# WIDER. BIGGER. GREATER.

## Neo-Palladian Country Houses as Representations of Power Struggle, Globalization and “Britishness” in the United Kingdom of the 1750s

**Stefanie Leitner**
s1782088 - steffi.leitner@gmx.net

**Supervisor:** Dr. J.G. Roding
**Second reader:** Dr. E. den Hartog

**MA Arts and Culture 2016/2017**
**Specialization:** Architecture

## TABLE OF CONTENT

1. Introduction ........ 1
   1.1. Theoretical Framework ........ 2
   1.2. Literature Review ........ 4
2. Node I – Architecture ........ 8
   2.1. General developments compared to the 1720s ........ 8
   2.2. Introduction of the Case Studies ........ 9
      2.2.1. Holkham Hall (1734-1764) ........ 11
      2.2.2. Hagley Hall (1754-1760) ........ 20
      2.2.3. Kedleston Hall (1759) ........ 28
3. Node II – Globalization ........ 38
   3.1. Colonization and the British Empire ........ 38
   3.2. Connection with continental Europe ........ 39
   3.3. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) ........ 41
   3.4. Globalization and architecture ........ 43
4. Node III – Politics in Great Britain ........ 46
   4.1. Whig Supremacy ........ 46
   4.2. George II ........ 48
   4.3. UK politics and architecture ........ 49
5. Node IV – Country Life ........ 52
   5.1. Landed Gentry ........ 52
   5.2. Country Life and architecture ........ 54
6. Conclusion ........ 57
7. List of Illustrations ........ 60
   7.1. Pictures Credit ........ 63
8. Bibliography ........ 64

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Neo-Palladianism followed a clear formula when it was introduced in England in the 1720s: small and compact villas, a central portico and references to either the Villa Emo (1564) or La Rotonda (1567–1591) by Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). Many such estates were built all over England in the next few decades. Small adjustments were made to the formula over time. In the end the buildings from the 1720s differed significantly from those of the 1750s. The compact buildings had turned into wide complexes with wings and the references became more diverse.

The early 18th century was a time of change. Scotland joined the Union in 1707. A new dynasty – the Hanoverians – took over the throne from the Stuarts after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. The British elite saw themselves faced with a foreigner in power and feared to lose its British identity. Architecture was used as a tool to establish this Britishness once again. The political situation in the middle of the 1750s was completely different. It was a time of stability and growth. King George II (1683-1760) had been in power since 1727. The Whigs had continuously been governing the country since 1714. Great Britain was profiting from the conflicts in continental Europe. Over time it had become a global superpower and had established the First British Empire. These changes meant that the collective identity of the British elite also had to be newly created. This raises one question: How were Neo-Palladian country houses on the English countryside used to create a new collective identity of the British elite in the 1750s?

This question will be answered by analyzing the relationship between the architecture of country houses, the new globalized world, the political situation in Great Britain and the changed life of the elite on the countryside. The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law will be used as the main theoretical framework. The different nodes created by the ANT will define the structure of the thesis. Chapter II analyzes the architecture of country houses by studying three case studies: Holkham Hall (1734-1764), Hagley Hall (1754-1760) and Kedleston Hall (1759). The next three chapters deal with globalization (Chapter III), politics of Great Britain in the first half of the 18th century (Chapter IV) and country life (Chapter V). First, those topics will be discussed from a historical point of view. Second, the relationship between each of those topics and the architecture of estates will be analyzed. Finally all the results will be summarized and a conclusion for the research question will be made.

## 1.1. Theoretical Framework

The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law is a theory on the formation of networks and the roles of their actants. It was initially created for the sociology of science and technology. Today it is used in many different fields to analyze certain phenomena. The concept is rather complex and therefore will be simplified. Only those elements that are contributing to answering the research question will be applied.

The ANT is based on two main concepts. Everything can be both an actor and a network.[1] Both human and non-human elements can be actors in a network.[2] First, this means that a network doesn't just consist of different actors but it is also an actor whose activity is to network. Those connections and entities are not stable. Their identity and their relationships can change and new elements can be added or taken away from the network at any moment.[3] Second, as long as an entity is a source of action it can be an actor. So this means that everything – including non-human entities – can be actors[4] and that objects have an agency too.[5] Therefore the ANT breaks up traditional dichotomies and concepts: agency and structure, human and non-human, activity and passivity.[6]

Sometimes a whole network consisting of different actors becomes a single actor in another network. Those smaller networks become single points – nodes – of the overarching network. This process is called punctualization. It helps to simplify a network. This makes it possible to show that everything is an actor and a network. It only depends on the perspective. [7]

---

[1] Callon 1987, p. 93.
[2] Latour 1996, p. 373.
[3] Callon 1987, p. 93.
[4] Latour 1996, p. 373.
[5] Latour 2005, p. 63.
[6] Law 1999, p. 3.

Those three processes will be used as a theoretical framework for this thesis. The four main nodes of this network will describe the main chapters of this thesis: architecture (1), globalization (2), British politics (3) and country life (4). All of them will be analyzed by referencing their relationship with the other nodes and the relationships within their own smaller network. Due to the ANT it is possible to also include non-human entities. This means that among others the buildings themselves will be seen as actors in the process of creating the new collective identity of the elite.

The concept of collective identity is the second part of the theoretical framework. It was first developed by Alberto Melucci for his book *Nomads of the Present* (1989).[8] He says that collective actions do not depend on a preexisting structure or express common values and beliefs. At the beginning there is a goal that needs to be met. That is, the collective actors determine a field with certain possibilities and limitations, while activating their social relationships. This gives sense to their "being together" and the goal that they want to meet. At the same time the collective actor continuously has to work in a field of tension, because the action has to deal with contrasting demands in terms of ends (the sense of the action), means (the opportunities and limitations of the action) and the environment (the field in which it takes place). This also means that continuous negotiations and renegotiations are necessary when a collective actions happens.[9]

Melucci defines collective identity as "this process of 'constructing' an action system."[10] It deals with the already mentioned orientations of action and the field with its possibilities and limitations in which the action takes place. At the same time it is also a common and interactive definition that is created by various people or groups. This definition has to be seen as a process. During this process three parts are negotiated over and over again. First, the process comprises cognitive definitions with regard to the ends, means and field of action. They are expressed through a common language that is shared by the whole society or the group. It consists of rituals, practices, cultural artifacts. In the case of this thesis the buildings were this common language. Second, the process refers to active relationships between the actors – individuals and groups. They are constantly communicating, negotiating, renegotiating and influencing each other. This is something that can also be seen within the British elite in the 1750s. Owners of estates were always discussing architecture and art in letters or invited each other to their respective estates. Third, individuals need to have a certain emotional investment in the goal in order for them to feel part of a community. [11]

---

[7] Callon 1991, p. 153.
[8] Melucci 1995, p. 41.
[9] Melucci 1995, p. 43-44.
[10] Melucci 1995, p. 44.

This definition for collective identity works well with the Actor-Network Theory because in both cases constant interactions between the actants or actors are needed to keep the network or the collective identity intact. The concept of collective identity is more limited though: actors can only be human beings. According to the Actor-Network Theory though everything – alive or inanimate – can be an actant. Therefore those two concepts will be combined. Collective actors will function like actants from the Actor-Network Theory. This means that the already established nodes – architecture, globalization, British politics and country life – and the elite itself all become collective actors working on creating a collective identity. At the same time the buildings themselves are the language used between the actors and are a representation of the collective identity.

## 1.2. Literature Review

Neo-Palladianism in England is one of the most discussed topics in architectural history. This makes it impossible to show a complete bibliography in such a short thesis. Therefore this literature review will concentrate only on a few important works that deal with two main topics: the political and social function of country houses, and the main influence on architecture.

---

[11] Melucci 1995, p. 44-45.

Mark Girouard's *Life in the English country house. A social and architectural history* (1978) was one of the first books to study country houses also in a social context. He saw them as "power houses"[12] that marked the ownership of land – the only basis of power for centuries. They were the engines of the land that was rented out to farmers. The land would have been useless without them. They also established a political power for the owners because their tenants were more likely to vote for them. The buildings themselves showcased the level of power of the owner. If he wanted to increase his power he had to rebuild or improve his existing country house.[13]

Adrian von Buttlar had a completely different approach in his dissertation *Der englische Landsitz 1715-1760. Symbol eines liberalen Weltentwurfs* (1982). He remarked that the dynamics between the Whigs and the Tories changed soon after the Whigs took over in 1715. The main opposing forces were power against opposition. In this case the Tories were not the opposition though but the "Country-party" was. It consisted of disappointed Whigs and Tories who had no power in London anymore and therefore moved to their country houses. They were open for a new liberal world-view that could be seen in the architecture and the interior design of their country estates. They used the country houses to show that they were still important.[14]

Girouard and von Buttlar only showed one side of English country life in the 18th century. Their research was limited to the rich and influential country house owners. Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley showed a different approach in *Creating paradise. The building of the English country house 1660-1880* (2000). They included landowners that could barely sustain their estates and focused on the economic and social context of the building. They showed "their builders and buildings" instead of "architects and the architecture"[15]. They demystify the idealistic and idyllic country house that was created by art and scholars like

---

[12] Girouard 1978, p. 1.
[13] Girouard 1978, p. 2-3.
[14] Buttlar 1982, p. 20.
[15] Wilson/Mackley 2000, p. XVII.

Girouard and von Buttlar. They showed the difficulties for clients and architects during construction instead. They also criticized that architectural historians often saw country houses as isolated objects while the economic and social history of landownership is ignored.[16]

Many publications study which buildings, architects and treatises influenced the new designs in the 1750s. Three main approaches can be seen: British architecture of the early 18th century, architecture of Roman antiquity, buildings and treatise by Andrea Palladio and his contemporaries.

John Summerson used the first approach. His book *Architecture in Britain. 1530 to 1830* (1953) is still one of the most influential books on British architectural history. It was first published in 1953 and has been republished in several new editions since then. He dedicated one chapter to the "Palladian Phase" in which he also talked about villas. He pointed out that there was a villa revival in the 1750s that was led by Isaac Ware (1704-1766), Sir Robert Taylor (1714-1788) and the Neo-Classicist Sir William Chambers (1723-1796). He claimed that they quoted designs by British architects like Colen Campbell (1676-1729) and Lord Burlington (1694-1753) again.[17]

Giles Worsley had a different approach in his book *Classical architecture in Britain. The heroic age* (1995). He thought that the connection with Roman antiquity was of more importance. He showed how some country houses and villas quote designs of Roman villas. Architects could study them in Barbaro's illustrated Italian edition (c. 1560s) or Perrault's French edition (1684) of Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem* (c. 1st c. BC). He analyzed floor plans of several country houses – including Holkham Hall – and pointed out which rooms represent certain spaces in a Roman villa. Worsley also showed with the title of the chapter – 'Palladian Neo-Classicism' – that the line between Neo-Classicism and Neo-Palladianism was getting blurred during that time.[18] Philip Ayres went one step further in his book *Classical architecture and the idea of Rome in eighteenth-*

---

[16] Wilson/Mackley 2000, p. XVII-XVIII.
[17] Summerson 1969, p. 222-224.
[18] Worsley 1995, p. 136, 139-140.

*century England* (1995). He claimed that Neo-Palladianism was working within the tradition of Vitriuvius and was therefore always classical. He acknowledged though that Neo-Palladianism cannot be seen as pure Neo-Classicist because architects preferred to just pick some elements from antiquity.[19]

James Ackerman dedicated one chapter of his book *The villa. Form and ideology of country houses* (1990) to Neo-Palladian estates. He emphasized the importance of Palladio and his contemporaries on British country houses in the first half of the 18th century. He concentrated on the first stage in the 1720s and remarked that the architects were mainly quoting the Villa Emo and La Rotonda. He also mentioned some of the bigger country houses like Holkham Hall and Houghton Hall. He also talked about the differences between a country house and a villa. He came to the conclusion that only by the middle of the 18th century smaller country houses were considered as villas. He also pointed out that country life in Renaissance Italy and 18th century Britain were similar. Both were dominated by a landed gentry that had inherited land and rented it out to farmers. They were wealthy and benefited from an increasing population that needed more agricultural products.[20]

---

[19] Ayres 1997, p. 115.

[20] J. Ackerman 1990, p. 143, 147, 149, 151, 157, 158.

# 2. NODE I – ARCHITECTURE

Neo-Palladian estates were popular among the British elite in the first half of the 18th century. Many were built all over the English countryside by architects and amateurs. By the 1750s their designs had changed significantly.

First, this chapter will discuss the general developments of the architecture of Neo-Palladian estates in the 1750s compared to the 1720s. This will be followed by three case studies: Holkham Hall, Hagley Hall and Kedleston Hall. All case studies will analyze the biography of their owners, the history of the designing process and construction, elevations, floor plans and the interior decoration of the country houses.

## 2.1. General developments compared to the 1720s

As the author has already shown in previous research, architects used a specific formula for their designs at the beginning of the movement in the 1720s. The representational façades were composed of three sections; a central portico enclosed by one section on each side. Some of them have wings today but in most cases those were added at a later time. Moreover there were always five window bays distributed over those three sections with the focus being on the central one with three bays. This number did not change, even when there was a hexastyle instead of a tetrastyle. Also there were only two buildings that were quoted on a regular basis: La Rotonda and the Villa Emo.[21]

Significant changes become apparent when looking at the architecture of the estates of the 1750s. First, the façades became wider. On the one hand this was achieved with the introduction of wings already during the design process – e.g. Kedleston Hall. They were not later additions, so some rooms and their functions were moved to the wings. On the other hand wings were added to already existing buildings or earlier designs – e.g. at Holkham Hall[22]. This reinforced the trend of wider façades even more. But there were also some architects who did not use the old tripartite compositions. They added additional sections or more window bays on both sides of the façades instead. So the façades became wider without adding wings. This can be observed at Hagley Hall.

---

[21] Leitner 2015, p. 129-130.
[22] Hiskey 1997, p. 145.

Second, the façades became more eclectic. The architects still quoted Palladio's Villa Emo, La Rotonda and partially the architecture of Inigo Jones (1573-1652). But they also started to include ideas from other architects and buildings. In many cases they were citing the designs of other British architects – those active a few decades ago and their contemporaries. This can be seen when looking at Wrotham Castle (1754). Isaac Ware still quoted the basic concept of the Villa Emo but also used elements from Colen Campbell's second design for Wanstead and Thomas Ripley's (1682-1758) Houghton Hall (1722-1735).[23]

Third, architects restructured the floor plans and moved even further away from the "original" floor plans of the Villa Emo and the La Rotonda. The stairs were moved from the center to the sides of the main building; private rooms were transferred to the wings. This meant that the introduction of a central representational hall was possible. The names of the estates show that those halls had a significant role. Now not just a few but most of them are known as "halls" like e.g. Holkham Hall or Kedleston Hall.

## 2.2. Introduction of the Case Studies

The architecture of estates on the English countryside in the 1750s will be further analyzed by studying three case studies. Five criteria were defined in order to find a diverse and representative selection of estates:

(1) All of the estates were built on the countryside. They are not buildings that were designed within a preexisting architectural context but they were built on the open field.

(2) All buildings were designed by different architects in order to get a more diverse selection of designs and concepts.

---

[23] Leitner 2015, p. 116, 117, 119.

(3) The clients are from different political backgrounds in order to get a broader view of the British elite of that time.

(4) The focus lies on estates of a bigger scale. This means that all the buildings either have wings or the main façade has at least five sections. In order to have a diverse selection there will be (a) one building where the wings were added in a later stage of the designing process, (b) one where the wings were part of the original plan and (c) one with additional sections to the main façade.

(5) All the country houses were at least partially designed and built in the 1750s. Once more to get a more diverse and representative selection there will be (a) one building that had already started construction in the 1730s and was finished in the 1760s, (b) one building that was constructed in the middle of the 1750s, and (c) one that was built from the end of the 1750s till the 1760s.

Considering all those criteria Holkham Hall, Hagley Hall and Kedleston Hall were chosen as case studies. All of them cover the first three points: They were built on the country side, they were designed by different architects and the clients came from a diverse political background. Concerning point four and five Holkham Hall was chosen because of its later addition of the wings and because its construction had already started in the 1730s. Hagley Hall was chosen due to its five sections and due to its construction in the mid-1750s. Kedleston Hall was chosen because it had already wings in the initial design and because it was constructed at the end of the 1750s. This diverse selection will offer a broad overview over the developments in the architecture of estates on the English countryside in the 1750s.

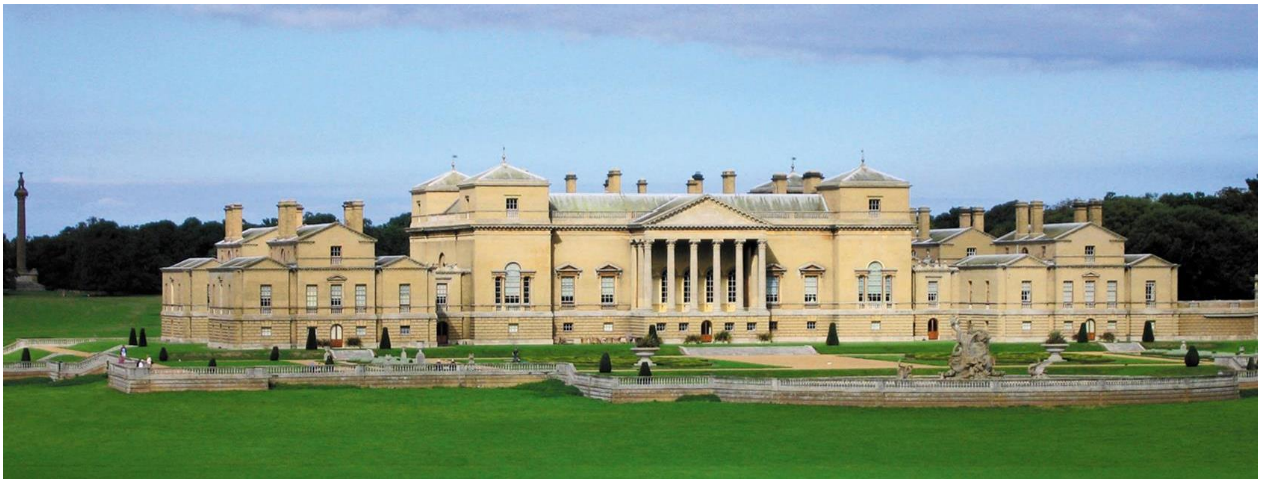


Fig. 1: William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, South façade of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764

### 2.2.1. Holkham Hall (1734-1764)

Holkham Hall (Fig. 1) was designed for Thomas Coke (1697-1759), the 1st Earl of Leicester. He was the patron of William Kent (1685-1748), who also became one of the architects of the project. In his youth Coke travelled together with Kent to Italy. He might have already had the idea to build a mansion replacing the old family estate Hill Hall (2nd half of 16th c.) in Holkham back then. Those plans were not executed for many years after his return to Great Britain in May 1718 though.[24] This was mainly due to his speculation in stocks from the South Sea Company. The company failed in 1720 which left Coke with financial troubles that also made the financing of the project more difficult.[25]

After he had successfully settled the matter he continued commissioning artworks and buying books and antiquities. His career advanced thanks to his close neighbour in Norfolk: Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745). He got elected to the position of Member of Parliament of Norfolk in 1722, became a Knight of the Order of Bath in 1725, Searjant-at-Arms in Ordinary in 1726, Baron Lovel of Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire in 1728 and Captain of Gentlemen Pensioners in 1733. By 1744 he had finally gained the title of Viscount Coke of Holkham and Earl of

---

[24] Wilson 1984, p. 173.
[25] Hiskey 1997, p. 145.

Leicester. He continued to work on Holkham Hall and eventually died in 1759 before the house was finished.[26]

The history of Holkham Hall is complex and the attribution is not always clear. Over the years it has been attributed to William Kent, Lord Burlington, Matthew Brettingham the Elder (1699-1769), Colen Campbell and Thomas Coke himself. Maybe it was even a collaboration of all five men. William Kent probably worked on the gardens in 1722 long before the design process on the house had started.[27] The first drawings for the main building date back to the year 1726 and are attributed to Matthew Brettingham the Elder. They show the main building without wings.[28] Those plans were never executed because of lack of money. The project started to become more realistic in 1731 when the plans were adapted: The attic storey was abolished and four wings were added to compensate for the lost space upstairs. It can be assumed that William Kent was responsible for this concept considering he also used a similar idea for his first design of Horse Guards.[29] However letters written by Coke to Burlington and Brettingham in 1736 and 1738 show that Brettingham might still have been involved. Kent had already taken over the more important jobs of the designing and execution process though.[30]

Construction started with the laying of the foundations in 1734.[31] They started to build the family wing first in order to make the estate habitable as soon as possible. Construction was held up again and again due to money problems. The family could finally move into the family wing at the end of 1741.[32] The same year construction on the main building started[33] which was not finished until 1749.[34] Brettingham took over the complete project again after Kent's death in 1748. Eventually Coke himself made some changes to the Marble Hall in 1757. He never saw the finished building. Only one more wing was ready before his death in 1759. His wife took over the administration of the project and Holkham Hall was finally finished in 1764.[35]

---

[26] Wilson 1984, p. 173, 180.
[27] Mowl 2006, p. 223.
[28] Hiskey 1997, p. 145.
[29] Mowl 2006, p. 175-176, 222-223.
[30] Salmon 2013, p. 78-79.
[31] Jourdain 1948, p. 51.
[32] Wilson 1984, p. 179-180.
[33] Salmon 2013, p. 78.
[34] Wilson 1984, p. 180.

Holkham Hall (Fig. 2) consists of a main building and four identical wings. Each one is connected with a hallway to one corner of the main building. The visitors approach the building from the east and enter it on the north side. The central door on the ground floor takes the visitors into the Marble Hall with the central staircase leading to the main floor. This almost public entrance zone stands in contrast to the closed off south façade that is facing the garden. When standing in the garden one has to walk through the central door underneath the portico, cross the ground floor and take a spiral staircase ending up in an alley next to the Marble Hall. Therefore the garden and the south façade turn into a more private zone. The entrance, the Marble Hall and the north façade are semi-public.

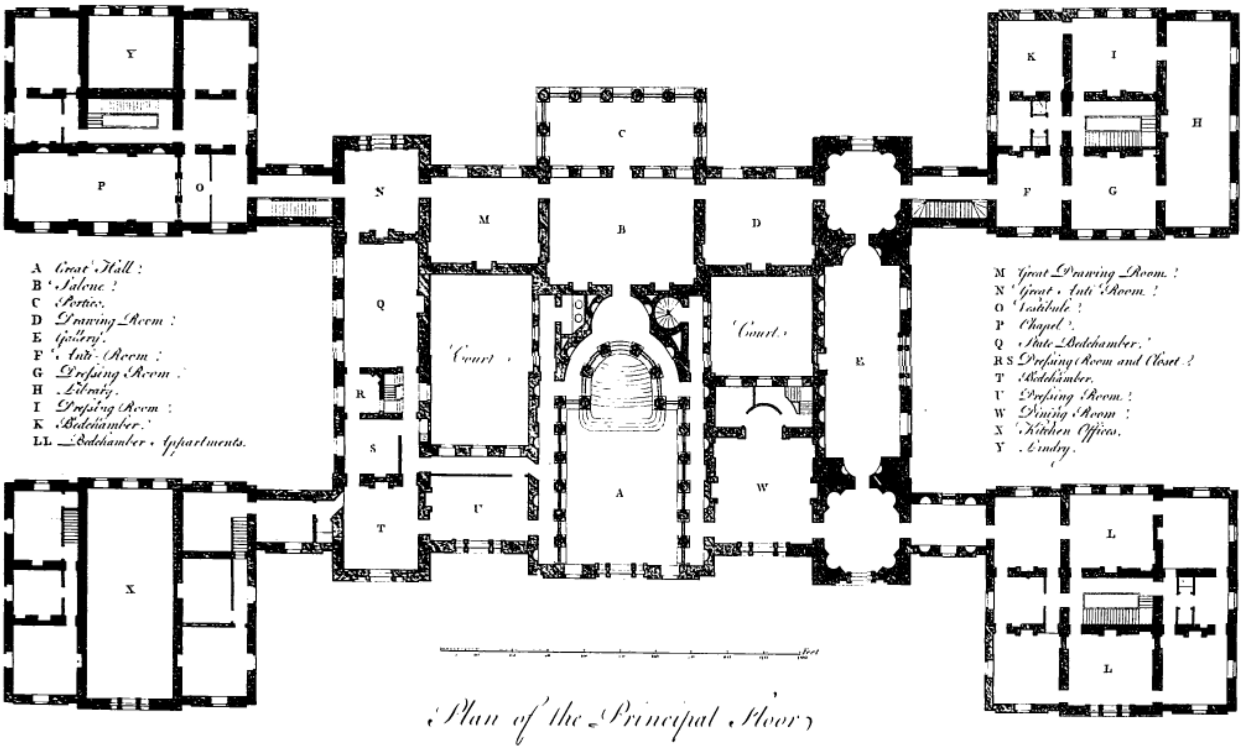

Y
K
I
C
H
P
O
N
M
B
D
F
G
Q
Court
Court
R
E
S
U
A
W
T
X
L
L
A Great Hall :
B Salone :
C Portico.
D Drawing Room :
E Gallery.
F Anti-Room :
G Dreſsing Room :
H Library.
I Dreſsing Room :
K Bedchamber.
LL Bedchamber Appartments.
M Great Drawing Room :
N Great Anti Room :
O Vestibule :
P Chapel.
Q State Bedchamber.
R S Dreſsing Room and Closet :
T Bedchamber.
U Dreſsing Room :
W Dining Room :
X Kitchen Offices.
Y Laundry.
Feet
Plan of the Principal Floor

Fig. 2: William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/ Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Floor plan of the main floor of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764

---

[35] Salmon 2013, p. 78-79.

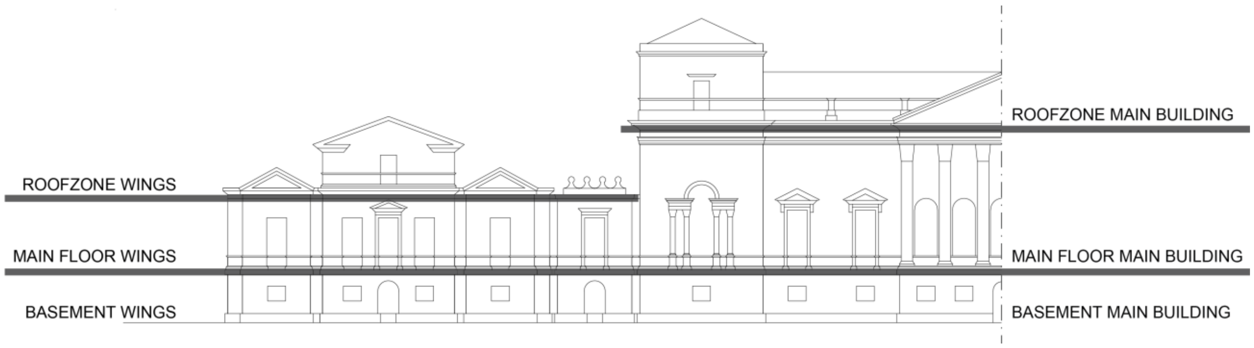


Fig. 3: The different layer structures of the main building and the wings at Holkham Hall

The south front itself can be divided into five main sections: the main building, the wings on both sides and the short hallways connecting them to the main building. Both the main building block and the wings have three layers: the basement, the main floor and the roof zone. At the same time the hallways only have two layers. The main focus lies on the central block. The three layered structure is similar to the one in the wings but the main floor is higher (Fig. 3). The height of the main floor remains the same all through the wings including the hallways. This means that the horizontal lines of the different parts of the wings align while they are not aligning with those of the central block. So the main focus is put on the main building. The wings appear as simple additions that are subordinate. The façade would still be harmonious – or maybe even more harmonious – if the wings were not there. Their main function is to protract the façade and therefore emphasize the horizontality of the building.

The façade of the main building itself can be divided into five sections: the central portico, the two towers on the corner and two plain sections connecting the other three parts. This stands in contrast to the designs of the 1720s with their tripartite division. The façade becomes wider without even taking the wings in account. Eleven window bays are distributed over the whole façade. Most of them – five in total – can be found underneath the portico. This high density decreases the more one moves to the edge of the façade with only one window bay for each one of the towers. This way the central portico becomes the main focus of the façade. At the same time the towers frame the façade and ensure that the façade does not appear to be endlessly extendable.

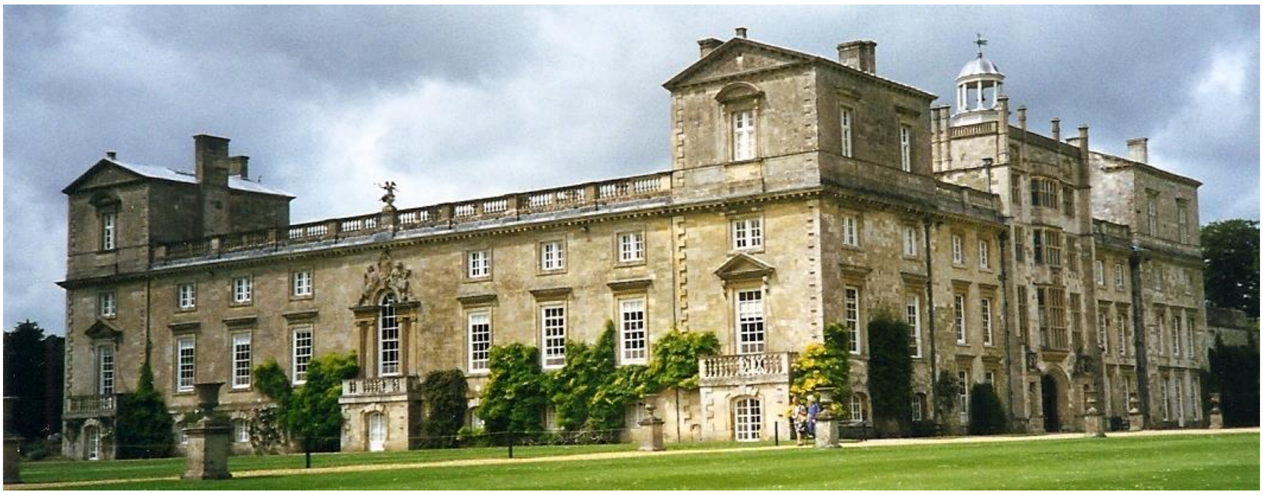


Fig. 4: Isaac de Caus/John Webb, South façade of Wilton House, 1636-1652

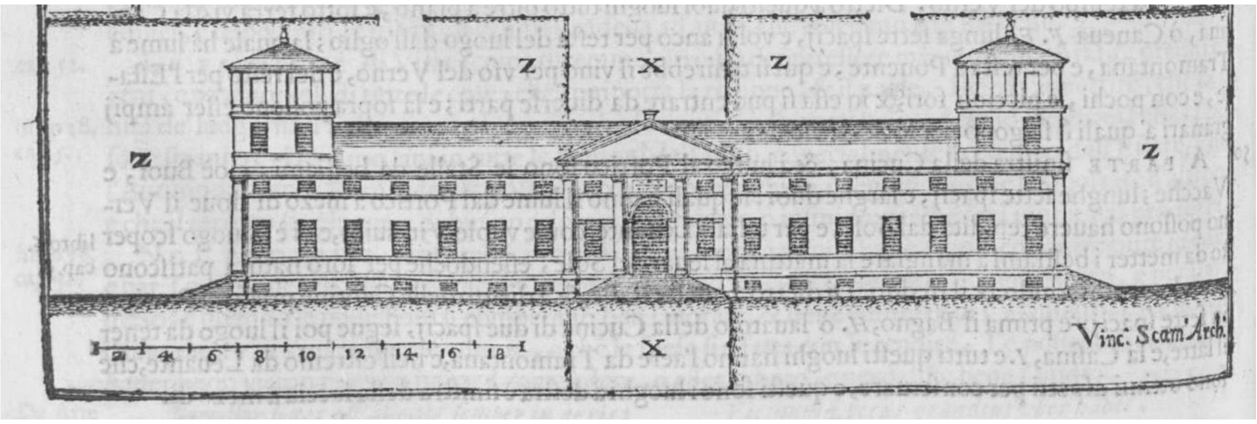


Fig. 5: Vincenzo Scamozzi, Design for a courtyard house, 1615

The reference for the towers is clear: the south façade of Wilton House (1636-1652) (Fig. 4) by Isaac de Caus (1590-1648) and John Webb (1611-1672). On the edges of the façade there is an extra storey. These pavilions are above the cornice dividing the main floor from the roof zone. Both have a single window in the center of the pavilion. Underneath it there are a cornice and a balustrade. It is likely that the architects knew Wilton House as it was in the *Vitruvius Britannicus II* (1717).[36] At that time the façade was still attributed to Inigo Jones who was seen as deeply English. Therefore architects would have been keen to quote a design by him. One also has to look at the possible precedent for Wilton House though: Vincenzo Scamozzi's (1548-1616) design for a courtyard house (Fig. 5) in *L'idea della architettura universale I* (1615). It was a popular publication and known to the majority of architects just like the *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725). So it is likely that the architects knew the drawing. In both cases – the Italian design and Holkham Hall – there are towers although their composition differs. Wilton House did not have a central portico while one can be observed in Scamozzi's designs and at Holkham Hall.

---

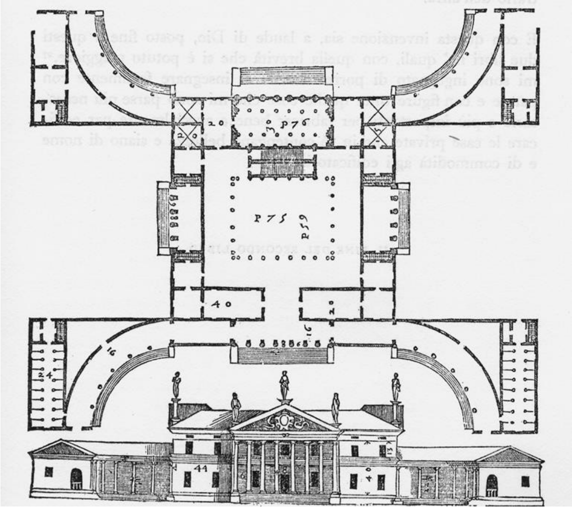
[36] Vitruvius Britannicus II 1717, p. 61-62.

When taking a closer look at the wings one fact becomes apparent: They are subordinate to the central block. This is reinforced through several design choices. As already mentioned above, the main floor is lower than in the main building. This means that the wings themselves are lower than the main building. Additionally, they are not as wide as the central block and only have three instead of five sections. Fewer and smaller openings were used as well as less decoration; no additional central portico, fewer hood moulds and simple rectangular windows instead of Venetian windows. The main focus stays on the central block and the viewer is not distracted by the wings.

The floor plan of Holkham Hall (Fig. 2) consists of an almost rectangular main building and four rectangular wings. Each of them are connected to one of the four corners of the main building with hallways. Palladio's Villa Mocenigo sopra la Brenta (1560–1564) (Fig. 6) is often seen as a source for this design.[37] Considering that it was published in the *Quattro Libri* one can assume that the architects knew the building.[38] In both cases there are four wings connected to the main building. One might argue though that those are the only similarities between the designs. Palladio's Villa Thiene in Cicogna (1563 – 1567) (Fig. 7, 8) – also published in the *Quattro Libri*[39] – has only two wings but the main building has a similar composition of the floor plan as the one of Holkham Hall (Fig. 9). In both cases five 'stripes' of rooms are arranged next to each other. At Holkham Hall two of those rooms are replaced with courtyards. The wings of both buildings have a rectangular floor plan but the connections to the main building are different. The Villa Thiene has quadrant colonnades while Holkham Hall has rectangular hallway rooms. There are even more similarities between the elevations. Villa Thiene also has a central portico and two towers on the corner, but there is also an additional floor. The wings in England are bigger than the ones in Italy but in both cases they are still not as high as the main building. They are subordinate to it.

---

[37] Mowl 2006, p. 223.
[38] Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 66.
[39] Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 62.



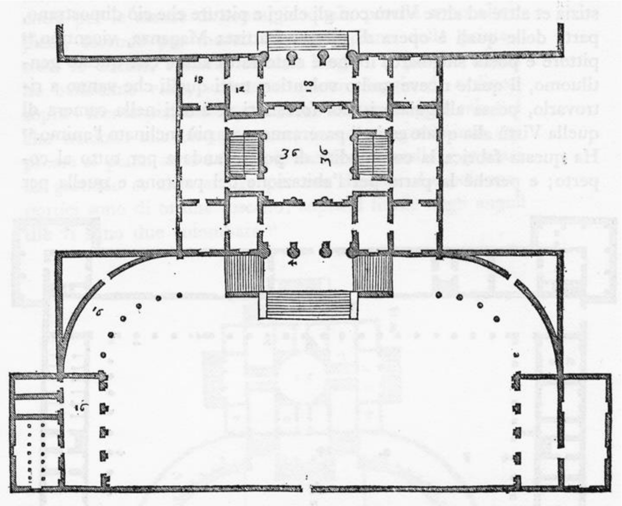
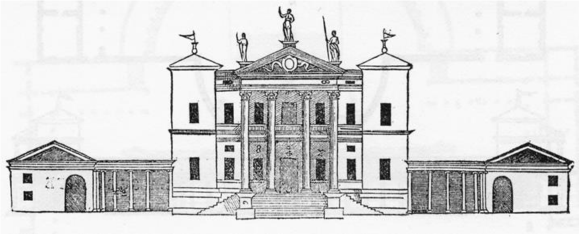


Fig. 6: (left) Andrea Palladio, Floor plan and elevation of Villa Mocenigo sopra la Brenta, 1560-1564

Fig. 7: (right) Andrea Palladio, Floor plan of Villa Thiene in Cicogna, 1563-1567



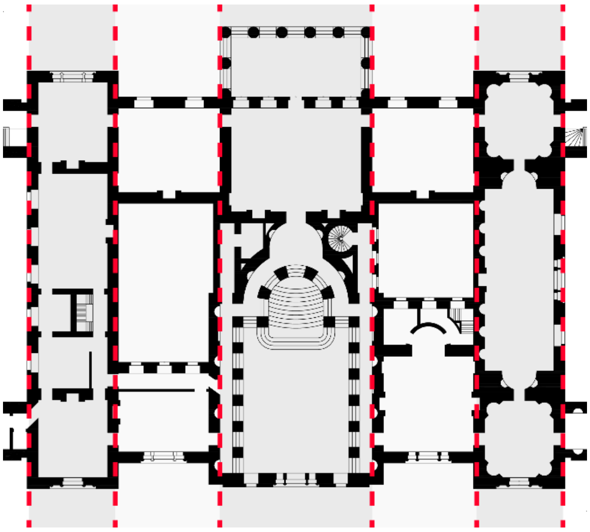


Fig. 8: (left) Andrea Palladio, Elevation of Villa Thiene in Cicogna, 1563-1567

Fig. 9: (right) Five-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Holkham Hall

The Marble Hall is not just the focal point of the design but also the first room that visitors enter. Therefore it had to be as grand as possible. This was achieved on the one hand with the scale of the room itself. The hall takes over approximately two thirds of the central stripe and stretches over all floors. The architects only used expensive materials and decorated the hall heavily. Also the entrance is staged. When the visitors enter the hall their eyes are first drawn to the grand staircase and then up to the door leading to the Saloon. One can assume that the master of the house was waiting on top of the stairs hovering over them. The visitors are supposed to feel small which is also reinforced by the dimensions of the hall. The host on the other hand should feel important by looking down on the people entering his grand home. Therefore the room immediately defines the roles of the visitors and the host. The visitors are put into a subordinate role while the host is presented as superior.

After the Hall the visitors enter the Saloon with its rich crimson red walls. The dark colours make the room appear smaller which in turn makes the room more intimate and private than the Marble Hall. Furniture is placed along the walls and an open space opens up in the middle of the room. The space does not encourage visitors to sit down and interact with each other. In contrast, the visitors are supposed to observe the room and take in all the richness; e.g. the golden decorations on the walls, the paintings on the walls or the richly decorated high mirrored vaulted ceiling. The Saloon intimidates the visitors with its richness just like the Marble Hall and presents the host as superior to his guests.

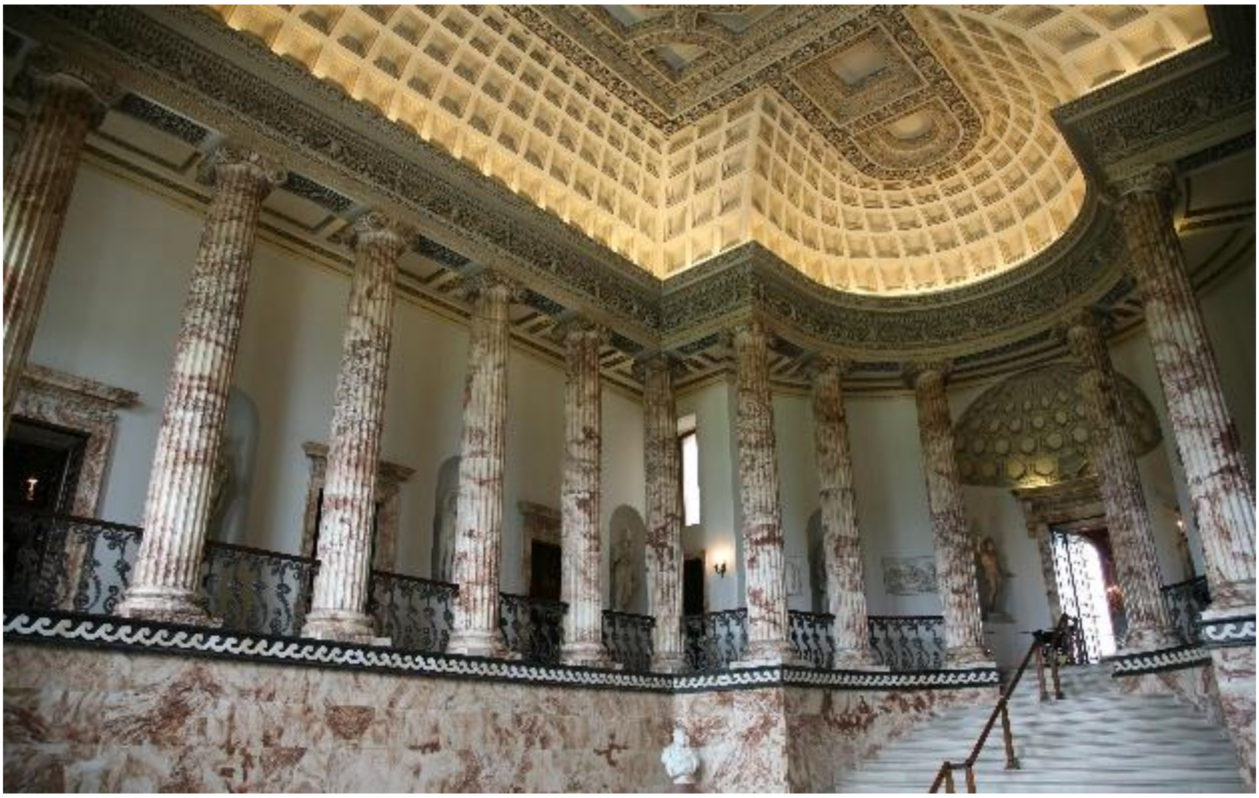


Fig. 10: (left) William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Marble Hall, 1734-1764

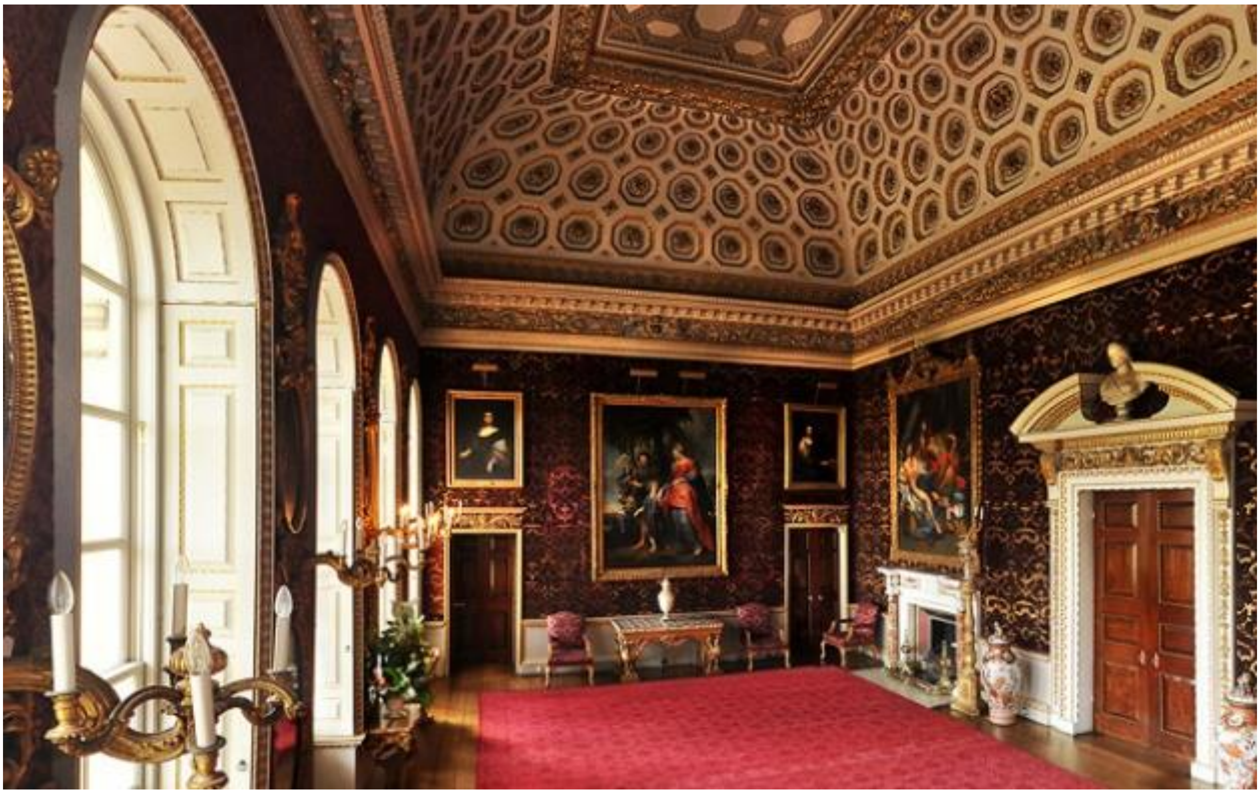


Fig. 11: (right) William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Saloon, 1734-1764

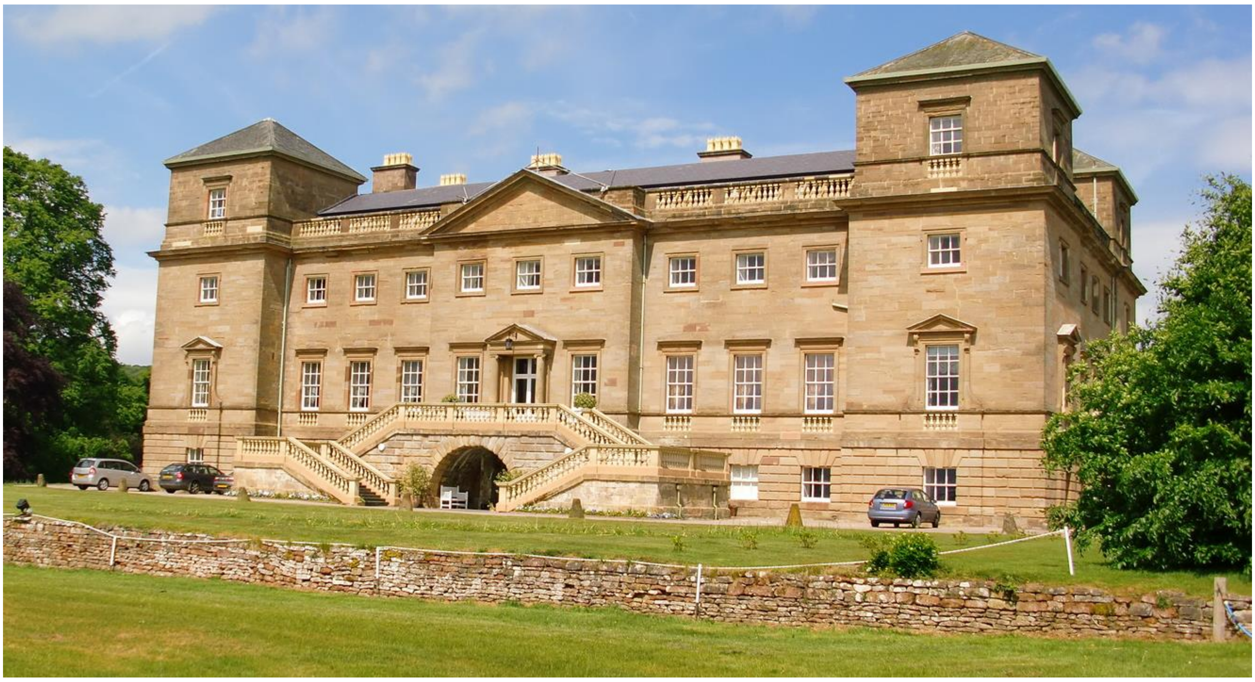


Fig. 12: Sanderson Miller, South-west façade of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760

### 2.2.2. Hagley Hall (1754-1760)

The history of Hagley Hall (Fig. 12) and it is adjacent park is strongly linked to the Lyttelton family, especially George Lyttelton, 1st Baron Lyttelton (1709-1773). He was the first child of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, 4th Baronet (1686-1751), a loyal Whig. He was a well-known art patron. He lived in Paris for one and a half years and left the city in November 1729 to go on his Grand Tour to Turin, Genoa, Milan, Padua, Venice, Rome, Naples and Florence. He returned from Italy in May 1730 and went via Paris back home to England.[40]

He chose a political career just like his father. He got elected as a Whig to the House of Commons at the by-election in Okehampton in March 1735. But he had already established a relationship with Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751) in c. 1732 becoming his "chief favorite". The prince had a strained relationship with his father King George II. This led to the formation of a Whig opposition against Robert Walpole led by Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) who owned Stowe House (1676-1683). Lyttelton became a member of this group and even the prince's secretary in August 1737. It is not known that this opposition to the Whig party caused any rifts between Lyttelton and his father.[41]

---

[40] Cousins 2007, p. vii, 38.

The fight between the king and the prince finally caused Walpole's downfall in 1742. Shortly after that Lyttleton's relationship with the prince started to deteriorate. It ended in December 1744 when he became Lord of the Treasury. He kept this position till 6 April 1754, also became Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1755 and finally got the title of Baron Lyttleton of Frankley, in the County of Worcester in November 1756.[42]

Lyttleton had married Lucy Fortescue (d. 1747) on 15 June 1742. Unfortunately she died only a few days after the birth of their daughter Mary in January 1747. He was devastated by the loss and tried to overcome the grief by working on the park at Hagley.[43] Right from the beginning he was advised by Sanderson Miller (1716-1780) who later would become the principal architect of the new Hagley Hall.[44] He was also supported by other amateur architects of this time: Thomas Barrett of Belhus (1717-1786), John Chute of The Vyne (1701-1776) and Thomas Prowse (1707-1767).[45] In 1749 Lyttelton got married to Elizabeth Rich (d. 1795), a life-long friend of Horace Walpole (1717-1797). Their marriage was not a loving one but it gave Lyttleton the opportunity to befriend Walpole.[46] He wrote about the early plans to rebuild the old Hagley Hall in the gothic style in October 1751. Walpole complained that it would be "immeasurably bad and old". He was not the only one as William Shenstone (1714-1763) and many antiquarians of that time were not keen on the original ideas of Lyttleton and Miller. But especially the complaints of Lady Lyttleton influenced the future plans. They were first modernized by John Chute by June 1752. He probably got involved in the project because Lady Lyttleton asked her cousin Thomas Barrett for help. He provided some plans and elevations which were reworked in July 1752. The couple was still not completely pleased with the new design by Chute. Therefore the commission finally was given to Sanderson Miller in October 1752.[47]

---

[41] Cousins 2007, p. 38, 40.
[42] Cousins 2007, p. 40, 46, 47, 55.
[43] Cousins 2007, p. 46-47.
[44] McCarthy 1976, p. 214.
[45] Cornforth 2004, p. 300.
[46] Cousins 2007, p. 52.

Construction started in the summer of 1754 with the laying of the foundations. Work progressed quickly. At the end of 1756 William Shenstone already reported to Lady Luxborough (1699-1756) that the shell of the house was completed. Lady Lyttleton had a great influence on the designing process but split from her husband before the house was finished. Lyttleton took over the building on 25 August 1759. It was officially opened in 1760.[48]

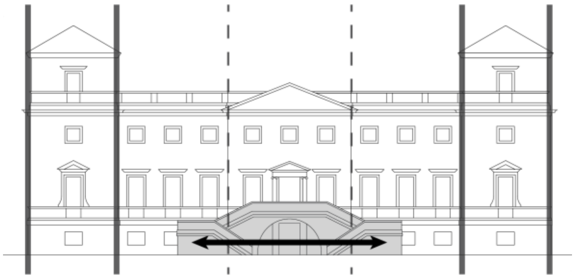
Hagley Hall is an almost box-shaped building with a tower on each of the four corners. The visitors approach the building from the north-east, walk around the building and eventually enter it via a staircase on the south-west façade. They enter the estate through the White Hall on the main floor. Considering the visitors do not enter the house via the ground but via the main floor the main entrance becomes more private. This tendency to more privacy is reinforced on the north-east side of the façade: Not a single door is leading outside. Moreover the compact shape of the building defines a strong division between the public outside and the private inside. The façades are almost completely flat with no significant offsets or protruding volumes. The stairs connecting the outside with the inside are the only exception to this.

The entrance façade – or south-west façade – itself can be divided into five sections: the section underneath the gable, the two towers and the two plain sections connecting them. These five sections stand in contrast to the three sections of the designs of the 1720s. They emphasize the horizontality of the building and make it appear much wider, even without any wings. Just like in Holkham Hall there are also eleven window bays. In this case though the three sections in the middle have three each. Therefore these three sections appear to be one single unit that is differentiating itself only from the two towers on the corners (Fig. 13). Also the central staircase reaches over all three sections and connects them. There are also no pilasters or pillars supporting the gable. They would have broken up the consistency of the nine window bays and would have ensured that three sections would have been perceived instead of one.

---

[47] McCarthy 1976, p. 214, 217, 218, 221, 222.

[48] McCarthy 1976, p. 222, 224, 225.



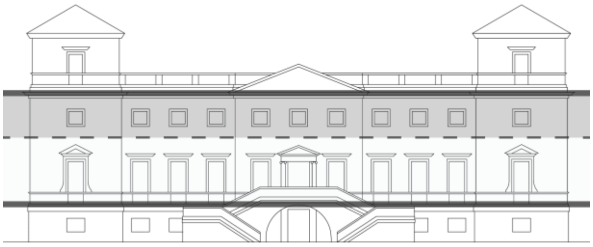


Fig. 13: (left) The entrance façade has a five-section structure with the staircase connecting the middle three ones.
Fig. 14: (right) The central layer of the entrance façade consists of two storeys: the main and the upper floor.

The building has a total of four floors: the basement, two main floors and the pavilions in the towers. This is only partially reflected on the façade. The two main floors are in one layer which means that there are only three layers (Fig. 14). The second floor is represented in a row of almost square windows above the windows of the main floor. The horizontal lines of the layers are very strict and not broken apart by overreaching vertical elements. At the same time though – as already mentioned – the staircase is interweaving the three central sections. As a result there is a further emphasis on the horizontality of the façade. It appears that the two plain sections and possibly even the section underneath the gable could be extended infinitely. This is further reinforced by the shape and dimensions of the windows. Miller used the same arrangement of windows for every window bay in the central two sections. The only exception is the one of the entrance in the middle. Therefore an extension seems to be easily manageable. The focus still lies on the central section with its gable and the stair cases though. The diagonal lines create a contrast to the strict horizontal and vertical lines and therefore draw the eye of the visitor to the center of the façade.

Just like at Holkham Hall the two towers can be seen as a reference to Wilton House (Fig. 4). In both cases there are pavilions with one single window above the cornice. The façade of Hagley Hall even goes one step further and reuses the structure of the window bays: one almost square window in the basement, a rectangular and another almost square one in the main layer and another rectangular opening in the roof zone. Holkham Hall (Fig. 1) did not overtake this window structure but only has one row of windows for the main floor. The pavilions of Hagley Hall are closer in design to those of Holkham Hall than those of Wilton House. In both cases there is the same pyramidal roof instead of the gable at Wilton House. The architects used a similar design for the window: a rectangular window with a straight cornice as a hood mould above of a cornice and a fake balustrade. Also the towers at Holkham and Hagley Hall are both placed clearly in front of the façade and therefore putting themselves apart from the three central sections. The towers at Wilton House are in the same building line as the central section and are only accentuated by corner ashlars.

It appears that Hagley Hall is quoting Holkham Hall first and only then Wilton House. The second row of windows was necessary to get light into the additional floor so they cannot be interpreted as a direct reference to Wilton House. At the same time the architects could have easily chosen either Wilton House or Holkham Hall as a reference for the pavilions considering all their compositions are similar. Therefore it was a deliberate decision to choose the last one. References to the original material – Scamozzi's design (Fig. 5) in the *L'idea della architettura universale I* (1615) – are not present anymore. Scamozzi's pavilions are two storeys high and the towers are also not clearly putting themselves apart from the central sections. So the connection to Italy and the connection to the first phase of English Palladianism in the 17th century were already lost or forgotten. In contrast, the references to the designs of the Georgian time were of more importance and therefore more emphasized.

The floor plan of Hagley Hall consists of five stripes that are reflected in the five sections on the façade. Those stripes are further divided into rooms with different functions. The access zone with the three staircases and the connection between the Saloon and the Hall are located in the center of the building. The visitors enter the estate through the Hall so the internal staircases are almost completely hidden from

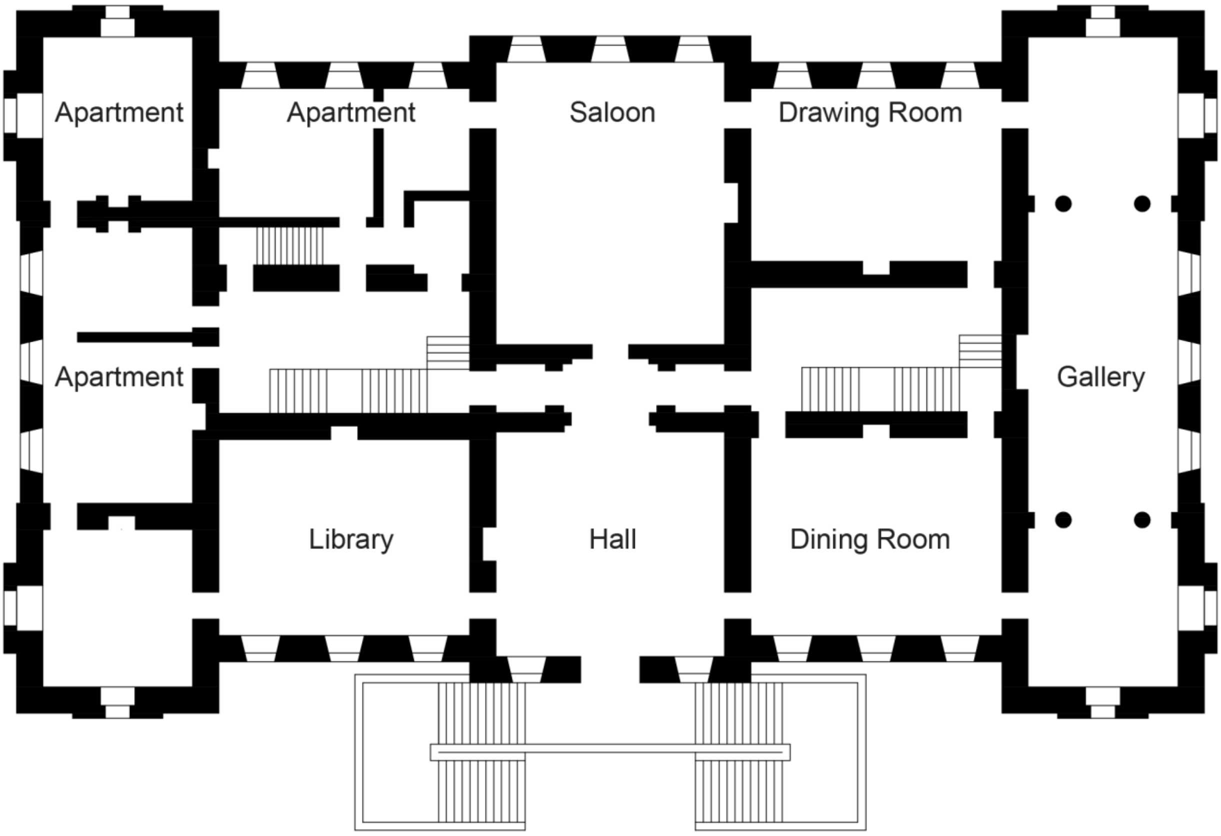


Fig. 15: Sanderson Miller, Floor plan of the main floor of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760

them. This differs from the situation in Holkham Hall: The very public staircases are the first thing that the visitors see when entering the building. The floor plans are still comparable: Both have the same five-stripes-structure but a bigger scale allows a greater number of rooms within one single stripe.

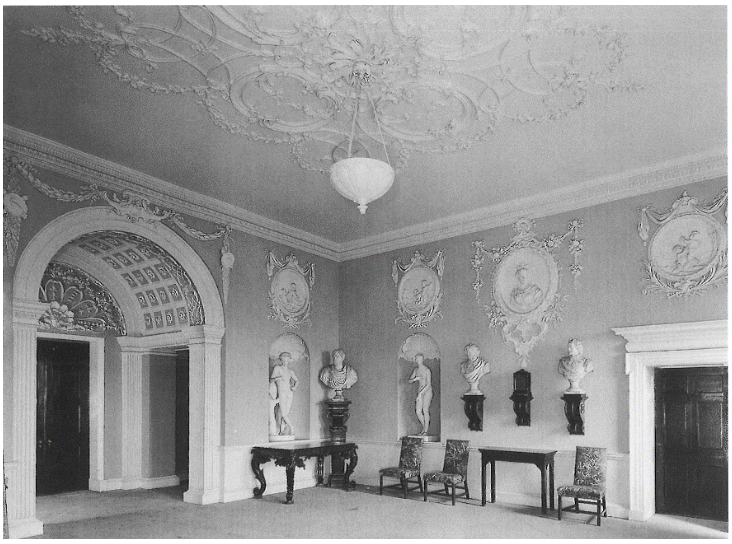
The completely different position of the staircases means that Miller might have also looked at other floor plans. The already mentioned Villa Thiene (Fig. 7) in Cicogna once more proves to be a reference for the design. Both buildings have the same five-stripes-structure and the staircases in the same position. Palladio arranged the stairs space efficiently: on each side two straight flight of stairs parallel to each other and to the walls of the stripes. This way the staircases might not be staged but the stripes can be kept narrow. Miller though turned the stairs by 90 degrees, added a landing in the middle of the staircase and a quarter turn at the end of them. They are not parallel to the walls of the stripes anymore, with the result that those become wider. The additional landing in the middle extends them even more. Therefore the whole building and also the façade are becoming wider.

As already mentioned above the entrance to Hagley Hall is more private than the one to Holkham Hall. The visitors climb up the exterior stairs to the main floor and enter the building into the White Hall (Fig. 16). This more private approach is also reflected in the interior design of the building. Upon entering the building the visitors encounter a completely different situation than in Holkham Hall. The second one tries to impress the guest with its huge dimensions and its rich materials. Hagley Hall gives a more modest first impression. Due to the second floor a higher ceiling or dome was not possible therefore the room has a lower ceiling height. Expensive materials were avoided; white plaster elements are put on the yellow painted walls. This simplicity though is counteracted with the rich details in the designs. Classical themes are dominant – e.g. the statues in the niches and the plaster relief of *Pan Winning the Love of Diana* above the chimney piece – but busts of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) are also included. This way they are making a connection to the early Stuarts and specifically Charles I (1600-1649).[49] Furniture is limited and moved to the walls. The visitors should experience the place and not be distracted by sitting down and conversing with other people.

The main ideas of the Hall can also be found in the Saloon (Fig. 17): a lower ceiling height and detailed plaster garlands are placed on yellow painted walls framing paintings. The architects also chose the theme of the Stuart monarchy again. There are portraits of the second Stuart king Charles I and his wife Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) and a version of the painting *The Children of Charles* originally by Van Dyck. Nonetheless thanks to the bigger plaster elements on the walls the room appears more heavily decorated than the Hall. Decoration became even more significant once the visitors moved into even more private rooms; the Tapestry-Drawing Room which had a whole concept based on four tapestries bought by Lyttelton or the library that functioned as the main living room for the family.[50]

---

[49] Cornforth 2004, p. 303.



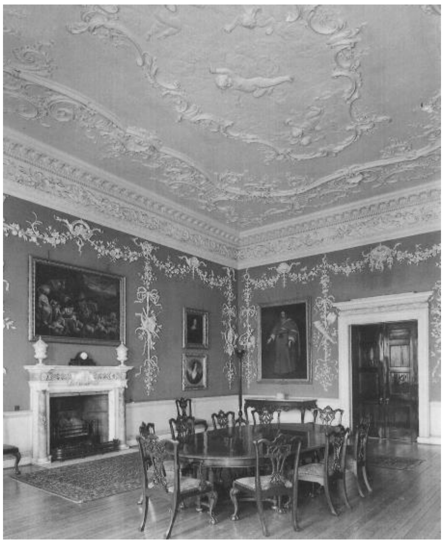


Fig. 16: Sanderson Miller, White Hall of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760

Fig. 17: Sanderson Miller, Saloon of Hagley Hall in 1957, 1754-1760

---

[50] Cornforth 2004, p. 303, 304, 307.

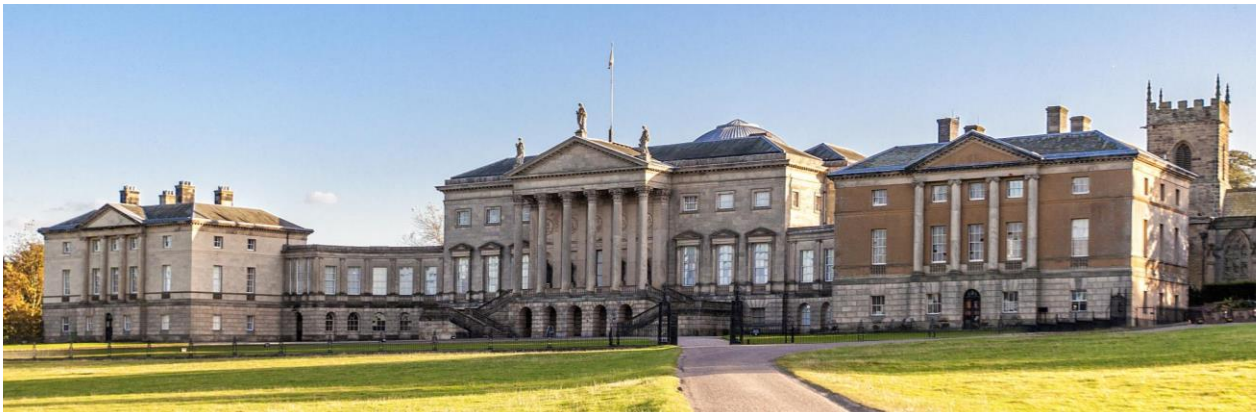


Fig. 18: James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, North façade of Kedleston Hall, 1759

### 2.2.3. Kedleston Hall (1759)

Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Baron Scarsdale (1726-1804) came from a family with a long tradition in politics. His father Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 4th Baronet (1676-1758) and his uncle Sir John Curzon, 3rd Baronet (1674-1727) had been members of the parliament representing Derbyshire which meant that also the future Baron Scarsdale went into politics.[51] He was a Tory and became a member of parliament for Clitheroe in 1748. He continued till 1754 when he started to represent Derbyshire.[52] When his father died in November 1758 he inherited his estate at Kedleston in Derbyshire, an income of £10,000 a year and a red-brick house from 1700. Shortly after that he started the designing process for Kedleston Hall. The new estate should establish him as a Tory opponent to the Whig Dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth. The plan succeeded and Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 5th Baronet turned into the 1st Baron Scarsdale in 1761. The title was taken over by his son Nathaniel after his death in 1804.[53]

Kedleston Hall (Fig. 18) is not the work of one single person. Four architects were involved in the designing process: James Stuart (1713-1788), Matthew Brettingham the Elder, James Paine (1717-1789) and Robert Adam (1728-1792). The very first ideas to build something new at Kedleston already date back to 1756 and 1757. 1st Baron Scarsdale had bought a large number of statues, busts and paintings for which he needed a proper place to present them. At first he considered just to remodel the already existing house and commissioned three architects to present their ideas in 1757 or 1758: one unidentified architect, James Stuart and Matthew Brettingham the Elder. They were supposed to design a two-storey entrance hall and a gallery. But after 1st Baron Scarsdale succeeded his father in November 1758 he dropped the idea and decided to build a completely new estate instead.[54]

---

[51] Brydges 1812, vol. VII, p. 299.
[52] Aspinall 1968, vol. IV, p. 75 (n. 4).
[53] Worsley 1995, p. 228-229.

Brettingham was hired and he started designing the building. Only a few months later 1st Baron Scarsdale met Robert Adam for the first time. He hired him for the design of the garden and its follies and bridges. According to Adam, Scarsdale was very impressed by his work and regretted that he was already working with Brettingham. Adam might have even recommended some alterations of Brettingham's plans. In 1759 first the eastern part of the existing house was demolished and construction on the north-east wing – the family pavilion – started. Before the end of the year Brettingham left and James Paine took over. He executed Brettingham's plans but also made some changes. The main one was the addition of a circular room protruding out of the main box covered with a dome and surrounded by tall columns.[55] Those plans were never executed but only presented in an exhibition at the Society of Arts in 1761. They only survived in Paine's publication *Plans, elevations and sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* (1783).[56] Although some of the drawings are dated 1759 they were only made shortly before the book was published. Therefore some historians assumed that Paine only published the drawings in order to show everyone that he could have outshone Adam. Eileen Harris remarked that the two architects still worked together afterwards till March or April 1761 which was not unusual at that time. So it seems unlikely that Paine only wanted to prove that he was superior to Adam.[57] By 1759 Adam had already started working on the interior designs. The following summer he even delivered designs for the house itself and slowly started to replace Paine.[58] By 1760 he had produced a plan that kept the rotunda but was more economic. He put the circular room into a square. Paine continued to work at Kedleston Hall till 1761 when Adam took over as 'Surveyor of the main body of his Lordship's house' eventually. The family and the kitchen wing had already been finished by then so they were not Adam's responsibility.[59] The structural construction was finished in 1765. The southern wings and the connecting quadrant corridors were never built. Work on the interior continued for another 15 years.[60]

---

[54] Harris 2001, p. 19, 21.
[55] Harris 2001, p. 21.
[56] Leach 1997, p. 159.
[57] Harris 1999, p. 344, 347.

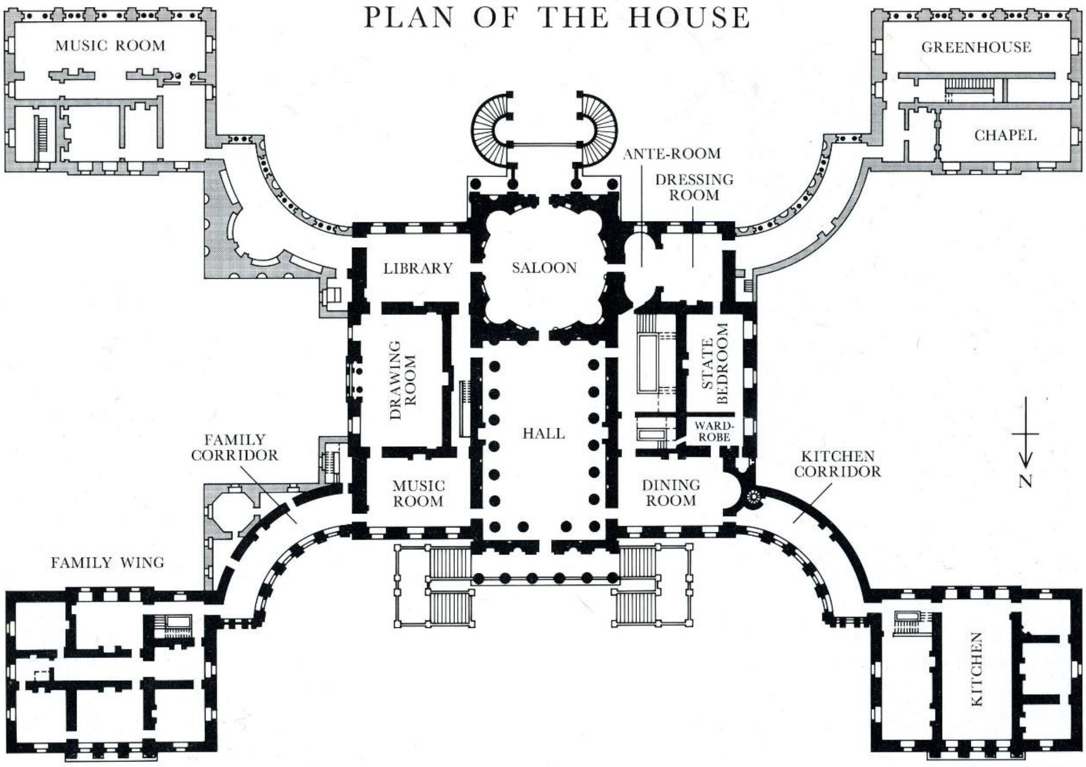

PLAN OF THE HOUSE
MUSIC ROOM
GREENHOUSE
CHAPEL
ANTE-ROOM
DRESSING ROOM
LIBRARY
SALOON
DRAWING ROOM
STATE BEDROOM
WARD-ROBE
HALL
FAMILY CORRIDOR
KITCHEN CORRIDOR
N
MUSIC ROOM
DINING ROOM
FAMILY WING
KITCHEN

Fig. 19: James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Floor plan of the main floor of Kedleston Hall, 1759

Kedleston Hall (Fig. 19) consists of a rectangular main building and two rectangular wings on the north façade. The wings are connected to the main block on the north-east and north-west corner of the building with quadrant corridors. Therefore they are not in line with the main building but in front of it, creating an open courtyard in front of the north façade. The visitors approach the house from this side, take the outside stairs up to the main floor and enter the estate underneath the portico into the Great Hall. The garden can be reached by exiting the Saloon onto the staircases on the south façade.

---

[58] Leach 1997, p. 159.
[59] Harris 2001, p. 21-22.
[60] Leach 1997, p. 159.

The north façade consists of five main sections: the main building, the two quadrant corridors and the wing buildings. The layers of the different building sections are similar to the ones at Holkham Hall. The main building and the wings have three layers – the basement, the main floor and the roof zone – while the corridors only have two. Also the main floor of the main building is higher than the one of the wings making the main building itself higher than all the adjacent ones (Fig. 20). Therefore the main focus once more is on the main building. This is even further emphasized once the visitors stand in the courtyard. The wings and the corridors are standing behind the spectators and the only part visible to them is the main building. Just like at Holkham Hall the wings are subordinate. Their main function is to protract the façade and emphasize the horizontality of the building.

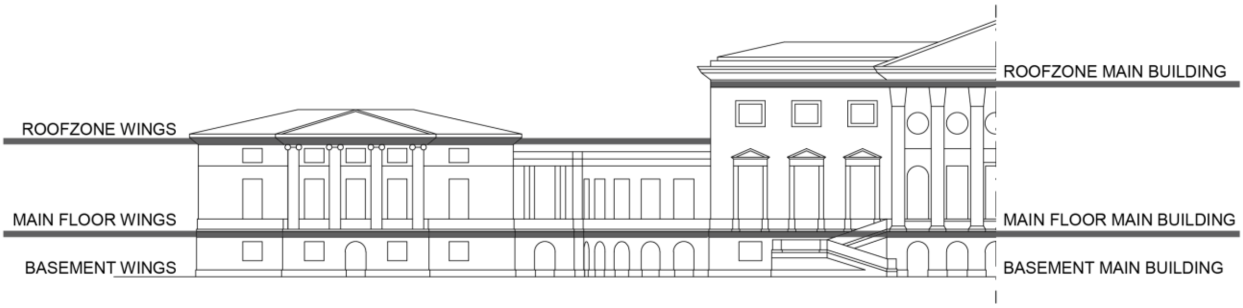


Fig. 20: The different layer structures of the north façade of the main building and the wings of Kedleston Hall

The north façade of the main building itself can be divided into three main sections: the portico and the adjacent right and left section of the main building. The portico is not flat but the pillars are moved to the front end of the terrace. Therefore the façade becomes more three-dimensional. This is even more enhanced by the position of the wing buildings; the quadrant corridors place them in front of the main building, creating a more dynamic and three-dimensional façade. The portico is a hexastyle which leads to five (window) bays being distributed between the six pillars and six pilasters along the back wall of the terrace. Additional three more window bays – a total of six – can be found in the left and the right section. Those bays are identical in design. The only exception is the additional window on the ground floor which is only possible because there are no stairs in this area. Therefore the main building could be extended almost indefinitely which furthermore emphasizes the horizontality of the façade. This is even further reinforced with the repetitiveness of the window bays in the quadrant corridors.

There is only one central entrance perforating the back wall of the portico; niches with sculptures are arranged along the other four bays. At the same time there is another perforated layer; the front of the portico with its pillars and the five arched entrances underneath them. The back walls of the terrace and the arcade are still visible through the perforated layer which gives the section of the portico more depth. Therefore the façade becomes more three-dimensional. This three-dimensionality is even further emphasized by the quadrant corridors. They position the wings in front of the main building, a courtyard is created and the building becomes more three-dimensional.

On the south façade (Fig. 21) of the main building there are no additional wings and the wings from the north façade are also not apparent thanks to the quadrant corridors. They retreat into the background and the main building becomes the sole focus of the spectators. Therefore the façade becomes more flat in comparison to the north side. This is partially emphasized by the omission of a portico. The terrace is shorter which means that the four columns move closer to the four pilasters along the main wall. They are so close that they are not perceived as two single items but as a piece of wall sticking out of the main façade. These apparent “wall pieces” make the central section more three-dimensional again. This is further emphasized by the two semi-circular stairs in front of the terrace and the central section which is an avant-corps. The central section is reaching out of the main building block and invites the visitors into the building. In contrast, the wings on the north façade create a courtyard, enclosing the visitors and in this way welcoming them into the building.

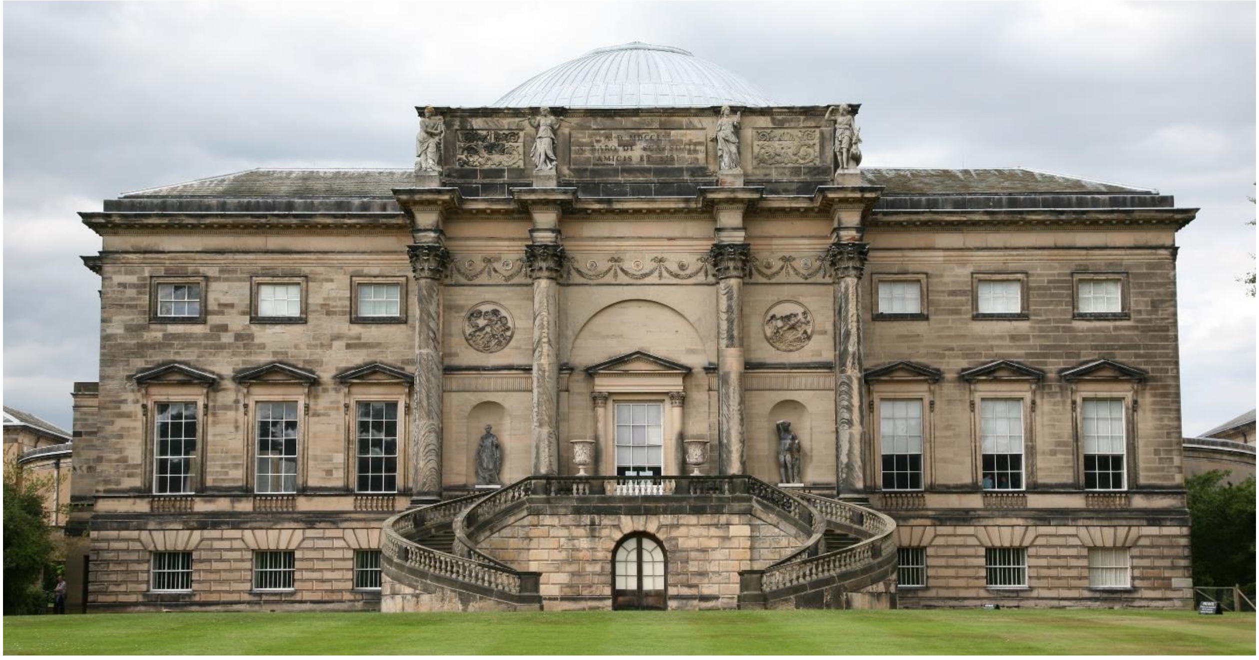
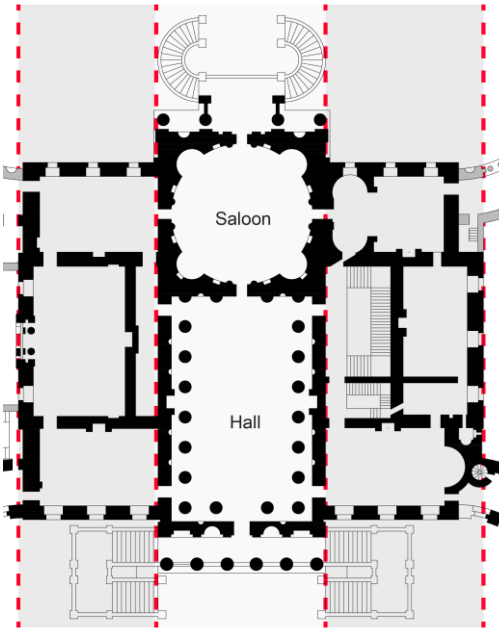


Fig. 21: James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, South façade of the main building of Kedleston Hall, 1759

References for the main building of Kedleston Hall are less clear than the ones for the wings. The same horizontal – a central portico with a tetrastyle and one additional window bay one each side of it – and vertical – a base, a main floor with two rows of windows and a roof zone including the gable – structure of the wings can be found in the Villa Emo. Therefore those wings are in line with the tradition of the Neo-Palladian estates in the early 18th century. A similar structure but on a different scale was used for the main building; a hexastyle instead of a tetrastyle and three instead of one window bay on each side of the portico. This greater scale can also be found in the main building of Holkham Hall (Fig. 1). The later one has additional towers. By omitting them at Kedleston Hall the architect turned the building from a great house back into a traditional villa – reminiscent of the architecture of the early 18th century – but on a greater scale.[61] At the same time, with the addition of the wing and the reference to Holkham Hall, the building shows a connection to the mid-18th century.

---

[61] Worsley 1995, p. 229.



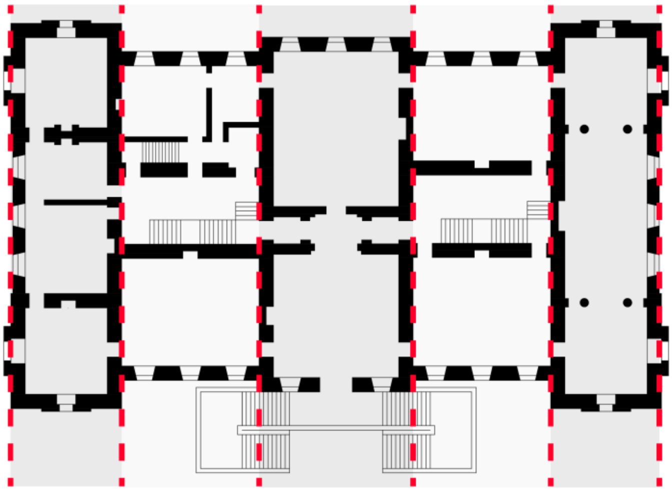


Fig. 22: (left) Three-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Kedleston Hall

Fig. 23: (right) Five-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Hagley Hall

The Hall and the Saloon create the central one of the three stripes of the floor plan of the main building. Both are as wide as the whole stripe and are the main – and also the biggest – rooms of the whole floor plan. The adjacent stripes are approximately of the same width as the central one but they are more divided. On first glance this three-stripes-structure (Fig. 22) seems to be different from the five-stripes-structure of Holkham Hall (Fig. 9) and Hagley Hall (Fig. 23). Kedleston Hall though might just refer to the same building that both are quoting: Villa Thiene in Cicogna (Fig. 7) by Palladio. All three buildings have larger rooms in the central stripe and the wings are connected with quadrant corridors. Adam also only gradually adapted the others stripes of the main building. He simply merged the two stripes together by eliminating or moving some parts of the dividing walls between the stripes while still keeping the original proportions. Unlike Miller at Hagley Hall Adam did not turn the staircases around to create a wider stripe and therefore a wider façade. He also chose a slimmer three-stripes- instead of a five-stripes-structure. Therefore he had to focus on the wings to elongate the façade. His solution were the quadrant corridors that positioned the wing buildings even further away from the main building. This way the north façade appears immediately wider with little effort and costs involved.

The Hall and the Saloon are the rooms that visitors first see when they enter Kedleston Hall. On the north façade the visitors enter the Hall (Fig. 24), a rectangular vaulted room stretching over the main and the mezzanine floor with two rows of pillars. The space is grand with heavy decoration. The visitors do not feel welcome but should be intimidated and overwhelmed by the dimensions but also the pomposity of the room. The space in the middle remains open and the few pieces of furniture – a few benches without any backrests – are moved between the pillars next to the wall. The visitors are not invited to stay, sit on one of the benches and converse with other people. In contrast, they should concentrate on the richness of the room and therefore on the wealth of the owner of the estate. They should be intimidated and in awe at the same time.

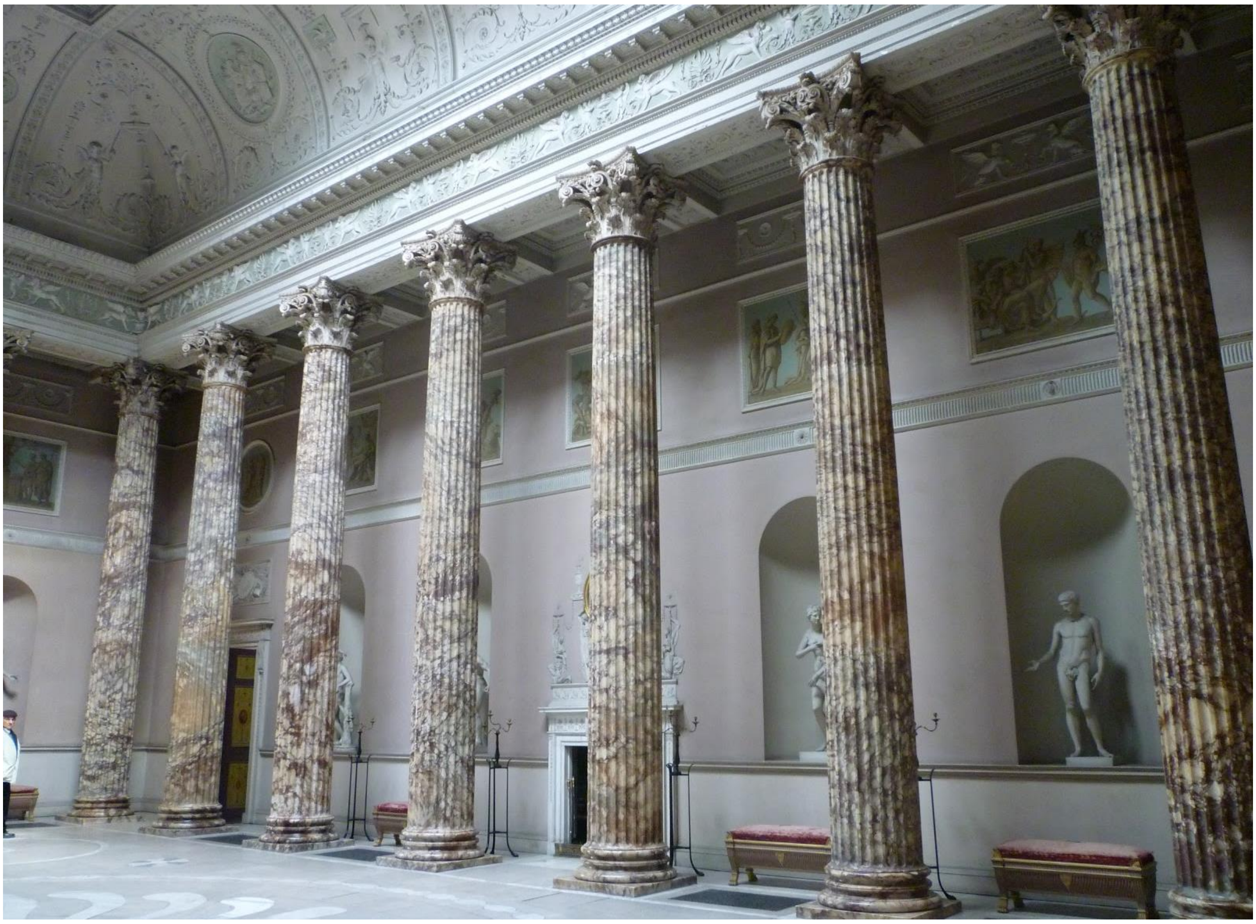
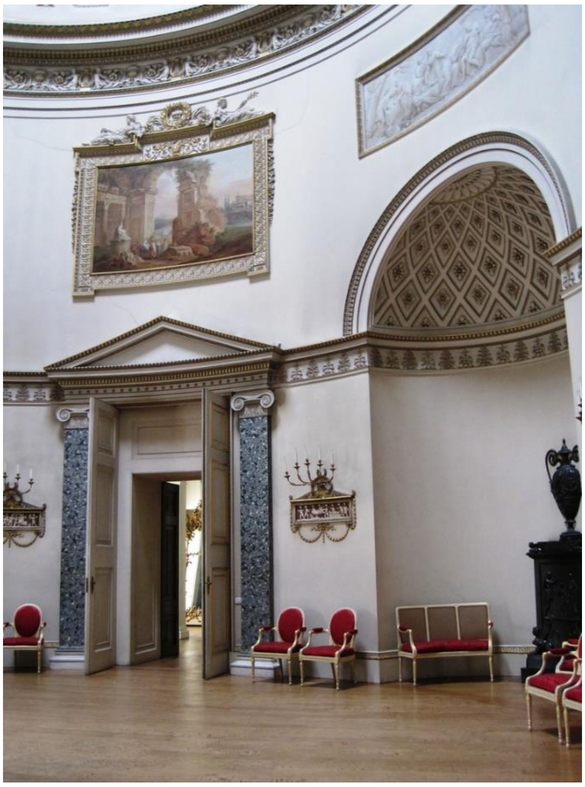


Fig. 24: James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Hall of Kedleston Hall, 1759



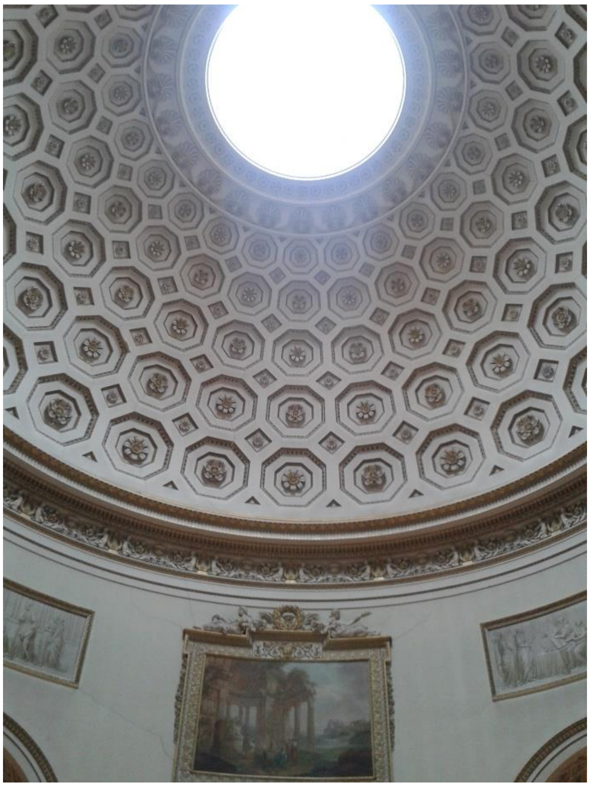


Fig. 25: (left) James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Saloon of Kedleston Hall, 1759

Fig. 26: (right) James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Dome of the Saloon of Kedleston Hall, 1759

On the south façade the visitors enter the Saloon (Fig. 25) which is a circular room with four niches in the corners and a dome. A similar approach of creating feelings of intimidation and awe can be seen here. The floor space of the Saloon is smaller than the one of the Hall. This is compensated with a higher ceiling. So the visitors are supposed to be intimidated by the height of the room which is even further emphasized by the oculi in the coffered dome (Fig. 26). This combination – an oculi and coffering – seems to refer to the Pantheon (c. 125-128 AD) in Rome. The building and therefore also the owner are now connected to one of the most iconic buildings of the Antiquity. It emphasizes the owner's importance and presents him as a well-educated and sophisticated person. This is further reinforced when one looks at the details. The floral elements in the coffers on the ceiling can also be found in the dome of Chiswick House (1720-1729). Also the pattern – a grid of diamonds – on the semi-domes of the niches is similar in both buildings. The whole Saloon is heavily decorated though less than the Hall. The furniture – benches and chairs – is put along the walls of the room opening up an open space in the middle. Once more the visitors are invited to experience the room itself – its great dimension and the decoration – and to experience it by themselves. One should feel intimidated by the building but also by the owner of the mansion.

A different approach was chosen for the adjacent stripes. They are subordinate to the central one and the rooms also take over different functions. People are supposed to interact in those rooms: the library, the drawing room, the music room, the dining room, the state bedroom and the dressing room with the anteroom. They are more intimate and do not just want to intimidate the visitor. The furniture is moved from the walls to the center of the rooms which enables the people to interact with each other. The space wants to be used and not just looked at.

# 3. NODE II – GLOBALIZATION

By the 1750s the world and trade had become already globalized. The United Kingdom had taken over the role of the colonizer and became increasingly influential all over the globe. At the same time the connection with continental Europe and especially France became strained eventually leading to the Seven Years' War. This chapter will discuss the colonization of the world and the formation of the British Empire, the connection with "the continent" and how these events are related to the changes in architecture.

## 3.1. Colonization and the British Empire

The English – or later the British were not the European frontrunners when it came to exploring the world and starting colonies. The Portuguese and the Spanish had already been travelling the world for half of a century before John Calbot (c. 1450 - c. 1498) was heading east to find riches and treasures in 1497.[62] The first English settlements were established by Humphrey Gilbert (c. 1537-1583) in Newfoundland almost a century later in 1583. Systematic colonization was seen as a way out of overpopulation, a high rate of unemployment and the commercial depression in England.[63] The English did not see themselves as conquerors like the Spanish and Portuguese. They claimed that they were only interested in commerce and spreading British institutions and political practices. Also North America was seen as just vacant land that they had bought from the indigenous population.[64] Only the failed settlement of Jamestown, the arrival of the first slave ships in 1619 and the war with the local people that followed could destroy this illusion in 1622.[65] In the second half of the 17th century their main opponent in the Caribbean and the East Indies were the United Provinces. They beat the English prices for goods and also blocked their routes to colonies and settlements. This led to the signing of the *Navigations Acts* in 1651, three Anglo-Dutch Wars between 1652 and 1672 and the eventual decline of the Dutch Empire.[66]

---

[62] Ferro 1997, p. 24, 361.
[63] Darwin 2012, p. 18.
[64] Pitts 2005, p. 12.
[65] Darwin 2012, p. 44-47.

Conflict started to rise again when King Carlos II of Spain (1661-1700) died childless in 1700. The House of Bourbon of France was one of the potential heirs, which would have made France more powerful. All Spanish colonies and overseas territories would have become a part of the French Empire.[67] This was something that the English and their allies wanted to prevent.[68] At the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713) the throne eventually went to the Bourbone for good: Philip of Anjou (1683-1746), the grandson of King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715), remained Felipe V of Spain.[69] But Britain also gained a lot after the war. They got the right to sell slaves to Spanish America and had significant territorial gains in Europe, North America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and Asia. Britain had established itself as an important naval and military power in Europe and around the world.[70]

## 3.2. Connection with continental Europe

England's and later Britain's relationship with continental Europe had always been complicate, especially after the Glorious Revolution in 1688/89. On the one hand the English were less willing to intervene in conflicts on the continent. On the other hand their strong royal connections with Willem van Oranje (1533-1584), the Hanoverians and the alternative Stuart dynasty forced them to participate in some. It was also of their own interest. Having allies meant that the chances of being invaded were lower. Also continental costumers had to be kept safe so that trade could be kept up. But one of the main reasons was the "balance of power" in Europe. According to the majority this one could only be established with the help of allies. They especially feared an overpowering France which led to – among other conflicts – the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1715) and later on the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).[71]

---

[66] Ferro 1997, p. 56.
[67] Falkner 2015, p. iii, ix.
[68] Claydon 2007, p. 125.
[69] Claydon 2007, p. 193-194.
[70] Darwin 2012, p. 20.

A crucial point of Britain's foreign policy was the Hanoverian connection. George I (1660-1727) took over the throne in 1714 uniting the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Electorate of Hanover. The British Parliament had always been worried that British soldiers or resources might be used for Hanover without any benefit for the United Kingdom. This fear was already addressed in the *Act of Settlement* from 1701. The throne was assigned to the Hanoverian dynasty with one major limitation: A foreign monarch on the British throne would not be allowed to declare war on countries threatening his or her overseas possession without the permission of the parliament. These fears were to prove to be valid already right at the beginning of the reign of George I. British troops helped securing the territorial claims of George, Elector of Hanover against the Swedes. Also, they sent the Royal Navy squadron to the Baltic Sea to fight the Russians in 1715-1719 and they could not claim that they were only securing British trade in the area. This led to conflict within the parliament and some ministers did not want to support the wishes of the king anymore.[72]

It became a major issue during the reign of George II. The War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) put pressure on the safety of Hanover. Therefore George declared Hanover neutral in 1741. He even supported the Bavarian candidate who was sponsored by the French. Eventually his ministers convinced him to renounce the neutrality which was criticized by critics of the government. They feared that if the war turned into a battle against France, pressure would be put on Hanover in order to force the British parliament to negotiate. Hanover was called "the Source of all our Mismanagements Abroad". It was blamed for getting the British involved in a war the opposition saw as unnecessary and expensive. According to them the British parliament had already gotten too involved in the problems of Hanover.[73]

---

[71] Conway 2011, p. 81-82.
[72] Conway 2011, p. 56-57.
[73] Conway 2011, p. 57.

At the same time the Hanoverian connection was not seen as completely negative. The Hanoverian dynasty was protestant and therefore secured the Protestant Succession in Britain and Ireland. They had been chosen in favour of the catholic Stuart dynasty although the claim to the British throne of the later one was stronger. George I and George II might have been foreigners on the throne but at least they were protestant. The royal family became especially popular during the time of the Jacobite Rising in 1745. This popularity had little to do with the appreciation of the Hanoverian dynasty. George II could easily be depicted as more "British" than Charles Edward Stuart, the Younger Pretender (1720-1788). The later one was shown in propaganda as the "Young Italian" while George II claimed that "His Cause is Britain's".[74]

There was also another positive effect of the Hanoverian connection: The Hanoverian army could be seen as a reserve for the British troops in case of an emergency. They already supported them during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Also troops helped to protect England from an invasion at the beginning of the Seven Years' War. The reactions to them were diverse. On the one hand they were met with some hostility and many were calling for a national militia. On the other hand many were aware of the need of well-trained foreign troops instead of an amateur national militia in critical times. The reactions became even more positive over time and they were especially praised after their support during the American war (1775-1783).[75]

## 3.3. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763)

Tension between Britain and France had been building up in the first half of the 18th century. In the end the main reason for the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was an earlier conflict: the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not able to dissolve the conflicts in the colonies of Britain and France. Also Austria was angry about losing Silesia to Prussia.

---

[74] Conway 2011, p. 58.

[75] Conway 2011, p. 59-60.

Therefore this war can be seen as a continuation of the War of Austrian Succession but with two major differences: It was a global war and alliances were shifting.[76]

The war was indeed a global war. There were battles going on in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. There were four main theatres. First, the fight between the British and French over North America. It was the main focus of the war till 1760.[77] Second, the conflict also between the British and the French over India.[78] Third and fourth, Prussia were fighting on two front lines; against the French in the area of Westphalia and against Austria and Russia in central Europe.[79]

The shift of alliances meant that old enemies were supporting each other now, while old alliances were broken up. On the one hand Britain and Austria broke their ties and the later one sided with their old enemy France. On the other hand Prussia broke their treaties with France and supported Britain. Many powers all over Europe were involved in the conflict. The main opponents were Britain, Hanover, Prussia and other German States on the one side and France, Austria, Russia, Saxony and Spain – the last one only joined in 1762 – on the other side.[80]

The battle over Quebec in 1759 was a turning point for the British and for the conflict in general. James Wolfe (1727-1759) and his men beat the French troops on the Heights of Abraham in September. The victory meant that Britain had finally taken control over all of North America. The battle continued in India till 1761. Eventually the French lost all of their influence when the British captured their main base Pondicherry. Britain's last big victory was over the Spanish Empire in 1762:  They captured Havana and Manila.[81]

Britain had led a "defensive" war but had gained a lot in the colonies. They received North America east of the Mississippi, Spanish Florida and Senegal. France also gave up their territories in India. Their fight against France was not successful in Europe though and they did not want to continue a war against Spain. Therefore they had to hand back French Guadeloupe, Havana and Manila.[82] Despite those setbacks Britain had become the dominant nation in the world.[83]

---

[76] Marston 2012, p. 7-8.
[77] Baugh 2014, p. 8.
[78] Schumann/Schweizer 2008, p. 90, 130.
[79] Baugh 2014, p. 8.
[80] Marston 2012, p. 8, 13-15, 30.
[81] Darwin 2012, p. 315-316.

## 3.4. Globalization and architecture

Great Britain had finally become a global superpower by the middle of the 18th century. After the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) they were superpower no. 1. This new importance of Britain was shown in the size of buildings: They got bigger. One might claim that this development only occurred because the owners were of the impression that more space was needed. Indeed, new rooms were added like the proposed but never built greenhouse of Kedleston Hall or the chapel in Holkham Hall. At the same time they used many tools to make the buildings appear wider. Wings were added to already existing buildings or during the design process – like at Holkham Hall and Kedleston Hall. This way some of the rooms could be moved further away from the main building. The building got longer and therefore also wider. Corridors had two functions. First, they connected the wings with the main building. Second, they moved the wings even further away from the main building with little investments. Another tool was used at Hagley Hall. The stairs were turned by 90 degrees to make them parallel to the main façade. The stripes with the stairs had to be wider now and therefore the whole building became wider too. Another option was to extend the three-stripes-structure and add a window bay on each side of the main building. This can be seen at Holkham Hall and Hagley Hall. Considering they invented and used so many tools to make the building appear wider it must have been important to them. They wanted to show the importance, the influence and the wealth of Britain through these country houses.

The colonies had connected Europe with the rest of the world, making the world but also Britain a more global place. This meant that also the architecture had to become more global. The designs became more eclectic. At the beginning of the

---

[82] Darwin 2012, p. 316.
[83] Claydon 2007, p. 218.

18th century architects quoted the same two buildings by Palladio over and over again: Villa Emo and La Rotonda. Palladio had published them in the *Quattro Libri* and they were some of his most famous villas.[84] By the middle of the century architects had started to look at other buildings and architecture treatise for inspiration as well. The *Quattro Libri* and Palladio were still a popular source but the buildings that were quoted changed. The Villa Thiene in Cicogna – also published in the *Quattro Libri*[85] – was used as a reference for Holkham Hall, Hagley Hall and Kedleston Hall. Also the Villa Mocenigo sopra la Brenta is sometimes mentioned. Some buildings also looked at Vincenzo Scamozzi's *L'idea della architettura universale* (1615) or Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725) for references. Architects also quoted English Neo-Palladian buildings by their predecessors and contemporary architects. The sources were more diverse but the focus was still on only two countries: Italy and Britain itself. The architects were more willing to introduce new ideas and show a more global approach to architecture. At the same time it was still important to show the own history – quoting Italian architecture had become a British process by then – to emphasize their own importance.

Their competitive relationship with continental Europe and especially France had become more intense over the first half of the century. Therefore it would have been impossible to quote their architecture. It would have meant that Britain was accepting their superiority. So they used a style that they perceived as English: Neo-Palladianism. This way they distanced themselves from France and continental Europe. This was even more emphasized by the introduction of wings that are connected to the main building with corridors. The author was not able to find any other examples in continental Europe. Another development can be observed though. For example French châteaus like Château du Grand-Lucé (1760-1764) (Fig. 27) did not put their focus on the width of the building but on the height. The whole building has four floors – the basement, two main floor and the attic floor. The six layers – the mansard roof is separated in two – are clearly separated from each other with cornices, ridges or changes in material. At the same time the façade has only three sections: a central portico and the adjacent simple wall zones on both sides. The verticality of the building is emphasized, not the horizontality. In Britain this is inversed. The main building of Holkham Hall has only three layers but five sections – not including the wings. Hagley Hall has three – one might argue four – layers and five sections as well. The main building of Kedleston Hall has only three sections – compared to three layers – but including the wings one can speak of at least seven sections. This shows that the horizontality was more important to the architect than the verticality of the building. It appears that British architects wanted to distance themselves from their French colleagues.

---

[84] Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 17, 53.
[85] Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 60.

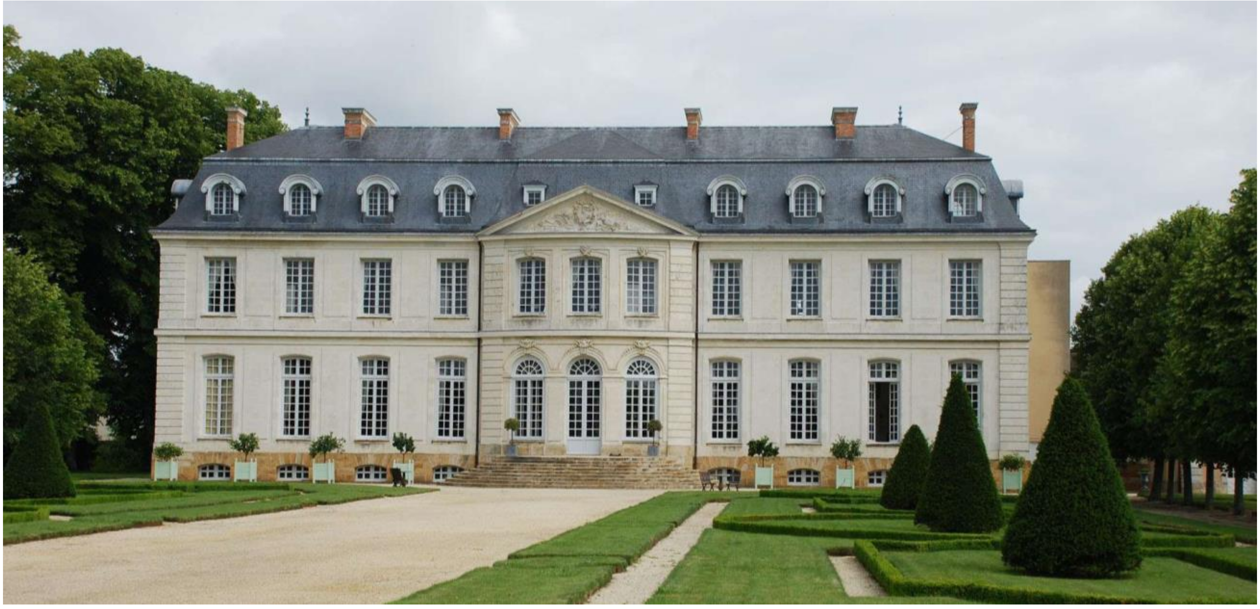


Fig. 27: Mathieu de Bayeux, South façade Chateau du Grand-Lucé, 1760-1764

# 4. NODE III – POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN

British politics of the 17th century had been dominated by a civil war, short reigning kings and queens and conflicts about religion. This changed in the first half of the 18th century. On the one hand the Whig Supremacy meant that only one party was in power from 1714 till 1760. On the other hand George II reigned from 1727 till 1760. He outlived his own son the Prince of Wales and was succeeded by his grandson George III (1738-1820).[86] This chapter will discuss the Whig Supremacy and the reign of George II. After that it will show their relationship with the architecture of the estates of the British elite.

## 4.1. Whig Supremacy

The coronation of King George I in 1714 meant also the start of the Whig Supremacy. The Whigs had always supported the Hanoverian Succession and hoped that the dynasty would support them once they were in power. This was the case eventually although the king was not completely against the Tories and wanted to include them in his ministries as well. Therefore the Whigs reacted with propaganda – in press, pulpit, theatre and political agenda – to secure their position. They presented the Hanoverians as the only possibility to avoid catholic absolutism.[87] After the Jacobite rising in 1715 they labeled the Tories traitors and claimed that their opponents were supporting France.[88] Their propaganda was successful and they stayed in power for more than four decades. The *Septennial Act* from 1716 also helped them to stay in power more easily. The House of Commons was elected every seven instead of three years. This meant that they had to face less elections where they could have potentially been voted out of office.[89]

There were three main prime ministers during the Whig Supremacy: Robert Walpole, Henry Pelham (1694-1754) and his brother the Duke of Newcastle (1693-

---

[86] Williams 1939, p. 1.
[87] Wilson 1995, p. 84-86.
[88] Claydon 2007, p. 262-263.
[89] Williams 1939, p. 157-158.

1768). Walpole became the First Lord to the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in April 1712. He was de facto the first prime minister but never held the title officially. During his time in power politics was dominated by domestic issues, but they were still influenced by external developments. He kept his position after the death of George I in 1727 though he had a strained relationship with his successor George II. Queen Caroline (1683-1737) influenced her husband to choose Walpole in favour of Sir Spencer Compton (1673-1743). She became one of his allies convincing the king of Walpole's ideas. After her death in 1737 it became a lot more difficult for him to influence the king. Walpole resigned eventually in February 1742.[90]

Politics during the government of Henry Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle were dominated by foreign policies and wars; among others the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Henry Pelham came into power in August 1743.[91] He had to face the last Jacobite rise already in 1745. The revolt was beaten down again and the Whigs once more tried to blame it on the Tories. This time they were not successful because many Tories had supported George II during the conflict. They could not say anymore that the Tories were threatening their own country. Ideological differences between the Whigs and the Tories started to blur more and more over time. By the 1750s there was almost no tension between the parties anymore and members of the Tory party were absorbed into fractions of the Whig party. The Tories had basically ceased to exist.[92]

The Duke of Newcastle took over the position of the prime minister after the death of his brother in 1754. He had influenced his brother during his government and was seen as the only option after his death. He did not like sharing his power. This is why he gave the position of Leader of the House of Commons to the weaker Sir Thomas Robinson (c. 1695-1770) instead of more qualified but stronger candidates like Henry Fox (1705-1774) and William Pitt (1708-1778). He made several diplomatic mistakes at the beginning of the Seven Years' War which led to him losing a significant amount of his power. George II died in 1760 leaving the kingdom to his grandson George III. His coronation ended the Whig Supremacy considering the king wanted more of his influence back.[93] He liked the idea of restoring the personal power of the monarch. The Earl of Bute (1713-1792), one of his favourites, supported his claim.[94] His influence on the king grew over time. Eventually it led to the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle and Bute took over the position in 1762.[95]

---

[90] Williams 1939, p. 1-2, 171, 193, 226.
[91] Williams 1939, p. 1-2, 234.
[92] Claydon 2007, p. 359.

## 4.2. George II

King George II (1683-1760) was still very much a Hanoverian king. He was already 31 years old when he moved to England. Even after he had already been crowned King of Great Britain and Ireland he still visited his old home country regularly. He also always preferred Hanover in favour of Great Britain. His commands were not questioned there while he had to discuss all his plans with the British government.[96] The Hanoverian Succession was a consensus decision. Their main task was to avoid a catholic king. Both George I and George II were rather unpopular unless there was a Jacobite revolution. Then they were labeled as "British" compared to the "Italian" Charles Edward Stuart, The Young Pretender.[97]

The personal power of the Hanoverian kings was limited compared to their predecessors. They had been chosen by the parliament so their authority and their prestige was undermined to a certain degree. George II was not allowed to pick his own religion or the religion of his wife. He was also not allowed to give offices, grants or peerage to people who were not British, even when they had been naturalized. He had the authority to create new ministry posts but at the same time he was not allowed to give those positions to men representing his opinion.

---

[93] Williams 1939, p. 18, 325-326, 329, 331, 343, 344.
[94] Conway 2011, p. 29.
[95] Williams 1939, p. 348.
[96] Williams 1939, p. 14-15.
[97] Conway 2011, p. 58.

He could also not change any laws, regiments or taxes – no matter what kind of emergency – without the leave of the parliament. He even had to ask for permission to leave England and visit his own home country. At the same time though he still had significantly more power than all constitutional monarchs since 1837. There were still some parts of the government where the king had the last say. He also still had financial powers. The parliament voted on his civil list but it was applicable for life. Moreover it did not just include his private expenses but also for some civil services. For example, he also paid for pensions of favourites or politicians he wanted to vote for him. He also paid a part of the salary of some ministers which meant that he could also influence their votes. He also still had the power to choose their first ministers.[98]

Frederick, the Prince of Wales and son of King George II, died in 1751, nine years before his father.[99] Back then George II had been the longest reigning monarch since Elizabeth I (1533-1603). When he died in 1760 his grandson became George III.[100] The new king had a completely different approach to the throne. He was proud to be British and liked to criticize Hanover.[101] He also enjoyed the idea of restoring the personal power of the king how it used to be before 1689. [102]

### 4.3. UK politics and architecture

The Whigs were dominating politics in the first half of the 18th century. Their dominance can be divided into two phases. During Phase I they were the only ones in power. The Tories were only playing a minor role in politics while the majority of the decisions were made by the Whigs. This phase started with the coronation of King George I in 1714 and lasted till the 1750s when the ideological differences between the two parties started to blur.[103][104] Architecture was used to show their own importance and also justify their influence. The Whig party demonstrated their importance with the huge scale of its members' country houses as they got bigger over time. This can be seen at Holkham Hall. Thomas Coke started the designing process for the new estate in the 1720s.[105] He initially planned a compact villa. The wings were only added in 1731.[106] The Whigs had already been in power for 17 years then and were even supported under the new king George II. Therefore he and his fellow party members must have felt secure in their power and wanted to show that with country houses. Hence the buildings – including Holkham Hall – became bigger and wings were added.

---

[98] Williams 1939, p. 15-17.
[99] Black 2004, p. 100, 108, 110.
[100] Thompson 2011, p. 292, 295.
[101] Conway 2011, p. 58.
[102] Conway 2011, p. 29.
[103] Wilson 1995, p. 84-85.
[104] Claydon 2007, p. 359.

In Phase II the line between the parties had already become blurred. The Whig party was still the stronger power in the government but the Tory party started to get stronger again. [107] King George II was already getting old and one could assume that his grandson would take over the throne soon. Therefore the Tories must have felt that the end of the Whigs' dominance was close. This meant that they had a reason now to show their own power and influence. They also used estates for that and started to build larger complexes with wings. This can be seen at Kedleston Hall which was built for Sir Nathaniel Curzon. Construction started in 1759, only 1 year before the death of George II and in a time when the Tories had already gotten back some of their powers. [108] Curzon wanted to present himself and his Tory family as a competitor to the Whig family of the Dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth. He succeeded and became Lord Scarsdale in 1761.[109]

George I and George II were foreigners on the throne. They were both born outside Great Britain and had strong ties to their home country till the end of their lives.[110] Therefore it was important for the Whigs and the Tories to show that they themselves were deeply British. This was achieved by using an architectural style for their estates that was considered British. Neo-Palladianism was a fitting choice. These British estates acted as a counterbalance to the foreign kings on the throne. The British government could still present itself as British although their country was reigned by a foreigner. At the same time the kings also tried to use architecture to appear more British. White Lodge (1727-1730) – a hunting lodge for George I[111] – and Marble Hill House (1724-1729) – a villa for Henrietta Howards (1689-1767), the mistress of George II[112] – were both Neo-Palladian designs. The kings showed that they were willing to adapt to British culture.

---

[105] Mowl 2006, p. 223.
[106] Mowl 2006, p. 223.
[107] Claydon 2007, p. 359.
[108] Harris 2001, p. 21.
[109] Worsley 1995, p. 228-229.
[110] Williams 1939, p. 14.

---

[111] Colvin 1976, S. 230.

[112] Colvin 1978, S. 414.

# 5. NODE IV – COUNTRY LIFE

Life on the English countryside was dominated by the landed gentry. They owned the majority of the land, they had money and they liked to build villas and country houses. This chapter will discuss the landed gentry, their influential role in British politics, and how this can be seen in the architecture of Neo-Palladian estates.

## 5.1. Landed Gentry

The landed gentry were first of all landowners. They did not cultivate the land themselves but rented it out to farmers. Many also invested in town properties, funds or trading companies for additional income. Most of them never had to take a "regular" job or do any physical work because of their wealth. They had a high income that allowed them to spend money on education, leisure activities and estates on the countryside. They were not part of the peerage but had more wealth, a higher rank and social class than the yeoman. By the 17th century titles were given to them. Some were inheritable, some were not. Some were newly created, some had been around since the Middle Ages. The titles were Baronet, Knight, Esquire and Gentleman with the Baronet ranking highest.[113] They were highly educated. Some went to elite institutions like Oxford, Cambridge and Eton, others had private tutors or travelled. After 1650 formal institutions became less popular and going on a Grand Tour was the preferred form of education. Classical training was still one of the most important parts of their education. French and mathematics started to play a bigger role. Travelling to continental Europe meant that they could study these things by experiencing them. Education was also a bonding experience and they were building useful social networks.[114]

The landed gentry enjoyed a vivid party life at their estates on the countryside. This way they got to know new people and maintained social relationships. Those parties were rather simple from the 15th to the end of the 17th century. People were meeting up to have dinner together. Sometimes it also included dancing, playing cards or smoking. Everyone did the same thing at the same time and everyone did one thing after another following a strict schedule. This changed when assemblies were first held in the 18th century. Several activities took place at the same time, guests could choose what they wanted to do and the parties became less formal. Guests could move freely through the house and new rooms became public ones.[115]

---

[113] Mingay 1976, S. 2-3.
[114] Rosenheim 1998, p. 33-35.

The landed gentry were not a new phenomenon in the 17th or 18th century. Their early beginnings dated back to the middle of the 14th century.[116] By 1550 they already owned approximately 40 to 55% of the land.[117] Their numbers expanded significantly from the early 16th century to the middle of the 17th century. The families themselves did not grow a lot but the number of families increased from 15,000 to 20,000. This rapid growth came to a halt from 1650 to 1750. The number of members of the landed gentry stagnated due to several reasons. First, many families failed to produce male heirs which threatened the survival of the male line of a family. Second, less got married or did so later in life. Third, fertility was decreasing. Fourth, the mortality rate increased. On the one hand Great Britain participated in more European wars and members of the gentry had to fight. On the other hand some moved to London where they were exposed to contaminated water and diseases.[118]

The landed gentry were not part of the nobility but were still highly influential. Many of them followed a political career and were elected members of the parliament. This tradition dates back to the 14th century. The king ordered that two knights of each county should sit in the House of Commons. They were valued for their wide knowledge of local politics and their ability to connect the nobility with the bourgeoisie.[119] At the beginning of the 17th century their commitment in local governments changed drastically. Only few kept working there. They represented the landowners and tried to increase their power, privilege and position. Many became disinterested though because they felt that they were too superior for such small matters. They felt that it was not helping them to increase their power or maintain their image.[120] The landed gentry were not just influential on the countryside. They also had power in British politics and therefore also influence on matters happening around the world.

---

[115] Girouard 1978, p. 191, 193-194.
[116] Coss 2003, p. 239.
[117] Mingay 1976, S. 16-17.
[118] Rosenheim 1998, p. 14, 16-18.
[119] Mingay 1976, p. 27.

## 5.2. Country Life and architecture

The landed gentry were a powerful group of people. They were dominant on the countryside where they rented out their land and they were influential in the British parliament.[121] This influence was expressed with the architecture of their Neo-Palladian estates. Power was shown on two levels. First, the landed gentry wanted to display their superiority as a collective group in comparison to other classes. Second, the individual members of the landed gentry wanted to highlight their power and influence in comparison to other members of the landed gentry. The collective group achieved this with the same measures that had been used before: They made buildings bigger and the façades wider. The individual members of the landed gentry used this concept as well. They wanted to demonstrate to their peers that they were wealthy enough to afford an estate of that size. At the same time they were all members of the same group. This means that they also must have been aware of the tricks used to make the houses appear wider without investing too much. Therefore the owners of those estates had to do more to impress their peers and show their superiority. This was achieved with interior decoration. Holkham Hall and Kedleston Hall are good examples to observe this development. Expensive materials were used and the rooms are heavily decorated. Furniture was placed alongside the walls, sometimes even between pillars and did not encourage the communication of individual guests. They should only concentrate on the size of the rooms, the rich materials and therefore the wealth, power and influence of the owner of the Neo-Palladian estate. Holkham Hall went even one step further with its staged entrance. The visitors entered the Hall with its grand staircase on the ground floor. The owner could wait on top of the stairs and look down on his visitors. The relationship between them is determined immediately. The owner is superior to the guests and presents himself as more powerful and influential.

---

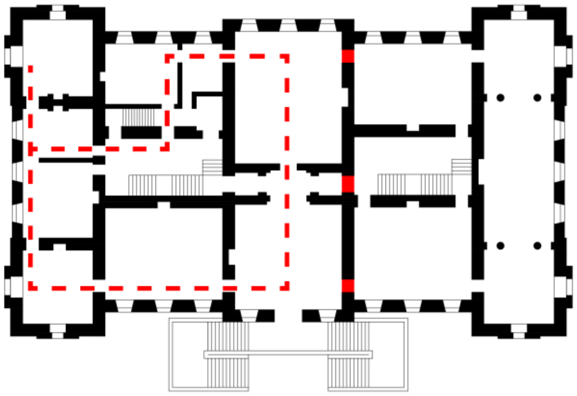
[120] Rosenheim 1998, p. 130.
[121] Mingay 1976, S. 2-3.

The Neo-Palladian estates were also a way to show that their owners were highly educated and sophisticated. Many men of the landed gentry went on a Grand Tour to continental Europe – mainly Italy and France – in their youth. During that time they studied the classics, looked at antique buildings and bought architectural treatise and artworks.[122] Once they had made their way home they wanted to show what they had learned and what they had purchased on their trip. Therefore it was important to refer to Italian architecture, namely the architecture of Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi. The purchased books were present in their libraries. One can assume that the owner of the house might have entertained guests by showing them Italian buildings in these books that his architects quoted in their country house. Artworks could be presented all over the house. Thomas Coke used Holkham Hall as a gallery to show his collection of paintings that he had acquired in Italy.[123] Scarsdale even designed the interior of three state rooms of Kedleston Hall so that they would fit his collection. All of the rooms are dedicated to a different art – music, painting, literature – and a fitting architectural order was used. He even assured that the paintings could not be removed by setting them into the wall so that his personal vision could stay permanently intact.[124]

The structure of parties on the countryside changed in the 18th century. This meant that the location of those parties – the country estates of the hosts – had to adapt to new requirements. More reception rooms were needed considering that a variety of activities took place at the same time. This was achieved by small changes over the years. At the beginning additional rooms – namely the state apartments – became accessible to the public even when there was not a special occasion. This could even be done in already existing houses. Then the number of rooms in the state apartment were increased so that there was space for even more people. Finally, the state bedchamber was separated from the apartment and there was only a sequence of reception rooms. The favoured option was arranging them in a circle around a top-lit staircase.[125] Hagley Hall even introduced two room sequences around stairs. Left to the Hall the guests were led through the library and the apartments (Fig. 28). On the other side they could walk through the dining room, the gallery and the drawing room (Fig. 29). The stripes structure of the floor plan made it possible to close off some rooms during an assembly. The hosts could decide if they wanted to open the whole house, only the apartments and the library or only the drawing room, gallery and dining room to the public. Only the doors along the edges of the center stripe – three in total – had to be locked and the guests could still walk through a sequence of rooms.

---

[122] Rosenheim 1998, p. 33-35.
[123] Cornforth 2004, p. 319.
[124] Harris 2001, p. 25.



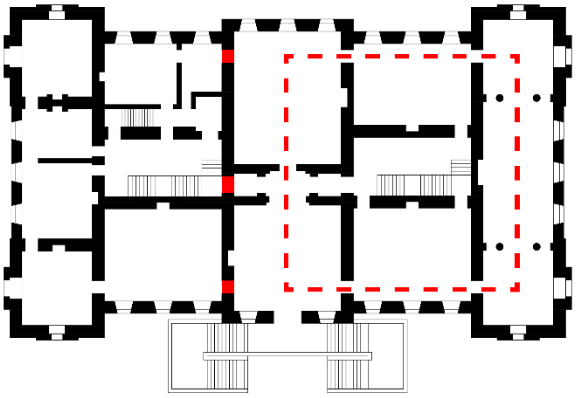


Fig. 28: (left) Room sequence through the Hall, the Saloon, the apartments and the library of Hagley Hall with the south-eastern part of the building being locked off

Fig. 29: (right) Room sequence through the Hall, the Saloon, the drawing room, the gallery and the dining room of Hagley Hall with the north-western part of the building being locked off

---

[125] Girouard 1978, p. 194.

# 6. CONCLUSION

Two main developments of the architecture of country houses of the British elite can be observed. First, the façades got wider and the buildings got bigger. As the author has shown in detail, the architects used several tools that elongated the façades without investing a lot. Wings moved some rooms away from the main building to the sides. Corridors – most of them only as deep as one room – moved them even further away from the center. Some architects included additional window bays to the main building to make it wider. This shows that it must have been important to architects and clients to make estates at least appear bigger than those from the 1720s.

Second, architects used more and also different sources than they did in the 1720s. This more eclectic approach meant that architects also quoted other buildings apart from La Rotonda and the Villa Emo by Palladio. They still used designs by Palladio, but they focused on other buildings by him. Also other architects and architectural treatise like Vincenzo Scamozzi or Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725) were becoming more influential. At the same time though they mainly concentrated on buildings and treatise from two countries: Italy and Great Britain. Those developments of the architecture of country houses were influenced by the historic context. At the same time they also influenced political developments.

The world had become more global in the first half of the 18th century. Great Britain had missed the first wave of colonization in the 15th and 16th century but they became more successful over time. By the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) they had become the most influential power in the world and were superpower no. 1. At the same time Great Britain tried to stay out of conflicts in continental Europe. They were not always successful, especially when Hanoverian territories were in danger. They had a strained relationship with many nations and a special rivalry with France. They were fearing that France might gain too much power and that this would endanger the balance of power in Europe. This was only an excuse so that the British could stay influential themselves.

This unstable global political situation stands in contrast to the stable political situation in the country itself. The Protestant Succession had calmed down the political climate in Great Britain which was even more strengthened by the Whig Supremacy. At the same time both George I and George II were foreigners on the throne. This only changed with the coronation of George III – who was proud to be British – in 1760.

This was the world of the landed gentry, the elite living on the countryside. They were influential on the countryside, in the British parliament and therefore also around the world. They are the people whose new collective identity this thesis tries to define. We have to ask ourselves the initial research question again: How were Neo-Palladian estates on the English countryside used to create a new collective identity of the British elite in the 1750s?

The architecture of Neo-Palladian estates on the countryside were a useful tool to represent some of the aspects of their collective identity. There were two main aspects that were shown: their power and an emphasis on their "Britishness".

Power and influence was happening on four different levels: Great Britain as a superpower in the world, the Whig Party as the governing power in Great Britain, the landed gentry as an influential power within Great Britain and British politics, and individuals of the landed gentry compared to others members of their collective group. The power of the first three levels was shown with the size of the estates: they got bigger and wider. The size of the buildings could be seen from the outside. The dimensions were visible to the public walking by and could be seen on prints in publications. It was the easiest way to show their influence and power to a wider audience. The interior was a more private space and only accessible to very few people, mainly members of their collective group. So it was used to show superiority over other members of their group; rich materials, huge dimensions and an environment that does not encourage interaction with others but evokes feelings of awe and intimidation.

The second aspect of the collective identity was an emphasis on their own "Britishness" and that they wanted to set themselves apart from continental Europe. This was achieved by using Neo-Palladianism. This style was considered

British because quoting Italian architecture had already become a British process. It could also be used as a counterbalance to their own kings who were from continental Europe. At the same time the kings used Neo-Palladian architecture in their private estates to show the will to accept some British culture in their life.

Those two aspects were influenced by the political situation in the world and Great Britain. But the collective identity was also created by personal aspects. These people were highly educated, sophisticated and very interested in art. This was also shown in their Neo-Palladian country houses with a more elective approach. The architects got inspiration from Andrea Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725) and from their own peers. They showed that they had been on a Grand Tour and knew more than just La Rotonda and the Villa Emo. The estates were also functioning as galleries so that they could present the artworks and books they had acquired abroad. This way they could show their own wealth and their high education. The focus was still on Great Britain and Italy though. While they wanted to show their sophistication they wanted to make clear that they were British and proud of that.

The new collective identity of the British elite in the 1750s was dominated by dichotomies: global but also British, clearly set up apart from continental Europe but always quoting Italy. They were powerful on a global, national and local level and within their group. The network of globalization, British politics, country life and the Neo-Palladian estates worked together to create this collective identity. Architecture had an important dual role in this network. One the one hand it was a tool to represent this new collective identity. On the other hand the estates also influenced the other factors. Political power could be created with the construction of a Neo-Palladian estate. Therefore the nodes – globalization, British politics, country life, architecture – were forming a constantly interacting network with the common goal to create a new collective identity of the British elite in the 1750s.

# 7. LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

**Fig. 1:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, South façade of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 2:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Floor plan of the main floor of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 3:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Schematic drawing of the different layer structures of the south façade of the main building and the wings at Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 4:** Isaac de Caus/John Webb, South façade of Wilton House, 1636-1652, Wilton, Wiltshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 5:** Vincenzo Scamozzi, Elevation of a never built design of a courtyard house, 1615.

**Fig. 6:** Andrea Palladio, Floor plan and elevation of Villa Mocenigo sopra la Brenta, 1560-1564, Marocco, Veneto, Italy.

**Fig. 7:** Andrea Palladio, Floor plan of Villa Thiene in Cicogna, 1563-1567, Quinto Vicentino, Veneto, Italy.

**Fig. 8:** Andrea Palladio, Elevation of Villa Thiene in Cicogna, 1563-1567, Quinto Vicentino, Veneto, Italy.

**Fig. 9:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Schematic drawing of the five-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 10:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Marble Hall of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 11:** William Kent/Lord Burlington/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/Colen Campbell/Thomas Coke, Saloon of Holkham Hall, 1734-1764, Holkham, Norfolk, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 12:** Sanderson Miller, South-west façade of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 13:** Sanderson Miller, Schematic drawing of the entrance façade of Hagley Hall with its five-section structure and the staircase connecting the middle three ones, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 14:** Sanderson Miller, Schematic drawing of the central layer of the entrance façade of Holkham Hall consisting of two storeys: the main and the upper floor, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 15:** Sanderson Miller, Floor plan of the main floor of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 16:** Sanderson Miller, White Hall of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 17:** Sanderson Miller, Saloon of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 18:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, North façade of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 19:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Floor plan of the main floor of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 20:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Schematic drawing of the different layer structures of the north façade of the main building and the wings of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 21:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, South façade of the main building of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 22:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Schematic drawing of the three-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Holkham Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 23:** Sanderson Miller, Schematic drawing of the five-stripes-structure of the floor plan of the main floor of Hagley Hall, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 24:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Hall of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 25:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Saloon of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 26:** James Stuart/Matthew Brettingham the Elder/James Paine/Robert Adam, Dome of the Saloon of Kedleston Hall, 1759, Kedleston, Derbyshire, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 27:** Mathieu de Bayeux, South façade of Chateau du Grand-Lucé, 1760-1764, Le Grand-Lucé, Pays de la Loire, France.

**Fig. 28:** Sanderson Miller, Schematic drawing of the room sequence through the Hall, the Saloon, the apartments and the library of Hagley Hall with the south-eastern part of the building being locked off, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

**Fig. 29:** Sanderson Miller, Schematic drawing of the room sequence through the Hall, the Saloon, the drawing room, the gallery and the dining room of Hagley Hall with the north western part of the building being locked off, 1754-1760, Hagley, West Midlands, England, United Kingdom.

## 7.1. Pictures Credit

**Fig. 1:** https://www.dayoutwiththekids.co.uk/media/21173/holkham-hall.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 2:** https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/90/Plan_of_Holkham_Hall.png (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 3:** illustration by the author

**Fig. 4:** https://firesidefeasts.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/sc00130804.jpg (12 October 2015).

**Fig. 5:** Scamozzi 1615, vol. I, p. 284.

**Fig. 6:** Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 66.

**Fig. 7:** Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 62.

**Fig. 8:** Palladio 1570, vol. II, pl. 62.

**Fig. 9:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 10:** https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/dd/Holkham_Hall_20080717-03.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 11:** https://www.holkham.co.uk/images/main-content/wedding-venues-the-saloon.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 12:** https://static1.squarespace.com/static/564c9234e4b06f49e666687a/t/5655a769e4b03ac1309d5ee5/ (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 13:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 14:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 15:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 16:** Cornforth 2004, p. 302, fig. 408.

**Fig. 17:** Cornforth 2004, p. 302, fig. 410.

**Fig. 18:** https://i.pinimg.com/originals/92/e4/dc/92e4dc1c41f3c150c2b23ea3831979eb.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 19:** https://img.evbuc.com/https%3A%2F%2Fcdn.evbuc.com%2Fimages%2F33350328%2F37419076748%2F1%2Foriginal.jpg?s=bf09b9a8ffb84d9d8ecf46b92f88ee3a (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 20:** illustration by the author

**Fig. 21:** https://www.anglotopia.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Kedleston_Hall_20080730-06.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 22:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 23:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 24:** http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-3r6jmtvWtBE/UXT0zaijqZI/AAAAAAAABYc/XY6X5FAcryA/s1600/P1040906.JPG (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 25:** https://i.pinimg.com/originals/36/fa/67/36fa67252539f42b209599735aede1f4.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 26:** http://www.earlyopera.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Dome-at-Kedleston-Hall-salon-e1397459647119.jpg (04 September 2017).

**Fig. 27:** http://www.all-free-photos.com/images/chateaux-7/PI18972-hr.jpg (05 September 2017).

**Fig. 28:** illustration by the author.

**Fig. 29:** illustration by the author.

# 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. S. Ackerman, *The villa. Form and ideology of country houses.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.

A. Aspinall, *The later correspondence of George III*, 5 vols, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

P. Ayres, *Classical culture and the idea of Rome. In eighteenth-century England.* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

D. Baugh, *The global Seven Years' War, 1754-1763. Britain and France in a great power contest.* London/New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

J. Black, *The Hanoverians. The history of a dynasty.* London/New York: Hambledon and London, 2004.

E. Brydges, *Collins's Peerage of England. Genealogical, biographical and historical, greatly augmented, and continued to the present time*, 9 vols, London: T. Bensley, 1812.

A. von Buttlar, *Der englische Landsitz 1715-1760. Symbol eines liberalen Weltenwurfs.* Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1982.

M. Callon, 'Society in the making. The study of technology as a tool for sociological analysis', in: W. Bijker/T. Hughes/T. Pinch (eds.), *The social construction of technological systems.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987, p. 83-103.

M. Callon, 'Techno-economic networks and irreversibility', in: J. Law (ed.), *A sociology of monsters. Essays on power, technology and domination.* London: Routledge, 1991, p. 132-164.

C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect. Containing the plans, elevations and sections of the regular buildings both publick and private in Great Britain.* 3 vols, s.l.: s.n., 1715-1725.

T. Claydon, *Europe and the making of England. 1660-1760.* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

H. Colvin (ed.), *The history of the King's Works. Volume V 1660-1782.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1976.

H. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects. 1600-1840.* London: Murray, 1978.

S. Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe in the eighteenth century. Similarities, connections, identities.* Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2011.

J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian interiors.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004.

P. Coss, *The origins of the English gentry.* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

M. Cousins, 'Hagley Park. Worcestershire', *Garden History* 35 (2007), p. iii-iv, vi-xii, 1-152.

J. Darwin, *Unfinished empire. The global expansion of Britain.* London et al.: Penguin Books, 2012.

J. Falkner, *The War of Spanish Succession. 1701-1714.* Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2015.

M. Ferro, *Colonization. A global history.* London: Routledge, 1997.

M. Girouard, *Life in the English country house. A social and architectural history.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1978.

E. Harris, 'Don't wag the dog. A brief defense of the status quo of James Paine's designs for Kedleston', *Architectural History* 42 (1999), p. 344-348.

E. Harris, *The genius of Robert Adam. His interiors.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001.

C. Hiskey, 'The building of Holkham Hall. Newly discovered letters', *Architectural History* 40 (1997), p. 144-158.

M. Jourdain, *The work of William Kent. Artist, painter, designer and landscape gardener.* London et al.: Country Life Limited, 1948.

B. Latour, ‘On actor-network theory. A few clarifications plus more than a few complications’, *Soziale Welt* 47 (1996), p. 369-381.

B. Latour, *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

J. Law, ‘After ANT. Complexity, naming and topology’, in: J. Hassard/J. Law (ed.), A*ctor-network theory and after.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999, p. 1-14.

P. Leach, ‘James Paine’s design for the south front of Kedleston Hall. Dating and sources’, *Architectural History* 40 (1997), p. 159-170.

S. Leitner, *Wohnen wie bei Palladio? Ein Vergleich der Architektur von palladianischen und neopalladianischen repräsentativen Wohnsitzen in England* (unpublished master thesis). Vienna: Vienna University of Technology, 2015.

D. Marston, *The Seven Years’ War.* New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.

M. McCarthy, ‘The building of Hagley Hall. Worcestershire’, *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), p. 214-225.

A. Melucci, ‘The process of collective identity’, in: H. Johnston/B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social movements and culture.* London/New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1995.

G. E. Mingay, *The gentry. The rise and fall of a ruling class.* London/New York: Longman, 1976.

T. Mowl, *William Kent. Architect, designer, opportunist.* London et al.: Jonathan Cape, 2006.

A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura di Andrea Palladio*, 4 vols, Venice: Dominico de’ Franceschi, 1570.

J. Pitts, *A turn to empire. The rise of imperial liberalism in Britain and France.* Princeton/Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2005.

J. M. Rosenheim, *The emergence of a ruling order. English landed society 1650-1750.* London/New York: Longman, 1998.

F. Salmon, ‘ ‘Our Great Master Kent’ and the design of Holkham Hall. A reassessment’, *Architectural History* 56 (2013), p. 63-96.

V. Scamozzi, *L’idea della architettura universale*, 2 vols, Venice: Vincenzo Scamozzi, 1615.

M. Schumann/K. W. Schweizer, *The Seven Years War. A transatlantic history.* London/New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008.

J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain. 1530-1830.* Harmondsworth et al.: Penguin Books, 1969.

A. Thompson, *George II.* New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2011.

B. Williams, *The Whig supremacy. 1714-1760.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.

M. I. Wilson, *William Kent. Architect, designer, painter, gardener, 1685-1748.* London et al.: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

R. Wilson/A. Mackley, *Creating paradise. The building of the English country house 1660-1880.* London/New York: Hambledon and London, 2000.

G. Worsley, *Classical architecture in Britain. The heroic age.* New Haven/London: Yale Univeristy Press, 1995.