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STRAWBERRY HILL: A CASE STUDY OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

by

Susan D. Kleckner

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Spring 1995

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ABSTRACT

The Gothic Revival is a rich and significant aspect of the architectural history of modern England. Long considered an aesthetic with distinctly different eighteenth and nineteenth century components, Strawberry Hill, the private residence of Horace Walpole, has traditionally been interpreted by contemporary architectural historians as an excellent example of the earlier revival. Twentieth century analyses of Strawberry Hill have focused almost exclusively on the eighteenth century structure either in and of itself or in the context of its peers. No study of Strawberry Hill has fully addressed the appearance or structure of the property as it existed prior to Walpole's tenure. Likewise, no study has analyzed Walpole's creation within the context of Victorian Gothic Revival stricture. This thesis attempts to do both, and to assess the implications of the latter as it has affected twentieth century opinion on the subject.

The methodology and design of this research project have focused on primary sources. By chronologically following Walpole's Strawberry Hill account book and his correspondences, a clear picture emerges of Walpole's aspirations, accomplishments and intellectual evolution. Likewise, a close reading of the architectural treatises of members of the Ecclesiological Society is equally
revealing of the most significant group within the Victorian Gothic Revival. In comparing Walpole and the Ecclesiologists within the larger framework of twentieth century interpretation, a different narrative for the Gothic Revival appears.

Where traditional interpretations of Strawberry Hill have largely dismissed the building as an excellent example of eighteenth century Gothic, this thesis ultimately places Strawberry Hill squarely with the tradition of historically grounded Victorian architecture. Where the Gothic Revival has typically been considered according to two eras of design, this thesis finds a substantive rather than chronological division between the two. Finally, in assessing the literature of the nineteenth century Gothic Revival, the Ecclesiological Society ultimately appears to bear significant responsibility in shaping contemporary opinion of the movement.
INTRODUCTION

The Gothic Revival is an integral part of the architectural history of modern England. Contemporary architectural scholarship and criticism identifies five basic ideas that apply to the English Gothic Revival. The movement occurred in two distinct and unrelated phases, one during the eighteenth century, and a second during the nineteenth century. Eighteenth century Gothic Revival design is distinguished by symmetry and a limited vocabulary of representative decoration, such as the pointed arch and the quatrefoil, while the nineteenth century Gothic Revival design included not only decoration, but also the construction techniques and building functions of the medieval era. The eighteenth century Gothic Revival was represented by amateur architects, the most important of whom were Sanderson Miller and Horace Walpole, as well as professional architects, such as John Vanbrugh and William Kent. These individuals have been dismissed either for a dilettante approach to the material, as with Miller and Walpole, or for their underlying interest in another architectural style, as with Vanbrugh and Kent. In contrast, professional art historians such as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, John Ruskin, and Charles Locke Eastlake gave voice and substance the nineteenth century Gothic Revival. The authority of these men on the topic could not be dismissed as they stood in the forefront of the movement to reform aesthetics.
Consequently, the nineteenth century Gothic Revival is now regarded as a more valid architectural movement largely because of the men representing it and the integrity of the structures they promoted. Although belittled in all but the most recent works on architectural history, the eighteenth century British Gothic Revival did produce one significant structure: Strawberry Hill.

Remodeled and expanded between 1747 and 1795 by Horace Walpole (1717 - 1797; Figure 1), the youngest son of England's first Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, Strawberry Hill was intended as both a private residence and Gothic showplace. Originally built in 1698 by the Paul Mansfield, the Earl of Bradford's coachman, "Strawberry Hill-Shot," as it was first known, was intended as a rental property and real estate investment in the increasingly popular London suburb of Twickenham. During the period of Walpole's tenancy, Strawberry Hill became one of the best known houses of its time, due to the diminutive size of the property and the large ambitions of its owner.

In an era when aristocratic architecture assumed Palladian grandeur, Strawberry Hill was a comparative anomaly. Less than half the size of many country houses of the day, Walpole's estate offered easier access than other properties. In addition, Walpole himself also heavily promoted his home. Opened for ticketed public viewing from 1763 on, Strawberry Hill was one of the first
Figure 1: Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, from a drawing by George Dance (1793).
venues in which new architectural design, as well as a large, private fine and
decorative arts collection could be readily viewed. For those who could not make
the journey to Twickenham, Walpole's printing house, the Strawberry Hill Press,
published a catalogue of the grounds, the house and its contents, the first in 1774,
and subsequently with illustrations in 1784. This catalogue, A Description of the
Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole... was intended to serve as a guidebook for those
wishing to learn how to design Gothic structures in the correct manner, and
included both a room by room inventory of important collection objects and their
provenances, as well as such details as the design sources for wallpapers and
chimneypieces.¹ By the 1840s, however, the regard in which Walpole and
Strawberry Hill were held had essentially vanished. With the debate over the
Gothic Revival reaching a crescendo in the British architectural press, Strawberry
Hill was dismissed as a frivolous structure, no more important than an architectural
folly. The London Times review of the 1842 sale of the contents of Strawberry
Hill lampooned Walpole's collection with such parodies of individual objects as,
"...the bridge of the fiddle on which Nero played while Rome burned...," and
pronounced Walpole to be, "...merely a fool among lesser fools of his ignorant
age... "²

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that Strawberry Hill was no
whimsical creation, but a serious architectural construct designed fully in the tradition of what has now become associated with Victorian Gothic. Moreover, this thesis will demonstrate that the chronological break long defining and separating the eighteenth and nineteenth century Gothic Revivals is an invalid and arbitrary definition. Finally, this thesis will discuss the implications of the nineteenth century's changed meaning of Strawberry Hill from factual to symbolic, and how this metamorphosis has affected 20th century understanding of the subject. This work begins with a brief overview of the Gothic Revival as it existed in England up to Strawberry Hill's creation. This section will place Strawberry Hill in context, followed by a full examination of the chronology and development of Strawberry Hill. As the structure took shape over a period of fifty years, it offers an invaluable guide to Walpole's changing architectural philosophy and his attitude toward the Gothic style. Finally, this thesis will establish the relationship between Strawberry Hill and the nineteenth century movement in English architectural design.

Critical to any examination of the Gothic Revival is a discussion of the terms and concepts traditionally used in defining and differentiating the revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The term "antiquarian" referred principally to one who was interested in and studied the Antique, that being Greece or Rome,
though this definition had broadened by the mid-eighteenth century to include studies of Medieval art and architecture as well. An "amateur architect" was an individual who was not relying on his architectural designs as a source of livelihood. This term in no way suggested a lack of knowledge or study of architecture, and was not intended to convey demeaning connotations.

Central to an understanding of the eighteenth century Gothic Revival is the concept of the Classicized Gothic. This term refers to the overriding interest in the art and architecture of ancient Greece and Rome that prevailed in eighteenth century England. Classicized Gothic found expression in design books such as Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture Restored and Improved with Rules and Proportions* (1742), as well as his *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions* (1747), Paul Decker's *Gothic Architecture* (1759) and Timothy Lightoler's *Gentleman and Farmer's Architect* (1762). While Gothic architecture was the subject of each of these publications, their presentation was in the same form that works on Classical architecture were published, which was according to Vitruvius' 'Five Orders,' or categories, of architectural design. Gothic architecture, according to these publications, was symmetric and formulaic, easily learned by any gentleman or farmer, as Lightoler's title suggests.
The nineteenth century Gothic Revival involved different architectural terms: archeological, artifactual literacy, associationism (and associational), and the picturesque. The term archeological refers to the original object, prototype or design source; in this instance, medieval architecture. An example of this in Strawberry Hill would be the design source of the chimneypieces; several were based on Walpole's scaled drawings and observations of the material components of individual medieval burial niches. Thus, the appearance of the chimneypieces at Strawberry Hill is grounded in archeological, or original, evidence.

Similarly, artifactual literacy refers to the degree to which a design reflects and therefor reproduces accurately a prototype. If a building only partially borrows a few motifs from the style of architecture it is imitating, it may be only marginally literate, or knowledgeable, in that original architectural style; if the building is an exact copy, it can be argued to be completely artifactual literate, or informed, by the original structure. The concept of artifactual literacy is open ended: using the same example of Strawberry Hill's chimneypieces, are these objects artifactual literate given their basis on medieval tombs? The answer has been argued both ways by A.W.N. Pugin in the nineteenth century who, in a more strict interpretation, insisted that a tomb cannot become a chimneypiece, and in this century by several scholars whose studies of the subject lean toward a more generous definition. For the purposes of this enquiry, the latter more inclusive
definition of artifactual literacy will be used if only because consideration of
original medieval objects and structures was a new aesthetically revolutionary
methodology at the time of Walpole's endeavors.

Associationism, a term that imbues architecture with emotive qualities,
refers to a phenomenon wherein a building or object evokes an image or sensation.
Within the context of Strawberry Hill, a visitor to the main house was intended to
feel transported to a medieval abbey; similarly, upon arriving at Po-Yang, the
garden reflecting pool at Strawberry Hill, the visitors were supposed to believe
themselves in a Chinese formal garden. Associationism, as it is defined in
nineteenth century architecture, is directly linked to the late eighteenth century
romantic literary notion of "the willing suspension of disbelief." Architecture of
this school was intended to be sufficiently accurately based on an original
prototype that one would believe oneself to be almost, if not at the original
structure.

Finally, the concept of the picturesque specifically refers to Carroll L.V.
Meeks definition of what he called 'picturesque eclecticism', a nineteenth century
architectural phenomenon. This notion, based on John Ruskin's ideas of the
qualities of the Gothic, broke nineteenth century architecture down into several
characteristics, any one of which on its own terms was meaningless, but found together defined those features of nineteenth century architecture that, in combining a variety of historical styles, differentiated it from the buildings of previous eras. These characteristics included variety, movement, irregularity, intricacy and roughness and applied to both the Gothic, as well as other architectural styles as well.\textsuperscript{3}
One opinion I have, which is, that the florid Gothic owes its beautiful improvements to England alone; nor do I know parallel examples, but in a few cathedrals in France in provinces that were subject to us. Had the style originated in France, that nation is too apt to be partial to its own inventions not to have spread the taste more diffusively.

Horace Walpole

CHAPTER 1: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GOTHIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND TO THE CREATION OF STRAWBERRY HILL

The eighteenth century produced two simultaneous Gothic Revivals, one grounded in classicism and adopting only the decorative aspects of Gothic architecture, the other driven by antiquarian interest and at least intellectually grounded in the original artifact. Since Strawberry Hill drew upon both revivals, they will be evaluated in turn. To this end, it is necessary to survey both the literature on Gothic architecture that was available to eighteenth century builders, as well as the buildings constructed in this style.

In contrast to the flood of publications available on architecture and design relating to Baroque and Palladian classicism, the available literature on Gothic architecture was comparatively limited. Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum (1655 - 73), The History of St. Paul's (1658), and Francis Sandford's A Genealogical History of the King's of England (1677) represent the majority of
what was available on the topic at the close of the 17th century. They also represent the seed of interest in medievalism that subsequently flowered in the form of antiquarian organizations and amateur architecture. During the eighteenth century, the literature on Gothic architecture came principally in two forms, the one being more readily available pattern books authored by architects as well cabinetmakers, the other being less widely distributed position papers resultant from antiquarian symposia.

Because pattern books were cheaply and quickly published, their importance lies in their ability to reflect popular interest in a given subject. Without the constraint of copyright laws, pattern book authors such as Batty Langley, Paul Decker, Timothy Lightoler, and Thomas Chippendale borrowed freely from each other as well as from foreign and older publications to produce remunerative editions on the currently popular style. The efficiency of this system and the fact that many of these books were reprinted suggests that the demand for them was already extant prior to publication. Consequently, pattern books may be seen as a gauge of the popularity of a given style. Generally, the design books of the first half of the eighteenth century did not focus on Gothic any more than any other alternative aesthetic popular at the time. That both general pattern books and those specifically on Gothic architecture were structured and presented in the manner of
Classical design books raises two points: the first is that Classicism was perceived to be the most effective way to promote the Gothic to a broad public; the second is that regardless of its presentation, Gothic pattern books repeatedly sold, demonstrating a more than sufficient popular interest in this style. Further support of this is the slightly increased number of specifically Gothic pattern books that appeared from mid-eighteenth century on, implying greater interest in that particular aesthetic. Because of their classicizing approach to the material, pattern books should be seen as more representative of that parallel eighteenth century Gothic Revival whose focus lay in decoration. Accordingly, these books may also be seen as more indicative of popular understanding of the Gothic. Probably the most important of these eighteenth century pattern books were those published by Batty Langley. Not only did Langley provide Gothic patterns for individual architectural elements such as windows, doors, and chimneypieces, but, unlike other pattern book authors, he offered a selection of Gothic structures, all of which were intended as garden buildings (Figure 2). While these designs borrowed heavily from the work of professional architect William Kent, their limited and repetitious design vocabulary served to create and enforce both a typology of Gothic design, as well as a notion that certain motifs were more recognizably 'Gothic' than others. This notion is important as it persisted through to the nineteenth century revival and is the cornerstone of several subsequent Victorian publications. The fact that Langley included so many garden building designs
Figure 2: Gothick Temple design by Batty Langley, Plate LVII from his pattern book *Gothick Architecture Restored and Improved by Rules and Proportions* (London, 1742)
shows that at the time he was publishing, Gothic architecture was still popularly considered more appropriate for a decorative outbuilding than for a principle domestic structure.

In contrast to the pattern book authors, antiquarian societies produced a more serious group of writings on Gothic architecture which reflected the active and un-harmonious dialogue between antiquarians and amateur architects. These publications are particularly important as the issues debated within these societies were the same issues debated in the Victorian architectural press a century later. Although the most significant of these groups, The Society of Antiquarians, established in 1717, initially concerned itself as much with Classical architecture as with Gothic, the interests of the society ultimately shifted to focus more on medieval English antiquities than on Greek or Roman. Of the members of the Society of Antiquarians, Charles Lyttleton, Thomas Pitt, Thomas Gray, Sanderson Miller, and Horace Walpole made the most significant contributions to the rethinking of Gothic architecture in the middle of the eighteenth century. As early as 1742, Charles Lyttleton proposed chronological stylistic distinctions in Gothic architecture, calling the eras of design 'Norman' and 'Saxon'. Two decades later, Lyttleton's nephew, Thomas Pitt, embellished upon this idea, adding further chronological distinctions and categories to his uncle's typology of Gothic design.
That these ideas were later central to nineteenth century architectural historians is evidenced by such publications as Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (first published in 1817 with the popularity of the book causing editions up to 1881) in which the author did little more than elaborate on Lyttleton and Pitt's thesis of a chronological typology of Gothic design. Despite its derivative nature, Rickman's publication was hailed by contemporary and subsequent architectural historians as a seminal addition to the study of Gothic architecture.

Like Lyttleton and Pitt, Thomas Gray contributed to the study of Gothic architecture by verbalizing what Batty Langley's design books had already established, namely that certain decorative forms were more overtly Gothic than others. Gray identified the pointed arch as the most recognizably Gothic motif; this idea also subsequently appeared in Rickman's book. Among the other issues debated by the antiquarians were the need for Gothic architecture to be seen and understood on its own terms and not those of classicism; the question of whether Gothic architecture meant design, or if the style also included medieval construction techniques; and the importance of the original artifact in recreating ancient structures. With the exception of the specifics of the first issue, these topics were still openly discussed in the architectural press a century later.
Ultimately, the literature of this eighteenth century group reveals an impressive degree of knowledge and documentation of the original artifacts, an aspect of the eighteenth century Gothic Revival which has not been fully appreciated. Although the dissemination of this material was presumably limited in comparison to that of pattern books, the membership of The Society of Antiquaries shows that individuals, such as Sanderson Miller and Horace Walpole, were frequently also the same amateur architects more than willing to incorporate the latest findings into their designs. In this way, antiquarian societies were highly successful in broadcasting their ideas.

Where Charles Lyttleton, Thomas Pitt and Thomas Gray furthered the antiquarian cause in their writings, Sanderson Miller and Horace Walpole incorporated architectural ideas discussed by The Society of Antiquaries in their buildings. A contemporary and amateur architect like Walpole, Sanderson Miller also interpreted Gothic with an eye to historical precedent. His two principle buildings, Radway Grange (c. 1745 - 1747), begun at the time Walpole was beginning to redesign Strawberry Hill, and Lacock Abbey (c. 1754) use archeological precedents, like Strawberry Hill, toward an associational goal. In employing the vocabulary of medieval architecture, Miller created in tangible form what William Wordsworth may later have aspired to in "Composed A Few Miles
Above Tintern Abbey" (1798). While Walpole's endeavors at Strawberry Hill looked to historical evidence as the source of his architectural design, artifactual literacy was not Walpole's ultimate objective. The novelty and legacy drawn from Strawberry Hill lie in its conscious regard for medieval architecture, its asymmetry, its surrounding landscape, and ultimately its ability to evoke a romantic ideal that was more than the sum of its parts.

In addition to those amateur architects whose buildings disseminated the Gothic Revival, professional architects also made significant contributions to the movement. Though primarily an architect of the 17th century Baroque, Sir Christopher Wren had an enormous influence on the appearance of Gothic Revival architecture that persisted for the next century. The few buildings that Wren designed in the Gothic mode were the result of specific commissions. Although diverse in form, they exemplify a common attitude toward the Gothic style. Of his City churches commissioned after the Great Fire (1666), St. Dunstan's-in-the-East (1698), St. Mary Aldermary (1702), and St. Michael Cornhill (1679 - 1721), were all designed in the Gothic mode, yet each shows an almost total disregard for historic precedent. The 'Gothicness' of these churches lies strictly in their decoration, the symmetry of which is not grounded in any archeological evidence, but in Wren's underlying interest in Classicism. Unlike Wren's City churches, the
commission for Tom Tower, Christ Church, Oxford (1681 - 82; Figure 3) provided a 15th century archway as the base for the design. In this instance the issue was to create and resolve the top of the gate to its medieval bottom. Despite the original 15th century work, Wren solved the problem in a Palladian manner with two symmetric ogee turrets flanking a central rising octagon, this also capped with an ogee form. As with the Gothic of the City churches, this solution was decorative and classicizing in its underlying dependence on a Palladian grammar. Wren was unable or unwilling to break out of this mode, and thus demonstrated a total lack of consideration for the structural possibilities of Gothic. Yet even in this statement, Wren left an important legacy. As the prominent court architect, Wren's designs were highly visible and frequently imitated. Accordingly, his interpretation of the Gothic in Classical and decorative terms not only condoned that style of Gothic but encouraged it as well. The Gothic designs of Christopher Wren are the embodiment of that other, simultaneous Classical Gothic that has heretofore been considered the only Gothic of the eighteenth century.

Where Sir Christopher Wren represents Classical Gothic, his successor John Vanbrugh can be credited with first introducing to the Gothic Revival the notion of associationism. Wren's Gothic was symmetric and decorative; Vanbrugh's Gothic ignored decoration in favor of using mass and space to recreate the notion of a
Figure 3: Tom Tower, Christ Church, Oxford, renovated by Sir Christopher Wren, 1681 - 1682, with symmetric turrets flanking a central rising turret. The middle section's repeated ogee shapes create a type of Palladian Gothic.
medieval fortress. Vanbrugh interpreted the Gothic in this way at his home in Greenwich, Vanbrugh's Castle (c.1717; Figure 4). The choice of brick, the play of alternating squared and rounded outset towers and use of an asymmetric floor plan created a jarring, if not foreboding visual impact. While this had relatively less to do with medieval architecture (though more than Wren's designs), it is directly related to the later buildings of Sanderson Miller and Horace Walpole. While few subsequent professional architects imitated this aspect of Vanbrugh's work, the consciously evocative nature of this building provides an important link in the Gothic Revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

William Kent worked with a classical Gothic vocabulary similar to that of Wren, though Kent's version found expression in a wider variety of building forms. Sharing Wren's dedication to Classicism, Kent argued that forms such as the pointed arch and the quatrefoil were characteristic of the Gothic tradition. Kent's influence on the Gothic Revival was principally in the garden architecture of the 1730s and 1740s, though also in such buildings as the Clock Court at Hampton Court and the private residence of Henry Pelham at Esher Place (1729). Kent's Gothic landscape took shape in the form of sham ruins, built either for their picturesque value or to hide an interior utilitarian structure, such as a farmhouse. Kent's "garden gothic" of the 1730s both established and promoted the greater acceptability of Gothic for landscape architecture. Its implicit sympathy with the
Figure 4: Vanbrugh's Castle, by Sir John Vanbrugh, c. 1717
eighteenth century pastoral ideal, as well as the Rococo movement's fascination with the organic, gave Gothic a particular appropriateness for use in this manner. Merlin's Cave (c.1733) demonstrates this relationship particularly well. In this structure, Kent explicitly linked Gothic with organic naturalism by using rustic tree-trunk columns and ceiling vaults covered in thatched roofing. Perhaps the most significant of Kent's work in the Gothic style as regards Strawberry Hill was his remodeling of Esher Place for Henry Pelham in 1729 (Figure 5). As with Wren's work at Tom Tower and Walpole's work at Strawberry Hill, Kent had at Esher Place an original pre-existing structure from which to work. To this he added symmetric wings at either side of the original building, as well as a wholly new classicized Gothic exterior to the entire structure. This design shows that unlike Walpole's work, which ultimately developed a sympathy for the original aesthetic he was trying to replicate, Kent's design was far more in the tradition of Wren, who also imposed a classical structure onto a medieval base. The initial influence of Esher Place on Walpole at Strawberry Hill, however, is clear in the similarity of Kent's building with Walpole's earliest 1754 renovation. While the Gothic of Merlin's Cave demonstrates elements of the organic and associational, this instance is accidental when seen in the context of the whole of Kent's work. Like Wren, Kent's importance to the eighteenth century Gothic Revival lies in the high visibility of both the architect and his buildings. While Kent was an influential architect, his importance was far greater in the field of Classical...
Figure 5: Kent’s design for Esher Palace, Surrey, c. 1729, showing his use of symmetric and decorative motifs to create a Gothic image.
architecture; his role in the eighteenth century Gothic Revival has been credited excessively. The publications of The Society of Antiquaries show that those individuals most involved in creating Gothic designs were not looking to Kent as the source of their inspiration. Although Walpole approved of Kent initially, his designs reveal that he ultimately rejected Kent's classicized Gothic in favor of an artifactual approach to the material.

Prior to the construction of Strawberry Hill, the Gothic Revival existed according to two simultaneous interpretations of medieval design. The first and best known was an interpretation of Gothic based on popular Palladian, or Classical, notions of the correct rules and proportions of architecture. This Gothic is seen in the widely available pattern books of the era as well as in the majority of designs by professional architects. The second and less widely discussed Gothic Revival existed in the writings, designs and buildings of antiquarians and amateur architects. This revival was grounded in a reverence for the original medieval architecture as well as a romantic desire to imbue a building with feeling rather than work out a formulaic design. This more abstract objective is both literary in nature and ultimately the foundation of what would become known in the nineteenth century as 'associationism'. Vanbrugh's Castle, Radway Grange, Lacock Abbey, and Strawberry Hill all demonstrate the existence of this sentiment nearly a century prior to the work of such more famous nineteenth century Gothic
promoters as Pugin. While revivalists of the nineteenth century may have been more effective in reaching a broader audience, the ideas they promoted and the issues they debated nonetheless have clear precedent in the architectural dialogue and design of the eighteenth century.
All Gothic designs should be made to imitate something that was of that time, a part of a church, a castle, a convent or a mansion.

Horace Walpole

CHAPTER 2: THE GOTHIC REVIVAL AT STRAWBERRY HILL

The building of Strawberry Hill occurred in several phases, each one representing Walpole's increasing knowledge of Gothic architecture. During the course of this construction, Walpole consulted several individuals whom he referred to as "The Committee on Taste." This group was variously comprised of both personal friends, fellow members of The Society of Antiquaries, and professional architects. Walpole's advisors included William Robinson, Richard Bentley, John Chute, Thomas Pitt, J.H. Muntz, Robert Adam, Thomas Gayfere, James Essex, John Carter and James Wyatt. Of this group, two individuals emerged as Walpole's most trusted consultants: John Chute and Richard Bentley.

The following evaluation of Strawberry Hill will consider the original structures extant at the time of Walpole's purchase of the property, then proceed to fix the chronology and phases of remodeling, and finally will provide an analysis of Walpole's overall agenda in creating the house and grounds at Strawberry Hill.
3.1 Strawberry Hill-Shot

Little is known of the appearance of the buildings at Strawberry Hill prior to Walpole's acquisition of the property in 1747. Recent restoration at Strawberry Hill has suggested that, like Walpole's structure, the original "Strawberry Hill-Shot" may also have been the result of several buildings phases. A 1781 plan of the house provides some clues to the pre-Walpole dimensions of the building. While Walpole remodeled the original interior, he does not appear to have altered the physical size of the overall structure. Thus the original dwelling appears to have been a structure of 35 feet on its east/west axis and 30 feet on its north/south axis (Figure 6, 7). A thin sketch by Walpole of the house as he remembered it upon its purchase (Figure 8), as well as an early drawing by Bentley (Figure 9) showing several dark buildings with high pitched and possibly thatched roofs typical of 17th century English timber-framed vernacular architecture sheds some light on the original pre-Walpole structures. This, in conjunction with Walpole's pencil sketch of the south facade of the original building, as well as recent restoration studies, make it plausible to conjecture on the appearance of the original house. This structure supported two roofs, one high-pitched and possibly hipped at the eastern most wing of the structure, the other a flat roof on the western block. The structure was two-floors high at the eastern most facade and three floors high at its western end and its interior was two, possibly three rooms.
Figure 6: The Ground Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area to the lower left indicates the outline of the original pre-Walpole structure.
Figure 7: The Second Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area to the lower left indicates the outline of the original pre-Walpole structure.
Figure 8: The inconclusive and undated remains of a sketch by Walpole of the south facade of Strawberry Hill as it looked when he purchased it. Courtesy of the Lewis-Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut.
Figure 9: An early, though undated drawing by Bentley showing the original outbuildings of Strawberry Hill before Walpole destroyed them. The architectural style of these buildings, as suggested by their high-pitched roofs, may indicate the appearance of the original pre-Walpole structure.
deep (Figure 10). In addition to the principle structure, there may also have been several semi-attached and free standing service buildings as well.

Architectural historian John Warren has further suggested that a smaller laundry pavilion, paralleling the south facade of the building, and therefore 35 feet in length, existed separately from the house but was attached to it by a wall which enclosed a kitchen court (Figure 11). He has also suggested that a similarly attached stable pavilion existed on the north facade of the house as well. Walpole described the original house and grounds as, "...a small tenement, built in 1698 and let as a lodging-house...along with this house and some other ones was another smaller one..." While this description is lacking in many details, it does indicate the existence of other buildings on the original five acre property beyond the principle block. To this end, Walpole's correspondences, usually regarding the razing of these structures, alludes to an additional cottage to the west of the main house. Walpole demolished the cottage in 1759 to make room for the construction of the Gallery and Round Tower. Prior to that date, he used the building as a printing house. In addition to the cottage and stables, Walpole also had a barn on his estate. The destruction of the barn by the explosion of a nearby gunpowder mill prompted Walpole to write the following dramatic description to Lady Ossory in 1772:

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Figure 10: A conjectural drawing, based on Walpole's sketch of the original south facade (figure 8) and the dimensions of the original building block, of the appearance of Strawberry Hill prior to Walpole's renovations and additions.
Figure 11: Conjectural drawing by John Warren, architectural historian, September 1982, of Strawberry Hill as it appeared when Walpole purchased the property. This drawing is also based on Walpole’s sketch (figure 8), as well as an oil painting by J. Cleveley. Courtesy of the Lewis-Walpole Library, Farmington Connecticut.
...Well! Madame I am returned from my poor shattered castle, and never did it look so Gothic in all its born days. You would swear it had been besieged by the Presbyterians in the Civil Wars, and that finding it impregnable, they had vented their holy malice on the painted glass. As this gunpowder-army passed on, it demolished Mr. Hindley's fine bow-window of ancient Scripture stories; and broke the large window over your door and wrenched off a lock in your kitchen (barn blown down., China room escaped)...\textsuperscript{14}

3.2 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 1

The transformation of Strawberry Hill from a small vernacular structure with accompanying grounds and outbuildings to a larger Gothic showplace with landscaped gardens was essentially accomplished between 1747 and 1774. The pace of work depended in part on Walpole's finances and the ease with which he could contract workers. Thus the phases of building at Strawberry Hill often defied logical progressions. This is to say that while Walpole may have indicated a certain room to be 'finished', his account books show he continued to fine tune, adjust and make small changes to all his designs until 1795.

When Walpole began rebuilding Strawberry Hill, he had yet to develop a complete historical understanding of the Gothic style. As a result, his aesthetic agenda was somewhat haphazard. His early room decorations and usages suggest changes made to make his suburban residence more fashionable and more
accessible for entertaining. Yet even these early additions and alterations demonstrate that he grasped an essential element of the Gothic, namely that the landscape and garden would form a critical part of the entire design of Strawberry Hill.

In addition to changing the face and interior of the house, Walpole also added significantly to the acreage of his property. He continued to acquire land for Strawberry Hill at least once every two years, and in some instances three times in a given year, ultimately spending £3,000 on property expansion over and beyond the initial purchase price of Strawberry Hill. In addition to the necessary service buildings and structures such as several minor gates, footbridges, a cow shed and greenhouse, Walpole also added several important garden structures. These included the Great Shell Bench (c.1754), a guest cottage and garden (c.1769), the Chapel-in-the-Woods and its accompanying artificial stone gateway (c.1772-74; called Chapel-in-the-Garden in The Strawberry Hill Accounts...: Figure 12), the Prior’s Garden (c.1773-75; Figure 13), and Po-Yang, a Chinese Garden and reflecting pool (c.1781; Figure 14). Over and beyond expanding his property, Walpole also significantly altered the grounds as well. While his accounts record a minor payment of £3-2-6 1/2 to a carpenter, glazier and smith in May 1747, the first significant documented change came the following October.
Figure 12: Front elevation of the Chapel-in-the-Woods
Figure 13: The Prior's Garden, as illustrated in *A Description of the House and Grounds of Mr. Horace Walpole*., (Twickenham, 1784).
Figure 14: Po-Yang, Walpole's Chinese Garden, as illustrated in A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole... (Twickenham, 1784).
with payment of £9-6-0 for planting 122 trees for the Grove, an area probably to the south and west of the south facade lawn. Beyond these additions and alterations to the landscape, little evidence exists to indicate other changes Walpole may have made to his property. To the original five acres purchased with the main house and outbuildings, Walpole added forty-one additional acres by 1797.

That the aggrandizement of Strawberry Hill came first and in such substantial form to the grounds, reveals an important aspect of Walpole's vision. Strawberry Hill was not simply a garden set with attractive buildings, nor was it a house whose grandeur subordinated its surroundings. Both house and grounds equally formed a single organic unit. In conceiving of his estate as a totality comprised of landscape and buildings, Walpole implemented a critical element later seen in nineteenth century domestic architecture. This conception directly relates to the nineteenth century Gothic Revival in that the equal relationship of the house and grounds was a defining characteristic of that era's domestic architecture.

The remodelling of the original pre-Walpole structure immediately following the planting at the Grove also showed Walpole operating under a more nineteenth century consideration of the house. These alterations were essentially restricted to the exterior of the house, and show a limited, decorative understanding of the Gothic. Changes to the exterior included redefining the roofline to a consistent
castellated straight line, embellishing the facade of the house with several faceted bays, and enclosing the structure with a surface cladding of pebble-dash, a cement and stone mixture to imitate stone walls. The dwelling was comprised on the ground floor of the Waiting Room, the China Closet, the Little Parlour, the Beauty Room, the Stairhall; and on the second floor, the Breakfast Room, the Green Closet, the Blue Bedchamber, the Red Bedchamber, the Star Chamber and the Armory, (Figure 15, 16). As the Stairhall, Star Chamber and Armory were not completed until the second phase of construction at Strawberry Hill, these rooms will be discussed later. The changes implemented at this time connect Strawberry Hill to later nineteenth century Gothic Revival domestic architecture most clearly in Walpole’s consistent use of a more diminutive scale, and in the less rigid, social capacity in which the rooms were intended to function, a direct contrast to the imposing formality of comparable Palladian rooms.

Structural changes to the original building block included extending the Beauty Room and the Red Bedchamber to their current length (Figure 17). Restoration reports conflict on the exact location of the pre-Walpole building’s west-most exterior wall, placing it both at the eastern wall of the Holbein Chamber and at the same time on the eastern wall of the Star Chamber. Most likely, this is merely the result of directional confusion, leaving the east wall of the Holbein...
Figure 15: The Ground Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area indicates the site of Walpole's first building phase.
Figure 16: The Second Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area indicates the site of Walpole's first building phase.
Figure 17: Enlargement of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The black cross-hatched area indicates the site of the original west wall. The red cross-hatched area indicates the extension of the west wall necessary to complete the Red Bedchamber. The green cross-hatched area indicates the site of the alternative and probably erroneously suggested west wall.
Chamber and the west wall of the Star Chamber (the same wall) as the western most limit of the original house (also Figure 17). If this is the case, it may mean that the work referred to in Walpole's 10 August 1748 accounts as "& Work to the New Room."\(^{16}\) is the extension of the Beauty Room and Red Bedchamber beyond their original limit. A watercolor drawing by Muntz of the south facade of Strawberry Hill slightly post-dating these changes seems to support this hypothesis (Figure 18).

Walpole's accounts and private correspondence contain some information on both room decorations and function. While we know that the Waiting Room, the first room one entered in the house, was 17 feet wide and 20 feet deep, we do not know its decor. Used as the kitchen for the house, the Waiting Room was the principle entrance to Strawberry Hill prior to the construction of the Great North Entrance (c.1759). Adjacent to the Waiting Room, the China Closet (C), 12 feet, 4 inches wide and 9 feet, 9 inches deep, was decorated with blue and white paper in imitation of Dutch tiles and was hung with shelves holding blue and white porcelains. This room was used at intervals as a small dining room; the wallpaper was eventually replaced with real Dutch Delft tiles. A November 1755 account entry also suggests this room may have had tile floors.\(^{17}\) The Little Parlour (D), 13 feet wide and 18 feet deep, had a fireplace whose chimneypiece was, as Walpole's ...Description... observed, based on the Tomb of Thomas Ruthals, Bishop of
Figure 18: The South facade of Strawberry Hill as drawn by J.H. Muntz, c. 1754.

The portions of the house at the extreme left show the western-most edge of the house, where one of the original walls of the pre-Walpole structure was extended to allow for the Beauty Room and Red Bedchamber.
Durham, at Westminster Abbey. This room was hung with a wallpaper "...gothic ... of stone color in mosaic," on which were placed prints of scenes of Venice, and which was furnished with eight ebony chairs. The room was probably also intended for dining, as a letter from Walpole to Bentley in May of 1754 describing its upstairs counterpart indicates:

...The bow-window room [Blue Bedchamber] over the supper-parlour is finished; hung with plain blue paper, with a chintz bed and chairs... This letter also reveals the decoration and furnishing of the Blue Bedchamber.

Immediately next to the Little Parlour was the Beauty Room, called at this time the Yellow Bedchamber. This room was 15 feet, 9 inches wide and 12 feet, 3 inches deep, with a fireplace on its western-most shorter wall. Originally hung with yellow wallpapers and used as a bedroom, Walpole remodeled this room in 1776, "...I have turned the little yellow bedroom into a beauty room, with the pictures I bought... at Mr. Lovingbond's sale." The creation of the Beauty Room included replacing the yellow wallpaper with grey spotted paper, presumably in imitation of stone. On the second floor, the Breakfast Room directly above the kitchen (Waiting Room), measured 19 feet, 4 inches wide and 20 feet, 5 inches deep. The room was hung with a blue and white paper decorated at the top with "festoons" and had in it "portraits of notable beauties." While sometimes used as an additional dining area, the room was furnished with at least two sofas, and was described by Walpole as "the room where we always live." This revelation again relates the conception of space at Strawberry Hill to a more Victorian domestic
construct in its implicit notion of the members of the household all congregating to
one informal leisure, or family room. Directly next to the Breakfast Room was
the Green Closet. Retaining the same dimensions as the China Closet below it, the
Green Closet was hung with green papers punctuated by watercolor drawings and
was further embellished by a fireplace on its west side and two allegorical stained
glass windows; Walpole used it as an office. The decoration and function of this
room relate it to the nineteenth century Gothic Revival in that it helped to establish
and reinforce a typology of Gothic room functions, namely that Gothic was
appropriate for a library or study, a phenomenon that would reappear in later
Victorian structures. The final room renovated at this period was the Red
Bedchamber. Located on the second floor at its south-western most end, the Red
Bedchamber was hung with crimson paper and shared the same dimensions,
arrangement and function as the Beauty Room below it. By the end of September
of 1749, Walpole had expended £105-8-0 for "the new Kitchen, Alterations to the
Cottage & Work to the New Room," and £109-4-8 total to landscaping
Strawberry Hill, both significant sums for their time.

These changes to the house and grounds were nearing completion by 1753
when Walpole described Strawberry Hill saying,

This view of the castle [south facade] is what I have just finished, and
is the only side that will be at all regular. Directly before it is an open
grove, through which you see a field which is bounded by a serpentine
wood of... trees and flowering shrubs and flowers...
Walpole's description of this portion of the building as "the only side that will be at all regular" is important in its implications about Walpole's understanding of Gothic architecture at that time. In its symmetry and limited exterior decoration, this building phase of Strawberry Hill is directly related William Kent's classical Gothic work at Esher Place (Figure 19). However, prior to the completion of this first phase in 1754, Walpole must have learned the difference between classical, pattern book Gothic and the original artifact. This new knowledge was presumably a result of his membership in The Society of Antiquarians, and it catalyzed Walpole to conduct a travelling survey of local medieval buildings so as to learn the original material and decoration on which his subsequent designs were based. Walpole's description of Strawberry Hill has other implications for the relationship of the house to subsequent nineteenth century Victorian Gothic architecture as well. The defining characteristic of nineteenth century Gothic Revival architecture is its conscious lack of symmetry; thus, as early as 1753, we see Walpole acknowledging this same quintessential feature as seminal to his own accurate reproduction of Gothic architecture. This conscious asymmetry, in conjunction with such archetypal rooms as the Green Closet, and later the Library, Gallery and Armory, as well as the small scale and labyrinthine plan to which Strawberry Hill was maintained are all features subsequently seen in the domestic structures of the Victorian Gothic Revival.
Figure 19: A visual comparison of Kent's design at Esher Place and Walpole's first completed building block demonstrates Walpole's initial reliance on Kent.
3.3 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 2

The second significant period of design at Strawberry Hill began in approximately 1753, and showed a greater emphasis on original medieval structures as Walpole’s design source than his previous renovation had accomplished. For the first time since acquiring the house, Walpole’s remodelling involved new construction, and thus provided the opportunity to create without the confines of a pre-existing structure. The new construction consisted of two stories added to the north facade of the original house, on the ground floor a Refectory, and on the second floor a Library.

With its buttressed and pebble-dashed exterior and tracery decorated interior, the Refectory and Library were unusual for their time as they employed the same defining aesthetic for both the exterior and interior. The consistent incorporation of any style from outside to inside was an anomaly at the mid-eighteenth century; thus the fact that Walpole chose this schema suggests how thoroughly he wanted his home to seem as authentically medieval as possible. That consistency of style was unusual from exterior to interior, and that it was exactly this consistency that Walpole intended is clear in Walpole’s complaint to John Chute in April 1754,

The last time I went to Strawberry, I found the stucco men as busy as so many Irish bees, plastering up eggs and anchors for the frieze of the
eating room [refectory], but I soon made them destroy all they had done.  

This quotation not only demonstrates the assumption on the part of the craftsmen that a classical egg-and-dart molding would embellish the ceiling of the Refectory, as was probably the case with the majority of the interiors they decorated, but that Walpole acted deliberately in his designs. These differences were evidently swiftly solved as less than a month later, Walpole wrote to his friend Bentley, "...As the library and great parlour [refectory] grow finished, you shall have exact notice."  

Both the Refectory and Library were 28 feet wide, with the Refectory 19 feet, six inches deep and the Library 17 feet, 6 inches deep owing to a one foot deep Gothic bookcase which lined its walls. On the ground floor, the Refectory was hung with a stucco paper to imitate stone walls. Walpole described other decorations to this room as including portraits of notable friends, japanned furniture, and chairs, "...black, of a Gothic pattern, designed by Mr. Bentley and Mr. Walpole...", as well as Etruscan vases. The floor covering of this room was described as 'Turkey', suggesting a brightly and variously colored loomed woolen textile in imitation of Turkish carpets, a typical floor covering of the 17th century.  

By choosing to combine a variety of older looking decorative forms, such as the Turkey carpet and the black Gothic chairs, with one slightly outdated group of items (japanned furniture), as well as one currently fashionable group of
decorations (Etruscan vases), Walpole created the illusion of an old house with old furnishings attempting to maintain a new look. The interiors of the Library were decorated in a combination of Walpole family memorabilia and Gothic designs derived from a variety of sources. Walpole described the painted and papier-mache molded Library ceiling as centering the Walpole coat-of-arms surrounded by, "...quarters borne by the family" and at each end of the ceiling was a knight on horseback, "in the manner of ancient seals". Further descriptions of the Library included a reference to the choir, as illustrated in Sir William Dugdale's A History of St. Paul's (1658), as the design source for the bookcase which lined the room, and to a great pointed arch painted window at the eastern end of the room. Other changes included the addition of painted glass, in imitation of stained glass, to all other windows of the house and the completion of the Stairhall, Armory and Star Chamber.

In addition to new construction at Strawberry Hill, Walpole also renovated the smaller interior rooms of the original building block at this time. These included the Stairhall, Armory and Star Chamber. As indicated by Walpole's correspondences, Richard Bentley was largely responsible for overseeing the Stairhall and the Armory. In 1752, Walpole purchased 2,050 hexagonal tiles for use in the "Hall", and by the end of the following year paid £20-3-0 for "painters work to the Staircase & new rooms," presumably a reference to the Armory and
Star Chamber. The Stairhall was sparsely decorated with tile floors and a carved stairway railing which the _Description_ identifies as having been derived from a library staircase at Rouen Cathedral. The Armory opened to several cluster-column defined niches containing suits of armor and was painted with various arms and heraldic devices. Both floors were hung with paper painted after Prince Arthur's Tomb at Worcester Cathedral, as illustrated in Francis Sandford's _History of the Kings of England_ (1677). The Stairhall and Armory were illuminated by a faceted tin and glass lantern whose panes were painted with heraldic designs. Like the previous rooms of Walpole's building phases, rooms such as the Armory and Stairhall link Strawberry Hill to the nineteenth century Gothic Revival in that they created a typology of appropriate Gothic rooms subsequently adopted by the Victorians.

Immediately west of the Armory and above what became the Great North Entrance lay the Star Chamber. At 10 feet wide and 13 feet deep, its similar diminutive size to other rooms at Strawberry Hill called "closets," suggests that this room may also have been used as a study or office. The Star Chamber was painted green with all over silver star decoration, and while furnishings for the room are not specifically outlined in Walpole's account, references to purchases of a writing stand and to several black Gothic framed looking glasses may provide some insight as to what other materials defined the room. Open to the north side
of the house, the Star Chamber also served as an east-west passage between ends of the house.

In examining the decorations and furnishings of this last group of rooms, the intention of Strawberry Hill emerges. Where the first series of rooms accomplished what Walpole may have considered the minimum utilitarian necessities for a house in the form of a kitchen, dining room, principle social room, office and several bedrooms, the second building phase, the Refectory and Library, produced slightly larger rooms to serve as more social and public spaces. In so doing, not only could he pay more attention and allow more time for the completion of comparatively fewer rooms, but he could also indulge more in the aesthetic of his choice. The difference in scale from the renovations of the first building phase at Strawberry Hill to the new construction of the second is also important as a measure of the subtlety of Walpole's design. Despite the overall smaller, more diminutive scale on which the entire building was designed, the new rooms of the second building phase were slightly larger than those of the first, as would the scale change slightly again with the third group of rooms. This play in scale served two purposes. Not only does it place the meaning of Walpole's deliberate asymmetry into three dimensions, it also shows the level of Walpole's understanding of Gothic architecture. Walpole attempted to reflect the reality of medieval architecture, namely that the more monumental surviving structures of
medieval England were frequently built over the course of a century. By choosing three scales in which to design his home, Walpole was attempting to represent these different eras of building.

3.4 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 3

The third and largest phase of building at Strawberry Hill began in 1759, and occupied the next five years. Like the rooms of his previous alteration and building phases, this new group of rooms used artifactually derived designs to evoke a medieval past; the difference with these, though, lay in their slightly larger scale and more courtly agenda. At this time, Walpole expanded the building westward, adding on the ground floor the Great North Entrance, several service rooms and passages, the Oratory, the Great Cloister (Figure 20); and on the second floor the Holbein Chamber, the Gallery, the Round Room, the Cabinet, the Great North Bedchamber and Beauclerc Closet (Figure 21). Sparse documentation survives as to the service rooms of this era, however significant documentation exists for the additions intended for public viewing. On the north facade of the house, these included the Great North Entrance and Holbein Room, which were essentially complete at the end of 1759, and further west, the Cabinet, which followed in approximately 1763. Although discussed as early as 1758, the Great Cloister, the Gallery, and the Round Room were not begun in earnest until 1760.
Figure 20: The Ground Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area indicates the site of Walpole's second building phase.
Figure 21: The Second Floor of the 1781 Plan of Strawberry Hill. The shaded area indicates the site of Walpole's second building phase.
Figure 22: The Great North Entrance, as illustrated in _A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole_ (Twickenham, 1784).
Labor problems and Richard Bentley's departure from the Strawberry Hill project delayed completion of these rooms so that it took almost four years to accomplish the Cloister and Gallery, while the Round Room was not complete until 1771. By April 1762, Walpole informed his friend Horace Mann that Thomas Pitt was now doing the designs for the Gallery, among other projects at Strawberry Hill.

On the ground floor, the principle addition to the north facade was the Great North Entrance. Little information beyond a 1784 illustration in *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*... exists for this alteration (Figure 22). This image may or may not reflect the appearance of the Great North Entrance on its completion, as the area was re-landscaped between 1773 and 1775. Nonetheless, the illustration shows an open space whose base was defined by a retaining wall, whose sides comprised the exterior wall of the Refectory and an open arcaded passage called the Little Cloister, whose termination came at the door to the Stairhall. The Little Cloister paralleled and adjoined the exterior wall of the Pantry and Oratory, and led to the Servants Hall. The floor of the Great North Entrance appears to have been laid with stone and all of the exterior walls were clad in the same pebble-dash surface treatment that the original pre-Walpole structure received. On the basis of the rooms surrounding the Great North Entrance, it is fair to conjecture that this space was approximately 10 feet wide and at least 20 feet long.
The second principle addition to the north facade was the Holbein Chamber. This room, used as a sleeping area, comprised a space 14 feet, 10 inches wide and 25 feet, 6 inches deep. Restoration reports on the Holbein Chamber show construction in a combination of timber framing with brick-in fill on the exterior, and, in several cases, timber framing covered with stretched hessian, a coarse plain woven hempen cloth principally used for sheeting packages, on the interior. This form of wall construction was particularly inexpensive, and attests to Walpole’s concern for minimizing expenses. As the name suggests, the room was decorated with portraits and objects associated with the reign of Henry VIII, whose court artist was Hans Holbein. Period visual documentation, as well as fragments found in restoration show that the Holbein Chamber was divided across its width by a carved and stone-color painted screen adapted from the choir gates at the Cathedral of Rouen, that the Gothic chimneypiece was also painted a stone-color, and that the room was hung with purple paper. A May 1759 account entry probably refers to some of the work done in this room, as the usage and location given coincide with the function and orientation of this new room, "pd. price for fitting up three windows for the new Bedchamber towards the road......£15-15-0", these windows were presumably the paint-decorated windows facing the road that ran just north of the house. This entire three floor block comprising the Little Cloister, Pantry, Holbein Room and third floor garret quarters must have been completed fairly soon thereafter, as in September 1759, Walpole records a second, larger
payment of £673-11-0 for, "...the Holbein Chamber, Pantry & garrets &c. &
doorway & balconies to that building."³⁵

Also added to the north facade at this time was the Cabinet (Figure 23). This room was laid out in the form of a quatrefoil, approximately 19 feet, 10 inches at its square, and was used as a smaller, more private exhibition space. Furnishings and decorations for the room consisted of glazed cabinets for Walpole's curio collection, as well as small pictures and portrait miniatures; the walls were hung with a stone colored paper with gilt tracery decoration. As with the Gallery adjacent to it, the ceiling of the Cabinet was decorated with papier-mâché molded, vaulted and gilded tracery, though this ceiling also centered a yellow glass star. Other windows of this room were decorated with mosaics, and the floor was covered with a carpet whose design mimicked the window decoration. Walpole records paying £34-14-0 to Peckitt of York in May 1762 for, among other glass work, "...the yellow star in the ceiling of the cabinet...", with other payments to artisans for work in the Cabinet following.³⁶ Although Walpole wrote as early as May 1762 that the Cabinet and Gallery would soon be complete,³⁷ he did not record payment for "the two carpets for the gallery & the cabinet......£87-19-0" until spring 1765.³⁸ Minor payments for small decorative additions to the Cabinet appear through 1769.
Figure 23: The Cabinet, as illustrated in *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole...* (Twickenham, 1784).
Where the Holbein Chamber and Cabinet maintained the comparatively diminutive dimensions established earlier in the house, the Great Cloister, Gallery and Round Room broke free of such confinements and gave Strawberry Hill its distinctively asymmetric line. This defining feature of the house is an additional element usually associated with later Gothic Revival designs. The Great Cloister, formed along the south facade of the building, joined Strawberry Hill at the western most extension of the pre-Walpole structure. The addition reached 56 feet west and provided an open arcaded space 13 feet deep and accessed the south lawn. On the basis of illustrations provided in A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole..., this space, like the Great North Entrance, seems to have been relatively sparse in appearance, with a stone floor, pebble-dash clad walls and furnished with a few turned and joined chairs. While its function appears to have been merely for occasional outdoor sitting, its ultimate usage was probably for an additional covered passageway between the kitchen and private dining rooms. This addition was particularly slow to complete as a May 1762 bill for £1241-8-0 recording, "...the building of the gallery, cloyster [sic], Oratory..."39 and a letter almost two years later from Walpole to his half-brother-in-law, Charles Churchill, attested, "My cloister is finished and consecrated..."40

Directly above the Great Cloister was Walpole's most significant showplace room, the Gallery (Figure 24). Also measuring 56 feet in length, but 15 feet in
Figure 24: The Gallery, as illustrated in _A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole..._ (Twickenham, 1784).
depth, the Gallery functioned at Strawberry Hill much as the Hall of Mirrors functioned to Versailles. The Gallery was fitted on the south side with pointed arch windows looking out on to the south lawn, Grove and meadows, and on the opposite wall with corresponding niches decorated within by gilt tracery looking glasses and above by faceted and tracery pointed arch canopies. The ceiling was treated with papier-mâché molded in the form of tracery vaulting, much of which was gilded. In April 1763, Thomas Bromwich, a fashionable London decorator, received £115-0-0 for "ye ceiling of the gallery." Walpole expressed concern for the delicacy of this project when he wrote, "...I quit the gallery almost in the critical moment of consummation. Gilders, carvers, upholsterers, and picture-cleaners are all at their several forges, and I do not love to trust a hammer or brush without my own supervisal..." In addition to these decorations, the Gallery was hung with crimson damask, and running its length was a patterned crimson Moorfields carpet. Centered on the north wall of this room was a Gothic chimney-piece designed by Chute and Pitt, and on the west wall a carved pointed arch door whose design source was, according Walpole's "Description", the north door of St. Alban's Cathedral. The furnishings of this room were equally sumptuous and colorful. The south wall piers were set with black and gold rectangular marble-top tables designed in a Gothic pattern based on a tomb at Westminster Abbey. Corresponding to these on the north wall were bronze and
gold carved backless settees over-upholstered in crimson satin damask. In addition to these furnishings, the walls were hung with portraits of Walpole's contemporaries and family, and the room was also used to display his sculpture collection. The Gallery was intended to be the principle exhibition space for Walpole's fine arts collection, and to be the most important public room for viewers to the house. Like the decorations in the Refectory, the interior of the Gallery gave the appearance of an older room attempting to look newly fashionable. Beyond this artifice, an architectural ploy that would subsequently be called associationism, the Gallery of Strawberry Hill also incorporated two other features later seen in Victorian architecture. Regarding the Gothic Revival, the deliberate use and acknowledgement medieval prototypes for specific details of the room directly links Strawberry Hill to the artifactually driven Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the manner in which the Gallery referred to other more famous architectural spaces, such as the Hall of Mirrors, is the associational component evident in later Victorian domestic architecture.

Beyond the Gallery, the further addition of one of Walpole's most visually important rooms at Strawberry Hill came to its south-western most limit in the form of a Round Tower 22 feet in diameter. This contained a kitchen on the ground floor, and the Round Room on the second floor. Walpole's letters show that the Round Room was intended as a bedroom, but was used as a drawing room.
and subsequently as a print room. Although Walpole recorded a payment of £454-0-0 in April 1761 "for the round tower & embattled wall," a description indicative of the romantic vision in which he perceived his home, work on this section nonetheless progressed slowly. In 1766, professional architect Robert Adam joined the group working at Strawberry Hill, and the chimneypiece of the Round Room became his particular design project. The focal architectural detail of this room was a mantlepiece with solomonic columns supporting a guilloche patterned frieze above (Figure 25). Like the Great Cloister, the Round Room was particularly slow in completion. With the mantlepiece listed in Walpole's accounts at £288-13-7 1/2, it is possible that the high price this addition may have slowed its completion, Walpole's sporadic inability to afford his project having caused delays previously. Given the manner in which the building subsequently progressed, however, this lag seems more likely due to material shortages and slow construction. In March 1770, Walpole wrote to George Montagu,

...You will find the round chamber far advanced, though not finished, for my undertakings do not stride with the impetuosity of my youth. This single room has been half as long in completing as all the rest of the castle...

This passage suggests a third possibility, namely that it may have been an aesthetic impasse, either between Walpole and Adam or within Walpole himself, that detained the work's completion. By June 1771, Walpole announced to Horace Mann, "...The round tower is finished and magnificent..." Like the Gallery and
Figure 25: The chimney-piece of the Round Room, designed by Robert Adam, as illustrated in *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*. (Twickenham, 1784).
Cabinet that led to it, the Round Room was also hung with crimson damask on the walls, glazed with paint-decorated windows, and embellished with a gilt decorated ceiling. A bill in December 1771 for £104-12-6 documents that the Round Room was furnished with, "green & gold frame for the Settee, chairs & screen in the round room..." showing a consistency not only in Walpole's gilt and jewel-toned palette choice from room to room, but also in the continued duality of old and new fashion started in the Refectory and carried through to the Gallery. Walpole's allusion to the Round Room as a "castle" with "embattled walls" reflects his perception of Strawberry Hill. These references suggest a builder's vision that is at once romantic, allegorical and ultimately associational, constructs generally assigned to Victorian architecture.

Despite the delays in completing the Round Tower, Walpole began further architectural additions to Strawberry Hill by spring 1772 with the Great North Bedchamber and subsequently the Beauclerc Tower. The construction of the Great North Bedchamber effectively bridged a gap in the north facade of the second floor between the Holbein Chamber and the Cabinet, filling in the space above the ground floor service rooms with a new master bedroom immediately above, and a garret space on the third floor (Figure 26). Restoration reports to this room show that the original pebble-dash exterior wall that had formerly faced the road was
Figure 26: The north facade of Strawberry Hill. This drawing is misleading in that it shows the Round and Beauclerc Towers complete, yet a closer examination of the roofline reveals no Great North Bedchamber, a room whose construction was complete, according to Walpole's accounts and correspondences, prior to the existence of the Beauclerc Tower.
merely built over to accommodate the addition, and that this earlier wall had been painted to resemble a windowed facade. 

The existence of this painted wall has two implications for Strawberry Hill and its builder. Not only does it show Walpole's overriding concern with the emotive qualities of architecture, but it also suggests that even as he finished his western expansion of 1764, Walpole knew that at some point in the future, the building would receive a northern addition. In June 1772, only six months after furnishing the Round Room, Walpole paid £258-13-6 to a carpenter and bricklayer for, "...the new Bedchamber, garrets staircase &c.," for this new chamber. The Great North Bedchamber was 24 feet, 8 inches wide and 17 feet, 7 inches deep, larger than any other bedroom at Strawberry Hill. Although he did not pay for the "Aubusson tapestry bed & 4 more armchairs" until December 1772, Walpole announced the new bedchamber to be complete the preceding August when he wrote, "...I found my new bedchamber finished, and it is so charming that I have lost all envy of Castle Howard..." Several days later, in his thanks to Horace Mann for a gift of furniture, he noted, "...The chest is deposited in a new glazed closet in a sumptuous state bedchamber, which was finished but today, and which completes my house..."
Walpole's assessment of this new room as 'sumptuous' was not an exaggeration, according to A Description of the Villa... In addition to a large bed furnished with an Aubusson tapestry and valanced with "festoons of flowers on a white ground" and "plumes of ostrich feathers at the corners", were six "elbow" chairs with gold and white frames upholstered to match, and six ebony chairs. The floor was covered with a Moorfield carpet. Where the precedent for Walpole's elaborate bed lay in traditional seventeenth century courtly bedroom furnishing plans, the design sources for other architectural details of the room were more specific. As elaborated in A Description of the Villa..., the chimneypiece was based on the Tomb of the Bishop of Durham at Westminster Abbey, while the ceiling copied exactly a ceiling at The Vyne, the ancestral home of John Chute. The windows of the Great North Bedchamber were painted with the heraldic devices of the Walpole family.

By the fall of 1776, work had progressed on the final addition to the house, a new round tower placed at the juncture of the Round Room and the Cabinet. This smaller tower, called the Beauclerc Tower in honor of a friend, was designed with the assistance of professional architect James Essex. The Beauclerc Tower was 9 feet, 5 inches in diameter and contained a single window with a view to the northwest. On the first floor it provided additional storage and maneuvering to the Beer Cellar and Servants passage, while on the second floor it was used as a
closet. If Walpole's use of other "closets" in his house is any indication, the Beauclerc Closet was therefore used to exhibit collection objects, as well as to provide additional office space, as well as dining space. Given its proximity to the kitchen and Round Room, either of these uses is possible. The Beauclerc Closet was hung with "India Blue Damask" of which Walpole purchased 36 yds. at £18-18-0 in May 1777, with additional expenditures on this room in the same month going to "Mr. Essex the Architect for the Beauclerc Tower & designing the Offices &c." in the amount of £31-10-0, and to "Bills of workmen for Beauclerc Tower" in the amount of £225-14-11 1/2. Furnishings in the Beauclerc Closet included a tea chest "of Clay's ware painted with loose feathers," "a writing table for d°/a waiter for d°/a" all which support the hypothesis of office and dining room.

3.5 Strawberry Hill and the Architecture of Associationism

In his description of the Beauclerc Tower as, "...higher than the round one, and it has an exceedingly pretty effect, breaking the long line of the house picturesquely, and looking very ancient..., Walpole alludes to his overall architectural objective with Strawberry Hill. In its landscaping and architecture, Strawberry Hill demonstrates the qualities of associationism and the picturesque, a full century earlier than these phenomenon have generally been acknowledged.
While both of these terms have been used in an architectural context, they are also both literary in nature, and thus form a connection between tangible and intangible meaning. To this end, Strawberry Hill was intended to create images and form associations for its viewers. On the most immediate level, this occurs in the naming of rooms. The Holbein Chamber, a name that referred to Henry VIII and his era, was decorated with such Tudor artifacts that Walpole had collected as Cardinal Wolsey's hat and Mary, Queen of Scots' comb. This pattern was repeated in the Armory, where viewers to the house found military trophies allegedly brought back from the Crusades by a Walpole ancestor displayed alongside the amour of Francis I. Although these objects were not necessarily unusual or rare, and in most instances were either simple day to day goods or relics, their importance lay in the human nature and human connection of their provenance. While such additions as the Gallery and the Round Tower functioned as the physical means with which Walpole displayed his collections, they were also the vehicle with which Walpole linked his building to such older courtly and romanticized structures as Versailles and the Tower of London. Evidence supporting the importance to Walpole of the names of his rooms is clear in his consistent use of these names, and that these references are frequently in the context of how effective the combination of room name and specific decoration is in evoking a medieval past. In providing the rooms of his house with romantic names and in designing them in imitation of either a bygone era or an older specific building, Walpole demonstrated his architectural agenda to be what is to
literature 'the willing suspension of disbelief'. By looking to medieval artifacts and adapting them, Walpole created a structure that in its avoidance of simple duplication evoked more than the original. This idea is further supported by Walpole's romantic novel, The Castle of Otranto, in which fair maidens, chivalrous courtiers and feudal villains make their way through a dark, stormy night in a Gothic castle full of mysterious and inexplicable noises. A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole... makes clear to visitors to the house that Strawberry Hill was the setting for Otranto. With this revelation, a reciprocal conclusion is evident. Not only do the events and setting of Otranto suggest that Walpole considered the architecture of his home in romantic and literary terms, but the statement in his ...Description... show that he wanted his visitors to view it in that light as well, to take themselves back to Otranto, to see themselves as the maidens and courtiers.

Just as the names of rooms served associational purposes for Walpole so did the names and arrangements of different gardens on the grounds. There were several distinctly identified pleasure gardens at Strawberry Hill including the Chapel-in-the-Woods, the Great Shell Bench and Po-Yang. While each of these gardens expressed one of the three principle popular aesthetics of the mid eighteenth century, the Gothic, the Rococo, and the Chinese, their purpose at Strawberry Hill was more than mere fashion. The Chapel-in-the-Woods was
constructed between 1772 and 1774 and, according to A Description of the Villa..., was derived from the Tomb of Edmund Audley, Bishop of Salisbury, at Salisbury Cathedral. To assist him with the design of this small building, Walpole employed Thomas Gayfere, Master Mason at Westminster Abbey. The Chapel-in-the-Woods featured a single room deep structure with carved stone facade opening to a small clearing in the woods, all of which was enclosed by a Gothic artificial stone gate. In placing this structure away from the house and within a garden context, Walpole attempted to re-interject the associations of the main house back into the landscape without disturbing the overall scale of the grounds. In this way, where Strawberry Hill as a house was designed to have associational qualities pertaining specifically to other medieval buildings, Strawberry Hill as a property was intended to evoke feelings, structures and aesthetics well beyond the Gothic. Accordingly, where the Chapel-in-the-Woods referred back to the main house at Strawberry Hill, the grotto called the Great Shell Bench, located towards the Thames and looking out over Twickenham and Richmond Hill, was a reference to the more famous shelled Grotto belonging to Alexander Pope, also located in Twickenham. Likewise, the wall and tree enclosed garden centering a circular reflecting pool called Po-Yang was intended to evoke a more meditative retreat associated with Chinese garden landscaping. In this manner, not only is it valid to say Walpole constructed Strawberry Hill with a nineteenth century eye because he used primary material sources to guide his designs, but because he considered his project as a whole in
terms of its total emotive potential. This endeavor is precisely what John Ruskin argued a century later was the nature of Gothic.

3.6 Conclusion

By examining evidence of the original structure at Strawberry Hill, the building process and Walpole's architectural objective for these labors, several conclusions are evident. In taking a 17th century vernacular building whose structural mechanisms were probably more related to medieval architectural engineering than what followed, and altering its exterior to suggest a grander, more substantial medieval structure, Walpole showed his preference for appearance. Ironically, however, in choosing cheaper and more expeditious building materials, such as the timber-framed, brick-infilled and hessian covered wall of the Holbein Chamber, Walpole may have inadvertently been more faithful to older building techniques than had he chosen the newest, best, state-of-the-art materials and methods. Walpole's objective at the outset of building in 1748 was to create the most archaeologically accurate Gothic mansion possible. Due to his membership in The Society of Antiquarians and his own research on Gothic, he realized only as his first phase of remodeling was nearing its close, that his first attempt at Gothic was inaccurate. It was presumably this revelation that caused Walpole to alter his agenda from merely exact archeological replication to the use of artifactual
information as a means to an end. This is not to say that Walpole was no longer concerned with archeological accuracy, or that he abused the concept of an artifactually informed design, but that knowing that he was not going to create an exact copy of a medieval building, he strove to create one that was sensorially better. In considering Strawberry Hill for its possibilities beyond architecture, Walpole connected architecture and the imagination, and in so doing, forged the direct link to nineteenth century architecture of associationism.
The interior [of Strawberry Hill], or rather that portion of it which Walpole designed, is just what one might expect from a man who possessed a vague admiration for Gothic without the knowledge necessary for a proper adaptation of its features. Ceilings, screens, niches &c., are all copied, or rather parodied, from existing examples, but with utter disregard for the original purpose of the design. To Lord Orford, Gothic was Gothic, and that sufficed. He would have turned an altar-slab into a hall table, or made a cupboard of a piscina, with the greatest complacency, if it only served his purpose. It is to be feared that his lordship's enthusiasm not only led him to copy such portions of ancient work, but sometimes appropriate fragments of an original structure. Unfortunately, his example has been imitated by collector's even in our own time.

Charles Locke Eastlake

CONCLUSION: STRAWBERRY HILL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Unlike its eighteenth century predecessor, the Victorian Gothic Revival sparked considerable public discussion. This discourse provides twentieth century architectural historians a wider opportunity for insight into the motivations of the Victorian movement, that proved to be highly complex, fractured and divisive. Since Strawberry Hill drew considerable criticism in the nineteenth century, a brief overview of the Victorian movement is necessary. This synopsis will highlight significant aspects and buildings of the Victorian movement, as well as relevant architectural organizations and individuals. Finally, this chapter will attempt to assess and draw conclusions regarding Strawberry Hill, its antecedents, its heirs, and the importance of the manner in which it has been interpreted by
subsequent architectural historians.

Just as the eighteenth century Gothic Revival produced two levels of understanding and interpretation, so did the nineteenth century. Where architects such as Christopher Wren and William Kent produced Gothic Revival structures in a manner that only cosmetically suggested medieval, so Victorian architects such as Thomas Rickman promoted the Commissioner Churches as a means of encouraging larger social piety. In both instances, a strict archeological judgement of these buildings would assess them as decorative at best. Likewise, in the same way that Walpole's Society of Antiquarians functioned to the eighteenth century movement as the principle force behind any intellectual or academic discussion of Gothic architecture, the Cambridge Camden Society, and ultimately its heir, the Ecclesiological Society, provided a similar outspoken and "cutting edge" forum in which to broach new ideas.

Formed in 1839 by members of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Camden Society studied historic ecclesiastical architecture and the ritual arrangements therein. The larger goal of the Society was the historically correct restoration of deteriorated structures, the accurate scaled drawings of all churches studied, as well as their complete identification and description. While several historic architectural
study groups emerged on university campuses in England, Cambridge's attained the most widespread attention.

The Ecclesiological Society was a splinter group of the Cambridge Camden Society that promoted the strict archeological mimicry of medieval architecture almost exclusively in its liturgical capacity. The majority of the buildings focused upon by this group were churches, and the larger social agenda of the Ecclesiologists was to revive medieval architecture as a means of bringing contemporary society back to what they perceived as a simpler, more virtuous and pious way of life. Principle within the Ecclesiological movement were A.W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin and Charles Eastlake.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin served as the Ecclesiologists' most articulate spokesman and promoter. He sought to imbue architecture with such qualities as morality, integrity and virtue, by using a rigidly historic design, both in material, form and function. Pugin later expressed this vision of Gothic architecture in a series of lectures. "We can never successfully deviate one tittle from the spirit and principles of pointed architecture. We must rest content, to follow, not to lead," he maintained. Central to Pugin's argument was the identification of Gothic architecture with the original, and therefore true
architecture of Christianity. Accordingly, Catholicism in its ancient form was the only appropriate liturgical ritual that could accompany such architecture. This notion was first articulated in 1798 by John Milner in his publication on the religious necessity of historically accurate design, *History of Winchester.* Not surprisingly, in 1834 Pugin converted to Catholicism. That same year, he published a series of essays reminiscent of the Commissioners' call for greater public piety, though Pugin's expression was more urgent. Pugin's suggestion to return to a high church form of worship assumed the desire and ability to do so, both as an economic and physical reality.

Implicit in his objective was the creation of a unified group of like-minded believers: an elite religious clique. In *Contrasts,* and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England,* Pugin again used the architectural press as an outlet for advancing social commentary. In these instances, architectural design became the moral meter of society, thereby making "good" Gothic design an example and inspiration to its community, and "bad" design the embodiment of all that was vicious in it. Pugin's writings had a twofold effect. Not only was ecclesiastical architecture of late nineteenth century England and America designed to suit a more informed, high church and well to do congregation, but, more importantly, Pugin provided for subsequent chroniclers of the revival a rigidly
defined framework by which Gothic Revival architecture could be judged.

Like Pugin, John Ruskin also embellished upon the ideas of his predecessors. Unlike Pugin, Ruskin's opinions were neither limited to Gothic Revival architecture nor to England, but dealt with the whole of art and aesthetics on a broader international scope. Where other revivalists such as Thomas Rickman and Pugin claimed Gothic for England, Ruskin looked back to Italy as the source of Gothic architecture. In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin identified the Gothic specifically as an outgrowth of Venetian architecture whose perfection was debased not by the Protestants, as Pugin had claimed, but by foreign influences. Ruskin mirrored Pugin in his vigorous maintenance of, among other ideas, the relationship between the morality of a structure and its creator. Building on the logic of earlier writers, Ruskin stated in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* that buildings were the keepers of human experience both in terms of their creators and in terms of the events they witnessed. Accordingly, it was this indefinable aspect of architecture which gave Gothic design its integrity and value. Ruskin's impact, then, was not in any material legacy, but rather in the influence of his opinion on the intellectual community around him.

Among those clearly influenced by Ruskin's and Pugin's opinions on Gothic
architecture was Charles Locke Eastlake. The first recognized art historian and aesthetic authority to produce any interpretation of the Gothic Revival, Eastlake's account demonstrates his sympathy with Pugin and Ruskin both in the manner in which buildings and their owners were dissected, and in the way architecture is related to other examples.

Given his stature as a Victorian commentator, it is extremely important that Eastlake provided a detailed critique of Strawberry Hill. His observations on the windows of Walpole's earliest block state that they are, "remarkable as bearing more resemblance to Venetian Gothic than any English example." Similarly, he went on to credit Walpole with what were, in fact, additions made in 1856, saying, "the crockets are of that feeble type which characterize the latest and most debased Jacobean Gothic, and the little corbels are executed in the acorn pattern that Wren used so extensively." Finally, Eastlake assessed the merit of the whole building in a Puginesque examination of Walpole himself, proclaiming Walpole to have had at best only a superficial appreciation of Gothic architecture, and placing Strawberry Hill ostensibly on the same level as an architectural folly. Not surprisingly, where Walpole and Strawberry Hill are equated with pattern book author Batty Langley, Eastlake's friend, Pugin, and his Ecclesiological Society, are credited with the salvation of the movement. "There can be little doubt that the revival of Medieval
design received its chief impulse in our own day from the energy and talents of one architect whose name marks an epoch in the history of British art. Eastlake wrote about Pugin. In this light, Eastlake's assessment of the Gothic Revival must be seen in the context of his role as a crusader for both aesthetic and social reform.

As with Pugin's manipulation of the architectural press, Eastlake's chronicle of the Gothic Revival must also be seen as a means of advancing his agenda by casting aspersions on the accomplishments of others. Eastlake's criticisms of Strawberry Hill fail on several levels. Not only is his account and description of the building factually inaccurate, but it totally disregards the aesthetic milieu of Walpole's era, as well as the state of scholarship regarding Gothic architecture at the middle of the eighteenth century. Ironically, in the same way that early eighteenth century scholars only gropingly appreciated medieval architecture for its significant length of construction time and therefore implicit variety of architectural styles present on any one structure, Eastlake's observations not only lacked any appreciation for the half century of alteration and change at Strawberry Hill, but they confused, blurred and made one the subsequent alteration to Walpole's original creation. Ultimately, Eastlake's analysis of Strawberry Hill is less about the architectural and aesthetic merits of the building, and more a highly subjective
and at best spuriously researched moral judgement of Walpole as an individual. 

Eastlake's observations were shaped purely by the issues of debate prevalent within the revival at his time, and by his immediate intellectual community. Ultimately, Eastlake's importance lies not in his impact on the appearance of any revival structure, but in how the revival was perceived over the following century.

With his publication in 1872 of *History of the Gothic Revival*, Eastlake established a remarkably enduring analytical typology on the subject. Topical organization of the book began with the end of the original architecture, followed by the years of Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren and the classicists, and finally established the middle of the nineteenth century as the beginning of any substantive contributions to the revival. Both the organization, approach to topics, sub-categories, discussions of specific buildings and even many of Eastlake's conclusions remained largely intact in subsequent twentieth century treatments of the subject. As regards Strawberry Hill, not only was Walpole criticized for his use of inaccurate materials (which, in fact may have been more accurate than Eastlake knew), but also for his adaptive re-use of period and period style designs. Despite this, Thomas Rickman's similarly inaccurately designed and fabricated church, St. George, Birmingham, received relative acclaim. Perhaps most interesting of all, where Walpole's incorporation of historically grounded design was criticized for its ecclesiological shortcomings, the novel fact that Walpole
looked to an original medieval structure at all was entirely lost on the Victorians. Within less than a century of its completion, the feature that most distinguished Strawberry Hill from its peers had become sufficiently standard as to be unnoteworthy.

The use of historically grounded design at Strawberry Hill signaled an important new direction in England's Gothic Revival that resonated into the Victorian interpretation of that style. In analyzing factors such as previously existing Gothic Revival domestic structures, architectural literature and related social organizations in the context of Strawberry Hill, it is apparent that the traditionally accepted chronological differentiation between England's eighteenth and nineteenth century Gothic Revivals is an inaccurate assessment: the real difference between the two movements lies in archeological grounding and architectural intention.

As is evidenced by his plans, furnishings and writings on Strawberry Hill, Walpole's conception of the Gothic went far beyond that of his eighteenth century contemporaries. Clearly he intended to use material precedent to create a structure with inter-related aesthetic, literary and emotive qualities. This complexity is evident in both his physical treatment of the house and grounds, as well as in his
intellectual vision of it, as is seen in *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole...* and *The Castle of Otranto*. As a result, not only was Strawberry Hill distinctly different from contemporary mainstream classical architecture, but also from other Gothic Revival buildings in its total fusion of divergent elements. By creating the physical manifestation of his Gothic novel, Walpole concretely established the relationship between architecture and literature, between the real and the imagined. As such, Strawberry Hill is the first wholly formed and evolved articulation of the aesthetic goals and ideals presently defined as Victorian associationism.

That Strawberry Hill should emerge as a target for criticism from the Ecclesiological Society is not surprising. Not only had Strawberry Hill been broadly publicized as a showcase for true Gothic Revival architecture, Walpole's art and curiosity collection and Walpole himself, but the subsequent scandal of Strawberry Hill and the sale of Walpole's collection in the 1842 seemed a confirmation of all Pugin claimed as the moral degeneracy of secularly driven medieval design. That Walpole's agenda was aesthetic and literary as opposed to morally didactic was entirely at odds with the Ecclesiological aim. Finally, where Pugin adopted and promoted the Gothic as a patriotic symbol, this most evidenced in his work with the Houses of Parliament, Walpole's free assimilation of Gothic...
designs from Continental as well as English sources must have seemed a national affront, especially as it came from the son of England's first Prime Minister.

In analyzing the whole of the Gothic Revival within the context of nineteenth century opinion, it is apparent that twentieth century assessments remain jaundiced by Victorian analysis. For reasons of dogma and social agenda, the eighteenth century revival was disparaged and dismissed. The exclusive interpretation of Gothic, promoted by the Victorian intellectual elite, continues to flourish in current art historical analysis. In contrast to this school of thought, it is apparent that with few exceptions, the Commissioner Churches of the first half of the nineteenth century are the direct descendants of Christopher Wren's City Churches of 150 years earlier. Likewise, the Victorian impulse toward ecclesiastical design is a continuation of objectives established in the eighteenth century by organizations such as the Society of Antiquaries.

By using Strawberry Hill as a case study for examining over time the genesis, evolution and denouement of the architectural movement that created it, what may be most apparent are changes in awareness, expectations and motivations in a culture's relationship to architecture. Where Ruskin defined architecture in anthropomorphic terms of an active, sentient witness to a passive public,
Strawberry Hill demonstrates the opposite. Here, the structure remained largely intact; the knowledge and opinion of those in its surrounding community radically shifted. Strawberry Hill went from a substantial example of historically grounded design to an object of scorn. In fact, Strawberry Hill was neither an accurate historical artifact, nor an act of folly. Walpole's house prompted an important breakthrough in eighteenth century architectural thought whose innovations were a direct link to subsequent architectural forms and constructs.
INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER 1: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GOTHIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND TO THE CREATION OF STRAWBERRY HILL


CHAPTER 2: THE GOTHIC REVIVAL AT STRAWBERRY HILL


3.1 Strawberry Hill-Shot:


14. ibid., vol. 32, p. 76.

3.2 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 1


16. ibid., p. 1.


18. ibid., p. 40.


20. ibid., p. 6 and p. 83, note 8.


22. ibid., vol. 32, p. 294.


### 3.3 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 2


31. ibid., p. 34.


### 3.4 Alterations to Strawberry Hill: Phase 3


35. ibid., p. 8.


37. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 11.


39. ibid., p. 9.


42. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 10, p. 84.


44. ibid., p. 8

45. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 10, p. 304.

46. ibid., vol. 23, p. 311.


50. Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 28, p. 42.

51. ibid., vol. 23, p. 432.


53. ibid., p. 16.


"Clay's ware" is a reference to items by the papier mache craftsman Henry Clay of Birmingham who, in 1772, developed a process of heating and pressing papier mache to form a strong and resilient body that could be used for a variety of decorative goods including panels, tea trays and tea furnishings. Clay wares were intended to be painted, japanned and polished, and were considered fashionable articles for their time.

55. ibid., p. 17.

**3.5 Strawberry Hill and the Architecture of Associationism**


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CONCLUSION: STRAWBERRY HILL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY


58. The Commissioner Churches were the first broad public architectural program to include Gothic architecture. As a result of the Church Building Act of 1818, £1 million was allocated to the building and promotion of new churches throughout London. Built primarily in the 1820s and 1830s, the Church Building Act was a response to a perceived lack of public piety as evidenced by the decay and gradual loss of religious buildings. The Church Building Act established a Royal Commission and ultimately was responsible for some 214 new churches, the majority of which were built in the Gothic revival style. The sheer number and variety of authorship of these buildings makes them perhaps a more representative indication of public understanding of the Gothic at that point in time.


64. ibid., p. 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES


PERIODICALS


SECONDARY SOURCES


UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL
