun, Salon of 1783.

View of the Queen's Hamlet from the other side of the pond.

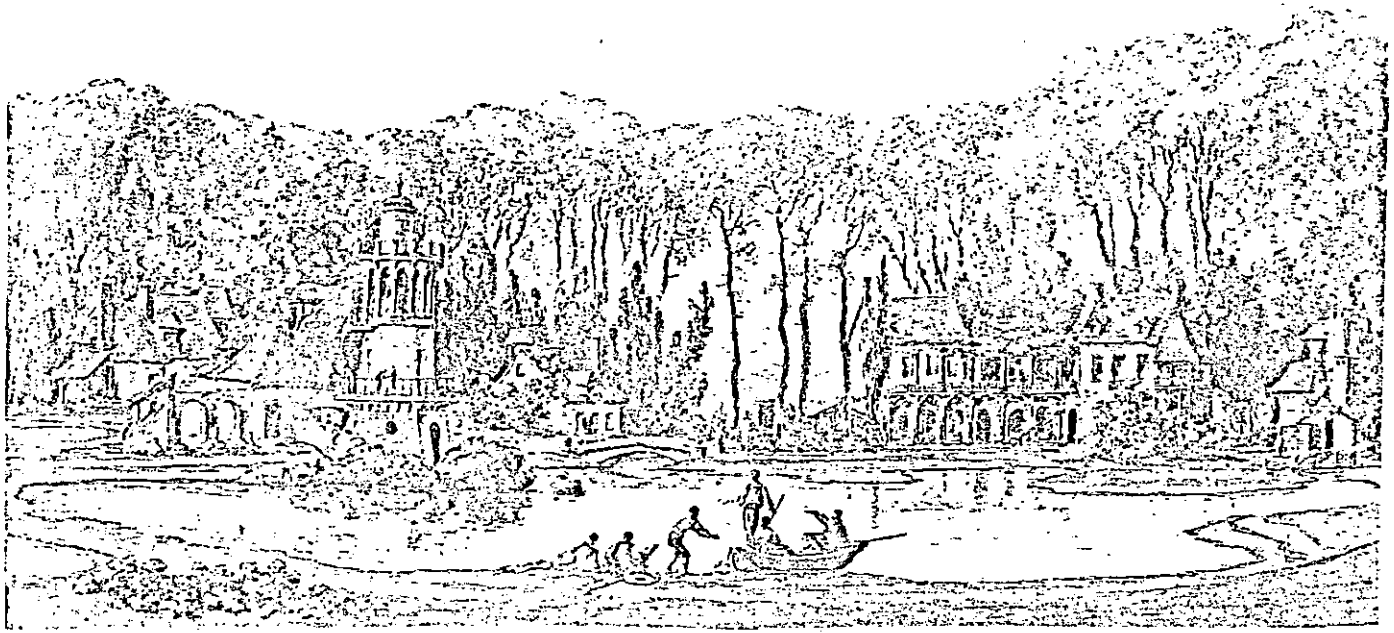


PLATE 212

Coup d'œil exact de l'arrangement des Peintures au Salon du Louvre, en 1785.

Gravé de mémoire, et remis devant le temps de l'exposition

PLATE 213a The Arrangement of Paintings, Salon of 1785: see detail 213b.

ngement des Peintures au Salon

re, et terminé durant le temps de l'exposi

PLATE 213b

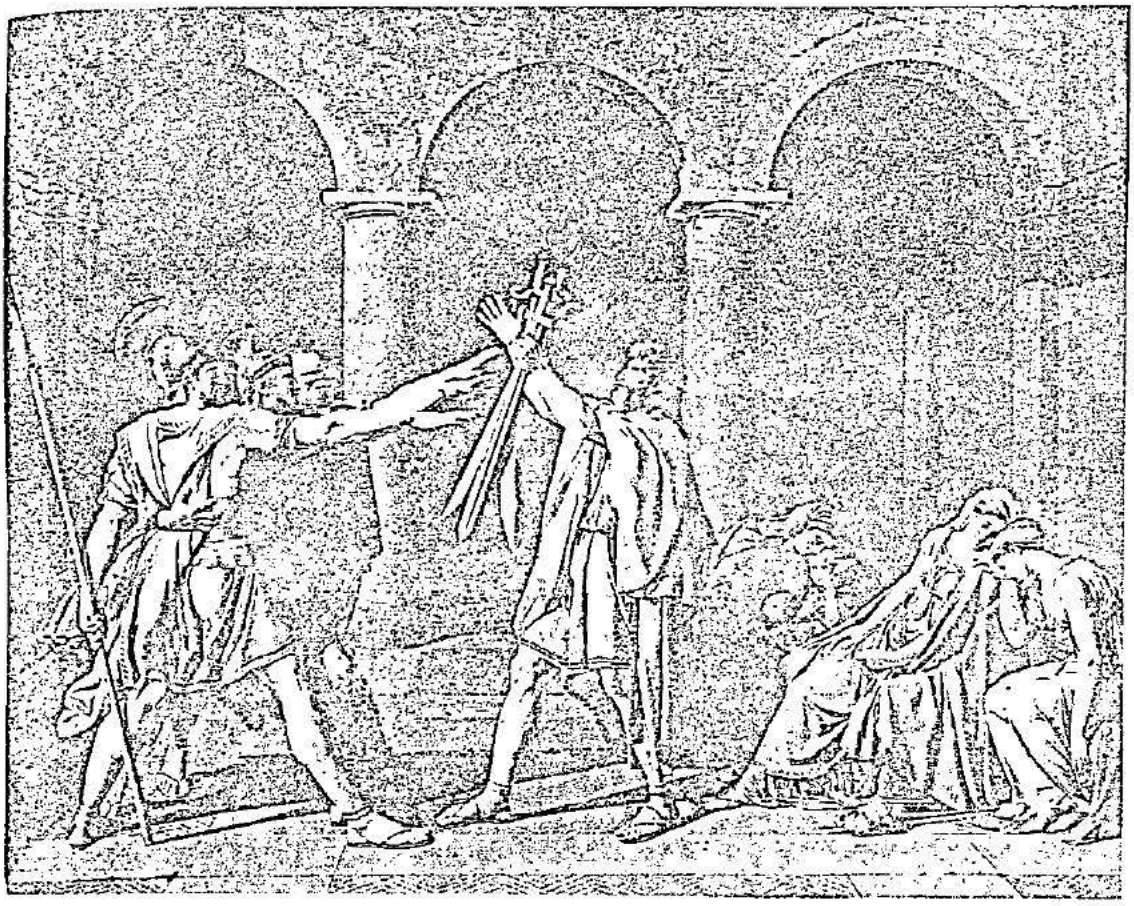
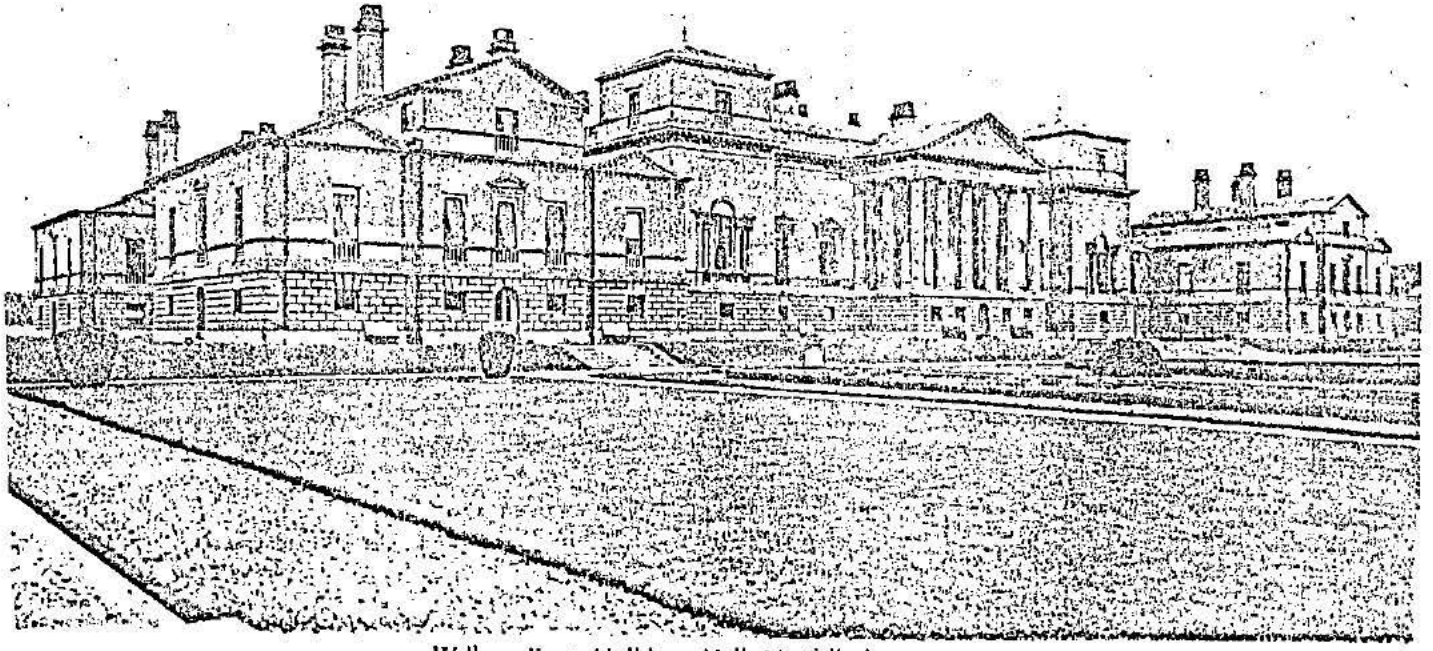


PLATE 214

PLATE 215 Marie-Antoinette with her children, by Wertmuller.

THOMAS BANKS *Death of Germanicus*, monument in Holkham Hall, Norfolk

PLATE 216



William Kent, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, begun 1734

PLATE 217

VITA

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Name (in block letters)

May 16 1979
(Date)