Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England

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INTRODUCTION: BUILDING STORIES: WRITING ABOUT ARCHITECTURE IN POST-REFORMATION ENGLAND

1. Leland and Bale, The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees Given of Hym as a New Yeares Gyfte to King Henry the VIII, A ii v. For use of the word “monument” in this sense, see OED 3.

2. Leland and Bale, Laboryouse Journey, B i r–v.

3. Leland and Bale, Laboryouse Journey, B ii r. Leland’s Itinerary remained unpublished until 1710, but his notes were apparently available to subsequent scholars, and his ambitious (perhaps delusional) vision of mapping Britain topographically and historically would lay the groundwork for antiquarian projects over the course of the following century, informing such monumental productions as William Camden’s Britannia (1586) and the Monasticon Anglicanum (1655) of Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale.

4. Camden, Britannia, tr. Philemon Holland, 163. For a reading of Leland’s sense of loss, see Schwyzer, Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales, 61–66. For Leland’s importance in the development of English architectural and topographical description, see Howard, The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, 110. For comment on the connection between the dissolution and antiquarian interest in the preservation of manuscripts, see Watts, “English Place-Names in the Sixteenth Century,” 42. For a detailed description of Leland’s project, see Kendrick, British Antiquity, 45–56.

5. Güven, “Frontiers of Fear: Architectural History, the Anchor and the Sail,” 76.


8. Roston, Renaissance Perspectives in Literature and the Visual Arts, 6, 238.


11. See Harris with Savage, 419; and Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1.60.


15. Leland, Leland’s Journey through Wiltshire, A.D. 1540–42, 7; Leland, The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, 2.52–53.
22. For a discussion of Leland’s struggle with textual form, see Klein, Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland, 140–141.
23. Marchitello, Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England, 77. See also Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England, 105–148; and Swann, Curiosities and Texts, 100. For the tension between spatial and historical models for imagining the nation, see Klein, 137–170.
32. Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830; Llewellyn, 20, 35. See also Cooper, who writes, “At the beginning of the [seventeenth] century, very few people would have had any idea of the notion of an architectural ‘style’.” The Jacobean Country House, 30.
33. See Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments, Camden’s Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et Alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij Sepulti, and Browne’s Repertorium.
34. See Hunneyball, Architecture and Image Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire. Hunneyball writes, “Even assuming that classical motifs were indeed being employed because patrons wished to allude to the glories of antiquity, it is still far from clear that most of them really appreciated the elements of classical design at a more than superficial level,” 175.
38. See, for instance, Schofield’s diagrammatic reconstruction of the post-Reformation floor plan of the former Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, in The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire, 148.
39. See, for instance, Fumerton, who calls study of the “everyday” a “new new historicism” that “focuses primarily on the common . . . in both a class and cultural sense” (“Introduction,” 3).


46. See, for instance, Schofield, who writes that Jones’s masterworks of the 1620s and ’30s would have remained “totally alien to the man in the London Street” until much later in the century (*Building of London*, 168).


48. Peacock, 36.

49. Belsey, 428.


57. Sinfield, “Poetaster, the Author, and the Perils of Cultural Production,” 75–76.


62. This strict division between material and linguistic forms of evidence has been questioned by other scholars. See, for instance, Ekinci, “Reopening the Question of Document in Architectural History,” 121–134.
65. Harris, Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare, 11, 24. In conceptualizing “a temporality that is not one,” Harris is drawing Biddick’s The Typological Imaginary: History, Technology, Circumcision, 1.
66. Harris, Untimely Matter, 33. For the figure of the palimpsest, see pp. 1–5, 13–19.
68. See, for instance, Wilton-Ely, who writes that unlike the works of Inigo Jones, “Wren’s direction of the Office of Works and the sheer range of buildings carried out under him had a lasting impact upon the status and responsibilities of the architect as well as upon the organization of the entire building industry…. Wren represents, as perhaps never again, the universal competence envisioned by Shute a century earlier,” 185.

CHAPTER 1: LOSS AND FOUNDATIONS:
CAMDEN’S BRITANNIA AND THE HISTORIES OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE

2. Wotton mentions the garden of Sir Henry Fanshaw at Ware Park (Elements, 110).


10. For the publication history of these and other early architectural books, see Harris with Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers*, 1556–1785.


13. For a list of the books included in the Great Picture and Appleby Triptych (of which it forms the center panel), see Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 190–191. The Great Picture itself is reproduced on p. ii, and the left- and right-hand panels on pages 16 and 112, respectively. For Evelyn’s contribution, see *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. de Beer, 5.206.


16. Parry, 3.

17. On Camden’s debt to Leland, see Kendrick, 147–149; Brooke, *A Discoverie of Certaine Errours Published in Print in the Much Commended Britannia*, 1594. See also the anonymous poem “Leylands Supposed Ghost,” bound with Brooke’s *Discoverie* in the British Library copy (shelfmark 796.g.12).

18. Kendrick, 150.


20. Quotations from Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Philemon Holland, “The Author to the Reader,” [7]. All subsequent quotations from this edition of *Britannia* are cited parenthetically by page number in the text.

21. Swann, 13; Parry, 30.


28. Woolf observes that in the early seventeenth century “objects were almost invariably situated within a knowledge field defined by literary texts”(*Social Circulation*, 313).
29. Vine, 10.

30. The Richborough Roman Fort and Amphitheatre are now an English Heritage site.

31. Leland and Bale, The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leyland, for Englandes Antiquitees, Geven of Hym as a Newe Years Gyfte to Kynge Henry the VIII, B ii r.

32. Harris, Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare, 103, 113.

33. For ancient coins, see Camden, 105. For reused building materials, see, for example, 569, 669, and 699.

34. Camden, Britannia, tr. Edmund Gibson et al., A 2 r.


36. For Camden’s relationship to Cotton and his extensive use of Cotton’s library, see Summit, Memory’s Library, 174–183.


40. See, for instance, Fowler, 7–8; Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 112–113; McClung, 105–106.


42. For detailed accounts of the Cecils as architectural patrons, see Sutton, Materializing Space at an Early Modern Prodigy House: The Cecils at Theobalds, 1564–1607; Croft, Patronage, Culture, and Power: The Early Cecils, 3–98.


45. The tendency of literary studies to adopt this approach is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, with particular reference to George Herbert. Influential historical studies for generating this framework include Duffy’s The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580, and Fincham and Tyacke’s The Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c. 1700. My point here is not to invalidate these magisterial works but to suggest the persistence of an alternative way of thinking about religious architecture. For the assumed connection between church architecture and the visual arts more generally, see Peacock, 36.


47. Leland and Bale, Laboryouse Journey, A ii r.

**CHAPTER 2: ARISTOCRATS AND ARCHITECTS: HENRY WOTTON AND THE COUNTRY HOUSE POEM**


3. M. Vitruvius Pollio, *Ten Books on Architecture*, tr. Ingrid D. Rowland 1.1, p. 21. See also Kruft, who names the notebooks of the post-Restoration architect Roger Pratt (unpublished until 1928) as an early instance of an architectural writer’s “attempting to systematise the process of perception, i.e. to plot how the observer’s eyes roam over the building before him” (*A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, 233).


5. See, for instance, Belsey, 429. Belsey contrasts the “the façades of Longleat, symmetrical and neoclassical in imitation of Renaissance Italy” with “the solid and traditional values of indigenous English architecture” praised by Ben Jonson in “To Penshurst.”


10. Fitzherbert, *Surveyenge*, fol. 38 v–39 r. An earlier edition of the manual was published in 1523 under the title *Here Begynneth a Right Frutefull Mater: And Hath to Name the Boke of Surveyeng and Improvermentes*.


13. Fitzherbert, fol. 16 r.


15. McRae, 231.


21. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, ¶ 3 r. All subsequent quotations are from this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text.


26. A detailed biography of Wotton is given in Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 1.1–226. This description of the volume is from Wotton’s handwritten inscription to Prince Charles, to whom he sent a copy (Smith, 2.284).

27. Smith, 2.284.

28. Harris with Savage, 499.

29. Wotton bargained with Buckingham by allowing Buckingham to sell two less prestigious offices that were due to revert directly to Wotton himself. These were the Mastership of the Rolls and half of a Six Clerk’s place in Chancery. For Wotton’s shrewd management of these bargaining chips, as well as his appeals to other patrons, see Smith, 1.199–201.


32. Harris, 501.


34. De l’Orme, 1.3, fol. 10 r. The French reads “que sa liberté doit estre exempte de toute contrainte & subjection d’esprit.”


36. For collaboration between patrons and craftsmen during this period, see Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, 57.

37. Smith, 1.452, 460.


39. Smith, 2.287.


42. On the shortage of architects, see Aubrey’s account of Wilton House in *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, compiled between 1666 and 1691. Aubrey claims that King Charles I, who “did love Wilton above all places … intended to have had it all designed by his own architect, Mr. Inigo Jones, who being at that time, about 1633, engaged in his Majesties buildings at Greenwich, could not attend to it; but he recommended it to an ingeniouse architect, Monsieur Solomon de Caus, a Gascoigne, who performed it very well; but not without the advice and approbation of Mr. Jones” (Aubrey, 83–84). Colvin has since proven that the architect of Wilton’s famous south front was not Solomon de Caus but his son or nephew, Isaac (“The South Front of Wilton House,” 136–157).


44. For the supervisory role of the lord in the history of estate surveying, see McRae, 140–143, 192–194.


46. McRae, 180.


50. See, for instance, McClung, 7–17; Fowler, 11–17.

51. For a rare and enlightening discussion of country house poetry’s debt to chorography and to other English representations of landscape, see McRae, 285–297.


55. Ben Jonson, “To Penshurst,” lines 1–6. Subsequent quotations are cited parenthetically by line number in the text.


57. Fowler, 57.

58. This forgery is reproduced in the present day guidebook to the house and gardens, *Penshurst Place and Gardens*, 7.

59. Fowler, 57–58. On Robert Sidney’s financial difficulties, which Jonson may be ignoring or covering up in the poem, see McBride, 66–69.
61. Fowler, 60.
63. Fowler, 92
65. Carew, “To My Friend G.N. from Wrest,” lines 9–10, 14–18. All subsequent quotations from the poem are cited parenthetically by line number in the text.
66. See, for instance, Vitruvius, Book 6, which discusses both the use and attractiveness of various elements of private buildings.
71. Marvell, “Upon Appleton House,” lines 1–10. All subsequent quotations from the poem are cited parenthetically by line number in the text.
72. Fowler, 296.
75. Fowler, 294–295.

**CHAPTER 3: STRANGE ANTHOLOGIES:**

**THE ALCHEMIST IN THE LONDON OF JOHN STOW**

1. It is not my contention that Jonson drew directly on the Survey in writing *The Alchemist*. He was, however, familiar with some of Stow’s work. See his remark in the *Conversations with Drummond*: “John Stow had monstrous observations in his *Chronicle*, and was of his craft a tailor. ‘He and I walking alone, he asked two cripples what they would have to take him to their order’, 608. Harry Levin discusses this remark at length in “Jonson, Stow, and Drummond,” 167–169.


6. Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. F. H. Mares, 1.1.17, 4.1.131. All subsequent quotations from the play are cited parenthetically by act, scene, and line numbers in the text.
7. Mares, “Introduction,” lxiii–lxv; Donaldson, 66–105; Smallwood, “‘Here, in the Friars’: Immediacy and Theatricality in *The Alchemist*,” 149. For arguments that the play was first performed in the Globe, see Herford and Simpson’s commentary in Jonson, *Works*, 9.223; and Gibbons, “The Question of Place,” 35–36. Campbell raises the possibility that the play was first performed at the Globe but was intended to be performed at the Blackfriars (“Introduction,” xvii).

8. Mardock extends the implications of the identity between house and theater to argue that “[t]he house in the ‘Friars allows Jonson to make the claim that the dramatic spatial practices of the theater can affect not only the potential worlds inside the playhouse, but also the urban world outside it,” 85. On the play’s meta-theatricality, see McEvoy, *Ben Jonson: Renaissance Dramatist*, 104–105; Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson’s Reading*, 149; Cave, *Ben Jonson*, 77–78; Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life*, 172.


11. See McIntosh, who argues that in *The Alchemist*, “the city is integral to the ways in which its citizens imagine themselves and carry out their attempts to climb the social ladder” (“Space, Place and Transformation in *Eastward Ho!* and *The Alchemist*,” 71).

12. Many critics have commented on the centrality of alchemy as the play’s unifying metaphor. Knapp notes that “alchemy was a practice familiar enough to signify a range of personal and social desires and yet sufficiently mystified to dazzle” (“The Work of Alchemy,” 576). See also Barton, 137; Flachmann, “Ben Jonson and the Alchemy of Satire,” 260; and Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy*, 169–170.


18. Hughes and Larkin, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 1.267. For a detailed and localized study of how such regulations were received and implemented, see Griffiths, “Politics Made Visible: Order, Residence and Uniformity in Cheapside, 1600–45,” 176–196.
27. Herendeen posits, “With the willful destruction of history’s treasures began a period of intense acquisitiveness” (*From Landscape to Literature*, 187).
31. Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre & Yorke*, SSS ii r.
33. Mardock comments on the necessity of “exerting a tight control over lieu” in the play, 87.
34. Jenkins comments on the significance of gender in this scene: “It is . . . a woman’s body rather than a man’s, that maps the ideological boundaries of *The Alchemist*’s ‘commonwealth’ of knaves” (49).
35. See, for instance, Knapp, who feels that the play does not deal with “alchemists who are, or believe they are, carrying out the alchemical project” (578).
36. For extensive discussion of alchemy as a process that “affects not metals, but human beings,” see Barton, 137–141.
38. For Jonson’s familiarity with alchemical treatises and terminology, see Linden, “Ben Jonson and the Drama of Alchemy,” in *Darke Hierogliphicks: Alchemy in English Literature from Chaucer to the Reformation*, 118–153; and Flachmann, 260.
39. Barton, 152.
41. For comment on Lovewit’s imposition of order, see Barton, 150–151; and Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy*, 176.
42. Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy*, 178.
chapter 4: restoring “the church-porch”:
george herbert’s architectural history


2. Strier, comparing the poem to works by François de Sales and John Donne, describes “The Church-porch” as “the crudest and nastiest of the texts” and suggests that Herbert later came to feel “revulsion against the attitudes that he there expressed” (“Sanctifying the Aristocracy: ‘Devout Humanism’ in François de Sales, John Donne, and George Herbert,” 38). James Boyd White describes the poem as “deeply flawed: by banality, by the emergence of destructive and selfish impulses, and by blindness to its own nature” (“This Book of Starres”: Learning to Read George Herbert, 71). More mildly, Benet contrasts the poem with “Herbert’s best poems,” those which “praise God and instruct the reader without alienating by direct assaults” (Secretary of Praise: The Poetic Vocation of George Herbert, 36).


6. For instance, see readings of “The Altar” by Targoff and Guibbory. Targoff writes: “On the one hand, Herbert offers the equivalent of wordless sighs and groans; on the other hand, he proposes a formalized prayer composed in the shape of an altar” (Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England, 101). Similarly, in a chapter entitled “Devotion in The Temple and the Art of Contradiction,” Guibbory concludes: “Herbert shares [the] puritan fear of framing or fashioning an idol. Yet his suspicion of art and inven-
tion in worship is at odds with his hopes for the poem’s legitimacy and his claims for its devotional function” (*Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton*, 48). See also Whalen, “George Herbert’s Sacramental Puritanism,” 1273–1307.


11. Malcolmson comments briefly on the historical uses of the porch, but beyond noting that the porch was sometimes also associated with childhood education, she does not reflect extensively on the connections between the poem and its architectural setting (*George Herbert: A Literary Life*, 58–59).

12. Charles, *A Life of George Herbert*, 78. See, for instance, lines 85–90, which address magistrates, students, and soldiers. The topics of gentility and social class in the poem have been usefully discussed at Summers, xv; Strier, “Sanctifying the Aristocracy,” 44–58; Malcolmson, *George Herbert: A Literary Life*, 58–59; and Powers-Beck, 60–95.


20. Wall, *Porches and Fonts*, 174. A conversation in *Notes and Queries* of 1908 indicates that directives about pattens (protective footwear) were not uncommon. See, for instance, Page, “Pattens in the Church Porch,” 268. Betjeman, in deriding the work of Victorian church restorer J. P. St. Aubyn, remarks that he often “left his mark at the church porch in the form of a scraper [for boots and shoes] of his own design, as practical and unattractive as his work” (27).

21. See Bond, 2.733; Circket, ed. *English Wills, 1498–1526*, 15, 27, 65; Ware, “Notes upon the Parish Church of Kirkby Lonsdale,” 198; and Richards, *Old Cheshire Churches*, 25.
24. See, for instance, Hailey, *Notes and Queries*, 284, who records a similar instance of 1751.
25. Bond, 2.734.
28. Bond, 2.733.
31. In some descriptions, the upper chamber of a porch is referred to as a parvise, but most ecclesiologists insist this term is not technically accurate. For the etymology and significance of the word, see Bond, 2.727–728n. For specific instances of porch chambers as chapels, see Bell, *Bedfordshire Wills, 1484–1533*, 31, 177; and Rodwell and Rouse, “The Anglo-Saxon Rood and Other Features in the South Porch of St. Mary’s Church, Breamore, Hampshire,” 298–325.
32. Clifton-Taylor, 122.
35. Anselment, 63.
37. “Cheltenham Church,” 65; Anderson, *Looking for History*, 76; Clifton-Taylor, 122; Cox and Ford, 43; Bumpus, 1.232.
38. Brown, *The English Village Church*, 117. See also Richards, who noted in the porch chamber of St. Mary, Astbury, “old vestment chests, the remains of a chained library, part of an early fifteenth-century screen, pewter flagons, old alms pans, and sections of a fourteenth-century pavement and many curious old items of long ago” (26).
40. One complaint about the poem has been its seeming randomness. See, for instance, White, who writes, “The speaker meanders from topic to topic in a kind of random way” (71), while Summers suggests that the repetition may be partly attributed to Herbert’s revisions and excuses it on the grounds that “seventy-seven stanzas of imperative moral advice are a large number for anyone to manage without repetition” (xv).
42. Martz, 291.

45. Quotations from the poem are cited parenthetically by line number and are taken from *The English Poems of George Herbert*, ed. Wilcox.

46. Bond, 2.733.

47. See, for instance, Kessner, “Entering ‘The Church-porch’”; Bloch, 176–189; and Summers, xvii.

48. Summers, xiii; White, 69.

49. Bloch, 185.

50. Summers, xiv.


53. Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs Selected by Mr. G.H.*

54. Stein writes that, in “The Church-porch,” “we must not expect to find answers to any of our important questions. . . . The faults of dull rhythm and language and of strained wit are not instructive, nor do we need to study, in Herbert, examples of coarse or flat colloquialism in order to distinguish these from the superior precision of refined colloquialism” (*George Herbert’s Lyrics*, 13–14).

55. See, for instance, Summers, xviii; and Strier, “Sanctifying the Aristocracy,” 50–53.

56. Summers, xviii.


58. I thus disagree strongly with Strier, who concludes from these passages: “With regard to social rather than strictly economic life, hoarding, calculation, and thrift are entirely approved in ‘The Church-porch.’ Individual survival and gain are the only concerns. The poem contains no vision of community” (“Sanctifying the Aristocracy,” 52–53). Rather, I would argue, the poem teaches that social, economic, and communal behaviors are inseparable from one another.


60. For the poem’s sartorial themes, see lines 80, 179–192, 371–372, 407–408, 410–414, and 419–420. I agree with Malcolmson’s useful point that Herbert does not suggest that “aspects of gentry lifestyle are trivial or expendable,” but our interpretations diverge in that Malcolmson sees the poem as being structured around a contrast or tension between the internal and external identities of the listener, where one must finally be shed in order to expose the other (*Heart-work*, 79). For a similar view of the relationship between social and sacred in the poem, see Singleton, 172–173.

61. Summers, xxii.

62. I would argue that in blending the introspection, experience, and emotion of the individual with his quotidian action in the external world, these final stanzas of the poem complicate readings that center on a tension between internal and external forms of religious experience or between social and interior constructions of the religious subject. In addition to Malcolmson, *Heart-work*, 70–83, and Singleton, 164–173, see Shuger, 93–105, where she posits the emergence of a “dual person” as we move from the “The Church-porch” to
“The Church” (105). I would not, of course, dispute Shuger’s point that the latter is far less concerned with social behavior.

63. Wall, *Porches and Fonts*, 173. For more examples, see Wall, 172–174; Richards, 49, 331; Ware, 198; Creed, 127–29; and Smithe, “Notes on the Church of St. Bartholomew, Churchdown,” 282–284. Gifts for the porch were apparently a very popular way to show devotion, because the porch was so publicly visible. See Pounds, who writes: “In no aspect of the parish church were pride and emulation more visibly demonstrated than in the building of the tower and the porch. The tower had no liturgical significance, and the porch but little. Yet ... in parish after parish, large sums were lavished on both,” 373.

64. Richards, 181.

65. Smithe, 282.

66. Waters, “Thornbury Church,” 86.


70. Richardson, *The Changing Face of English Local History*.

CHAPTER 5: CONSTRUCTION SITES: THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANNE CLIFFORD’S DIARIES


2. Both twentieth-century editions of the diaries—the first edited by Vita Sackville-West (*The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford*) in 1924, the second by D. J. H. Clifford in 1990—include fragments of Clifford’s much briefer early diaries, which cover four nonconsecutive years between 1603 and 1619. These have survived, separately from the Great Books, in two transcriptions, one of which is now in the Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone. The other remains in the collection of the Marquess of Bath. The diaries covering the years 1616–1619 have been published in a critical edition by Acheson, *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616–1619*.

3. See, for instance, Kunin, “From the Desk of Anne Clifford,” 587–608; Salzman, 97; and Wiseman, 199.


5. See Chew, “A Mockery of the Surveyor’s Style?: Alternatives to Inigo Jones in Seven-

6. On the impersonal nature of the diaries, see, for example, Salzman, 93–94; and Seelig, 57. Several critics have collected scattered details from throughout the diaries in order to analyze Clifford’s treatment of particular themes. Lamb, for instance, notes the multiple instances in which the diary records the titles of books Clifford was reading; Lamb suggests possible motivations for Clifford’s choices in “The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading,” 347–368. Klein looks at Clifford’s notations of children’s births and deaths, and Suzuki considers how Clifford’s portrayals of women in history respond to those of male historians, such as Samuel Daniel, who tutored Clifford when she was young.


8. For a photograph of the inscription, see Spence, *Lady Anne*, 203.

9. Reproduced in Summerson, “History of the Castle,” 52. The panel is now on display in the museum adjacent to the castle.

10. Isa. 58:12 (KJV).


12. Clifford, *Great Books of Record*, 2.485. Subsequent references to unpublished material from the Great Books are to this record and are cited parenthetically by volume and page number in the text. Quotations are reproduced with the kind permission of the Cumbria Archive Centre, Kendal.


15. D. J. H. Clifford suggests that this was Edward Hassell, her private secretary and one of the four different scribes to whom she dictated her final entries.

16. Chew, “‘Repaired by me to my exceeding great Cost and Charges’: Anne Clifford and the Uses of Architecture,” 111. For further discussion of this practice of repetition, see also Chew, “Si(gh)ting the Mistress of the House: Anne Clifford and Architectural Space,” 167–182.

17. For an art-historical interpretation of Clifford’s monuments, see Cocke, “Repairer of the Breach,” 84–86. Spence notes that some biographers have read the monuments to her parents as barometers of her relative affection for each (*Lady Anne*, 224). Clifford had commissioned work on monuments twice before: a restoration of Edmund Spenser’s monument in Westminster Abbey by the eminent mason Nicholas Stone in 1620, and a monument to her cousin Frances Bourchier in the Bedford Chapel at Chenies in 1615 (Spence, *Lady Anne*, 67, 68, 70).


21. Complete transcriptions of Anne’s and Margaret’s tombs are included in Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, 1, 7, 24. They are here transcribed from a photograph by the author.


27. Dates of birth and death for Clifford’s ancestors are taken from the genealogical table provided by D. J. H. Clifford in his edition of the *Diaries*, vi–vii.


36. Parry, 236.


38. Dodsworth and Dugdale, vol. 1, pl. between pp. 56 and 57. Engraving by Daniel King.


41. Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M. DC. XLVIII*, book 6, p. 325.

42. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica, or a Short History of the Religious Houses in England and Wales*, a 3r.

43. See, for instance, Stow’s description of Austin Friars in *A Survey of London*, 1.176–177. For the details of the settlement, see Spence, *Lady Anne*, 57.

44. Spence, *Lady Anne*, 166.

45. Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*.


49. Leland and Bale, *The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquites*, B ii r.

50. See, for instance, my introduction, p. 14.
51. For a description of St. Michael, Bongate, see Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland*, 218. For the gateway at Skipton Castle, see Charlton, 307. For the window at Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, see Cocke, “Classical or Gothic?” 326. For the church at Ninekirks, see Cocke, “Repairer of the Breach,” 86. Inscriptions at Skipton and Appleby were observed by the author in August 2004, at which time the characters in brackets were no longer visible.


54. “Author to the Reader,” in Weever, [2].


57. Rainbow, 16, 18.


59. Rainbow, 40.

60. Woolf, “Donne After Three Centuries,” 34.

61. Clifford’s will is transcribed in Clay, 401.


64. Reproduced in Williamson, 422.


66. Williamson, 422.

**Chapter 6: Recollections: John Evelyn and the Histories of Restoration Architecture**


11. De Beer concludes that the diary “becomes a contemporary document from about the beginning of 1684” (Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 1.74). For Evelyn’s use and borrowing of various source materials, see de Beer’s detailed commentary on 1.85–105.
12. Fréart, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*, tr. Evelyn, 17, 19. All subsequent references to this edition are cited parenthetically by page number in the text.
13. The modern Italian authors the *Parallèle* includes are Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), architect and author of *De re aedificatoria* (Florence, 1485); Sebastiano Serlio (1475–c. 1555), architect and author of *Tutte l’opere d’architettura* (Venice, 1584); Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573), architect and author of *La regola dell cinque ordini d'architettura* (Rome, 1652); Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), architect and author of *I Quattro libri de architettura* (Venice, 1570); Pietro Cattaneo (b. c. 1510, d. after 1571), author of *I quattro primi libri de architettura* (Venice, 1554) and *L'architettura de Pietro Cattaneo* (Venice, 1567); Daniele Barbaro (1514–1570), translator of and commentator on Vitruvius, patron of Palladio, editor and translator of *I dieci libri dell'architettura de M. Vitruvio* (Venice, 1556); Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), architect and author of *L'idea dell'architettura universale* (Venice, 1615); and Giuseppe Viola Zanini (?1575–1631), architect and author of *Della architettura di Gioseff e Viola padovano pittore ed architetto* (Padua, 1629). The Frenchmen are Philibert de l’Orme (1514–1570), architect and author of *Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir et à petits frais* (Paris, 1561), *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (Paris, 1567), and *Architecture de Philibert de l’Orme* (Rouen, 1648); and Jean Bullant (c. 1515–1578), architect and author of *Reigle générale d'architecture des cinq manières de colonnes à l'exemple d l'antique suivant les regles et doctrine de Vitruve* (Paris, 1564).
22. For Evelyn’s plans for the rebuilding of London, as well as his verbal commentary, see Evelyn, *London Revived*.
31. Swann, 10.
32. Pearce, “Objects as Meaning; or Narrating the Past,” 27, 28.
33. Evelyn, Numismata, 49.
34. Stewart, On Longing, 156.
36. Stewart, 151.
38. Wall, The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London, 44.
40. Stewart, 152.
42. Evelyn, “To My Most Honoured Friend,” [1].

coda: St. Helen’s Bishopsgate:
Antiquarianism and Aesthetics in Modern London

1. Cameron, “In the Matter of the Petition of the Incumbent and Churchwardens of the Parish of St Helen Bishopsgate with St Andrew Undershaft and St Ethelburga Bishopsgate and St Martin Outwich and St Mary Axe Relating to the Church of St Helen Bishopsgate,” 2. Records of the Consistory Court hearing, as well as Terry’s proposals for the rebuilding, are preserved by the London Metropolitan Archives dl/a/c/ms30779/37. Quotations are reproduced by the kind permission of the London Metropolitan Archives and the Registrar of the Church of England Diocese of London.
2. St Helen’s Church, [i].
7. For further description and illustration of the finished building, see St Helen’s Church, and Watkin, 246–253.
8. Barker, “Proof of Evidence of Ashley Barker,” 31. Among his many qualifications, Barker listed his status as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Ancient Monuments Society; his former official employment as a spe-
cialist in historic buildings by the Greater London Council and English Heritage; and his
former status as Surveyor of Historic Buildings for the Greater London Council and Head of
the London Division of English Heritage (Barker, 1).

10. Cameron, 3.
11. For a description of the major monuments of the church, see Barker, 14–16.
12. Barker, 32.
Gordon Watkins, [2].
17. Andreae, [2].
19. Terry, “Proof of Evidence,” 22. For a history of alterations to the church from the
thirteenth through the twentieth centuries, see Cameron, 15–23. For the emphasis on a
“preaching ministry,” see Lucas, “Testimony of the Revd Lucas,” [7–9].
22. Andreae, [1].
23. Hobhouse, [1–2].
24. Wilson, “Vandals in Dog Collars.”
25. Lucas, [9].
29. Andreae, [1].
32. Barker, 30.
33. Barker, 32.
35. See Vitruvius, On Architecture, 1.3, pp. 34–35. Vitruvius’s terms are “firmitas,” “utility,”
and “venustas,” translated by Granger as “strength,” “utility,” and “grace.”
38. Terry, quoted by Melhuish, 56.
39. Lucas, [8].
40. Lucas, [9].
42. St Helen’s Church, [1].
43. Stewart, On Longing, 151.
44. Barker, 31.