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THE BULLETIN: EDITOR'S WELCOME

Welcome to Issue Twenty of the *Birkbeck Early Modern Society Bulletin*. This edition continues with the usual mix of a wide and lively range of articles, reviews and forthcoming events.

This is my final issue as editor of the Bulletin and as a member of the committee; after five years I feel that it is time to move on and try something different. The Bulletin has made an enormous contribution to the good reputation that this society enjoys and I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the contributors to the Bulletin since I started the publication in 2006, especially Timothy Alves, Karen Baston and Sue Dale for their numerous articles and unstinting support, particularly when others could spare neither the time nor the inclination to write even a few paragraphs. I would also like to thank Melvina Youngs for her invaluable assistance and for ensuring that I always remained within the boundaries of correct grammar.

I hope that you enjoy this issue and I wish you all the very best for the future. The next issue will be out in the Winter of 2011.

John Croxon

Editor

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VISITS

Sudeley Castle

Gloucestershire



After reading John Ashdown-Hill's superb biography of Eleanor Talbot, daughter of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, I have wanted to visit Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire. When the opportunity arose last month the wait proved worthwhile, for Sudeley was revealed to be a charming and captivating place.

First of all, only the gardens and the medieval ruins are open to the public, unless one books a guided tour (Connoisseur Tours) of the Castle apartments that are run on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at 11am, 1pm and 3pm. If you do decide to visit then do try to book one of these tours as it really does enhance the visit.

The story of Sudeley begins in the tenth century when King Ethelred the Unready gave the Saxon manor house and estate to his daughter Goda upon her marriage to Walter de Maunt. At the time of the Norman Conquest the de Sudeley family owned the estate and because they had Norman ancestry as well as Saxon they were allowed to retain it. In the fourteenth century the estate passed through marriage into the Botler family and it is with Ralph Botler that the history of Sudeley Castle on its present site really begins. His life linked two great events in fifteenth-century English history, the Hundred Years War with France and the early stages of what later became known as the Wars of the Roses. It is at this point that Eleanor arrives at Sudeley upon her marriage to Ralph Botler's son. Ralph Botler was a Lancastrian and Henry VI created him Baron Sudeley and also appointed him Treasurer of the Exchequer and High Treasurer of England. With his new found status and wealth Botler set about building a magnificent new castle at Sudeley of which the still standing Portmare Tower, the Dungeon Tower and the Tithe Barn as well as St Mary's Church were all built during this period. However, the Yorkist victor, Edward IV, took Sudeley from Botler and gave it to his brother, Richard duke of Gloucester. After nine years Richard exchanged it for Richmond Castle in his powerbase in Yorkshire. Upon his own accession to the throne Richard became owner of Sudeley for the second time and it was during this period that the Banqueting Hall, whose walls still survive to indicate its magnificent nature, was built. Later, Sudeley was owned by Sir Thomas Seymour who married Katherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII and set about refurbishing the castle. During the Civil War Sudeley sided with the king and the castle was besieged and taken, and later Cromwell's Parliamentary forces slighted the castle, resulting in the ruined sections that we see today. The castle then suffered years of neglect until purchased by John and William Dent, two wealthy Victorian brothers, who spent years and a considerable amount of money on restoration work. The castle then passed to their nephew John Coucher Dent whose wife, Emma, lavished attention and money on Sudeley to produce the castle and grounds that we see today.

It is with Katherine Parr that we will start this tour of Sudeley and St Mary's Church, built within the grounds. The medieval chapel is a delightful building and contains the tomb of Katherine Parr, with the figure of Henry VIII's last queen created in marble.



St Mary's Church

Many people visit Sudeley just for the gardens which are extremely picturesque and contain interest throughout the year. The Queen's Garden sits in the centre of the grounds and is surrounded by great yew hedges. It contains a huge variety of roses, both modern and traditional, and in summer the scent and diversity of colour is quite glorious.



The tomb of Katherine Parr

The small Knot Garden successfully evokes the elaborate style of gardens in the Elizabethan era. Intervening hedges of box twirl around sandy coloured gravelled beds and in the middle is a Moorish mosaic fountain.

The Ruins Garden has been created on the site of the old Banqueting Hall created by Richard III in the late-fifteenth century and the long gothic windows are draped in climbing roses and clematis while wild thyme creeps into the crevices of the stone, and the branches of old sycamore trees brush the remaining walls in the breeze. The exquisite stone tracery is still evident and gives evidence to how beautiful this structure would have been when Richard built it. Certainly the medieval remains are hugely evocative of a past era and the last Plantagenet king.



The ruins of the fifteenth-century banqueting hall built by Richard III

The Mulberry Garden contains a lovely grove of old mulberry trees plus old English flowers such as cowslip and primroses which spill out onto the paths.

The White Garden is situated by the chapel where in Tudor times a covered walkway existed where Katherine Parr and Lady Jane Grey walked. Today they are symbolically represented by two topiary figures draped in ivy and roses. Around the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary all the flowers are white and include a passion flower, roses, peonies, clematis, petunias, and tulips.

The Secret Garden is a long thin space, enclosed by a yew hedge on one side and stone walls on the other three, and contains a thousand tulips in a variety of colours.

The Victorian Kitchen Garden is a small vegetable garden with a bower covered in roses.



The Tithe Barn Garden

The Tithe Barn Garden is a medieval ruin and in the summer sun provides the perfect setting for old fashioned varieties of flowers such as wild roses, hollyhocks, hydrangeas, wisteria, and wild clematis.

The Wildflower Walk and meadow has groves of cherries, crab-apples, almonds, and apricots as well as a large number of wild flowers.

The East Garden possesses an arbour festooned in Tibetan and Chinese golden yellow lantern clematis.

Exclusive tours of the castle have to be booked in advance but this is well worth the effort and the extra cost because this is the only way to view the interior. The tour began with an introductory talk by the guide. I had been astonished and saddened to read in the guidebook a reference to 'Richard Crookback duke of Gloucester'. This sort of stuff has largely disappeared from modern history books. However, the guide did make a point of stating that Richard did not have a hump and was probably quite a

good king who in his short reign passed laws to benefit the common people and that Shakespeare's Richard was a myth. They just need to do something about their literature. Incidentally, she asked a series of questions which you will be pleased to know that I repeatedly leapt in with the answer before anyone else. Another triumph for Birkbeck!



Sudeley Castle

The tour was really good and the guide was really enthusiastic about her subject. The tour took us through parts of Sudeley allowing access to some of the most splendid rooms in the castle, including the Stone Drawing Room, the Library and the Billiard Room. Sudeley boasts a large collection of paintings and fine examples of masterpieces can be seen by artists such as Rubens, Van Dyck and Claude Lorraine. The tour provides a fascinating opportunity to learn the origin of many paintings and artefacts on display, as well as many stories and anecdotes from the incredible history of this splendid castle. Sudeley is a lovely place to visit and is worthwhile including in any trip to Gloucestershire.

John Croxon

Hammerwood Park

East Grinstead, Sussex



Hammerwood Park

The origins of Hammerwood are obscure, and despite an existing Tudor farmhouse called Bower House, situated alongside the present drive there was never a medieval 'manor of Bower'. However, The Bower was a substantial landholding which straddled the parishes of East Grinstead and Hartfield, a few miles north of the Ashdown Forest. In the mid 1500s a prosperous yeoman called Hugh Botting purchased the estate. He died in 1560 leaving his widely distributed lands to his family but reserving the principal chamber in his 'house called The Bower' to the use of his wife, Joan. Whether this house was on the site of the farmhouse up the lane or on the site of modern Hammerwood is unclear. Eventually the Bottings fell on hard times and had to sell to a rising East Grinstead family, the Paynes, in 1628, but it would appear that they continued in occupation of the land until the end of the seventeenth century when eventually they relinquished The Bower and the Paynes leased it to another local squire called Alexander Luxford for one year in 1693. By 1711 the Paynes were living at The Bower. When John Payne's only child married John Smith, Rector of Withyham, he became that celebrated eighteenth-century figure, the 'squire vicar'. Smith was a wealthy man and The Bower passed to his son and eventually to his daughter-in-law.

When John Sperling, an Essex landowner, purchased The Bower in mid-1792 he commissioned the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe to build his new house in the Greek revival style. Latrobe was a talented and original architect but he built only one other house in England. In 1795 he emigrated to the United States where he became one of their foremost architects, rebuilding the White House and Capitol in Washington DC after they were destroyed in 1812. In 1795, not long after Hammerwood Park was completed, John Sperling's mother died and he returned to Essex to care for his father. The property was sold to Magen Dorrien Magens, a banker and thereafter it passed through several hands.

Following World War II the house was divided into eleven apartments but as these became vacant the building gradually fell into disrepair. In the 1970's the rock group Led Zeppelin bought the property, but with an intensive touring schedule they gave it little care, installing a caretaker who did his best but fought a losing battle to look after the place. The decline continued and by the early 1980's the house was on the verge of collapse with all lead stolen from the roof, all but one of the fireplaces

removed, and all the doors carried off. Hammerwood was rescued in 1982 when purchased by David Pinnegar who, with his family, began a painstaking restoration of the house.



The South Front

Today one approaches Hammerwood Park from the west but in the eighteenth century it was from the valley to the south where the view of the house on the hill would be sure to impress. Latrobe set about creating a bold, rustic hunting lodge that would both dominate the landscape but also blend in with it. It was therefore fitting that this was where the tour started.

I am a great supporter of the work of English Heritage and The National Trust but Hammerwood is privately owned by David and Anne-Noelle Pinnegar and they take it in turns to conduct the tours of the house telling the story of the long and careful process of restoration. This gives a completely different dimension to visiting stately houses and proved to be a highly entertaining and delightful experience.

The South Front has a rather tall, stark, symmetrical facade with stubby flanking porticos, designed to appear larger than it actually is and has the effect of a rustic and masculine building, highly appropriate for its original purpose of a hunting lodge. The most striking features on the south front are the two tetrastyle porticos with dark columns in the rather austere style of the mid-sixth century Greek Doric order.



Hammerwood Park North Front

We entered the house by the Dining Room. Although this was not the most dilapidated room when the Pinnegars arrived it is the room that has had the least amount of restoration. It was a shock. Over the years I have been to countless

historical properties and, like everyone else, I am used to highly restored, near perfect houses, the dining room at Hammerwood is not like this, it is a mess. There were huge holes in the ceiling, bare walls with remnants of different paints, algae, moss and fungus infected corners of the room. Looking carefully one can see evidence that in its prime the room had been decorated in Adam pink with gold leaf picking out lines of decorative plaster. The dining room also boasts the only fireplace original to the house. Thieves had dismissed it as a cheap modern reproduction because it had been painted during the time the houses had been divided into flats. Restoration has revealed a beautiful wine-red porphyry marble chimney piece. Film directors love this room and it has featured in a number of films and adverts.

Other rooms have been restored and are spacious, light, and sunny with all the main reception rooms facing onto the rolling parkland to the south. All the main rooms were designed for easy access, with long corridors and high elegant arches.

The Drawing Room is magnificent with splendid mirrored pilasters, designed to reflect the candlelight. The ornate plasterwork ceiling has lines and flowers picked out in gold leaf and deep red, and the cornice is made up of delicate rosettes. Anne-Noelle told us how a local craftsman had made the present rosettes in an inventive and relatively cheap way, instructive of how the Pinnegars have strived to produce quality restoration work within a budget. The result, in the drawing room, as in the other rooms, is superb.

The Library has wonderful wooden bookcases with classical mouldings of fruits and flowers, which had crashed to the ground at some point in the past. They have been lovingly restored and now occupy three of the four walls. The fourth wall possesses a lovely wide window that throws pleasant light into the room. The Pinnegars now hold concerts here and it is no doubt a marvellous venue.

The Fleur-de-Lys Room has a number of musical instruments and is indicative of the importance that the owners place upon music. The cornice on the ceiling of this room is designed to resemble ancient Greek mutules and guttae. The ceiling has an English rose and fleur-de-lys motif which was badly damaged some time in the past, but is now been beautifully restored.

The stairs in the large Staircase Hall also appear to be mid-Victorian. The 'trompe l'oeil' decoration on the walls was commissioned by Mr Pinnegar to mark Hammerwood Park's bicentenary.

Climbing to the first floor the visitor can view several rooms. These include The Bathroom with an old fashioned loo and a bath on a wooden dais and a bedroom furnished in French 'Louis' style, and a bedroom in an Italian style, light and rectangular, with a splendid carved Italian bed.

The old derelict wooden shutters have been carefully replaced and we were told how a young Czech student worked on these in return for board and lodgings and an opportunity to learn the art of restoration. He has now returned to the Czech Republic and is doing a very similar, but paid job, on the historic properties in his homeland. This is how the Pinnegars operate; using craftsmen wherever possible but also using students and volunteers who in return get a chance to learn new skills.

The Elgin Room was once the main kitchen of the house. It had been converted into a squash court and markings are still visible on parts of the walls. High on the walls there is a plaster cast of the Parthenon Frieze, donated by Charterhouse School. It was in this room that our tour ended and where we partook of tea and cake in a very English and informal manner. One amusing anecdote to relate was when I took a second slice of delicious cake a small boy said to his mother “why is that greedy man having a second slice”? This proved hilarious to my companions but I do assure you that I did pay for a second slice!

If you fancy a great day out then please do consider Hammerwood Park. You will be supporting a good cause and you will have a marvellous experience, completely different to the usual day out at a stately home. For the owners it is quite obviously a labour of love. After almost thirty years of careful restoration work it is obvious that the Pinnegars are not doing it for money. This is a completely different type of county house experience and one that I would definitely recommend.

John Croxon.

ARTS REPORT



THEATRE

The Merchant of Venice

The Royal Shakespeare Theatre

Stratford-Upon-Avon



Patrick Stewart as Shylock

The Merchant of Venice has never been one of my favourite Shakespeare plays and there are moments when the action is painfully slow. However, with the rise of Islam in Europe and the simultaneous re-emergence of anti-Semitism it is perhaps an apt time for the RSC to re-stage this play.

This though is no reverential staging of Shakespeare, rather the director Rupert Goold has relocated Shakespeare's Venice to present-day Las Vegas. Whilst many of the audience are still finding their seats the action is already in full swing with a casino packed with tourists playing blackjack and shooting craps, while being serenaded by an Elvis Presley figure whom we later discover to be Shylock's servant, Launcelot Gobbo, who launched into 'Viva Las Vegas' accompanied by a bevy of scantily clad dancers.

The colour, stunning set, and vigorous opening meant that the stage was set for a loud, brash, irreverent evening but as the play progressed it slipped into a tiresome mess, with all the tedium of a night out with a party of geography students desperate to prove how trendy they can be.

At first the colourful setting and frantic pace appealed but then one began to wonder what was the reason for setting the drama in Las Vegas. Yes, it is where the lure for money is taken to extremes but Vegas doesn't strike one as a particularly anti-Jewish city. Also, in the character of Shylock, Shakespeare produced a character of genuine tragic depth which clashes horribly with the trashy excesses of American popular entertainment. Indeed, Patrick Stewart's sombre Jew appears to inhabit a different production from the rest of the cast, reduced to an almost cameo performance instead of being central to the action.



Emily Plumtree as Nerissa and Susannah Fielding as Portia

The production is riddled with contradictions and it tries too hard to be different. This is no more apparent than in its treatment of Portia, played by Susannah Fielding, who stars in a TV game show called *Destiny* where contestants attempt to guess which casket contains her image and so win her hand in marriage and consequently her dead father's fortune. Portia, complete with blonde wig, and her maid speak in southern accents and adopt excruciatingly false smiles for the cameras. When Bassanio chooses the correct casket Portia removes her blonde wig and her high-heeled shoes to show him that she is something more than a blond airhead. But the problem is that when Portia and her maid are off-air they continue to speak and act in the same vacuous fashion which meant that when disguised as the young lawyer Bellario, her performance in the court scene was unpersuasive. We had seen too little of the character's intelligence and spontaneity to believe her quick-thinking reactions during the trial.

The director attempts to deal with the problematical anti-Semitism by introducing further racism, for instance when the Prince of Morocco turns up to the game show as an avaricious contestant in for some inexplicable reason, boxing-shorts, hecklers threw bananas at him in a throw-back to the ugly racism of some early-1970's football matches, and again when the Prince of Aragon acted as a witless Manuel figure straight from *Fawty Towers*. Neither attempt worked but just appeared contrived.



Jamie Beamish as Launcelot Gobbo

Throughout the evening the show plays for laughs as much as possible. I for one always felt it was a great shame that Elvis ever returned from the army and here the grunts and finger-pointing banality of Elvis-impersonating Launcelot Gobbo, played by Jamie Beamish, was irritating to say the least. As was Gratiano, played by Howard Charles who's 'Home Boy' antics was another pathetic attempt by the director to introduce the reality of 'the streets' to the production.

The director has also decided to introduce the issue of homosexuality to the play and here Antonio and Bassanio are clearly presented as gay lovers. Portia sees their embrace in court and their closeness back in Belmont and in a finale she re-adopts her game show character and manically distributes prize envelopes to Lorenzo, Jessica and Antonio. Then, following Gratiano's final lines, and as Launcelot begins singing 'Are You Lonesome Tonight?' she begins dancing slowly holding her fake hair, stepping on and off her one remaining shoe, resembling a Tennessee Williams tragic-heroine. The big problem was that because the show played so heavily for laughs the younger members of the audience thought that this was funny and the intended pathos just came over as ridiculous.

This is a brave attempt and there are some good parts, for example, the intense court room scene which contains real lingering menace with Portia's final intervention left until the final agonising moment. But even here the director overdoes it by alluding to Guantanamo Bay by having Antonio dressed in an orange boiler-suit. And here is the nub of the matter, this production just does not come together, it is a jumble of contradictions, gimmicks, and clever devices which in the end produces an unsatisfactory mess.

John Croxon.

The Taming of the Shrew

Open Air Shakespeare

The Festival Players at Newhailes, Musselburgh, near Edinburgh

One of the many perks of being a volunteer with the National Trust for Scotland at the Georgian House is the chance to get discounted event tickets from time to time. This resulted in an entertaining evening in beautiful surroundings with some fellow volunteers last July.

Newhailes is an Edinburgh villa built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its façade proved to be an ideal setting for open-air Shakespeare. It looks just enough like a street scene to provide the backdrop for Shakespeare's urban comedy *The Taming of the Shrew*.



Newhailes

The Festival Players are an all male touring group of Shakespearian actors. The small cast admirably played double, triple, or even quadruple roles by employing rapid

costume changes and by cleverly using masks to denote different characters. With their simple platform stage in position in front of the house, they reminded me of a medieval touring group.

The acting was lively and the play was presented as sarcastic yet sincere. The battle of the sexes theme was played out ambiguously: it was up to the audience to decide how seriously to take the inherent sexism in the play, especially since the men playing women looked, well, like men in dresses.



'Kiss me, Kate!'
Festival Players press still from 2011 season
http://www.thefestivalplayers.co.uk/Photography_2011.html

The production included some great singing (especially of a jolly drinking song) and dancing as well as some well executed slapstick. All in all this was a fast paced and enjoyable take on a Shakespeare classic which had us asking 'Did Shakespeare really write THAT?' and the answer being, when the *Complete works* were consulted, 'yes, he did!'

KAREN BASTON

ART EXHIBITION

CLAUDE-NICOLAS LEDOUX AND LA SALINE ROYALE AT ARC-ET-SENANS

A strange feature of the architecture of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century in France, that has often been commented on, is how revolutionary were some of the last works of the ancient regime compared to those of Napoleon. The revolutionaries were too preoccupied by events and in power for too short a time to do much other than built temporary structures for indoctrinating fêtes, sometimes under the direction of the painter David, and to destroy things, among them some of the finest churches in France. A test case of how revolutionary the architecture of late Louis XV and Louis XVI can be is the famous Saline Royale, or Royal Salt Works, at Arc-et-Senans in the Franche-Comté, by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736-1806, now designated as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO and used for conferences and concerts. It is one of the few such places where you can book a room actually in the historic structure. As built the Saline is a semi-circular complex of detached buildings enclosing an open space. The rounded section of the perimeter is faced with nearly identical structures, that could almost be Palladian villas (Ill. 1), while the long



Ill. 1, A hemi-cycle villa

straight side combines residential and office blocks at the ends and middle with two huge barns for the salt making process. Best known are the Maison du Directeur in the middle of the straight side with columns encased in staggered blocks (Ill. 2) and,



Ill. 2, The columns of the Maison du Directeur

aligned with it, the entrance on the outer side of the hemi-cycle that is part an archaic shrine in the Tuscan order and, part interpenetrating with the shrine, a cave for a



Ills. 3 & 4, The cave

cyclops (Ills. 3 & 4). Is there a monster inside or is the monster the industrial activity? Ledoux used caves in two other designs, the Hôtel Thélsson in Paris, 1778-83, and the

Château d'Éguière, ca. 1780, but in the basements so that the houses on top visibly rose over the uncouth and the primitive.

What is not often fully apparent in the reproductions of the Saline is the extent to which, though on quite a broad plane, it is in a fairly hilly area typical of much of the Franche-Comté and known to many through Courbet's paintings, especially the "Burial at Ornans". The hills then are not merely a decorative flourish in an old engraving while the River Loue at a distance curves around 2/3 of the hemi-cycle. The contrast and interaction between Nature and Man's creations is part of the conceit of the design. A railway line, used by the occasional TGV, curves around the flat side of the semi-circular complex adding in a way Ledoux never intended to the allusions of the site. He built while Enlightenment faith in human technological progress was more credible than ever again. When the Saline was commissioned in 1773 at the very end of Louis XV's reign, for the most part, in only a few places in Britain can the dismal consequences of industrial processes, involving masses of workers, have been becoming apparent. These new developments were not unknown to Ledoux when he wrote his 1802 "Prospectus" which refers to "the industrious labour of Birmingham". As we shall see pure optimism about technology is not expressed architecturally.

The salt works was part of a tax raising government salt monopoly and perhaps has more in common with dockyards and barracks, often endowed with impressive architecture, than a factory erected by private capital. After the Revolution Ledoux, in effect excluded from the practice of architecture because of his unfortunate connection with the former ruling class, concentrated on publishing ideal designs, including a vast extension of the Saline as the centre of a planned community. He had long had his designs engraved and then started work on a publication, "L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation". Only one edition, of one volume of a planned five was published in his lifetime. There was a second edition brought out in the mid nineteenth century with many more illustrations by his presumed son, Daniel Ramée, from which the numbers of the engravings used in this article are taken. There are some stray engravings not part of a wider publication. As in Palladio's "Quattro Libri" what is published is not always quite what was built. How far the outer edges of the improbable project to expand the Salt Works would have run up against the hills can only be speculated upon. It is important to bear the

hills in mind as one of the ways in which Sublime forces and processes impinge on, underlie and even threaten human activity. This complex makes intentional statements about the human condition to a greater extent than many industrial plants. A few rather dull suburban type houses as well as the railway line now occupy some of the ground on which the architect imagined further development. The engravings show outer groves of the great forest of Chaux, another natural force in close proximity to the Salt Works. The trees to be cut down for boiling saline water were harder to move than the water so the works were situated by the forest and the water was piped in.

The Saline is, as all the experts agree, a case of early extreme Neo-Classicism. In a sense one feels this is how the Industrial Revolution run by a benevolent government rather than private enterprise might have turned out. Over two centuries later, however, we cannot be blind to the fact that ideal communities, up to and beyond Le Corbusier's *unités d'habitation* and all their successors, have a tendency to go hideously wrong. On a purely aesthetic level the characteristic of Neo-Classicism to operate through self-isolating units, rather than Baroque unifying surges of energy throughout a complex, has already reached an advanced stage. One could read into this the breakdown of the collective certainties of religion and a fixed paternalistic society to be replaced by the terrible isolation of the individual in the face of Fate. This may be too simplistic and the breakdown of beliefs and societies is a theme of all historical periods.

The buildings interact through juxtaposition as much as overt statement. For instance on the inner side the entrance pavilion is hardly different from the other four "villas" in the hemi-cycle. We might have expected the entrance to be emphasized. The biggest difference is the presence of the back of the external entrance portico, the most famous structure in the complex. This looming rear almost looks like an accident. The other four pavilions or villas have a wall immediately behind the central arch breached by only a small portal but the entrance structure has a vaulted passage walled off at the far end with a larger gate through which the rugged columns outside can be glimpsed. Except head on and close to this exceptional treatment is hardly apparent. In the wings the pavilions usually have a quoinⁱ window between two tipped up objects, usually interpreted as the spouted tops of sculpted vessels

protruding through the wall to excrete sculpted solidifying saline sludge. On the entrance pavilion there are larger unquoined windows where the inner vessels would be. The arch of the vault and the columns viewed through it do not visually collide to quite the extent they do in the vestibules of Lutyen's Durbar Hall in the Viceroy's House in New Delhi or on some of the public monuments of the High Roman Empire. In the Durbar Hall columns are off centre but nearly on the axis of lower arches in the great apses while in the Pantheon on Rome the second columns in of the front face of the portico are on the axis of the middle of lower apses on the cella wall. In these three instances arches and order contradict each other unlike in an arcade where the arches are on an order or framed by one. Harmony is hardly the objective here: it is only the means to an end like the beautiful engraved plates in the *Encyclopédie* that in controlled tonalities illustrate the most violent industrial processes.

Contrasting roof angles are built into the entire programme as though in an effort to expand the repertoire of roof profiles acceptable in truly classical architecture with the admission of references to the vernacular and French practice. Ledoux thus takes up the recommendations of the sixteenth century Italian who moved to France, Sebastiano Serlio, another author architect. Initial designs, or retrospective publications "*L'Architecture ...*", pls. 119, 135 & 137), show Ledoux intended more elemental roof forms, such as domical rather than double gradient mansards. Elemental these roofs might have been but they would have at the back and front have had a counter curvature in plan because of the curved walls in addition to that in elevation. Perhaps it is not surprising this difficulty was evaded.

Gradations of angles as built are carefully contrived with the sophistication of the effect of Baroque curves and counter curves achieved through a more limited vocabulary. The culmination of these features is the low gradient upper pyramid of the *Maison du Directeur*, or headquarters building, a much smaller elevated centrepiece than Ledoux had hoped to build. The divergence of the two successive asymmetrical pyramids on this building can be clearly seen by standing back from a corner and noting the angle ridges far from parallel in plan as well as in elevation. This may not be Ledoux's ideal solution. It does however show how well he could work with limited means. A missing if relatively distant part of the complex was a huge wooden shed where the salt making processes began with evaporation as the

water emerged from the piping from the saline spring several miles away (L'Architecture ...", pls. 111-2). The Maison du Directeur is emphasised not just as a freestanding block but also as a kind of mountain consisting of the two superimposed pyramids and two straight-sided levels, the larger with the columns bearing the jagged rusticated blocks at the front bring a quarry face to mind. The "mountain" emerges from a valley made up of the two massive, pitched barn roofs of the great barns (Ill.



Ill. 5, The Maison du Directeur between the barns

5). In addition to the vast planes of the four sided roofs the barns have, at a slight distance below, shed roofs on nearly all the length of front sides and round the corners on the lateral faces toward the headquarters. This reproduces the double diagonal with slight intervening vertical of the Maison.

The shed and higher barn roofs if not terminated above ground level would join at lines deep under the front to back axis of the Maison du Directeur. One of Ledoux's best known late ideal designs was for an Agricultural Wardens' House ("L'Architecture...", pl. 254) which was to be a vast sphere rising well above the moat in which its lower parts were to be exposed. Even at a relatively early stage in his career at the Saline he was thinking about subterranean implications. As we shall see at Arc-et-Senans there are certain very important questions about where the ground or, more to the point, base line level not necessarily of earth actually is located. The complex of diagonals is not confined to the Maison and the barns but continues in greater depth behind them. From some oblique angles the pavilion,

actually the small stable and carriage house, behind the Maison can be seen. It derives from the archetypal Palladian church façade of two interpenetrating temple fronts with the crucial difference that the pitch of the outer lower temple's roof is un-classically



Ill. 6, The stable and carriage house

steep (Ill. 6), though this is not what is shown in “L’Architecture ...”, pl. 128. On its own the executed angle would be unforgivable in Classical terms, but at the ends of the gap between the mountain and the valley it makes perfect sense in reconciling the various diagonals. In the present state of the building the corners in the shed roofs are supported by single counter diagonal struts at the corner that also enter



Ill. 7, The diagonal strut on a berne corner

into this complex dialogue (Ill. 7). This is another instance where what we see is not in the published elevation (“L’Architecture ...”, pl. 132). As the buildings are today,

the forward corners of the sheds are not uniform as in the engraving but varied in a hierarchical way emphasising the corners next to the Maison du Directeur. There are of course mansards on the hemi-cycle pavilion's central block and on the two smaller house/offices at the join of the straight side and the curve. The pitched roofs of the wings of the hemi-cycle villas are cut off at the ends where they meet the projecting central pavilions. This is a very small-scale instance of incomplete forms, a phenomenon we shall meet again.

The front and backs of the hemi-cycle mansards and pitched roofs are slightly curved following the line of the walls below. Thus there are three implied part cones facing the straight ranges like vast interpenetrating amphitheatres, again each a good classical form of the utmost simplicity. These correspond to the valley already described on either side of the headquarters building, which would continue deep into the Earth. Like roofs cut off or notionally beginning in the air in the hemi-cycle the architecture that is physically expressed is only a part of grander forms. The filled in aspect of the valley is only one part of the unnaturally level and dynamic, actually arbitrary, aspect of the court which exactly follows the great American art historian Vincent Scully's prescription that French Classical Age (seventeenth century) buildings, however chunky in themselves, must sit on glass like flat surfaces (Scully, "Modern Architecture and Other Essays", pp. 238-9). Sometimes in these Classical Age works there are even moats or canals deeper down as part of the ensemble. The distant Franche-Comté hills and escarpments also make Ledoux's flat court that much more of an imposition. So does the built edge of it. A continuous rustic stonewall terminates the short "streets" radiating out between the hemi-cycle villas. Beyond this random village buildings and the hills can be seen, though the structures of the old villages, between which the works were built, of Arc and Senans, were further away ("L'Architecture ...", pl. 115). The rustic wall turns inwards to meet the lateral sides of the entrance pavilion so that what would normally be inside space is outside (Ill. 8).



Ill. 8, The entrance loggia seen outside the rustic wall

Elementary security precautions would dictate that there had to be a perimeter wall around the valuable commodity produced within. What could be called the problem of levels is emphasised in other ways.

The ups and downs of the multifarious roofs echo the hills but more specifically the pouring, projecting vessel nozzles imply a uniform level of saline, sludgy liquid, which might engulf everything. There was a fear of what Edmund Burke in his “A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful” in 1757 called the Sublime, but also a vicarious thrill associated with confronting it. There came a point when travellers in the Alps stopped pulling down the carriage blinds at the approach of the appalling scenery, while the likes of Sir William Hamilton ascended Vesuvius during eruptions. Were the hemi-cycle around an Italian giardino the vessel spouts there would probably be at the ends of water channels that would converge on the headquarters building. Lines on at last three reproductions authorized by Ledoux hint at something like this, most likely walkways, but aligned to gaps between the hemi-cycle buildings and the arches in their centres not to the urns (“L’Architecture ...” pls. 115, 116 & 117). Water filled channels would have inhibited the movement of people and goods across the court, which was only to be obstructed by (unexecuted) columns, the bases of which were to have yet more tipped up vessels, protruding further than the others and if the engraving is to be believed spouting real, presumably drinkable, water (“Architecture ...”, pl. 129). One can imagine that in the period of full production, rather than having the present, well-

tended smooth lawn, the central space must have been an at times a muddy mess with cartwheel tracks gouged into it. The atmosphere was a mess too: the salt was distilled from the water by heating causing steam to pour out of the dormer windows. The vessel spouts on the bernese, equally uniformly spaced as those on the villas, have less obvious places to which to discharge their sculpted contents. They are rather more problematic: channels from them would run into the hemicycle at random. The context of these vessels, as on the curved walls between quoined windows, is almost identical both on the straight and rounded sides, except that the bernese have portals rather than windows. The urn spouts are all tipping at the same angle, from the same level.

If they are studied carefully they are not even really quite the vessel tops they appear to be, being lopsided from top to bottom. Are they really run off sluices like an early version of the water channels in a hydroelectric project? They operate more gradually as the salt congeals slowly dollop by petrifying dollop. They appear to discharge the glutinous semi-salt semi-liquid into the court as graphically illustrated by the literally solidifying ooze that comes out of the holes. There are more spouts on the convex curvature on either side of the external entrance loggia and again on exactly the same level in the stonework of the cyclopean cave/entrance portal are two even more extreme cases, and yet more clogged up, that merge into rocks. Somehow the wonders of Enlightenment science maintain a sludge level within the pavilions and bernese that does not apply to the court or the streets running out of it between them as through by underground piping and hydraulic mechanisms. Over time the symbolic programme implies the whole site will become a natural wonder, a salt encrusted mass. Successive boiling sessions in the bernese over several days had to be interspersed with de-scaling intervals when the huge pans were restored as far as possible to their pristine state so production could continue. The process of encrustation and disarticulation under humpy forms that salty water could cause was well known and in the sculpted decoration was permanently arrested but held up to the humans fleetingly present as an ongoing natural process that would engulf everything. It should be pointed out that the tops of the higher level of boiling pans in the bernese are approximately only 1½ bands of rustication below the level of the petrified liquid in the spouts close enough to be equal to the casual visitor. There was a communal bath in the entrance pavilion and there were meant to be fountains with raised basins in the

courtyard fed by more vase tops/spouts with real water. The pans in the *bernes* were not supposed to overflow. Loss of water meant loss of salt. The spouts tell a tale of the complete break down in the planned industrial activity.

The consistency of the contexts in the two categories of locations of the urns or spouts inside the courtyard is important. Only the quoined and pedimented central parts of the hemicycle pavilions and the three exclusively residential/office blocks, and perhaps one might add, the pedimented porticoes of the *bernes*, which housed management functionaries, are free of them. The *directeur's* house also contained, or was to contain, an austere and dramatic chapel. Thus the more important components of the hierarchy are to some extent exempted from the implied ongoing natural processes. Thus what we might regard as the architectural “tanks” for saline water were uniquely where the workers toiled over the pans in the *bernes* or slept, four beds to a large room, in the wings of the pavilions. If we are to believe the published plans the beds were specially built to fit perfectly with the radiating and curved walls (“*L’Architecture ...*”, pl. 131). Of course in reality there were portals and windows descending below the level suggested by the vessel/sluices compromising the integrity of the notional tanks, but we are here dealing with symbolism, or an iconography of Nature, not actual practicalities. The sleeping workers were symbolically drowned or encrusted, in a few cases the only windows in one side of the dormitories being just the little holes in the vessel spouts above the pouring sludge. The level of the stone water coming out of the urns, given that average heights in the eighteenth century were lower than today, meant that not just the sleeping proletariat but upright people in the courtyard will be below the rising crystallizing inundation.

If this analysis sounds far fetched it is worth considering the opening lines of the sometimes disparaged text of the 1802 Prospectus for “*L’Architecture ...*” (Princeton Architectural Press, translation by Vidler and Lipert, assisted by Sosthé) with apologies to the reader for Ledoux’s overblown and very French style:

“I awaken, like Epimenides, after a sleep of twelve years. My arms, weary of their chains, withered by misery, raise the stone of my tomb. My head is released from the long winter’s mourning. My newly opened eyes are hurt by the new light: they see nothing.

“The first rays of the dawn play over the heap of stones soiled by vandalism; Nature weeps amidst this political debris.

“The immutable order of things is shaken; the mountains vie with the plain; floods submerge it: all the efforts of art are powerless.”

Then optimism begins to intrude on this tale, actually of his misfortunes during the Revolution: “The industry of suffering nations calls for the reconstruction of the world. Its ashes, recently discovered beneath the braziers of discord, explode ...” and so forth and so on.

The quoined openings and the vessels are a little, but merely a little, differently spaced in the two courtyard contexts. Quoining or rustication bears an iconographical affinity with the crystallizing salts emerging from liquid. From the Renaissance rustication was the roughest type of stonework, employed closest to the Earth and was generally reserved for the basement, the story just above the ground and might intrude into the *piano nobile*ⁱⁱ in window surrounds but appeared with decreasing consistency at each successive level of a building much as the orders became more tamed and refined in the prescribed sequence of Tuscan/Doric to composite. Architecture comes from crystalline stone and salty water crystallizes; architecture almost grows out of liquid. There is a continuity between flowing water manipulated by Man and stone sculpted by him.

Other indications of doom aside from chemically impregnated flood and petrification are erosion and time. These are dramatically present in the outside loggia. One is not quite sure if the loggia is built around the cave/entrance or if the cave is intruding, even growing into the architecture. Bernini’s rock formations and those derived from him on the Trevi Fountain were more reassuringly confined to the bottom of the edifice rather than rising right up to the entablature. Dripping into the “doorpost” of the cave are the two most clogged vessels as though they might have created the whole thing drip by solidifying drip. The cave itself looks eroded. By this time sophisticated people realized that the world was more than a few thousand years old and that the corrosion of rocks was evidence of this. In a further historical instance of

rustication, the rough columns of the rather more conventional entrance loggia Giulio Romano's early sixteenth century Palazzo del Te look like they have just come from the quarry crudely carved and awaiting proper smoothing down. Giulio does not confine himself to letting Nature express itself through man's suspended intervention. Time appears in the Palazzo in the slipped rusticated keystones on which earthquakes or Time more gradually have acted. Both Giulio and Ledoux would have understood the time-based installation. Giulio's Te is essentially a palazzo in which a kind of production, as at the Saline, took place being as well as a suburban pleasure palace, a stud form for the Marquess, later Duke, of Mantua. Frescoed horses instead of mythological episodes bestride the fireplaces on one room, as it were advertising the "product". One might add that, given his way of life, the building was a stud farm for the Duke as well as his steeds. The Saline curiously during years of neglect was used as a stud farm. Another well-known feature of the Te is the "Fall of the Giants" a fresco covering a room shaped like a beehive at the top and a square at the bottom. Here the geology of the keystone slippage and the rugged columns, not to mention the widespread rustication throughout the Te, is personified in Michelangelesque monsters as well as in frescoed crashing rocks.

From this description of features of the Palazzo del Te it is obvious that Ledoux was by no means the first person to attempt to express the forces of Nature in a rather direct way in architecture. The porches of the Arc-et-Senans bernese (Ill. 9) also seem



Ill. 9, A berne porch

to derive from the Te's loggia facing the garden, which it especially resembles after the Te's Mannerist attic was replaced by a wide pediment put on the loggia. Perhaps it

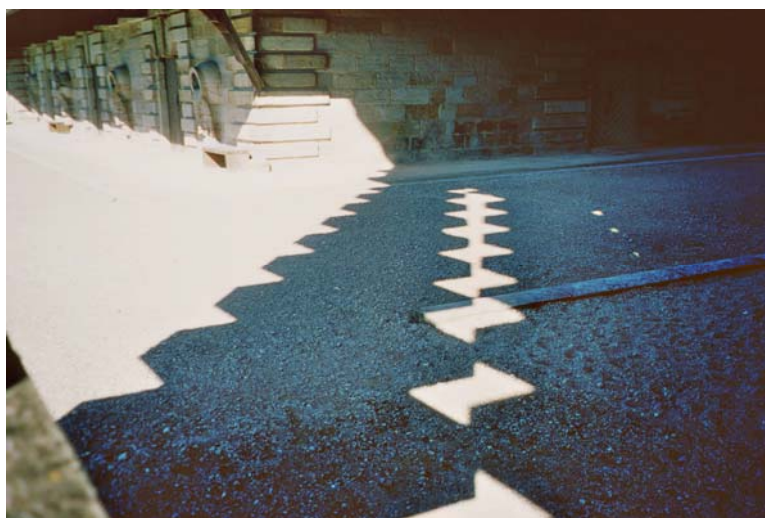
is a pity Giulio never had a chance to work on a major industrial building such as an addition to the Arsenale in Venice, where he could have made references to the power of the sea. Lest we think that Ledoux is no more than a reincarnation of Giulio with a significant amount of Palladian DNA added it is important to realize that there are significant differences. (The lateral elevations to the unexecuted attic of the *Maison du Directeur* derive from the city gates of Verona by another sixteenth century architect, Sanmichele.)

The Sala di Giganti makes its point in part by personification in the form of huge over muscled bodies, quoting and parodying the Sistine ceiling quite shamelessly, which along with the accompanying geological rubble and fragments of architecture seems to be going to crush us. This is a room that was supposed to provoke a vicarious initial thrill of horror. The horror of, and reflections on, our eventual doom that Ledoux sought to induce is by contrast almost completely depersonalised, reduced to physical processes. The Arc-et-Senans sculpture consists of small crystalising water falls, vase tops or, I would suggest, outlets from alarmingly high, overflowing implied tanks, and a token royal coat of arms in the “tympanum” of the cave. The latter, if it had human supporters (the engraving does not help here), was the only figurative element. It was defaced at the Revolution and in its de-humanized context had been only a minimum courtesy to the patron. The Tuscan order in front of the cave and the tympanum recall components radically reorganized, and without major sculpted figures, of the archetypal French combined sculptural and architectural creation, the cathedral portal with figured jambs, which would keep resurfacing throughout French history. It is in the Cellini plan for the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau; Primaticci’s portal of the Aile de Belle Chiminée also at Fontainebleau; Delorme’s portal for Diane de Poitiers’s Château at Anet (where Cellini’s “Diana” took the place of various reclining Virgins on the cathedral tympanums); Duvet’s engraving of “Moses and the Patriarchs”, ca. 1545-55; and, after Ledoux, Rodin’s Gates of Hell. Ledoux almost alone seems to have been able to resist the urge to reconfigure the literally figured portal to which other architects and artists kept on returning, however Italian the designer or Italianate the stylistic inspiration, with one exception we shall mention later.

Not only are there the sculpted reminders of what was going on in a small-scale exploitation of Nature and of Nature’s wider operations, but also the plant gave off

elemental exhalations: smoke and steam, heat and probably some very nasty smells. The smoke came out of lost chimneys hidden at the back of the berne and the steam from the heated pans poured out of mere dormer windows. The Saline is not a relic of a “smoke stack industry” because the smoke stack had not yet been standardized. In fact such chimneys were included in the published version over a communal domestic fire for the workers in one of the hemi-cycle buildings entirely, hidden inside a domical mansard, and several are again concealed under the roofs of the berne (‘L’Architecture ...’, pls. 119 & 133). The steaming dormers in the berne must to the uninitiated have looked like an unmistakable indication of a major kitchen calamity, a somewhat domesticated equivalent to the slowly evolving disasters suggested elsewhere in the complex.

Cosmic forces come into play. The shadows of the finials moving across the mansards of the hemi-cycle are like those of sundial gnomens on, as we have seen, an interrupted dial the size of an amphitheatre – a theatre of life. The sun more generally plays an important part. The columns bearing blocks on the portico of the Maison du Directeur cast jagged shadows on the pavement and the façade behind (Ill. 10), but



Ill. 10, Column shadows of the Maison du Directeur

because of the orientation hardly ever on the courtyard floor and then at the beginning and end of daylight hours. These strident patterns, both the built forms themselves and the interplay they cause with light and dark, have a relentlessness that could be described as authoritarian and anticipate Le Corbusier’s constantly repeated brise-soleils which encase the inmates of the paternalistically managed housing scheme or

office workers' place of clerical toil. Ledoux was an architect acutely sensitive to the importance of light. The slightly irregular vernacular roofs with roughly cut rafters of the wings of the hemi-cycle pavilions cast shadows that work their way round the half circle as the sun moves. As it faces away from the sun part of the hemi-cycle is always in shadow. Ideally the Saline should be visited on a bright day. Part of the curvature will be directly illuminated and the shadow of the eaves will slope across the direct lighting. Moreover the slightly wavy edge of the shadow caused by the roughly cut rafter ends will make the shadow into a temporary indication of the rippling, rising water line the discharging spouts will produce. The diagonal at its top dramatises the stages of the overflow from wet feet to calamity. The watery accumulation is light under shadow like water glinting from internal reflections



Ill. 11, An urn at the flood “waterline”

(Ill. 11). Ledoux for the most part did not produce buildings that were the setting for figurative sculpture let alone narrative reliefs, or inside, murals. He was not, however, always opposed on principle to the human form in architecture.

There is one respect in which the architecture may make reference to a biblical story. In the Maison de Directeur there is chapel, attendance at which was compulsory for the management and workers. Religion was not absent from the programme even if, as we shall see it was architecturally expressed in an austere and abstract way. Noah's Ark if it was not shown in art as a vast hull appeared as a kind of abstract building as it does in Uccello's and Michelangelo's Floods. The massive roofs of the

bernes and the Maison taken individually or viewed as a unit are like a yet grander version of the Ark in representations of a watery disaster (Ill. 12). The chapel as



Ill. 12, The roofs of the Maison du Directeur and the bernes

planned and to some extent as built, fits in perfectly with this scenario. It must be one of the most unusual places of supposedly Christian worship ever built and would better suit the Cult of the Supreme Being.

On entering the Maison one is confronted by a massive single flight of steps with narrow lateral walkways to reach the lower levels. Such a simple uncompromising scheme rejects the great tradition of complex French multi-form staircases: the open spiral with balconies at Blois, the double spiral open to virtually ecclesiastical naves at Chambord, the squared spiral with landings at Serlio's Anzy-le-Franc and, the climax of the tradition, François Mansart's irregular part cantilevered flights around open wells at Maisons, west of Paris, and Blois. The tradition was resumed later in the interwar Musée des Travaux Publics by Gustave Perret. In his earlier career as the creator of luxury homes for the aristocracy Ledoux at Bénouville had seemed to be designing just about within this evolution. Having reached the landing at Arc-en-Senans the visitor is confronted by a second equally wide flight that in the published first design was as wide as the stair well. At the top of this was to be an apsed Serlianaⁱⁱⁱ behind the altar of the "chapel", in effect the stair well. As built a slightly

narrower stair leads up to two massive Tuscan pillars supporting a wall-to-wall architrave (Ill. 13). While the management were meant to participate from galleries



Ill. 13, The Chapel pillars

and a rear tribune, with the same Serlianas as that for the altar (not executed), the work force stood on the steps, a position not allowing for the easy, casual sifting of weight from leg to leg permissible on a flat floor. The layout imposes a kind of penance on the lower orders. The sense that on leaving the courtyard one would want to escape as nearly as possible straight upwards, like the victims of Noah's Flood in all the paintings, is more than compatible with the plot-less iconography of the lower architecture.

It is impossible to say to what extent all these ideas consciously were present in Ledoux's mind. He did write of the chapel "It was necessary to raise up stairs that recalled the heavens and high mountains, and put between man and divinity that unmeasurable distance crossed by the imagination" (translation from Scala guide to the site). What artists say about their work is often not the best guide to what it "means". What I have endeavoured to do is to extract an iconography from the plot-less, personality-less abstract "images", the pouring "vase tops", that the architect caused to be sculpted into the buildings and which are more like triglyphs than caryatids, perhaps somewhere between the two having a kind of stylised realism. Triglyphs of course are thought to have their origins in wooden beam-ends complete with pegs.

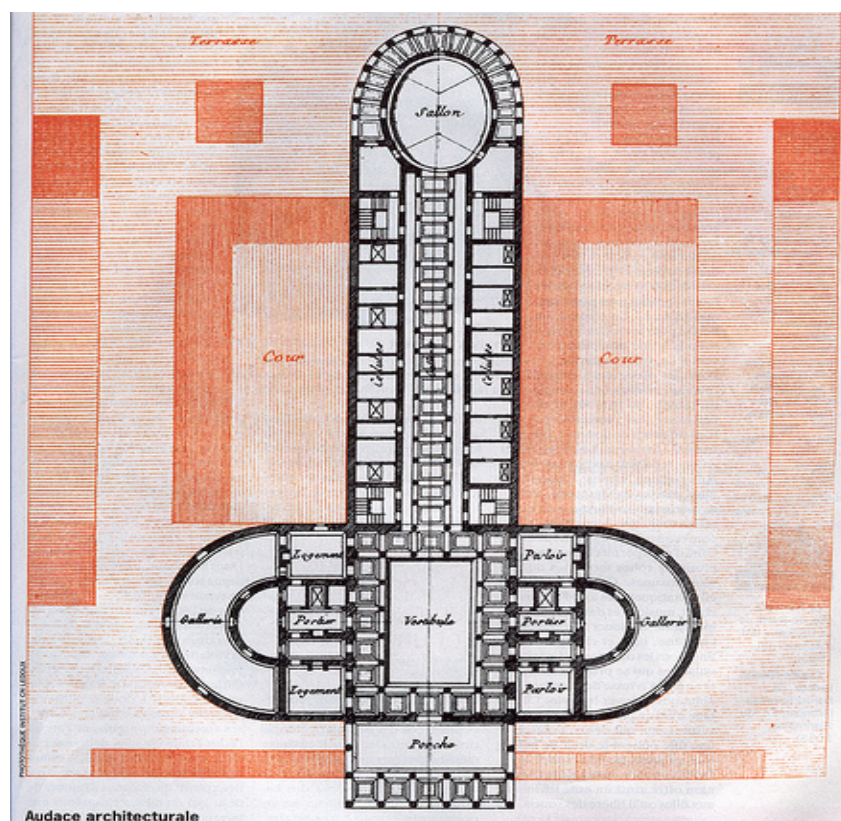
Ledoux's architecture is a curious mixture of the totally naturalistic and the abstract. What is consistently stripped out are Baroque or Rococo continuous visual links between parts. There is usually a sense that the parts of the architecture are in conflict with each other and with the destructive and preserving salt seemingly oozing out of the Saline.

If we are still a long way from form following function: Ledoux buildings represent what they do rather than being built like the housing around a machine. In that sense, they have a narrative like a church with a propagandistic function, but reduced from persuasion to dispassionate description. Perhaps we can understand the distinction from much of what went before by looking at Ledoux's language as usually a kind of idealised version of what is, rather than a representation of a specific mythology or story. The Saline chapel, for instance, is like a stripped down narrative on God, demonstrating the enormity of the concept of Him without resorting to the fabulous, the improbable or the untenable. Equally however the project for the Coopers' House from his later Arc-et-Senans designs is like a bird's eye view of a barrel minus the wooden slats consisting of successive concentric rings with a hole in the middle of each side of a square mount and sunk in the wider arcs of ostensible ramps for rolling away the barrels. The ramps must be symbolic as there is no attempt to smooth their jarring intersections and the barrels, if they got past this obstacle, would have accelerated alarmingly as the ramps diverged ever further from the horizontal as they approached the ground.

One could hold this particular design up to defend Ledoux against charges of incipient authoritarianism, such as that made by the ideologically suspect David Watkin and Robin Middleton: "he is often regarded as an early socialist, but most of his exhortations belong to the realm of post-Revolutionary cant ... One may doubt at that Ledoux was even a humanitarian" ("Neo-Classical and 19th Century Architecture", vol. 1, p. 190). This is not a full quotation and merely meant to hint at the conclusions that can be drawn by relating Ledoux to architecture and events after his lifetime. The huge concentric circles of the Cooper's house around a void anticipate works by Carlo Scarpa or Louis Kahn as much as an overtly Fascist manner. Ledoux has, through abstraction, avoided either, on the one hand, fragile Gothic portal sculpture or stained

glass image of coopers at work or, on the other, an heroic “Stalinist” version of a cooper so muscular he can massively exceed his production target.

One Ledoux work that exemplifies the humour that perhaps saves him from charges of proto-Fascism is the so-called Oikema, or brothel, among the designs for the Saline. The French are more realistic about these things than the Anglo-Saxons and Ledoux may just have regarded this structure as an inevitable social amenity. The needs met in it are unmistakable in the plan (Ill. 14), if the published elevations and



" Ill. 14, The plan of the Oikema"

perspective were more discrete “L’Architecture ...”, pls. 240-1). As with the spouting vases in the industrial plant, there is a kind of iconography. Many of the elements of the Oikema are very close to that of a church. Casual sex is elevated to an act of worship but according to the text of the Prospectus of “L’Architecture ...” was (somehow) meant to prepare the young customers for marriage:

“The price of vice is unhappiness. If pleasures insinuate themselves into the veins of inexperienced youth, if the blood, thirsty for love, is intoxicated by corruption, the Oikema, seeming to give way to whatever flatters it, will disavow what sustains it and will prepare the way for the triumphs of virtuous Hymen.” (Princeton Architectural Press, translated by Vidler and Lippert assisted by Sosthé).

In the design process the form of a traditional church is subverted. There is a low transept but it has slipped to the entrance end, which is given a temple portico like the grandest eighteenth century churches. Had the low apse forms of the transept been near the oval, externally colonnaded salon at, as it were, the altar end, we would have had yet another instance of the French trying to reconcile the High Gothic chevet, their ultimate national architectural creation, with classicising forms. The setting back of the walls of the central shaft, correction, nave recalls the basilican type while the raised attic over it and the absence of pitched roofs in this area provides on a more practical level top lighting for the rooms and the main corridor. Across the sunken courtyards in the terrace there is a view of the walls of the rooms on the same level in which there are no windows. The voyeur who climbed the steps to see what was going on would have been as disappointed as would any of the devout who might have entered the building to pray.

In some cases, usually involving figurative sculpture, Ledoux seems to fall into sheer kitsch. One, unexecuted, is a water borne equivalent to the *barrières*, the customs posts around Paris, to go into the Seine at the *quai de la Rapée* as a temple bearing boat. Another scheme, also doomed to remain on paper, with several stone boats, was for a bridge over the River Loue near Arc-et-Senans. (A design for the source of the same river is a house in the form of simplified spout, or short stretch of pipe, a monumentalisation of the saline spouts). The piers for the bridge were to be sculpted ancient war galleys, the sterns bent up on one side to support the roadway. The piers are completed with abstracted, de-personalized, helmeted, shield bearing warriors as oarsmen. These figures, who are entirely represented by their equipment, have a striking resemblance to the warriors from the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, ca. 390-80 B.C., in southwest Turkey, which Ledoux could not have known about. The monument became known in 1838-44. Remnants are now in the British Museum including slabs BM Sc. 859 & 860a in which the soldiers almost vanish behind

equipment. As in some High Renaissance works the imaginative recreation is better than the originals, unless Ledoux knew of something similar. For those who want to cast the architect as a proto-Fascist this coincidence of supremely militaristic images might be damning. The bridge conception is almost inadvertently a further contribution to very French tradition. These “figures” recreate the serried jamb figures of the cathedrals that in some of the later examples do not just splay apart but are in parallel rows under tunnel vaults at the outer edges of the portals. The figures are mere surface ornament but appear to be structural. Once a form has entered the national consciousness it is very hard to escape from it though I very much doubt that this was a deliberate quotation.

The arches between the piers bear not single masts but double in a wide “V” formation of them, which in turn secure the booms or spars with furled sails. As at the Saline there is improbable symbolism. Are the ships implicitly advancing, lashed together by the spars, down the river? Wind, water, gravity, muscle power and brutality are all invoked to a degree far in excess of the practicalities of bridge building or structural dynamics. In all these things there may be some reference to the forces at work on a river in hilly terrain and the sails recall the wind another force of Nature. The suggestion that the roadway is held up by precariously slanted masts and spars (as well as by a kind of podium on the deck) is at least as alarming as the conceit that the salt works is under threat from liquified salination. It is worth remembering that this proposal is from the same period as Ironbridge, ca. 1779, and the Pont des Arts in Paris, dating from Napoleon’s rule, both with entirely metal arches. Ledoux’s mast and spar or boom idea could almost have been realised using somewhat absurd multiple repetitions or non-representational versions not on the outer edges all in iron. In either case, in stone or iron, Man’s work is flimsy and all the king’s armed men, if not his horses, cannot defend human artifice against raw nature or put it back together again. There may be real irony here and contradictory messages of the sort Robert Venturi discusses in his Post-Modern classic “Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture”. In some respects Ledoux seems to be exploring the sort of iconographical methods that within a few decades would adorn another part transport infrastructures, the railway stations. He avoids, however, the full physique of Mercury, the messenger, and by extension travel, god or the seductive glances and

bodies of the female personifications of the cities and provinces served. His is a more austere vision of travel and of everything else.

The charge of proto-Fascism has some superficial credibility. The Hunting Lodge for the Prince de Bauffremont, 1778, and its environs as illustrated in “L’Architecture ...”, pls. 286-7, seems to lack only the balcony on which the Duce or Führer might posture to qualify as a parade ground for the worst sort of people. The way in which in New Delhi the villas by Lutyens for the Viceroy’s principle aids are grouped within a curve, not quite a semi-circle, of radiating avenues recalls the Saline. There are even domical mansards as Ledoux intended for his hemi-cycle villas. Though the Raj may not have been Fascist, by present standards it was blatantly politically incorrect, authoritarian and, coincidentally, operated a government salt monopoly that provoked Gandhi’s famous march. The not just flat, but slightly inverted arches^{iv} at the ends of the entrance to Teen Murti (formerly Flagstaff) House by Lutyens’s follower Robert Tor Russel, also in New Delhi, elaborates and systematises those at the ends of the berne porches at the Salines communicating with the areas under the shed roofs



Ill. 15, An inverted arch to a berne porch

(Ill. 15). An inverted arch is a triumph of the Will over gravity. Lutyens’ Hampstead Garden suburb, another planned, paternalistic, ideal community, has at its centre two churches with barns sweeping down almost to the ground as do those of the bernes.

What saves Ledoux and Lutyens from deep-seated authoritarianism is a sense of humour. Both can use exaggerated elements on their state commissions that send up official pomposity, much as Vanburgh did at Blenheim. Ledoux's most extensive project was for the customs posts or *barrières* surrounding Paris. A few were destroyed by the revolutionaries, while construction continued on others. Most of the rest were pulled down as part of nineteenth century urban improvements leaving only a handful including the deeply impressive *Rotonde de la Villette*. The massive keystones for the *Barrière des Ministres*, both on the central pediment and the cornices of the outer "sentry boxes", were not only disproportionate but put in places where keystones were inappropriate and cannot seemingly have been held in place by the tensions of an arch. There were arches on the "sentry boxes" but the keystones were not in them but well above. State-centred grandiloquence in effect threatens its own structural implosion. There are remarkably few royal coats of arms on the *barrèriers* as published.

The soldier rowers of the bridge plan for the Loue are either de-humanized hieroglyphs of militarism or parodies of the machine-like precision of a fighting unit. They are significantly different from the more "human" soldier athletes of the Third Reich or, to give another example, the athletes representing various cities of Mussolini's *Foro Italico*. Dictators seem to need to make their soldiers look human, though in the process inadvertent messages may be sent out. It is worth giving a few examples. Nazi instances include many works by Arno Breker which by their titles, or in the figure's attributes, make clear the military theme: two studies for stone reliefs, "The Avenger" and "The Sacrifice", both known through 1940 studies; and "Comrades", 1940-1, all in the *Museum Europäischer Kunst*, Nörvenich; and the "Wounded Warrior", a model of 1937-40, whereabouts unknown. A painting for the station concourse in Brunswick, "Young Germany", almost certainly destroyed, has a physically rather frail naked young man in a militaristic setting. The *Foro Italico* nude athletes, ranged around the *Stadio dei Marmi*, 1932, are ambiguous. In an attempt to create a fitting stage for massed displays of athleticism with warlike implications Mussolini inadvertently commissioned what must be the world's most monumental collection of homoerotic art. A real dictator, unlike the last two Bourbons before the Revolution and their advisors, would almost certainly have seen through and rejected the Ledoux rowing phalanxes as much too overtly brutal for comfort. Henry Moore's

post-war fallen warriors and helmets, by an artist who served in the trenches, are more apt comparisons. Lutyens's parade elephants in front railings of the Viceroy's House, carved by Charles Sargeant Jagger, parody state power they seem to embody.

The Saline is distinct from most of the other executed works in that the industrial processes and co-opted natural forces reinforced Ledoux's tendency to make what he felt were objective statements about the nature of the world through architecture. At the very beginning of his career he designed an interior, now moved to the Musée Carnavalet in Paris, for the military Café Godeau. In some ways it reflects Rococo conventions but curves are one offs without counter-curves and the objects depicted are all militaria: no people are present. Each panel is set off from the mirrors by fasces which are so elongated that they are pike length not short bundles of rods. The axe has become an impractically extended halberd and one oversized spear blade for the multiple shafts enters the helmet/capital atop this strange creation in the tradition of a fluted column. As later at the Saline the human form is banished and what Man uses, or has used on him, merges with the architecture. The actual practicalities of weaponry, or of saline water becoming pure salt, or of supporting a bridge don't quite coincide with the architectural representations. Ledoux's buildings are like pamphlets entitled "Reflections on ...".

We are still in the world of the well rounded amateur rather than the narrowly focused, literalist technical expert. The salt boffins, incidentally, failed: rather than meeting its production target of 60,000 quintels the Saline could only manage 30-40,000. Ledoux uses ideas and images inspired by industry to reflect on the human condition. Salt is necessary for life but smothers and corrodes. The workers notwithstanding the large gardens provided for their useful recreation and, by most standards, good housing suffered from burns in accidents and respiratory complaints from the unhealthy vapours. In fact the walls were so weakened by the fumes, steam and smoke that when Julien Polti restored the bernees starting in 1932 the roofs and walls had to be supported internally by reinforced concrete structures that are impressive works in themselves. Neither state planners nor capitalists like to admit to the costs, financial, environmental and human of their grand schemes. In relating the Salt Works to natural cycles and events Ledoux made a meditation on salt making in particular and on the fragility of human creations more generally.

A modern equivalent might be a new generation of nuclear power plants that hinted at the nearby geological faults by massive simulated cracks in their basements, the risk of tsunamis in fragments of smashed Thames Barriers outside and were surmounted by an evocation of the concrete tomb of Chernobyl all as grim reminders of what could go wrong. Only in a pre-industrial, pre-revolutionary situation were such “honest” statements possible. Without whitewashing the decrepit ancien régime one could ask what pension fund manager would invest in a plant that so completely gave the game away? Ledoux’s own vision of pure industrial Hell was a plan for a cannon foundry at the centre of another ideal settlement (“L’Architecture ...”, pl. 150). It looks grand enough to equip the armies of the ex-artillery officer Napoleon, who won his greatest victory, Austerlitz, in 1805, the year before that of Ledoux’s death. The Saline had representations of spouting water, an evocation, among other things, of the springs from which the water was piped in. The foundry recreated a far more violent phenomenon in its pyramid chimneys, a range of erupting volcanoes. A contemporary architect who wanted to find an equivalent to the Saline’s built in prediction of an incremental disaster would need to build a business park that warned of the fraction of a degree by fraction of a degree rise in temperatures on the way to irreversible global warming.

Timothy Alves

¹ Quoins are stacks of rougher or protruding blocks on corners of walls and the sides of windows and portals. They are a variation on rustication.

¹ Piano nobile: literally floor for the nobles or first floor.

¹ Serliana: an arch on two columns the outer sides of which also support lintels over narrower openings, named after Sebastiano Serlio; also called a Palladian arch.

¹ A flat arch is a horizontal made up of radiating stone segments and to a limited degree can be given an upside down curvature

Witches on the Web: The Witches in Early Modern England Project (<http://witching.org>)

Dr Kirsten C. Uszkalo and her team at the Witches in Early Modern England Project (WEME) have recently launched a new website which gives details of more than 2,000 individuals – witches, victims, and examiners – connected with witchcraft in early modern England and beyond. This rich source of data can be searched via author, location, event, person, and preternatural creatures (including a not very harmful sounding ‘soft hedgehog’ and interestingly more canines than felines so far).



There are statistics to explore about the types of things accused witches did and where they were located. Several different maps, including historic ones, meanwhile allow a bird’s eye view of where strange things took place. The ‘Brimstone’ feature allows for searching by type of event including confessions, accusations, familiar magic, word magic, hauntings, and folklore. ‘Throwing the Bones’ offers information organised in clusters which can offer new insights by looking at the material in new ways. The site has its own tutorial to help with the sophisticated tools on offer.

The information on the database comes from a variety of sources including some which are offered in transcribed versions on the site as WEME Editions. Among these are *A Most Wicked Worke of a Wretched Witch*, *A True and Fearefull Vexation of One Alexander Nyndge*, and *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits*.

The Witches Project is still in its developmental stages but it is already a valuable tool for exploring witchcraft in early modern England. There is a contact form on the site for comments and suggestions. You can access WEWE using the web address given above or by following the link at the Birkbeck Early Modern Society blog at <http://www.emintelligencer.org.uk> (in the ‘Resources’ section).

KAREN BASTON

FORTHCOMING SOCIETY EVENTS

Events 2010-2011

All events start at 6.30p.m. unless otherwise stated, and are followed by refreshments and questions

Full details of future events and the new Society officers and committee members will be published in the Winter Bulletin.

For further information on membership and activities contact the secretary, Laura Jacobs: Membership is £5 for the year. Non-members may attend events at a cost of £3 each.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

This section concerns those events staged by other societies which we feel might be of interest to our membership.

The First Actresses: Nell Gwyn to Sarah Siddons National Portrait Gallery, London 20th October 2011 – 8th January 2012

An exhibition revealing how actresses through history have used portraiture to enhance their reputations, deflect scandal, and increase their popularity.

IHR Seminars

Tudor & Stuart Seminars

Convenors: Prof Pauline Croft (RHUL), Simon Healy (History of Parliament) Prof Richard Hoyle (Reading), Dr Michael Questier (QMUL), Dr. Rivkah Zim (KCL)

Venue: Court Room, Senate House, South block, first floor

Time: Monday, 5.15pm

Autumn Term 2011

10 October

Andrew Hadfield (Sussex), *Race, religion and the social fabric on the Irish frontier: Edmund Spenser and the politics of family life in late Elizabethan Munster*

24 October

Cathryn Enis (Reading), *Creating a presence: the earls of Warwick and Leicester in Elizabethan Warwickshire*

7 November

Charles Drummond (Cambridge), *Haunted by Cromwell? Continuities and discontinuities in anti-Standing Army rhetoric in seventeenth century Britain*

AND

John Collins (Univ. of Virginia), *The punishment of soldiers during the reign of James II*

21 November

Rory Rapple (Notre Dame), *High Stakes Gambling: the politics of the late Elizabethan succession and Ireland*

IHR Seminars

British History in the Long 18th Century

Convenors: Professor Arthur Burns (KCL); Penelope J. Corfield (RHUL); Amanda Goodrich (OU); Tim Hitchcock (Hertfordshire); Sarah Lloyd (Hertfordshire)

Seminar administrator: Anne Stott

Venue: Rooms as announced by each session.

Time: Wednesday, 5.15pm

Website: [Seminar Group Homepage](#)

Autumn Term 2011

5 October

Julian Hoppit (University College London), *Rethinking the interests of eighteenth-century Britain*

Court room, Senate House, South block, first floor

19 October

Francis Boorman (IHR), *Chancery Lane: politics, space and the built environment, c.1760-1815*

Court room, Senate House, South block, first floor

2 November

Pecha Kucha! Three minute seminars

(Early career researchers present their research)

Senate room, Senate House, South block, first floor

16 November

Emma Griffin (University of East Anglia), *Sex and illegitimacy during the long eighteenth century: evidence from working-class autobiographies*

Court room, Senate House, South block, first floor

30 November

Richard Ward (Sheffield), *Print culture and punishment: the Murder Act of 1752*

ST274/5, Stewart House, second floor

14 December

Katrina Navickas (University of Hertfordshire), *Space, place, and popular politics in northern England, 1789-1848*

Court room, Senate House, South block, first floor

IHR Seminars

Religious History of Britain 1500-1800

Convenors: David Crankshaw (KCL), Liz Evenden (Brunel University), Kenneth Fincham (University of Kent), Andrew Foster (University of Kent), Tom Freeman (University of Sheffield), Susan Hardman Moore (University of Edinburgh), Arnold Hunt (British Library), Nicholas Tyacke (UCL), Brett Usher (University of Reading)

Venue: As announced below

Time: Tuesday, 5.00pm

Autumn Term 2011

4 October

Mark Parry (Oundle school), *Episcopal responses to anti-Arminianism in the parliaments of 1624-9*

Venue: Room ST275, Stewart House, 2nd floor

18 October

Richard Foster (Oxford University), *Excommunication and the civil magistrate: Anglican ideas about spiritual jurisdiction, c. 1640-60*

Venue: Room ST275, Stewart House, 2nd floor

1 November

Joel Halcomb (Cambridge University), *Baptism and communion: puritan communities in conflict and cooperation 1636-59*

Venue: Room ST275, Stewart House, 2nd floor

15 November

Ceri Law (Cambridge University), *Edwardian Cambridge and the public promotion of Protestantism*

Venue: Room ST275, Stewart House, 2nd floor

29 November

Thomas S. Freeman (Cambridge University), *One survived: Katherine Parr and heresy hunting in the court of Henry VIII*

Venue: Room STB5, Stewart House, Basement

13 December

Victor Houlston (University of the Witwatersrand), *Robert Persons's correspondence network: Persecution and politics?*

Venue: Holden Room 103, Senate House, South block, 1st floor

BOOK REVIEW

NON-FICTION BOOKS

I hope that many of you will send in your reviews of newly published books and the occasional old book. The only criteria being that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

Fatal Colours Towton 1461 England's Most Brutal Battle

**By George Goodwin
(Weidenfield & Nicolson)**

To start with, although this book is primarily about Towton, the author starts his tale as far back as the coronation of the infant Henry VI in 1422, and takes in the Hundred Years War and the earlier battles of the Wars of the Roses before finally reaching Towton on page one hundred and fifty-seven. There have been a great many books printed on the Wars of the Roses and one might think that yet another is superfluous yet Goodwin's decision to include a large amount of the book on the forty years preceding the battle has proved worthwhile as he exposes and dissects all the bitter rivalries, the power struggles, and political machinations that brought two great armies to a Yorkshire field in 1461.

Goodwin is of course right, Towton cannot be explained without an understanding of how England had come to be divided between York and Lancaster, a rupture amongst cousins and amongst the wider nobility so profound that, after the unity of Henry V's court, two armies would fight for a different king. Shakespeare delved back to 1399 and the deposition of Richard II by his cousin Henry Bolingbroke and a number of historians have suggested that the violent break from Plantagenet father to son was the cause of the troubles, and whilst this did result in cousins with equally good claims to

the throne and therefore a competing platform for civil war this angle can be overstressed. Here Goodwin rightly points out that by 1422 the triumphs of Henry V, both in war with France and with law and order at home, had demolished the stain of usurpation that bedevilled the reign of Henry IV. What ailed English politics were the failings of Henry VI, who had inherited a mental illness from his maternal grandfather, the French king Charles VI. It is quite clear that Henry was consistently incapable of giving any command or direction to the government that was carried out in his name. Coupled with the fact that he had no aptitude for war, politics, law, or trade and it is easy to see how the country slid towards civil war. Goodwin uses modern psychiatry in an attempt to explain Henry's illness and the catatonic state into which he dramatically lapsed in 1453. He argues persuasively that the symptoms of developing schizophrenia explain the various manifestations of Henry's incapacity, from adolescent bouts of aggression to his extraordinary passivity in adulthood, his horror of conflict, his inability to speak or stand, and his extreme religiosity.

The author reveals the personalities and rivalries behind the discord including the hapless monarch Henry VI, the earl of Warwick a brilliant organizer, propagandist, and ruthless warrior, Francesco Coppini, a papal legate who excommunicated an entire army. Goodwin also demonstrates how, in this first phase of the wars the country was split with the south supporting the Yorkists while the north backed the Lancastrians and how Warwick expertly used this to the advantage of York, and how the merchants of London and Calais provided the Yorkists with money that proved vital for their campaign. The author has also written about the ordinary soldiers in a way that gives a fresh perspective on the battle.

For Goodwin, Richard, duke of York emerges both as the champion of political reform and of his own sense of honour, and the author suggests that York found himself tainted by his resistance and suspected of ambition and personal recklessness. Goodwin suggests that it was not until after York's death, at Wakefield in December 1460, that his eighteen-year-old son, Edward earl of March, had a viable chance of ending an increasingly bloody war by claiming the throne for himself and leading his troops to battle at Towton as the self-proclaimed Edward IV

It is at this point, on the eve of battle, that Goodwin details the minutia of war. We learn how soldiers armed themselves, how the weapons worked, and how the men sustained themselves on their punishing march. Finally we are at Towton, on Palm Sunday 1461, and the full horror of England's bloodiest battle where twenty-eight thousand men died fighting all day in fierce driving snow, some killed in the fighting, some drowned as they fled into a freezing river, some cut down as they fled.

In *Fatal Colours*, George Goodwin has successfully combined medieval sources with modern historical and medical scholarship to recreate the atmosphere of fifteenth-century England and chronicle the increasingly vicious descent into war without quarter as the embittered royal factions struggled for supremacy. Packed full of fascinating detail, this is a captivating account of the events leading up to and during the battle of Towton.

John Croxon

Maya Jasonoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011)

Because I grew up in the United States, my early education in history emphasised the defining moment of the nation's history. The study of the American Revolution and its glories was inculcated from the primary years on and tales of the courageous exploits of patriots against foreign invaders made it seem as though the people living in the thirteen colonies rose as one and thought as one. Benedict Arnold was a figure to be loathed for his traitorous deed and Benjamin Franklin's loyalist son William was an isolated and deluded figure beyond understanding. A handful of disgruntled loyalists left for Canada in the 1780s never to be heard from again and the victorious patriots set about creating the greatest nation there has ever been and will ever be.

I began to wonder about this narrative from an early age. Surely not everyone living in the colonies wanted independence. Surely a good relationship with and the protection of one of the superpowers of the age was a good thing to have. Surely colonial governors were sincere when they took their oaths of office. And surely it was fair to pay taxes, even without representation, if the money raised was used for colonial homeland security.

I wish Maya Jasonoff's excellent book had been around then. Jasonoff's study of loyalist emigration in the 1770s and 1780s shows that about 60,000 people (free and slave) left revolutionary America. For many of them, being a subject of Britain was a better guarantee of liberty than being a citizen of the new United States. They set up new lives not just in Nova Scotia, but in East Florida, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Quebec, Sierra Leone, Britain ('The Isle of Liberty and Peace' as Louisa Wells, a refugee from Charleston described it when she landed in Kent in 1778 (p. 113)), and India. American loyalists ended up all over the British Empire and beyond. They fought in the Peninsular War, joined the East India Company, and set up new settlements across the globe. They were adventurous, skilled, and innovative.



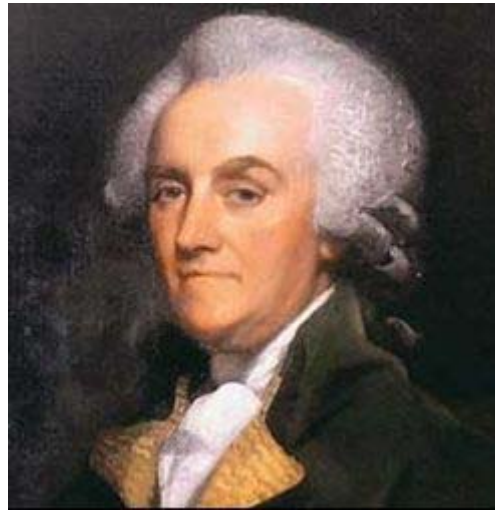
Benjamin West
The Reception of the American Loyalists by Great Britain, c. 1812

Jasonoff has a storyteller's gift and effortlessly uses narrative to recreate the forgotten situations, stories, and experiences of American colonists who did not subscribe to the Declaration of Independence. Loyalists had many different motivations and reasons for their refusal to join in with the revolution and many of them spent years travelling as exiles. Joseph Bryant (aka Theyendanegea) was a Mohawk Indian leader who wanted to unite Indian nations to preserve their lands and thought an allegiance with Britain would help his goals. He travelled to Britain to make his case (and have his portrait painted by George Romney). David George, a runaway slave, became a free black loyalist and Baptist preacher. He had congregations in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone. Elizabeth

Lichtenstein Johnston led a nomadic life and travelled from Charleston to East Florida, Edinburgh, Jamaica, and Edinburgh again, before eventually settling in Nova Scotia.



George Romney,
Joseph Bryant (Thayendenegea), 1776
Loyalist Mohawk Chief



William Franklin
Loyalist Governor of New Jersey
(and doesn't he look like his much
more famous father!)

Jasonoff weaves international archival sources together and recreates the life stories of her subjects. She offers a fresh look at the traditional narrative and her presentation is well documented and lively. *Liberty's Exiles* captured my imagination while answering all of those questions I had as a child. In short, I loved this book. Highly recommended.

KAREN BASTON

Great Tales from English History

**By Robert Lacey
(Abacus)**

Just recently there have been a number of books published detailing the history of Britain, Peter Ackroyd and Simon Jenkins are just two of the authors. Robert Lacey's book is slightly different in that it is just about the history of England and, as the title suggests, it is not a complete history but rather particular events in the history of this country.

I didn't expect a major work, by its very nature it was always going to be a resume of existing work, however, what I was surprised to find was something akin to a school textbook from the 1960's! Historical research from the past couple of decades appear to have passed by the author without him noticing.

I shall pick out just a couple of instances from the book before concentrating upon those chapters covering the Early Modern era. To start with the Ancient Britain's, Lacy repeatedly refers to these as Celts. Yes they undoubtedly spoke some form of Celtic language but they were not Celts, there never were any Celts in the British Isles. Then at the end of the book there is just a reference to the result of the 1945 election but nothing on arguably the greatest peacetime government this country has ever known.

With reference to our own period, Lacy presents Edward IV as a 'merchant king' and certainly Edward IV actively sought out the support of traders and merchants but the author fails to mention the huge sums with which the Londoners backed the Yorkists during the years of civil war. Neither does Lacy mention the king's military victories.

When it comes to Richard III Lacy states that 'Europe was scandalised by Richard III's seizure of power' and quotes Guillaume de Rochefort, the Chancellor of France, hardly an impartial observer as the French had seen Richard as an enemy since his opposition to the Treaty of Picquigny. He presents William Collingbourne's piece of doggerel as some sort of harmless satire on England's rulers but completely misses the point that Collingbourne was an active rebel who had been involved in Buckingham's rebellion, something pointed out by Kenneth Miller back in 1975. Lacy also suggests Richard lacked support because of the Princes in the Tower when in fact Richard III's coronation was a major event attended by most of the nobility. Likewise, historians such as John Ashdown-Hill have demolished the myth that the story of the murder of the princes was in common currency at the time, rather it did not surface until well into the following century as part of the campaign by the Tudors to provide ballast to their illegitimate regime.

In his section on Tudor England Lacy presents the old image of Bloody Mary burning Protestants and a conciliatory Elizabeth, ignoring the fact that a huge amount of religious 'heretics' were executed under Elizabeth. Christopher Haigh has successfully demonstrated how Elizabeth used the Church as a political weapon and abused her authority as supreme governor.

The author seems intent on extolling the virtues of monarchy and claims that Cromwell's death was greeted with great joy by the people, quoting the ardent monarchist John Evelyn, hardly someone who will provide a balanced view. Likewise, Lacy supports the view that people were desperate for the return of monarchy, yet historians such as Barry Coward have quite clearly demonstrated that there was no great clamour for the return of the Stuarts, indeed, an attempted revolt near the end of the Commonwealth in 1659 lacked virtually any support. Coward has also exploded the old myth of a kill-joy Protectorate, detailing Cromwell's patronage of secular music, dancing, artists, and writers.

I have only detailed a few instances in this book but there are many more. It is as though the major historians of the past fifty years had not existed. There is also the problem of omissions; I have already mentioned the absence of Attlee's great reforms from the book and the Reformation is not dealt with apart from Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon and a short chapter of William Tyndale.

This is a profoundly unsatisfactory book. For anyone serious about English history it is always better to have a book that deals in depth on a particular subject or period. However, should you want the broad-brush approach of a general book on English history then there are plenty of better alternatives to this.

John Croxon

FICTION BOOKS

The criteria for fiction books is the same as that for non-fiction book reviews; that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet

By David Mitchell
(Sceptre)

The only previous novel of David Mitchell that I have read was the well-written but irritating '*Ghostwritten*' and when I selected this book from the shelves of Waterstones I had completely forgotten that I had read the author's first novel. If I had, I probably would have passed over his latest offering. However, I am glad that my memory failed me for this is a very entertaining read.

The year is 1799, or the eleventh year of the era of Kansei, but readers are thrust headlong into the present tense and a seemingly hopeless childbirth with the limp arm of a foetus protruding from the exhausted mother's vagina. Yet with the help of a Dutch textbook, a Japanese midwife, Orito Aibagawa, delivers a baby that appears stillborn until the '*shuddering newborn boiled-pink despot*' opens its mouth and '*howls at Life*'.

The hero of the novel, Jacob de Zoet, a clerk for the Dutch East India Company, an unusually sensitive and honourable person, is confined to the island of Dejima. A land-gate keeps the traders apart from the secret world of Japan and yet, the author suggests, such defences are ultimately futile. People, and therefore ideas, will always find a way to traverse any barrier.

Orito has dedicated herself to learning medicine in a man's world and Jacob's forbidden and foolishly expressed love for Orito, endanger her status within Japanese society. Her abduction and mountain-top confinement by the devious Abbot Enomoto, her plucky escape attempt, and thwarted rescue by the honourable but betrayed Ogawa Uzaemon, are superbly crafted by Mitchell. Deceived by his colleagues Jacob himself is left in a state of despair until he makes a defiant stand against an English warship.

Mitchell utilizes a range of topics: We get potions and poisons, power-politics, corruption, various illnesses, a hidden scroll, a Psalter, a mysterious moon-grey cat, an earthquake, a typhoon and the Dutch base is pounded by a barrage of English cannon shot.

Cultures and nations collide in a cast of characters that include the Japanese, the Dutch, an American, an Irishman, and the British. Dutchmen such as de Zoet are trapped for years in a trading post far from home, while the Japanese are constrained within their self-imposed boundaries. The entire world, it seems, is a prison and yet, at the same time, new knowledge, particularly botany and medicine, promises liberation. And then there is the British, desperate to break apart the cosy world of Japanese/Dutch trade treaties and extend their growing influence. Change, for better or for worse, some sought some resisted, is certain to come.

In this novel, Mitchell has introduced a heady notion of betrayal, lust, superstition, politics, murder and failed romance. This is a novel of ideas, of longing, of human decency and courage, involving good and evil and those people falling in between.

This is an emotionally engaging novel, full of ideas and lovingly crafted. A thoughtful historical novel that keeps one engaged until the end.

John Croxon.

THE AUTUMN QUIZ

1. Who commanded the Yorkist centre at the battle of Northampton in 1460?
2. Who commanded the Yorkist archers at the battle of Towton in 1461?
3. Which Spanish Grand inquisitor died on the 16th September 1498?
4. Who crafted the sculpture 'Pieta' from 1497-1499?
5. Which Swiss religious reformer was killed at the battle of Kappel in 1531?
6. What was '*The Ground of Arts*' by Robert Recorde, published in 1543?
7. What did the family of Nicholas Ridley bribe the executioner to place around his neck at his execution by burning in Oxford in October 1555?
8. Who returned to Scotland on 19th August 1561 after thirteen years in France?
9. What did Jean Parisot de la Valetta achieve on the 8th September 1585?
10. What did Sir Robert Cecil hire Sir John Tradescants to do in 1609?
11. Who did Oliver Cromwell marry in 1620?
12. Why did Oliver Cromwell move to Ely in 1636?
13. Which battle, fought outside Prague in November 1640 led to the overthrow of Frederick of Bohemia?
14. Why were thirteen bishops formally impeached by the House of Commons on the 4th August 1641?
15. Which parliamentary commander besieged Sudeley Castle in June 1644?
16. Who wrote 'An Essay on Human Understanding' published in 1690?
17. Which physician, born in Cornwall in 1631, is known for his work on transfusion and the function of the cardiopulmonary?
18. Which doctor, born in Wiltshire in 1621, played an important part in the history of anatomy, neurology and psychiatry?
19. Where in 1771 did the Scottish author Tobias Smollett die?
20. Which Mozart opera was premiered in Prague on the 30th September 1791?

Answers on the following page

ANSWERS TO THE AUTUMN QUIZ

1. Richard Neville, earl of Warwick
2. William Neville, Lord Fauconberg
3. Tomas de Torquemada
4. Michelangelo
5. Ulrich Zwingli
6. The first maths book in English
7. A bag of gunpowder
8. Mary Queen of Scots
9. The final defeat of the Turkish invasion of Malta
10. To beautify the gardens of Hatfield House
11. Elizabeth Bouchier
12. He inherited his uncle's house and property
13. The battle of the White Mountain
14. For enacting illegal canons and making illegal grants to Charles I
15. Sir William Waller
16. John Locke
17. Richard Lower
18. Thomas Willis
19. In Tuscany, Italy
20. The Magic Flute

THE BIRKBECK EARLY MODERN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 2006

This society was founded in the belief that more study, discussion and interest in the Early Modern period is required. The society aims to promote, encourage and stimulate new research and discussion into a wide range of themes, including art and images, consumption, gender roles, literature, magic, politics, religion, science, music, sexuality and, travel and exploration.

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