LECTURE ON A MASTER MIND

INIGO JONES

By Sir John Summerson
Fellow of the Academy

Read 27 May 1964

I

IT has been the almost invariable custom, in these lectures, for the lecturer to stand well back from his subject and delineate the Master Mind in broad and suggestive outline. I wish I could do this, but with Inigo Jones as my subject I find it impossible. I find him a cloudy, indistinct figure to whom we must for long pay the homage of detailed inquiry before we can attempt the grand assessment or the vivid sketch. The difficulties are, after all, considerable, especially where the architecture is concerned. At least forty-five buildings were executed from Inigo's designs. Of these only seven survive, all much altered, while of the remainder there exist only the most exiguous records or, in many instances, none.

The total assessment (a dubious affair at any time) may be quite beyond our reach. Nevertheless, if we cannot see all round this Master Mind we can, with patience, probe it and that, perhaps, is almost as rewarding, as I hope I may be able to show. I propose to devote my hour this evening to two buildings only, one of which exists in part and the other not at all, and neither of which has received the critical attention it deserves. The first is the Covent Garden complex of church and square; the second is the remodelling of old St. Paul's Cathedral. These buildings belong to the zenith of Inigo's career as an architect, when he was in his late fifties and early sixties. They show him, I believe, as one of the most independent architects in the Europe of his time, an artist of uncommon intellectual probity who declined to submit to the sway of any continental school and sought criteria which should have an absolute value independent of time and place. Such a quest can have been understood by only a handful of his contemporaries. At his death it was all but lost to sight. The eighteenth century rediscovered

it in rediscovering Jones and made thereby, in spite of some misunderstanding and distortion, a special contribution to the anti-Baroque revolution from which Neo-classicism emerged. Indeed, a short and perhaps rather risky way of characterizing Jones would be to call him the first Neo-classical architect. The description could easily be dismissed as something less than a half-truth but it is none the less useful so long as we resist the temptation to let concepts belonging strictly to the eighteenth century filter back into our idea of Jones and his age. His performance must be assessed within the ambience of its own world.

II

Of the two buildings which I propose to examine, the Covent Garden work comes first, belonging to the years 1631–5. The work at St. Paul's Cathedral belongs to 1632–42. At Covent Garden we are confronted with a totality comprising not only the church but the open space, houses and streets axially related to it (Pl. XVII *a* and *b*, Pl. XVIII *a*, *b*, and *c*). Historically and architecturally, church, space, and houses are interdependent—part of a single project; to understand any part of Covent Garden it is necessary to know something of the whole and of the motives which brought it into being.

It is well known that Covent Garden resulted from a challenge to what we should call town-planning restrictions and the due rejoinder of authority to that challenge.[1] The ground belonged to Francis, 4th Earl of Bedford, a man of large business capacity and initiative, not a favourite at Court and in fact tending to hold dangerously independent views.[2] In face of the proclamation prohibiting building in the neighbourhood of London he had attempted to build for profit in Long Acre and been stopped.[3] Any attempt to develop Covent Garden would have been stopped but the earl approached this major project with more circumspection. By what stages he attained his goal we do not know but on 10 January 1631 the Attorney-General was ordered to prepare a licence for the earl to build as many 'howses and buildings fitt for the habitacons of *Gentlemen* and men of abillity' as he should think proper.[4] There was no

[1] J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (revised ed., 1962), pp. 29–32.
[2] 'Russell, Francis, Fourth Earl of Bedford (1593–1641)' in *D.N.B.*
[3] N. G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (1935), p. 161.
[4] S.P. 16, vol. 182, no. 34.

mention of any payment by the earl but we know in fact that the licence cost him £2,000.[1]

How Inigo Jones, the King's Surveyor, came to be employed on the work is not obvious from the documents but inferences can be drawn. The proclamation of 2 May 1625 was in the nature of an absolute prohibition of any building whatever except on old foundations—i.e. rebuilding.[2] The commission appointed to implement the proclamation, however, was given some latitude.[3] Nothing was said about building on old foundations and authority was given to any four commissioners, *of whom the King's Surveyor of Works was to be one*, to allot ground for the rebuilding of houses in such a way as to achieve 'Uniformitie and Decency'. This still does not allow for any increase in the number of houses but it does facilitate planned redistribution. More significantly, it establishes the principle that any new-shaping of London's streets shall come under the eye of the King's Surveyor—in other words, Inigo Jones. The text of the licence itself is entirely in line with that of the commission.[4] It applies itself specifically to the demolition or alteration of existing structures (there cannot have been many), the building of new structures in brick or stone, and the alteration of existing ways to accommodate the new buildings—rather as if the new Covent Garden was to be a matter simply of rebuilding and redistribution. The principle that the Surveyor of Works should exercise control would clearly apply.

In the licence there is no mention of a church, but there is a strong suggestion elsewhere that the church got into the scheme because the Earl of Bedford was shrewd enough to see that the scheme would not work without one.[5] It was a matter

[1] S.P. 16, vol. 288, nos. 43 and 51. In 1635 two sums of £1,000 were received by the Exchequer in confirmation of the Earl of Bedford's licence to build in Covent Garden.

[2] Printed in R. Sanderson, *Foedera*, xviii (1726), 33 and R. R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations* (1910), no. 1420.

[3] Printed in R. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 97.

[4] Pat. Rolls, C 66/2535.

[5] *Diary of T. Burton* (ed. J. T. Rutt, 1828), ii. 180–1, where a debate is recorded of 5 June 1657, on the Report of the Committee for the Bill against New Buildings. The (fifth) Earl of Bedford was liable to a heavy fine and had petitioned against it. Members moved for an abatement of his fine on the grounds that he had built and endowed a church and given money to the poor and to the minister. Captain Baynes said: 'I see no more equity for my Lord of Bedford than for others to be abated. If he built the church it did advance his houses' rents.' I am indebted to Professor Trevor-Roper for this reference.

of expediency rather than piety. It rendered possible the creation of a new quarter, ready stamped with the seal of social acceptability. Church, open space, and streets were thus a single concept economically. Jones, brought into the project by virtue of his office and accepted, no doubt, by the earl as a condition of its viability, saw that it became a single concept architecturally.

The idea of church and square as a calculated ensemble is remarkable for this date but its derivation need not, I think, be in doubt. John Evelyn picked up the information that it was the church and piazza at Leghorn which 'gave the first hint to the building both of the Church and Piazza in Covent Garden' and this seems highly probable. Under Ferdinando Medici, who succeeded to the dukedom of Tuscany in 1587, Leghorn was rapidly transformed from almost nothing to the great international sea-port which it was to remain for two hundred years.[1] The building of the cathedral (designed by Pieroni after Buontalenti) and the piazza were part of this planned development—at the time, possibly the most ambitious town-planning project to be found anywhere. Jones would certainly have seen it on his first Italian visit and the Earl of Bedford would have heard of it. Now, Duke Ferdinando's niece was Marie de Medicis, Queen of Henri IV of France and *his* initiative in creating the Place Royale and Place Dauphine in Paris in 1605 probably derived from Leghorn.[2] The Place Royale, which Jones will have seen in progress in 1609 has a distinct bearing on Covent Garden. And the long arm of the Medicis stretches even further when we consider that Henrietta Maria, Charles I's queen, was Marie de Medicis's daughter. The dynastic network apart, however, links between London and Leghorn, direct and *via* Paris, are not far to seek. The architectural common factors in the three schemes are less important than the idea, common to all three, of rationalizing a residential quarter on symmetrical as well as profitable lines. In the first two cases the initiative was that of the sovereign; in the third, characteristically for England, that of a subject at loggerheads with his sovereign.

Coming strictly to architecture, the vaulted arcades of the Place Royale have more to do with Covent Garden than the rather ordinary cinquecento loggie at Leghorn (mostly destroyed in the Second World War). Jones's vision was to be more classical than either and while we are considering sources we must not forget the combination of temple and cortile which

[1] 'Livorno' in *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

[2] P. Lavedan, *Histoire de L'Urbanisme* (1941), pp. 277–84.

Palladio found and recorded as an almost flattened ruin near San Sebastiano outside Rome.[1]

III

Church and houses were begun almost simultaneously. Sites in Henrietta Street were let from March 1631;[2] the church was started in July.[3] The form to be taken by the church raised a curious question. No church had been built on a new site in London since the Reformation. There had been rebuildings, like St. Katherine Cree, on more or less traditional lines. Jones himself had built one Chapel Royal and was building another—both for Catholic worship, however. No new pattern had ever been proposed for an absolutely new Protestant church. What should its form be? No echo has reached us of the debates which must have been held on this question. We have only the result on which to base our own speculations; and the result is, approximately, a temple. The Earl of Bedford, not a high churchman, would require simplicity; Jones would need to seek specific architectural terms. As it happens, the attitudes of both men are neatly enfolded in an anecdote—an anecdote pregnant with more meaning than is generally ascribed to it. It was told to Walpole by Mr. Speaker Onslow and if it was an Onslow family story it may have come down from Richard Onslow, the parliamentarian; that would make it four generations old, so we must not regard it as verbatim reporting. Walpole's version is as follows:[4]

> When the Earl of Bedford sent for Inigo, he told him he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent Garden, but added he would not go to any considerable expense; 'In short', said he, 'I would not have it much better than a barn.' 'Well! then', said Jones, 'You shall have the handsomest barn in England.'

The manifest point of the story is the antithesis between the financier's dour economic challenge and the artist's gay, paradoxical response; and that is good enough. But there may be a little more to it. The anecdote may, I think, have been in origin an anecdote about the Tuscan order.

[1] *I Quattro Libri* (1570), iv. 88–89.

[2] J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. J. Strype (1720), vi. 87–89.

[3] Woburn Archives. *A Particular Account of the Earl of Bedfords Expence in Building Covent Garden Church*, 'begunne the 5th. of July 1631'.

[4] H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of the Arts* (1782), ii. 274.

IV

Inigo Jones's feeling for the Tuscan order, manifesting itself at various stages of his career, is one of the most interesting clues to his thought. The Tuscan has always been recognized as the most primitive of the five orders—the closest to the vernacular. Vitruvius gives a very incomplete formula but makes it clear that it is suitable only for timber beams and must have an enormous, truly sheltering, eaves-spread—one-quarter the height of the columns.[1] Alberti did not think the Tuscan worth mentioning. Serlio fitted it into his arbitrary gamut of five rising orders by making it the dunce—squat and coarse, recommended for military architecture, city gates, arsenals, and prisons.[2] Palladio does not see it so but, taking into account the timber beams and wide-spaced columns, says that it is appropriate to country buildings where the passage of carts is to be considered.[3] Scamozzi describes it as maintaining 'the plainness of primitive times'.[4] Where all the authorities agree is on its plain, robust character. A church which was to be of the simplest, cheapest kind could not inappropriately be a temple structure incorporating the Tuscan order. As such it would have classical dignity at the vernacular level: it would be the 'handsomest barn' of the anecdote.

Jones had concerned himself with the Tuscan fifteen years before Covent Garden was begun, right at the outset of his surveyorship. There had been, in 1615–16, a question of designing various service buildings for King James I's new house at Newmarket. These included a stable and a brew-house—obvious subjects for the application of the Tuscan. For the stable he made a design without an order at all but with romantically grotesque rustication recalling some of his masque designs.[5] For the brew-house he designed (Pl. XIX*a*) something more sophisticated,[6] taking Palladio's Villa Badoer[7] as the diagrammatic basis but substituting for its six-column portico an arrangement of two Tuscan columns *in antis* which he found in Scamozzi[8]

[1] *Vitruvius on Architecture* (ed. and trans. F. Granger, 1931), i. 239 and 241.
[2] *Regole Generali* (Bk. iv of the *Architettura*), cap. 5.
[3] *I Quattro Libri*, i, cap. 14.
[4] *Dell' Idea della Architettura* (1615), pt. ii, lib. 6, p. 55.
[5] R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev. Coll. II/2 (3).
[6] R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev. Coll. II/2 (i).
[7] *I Quattro Libri* (1570), ii. 48.
[8] Op. cit., pt. ii, lib. 6, p. 58.

(Pl. XIX*b*)—a treatise, by the way, which can then only just have come into his hands. This arrangement, with arch-pierced walls connecting the *antae* to the main body of the building (as, for instance, in Palladio's Villa Rotonda) is an almost exact forecast of the portico at Covent Garden. On a small scale, of course, because the Newmarket design was for a very small building—the portico 23 feet across as against 56 feet at Covent Garden. The Newmarket design was never carried out. A brew-house was, indeed, built there in 1616–17, but it was twice the size and no portico is mentioned in the accounts.[1] The Tuscan design was laid aside to come into its own at Covent Garden fifteen years later.

The Tuscan image varies from author to author and their graphic expositions are equally free. Scamozzi's version is a very tidy one, a kind of sub-Doric, avoiding the primitive earthiness which resides in or can be read into Vitruvius's account. In this, Scamozzi was following Palladio who in turn followed Serlio. But Palladio, while giving his own polite paraphrase, also provided something which he had already drawn out for Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius (Pl. XXIII), something much more arresting—a reconstruction following Vitruvius's text to the letter, with the plain, unmoulded beam and the huge projecting cantilevers or mutules.[2] It was this raw, primitive presentation of the Tuscan which, astonishingly, appealed to Jones; he envisaged it perhaps as the order closest to natural ideas of construction. Nowhere is there precise evidence of this but I think we must infer something of the sort from his attitude on that interesting occasion when, in 1620, King James asked him for an interpretation of Stonehenge. Stonehenge, he claimed (or so John Webb would have us believe) was a Tuscan temple built by the Romans.[3] By this he can only have meant that Stonehenge was Roman architecture at the most primitive level —a 'natural' architecture subject only to the discipline of rational spacing.

Palladio's and Barbaro's Vitruvian version of the Tuscan was expounded by them as a piece of theoretical archaeologizing rather than as a specimen for imitation. But it was as real architecture

[1] The accounts for stables and brew-house, as built, are in the Works Declared Accounts, P.R.O., E 351/3250 and 3251.

[2] D. Barbaro, *I Dieci Libri . . . di M. Vitruvvio* (1556), p. cxxviii. The same interpretation is given in *I Quattro Libri* (1570), i. 17.

[3] J. Webb, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain . . . Restored by Inigo Jones* (1655), pp. 1 and 44.

that it appealed to Jones and in 1629–30, a year before the beginning of Covent Garden church, he exploited it perhaps for the first time. He was building a sculpture gallery in the orchard at St. James's and made it consist of a colonnade of fifteen columns, supporting the eaves of a roof which extended back to the park wall. But the joists extending from colonnade to wall he cantilevered out into the park sufficiently to make a covered area where the king could ride in bad weather.[1] This derives from Vitruvius's account of the Tuscan atrium.[2] Then came Covent Garden. Here Jones constructed a full-scale approximation to the Vitruvian temple model—columns $7\frac{1}{2}$ diameters with mutules one-quarter the height of the columns, columns widely spaced and connected by massive timber beams (Pl. XX*a* and *b*, Pl. XXI*b*). It is an extraordinary performance, this Covent Garden portico, an archaeological essay probably unique in the architecture of its period and at the same time prophetic: prophetic of the theory and practice of Neo-classicism as it was to be understood more than a hundred years later. The extent to which Jones was aiming at archaeological exactitude is illustrated by a note he made in his copy of Barbaro's Vitruvius.[3] Barbaro, he says, had missed the meaning of *antepagmenta*, which he considers to be in the nature of casings to hide the ends of the mutules. The theorists had made the mistake of leaving the mutules exposed, 'and so I did in Covent Garden'.

V

The portico is not the whole church. It is, in fact, not even the main approach but only a monumental shelter with one sham and (originally) two real doors at the east end of the church and under the same roof. The church proper is a simple rectangular cell, a double square with a ceiling-height two-thirds the side of the square. It is lit by very large round-headed windows with moulded architraves but no impost mouldings—a type which belongs to the quattro-cento and in particular to Michelozzo but which Jones seems to give us for the naked logic of the thing. The west end (Pl. XXI*a*) is a copy of the east but without portico and therefore overwhelmingly severe. Vestries project on either side, that on the south having been

[1] J. Webb, *A Vindication of Stone-Heng Restored* (1665; 2nd ed., 1725), p. 99. The accounts for the gallery are in E 351/3263.

[2] Lib. vi, cap. 3.

[3] In the library at Chatsworth. Fol. 192.

built as a belfry, and there were originally two-storey pedimented porches against the north and south walls. Internally there were galleries and a perspective ceiling with a painted cove by Matthew Goodrich and Edward Pearce.[1]

The church, all but the portico, stands in a churchyard. The approach to this—and thus to the great west door—was originally through two separately standing gateways on each side of the church, each consisting of an arch between pilasters, all rusticated, carrying an entablature and pediment. These arches have disappeared but must be carefully considered in evaluating Jones's design and they are well recorded in Hiort's drawing (Pl. XXII). They were Tuscan, not of the order of the portico but freely based on a variant recorded by Serlio and, more carefully, by Palladio: the lower order of the amphitheatre at Verona.[2] The connexion seems text-bookish but it does give rise to the speculation whether, in designing Covent Garden, Jones consciously adopted a Tuscan 'mood' for the whole. If we now turn from the church to the arcades and houses enclosing the space in front of it we may perhaps conclude that he did.

[1] The MS. *Particular Account* (1631) in the Woburn Archives supplies the following facts about the building. The mason's work was by William Mason. The four columns at the east end cost £220 and a floor was provided 'to drawe out the Tracerie of one of the great collomes' (i.e. presumably the entasis. Webb comments on this in the *Vindication*, p. 45). Mason supplied pedestals for two crosses (probably for the pediments as shown in Hollar's view). Elizabeth Wandesteene supplied red and black Flanders tiles for the roof. The bricklayers were Thomas Scudamore and John Benson and the brickwork items mention both a vestry and a belfry. The joiner, Peter Penson, supplied false doors for the great doorway at the east end. Internally, there was marble paving in the chancel and Purbeck in the aisles. The pulpit and reader's pew had carving by Zachary Taylor, and the marble font was supplied by Andreas Carne and Thomas Miller. Goodrich and Pearce received £80 'for painting the perspective groteske and other ornaments in the ceiling'. The total cost was £4,886. 5*s*. 8*d*. Further information about the church is given in B. Langley, *Ancient Masonry* (1736), i. 218 and 225; pls. xxvi, xxvii, and xliv. A plate (Pl. V*b*) shows the order and roof construction. The statement (p. 225) attributed to Sir James Thornhill that the church was built by (Nicholas) Stone is obviously wrong (probably Thornhill confused 'Mason' and 'Stone'). Harl. MS. 1831, fol. 29, gives dimensions which show that the interior was originally designed to be 50×100 feet. In the same manuscript fols. 30, 31, and 33, are minor details concerning fittings.

[2] Serlio, *Architettura* (1566), lib. ii, fols. 82–84, does not describe the order as Tuscan. Palladio, *I Quattro Libri*, lib. i, p. 21, gives a free treatment of it, without rustication, in his section on the Tuscan order. Jones uses this but restores the rustication.

VI

The two houses on the west side, to north and south of the church and separated from it by intervals in which stood the Veronese Tuscan gateways, are something of a mystery. That on the south was the vestry-house; that on the north probably the vicarage. Hollar's view (Pl. XVII*a*) and the engraving in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Pl. XVIII*a*) show houses of obviously Jonesian proportions with pitched roofs containing dormers; but these must have disappeared before or soon after 1700, for all eighteenth-century views show entirely commonplace houses on these sites. We have therefore no exact record of what Jones built and must pass at once to the ranges so well recorded by Sandby and Malton, on the north and west sides, the houses whose fronts stood on open arcades within which were the vaulted walks which, absurdly, became known as 'piazzas'. On the south side were, in the first instance, no houses, only the wall of the Earl of Bedford's garden.[1]

After the highly sophisticated use of sources in the design of the church it is puzzling at first to find that the main source for the houses is one of Serlio's rather naïve wood-cuts[2] (Pl. XXIV*a*). Yet it is natural enough. Jones uses Serlio here, as he had used him for twenty years, as a source not for technique but for ideas. As long ago as 1608 he had based the design for the New Exchange in the Strand on a Serlian design for a similar type of building.[3] Now he went to Serlio again for the sake of an idea expressed in a design for a great town house—'Una habita-

[1] In the Woburn Archives (Middx. Add.) is *A Booke of the perticular charge for the Portico Buildings on the North east parte of the Piazza* (MS.). These buildings occupied the site of the present Bedford Chambers. They comprised three houses, initially occupied (west to east) by 'Mr. Sidnam', 'Mr. Hubard', and Sir Edmund Verney. Extracts from Verney's lease (1634) are in *Archaeologia*, xxxv. 194. As in the case of the church, William Mason was the principal mason. John Taylor was the bricklayer, and Richard Vesey the carpenter. The name of 'Mr. Decause' (Isaac Decaux) occurs twice as having authorized variations in the mason's contract, which suggests that he was acting as the Earl of Bedford's executive architect. Above the stone arches the walls were of brick, stuccoed, and the eaves cornice of wood. The houses were entered from the 'piazza' through rusticated doorways fitted with double doors. At a higher level but still within the 'piazza' were 'clerestory' windows, presumably to light the entrance halls. Each house had a balustered staircase and the principal rooms were wainscoted. The cost of the three houses, including all trades, was £4,703. 16*s*. 5*d*.

[2] Lib. vii, fol. 63.

[3] L. Stone, 'Inigo Jones and the New Exchange', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxiv (1959), 106–21.

tione per far dentro alla Città in luogo nobile.' Serlio's house has a steep roof with dormers, 'alla Francese', and in its ground floor and mezzanine the sort of arches which Jones was to build at Covent Garden, though in Serlio they are partly filled in and fitted as shops, 'fatta al costume di Roma'. These arches Jones built not exactly as in the Serlio design but with reference to a diagram in Book iv of the same author[1] (Pl. XXIV*b*), in a section dealing with rustication and in fact demonstrating rustication as one of the attributes of the Tuscan. If we wish to regard Covent Garden as a continuous exercise in the Tuscan it seems that we may, nor does the design of the superstructure discourage the idea (Pl. XXV). Where Serlio put an Ionic order with pedestal, Jones merely uses plain pilaster strips running up to an eaves cornice equipped with brackets which belong to no particular order and are in fact a miniature variation of the mutules of the primitive Tuscan. Covent Garden, therefore, seems to have been Tuscan from beginning to end, a comprehensive essay in the Tuscan mood—Tuscan all the way from the high sophistication of the portico to the vernacular of the houses—a new vernacular, the first statement of what we naturally think of today as the Georgian house.

Jones's prophetic role as a forerunner of eighteenth-century Neo-classicism is impressively vested in the church and we can judge how strikingly his prophecy was fulfilled by the intense admiration awarded to it exactly a century after it was built. It was in 1734 that Ralph, the architectural critic, described Covent Garden church as 'without a rival, one of the most perfect pieces of architecture that the art of man can produce';[2] while to Thomas Malton, at the near end of the century, it was still 'one of the most perfect pieces of art ever produced in this country'.[3] Such expressions may seem exaggerated but they are not difficult to understand in the light of eighteenth-century architectural thought.[4] Covent Garden church would seem to

[1] Fol. 131 in 1566 ed. Serlio gives Raphael and Genga as authorities.

[2] — Ralph, *A Critical Review of the Public Buildings . . . in and about London and Westminster* (1st ed., 1734; revised ed., here quoted, 1783), p. 78.

[3] T. Malton, *A Picturesque Tour through . . . London* (1792–1801), p. 45. Malton's view (Pl. IV*a*) was published in Mar. 1796 but purports to show it 'as it appeared about ten years ago', i.e. before Hardwick's restorations of 1788 and the fire of 1795.

[4] I have found no expressions of strong admiration of Covent Garden church earlier than Colen Campbell's in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii. 1: 'the only piece the Moderns have yet produced, that can admit of a just Comparison with the Works of Antiquity, where a Majestick Simplicity commands the

Ralph to be architecture 'founded'—to quote Lord Shaftesbury —'in truth and nature';[1] to Malton its bold simplicity would seem to justify the Abbé Laugier's enthronement of the primitive and his insistence on direct, uncomplicated expression.[2]

VII

Today, what exactly do we find at Covent Garden? As we pick our way among the crates, the racketty trucks, the ancient vegetable stink, the presence of that portico is still tremendously felt. How much of this and of the church is original? It is certainly Jones's columns that we see and Jones's tough Tuscan version of a classical door-case inside. For the rest, it is mostly Georgian or Victorian reconstruction. In 1795 the church was gutted by fire. Restored by Thomas Hardwick, it retained its original appearance till far into the nineteenth century but by the end of it had suffered severe damage, the side walls of the portico being replaced by arches, the church-yard gateways removed, and the ground-level raised in such a way as to cover the plinth on which the whole church originally stood. This

Approbation of the Judicious.' Strype, in his edition of Stow's *Survey* (1720) echoes this with 'the only View in imitation of the *Italians*, we have in or about *London*'. Ralph (1734) follows, as above. In 1735 Seymour, in his *Survey of London*, ii (bk. 4), 670, quotes an architect, probably Batty Langley, as admiring the church's 'solemn aspect' and 'simple Beauty . . . not to be paralleled by any that I know in and about London', while critizing certain details. A wholly adverse opinion was that of Horace Walpole (*Anecdotes*, 1782) who could not only see no beauty in the arcades but confesses that 'the barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn'; he proceeds to the 'handsomest barn' story quoted earlier. Malton (1792) obviously echoes Ralph. E. W. Brayley in J. Britton and A. Pugin, *Public Buildings of London* (1825), i. 108–17, gives a thoughtful and balanced estimate and is the first writer to point to the strictly Vitruvian character of the order. In Victorian times the church excited little interest though James Fergusson (*History of the Modern Styles*, 2nd ed., 1873, 289) considered that 'it would be extremely difficult, if possible, to quote another [church] in which so grand an effect is produced by such simple means'. Reginald Blomfield (*Renaissance Architecture in England*, 1897, i. 110) found the portico to be 'one of the most impressive façades in London' but failed to see why and called it 'Doric'. J. A. Gotch in his *Inigo Jones* (1928) took the view that nothing of Jones's work was left at Covent Garden and merely quoted Walpole's adverse opinion and the famous anecdote.

[1] Shaftesbury (3rd Earl of), *A Letter Concerning the Art or Science of Design* (1712).

[2] For Laugier's influence in England see J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (4th ed., 1963), pp. 247 and 249.

latter deprivation, of a feature echoing Alberti's sentiment as to the raising of temples above the common level, is perhaps the most serious mutilation of all.[1]

To enter the church today we must walk round into Bedford Street or go through a hole in the wall in Henrietta Street. As for the houses and the 'piazzas', all are gone: the last of them went in the early thirties and nobody raised a hand in protest.[2] On the north side, however, is a block, originally a hotel, called Bedford Chambers (Pl. XXVI*b*), built by the ninth Duke of Bedford in 1878 to the design of his architect, Henry Clutton.[3]

[1] L. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture* (trans. J. Leoni, 1726; reprint, 1955), book vii, chap. 5. The first substantial changes in the fabric were made in a restoration of 1688 costing £11,000 (J. Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, x, pt. 4, p. 279). It was perhaps at this date that the Corinthian altar-piece was introduced of which there is a measured drawing in the R.I.B.A. The bell-turret on the west gable (not shown by Hollar but prominent in the *Vit. Brit.* engraving and seen in most eighteenth-century views) may also have been set up at this time. In 1714 the parish spent £928 on a restoration (*Vestry Minutes*, vol. ii, in Westminster Pub. Lib.) but the work must have been clumsily done for in 1727, when Lord Burlington, 'out of regard to the memory of the celebrated Inigo Jones, restored it 'to its primitive form' at a cost of £300 or £400, it was said that 'it once cost the inhabitants about twice as much to spoil it' (*Weekly Jnl.*, 22 Apr. 1727, quoted in J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 1807, iv. 219). The next restoration was in 1788, under Thomas Hardwick. He stripped the original stucco from the walls and substituted an ashlaring of Portland stone; removed the north and south porches; demolished the brick and stucco gateways to the church-yard and rebuilt them in stone, giving 'a more decided form' to the profiles (J. Britton and A. Pugin, *Public Buildings of London*, 1825, i. 113). Soon afterwards, in 1795, the church was reduced to a shell by a fire which started in the bell-turret. Engravings in the Crace Coll. (B.M.), pf. xviii, nos. 72 and 73 (Pl. XVI *b*) show it during and after the fire. It was rebuilt by Hardwick, strictly adhering to the old forms. In 1871–2 there was a restoration by Butterfield when the north and south galleries were removed and the two small doorways in the portico stopped up (*Builder*, 22 June 1872, p. 482). In 1887–8 a more thorough restoration was undertaken by the Duke of Bedford, with Alfred J. Pilkington as architect. Hardwick's ashlaring (only 2½ in. to 3 in. thick) was stripped off and a red brick skin substituted (*Building News*, 17 Feb. and 2 Mar. 1888, pp. 270 and 344). It was perhaps at this time that the arches in the north and south sides of the portico replaced the solid walls with their smaller arches.

[2] The first part of the 'piazzas' to go was the southern half of the east side, burnt down in 1769, rebuilt without the arcades and rebuilt again in 1888. The northern half was pulled down in 1889. H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present* (1891), iii. 83. The eastern half of the north side was still standing in Feb. 1930, the date of photographs in S. E. Rasmussen, *London, the Unique City* (1934; Eng. edition, 1937); the building had been much altered.

[3] *Builder*, 1877, p. 358. Ibid., 1878, p. 875. The builder was Cubitt.

The lower storey is a very adequate version of the original 'piazzas', vaulted much as in the original (Pl. XXVI*a*). The upper part of the building is no more than a paraphrase of Jones, though a good one.

VIII

Covent Garden as a whole was finished by 1635 or thereabouts. Inigo Jones was then 62 and had behind him a wonderfully productive five years. Since 1629 he had completed, besides Covent Garden, the Queen's House at Greenwich and the new chapel at Somerset House. The Cockpit at Whitehall had been made into a theatre, the sculpture gallery had been added to St. James's, an arbour to Oatlands, and the new front of Wilton House was building from his designs under Isaac de Caux. He had designed nine masques, including some of the most lavish of his career, and had been ceaselessly occupied with questions arising from the restrictions on building. He had quarrelled with Ben Jonson. He had arranged the king's collection of medals. And, all the while, Jones was concerned with a task which had come into his hands long before, which had been delayed but never quite abandoned and which in 1634 at last began to be seriously promoted. This was the repair and partial reconstruction of St. Paul's Cathedral.

IX

Inigo Jones's actual work at St. Paul's belongs to the years 1633–42, but to understand the nature of his task there and the approach he adopted it is necessary to look back a good many years.[1] The cathedral had been in some structural disorder ever since 1561 when the spire was struck by lightning and completely destroyed together with the nave and aisle roofs. Repairs were undertaken with funds contributed by clergy and laity on a national scale and with exemplary assistance from Queen Elizabeth in cash and timber. The new roofs were finished in 1566 but there was still no spire and enthusiasm had lapsed. Ten years later the queen pressed for renewed action but nothing was done. In 1582 designs and estimates were prepared but still

[1] W. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (cont. H. Ellis; 1818), pp. 95 et seq. The history of the Elizabethan repairs will be given in detail in the author's contribution to a forthcoming volume of *The History of the King's Works* (ed. H. M. Colvin).

nothing happened and when James I came to the throne he found his metropolitan cathedral uncapped and in tatters. To this reproach James was not impervious and in 1608, at the instance of the Earl of Salisbury, he had letters sent to the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London requiring them to have the cathedral surveyed and estimates obtained for a general repair and a new spire. An estimate was procured and amounted to £22,500. For this large sum—three times what had been collected and spent under Elizabeth—there was no obvious source and the project lapsed. Nevertheless, it must have been at this time and in this connexion that Inigo Jones produced his first cathedral design. He was not then Surveyor of the King's Works but the cathedral was not in any case a royal responsibility. The initiative lay with the bishop and the City. Furthermore, the Earl of Salisbury was behind the project and he was already an active patron of Jones.[1]

At Worcester College, Oxford, is a drawing (Pl. XXVII*a*), hitherto unpublished, of the central tower of old St. Paul's surmounted by an arcaded stage covered in turn by an octagon dome of ogee profile terminating in a gallery and spire.[2] It is undoubtedly by Inigo Jones and may be compared with his design for the New Exchange in the same collection, a design firmly dated to 1608.[3] It is a nice drawing but as a design grotesquely immature. The arcaded stage is a feeble imitation of the arcades in the Basilica Palladiana at Vicenza; the spire and pinnacles are incongruously collected from Labacco's illustration of Sangallo's design for St. Peter's; the dome, presumably a concession to Tudor tradition but with the curvature of a classical scroll, comes awkwardly over the arcades, with four of its eight edges standing on them and four sidling off behind the pinnacles. Historically, I suggest that the importance of the design lies in the overwhelming proof it supplies that in 1608, when Jones was 35, he had no real experience of building and little of architecture and was in fact a painter and draughtsman to whom architectural forms were still nothing but a special mode of decorative design.

In the Burlington–Devonshire collection of the R.I.B.A.

[1] In connexion with the New Exchange, built in 1608. L. Stone, loc. cit.

[2] The drawing, identified a few years ago by Mr. Colvin, is contained in a volume of miscellaneous engravings of St. Paul's. I am grateful to the Provost and Fellows of the College for permission to reproduce the drawing here.

[3] L. Stone, *ut supra*.

is another drawing for St. Paul's (Pl. XXVIII*a*), this time of the west front—a drawing often reproduced and usually assigned to a date shortly preceding the execution of Jones's work at St. Paul's or at latest to a scheme of 1620 (see below).[1] But there is evidence in the drawing that it is very much earlier. The Serlian attic and pediment connect with the New Exchange design of 1608 and the casual and unlearned use of rustication with a masque design of 1611.[2] Moreover, the fact that under the ink drawing is the pencil ghost of the gable, pointed windows, and pinnacles of the old cathedral rather suggests the requirement of a preliminary essay. In its general distribution of columns and scrolls the design paraphrases, weakly enough, the façade of the Gesù church in Rome. On the two ancient but remodelled towers are lanterns which seem to be based on those of the lesser domes at St. Peter's, Rome. The design cannot possibly, I think, be accepted as later than 1613; but it has, as we shall see, a direct bearing on what was actually done.

In 1620, when James I ceremoniously inaugurated yet another scheme for the restoration, Jones, by this time Surveyor of Works, was placed on the king's commission. On this occasion quantities of Portland stone were brought to the site but once again money failed to materialize in sufficient amount and the work stopped. Jones must have had designs in hand but of these we have no knowledge.

Finally, we come to the episcopate of William Laud. He was bishop only from 1628 till 1633, when he went to Canterbury, but in those five years he procured finance sufficient to put in hand the first stage of a comprehensive restoration of the cathedral, a restoration so vigorous that, seen from some points of view, it was to appear virtually a new building. In 1631 a new commission was set up, this time without Jones, who was made honorary architect with a paid 'substitute';[3] a new subscription was opened[4] and measures were taken to remove the houses which cluttered the flanks of the building.[5] Money did not come in easily. There was, indeed, the princely generosity of Sir Paul

[1] R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev. Coll., I/2 (i).

[2] Walpole Soc. xii (1924), no. 42, p. 45.

[3] W. Dugdale, op. cit., p. 232. S.P. 16, vol. 213, fol. 28. The deputy was Edward Carter. 'Inigo Jones and St. Paul's Cathedral', *London Topographical Record*, xviii (1942), 41–43.

[4] S.P. 16, vol. 213 (Minutes of the Commissioners under the Commission of 5 Jan. 1631).

[5] Ibid. Also, vol. 214, nos. 43 and 45.

Pindar but his was a unique case.[1] Gentry in the counties were very cool and sometimes ill demeaned, and in 1634 the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London had to be prodded to improve their effort by a reminder that the king had promised no less than £500 a year for ten years and had taken the whole west front under his care.[2] From Canterbury, Laud exhorted the bishops and they in turn harangued their clergy.[3] Fines for profanity, adultery, incest, and such like were diverted to the cause.[4] But it was not an easy cause. There was delay and obstruction by the citizens whose houses were pulled down.[5] Seamen bringing stone from Portland were constantly being pressed for the navy and specific protection had to be secured for them.[6] There was trouble at the Portland quarries and the stone itself had to be protected from unauthorized use.[7] On the cathedral site workmen were constantly defecting. Only Laud, perhaps, could have forged his way through so much discouragement and hatred. Jones, meanwhile, set himself to produce the most refined and exact performance of his career.

X

What did Laud and his architect, Inigo Jones, achieve at St. Paul's? Quantitatively, the accounts tell us exactly.[8] By 1642, when the works were stopped, the whole exterior of the cathedral, except for the central tower, had been in one sense or another renewed. The fourteenth-century choir had been renewed by careful replacement of decayed masonry, including mouldings and carved ornaments.[9] The accounts make it clear that the Gothic work was highly valued and there was no thought of modernization. With the Romanesque transepts and

[1] W. Dugdale, op. cit., pp. 107–8.

[2] S.P. 16, vol. 259, no. 22.

[3] S.P. 16, vol. 257, no. 114; vol. 259, no. 69; vol. 266, no. 58.

[4] S.P. 16, vol. 275, no. 35; vol. 283, no. 72; vol. 324, no. 10; vol. 339, no. 73; vol. 357, no. 110; vol. 381, no. 36; vol. 383, no. 3.

[5] S.P. 16, vol. 277, no. 75; vol. 294, no. 23; vol. 312, no. 6.

[6] S.P. 16, vol. 276, nos. 10 and 20; vol. 314, nos. 8 and 122; and many others.

[7] S.P. 16, vol. 301, no. 11; vol. 368, no. 43.

[8] St. Paul's Cathedral Library, W.A. 1–15. W. A. 12 (1639–40) is missing but is to be found in Lambeth Palace Library (F.P. 321). The accounts are from Apr. 1633 to Sept. 1641 and are signed by Inigo Jones, Michael Grigg (as paymaster), and Edward Carter (as Jones's 'substitute'). John Webb was clerk engrosser throughout.

[9] 'Carving of the Foliage for the windows' in August 1633 (W.A. 1).

nave it was very different. Renewal here meant complete recasing of the exterior in Portland stone, the elevations being so far as possible redesigned in the process. As for the west front, this was in part demolished and completely remodelled to become the background against which was disposed what was, in effect, a new limb of the cathedral—a gigantic Corinthian portico.

Internally, very little was done. The choir, as we have seen, was lavishly refurnished at the expense of Sir Paul Pindar but we have no date for this work, it is not mentioned in the accounts and was probably unconnected with Jones. Not only the choir but the Romanesque nave were left in their original condition and there is no evidence that any stylistic conversion of the nave interior was envisaged. What certainly was intended was the complete demolition of the central tower, the provision of new piers at the crossing, and the building of a new tower.[1] Of Jones's ideas for a tower we have no evidence later than the quaint proposal of *c.* 1608. There is, however, an admittedly rather speculative clue in one of John Webb's church studies[2] (Pl. XXVII*b*). Manifestly based on Jones's ideas and teaching, it shows a structure of two stages surmounted by a tempietto spired by an obelisk, very much on the lines of Sangallo's twin towers for St. Peter's and still with something of the profile of the *c.* 1608 design.

The restored cathedral in the form in which Jones left it presents us with problems of style which have never been brought into focus—let alone solved. It has usually been the practice to dismiss the recasing of the nave as a compromise in impossible conditions and to pay a cool, conventional tribute to the portico. I fear I have done something of the sort myself.[3] It is quite wrong. A close study of the evidence makes it obvious that Jones's work at St. Paul's is at least as exact and subtle as anything he had previously done. Both in the general conception and in the detailing of the component parts it is of the greatest interest.

[1] W. Dugdale, op. cit., p. 104. The new tower was to be 'in proportion to the church with a spire of stone suitable thereto.'

[2] M. Whinney, 'Some Church Designs by John Webb', *Jnl. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vi (1943), pl. 39.

[3] 'A piece of architectural juggling in almost impossible circumstances', *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (4th ed., 1963), p. 76.

XI

Consider the general conception first. We may start by bringing together the west-front design of *c.* 1608 and the same front as executed in 1634–42 and preserved for us in what I believe to be a substantially accurate elevation drawn by Flitcroft for William Kent[1] (Pl. XXVIII*b*). Leaving aside, for the moment, the portico there are radical differences in the two treatments. Considering that they are probably twenty-five years apart one would expect no less, but the nature of the differences is instructive. The *c.* 1608 design has an arrangement of applied orders in two storeys with rustication suggested rather casually as infilling. In the executed design the only order is that of the portico; the front itself is a mass of accurately rusticated masonry uncommitted to any one of the orders. Again, the *c.* 1608 design is surmounted by an attic storey and a shaped panel with pediment, between two candelabra. In the executed design all this has gone; the primitive gable shape is frankly accepted, and instead of the candelabra we have two obelisks standing on massive pedestals. The difference between the two designs is this. In the first Jones is thinking of a pretty architectural frontispiece to hang, as it were, on the old fabric. In the second he is thinking himself into the fabric, converting the fabric itself into a powerful new design.

Let us look at it more closely, relating the west front to the elevation of the clerestories and aisles (Pls. XXIX*b* and XXX*b*). The shallow Romanesque buttresses have lent themselves to a system of broad plain pilasters going up into a plain parapet to finish with huge Roman pine-apples.[2] The pilasters of the aisles are echoed by similar pilasters in the clerestory, similarly breaking through a parapet. Across this system run two cornices, that of the clerestory, which carries across the west front and ties the whole design together, being 6 feet deep, the other, belonging to the aisles, rather less. Both these cornices are based on Roman 'block' cornices (as Chambers calls them)—i.e. cornices where closely spaced ogee corbels support the corona. Such cornices the Romans used to trim off plain masses of masonry; Jones himself used one at the chapel at St. James's and a similar one, probably, at the chapel at Somerset House. Here

[1] W. Kent, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), ii, pl. 50. Flitcroft's drawing is in the library at Chatsworth.

[2] In Hollar's views they look like balls but pine-apples are specified in the accounts (W.A. 13).

at St. Paul's his treatment makes them again appropriate. The aisle cornice seems to have been a simple adaptation of that on the precinct walls of Castor and Pollux ('Mars Vindicatore' in Palladio),[1] but the great upper cornice was joined with an architrave and the architrave had carved upon it lion masks alternating with sets of three vertical motifs—motifs which the accounts call 'drops', which Sir Roger Pratt[2] was rude enough to call 'bobbins' but which in fact seem to have been inverted (as if hanging) leaf forms. This is a strange and wholly unorthodox form of decoration. It recalls Michelangelo's perversely adorned entablature in the courtyard of the Farnese,[3] and there is certainly an association. But Jones's rhythmic arrangement is quite different; what was in his mind? The triolets of 'drops' or 'bobbins' made Pratt think of triglyphs and I think that may be exactly the answer. The 'drops' betoken triglyphs and the masks, with which they alternate, metopes. We have here, in short, an attempt by Jones to create out of animal and vegetable motifs a kind of 'proto-Doric' or, if you prefer it, a 'quasi-Tuscan', something appropriate to the massive astylar character of his walls—appropriate also, perhaps to the generally archaic, primitive character of the Romanesque nave he was enveloping.[4] Such a deliberate quest for the primitive brings us close to the mood of Covent Garden.

Of Covent Garden, indeed, we are reminded at once when we look at the clerestory windows with their utterly plain architraves, and at the circular windows in the aisles. The great aisle windows below are a little more complicated but not much. Here the architrave is relieved by a fillet at its outer edge while over the keystone is the winged head of a cherub which seems to give central support to a cornice whose ends rest on consoles. This arrangement certainly comes direct from one of Michelangelo's windows at St. Peter's but it is rigorously

[1] *I Quattro Libri*, lib. iv, cap. 7.

[2] R. T. Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Robert Pratt* (1928) pp. 197–8.

[3] J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (1961), pl. 46*a*.

[4] Jones had already improvised on the theme of triglyphs and metopes in the Doric entablature of the screen in the Somerset House chapel (I. Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones*, 1735, pl. 30), where scrolls take the place of triglyphs while the intervals are filled with foliage and a mask. This in turn seems to relate to a note by Inigo in his Palladio (lib. iv, p. 15) referring to one of Lord Arundel's marbles which had scrolls ('cartottzi') instead of triglyphs and gorgon's heads in the metopes—'a rare invention and to bee imitated'. The note is dated 27 July 1633. A model of the St. Paul's cornice was made in January, 1636 (W.A. 5).

simplified, blocked-out one might say, to suit the quasi-Tuscan mood. Of Jones's deliberate scaling-down to a robust and dour mode of expression there cannot, I think, be any doubt. Pratt observed it and thought it over-done—he would have been happier with sunk panels in the parapets and balustrades in the windows.[1] I doubt if we should share his view. Jones, involuntarily, was looking 120 years ahead to the dour magnificence of Newgate Prison, one of the great monuments of Neo-classicism.

If we allow the recasing of the nave to be in a quasi-Tuscan mood, we must now consider the fact that in the two transept ends were lodged Ionic portals (Pl. XXXI*a*), that the north and south doors of the nave had pronounced Doric accents (Pl. XXX*a*), and, finally, that the most memorable feature of all, the west portico, was Corinthian. A cathedral is a very big thing and it seems to me that in his handling of St. Paul's Jones deliberately thought in linked episodes within a wide range of stylistic moods—near-Tuscan for the body, Doric for the lesser doorways, Ionic for the greater and, for the royal approach, the great western portico, the Corinthian.

XII

This famous portico (Pls. XXIX *a* and *b*, and XXX*b*) had a material if rather mean application to practical requirements; it was intended to harbour the mob of loiterers, touts, and hucksters who made the cathedral nave their habitual rendezvous and had created the standing blasphemy of 'Paul's Walk'.[2] A loftier and doubtless the real incentive was to preface the metropolitan cathedral with a royal offering of the most sumptuous kind. It was in 1634 that Charles I undertook to pay for the whole of the new west front out of his own revenue[3] and the work was begun in October of the following year.[4] The idea of a great porch, ten columns wide, without a pediment, projecting from the end of a structure twice its height Jones took from Palladio's reconstruction of the temple of Venus and Rome (Pl. XXVIII*b*). The order, both in shape and size, he based upon that of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, an order which, to the modern eye, is at once the least elaborated and most eloquently profiled of the Corinthian orders of Rome.[6]

[1] R. T. Gunther, loc. cit.
[2] W. Dugdale, op. cit., p. 106.
[3] S.P. 16, vol. 271, no. 88.
[4] Accounts, W.A. 3.
[5] *I Quattro Libri*, lib. iv, cap. 10 (1 Temii del Sole, e della Luna)."
[6] Ibid., cap. 9.

Its height is 57 ft. 4½ in. That of Jones's St. Paul's was 56 feet. In modular terms his columns were a trifle thicker than the Roman temple, his cornices identical, but his frieze and architrave both shallower. The intercolumniation was extraordinarily subtle. A range of columns like this, lacking the gathering effect of a pediment, has a tendency to weakness at the ends: the columns want to fall outwards. At St. Paul's, Jones's solution was to give a pronouncedly greater intercolumniation to the centre bay and then to close the ends with a penultimate column standing up against a square pier.

At the time of its erection there was probably no other portico of comparable dimensions north of the Alps; and when we consider that in modern London only the British Museum colonnade mounts to the same height it will be seen what a miraculous performance this was in the England of Charles I and what a tragedy it is that it now lives for us only in a few tiny etchings, one architectural elevation, and a hasty topographical sketch.[1] Of the rich coffered timber ceiling we know nothing; of the three marble doorways behind the portico only what we can see in Flitcroft's elevation.

Inigo Jones at 61 was an implacable perfectionist. The cornices and window ornaments at St. Paul's were all tried out *in situ* with full-scale prototypes in timber with the carved features modelled.[2] Similarly the whole entablature of the west portico was erected in timber, the enrichments carved, the inscription painted in, and the statues cut out in board before a stone was cut.[3] In the construction nothing was left to chance. John Webb who, as clerk engrosser, was on the job from beginning to end, discloses that Inigo reached an interpretation of Vitruvius's obscure passage about *scamilli impares* and had the portico set out with what he concluded to be the Roman method

[1] Hollar's etchings, made for Dugdale, op. cit. and a sketch, perhaps by T. Wyck in the Bodleian (Gough, xx, 2B; repr. *Wren Soc.*, xiv, pl. 52) are the only contemporary records. The source of information for Flitcroft's drawing, engraved for Kent, is unknown but its accuracy is to a considerable extent confirmed by the building accounts.

[2] In January 1636, Andreas Carne (who supplied the Font at Covent Garden) modelled a lion's head in clay, cast it in plaster and turned out six papier-mâché heads for a model cornice made by the carpenters. (Accounts, W.A. 5). In June 1638, Enoch Wyatt was making models 'serveinge generally for the whole worke as of Cherubino heades, the Lyons Heades and drops and for the parooles' (? parells or window dressings) (W.A. 9).

[3] Zachary Taylor carved some of the enrichments and Thomas Decritz painted black on gold lettering in the frieze in Oct. 1639. The model was taken down in December (Lambeth Palace Library, F.P. 321).

of optical correction.[1] At the Portland quarries the same remorseless standards were upheld. It was only after two years' quarrying that the perfect stone for the architrave at the wide central intercolumniation was extracted.[2]

When Webb boasts that with this portico Jones 'contracted the envy of all *Christendom* upon our Nation, for a Piece of Architecture, not to be parallell'd in these last Ages of the World', he is not being silly.[3] He is exaggerating only in that 'all Christendom' had precious little chance of seeing or even hearing of so enviable a work. It was barely finished before civil war clashed over the cathedral, disrupting the corporate body which governed it, dispersing its property, and raping its fabric. The portico, Dugdale tells us, was filled with gim-crack shops and lofts, the columns hacked to house their joists; the statues were thrown down.[4] The portico did indeed survive and, at the Restoration, could have been and, doubtless, would have been rendered into something near its original perfection. Then came the fire and the ruination of the whole body of the church. Still the portico stood and there is one design by Wren for the new St. Paul's which contrives to preserve it.[5] But in the end it had to go; it was demolished in April 1687, having existed for forty-five years, but perhaps for only three or four of these in unmolested serenity.

Inigo Jones's St. Paul's never received from the eighteenth century the acclaim which glorified Covent Garden. It was, of course, no longer there to be acclaimed. In any case, its profound innovations had already been recognized by a greater architectural mind than any which the eighteenth century produced —Sir Christopher Wren's. That Wren admired and envied the portico and would willingly have saved it goes without saying. That his own St. Paul's owed much in its initial stages to the remodelling of its precursor is well known. Not so obvious, perhaps, is the fact that the simple, vernacular terms of many of the City churches derive from what I have called the quasi-Tuscan of old St. Paul's. Those trios of plain round-headed windows; those cherub's-head keystones, those circular holes with plain architraves, even one or two of the lantern-topped towers have their origin in the Jonesian style. Not that they

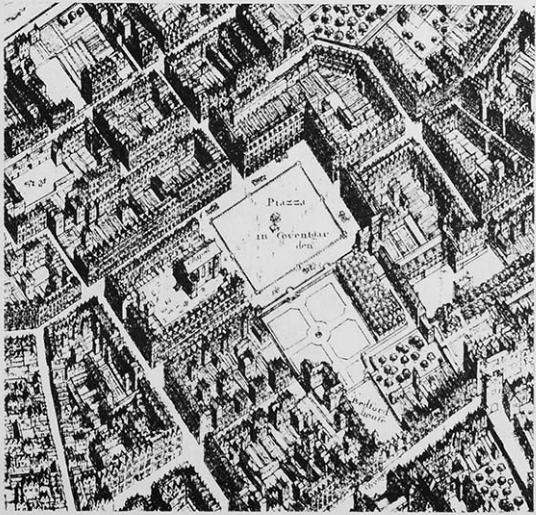
[1] J. Webb, *A Vindication* (2nd ed. 1725), p. 48.
[2] Ibid., pp. 44 and 226.
[3] Ibid., p. 27.
[4] Dugdale, op. cit., p. 115.
[5] *Wren Soc.* i, pl. 26.

do that style full justice: they merely avail themselves of its simplicity. In intention it was something more profound, reaching back to the fundamental sources of the dignity and splendour of architecture in the service of religion.

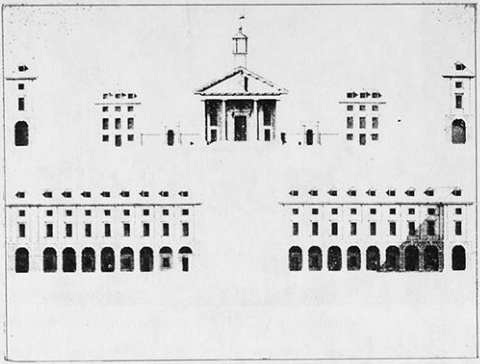
XIII

In these accounts of two great works of Inigo Jones's mature years I am conscious of having put before you an amount of detail which you may feel is inappropriate in a lecture of this kind. My reason has been an extreme reluctance to generalize about an artist for whom detail—in proportion, in ornament, in the whole procedure of architecture—was of such exquisite importance. Jonesian studies are not so advanced today that we can afford to take anything for granted. Like his contemporary and rival, Ben Jonson, he is rather difficult for the modern mind to seize—chiefly, I think, because his relationship to the antique, his love affair with Rome, was of a kind and an intensity which belong peculiarly to seventeenth-century England and are hardly to be recaptured emotionally today. I have called Jones 'the first Neo-classical architect' and I think you may agree, after looking deeply into Covent Garden and St. Paul's, that it is a label coloured with some real meaning. There he stands, on the threshold of the Baroque age, looking (as it seems to us) right through it to what was to happen on the other side. Of course, he is not looking our way at all—he has his back to us. But these illusions of prescience always cast a halo round the Master Minds.

a. Covent Garden. W. Hollar, *c.* 1640. *British Museum*

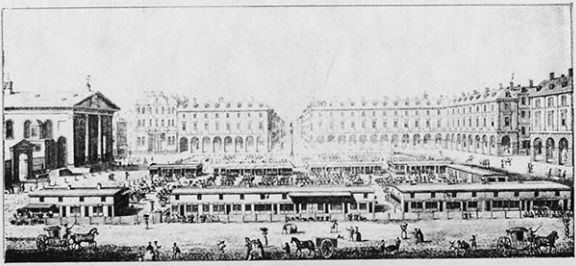


b. Air view of Covent Garden. Section of the print by W. Hollar, *c.* 1658, of the west central district of London. *British Museum*

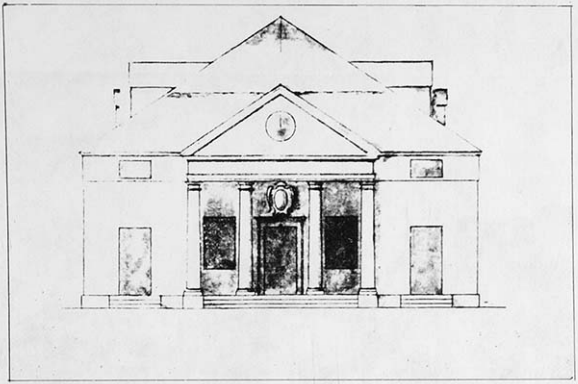


a. Covent Garden, east and west elevations. From C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. ii (1717), pls. 21–22

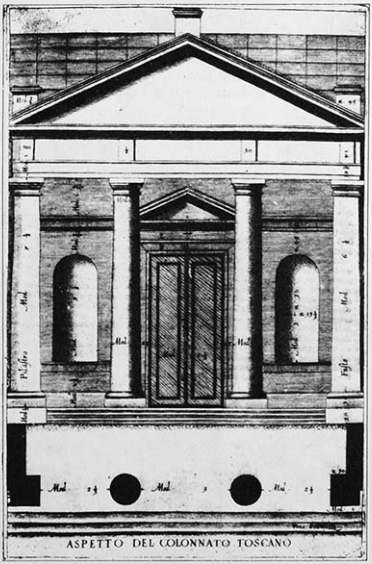
b. Covent Garden, looking west. J. Maurer, 1751 (an earlier state is dated 1741). *B.M., Crace xviii, 60*



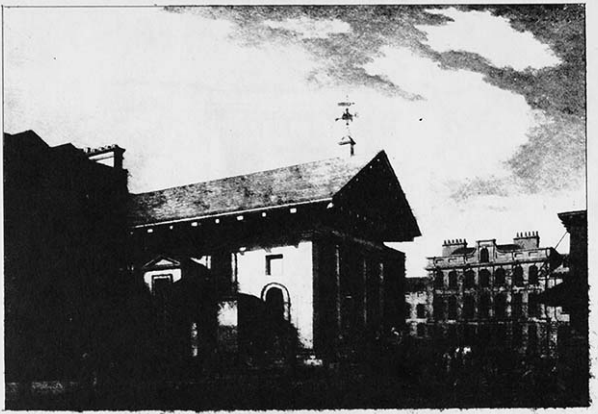
c. Covent Garden, looking north. T. Bowles, 1751. *B.M., Crace xviii, 62*



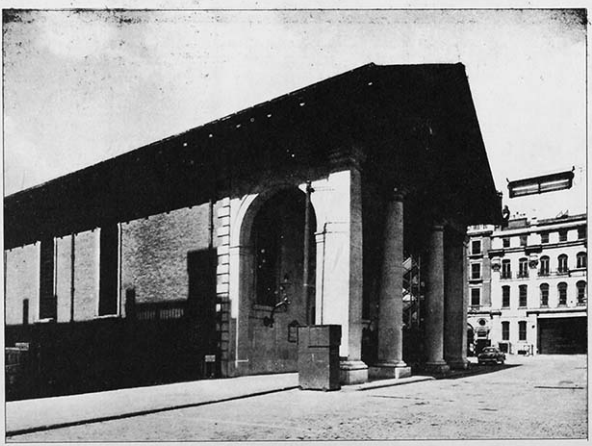
a. Inigo Jones. Design for a brew-house for Newmarket Palace, 1616–17. *R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev. II/2 (1)*



b. Tuscan portico. From V. Scamozzi, *Architettura* (1615), ii, lib. 6, p. 62

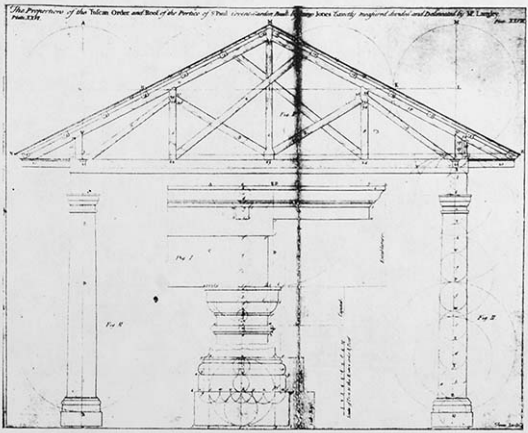


a. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, from south-east. From T. Malton, *Picturesque Tour through . . . London* (1792, &c.). The print is dated 1796 but purports to show the Church before the restoration of 1788

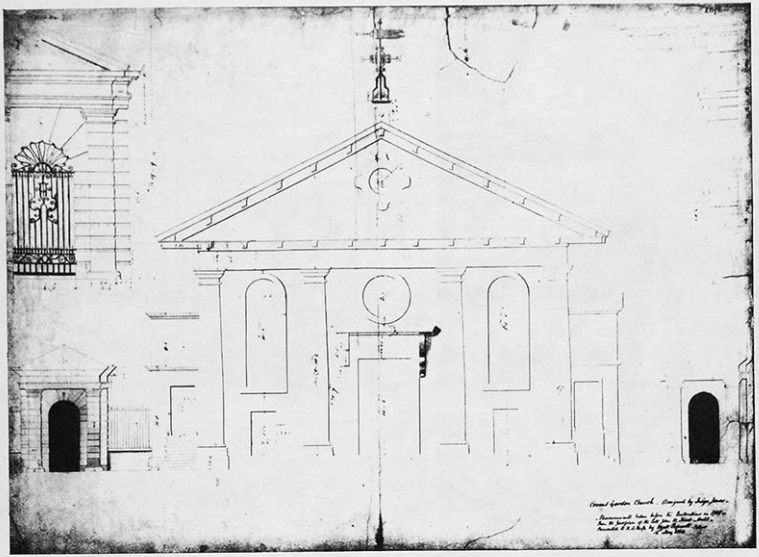


b. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, from the south-east, 1958, showing raised ground level and other nineteenth-century alterations

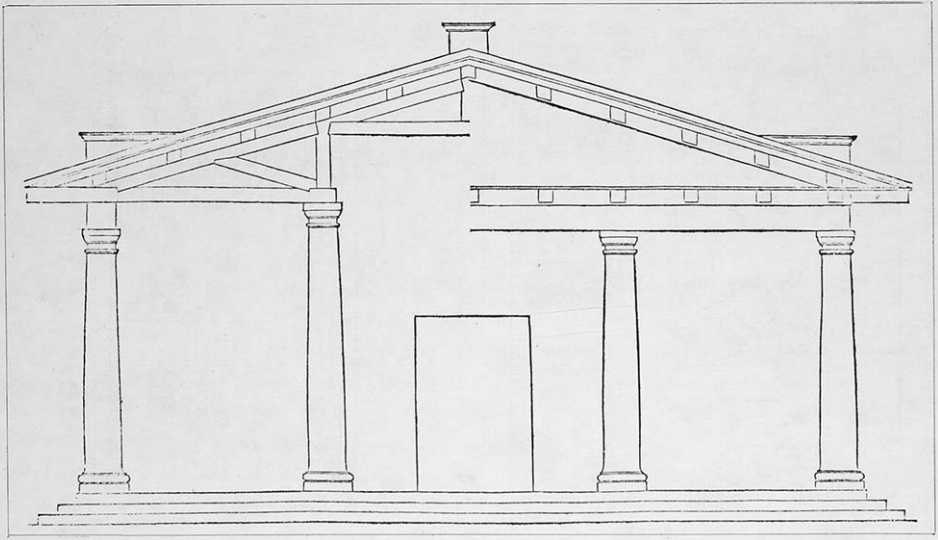
a. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, from the south-west. E. Rooker, 1766, after P. Sandby. *B.M., Crace xviii, 66*



b. St. Paul's, Covent Garden. The Tuscan order and roof construction. From B. Langley, *Ancient Masonry* (1736), i, pl. 27

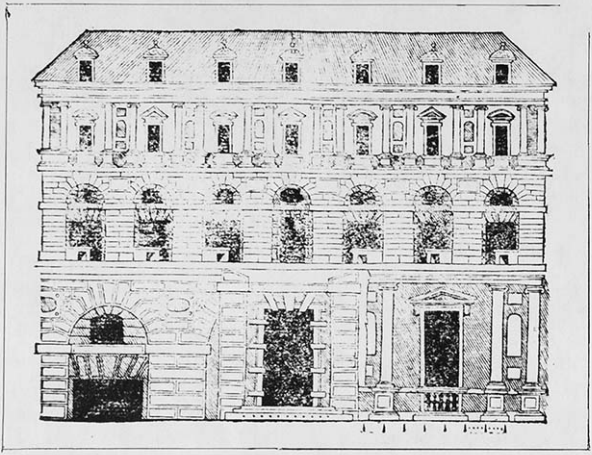


St. Paul's, Covent Garden. 'Measurements taken before the Restorations in 1788—from the portfolios of the late John W. Hiort.' *R.I.B.A.*

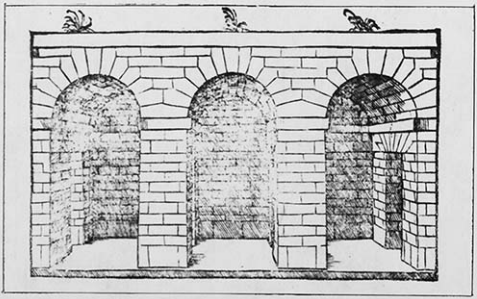


Tuscan portico. From D. Barbaro, *I Dieci Libri . . . di M. Vitruvio* (1556), opp. p. 123

PLATE XXXIII

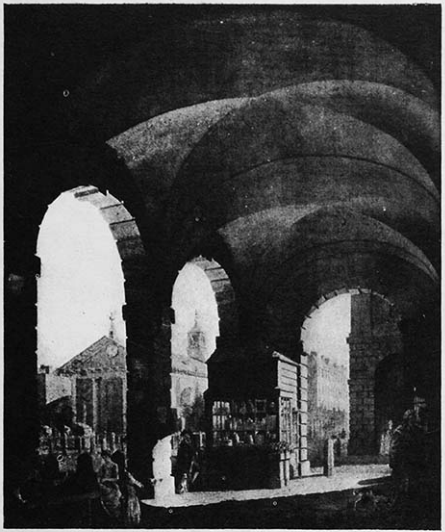


a. Design for a palace in a public place, with details. From S. Serlio, *Architettura* (1584), lib. vii, f. 63



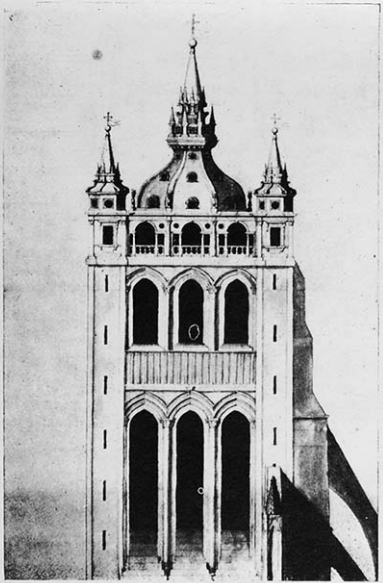
Design for a rusticated arcade. From S. Serlio, *Architettura* (1566), lib. iv, f. 131

Houses on the east side of Covent Garden, seen through the arcades of the north side. Section of engraving by E. Rooker, 1768, after T. Sandby. *B.M., Crace xviii, 67*

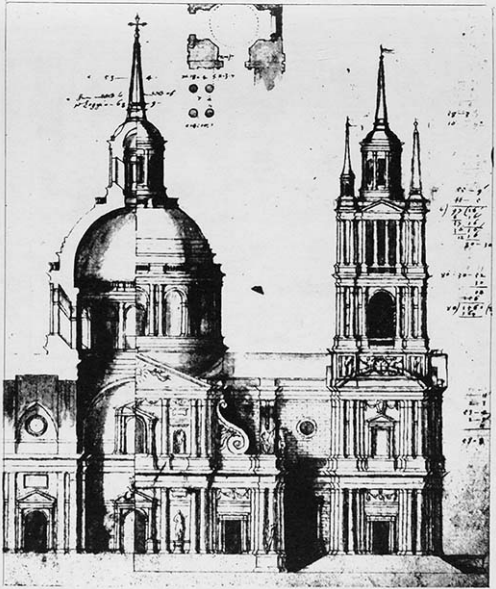


a. View in the north-east arcade of Covent Garden, looking towards the church. Watercolour by T. Sandby, 1781. *T. R. C. Blofeld Esq., Hoveton House, Norfolk*

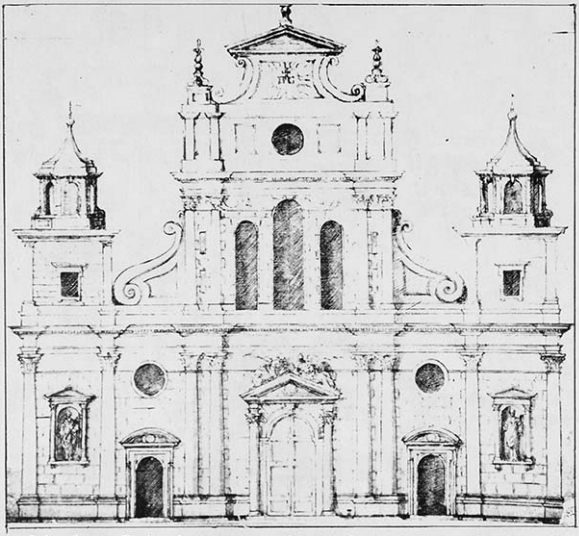
b. Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden. Henry Clutton, 1877–80



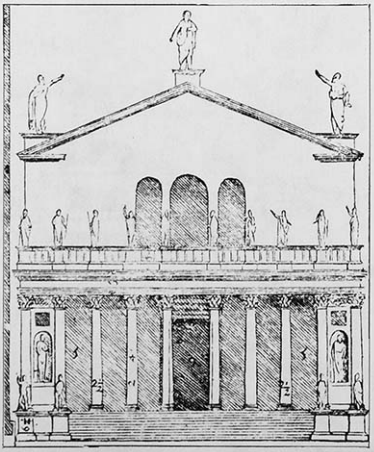
a. Inigo Jones. Design for a termination to the central tower of old St. Paul's Cathedral, *c.* 1608. *Worcester College, Oxford*



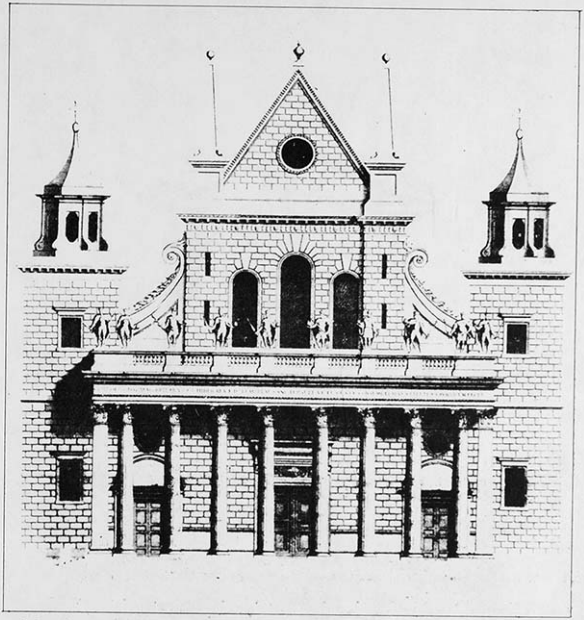
b. John Webb. Design for a church (detail). *Worcester College, Oxford*



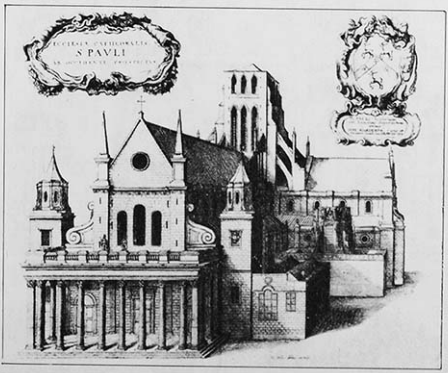
a. Inigo Jones. Design for west front of St. Paul's Cathedral, probably *c.* 1608. *R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev., I/2 (1)*



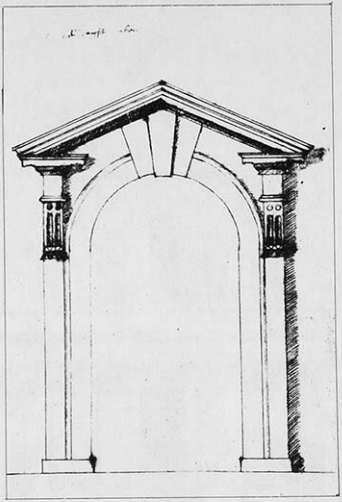
b. Reconstruction of the 'Temple of the Sun and Moon' (Temple of Venus and Rome). From A. Palladio, *Quattro Libri* (1570), lib. iv, p. 37



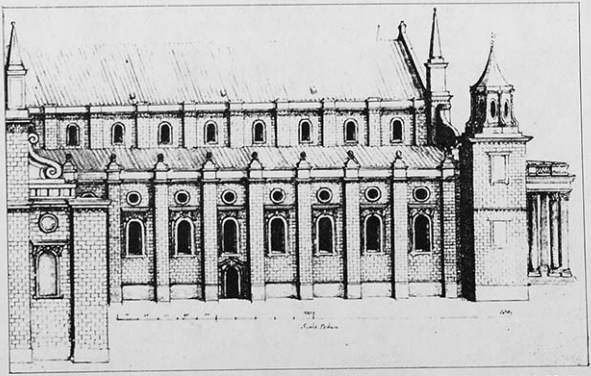
a. West front of old St. Paul's Cathedral, as executed, 1634–42. From W. Kent, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), ii, pl. 56



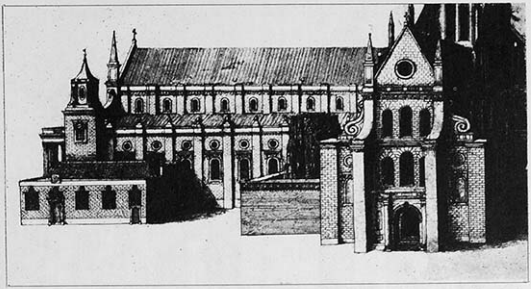
b. Old St. Paul's Cathedral. Etching by W. Hollar from W. Dugdale, *St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658), p. 114



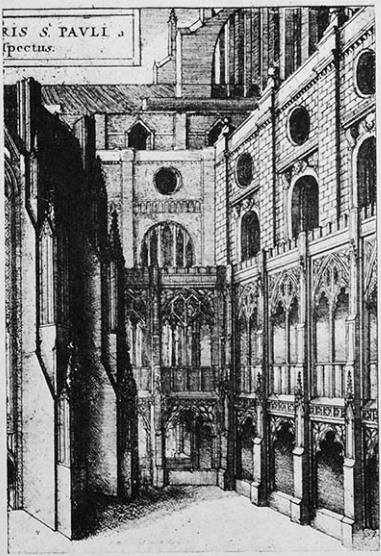
a. Inigo Jones. Accepted design for north and south nave doors of old St. Paul's Cathedral. *R.I.B.A., Burl. Dev., I/2 (2)*



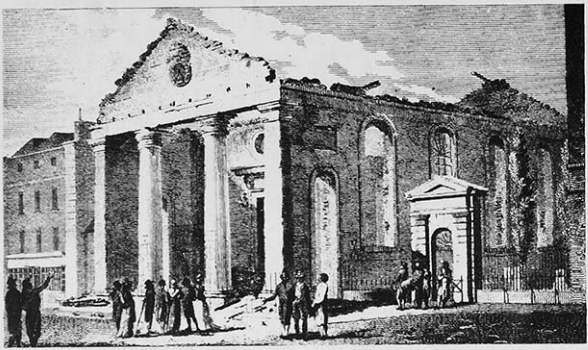
b. Old St. Paul's Cathedral, north side. Enlarged section of etching by W. Hollar (Dugdale, p. 163)



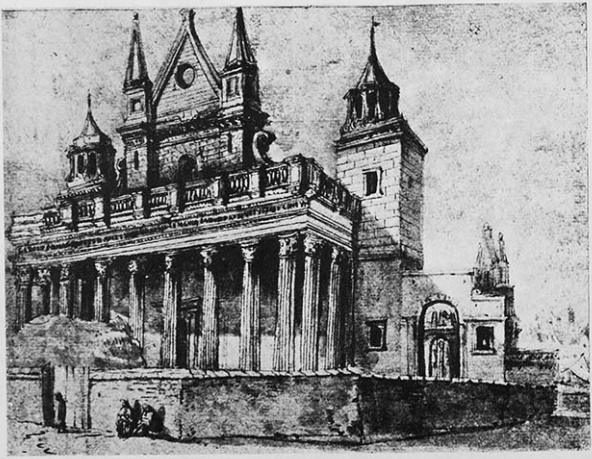
a. Old St. Paul's Cathedral, south side. Section of etching by W. Hollar (Dugdale, p. 162)



b. Old St. Paul's Cathedral, cloister and part of south transept. Section of etching by W. Hollar (Dugdale, pp. 126–7)



a. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, after the fire of 1795. Medland after Dayes. *B.M. Crace xviii, 73*



b. St. Paul's Cathedral, the west front after the Great Fire of 1666. Bodleian, Gough, XX, 2B