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SEZINCOTE

A PARADIGM OF THE INDIAN STYLE

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. P. S. D.	Architectural Publications Society Dictionary.
B. P. & P.	Bengal Past and Present.
Gents.Mag.	Gentleman's Magazine.
G. R. O.	Gloucester Record Office
J. R. S. A.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
P. R. O.	Public Record Office.
R. I. B. A.	Royal Institute of British Architects, London.
S. R. O.	Scottish Record Office.
Vict.Hist.	The Victorian History of the Counties of England.

INTRODUCTION

My original intention when I first thought of investigating the relationship between Indian and British architecture was to examine all the examples which could be found from 1780-1910, and present them in chronological order. Three authors have attempted to do this : Dr. David Watkin (1), Patrick Conner (2), and Dr. Mildred Archer (3). In not one of these accounts is the author's sole concern with the 'Indian' style, as it has been termed. All of them present the Indian style as a relatively minor excursion into an architectural cul-de-sac; Dr. Watkin's account as a product of neo-classicism, Patrick Conner's as a development of landscape gardening, and Dr. Archer's as a direct outcome of the appearance of Thomas and William Daniell's aquatints (4), Oriental Scenery. The accounts of each building or artefact are presented chronologically, a perfectly logical and valid way of presenting historical material; but it is limited. Such expositions are apt to be simplistic and to depend for their raison d'etre and authority on comprehensivity.

My own researches have confirmed the existence of subject areas untouched by the above mentioned authors; synagogue design, theatre design, the bungalow, exhibition designs, Indian influence in the seventeenth century, English textile design and also furniture and silver design, the modern use of the Indian style by Mason Remy, Quinlan Terry, Hans Hollein. Enough material for a book, and there has never been a book on the Indian style. In fairness to the authors mentioned, such considerations were beyond the scope of their respective accounts. Such a bewildering range of subjects daunted me. How could any thesis possibly do justice to this diversity ?

It was at this stage that I discovered the most important building in the Indian style, Sezincote in Gloucestershire, to be sadly under-researched. A thorough investigation of the building had many merits. It had been built at the very beginning of the nineteenth century by the Cockerell family (5) who had close links with India, it could provide the perfect opportunity for discussing the historical and social context of our deepening relationship with India. This was to prove crucial to an understanding of Sezincote's importance, and the inception of an alien style.

Several other important possibilities surfaced from this discovery. The finding of previously unpublished letters relating to the Cockerell family and Sezincote's development provided valuable background material. Eventually, this led to a chapter on the nabob and their houses, in order to establish an historical and architectural context for Sezincote. Such a juxtaposition enabled

the uniqueness of Sezincote to emerge. An examination of the early development of the house and estate during Colonel John Cockerell's time would allow not only new material to be presented about the Colonel and his career, but would establish the extent of Sezincote prior to the return from India of his brother, Charles Cockerell. The changes which Charles Cockerell was to implement could then be readily appreciated. Another possibility which ensued from the discovery of Sezincote was the opportunity it offered to evaluate the career of the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell up to and including the design of the house. I believe no account exists of his work. Mine therefore goes someway towards rectifying the situation. A discussion of his work necessitated acquainting myself with the aesthetic theories of the time, of which Sezincote was a product, and the conceptual ideas implicit in the use of the Indian style.

I have divided my thesis into three broad sections. Firstly, an examination of all the background material relating to the nabobs and their houses, the Cockerell family and the initial development of Sezincote. In the second section I shall analyse the gradual development of the house through the various stages indicated by the drawings and sketches, and relate it to the buildings of India as depicted in Thomas and William Daniell's drawings and aquatints and its influence on other architectural projects in this country. I have been predominantly concerned with Sezincote's Indian character. Since this is not apparent in its interior, my remarks about that aspect are brief. As far as I am aware the house was unique in the way it was conceived. At every stage Thomas Daniell

had to approve the embellishment of the building and which forms and ornaments should be used, and to design some of the building himself. To Samuel Pepys Cockerell devolved the task of providing a comfortable establishment suitable to the patron's wishes and providing the expertise required to unite art with architecture.

The third section deals with the aesthetic background, the arrival of drawings of Indian forms into this country, and a discussion of the nature of the Sezincote experiment and its implications.

The resulting account is necessarily kaleidoscopic, as befits its subject, hence the paradigm. There are some areas which I have not included here for fear of overloading my subject and distracting attention from the issues which I have considered to be paramount. One of these relatively untouched areas is the changing attitude towards Indian architecture which occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. I have discussed this elsewhere (6). Another subject only briefly mentioned is the rise of oriental studies, particularly the work of Sir William Jones. There can be no doubt that his researches and those of others, created a radically new view of Indian culture and that this was important for the appreciation of Indian architecture (7). One recent writer has suggested that it was with the foundation of oriental studies that a style was found in the West for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the East (8). I am more concerned with the way India has dominated

our minds because her architecture, her culture, have since medieval times provided the objects of our fantasy. This aspect I have partially explored in the final chapter but it is one which I intend to investigate further since it was because India's architecture was considered as belonging to a repertory of fantasy styles that Indian forms are employed here.

However, my predominate intention in writing this thesis has been to draw attention to an unaccountably neglected building. Sezincote has remained within the confines of Picturesque whimsy for too long and it is my contention that it was an attempt to create not a revival style, but a new style. This is its real importance. Its ultimate fate, so far, is best expressed in the words of Sedlmayr :

> "Among the forms under which the spirit of an epoch finds actual expression, it is exceedingly rare to find any that are really radically new. By far the majority of the forms which any age develops are merely readaptations of old ones, and because forms that are radically new are so rare, there is a temptation, when they do occur, to treat them as mere oddities, as whims of fantasy, as aberrations or as exceptions which prove the rule" (9).

CHAPTER ONE

T H E N A B O B

When John Cockerell returned to England in 1793 he would most certainly have been called a nabob by the general population. Although by then the sting had been taken out of this term, it nonetheless still retained a vestige of the approbrium with which it was originally invested, and served to designate a person who had made or was presumed to have made a fortune in India. The term,applied to both the civil and military personnel in the employ of the East India Company, was also applicable to anyone who had amassed a fortune in India. At the height of the vehement abuse hurled at the nabobs in the 1770's and 1780's they became figures of mockery, and, one suspects, the objects of not a little jealousy. Without them there would never have been an Indian 'style' in this country; through their mercantile and military activities they brought home previously unknown information about the East Indies. Not unnaturally it was the nabobs both civil and military in the second generation after the battle of Plassey in 1757 who were responsible for the first Indian style buildings in this country. A generation earlier this money had brought them the comfortable elegance of Palladian architecture and a grand lifestyle to go with it. As late as the 1780's the most wealthy nabobs were still having houses built in the grand manner of Palladio although the designs had been modified by architects such as John Carr and Thomas Leverton to

accommodate a growing predeliction for comfort, convenience and utility. As far as can be surmised, except for such nabobs as Sir Hector Munro (1727-1806) and Warren Hastings (1732-1818), there was little to indicate an Indian sojourn save some Indian armour, ivory furniture, chintz and silk, and a portrait or two set in Indian landscapes (1). Considering the numbers who went to India in the last half of the eighteenth century it is surprising that so few employed Indian motifs in their building designs.

The word nabob did not come into general usage until the mid-eighteenth century when it was first applied to the British in Bengal. Nabob derived from the urdu word nawab, and the Portuguese nabobo; hence the English derivative nabob. Horace Walpole was one of the first to use the term when in a letter to the Earl of Hertford dated April 5th 1764 he commented :

> "I am almost as tired of what is still more in vogue, our East India affairs, Mir Jaffeir (sic) and Cassim Aly Cawn (sic) and their deputies Clive and Sullivan, employ the public attention instead of Mogal Pitt and Nabob Bute; the former of whom remains shut up in Asiatic dignity at Hayes, while the other is again mounting his elephant and levying the troops." (2)

The nabob's character had early acquired the attributes for which he was to become mercilessly lampooned. His love of personal display and vulgar ostentation is shown very early, even before the term nabob had been coined. In Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice (1685) Sir Thomas Callico, President of the East India Company, is impersonated by Crack in the full panoply of an Indian prince, attended by Indian natives (3). Such people were described by Ovington in his account of his travels published in 1689 (4). The nabobs were proud of their achievements and showed no inclination to conceal their prosperity behind a puritan

facade. They had after all survived, and that in itself was no mean feat when the arduous journey to India, lasting a minimum of six months, often resulted in the deaths of many of the passengers and crew. On arrival the climate and disease accounted for more deaths and serious illness. For those who survived these hazards there was still the homeward journey to be faced, with its attendant problems of shipwreck, or capture, as well as the tedium of the journey itself. Elihu Yale (1648-1721) one time Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, and well known for his open-handed generosity, returned to England in 1699 with a reputed fortune. He became a director of the East India Company and eventually endowed the American university which bears his name. He was unusual at that time because he had also amassed a collection of Mughal miniatures which were subsequently employed by John Vanderbank as preliminary designs for a series of tapestries made at the Soho factory (5). There is no reason to believe that he suffered from the vitriolic abuse that later nabobs were to endure. Although they were figures of fun there was little censure of their activities. Indeed, there was an attitude of ambivalence of these activities which was clearly expressed by Dryden : that truth and commerce were considered beneficial to society, that through world-wide trade all worlds would be one, a feeling which was to re-emerge during the mid-nineteenth century (6). On the other hand it was realised that mercantile activity could corrupt. Through newly acquired wealth the merchant was able to express his individuality more freely, especially in the political domain, and in matters of taste. For Dryden the Thames could be compared to the River Nile, source of new growth and corruption :

> . . . the parallel will stand:
> Thy tydes of Wealth o'er flow the fattend land;
> Yet Monsters from they large increase we find;
> Engendred on the Slime thou leavest behind. (7)

But Dryden was no Utopian and it has been pointed out that his optimism was more a reflection of the general spirit of the times than a profound feeling of his own (8). He was always suspicious of mercantilism though aware that it could confer benefits.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the merchant emerged as a hero; he travelled the world, suffered hardships and adventures, discovered new lands amidst great dangers and extreme privation. Nothing however could assuage his appetite for new territories and new trade. He established colonies wherever a suitable base was found and was able to take material advantage of every opportunity. In the words of McVeagh : "The trader is a hero not only because he achieves the near impossible, going where even Nature almost dare not follow him, but because trade is intrinsically glorious and beneficial"(9).

After the Bengal famines of the late 1760's the merchants and other East India Company officials were charged with extorting money and exploiting the food shortages in Bengal for personal gain. But as we shall see the reaction to what was happening in India was the culmination of many years of apprehension with regard to commerce. Disillusionment had set in; the merchant was no longer a hero (10). The Company controlled only the importing and exporting of goods to Europe. It had no powers over inland trading in India and abuses of the system were rife. When charges of corruption were made in England during the late 1760's and early 1770's there was a tremendous public outcry and satirical plays and poems very quickly appeared. One of them, The Nabob: or Asiatic Plunderers, was published in 1773 and attracted immediate attention. In the preface the anonymous author stated that despite a national enquiry into the recent famine disaster nothing had been done to apprehend and charge the culprits. The reputation of Clive

had proved like "Ajax's shield in Homer, a Refuge, for those who have done great Disservice and have stained the very name and annals of our Country with Crimes scarce inferior to the Conquerors of Mexico and Peru" (11). Walpole remarked in a letter to Sir Horace Mann that the East India Company's adventurers had starved "millions by monopolies and plunder", nor was England free of this blight since the nabobs also created a "famine at home by the luxury occasioned by their opulence raising the price of everything, till the poor could not purchase bread" (12). This may well be an exaggeration on Walpole's part but it does show the depth of feeling against these people and the effect they were thought to have had on the economy. It also shows how far merchants had come to be despised by the hereditary lords of the land and their actions viewed with suspicion. Their wealth, the author of The Nabob claims, had been used to bribe the lawyers so that no one could be brought to trial. They were also accused of cultural superirity and of taking advantage of their Christian beliefs to exploit the down-graded Indian "heathens" (13).

To some the list of the nabob's crimes was endless and he was also accused of corrupting the moral values of those youths who went to India, some at the early age of fourteen. But this view and the charges of cruelty and oppression were contested by Captain Joseph Price who published a pamphlet in defence of those who were in the employ of the East India Company (14). He asserted that since the Company's employees, civil, and military were drawn from the middle and upper classes, they had been properly educated in "moral-truth" and were not corrupted by their stay in India, except for some "which no climate can control". Contrary to the popular view, civil servants and merchants in India, he claimed, were more literate than their counterparts elsewhere because they had to correspond so much both within India and abroad. Their grammar, he pointed out, was much improved by the study of the

native languages of India. Nevertheless, to the author of The Nabob they were devious and not to be trusted; even their manners were suspect :

> But man's a cypher, if not crownd with wealth.
> Gain that importance, if thou can'st with Fame,
> If not, it must be gained thro' loss of name:
> To all be courteous, words will cost thee nought,
> The smiles of greatness by this coin are bought. (15)

This passage follows the sentiments of Montesquieu, who wrote in the Persian Letters that commerce refines manners, but always corrupts morals. Price considered that the manners of the English in India were ' impeccable' because of their close contact with the "Hindoos who are perhaps the most inoffensively mild and engaging, of any people on earth." (16)

Some of those who had lived for a long time in India and who were fortunate enough to survive the long journey home often felt hopelessly lost in their own country. Colonel John Cockerell was such a person. That they behaved differently from others was often noticed, although their moodiness and ill-humour were generally attributed to the sense of guilt they were expected to feel at the result of their 'cruel' actions in India. The colonel's brother, Charles, was also very moody. His nephew, the architect Charles R. Cockerell often mentions in his diaries the 'insufferable moods' of his uncle (17). The poet Colin Maclaurin had also noticed the phenomenon and remarks upon it in his Ode Inscribed to the Conquerors of the East (1795):

> Behold this predatory Lord
> By sycophantic fools ador'd
> Magnificence displays:
> But yet his melancholy air,
> Shews discontent, if not despair
> Upon his vitals preys. (18)

Very few returned from India and those who, like Colonel Cockerell, did, often suffered from chronic ill-health, felt strangers in their

own country and were generally restless. The 'Indian' colonel who figures prominently in Jane Austen's Sense and Sensibility was a type that could have been found in almost any part of Britain.

There were two types of nabob who built houses, one had been to India, the other had not, but had derived his wealth from directorships of the East India Company. In the latter category were those like the banker Sir Robert Child, who as heir to a fortune derived from his father Sir Josiah Child, a former Governor of Bombay, was able to demolish the old family house at Wanstead and build the most celebrated Palladian mansion of the eighteenth century. Designed by the architect Coleen Campbell in 1713-20, it was one of the most imposing houses in that style, and of seminal importance. It was copied elsewhere and at a later date the Palladian style furnished British engineer-architects in India with models. Until Warren Hastings built Daylesford, Gloucester-shire in 1788 not a single house incorporating Indian motifs had been erected by a nabob. In their tastes these men were conservative though lavish. Examples may exist in Scotland but I have yet to find in England a wealthy nabob of the eighteenth century who built in the gothic or Chinese style. Their preferred taste was Palladian and later neo-classic. One senses in this a search for Augustan virtue and respect-ability in the dubious atmosphere of commerce and Indian campaigns. Rationalism, embodying something of the Augustan virtue was a constituent of the Whig approach to architecture, and it is in this atmosphere of Rationalism that many of the figures who came to maturity in the second and third quarters of the century were educated. It was not therefore surprising that when the commercial centres of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were expanded in the second half of the eighteenth century, those in charge of building should have chosen the Palladian style.

The first houses in Britain to show evidence of an Indian sojourn were built not in the Indian style, but in the style of those which the nabobs had possessed whilst in India. Two of these are known: India House, Margate, Kent, and Hook House, near Southampton, Hampshire. India House, Margate, Kent was built in 1767 by Captain John Gould (1722-84) in a mixture of battlemented-gothic and classic. According to Pevsner's Guide to Kent, the house was built in imitation of a house in Calcutta (19). It must then have been one of the first examples of Gothic in Calcutta. Hook House was built in 1784 by William Hornby (1722-1803), a former Governor of Bombay, in imitation of Government House, Bombay. A visitor in 1788 found that it was a 'large but singularly built house' (20). Having been burnt twice, it was finished about 1805. These two houses, built to remind their owners of their former glory would have been rich in allusions for their respective owners, but neither manifested Indian features.

In the two decades following Plassey the wealth of some of the nabobs such as Smith, Sykes and Rumbold, enabled them to build some of the most magnificent houses in England, many of them lived in "Asiatic" pomp and splendour. Commentators like Walpole (loc.cit.) would not have expected less, for here were people whose avarice and corruption had brought them into comparison with oriental despots. Robert Clive (1725-73), the most famous nabob of them all, returned from India in 1760 with a fortune estimated at over £250,000. He bought an estate on the borders of Worcestershire and Shropshire, and intended building a house there called Plassey (21). A house in a fashionable part of London seemed desirable so he bought 45 Berkeley Square (22). This was followed by the purchase of Claremont, Surrey in 1769. The house had been designed by Vanbrugh and the park by Kent, but Clive wanted something

grander, that is more classical, so had it demolished to make way for a design by Capability Brown. The Eating Room was to have an Indian character; the walls were to be hung with paintings by West, depicting events from Clive's Indian career (23). Others followed Clive's ostentation. Sir Thomas Rumbold (1736-1791) who returned with a fortune of about £200,000, built Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire (24) to the designs of Thomas Leverton, a sensitive neo-classicist. For Nathaniel Middleton (died 1807) who was said to have amassed the largest fortune after that of Rumbold's, Leverton (1777-82) designed a classical house at Town Hill Park, South Stoneham, Hampshire, to house Middleton's collection of Indian miniatures and Persian manuscripts. I have not seen a view of this building. J. Bonomi, a noted classicist who worked for Leverton at Woodhall Park is thought to have had some influence in the design of the interiors. He later worked at Stanstead Park, Sussex, for Richard Barwell (1741-1804), who reputedly returned to England from India with £400,000 (25). Sir Francis Sykes (1732-1804) who rivalled his friend Sir Thomas Rumbold as one of the wealthiest men to have returned from India, built Basildon Park in 1776 to designs by the Yorkshire architect John Carr. They were friends and rivals, this appears in the similarity of the houses. Rumbold's was designed shortly after that of Sykes. Both follow the same Palladian model although Leverton introduces some exquisite neo-classical interiors and a correspondingly greater degree of decorative effect in the exterior of Woodhall Park. Rumbold did not live to enjoy his new house for long and three years after his death another nabob, Paul Benfield, bought the property.

Another nabob, Alexander Callander (died 1792) chose a classical design by Robert Mitchell for his new home in Scotland, Preston Hall, begun in the year 1791 (26). Preston Hall possesses one of the few 'Indian' style monuments in Scotland (illus.77). After Alexander Callander

died in 1792, a temple was erected to his memory by his brother, Sir John Callander, the heir to his estate. According to the architect's description "in the chapel of this building there is intended to be erected a monument of marble as executed of appropriate design." It was never erected and the temple remains incomplete. The octagonal base surmounted by a cupola with its essentially Indian callix, and overhanging eaves would seem to be an interpretation in a classical idiom of the cupolas to be found in northern India, particularly at Agra and Fatehpur-Sikri, and which are shown in the work of Hodges Select Views (1786-88) and Thomas Daniell's Oriental Scenery, published from 1795 onwards.

Despite the number of returned 'Indians' who went to live in Scotland, so far very few houses have been discovered which show any influence of their owners' Indian associations; Preston Hall is one of the few and is important for that reason, but I remain convinced that there were more. The 'Chapel' at Preston Hall may have provided the inspiration for the 'mosque' or summerhouse which appears in the novel The Nabob at Home (27). In this story a surgeon retires to Fernebraes, his family estate in Scotland, after 30 years residence in Lucknow. He was not rich, but by carefully avoiding the excesses which life in India encouraged and saving the money obtained in fees, he had amassed ample means to retire in some comfort. His old Indian servant accompanied him. The narrative describes the strangeness he felt in returning to an England radically different from the one he had left. There are descriptions of the family in Scotland anxiously awaiting the return of the prodigal son to an estate which they have neglected. He had always been interested in Indian culture, but while in Lucknow he became homesick and sent a drawing of a mosque in Lucknow to his family in Scotland with instructions

for the local builder to erect an 'Indian' summerhouse on the spot where he himself had first dreamed of going to India. When he saw the summerhouse he was surprised to find how little it looked like the drawing he had sent. The descriptions are strongly reminiscent of an author who had seen such a summerhouse in Scotland. This does suggest that there were more buildings of an Indian character in Scotland than are known.

It would be misleading to think that all the houses built by these nabobs were vast, many were content with quite small establishments. Randolph Marriott (1736-1807), a friend of Hastings and Sykes, who had returned home during Clive's second administration spent £5,000 on his house with 135 acres of land and retired to a life of husbandry and agriculture (28). William Frankland (c.1722-1805), whose family had long been associated with India also lived on a more modest scale. In 1765 he bought Muntham in Sussex. It had been used by the previous owner, Lord Montague, as a hunting lodge. Frankland greatly enlarged it into a two storeyed building having a portico and veranda suggesting the Indian life which he would have led. In the garden he built an octagonal gothic pavilion and on top of the hill behind the house a minaret (illus 79). This is one of the earliest known Indian style buildings (29). The minaret may have been used as a look out tower, as the sea is not far away. Frankland had returned to England in 1760 crossing the Persian Gulf dressed as a 'Tartar' messenger. On his journey overland he visited Baghdad and Jerusalem as well as the ruins of Palmyra. He spent £20,000 on his own scientific researches and experiments (30). Sir Hector Munro of Novar is the only other person known to have had an 'Indian' pavilion (illus.80). This appears on a plan of the estate in 1777 as a strange edifice with an "umbrella" barely decipherable, but which may have been meant to represent something "Hindoo" (31). In the 1790s he built the Gate of Negapatam

at the summit of a neighbouring hill some 1,500 feet above sea level (illus.81) (32).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was increasing interest in India, and this may have encouraged some 'Indians' to erect garden pavilions in their parks. One of these was James Forbes (1749-1819) at Stanmore, Middlesex, who erected a temple in his garden some time before 1793, to house his Indian sculptures (34). A later visitor however, makes no mention of a temple at Stanmore, and only refers to there being "some curious specimens of Hindoo Sculpture" in the gardens (35). Unfortunately there is no evidence to show what it looked like, only that it was octagonal. It was probably more gothic than Indian; the sculptures alone supplying the Indian element.

At Melchet Park, Hampshire, in 1800, Major John Osborne (died 1821) erected a hindu temple to honour his friend Warren Hastings (illus.69). It was designed by Thomas Daniell and seems to have followed those hindu temples which are to be found at Agouri, Bihar, and which D niell had engraved in Oriental Scenery (illus.70). The temple at Melchet contained a bust of Hastings by John Rossi who probably worked at Sezincote. Nothing now remains of it (36).

This, then, is the historical background into which Colonel John Cockerell was to step. By acquiring a country estate he followed in the hallowed tradition of the nabob. His character and ambitions, however, were modest, and he is most probably more truly representative of the ordinary returned 'Indian'. He was quiet, restless, worried by ill-health, not caring for high office, and cynically aware of the

'duplicity' of government; for those reasons would not even vote. He wanted a modest estate, but did not want to live there because he was afraid of being alone. As he reiterates in his letters to S. P. Cockerell he felt a stranger in his own country and thought he would spend the rest of his days as a "wanderer", but lest he should be thought an "adventurer" he wished to have a suitable estate, carriage and horses. Such possessions were to constitute his power base, and at the suggestion of S. P. Cockerell he looked at an estate in Gloucestershire - Sezincote.

There is no doubt from his letters that he had at first thought of living there with his Indo-Portuguese bibi, Estuarta, but this never transpired and she remained in the guardianship of the Cockerell family and lived with the colonel's sister and brother-in-law, John Belli. She was certainly well cared for and treated as one of the family. The colonel had four illegitimate children, presumably by Estuarta but it is not clear whether they remained in India when he returned or whether they came to England. Cockerell was also a noted Persian scholar (37). But we need not assume from this that he was formally interested, the statement merely implies that he was more than usually competent in the field of translation. He was well liked by his brother officers and, as his rank proves, capable on the battlefield since he received the promotion that was becoming hard to obtain at a time when India was inundated by new recruits and civilians. Lack of promotion meant low pay, while promotion also meant a correspondingly higher rate of increase in shares of any prize money. It would be very difficult indeed to assess John Cockerell's own wealth. In 1784 only about twenty colonels and lieutenant colonels earned over £1,000 per year and expenses were very high (38). He was created colonel in 1795 upon his retirement, and in 1796 he received £1 per day pension. However, he was descended

from Samuel Pepys and with the rest of the Cockerell family, received regular sums from the trust which Pepys had set up. In addition he received payments from his holdings in East India stock. He was in India at a time when there were lucrative positions to be obtained at the Oudh court. When he was an ADC to Sir Robert Barker (c.1732-1789) there would have been many opportunities for private endowment. For example in the 1790's George Cornish, who as an ADC accompanied his relation, the Governor-General Sir John Shore during his tour of duty, was frequently offered huge sums of money. A letter to his wife in England in 1797 shows just how large the sums were, and despite official disapproval such "presents" were often accepted not withstanding the obligatory oath forswearing the acceptance of bribes and gifts.

> "A man has just been with me to offer me eighty thousand gold mohurs (one mohur was then worth about £2)... For this I was to do nothing, only refrain from doing injury" (39).

A little later he was offered £121,000 a year, a payment which he also refused commenting "The offer may be known, but the refusal will never be believed". Sir John Shore became known as "honest John Shore" and rather than implicate the Governor-General in any illicit deals he refused to be involved in them.

George Cornish was not the only person who hoped to profit by his appointment. According to Colonel Cockerell in a letter to S. P. Cockerell, Charles Cockerell, then still in Calcutta as Paymaster General was not above receiving "gifts", favours returned, but he appears to have been snubbed by the Governor-General, a former friend and a person whom Charles Cockerell had previously helped (40).

There were of course many other returned 'Indians', both civil and military, but I have merely attempted to locate Colonel John Cockerell,

Charles Cockerell and Samuel Pepys Cockerell and the development of Sezincote in an historical context. It is, as has been seen, a predominantly classical context of grandeur and magnificence. For those who had the money or "competency" as it was called, ostentation seemed the order of the day. But it should also be remembered that at the same time there were those who returned sadly dependent on Clive's Military Fund. There were those such as George Cornish, whose ambitions were modest; all they wanted was a reasonable competency, so that they would not be too poor to build a villa and live comfortably.

It is within this framework that the development of Sezincote must be appreciated, since it is very much involved with the development of the small country house, the villa, and with one of its most interesting exponents, Samuel Pepys Cockerell. What follows is an account of the development of this estate from Colonel Cockerell's purchase to his death: an attempt to reconstruct the property before Charles Cockerell took control of ~~the property~~ it in 1801.

CHAPTER TWO

COLONEL COCKERELL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEZINCOTE

I have not been able to discover any reason why Colonel Cockerell should have chosen to buy Sezincote. Unlike Hastings at nearby Daylesford, he had no family connection with the property. Sezincote was bought from Lord North, Earl of Guildford, and it may be just possible that he had a financial interest in the East India Company or came to know the Cockerells in some other business capacity. This part of Gloucestershire was certainly not popular; its country side was bleak and barren, but it was within easy travelling distance of London. During the middle of the eighteenth century the roads had been turnpiked and it was possible to arrive there in a day, via the new turn-pike road to Chipping Norton. It was also close to Cheltenham and Bath; an important consideration for a sick man like Cockerell. Situated high up on the east side of the Gloucestershire Wolds, sheltered from the westerly winds, Sezincote commanded a fine view over the Evenlode valley. It was possible to look across to Adlestrop, the home of the Leigh family, next to the estate of Daylesford, home of former Governor General of India, Warren Hastings. Since 1788 he had been engaged in erecting a house to the designs of Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Oddly, Hastings who knew Samuel Pepys Cockerell and Charles Cockerell is hardly mentioned at all in the Colonel's correspondence.

Colonel Cockerell bought a double-gabled house in the Jacobean vernacular style which predominated in the area. His aims were modest enough and indeed he had paid very little for this manor, farm and c. 500 acres, although it was owned in four equal shares by members of the Cockerell family. Cockerell paid his share out of the money he obtained from the Hewar Estate which his mother, as residual legatee of the Samuel Pepys estate at Clapham, held in trust for the family.

He must first have seen Sezincote early in 1795 or during 1794, as a list of funds drawn up by his younger brother, Samuel Pepys Cockerell, indicates (1). Although an architect, S P Cockerell had taken over the administration of the various family trusts during Charles' absence in India (2). Unlike some of the retired nabobs whose careers have been examined, Colonel Cockerell did not return a wealthy man, but his desires were modest. Not for him the palatial appartments of a Rumbold or a Sykes. All he desired was a modest "cottage" on a country estate, and even about this he was to remain uncertain. To the end of his life he continued to question whether he could ever live in the country. He did not want to live in London because of the endless expense this would entail, nor did he relish the prospect of living alone in the country: "I have no knowledge of this country and if I had - I fear I could never expect to be a good Manager" (3). However, on May 16th, 1795, £10,000 (4) was drawn on his account for "Seasoncote Est" (5). This was the initial payment, but the final purchase price amounted to £28,000. On his death, or in the case of forfeiture, the property would pass to S. P. Cockerell "to prevent any wife of the said John Cockerell from being entitled to Power in any part of /the/ premises after /the/ death of John Cockerell" (6).

This was obviously intended to prevent Cockerell's Indo-Portuguese mistress, Estuarta, and her children from claiming the property. In fact the formality of the document denies the affection the Cockerell family felt for her. Although she did not live with him, she often stayed with S. P. Cockerell in London and with his sister Elizabeth and brother-in-law John Belli at Southampton where the Colonel frequently visited her and "her flock".

He was to reconsider his decision to buy the property at Sezincote many times but it was thought that Charles Cockerell would return from Calcutta in the near future. This finally settled the matter. The Colonel, who had been living in Charles Cockerell's house on Hyde Park Corner knew that his brother's lifestyle was considerably more extravagant than his own and that he could not, nor did he wish to compete. Having purchased Sezincote he was already in debt to the family trust and sought ways of alleviating the problem. By October 1795 he regretted having been so foolish as to purchase Sezincote and in order to extricate himself from his financial predicament he contemplated a return to India. Immediate possession of the Sezincote estate was impossible owing to difficulties with the tenant farmer, and in the meantime he considered renting the neighbouring estate of Banks Fee, Longborough. To further that end he asked S. P. Cockerell to find out the rent and if there were any possibility of its being sold (7). S. P. Cockerell recommended him to take it for the present and the Colonel agreed, especially if "there is any likelihood of it's coming to Sale, with land sufficient to suite it to Seasoncote (sic.) Estate" (8). Difficulties over both Banks Fee and Sezincote left him exasperated. In the interrim period he had visited the Lake District where he much coveted a property of Charles Cockerell's at Derwent on

the banks of the lake and which was held by Greenwich Hospital. But his attention reverted to Longborough where he thought he could try life in a country residence on the income derived from letting Sezincote. All he required in London was lodgings.

Colonel Cockerell must have received satisfactory answers from S. P. Cockerell about Banks Fee, Longborough, for he decided to take it on a lease beginning Lady Day, 1796 and not exceeding seven years. His health having troubled him he decided, in 1796 to give up all hope of returning to India and formally retired from the army.

Plans to alter Sezincote were well under way by August 1796 and from the letters which Colonel Cockerell had sent to S. P Cockerell from different parts of England, S. P. Cockerell must have visited the estate (9). However, the Colonel had yet to take up residence at Sezincote. He was still badly in debt and wanted to know what he could expect from the family trust, the Hewar Estate and the share he was entitled to from the East India Trading Company of Paxton, Cockerell and Trail (10). By the end of October 1796 a full plan for the development of the estate, the alteration to the house and outbuildings had been prepared by S. P. Cockerell. A sketch of what must be a design for the entrance is to be found in one of the letters which the Colonel sent to S. P. Cockerell from Lisbon where he was spending the winter of 1796-7. The sketch shows an entrance divided into three equal sections with two columns forming the surround. The effect must have been similar to that used by S. P. Cockerell at Waterstock House, Oxfordshire (illus.82), although the original plan was to keep the gabled east front virtually intact. From the descriptions and specifications which the Colonel supplied in abundance in his letters, it is difficult

to guess what the exterior was to look like; we can be certain that there were no Indian features. The following extract from a letter to S. P. Cockerell provides some indication that his activities at Sezincote were mainly concerned with modernising the existing building than the creation of something new; the Colonel exhorts him to :

> '. . . strive all you can with safety to give light and cheerfulness to the Bedrooms and Dressing Rooms in the old part of the Building (probably the west wing situated behind the main house) - and let my own Room below also be lighted with freedom and I shall get the Blue devils in it the first week and never revisit the place - ' (11).

The fact that Colonel Cockerell continued to call it "a cottage dwelling house and offices" should not mislead us into thinking that it was little more than a peasant cottage. Although not interested in the extravagant, pampered display commonly expected from a nabob, he nonetheless wished to be seen by others as a 'gentleman' rather than an adventurer. He therefore wanted a house, carriage, a few servants, and a gardener so that he could "embrace some Eligible, tho' moderate systematic Establishment" (12) At the suggestion of S. P. Cockerell he bought some more land in Bourton Commonfields. He considered such enterprises well worthwhile and wanted to spend £5,000 in buying additional land. Work continued steadily on the house throughout the year; the ponds were excavated and trees planted. The house was embedded in trees and Cheyne, the estate manager who had also worked at Daylesford, requested that those near the house should be cut down, so that the house could be revealed and a view over the surrounding countryside obtained. All concern about living at Banks Fee disappeared (13), and the Colonel looked forward at the earliest possible moment to furnishing the interior, but by the end of that year he was still not in residence. When he returned from Lisbon in March 1797 he could not yet move into his house and was forced to reside at an inn in

Stow-on-the-Wold. Although plans for the farm, and farm buildings, and the appointment of the new bailiff were proceeding but slowly, he remained hopeful that he would soon move in.

Much work had been accomplished on the garden, the roads and entrances, but the east front was badly in need of renovation. Colonel Cockerell suggested taking down the gables and rebuilding the whole of the east front, because 'at present it lookes wild and melancholy' (14) Eventually it was agreed that a new front should be erected and the foundations were laid in May 1798 (15). However, when he died at his lodgings in Conduit Street, London, in July 1798 work had not finished, although most of the new rooms were ready for painting and decorating and furniture had been bought. The only indication of how he left the estate is the drawing by Repton (illus.4), looking south, and the darker shaded areas of the plan (illus.6). According to the indenture of July 31st 1801 Colonel Cockerell had spent £10,013 on the improvements to the grounds, stock, fixtures and furniture for house and farm.

S. P. Cockerell must have produced a design for a new east front, since its foundations had been laid in May 1798. There is no evidence to suggest what he had intended. The changes must have been simple however, since he did not correct the asymmetrical nature of this facade as the plan (illus.6) shows. My assumption is that he may have altered the windows from mullion to sash windows and replaced the gables with a cornice or balustrade. The entrance remained the same. Inside the rooms seem to have been small and numerous. Not a commission Cockerell could have relished.

CHAPTER THREE

SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL
- his career prior to the design of Sezincote

Well before Samuel Pepys Cockerell came to design Sezincote he had become known for his fundamentally classical but idiosyncratic designs. He was a favourite pupil of Sir Robert Taylor, one of the leading architects of the second half of the eighteenth century, and his influence is clearly noticeable in the designs of Cockerell.(1) It was Taylor who did so much to develop the villa as a viable form of country house; small, compared with some of the vast Palladian mansions such as Wanstead which were going out of favour, but at the same time elegant and convenient (2).

In the early eighteenth century the term villa did not imply a property of diminutive proportions. It was used in its Palladian sense to refer to a house and country estate, and, later, to a house alone. By the 1750's it already designated a house and estate of modest size. By the end of the 1750's villas in this sense were erected on the outskirts of London, very often for the newly rich such as Sir John Boyd, a director of the East India Company whose home, Danson Park, Kent was designed by Taylor, as was Asgill House, Richmond, and Harleyford in Buckinghamshire (illus.95). Isaac Ware was another architect to adapt the Palladian style to the needs of a new class. Wrothem Park, Kent (1754) was his most important contribution to this genre. Another

important designer of villas, although more famous for his large houses was John Carr of York. One of his country houses, we have already seen, was designed for a nabob. Sir William Chambers was to become one of the villa's most notable exponents employing it many times for clients who wanted something less grandiose, more convenient and utilitarian.

Robert Taylor had altered the Palladian villa to accommodate new changes in taste. In his hands the plan was simple; a central staircase formed the heart of the house around which were disposed a vestibule, dining-room, drawing room and library on the principal floor, with bedrooms on the second storey. While the basement, often rusticated, was placed at ground-level rather than slightly below as was previously the custom. In the actual disposition of his rooms, in their shapes and sizes, he was always inventive and economical in the use of space. The simplicity of his style can also be appreciated in the designs for his facades, which tend to be quite different from each other in the same house; a device S. P. Cockerell was to adopt at Sezincote. Taylor's preferred format was of elevations consisting of five windows arranged : 1 - 3 - 1, with semi-circular and canted bays, and no portico. The wide overhanging eave was one of the distinguishing features of his houses and we will see later how in the hands of his pupil Cockerell this eave could be transformed into the Mughal Chujja. Octagonal panelled windows and ball finials placed on parapets are other typical Taylorian decorative devices. Most of his villa designs were for the first generation rich, city men, bankers, merchants and plantation owners, who needed estates to establish their social credentials, but yet had to be within easy reach of the city.

Taylor was much admired by his contemporaries, including Horace Walpole who found his plans "free from faults, and sometimes full enough of beauty" (3). He thought the Asgill villa at Richmond the most perfect of all Taylor's villas, while Purbrook in Hampshire, one of his largest essays in country house design, exemplified the ideals of villa planning and was thought by Walpole to be "the most complete dwelling-house that he built" (4). Taylor also designed "magnificent additions to the Bank" (of England) and was for some time surveyor of the Pulteney Estates, the Admiralty, and the Foundling Hospital Estates, all of which responsibilities Cockerell was to inherit from Taylor.

Samuel Pepys Cockerell began his career in Taylor's office some time around 1770, and must have stayed there until 1775, when through Taylor's influence he was given the post of Clerk of the Works at the Tower of London and in 1780 at Newmarket. He was paid 2s.3d. per day for each clerkship, with an annual salary totalling £82.4s.0d (5). He retained these appointments until 1782 when he was dismissed along with James Paine, Thomas Sandby and James Adam in a wave of economic reforms. At the time this must have seemed a catastrophy to the young and aspiring architect. It is not know what happened to him after 1782. Most probably he went back into Taylor's office, or just waited until a commission came his way, subsisting on his funds from the family trust. He could have travelled abroad, but there is no indication of this, and the most likely explanation is that as a young and eager architect he would immediately have sought employment. The use at Waterstock House, Oxfordshire (designed 1786) (6) of some of Taylor's decorative ideas, such as the venetian window, the break in the front and pediment, the use of banding, a slightly raised ground

floor which had been used at Normanton House, Rutland; together with a later design for a church, all suggest that he may have worked with Taylor on the designs of this house (7).

Cockerell was to inherit some of the inventive characteristics of his master, as did another pupil John Nash. Because of the encouragement which Taylor had given him, Cockerell's career had prospered during the 1780's. By the end of the decade, and upon Taylor's deathbed recommendation Cockerell had assumed the surveyorships of the Admiralty, the Foundling Hospital, the Pulteney Estates and those of Greenwich Hospital. Although Taylor had been encouraging it was through Cockerell's family's links with people in the city and particularly the East India Company that many of his commissions came. An examination of the list of his works in Colvin's Dictionary of Architects reveals that almost all of his commissions came through Taylor's influence, direct family connections, or through people he would have known in the East India Company. His very first recorded commission came from William Byam Martin who had been a merchant in Bengal until 1781. With the money he earned there he eventually bought White Knights, near Reading in Berkshire. For this estate Cockerell designed entrance gates and a bridge in 1785 (8). In 1786 he secured the commission for Admiralty House; an austere design reminiscent of Taylor but without his decorative inventiveness (9).

Cockerell had established his own architectural practice at Saville Row, London. Into his office at this time came Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820) who stayed for three years and then went to America. In a letter of 1814 Latrobe gives an interesting insight into Cockerell's

system of fees. He says that the architect would not make a drawing unless the design was to be executed under his own direction "for their direction and the design they charged, - for fair drawings - a set is 50 guineas, for each consultation half a guinea, from 5 guineas to 20 guineas per day for going into the country to view the grounds and to personally direct the work, & 5 per cent commission on all monies expended. Having been 3 years in Mr. Cockerell's office & made many of his designs, ... (he left)" (10).

Latrobe would certainly have worked on the Admiralty drawings whose influence has been detected in his design for the residence of the Burd Family in Philadelphia (11). He would also have worked on the designs of Daylesford (illus.86) and Waterstock House. At Daylesford he would have encountered Warren Hastings, the late Governor General of India, then in process of being tried by Parliament. After working in Cockerell's office for three years it would have been unusual indeed if he did not learn something about Indian culture and the affairs of the East India Company, which were so much in the news of the day. He remained an admirer of the work of William Hodges whose aquatints Select Views in India had begun to appear in 1786 continuing until 1788. Through Cockerell's friendship with Dance he would have been aware of the effect that Hodges' designs were having in the architectural world, particularly in the light of Reynolds' recommendation to the country's architects to investigate the new sources of variety which the buildings of India offered (12). Dance had employed a mixture of gothic, classic and Mughal elements in his treatment of the south front of the Guildhall in 1787. The result was both original and highly controversial. Latrobe would most certainly have been aware of the controversy and it is difficult not to see his subsequent design for the Bank of Philadelphia without

noticing the strange "Indian" flavour of the entrance. Its shallow, Mughal-style pointed arch, its gothic windows and doorways, panelling and pilasters enforce the conviction that it is in a mixed style. As Hamlin notes it is far from what one would expect of a conventional 'gothic' building. The pointed-arched panel within the entrance itself is treated in a very Mughal way. The only illustration I have seen is in the Hamlin book where it is rather poorly reproduced. It would be unwise to make any further claims, except that Latrobe's originality and his admiration for the work of Hodges would not preclude such an influence.

Another S. P. Cockerell pupil was William Porden (c. 1755-1822). Although nearly the same age as Cockerell, he seems, according to Redgrave (13) to have been a pupil. This may account for his interest in the Indian style. In 1797 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a "Design for a Place of Public Amusement in the style of Mahometan Architecture of Hindostan". His interest in the "Mahometan" style, by which he most probably meant the Mughal, was to continue, and in 1802 he designed the stables for the Prince Regent's Pavilion at Brighton. The drawing of 1797 has not survived, but from the description of its light-hearted purpose, it was probably intended for one of the pleasure gardens of London, or perhaps Brighton. Even without the drawing it can be imagined that it would have been an assemblage of domes, minarets and engrailed arches. This must have been his first essay in the style and it would be expected that some of his ideas would have been followed up in his design for the stables. As Fosbrooke was to write about Cheltenham, the Moorish,

and by implication the 'Hindoo', were specially appropriate to the escapist, rather frivolous atmosphere of the spa and holiday resort (14).

Cockerell had made his reputation as an architect by the time he was about thirty. In fact it was his increasing reputation that led another Taylor pupil John Nash to relinquish his life of leisure in Camarthenshire and return to architecture (15). During the years 1785-1805 Cockerell was primarily concerned with country house design and the restoration of churches. After that date he seems to have become more preoccupied with his surveyorships, although ill-health may have prevented him from making the necessary country excursions to see clients and sites. After 1803 he ceased exhibiting at the Royal Academy, perhaps he was disappointed that he had never been elected an R.A., or even an A.R.A. Throughout his life he was never free of criticism from those who did not appreciate his originality. The design for the steeple at St. Anne's Soho (1802-3) (illus.94) caused consternation to some, and may even have affected his chances of being elected an A.R.A. In a letter written to Soane of October 10th, 1802, Cockerell sought his support for elections to Associate status. The outcome of this attempt must have been failure, since nothing more was heard of the attempt. Some light is thrown on the affair in a letter written some twenty years later by an erstwhile pupil of Cockerell's, Charles Heathcote Tatham, who wrote to Soane :

> "My friend Mr (John) Hoppner told me that he would vote for an admission into the Academy of the Padre of this Architetto celebrino (Cockerell's son Charles) provided he would swallow his own steeple of St. Anne's".(16)

To have been elected to the Academy he would have to have courted the favours of Farington, a staunch and energetic Academician and member of its council. This Cockerell seems not to have done. His

name appears only rarely in the Diary and then often in connection with that of Dance. There is no reason to think that Cockerell was an enemy of Farington's, perhaps he just moved in a different circle. He had however been severely criticised by the Gothicist John Carter, who fiercely attacked his restoration and reconstruction of St. Margaret's, Westminster (1799-1802), to which he had added an apse and a new ceiling, both later removed. Carter attacked him bitterly :

> "From what ancient or modern buildings, either in Rome, France, Egypt, China and Lapland or elsewhere (were) the peculiar parts selected; or is the style of the whole purely the production of uncontrolled fancy ?". (17)

Cockerell was evidently controversial both for his designs and his reconstructions, and this would not have helped him in his desire for election. Tickencote Church, Rutland (1792) (illus.85) was another building which was attacked by Carter (18). It should be remembered that at this time there was very little knowledge of medieval buildings and so had Cockerell been inclined to restore rather than rebuild, there would have been little information available. The tower and the south front of the church are wholly his work and although not Norman in character, the result is not unpleasing. It shows his interest in a purely decorative effect contained within an otherwise restrained idiom, which had been in evidence in his previous buildings and which was to unite him with the architectural sympathies of Dance. The Italianate Romanesque tower, with its panelling and cross-banding may have been an attempt to reproduce what was thought to be its original character. The use of this type of tower was very rare at this time and was to become associated with the Italianate villas of Nash.

The decade 1790-1800 was to be one of great activity for Cockerell: he designed or restored the churches at Banbury and Bloxham, both in Oxfordshire, Normanton in Rutland and St. Margaret's, Westminster. He designed houses at Daylesford, Gloucestershire (illus.86); Middleton Hall, Carmarthenshire (illus.92); Gore Court, Kent (illus.89); Pierremont Hall, Broadstairs and various others, some of which, like the design for a cottage ornee for Colonel Cockerell's friend Dr. Blane, may not have been executed. With the possible exception of Pierremont Hall (19) these houses were for nabobs, and they established his reputation as a classicist. The designs for Middleton Hall and Gore Court were published in the New Vitruvius Britannicus(20). His reputation was therefore established, but one of a slightly eccentric character. At Daylesford he used a Mughal dome on an otherwise classical edifice; at Banbury he used an Indian element to provide the finial for his roof, specifically it was a bulbous vase shape called an amalaka.

Following the unusual design of Daylesford, Middleton Hall (illus.92) Carmarthenshire appears as a retrogressive step. Here he reverted to an earlier Palladian villa design much used during the mid-century, but this may have been at the instigation of the patron, Sir William Paxton, a nabob and partner in the family firm of Paxton, Cockerell and Trail. Totally different in character is the design of Gore Court for another nabob and friend of the Colonel's, Colonel Gabriel Harper. Cockerell's design is based on the Palladian villa of Emo but its decorative details have been rationalised in a French way. As at the church of St. Martin's Outwich (illus.93), all unnecessary ornament has been eliminated to concentrate the design on the

monumental, as in the buildings and designs of Ledoux and Boullee, whose theories he must have known.

As late as 1816 such theories are discernable in a letter he wrote to his son Charles R. Cockerell. It shows him at the age of 63 still brimming with imaginative ideas :

> ". . . consider the subject of the Military Monuments to celebrate the Glory of Your Country it seems to me to be more capable of warming a poetic mind than any thing which has occured in any Age or Country since the stupendous Works of the Egyptians. - from the Ideas which seem to be entertained of its importance (he is referring to a military monument to celebrate the Duke of Wellington's victory at Waterloo in 1814) . . it is not confined by any imaginable extent, or magnificence, or Styles, or Character; it may be in Architecture or in Sculpture or combine both; it ought to be very bold and commanding, reach to sublimity by it's form its decoration and the combination of its parts; - "

He continues, and he refers to a house for a national hero, i.e. Wellington, such a building, he writes :

> "might be extended to a Vast Pyramid ornamented with Architecture or an Obelisk of Colossal dimensions with an extensive enriched Basement surrounded by an Enclosure with Pavillions . . " (21).

This passage shows his obvious indebtedness to French logical primitivism, which had inspired the sparse line drawings of his friend Flaxman. All Europe it appeared had been affected by the French Revolution, and not just politically (22). The aesthetic ideas were to have far reaching consequences for architecture; but despite the rising passion for megalomaniac architecture which Cockerell evinces in the letter, he was too much of an eclectic to pursue French ideas to their conclusion, nor did he have the architectural opportunity to realise them. For a time he used primitivism to clarify his ideas but like Dance he probably found the

Paestum Doric, so essential to French theory, too 'barbarous'.

By contrast were the whimsical restorations for Lord Heathfield at Buckland Abbey in Devon (illus.90). Cockerell provided a new entrance and modified the tower as a seamark. This must account for the addition of 'Indian' crenellations on the tower, so out of character with the rest of the building. Towers were to be something of a speciality and were the closest he came to designing military monuments. They may also reflect an interest in the work of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, both of whom were famous for their eccentric towers. At Middleton Hall he had designed a very unusual one dedicated to Lord Nelson; according to his son it was greatly admired (23). St.Anne's steeple has already been noted, as also the restrained simplicity of St. Martin's Outwich. As a confirmed classicist with eclectic tastes he would have been well able to cope with his brother's requirement of a house in the Indian style.
As has been shown he had already used 'Indian' details in an original and possibly eccentric way, but always to add variety to an idiom whose premises were daily being challenged by other styles.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHARLES COCKERELL
A NABOB RETURNS

With the arrival of Charles Cockerell from Calcutta, about 1800, the estate was to be entirely transformed. The plan, though keeping the old dimensions (illus.6), shows that the modifications which S. P. Cockerell designed were more to enhance its character as a villa residence, than to change its scale. By the standards of the day it was small for a country house, but it should be remembered that Charles Cockerell was a widower with no children (1). He was an altogether different character from Colonel Cockerell: he inclined more to the ostentatious than either of his brothers. As Paymaster General he was suitably situated to amass a fortune while in Calcutta. He began his career in Bengal in 1776 where he was attached to the Surveyor's office. By 1784 he had risen to the post of Paymaster General (2). He was also engaged in private trade, and like his two brothers and his sister Elizabeth, he had shares in the trading firm of Paxton, Cockerell and Trail which had offices in Pall Mall, London and Calcutta. He had property and interests all over England but his main residence was at Hyde Park Corner (3).

When he was not in England the house was rented, but like Sezincote, all the properties would appear to have been owned by the family trust. Income came through trade with India, rents from the properties, and interests on mortgages (4). When he returned to England for good in 1800 or early 1801 he was quite clearly a successful business man and the driving force behind the trading side of the family concerns. Samuel Pepys Cockerell ran all the Cockerell financial and trust affairs in his absence. Colonel Cockerell stated quite simply that he would never be an economist, and so depended heavily on S. P. Cockerell for support and advice. Unlike the Colonel who was highly suspicious of the duplicity attendant on a parliamentary career, Charles entered Parliament first for Tregony Cornwall in 1802-1806, for Evesham in 1820 and in every subsequent election. As a Tory he supported the Liverpool and Wellington administrations and voted for the Reform Bill, but remained opposed to Catholic emancipation. He became an honorary member of the Indian Board of Control and a director of Globe Insurance Office (5). He was created a Baronet by patent dated 25th September 1809, quite a different career from the listless man of action Colonel Cockerell, and his architect brother.

His interests in the world of commerce and banking did not preclude an interest in artistic matters including music. A picture of Charles Cockerell and his first wife Maria Tryphena Blunt, painted in Calcutta by Francesco Renaldi in 1789 shows him seated with some music in his hand while his wife plays the harpsichord (6). In the same year he subscribed to a copy of William Hamilton Bird's

Oriental Miscellany, published in Calcutta. Bird's Oriental Miscellany contained harpsichord arrangements of Indian music, including a sonata, jig and a minuet with flute or violin accompaniment. All the themes were based on the favourite Indian tunes of the period, which they also sang on social occasions.

It was art and architecture which really absorbed his interest, and in these matters he was serious, going so far as to defend his tastes publically. An incident, quoted at length in The Repository for March 1810, which occurred in 1807, which amply demonstrates his artistic confidence. A bas-relief of two satyrs in Coade stone on the front of his house at Hyde Park Corner was suddenly attacked as obscene by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, London. This after it had gone unnoticed for twenty-five years, that is, since the house was erected. Cockerell countered the attack by saying had it been "by the most fastidious observer, or by the most perverted imagination, be considered as offensive" he would have removed it when he purchased the house. He pointed out they could see other examples at Coade's gallery at Lambeth, where they would find "the subject of this alarmingly gross and filthy exhibition as they (i.e. the Society's committee) have chosen to term it" in various forms. The subject had been copied from a vase in the Villa Borghese, Rome and a similar vase was, he said, to be found in the gardens at Bulstrode, the home of the Duke of Portland. If some people did find it offensive, which he seriously doubted since it was an innocent subject, he would remove it. But "I will deprecate, and will resist, by all those powers with which the laws of this

happy land can arm me, any such presumptuous, arbitrary, and unwarrantable threat as you have been instructed to hold out (they threatened legal action), and at which every English gentleman must revolt". The bas-relief stayed where it was. Cockerell was held up to the reader of The Repository as one of the few individuals in England who were sufficiently artistically enlightened to appreciate the arts and defend them against "bigotry and ignorance"(7). Cockerell's forthright defence provides a unique insight into the person who had chosen to build the first house ever erected in an Indian style.

He owned paintings by Hodges (8), Home (9), Renaldi (10), Mather Brown (see below) and works by Thomas Daniell. Later, after his return to England, he collected Spanish paintings which had most probably appeared on the market as a result of the Peninsular War. These included works by Murillo, Velasquez, Ribera, and Herrera el Viezo (11). Nor was he above requesting an artist to improve a painting. In 1793 while on a visit to England he had bought a painting by Brown. The subject was the then popular one of Marquis Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tipu as hostages, after the end of the Second Mysore War. The picture is referred to in a letter to S. P. Cockerell from Colonel Cockerell in 1797, as a large painting of which Brown was inordinately proud, and which he was exhibiting at his home at 20, Cavendish Square (12). Charles Cockerell had bought it and according to Colonel Cockerell, he had suggested improvements to both perspective and background detail. The painting was hung later at the house at Hyde Park Corner.

Many of the eighteenth century patrons of art took a great deal of interest in architecture. Because of their status and wealth, they were in a position to influence the development of architecture and landscape gardening. Burlington, at the beginning of the century, was an important patron, actively promoting the introduction of Palladian architecture in this country (13). Walpole in the mid-century campaigned vociferously for the acceptance of Gothic forms, while Hoare at Stourhead was busy creating an influential garden. At the end of the century Thomas Johnes at Hafod, William Beckford at Fonthill and Sir George Beaumont at Cole Orton were all notable connoisseurs and patrons of art and architecture. Increasing wealth which was derived from the products of the Industrial Revolution, trading, plantations or the slave trade, resulted in more people with leisure and artistic pretensions at the end of the eighteenth century. Mostly, they were ignorant. It was to educate these people that Gilpin and Price, amongst others, produced their books on Picturesque architecture and scenery (14). Repton was to continually attack conspicuous displays of wealth. Charles Cockerell, as a nabob was not free of such criticism and his brother Samuel makes it very clear in a letter that in matters of taste "Sir Chas. .. has not the least knowledge or discrimination.."(15). But this did not prevent him from indulging his architectural pretensions.

The drawings of Longborough Church in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection (16) may be Charles Cockerell's own designs, since the handwriting is certainly his. In 1822 Cockerell had been thinking of creating a Sezincote aisle and a family vault at Longborough Church.

His nephew, C. R. Cockerell, produced a design in January 1823 but evidently Sir Charles had his own ideas since later that year he had inserted a north window quite out of keeping with the chapel (17). The rather crude drawings of ornamental gateways (illus. 43,44) are probably his designs also (18). They were never built. Instead Charles R. Cockerell designed some lodges and an entrance gateway in 1823 (19).

In 1822 Sir Charles Cockerell had become excited about a project for a monumental gateway at Hyde Park Corner to honour his friend the Duke of Wellington. He wrote enthusiastically to his nephew explaining that he had himself prepared plans and annotations and he wished C. R. Cockerell to develop the ideas, make something of them and exhibit them at the British Institution (20). Nothing however came of the project. Twenty years before, Sezincote, in its final form, had yet to be determined. Cockerell had returned to England after nearly twenty-five years' absence, a stronger, more confident person than his brother, well able to cope with changing circumstances, and with the determination necessary to build a house such as Sezincote.

In July 1801 Charles Cockerell bought the shares of all those members of the family who had an interest in Sezincote. The total purchase price was £28,000 to which was added the £10,000 the Colonel had spent on the property. £38,000 was the eventual price (21). Having bought the property Charles Cockerell now faced a major decision : what was he going to do with it ? Rent it or live there himself ? He decided to retain the house at Hyde Park Corner and use Sezincote as his country house. The next problem was design,

in which direction should he develop the house and estate and what options were open to him ? He chose the Indian style for reasons which I shall be discussing later. The other design options were more obvious - Grecian, Gothic, particularly castellated which was very much in vogue under the guidance of the team of John Nash and Humphrey Repton. The Chinese style which had fallen from favour during the latter half of the eighteenth century was, under the auspices of the Prince Regent, to receive some further encouragement towards the end of the eighteenth century. The resurgence of interest in China must be attributed to Earl Macartney's embassy to China in 1795. Although the mission was a failure, a number of Chinese artefacts were brought back, and the official artist William Alexander returned with hundreds of sketches, many of which were later published. The interest aroused by the mission was not new, for over a hundred years England had been interested in China and from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth century there was an unbroken tradition of Chinese garden pavilions and interior decorations in the Chinoiserie manner, a tradition which continued well into the nineteenth century (22). The Indian style had no such tradition.

CHAPTER FIVE

SEZINCOTE

Just when Sezincote began to assume its new form is difficult to determine since few letters about the project are extant. Those that do survive are mostly concerned with estate matters. Three letters from Thomas Daniell to Charles Cockerell contain a few references to work at Sezincote (1). There are also references in the C. R. Cockerell Diaries but these are not helpful for the understanding of Sezincote's beginnings (2). This is the sum total of the documentary material apart from the drawings. In the summer of 1802 Cockerell went to Paris and it must be surmised that little or no work had been done on the house. It should be remembered that he also had a house at Hyde Park Corner so was in no hurry to alter Sezincote.

It was Repton in his An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening (1806) who first drew attention to the project under consideration at Sezincote. He mentions the work "then in too early a stage of progress to be referred to" (3). Evidently Sezincote was already conceived in the Indian style because Repton

states that "a little before my first visit to Brighton", which would have been in 1805 (4), he had been consulted by the "Proprietor of Sesincot, in Gloucestershire, where he wished to introduce the Gardening and Architecture which he had seen in India" (5). The result of this visit can be seen in illustrations 4 and 5. No Red Book has ever been discovered and it seems quite certain that he was not consulted in any formal capacity. He had been asked by Mr. Leigh of nearby Adlestrop to make improvements to the garden there. Bills and receipts in Stratford (6) show that Repton first visited Adlestrop in 1798 and the bills continue for another ten years. It is known from correspondence at Gloucester that Leigh was acquainted with Cockerell and also owned the neighbouring manor of Longborough. It is not too much to assume that Repton, on learning of the project across the Evenlode Valley endeavoured to secure a commission. This he failed to do because although he says in the Designs that he gave his opinion concerning the adoption of the Indian forms, and even selected some of the forms from the collection of Thomas Daniell, the architectural work naturally "devolved to the Brother of the Proprietor" (7). It is most unlikely that Repton would ever have been chosen to draw up a plan for Sezincote, given that Charles Cockerell had already an experienced eclectic in his architect brother, Samuel. Repton does not once mention either Charles or Samuel Pepys Cockerell by name in his Designs. This is most unusual for Repton was a great name dropper, especially where former patrons were concerned. The concealment of their names was no accident. Repton was, after all, attempting to secure a commission

for a new royal pavilion at Brighton. Porden, who had been a pupil of Cockerell's, had just designed the stables there in the 'Indian' style and he had also produced designs for a palace in the Chinese style for the Regent(8). In this hotly competitive field it would have been highly dangerous to his own cause to have mentioned the names of Charles or Samuel Cockerell. Samuel was at the time one of Britain's leading architects with an impressive record behind him. He was also more familiar with India and its architecture than Repton, having built Daylesford and Banbury Church with Indian details. Repton had no such reputation as an architect, but desperately wanted the kudos of a royal commission.

The conception of Sezincote, at least on paper, must have taken place before February 1806 when Repton submitted his designs to the Prince Regent.(9)

That Repton must have seen a design for Sezincote before he produced his own designs is confirmed by some similarities between them, especially in the treatment of the dome and platform and his use of various decorative devices including the panelling and pelmet designs. This suggests that Sezincote had begun to take shape, on paper at least, by 1805, and possibly earlier.

Despite the unusual nature of its decorative effect, Sezincote was fundamentally classical in conception, a fact which the mughal style fails to disguise. It consists essentially of a central block with dome flanked by wings which terminate in pavilions. This is a classical conception perhaps derived from Vanbrugh's

design for Castle Howard. It is known that Cockerell admired Vanbrugh's work and he may have visited Castle Howard in 1795 on his way to Scarborough. It was therefore not an inappropriate model on which to hang a mughal garment, for the entrance front of Castle Howard consists of a main block and dome with curving arcades leading to pavilions. As at Sezincote the use of a dome on a central block adds emphasis, supplying both more height and weight. Chiefly due to the advocacy of Robert Adam and Reynolds, Vanbrugh's work, after a period of neglect and derision, began to achieve some popularity towards the end of the eighteenth century. This was largely due to the changing taste of connoisseurs of architecture who were seeking an architecture with more variety and a stronger appeal to the imagination. Blenheim and Castle Howard were seen to embody this criteria. This led to a reappraisal of Vanbrugh's work.

In detail Sezincote is closer to the villa designs of Sir Robert Taylor, Cockerell's master. On the east front the original Jacobean building was extended by one bay to give a symmetrical facade of four bays either side of a central entrance. The south front was considerably enlarged so that it would comprise five bays disposed 1-3-1, with a canted bay: a typical Taylorian device, found at Harleyford and elsewhere (illus. 95). Other favourite characteristics of Taylor's to be found at Sezincote are the use of a balcony and railings with octagonal patterns (although in Taylor's buildings this pattern is normally reserved for the windows); and the use of wide over-hanging eaves. It is easy to appreciate

how these eaves could be transformed into the Indian Chujja. Although curving arcades and colonnades were the common repertory of the Palladian style, at Sezincote Cockerell may have derived his idea from the work of Wyatt at Dodington, Gloucestershire (1798-1808). But as has already been shown, there may be other models. Nor in these matters should the topography of the site be forgotten. Conservatories were added on the north and south sides of the house, different from each other in length and curvature. They remain an idiosyncratic addition to an otherwise straightforward classical villa. (Only the one on the south side still exists today). It has been suggested by Conner that because of the similarities with the conservatories at Brighton they may have been designed or suggested by Repton. Certainly the southern one appears on the Repton drawing (Illus.5) so that this may be so. But there can be little doubt that the site determined the size and extent of the conservatories, for to the south it is curtailed abruptly by the hill upon which the farm buildings stand, and to the north a semi-circular conservatory would have deprived Lady Cockerell of an uninterrupted view across the Thornery from her bedroom (Illus.8). The Thomas Daniell oil paintings of 1818 show that originally there were formal flower gardens on both sides of the house, and not as at present only on the south side (10).

One is left wondering why it was that S. P. Cockerell designed the conservatories in so irregular a manner ? Topographical reasons have been suggested but in my opinion he only tolerated such irregularity because the house was never meant to be seen from the impressive east front. The paintings of Thomas Daniell make this point quite clearly. There is no view looking straight at

the east front which, in normal circumstances, would have highlighted its similarities to the Taj-Mahal. Indeed the nature of the ground in front of the house prohibits such a view. It becomes apparent that Sezincote was only intended to be seen obliquely. This was in conformity to the picturesque theory of Price which stated that buildings viewed obliquely gained in picturesqueness because the angle increased the irregularity of the outline and the mass (11). For this reason the lack of symmetry in the entire east front became acceptable, since the central block allowed only partial views of the conservatory furthest from the observer (12).

The west wing was originally one of the oldest parts of the building and contained the kitchen and various store rooms. Because it faced directly into the hill side there was little that Cockerell could do but to make it as suitable as possible. It plays only a minor part in the overall scheme since it is for all purposes hidden behind the main block. Only when there were further alterations after 1811 did the wing achieve more prominence due to the addition of further bedrooms and the raising of its height.

Before I proceed with an analysis of the buildings at Sezincote Repton's contribution needs further discussion. I have shown how he could have heard about the project at Sezincote, and his drawing (illus.4) shows that he visited it before any building had been undertaken. But how far the drawing (illus.5) represents Repton's ideas, or an arrangement of S. P. Cockerell's, is difficult to determine.

It is clear that Sezincote's Indian character had already been determined prior to Repton's visit. What then was Repton responsible for ?

Colonel Cockerell had already planned to make a garden by clearing the outbuildings to the south (illus.4) but it was Repton's decision to discard the walled garden and clear the foliage from the hill, thereby creating an open view across to both the gardener's house and the farm buildings (illus.5). The bank left by the disappearance of the foliage was "to be covered with cattle"; a favourite Reptonian device of which he wrote "cattle might be more frequently introduced than seems to be the custom of this country, ... than which nothing contributes more to enliven a lawn and to improve and fertilize its verdure" (13).

In Repton's typical manner, the second watercolour reveals a totally transformed scene. The outbuildings were to be swept away, and the farm cottages to disappear to make way for a sham castle, although this last may have been an impressionistic attempt at the representation of an eastern serai. On the rise amongst some trees is placed a 'Hindoo' temple which was to be the gardener's house and beneath it in the side of the hill was a grotto. The octagon is indicated, as is also a cupola, and the position of a fountain. The vertical pencil line which goes through the word "garden" would appear to indicate the viewer's position vis-a-vis the scene, i.e. from the centre bay of the south front. In such a way did Repton endeavour to create a scene from one of Daniell's

aquatints amidst theCotswolds. One of the most interesting suggestions is that the gardener's house should be in a 'Hindoo' style. This may well have been Daniell's idea, so close is it to the design of the temple at Melchet Park (illus.69), Hampshire, which he had designed in 1800 (14). Like the building there, it appears to be modelled on the Agouri temples of Bihar (illus.70). Their size, making them perfect for garden buildings, is less functional when considered for garderners' houses. This may be why the final design was substantially changed. The existence of the octagon is more puzzling because it suggests that the idea for a conservatory was probably Repton's, and in view of its extensive use in his designs for Brighton, this is possible. Certainly S. P. Cockerell did not employ conservatories of this type: neither Daylesford, Gore Court, Middleton Hall, Buckland Abbey nor Nutwell Court (in Devon) have them. As a follower of Taylor Cockerell's original idea was possibly a modified form of villa using Harleyford or Sharpham as models. When Repton visited the site in about 1805 he proposed the addition of a conservatory. This suggests that the plan (illus.6) had been made prior to Repton's visit for no conservatories are indicated. But I will be returning to this problem later.

In a collaborative project like Sezincote where four people were involved, the untangling of the strands of responsibility would always be difficult, if not impossible. However, the final responsibility for design decisions was undoubtedly S. P. Cockerell's.

The east elevation (illus.1, 12) consists of an eight bay facade with a double break and entrance, octagonal buttresses with cupolas, a cornice, and a dome. There are no drawings to indicate in what sequence the design proceeded. One doubts if it was ever considered without a dome once the Indian character had been selected (illus.32) (15). A dome such as this would have automatically announced Sezincote's Indian associations even if nothing else had been Indian. It is quite strictly mughal. There is nothing of a generalized nature about it, unlike Nash's domes at Brighton or Sussex Place which,especially in the latter case has caused much confusion. At Sezincote it dominates all the principal elevations and was conceived with great attention to detail. It may have been drawn from similar designs in the Delhi or Agra region. In its original condition it was painted white to resemble marble, and gilded (16). It is made of copper, beaten and riveted to a wooden shell.

Hodges had written appreciatively of mughal domes in his Travels (1793) particularly admiring their unbroken curves. A study of the mausoleum of Makhdam Shah Doulat at Maner caused him to speculate on the relative merits of the classical and mughal domes :

> "This building though not large is certainly very beautiful: it is square with pavilions arising from the angles; and in the centre is a majestic dome, the top of which is finished by what the Indian architects call a callus: the line of the curve of the dome is not broken, but is continued by an inverted curve until it finishes in a crescent. I cannot help but greatly prefer this to the manner in which all domes are finished in Europe, by the erecting of a small building on the top, which, at the point of contact with the dome, has a sharp angle". (17)

Although published in 1793 it can be safely assumed that this opinion of Hodges must first have occurred to him in India, sometime between 1780-1783. The idea of so terminating a dome obviously appealed to Cockerell for he used a similar device at Daylesford, probably at Hodges' suggestion. It was the first time such a dome had been used in Europe (18).

The most prominent feature of the east front, after the dome, is undoubtedly the recessed entrance (illus.19); a startling device to create an important and imposing entrance without recourse to a portico or porte-cochere. The pointed-arch form which Thomas Daniell had hoped to introduce into the farmhouse (illus.28) design, here finds its most favourable expression. An outstanding example of the use of this form can be seen at the Taj Mahal (illus.60) which had greatly impressed Thomas Daniell, who published a special edition of two aquatints (Views of the Taj Mahal, 1802) (19). Both the gateway and the entrance to the tomb have superb examples of the pointed arch; other fine examples are at Sekunderabad (illus.64) and Allahabad (illus.67). These date from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century and continued to be designed well into the eighteenth century. Often they were scalloped as at Shah Jehan's Jami Masjid at Delhi or, less impressively, as at the gate of the mosque at Pilibhit (illus.68). Hodges had compared another version at Chunar Gurh with the details of Gothic architecture "... all the minor ornaments are the same - the lozenge squares filled with roses, the ornaments in the spandrels of the arches, the little pannelling, and their mouldings". Many of these details are reproduced at Sezincote and they are to be found on innumerable

monuments in north India.

The entrance of Sezincote is decorated with panelling, both rectangular and pointed, and there are rosettes in the spandrels. The apex of the arch proper has been badly managed by Cockerell, since the decorative flourish is lost in the eaves (illus.1). Normally, in India this decoration would appear just below the top of the rectangle within which the arch is usually enclosed. The use of columns within the space is also 'unauthentic'. The question of columns I shall return to. On the ground floor the doorway is flanked by iwans such as are to be found at the Taj Mahal (illus.60).

The fact that the verticals of the entrance pilasters do not rise above the cornice, as was usual in Indian conventions, or indeed as they were used at Dance's Guildhall, Porden's Morisco Gothic Eaton Hall, or Cockerell's own farmhouse design, suggests that S. P. Cockerell wanted to preserve Sezincote's links with the classical villa. On the three important facades: the north, east and south, Cockerell has tried to retain a balance between vertical and horizontal movement. This may account for the use of stronger, octagonal buttresses and cupolas at the angles, instead of a plain corner surmounted by a cupola which was the original intention, perhaps derived from the Palace at Lucknow (illus.52). My own view is that the addition of octagonal buttresses with cupolas, while they provide a vertical thrust, also create an ambiguous effect, similar to Dance's use of them at Cole Orton, where, though capped by 'Indian' finials, the effect is consonant with the over-all Tudor-Gothic conception. I suggest that their use

was deliberately ambiguous, and was another element in the creation of an eclectic scheme. A subject I shall return to (20).

Surprisingly, neither Repton nor Nash utilised the pointed-arch feature in their own designs for Brighton Pavilion. They both had an opportunity afforded them by the conversion of Holland's house. Repton resolved the west front into a strong design based upon three scalloped arched windows between two towers with cupolas (illus.105). The main entrance he transferred to the north front which was entered via a paired-column verandah (illus.102). Nash weakened the effect of his west front by adding a fussy porte-cochere. Edmund Aikin who published his Designs for Villas and other Rural Buildings (1808) included several India influenced designs there (illus.114 and 117). One of them (illus.117) has an entrance very similar to that of Thomas Daniell's aquatint Gate of the Loll-Baug at Fyzbad (Oriental Scenery III, 3)(Illus.62).

Edward Blore (1787-1879) continued the use of this feature in the design of a house at Aloupka (Alupka) on the Black Sea (21). Contemporaneous with the building of Aloupka were Jeffry Wyatville's designs for a palace in Germany. In these designs, one of which was in the Chinese style, he attempted to unite a monumental gateway within the framework of an Indo-Gothic building. He added a further degree of sophistication by designing the building in two different styles of Indian architecture: the 'Hurdwar' and the 'Delhi' types; the information for which he must certainly have obtained from Thomas Daniell(who was then approaching the age of 90). They were

both members of the Society of Antiquities and no 'Indian' building was ever attempted without recourse to either Daniell's drawings, aquatints or oil paintings. Both Blore and Wyatville heighten the facade enclosing the 'gateway' by using turrets and crenellations (22). Their use at Sezincote would have given the entrance more power but would certainly have detracted from the overall simplicity of the basic outlines as I have noted.

If the pointed or scalloped arch is really for use as a monumental gateway, then it did not find a suitable use at Sezincote. Unlike Brighton there is no monumental gateway to the estate, although there are sketches, perhaps by Charles Cockerell, to indicate that he did contemplate something of this kind (illus. 43, 44) and there is also a sketch by Thomas Daniell of a farm gateway (illus.27). Since there have been many modifications over the years it is not known whether the latter was built.

Although not used at Sezincote the 'Indian' style monumental gateway was used elsewhere, often to great effect. Nash's north gate at Brighton was erected in 1832 by William IV to mark the change of status from pavilion to palace. In its use of octagonal turrets, cupolas and pelmet design it shows the influence of Sezincote as does the lodge (23). The north gate and lodge, erected in the same year to designs by Joseph Good (24) can be considered as a triumphal arch. Triumphal arches had become popular during the Renaissance with the rediscovery of Ancient Rome, and they were built to celebrate victories and other festivities.

During the Napoleonic period, France became famous for its triumphal arches. The Arc des Carrousel in Paris was built to accommodate the four antique horses which Napoleon had taken from Venice. There is of course the famous Arc de Triomphe de L'Etoile erected from designs by Jean Francois Chalgrin (1739-1811). In London, at Hyde Park Corner, the Wellington Arch was erected in 1846. Other 'Indian' triumphal arches were built at Gravesend in 1835 by Amon Henry Wilds (illus.120, 121 its final version) and at Dromana, Co. Waterford, by an unknown amateur (illus.110). Dromana had been built in 1826 by Henry Villiers-Stuart (later Lord Stuart de Decies) to celebrate his return from honeymoon (25): a romantic conception for a romantic occasion which has little to do with India proper but has much to do with the 'Arabian Nights'.

One of the predominating motifs at Sezincote is the crenellation and it is found, like a leitmotif, throughout the estate: on the house, farm buildings, stables and gardener's house and lodges. The merlons are not detached as at Brighton but set in the parapet and in relief (illus.32). They provide, with the chujja, a simple, decorative counterpoint to the robust verticals of the east elevation. Such crenellation is the hallmark of the mughal style, and in varying forms is found all over India. Two types are used at Sezincote, the round-headed, and the more decorative form used on the conservatory (illus.17) which corresponds to similar examples on mausoleums at Allahabad (illus. 65, 66) (26), which the Daniells had so admired. When they visited the mausoleum of Sultan Purveiz built in the early part of the

seventeenth century, they considered that "the simplicity of the general design of this Mausoleum, with its judicious and well-executed decorations, rank it among the most correct examples of Indian architecture" (27). It could therefore be considered as a suitable model. The decorated crenellation was thought more appropriate for the lighter, fanciful character of the conservatory, while the plain version, employed on the house, was more in keeping with its economical conception.

Although Repton, Nash, Wyatville and Wilds all used this device in their designs its most original use was undoubtedly by Colonel Robert Smith (1787-1873) at Redcliffe, Paignton (1852) (illus.124) and at the Chateau de l'Anglais (1857), Nice. Here the forms were enlarged, exaggerated and pierced. To the observer, they appear purely fanciful, but Smith, who as an officer in the Bengal Engineers, had restored the Red Fort at Delhi during the 1820's as well as the Qutb Minar, was well acquainted with Indian architecture. The forms used at Nice were pierced with holes; mughal traditional examples of which are to be found at Allahabad (illus.67), Shere Shah's Fort, Delhi and elsewhere (28).

Another conspicuous feature of the east front is the treatment of the windows and their surrounds (illus.20). All are recessed. Those on the ground floor are plain, while at first floor level there are curvilinear hood-mouldings, embellished sills, multi-faceted arches and scalloped shell recessing - not unlike Georgian hanging corner cupboards. At ground floor level the windows reflect

the simple forms of the Hindu columns in the entrance (illus.19), while on the first floor where the reception rooms are situated, Mughal columns were thought appropriate and this led to more imaginative window designs. The hood-mouldings and drip-lintels are strikingly similar to those at Philibhit (illus.68) though without the columns (29).

The only other building on which this feature is found is the Spa House at Lower Swell, near Stow-on-the-Wold (illus.51), reputedly built sometime after 1807 from Sezincote's unwanted components (30). A similar feature in Repton's designs (illus.102) is a direct copy of the Qudsia Bagh, Delhi, and not an imaginative recreation (31).

At Sezincote the columns have been used sparingly to mark the change in the double break as do the windows (illus.12). The triple-window and balcony replace the use of a venetian window, such as Cockerell had used at Waterstock and Middleton Hall. I cannot find any equivalent amongst the Daniell aequatints and drawings for the scallop or shell shaped recesses (illus.20).

Despite the outlandish style, Cockerell's concerns were the achievement of simplicity and clarity. Sketches of the east front had they been available would have elucidated the design process. Fortunately there is a preliminary elevation of the south front. It is possible by studying the differences between the sketch and final form to show how simplicity and clarity were achieved.

On the 14th January 1811 Thomas Daniell wrote to Sir Charles Cockerell (who had been knighted in 1809):

> "In looking over the sketches of Sezincot(e) (sic) which you were so good to bring up in the (iron ?) case I find 2 of the E. front, but none of the S. I should be glad of an elevation of the latter if you have it ..." (32)

This letter and the undated sketch of the south front (illus.15) make it apparent that Daniell was consulted and had to approve the use of Indian details. It seems clear then that Cockerell must have selected them himself, otherwise he would hardly have needed Daniell's approval and assent. On the left of the design (illus.15) is written "Daniell approved this as to the upper part" i.e. above the line marked 'A'. He also approved the designs of the first floor windows of the canted bay and the lower right hand window on the ground floor. The design is dated "8th June" but no year given, although it must at least date from 1805-7, since major building was in progress by 1808.

The curvilinear hood-moulding and columns set in a rectangular panel on the first floor may have been taken from a pavilion which the Daniells had admired at Mathura (illus.72) (33). They thought it a "handsome pavilion carefully executed in the modern Mahometan style". There were also similarities of detail with the mosque gateway at Pilibhit, which was contemporary with the pavilion at Mathura. This rather fussy detail was altered when it was decided to make all five windows conform to the same design. The lozenge panelling under the eaves is indicated on the sketch as are the brackets (illus.16). The urn surmounting the bay was replaced by a wooden parapet of the kind that is often depicted in mughal miniatures of the period.

The pillars on the ground floor shown in the elevation can be traced to a type found at 'Cannouge' (Kanauj) (illus.55). When the Daniells visited the site of the once magnificent town in June 1789 the sight of such desolate ruins created "the most melancholy sensations, and the strongest conviction of the instability of man's proudest works" (34). Such sentiments were often echoed in the journals and diaries of the time. The disintegration of the once powerful Mughal Empire was proof to the British of the transitory nature of all mighty empires. It was both a lesson and a salutary warning to the British who were beginning to display postures of imperialist intentions (35).

In the final version, all the elements, including columns, cupolas, panelling and first floor outside windows were altered (illus.9). Particularly noticeable is the reversion to a simple design at ground floor level. Cockerell eventually discarded his initial thoughts about the use of many Hindu columns, and instead used only four quite plain ones dispersed around the bays (illus.11) (36). The staircase from the billiard room into the garden was not built. Other changes indicated at this stage included the addition of octagonal pillars, but fundamentally the basic overall design had been decided.

Above the bay, under the eaves, the Prince of Wales Feathers (illus.16) commemorate a visit the Regent made to Sezincote in 1808. A watercolour, now in the British Museum Prints and Drawings Room, is dated 1808 and was in the Regent's collection (37).

It is reputedly thought that the Prince of Wales visited Sezincote when he was staying at Hagley as the guest of the Earl of Hertford. Repton, although he did not mention the names of either Charles Cockerell or his brother Samuel in his Designs did mention Sezincote. The Prince must have read Read Repton's speculations when he received the designs for Brighton in 1806 and , finding himself in the vicinity of Sezincote, went to see for himself how the experiment was proceeding. Could it be that what he saw deterred him from using Repton's designs ?

The north front (illus.21) is very much the Cinderella of the principal facades. It is highly irregular in overall appearance, which is more noticeable today because since the conservatory was taken down, any view must also include the west wing. Nothing, however, can disguise the curious placement of the dome. In the east and south elevations it is centrally placed, but in the north it is distinctly off-centre. The only way it could have been centrally placed for all facades was by virtually demolishing the old house, extending the plan to a rectangle and rebuilding. Such an expense Charles Cockerell was obviously not willing to undertake. We are therefore left with this unusual elevation. I doubt that S. P. Cockerell was satisfied. The lower half of the building (west wing excluded) is perfectly symmetrical, and presents a monumental gateway appearance. Only one window is indicated in the plans (illus. 6, 7 and 8) but when the front was completed each of its three divisions had been supplied with windows. The lower level, beneath the chujja bears a similarity with Dance's

west front of Cole Orton in its use of pointed recessed panelling (see Stroud pl. 59 a & b). Such a relationship between the buildings not only emphasises the 'Indian' details of Cole Orton (see also the finials) but also the Tudor-Gothic interpretation of some aspects of Sezincote's design .

CONSERVATORIES

By November 1811 the conservatories had yet to be built, although their radiating arcs are shown on the basement plan (illus.7). All the indications are that the main block of the house had been finished. Undated sketches in the R.I.B.A. collection give very clear indications as to the plan of the south conservatory and the south garden (38). Many of the materials, including sashes, partitions, rafters and glass roof were sent from London. Local stone was to be used as had been the case in the house. The panel design is of a type associated with the mid-eighteenth century work at Pilibhit (illus.68) to which have been added finials and decorative crenellations, already mentioned. Cusped semi-circular windows on the south front of the house give way to cusped pointed arches on the conservatory (illus.17). The octagon (it is thought this was an aviary) is a riot of colonnettes, finials, delicate panelling, cupolas and coloured glass. The idea of using coloured glass had been proposed by Thomas Daniell in a letter of 14th January 1811. In it, Daniell refers to a 'Harlequinade B', implying there was a Harlequinade 'A'. Such an evocative title, redolent of fantastic shapes and entertainment would suitably describe the

effect of the two conservatories (39). The rectangular panels with shell decoration were coloured blue. There have been two restorations of the remaining conservatory since 1945 when the Kleinwort family bought Sezincote. The reconstruction has been in artificial stone replacing the original cotswold limestone which had been badly damaged by weathering. Hence the difference in colour between house and conservatory. The north conservatory, on the basis of popular legend, led to Sir Charles Cockerell's octagonal bedroom. Can this be true when his bedroom is clearly marked on the 1811 plan ? It could well have been a tent room, much in vogue in Regency Britain, and a perfect place for one.

THE FARM HOUSE

The design for the farm house at Sezincote went through at least two stages. It shows Daniell working from the primacy of authentic mughal features to an eventual compromise between authenticity and functionalism. In the first drawing (illus.28) (not a monumental gateway as indicated in the R.I.B.A. catalogue TD2, but a design for the farm house) the design comprises a pointed arch with panelling; pseudo-squinching is clearly indicated in the recess, as is a small door; a balcony window projects from one side which would certainly have its compliment on the other, unseen side. The sketch indicates that the building was to be 30 feet high and approached by steps, only summarily indicated by horizontal brush strokes.

Situated on a hill in a prominent position within full view of the house, this would have been a spectacular garden monument. Perhaps Daniell was trying to achieve the effect he had admired so much in the Buland Darwaza, or Gate of Victory at Sekundrabad which "has an appearance of grandeur much superior to anything we have seen in India the Tage not excepted". No view appeared in Oriental Scenery but Thomas Daniell later painted an oil of this building in 1821 (40), Hodges had also produced a view. It is possible that the farm buildings were designed to simulate an entrance to an enclosed garden or bagh, at least in this version. The illustration has been unfortunately cut, but the complete original drawing shows a low wall, approximately 12 feet high, punctuated at regular intervals by six towers. At the angles there were octagonal pavilions or chatris which were about double the height of the building. Just such an example of this design, though different in precise detailing, can be seen in the aquatint Gate of the Loll-Baug at Fyzabad (illus.62). The relative heights of the components of the building in the aquatint are the same proportion as Thomas Daniell's design. This shows how careful Daniell was with his detail.

However, by the time Samuel Pepys Cockerell had drawn up the final version (illus.22) it had changed considerably. The most obvious objection to the first design is that there would simply not have been enough space for a person to live in. Cockerell was an eminently practical architect and like many others, including Repton, obsessed by utility and convenience (41).

I would hypothesise that between the first design and the built form, there was at least one more design. It probably looked something like the entrance facade of the tomb of the Taj Mahal. The central block with its extensions on either side would have provided more accommodation, and the imposing feature of a pointed arch could have been kept. This must have been rejected as impractical, or perhaps it was thought that the design would rival that of the house. This is essentially a gateway design, but in the final version (illus.25) it has been deprived of what should have been its central feature. In its place there are rectangular windows, inset with scalloped arches and zig-zag panel decoration which may well have been copied from the tile decoration they observed "enthusiastically on the mosque at Rajmahal, where, the richness of the colours, and the enamelled surface produced a very splendid effect" (illus 74). As far as is known the panels on the farm house were never coloured. The top windows would not have looked out of place on a Bauhaus building.'

The octagonal "minarets" rising to finials and interconnected by banding are very reminiscent of the entrance facade of the Taj Mahal (illus.60), as are the proportions of the elevation with its raised central section. This arrangement is to be found all over north India, and was characteristic of the Mughal style. It is particularly noticeable in buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Delhi and Agra but is not confined to those areas (42)

It was this characteristic of some of the buildings of north India which George Dance noticed in the drawings and aquatints of the artist William Hodges and he used them in his design for a new south front to the Guildhall in the City of London. During 1787 Dance had been approached by the City Fathers to consider ways of improving the buildings in the area around the Guildhall. Eventually, after protracted negotiations with various leaseholders and freeholders, the plan was agreed. In 1788 Dance was asked to prepare plans for the facades of the Guildhall itself, and especially for the redesigning of the south front, which was in a poor condition. His brief had been to draw up plans which would render the improvements in conformity to the rest of the building. His first design was a Gothic one, but by the end of May he had produced a new plan (illus.118) (43). A major transformation had taken place. In the process of rethinking his design, Dance had introduced characteristics into his building which displayed a definite mughal influence. Like Cockerell, Dance was an eclectic as his design for Newgate Prison had shown.

Dance and the artist Hodges were friends, Academicians, and, at the time of the Guildhall improvements, neighbours. In addition Dance had a nephew Nathaniel in the East India Company's service. He would therefore have had a particular interest in any delineations of India such as Hodges had provided. As an architect with an interest in creating new decorative effects, he would have seen the Hodges drawings as providing new source material.

Dance's Guildhall was the first public building in Britain to have been designed in a quasi-Indian style. In conception it is related to Sezincote's farm house and was probably derived from similar sources. The facade is divided into three equal vertical sections with scalloped head windows to each section. The fluted pilasters rise from the ground floor through the whole facade; the middle two are the tallest. All four pilasters terminate in very elaborate finials and are connected by a blocking course of scalloped outline decorated with rosettes and acroteria. The 'Indian' character is highlighted by the cusped windows. Such elaborate finials may have been an attempt to produce an effect like the cupolas on the mosque at Ghazipore, which had appeared in one of Hodges' aquatints but Dance's treatment of Indian motifs was always subtle and extremely ambiguous (44).

If today we are in doubt about what constitutes the Guildhall's real character, at the time of its completion some were more certain. James Wyatt is reported by Farington as saying that although he admired Dance's abilities, the latter seemed in this instance to have "quitted grammatical Art for fancies" by substituting "for true Gothic, something taken from the prints published by Hodges" (45). Other writers' reactions were similar to our own. Thomas Malton and later James Elmes were both confused by its appearance. Malton found it "difficult to say in what style this building is constructed"; Elmes wrote : "The windows of the principal front are all pointed, which has given occasion to some writers to call the style of its architecture Gothic" (46).

Being unsure of the style of the building Elmes found it a perplexing task to decide what to call the four "piers, pilasters or buttresses" (47). Though thirty years after its construction one vitriolic critic knew perfectly that it was a "Hindoo Gothic deformity which disgraces an ancient edifice" (48). This criticism is very reminiscent of Carters' attacks on Cockerell particularly after the restoration of St. Margaret's, Westminster and Tickencote Church, Rutland. Perhaps not surprisingly since Cockerell and Dance were friends and both experimented with new forms.
It is no coincidence that during the same decade which saw the construction of Sezincote, Dance was also experimenting with new decorative detailing incorporating Indian ideas at Ashburnham Park, Sussex and Cole Orton, Leicestershire.

FARM BUILDINGS

To return to Sezincote : Included in the farm buildings is what has become called erroneously the 'Moorish' dairy. Given that the design of the buildings is consonant with the rest of the estate I see no reason for denominating it 'Moorish' (49). The column supports of the dressers are mughal as are other details such as the windows and the zig-zag patterning beneath it. The drawing (illus.26) is simply entitled Sketch for Dairy for Sir Cha^{s} Cockerell Bt. The fact that the watermark is dated 1808 and Cockerell's baronetage is noted would infer that it was designed during or soon after 1809.

Exotic dairies had become popular during the eighteenth century. The most famous surviving example is the Chinese Dairy at Woburn, Bedfordshire, built in 1787 by Henry Holland where its picturesque appearance is enhanced by its position adjacent to a lake. The inspiration for exoticising the manual labour associated with dairies is most probably French in origin. One immediately thinks of the farm which was built at Versailles for Marie Antoinette. At Sezincote the Indian decoration was continued inside: cream Wedgewood tiles cover the walls and the border tiles are decorated with an Indian motif. In its original condition (see Betjeman) the windows contained stained glass (50). There is also a coade stone centrepiece.

In 1802 Cockerell had been working on the design of St. Anne's Soho. Its influence manifested at Sezincote when he came later to design a clocktower there, as part of the range of stables. The original design (illus.30) has a distinctly castellated appearance, with crenellated towers at the angles, rising to an octagonal tower, surmounted by a clock and extended finial. This design facing north across to the house, has all the appearance of a theatrical device, the detailing is predominantly mughal; cusped windows, like the farm house and dairy, petal-merlons, the tower rising from a callix to a chujja and finial. The final version (south front illus.31) is less imposing, although this illustration does not show that the window was in fact kept. The real loss is the onion dome with clock, but perhaps it was decided to make it more in harmony with the cupola above the dairy (shown on the right, illus.30). The mughal columns at the corners of the tower, the pelmet design, callix,

crenellation and banding are features which occur again and again at Sezincote (51).

There must be serious reservations about the coachman's house being the work of S. P. Cockerell (illus.29). The lack of fastidious detail, especially the outer finials and the gauche lozenge decorations resemble those found in the drawings of lodges and gateways(Illus.43, 44) and are definitely not the work of Samuel Pepys Cockerell. They could be the product of a local builder but I am more inclined to think that they and the coachman's house are the work of Charles Cockerell. His interest in architecture has already been mentioned. It seems like a rather poor copy of the farm house, even down to the panelling either side of the main block. The lower, recessed windows are similar to those on the ground floor level of the main house.

Despite the unusual style for the farm and stables, Sezincote was not the first place to have Indian stables. William Porden had been the first architect to employ the style on a utilitarian structure. His design for a pavilion of public amusement in the 'Mohammetan style' has already been noted. It was at Brighton that he was given the chance to create an important building in a new style (52). Porden had prepared designs for the stables sometime during 1802. Work began in 1803 but was not fully completed until 1808 (at a cost of £54,000) although it was in use by August 1806. The basic design had been taken from Bellanger's Halle au Ble, Paris, erected in 1782. Porden's design attracted immediate attention. Mrs. Calvert wrote in her journal for April 1807

that the stables were "a most superb edifice, indeed quite unnecessarily so" (53). Repton thought it "a stupendous and magnificent Building" and adds that it was at Brighton that he "saw in some degree realized the new forms which (he) had admired in drawings" (54). These would have been Cockerell's drawings of Sezincote, which had yet to be built. That Porden, Repton, Daniell, Dance and Cockerell must have discussed the subject of a new style is shown by the similarity between Porden and Repton's designs for Brighton, and Cockerell's for Sezincote, while Dance's interest in Indian architecture was more theoretical than practical. On Porden's north front (illus.99) the facade is conceived in terms of a ceremonial entrance flanked by wings and pavilions; the triple composition of window, minarets and interconnecting banding is also employed on the south front (illus.97). A similar composition can be seen at Sezincote, in the design of the east front of the farm buildings. Unlike the design of the central section of Cockerell's farm house, Porden's composition carries more of the force of the original mughal. In this case, the large cusped windows, set in panels replace an entrance archway which would have been of similar proportions, the windows either side would have been panels. Porden's influence on Cockerell may be detected in a similar use of alternating high and low arches in the octagons (see Porden's horses stalls on the ground floor).

Very little is known about Porden and how it was he came to receive a Royal Commission. Until 1803 Holland had been the Regent's architect at Brighton, and had built the pavilion in a classical

style in 1787. But it would appear from the preface to John Nash's Views of the Royal Pavilion (1826) that the Regent had grown tired of classical concepts of architecture. He wanted something new and different.

> "... in fixing upon this character was induced by a strong dislike to the absurd and perverted taste which universally prevailed of introducing the simplicity which is the charm of the Great Temple into every structure, whether suited or not to the purposes of the building and even into the interior of our houses and to the furniture itself. H M knew also that the forms of which the Eastern structures are composed were susceptible more than any other (the Gothic perhaps excepted) of rich and picturesque combinations" (55).

From this we can deduce that the Regent was unhappy about classical simplicity, feeling that it was not only very limited and unsuitable but also monotonous and without variety. Nash makes it quite clear that it was the Regent's decision to have a stable block in the 'Eastern' style (56).

Porden had already exhibited a design in the Mohammetan style of Hindustan at the R. A. in 1797 which the Regent may have seen. For some reason he received the commission, perhaps because Porden himself was, like the Regent, searching for new forms of variety which could be united with utility. The Regent's anti-classical stance evinced in this quotation may represent a personal disenchantment with the academic traditions of Sandby and Chambers (57). A tradition which had been supported by his father, whom he was opposing politically at this time. Porden had acquired a reputation as an anti-establishment architect. In 1779 he published a satire on the Academy (58) in collaboration with Sydney Smirke and Robert Watson, both painters. Porden is presumed to have supplied the

attack on Chambers, Sandby and Paine. These architects were all classicists. Here perhaps then is the basis of a tenuous link between the Regent and Porden; their similar opinions bringing them together. Hence the Porden commission (59). The adoption of Bellanger's Halle au Ble built in 1783 (the first building in Europe to be erected in cast-iron and glass) does indicate a willingness to acquaint himself with modern design ideas in France, an interest he shared with Cockerell.

THE GARDEN BUILDINGS

The design of the garden buildings, which included the gardener's house, summer house, Indian bridge and Temple of Surya was the preserve of Thomas Daniell. He produced sketches of great beauty. The temple at Melchet Park had shown that Daniell was capable of great refinement, and a sureness of touch in his choice of Indian forms. The garden buildings at Sezincote serve to increase our admiration in this respect. They are not essays in architectural exuberance such as Nash produced at Brighton, but in their restrained simplicity they have an elegance which Nash was only rarely capable of. One of the most sensitive buildings is undoubtedly the Bridge.

There were several versions of the bridge of which the beautiful watercolour (illus.37) must have been the final one, differing only in small details from the bridge as built (60). Originally the parapet was to be higher and the lattice work painted a russet colour. The parapet was topped by four Brahminy Bulls (61) and lotus buds (a characteristic feature of a mughal parapet). This is

the only bridge built in the Indian style that is known (62).

The bridge is a curious amalgam of Hindu and Mughal elements. Daniell was obviously attempting a mixed architectural style such as he had noticed at the "Baolee" or public bath at Ramnagur (illus.63) and "Cannouge" (illus.61) in November 1789. He wrote that they were "in a mixed style of architecture in which the Mahomedan evidently prevails" (63). In the final version the bridge was four columns deep and in effect resembes a cave, which was most probably the intention, hence the stepping stones which were put down. The use of Hindu columns here may be entirely functional, their sturdy proportions perhaps being considered more capable of carrying the weight of horses and carriages than the more delicate Mughal columns and scalloped arches.

There is a surprising lack of fantasy in the shapes of the buildings in the Thornery, and in the grounds as a whole. The multi-domed summer house (illus.38) comes closest to the whimsical but there is no evidence to show whether this building was ever erected, despite Daniell's finished drawing. On the 1880 plan (illus.2) a summer house was definitely indicated as "number 13". Nothing is left of that building to show what was there and neither Betjeman nor Hussey mentioned it. Whether (illus.38) represents this building cannot now be determined. The design is watermarked '1809' and was therefore designed at the same time as the bridge. Its fantastic character suggests that this must be a design for a summer house, though one writer quite unaccountably has thought that

this was a preliminary design for the house (64). But its late date, small size and scale - it is only one storey high and only 44 feet long - and its general character repudiate the notion. Its 'mosque-like' appearance is created by the use of domes and minarets and scalloped arches. Some elements such as the crenellation appear on the house and the rectangular panels above the outside doors are borrowed from the octagons. The depiction of minarets in this drawing, such a feature of both Nash's and Repton's designs for Brighton, was their only appearance at Sezincote. In characteristic Mughal style the building has been raised on a plinth. One cannot help thinking that had it been built, Daniell would have included in in his series of oil paintings of Sezincote. Perhaps the cost deterred its construction.

Another design may represent the summerhouse (illus.41). Though not shown, the use of flyleaves displays two versions. Underneath the elevation is a ground plan showing that the pavilion was to be '16 feet square' and have twelve columns (65). It is undated but must be c. 1809. Again there is no indication that it was built.

The Temple of Surya (illus.39) was built and can still be seen (recently rebuilt in Cumbrian stone). It overlooks the circular pool with Shiva-lingam fountain. Either side of it are niches which originally contained Hindu emblems (illus.40). The design which must date from the same period as the other garden buildings, was not Daniell's first attempt at a Hindu shrine. Mention has already been made of the Temple at Melchet Park for Major John Osbourne.

The attempt to create a wayside Hindu shrine is wholly in keeping with the intimate nature of its setting. It is set on a seven-stepped plinth, with stepped roof complete with amalaka finial (see Banbury Church, illus 88). From a letter written by Daniell on January 14th 1811 (R.I.B.A.) it is known that the pool was then finished. But according to records(in the P. R. O.)of the Coade Stone Works, the fountain was bought for £27 in November 1813 (66).

The figure of Surya must have been one of the "4 figures Apollo (Surya is the Apollo of the Hindus) . . at 40 guineas each, 8 bulls, 4 elephants, 12 at 5 guineas" (67).

The designer of the figures may have been John Rossi (1761-1839) a friend of Thomas Daniell's who had worked at Melchet Park and had carved the original bust of Warren Hastings there. The bulls would therefore have been already available since they had been used at Melchet Park. Rossi had also worked for Porden at Brighton on the decorative work of the stables. (68.) He was therfore well acquainted with 'Indian' decorative work (69).

One of the Apollo statues can be accounted for but what of the other three ? According to Croggan's Day Book of September 1815 (in the P. R. O.) another Apollo was despatched and fixed at India House at a cost of £3.6s.8d. But the whereabouts of the two other statues, or their intended places is not known. Nor is it known what happened to the eight elephants. There is an elephant and howdah oil lamp drawing in R.I.B.A. (70) by Thomas Daniell (see illus 45). Five lamps are supplied by a reservoir. The

height of the lamp would be about fifteen inches. (The design is dated "13 Dec 1809"). Unfortunately there is no indication of whether the lamp was made, but it may have been intended for the hall of the house since doorways are marked on either side and this part of the entrance would have been very dark without artificial light. However, the present doorways are ogee-headed. The south octagon preserves an example of the coade stone plinth and palm treet (illus.95): another curious mixture of Grecian plinth and Hindu details, with a deity seated on an elephant accompanied by a servant and mahout. Even the bell frieze can be traced to details in Hindu temples, such as thoseon a column at Delhi (illus.58). Since detailed drawings for the reservoirs do exist, it could be presumed that the lamps were made.

But does this account for all eight elephants or were others placed in the garden ? Neither the Martin aquatints nor Thomas Daniell's paintings provide any clue (71).

Work on the garden must have continued throughout the entire period, although little is recorded except for Repton's visit. The garden design (illus.42) owes much to Repton's influence particularly the emphasis on very formal parterres. Although watermarked '1816' many aspects of the design, for instance the octagonal fountain, the conservatory and the paths, had been indicated on Repton's earlier drawing. The apron of parterres at the bottom of the design were not put into effect. There is some speculation that the figure in Thomas Daniell's Wellington Pillar painting is Humphrey Repton (72)

but it is much more likely to be his son George Repton. However, if the figure is pouring over an architectural sketch and not a garden design then it has to be C. R. Cockerell who was working at Sezincote at this time. In all there were three fountains in the south garden, marked 'A', 'C' and 'D' on the plan (illus.50). The fountain with panels and pelmet design complete with subsidiary fountains at the angles is 'a la Mogul' (73). Porden had also used a panelled octagonal fountain in the stables at Brighton.

It remains to mention the grotto (not illustrated here, but deriving perhaps from the aquatint of 'The Temple of Mandeswara near Chaynpore' Bihar (74) and like it set in a bank with trees.

The farm buildings and the gardener's house have two functions in the Sezincote scheme: they are important for the maintenance of the estate, but they were designed and sited so as to maximise their picturesque possibilities. Both buildings were intended to be seen from the house and so had to conform to the characteristics of the house, without supplanting it. This was judiciously achieved in the farm buildings by giving them a very individual character. The same is true of the gardener's house.

The drawing of the gardener's cottage c. 1809 (illus.35, see also 36) shows two elevations, the north and south, the lower pencil sketch is the final version of the south front. Again, the idea of a monumental gateway has been projected, this time surmounted by a cupola very similar to that at Sekunderabad (illus.54). In the

final version (illus.36) the building was less impressive, but also less pretentious. The north front faces towards the house and park and it was therefore necessary to have a building with character, imposing but not overwhelming. Daniell has provided just the correct degree of balance between whimsy and novelty - house and garden architecture. The south side which is the most attractive (illus.13) faces the kitchen gardens, a good example of Daniell's meticulous care whether seen or unseen.

It is fortunate that there are adequate records of how Sezincote looked between 1817-19. The artists John Martin and Thomas Daniell both recorded the condition of Sezincote at this time. Between 1818 and 1819 Daniell exhibited six pictures of Sezincote at the Royal Academy. In 1826 a seventh followed of the farm house and stables (75). In 1818 Martin exhibited four watercolours of the estate. They form part of a set of ten views which appeared in aquatint in c.1819. Two editions were published, one in sepia and the other coloured. Why all the sudden activity ? My opinion is that they were commissioned by Cockerell to coincide with his election as a Freeman of the City of London in 1819. An engraved portrait was published in the Gentleman's Magazine at the time and a full length family portrait was commissioned from Sir Thomas Lawrence (76). Cockerell was at the height of his influence in the mercantile world and he was still the M.P. for Evesham. His house and gardens were now complete. Substantially Sezincote still remains the same, although the north conservatory has gone. Neither Daniell nor Martin show the 'Serpent Fountain' in their views of the bridge, but it was definitely in place because Martin made a sketch of it (77) and

it reappears in his 'Belshazzar's Feast'painting of 1821. Why Martin was chosen is difficult to determine. He was a rising star of the art world. He was also interested in Indian architecture as can be seen from his paintings, particularly 'The Fall of Babylon' (1819) (78) and 'Belshazzar's Feast' (1821). When the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823 he was for a time a member, as was Thomas Hope, and gave copies of his engraved work to the Society. Martin may have had family links with India or may have come to know Cockerell through his patron, William Manning. He made many sketches of architectural details at Sezincote and devised a fountain that combined an 'Elephanta' column with a baluster or amalaka-shape finial. In his depiction of the ancient world in 'Belshazzar's Feast' he offers an amalgam of Babylonian ziggurat, Hindu columns, Egyptian and Roman architecture. He was careful not to include Mughal architecture since it represented a still existing but impoverished tradition. The Hindu columns are references to the ancient world of the cave temples of Ellora and Elephanta (illus. 75, 76), symbols of extinct 'barbarous heathendom' as were the other styles. In the picture are depicted the results of monumental 'heathen' folly, overlooked by the discarded serpent of wisdom entwined aronnd the Shiva's lingam, symbol of cosmic creation, who is both the creator and destroyer of kingdoms.

The Daniell paintings offer something of a problem. They show that the house was quite a different colour from what it is now. The domes were painted white to resemble marble and the cullices gilded. The first floor balcony on the east front was painted dark blue and

the lattice railing in front of the house was creamy white. But the house was clearly the shade of Cotswold limestone and not as today a deep orange colour. The problem of colour is an altogether interesting one. Did Thomas Daniell deliberately change the colour of the house to make it more prominent and distinguishable from the autumnal colours of the foliage behind the house ? He had omitted the serpent fountain - perhaps he would change the colour ? This he had most certainly done with the monuments of India in Oriental Scenery. The Gateway at Sekunderabad is made of red sandstone, not orange. Daniell's choice of colouring owes much to the Picturesque tradition, with its accent upon subtle shading, twilight atmosphere, and autumnal tinting. In such a context, large areas of deep reds would have been not only out of place but unacceptable to the contemporary eye reared on Salvator Rosa and Claude. Daniell's vision of India was transformed to suit English tastes.

That is one possible answer to the problem another may lie in the increasing fashionability of Bath stone. Nash had used it at Brighton Pavilion, Buckingham Palace and All Souls, Langham Place. When Apsley House was built for the Duke of Wellington at Hyde Park Corner (1828) both it and the later Wellington Arch (1846) were stained to resemble Bath stone. As a friend and neighbour of Wellington's, Cockerell may well have followed his example. Sezincote is now a deep orange colour, perhaps derived from the application of ochre and oil, which must have been applied after Daniell had painted his views.

THE FINAL PHASE

Cockerell had still not brought all his plans for the estate to fruition. Monumental gateways and lodges were still required and to this end Sir Charles Cockerell enlisted the help of his favourite nephew, Charles Robert Cockerell, the aspiring classical architect.

Even before C. R. Cockerell's first recorded connection with Sezincote in 1818 (79), he could not possibly have been a stranger to either the designs or the construction. In the summer of 1806 he had accompanied Thomas and William Daniell on a tour of Devon and Wales (80). By that time Sezincote's Indian character had been determined and drawings made. On their way to Devon, Daniell had remarked to Cockerell that Salisbury Cathedral reminded him more of Indian architecture than any other building he had seen in Britain. An interesting reference which highlights the continuing debate about the similarities between pointed architecture in Britain and that in India. At Barnstaple, in north Devon, Daniell noted that the vegetation reminded him of India. Such remarks could not but have increased Cockerell's interest in the culture of India. In Wales they visited Hafod, the seat of Thomas Johnes, a friend of the artists Hodges and Renaldi. Both of whom had been to India. (81)

Cockerell was to become the most famous Greek revivalist of his generation. He was responsible for the Bassae frieze, which he found at Phigaleia in 1811, being bought by Britain in 1814.

His reconstruction of the frieze and the engraving made of it brought him immediate fame. Cockerell had left England in 1810 and did not return until 1817. During that time he travelled widely in Italy, Greece, and Turkey. He met some of the most influential classicists of the day including Canova, Thorwaldesen, and Ingres. Some of the English people he met abroad, eventually proved beneficial to his career. His travels brought him fame and the fond admiration of Sir Charles Cockerell who lost no opportunity in telling his friends in the city about him.

S. P. Cockerell was ill and could not take any further part in Sir Charles Cockerell's plans at Sezincote (82). C. R. Cockerell was therefore the natural choice; an architect at the outset of his career eager for employment. Although it may seem strange for a confirmed classicist to design 'Indian' buildings,like his father his was not an exclusive style and it could accommodate Romanesque and Gothic, as well as the Greek, albeit not in the same building. He was much impressed by Nash's Blaise Hamlet near Bristol and it influenced his work at Sezincote. Diamond Lodge (illus.47) at Sezincote must surely be in emulation, though not a copy, of Nash's Diamond Cottage (1809) at Blaise Hamlet and hence its name.

Sir Charles Cockerell had projects in mind for Sezincote estate. One was the erection of gateways and lodges on the Worcester and Bourton-on-the-Hill roads. Secondly, he wanted a new approach to the house. Thirdly, his family had increased (there were now three children) and lack of space forguests and offices was serious. His

marriage in 1809 had already resulted in the 1811 additions to the house but these were for his family. He therefore proposed a range of guest bedrooms and offices to the rear of the house.

In his Diary for July 11th 1822, C. R. Cockerell, then at Sezincote, records that a "new approach to Sezincote very advantageous, a lodge proposed 300 yds, from main road near enclosure and about - with a bridge may be made very pretty". A road had been constructed from Bourton-on-the-Hill to the house via the park and this is the first mention of Diamond Lodge (illus.47). Other lodges were proposed for Worcester Road (illus.46) and Bourton-on-the-Hill (illus.49). They comformed to the character of the estate but were less grandiose than Sir Charles Cockerell's own designs (illus.43 & 44). C. R. Cockerell also prepared drawings for a gate on the "High road" (possibly the Stow - Worcester road) which should have "massive noble and grave piers to announce the consequence of Sezincote and iron handsome gates (see R.I.B.A. J5/26.2) and make lodge partly concealed.. but the space 80 ft front to the road is too contracted - the other lodge might be irregular and picturesque - 2 lodges thatched towards Worcester road" (Diary, Jan 6th, 1823). Later in the year he visited the estate again and was much dismayed with Diamond Lodge "when details are neglected design is obscured" (Diary Sept.12th 1823) and on Worcester road he noted "nothing can be worse". On the same day he drew an Indian dome in his diary and was evidently either thinking of using a dome for one or more of the lodges or was trying to resolve the problem of describing an Indian dome.

As far as I know C. R. Cockerell's designs are the first to show the influence of Indian vernacular architecture in Britain. Their curvilinear roofs are adaptations of Bengal huts of a type often shown in Oriental Scenery. In India the shape of the roofs permitted the monsoon rains to be directed away from the walls of the huts. In England, their picturesque beehive shape could be combined with the design of lodges, and the cottage ornee. They were the forerunners of the numerous bungalow (derived from the Bengali) developments of this century which have made such an impression in the design of housing, especially for the elderly and retired. Most major towns have their bungalow suburbs, but this model has proved to be particularly popular with those who retire to the seaside. Here again is found the mixture of utility and frivolity so much associated with the Indian style. Their basic design often comprises a verandah, decorative gabling with motifs drawn from the East (83).

In about 1827 a year after he had designed Hinchwick Farm House for Sir Charles, C. R. Cockerell made plans for an annexe to the rear of Sezincote house. He extended the character of the west wing, with its colonnettes, and Lady Cockerell's elaborate balcony (illus.21) to the offices and guest bedrooms (illus.24), though only a first floor level because the ground floor would not have been visible behind the north conservatory. The effect is a restrained orientalism, consonant with the austerities of the north facade of the house. The window surrounds are much closer to the balconies of the 'fairy palaces' of Park Lane than mughal India. Papworth had used mughal columns with elaborate balconies at

No. 1 Bath Place, London (illus.123) c. 1822-3, to just the same effect and for the same reason, that is, to alleviate an otherwise plain facade. The position of the balconies must indicate that the rooms to which they are an appendage were for guests and this is confirmed by the beautiful interiors (84).

At no time does C. R. Cockerell mention consultations with Thomas Daniell. He was extraordinarily busy at this time in his life with work in progress in many parts of Britain (see Watkin for a full list) and there may not have been time. Family and friends in the East India trade were proving to be as important to C. R. Cockerell as they had been to his father. That he did not have close links with Thomas Daniell or knowledge of Indian architecture is proved by his somewhat naive reaction on being told about the size and shape of the domes at Delhi by Captain W. A. Clifford RN for whom he designed a house (85), domes which had been published by Daniell in Oriental Scenery a quarter of a century before. Indian architecture may have been for Cockerell an architectural irrelevancy. Something he was all too familiar with at Sezincote but which he perhaps wished to forget as did his father (86).

In 1826 Thomas Daniell had made his last visit to Sezincote and painted a picture of the stables. He was then approaching eighty but lived to be ninety, and remained to the end of his life the only authority on Indian architecture in Britain. Samuel Pepys Cockerell died in July 1827, a major blow to C. R. Cockerell who wrote poignantly of his feelings for his father in his diary.

Sir Charles Cockerell was over reaching himself financially. Indeed, as early as July 11th 1822 C. R. Cockerell recorded that his uncle had confided in him that ".. he had spent more than his income for many years", and wondered if he meant income derived from the Sezincote estate or from his "whole property". He was indeed living beyond his means for beside the completion of Sezincote, he had restored the church at Longborough and added a Sezincote aisle where he was eventually buried. In 1826 C. R. Cockerell had redesigned Cockerell's farm at Hinchwick. It became clear to Sir Charles something would have to be done. In 1827 on the 9th June he sold some paintings by Brueghel, Ribera, Velasquez and Murillo at Christies (Lots 82-93). He disposed of a property at Lapworth, Warwickshire in 1830 (87).

There are only two descriptions that I have discovered which give a clue to how others appreciated Sezincote at the time. One was published in 1823 in Neale's Beauties of England and Wales Vol VI. It describes Sezincote as being :

> "In the style of the splendid palaces of the east. The Grounds are varied and beautiful, and the whole laid out with very great taste and judgement; a part is called the Thornery. They have been embellished with a variety of ornamental buildings erected in the most picturesque situations. The Wellington Pillar, the Temple, the Bridge, and the Fountain, are subjects of the pencil of Thomas Daniell, Esq. R.A., an artist well known for his exquisite delineations of oriental scenery..".

A local vicar, the Rev. F. E. Witts rode over to Sezincote on 30th August 1828, and described his impressions thus :

> "Made a little excursion to Sezincote, where we passed nearly two hours in viewing the house and grounds. The exterior of the former is striking and picturesque, after

> a Hindu model, the tomb of Hyder Ali, and the first view of the house, conservatory, flower garden, bank of wood etc, very peculiar and pleasing; but the interior is badly arranged, and not particularly well furnished (Had Cockerell sold some of the furniture ?) . Several new apartments for bed chambers have recently bean added; but the situation is very unfavourable under a high bank of clay covered with dense foliage, hence the house, conservatory and offices are very damp and the dry rot has already commenced its ravages. The shrubberies and drest grounds are pretty and peculiar, the oriental taste is preserved, as far as it could. Sir Charles and Lady Cockerell are now abroad". (88).

This is the only description extant of the building from this time, and there was not to be another for 100 years, until John Betjeman wrote about it in the 1920's. Witts' description displays how much Haider Ali, Tipu and the Mysore Wars had penetrated the folk tradition of Britain. It serves to emphasise the point that it was through the Mysore wars that a new policy developed towards India. It was through them that everyone in England became aware for the first time of India as a British possession.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WIDER CONTEXT

Repton's exposition of the Indian style and his reasons for its application at Brighton refer directly to Sezincote. His arguments can be used to explain the criteria needed for the adoption of another style. This section of the thesis explains the debates current at the time, which enabled the Indian style to take root in England.

It is my opinion that the Indian style was chosen for Sezincote by Sir Charles Cockerell, for although S. P. Cockerell had used mughal details elsewhere it is doubtful whether he would have wished to design a building in this style, had not Charles Cockerell insisted. This may provide a clue to the omission of Sezincote from his list of works in A. P. S. D. S. P. Cockerell was faced with many of the problems which were to beset Repton. Although, unlike Repton, he would not have been obliged to justify

his designs to a royal patron, he may well have had to justify them in private to members of the Architectural Club of which he was a founder member. He would undoubtedly have been acquainted with the arguments which Repton presented. While Cockerell and Dance made innovations in their styles, Repton was always against novelty and experiment. In 1795 he had written "let experiments of untried theoretical improvement be made in some other country"(1). As recently as 1806 when the designs for Brighton were made, Repton wrote about taste, fashion and novelty, warning that common sense should prevail or "we may perpetuate absurdities" (2). He had even railed against the use of "the architecture of a hot country, ill adapted to a cold one as the Grecian and Roman portico to the north front of an English house, or the Indian varandah as a shelter from the cold east winds of this climate" (3). Repton then contradicted this view and in the same year was to design an 'Indian varandah' for the north front of Brighton.

If novelty was a vice for Repton, for Aikin it was a virtue. Edmund Aikin who published some designs for villas in the same year as Repton's Brighton thought "the pursuit of novelty becomes not merely desirable, but necessary .. accordingly.. (he) selected those (designs) which appeared to have least of the common-place of modern building" (4). Most of the designs show the direct influence of the aquatints of Thomas Daniell which he acknowledged. For Aikin, novelty had become necessary because there had appeared so many volumes of architectural plans, that he wished to make his own distinctive. This does not however seem to have brought him

any commissions. Novelty, according to Payne Knight, was important because it relieved the senses of "painful listlessness" created by "unvaried existence" (5). It promoted change from a state of permanency and he illustrated this with an analogy of the way in which Greek and Roman architecture had changed little over a period of six hundred years, a fact which he equated with the unchanging nature of Greek and Roman dress. However, once novelty was introduced changes occured. In the time of Hadrian, he noted this had led to extravagant forms, and novelty was soon mistaken for elegance. Even though it could corrupt taste it also changed it. Repton was certainly hoping for some change when he appealed to his friend Mr. John Wilkins to design a house at Bracondale, Norwich (1792) which would "depart from all quadrangular ideas, bow windows and other hackneyed forms.. yet be a beautiful example of correct architecture" (6).

The result, with one exception, was a plain two-storey rectangular house with a semi-circular bay. The exception was an extraordinary dome of mughal character. Unlike a classical dome it terminated in a callix. There is some doubt as to whether it had been built at the same time as the rest of the house. One feels that had Repton been responsible in any way he would certainly have mentioned it in his prefactory notes to the designs of Brighton. The original patron, Phillip Martineau, a surgeon, seems to have had no connection with India himself, although in 1805 Norwich became the first town in Britain to manufacture its own 'Kashmir' shawls. One of Bracondale's owners, perhaps between 1810-30 when the 'Indian'

style was used elsewhere, may have owned the factory and added the dome to symbolise his connection with India.

The point I wish to return to is that Repton was searching for relief from the monotony of the plain 'Grecian' style then so much in vogue. It was from Sir Charles Cockerell that Repton discovered a new source of beauty and variety which was both a means of modifying Grecian and an alternative to the Gothic :

> "I was pleased at having discovered new sources of beauty and variety, which might gratify that thirst for novelty, so dangerous to good taste in any system long established" (7)

Repton had already acknowledged the "good taste" and "accuracy" of Charles Cockerell's knowledge of Indian architecture, particularly evident in his opening remarks in Designs where he attacks those who amassed wealth, but lacked taste. The result of such a combination was either an ostentatious display or a selfish indulgence, invariably they co-existed (8).

The result of introducing novelty into architecture was to increase the possibilities of variety and intricacy, both essential components of the Indian style. They provided the essential light hearted character of any fancy style such as the Indian, Moorish, or Chinese, and were used most often in places of entertainment, at the seaside, in theatres and watering places. The fanciful and the frivolous were much associated. In 1786 Reynolds had first made architects aware of the importance of variety and intricacy. These characteristics were considered beautiful and excellent "in every other of the Arts which address the imagination and why not in Architecture" (9).

Whilst warning of the hazards of deviating from Grecian architecture and asserting that only a master of his art should even attempt it, he hoped that architects would follow the example of Vanbrugh. In Vanbrugh's work Reynolds found qualities of variety and imagination which were achieved because Vanbrugh had "recourse to some principles of the Gothick Architecture; which, though not so ancient as the Grecian, is more so to our imagination" (10). S. P. Cockerell was certainly in agreement with this view and was probably quoting Reynolds when he referred to Blenheim as "a busy mixture of Cupolas turrets and ornamented Chimneys (which) give an extension to the whole and a diversity not inconsistent with harmony, that has a powerful effect upon the imagination" (11). His knowledge of the Reynolds Discourse XIII reappears later in the same letter when he refers to Vanbrugh's sense of poetry which enabled him to conceive picturesque forms. However, he was "too much of a painter and too little of an architect to consider the details of Elegance and usefulness" (12). It was right that architecture should appeal, like painting, to the imagination but imagination should always, according to Samuel Pepys Cockerell, be under the control of some "Judgement which is a discriminating principle of severe examination, slow progress and sober decisions" (13). It is Cockerell's use of this "Judgement" at Sezincote which makes its design so economical, and, despite the Indian style, classical. One feels that Nash, who was altogether more theatrical, would never have given such sober advice.

Knight thought intricacy and variety should be encouraged, especially in the design of parks and gardens. He was an opponent of 'Capability' Brown's improvements and took every opportunity to attack his ideas. It was Brown's monotony in the layouts of parks, like his contrived use of Grecian in building, which Knight attacked so vehemently. Such designs, with their large open spaces enclosed by belts and dotted with clumps, contained nothing to interest the imagination. By opening up the park "all the charms of intricacy and variety are demolished, and no other substituted in their place" (14). Knight's appeal for these qualities was based on the assumption that they are natural, and follow the natural order of things. Brown's designs were the very opposite. Uvedale Prince agreed with Knight :

> "Upon the whole, it appears to me, that as intricacy in the disposition, and variety in the forms, the tints, and the lights and shadows of objects, are the great characteristics of picturesque scenery; so monotony and baldness, are the great defects of improved places" (15).

Variety, intricacy and irregularity were the fundamental concerns of all those involved in the 'Picturesque'. The 'Picturesque' theory had evoled during the eighteenth century in an attempt to understand the effect abstract qualities of nature had on the observer. Edmund Burke in his "Inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful" was the first to evolve a lucid theory of abstract aesthetics. He divided the impression an object made on the observer into two categories: the Sublime and the Beautiful. Both categories appealed to sub-conscious feelings, and not, as with the writings of Pope, to knowledge or morality.

An object was considered beautiful if it was smooth, gentle and pleasing. Anything which created feelings of fear, infinity and pain was Sublime.

These categories persisted until it was realised that there was another aesthetic category, distinct from them both. To this was given the name 'Picturesque'. Uvedale Price (1794) published a volume on it which he called "The Picturesque". He was not the first to conceive of this category. Gilpin in his Essay on Picturesque Beauty had done so many years before. But it was Price who provided the most influential and important exposition of Picturesque attributes, the most important of which were variety, intricacy, irregularity and, in opposition to the beautiful, roughness and sudden variation. Picturesque meant after the manner of the painter. If Burke's categories could be related to the paintings of ideal landscapes by such artists as Claude and Gaspar Poussin, the Picturesque could be discerned in the more naturalistic landscapes of Dutch masters such as Ruysdael, and the Italian Salvator Rosa.

The study of pictures is essential, according to Price, for an understanding of Nature, because artists had already perceived the intrinsic merits of certain types of scenery. From them the gardener, artist and architect could learn new combinations of form. In the words of Hussey "Price began not only to look at nature as though it were a series of pictures, but to look at pictures as a set of experiments of different ways in which trees, buildings, and water may be disposed" (16).

They could be disposed "in every style, from the most simple and rural, to the grandest and most ornamental" (17). A standard could be established by studying the works of the "great masters" whose reputations, like those of the classical authors, had received uninterrupted admiration. They therefore exerted a unique influence in matters of judgement and taste. Such authorities should not, however, be considered infallible and absolute (18), new forms of variety could be achieved by observing nature. Price was anxious to point out that although he recommended the study of pictures, they should not be referred to exclusively, because of the danger of becoming pedantic. He cited the influence such an approach had on the followers of Brown. The kind of art to be referred to must offer variety and limitless scope. Even then it would lack the infinite variety of nature herself.

Several points emerge from this discussion. Pictures were important because they offered a mirror to nature, but they are mirrors, not nature itself. Only those pictures which afford variety should be consulted, Nature herself is infinite, and when studied, forms may emerge which would challenge even long accepted traditions.

To return to the first point : pictures were an important way of perceiving nature. Nature includes not only the 'natural' world of flora and fauna but also buildings. Knight refers to buildings having become 'naturalised' (19), a part of nature and therefore part of the landscape scenery. Thomas Daniell referred to his drawings of Indian scenes as "transcripts of nature" (20). It

follows that whatever is painted by an artist carries with it a sanction for use elsewhere. For Knight the fact that mixed architecture had appeared in the works of Claude and Gaspar Poussin without any critic having objected, meant that we should be free to employ it.

It is my contention that Thomas Daniell's views of India provided a new way of looking at nature which thus became sanctioned because it appeared on canvas, as had Gothic castles in the work of Claude and Gaspar Poussin. It was the unique influence over his peers which the artist possessed that enabled new forms to be introduced into the landscape. Thus the appearance of Indian architecture in painting would automatically have provided a sandion for its use. This is one reason for its inception. Significantly no Indian architectural forms appeared until paintings had been made of them. Furthermore, in an age which applauded variety and intricacy Indian architecture (both Hindu and Muslim) could offer new and apparently inexhaustible sources of these characteristics. In the work of William Hodges and Thomas Daniell Indian architecture was presented in a Claudian manner and this certainly aided the acceptance of an alien architecture. According to Reynolds' Discourse of 1786 Hodges' aquatints (Select Views of India) could stimulate the architect, as the Gothic had done Vanbrugh "with hints of composition and general effect, which would not otherwise have occurred" (21). But he warned against copying them because the sound rules of Grecian architecture were not lightly to be transgressed.

Clearly Reynolds was well aware that his remarks could lead to modifications in Grecian architecture, which because, like the paintings of the great masters, it had withstood the test of time, had attained the status of a natural law. Although Grecian architecture occupied a unique position in the world of taste, the appreciation of Gothic had gradually increased during the eighteenth century, so that Aikin could write in 1808 that Gothic was then as much liked as a hundred years previously it had been detested. The concept of mimesis, the imitation of nature, had been employed for the same reasons as with classical architecture, but for different ends (22). If classical architecture had, according to Vitruvius, developed from the primitive hut, constructed of logs and branches, Gothic, according to the Frenchman H. Le Blanc, had developed from forest groves (23). The Bishop of Gloucester, William Warburton (1698-1779) thought the columns of Gothic cathedrals were the result of imitating trees (24). One enthusiast, Sir James Hall, (1761-1832) went so far as to construct a wicker hut in his garden in Edinburgh to test his theory of the evolution of Gothic from the wicker hut (25). Hall also quoted Sir Christopher Wren's views on the origin of Gothic and clearly indicated that when Gothic architecture could be appreciated as a distinct style, an appreciation of Indian architecture was bound to follow.

In 1713 Sir Christopher Wren presented to the Bishop of Rochester a report entitled "On the State of Westminster Abbey"(26). In it he gave a brief historical account of the Abbey followed by a theory of the origin of Gothic architecture. "I think" he writes, "it should with more reason be called the Saracen style, for these people

wanted neither arts nor learning; and after we in the west lost both, we borrowed again from them" (27). He continued "The Saracen mode of building, seen in the East soon spread over Europe" (28). John Evelyn had already put forward such ideas in 1707 and Wren may have derived his own ideas from them. The Eastern origin of the Gothic style, like its origins from Celtic groves continued to be advanced throughout the eighteenth century. Wren's theory was quoted by Hall in 1797, although Hall thought that Gothic, as he knew it, had originated in Britain. Dr.Milner also agreed with this opinion and it came to represent the offidal view of the Society of Antiquaries. Others disagreed : the Rev. John Haggitt was adamant that "pointed architecture" had originated in the East and was imported into this country at the time of the Crusades (29). This view was supported by Rev. G. Whittington, who wrote that pointed architecture was to be found in Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Tartary, the whole extent of India and even China. Could it be, he asked, that the West influenced the East ? He deduced that this was hardly probable (30). Lord Aberdeen who contributed the introduction to Whittington's posthumous account concluded that links with the East were sufficiently "indicated by the lofty and slender proportions, by the minute parts, and the fantastic ornaments of Oriental taste" (31).

Basically there were two schools of thought; those who held that Gothic had originated in Britain and those who believed it to have come from the East. The question of origins preoccupied late eighteenth century antiquarians and was inevitably to lead to a need for information about the architecture of India.

Anticipating objections to his introduction of the Indian style Repton appealed to the antiquity of Indian architecture. He therefore entered the debate about origins and the imitation of nature to justify the use of this style. Ancient origins and primitivism could be claimed in order to establish an authority, and a permanency which confirmed the rightness of its use in modern times. Repton writes of Indian architecture without differentiating between Hindu and Islamic that it was "the most ancient style of ornamental Architecture existing in the world", perhaps he thought the comparatively modern origins of the Islamic would weaken his case (32). Indian architecture, and especially that to be found in the "subterraneous and excavated remains" (33) was "of a date beyond all record". He is referring to the caves of Elephanta and Ellora. In fact they date from the 6th - 8th centuries A.D. Thomas and William Daniell had produced aquatints of Elephanta as part of a series The Antiquities of India. Views of Ellora appeared in 1803 in Hindoo Excavations. Repton was sufficiently impressed by the cave temples to design a room at Brighton Pavilion based on the columns found at Elephanta, an appallingly ugly design.!

Repton examined the construction of Indian architecture and found that arches did not exist in Hindu forms. This he surmised was because the original idea was taken from "subterraneous caves or grottos" (34) and was caused by the cutting away of rock to create structures. Thus by degrees "Indian architecture seems to have grown from the rudest excavations of Troglodite savages, to the

most beautiful forms discovered in the Temples of Salsetta, of Ellora and Elephanta " (35). Structures underground were imitated above ground; hence the use of 'corbelled arches and domes". This idea Repton had probably taken directly from Hodges' Travels in India (1793) in which the same theory was propounded. Not that Hodges was the originator of this idea, for he may have gleaned it from Felibien (Dissertation touchant l'architecture antique et l'architecture gothique 1699) who proposed the idea that the "older Gothic" or Romanesque, had developed from caves and grottos. Hodges, however, was to add an important theory of his own. He stated that the architecture of India, like the Egyptian, had derived from grottos and caverns and because of increasing population came to need enlargement and improvement. The imitation of the underground forms on the surface must "naturally" be the result of this. All the forms of architecture which had been "brought more or less to perfection (I mean the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic) instead of being copies of each other, are actually and essentially the same, the spontaneous produce of genius in different countries, the necessary effects of similar necessity and materials" (36). Thus, instead of a diffusionist theory he offered an environmental one. The same climate, physical conditions and necessities would produce similar forms. Here was a truly relativistic approach to the world's architecture. The Grecian, although Hodges admired its forms, was not to have sole claim upon our attention. It is clear that with the appearance of this attitude and a renewed appreciation of the Gothic, Indian architecture would inevitably attract attention, especially as the primacy of Grecian was hotly contested.

By the end of the eighteenth century some people were finding Grecian boring, and advocated "the superior elegance, richness, grace and propriety of the Gothic architecture over the ridiculous and contemptible plainness of the Grecian" (37).

Gilpin, who like Thomas Daniell much admired Salisbury Cathedral, found there a new source of beauty which could rival the claims of the Greek and Roman :

> "I think nothing in architecture can be more pleasing than these buildings; nor does anything militate so much against a servile attachement to the five orders. The Greek and Roman architecture, no doubt, possess great beauty; but why should we suppose them to possess all beauty ? If men were left to their own genius and invention.. we should certainly have greater variety; and amidst that variety, no doubt several new and elegant models" (38).

Had not Reynolds himself thought that architecture would gain from some variety and intricacy ? To further their application he had even advocated the study of the "Barbarick splendour of those Asiatic Buildings, which are now publishing by a member of this Academy" (39). It is the first exhortation to students of architecture to study Indian forms as a means of improving our own. Hodges had drawn the architectural profession's attention to the similarity that existed between a temple at Benares called the "Viss Visha" and Grecian ornament (40). It was the first time in India that he had recognised such similarities. This led him to speculate about architecture generally and he concluded that although he admired Grecian architecture "why should we admire it in an exclusive manner; was not the architecture of India more various"(41). Such a reaction was proving popular with some architects and we know Cockerell was one of them.

Once the absolutism of the classical system began to be attacked the door was open to the reception of other styles, perhaps a new one ? Dance, who was a friend of Hodges, had seen that there were similarities between Gothic architecture and Mughal which later he used on the south front of the Guildhall in 1788. He was certainly against the primacy of the orders and he possessed a decorative instinct which would have seized the opportunities available in the architecture of India. He was also a friend of Thomas Daniell, and the contents of his library show that he took more than a passing interest in Indian architecture (42).

Farington, in his Diary recorded a conversation on March 25th 1804 when the subject of the primacy of the orders was mentioned. Dance said that as architecture the Temple at Paestum was only one degree above Stonehenge "He derived the prejudice of Uniting Designs in Architecture within certain rules, which in fact though held out as laws had never been satisfactorily explained" (43). A week later, on March 31st, the subject was mentioned again. Dance went with Farington to see Thomas Hope's recently completed house in Duchess Street. They were there for two hours and Dance told Farington that "He thought it better than He expected, and that by the singularity of it good might be done as it might contribute to emancipate the public taste from that rigid adherence to a certain stule of architecture and of finishing and unshackle the Artists" (44).

Thomas Hope (1769-1831), collector, connoisseur and neo-classicist, also expressed some interest in Indian architecture. He owned at

least six oil paintings by Thomas Daniell of which five were of Indian subjects. He had evidently been much attracted by the subject matter when Thomas Daniell's pictures first began to be exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1795, he specially commissioned some pictures to hang in what was to become his 'Indian' room (45). The most interesting was a composition picture illustrating Hindu and Mughal architecture, including the cave temples at Kanheri, the Taj-Mahal, and the gopuram or gateway of the lower temple at Trichengodu.(46)

In addition to the Indian he also had an Egyptian room. The Indian room, however, was not like that built at Osborne House for Queen Victoria in 1890, or the Indian room at Hastings (47), both of which contained Indian fittings made by Indian craftsmen. Hope's Indian room contained only Thomas Daniell's pictures and a peacock feather motif, otherwise it was neo-classical, as was the house (a way of containing the exotic), but at his house at Deepdene in Surrey amidst an assortment of classical motifs a balcony (shown in illus.119 on the left of the entrance front) displays some characteristics of Indian architecture - the wide overhanging eave and petal shape merlons (48). Thomas Hope became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society to which he donated a copy of his novel Anastasius in 1827.

To return to Dance : he is known to have been a friend of S. P. Cockerell who certainly shared his distrust of the primacy of the orders. Dance was to show during the years 1800-1811 at Ashburnham House, Sussex; Cole Orton, Leicestershire and Stratton Park, Hampshire,

how an architect possessed of a "peculiar skill in ornamental architecture" (49) could amalgamate the Tudor-Gothic style with octagonal, dome-capped turrets which take the place of the pinnacles found in Mughal architecture, e.g. Rajmahal. Similarities between his Shaburnham designs and Porden's Morisco-Gothic Eaton Hall drawing (illus.101) suggest they were in contact with each other.

To judge by what S. P. Cockerell wrote, he agreed with Dance about the use of orders:

> "Orders of Columns in such a subject" - he writes, with reference to the design of a house for Wellington, "may be ocassionally used, but they restrain the imagination and should not predominate - You may even recollect how beautiful as a whole tho' mooresque and barbarous in its parts is the celebrated Marble monument in the country of Oude in Bengal called the Tage Mahall with it's vast Portal, its singular dome and minarets, with an esplanade round it with minarets at the Angles forming in every view of it a triangular Elevation" (50).

I have often wondered why Cockerell introduced a lattice railing in front of Sezincote. This railing originally extended on either side of the main block and terminated in very low octagonal pillars. Having looked at this from every view, including the functional one of keeping the cattle away from the house and gardens, I have concluded that he was endeavouring to create a triangular elevation such as he had discovered at the Taj Mahal and that the low octagonal pillars, take the place of minarets and form the base angles of this elevation. The fact that the railing was originally painted white provided the "esplanade" effect, a conspicuous feature of all Mughal architecture and conspicuously absent at Sezincote. The quotation is illustrated by a sketch of the Taj Mahal, remarkably similar to Sezincote (illus. 59).

In his letter to his son, Cockerell continues to explain that the "beauty and effect" have been achieved "without the aid of either of the five Orders, in short it is the happy and graceful combination of general outline with light and shadow from the exterior movement in the plan and projection, which makes up a wholly improving Effect upon the mind while very long simple and even outlines fail to give the impression which a reasonable variety produces ..." (51).

What Cockerell is suggesting is that beauty can be achieved without recourse to the "five Orders", an axiom which is well illustrated by his architecture from the late 1780's onwards but especially by the buildings of the 1790's. The creation of "exterior movement" was the most important concern of Picturesque architecture and had been proposed in 1773 by Robert Adam (52).

The question was, what style could an architect adopt to achieve that "exterior movement" which a "reasonable variety produces" ? Clearly for architects such as Porden, Dance and Cockerell, plain Grecian was found wanting in this respect. James Wyatt and Porden favoured the Gothic, Cockerell put the popularity of the Gothic firmly at Wyatt's door, asserting that he had set half the world "Mad or wild after the Gothic and Castellated Character" (53). According to Cockerell the adoption of the Gothic was as much due to the cheapness of the materials used as to its picturesque qualities (54). Cockerell made one attempt at the Gothic when he used it in 1802 for the chapel of Nutwell Court, Lympstone in Devon for Lord Heathfield. But such a moderate as Cockerell could not sacrifice the orders or the classical system entirely. Hence at Sezincote he devised a

'Hindu Order'.

We have already seen how the emergence of a body of opinion which attacked the primacy of the Orders, had arisen at the same time as the Picturesque had become popular. Emphasis on the variety in nature had caused people to question the tenets of their architectural beliefs. Some looked at nature again and found something different from what they had found before. The Moorish, Egyptian, Hindoo and Gothic were now seen as contenders in a new approach to architecture. There was a fresh interpretation of nature. The classical Order had been challenged. Cockerell was to experiment with Hindu Order but before him there had been Henry Emlyn (1729-1815). Emlyn like others, including William Hodges, felt that improvements could be made in architecture and a new style could evolve; this new style could be achieved "not by encroaching on the simplicity and uniform Design of the ancient Orders, by changing of Parts or introducing new Embellishments; but by endeavouring to invent new Proportions and a consistent whole essentially different, but yet not repugnant in Principles or Construction" (55). Nor was there any better time than the present when the principles of classical architecture were so well understood (56). In recommending the adoption of Indian columns for use on modern buildings, Repton followed Emlyn's argument and probably also Isaac Ware's and insisted on the use of those features which bore the least resemblance to Grecian or Gothic architecture (57). Unlike Emlyn, Repton had no objection to the Gothic. Repton also stressed that "Indian" architecture was more useful than the five orders because it presented "an endless variety of forms and proportions of Pillars" (58).

Emlyn obtained his idea for a new order by observing twin trees in Windsor Park. Single trunks of trees were commonly believed to be the origin of the styles later used first by the Greeks and then by the Romans. To Emlyn it seemed that by observing nature he had discovered a form "deserving of imitation" and "conformable to the Principles of Antiquity"(59). He had also remembered the words of Isaac Ware which gave him the courage to pursue the idea :

> "..There is however no reason to say another order should not be invented. It is indeed not wanted in the regularity of buildings, but it would give variety" (66).

Ware also warned against too close a similarity with the existing orders either in ornaments or proportions. If anything new is proposed, he exhorted, "let it be new absolutely" (61). The possibilities of creating new orders had first been proposed by the French. As early as 1567, Philibert de l'Orme had invented a new order for the Chapel at Villers Cotteret and was using it at the Tuileries. His reasons were theoretical and practical. Theoretically he proposed the idea that since the Ancients had invented new orders, why should not a great modern nation like France do the same ? (62). Ware later dismissed de l'Orme's ideas as worthless (63), but as Emlyn notes, it was to become the preoccupation of all the seventeenth century French theoreticians and architects who tried to find an order which would represent the greatness of modern France.

Late eighteenth century Britain was in a similar position. Emlyn's aim was to create a patriotic order symbolic of the Knights of St. George and the Dragon and to denote the "active spirit in foreign countries.. Prowess and indefatigable Industry which the

Knights of St. George of England have been accustomed to" (64). In inventing a new "English" order "I have had in view the honour of my country" (65) Emlyn wrote. By the time of the third edition of Emlyn's book in 1797 a building had been erected at Windsor (Beaumont Lodge) in which this order was used (66).

It cannot now be determined who first had the idea of inventing a 'Hindu' order. This order may even have been used by Porden in his design of 1797. If this is so there is no evidence of it in his stables at Brighton. The little evidence there is suggests that sometime during 1804, or thereabouts, Cockerell, perhaps aided by Dance, whose trenchant comments about the orders at this time have already been noted, devised a 'Hindu' order. The opportunity had been presented by Sir Charles Cockerell's commission and Repton had seen preliminary drawings of Sezincote before he had received the Regent's commission. Except when constructing Palladian villas like Middleton Hall, and Gore Court where he favoured the use of the Ionic Order, S. P. Cockerell as we have already seen was not well disposed to the use of columns. However, at Sezincote a small country villa, not disimilar to those of his teacher, Sir Robert Taylor, he introduced a 'Hindu' order, which was most unusual for him. Perhaps it was the suggestion of Repton, who says that he helped in the selection of some of the forms. It may well have been Thomas Daniell's decision since he had used 'Hindoo' columns in the garden temple at Melchet Park (1800). Once the Indian character had been decided for Sezincote, my guess is that it was Dance's ideas, enthusiastically taken up by Cockerell an d Daniell (67). Sezincote provided the perfect opportunity for trying

a new order, which followed classical usage. For the ground floor a plain Hindu column was used, replacing the Doric or Tuscan, and on the first floor the more decorative Mughal replaced the Ionic or Corinthian. We have seen how originally there were to have been many more different types of both Hindu and Mughal columns in the south front. But in the end, for both the east and south fronts he favoured the simplest, most restrained type.

Repton constructed a 'Hindoo' order and chose a more elaborate form (bottom right of illus.103) for use at Brighton. His intention was to show that the Indian columns were more varied than the five orders and capable of diversification and improvement without loss of character. Nash adopted a totally unsophisticated order. Surprisingly Amon Henry Wilds who designed Oriental Place, Brighton, rarely used the column, remaining content with scalloped arches and panelling. At Gravesend he had the opportunity of creating a large scale scheme for which he chose the Indian style, but here also, he preferred the combination of octagonal turret and cupola to various combinations of Hindu columns.

The only other person to create a 'Hindoo' order was William Haldimand Prinsep, a member of the famous Calcutta Trading family and a friend of C. R. Cockerell. During the 1830's he designed a tomb for Ram Mohan Roy, the famous Indian scholar who died at Bristol in 1833 (illus. 107, 108). The tomb, erected in Arnos Vale Cemetery in 1842, was the first instance in Britain of Indian architecture being used to symbolise an Indian's association with India. This application of Indian forms of course can now be seen everywhere today in the design of Indian restaurants.

One way to create a new style is to invent a new order, and we have seen how this invention resulted from a closer observation of nature, from the need for more variety, and from a challenging of the old order. Another way to create something new is according to Payne Knight, to mix styles. According to Repton the idea of mixing styles was as abhorrent "to the classic observer, as the mixture in Queen Elizabeth's Gothic" (68). Dance, however, often employed "Queen Elizabeth's Gothic" and mixtures were as important to him as they were to Cockerell. Payne Knight was the first person in Britain to build a house in two styles, the Grecian and the Gothic, at Downton (1772) Herefordshire; and he actively advocated the use of this practice. It was "natural" and its irregular plan offered room for endless variation. Such a theory was important for the development of a house like Sezincote for it too is obviously a mixture of styles, partly Indian, predominantly classical, with hints of Tudor-Gothic.

Payne Knight's theory was important for the reception of an alien style, though for the Indian style it was not crucial, but it is important here to mention that mixed style architecture existed in India long before it did in Britain. In the seventeenth century mausoleums had been built in Surat to two brothers, Christopher and Sir George Oxinden. They died in 1659 and 1669 respectively and both had elaborate tombs erected in a mixture of muslim and classic styles. Sir George's tomb was particularly remarkable being 40 feet high and comprising domes and pinnacles. One of the reasons for this style must certainly have been that the tombs,

although erected in the Christian cemetery in Surat, were undoubtedly built by local Indians. The concept of such mausoleums was itself Eastern. The local Indians could not help building in their own style, since it was the only tradition they were acquainted with. The designing of buildings in a classic style but built by Indians was inevitably to lead to a mixture of traditions. George Lambert's painting of the Fort at Madras (1722) (India Office Library) shows similar results to that at Surat. By the end of the eighteenth century there were more successful buildings in the classical style, but at that time when confidence in Britain's Indian possessions was growing, mixtures continued to be created, e. g. Bibi Foster's summer house at Calcutta, Indian merchant houses at Chitpore Bazaar. There were probably many other examples. It was also quite customary for the English to live in deserted Muslim tombs to which they added wings. So I would not give too much importance to Knight's mixed style aesthetic for the design of Sezincote.

When Sir Charles Cockerell returned to Britain in 1801 he had been in India for 25 years, and was therefore more accustomed to less pure architecture, and more open to innovation. Nabobs of a previous generation had been more conservative but in 1801 Cockerell returned to a different aesthetic world; there was more freedom, and his wealth premitted personal indulgence.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DRAWINGS AND THE 'INDIAN' STYLE

Unlike the Chinese style, the introduction of Indian forms into British architecture was very dependent upon European drawings of Indian antiquities. Indeed, it is the single most important factor - without the drawings there never could have been an 'Indian' style. The Chinese style, as Chambers bitterly complained, had largely developed from the copying of 'India' (i.e. Chinese) screens and decorations on porcelain. Because the originals were not exact but only fanciful copies of Chinese buildings, the examples which appeared in the gardens of English houses from the early eighteenth century were mere fictions according to Chambers. He therefore produced his Designs for Chinese Buildings to rectify the situation. The fact that he had only visited one small part of China, and had not taken into account regional variations and had in no small measure classicized Chinese buildings, mattered little to his contemporaries.

The forms of Indian architecture were known as early as the seventeenth century from Indian miniatures, but they had no effect on architecture in this country. Many people made collections of Indian miniatures, including Archbishop Laud who commissioned Sir Thomas Roe to purchase Indian manuscripts in India on his mission to Jehangir in 1618-19. Elihu Yale had made an important collection in the seventeenth century and many others during the eighteenth century had acquired examples,including Robert Clive, Warren Hastings, Joshua Reynolds, William Hodges and probably Thomas and William Daniell. Yale's miniatures, as has been mentioned, provided the source for some tapestry designs in the late seventeenth century. The only other recorded instance of mughal paintings influencing design, occurs in the decoration of a fireplace at Daylesford (illus.83). According to George Cumberland, the amateur art critic and connoisseur, it was his suggestion,

Endorsing Reynolds' opinion in the Discourse XIII, of the value of

Eastern art for the European artist he states :

> ".. modern artists should take notice of the Persian masters where natural grace and delicate expression are often found that might afford hints to the greatest designers.. I trust I shall be excused the digression whilst I support the principle laid down in it by stating that having years ago introduced these objects to a worthy artist and friend Mr (Thomas) Banks, the Sculptor, he was so well convinced of these hidden excellencies, that he executed for a chimney piece a long frieze for Governor H(astings) from one of these ancient paintings, representing a Theatrical performance, on which he engrafted nothing of modern art; but a little more expression and grace than was to be found in the original - Grecianizing, if I may be allowed the expression, these Persian Peruginos" (1).

Cumberland, in a self-congratulatory way, gives himself the credit

for the choice of design. But can this really be so ?

Samuel Pepys Cockerell, who was busy embellishing Daylesford with a mughal dome, may just have easily suggested it, as could Hodges who was a friend of Hastings, or indeed Hastings himself. The design of the central panel of the fireplace consists of a composite scene formed from two or more pictures of varying regions of origin. A nawab and his court can clearly be discerned but other features include two sanyasi, animals and Indian musicians; all paying their respects to the nawab. The architecture, as also the other details, have been quite altered from the original. Two 'Grecianised' Indians provide graceful support. There is another fireplace (illus.84) at Daylesford directly modelled on the Hindu deity Lakshmi, goddess of good fortune and especially worshipped by merchants, and must have been made from a quite different drawing. Probably based upon a European drawing of sculpture on a Hindu temple in Bengal.

Cumberland's remarks apart, Indian miniatures found little favour in Britain. Walpole found them scarce preferable to the drawings of Turkey. Indeed, it was not until at the turn of the century that Indian miniatures began to be taken seriously as an art form. The efforts of Percy Brown, E. B. Havell and Ananda Coomeraswamy contributed enormously to the understanding of their forms. By then the early Italian masters had also become popularised. Cumberland had made a legitimate comparison with an early Italian artist and it is my conjecture that an interest in Indian miniatures runs parallel with the discovery of early Italian artists. Both forms can be appreciated at a colouristic level and both have an

iconic system which inhibits real understanding. It is no coincidence that some have endeavoured to see in some of the works of the early Italian artists such as Gozzoli the influence of Persian miniatures, from which the mughal school derived (2).

William Blake is thought to have been influenced by Indian miniatures, probably through his friend, the sculptor John Flaxman (3). Flaxman did copy many south Indian drawings from Tanjore. A sketchbook with his copies of them is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is easy to see why such an artist and sculptor would have been interested in this art. It is predominantly linear and two-dimensional, bearing strong similarities with his own use of attenuated line, flat surfaces and the simple forms found in his bas-reliefs.

As late as 1785 Robert Gough, President of the Society of Antiquaries noted that England was woefully short of drawings of Indian architecture and iconography, despite nearly 200 years of contact with the subcontinent (4). He hoped that Thomas and William Daniell whom he knew to have left for India would bring back accurate representations of the architecture. What antiquarians and architects particularly needed was measured plans and elevations. It has generally been thought that accurate drawings did not exist before the Daniells expedition, but in fact plans did exist as early as the 1760's, in this country and they found their way into the home of Thomas Sandby, the first professor of architecture of the Royal Academy.

In 1768, Dr. James Lind (1736-1812) had returned to England after a trip to India and China, lasting about three years. His intention in going was to bring back to England "some useful drawings" (5). In India his work included a thorough investigation of the cave temples of Elephanta, Bombay, from which he brought back some sculpture, sketches and a measured ground plan (6). This was the first of two trips for it is known that in 1779 he was on his way to India again (7). Lind later lived at Windsor and taught at Eton. He was remembered affectionately by Shelley. At Windsor lived Thomas Sandby. They were friends and it must have been through Lind that Sandby became interested in Indian architecture. A drawing of Elephanta dated 1770 by Thomas Sandby is in the Paul Mellon Collection, U.S.A. (8). Seven other drawings of Indian architecture were sold at Leigh and Sotheby July 19th 1799 (9). He had used them for his lectures at the Royal Academy from 1770 onwards. Sandby's lectures contain extensive references to the cave temples of Elephanta. He was very much interested in them, but as a classicist they had more curiosity value than architectural relevance (10).

It was only when William Hodges published his aquatints Select Views in India in 1786-88 that architects took a real interest in Indian architecture. We have already seen how, through his friendship with Dance, Hodges' work influenced the design of the new south facade of the Guildhall. His work was reproduced in the European Magazine, and therefore found a public all over the country. In this way his views accompanied by descriptions had a very wide distribution. However, his paintings of India were far too

impressionistic to be of use to the architect. His style, so heavily indebted to that of his master Richard Wilson, emotional and dramatic, was not capable of the transmission of the details of Indian architecture. In his Travels in India (1793) he draws attention to the qualities needed in an artist if he would attempt the hazardous ordeal of delineating Indian architecture.

> "A painter for such pursuits ought necessarily to be endowed with three great qualities: a perfect knowledge of his art, and with powers to execute readily and correctly; judgement to chuse (sic) his subjects; and fancy to combine and dispose them to advantage. The first I must suppose him possessed of; in the second is included the choice of subject with the knowledge of all the parts necessary for such a subject; and in the third is included the combination of all the different arts, so as to produce a general effect: but the imagination must be under the strict guidance of cool judgement, or we shall have fanciful representations instead of the truth .." (11).

Furthermore the artist should not confound Grecian beauty with the natural characteristics of another country for the results would not be representative of the nation depicted.

The artists who must fully fulfilled Hodges' criteria were Thomas and William Daniell. William was only fifteen when he left for India while Thomas, his uncle, had already been recognised as a competent if not an imaginative artist. They left for India in 1785. (12)

It is evident from an entry for 3rd November 1793 in Farington's Diary that the Daniells' original intention was to try and earn a fortune as painters and engravers at Calcutta. In this they were attempting to follow in the footsteps of others including Zoffany and Ozias Humphrey. While Zoffany had been succesful during his time in India

at the beginning of the 1780's, Humphrey's excursion of 1785-86 had been a miserable failure. If the Faringtn letter is to be trusted then the Daniells were to fare no better. "Daniell", writes Farington, "had not been successful in his endeavours to make a fortune, all admired his work, but little was received from those who expressed it". After two years in Calcutta (1786-88) they decided to leave and make their way up country. There is no indication that they had ever been outside the neighbouring area of Calcutta (13). According to Farington (Diary, 29 July 1796) Daniell's health had been badly affected by his stay in Calcutta, which obliged him to leave and thereby give up all hope of earning a fortune. He therefore resolved to explore different parts of India, and to endeavour to bring back to England a large collection of views which he might then use to his advantage.

The drawings which he brought back- Farington states that there were 1,400 drawings,"including black lead pencil outlines" (3rd November 1793) were to provide Thomas Daniell with material (illus.52-54) which was later to form the series of aquatints called Oriental Scenery. Oriental Scenery published between 1795-1808 in six volumes of 24 aquatints each, was to establish Thomas Daniell's reputation as an authority on Indian architecture. There had never been such a distinguished set of views of Indian before nor had the subjects been portrayed with anything like the Daniells' accuracy. This had been the result of the most painstaking work in India. Wherever they went, either into thefoot hills of the Himalayas or into the south, they, for Thomas was obviously reliant on his nephew's help,

recorded all they saw, especially details of architecture, with the utmost diligence and faithfulness (illus. 55-58). There is no reason to think that they had previously known anything about Indian architecture, Indeed, at Rajmahal, a months journey up river from Calcutta, they were particularly struck by "a new style of building" (ibid.). This was the Muslim architecture of the once famous capital of Bihar. The realisation of the splendours of Muslim architecture of the region seems to have provided the spur to an enthusiasm which had previously been dormant. They were later to appreciate the widely differing qualities of Hindu architecture with the same degree of excitement.

William Hodges' aquatints of India, published as Select Views in India (1786-88) appeared while the Daniells were in Calcutta and it is clear from their reactions to that work that they were not at all impressed by it. They were especially critical of Hodges' depictions of architecture which they thought highly inaccurate. This work may therefore have provided them with the incentive to one day produce such a work as Oriental Scenery. They were astounded as others had been before them by the Taj-Mahal at Agra, as also by the tomb of Akbar at nearby Sekunderabad. Delhi and Fatephur Sikri also impressed them greatly and through the help of local people they were able to establish the dates of erection of some of the buildings and began to be able to elucidate the various styles of architecture. At Madura in the south they discerned that the palace there had been built in a mixed style of architecture, a combination of Hindu and Muslim "not so frequently

occuring in this part of India, as in the banks of the Ganges" (Oriental Scenery II, 15). They also produced some views of the long famous antiquities of Elephanta, Ellora and Kanheri.

Their work was greeted with much critical acclaim. A reviewer in The British Critic wrote that "The plates are at once a profound study for the architect or antiquary and a new source of delight to the lover of the picturesque" (14). The Society of Antiquaries made Thomas Daniell a Fellow. In 1796 he was made an A. R. A., and an R. A. in 1799. From 1795 onwards both Thomas and William Daniell began exhibiting their views of India.

Their aquatints remained the ultimate in the representation of Indian architecture well into the age of photography. There were those who did not care very much for their paintings. That it was a unique rendering of the subject matter rather than their value as art was noted at the time. Benjamin West, then President of the R. A. remarked in 1804 that (Thomas) "Daniell's pictures deserve their value from being faithful portraits of remarkable places: but they have little feeling of art in them.." (15). James Northcote could not help thinking that Thomas Daniell had "Little power in the art that he treats his subjects in a common way" (16).

Though William Daniell was later to diversify his subject matter, Thomas remained obsessed by India, with few exceptions, until the end of his life. There is some indication from his drawings (illus.57) that perhaps he intended producing a treatise on Indian architecture

(the border and the carefully redrawn columns with scale would suggest that he could have intended to have them engraved) (17). Apart from his obvious knowledge of Indian architecture, and this was to lead to his architectural commissions at Melchet Park, Hampshire and at Sezincote, his work, like that of Hodges, was often used to establish an authentic oriental atmosphere in 'Asiatic spectaculars' so popular with London audiences during the 1790's. For an opera by James Cobb and William Linley Snr. called Love in the East (1788) the scenery had been taken from "A View of Calcutta, from a painting done on the spot by Hodges". In 1798, Mazzinghi and Reeve's opera Ramah Droog (1798) was performed with scenery "based on drawings of Indian scenery by Thomas Daniell". The published score of the latter piece has on its cover a copy of "The Fort at Trichinopoly" from Oriental Scenery.

From this period also date the many jugs and plates from Staffordshire which have blue and white transfer prints based upon views from Oriental Scenery. They are often a curious assemblage, parts being taken from different aquatints and all combined to form one montage. In this they resemble the Soho Tapestries mentioned earlier, in that various elements including Chinese, Indian and British are taken and transformed into one scene in which, in the case of elements from Oriental Scenery they are often reversed from the originals and different buildings from widely differing regions are all combined to form an exotic decoration. The Aquatints also found their way into the design of wallpapers both here and abroad. The Daniells' Oriental Scenery came to be considered as the only Orient which existed for the majority of men and women (18).

Their influence on architects was quite extensive and did not just include Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Both Repton and Nash were to use Oriental Scenery and Thomas Daniell's sketches as source material for their own architectural projects. Another architect who was directly influenced was Edmund Aikin who, in 1808, openly acknowledged his indebtedness to "the correct delineations of Mr. Daniell". Soane mentions them in his lectures as does Owen Jones in his Grammar of Ornament. That the views were considered as an authentic representation of India and its architecture was noted by a traveller to India in the 1820's, Emma Roberts. She wrote :

> ".. the engravings from his works, executed under his own eye, retain all those delicate touches which are so necessary to preserve the oriental character of the original sketches" (19).

And of Thomas Daniell's drawings, Repton wrote :

> "Architects who have access to them can be at no loss for the minutae" (20).

C O N C L U S I O N

We have seen in a previous chapter how the Indian style and Sezincote in particular were products of the dominant, indeed the only aesthetic of the time : the picturesque. The variety which it permitted was directly related to a new view of the variety inherent in nature herself. This was to lead to studies of architecture from cultures other than the Western. It also coincided with a re-appraisal of Britain's heritage. The result for the development of architectural style was eclecticism : the borrowing from various sources to create something new which, unlike classicism, was not exclusive, but at Sezincote, although it combined various styles, principally Hindu, Mughal and Classical, the result in my opinion was peculiarly exclusive. The reason for this is not difficult to appreciate.

Sezincote is obviously 'Indian', but is so concerned with complexity and intricacy that it is difficult to understand. We have already seen how Dance's Guildhall was for the contemporary spectator difficult to decipher. The key to the understanding of Sezincote

was known to only a few initiates, e.g. Dance, Thomas Daniell, S. P. Cockerell, and probably Repton and Porden. They knew that Sezincote was an experiment, not in a revival style, to which so many modern commentators ascribe it, but in a new style. This fundamental misconception has resulted not only in its being misunderstood in recent writings, i.e. as a cul-de-sac of the Picturesque, but to its neglect as an important attempt at a new style. Unlike Repton, they did want to create something new.

Sezincote has also proved exclusive for other reasons relating to historical factors. It cannot, I think, be denied that although built with "sober judgement", it was anti-rationalistic. The love of 'irregular' outlines, movement and shadow which S. P. Cockerell mentions are the signs of emerging romanticism, sensibility and the picturesque, contrasted with the simple rational outline, and the 'plainess' of the Grecian. The Grecian or Classical has been equated with rationalism and the Gothic with anti-rationalism (1). I accept these categories as relating to that period. Lovejoy continues, and I paraphrase : Classicism was quintissentially anti-nationalist because it transcended time and space, and appealed to the very fundamental principles of nature, from which it developed. Conversely anti-rationalism and eclectisicm were equated with revealed religion and the Gothic. It carried the principle of a privileged race, or nation, elected by God for a special purpose. Certainly John Carter was a patriot and believed the Gothic to be truly British. It is therefore no coincidence that the rise of the Gothic at the end of the eighteenth century, the evangelical fervour of the Clapham Sect, the rise of Utilitarian policies all began to manifest themselves at the same time as there was an increase in national fervour. The

attendant hypothesis of superiority and the belief in a destiny are characteristic of the formation of an empire (2).

Sezincote was exclusive because it contained references to cultural superiority and was eclectic. Indeed it was the product of this new approach, containing as it does references to Britain's architectural heritage, ancient and modern. Unlike Tudor-Gothic and Grecian, the Indian was a new acquisition, an emerging symbol of empire for which there were contemporary reasons concerned with Britain's increasing supremacy on the Indian subcontinent. A brief examination of these reasons shows how India came to be appreciated as a possession and thereby part of the empire.

One writer has shown that at the end of the eighteenth century there was in Britain a transformation of attitudes towards India (3). The idea of an exotic and marvellous India had been largely dispelled by the antiquarian researches of the French writer Anquetil Duperron, the Dane Carsten Niebuhr, and Sir William Jones. These revealed a view of Indian culture which was not only informative but critical. It was popularised through the increasing number of publications of memoirs, travels and journals. India was invariably appreciated from a position of European supremacy.

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 the initial reactions were of revulsion and disgust at the prospect of an empire in Asia, but by the end of the eighteenth century these had changed. Opinion was now focused on the need to govern India responsibly and to free her from the malpractices which had resulted in Hastings' trial. In

the words of Marshall :

> 'By the 1790's, however, the continuing Hastings trial had become a general cause of embarrassment and the success of two wars against Mysore was widely acclaimed.' (4)

The effect of the Hastings Trial and the Mysore campaigns of the 1780's and 1790's was to establish India, geographically and politically in the minds of even the working classes (5). An Indian 'despot' Tipu Sultan had dared to defend his kingdom of Mysore against the military might of the East India Company. The threat to the Company and Britain was considered very serious because Tipu's overtures to the French had brought fears that they would intervene in the subcontinent. His death in 1798 at the gates of Seringapatam and the defeat of the French fleet in Egypt, allayed these fears. The effect of these events was to foster and encourage a new attitude. The accusations of corruption against the East India Company officials had resulted in Hastings' impeachment and the India Act of 1784. The result was that the affairs of the East India Company became, for the first time, accountable to government, and the Governor-General's position, in effect, a government appointment. In practice, the East India Company directors were left to pursue their own policies as long as these reflected government concerns.

Success in Mysore had led people to believe that British power in India was being exerted for the benefit of the Indian people. Had not the Indians of Mysore been freed from the actions of a despot ? This was the British view and it was encouraged by artists of the time (6). In 1792 Tipu surrendered his two sons to the care of Lord Cornwallis;

this came to be regarded as an example of British benevolence, and the scene was much painted and engraved. According to one publisher, Lord Cornwallis had become "the protector, father and friend of the young boys" (7), the very epitome of British benevolence. By 1800 large areas of India were either British possessions or under British influence.

The Act of Union in 1801, decisive sea battles against the French on the Nile and at Trafalgar, and the rapid industrial expansion had created a feeling of great national confidence in Britain, such as France had felt at the time of Louis XIV. Then an aesthetician such as Perrault had wanted to create an order which would attack the supremacy of the Antique and reflect national pride. Britain was now in a similar position.

Both Cockerell and Dance had experimented with varying degrees of eclecticism for over a decade, before the Indian design of Sezincote was projected, but in the wake of recent political events their experiments took on a new seriousness. As far as I know there are no comments on either S. P. Cockerell or George Dance which clearly show the link between politics and style which I think they were expressing. I have shown that both Cockerell and Dance were innovators, as was Porden, and, that they were all friends. They probably shared the general satisfaction at Britain's position in the world, and Dance is known to have been a patriot, as must have been Thomas Daniell (8).

Dance also showed a willingness to seek for a more personal mode of architectural expression not confined by 'receipts of limited proportions' (9). His study of a drawing of an Indian temple in the home of Thomas Daniell in September 1798 marked the beginning of a more thorough interest in Indian architecture (10). He pointed out in particular that the Greeks must obviously have borrowed from the East. Remarks made by Farington show that Dance and Daniell, both members of the Royal Academy, were friends. Dance was also acquainted with S. P. Cockerell. There is no reason to doubt that S. P. Cockerell held political views similar to those of Dance, and knew Lord Cornwallis and the future Duke of Wellington well. Sir Charles Cockerell, a merchant, banker, and later a Tory M.P. must have followed the prevailing trend. He was sufficiently honoured by the Prince of Wales' visit to have the Prince's insignia placed on the house. What does all this add up to ? That S. P. Cockerell at Sezincote, and Dance elsewhere, were conducting experiments in architectural eclecticism which would reflect the mood of the country. In my opinion they were trying to achieve a new national style.

The only theory of this concept comes from Repton, who makes this quite clear in two engravings in his Designs : the frontispiece and a vignette. The frontispiece (illus.104) shows Flora cherishing Winter. The new art of landscape gardening aided by the adoption of Indian forms, could create a new style worthy of the Prince of Wales. Repton makes it quite clear that he wanted to adopt a new style, one which had not been used before in this country, rather than invent anything entirely new. There is a further elaboration of this in

another vignette above his 'An Inquiry into the Changes in Architecture' (11). It shows that Time would soon reveal a new national style to follow Castle and Abbey Gothic, Tudor, and Grecian. The new style, incredible as this seems today, was to be the Indian. Furthermore Repton makes it clear that this style is natural :

> "The GOTHIC are derived from the BUD or GERM, the GRECIAN from the LEAF, and the INDIAN from the FLOWER.." (12)

There are two opinions on how to create a new style, one is Repton's : the wholesale adoption of the Indian, which may account for the pedantic design of the pavilion. The second is S. P. Cockerell's and Dance's : eclecticism, of which Indian forms are only one element. In both instances the use of Indian elements must be seen as an attempt to create a new national style, which was, therefore, exclusive because unlike classicism which was international it represented the interests of one country (13).

So was Repton therefore wrong when he thought the Indian style would revolutionise taste ?

He was wrong when he thought it would become a national style like Tudor and Gothic, but he was not wrong when he thought that it would introduce new forms, new stylistic devices which the architect could use. This was because the Indian style did not operate solely on national and symbolic levels. There were other conceptual levels on which it could operate. It was also a 'fancy' style, an irrational, perhaps frivolous style, suitable as Porden had realised for places

of 'public amusement'. Like the Chinese, the Gothic and the Moorish the Indian was anti-rational (14). The popularity of Sir John Mandeville's fourteenth century compilation of travels in a fabulous East, although totally spurious continued to be widely read into the nineteenth century. The 'Arabian Nights' was also very popular and encouraged a view of a fantastic East. Many people read the book before going to India and T. Bacon in the introduction to his First Impressions (1837) made a point of trying to rescue India from its pages. But traditions do not die so easily. The Indian style came to be used in many places of entertainment, such as the spa, e.g. Lower Swell (illus.51); Tunbridge Wells (15); Gravesend where the final design (illus.121) as opposed to the grandiose first design (illus.120) closely resembled the Shivala Ghat at Benares (16), and like it was built for bathing purposes; or the pleasure gardens, e.g. White Conduit House Tavern, c. 1820 near Clerkenwell (17), Vauxhall in 1822, and Bournemouth in 1836 (illus.109) (18).

Sir William Jones, writing in 1784, equated India with the world of the imagination and the theatre. He wrote that while we in the West may have risen to occupy a supreme position in the world of ratiocination, the Indians were superior in that of the imagination. On his arrival in India he was delighted to find himself "in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre" (19). It was not surprising therefore that since the East with its 'fanciful' associations was seen as symbolising the world of the imagination, the Indian style should appear in the interior design of theatres, e.g. Frank Matcham's Queen's Theatre, Belfast and Strand, London.

The Indian could be, and was, used in the construction of pavilions at International exhibitions. At the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition there was and Indian court, in which were displayed the arts and manufactures of India, along with products from every part of the world. The Indian Court or Pavilion continued to be a feature of all major international exhibitions. Unlike the imaginative uses of the Indian style already referred to, this represented India as it is, and according to the context, e.g. the 1851 exhibition, it could also symbolise the productions of imperialism (20).

The symbolic content of these exhibitions was considerable, overtly planned by the organisers. The official publication to the 1867 World Exhibition in Paris explained this : "To make the rounds of this palace means literally to circle the earth. All peoples are come together here, and those who are enemies, here live side by side" (21). Essentially this is an extension of the universal principles which had been evident in Colbert's suggestion that the rooms of Louis XIV 's Louvre should be decorated in the styles of the different nations of the world "Italian, German, Turkish, Persian, Mughal (22), Chinese - and, in doing so, should not only order exact copies of the ornaments with which these nations embellish the interiors of their palaces, but should also discover by painstaking enquiry all the different kinds of furniture and conveniences favoured by each nation, so that visitors to our capital would have the pleasure of finding both their own country, so to speak, and all the splendours of the world contained within a single palace" (23).

Colbert died before the suggestion could be implemented. It was the first time that such a cosmopolitan scheme had been proposed but it reflected the attitude of French theorists like Perrault, who were strongly opposed to the conception of the superiority of the Antique. Another cosmopolitan scheme which may reflect similar underlying principles was Chambers' Kew Gardens (1749-1763) in which was included a Chinese pagoda, an Alhambra, a Turkish Mosque, a Gothic cathedral and a ruined classical triumphal arch, etc (24). At Duchess Street (1799-1801) Hope may have followed Perrault's idea, since, as Dance mentioned, the house was a deliberate attempt to challenge the accepted notion of architecture. Perhaps even Nash had a similar idea in mind when he designed the pavilion at Brighton in various styles: Moorish, Mughal, Hindu, Chinese and Russian. In this universal category must come Foulston's experiment at Devonport in 1823-4.

Here were employed no less than five styles of architecture: Roman-Corinthian terraced houses; Greek Doric town hall and column; a baptist chapel in 'Oriental', 'Islamic' or 'Mohammedan' style, a pair of Greek Ionic houses and an Egyptian library. They were built as an experiment for "producing a picturesque effect" (25). In other words he wanted to create variety by using different forms "after the manner of the painters". Composite paintings had become popular during the late eighteenth century usually of classical subjects; Piranesi and Panini were adept at such compositions. One of Panini's classical 'capriccios', as they were called, hung in Thomas Hope's Indian room alongside Thomas Daniell's composition picture of Indian architecture. Foulston may easily have seen this

room on a visit to London, or in Hope's Household Furniture (1807). There is a hint in this experiment that he was attempting to bring a cosmopolitan approach to architecture into the confines of provincial Plymouth : "the designs must be considered merely as Models calculated for the atmosphere of a Town remote from the Metropolis"(26). There is also something of the museum - a procession of historical styles, in this experiment which his friend George Wightwick was to explain at more length in The Palace of Architecture. He suggested essentially that ancient architecture could be adopted for modern purposes but freed of a "mixed style (which is) like a monstrous union of the parts of one animal with those of another" (27). His Indo-Gothic chapel was to be the prototype of later Indo-Moorish synagogue designs (28).

The Indian style is capable of universal application today. Two twentieth century architects - Charles Mason Remey (fl.1920's) (29) and Quinlan Terry (1975 design for a Bahai Temple) have made significant use of Indian elements (30). Also more recently the Peace Pagoda at Milton Keynes completed 1980. Built to symbolise the message of universal peace (31).

The Indian style can function by representing India itself. Examples of this are the Maharajahs Well at Stoke Row, Oxfordshire which, despite its implication of frivolity, was like Lower Swell, entirely functional, and witnessed to the generosity of its donor the Maharajah of Benares. In 1864 a well was sunk in the Chilterns so that the village people could have water. A member of the local gentry, Mr. Reade, had been a friend of the Maharajah in India, and

learning of the plight of the village, the Maharajah offered to pay for a well. To honour the Indian benefactor, it was built in the Indian style to a design by Mr. Reade (32).

Another example of this use of the Indian style would be the tomb of Ram Mohun Roy at Bristol (1842) (illus.107, 108) or the Maharajah of Cooch Behar's house at Bexhill (c.1900). In 1925 an unknown architect designed an 'Indian Residence in London' (Illus.112) for the accommodation and use of Indians in this country. The use of the Indian style was intended to make Indians feel at home and provide them "with a social centre like other foreigners in this city" (33). An accompanying note explains :

> "our fellow subjects of India are scattered over London, living in Dingy Lodgings, amid uncongenial surroundings and associations. These people are for the most part polite and intellectual and law abiding . . But they have no social centre like other foreigners in this city"

This building was not erected and nor was the idea utilised elsewhere. The most common use of the Indian style today to represent itself, is in the design of Indian restaurants.

The Indian style has been used to represent commercial links with India. In 1840 Nathaniel Whittock advocated its use on the exterior of shops which traded in Indian goods, especially textile shops, but also those who sold tea and sugar (34). For a draper's shop he designed a front "taken from the Sheven Pagoda at Mahabaliparram; the columns from a temple at Delhi" (illus 126) (35). The most significant exception to this was the design of East India House itself. In 1799 the original building in Leadenhall Street was enlarged under the direction of Jupp. A portico of six Ionic fluted columns supported a frieze and pediment. In the pediment was a

sculptured group representing George III protecting Britannia, and ensuring her liberty. Emblems of commerce and navigation introduce Asia to Britannia before whose feet she lays her productions. Other figures represented Order, accompanied by Religion and Justice. Highly significant to our study of national style and India, because it shows the prevailing attitude to India. While lamenting the complete lack of any Indian decoration in this building, one visitor noted that:

> "an India House, seated in the centre of the British Metropolis, may surely be allowed to indulge in any of the graceful ornaments of Greece and Rome ; to have been purely Asiatic in its construction and decorations would have been unsuitable to the convenience of English merchants, and uncouth in its appearance . ." (36)

Affinity and association with India could be expressed by the use of some Indian elements. In this category must come Hastings' house at Daylesford; James Forbes' temple at Stanmore (37); Melchet Park, Hampshire; Smith's houses at Paignton and Nice; or mausoleum designs such as the Stephenson family tomb in Northern Ireland (38).

There is another category of the Indian style. This applies to a synthetic rather than a symbolic use. An example of this is Owen Jones's design for a house at 24 Palace Gardens, London. A classical body has been decorated with Moorish details and Indian domes, reminiscent of the Jami Masjid, Delhi. As far as I am aware there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever intended for an Indian or Anglo-Indian. Indeed it was empty for many years after it was built. Other houses by him in Palace Gardens show him experimenting with mixtures of Moorish and classical ornament. His most daring, and I

do not think this is too strong a word, was 24 Palace Gardens. However, the vicissitudes of history have led to its habitation by three occupants with Indian or Eastern associations. The first was the Maharajah of Baroda at the turn of the century. The second was Chester Beatty the famous collector of Oriental manuscripts, and the third occupant is today the Embassy of Saudi Arabia. Thus a synthetic eclectic building has become symbolic. It has thus been demonstrated that the Indian style continued to be employed in a variety of ways throughout the nineteenth century, and is still in use. Repton was therefore correct in his assessment of the Indian style.

What are we to make of Sir Charles Cockerell and Sezincote ?

To summarise Sezincote represents an attempt to create a new, national, style; one which would express confidence in Britain's position in the world. It was therefore a political statement. Stylistically it was the first house to have been designed in Britain employing significant use of Indian elements to create a new style. The isolation, examination, and comparison of these elements with Indian forms demonstrates the accuracy, care and appropriateness with which Thomas Daniell and S. P. Cockerell chose them. Sezincote can be truly called the Lalla Rookh of architecture (39), for it not only quotes from Indian forms but it is poetic and appeals to the imagination as well as to the intellect. Sezincote is an experiment in an eclectic, national style but it is also an example of picturesque, anti-rationalism and as such has had many successors as I have shown.

There remains one more question. How far does Sezincote represent the interest of Sir Charles Cockerell in Indian culture ?
I wish I knew. He was a conservative and a man aged about fifty when Sezincote was contemplated. He was a business man, a merchant and a man interested, but with little formal knowledge of, matters of taste. This amounts, in my estimation, to a person who supported the old fashioned view of India. It is what Bearce calls the conservative attitude toward India, upheld by others such as Hastings, and almost certainly by the Prince of Wales (40). If this is true then he would have supported Indian culture, Indian institutions because in non-interference in Indian affairs lay his best business prospects. This is why those with business interests in India so opposed the introduction of missionaries into India. They knew it would bring disruption and change. They were right.

E P I L O G U E

Since beginning my research, there has been a conference at the I. C. A., London (February 1982) on the relationship between artists and architects. There was considerable acrimony on both sides. They discussed the problem of decoration and modern design. It quickly became apparent that there was much disagreement over the issue of decoration. In any case no system exists for its implementation. May I suggest that the Indian system be investigated once again, as it was in the past by Reynolds, Owen Jones, William Morris and Christopher Dresser to revitalise British tradtions.

If the architect learned to think like a painter he may well find that :

> "Asiatick Buildings .. may possibly .. furnish an Architect, not with models to copy, but with hints of composition and general effect, which would not otherwise have occurred".
>
> (Reynolds 1786 Discourse XIII)

SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

There are nearly seventy letters from Colonel Cockerell to S. P. Cockerell dated 1794-98 in the collection of Mrs. B. J. Crichton. Amongst them, there is one letter of the 13 April 1822 written by Sir Charles Cockerell to Charles R. Cockerell, his nephew, which includes Sir Charles' plans for Hyde Park Corner. There is also a letter written by S. P. Cockerell dated 7th May 1816 to his son Charles Cockerell. It contains a most valuable account of Cockerell's thoughts about architecture. The letter has been partially published in Watkin's Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell.

Other letters, bills and receipts are to be found in the Gloucester Record Office; they are most concerned with estate matters, and afford only a few glimpses of the development of Sezincote house.

Charles R. Cockerell Diaries 1821-1832 and his Memoranda both on loan to the R. I. B. A. Library contain much valuable material.

N O T E S

INTRODUCTION

1. Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea (1968) pp.233-7.

2. Oriental Architecture in the West (1979) chapters 9-11.

3. Early Views in India (1980), pp. 219-234.

4. Thomas Daniell (1749-1840)
William Daniell (1769-1837)

5. Colonel John Cockerell (c.1749-1798). Year of birth given in Burke as 1754, but is probably 1749. Went to India 1764; Military Secretary to Sir Robert Barker; returned to England 1776. First Mahratta War 1779-84; Third Mysore war, Bangalore and Seringapatam. Returned to England 1793. Retired 1796. V. C. P. Hodson List of Officers of the Bengal Army: 1758-1834, London 1927.

Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1755-1827)
See Colvin; A. P. S. D., D. N. B.

Sir Charles Cockerell (1755-1837)
Gents. Mag. March 1837. p. 317.

Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863)
Third son of Samuel Pepys Cockerell.

For a pedigree of the Cockerell family see : Sketch Pedigree in tabular form .. of the descendants of John Pepys and Margaret Kight, parents of Samuel Pepys. Compiled by J. S. Gordon Clark, 1965.

6. Head : Indian Architecture through Western Eyes, Antique Collector, April 1982.

7. See Partha Mitter : Much Maligned Monsters Oxford 1977

8. See Edward Said : Orientalism 1978, p.3.

9. Sedlmayr : Art in Crisis p.3.

CHAPTER ONE : THE NABOB

1. Sir Hector Munro, Robert Clive and Warren Hastings all brought back Indian trinkets, jewellery and ivory furniture. Munro's furniture is now in the possession of descendants of the family. Clive's Indian collection can be seen at Powis Castle, Shropshire; and Hastings' furniture was sold during the 1950's and 1960's.

In 1784 a Severndroog Castle was erected on Shooter's Hill, London, in honour of Sir William James (c.1721-1783). It celebrates his victory at Severndroog, Malabar in 1755, over the Indian pirate Angria. A contemporary wrote : "The inside is filled up in appropriate manner, with arms, partisans, shields, daggers, javelins, etc. proper to the various nations of the east; and the whole is so contrived as to impress the mind with the belief, that it is the identical armoury appertaining to Angria." James Dugdale: New British Traveller, iii, p. 245, London 1819.

2. Letters of Walpole, Vol.IV p.406. William Pitt's father, Thomas, was a Governor of Bombay. Lord Bute's son, Frederick Stuart, was later to go to India.

3. Quote by B. Sprague Allen, p. 4.

4. Ovington, see Chapter on Surat.

5. For the most recent account see Edith Standen : English Tapestries "After the Indian Manner", Metropolitan Museum Journal 15 New York 1981.

6. See The Nabob p.3. Works ed. E. Miner, London 1976
For the nineteenth century see Sedlmayr, p. 51

7. 1682, Albion and Albanius lines 173-4. See Dryden Works, ed. E. Miner, London 1976.

8. McVeagh pp.50-52.

9. ibid. p.55.

10. ibid. pp 83-100.

11. The Nabob: or Asiatic Plunderers, A Satyrical Poem Preface iii, London 1773.

12. Horace Walpole Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann ed. W. S. Lewis, London 1967, vii, p. 400.

13. Marshall, A Free though Conquering People p.11-12.

14. The Saddle put on the Right Horse . . . published anonymously London 1783.

15. Op.cit. p. 40

16. Op.cit. p. 40

17. Cockerell Diaries, R.I.B.A. Library, see example December 29th, 1823.

18. Works, Maclaurin, Vol II p 97-99

19. Captain Gould was a merchant in Calcutta. In 1759 he was appointed a Commissioner for Restitution following the siege of Calcutta in 1756. He returned to England in 1766 and died in 1784. He had an Indo-Portuguese wife who remained in Calcutta after he left. See Country Life December 1st, 1966 p.1459 and illustration.

20. Demolished after a fire in 1908.
Shaw's Tour to the West of England (1788) published in J. Pinkerton's Voyages (1808) Vol II p.306. Illustrated in The Destruction of the English Country House (1976) ed. Roy Strong, Marcus Binney and John Harris, pl.104.

21. Bence-Jones, p.189.

22. Ibid. p.190.

23. Ibid. pl.297 and illustration. Only one was completed and showed Clive receiving the Diwani from Shah Alam, and is in the India Office Library, London.

24. See P. J. Marshall East Indian Fortunes for a full discussion of the wealth of the nabobs.

25. For a recent description of this house see Clive Aslet : Stanstead Park Country Life February 11th, 18th, 25th 1982. Barwell may well have had a 'minaret' erected as a heating chimney as an anonymous drawing shows; illustrated in the article of February 18th.

26. See Mark Girouard : Preston Hall, Midlothian, Country Life August 24th, 31st 1961, pp 394-397 and 454-457.

27. The Nabob at Home Vol II p.153.

28. Marshall. Op.cit. p. 216.

29. The exact date of this building is unknown but must be of the 1780's. Description and illustration, Vol II p.203 T. W Horsfield History of Sussex London 1835.

30. Ibid. p. 203.

31. Plan of the Farm and Policy of Novar for General Munro David Aitkin December 1777. S. R. O. R. H. P 10671 Copy also in Novar House. The estate also included a chinese temple, a castle and an obelisk.

32. In 1781 Negapatam was the scene of one of Munro's famous victories. After six days of fighting the fort capitulated with the surrender of 6,551 men. The Gates of Negapatam were built by labour which he had previously evicted from the surrounding land when he enclosed the estate. Much detested locally. See Alexander Mackenzie History of the Munros of Foulis p. 534 et seq. Inverness 1898.

33. For information about Forbes see Notes and Queries Vol.192 1947 p.409; Vol 193, 1948, p.382.

34. Ambulator 5th ed. (1793) p.210

35. See under Stanmore, London & Middlesex, Beauties of England and Wales ed. Brayley and Britton.

36. Osborne was never knighted as Watkins (Thomas Hope p 236) and Conner (Oriental Architecture p 117) suggest. The fullest account of this temple is to be found in B P. & P. Vol XL Part II No 80 (1930) pp 71-78 and XLI Part I No 81 pp 88-89. An engraving is in the European Magazine December 1802. See also Vict.Hist. Hampshire Vol IV p.542 Report on the MS of the l te Reginald Rawdon Hastings Esq H.M.S.O. London 1934 pp 223, 311-12.

37. 'Col.Cockerell was a Persian scholar, profoundly versed in all the politics of India; a good man, and an excellent officer'. East India Military Calendar - Vol I, p.116, London 1823.

38. Marshall, Op.cit. p.198.

39. George Cornish to his wife. A Letter from George Cornish, A.D.C. to Sir John Shore . . . B.P. & P Vol XVI Part II (1918) pp.105-120

40. Col. John Cockerell MSS.

CHAPTER TWO : COLONEL COCKERELL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEZINCOTE

1. List of funds, July 1795; J. Cockerell MSS.

2. Ibid. Funds were drawn on mortgages in the names of Sir Robert Barker and Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Mrs. Jackson's estate, Mrs. Weatherstone's estate at Chiswick, estates in Kent in the names of William Paxton and Samuel Pepys Cockerell, others at Reigate. His total from these funds amounted to £27,000 from which his annual income was £1,790.

3. Letter to S.P.C. dated August 7th 1795; J.Cockerell MSS.

4. Drafts drawn on J.C.'s account at Crofts & Co., London July '94 - May '95; J. Cockerell MSS.

5. The indenture dated September 7th and 8th 1795 (G.R.O. 1652) gives the spelling of Sezincote variously as Seizingcote, Seseencote, Seasoncote and Seazincote. Other variations were Seizincote and Seisincot. But Charles Cockerell after investigation informed T. D. Fosbrooke that Sezincote was the most correct form. T D. Fosbrooke : Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts respecting the County of Gloucester (1807) p.332.

6. Ibid.

7. Letter to S.P.C. October 4th 1795 from Harrogate; J.Cockerell MSS.

8. Ibid.

9. Letter to S.P.C. August 31st 1796.

10. Sir William Paxton, Henry Trail and the Cockerell family of which Charles was the director on behalf of the family. Paxton and Trail were both clients of S.P.C.'s.

11. Letter to S.P.C. Februaryl 25th 1797; J Cockerell MSS.

12. Letter to S.P.C. March 6th 1797; J. Cockerell MSS.

13. Letter to S.P.C. May 27th 1798 - "The little Castle of Banks Fee, which you began to construct is at an end - It is lett."

14. Letter to S.P.C. April 19th 1798.

15. Letter to S.P.C. May 27th 1798.

CHAPTER THREE : SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL

1. For a recent study of Taylor, see M.Binney The Villas of Sir Robert Taylor, Country Life July 6th 1967, pp 17-20, 78-82.

2. See J. Summerson The Classical Country House in Eighteenth Century England, J. R. S. A. July 1959.

3. Walpole's Anecdotes ed. Hilles and Daghlian 1937, Vol.5 p.194.

4. Ibid.

5. Colvin History of the King's Works vi, p. 25.

6. Built 1787-9, see Vict. Hist. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII p.221.

7. Vict.Hist. Rutland Vol 2, p.86.

8. Exhibited R.A. 1785.

9. Survey of London XVI, pp 35-9.

10. T. Hamlin Latrobe pp.383-4.

11. Ibid.

12. Reynolds Discourse XIII (1786).

13. Dictionary of Artists of the English School, pp. 338-9.

14. Fosbrooke A Picturesque .. Account .. of Cheltenham p.vi.

15. Farington Vol VIII p. 300. Summerson gives a more realistic version in his book on Nash.

16. Bolton The Portrait of Sir John Soane p. 496. For an account of St. Anne's see Survey of London XXXiii, 260-3, 270.

17. Gents. Mag. 1802 part (ii) p.128.

18. Gents. Mag. 1806 LXXVI p.34. But a later writer thought that it had been built "sufficienty near in its likeness to deceive many" (Rickman Gothic Architecture 7th ed. p.77) See also Vict. Hist. Rutland Vol. 2 p.277.

19. Built for a Mr. James Forsyth; information Colvin Dict.

20. New Vit. Brit. ii 1808 pls.62-4, and New Vit.Brit. 1.1802 pl.ii.

21. Letter to C.R.C. May 7th 1816. B. Crichton Collection. Part of the letter was published by Watkin C. R. Cockerell pp.23-26, but not this passage.

22. See Rosenblum Transformations.

23. S. P. Cockerell entry in A. P. S. D.

CHAPTER FOUR : CHARLES COCKERELL

1. He married Maria Tryphena Blunt, March 11th, 1789, but she died in October of the same year. In 1809 he married the Hon. Harriet Rushout of Northwick Park, Gloucestershire.

2. Gents.Mag. March 1837 p.317 gives 1804 as the date of his appointment but this is erroneous since he had already returned to England. The Bengal Calender for 1787 gives the date of his appointment as September 26th, 1784.

3. Number 144, 145. Built to designs by Robert Adam, but later altered by Samuel Pepys Cockerell. Illustrated in The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce July 1810, Vol.4, facing p.41. Since demolished. Purchased in 1793 by Charles Cockerell. The writer in The Repository thought that in any other country such a house would be called a palace.

4. John Cockerell MSS, receipts and bills.

5. Gents. Mag. Op.cit.

6. Reproduced in M.Archer India and British Portraiture p.289.

7. The Repository Op.cit.

8. Including two S.P.C. bought on C.C.'s behalf at Warren Hastings' sale at Christies June 29th, 1795. Lot No.7: study from nature, a view in the north; Lot No.8: a wood. They would appear to be English rather than Indian views. See : Stuebe: Life and Works of William Hodges.

9. In July 1795 Robert Home painted a Kit-Cat portrait of "Mr. Belli and Mr. Cockerell" at a cost of 1500 sicca rupees. Details from Robert Home's own catalogue of works now in the Nat.Port.Gall. It seems to have been his first commission on arriving in Calcutta June 4th, 1795. The picture is now thought to be in the possession of descendants of the Cockerell family. For Home see Archer, note 6.

10. See note 6.

11. This picture may be the Marquis of Cornwallis Receiving The Sons of Tipu now in the Oriental Club. Dr. Archer wondered why such an important painting was not exhibited at the R.A. The answer seems to be that the painting had already been sold prior to the exhibition and because Cockerell had suggested changes, it remained in Brown's studio, where it was displayed. There were two versions of this painting, one larger than the other, but it is not clear which one Cockerell would have owned. Major Madan, an ADC to Cornwallis, is said to have provided an account of the scene to Brown. Col.Cockerell also appears in the painting. The strong resemblance between that and a known unsigned portrait of the Colonel, suggest Brown as the artist. Brown had also painted a portrait of the Colonel's friend Madan. All this suggests that Charles Cockerell learned about either the larger or smaller painting from his brother, bought it, and requested the artist to alter some incorrect details. See Archer Indian Portraiture p 422-3, pl.334.

13. See Wittkower Palladio and English Palladianism.

14. For a full discussion of the Picturesque and its advocates see Hussey The Picturesque.

15. Letter from S.P.C. to his son C.R.C. May 7th, 1816. J. Cockerell MSS.

16. R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection, London. S.P.Cockerell;J.5.27.1-4.

17. See entries Jan 6th, 1823, Cockerell Diaries.

18. R.I B.A. Drawings Collection. J.5.26,1-2. The design of an 'Oriental' cast-iron boiler, presumably for one of the conservatories, must be his.

19. R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection. J.5.26.2

20. Letter from Sir Charles Cockerell to C.R.C. April 13th, 1822 B. Crichton Collection.

21. Indenture. G.R.O. 1652.

22. For a recent account of Chinoiseries see P.Conner Oriental Architecture in the West; or Hugh Honour Chinoiserie.

CHAPTER FIVE : SEZINCOTE

1. Thomas Daniell Letters dated 12 December 1810; 30 December 1810; 14 January 1811; R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection.

2. C. R. Cockerell Diaries, R. I. B. A. Library.

3. He quotes the same passage in his Designs, p. (i).

4. Ibid. (v).

5. Ibid.

6. See Stroud: Humphrey Repton, list of works.

7. Designs, p. (v), footnote (f).

8. One view of the west front was exhibited at the R.A. in 1806. Two elevations in the Chinese style by Porden are in the Royal Pavilion,Art Gallery and Museum, Brighton.

9. MS Designs for a Pavillon at Brighton, Royal Library Windsor Further substantiated by Brayley in his second edition of Nash's Views.

10. Shellim: T. D. 93. 94.

11. See e.g. Price, p.51-53, 1810 ed.

12. See Shellim, op.cit.

13. Repton : Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening 1795 Chap.5.

14. See Chapter 1, p.11 and note 36.

15. The platform for Sezincote's dome would appear to have been taken from Akbar's tomb at Sekunderabad. A building the Daniell's much admired.

16. See Shellim : T. D. 93, 94.

17. William Hodges : Travels in India 1793. Payne Knight found that the buildings most consonant with Price's idea of beauty (Essays Vol II p.273) were 'Hindoo' domes:
"Their undulating flow of outline tapered to a point; their frail and delicate structure, their clear and bright colours neither strong nor glaring, their smooth unbroken surface, their small size, comparative to that of the buildings to which they usually belong, all exactly accord; nor is anything wanting but a variety in the direction of the parts; and that the buildings themselves always abundantly supply - Yet I do not believe that either Mr. Burke or his commentator (Price) ever found such a building beautiful: for, in practice, their natural good taste triumphed over their theories..."
Knight : Principles of Taste, p.81.

18. I have often wondered whether Wilkins was influenced by the Indian callix when he designed the domes for the National Gallery and University College, London. In both cases they rise via a series of rings to the lantern, thus avoiding the angular effect, Hodges had disliked. The pavilions to the National Gallery do have a chatri-like appearance. At Dalmeny, Scotland, he had employed Turkish chimneys for an ex-consul of Istanbul, Sir Robert Liston. Wilkins warmly greeted the publication of Ram Raz's Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus (1835) as did C. R. Cockerell Perhaps Wilkins was more of an eclectic than is realised.

Armitage Park, Staffordshire, now Spode House; and Bracondale, Norwich by John Wilkins, acquired 'oriental' domes in about 1820. It is not known whether this signifies a connection with India.

19. In view of the fact that Cockerell drew a sketch of the Taj Mahal (illus59) in a letter dated 7th May 1816 to his son C. R. Cockerell, perhaps he modelled Sezincote on it.

20. Adlestrop House, across the Evenlode Valley from Sezincote, was designed by Sanderson Miller, c 1755 who employed similar octagonal buttresses and cupolas in a Tudor-Gothic scheme.

21. For more details see J. M. Crook Xanadu by the Black Sea Country Life 2 March 1972, p.513-17.

22. Wyatville's designs remained unbuilt. They are now in the R. I. B. A. Library. See D. Linstrum Sir Jeffry Wyatville.

23. Compare illus. 23 with illus. 112, facing p.149 in Conner Oriental Architecture.

24. Clerk of Works to theBoard of Ordnance, appointed architect at the Pavilion in 1822, after Nash left.

25. The original drawings are in the possession of James Villiers Stuart, Ballinparka, Villierstown, Co. Waterford. Photographic copies in National Trust Archive, Dublin. Information kindly supplied by the Knight of Glin. There are other buildings in this area of Ireland, along the River Blackwater which display 'oriental influence'. Information Baron Brian de Breffny.

26. Oriental Scenery I, 22; III, 4.

27. William Daniell, Journal 7 Nov. 1789, quoted by Archer Early Views, illus.64.

28. Unfortunately there is no space to examine Smith's contribution to the Indian style at more length. See my articles about him in Country Life 21 May, 28 May 1981.

29. Oriental Scenery III, 10.

30. This cannot be entirely true, some features are not to be found at Sezincote. I do not rule out the possibility that Charles Cockerell had something to do with its design, though not on his land. See Vict.Hist. of Gloucs. Vol 6., p.167; Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalist Field Club Vol XXII, p.261.

31. Oriental Scenery, I, 3.

32. Letter in R. I. B. A. Drawing Collection.

33. Illus 72 is only a detail of Oriental Scenery III,22. There is a drawing in R. I. B. A. AJ/54 taken on the spot in 1789.

34. T. Daniell Twenty-Four Landscapes IV, 12.

35. Gibbons' Decline and Fall had alerted a nation to the fate of a once great empire.

36. The 'spade' motif was used by C. S. Repton for a conservatory design. Royal Pavilion Art Gallery, Brighton.

37. Despite a search at the Prints and Drawings room this watercolour could not be found.

38. R. I. B. A. Cat. S.P.C. 4 (J5/17.3).

39. Note 39 refers to the sentence which follows it. See Shellim TD 94.

40. Shellim : TD 104.

41 C R. Cockerell was to say of the farmhouse that it was "abundantly large". 6 April 1826. Cockerell Diaries, R.IB.A.

42. It is possible that architects in this country would find in such an arrangement similarities between them and classical buildings with blind attics. Latrobe was to use this composition with a pointed arch in his Bank of Philadelphia design. See Hamlin Latrobe pl.26.

43. See Stroud Dance p.113

44 See Dance's designs for Cole Orton, Ashburnham, Stratton Park gateway. Illus. Stroud pl. 59(a), pl.67(c). See illus.100

45 Ibid p 121

46. Metropolitan Improvements p.152.

47. Ibid.

48. Gents. Mag. August 1820 p.118.

49. There is a design for a Gothic dairy attributed to H. Repton amongst the Sezincote drawings at the R. I. B. A. I personally doubt whether it has anything to do with Sezincote. In 1803 Repton had written : "Why the dairy should be Gothic, when the house is not so, I cannot understand, unless it arises from that great source of bad taste, to introduce what is called a pretty thing, without any reference to its character, situation, or uses". Observations on the Theory... 1803, p.151

50. The dairy is now in a very sad condition.

51. The clock tower was originally painted white. See Shellim TD 94.

52. Porden had been a pupil of S. P. Cockerell's despite their similar ages. Another Cockerell pupil, Joseph Kay, was Porden's assistant at Brighton: Musgrave Royal Pavilion p.5.

53. Quoted by Musgrave p.46.

54. Repton Designs vi.

55. MSS Royal Archives : quoted Musgrave p.62-4.

56. The Regent was genuinely interested in architecture and amassed a comprehensive collection of architectural and topographical books, including drawings of India and Daniell's Oriental Scenery. After his death the collection was given to the British Museum and is now called the King's Library.

57. This area needs further investigation, as far as I am aware this has never been undertaken.

58. The Exhibition, or a second Anticipation: being Remarks on the principal Works to be exhibited next month at the Royal Academy : by Roger Shanagan. Gent.

59. This is of course my own conjectural assertion. An investigation into the links between Porden, the Regent and their understanding of India would establish a new understanding of Brighton Pavilion.

60. In the Thomas Daniell letter of 14 January 1811 he refers to this watercolour as the "original design" it probably dates from about 1809.

61. In a letter of 14th January 1811 Daniell wrote " I am dreadfully alarmed about the Brahminy Bulls...(were) there to be no other ornaments on the bridge, they could not be better placed because the intention in placing them there was to mark the centre of the bridge".

62. R. Bevan exhibited a design at the R. A. during the 1830's for a cast iron bridge in the 'Hindoo' style. It is not known if this was the one intended for Lucknow. See Abdul Halim Sharar : Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture p.60-61. London 1975.

63. Journal quoted Archer, op.cit.

64. See Bryan Little "Calcutta in the Cotswolds" Presidential Address delivered to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Bristol 19 April 1980.

65. Reproduced: M. Archer Indian Architecture and the British pl.18.

66. In the same bill is "Sir C. Cockerell, Mr. Dubbin's wages at Sezincote, 16/- a day, £4. Expenses to home and back £6." Croggan Day Book C 111/106. P. R. O. Information kindly supplied by Miss Alison Kelly.

67. Ibid. Order Book for 4th March 1814. They were despatched in October of the same year.

68. Roberts : History of the Royal Pavilion, p.281.

69. The attribution to John Rossi may find some confirmation in the fact that he designed a memorial to Rev. Thomas Leigh of Adlestrop in 1817.

70. R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection. Thomas Daniell: J5/16,10.

71. It would be interesting to know if the 'Brahminy' bulls and elephants were used elsewhere.

72. Shellim: T.D. 96.

73. For a similar fountain see Oriental Scenery I,8.

74. Antiquities of India, 13.

75. Shellim: T.D. 93-98, 116.

76. This was sold at Christies May 29th 1959.

77. John Martin Sketchbook c. 1818, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford contains many sketches of Indian details.

78. Bought for 400 guineas by Thomas Hope.

79. A drawing at R. I. B. A. J5/21,1 shows alterations to Sezincote, and is signed "C.R.C. 10th July 1818".

80. The Memoranda is now on loan to the R. I. B. A. Library London.

81. It has long been thought that Hafod was influenced by oriental/Indian architecture. I have yet to be fully convinced of this. The subject needs investigation. J. Thomas The Architectural Development of Hafod.

82. Farington (21st June 1817) mentions that S. P. Cockerell had suffered a paralytic stroke at the beginning of June, but had recovered. However, in 1818 Sir Charles Cockerell wrote that Samuel was again unwell (Letter 19th Feb.1818 G. R. O. 1652).

83. A study of the design and development of the bungalow is really a thesis on its own. The first bungalow to be so named was built at Birchington, Westgate-on-Sea, Kent in 1869. See J. Burnett: Social History of Housing p.207-8.

84. I have not seen; information from owners.

85. Quoted in C. R. Cockerell Diary 1826, pp 70-71.

86. Sezincote was not included amongst C. R. Cockerell's list of his father's work in A. P. S. D.

87. Vict. Hist. Warks. Vol 5, p.111.

88. The Diary of a Cotswold Parson p.75, ed. David Verey, Glouces. 1978.

CHAPTER SIX : THE WIDER CONTEXT

1. A letter to Uvedale Price : Repton, p.9-10.

2. An Enquiry : Repton p.4.

3. Ibid.

4. Aikin Designs for Villas.. pl.1.

5. Principles of taste Pt.III chap.3.

6. Bracondale, Red Book, quoted by Stroud, H. Repton.

7. Designs, p. vi.

8. An examination of the relationship between wealth, individualism and stylistic pluralism merits consideration but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

9. Reynolds Discourse XIII, ed. Wark, p. 243.

10. Ibid. p. 242.

11. Letter to C. R. Cockerell 7th May 1816: Carlton Collection.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Knight. Op.cit. p. 447

15. Price Essay on the Picturesque Vol I p. 22-3 1810 ed.

16. Hussey p. 66, quoting Price Vol I p.5.

17. Price, ibid.

18. Ibid. p. 4

19. Knight . Op. cit. p.160.

20. Voyage to India by way of China, 1810, intro.

21. Reynolds. Op.cit. p. 242.

22. Lovejoy has provided the classic exposition of mimesis in Essays in the History of Ideas 1948.

23. Architecture des Eglises Anciennes et Nouvelles, Paris 1733.

24. A. Pope : The Works, in Nine Volumes Complete.., together with the commentaries and notes of Mr (William)Warburton London 1751, III p.268.

25. In 1792-3 he built an imitation cathedral from willow rods, which he allowed to weather. He noticed how the bark peeled away creating tracery effects. James Hall : Essay on the Origin of and Principles of Gothic Architecture read in 1797 to the Royal Society, Edinburgh, later expanded and published in 1813.

26. Parentalia, 1750, p. 296.

27. Quoted by Frankl. p. 364.

28. Op.cit.

29. Rev. J. Haggitt : Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Cambridge 1813

30. An Historical survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, London 1809.

31. Ibid. preface xii.

32. Designs vii.

33. Ibid.

34. Op.cit. p.27.

35. Op.cit. p. 28.

36. Op.cit. p. 75.

37. Gent. Mag. Vol LXIX Oct 1799 p. 82.

38. W. Gilpin p. 63. Observations on the Western Parts of England 1798.

39. Op. cit. p. 242.

40. Op.cit. p. 60.

41. Op.cit. p. 64.

42. At the sale of Dance's library, it contained Daniell's twenty Four Views in Hindustan Lot 153; Views of the European Factory at Canton and Four more Views by Daniell Lot 154; two drawings by Daniell of the Hindoo Observatory at Delhi, and "2 elevations of the tomb of Mumatza Zemani at Ackbarabad" Lot 156; as well as Archaelogia 11-20 in which there are papers on Indian antiquities; Capper's Voyage to India (1785); and Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindustan (1793).
His brother, Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, was a respected figure in the East India Company's fleet.

43. Farington, Vol III p. 209.

44. Ibid. p. 210.

45. There was also an "Indian" room at Deepdene. See note 48.

46. See Conner's forthcoming article in the Burlington Magazine: Thomas Hope's Composition Picture.

47. Originally exhibited at the 1886 Royal Colonial and Indian Exhibition, South Kensington . Acquired by Lord Brassey and transferred to 24, Park Lane, London. Given to Hastings in 1819. See David Devenish : The Brassey Collection : Area Service Magazine, Milton Keynes 1976 No. 29.

48. Illustrated in Neale's Beauties of England and Wales Vol III 2nd series p. 7. The ante-room at Deepdene contained a collection of 'Oriental Views' by Thomas Daniell.

49. Ibid. Vol IV, 2nd series, 1818.

50. Op.cit.

51. Op.cit.

52. R. Adam, Works Introduction to Part I.

53. Op.cit.

54. Op.cit.

55. Emlyn, introduction.

56. Ibid.

57. Designs p. 30.

58. Ibid. p. 29.

59. Op.cit.

60. Isaac Ware Complete Body of Architecture, London 1748 p129. Emlyn does not quote Ware verbatim.

61. Ibid. p. 130.

62. Anthony Blunt : Philibert de l'Orme p. 120 London 1958

63. Op.cit. p. 130

64. Op.cit. p.4.

65. Emlyn's A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture was very popular, running to three editions, 1781, 1784 and 1797. It was despised by Soane who thought it promulgated the 'French Disease" (3rd RA Lecture MSS Soane Mus.) but it found favour in the Royal Academy (to which the 2nd edition was dedicated.)

66. See. S. Lang's paper on Beaumont Lodge in the Country Seat ed. H. M. Colvin, J. Harris, 1970.

67. Dance's relationship with other architects can be seen in Farington Diaries. R. Smirke, a friend of Dance's, based his Lowther Castle design on an idea by Dance (Farington, April 25, 1806). Dance tried to encourage Smirke to alter the latter's design for Covent Garden Theatre, making it "more fanciful and deviating from legitimate architecture" (Farington, Feb 16, 1809). Cockerell and Dance conferred over the designs for the Guildhall at Westminster (1804-5) Farington May 3, 1809.

68. Op.cit. p.30.

CHAPTER SEVEN : DRAWINGS AND THE 'INDIAN' STYLE

1. Quoted by Paul F. Norton Daylesford.

2. Michael Sullivan: The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art London 1973.

3. I cannot see this myself. Mitter: Much Maligned Monsters p.171. A later artist and sculptor, Eric Gill, was much influenced by Indian drawings, which were supplied to him by his friend Ananda Coomeraswamy.

4. Introduction; R. Gough: A comparative View of the Antient Monuments of India, London 1785.

5. Gents. Mag. 1865 ii p.627.

6. Ibid.

7. Letter to Joseph Banks October 23, 1779: Dawson Turner Collection. B. M. Botany Dept.1. 270-271. Lind must have returned sometime during the early 1780's.

8. An earlier visitor Miss Burney thought it the work of his artist brother Paul Sandby, Gents. Mag. ibid.

9. Lots 130-131, 134.

10. The MSS lecture notes are in the R. I. B. A. Library, another copy is in the Soane Museum. The sixth lecture is the most concerned with the architecture of India, but it seems to have made little impression on Sandby's listeners.

11. Hodges : Travels, p.174.

12. See M. Archer : Early Views in India for the latest and finest account of the Daniells' expedition to India.

13. Farington quotes W. Daniell as saying that they departed September 1789, but that date does not accord with the Journal. Farington must have made a mistake when he transcribed the letter.

14. Quoted M. Archer op.cit. p.225.

15. Farington May 31st 1804.

16. Ibid. Jan 21st 1799.

17. In his prefatory remarks to his book of Designs Repton wrote "These (the minutae of Indian miniatures) he means to lay before the public,...(and Repton did not wish to) interfere with his future views respecting the detail of Hindu architecture" (Ibid. p.viii)

18. See M. Archer, op.cit. pp.227-231.

19. Scenes in Hindustan (1835) p.228, vol I.

20. Op.cit. viii.

CONCLUSION

1. Lovejoy The Parallel of Deism and Classicism.

2. Ibid.

3. Marshall A Free though Conquering People . . (1981)

4. Ibid. p.10.

5. The character of Tipu Sultan appears in the Sidmouth Mummers' play of c. 1800.

6. Archer India and British Portraiture pp 420-4.

7. Marshall, op.cit. p.19.

8. When the threat of Napoleon's invasion seemed imminent in 1797, Thomas and William Daniell, Dance and Smirke, joined the St. Pancras Volunteers. For this Company Dance composed a patriotic marching song entitled "One and All". In October 1798 it was performed with great success at Covent Garden, before an audience which included the King and the Prince of Wales. The Prince was so enthusiastic that he wanted a copy of the music for himself.(Quoted: Stroud, p. 181).

9. Farington, July 22nd 1798.

10. Farington, quoted by Stroud p. 181.

11. Repton Designs p.39.

12. Ibid. p. 38.

13. Lovejoy op.cit.

14. Referring to the design of pump rooms at Bath and Cheltenham, Fosbrooke wrote : ".. it is deeply to be regretted that they are in the Grecian style. .. under any circumstances the Asiatic or Arabian styles . . would have been more fortunate, because, if the large windows are indispensible, the wooden sash-work in those styles might be latticed, trellised, or fancifully reticulated, and painted green, as they are in the theatrical scenes". (Fosbrooke Cheltenham p.vi-vii)

Of the New Market House he wrote "(it) is Asiatic. No scientific approbation can possibly be given to the oriental style" (i.e. it does not have sound architectural principles) "but there may be an elegance in fancy work, A kaleidoscope produces interesting arrangements of shapeless masses". (Ibid. p.40) The charm of intricacy !

15. Two houses in Cumberland Walk, dating from the 1820's thought to be by Amon Henry Wilde. See Alan Savidge Royal Tunbridge Wells p. 105 and J. Britton Descriptive Sketches of Tunbridge Well's and Calverley Estate 1832.

16. William Daniell exhibited a painting at the R.A. in 1802 and a black and white engraving appeared in the Oriental Annual (1834) p 143.

17. Drawings in Crace Collection, British Museum. Photostat copy at Kensington Central Library entitled 20 Views of Olde London Tea Gardens and Olde London Houses, undated.

18. Designed by Benjamin Ferrey (1810-1880) in 1836, better known for his Gothic churches in Hampshire and Dorset. Ferrey worked in the office of W. Wilkins from whom he may have learned something about Eastern architecture.

19. Works ; ed. Lord Teignmouth Vol III p.2.

20. The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 (illus.127) and the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 (illus.124) had particularly fine examples of Indian courts and pavilions.

21. Sedlmayr, p. 52.

22. Both George Germann Gothic Revival London 1972 and Rykwert The First Moderns Yale 1980 p.60 translate 'Mogol'

as Mongolian though this cannot possibly be correct. Colbert was a friend of the great Indian traveller Francois Bernier who wrote an influential account of his travels in India, published in 1670 containing his letters to Colbert. 'Mogol' was the French term for Mughal and indeed it is often written Mogul or Moghal today.

23. Quoted by Germann, p.21 from Charles Perrault Parallele des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences 4 vols. Paris 1688-9.

24. Harris Chambers p.32-40.

25. Nettleton's Guide to Plymouth p.3. ed. Wightwick.

26. Ibid. p.4.

27. Ibid.

28. Breffny The Synagogue pp 155-172.Crook Regency Architecture in the West Country.

29. Remey Architectural Composition in the Indian Style.

30. See Jencks Post-Modern p.92. This is not a design for a mosque as Jencks states.

31. See Symbol of Peace, Concrete Quarterly 128 Jan-March 1981 London.

32. The Indian habit of a free well was adopted, financed by the sale of local fruit. To this end a four acre orchard was purchased adjacent to the well. It was later named the Ishree Bagh, literally Ishree's Garden. Ishree was the Maharajah's name. Indians later sponsored other wells or fountains at nearby Ipsden; the Maharajah of Madras later funded a drinking fountain in Hyde Park near Marble Arch; and a Bombay banker, Radha Moonee had a fountain erected in Regent's Park. See The Public Well at Stoke Row, Ipsden Oxfordshire; The Gift of the Maharajah of Benares. The Maharajah's Well Restoration Appeal Fund, Stoke Row 1979.

33. Architectural drawings in the Guildhall ; Wake-Up London No. 8 and 8A.

34. Whittock, p.3.

35. Ibid. p.12.

36. Brayley's London & Middlesex p.763.

37. Although both Watkin Thomas Hope and Conner Oriental Architecture both give this as an example, I have never traced a direct reference to a temple. An extract from Brayley's London & Middlesex merely says "towards the descent of the hill is a handsome villa, now the property of Col. Roberts, lately in the occupation of James Forbes Esq. F.R.S.... who placed in the gardens some curious specimens of Hindoo sculpture".

38. See J. S. Curl Celebration of Death pp.139-145.

39. Moore, in his poem Lalla Rookh published in 1817 quotes extensively from antiquarians, journals, travels etc. of India. The intention was to create archaeological and historical accuracy.

40. Bearce, pp. 14-27.

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