SOCIAL CRISIS AND THE IMAGING OF ENGLAND'S HISTORY:

REPRESENTING MEDIEVAL NORFOLK IN THE

EARLY 19TH CENTURY

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines a wide range of publications on medieval antiquities which emerged in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These ranged from large and lavish scholarly publications to popular tourist guides tracing travellers' itineraries to famous British antiquities and sites. While at its broadest level this study assesses how the visual and textual representations of medieval monuments and ruins gave form to the nation's history, its particular concern is to explore how regional and local conflicts and their relations to larger national issues intersected with and were negotiated through representations of the medieval past. A particular region of Britain, the county of Norfolk and its capital city Norwich, provides a focus for this analysis. Norfolk as a region usefully exemplifies many of the contentious issues at stake in the early decades of the century--issues that were repeatedly evoked in the ongoing debates concerning both the nation's past and its present. It is part of the argument of this thesis that many of the tensions variously articulated in the descriptions and illustrations of Norfolk's medieval past emerged from the conflicts between modern social upheavals and political and economic contestations, and the current fascination with the nation's medieval history. These tensions concerned 'racial'

and political associations relating to Britain's Saxon and Norman past. They also involved modern conflicts concerning the urban public sphere, changing relationships between country and city, disputed questions of land-ownership and social allegiances, and religious controversies involving the Established Church and Catholic and Protestant Dissent. Such issues had an important bearing on the ways in which medieval architectural monuments and ruins were visually represented to the reading and viewing publics. As this study shows, representations of medieval antiquities of Norfolk and Norwich in antiquarian and travel publications, as well as in artistic works like those of Norfolk artist John Sell Cotman, constituted important sites--ones where contemporary conflicts and debates were rendered visible, and where changing and shifting social relationships were continually and variously played out and negotiated.

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Introduction

Through the early 19th century numerous publications in Britain featured etchings and engravings representing the country's medieval architectural antiquities, including castles, manor houses and ecclesiastical buildings. The interest in Britain's own medieval history and antiquities was particularly pronounced in the years of the French Revolutionary wars following 1792, and during the Napoleonic blockades between 1800 and 1814, which closed Europe's cultural sites, the customary destinations of the Grand Tour, to British tourists. These developments encouraged the creation of domestic tourist sites and were instrumental in the emergence of illustrated antiquarian works, histories and travel-books that described and promoted Britain's own cultural monuments and national past. This thesis will examine a wide range of publications on medieval antiquities which emerged in response to the demand for antiquarian historical works in this period, including large and lavish scholarly publications as well as popular tourist guides tracing travellers' itineraries to famous antiquities and sites. While at its broadest level my research examines how these visual and textual representations gave form to the country's medieval history, the particular concern of this study is to explore how regional and local conflicts and their relation to larger national issues intersected with and were negotiated through representations of the medieval past.

In the 18th century an interest in topographical and historical publications representing the several regions and

counties of Britain developed in conjunction with British nationalism.[1] Such publications took on more urgent significance, however, in the years following the French Revolution in response to assertions of patriotism and national unity in the climate of discord and growing fears of political upheavals. By ordering and systematising the topography and history of the nation, by gathering together the different regions of 'Great Britain' under a shared medieval past and by representing the nation as a harmonious and homogenous whole, travel and antiquarian publications such as Samuel and Daniel Lysons's well-known work Magna Britannia, of 1806-1822, and the prominent medievalist publisher John Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826, and his The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, all appearing in the period of the Napoleonic wars, subtly responded to widespread contemporary anxieties concerning the potential spread of revolutionary activities and discord from France to Britain.[2] Not only did these publications create a sense of a unified nation, but through their stress on Britain's own history and traditions they also indirectly brought up the recent revolutionary upheavals and constitutional changes in France. Thus John Britton in his Advertisement, inserted at the beginning of the first volume of his The Beauties of England and Wales, emphasised how his publication elucidated Britain's traditional laws and regulations, and constituted a

> review of British, Roman and Saxon history which the authors imagine will not only prove interesting from the variety of objects it includes, but will also elucidate the

> origin of many of the important national regulations, which have stamped a character on this island, given stability to its laws, and extension to its commerce.[3]

However, the imaging of the British nation in terms of topography and medieval antiquities and in terms of a common, medieval history was neither homogenous nor constitutive of a seamless national narrative. While some antiquarian publications, like John Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, organised their material according to different architectural modes such as ecclesiastical architecture, domestic architecture, and castle architecture, other publications, including Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales and Samuel and Daniel Lysons's Magna Britannia, were organized according to the different regions and counties of Britain; these works in particular emphasised, in this period of growing domestic travel, the importance of investigating regional and local antiquities, history and topography. For example the preface to Magna Britannia stressed the significance of the regions of Britain and the need for a publication in which the specific histories and topographies of the different counties would be laid out:

> Although copious and well executed Histories of several counties have been published, and although the Britannia of the learned Camden has been universally and justly regarded as an excellent work relating to the Kingdom at large; yet as the former, besides being for the most part very scarce, and moreover so bulky, as to form of themselves a library of no inconsiderable extent; and as the Britannia gives only a general view of each county; it appeared to us that there was still room for a work, which should contain an account of each parish, in a compressed form, and arranged in an order convenient for reference.[4]

In a similar vein the importance of regional and local topography and history was emphasised in the prefaces to the many volumes of John Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales. For instance J. Norris Brewer, in his prefatory remarks in Volume Ten of The Beauties of England and Wales, describing the county of Middlesex, acknowledged the assistance of local historians and experts, and stressed the "pains" he had taken to render his "delineations faithful," noting that "Every Parish in the County has been visited. Many parishes more than once."[5]

This growing interest in the regions of Britain opens up issues and questions articulating specific concerns associated with local life, customs and traditions. What my study has revealed is that representations of Britain's medieval history and topography had both national and local implications that in turn were linked to contemporary tensions and conflicts.[6] As cultural historian Doreen Massey has noted, "localities are not bounded areas" but rather are internally contradictory "spaces of interaction."[7] Furthermore, not only is "the character of a particular place a product of its position in relation to wider forces," but in a reciprocal fashion, that character in turn "stamp[s] its own imprint on those wider processes."[8] An examination of the local can thus form part of an explanation for social and political changes taking place on the wider national and international levels.[9] Such an emphasis can also disrupt larger meta-narratives. My investigation, as a result, seeks to contribute to an understanding of how representations of Britain's medieval past participated in historical narratives

of the nation; at the same time, through a local focus, I attempt to open up fissures in these meta-histories. My purpose is to show that medieval edifices and ruins were continually imagined and 'reconstructed' to suit a range of national and regional interests. An examination of these issues and tensions, variously articulated in what is a largely untapped archive of images of architectural antiquities, allows a re-evaluation of how we think about early 19th century medievalism at both a national and a local level. These findings in turn have implications for our understanding of the recreation and rebuilding of the medieval past in the later Gothic Revival of the Victorian period.

The analysis of representations of medieval antiquities pursued in this enquiry has been narrowed down to one area, the county of Norfolk and its Cathedral city, Norwich. Norfolk as a region usefully exemplifies many of the contentious issues at stake in the early decades of the 19th century in Britain--issues which were repeatedly evoked in debates on the country's past. The area was understood to have deep roots in both Saxon and Norman medieval traditions.[10] It was on the East Anglia Coast in Norfolk that the Saxons had first landed in the fifth century, and the town of Norwich was believed to have been founded in the sixth century by the Saxons.[11] Although the authenticity of what had customarily been held to be remains of Saxon architecture in Norfolk was subject to debates in the early 19th century,[12] several historical sites were associated with Saxon history. Norfolk was particularly rich in architectural monuments dating

to the time of the Norman Conquest. Thus the well known Norfolk banker, antiquary and specialist in Norman architecture, Dawson Turner, commented in 1820 on the abundance in Norfolk of remains of architectural monuments dating to the Norman era:

> We, East Angles, are accustomed to admire the remains of Norman architecture, which, in our counties [sic], are perhaps more numerous and singular than in any other tract in England.[13]

Norfolk's prominent Saxon and Norman heritages also made the region pivotal in terms of current debates concerning Britain's Saxon English and Norman French 'racial' heritages, and in terms of debates among antiquaries and architects involving the differences between Saxon and Norman architecture and the origins of Gothic architecture--issues that will be discussed in the first Chapter of this thesis.

Notable among the numerous edifices and ruins from the Norman era were Norwich Cathedral, the centre of Anglican worship in the town of Norwich, which dated to the 11th century, and Norwich Castle, serving in the early 19th century as the county prison and as the centre of the assize courts. Norwich Castle also had links to the Saxon past. Although the present Castle dated to the 11th century, the site, according to the well-known Norfolk architectural historian William Wilkins, had originally been occupied by a castle built by the Saxon king Alfred in the ninth century.[14] Parts of the medieval town walls, dating to the 13th and 14th centuries, were also still standing, although the old town gates of Norwich were largely demolished in the early 1790s. The Norfolk countryside in turn featured country houses dating to the medieval period, alongside 'modern'

Palladian houses, and a large number of churches dating to Norman times. Norfolk was also the site of several ruined abbeys and priories which had been destroyed when King Henry VIII dissolved the Catholic monastic organisations throughout England and Wales in the 16th century. Notable among these ruins were Castle Acre Priory and Walsingham Abbey; the latter had been a famous centre for pilgrimages in the Middle Ages.

These medieval antiquities of Norfolk were illustrated and described in a range of travel and antiquarian publications, comprising architectural treatises with national coverage, scholarly works, popular local publications and collections of artists' prints. Norwich Cathedral was imaged in John Britton's historical and architectural study, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich ..., of 1816 (fig. 1),[15] and in Thomas Cromwell's popular tourist book Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818 (fig. 2).[16] Norwich Castle was shown in Britton's famous publication, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826 (fig. 3), in William Wilkins' scholarly "An Essay towards a History of ... Norwich Castle," of 1795 (fig. 4), and in Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk (fig. 5). The ruins of Castle Acre Priory were represented in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, (fig. 6), and in the famous Norfolk artist John Sell Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, of 1812-1818 (fig. 7).[17] The ruins of Walsingham Priory were featured in Britton's Architectural

Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 8), in his The Beauties of England and Wales (fig. 9), in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, (fig. 10), and in Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (fig. 11). All of these publications included historical information drawn from well-known sources, among them the Norfolk historian Francis Blomefield's authoritative county history Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, first published in 1745 and republished in 1805-1810.[18] And while these works were targeted at middle and upper class readers and viewers, they represented distinct niches within the field of antiquarian works. Britton's carefully researched compilation, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, consisting of five large volumes, was lavishly illustrated with prints produced by different artists and engravers, and aimed at an audience of individuals and professionals knowledgeable in the areas of antiquarianism and architecture. Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, in two small volumes, including textual descriptions and illustrated with small reduced prints after drawings by various artists, among them Cotman, was meant as a guide for a general travelling public. Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, a folio collection of large-scale artist's etchings, accompanied by descriptive notices by Cotman's patron, the Norfolk antiquary Dawson Turner, was aimed at historians and antiquaries but also at connoisseurs of art.[19]

Publications illustrating medieval architectural antiquities in Britain have been examined primarily in terms of the architecture of the Gothic Revival, in terms of individual artists' oeuvres, or, in the case of the imagery of medieval ruins, within the context of the picturesque aesthetic.[20] Such publications, however, have not been examined in the wider, complex social and political framework of the different aspects of the early 19th century medievalist movement, and in the context of the controversies emerging when specific regions of 'modern' Britain were represented in terms of the medieval past. It is the argument of this thesis that many of the tensions, variously articulated in the descriptions and representations of the medieval past, emerged from the conflicts between the current fascination with the nation's medieval history and the modern social upheavals and political and economic conflicts of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which were prominent in the city of Norwich and the county of Norfolk. These tensions in turn had an important bearing on the ways in which architectural monuments were visually represented to the reading and viewing publics. An analysis of the tensions and interactions between the several categories of visual and textual representations of Norfolk's medieval history, emerging in the national and local contexts, will form an important part of my investigation and will contribute toward an understanding of how these images were involved in specific contested contemporary appropriations of the medieval past.

The vogue for publications featuring architectural monuments from Britain's Middle Ages formed a part of the larger medievalist movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. [21] Medievalism was, as historian Alice Chandler has noted, a many-faceted, pervasive movement, originating from the time of the Renaissance and manifesting itself in such various fields as art and architecture, politics, religion, economics, literature and sociology.[22] Medievalism and the associated Gothic Revival constituted challenges, with far-reaching ramifications, to dominant historical and cultural representations, most notably Britain's Roman history and the country's tradition of Renaissance classicism. The medievalist movement in Britain, forming a part of a European response both to universalistic classical culture and universalistic Enlightenment reason, and underpinned by an empiricist frame of mind which focused on national and local research and knowledge, was deeply involved in the growth of nationalist sentiment and in Britain's claims to the status of a world power rivalling both France and Rome. Medievalism was also profoundly implicated in religious controversies and debates in Britain in the early 19th century. The Catholic Church, persecuted since the time of the Protestant Reformation, began, from the late 18th century, to shore up its resurgence both with its ancient history, dating back to Saxon times, and with its medieval monastic and abbatical traditions of charity and social responsibility.[23] In turn the Anglican Church, at this time the object of mounting criticism and challenged by both the Catholic Church and Protestant Dissent,

adopted medieval religious practices which culminated later in the century in the ecclesiological movement and the founding of the Camden Society,[24] in an effort to assert its own position of national dominance. While the Middle Ages were perceived by many as an unenlightened era of superstitious beliefs and primitive, 'gothic' customs, the period was also seen in nostalgic terms as a lost age of social harmony. At one level, medievalism embodied a profound reaction to the Industrial Revolution, to the mechanisation of industry and agriculture, and to the perceived sense of alienation and loss of community, brought about by the growth of a laissez-faire economy and liberal capitalism. Robert Southey expressed the sense of alienation most clearly in his Sir Thomas More; or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, of 1829:

> Throughout the trading part of the community every one endeavours to purchase at the lowest price, and sell at the highest, regardless of equity in either case. Bad as the feudal times were, they were less injurious than these commercial ones to the kindly and generous feelings of human nature, and far, far more favourable to the principles of honour and integrity.[25]

Medievalism in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries had further, more specifically political underpinnings, relating to the contemporary events in France. While the Enlightenment and the belief in reason had questioned existing creeds and institutions, the ideal of reason had also engendered the universalising principles of liberty and equality which eventually led to the upheavals of the French Revolution. In this period when Britain's traditional hierarchical social and political organisations were challenged by the democratic

ideals of the French Revolution, as well as by radicalism and the Reform movement at home, historians and politicians, reconsidering universalistic principles, turned toward an exploration of the nation's own history and traditions in a search for guidelines in the national past for the social and political problems of the present. Medieval history was increasingly implicated in constitutional debates, and the role of medieval customs and traditions in the shaping of the nation's political life came to be fore-grounded and to be the object of study for scholars and politicians. Britain's medieval history was, however, a contested issue. Different political groups took up various traditions and developed diverging histories of the past, signalling a desire, both on the right and the left sides of the political spectrum, to support their own interests and agendas through the claims that they aimed at preserving or reinstating historical political customs and rights. The medieval past was thus appropriated by Whigs who claimed liberties dating to Magna Carta and reaffirmed in the Bill of Rights of 1689, by Conservatives who appealed to the traditional authority of Church and King as established at the time of the Norman Conquest, and by radicals who wanted to resurrect what they perceived to be a truly democratic Saxon past.[26]

As a result, in the years following the French Revolution, the preoccupation with Britain's medieval monuments and with the nation's own historical customs and traditions had important social and political implications. These revolved around ways of

conceptualising and controlling the space and time of lived experience, and played an important role in articulating social identities and hierarchies in a society in which customary allegiances were seen to be shifting, and social groups were seen to be distancing themselves from their traditional places and roles in society. The images of Britain's medieval past, which emerged at this dynamic moment in the country's history, circulated within a range of divergent, competing historical narratives that drew from different epochs, 'racial' divisions, hierarchical categories and cultural practices. They formed a complex nexus of layered associations and intersecting and competing cultural, social and political interests which struggled for control over the representation of the nation's past, and hence for mastery over its present.

Norfolk and Norwich were in the early 19th century problematic modern locales, undergoing far-reaching social changes, and embroiled in political controversies. Norwich, with a long history of civic traditions, was known in the 18th century as an important cultural and civic centre, featuring coffee houses and civic and charitable clubs and organisations. The city was also famous for its wealth and for its thriving textile manufacture. However, in the early 19th century Norwich underwent a gradual downturn in its textile industry, due partly to competition from other textile manufacturing centres, and partly to the Napoleonic blockades. As the wealth of Norwich was largely dependent on this industry, the economic situation of the town was gradually deteriorating, followed by widespread

civic corruption and growing social unrest. At the time of the French Revolution Norwich was particularly famous for its strong support of Jacobinism, and the area of Norfolk was known for harbouring several radical corresponding societies.[27] The rural and agricultural areas of Norfolk had also been undergoing substantial changes throughout the 18th century: traditional communal village farming was gradually giving way to mechanisation and new systems of cultivation concentrated in large, privately owned or tenanted enclosed farms.[28] As the famous surveyor of agriculture Arthur Young observed, this development allowed large landowners to realise immense profits;[29] however, the consolidation of larger farms and the rising pace of enclosures, intensifying during the period of the Napoleonic wars, served to increasingly force small farmers and the poor off the land.[30] Tensions such as these gave rise to the widespread and notorious East Anglia Rebellions which took place in 1816,[31] poignantly in the period just following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814 and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in France, marked in Norfolk by great festivities celebrating the Restoration and hence also the return to conservative values and rule.

In order to unravel some of the issues involving medieval representation and the imaging of the national and the local, the thesis will be organised in a way that will allow broad national questions to be explored, while also allowing particular local points of tension to emerge. That varied and numerous publications and representations gave form to the

medieval remains in Norfolk and Norwich has meant that unravelling and revealing their loaded associations, and assessing the ways in which these were negotiated in texts and images, has required attention to the historic time and social space to which the medieval monuments were linked. To this end the thesis Chapters are arranged to allow the extensive debates around nation and the historical past, addressed in Chapter One, to provide a frame for the conflicting uses and appropriations of the medieval past as they were called up in relation to particular monuments in Norfolk and Norwich. Chapters Two and Three are organised to draw attention to the different social spaces in which the medieval monuments in Norfolk and Norwich were situated--the town in Chapter Two and the countryside in Chapter Three--and, equally importantly, to the kinds of issues these spaces raised for a modern public. Chapter Four will be arranged around the consumption and patronage of medieval imagery in artistic, as opposed to architectural or touristic forms. As I will be arguing, the rendering of medieval antiquities in art had a function in creating positions of social identity, rank and status for viewers, both in Norwich and Norfolk and within a larger national frame.

Thus my first Chapter will historicise the conflicts around Britain's Saxon and Norman 'racial' heritages, and situate these conflicts in relation to nationalist, constitutional and architectural debates of the period. The issues of 'race' and the 'racialisation' of the nation's past were highly meaningful at this time when Britain was in the process of both creating a

sense of national identity and defining itself as a world power in the context of international conflicts, mainly in response to the Revolution in France. Questions of 'race' and of social and political domination underpinned contemporary debates on Saxon and Norman architecture and disputes around the origins of Gothic architecture, which involved the famous architect and writer John Carter and the Norfolk antiquary Dawson Turner. An analysis of the architectural debates between Carter and Turner serves to elucidate the interests at stake in the writing of Britain's historical and architectural past, and the political role played by cultural representations. In the concluding section of this Chapter, I will in particular examine how textual and visual representations of the medieval Castle at Castle Rising in the eastern part of Norfolk, in John Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, (fig. 12), and his The Beauties of England and Wales, (fig. 13), as well as in Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk (fig. 14), articulated and negotiated different tensions around political representation, electoral reform and the conflicting Saxon and Norman heritages. In other words, the Chapter will explore how representations of Norfolk's medieval antiquities, in the context of the local patronage of these works, were imbricated in national and constitutional issues, while also being deeply involved in articulating questions of social rank and hierarchical ordering at a local level.

My second Chapter will analyse how medievalising representations of the town of Norwich in travel and antiquarian

publications situated the town in relation to its rural environment and articulated political and social tensions involved in the changing structures of rural and urban power and authority. In the early 19th century Norfolk and Norwich were the scenes of widespread unrest. Norwich witnessed rioting in protest against the new Corn Laws of 1815, and agrarian unease and distress, culminating in the East Anglia Rebellions of 1816, had continuing impact on the city. This period of heightened social and political insecurity, due to economic, industrial and agricultural changes, was in particular marked by a sense of a blurring of traditional boundaries between town and countryside--one that is aptly symbolised by the demolition of most of the medieval town gates of Norwich in the 1790s. While this Chapter will explore the relation of Norwich to its rural environment, it will also examine the changing nature of public involvement in the civic life of the city in this period when civic power was becoming increasingly abstract and civic consciousness was gradually giving way to the private preoccupation with individual wealth among a growing urban industrialist bourgeoisie. The city, at the threshold between the medieval and the modern eras, vacillating between 18th century Enlightenment ideals and an entrenchment into the security and traditions of the Middle Ages, was re-presented in a range of images, responding to and negotiating contemporary turmoil and upheavals and visible changes in the local environment. The Chapter will focus on illustrations of views of Norwich in a range of publications including Mostyn Armstrong's

comprehensive work, History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, of 1781, (fig. 15),[32] and Philip Browne's A History of Norwich from the Earliest Records to the Present Time, of 1814 (figs. 16, 17),[33] and will also examine images of the famous landmarks located in the town: Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral.

The third Chapter will concern itself with specific kinds of medieval representations in rural Norfolk: the ruins of abbeys and monasteries which had been destroyed at the Dissolution of the monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII, in the course of his dispute with the Roman Catholic Church. The analysis will concentrate on representations of Castle Acre Priory and Walsingham Abbey in publications by John Britton, Thomas Cromwell and John Sell Cotman. The representations of Britain's Catholic past in the form of these ruined monasteries and abbeys brought up tensions around the relationships between the State, the Anglican Church and Roman Catholicism, and problems concerning the paradoxical simultaneity of perceived national progress and the steep increases in poverty and agrarian and social distress.

The imaging of these edifices and ruins of the Middle Ages, at the same time as a host of elaborate publications on Britain's and Norfolk's aristocratic Palladian and Palladianised country-houses were also emerging, was profoundly implicated in the struggles of the upper classes to retain their social and political power. The 18th and 19th centuries in Britain were marked by the division between two strands of historical

representation and tradition, the medieval and the classical, constituting two poles around which a range of political and social issues were continuously being played out and tested.[34] The representations of medieval ecclesiastical antiquities were particularly involved in this period in a shifting process during which the elite traced their genealogical roots, first to Britain's Roman ancestry and then to the country's Norman ancestry. This search for genealogies was deeply implicated in debates around the adherence of the elite to Pan-European cosmopolitanism and the emerging demands of British nationalism and national commitment. Significantly, the tracing of genealogies was particularly imbricated in tensions around land-ownership in this period when agrarian land was increasingly being regarded in terms of economic profit and when radical agrarianism was questioning the rights of the elite to the almost exclusive ownership of land. However, as I will argue, the illustrations depicting ruined abbeys and priories can also be seen as deeply ambiguous, partly due to the ambivalent nature of the picturesque aesthetic, functioning both as representing and dissimulating 'reality.' While these images served, at one level, to articulate the claims to power of the upper classes, at the same time they could be seen as potentially challenging the dominant position of the ruling elite.

While in the first three Chapters I examine how visual representations of the nation's medieval antiquities negotiated in different ways the problematic of representing medieval history in terms of remaining regional architectural monuments,

the final Chapter addresses particular problems raised by ambivalences inherent in the representations of the medieval past. This Chapter will focus on the work of the Norfolk artist John Sell Cotman and will examine his etchings of medieval edifices and ruins, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, of 1812-1818, within the context of their reception, as a way of underscoring and highlighting a range of important local debates and conflicts. Although Cotman's work on Norfolk and his representations of medieval churches, abbeys, town gates and castles were fairly well received by critics, the images also met with subtle criticism, and the collection was not commercially successful. Cotman's most important patron, the antiquarian Dawson Turner, thought that the etchings were not 'finished' enough, and a friend of Cotman considered them to have "too much the character of pencil sketches."[35] What I argue in Chapter Four is that Cotman's etchings can be seen as subtly transgressing the specific rhetorical strategies and particular codes and conventions that underpinned and governed the representation of architectural antiquities in this period. These etchings can be seen as sites wherein a range of contemporary local and national ideological issues, dealt with in the preceding Chapters of the thesis, were articulated in terms of a pictorial language that did not meet the expectations or respond to the interests of Cotman's Norfolk patrons who, as the dedications of Cotman's prints show, included politicians, churchmen, professional individuals and members of the aristocracy. The examination of

Cotman's etchings in the context of their local audiences and ambiguous reception contributes to an understanding of how representations of medieval antiquities, when seen against a local background and as tangibly associated with the regional landscape and its history, had the potential to subtly disrupt national meta-narratives and histories, and evoke social and political tensions which were often more effectively mediated and even obscured in historical representations of a wider, national frame of reference. The analysis of Cotman's work in terms of their reception elucidates anxieties in this period, related to issues around national and regional progress and traditions, revealing that images of medieval antiquities, in particular when disseminated in the reproductive medium of print, were understood to have the power to influence and distort customary assumptions related to the foundational role of medieval history in the narrative of Britain's progress. Indeed, by examining why Cotman's works were held to transgress accepted norms of representation, it is possible to open up a deeper understanding of how representations of medieval antiquities were involved in issues concerning the attempts of individuals to define their own places within social hierarchies and within the political and social economy of the region as well as of the nation. By exploring the tensions and contestations involved in the nation's 'pedagogical' and 'performative' narratives embedded in the multi-layered associations of Cotman's images of Norfolk's medieval buildings and ruins, my purpose is to explore the unstable spaces between

representation and the viewers' own, particular experiences, knowledge and expectations. What I claim is that by opening up a space at the juncture of representations of architectural antiquities and their audiences, and by taking into account the open-endedness of the sign and the image and the wide potential for shifting, conflicting and contrasting readings, a re-assessment can be made of medieval imagery and its role in shaping, not only the medieval revival of the 18th and early 19th centuries, but as well the later Gothic Revival of the Victorian period.

NOTES

[1] For discussions of British nationalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, see especially Linda Colley, Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), and Gerald Newman, The Rise of English Nationalism. A Cultural History 1740-1830 (London: Macmillan, 1997).

[2] Samuel and Daniel Lysons, Magna Britannia; Or a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain, 6 vols. (T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806-1822); John Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, Represented and Illustrated in a Series of Views, Elevations, Plans, Sections and Details, of various Ancient English Edifices ..., 5 vols. (London: Longman, 1807-1826); John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales; or, Delineations Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of each County ..., 18 vols. (London: Verner & Hood, 1801-1816). The sense of national pride evinced in travel and antiquarian publications of the period was exemplified in the antiquarian publisher John Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales (1801-1816). Britton introduced volume III (1802) of this work with a quote, inserted on the title-page, by the well known travel writer William Mavor: "In whatever Light we regard the British Islands, whether as the Cradle of Liberty, the Mother of Arts and Sciences, the Nurse of Manufactures, the Mistress of the Sea; or whether we contemplate their genial Soil, their mild Climate, their various natural and artificial curiosities; we shall find no equal extent of Territory on the Face of the Globe of more Importance, or containing more Attractions, even in the Estimation of those who cannot be biased by native Partiality."

[3] John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, vol. I (1801), Advertisement.

[4] Samuel and Daniel Lysons, Magna Britannia, preface.

[5] Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, vol. X (1816), pp. v, vii. The different volumes in John Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales were co-authored and edited by, among others, Edward Wedlake Brayley, Joseph Nightingale and J. Norris Brewer.

[6] My concentration on the interplay between the national and the local has been informed by Charles Pythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987), Doreen Massey, Space, Place and Gender (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), and Arjun Appadurai, Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996). The works of Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), and David Harvey, Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) have also influenced my thinking on the conflicts and contradictions at play in any representation of space and the social.

[7] Massey, Space, Place and Gender, pp. 137, 138.

[8] Ibid., p. 131.

[9] Ibid., passim. Massey also argues that local studies should "not be 'case studies,' in the sense of idiosyncratic portraits of individual regions. Each study should attempt both to link the fortunes of the local area to the wider national and international scene, which is part of the explanation for the changes taking place, and also rigorously to link together the different levels of change going on within the local area ..." (p. 130).

[10] For a discussion of Norfolk's Saxon and Norman history, see for instance Susanna Wade Martins, A History of Norfolk (West Sussex: Phillimore, 1997). For the purposes of this thesis, I take the term 'medieval' to denote the period in Britain beginning after the Roman withdrawal and the arrival of the Saxons in the fifth century, and continuing to the Renaissance.

[11] Publications on Norfolk, such as the architect and historian William Wilkins's "An Essay toward a history of the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle; with remarks on the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans," Archaeologia vol. XII (1795): p. 139, constantly made reference to these historical events. According to Wilkins, the name of the town derived from the Saxon name 'Northwic,' which referred to the situation of the town north of the Roman settlement of Venta Icenorum. William Wilkins was the father of the famous William Wilkins, the architect of parts of King's College, Corpus Christi in Cambridge, of Downing College in Cambridge, and the National Gallery. See Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 205.

[12] For instance the Norfolk antiquary Dawson Turner, in his preface to the Norfolk artist John Sell Cotman's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1822), p. iii, doubted the existence of any Saxon architectural remains in Norfolk, claiming that these remains were indistinguishable from Norman architecture.

[13] Dawson Turner, Account of a Tour in Normandy, Undertaken Chiefly for the Purpose of Investigating the Architectural Antiquities of the Duchy, 2 vols. (London: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, 1820), vol. I, p. 122.

[14] Wilkins, "An Essay toward the history of the Venta Icenorum ...," pp. 139-142.

[15] John Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich ... (London: Longman, 1816), forming part of Britton's series Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain (1814-1835).

[16] Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1818), forming part of his Excursions through England (1818-1822).

[17] John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (London: Longman, 1818).

[18] Francis Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk ..., 11 vols. (1745; London: William Miller, 1806).

[19] In his dedications of the etchings in The Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk Cotman variously complimented his patrons on their historical and antiquarian interests, but also on their support for the arts.

[20] Among important works dealing with early 19th century collections of prints depicting medieval architectural antiquities in Britain can be mentioned David Morris, Thomas Hearne and His Landscape (London: Reaktion Books, 1989); Luke Herrmann, Turner Prints. The Engraved Works of J. M. W. Turner (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1990); Luke Herrmann, Paul and Thomas Sandby (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986); J. Mordaunt Crook "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival," in Concerning Architecture, ed. John Summerson (London: John Allen, 1968), pp. 98-119; J. Mordaunt Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1995). Sydney Kitson, in his The Life of John Sell Cotman (1937; London: Rodart Reproductions, 1982), has examined Cotman's etchings in the light of their patronage. Cotman's etchings have also been analysed extensively by Andrew Hemingway in his articles "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy:' Some amendments to Kitson's account," The Walpole Society, vol. XLVI (1976-1978): pp. 164-185, and "'The English Piranesi:' Cotman's architectural prints," The Walpole Society, vol. XLVII (1980-1982): pp. 210-244. Important analyses of medieval ruin imagery in terms of

the picturesque aesthetic include Michael Charlesworth's "The ruined abbey: Picturesque and Gothic values," The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770, eds. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 62-80, and Raimonda Modiano, "The legacy of the Picturesque: landscape, property and the ruin," The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770," pp. 196-219.

[21] Several studies have examined medievalism and its many related aspects. Alice Chandler, in her path-breaking study A Dream of Order. The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth Century English Literature (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), conceptualises and analyses 19th century medievalism in England in a historical, social and political context and in its various manifestations in literature. The series Studies in Medievalism, eds. Leslie J. Workman et al. (Cambridge: D. Brewer, 1992), began, as noted in the editorial to vol. IV, number 1, Medievalism in England, to establish a "new discipline or field of scholarly concentration," and to "begin the interdisciplinary study of medievalism as a comprehensive cultural phenomenon analogous to classicism or romanticism." Paul Frankl, in his The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), traced the history of Gothic and its various manifestations in the larger international context. Kenneth Clark's The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste (1928; London: John Murray, 1962), analysed the revival of Gothic architecture in the 18th and 19th centuries in England. Mark Girouard, The Return of Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), examines the idea of medieval chivalry in the late 18th and 19th centuries. J. M. Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1995) and J. M. Frew, "Gothic is English; John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's national style," The Art Bulletin, vol. LXIV (June 1982): 315-319, link the interest in medieval architecture to a growing sense of British national identity. R. J. Smith's The Gothic Bequest. Medieval Institutions in British Thought, 1688-1863 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), constitutes a thorough study of constitutional and political uses of medievalism. Raymond Williams' Art and Society 1780-1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), contains a particularly thoughtful study of the social underpinnings and implications of medievalism as a cultural force, contrasting with industrialism, in the 19th century.

[22] Chandler, A Dream of Order, p. 1.

[23] The Catholic historical medieval past was used by many notable historians and churchmen, such as the Catholic priest John Milner in his The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester (Winchester: James Robbins, 1798), to support the claims of Catholics that their religion was in fact a national religion.

[24] The Camden Society in particular promoted the building and restoration of churches in order to encourage Anglican religious worship. For the activities of the Camden Society, see for instance A. G. Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale (London: S.P.C.K., 1962).

[25] Robert Southey, Sir Thomas More: or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, vol. II (London: John Murray, 1829), pp. 246-247.

[26] For example, England's later medieval history was used most famously by the historian Catherine MacCaulay to propound Whig views in her The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover, 8 vols. (London: J. Norse, 1766-1783); England's medieval Norman history was evoked to support conservative opinion in Sharon Turner's The History of the Anglo-Saxons from Their First Appearance above the Elbe to the Norman Conquest, 4 vols. (London: T. N. Longman, 1802-1805), and in his History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward the First, 3 vols. (London: Longman, 1814-1823); early medieval times and the ancient Saxon constitution were evoked to legitimize radical views in Obadiah Hulme's well-known An Historical Essay on the English Constitution: Or, An Impartial Inquiry into the Elective Power of the People, from the First Establishment of the Saxons in this Kingdom (Dublin, 1771), and in T. H. B. Oldfield's The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland ..., 6 vols. (London: Baldwin, 1816).

[27] For a discussion of revolutionary sentiment and activities in Norwich and Norfolk in the 1790s, see C. B. Jewson, The Jacobin City. A Portrait of Norwich in its Reaction to the French Revolution 1788-1802 (London: Blackie & Son, 1975). See also E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Penguin Books, 1980), and Trevor Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment: The Case of Norwich," Eighteenth Century Life, vol. VIII (Oct. 1982): 12-27.

[28] For a brief discussion of Norfolk's changing agriculture, see Susanna Wade Martins, Norfolk. A Changing Countryside 1780-1914 (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1988), pp. 10-13.

[29] Arthur Young, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk, (1804; London: Sherwood, Nealy and Jones, 1813), p. 30.

[30] Nathaniel Kent, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk (Norwich: Crouse, Stevenson and Matchett, 1796), discussed the question of enclosures at length. Although Kent saw enclosures as beneficial and as contributing to the general wealth in the county through the better utilisation of the land, he also paid considerable attention to the problems caused by enclosures in depriving the poor of the use of the commons (pp. 72-85). An advocate for small farms, Kent was particularly critical of the system of large farms, arguing that "husbandmen of small capitals, let them be ever so industrious, will be effectually cut off from the common means of raising themselves in life" (pp. 135, 132-133).

[31] For an account of the East Anglia Rebellions, see A. J. Peacock, Bread or Blood. A Study of the Agrarian Riots in East Anglia in 1816 (London: Gollancz, 1965).

[32] Mostyn Armstrong, History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, 10 vols. (Norwich: J. Crouse, 1781).

[33] Philip Browne, The History of Norwich from the Earliest Records to the Present Time (Norwich: R. Chipperfield, 1814).

[34] This tension was enunciated most clearly in the famous words of Lord Acton in 1859: "Two great principles divide the world, and contend for the mastery, antiquity and the middle ages. These are the two civilisations that have preceded us, the two elements of which ours is composed. All political as well as religious questions reduce themselves practically to this. This is the great dualism that runs through our society." Lord Acton's manuscript notes, printed in Herbert Butterfield, Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 212.

[35] Andrew Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi,'" p. 221; letter to Cotman from Francis Cholmeley, Feb. 24, 1811, in the British Museum; quoted in Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, p. 141.

I. Imagining the nation; creating a past. The Saxon and the Norman heritages and the contested terrain of the nation's history.

1. The myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke. 'Gothic is English.' John Carter and England's 'national style.'

The medieval revival in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and its evocation of a shared medieval past, played an important role in the development of British nationalism and a sense of national identity. However, Britain's medieval past did not lend itself to a seamless, homogenous historical narration, but rather formed the basis for a fractured constellation of different narrative strands, based in different interpretations of Britain's 'racial' and cultural heritages. As historian Robert Young has observed, "Englishness ... has never been successfully characterised by an essential, core identity," but has always been "divided within itself, and it is this that has enabled it to be variously and counteractively constructed."[1] In the early 19th century the question of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' revolved around debates on 'national origins,' centred in particular in England's medieval era. An important focus in the study of Britain's medieval history in the 18th and early 19th centuries was the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman past of the country; indeed, the conflicts and tensions between these two inter-linked heritages constituted a continuous thread in medieval historiography in this period. These conflicts were epitomised in the myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke.

According to this myth an original democratic Saxon constitution had been overthrown in 1066 by the Norman Conquest which had concentrated all property and all constitutional power in the hands of the Norman invaders who established themselves as a new elite, oppressing and enslaving the Saxon inhabitants of the country. The racist sentiment at the heart of the Norman and the Saxon myth was expressed in 1558, at the time of the Protestant Reformation, by the future bishop of London, John Aylmer, who asserted England's Saxon language and heritage by condemning the Norman invaders as "effeminate Frenchmen: Stoute in bragge but nothing in dede." Aylmer continued: "We have a few hunting termes and pedlars French in the lousye law brought in by the Normans, yet remayining: But the language and customs bee Englishe and Saxonyshe."[2]

The myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke had particular currency in the context of the constitutional debates and conflicts between the Crown and the Parliament in the 17th century. During these years the myth of the Saxons and the Normans was in fact appropriated by a whole spectrum of differing political factions. The Parliamentary opposition, supporting their claims to power against the absolutism of the Crown, based their politics in the Saxon myth, demanding a return to an ancient Saxon constitution during which, it was claimed, power had not been absolute but had been shared among the king and his barons. The Royalists on their side argued that the king, through the Norman Conquest and the consequent extinguishing of Saxon laws had the absolute right to wield

power. The radical Levellers also demanded a return to Saxon laws--they, however, interpreted these laws differently, claiming that during Saxon times there had been true democracy, when the community as a whole, and not only the barons, had participated directly in government. Finally, the radical Diggers attacked the very concept of private property and rejected all traditional laws, including Saxon ones, which they saw as perpetuating oppression.[3]

The 1760s and the 1770s in Britain saw a revival of the myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke at the hands of famous radicals such as Tooke Horne and Obadiah Hulme who, following the Levellers, strove to achieve their political aims by claiming that their goal was to reinstate the liberties of the old Saxons. While the 17th century conflict had primarily involved a contest between the King and the Parliament, the conflict in the latter part of the 18th century comprised tensions involving large radical factions opposing Parliamentary interests. Radical factions saw Parliament as an oligarchic group, supporting the power of the upper classes and in particular of the land-owning aristocracy, understood to be descended from the Norman conquerors. The radicals demanded a return to the Saxon constitution which, according to them, had been an ideal system of government where there had been no hereditary nobility, and where democratic franchise and annual elections had formed the basis for government.[4] Obadiah Hulme, in his seminal work An Historical Essay on the English

Constitution, of 1771, wrote that the English were indebted for their constitution to the Northern Saxons:

> ... the Northern nations, that overran Europe at the dissolution of the Roman Empire, introduced a model of government, for the preservation of the common rights of mankind, as far superior to the Greek and Roman commonwealths ... It was in some branches of those northern tribes distinguished by the name Saxon, that the English are indebted for their constitution, or mode of government, introduced into England about the year 450.[5]

Hulme emphasised the egalitarian nature of Saxon society, in which, he argued, wealth had never conferred political privileges:

> ... the natural rights of mankind were their guide [the Saxons'] ... They considered every man alike ... riches with them, constitutionally considered gave no power or authority, or any right to power or authority, over the poorest person in the state.[6]

According to Hulme, the Norman king had destroyed the elective power and democratic liberties of the Saxon people,[7] replacing the Saxon 'ealdormen' with a foreign Norman, French speaking nobility.[8] In turn the ownership of the land had been transferred to the king, the Norman nobility and the Church.[9] Hulme condensed the myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke in his famous statement:

> Whatever is of Saxon establishment, is truly constitutional; but whatever is Norman, is heterogeneous to it, and partakes of a tyrannical spirit.[10]

The famous Norfolk born radical Thomas Paine revealed the close link between contemporary English racial prejudices against the French and the ancient prejudices against the Normans when he exclaimed in his Common Sense of 1776:

> A French bastard landing with an armed banditti and establishing himself King of England, against the consent

> of the natives, is, in plain terms, a very paltry, rascally original.[11]

The issue of the Norman and Saxon heritages intersected with debates involving Britain's classical architectural traditions and the country's medieval and Gothic architectural traditions, debates which in the period following the French Revolution assumed deep national and political significance. In the context of architectural styles 'Gothic' was originally used derogatorily to describe what was perceived to be a debasement of classical Roman architecture by the influx of Northern European building modes from the time Rome had been overrun by the Gothic Vandals. Medieval architecture had, since the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, been associated with forces of darkness and the irrational; for the historian John Evelyn, writing in 1707, Gothic buildings were "Dark, Melancholy Piles ... Mountains of Stone, Vast and Gygantic ... but not Worthy the Name of Architecture."[12] In the 17th and 18th centuries the antiquarian interest in medieval and Gothic architectural ruins, as a part of an emerging preoccupation with national culture and the national past, was focused mainly on the preservation of a historical and national heritage.[13] During the 18th century the emphasis on preservation began to develop into an interest in a return to actual Gothic building, as a part of the growing reaction to the domination of classical culture in Britain. The early attempts to define a distinct Gothic style were pioneered by the architect and writer Batty Langley who, in his well known work Gothic Architecture

Improved, of 1742, attempted to give rules for what had customarily been understood to be a disorderly 'gothic,' or primitive, mode of building.[14] The most famous example of the new interest in Gothic was Horace Walpole's villa, Strawberry Hill, which was gothicised by the owner between 1750 and 1753. However, in this period the interest in Gothic architecture was still mainly seen as a frivolous pastime, and Gothic was still stigmatised as having originated in an unenlightened age.[15]

It was not until the latter part of the 18th century that Gothic architecture began to attract wider scholarly attention and began to be seen as seriously rivalling the hegemony of classical art and architecture. The well known architect and writer John Carter published in the latter part of the 18th century his famous work Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting, now Remaining in this Kingdom,[16] in which he specifically lauded the chivalry and the architecture of the later medieval era and deplored the despoliation of the Catholic churches and monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII; this is evidenced in the frontispieces to this work (figs. 18, 19). Subsequently commissioned by the Society of Antiquaries to produce a second authoritative work on England's medieval architecture, Carter began to publish in 1795 The Ancient Architecture of England,[17] a large and luxurious volume which contained drawings and delineations of the principles of the Gothic mode of building. The preoccupation with England's ancient architecture gained crucial political importance with the intensifying nationalist mood aroused in Britain in a

reaction to the Revolutionary upheavals in France.[18] In a series of articles in the Builders' Magazine and the Gentlemen's Magazine, through the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Carter continually emphasised the importance of England's own architectural tradition, asking in 1798:

> Why have the minds of Englishmen, for these two centuries, been deluded to imitate the Roman and Grecian styles? What features have their boasted remains that we cannot parallel? For the extensiveness of their edifices, their grandeur, their elegance, their enrichments, view our cathedrals, and other attendant buildings. Is any one excellence that architecture boasts to be sought for in vain in our own country? No, we may here find them all.[19]

For Carter the classical architecture of the Renaissance constituted deplorable "novelty" and "innovation," and he claimed that it was this love for "novelty" which had helped stigmatise England's "sacred works of antiquity ... with the barbarous name of Gothic."[20] Carter's linking of classicism with "innovation" was highly significant at this time when the term 'innovation' was associated in Britain with the French Revolution and revolutionary ideals. For Carter, elevating England's medieval architecture constituted a patriotic act, "the honour due to our Sovereign, and the preservation of our Constitution from the inroads of democratic principles."[21] Exploiting the connotation between revolutionary thought and "innovation," Carter exclaimed in 1799:

> Innovation in whatever form it may appear, is at this hour dangerous and full of suspicion.[22]

Two years later, in 1801, Carter also attacked those who derided medieval traditions, who "foil the historic page with a blackening stain; 'dark ages' is their warhoop cry; and all

their purposes lead to innovation, political as well as architectural."[23]

Carter thus explicitly held up a national tradition found in Britain as a defence against revolutionary ideas associated with France:

> In the day like the present, when the infernal dispensers of "liberty and equality" are spreading their destroying power over so many realms, and when this country, the favoured nation of Heaven, has hitherto escaped the direful contagion; it behoves every Englishman to come forward in the general cause, to protect his King and Country ... and I know of no way that can so well aid the general cause, as to stimulate my countrymen to think well of their own national memorials, the works of art, of ancient times, and not hold up any foreign works as superior to our own; and, in particular, the name of France should never be introduced, but to raise ideas of terror and destruction![24]

Wanting to appropriate Gothic as England's national style, Carter maintained that Gothic architecture had in fact originated in England, claiming in 1801 that "There is very little doubt that the light and elegant style of building, whose principal and characteristic feature is the high pointed arch struck from two centres, was invented in this country; it is certain that it was here brought to its highest state of perfection...."[25] Significantly, although Carter acknowledged the Norman influence in the development of English Gothic,[26] he specifically attempted to trace the Gothic style to Saxon origins, stating in The Gentleman's Magazine in 1810 that this architectural mode had evolved as a slow, not radical or sudden, change from Roman source: "The Saxon Architecture was a gradual deviation from the Roman; and out of the Saxon fanciful ideas sprang the Pointed Arch; not a sudden creation, but a long and

progressive growing up of the Art, six centuries at least...."[27] Carter also maintained that Gothic architecture should rightfully, and with "peculiar propriety" be called "English," as its essential development had taken place in England.[28] In his A Guide to the Cathedral of Ely, of 1805, [29] the well-known architectural writer George Millers provided support for Carter's argument that Gothic should be conceived as 'English,' although he did not specifically support the theory of a Saxon origin of the Gothic style:

> The Saxon and Norman styles are very properly denominated from the nations in which they respectively flourished. To the style which succeeded these, the Goths are no more entitled to the honour of giving a name than the Peruvians or Chinese ... the more appropriate and honourable name English is substituted for it ...[30]

Carter's earlier elevation of medieval architecture in the last quarter of the 18th century had coincided with the famous period of English radicalism when such well-known figures as Obadiah Hulme persistently held forth the ideas of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke, and when the Saxon heritage was closely associated by radical factions with English nationalism. However, with the French Revolution the Saxon heritage came to be linked not only with domestic radicalism, but, more threateningly, with French revolutionary ideas. In this period England's Norman heritage was increasingly fore-grounded (a point to which I will return in the following section), and the Norman origins of the Gothic architectural mode also gained growing attention. Accepting Norman origins for English Gothic would, however, have implied an acceptance of 'French' origins

for what Carter wanted to claim as England's national style. As architectural historian James Mordaunt Crook has shown, in order to emphasise the Englishness of the Gothic style, Carter suppressed the designation 'Norman,' and he accordingly antedated English Gothic buildings, claiming that they had in fact been erected in the Saxon era, preceding the Norman Conquest.[31] However, the 'Englishness' of Gothic came increasingly to be refuted; as was well known, England's Gothic architecture in fact dated to the years when the country was ruled by the descendants of the Norman conquerors, and it was therefore understood by many experts as having Norman, and hence 'foreign,' origins. The predominant view among most scholarly architects and antiquarians in the first decades of the 19th century was that the Gothic style had not in fact originated in England, but had been created through the interplay of many different styles, with the conclusion that the origins of Gothic could not be determined exactly.[32] Most notably, the architectural historian George Whittington claimed in 1811, in his authoritative An Historical Survey of the Architectural Antiquities of France, that the Gothic style had originated in the East and had been brought to the West by the crusaders. Furthermore, Whittington definitively argued that the Gothic style had actually emerged in France earlier than in Britain; hence the closest historically traceable origins of Gothic had to be acknowledged as being Norman--or French.[33]

2. Writing the nation in terms of history, culture and 'race;' Saxon liberty and the 'enemy within.'

In the turbulent years after the French Revolution national and 'racial' origins were increasingly implicated in political and constitutional debates. Under threat of radicalism and fears of revolutionary uprisings spreading to Britain, conservative opinion, emphasising the Norman Conquest as the foundation of traditional government, gained currency and began to challenge the radicals' insistence on the virtue and democracy of the Saxon constitution.[34] The myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke, and the radicals' critique of the Norman Conquest and their defence of the Saxon constitution, were in particular countered by the conservative historian Sharon Turner in his famous works The History of the Anglo-Saxons from their First Appearance above the Elbe to the Norman Conquest, of 1802-5, and History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I, of 1814. Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons has been seen as a pioneering work, celebrating England's Saxon history and heritage.[35] However, Turner's praise of the Anglo-Saxons was highly qualified, and in fact in many respects constituted an indictment of the Saxons, representing them as a primitive and unenlightened people. In his The History of the Anglo-Saxons[36] Turner denied that the Saxon constitution had been democratic and egalitarian, arguing instead that the Anglo-Saxon community was hierarchically ordered, [37] with the Saxons not considering all ranks as equal.[38] Significantly, in terms of modern

politics, Turner also claimed that land-ownership had indeed been a prerequisite for obtaining a seat in the Saxon Wittenagemot, or Council of Elders.[39] He also maintained that English liberties had not been abridged by the Norman Conquest:

> The Norman Conquest was ... no abridgement of the liberties of England; on the contrary, it established ... a powerful and active aristocracy, which was strong enough at times even to give the law to its sovereign. It promoted the emancipation of the servile, and it protected the privileges of the free.[40]

At one level, then, Turner's interpretation of Anglo-Saxon constitutional organisation as hierarchical and as based on land-ownership resulted in a conservative support for existing modern hierarchies and for the privileged position of the land-owning classes, and justified the contemporary early 19th century parliamentary system whereby Members of Parliament were required to be substantial landowners. Furthermore, according to Turner, although the ancient Saxons had been freedom-loving and courageous, their character as a people had also been marked by barbarism and savagery:

> Their warfare did not originate from the more generous, or the more pardonable of man's evil passions. It was the offspring of the basest. Their swords were not unsheathed by ambition or revenge. The love of plunder and cruelty was their favourite habit, and hence they attacked indifferently every coast which they could reach ...[41]

Turner also represented the Saxons at the time of the Norman Conquest as enfeebled and degenerated, and as an "effeminate," "submissive and unwarlike people":

> At that period the Anglo-Saxons, originally the fiercest nation of the predatory North, had become changed into a submissive and unwarlike people, by the united influence of property and luxury, of a great landed aristocracy, and a richly endowed hierarchy. But their condition was rather degeneracy than civilisation. Their sovereigns were men of

> feeble minds; their nobles, factious and effeminate; the clergy corrupt and ignorant; the people, servile and depressed.[42]

Arguing that England's history had, from the Conquest, been a history of continued national progress toward civilisation,[43] Turner could describe the conquering Normans as a people embodying a spirit of enterprise, fervent piety and moral character, a people formed for lofty achievements and national celebrity.[44] The Normans emerge as a chivalrous and heroic 'race' who had brought a lawful constitution, true government and authority, culture, civilisation and piety to England, and as a people who had infused the degenerated Saxons with new 'manly' vigour and spirit:

> All the venerated forms of the Saxon institutions existed, but their spirit had evaporated ... England was slumbering in this declining state, when the Norman Conquest, like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its polity and population to their centre; broke up and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristocracy; destroyed the native proprietors of its soil; annihilated its corrupt habits, thinned its enervative population; kindled a vigorous spirit of life and action in all the classes of its society; and raised from the mighty ruins with which it overspread the country, that new and great character of government, clergy, and nobility, and people, which the British history has never ceased to display ...[45]

At a time in the early 19th century when ideas of Saxon democracy conjured up the recent revolutionary events in France, and when many looked to traditional authority and rule as the safeguard for social and political stability and peace, Turner's juxtaposing of Saxons and Normans is clear; the Saxons, and, by implication, their social organisation, had 'degenerated,' while the Norman aristocracy was powerful and active, strong enough to

give the law to the king, but also compassionate and protective of the servile and the free.

The process through which the history of the British nation came to be seen in terms of a racial conflict can be understood through Michel Foucault's discussion on race in his 1975 College de France lecture. Historian Ann Laura Stoler has pointed out that Foucault, discussing internal state racism, described it as "a combat to be carried out not between two races, but between a race placed as the true and only one (that holds power and defines the norm), and one that constitutes various dangers for the biological patrimony." [46] Foucault further argued that in the 20th century "the theme of race will no longer serve one social group against another; it will become a 'tool' of social conservatisms and of racisms of the state," and emerge as "an internal racism--that of constant purification--which will be one of the fundamental dimensions of social normalisation."[47] Foucault characterised the insidious workings of internal state racism in an argument formulated in the following terms:

> ... we must defend society against all the biological danger of that other race, of that sub-race, of that counter-race that despite ourselves we are constituting ...[48]

Foucault's notion of "a counter-race that despite ourselves we are constituting" can be applied to describe the early 19th century conservative construction of a degenerated Saxon counter-race, or 'other,' that was ambiguous and problematic precisely because individuals were constituting it 'despite themselves.' In the aftermath of the French Revolution and the defeat of Napoleon, the Enlightenment ideals of Reason,

universal equality and liberty which the English prided themselves in representing, now constituted, for conservatives, a threat to established social hierarchies and to traditional distributions of property and power. Turner's histories of the Saxons and the Normans in effect turned the Saxon 'counter-race,' which for many epitomised true democratic progress in politics, into a racial, primitive and savage 'other,' and opposed this 'other' to the English as ruled by the descendants of the cultivated Normans of the Conquest. As Ann Laura Stoler puts it, "racial thinking harnesses itself to varied progressive projects and shapes the social taxonomies defining who will be excluded from them."[49]

A concept of 'degeneration' as an explanation for historical development of differences between 'races' was a common one in the 18th century. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, author of On the Natural Variety of Mankind, of 1776,[50] subscribed to the monogenetic rather than the polygenetic theory of human origins, following the Biblical account of 'man' as being descended from a single source. Blumenbach explained the differences between the various 'races' of humankind as due to gradual 'racial degeneration' caused by geographic and climatic conditions. While employing the concept of 'degeneration,' and thus foreshadowing the deep biological racist thinking of the 20th century, which Foucault was exploring, Turner's main concern was with cultural and mental differences as defining and separating the various 'races.' Turner's work in fact serves as a demonstration of how culture was made subtly complicit in the

construction of 'racial' differences.[51] Although it affected to be a critical and objective historical study, Turner's analysis, focusing on alleged mental, intellectual and cultural differences between the Saxons and the Normans to define and justify social, political and moral standing, in fact responded to previous myths and to contemporary exigencies, so as to provide the political principles of social and national life. Racial division was in short elevated, in cultural production, into a salient feature which came to serve as the agent of specific political interests.

Sharon Turner's representation of the Norman heritage was not unchallenged. The historian and radical reformer T. H. B. Oldfield in his Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland; Being a History of the House of Commons, published in 1816,[52] reactivated Hulme's earlier claim for the Saxon constitution as the original democratic constitution of England. In contrast to Sharon Turner who interspersed his historical account with psychological and cultural characteristics, Oldfield concentrated his discussion on historical political organisation. Oldfield enunciated the myth of the Norman Yoke and all its negative manifestations for British liberty:

> As power naturally follows property, this revolution gave great security to foreigners ... William ... introduced into England the feodal law, as established in France and Normandy ... He divided the lands except the royal demesne, into baronies, which he conferred on his followers ... As none of the English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property were glad to be received into the second ... The Saxon constitution, and the liberties of the people were then annihilated, and the Wittenagemot, or representation of the people, sunk under the accumulating tyranny of the feodal system.[53]

Oldfield's thesis in fact paralleled the doctrine promoted by the French historian Augustin Thierry and given form in English in his History of the Conquest of England by the Normans, of 1825. According to Thierry's philosophy of history, applicable in England as in France, the conquest of a country historically led to the creation of two ranks, or 'two nations,' whereby the conquering 'race' occupied the position of a ruling elite while the conquered people sunk to the level of slavery and servitude.[54] Oldfield, however, sometimes repeating Hulme's work verbatim in his own history, demanded, like Hulme, a return to a perceived original Saxon constitution. In contrast with Turner who claimed that in ancient Saxon times the right to vote had been vested in property owners, Oldfield maintained that a representative system of government, where each householder who paid taxes was entitled to vote, had been the ancient heritage of the Saxons, but had been overturned by the Norman Conqueror.[55] Oldfield also attacked the law enacted under Queen Anne, which stated the requirement of land-ownership for holding political positions. Under Queen Anne the great Whig landowners had been able to consolidate their political power, through the stipulation of landed qualifications for Members of Parliament. Borrowing from Hulme's An Historical Essay on the English Constitution, [56] Oldfield claimed that

> ... in the reign of Queen Anne the Parliament made a law, for a landed qualification of the members of the House of Commons, by which it was enacted, that every member for a county should be possessed of an estate in land of 600 pounds a year; and every member for a borough should have an estate in land of 300 pounds a year. The principles upon

> which these two laws are founded have in their operation converted our free constitution and mode of government, into a downright rank aristocracy of the rich in land.[57]

Maintaining that the qualification law of Queen Anne had created a British government consisting of an upper class of wealthy landowners, descended from the Norman conquerors, Oldfield criticised the contemporary modern Parliament in Britain for being dominated by landowners who put their interests before the welfare of the country as a whole. [58]

The myth of the democratic Saxons was intertwined with the narrative of the freedom-loving and powerful Gothic tribes who had overrun Rome. The term 'Gothic' came into use in the 17th century as an epithet employed by parliamentary leaders to defend the prerogative of Parliament against the pretensions of the King to absolute rule,[59] alongside the myth of the Saxon Golden Age. According to 17th century antiquaries the forebears of the English were the Germanic, or Gothic invaders of Rome.[60] What is important here is the simultaneous identification of the 17th century parliamentary Whigs with constitutional and democratic Saxon traditions, as well as with the 'Gothic' tradition; indeed, the identification with these two strands of tradition formed an important part in the constituting of a sense of British national identity in the 19th century.[61]

The Gothic narrative was also linked with the Germanic myth of the Translatio Imperii ad Teutonicos, according to which Roman imperial power had been transferred to the Germanic peoples. The myth of the Translatio originated in the Biblical prophesies of Daniel naming the four consecutive empires of

antiquity, the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek and the Roman. German Protestant Reformers, claiming that Charlemagne had been German, saw his Empire in terms of a transfer of world power from the corrupt Roman Empire to the Teutonic rejuvenators of Europe, and the Reformation as the Germanic religious victory over Rome.[62] The Teutonic myth had widespread currency since the 17th century in England; the historian John Hare, in his history of England of 1647, had expressed the common argument that the British were descended from Germany and belonged to a Teutonic nation, and he contrasted the Teutons with the "servile body" of the occidental nations of Europe:

> We are members of the Teutonick nation, and descended out of Germany, a descent so honourable and happy, if duly considered, as that the like could not have been fetched from any other part of Europe, nor scarce of the universe ... Scarcely was there any world or manhood left in the occidental nations, after their so long servitude under the Roman Yoke, until these new supplies of freeborn men re-infused the same, and reinforced the then servile body of the west, with a spirit of honour and magnanimity.[63]

Hare's history formed part of a collection of historical manuscripts, Harleian Miscellany, begun by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, in the early 18th century, and published in 1744-1746. It is significant that the Harley collection of national historical works, including Hare's history, was republished in 1810, at a time when Britain's imperial power was seen as threatened by the Napoleonic wars, and at a time when the country was governed by a Hanoverian king. Hare's laudatory account of the Germanic Teutons as the defenders of Europe's freedom, evoking the myth of the Translatio, can be seen as a reminder that the English descendants of the Teutonic Saxons and

Goths, ruled now by the Hanoverian Royal family of German descent, were destined to be the founders of a new empire in Europe.[64]

The concept had a currency well into the middle of the 19th century.[65] John M. Kemble's favourably received history of England's Germanic past, The Saxons in England, of 1849,[66] echoing the thoughts of Hare, was reviewed by a critic in The Edinburgh Review, who reiterated the idea that the Germanic people were to regenerate the Western world:

> But the true mission of the Germanic people was to renovate and re-organise the western world. In the heart of the forest, amid the silence of unbroken plains, the Teuton recognised a law and fulfilled duties, of which the sanctity if not the memory, was nearly extinct among races who deemed and called him a barbarian ... and it is the portraiture of the Teuton doing his appointed work, in re-infusing life and vigour and the sanctions of a lofty morality into the effete and marrowless institutions of the Roman world, which is drawn in the volumes before us.[67]

Dr. Thomas Arnold, renowned clergyman and headmaster of Rugby School, enunciating the mythological racial Saxon and Teutonic ideology, expressed its 19th century underpinnings of democratic idealism and moral and civic virtue. Arnold described in the late 1820s the moment when he first saw the valley of the Rhine:

> ... before us lay the land of our Saxon and Teutonic forefathers--the land uncorrupted by Roman or any other mixture; the birthplace of the most moral races of men the world has yet seen--of the soundest laws--the least violent passions, and the fairest domestic and civil virtues.[68]

In his inaugural lecture, delivered in 1841 when he became professor of history at Oxford, Arnold argued that the Roman Empire possessed Christianity and the intellectual and political legacies of Greece and Rome; however "What was not there, was

simply the German race, and the peculiar qualities which characterise it."[69] Arnold further maintained that while the English owed a great deal morally to Rome and Greece, they owed nothing to them in race: "Our English race is the German race."[70] Emphasising the domination of the Germanic race, and of the English, he wrote that "half of Europe, and all America and Australia, are German more or less completely, in race, in language, or in institutions, or in all."[71] Thus the Saxons who in the early 19th century, a time of paranoia and fear of revolutionary upheavals, had been associated with revolutionary threats to the stability of the nation and had been represented, by conservatives at least, as 'degenerated' and barbarian, were, later in the century when the revolutionary threats had gradually subsided, elevated as the Teutonic founders of the English 'nation.' England's history was rewritten as the history of its Teutonic, Saxon and Gothic past. In this process the idea of political democracy associated with the Saxons was subtly subsumed under the over-arching concepts of Teutonic, Saxon and Gothic morality, culture and power.

Yet, the Teutonic heritage was not uncontested. Charlemagne's Empire had also traditionally been claimed by the French who saw Charlemagne as a Frank, not a German. Thus it is significant that the historian Walter C. Perry, in his The Franks, from Their First Appearance in History to the Death of King Pepin, of 1857, emphatically erased the denomination 'Frank' altogether, arguing that

> The great leaders and monarchs of the Frankish nation have been far more closely connected with modern France than is warranted by historical truth. It will be observed that in the following pages we everywhere speak of the Franks exclusively as Germans, as one of the many offshoots of the mighty Teutonic race, which for more than a thousand years has been steadily advancing towards universal dominion over the political, social and moral world.[72]

While Perry argued for a unity between the Germanic peoples which included the English Saxons as well as the Germanic Franks, the period of the 18th and early 19th centuries in Britain was also marked by attempts at reconciliation between England's Norman and Saxon origins, and the animosities inherent in the myths of the Saxons and Normans were countered by attempts at narratives of appeasement. David Hume, in his The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688, of 1762, saw the Norman Conquest as having brought an end to English "native liberties" and as having sunk the English people into the "most abject slavery."[73] According to Hume the Conquest and subsequent reigns had given rise to "mutual jealousies and animosities" between the English and the Normans; however, he also held that these animosities had eventually been appeased, and "a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations and made them one people."[74] In the early 19th century the famous novelist Sir Walter Scott, in his Ivanhoe, of 1819, had also formulated such a resolution to the conflict between the two 'races.' Scott represented the Saxons as a degenerated people, and the Norman Conquest as the event which brought an infusion of vigour to an enfeebled Anglo-Saxon 'race.' However, Scott also emphasised that the Conquest resulted in a

reconciliation and amalgamation of the two 'races' of Saxons and Normans wherein the separate identities would be invisible. Scott described the wedding ceremony of the Saxon heroine and the Norman hero in Ivanhoe:

> ... these distinguished nuptials were celebrated by the attendance of the high-born Normans, as well as Saxons, joined with the universal jubilee of the lower orders, that marked the marriage of two individuals as a pledge of the future peace and harmony betwixt two races, which, since that period, have been so completely mingled, that the distinction has become wholly invisible.[75]

Sharon Turner, in a slightly different manner, resolved the problem of the clashing 'racial' origins by stating in his History of England from the Norman Conquest, of 1814, that the Normans were derived from the "Northmen," who had established a Scandinavian race in Normandy.[76] Thomas Arnold also made a specific point of including the Normans in the Germanic 'race,' and he stressed that the Normans and the Saxons had originated from a common Teutonic stock:[77]

> ... for though our Norman forefathers had learnt to speak a stranger's language, yet in blood, as we know, they were the Saxons' brethren: both alike belong to the Teutonic or German stock.[78]

The kinship between the Saxons and the Normans became a commonplace assumption toward the middle of the 19th century. Like Arnold, Thomas Carlyle also denied any 'racial' division between Saxons and Normans, contending that the "Normans were Saxons who had learned to speak French."[79]

By the latter part of the 19th century the racial construction of the English was firmly rooted in a Germanic heritage which included Saxons and Normans, and the concept of

the Germanic folk as the new masters of the world was largely established. Walter C. Perry, writing in 1857, saw the Germanic folk as the "people of the present and the future":

> If the Greeks and Romans are rightly called the people of the past, the Germans ... have an undoubted claim to be considered the people of the present and the future. To whatever part we turn our eyes of the course which this favoured race has run, whether under the name Teuton, German, Frank, Saxon, Dane, Norman, Englishman or North American, we find it full of interest and glory. Majestic in nature, high in spirit, with fearless hearts on which no shackle has been laid, they came forth from their primeval forest to wrestle with the masters of the world.[80]

Hence, both the Saxons and their Norman conquerors were incorporated into the racial conception of a Teutonic people, and the 'British,' through their newly constituted and 'racially' unified past, were set apart as the chosen rulers of the world, as the leaders of an imperial world power and as the heirs to Rome.

3. Representing Norfolk's Saxon and Norman heritages. Patrons and history; selecting genealogies.

How did such Norman and Saxon debates play out in Norfolk? It has been noted already that the period of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic wars was marked by increasing domestic travel in Britain, and by a growing, wide and popular preoccupation with national and regional geography and scenery, and with the nation's medieval history and architectural heritage. As a predominantly agrarian area, Norfolk could not pride itself on natural scenic beauty; however, the county was deeply imprinted with history, featuring in particular important

antiquarian remains from the Saxon and the Norman eras. The Norfolk coast was where the Saxons had first landed in the fifth century, and the county of Norfolk was also, due to the geographical proximity and the historical interchanges with Normandy, considered as being especially rich in Norman architecture. Thus several popular antiquarian and travel books on Norfolk, published in the period, elaborated on the history of the Saxon and Norman eras of the county, tracing itineraries around famous historical sites and architectural monuments dating to these historical times.

The Norwich book seller and travel book writer Richard Beatniffe, in his popular guide The Norfolk Tour or Travellers Pocket Companion, first published in 1772 and appearing in 1808 in its sixth revised edition, [81] devoted a large part of his introduction to the Saxon history of Norfolk. Beatniffe related how after the departure of the Romans the Saxons, led by their chief Cerdic, had landed in Norfolk in the year 495:

> Foremost ... we have to notice Cerdic, surnamed the warlike Saxon, who ... landed in the county of Norfolk, then constituting part of the province of the Iceni.[82]

In his description of Norwich Castle, believed by the antiquary John Britton to have been built in early Norman times,[83] Beatniffe, however, drew particular attention to the Saxon history of Norfolk and Norwich when he related how, according to tradition, the Castle figured importantly in the reign of the Saxon King Alfred:

> In the Danish wars it [the Castle] often changed masters, and after Alfred the great had overcome that people, he is

> supposed to have erected the first building of brick or stone about the year 872 ...[84]

It is interesting to note that Beatniffe did not mention the Norman invasion of 1066 in his work of 1774; his popular guide thus celebrated Norfolk's Saxon heritage, at a time when radicals such as T. H. B. Oldfield and Obadiah Hulme so prominently fore-grounded Britain's Saxon history.

While the visible remains of Norfolk's earlier medieval history consisted mainly of edifices from the Norman era, the county still prided itself on what was believed to be the existing remains of Saxon buildings. The architectural historian William Wilkins of Norwich published in 1795 a lavishly illustrated scholarly essay on Norwich Castle, situated in the city of Norwich. [85] In this essay Wilkins gave detailed drawings of the Castle (fig. 4), and in his textual description he especially elaborated on its Saxon history. Wilkins noted in his study that the site of Norwich Castle was originally one of the several fortifications built by the Romans in Norfolk as protection against the depredations of the Saxons, and he went on to trace the subsequent history of the landmark.[86] Wilkins told the reader that in the year 642 Norwich Castle was the seat of the seventh Saxon King Anna, and that it also served in the ninth century as a seat of the Saxon King Alfred who fortified it with brick and stone buildings.[87] The Castle continued to be in the possession of a succession of Saxon kings until it was destroyed in 1004 by the Danish King Swane; it was rebuilt by the Danish King Canute who came to power in 1017. [88]

Significantly, however, Wilkins considered the architecture of Norwich Castle to be essentially Saxon, claiming:

> Although the building is of Danish workmanship, it is notwithstanding in the taste of architecture practised by the Saxons long before England became subject of the Danes, and it is the best exterior specimen of this kind of architecture extant.[89]

Wilkins also observed that although some authors considered the style adopted in Britain after the departure of the Romans to be a mere corruption of the architecture of that nation, the style developed in Britain could immediately be distinguished, by an "architectural eye," as being different from the Roman; consequently he held that this mode of building was more generally termed "Saxon":

> ... indeed, it is now better and more generally known by the title of Saxon, from its being practised by the Saxons prior to the Norman Conquest.[90]

Taking part in the general contemporary debates on the origins of the Saxon and Gothic styles, Wilkins noted that

> Authors are not agreed as to the origin of Saxon architecture; and it is equally difficult to trace the origin of the Gothic style, which immediately succeeded it, and continued in use for upwards of four hundred years after.[91]

Wilkins also devoted a lengthy part of his essay to explaining and clarifying the differences and similarities between the Saxon and the Norman styles, providing examples in detailed illustrations of both historical modes (figs. 20, 21).[92] Thus, although Wilkins acknowledged the Saxon heritage, his essay, dealing at length with the Norman heritage as well, also occupied a mediating position, within a cultural domain, at a time when the idea of Saxon democracy and the radical myth of

Saxon oppression came to be associated with the revolutionary events in France.

Beatniffe's guide and Wilkins' history, both written in the latter part of the 18th century, can be seen as fore-grounding and celebrating, although to different extents, Norfolk's Saxon past. In contrast, Norfolk authors of the early 19th century, at a time when English radicalism had become tainted with associations with the French Revolution, tended to emphasise the difference between a primitive Saxon past and a subsequent development of civilisation through the Norman Conquest. These ideas were in particular expressed in the works of the well-known Norfolk authors Frank Sayers and William Taylor, both representing the elite literary and cultural circles of Norwich.[93] Sayers, an admirer of Macpherson's Ossian,[94] published in 1803 a work Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology, seemingly in a spirit of admiration for the Celtic and Saxon past.[95] However, although Sayers emphasised in his preface to the Dramatic Sketches the importance of the study of England's ancestral people, and although his dramatic poems acclaimed the individual heroism of many ancient Saxons and Celts, he also portrayed the Saxons as a barbaric and primitive people, as the adherents of the superstitious beliefs and cruel customs of an unenlightened age.[96] In his epic poem "Harold and Tosti, a Tragedy," published in the Monthly Magazine in 1810, William Taylor, in turn, represented the Saxons of the time of the Norman Conquest as cruel and ignorant, as led by crude instincts and love of power rather than of freedom. Taylor portrayed

Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king of England, as a weak and unprincipled king, governed by his lusts, and the Saxon Harold, who was killed in battle with the Normans in 1066, as a cunning and unscrupulous nobleman seeking to usurp the throne of Edward. In the poem Harold's brother Tosti bewails the lack of freedom in England and attributes this to the corruption of the Saxon King Edward and his nobles:

> All public duty is alike despis'd.
> How shall the land be free, whose very nobles
> Conspire with its vile ruler to oppress,
> Batten on stolen wealth, grow fat on plunder,
> Refuse to make a common cause of justice,
> And to unsheath the sword of tyranny?[97]

Taylor's work hence erased from his description of the Saxons the integrity and devotion to democracy and justice which radical writers such as Hulme and Oldfield had ascribed to them. Taylor's poem, describing a corrupt and violent Saxon administration, repressive of freedom, thus also covertly implied a moral justification for the succeeding Norman Conquest.

The debates on England's architectural heritage, brought to the fore by John Carter's polemics around England's 'national' architecture, were taken up in Norfolk by, among others, the well respected local amateur historian and antiquary, the Yarmouth banker Dawson Turner. Turner's particular interest and publishing speciality lay in the study of Norman architecture, and after a tour in Normandy which he had undertaken in order to research the Norman antiquities of the area, he published in 1820 a work titled <u>An Account of a</u>

Tour in Normandy, Undertaken Chiefly for the Purpose of Investigating the Architectural Antiquities of the Duchy. Turner, pursuing a different course from that of John Carter, was in particular interested in elucidating the similarities as well as the differences between Norman and Saxon modes of building. To this end he encouraged the well-known Norfolk artist John Sell Cotman to produce a collection of etchings illustrating the most notable Norman and Gothic architectural antiquities of Norfolk; Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, for which Turner wrote the descriptive notices, was published in 1818. Following the end of the Napoleonic wars Turner encouraged Cotman to travel to Normandy in the years 1817, 1818 and 1820, to make drawings of early Norman architecture for comparison with buildings of the same character in England.[98] Cotman's travels to Normandy resulted in a large and luxurious volume, The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, which was issued in 1822,[99] again with an introduction and commentary to the images by Turner.

At one level, the preoccupation with the Norman past can be seen as an expression of an interest in social hierarchical ordering. Throughout England's history since the Conquest Norman heritage was closely associated with rank and social standing. In the period of the 18th and early 19th centuries many families in Britain were researching their past history, with the aim of asserting a Norman ancestry and hence links to the upper classes. As one example, the prominent Quaker family, the

Gurneys of Norwich, who had made their fortune in the banking business and in the Norwich textile industry, were also involved in researching their presumed Norman ancestry. Indeed, a member of the family, Daniel Gurney, published a genealogical history in 1848, The Record of the House of Gournay, in which he traced the family tree to Normandy and to the times before the Norman Conquest.[100] Significantly, in his work of 1842 describing Caister Castle near Yarmouth, [101] Turner rendered his friend the banker and Member of Parliament Hudson Gurney, another member of the Gurney family, an explicit compliment. Describing the ancient history of Caister Castle, Turner claimed that the site had originally been granted to Hugh de Gornay who had accompanied William the Conqueror to England; Turner specifically pointed out in this work that the family of Hudson Gurney were descended from this Norman lord, Hugh de Gornay.[102] Turner's interest in the Norman past also expresses an enlightened cosmopolitanism reminiscent of an upper class culture of internationalism and toleration, as opposed to the intense Francophobia and preoccupation with national, 'English' culture and values, associated with the middle classes, and particularly prevalent in the years after the French Revolution.[103]

In a similar manner Cotman complimented the Gurney family in his work on Norfolk antiquities. Cotman dedicated an etching of the Norman entrance of Hales Church in his A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, of 1812-1818, to Hudson Gurney, his important patron

and supporter (fig. 22).[104] Cotman's dedication also drew specific attention to the Norman ancestry of the Gurney family:

> To Hudson Gurney Esq. M. P., this plate of one of the finest arches in existance [sic] built by that nation with which his ancestors came into Norfolk is most respectfully inscribed.

The importance attached to such Norman ancestry is further highlighted by the response to Cotman's 'mistake' of bringing up the Norman ancestry in the context of the commercial activity of the Gurney family.[105] In 1820 Cotman displayed an advertisement for his forthcoming work, The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, which incorporated a list of great Norman families in Norfolk, including that of the family of Gurney, in the window of Gurney's bank in Yarmouth. Hudson Gurney took offence at this, fearing that people would ridicule his, a merchant banker's, pretensions to Norman ancestry and he wrote to his friend Dawson Turner:

> In fact I am most horribly annoyed by Master Cotman having in his advertisement stuck in our Beggarly House of Norwich Shopkeepers as an Example of what the Norman pillagers turned to in the lapse of years--as Being known to be a fellow mooning over things of the sort people will tax me with puffing & blowing about a descent coupled with the calling of my immediate predecessors--becomes [sic] exquisitely ridiculous.[106]

However, while representations of the medieval past were imbricated in concerns around social rank and standing, Turner's involvement with Norman architecture, in the context of contemporary architectural debates, had further political implications. Turner in fact disputed the assertions of antiquaries who claimed to have detected Saxon remains in English buildings. He in particular criticised the Catholic

theologian and antiquary John Milner who in his famous The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and the Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, of 1798,[107] had elevated the ecclesiastical and civic history of the Saxon town and Cathedral of Winchester. In his descriptive notices for Cotman's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, of 1822, Turner wrote that Milner and other antiquaries

> have said much with regard to the Saxon work at Winchester; but ... I confess I have met with no portion that did not appear to me to be truly Norman.[108]

It is of particular interest to note Turner's refined refutation of John Carter's aggressive nationalism and his insistence on an indigent Saxon architecture. Turner took issue with Carter who in his The Ancient Architecture of England, of 1795, had claimed that the interlacing arches at Tichencote Church in Rutlandshire were of Saxon origin. Turner argued:

> ... that able antiquary [Carter] regards the church as a specimen of true Saxon architecture. Whereas it may safely be affirmed, that there is no part of it as figured by him, but may be exactly paralleled from Normandy. The same may also be said of almost every individual instance that he has produced as illustrative of the style in use among our Saxon progenitors ...[109]

Turner's study of medieval buildings in fact led him to conclude that little difference existed between Saxon and Norman architecture. As a result, his publication indirectly refuted not only Carter's insistence on Saxon origins for Gothic architecture, but also the existence of a specific 'Saxon' architecture itself. In his introduction to Cotman's The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, of 1822, in the context

of church entrances in Norfolk illustrated by Cotman, Turner maintained that:

> Common report, aided by the suffrages of the learned, and in some degree by locality, designed them as Saxon; at the same time, when they were compared with what is left in Britain, of workmanship avowedly Norman, the points of dissimilarity appeared trifling, or altogether vanished. Was it then to be inferred that, between Norman and Saxon architecture, there was really no difference; and, carrying the inference one step farther, that the hordes of barbarians denominated by these appellations, although they might not have embarked at the same point, were only cognate tribes of one common origin, if not in reality the same?[110]

Importantly, as this passage makes clear, the comparative examples which led to Turner's conclusion that little or no difference existed between Saxon and Norman architecture, in turn suggested to him that no difference existed between the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman peoples. Turner's argument in 1822 thus clearly emerges as an attempt to reconcile the political implications of the Saxon and Norman controversy, to obliterate national differences and to suggest a 'racial' unity between the Saxons and the Normans.

4. Electoral corruption and the imaging of the Norman Castle. History, normalisation and the naturalising of the past.

The debates on Norman and Saxon traditions and on their implications for architecture and genealogy are registered in the ways in which a wide range of publications discuss Norman castles. At a general level, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries medieval castles were seen in terms of a range of 'meanings.' Thus these castles could be associated with feudal

oppression dating to the era of the Norman Conquest, or with religious terror and superstition as for instance in the Gothic novels of Ann Radcliffe. They were also frequently associated with an aesthetic of medieval chivalry. Hence Joshua Reynolds of the Royal Academy wrote in his Discourses on Art of 1786:

> ... Architecture certainly possesses many principles in common with poetry and painting. Among those which may be reckoned as the first, is, that of affecting the imagination by means of association of ideas. Thus, for instance, as we have naturally a veneration for antiquity, whatever building brings to our remembrance ancient costume and manners, such as the Castles of the Barons of ancient Chivalry, is sure to give this delight.[111]

However, Norman castles, as historical centres of power, could also be implicated in contemporary power struggles. In the specific contemporary contexts and in view of the controversies attendant on the Norman and Saxon heritages, representations of medieval castles dating to the time of the Norman Conquest could be seen as sites where local conflicts, charged with political significance, were being evoked and played out. In this period, what was at stake was who could claim the right to represent the nation--that is, radical factions who looked back to a perceived Saxon democracy, or conservative and liberal factions who leaned toward traditional order as historically established by the Normans and upheld by their descendants, the present social and political elite.

As most of the visible medieval heritage of Norfolk dated to the Norman era, the edifices and ruins depicted in travel literature were involved primarily in representing the Norman history of the county. Since the Norman Conquest and through the

Middle Ages, this history had been a history of continuing turbulence and repression, the aristocratic descendants of the Normans using their military power to establish themselves as the ruling class. Even the restrained Dawson Turner made understated allusions to the contestations of the past and the oppression of the Saxons by the Normans. He related in his Sketch of the History of Caister Castle, of 1842, that William the Conqueror created a lordship at Caister for his follower Ralph de Vacajet, thereby depriving eighty freemen of their land.[112] Turner also drew attention to the lawlessness of the Norman era when he described the illegal military assault on Caister Castle by the Duke of Norfolk in the 15th century:

> It is possible that in those lawless times ... aggressions of this nature were looked upon as everyday occurrences, and little heeded; however, in these happier days, the very hairs of the head would stand erect, at the bare mention of an armed force seizing a man's house and lands, and turning the owner adrift.[113]

The sense of tension between the Saxon and Norman heritages can in particular be traced in contemporary images of Norfolk's medieval castles. Castle Rising Castle, near the town of King's Lynn in the eastern part of Norfolk, was one of the most important medieval castle ruins remaining in the county, and it was frequently imaged in both nation-wide and local travel and antiquarian publications. The prominent publisher John Britton, in his The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826, showed two images of Castle Rising Castle, drawn by Frederick Mackenzie and engraved, respectively by R. Sands and J. Smith (figs. 12, 23). Britton also showed an image of the

Castle, engraved after a drawing by John Preston Neale, in his The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816 (fig. 13), a work in eighteen volumes which was more generally oriented than the scholarly The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. Thomas Cromwell's popular small guidebook Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, included an engraving of the Castle after a drawing by Cotman (fig. 14).[114] The history of Castle Rising Castle was well known, as it had been recorded by, among others, the famous Norfolk historian Francis Blomefield in his Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, originally published in 1745 and republished in 1805-1810. Beatniffe noted in his The Norfolk Tour that King William II had granted the town and lordship to his follower William de Albini, and that Castle Rising Castle was built in the latter part of the 12th century by de Albini and probably by his son, the Earl of Arundel and Sussex.[115] King Henry VIII gave the Castle to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk,[116] a descendant of William de Albini.[117] The Castle remained in the possession of the Howard family, and belonged in the early 19th century to Richard Howard.[118]

In the early 19th century the Borough of Castle Rising was a notorious and well publicised example of the unreformed electoral system. The tenements of Castle Rising had over the years been bought up in part by the Howard family and in part by another aristocratic family, the Cholmondeleys of Houghton.[119] Oldfield, in his Representative History of Great Britain, of 1816, gave a detailed account of the corrupt electoral

conditions in the borough of Castle Rising. He informed the reader that the owner of Castle Rising Castle, Richard Howard, had for nearly fifty years held the very lucrative situation of collector of the land tax for the city of London and the county of Middlesex. And he noted that the members of the corporation, half of them named by Mr. Howard and the other half by the Earl Cholmondeley, were mostly non-residents, and that they implicitly obeyed the nomination of their patrons in their return of two members to Parliament.[120] Richard Howard was also the owner of a large estate at Castle Rising. He did not, however, reside on the estate. The estate was run by a steward who sent Howard regular updates on the income from rents, and on such issues as enclosure proceedings and poaching on the property. [121] Howard thus typified, not only the corrupt electoral system, but also what William Cobbett saw as one of the main reasons for the decline of the countryside, absentee landlords. Cobbett, in his Rural Rides, written between 1822 and 1826, contrasted the native resident gentry, whom he described as "a resident native gentry, attached to the soil, known to every farmer and labourer ... frequently mixing with them in those pursuits where all artificial distinctions are lost, practising hospitality without ceremony, from habit and not on calculation," with absent landowners whom he described as "a gentry, only now-and-then residing at all, having no relish for country-delights, foreign in their manners, distant and haughty in their behaviour, looking to the soil only for its rents, viewing it as a mere object of speculation, un-acquainted with

its cultivators, despising them and their pursuits, and relying, for influence ... upon the dread of their power...." [122]

The electoral system of Castle Rising was well known locally; the travel book writer Beatniffe, in his The Norfolk Tour, of 1808, gave a detailed account of the corrupt situation of the borough.[123] John Britton, in his text accompanying Neale's illustration of Castle Rising Castle in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, drew almost verbatim from Beatniffe's account in his description of the local politics of the borough of Castle Rising:

> At present the corporation consists of only two aldermen, who alternately nominally serve the office of mayor; and he is the returning officer of two members to the British senate. Though at an election five or six names appear on the poll-book; yet it is questionable, whether, except the rector of the parish, there be a single legal voter.[124]

In his description of Castle Rising Castle in his more specialised architectural work, the The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826, Britton did not directly mention the political issues surrounding the Castle. Rather, he pointed out that although some writers had believed it to have been one of king Alfred's castles, this view of the history of the Castle was "visionary." [125] However, after delineating the history and the architecture of the building, Britton also expressed a slight critique, although veiled behind a sense of memento mori, of the power of monarchs, princes and nobles:

> Such are the principal features of this very interesting keep-tower, which has been occupied at different periods by monarchs, princes, and nobles: which must also have been at

> those periods a place of justs, revelry, and rude grandeur: but now its walls are gradually falling to the ground, and only occupied by the daw, hawk, owl, and by reptiles and vermin. Thus proud man, and his ostentatious works, are alike subject to revolutions: are both liable to exaltation and decay, and are at one moment in the zenith of health or perfection, but in another reduced to decrepitude, or crumbling to dust.[126]

While Britton's text in The Beauties of England and Wales brought critical attention to the contested constitutional and political issues involving the borough of Castle Rising, the lavish and seductive visual images in his works, giving different views and details of the Castle, negotiated these debates differently. By singling out the Norman Castle and hence drawing attention to the Norman heritage, and, by implication, to the political and social organisation founded by the Normans, these images could in fact be seen as celebrating the Norman past. Significantly, the pictorial vocabulary employed in these images also served to mediate the sense of oppression associated with the Norman Conquest and the subsequent rule by the descendants of the Norman upper classes. Mackenzie, in one of his images of Castle Rising Castle in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, represented a part of the Castle which was particularly ruined and decayed (fig. 12). However, he showed the Castle ruin in seductive terms as overgrown with a mass of verdant and luxuriant foliage, and as lit by rays of sunshine. By the choice of a view of the most decayed parts of the Castle, and by the visual conjuring up of the texture of slowly crumbling stone, Mackenzie's picturesque representation of the ruin, conveys, at one level, a reassuring

sense of the gradual waning and crumbling away of Norman power and supremacy. However, in this print the remains of the old Castle are also shown as a massive frame for the distant vista of the countryside beyond; the image still frames, in symbolic terms, the whole country within the traditional security of the ancient walls of the Norman past. In Mackenzie's second image of the Castle in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 23), while the imposing form of the Castle is placed in the centre of the picture, the sense of Norman power is mitigated by the clearly visible and advanced decay and ruination of the edifice. Mackenzie's detailed attention to the small mounds of earth and vegetation surrounding the base of the Castle seems to intimate the growth of the Castle out of the soil itself; furthermore, this image also shows tiny human figures emerging from an area shaded by the Castle, thus potentially evoking a link which tied Britain's present population to the Norman past.

John Preston Neale's image of Castle Rising Castle in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816 (fig. 13), also does not convey a sense of the oppressive connotations ascribed to Norman rule by radical historians, but rather serves to mediate, through the pictorial language and composition, the sense of Norman upper-class power. By including the horse and rider and two seemingly local inhabitants in the foreground, and by emphasising them through the prominent scale, Neale's representation effectively downplays the power of the ruined Castle; the Castle is imaged instead as a destination for

travellers and tourists. In this depiction the traveller on horseback commands an overview of the Castle, surveying it from a privileged viewpoint; thus, the image conveys a sense of empowerment and control, not only over the topographical space of the country but over the historical past as well. Cotman's small illustration of the Castle, engraved by W. Wallis in Cromwell's popular tourist guide Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, shows the Castle set in a coastal landscape (fig. 14). Depicted in the far distance, the Castle is silhouetted against white clouds and the open coast of the ocean. A flock of birds sweeps over the building which forms the background for a herd of grazing sheep. In this image, the Castle seems to constitute only a small and incidental part of the landscape; indeed it is slightly tilting to one side, suggesting a sense of instability rather than of permanence. This depiction typifies the 18th century picturesque overview representation of the landscape, or 'prospect' as it was termed in the period. The vista empowers the viewer and lends a sense of visual appropriation and ownership of the prospect; the expansive views around the building evince a feeling of openness and space and, by implication, of liberty.

While Castle Rising as a 'rotten borough' was at the centre of local political debates, the images of Castle Rising Castle, showing the edifice as if almost growing out of the countryside itself and as naturalised in the landscape over the centuries, would also have helped to naturalise the Norman past as Britain's historical heritage. In these images the

constitutional debates and quarrels centred on the Saxon and Norman heritages are assuaged and reconciled, and hidden behind a seductive sense of past history and present reality as merging into a natural continuity. Cultural production, in the form of representations of the medieval Castle, thus enters into and intervenes in a political arena deeply fraught with 'racial' and constitutional conflicts. These images of Norfolk's history, fusing the Saxon and the Norman past, also served to erase connotations with contemporary Saxon radical ideology, and constituted a blurring of the constitutional and political conflicts evoked by the Saxon and the Norman mythical heritages; however, at the same time, they ultimately served contemporary conservative ideological thought and the desire to preserve a social and political status quo in Britain.

This naturalising of the Norman past, in the representations of Castle Rising Castle, as an integral part of England's national history had important implications relating to the process whereby Gothic architecture was 'nationalised.' As long as Gothic architecture was shown, as it had been by Whittington and others, to have originated in France and thereby associated exclusively with the Normans, the Gothic could not un-problematically be appropriated as Britain's 'national' style. However, when Saxon architecture was integrated with Norman architecture and the Norman could be naturalised as an authentic part of England's heritage, Gothic could also be viewed as truly and authentically English. In the shifting process involving the rewriting of Britain's 'racial' heritages,

the Gothic style could thus bring together the conflicting strands of the nation's history, uniting the idea of Teutonic and Saxon liberty with Norman civilisation. In turn, the idea of the Gothic style, as produced by a Saxon and Norman civilisation, could be set against Renaissance classicism and 'neo-classical' architecture, traditionally linked with the status of Rome, thus also allowing the Gothic to be used to support Britain's claims to world leadership.

The racial implications of the elevation of Gothic architecture as a 'national style' were clearly expressed by the famous medievalist John Ruskin who saw Gothic architecture in terms of the character of the Northern peoples, or the Goths, among whom he included the English, the French, the Danes and the Germans.[127] In The Stones of Venice, of 1851-1853, Ruskin set out to trace "this grey, shadowy, many-pinnacled image of the Gothic spirit within us; and discerning what fellowship there is between it and our Northern hearts."[128] Ruskin implicitly linked climate, geography, culture and character in his comparison of the Northern and Southern peoples and their respective architectures:

> Strength of will, independence of character, resoluteness of purpose, impatience of undue control, and that general tendency to set the individual reason against authority, and the individual deed against destiny, which, in the Northern tribes, has opposed itself throughout all ages to the languid submission, in the Southern, of thought to tradition, and purpose to fatality, are all more or less traceable in the rigid lines, vigorous and various masses, and daringly projecting and independent structure of the Northern Gothic ornament: while the opposite feelings are in like manner legible in the graceful and softly guided waves and wreathed bands, in which Southern decoration is constantly disposed; in its tendency to lose its

> independence, and fuse itself into the surface of the masses upon which it is traced; and in the expression seen so often, in the arrangement of those masses themselves, of an abandonment of their strength to an inevitable necessity, or a listless repose.[129]

Indeed, the Gothic Revival and the appropriation of Gothic architecture as a symbolic form for a national British identity can be understood as having had important underpinnings in the naturalising of England's Norman history and its fusion with the Saxon past, subtly effected in the representations of the ruined Norman Castle. Representations of medieval antiquities in the early 19th century can be seen as instrumental in having laid the groundwork for the redefining of Britain as a nation founded not only on the love of liberty of the Saxons and Goths, but also on the love of learning of the Normans. However, Gothic architecture also supplied the cultural form embodying Northern "individual reason" and "independence of character," as opposed to the "languid submission" of Southern peoples, seen as embodied in classical architecture; hence the Gothic symbol can be seen as the sign of a most understated, yet sinister racial differentiation, based on alleged human psychological and mental characteristics.

NOTES

[1] Robert Young, Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 3.

[2] John Aylmer, An Harborewe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects ... (1558); quoted in Leon Poliakov The Aryan Myth. A History of Racist and

Nationalist Ideas in Europe (London: Chatto, Heinemann, for Sussex University Press, 1974), p. 46.

[3] For a discussion on the role of the myth of the Saxon Golden Age and the Norman Yoke in the disputes between Parliament and the Crown in the 17th century, see Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution; Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), Chapter 3.

[4] Gerald Newman, The Rise of English Nationalism, pp. 183-191, discusses the appropriation of the Saxon and Norman myth by radicals in the late 18th century.

[5] Hulme, An Historical Essay on the English Constitution (Dublin, 1771), p. 2.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] Ibid., p. 32.

[8] Hulme wrote in An Historical Essay, p. 34: "... from this time we hear no more of the Saxon ealdormen and thanes, which were titles of office, and not titles of honour. But, from this period, there appeared a new order of men, with new authority derived from the king; which were entitled counts, viscounts, barons, vavafours, esquires, and other; names taken from the Norman and French tongue."

[9] Ibid., p. 36.

[10] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[11] Thomas Paine, Common Sense (1776), in Common Sense and other Political Writings, ed. Nelson F. Adkins (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), p. 15. See also Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1958), p. 99. Hill's emphasis in this passage, however, is on the title of the Kings of England, rather than on the issue of race, which is my concern here.

[12] John Evelyn, A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture and the Modern, (London, 1707), pp. 9-15; quoted in Frew, "Gothic is English," p. 316.

[13] For a discussion on early antiquarianism in Britain, see Stuart Piggott, Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989), especially Chapter 1.

[14] Batty Langley, Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions in Many Grand Designs (London, 1742).For a discussion of Langley's work, see Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival, an Essay in the History of Taste, pp. 51-53. It is noteworthy that in the mid-18th century

the 'rules' for Gothic architecture were still loose and comparatively undefined. It was not until the early 19th century that Gothic as an architectural style came to be more rigorously defined, most notably in the architect and writer Thomas Rickman's An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation (1812-1817; Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1862).

[15] Although Horace Walpole thought Gothic architecture "beautiful," he still thought of the classical style as the "original standard," and he wrote in his Anecdotes of Painting (London, 1762), vol. I, p. 116, note 1: "When men enquire, 'Who invented Gothic buildings?' they might as well ask 'Who invented bad Latin?' The former was a corruption of Roman architecture, as the latter was of the Roman language. Both were debased in barbarous ages; both were refined, as the age polished itself; but neither were restored to the original standard. Beautiful Gothic architecture was engrafted on Saxon deformity; and pure Italian succeeded to vitiated Latin." The different interpretations of 'Gothic' and the different ways the medieval era was taken up in the later 18th and early 19th centuries was also illustrated in literature of the period. Thus Richard Hurd's famous Letters on Chivalry and Romance (London, 1762), celebrated England's medieval literary and folk heritage, while the period was also marked by the appearance of the popular Gothic novels, such as Ann Radcliffe's The Italian or the Confessional of the Black Penitents (1796; London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), and her The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). In these novels 'gothic' was in particular associated with the arbitrary and haughty Catholic and aristocratic supremacy during the feudal era, with the Inquisition and with monkish superstitions, and with ignorance and unbridled passions. At a general level 'gothic' was associated with primitive customs; thus Thomas Browne's The Union Dictionary: containing all that is truly useful in the Dictionaries of Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker ... (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1822), defined 'Gothicism' as 'roughness, rudeness, barbarity,' and 'Goths' as 'any nation deficient in general knowledge.'

[16] John Carter, Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting, now Remaining in this Kingdom, from the Earliest Period to the Reign of Henry VIII, 2 vols. (London: John Carter, 1780-1794).

[17] John Carter, The Ancient Architecture of England, 2 vols. (London, 1795-1814).

[18] Architectural historians James Mordaunt Crook, in John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival, and J. M. Frew, "Gothic is English: John Carter and the revival of the Gothic as England's National Style," have provided penetrating analyses on John Carter's work on Britain's medieval and Gothic architecture in terms of British nationalism and in terms of the political implications of Carter's revival of Gothic in the years of the Franch Revolution. I am indebted to these writers for my discussion of Carter's ideas.

[19] Carter, The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXVIII (1798): p. 1027.

[20] Ibid., vol. LXIX (1799): p. 92.

[21] Ibid., p. 749.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., vol. LXXI (1801): p. 310.

[24] Ibid., vol. LXIX (1799): p. 190.

[25] Carter, Plans, Elevations, Sections and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments of Durham Cathedral (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1801), note p. 3.

[26] Carter wrote in Plans, Elevations, Sections ... of Durham Cathedral, note p. 3, that "The architecture used by the Saxons, is very properly called Saxon. The improvements introduced after the Norman Conquest, justify the application of Norman, to the edifices of that period."

[27] Carter, Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXXX:1 (1810): p. 406. Carter's interest lay in the elevation of England's Saxon heritage and in establishing Gothic as a national style; thus, although he acknowledged that Saxon architecture had originated in Roman modes, he chose to ignore the long Roman occupation of Britain and the traditional historical links between Britain and Rome.

[28] In his Plans, Elevations, Sections ... of Durham Cathedral, note p. 3, Carter, proposing that the term 'English' should be substituted for the term 'Gothic,' wrote that "It is much to be wished that the word Gothic should no longer be used in speaking of the Architecture of England, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The term tends to give false ideas on the subject, and originates with the Italian writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who applied the expression 'la Maniera Gothica,' in contempt to all the works of art of the middle Ages ... The nation assumed a new character at about the time of Henry II. The language, properly called English, was then formed; and an architecture founded on the Norman and the Saxon, but extremely different from both, was invented by English artists. It surely is equally just and proper to distinguish this style by the honourable appellation of English."

[29] George Millers, A Guide to the Cathedral of Ely (London, 1805). The Church at Ely dated to pre-Norman times.

[30] Millers, A Guide to the Cathedral of Ely; quoted by John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. V (1826), p. 37.

[31] J. M. Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival, p. 42. Crook notes that in order to suppress the 'Norman' heritage, Carter for example antedated the building of St. Albans, forcing it back into the Saxon era. Further, as Crook also notes, although Carter was well aware

that Durham had been built by the Normans, he claimed that its style was Saxon, because the use of the round arch preceded the Norman Conquest.

[32] John Britton, in his Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. V (1826), Chapter 1, discussed in detail the different theories of the origins of Gothic architecture.

[33] George Whittington, An Historical Survey of the Architectural Antiquities of France (London: J. Taylor, 1811), p. viii.

[34] Clare Simmons, in her Reversing the Conquest. History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), discusses the 19th century shift in emphasis in the historiography of the Saxons and the Normans.

[35] See for instance Hugh A. MacDougall, Racial Myth in English History. Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons (Montreal: Harvest House, 1982), pp. 92-4.

[36] Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons was an enormously popular work which went through six editions in the early years of the 19th century. See Simmons, Reversing the Conquest, p. 56.

[37] Turner claimed in The History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV, p. 261: "It is certain that in the earliest periods of the Anglo-Saxon history we find the Cyning or King, and all the four orders of noble, free, freed, servile. Their conversion to Christianity introduced another class, of monks and clergy."

[38] Turner wrote in The History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV, p. 295: "The Saxons made many distinctions in homicides. The life of every man was protected, not by the penalty of his murderer's death, but by the pecuniary exactions which were to follow the homicide. All ranks of men were not, however, esteemed of equal value in the eye of the Saxon law, nor their lives equally worth protecting ... Our present legislation considers the life of one man as sacred as that of another, and will not admit the degree of the crime of murder to depend on the rank or property of the deceased. Hence a peasant is now as secure from wilful punishment as a nobleman. It was otherwise with the Saxons. Every man was valued at a certain sum which was called his were, and whoever took his life was punished by having to pay this were."

[39] Turner argued in The History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. IV, p. 277: "... we cannot distinctly ascertain all the qualifications which entitled persons to a seat in the witenagemot. There is, however, one curious passage which ascertains that a certain amount of property was an indispensable requisite, and that acquired property would answer this purpose as well as hereditary property, the possession ... necessary was forty hides of land."

[40] Turner, The History of England from the Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 105.

[41] Ibid., vol. IV, p. 2.

[42] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 56-57.

[43] Ibid., p. vi.

[44] Turner wrote in The History of England from the Norman Conquest, vol. I, p. 54: "... that emulous love of glory, which authors of the middle ages declare to have been the most active principle of the Norman mind; their beginning love of literature; that spirit of enterprise, which led them to Italy and Greece; and that fervent piety, which produced a general decorum and lasting steadiness of moral character; we see a people formed for lofty achievements and national celebrity."

[45] Turner, The History of England from the Norman Conquest, vol. I, pp. 56-57.

[46] Michel Foucault, College de France lecture, 1975, in Difendere la Societa, (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990), p. 54; quoted in Ann Laura Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire. Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 67.

[47] Michel Foucault, College de France lecture, 1975, in Difendere la Societa, (1990), p. 55; quoted in Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire, p. 67.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire, p. 9.

[50] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, On the Natural Variety of Mankind, in The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenback, trans. T. Bendyshe (London, 1865).

[51] Robert Young, in his Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race, Chapter 3, "The complicity of culture," discusses 18th and 19th century theories of genetics, and the shift from an emphasis on a monogenetic origin of humankind to an emphasis on polygenetic origins. Young further notes the growing preoccupation among ethnographers and ethnologists not only with an essentialising of physiological and anatomical differences, but also with the fore-grounding of psychological and mental differences and cultural developments as the basis for 'racial' differences In contrast, it is interesting to note that already in the 18th century David Hume, in his Essays Moral, Political and Literary (1741-1742; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), Essay XXI, "On National Character," had emphatically denied that climate and geographical location could influence 'national character.' Hume instead stressed the importance of

cultural, or what he termed 'moral' and 'accidental' causes, among which he included systems of government, and human ideas and ideals.

[52] This work was largely based on Oldfield's earlier work, History of the Original Constitution of Parliament from the Time of the Britons to the Present, of 1797.

[53] T. H. B. Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland: Being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, of the United Kingdom, from the Earliest Period, 6 vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816), vol. I, pp. 103-105. Oldfield borrowed in this passage from David Hume's History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (1754-1762; London, Jones & Company, 1828), p. 58.

[54] A. Thierry, History of the Conquest of England by the Normans ..., 3 vols. (London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1825), introduction. The 1825 translation to English was introduced on the title-page by a quote from Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle: "... The folk of Normandie/Among us woneth yet, and shalleth ever moe:/Of Normans beth these hygh men that beth in this land,/ And the low men of Saxons."

[55] Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain, vol. I, p. xiii.

[56] Hulme, An Historical Essay, pp. 89-90.

[57] Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain, vol. II, p. 490.

[58] Ibid., pp. 493-496.

[59] Samuel Kliger, The Goths in England. A Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought (Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 1.

[60] Kliger, The Goths in England, p. 1. However, as Kliger shows, the claim that the English were descended from the Goths was historically inaccurate. The Goths were but one of the Northern tribes which had overrun Europe, and it was not this particular tribe which had landed in Britain; nonetheless, many English scholars equated 'Gothic' with all the Germanic tribes which had spread over Europe, and according to this understanding Jutes and Saxons, the tribes that had actually migrated to England, were also termed 'Goths' (Kliger, The Goths in England, pp. 10-19).

[61] 'Saxonism' and 'Gothicism' are fluid categories, historically often employed in overlapping manners. The constitutional scholar R. J. Smith, in his "Cobbett, Catholic history and the Middle Ages," in Medievalism in England, ed. Leslie J. Workman, p. 131, separates the two concepts, arguing that Saxonism itself was only one part of the wider Gothic argument.

[62] Kliger, in The Goths in England, pp. 33-34, 41, 47, 57-66, 102-106, discusses the historical theory of the Translatio and the English appropriation of a Germanic past.

[63] John Hare's history, "St. Edward's Ghost" (1647), in Harleian Miscellany: a collection of scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts ... from the library of Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford (1744-1746; London, 1810), VI, pp. 92, 95, of the 12 vol. ed. (London, 1808-11); quoted in Kliger, The Goths in England, p. 78.

[64] The terms 'Teutonic,' 'Saxon' and 'Gothic' were often used interchangeably. William Julius Mickle, in his 1781 play "Almahida Hill," in The Poetical Works of W. J. Mickle, ed. T. Park (London, 1808), p. 80, describing the defeat of Rome, pictured the victorious northerners as emanating from 'Saxony's wild forests.' In contrast, Sharon Turner, taking up in his 1819 poem Prolusions (London, 1819), p. 151, the theme of the conquest of Rome and its decaying empire, termed the Germanic conquerors of Rome as serving the 'Gothic Crown.' See also Kliger, The Goths in England, pp. 31, 103. Kliger's point is not, however, to make a distinction between the terms 'Gothic' and 'Saxon,' but instead to emphasise the power of the Germanic conquerors of Rome.

[65] For the following discussion on Anglo-Saxonism in England in the 19th century I am indebted to Reginald Horsman, "Origins of racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850," Journal of the History of Ideas (1976): 387-410. However, while Horsman's emphasis is on Anglo-Saxonism as a foundation for British nationalism and imperialism, my argument is more particularly concerned with the reconciliation between Britain's Norman and Saxon heritages.

[66] John M. Kemble, The Saxons in England. A History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest (London: Brown, Green and Longman, 1849).

[67] Edinburgh Review, vol. CLXXIX (Jan. 1849): p. 157.

[68] Arthur Penryhn Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D, 2 vols. (1844; London, 1881), vol. II, p. 324.

[69] Thomas Arnold, Introductory Lectures on Modern History ... Inaugural Lecture delivered in December MDCCCXLI (London: B. Fellowes, 1845), p. 27.

[70] Ibid., p. 26.

[71] Ibid., p. 28.

[72] Walter C. Perry, The Franks, from Their First Appearance in History to the Death of King Pepin (London: Longman, 1857), pp. 4-5.

[73] David Hume, The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (1762; London: Jones & Company, 1828), pp. 57-58, 56.

[74] Ibid., p. 56.

[75] Walter Scott, Ivanhoe (1819; New York: Dodd, 1941), p. 496.

[76] Sharon Turner wrote in The History of England from the Norman Conquest ..., vol. I, p. 39, that: "France, on the decline of the Carlovingian family, exhibited four great divisions, of language, race, manners; its Northern province full of the German race; the midland country, where a mixed Latin language and people prevailed, and the Southern states which were distinguished for the Provencal and Troubadour language, while the Northmen established a Scandinavian race in Normandy."

[77] The idea that the Normans and the English were one race was not new. Already in 1605 the historian Richard Verstegen, in his Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, a work which ran to five editions between 1605 and 1670, asserted on the authority of Tacitus that the English were not a mixed race: "And whereas some do call us a mixed nation by reason of these Danes and Normannes coming in among us, I answer ... that the Danes and the Normannes were one and the same people with the Germans, as were also the Saxons: and wee not to bee accompted mixed by having only some such ioyned, unto us again, as sometime had one same language and one same originall with us"; quoted in Leon Poliakov, The Aryan Myth. A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe, p. 47.

[78] Arnold, Introductory Lectures on Modern History, p. 26.

[79] Thomas Carlyle, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, 5 vols. (1839; London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), vol. IV, "Chartism," p. 175.

[80] Perry, The Franks, from Their First Appearance in History to the Death of King Pepin, p. 1. See also Kliger, The Goths in England, p. 102.
[81] Richard Beatniffe, The Norfolk Tour; or, Traveller's Pocket-Companion: Being a Concise Description of all the Principal Towns, Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, and other Remarkable Places, in the County of Norfolk ... (Norwich: Beatniffe, 1808). Beatniffe's preface, emphasising the need for a compact county guide to serve the gentleman traveller, stated that "The histories of Norfolk and its principal towns are comprised in so many folios, quartos, and books of all sizes as collectively are too voluminous and expensive, and several of them too scarce to be easily procured. These, amongst other reasons have induced me to compress into as small and compact as possible, to be useful to a gentleman traveller an epitome of what seemed worthy of particular notice in the county, compiled from the labour of Camden, Spelman, Blomefield, Parkin, Swinden...." Beatniffe's The Norfolk Tour did not originally contain illustrations; the copies of the 1795 edition at British Library and at the Local Studies Library in Norwich have no images. The copy of the 1808 edition at British Library also has no illustrations; however, the copy of the 1808 edition at the Local Studies

Library in Norwich contains some of the images engraved by various engravers from drawings by John Sell Cotman and other artists for Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818. These images were, however, executed after 1808 (Cotman, for instance was not commissioned to execute the drawings for Cromwell's publication until 1817. See Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, pp. 283-284), and must therefore have been included in the 1808 edition of The Norfolk Tour at a later date, possibly by an individual patron.

[82] Beatniffe, The Norfolk Tour (1808), p. 2.

[83] Britton wrote in his Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV, (1814), p. 164, that the keep-tower of the present castle was most likely erected in 1077 by Roger Bigod, appointed Earl of Norfolk by William the Conqueror.

[84] Beatniffe, The Norfolk Tour, p. 81.

[85] William Wilkins "An Essay towards a History of the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, and of Norwich Castle; with Remarks on the Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans," pp. 139-146.

[86] Ibid., pp. 134-135.

[87] Ibid., pp. 139-142.

[88] Ibid., pp. 143, 195.

[89] Ibid., pp. 145-146.

[90] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[91] Ibid., p. 157.

[92] Ibid., pp. 165-180.

[93] Taylor and Sayers had both supported the French Revolution in its early years, but had become disillusioned at its later violent course, and had turned against it. See David Chandler, "Two Norwich Writers of the early Revolutionary Period (1789-1791)" (Unpublished M. Phil. thesis. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 1993), pp. 12-57.

[94] See David Chandler, "Two Norwich writers...," p. 12.

[95] Frank Sayers' Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology (Norwich: Stevenson and Matchett, 1803) was well received and went through four editions in the early 19th century. See David Chandler, "Two Norwich writers ...," p. 25.

[96] For instance, in the poem "Moina," in the Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology, pp. 70-88, Sayers described the ancient Saxon custom of

burials of war-heroes, which demanded that the wife be buried alive with the deceased warrior.

[97] William Taylor, "Harold and Tosti, a Tragedy," The Monthly Magazine (1810): p. 319.

[98] Cotman's letters from Normandy show that his primary interest lay in depicting Romanesque buildings. See "John Sell Cotman's Letters from Normandy 1817-1820," ed. Isherwood Kay, The Walpole Society, vol. XIV (1925-1926): p. 102.

[99] John Sell Cotman, The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1822).

[100] The historian Walter Rye in his Norfolk Families (Norwich: Goose and Son, 1913), p. 279, doubted that the Norwich Gurneys could lay claim to a Norman ancestry; according to him the claims of the Gurney family were allegations not founded in historical facts.

[101] Dawson Turner, Sketch of the History of Caister Castle near Yarmouth (London: Whittaker & Co., 1842).

[102] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[103] Gerald Newman, "Anti-French propaganda and British liberal nationalism in the early nineteenth century," Victorian Studies, vol. 18 (1975), pp. 385-418, sees Francophobia and British nationalism as instrumental in the creation of an emerging middle-class identity against the Francophilism and cosmopolitanism of the upper classes, in the period of the Napoleonic wars. However, Newman's account does not deal with the groups of upper middle class individuals who aspired to higher social rank through an identification with aristocratic practices and values. In his publication on Caister Castle in Norfolk, Sketch of the History of Caister Castle, near Yarmouth (1842), p. 5, Dawson Turner also seemed to be subtly suggesting that the elevation of the upper middle classes, or the social group to which he belonged, was a process occurring naturally as a part of historical progress: "The architectural character of the castle is influenced by the time of its erection. It was built at that transition period, when the heavy and strongly fortified dwellings of our nobles, constructed mainly as places of security, began to be superseded by habitations of a less military character; when the class of society, one step below barons, was gradually rising into importance, when comfort and amenity had gained in a degree upon sternness and force..."

[104] Gurney in particular provided financial support for Cotman's work on The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy. See Hemingway, "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy,'" pp. 165, 167, 172, 178.

[105] See Hemingway, "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy,'" p. 170.

[106] Letter from Hudson Gurney to Dawson Turner, 20th April, 1820; quoted in Hemingway, "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy,'" p. 170.

[107] John Milner, The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and the Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, 2. vols. (1798; Winchester: James Robbins, 1809).

[108] Dawson Turner, in Cotman's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1822), p. 4.

[109] Ibid., p. 7.

[110] Ibid., p. iii.

[111] Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), Discourse XIII, pp. 241-242.

[112] Dawson Turner, Sketch of the History of Caister Castle, p. 22.

[113] Ibid., pp. 103, 114.

[114] While Cotman drew and etched the images for his Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk himself, he was commissioned, together with several other artists, by Thomas Cromwell to make drawings for Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk. These drawings were then significantly reduced in scale and engraved by different engravers for Cromwell's publication.

[115] Beatniffe, The Norfolk Tour (Originally published in 1772), p. 269.

[116] Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), p. 164.

[117] Lawrence Harry, Castle Rising. A Short History and Description of the Castle (King's Lynn: West Norfolk and King's Lynn Newspaper Co., 1932), p. 16.

[118] Ibid., p. 112.

[119] Beloe, Edward M., Castle Rising, Norfolk; the Barony; the Borough; the Franchise ... (Norwich: A. H. Goose, 1894), p. 26.

[120] Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain, vol. IV, p. 271.

[121] Correspondence between Howard and the steward concerning the administration of the estate is in Norfolk Record Office. Howard Castle Rising Collection. How 750.

[122] Cobbett, Rural Rides (1830; Oxford: Cole G. D. H. and M., 1930), p. 313; quoted in Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (1973; London: The Hogarth Press, 1993), p. 110.

[123] Beatniffe wrote in The Norfolk Tour (1772; 1808), p. 268: "At present the corporation consists of two aldermen only, who alternatively serve the office of mayor, and return two members to parliament, the mayor being the returning officer. The burgage tenures are the property of the Earls of Suffolk and Orford; and though five or six names generally appear upon the poll at an election for member of Parliament, it is very doubtful whether there is a single legal voter belonging to the burgh except the rector." By 1816, when Oldfield wrote his account, the ownership of the borough had descended to the Earl Cholmondeley and Richard Howard.

[124] Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, vol. XI (1810), p. 303.

[125] Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), p. 162. Britton's reference was to the historian Edward King, who in his Observations on Ancient Castles (1782), had claimed a Saxon origin for Castle Rising Castle.

[126] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), p. 161.

[127] John Ruskin, "The Nature of Gothic" (1851-1853), in The Nature of Gothic. A Chapter from the Stones of Venice, with a preface by William Morris (London: George Allen, 1899), p. 53.

[128] Ibid., p. 3.

[129] Ibid., p. 54.

II. Knights, friars and freemen; imaging the town.

1. 'Classical' Norwich. Urban and rural Distress; the East Anglia Rebellion of 1816. Anglicans and Dissenters.

While debates over the medieval period had national implications, the medieval past was also manipulated in contested discourses at the local level of the city of Norwich, that in turn intersected with shifting political, religious and economic interests. The medieval landmarks within the city, in particular Norwich Castle, Norwich Cathedral, and what remained of the old town-gates and walls, constituted important political, religious and civic symbols. While the town-gates were demolished in the early 1790s, and the walls were in a state of advanced decay, Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral were not only considered important historical sites, but also formed a part of the contemporary life of the city. The Cathedral was still used as a place of worship, and Norwich Castle housed the assize courts and served as the County Prison. The Castle was also the customary place for the hanging of criminals. Constituting sites where different social, religious and political tensions were articulated, representations in travel and antiquarian publications of views of Norwich, its Castle and its Cathedral played particularly important roles in imaging the city in this period of economic and industrial change and blurring of clear boundaries between town and country.

As a regional capital, Norwich was an important administrative, legal and ecclesiastical provincial centre in

the 18th century, competing until the 1750s with Bristol for the place of the second most populous town in England.[1] Norwich was also an important cultural centre steeped in the traditions of the Enlightenment, and famous for such well-known literary figures as the authors George Borrow, Harriet Martineau, Frank Sayers and William Taylor. The city was home to several private and semi-private clubs and societies with intellectual, educational, social and political objectives, and it featured coffee houses, circulating libraries and bookshops.[2] Three of the only six provincial newspapers known in the whole country were printed there as early as 1706, and a public library was established in the city in 1784.[3] Famous for its Cathedral, dating to the 11th century, and for its large number of churches, comprising thirty-two parish churches in all, Norwich also had a tradition of religious Dissent, stemming partly from the foreign religious refugees who had settled here in the previous two centuries. Norwich thus had sizeable and established Quaker, Baptist and Unitarian congregations and the city featured a large number of Nonconformist meeting houses; Dissent had in fact helped give the city much of its intellectual distinction.[4] Dissenters were also active in the political and social life of the city; despite the Test Act, Dissenters had long served the corporation in various offices from Mayor down,[5] and the Quaker community of the city was especially active in organising prison reform.

Throughout the 18th century Norwich had been famous for its prosperity, and in particular for its successful textile

manufacturing industry.[6] Like many other English cities and towns, Norwich prided itself on its traditional liberties, laid out in charters, franchises and municipal concessions from the Crown. Thus the travel book publisher John Stacy, in his Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, of 1819,[7] proudly noted that at the present the city of Norwich was governed by ancient charters dating to the time of Henry I and reaffirmed at the time of the Restoration in the 17th century. According to these charters, Stacy remarked, the citizens and commonality had the right to make laws regulating Norwich's government and economy:

> ... for the better government of the city, and of the several companies and trades therein ... and for the public good of the realm, the Mayor, sheriffs, citizens and commonalty ... at any public assembly, may make laws, orders, and constitutions, for the better regulating, moderating, and governing the citizens and separate companies of trades and occupations in the said city.[8]

The Norfolk topographer and historian Mostyn Armstrong, in his History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, of 1781, represented Norwich as a centre of orderly civic organisation, culture and economic progress, conveying a sense of pride in the city. Armstrong's work features a map of Norwich, engraved by J. Thompson for Armstrong's history and dedicated to the Mayor (fig. 24). The map marks out the surrounding medieval walls and gates of Norwich, as well as the location of Norwich Castle in the centre of the city, and Norwich Cathedral situated nearby. It shows in the margins images representing the arms of the city, its old Guildhall, and, prominently, some of its 'modern' classicising Georgian buildings, including the Assembly House

and the Theatre, both built in the 1750s. The inclusion of both the medieval Guildhall and the 'modern' Assembly House in the margins of the map testify to a sense of pride in the continuity, stability and progress of the civic government of the city. Armstrong's map, attesting the local climate of enlightened toleration of religious Dissent, also included in the margin a view of the new Presbyterian Octagon Chapel in Norwich, built in the 1750s in a classical style.[9] The work featured, as well, a print of Gurney's bank in Norwich, hence alluding to the bourgeois prosperity of the city (fig. 25). In addition, Armstrong showed an overview image of Norwich (fig. 15), dedicated to the Mayor and the Corporation, and thus honouring the civic administration of the city. This view in Armstrong's History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk belongs to an 18th century topographical tradition rather than to a picturesque tradition; it consists of a detailed, comprehensive map-like depiction of the city, its separate buildings, and its surrounding medieval gates and walls, dating to the 13th and 14th centuries.[10] Outside the walls which separate the space of the town from the countryside can be seen enclosed fields, divided and marked out by rows of trees and hedges. The 11th century Norwich Cathedral is shown prominently in the middle of the print; the Cathedral dominates the scene and thus underlines the important function of Norwich as a spiritual centre. Both the map and the overview of the city convey a sense of a clear division between town and country, divided by the encircling walls, and hence conferring on each a distinct and

separate identity. Significantly, at this secure and prosperous period of the early 1780s, Norwich Castle is hardly visible in the print.

However, while Norwich had been seen in the late 18th century as an exemplar of urban order and middle class prosperity, during the early years of the French Revolution the city also became known for its support of the Revolution. Indeed, Norwich was considered in this period by many to be a hotbed of Jacobinism.[11] The diarist and novelist Fanny Burney wrote in a letter in 1792 from Norfolk:

> I am truly amazed and half alarmed to find this County filled with little Revolution Societies, which transmit their notions of things to the larger Committees at Norwich, which communicate the whole to the Reformists of London. I am told there is scarce a Village in Norfolk free from these meetings.[12]

Active political discussion groups and radical societies constituted a defining characteristic of the city in the 1790s. Artisans as well as Norwich intellectuals were involved in these groups and societies which included the 'Revolution Society,' the 'Patriotic Society' and the 'Tusculan Society,' and in the publishing of radical and Reformist texts and journals. The author and Unitarian Dissenter and leading intellectual in Norwich, William Taylor, edited the radical newspaper, The Iris,[13] and conducted the correspondence for the Norwich Revolution Society which claimed by 1792 to stand at the head of forty-eight affiliated groups in the area;[14] for Taylor the Revolution meant "liberty for every man."[15]

Religious Dissenters were in particular associated with revolutionary radicalism.[16] Indeed, the French Revolution, as a harbinger of liberation for Nonconformists, was welcomed by religious Dissenters who had been officially barred from political life by the Test Acts. The Norfolk Baptist preacher, farmer and political activist Mark Wilks, a well known defender of the French Revolution, preached a sermon at St. Paul's Chapel in Norwich in 1791, titled The Origin and Stability of the French Revolution. Wilks prefaced his sermon with a quote from the Scriptures, Lev. XXV.10:

> And ye shall proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man to his possession.

Wilks reminded his listeners that they were congregating to commemorate the Revolution in France, "a Revolution of God, which no power could overthrow." He proclaimed that Christ was a revolutionary, sent to foretell the liberty of mankind:

> Jesus Christ was a Revolutionist; and the Revolution he came to effect was foretold in these words, "He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."[17]

In the course of his sermon Wilks also declared the demise of the old religious and political system in terms that likened Gothic architecture to an old outmoded order:

> The venerable gothic structure has been shaken to its very foundation, the sacred edifice has been laid low, and democracy has dedicated a Temple to liberty on its ruins.[18]

Wilks's sermon was prophetic for the city of Norwich and the county of Norfolk as the first decades of the 19th century were marked by unrest and popular uprising. The city's textile

manufacturing industry gradually declined in the decades following the French Revolution, in part due to the Napoleonic blockades and the Orders in Council which cut off the important American markets for British textiles, from competition from other textile producing centres, and from rising war-time taxes.[19] Although landowners and farmers in Norfolk had profited during the war years from the high prices of grain, these same high prices hurt rural and urban workers and manufacturers who were experiencing growing unemployment and distress. In addition, a large influx of unemployed rural workers into the city[20] added to the fears of local eruptions of unrest. One of the most contentious and debated issues of the time was the Corn Law Bill of 1815. The Bill was designed to restrict the importation of cheap foreign grain, and so to protect British farmers after the ending of the Napoleonic blockades had opened up imports of grain from Europe. [21] Landowners and farmers in Norfolk congregated to petition for the new Corn Laws;[22] however, the question of the Corn Laws deeply polarised rural land-owning and urban manufacturing interests. Manufacturing groups saw the proposed Corn Laws as being in conflict with their own interests: the laws meant a rise in the price of grain, which in turn threatened negative effects on industry and manufactures. In the town of Norwich the sentiment was decidedly against the introduction of the new Corn Laws. On March 11th, 1815, the Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette published the resolution of a meeting at the Guildhall in the city, presided over by the Mayor J. W. Robberds:

> 1. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Bill now pending in Parliament respecting an alteration in the Corn Laws can have no other effect than that of raising the price of corn, and of keeping up the extravagant rents which were obtained during the late war, thus benefiting the land owner, to the great injury of both the grower and consumer. 2. That this meeting views with great astonishment and concern the indecent precipitation with which the proposed Bill is carrying through the House of Commons ... 3. That the advantages held out by the proposed Bill are remote, contingent, and improbable, whereas the evils attendant on a rise in the price of corn are immediate, certain, and destructive. 4. That this Meeting is therefore of opinion that any further restriction on the importation of foreign grain is unnecessary and unjust ...[23]

The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette also noted the petition of Mr. Edward Taylor which specifically put forth the expected negative effects of the Corn Bill on the city's manufactures and accused the landowners of self-serving motives in their support of the Bill:

> In reference to what he considered to be the real object of the Bill, he asked what claim the land owner had thus to come forward and propose to fill his pockets at their expense ... Mr. Taylor proceeded to remark that Norwich, as a manufacturing town, would doubly feel the hardship of corn selling at a high price, which, attended as it necessarily must be with an advance of wages, would oblige them to send their goods into the market at a higher price than ought to be done to meet the competition of foreign articles; it was evidently therefore of the utmost importance, in this point of view, to keep bread as low as possible.[24]

In the same issue the paper reported on both the numerous petitions against the Corn Law Bill, and the country-wide riots which had already ensued in the context of protests against the proposed Bill.

Thomas Coke, one of the most prominent landowners in Norfolk and owner of the famous Holkham estate in the northern part of the county, was also deeply involved in the

controversial politics around the proposed Corn Law Bill. Coke served as a long-time Member of Parliament; he was first elected Member for Norfolk in 1776, and from then on he represented Norfolk almost continuously in the House of Commons until 1832.[25] Coke was a committed Whig and a friend of Charles James Fox[26] and Sir Francis Burdett, the famous Reformer and Member of Parliament whom Coke supported when Burdett was briefly imprisoned in the Tower in 1810.[27] Although Coke, as a liberal and as a Whig, supported Reform, as a landowner and agricultural producer he also supported the proposed Corn Laws. The fact that Coke had voted in favour of the Corn Bill gave rise to extreme anger and agitation among the labouring population of Norwich and Norfolk. In face of the public anger against Coke, his friend and fellow Norfolk landowner Lord Albermarle warned him in a letter of March 5th, 1815, that

> the ferment in Norwich is preparing and it is much feared that your life is in great danger ... Something must be done before you go to Norwich. You would be immediately attacked, and you know well that it is impossible to explain to a mob ...[28]

Despite this warning Coke, accompanied by Albermarle, attended on March 16th, 1815, the yearly Cattle Show held in the Cattle Market in front of Norwich Castle in the centre of the town. The resentment against Coke erupted in rioting; Coke and Albermarle were attacked by an anti-Corn Law crowd which was led by a man bearing a loaf of bread on a pole, the traditional sign of poverty.[29] Coke and Albermarle fled, but the crowd followed them until they managed to escape into a neighbouring inn.[30] Historian E. P. Thompson has shown that food riots and protests

against high prices of grain formed an important part in the structure of pre-capitalist social organisation in Britain.[31] According to Thompson, food riots were not, as has been commonly understood by historians, invariably expressions of mindless violence caused by hunger, but were often rational demonstrations, based on a sense of moral responsibility, with the rioters demanding and frequently achieving relief and the lowering of prices.[32] The crowds protesting high food prices were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional customs and rights, and that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community.[33] However, in the years of political paranoia and repression after 1800, food protests were readily conflated with ideas of Jacobinism and perceived as potential threats to the political order, and as such severely repressed by the authorities.[34] The protests in Norwich in 1815, during which several aldermen of the city were also attacked while attempting to restore order, were eventually quelled by the Brunswick Hussars.[35] The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, reporting on the incident, strongly condemned the attack on Coke and Albermarle.[36]

Despite widespread opposition, the Corn Bill was passed in the House of Lords on March 23rd, 1815. The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette reported a resolution of the Grand Jury of the County of Norfolk in respect to the Corn Law Bill. The Jury deplored the violent demonstrations against the new law and the attack on Coke and Albermarle, and the resolution reminded the citizens of their duty to acquiesce peaceably to the laws of the

country and to respect the lawful hierarchical structure of power:

> ... considering the gradual connection between all ranks of people in this country, the happy and inseparable union of their real interests, and their mutual dependence on each other, which we feel equally with all our fellow subjects, we must contend that it is the bounden duty of all, in whatever rank, to acquiesce peaceably in the determinations of the Supreme legislative Power. That all attempts to controul by menaces and violence the deliberation of Parliament ... are utterly subversive of the free constitution of this country and tend only to produce universal confusion and misery.[37]

However, the political and social turbulence in Norfolk and Norwich, exacerbated by the passing of the Corn Laws, culminated in a general uprising, the East Anglia Rebellion, which broke out in the early summer of 1816. A placard exhorting the people of Norwich to march to London with their grievances in particular evoked the traditional struggles for 'English liberty:'

> Attention Fellow countrymen & Slaves, now is the time to shake of [sic] your Load of Oppression & Starvation for which Purpose meet on the Castle Hill on Sunday Morning at 10 o'clock then March to London there Demand your Rights like Sons of Liberty. God Save the People!![38]

The animosity and deep resentment engendered by widespread distress is best expressed in the famous letter addressed "To the Gentlemen of Ashill." In this letter anonymous Norfolk labourers blamed their continuing distress directly on the local millers and landowners, whom they also threatened with violence:

> This is to inform you that you have by this time brought us under the heaviest burden and under the hardest yoke we ever knowed ... you have often times blinded us saying that the fault was all in the Place-men of Parliament: but now you have opened our eyes, we know they have a great power, but they have nothing to do with the regulation of this parish ... There is 5 or 6 of you have gotten all the whole

> of the land in this parish in your own hands and you would wish to be rich and starve all the other part of the poor of the parish ... So we shall ... knock down the Mill, and set fire to all ... houses and stacks as we go along: we shall begin in the night ... And the first Man that refuses to join the Combination shall suffer death in a moment, or the first person that is catched saying anything against the same, shall suffer death ... We have counted up that we have gotten about 60 of us to 1 of you: therefore should you govern, so many to one?[39]

The rebellion was repressed in August of the same year. Most of the rioters received prison sentences, but two men were sentenced to death for rioting, and one man, Thomas Moy, who had resided at Binham, was condemned to death for sheep-stealing.[40] All three men were executed at a public hanging in August 1816, in front of Norwich Castle, the prison and important judicial and electoral centre of Norwich and Norfolk.

Hanging and the death penalty were focuses of public concern at the national and local levels and had implications for the ways in which prison architecture and social space were perceived and represented. Over the course of the 18th century, a period of commerce and increasing prosperity, England's "Bloody Code" had increased the number of capital offences in the statute book to well over two hundred, in order to protect not only the political order but also private property.[41] But responses to this had also evolved when the death penalty came increasingly under criticism. Demands were in particular voiced concerning restriction of capital offences. The different sides of the debates were most notably represented by the Anglican archdeacon William Paley who supported the existing laws, and by Jeremy Bentham, Samuel Romilly and Thomas Fowell Buxton, brother-in-law of the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry of the

prominent Quaker family the Gurneys of Norwich, who demanded that the death penalty be restricted to only the most heinous crimes.[42] Bentham and Romilly in particular focused attention on the summary meting out of capital sentences for a wide range of smaller crimes such as theft, and they argued that judges had far too much arbitrary power in the decisions to pronounce capital sentences, hence rendering the whole process confused and inconsistent.[43] Bentham and Romilly here touched on an important aspect of the death penalty, the fact that the State had the arbitrary power of punishment by death, but also of reprieve, and hence the ability to manipulate popular sentiment in its favour.

The tensions involved in the issue of capital punishment were evident in the responses of the press, the public and the Church to the executions of the three men condemned to death after the East Anglia Rebellions. The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, reporting on the executions, did not question the penalties themselves, but rather emphasised their legitimacy, arguing that the sentences were justified as a deterrent to others and in view of the danger of the crimes. However, while the paper in particular held forth the dangers of following passionate and angry crowds and of Sabbath-breaking, it also noted the honest reputations of the three condemned men:

> They were all of them men of honest and reputable connections, and were brought to their untimely end by sabbath-breaking ... and by following a multitude to do evil.[44]

The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette further noted the deep sympathy expressed by the general populace toward the three who were hung in front of Norwich Castle:

> No malefactors ever expired with greater sympathy from the immense multitude, which covered the whole surface of the hill adjoining the place of execution ... Thomas Moy, aged 32, was born at Guestwick in Norfolk, and has left a wife and seven young children. The pressure of the times had involved him in great distress; and he had undertaken to hire a farm of considerable extent at Binham, to which his circumstances were by no means equal. His relations are respectable, and the crime for which he suffered was the only one which brought him under the sentence of the law.[45]

In fact, during the first half of the 19th century in Britain public executions were gradually abandoned,[46] as the deterrent effect was seen as negligible in comparison with the feared potential of public executions to elicit violence among the large crowds which they attracted.[47] Michel Foucault has noted that public executions came to be seen as dangerous in that they "provided a support for a confrontation between the violence of the king and the violence of the people."[48] Public disapproval of sentencing and the show of pity and sympathy toward the condemned were feared by authorities as potential triggers of unrest, but also as deeper comments on the workings of the judiciary and on the morality of the penal system itself. Thus the reference in the Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette to the sympathetic feelings of the crowd toward the condemned can also be seen as testifying to a sense of anxiety and uncertainty concerning the justification of the executions of the three men. Exposing the executions to public view exposed

moral issues reaching to the very foundations of the legitimacy of the power and authority wielded by the State.[49]

Christian traditions were in particular brought up by those who opposed the death penalty for theft. In the 18th century the death penalty for theft was commonly attacked by Reformers through reference to Mosaic law, according to which theft should be punished not by death but by restitution.[50] Most prelates of the Church of England, however, resisted the appeal to Mosaic law, arguing that criminal law should be based on reason and on contemporary social and political needs and circumstances rather than on what they termed were obscure and outmoded Biblical precepts.[51] The Reformist Romilly, in his Memoirs of 1840, in fact gave an account of the continued and determined resistance of the Anglican bishops to his efforts to abolish the death penalty for smaller offences, such as theft. [52] The parish priest of the Church at Binham in Norfolk--the church was depicted in, among other works, Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 26)--Mr. Upjohn, who represented the views of many Anglican clergy and conservative Tories supportive of capital punishment, justified in the most severe terms the executions at Norwich as necessary for the upkeep of law and order. Upjohn, who had visited Thomas Moy in prison, related that Moy had regretted that he had not been in the habit of attending Church, and that he had exclaimed to the vicar: "... if I had been in the habit of coming where you were, I should never have been here!" Thus Upjohn in fact made Moy's regret seem as an acceptance of his punishment as the just retribution

for his 'crime.' Upjohn delivered a sermon at Binham Priory Church after Moy's execution, in which he blamed Moy's breaking of the law on his lack of religious restraint:

> Poor Moy was necessitous; and this necessity, he having no religious restraints, urged him to commit depredations to relieve his distresses in open violation of the laws of God, his country ...[53]

In his sermon Upjohn defended the sentencing of Moy with a citation from Romans, vi, 23, which he repeated several times: "The wages of sin is Death." The vicar contended that sin was not only a spiritual evil, but a temporal evil as well, thus claiming disobedience against society as a sin:

> Sin ... is not only a spiritual evil, infinite in its nature, and eternal in its consequences, but it is also a temporal evil; it aims at the overthrow of divine government and civil authority. Hence the laws of all civil governments are certain social agreements which the public enter into for the good of the whole community. Pain and punishment, therefore, must follow a violation of this social bond, and that for the public good.[54]

Mr. Upjohn in 1816 demonstrates the close links between the Church and the State that informed contemporary ideologies. The Church, supporting the death sentences of the three men condemned after the East Anglia Rebellion, and upholding the rituals surrounding the sentencing, lent important support to the policies of the State, determined to secure law and order in a period of fear and paranoia.

While the 1816 rebellion in Norfolk was directed against farmers, millers and enclosing landlords who benefited from the scarcity of grain, much of the resentment among the rebels was also directed against the Established Church and its clergy.[55] In particular the labouring population and the poor in this time of

distress resented the Anglican clergy for their support of the landowners' interests, for their powerful role in the magisterial courts, for their often harsh dispensation of justice and their administering of heavy penalties for offences such as poaching and theft.[56] Indeed, the local clergy were habitually threatened by rebels and protesters.[57] Religious Dissenters in particular, who were frequently suspected of connections with radicalism and criminality,[58] took up the attacks on the Church. In Norwich the Baptist preacher Mark Wilks, denying the involvement of Dissenters in radical and criminal activities, instead accused the Anglican Church of criminality.[59] He defined Dissent in terms of Enlightenment principles of Reason, in opposition to what he considered to be the self-serving practices of the Church, which he characterised as based on archaic and primitive rules and regulations. In a sermon of 1817, "Non-conformity: A Sermon Delivered at ... the Monthly Association of Congregational Ministers," Wilks attacked the Church for its collaboration with the State,[60] and the clergy for their involvement in politics and for their electoral support of political patrons in return for favours.[61] He further criticised the Church for its large property holdings, its system of benefices, sinecures and patronage, and he accused the clergy of venality, faulting them for their absenteeism, neglect of their flocks and forfeiture of their moral obligations toward their parishioners.[62] Significantly, enumerating the countless compulsory rituals and sacraments which the Anglican Church demanded its congregations and parishioners to undergo, Wilks

accused the Church of a "complete subjection of Reason."[63] He pointed out that the Reformation itself had been the result of Nonconformity and Dissenting thought,[64] and he finished his sermon by terming the Anglican churches 'gilded palaces and gothic temples of conformists,' and by comparing them to the Nonconformist "meeting houses and barns" where "the word of the Lord has free course and is glorified."[65] Wilks' use of the term 'gothic' would have been intended to taint the Church with connotations of primitiveness and superstition, as set against the enlightened attitudes of the Nonconformists. His use of the term 'gothic' could also have been seen in terms of associations of the Anglican Church with the Gothic churches visible everywhere in the Norfolk countryside; however, as many of these churches were evidently in advanced stages of ruination, Wilks' comment could, by extension, have been seen as an ironic allusion to the decayed state of the Church itself.

2. Appropriating the medieval; reactionaries, radicals and the 'Society of United Friars.' These mild, enlightened times.

The civic structure of Norwich was also perceived in this period to be deteriorating, and the city was in particular experiencing antagonism around the issue of civic representation. Industrialisation and mechanisation had brought about changes in the economic structure of the city and had rendered many of the traditional skills of craftsmen and artisans obsolete while giving rise to a new group of wealthy

entrepreneurs and professionals. These developments had created a perceived imbalance in the governing structure of Norwich.[66] Under the unreformed electoral system the freemen of Norwich, many of them the descendants of craftsmen and artisans who had been granted the freedom of the town in medieval times, were the only ones who had the right to vote. In Norwich, which had about three thousand freemen in all, freemen still held the positions of power in the city, and from their ranks were drawn the members of the corporation of Norwich.[67] However, with the economic and social changes many of the freemen had fallen into poverty, which had led them to openly sell their votes to wealthy candidates for the positions of mayor and aldermen in the city corporation. The venality of the unreformed electoral system was well known and was exposed by, among others, Thomas Roope, himself a freeman who aspired to political position in the city. Roope, in his Roope's Weekly Letters to the Freemen of Norwich, of 1810, in particular drew attention to the corrupt practices of members of the corporation of Norwich. Roope revealed how large charitable donations, instead of reaching the needy, had been appropriated by members of the corporation and had been disposed of in ways which they considered most likely to serve their own political purposes.[68] Charitable donations were in fact being used by the aldermen to bribe freemen when soliciting their votes.[69] Further, Roope recounted that when he himself had solicited votes from freemen, he had been asked for donations in return:

> ... and when in the parish of All Saints, I solicited a vote to place me in the common Council, the Freeman replied: Sir, you say you will not pay me for my vote, if I do oblige you, and if I do not oblige you, I am sure to receive my annual donation from Alderman Steward, provided I always vote as he chuses to direct. Again, two more people, in King Street ... promised me their suffrages, and with apparent regret, they afterwards assigned as a reason for not supporting me, that they were afraid Mr. Crispin Brown [the Mayor of Norwich] should be the means of getting them deprived of eighteen pence a week, from the allowance they received of the Court of Guardians ... When at the time to which I allude, we recollect that the strong arm of power was exerted in every direction, to prevent my getting amongst the Corporate Body--when Mr. Crispin Brown put the bank bills into the hands of the poor freemen to vote against me, and told them to come for more ...[70]

The accusations of corruption directed at the city corporation consisting of the incumbent freemen, frequently voiced throughout the second decade of the 19th century, provided added impetus to the demands for electoral reform. Reform would, however, deprive the freemen both of their exclusive right to membership in the corporation and to their exclusive right to elect the mayor and aldermen. The proposals for reform of the electoral system, which would have effected a shift in power from the freemen to a larger section of the urban population, were hence perceived by many freemen as constituting a threat not only to their power but to the livelihood of some among them as well. That the proposals for Reform were perceived as a real threat by many of the freemen of Norwich is attested in a pamphlet "Plain Truth in Plain Words, addressed to the Freemen of Norwich by a Freeman." In this pamphlet the anonymous writer made a point of reassuring the freemen that they would, even after electoral reform, retain their traditional privileges for the duration of their own lifetimes.[71]

The social and political tensions and anxieties, linked with the question of Reform, led to contrasting appropriations of the Middle Ages among opposing political groups. In Norwich the turbulent climate prevailing in the months following the East Anglia Rebellions of 1816 led to a prejudicial, openly political appropriation of medieval forms among some conservative Norwich residents. A group of Norwich freemen, holding aggressively conservative opinions, strongly supporting customary authority, and opposed to electoral reform, founded in December 1816, shortly after the East Anglia Rebellions, a loyalist society called the Knights of the Order of Brunswick.[72] Significantly, by choosing to call themselves the Knights of the Order of Brunswick, these freemen associated themselves not only with medieval knighthood, but also with the Hanoverian House of Brunswick and with royal authority. The statement of the objectives of the society in particular expressed the deep paranoia and fear which the members felt toward the "disaffected and the treasonable." The motto of the society was

> To be faithful and loyal to the sovereign and his interests; to respect and venerate the laws of the land; to keep down the disaffected and the treasonable; to extend charity to the suffering poor of our city.[73]

The Society, evoking fears of revolutionary uprising, anarchy and the dangers of Dissent, proclaimed in 1817, in the context of an assassination attempt on the Prince Regent, that this event

> has been the means of opening wide the eyes of persons who had remained in a state of torpidity to the real dangers of the State caused by the schemes of visionary enthusiasts and atheistical doctrines promulgated with an assiduity

> alarming in the extreme, and sowing wide the seeds of dissaffection and anarchy--which if suffered to ripen into maturity, will eventually overthrow the glorious fabric of our Constitution, and bury in its ruins all that is virtuous and humane ...[74]

The Brunswick Knights further declared their support for the King and their readiness to defend the King and the Constitution "as Men, as Freemen":

> ... we will stand forth with our Property and influence in the Defence of our Sovereign, our Constitution, and our Liberties as Men, as Freemen, that it may please God to avert the impending calamity which threatens us, to restore peace and concord to this land ...[75]

The Knights in particular attacked the reformer William Cobbett who in "An Address to the Men of Norwich" in Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, in 1817, reacted angrily to the newly formed Society, referring to the Knights as the "sons of Corruption" whose main ambition consisted in fighting Reform:

> ... I have been informed, that, at Norwich, an Order of Knighthood had been established, the object of which was to embody the gallant sons of Corruption to fight under her banners against all Reformers generally, but more especially against William Cobbett's Register ...[76]

Cobbett took issue with the Declaration of the Brunswick Knights, in which the Knights condemned citizens who challenged the State and the King, and named as an example of such sedition the 17th century folk hero John Hampden, who was also extolled in works like Richard Beatniffe's travel guide The Norfolk Tour.[77] Cobbett quoted the Brunswick Knights' Declaration:

> ... we cannot but view with extreme pain and dread the active endeavours of violent party men to sow discord and discontent in the minds of the lower orders, by the extensive association of Clubs, professing the principles of John Hampden ... It should never be forgotten ... that no extenuation of the crime of fighting against the King and dying in the field as a Traitor can be found in the

> laws of either God or man; therefore, to mislead the people, by artful and specious praises of his pretended patriotic conduct in resisting, by force of arms, what he considered to be an infringement of his rights and privileges, is to teach the people to tread in his footsteps, and to compel the state ... to an immediate submission to all they demand.[78]

To counter the claims of the Knights, Cobbett traced the advances of British liberty to a history of revolutions, and he noted that Magna Carta and the "Glorious Revolution" had in fact been brought about exactly because of resistance to the King.[79] According to Cobbett, the people had the right to resist oppression; were this not true, he argued, "the present Royal Family ... and all the people in this nation were and are traitors against the House of Stuart and their heirs." He continued:

> Hence it would follow, that, if a king were to dissolve the parliament and levy taxes by his sole will, the people must stand still and bear it all without any attempt to resist, because to resist would be to fight against the King![80]

According to Cobbett, Englishmen had been traditionally well off, until the changes in commerce and banking in the latter part of the 18th century had brought about devastating changes. The late Middle Ages, however, were evoked as an age of prosperity in Britain, and Cobbett based his claims on the comments of Lord Chief Justice Fortesque on the condition of England in his Of the Excellence of the Laws of England, written in 1470. Drawing from the writings of Fortesque, Cobbett maintained that in the 15th century Englishmen enjoyed security for their property, and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labours; the king had no power to exert taxes, or alter the laws, "without the express consent of the whole kingdom in

Parliament assembled."[81] Fortesque was quoted to demonstrate the prosperity of England in the 15th century:

> ... the inhabitants of England are rich in gold, silver, and all the necessaries and conveniences of life ... They are fed in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish, ... every one according to his rank, hath all things which conduce to make life easy and happy.[82]

Lamenting that Englishmen would ever have been reduced to such a state as to be fed at "Soup Shops" by charitable organisations, Cobbett pointedly contrasted the social conditions among the labourers in early 19th century Britain to those of Fortesque's time. [83] He concluded by comparing the well-being in France after the French Revolution with the growing poverty and distress among Britons. [84] Significantly Cobbett, who saw theft as the result of poverty engendered by modern market economy, also brought up the issue of hanging for theft in critical terms:

> I can well remember when the very poorest of the people would not eat potatoes, and I have lived to see people hanged for forcing them out of a market cart at their own price![85]

While conservative groups such as the Brunswick Knights evoked the Middle Ages in terms of traditional authority, and radicals such as Cobbett conjured up the medieval era in social and political terms as a period of justice and well-being that contrasted with the social ills of contemporary Britain, the medieval period was taken up yet differently by individuals professing progressive liberal persuasions while adhering to conservative traditions. In Norwich in 1785 a group of middle and upper class intellectuals and professionals had founded a mock medieval monastic order called the Society of United

Friars. The Society was active in the first decades of the 19th century and continued to meet into the late 1820s. The Society's membership in the early 19th century was comprised of individuals of different professions and religious groups, including the architect and historian William Wilkins, the Mayor of Norwich Crisp Brown, the artist John Sell Cotman, the banker and Member of Parliament Hudson Gurney of the Norwich Quaker family, the topographer and County Surveyor Mostyn Armstrong, the Lord Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Orford.[86] Not only did the members occupy different social ranks and adhere to different religions, but they also comprised both Whigs and Tories; Hudson Gurney was a reformer and a Whig, and the Mayor Crisp Brown, a prominent corn and coal merchant, was the leader of the Norwich Tory party.[87]

In their founding proclamation, "Exordium to the rules and orders of the Fraternity of United Friars," the United Friars emphasised the importance of human society and community, thus by omission underplaying politics:

> Society may be properly considered the source from where the chief comforts of human life are derived; and therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that mankind, in all Ages, have been assiduous in forming various public and private associations, dignifying them with titles implying something of a Divine Origin, or Extraordinary Respectability.[88]

Yet a politics that saw knowledge and progress as dependent on England's constitutional and Protestant monarchy was an important aspect of the United Friars' philosophy. While the fraternity of Friars modelled their organisation on the medieval monastic orders, they also took care to proclaim their

separation from religious functions and practices, and to assert their distance from the "evils" of monastic institutions. Instead, the Society of Friars emphasised and endeavoured to emulate in the present what their members claimed were the essentially positive and practical functions of medieval monastic life, namely the pursuit of knowledge and the practice of charity. The founding Proclamation made this clear:

> Whatever evils may have arisen from Monastic institutions ... it is allowed on all authorities, that within the gloomy mansions of the ancient religious fraternities, the Fine Arts were nurtured; Philosophy and Science flourished; all the Profundity of Erudition was deposited; and to add luster to the scene, the ... Virtues took their stand before their gates, and dispersed the Blessings of Charity far and wide throughout the World! ... Disclaiming everything which appertains to the religious function of Monks and Friars, this society professes to imitate only what has been justly deemed praiseworthy in that description of men, to emulate their scientific acquisitions; their love of learning; their benevolence and philanthropy.[89]

By 1814, in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, knowledge and enlightenment in turn could be linked explicitly to England's constitution, as a lecture presented by 'Brother Taylor' of the Society of United Friars in that year made clear:

> Can we indeed contemplate the constitution of this favoured land, can we trace the 'gathered wisdom of a thousand years' through the vicissitudes of a long extended progress to that state in which we now experience the fullness of its blessings and shall we not recognise in it the march of intellect, and the triumph of truth.[90]

According to Brother Taylor, the age of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, although marked by unenlightened beliefs, religious intolerance and arbitrary power, had also cleansed the country of popish superstition, and had introduced the Reformation and

the victory of the enlightened Protestant religion, leading the country toward the "milder and more enlightened principles" which underpinned "the superior pretensions of modern over ancient times ... in England."[91]

While the United Friars strove to reaffirm the Enlightenment faith in secular science and human knowledge as the basis of progress, the Society also responded to the tensions that emerged from industrialisation, mechanisation and the spread of commerce, and the increasing disparities in wealth and growing poverty among large groups of the population that these developments fostered. For example, the Friars placed great emphasis on moral responsibility and on a spirit of charity which they understood to have characterised medieval religious communities. While the concern of the Society of United Friars was with the furtherance of "useful knowledge," their meetings were also devoted to charity, and their members were actively involved in organising charitable works, including the weekly soup-kitchens which Cobbett so disparaged, to alleviate the plight of the poor. However, although their philosophy was underpinned by charitable impulses, the United Friars also circumvented the issues of political reform, as put forth by radical advocates such as William Cobbett, and instead shifted the emphasis on to the social sphere, associated with religious principles, and to a liberal concept of 'natural' progress. Through their politically mixed membership, including both Whig and Tory individuals, and through their avoidance of political topics for discussion, the Society of Friars also

functioned to reconcile the two political groups. Linked to the thought of such conservative and traditionalist thinkers as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey, who advocated the creation of a society of Christian spirituality and piety founded on a universal Church and on what was understood to be the principles of the medieval Christian community, the philosophy of the United Friars in fact served to infuse a progressive liberal capitalist ideology with a notion of 'traditional' morality and sense of community. In this respect the Norwich Society formed a part of the liberal-conservative underpinnings of the larger movement of the Victorian Gothic Revival, which was, at one level, a movement closely linked with political and social exigencies, legitimating a liberal capitalist society through an illusionist framework of religious piety, charity and social responsibility.

3. 'Medievalising' the city. Recreating the medieval Cathedral.

These several social and political issues were articulated at different levels of 'meaning' in texts and images in contemporary travel and antiquarian publications on Norwich. The Norfolk topographer Armstrong had represented Norwich in 1781 in terms of its 'modern' and classicising architecture and as an independent centre of civic administration, by featuring images of the Assembly House and the old Guildhall of the city. However, as Norwich's textile industry began to decline in the first decades of the 19th century, and with public questions raised about the moral and civic commitment of the city

corporation, local tourist publications, addressed to a large and varied public and faced with the need to mediate tensions and conflicts within the city, fore-grounded, in contrast, the medieval history of Norwich. Publications such as Philip Browne's The History of Norwich from the Earliest Records to the Present Time, of 1814, Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818 and John Stacy's A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, of 1819, gave short historical accounts of medieval buildings in Norwich, and included small-scale and modest illustrations both of the buildings and of the city. Browne's guide of 1814 was introduced by a view of Norwich as a frontispiece, showing prominently the important medieval landmarks of the city, Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral (fig. 16).[92] Stacy, in his A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, highlighted the medieval past by featuring an image of Norwich Cathedral as his frontispiece (fig. 27). Stacy's book also included a map of the city which marked out the central locations of Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral, and depicted in the margins the medieval coat of arms of Norwich, as well as St. Ethelbert's Gate at Norwich Cathedral (fig. 28).[93] The fact that these images constituted the only illustrations in Stacy's work serves to further underline the importance attached to the medieval past in this period.[94] While Cromwell's publication of 1818, Excursions through Norfolk, included prints of well-known Palladian and classicising country-houses among its

representations of medieval antiquities,[95] this work also underscored the medieval heritage of Norfolk and Norwich. The title-page in the first volume of Cromwell's tourist guide, engraved after a drawing by John Sell Cotman, featured the images of a medieval knight in armour and a lady, both framed in ornate Gothic niches and displaying the sign of the Cross, thus evoking the medieval chivalry and piety associated with the era of the Crusades (fig. 29). The title-page also included the coat of arms of the city of Norwich, similarly surrounded by an elaborate Gothic frame. Further emphasising the medieval heritage of Norfolk towns, Cromwell's second volume of Excursions through Norfolk, published in the same year, was introduced by a title-page, also after a drawing by Cotman, showing the coat of arms of the town of Lynn, and the figures of a bishop and a priest in Gothic niches, each carrying a staff and depicted as reading from the Scriptures (fig. 30). By introducing the city of Norwich and the town of Lynn through their medieval history, Cromwell's work was instrumental in the creation of a local, medieval mythology. But at the same time Cromwell's work, setting the stage for the imaging of a society distanced from the present, also by-passed contemporary civic and social conflicts which affected the life of the county and its urban centres.

Contemporary criticism of the Established Church, and tensions surrounding the Church and religious Dissent, were in particular negotiated in John Britton's lavishly illustrated work on Norwich Cathedral, The History and Antiquities of the

See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, published in 1816 as a part of his series Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1814-1835. In addition Britton's work, although ostensibly a purely antiquarian publication, indirectly addressed questions and concerns of its upper and upper middle class audience, relative to the position and function of the Church in contemporary Norwich and Norfolk society. The work was issued by subscription, and in his preface Britton thanked several notable individuals who had supported his publication, among them the Earl of Radnor, the Bishop of Norwich, the Dean of Norwich, the Reverend Dr. Sutton, and the antiquary Dawson Turner.

According to Britton the seventh century, when Christianity and the Gospel were introduced into East Anglia, was marked not only by the founding of churches and monasteries, but also by the founding of seminaries of learning.[96] In his introduction Britton argued that the early medieval period constituted an era when civilisation was brought to a previously uncultured and irreligious population.[97] Church representatives, whether abbots, priors or bishops, were given a major role in this civilising process:

> In the course of this reflective survey, we shall find ... many events illustrative of the progress of civilisation ... we shall perceive that many of the East Anglian Prelates ... successfully and laudably devoted their time and talents to counteract the deleterious effects of Paganism, and ameliorate the condition and manners of the people.[98]

Thus while in 1817 the Baptist preacher Wilks, discussed in reference to revolutionary radicalism in Norwich at the beginning of this Chapter, referred to the Anglican churches as

"gothic temples," in order to link them with pagan unenlightened modes of thought, Britton's work, sanctioned by Anglican dignitaries, represented the history of Norwich Cathedral as "illustrative of the progress of civilisation."

Norwich Cathedral was founded in 1096 by Bishop Herbert de Losinga who came from Normandy in the entourage of William Rufus, and according to Britton the general style of architecture in the Church was truly Norman, characteristic of the age of Herbert.[99] Significant to Britton's discussion of the Cathedral was his account of the several turbulent armed confrontations between the townspeople and the monastic clergy in the 13th century, and of the disputes between the clergy and Sir Thomas Erpingham who was a follower of the dissenting reformer John Wycliff in the 15th century.[100] Britton's work included an illustration of Erpingham Gate at the Cathedral, raised by Erpingham as an atonement for his involvement with heretical doctrine (fig. 31), and the discussion of the gate suggests a veiled comment on the growing movement of religious Dissent in the early 19th century. In tracing the Cathedral's history in the period of the Reformation, Britton wrote a long commentary on what were alleged to be the spurious and superstitious practices of the monks involving the creation of false relics.[101] The destruction of the monastery associated with the Cathedral during the Dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, beginning in 1536 with the Suppression Act, could thus be justified; indeed Britton termed the break of Henry VIII with the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church a "grand

ecclesiastical revolution."[102] As a narrative The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich could work to reconcile the different strands of Britain's religious history, but its end was a glorification of the modern Anglican Church.

Other modern interests--of import to the local patrons of the work--were raised through the visual imagery in Britton's work. It is significant that, although Britton's text dealt exclusively with the architectural and ecclesiastical history of the Cathedral, the images served to place the Cathedral in a social context, relevant to contemporary as well as historical times. In the engraving in Britton's work by W. Radclyffe from a drawing by F. Mackenzie (fig. 1), where the Cathedral is shown as the destination of solemn ecclesiastics and worshipers proceeding toward the venerable building, the modern function of Norwich Cathedral as an important contemporary centre for piety and devotion is particularly underscored. References to charity and relief, evocative of the important role associated with the ideals of the contemporary Anglican Church, are also evident in the images in Britton's publication. Two depictions of Norwich Cathedral, the views of Erpingham Gate (fig. 31) and of St. Ethelbert's Gate-house, comprising the East and West fronts of the Gate (fig. 33), include figures which seem like beggars receiving alms from charitable passers-by at the Cathedral's entrance.

With respect to his description of the Cathedral itself, Britton's text noted the modern dilapidation and disrepair of the building:

> ... the east end and north side are dilapidated and ragged; almost the whole surface of the building presents a ruinous appearance ... the exterior architecture and masonry has [sic] been much neglected; and nearly the whole surface displays a ragged, crumbled and decayed appearance.[103]

But this emphasis on neglect, "ruinous appearance" and decay in the text was countered in the beautifully presented large-sized illustrations of Norwich Cathedral in Britton's publication. In the engravings, traces of the physical ravages of the several centuries of the Cathedral's history are dissimulated through the careful emphasis accorded to the Gothic architectural details and tracery. The building, 'repaired' in the visual representations, emerges as almost untouched by the depredations of time. This is particularly illustrated in the depiction of the East End of Norwich Cathedral in Britton's publication, engraved by William Findlay after a drawing by R. Cattermole (fig. 32), and in the print showing the West Front of the Cathedral, engraved by W. Radcliffe from a drawing by F. Mackenzie (fig. 1).

In his textual description of the Cathedral Britton also noted that although the building, as an object of architectural antiquity, was peculiarly interesting, compared with other cathedrals it was less imposing:

> Compared with many other cathedrals it is however small in size and meagre in embellishment. Its transepts are narrow; the aisles of the nave are small and low ... the north side of the nave is obscured and darkened by a mass of trees in the bishop's garden....[104]

Britton also noted that the attaching of houses and other structures hampered a view of the whole:

> ... some houses are attached to and obscure the face at the south-west end; and at the east side of the south transept are other extraneous and unpleasant appendages ... Besides, these encroachments render it impossible to see the whole cathedral, or the greater part, from any one station.[105]

However, in the images in Britton's publication the offending "appendages" were omitted and the Cathedral, despite the obscuring mass of trees, was represented as perfectly visible in its entirety (figs 1, 32). These views of the Cathedral show it as standing alone, silhouetted against attractive cloud formations in the sky and hence acquiring a sense of soaring height. The inclusion of the small figures of clergymen and worshipers in these images of the Cathedral helped render its appearance grander and more imposing. Through this emphasis on grandeur, the Cathedral is re-presented as an enduring emblem of the Anglican faith, and in terms of a presumed natural progression from an earlier medieval and Catholic age toward an era of enlightened Protestantism. In erasing the "ragged, crumbled and decayed" appearance of the Cathedral, and in representing it in terms of an impressive visual testimony, underlining the enduring power and influence of the Established Church, the illustrations of Norwich Cathedral in Britton's publication countered the disturbing critiques raised by modern religious and political Dissenters that questioned the contemporary function and performance of the Church.

These representations of Norwich Cathedral thus served as metonymic signs which mediated conflicts and tensions involving

the moral and social roles of the modern Anglican Church and its position as the leading religious institution in Britain. Britton's publication, dedicated as it was to both notable ecclesiastics of the Anglican Church and to upper class patrons, including the antiquarian and banker Dawson Turner, emphasised historical continuity and progress, effectively responding to both conservative and liberal needs and expectations of many of the work's patrons and their respective social groups. Britton's work can thus be seen as echoing the charitable but paternalistic ideas and activities of the United Friars, which incorporated medieval charity into a progressive liberal philosophy.

4. Demolishing the city gates; the blurring of boundaries. Representing town and country; the dream of medieval order.

Britton's impressive publication with its emphasis on permanence and with its scholarly treatment of the ecclesiastical history and architecture of Norwich Cathedral, effectively serving to 'repair' the decayed fabric of the church, functioned to obscure and mediate contemporary controversies and to symbolically elevate the history of the city of Norwich to a universalising and timeless narrative of enduring Faith. However, representations of the medieval past also participated in removing attention from a conflictual present in other ways. Popular picturesque tourist publications on Norfolk and Norwich in particular played a part in

negotiating what was in fact the decline of the city in relation to the powers of landed interests in the countryside.

As the populations of cities and towns were growing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the countryside and rural areas also took on increasing importance in terms of agricultural and food production, associated with Britain's stability, continued growth and national wealth.[106] The notable writer on agriculture, William Marshall, writing in 1798, in particular lauded the great landowners' involvement with their farms as contributing to the "patriotic cause of improvement."[107] Travel books of the period constantly made reference to the great service which the land-owning nobility rendered to the country through their agricultural improvements; in Norfolk the great landowners, such as Thomas Coke, were noted for their agricultural improvements, seen to benefit not only the county but the whole nation. For instance Thomas Cromwell, in addition to providing an illustration of Holkham Hall (fig. 34), engraved by J. Webb after a drawing by John Sell Cotman, wrote in his guide, Excursions through Norfolk:

> By the patriotic exertions and laudable example of Mr. Coke, every modern improvement in agriculture has here been fairly and experimentally laid open.[108]

However, with agriculture becoming more and more lucrative, not only the wealth but also the power of the great landowners who were in control of much of agricultural production became increasingly evident. The Corn Law disputes in Norwich and the related attack on Coke for his support of the Corn Bill in Parliament, described earlier in this Chapter, exemplified the

sense of conflict between country and city interests. The passing of the Corn Laws, which demonstrated the victory of the agricultural interest, poignantly served to highlight the shifting of power away from the town, its corporation and its manufacturing interest, to the landowners. The protests against the Corn Laws at the Guildhall meeting in Norwich, discussed above, in particular indicated the climate of grievance felt at the diminishing powers of the city, and the resentment at the usurpation of those powers by country interests.

Since medieval times cities and towns, as powerful economic centres, had been granted rights to erect walls and gates to guarantee and protect both their security and their liberties. As independent centres possessing wide-ranging self-governing powers the cities and towns were thus separated in a physical as well as in an administrative sense from their surrounding countryside. Mostyn Armstrong's History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, of 1781, produced and published in a period when Norwich was experiencing economic success and security, due largely to its flourishing textile industry, had shown the city as a centre of strength, separated physically and symbolically by the encircling medieval walls and gates from a surrounding ordered and hedge-enclosed countryside. However, in Norwich most of the thirteen medieval gates, though not the walls, were dismantled in the early 1790s in response to requests from merchants of the city who considered the gates as hindrances to trade and to the flow of goods.[109] There seemed to be no resistance to the dismantling of the gates; indeed,

contemporaries found the gates antiquated, and the city found them too costly to maintain.[110] The first Directory of Norwich, published in 1783, had described the fortifications of the city as having become "a nuisance, that smells rank in the nose of modern improvement!"[111] Another observer, Thomas Peck, writing in 1802, considered that the taking down of the gates "admitted a current of salubrious air, and that it would be a further improvement if such parts of the walls as were not built against were also removed."[112] The travel book writer John Stacy noted briefly in his Topographical and Historical Account of the County and City of Norwich, of 1819, that the walls encircling Norwich which had been necessary for defence in the Middle Ages were now without function and gradually decaying.[113] Stacy also approvingly noted the new buildings rising on the site of the walls: "The site of the walls has become very favourite ground for the erection of new buildings, for which purpose it is in many respects eminently qualified."[114] Thus, the demolishing of the gates effectively blurred the boundaries between town and country and effaced the medieval past as out of harmony with modern life and commerce. The twelve medieval gates of Norwich had been represented in a series of drawings by the Norwich artist John Ninham in 1792 and 1793, shortly prior to their demolition.[115] Interestingly, Ninham gave representations of each gate both from the inside and from the outside, thus emphasising a sense of division between town and country, between the inside and the outside of the walls, and providing the city with a specific identity in opposition to the rural outlying areas.

Among Ninham's depictions were "Magdalen Gate" and "St. Augustine's Gate," with inside and outside views (figs. 35, 36, 37, 38). Several of Ninham's views from the outside of the gates also show churches in the city, thus representing Norwich in terms of the traditional security which both the medieval Church and the medieval gates had provided. While the Norfolk countryside was seen as an important producer of wealth, it was also known for rural disturbances throughout and after the Napoleonic wars. Without the symbolic security of the walls and the gates, the city could be seen, in a sense, as more open to the invasion of disturbances from outside. Anxiety at the loss of the separation between the urban and the rural, and a nostalgic sense of loss of both economic and social power and security in the city in the face of a new era is also called up in the Norwich artist Robert Dixon's watercolour depiction, of 1809, of one of Norwich's city gates, the Magdalen Gate, entitled "Back of Magdalen Gate in Norwich" (fig. 39). In this image the rural seems to be pressing in on the city, while its last defence, one of the remaining gates, is visibly being reduced to rubble.

The 'medievalising' of the city of Norwich in the tourist guides of Browne, Stacy and Cromwell was highly meaningful in the second decade of the 19th century, serving to create a mythological new face for the city at a time when modern progress and prosperity seemed to be passing Norwich by. Yet while the three publications' evocation of the medieval myth served to bypass contemporary conflicts and disputes, the

tourist guides also responded to the specific issues around relationships between the vested interests of town and country. For example, in addition to the frontispiece, Philip Browne also showed another image of Norwich in his guidebook, The History of Norwich, of 1814 (fig. 17). This image represented the city as melding with the surrounding rural area; in Browne's depiction the still existing walls are seen as eradicated, and, significantly, there is no division between the city and the surrounding ordered and lush agrarian countryside of hedged and enclosed fields. The picturesque rendition of the scene seems to harmonise the two realms. Thomas Cromwell, in his Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, previously discussed in this Chapter in terms of his introduction of 'medieval' Norfolk and Norwich, also showed a picturesque overview image of Norwich, with its Cathedral and Castle, in which the city was not represented as enclosed by walls, but as forming a natural part of and an integral unity with the surrounding rural area (fig. 2).[116] While Armstrong, in 1781, had given a detailed and comprehensive topographical image of Norwich and its buildings, in both Cromwell's and Browne's illustrations the views of the city are rendered as distant and without definition. In other words, in this period of tension between town and country, when the rural landowners were demonstrating their power to dictate national policies, the boundaries between the rural and the urban are shown as indistinct and blurred. While Armstrong's illustration of 1781, when the city was still thriving, imaged it as a concentration of buildings and separated from an 'empty'

countryside, Cromwell's image of 1818 emphasised an inhabited countryside with a manor-house in the foreground, surrounded by a pleasing rural vista. In Browne's frontispiece in his The History of Norwich, Norwich is shown in its rural and agricultural surroundings, with the city set against a close foreground of cattle grazing in a field (fig. 16). The river Wensum, shown flowing through Norwich as a waterway used by both country and city traffic, visually erases the boundaries between town and country. As in Cromwell's travel guide, the relationship between the city and the country is presented as a harmonious continuity, effectively mediating modern conflicts.

5. The medieval Castle; prison, site of execution, space of leisure. The changing public sphere; crowds and 'docile subjects.' From political space to cultural representation.

Norwich Castle, an important historical landmark of the city, was prominently figured in travel and antiquarian works in the early 19th century. The Castle had particular contemporary significance, relating to the life of the city in several different ways. Norwich Castle served in this period as a centre for civic and legal administration of Norfolk and Norwich; Philip Browne, emphasising this role in his The History of Norwich, of 1814, noted that it contained the Shirehall where were held the assizes before the judges on the circuit, the quarter sessions before the county justice, and elections of the knights of the shire to represent the County in Parliament.[117]

The annual Cattle Market, at which Coke and Albermarle had been attacked by the mob, also took place within the Castle grounds. Furthermore, since medieval times the Castle had been used as a prison, and in the early 19th century it still housed the Norfolk County Gaol.[118] The area in front of the Castle served as the traditional site of public executions, and it was here that the three men involved in the 1816 East Anglia Rebellions were executed. Norwich Castle, as an important site connected with the contemporary life of the city, was thus linked to present debates concerning the civic administration of the city and the county, criminality, prison reform and capital punishment.

Prison population had increased in the latter part of the 18th century, due in part to the American War of Independence which had ended penal transportation to America, and this had helped focus attention on the prison system and the need for prison reform in Britain. [119] John Howard, the famous pioneer in England of prison reform, first published his work The State of the Prisons in England and Wales in 1775. While Howard emphasised the necessity of improving the appalling, unsanitary and unsafe conditions in the prisons, he also stressed that improving conditions would lead to moral reformation of the prisoners themselves.[120] The early 19th century witnessed growing anxiety in face of the perceived erosion of law and order, increase in crime rates and the overcrowding of prisons.[121] Work on prison reform was in particular embraced by Nonconformist reformers, notable among them Elizabeth Fry, daughter of the well known Norwich industrialist and Quaker preacher John

Gurney, and famous for her work in the women's prison at Newgate in London.[122] Although the involvement in prison reform by early 19th century reformers like Fry was founded on humanitarian concerns, the questions of prison reform and of the moral reform of criminals were also parts of the general efforts to safeguard persons and property, increasingly perceived as threatened by the spreading of crime during this period of rural and urban distress. As historian Robin Evans has shown, the issues surrounding prison reform were underpinned by Utilitarian and Sensationalist thought, derived from empiricist science and John Locke's contention that human psychology depended on associations evoked by the experience of pleasure and pain. [123] As Evans notes, although Locke had excluded moral thought from his mechanical model of human psychology, "Jeremy Bentham and many of the philosophes adopted Locke's epistemology as the foundation of morality as well as of all other varieties of knowledge."[124] The belief that all human behaviour was based in sensation, and the connection between epistemology and morality, meant that "the mind was capable of acquiring moral ideas through the same channels as it might acquire ideas of colour and space--the senses."[125] Thus, if sensations and experiences shaped character, a judicious reorganisation and control of the material environment could also influence, control and improve human character.[126] These ideas, implying that "environmental conditions manufactured human responses," produced a justification for the reconstruction of society and its institutions; the reformed prisons were hence conceived as a set

of physical influences determining the morality of the inmates.[127]

In view of the public debates around criminality and prison reform, and the anxiety concerning capital punishment, pointed out in an earlier section in this Chapter, the descriptions and imaging of Norwich Castle in travel and antiquarian literature were particularly significant. The 1795 essay on Norwich Castle in the journal Archaeologia by the architect and writer William Wilkins, which I discussed in my first Chapter, was the most authoritative publication on the history and architecture of the Castle. Wilkins in particular noted the historical function of the Castle as a prison, commenting on the miserable conditions of its ancient dungeons:

> What remains in the basement-floor serves for little more than to excite our wonder at the thickness and strength of the walls, and horror for the wretches who were confined in these darksome dungeons, deprived of light and of a free circulation of air, as they must necessarily have been in those vaults.[128]

However, Wilkins also deplored the 1793 addition of a new prison wing to the Castle, complaining that by this change the Castle was "bereaved of its ancient beauty, under pretence of giving more internal convenience for the accommodation of its miserable tenants."[129] He also added that the interior of the Castle had been gutted, and was equally ill managed, to the detriment not only of the building but of the prisoners as well. According to Wilkins the new constructions were neglectful of proper classification and separation of prisoners, and he described the new prison enclosures in sombre terms as

> ... small courts surrounded by lofty buildings, which almost, I may say, totally exclude every cheering ray of the sun from its wretched inhabitants. The felon, the prisoner untried, the debtor, and the gaoler, the guilty, and the innocent, share in the calamity.[130]

Lamenting that perhaps no place on earth accorded better with Milton's description in his Paradise Lost, Wilkins quoted from Milton:

> Dungeon horrible, on all sides round ...
> No light, but rather darkness visible
> Served only to discover sights of woe,
> Regions of sorrow! doleful shades! where peace
> And rest can never dwell.[131]

While Wilkins in his text touched on the horrors of the old prison at Norwich Castle and on the need for proper incarceration, including classification of prisoners, in his quote from Milton he shifted the political issue of prison management into a cultural and literary sphere. Wilkins' publication was a scholarly work, aimed at historians, architects and antiquarians, and in his visual images he represented the building strictly in terms of architectural illustrations, including plans, maps and details (figs. 4, 20, 21). These illustrations of the Castle, situating the sign of the structure within the ostensibly more a-political realm of culture and style, served to convey an image of the Castle as an abstraction, isolated and detached from the life of the city of which it in reality formed the centre,

Wilkins' textual criticism of the prison was corroborated by the Norwich magistrate Edward Harbord who wrote a long memorandum to his fellow magistrates in 1819, outlining the deficiencies of the old Castle as a prison. While Norwich Castle

had been extensively renovated in 1793, with a new prison replacing the old dungeons in the Castle keep,[132] it was, in this period, when Jeremy Bentham's plans for the Panopticon and new ideas of classification, surveillance and control of prisoners were permeating the field of prison construction, already considered as inadequate as a place of incarceration.[133] Plans were in fact being made for the erection of a new prison building adjacent to the old gaol. Harbord, urging the building of a new prison, expressed the common opinion of the period that the old prisons, rather than reforming the prisoners, in fact created criminality and criminals through the lack of provision for moral and religious education and useful work. Further, it was alleged, the lack of proper separation and classification allowed criminals to spread moral corruption among themselves.[134]

In contrast with such criticism, the popular tourist publications by Browne, Stacy and Cromwell, designed to advertise and aggrandise the city of Norwich, represented Norwich Castle with obvious pride, referring to its importance in the ancient history of the country and the county, and emphasising, even celebrating, the Castle's status as a prison.[135] Stacy, in his A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, of 1819, described the renovated prison at Norwich Castle in terms of its systems of surveillance and control, thus affirming a sense of a practical and impeccably functioning system of incarceration:

> The alterations ... are on a large and improved plan, which, being united to a proper classification of the prisoners, and other judicious regulations, having a

> tendency to the moral improvement of the inmates, the most beneficial results may be expected to follow.[136]

Norwich Castle had been further renovated after 1805 when it was granted in perpetuity by the King to the County of Norfolk; the Castle grounds had in particular been improved and made into a park. Browne described these renovations in his History of Norwich of 1814:

> These decorations and improvements are completed, and render this inclosure [sic] one of the most pleasant and delightful places of the kind in Europe.[137]

Prisons, such as Newgate prison in London, had traditionally been relatively open, and the prisoners could be seen by passers-by; communication between the prisoners and the outside world was possible for instance through begging grates which allowed inhabitants of the city and visitors to give alms to the prisoners.[138] In contrast, early 19th century prison architecture emphasised the necessary separation between the prisoners and the outside world. The criminals, as bodies marked by both moral depravity and physical disease, were increasingly being shut out of public view.[139] Thus the images representing Norwich Castle in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818 (fig. 5), Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826[140] (fig. 3) and Browne's The History of Norwich, of 1814 (fig. 40), represented the Castle as a block-like fortress of forbidding austerity, featuring massive and seemingly impenetrable stone walls, and conveying not only a sense of secure incarceration but also a sense of total separation between the prisoners and the outside world.[141] The feeling of the austerity and power of the Castle is especially highlighted

in Britton's image, engraved by S. Rawle after a drawing by F. Mackenzie, through the emphasis on scale; the depiction includes minuscule figures around the building, which add to the sense of imposing grandeur.

However, in Browne's, Britton's and Cromwell's images Norwich Castle was also shown in its renovated state, as surrounded by its newly planted and well-tended park. Cromwell's image, drawn and engraved by T. Higham, and Britton's image, drawn by F. Mackenzie and engraved by S. Rawle, in particular show the Castle in an attractive park-like setting surrounded by lush vegetation. These visual representations of the Castle as a public park and promenade negotiate deep tensions embedded at the core of the social and political life of the city, making the images instrumental in an ongoing process of constituting public sensibilities at a time of urban social and political change.

It is significant here that while the local tourist guides in their textual descriptions emphasised the function of Norwich Castle as an electoral and judicial centre and as the County Prison, they, like Britton's account, did not mention the function of the Castle grounds as the site of public executions. Indeed, the representations of Norwich Castle in the works of Cromwell, Browne and Britton, by representing the traditional execution site as a safe environment and a pleasant park, largely effaced the charged significance of the Castle. These images erased the traditional associations of the site with the large crowds--whether the distressed mobs planning to march to

London with their grievances, discussed at the onset of this Chapter, or those customarily witnessing executions and participating in the process of sentencing of criminals, as in the executions of Thomas Moy and his fellow rebels. It is particularly significant that Browne's depiction of the Castle showed the lone figure of an itinerant labourer carrying a bundle on a stick on his shoulder. The unruly and feared crowds, as well as the unemployed and the vagrants, ubiquitous in Norfolk in this period, were reduced, in Browne's image, to the non-threatening figure of the itinerant labourer.

Britton's and Cromwell's prints of Norwich Castle also included a few figures leisurely promenading in the Castle grounds. As a part of the recasting of the civic functioning of the city in the years leading up to Reform, when the traditional powers of the freemen of the city were beginning to erode, these images of Norwich Castle point to a period of historical change. During this time the ancient powers of the freemen, linked to traditional notions of participation in the administrative and judicial spheres, were diminishing. The powers of the freemen were gradually shifting, to be replaced by an enlarged franchise, but also by an increasing separation of judicial and administrative procedures from the public sphere, and a concentration of these powers into the abstracted realm of State control. In Cromwell's image of Norwich Castle (fig. 5) the small groups of isolated figures, each seemingly enclosed in their own individual worlds, seem to constitute decorations to the image, rather than evoking any sense of communal

participation in public affairs. The imaging of individuals as separated and private entities can be seen as aligned with social and political change, and with contemporary ideologies and exigencies. As historian Norbert Elias notes, changes in the structure of society and changes in the structure of the behaviour and psychical make up of individuals are closely connected.[142] Representing Norwich Castle as a bourgeois promenade, rather than as the site of mob violence, incarcerations and executions, contributed to the imaging of a culture of civility; representing the lone itinerant labourer suggests a sense of subdued and obedient labour. These depictions of Norwich Castle thus played a role in the constituting of the inhabitants of the city as, to use Foucault's expression, "docile subjects," separated from physical violence and internalising a sense of discipline and control.

Indeed, these representations of Norwich Castle can be seen as marking a period of changing perceptions of the roles and functions of the citizen within the polity, and of the emergence of a new, increasingly private urban subject, distanced not only from traditional crowds, but from the total administrative life of the city. In Cromwell's, Britton's and Browne's representations Norwich Castle, a centre for national elections of Members of Parliament, has been transformed into a place for leisure, and these publications and illustrations have shifted, not only the site, but also its political and juridical activities and functions, into a sphere of cultural

consumption.[143] The political discussions carried out in the years following the French Revolution, centring in the quest for liberty and equality and a spirit of enlightenment and reason, involving writers and activists such as T. H. B. Oldfield, William Cobbett, Hudson Gurney and William Taylor, have become transformed into picturesque aesthetics and popular mass-culture. Unruly crowds are being transformed into peaceful labour, and a civic bourgeois public is being changed into a population of isolated and distanced spectators, or 'tourists,' into the consumers of history and politics as culture and entertainment.

NOTES

[1] Trevor Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment: The Case of Norwich," p. 13. For a comprehensive history of Norwich, see Frank Meeres' informative A History of Norwich (West Sussex: Phillimore, 1998).

[2] Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment," pp. 13-14, 23. The Norfolk historian Penelope Corfield notes in her "Towns, trade, religion and radicalism ..." (Memorial lecture, University of East Anglia, 1980), pp. 27-29, that 18th century Norwich had a tradition of self-taught scholar-weavers, and the many clubs and ale-houses which the weavers frequented had reading material available, testifying to the relative literacy of artisan society in the city. The well-known Norwich scholar, writer and teacher, John Fransham, was a weaver by trade. See Jewson, The Jacobin City, p. 3.

[3] See Trevor Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment," pp. 13-14, 23.

[4] For instance the position of President of the Public Library was occupied in the late 18th century by Dr. Enfield and Alderman Elias Norgate, both affiliated with the Octagon Chapel. See Jewson, The Jacobin City, pp. 145, 150. See also Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment," p. 14.

[5] Presbyterians, for instance, who provided much of the whig leadership in the city, frequently consented to take the sacrament, and in several instances when Dissenters were appointed to office the Test Acts were simply ignored. See Jewson, The Jacobin City, p. 103.

[6] Daniel Defoe, travelling in 1723 in Norfolk, praised in his A Tour through England and Wales "the Wonderful Extent of the Norwich Manufacture, or Stuff-weaving Trade," and he wrote that the textile industry in Norwich employed 120,000 people from the town and its vicinity; quoted in Trevor Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment: The Case of Norwich," p. 13. See also P. J. Corfield, "Towns, trade, religion, and radicalism: The Norwich perspective on English history," The first Helen Sutermeister memorial lecture, University of East Anglia, May 1980, Bedford College, London.

[7] John Stacy, Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, its Antiquities and Modern Improvements; Intended as a Book of easy Reference to the Inhabitants and as Guide to the Traveller (Norwich: John Stacy, 1819). Norwich was historically denominated both as a county and as a city.

[8] Stacy, Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, p. 23.

[9] The Assembly House and the Unitarian Octagon Chapel were built by the architect and contractor Thomas Ivory. See D. E. Howell James, "Matthew Brettingham and the county of Norfolk," Norfolk Archaeology, vol. XXXIII (1965): p. 347. Although founded as a Presbyterian Chapel, the Octagon Chapel was also a place of worship for Unitarians and members of other denominations. See Jewson, The Jacobin City, p. 10.

[10] Browne, in his The History of Norwich (1814), p. 18, informed the reader that the building of the town walls commenced in 1294, and that the walls were finished in 1320.

[11] See Jewson, The Jacobin City. Andrew Hemingway, in his The Norwich School of Painters 1803-1833 (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979), p. 7, notes that Norwich was dubbed by Pitt's friends 'the Jacobin city.' Thomas Paine, the famous author of Rights of Man, was born at Thetford in Norfolk.

[12] Joyce Hemlow, ed., The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-1982), p. 259, letter dated 27. Nov. 1792. See also Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment," p. 14.

[13] Hemingway, "Meaning in Cotman's Norfolk subjects," p. 64.

[14] Fawcett, "Measuring the Provincial Enlightenment," p. 24.

[15] David Chandler, "Two Norwich writers of the early Revolutionary period (1789-1791)," p. 46. Visiting France, Taylor wrote from Calais on May 9th, 1790: "At length I have kissed the earth on the land of liberty

...." On May 14th, 1790, he wrote from Paris: "I am at length in that point of space, where the mighty sea of truth is in constant agitation, and every billow dashes into fragments some deep-rooted rock of prejudice, or buries in a viewless gulph some institution of gothic barbarism and superstition. I am at length in the neighbourhood of the National Assembly, that well-head of philosophical legislation, whose pure streams are now overflowing the fairest country upon earth, and will soon be sluiced off into the other realms of Europe, fertilising all with the living energy of its waters"; quoted in J. W. Robberds, A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late William Taylor of Norwich (London: John Murray, 1843), pp. 67, 68. It is interesting to note that while Taylor celebrated the French Revolution and radicalism in Britain in the late 18th century, he, like many other intellectuals, turned against it in the early 19th century. Thus, in his poem of 1810, "Harold and Tosti, a Tragedy," which I discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, he condemned the Saxons whom the radicals had constituted as the democratic ancestors of the English, as barbaric and cruel.

[16] At the time of the French Revolution Dissenters were widely suspected of inciting rebellion. Thus in a letter to the Norfolk Chronicle, November 21st, 1789, an anonymous writer, "A Country Rector," claimed that Dissenters were "aspiring with impudent ambition to overthrow both the hierarchy and monarchy of this kingdom," wanting to "crumble the temple of the constitution into ruinous anarchy"; quoted in David Chandler, "Two Norwich writers of the early Revolutionary Period," p. 38. For radicalism and religious Dissenters in Norfolk and Norwich, see also Jewson, The Jacobin City, p. 72.

[17] Mark Wilks, The Origin and Stability of the French Revolution (Norwich: Printed for the Author, 1791), p. 5.

[18] Ibid., p. 70.

[19] Corfield, "Towns, trade, religion and radicalism ...," p. 33. For in-depth discussions on the downturn in Norwich cloth manufacture, see P. J. Corfield, "The social and economic history of Norwich 1650-1850; a study in urban growth," (Unpublished. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976), J. K. Edwards, "The decline of the Norwich textiles industry," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, vol. XVI (1964): pp. 31-41; R. G. Wilson, "The supremacy of the Yorkshire cloth industry in the eighteenth century," Textile History and Economic History, eds. N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 223-246. These writers see the overall decline of the textile industry in Norwich as a gradual process, stretching from the late 18th to the mid-19th century. Norwich industry had gradually been superseded by other textile producing centres, while the population of the city had also declined. As M. J. Daunton, in his "Towns and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England," in Towns in Societies. Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology, eds. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 246-247, has shown, Norwich was in 1600 second to London in population; by 1750 Norwich had sunk to third place, and by 1800 to eighth place, surpassed by Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol and Leeds.

Contemporary observers frequently commented on the decline of the Norwich textile industry; the travel book writer Richard Beatniffe for instance noted in his The Norfolk Tour (1808), pp. 95-99, the deterioration of the cloth manufacturing industry in Norwich; a Whig political pamphlet, Letter to the Freemen of the Great Ward of Wymer in the City of Norwich (Norwich: Booth and Ball, 1819), p. 5, accused the government and its Tory supporters for the 1806 introduction of a taxation policy which, according to the pamphlet, had ruined the 'trade of our City.' The sense of decline of traditional Norwich life and society was poignantly expressed in the proliferation of picturesque images of the dilapidated and decaying houses in the town. For instance John Crome, the famous founder in 1803 of the Norwich Society of Artists, produced several paintings depicting the decrepit old dwelling houses in the town.

[20] See C. B. Hawkins, Norwich. A Social Study (London, 1910), Chapter 1.

[21] The Corn Laws of 1815 restricted the importation of foreign grain to Britain unless the price of domestic grain rose above 80s. a quarter. See A. G. E. Mingay, Land and Society in England, 1750-1980 (London: Longman, 1994), p. 55.

[22] The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette wrote on Jan. 14th, 1815: "At a numerous meeting of the Gentlemen of this county held at the shirehouse ... it was unanimously agreed, that petitions should be presented to both Houses of Parliament, requesting them to take the present Corn laws into their early consideration ... In several counties meetings have been called to consider of petitioning parliament on the subject of the depressed prices of agricultural produce, from excessive foreign importation..."

[23] Ibid., March 11th, 1815.

[24] Ibid., March 11th, 1815.

[25] Walter Rye, Coke of Norfolk (London, 1895), p. 6. Coke was created Viscount Coke and Second Earl of Leicester of Holkham in 1837.

[26] Rye, Coke of Norfolk, p. 9.

[27] A. M. W. Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends (London: John Lane, 1908), vol. II, p. 89.

[28] Letter from Albermarle to Coke, March 5th, 1815; quoted in Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends, vol. I, p. 115.

[29] Stirling, Coke of Norfolk, vol. I, p. 116.

[30] Ibid.

[31] E. P. Thompson, "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century," Past and Present, vol. 50 (Feb. 1971).

[32] Ibid., pp. 76-78.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., p. 132.

[35] Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, March 25th, 1815. See also Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends, vol. I, p. 116.

[36] Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, March 18th, 1815.

[37] Ibid., March 29th, 1815.

[38] Peacock, Bread or Blood, p. 65.

[39] Ibid., pp. 65-66. See also E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, pp. 257-258. For a discussion on enclosures in Ashill, see A. W. Reid, "The process of Parliamentary enclosure in Ashill," Norfolk Archaeology, vol. XXXVII:2 (1979), pp. 169-177.

[40] Parliament, persuaded by sheep farmers and merchant graziers, had made sheep-stealing into a hanging offence in 1741. See John Rule, The Vital Century. England's Developing Economy 1714-1815 (London: Longman, 1992), p. 52.

[41] Brian P. Block, Hanging in the Balance. A History of the Abolition of Capital Punishment in Britain (Winchester: Waterside Press, 1997), p. 21.

[42] Ibid., pp. 21-27, 41-50.

[43] Ibid., pp. 41-49. Samuel Romilly, in his Observations on the Criminal Law of England, as it relates to Capital Punishments, and on the Mode in which it is Administered (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1810), pp. 3-64 passim, strongly condemned the use of capital punishment in the case of small theft. According to Romilly, pp. 60, 62, "it should seem, that the laws, which it is proposed to repeal, cannot well be defended as part of a general system of criminal jurisprudence. Taken by themselves, it seems still more difficult to justify them. They are of such inordinate severity, that, as laws now to be executed, no person would speak in their defence." Countering the argument put forth by defenders of the present system that judges frequently exercised leniency and ruled against capital punishment, Romilly stated: "But although these laws are not executed, and may be said, therefore, to exist only in theory, they are attended with many most serious practical consequences. Amongst these, it is not the least important, that they form a kind of standard of cruelty, to justify every harsh and excessive exercise of authority."

[44] Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, August 31st, 1816.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Public hanging was abolished in Britain in 1868. See Gatrell, The Hanging Tree. Execution and the English People 1770-1868 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 10. The last public execution in Norwich was carried out in front of Norwich Castle in 1867.

[47] Clive Emsley, Crime and Society in England 1750-1900 (London: Longman, 1987), p. 230.

[48] Foucault, Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 73.

[49] Gatrell, The Hanging Tree, pp. 23-24, 80, 103.

[50] See Douglas Hay, "The Laws of God and the Laws of Man: Lord George Gordon and the death penalty," in Protest and Survival. The Historical Experience, eds. John Rule and Robert Malcolmson (London: The Merlin Press, 1993), pp. 78-82.

[51] Ibid.

[52] See Block, Hanging in the Balance, p. 44.

[53] W. Upjohn, sermon delivered at Binham Priory Church in 1816, A Warning Voice (Norwich, 1816), p. 9.

[54] Ibid., p. 7.

[55] Eric J. Evans, "Some reasons for the growth of English rural anti-clericalism c. 1750-1830," Past and Present, vol. 66 (1975): pp. 85-109.

[56] See Eric J. Evans. "Some reasons for the growth of English rural anti-clericalism ...," pp. 85-109.

[57] See Peacock, Bread or Blood, Chapter 5.

[58] Religious Dissenters were also suspected of taking part in the East Anglia Rebellions of 1816. See Peacock, Bread or Blood, pp. 56-57.

[59] Mark Wilks, Nonconformity: A Sermon Delivered at White Row Meeting House Nov. 6th 1817 (London: T. Hamilton, 1818), p. 101.

[60] Ibid., pp. 31-33, 39.

[61] Ibid., p. 75.

[62] Ibid., pp. 85-87, 103.

[63] Ibid., p. 64.

[64] Ibid., p. 25.

[65] Ibid., p. 111.

[66] J. K. Edwards, "Developments in local government organisation and services in Norwich, 1800-1890" (Norwich, 1978), p. 17.

[67] Ibid., p. 19.

[68] Thomas Roope, Roope's Weekly Letters to the Freemen of Norwich (Norwich: John Berry, 1810), p. 4.

[69] Edwards, "Developments in local government organisation," p. 19.

[70] Thomas Roope, Roope's Weekly Letters to the Freemen of Norwich, p. 4.

[71] Plain Truth in Plain Words, Addressed to the Freemen of Norwich. By a Freeman (Norwich: Bacon and Kinnebrook, Mercury Office, no date), p. 5. Throughout his pamphlet the writer particularly emphasised the progressive nature of electoral reform, demonstrating to the freemen that reform would in fact be in their best interests; it would especially benefit their children by freeing them from a situation in which they were continuously tempted to be parts of an electoral system based on corruption and bribery. The author of the pamphlet explained that reform would "alter the qualification, enlarging it in some respects, such as allowing copyholders, leaseholders, and housekeepers, to vote ... by making property up to a certain small amount, as the occupation of a house of 10 pounds per annum, for example, a qualification. This excludes all voter by birth of servitude--not however during the lives of the existing freemen, who are to vote as formerly."

[72] As Linda Colley notes in "Whose nation? Class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830," Past and Present 113 (Nov. 1986), p. 108, Brunswick clubs were usually founded by loyalist members of the working classes. In 1817 the Norwich Society of Brunswick Knights supported the election of the Tory candidate Edmond Wodehouse to Parliament ("Proceedings of the Brunswick Club" (1817), Norwich Record Office. Col. 101).

[73] "Proceedings of the Brunswick Club," 1816. Norwich Record Office. Col. 101.

[74] Ibid., 1817.

[75] Ibid., 1817.

[76] William Cobbett, Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, vol. 32 (Jan. 18, 1817), p. 67.

[77] Beatniffe, The Norfolk Tour (1808), p. 27.

[78] Cobbett, quoting from the Declaration of the Brunswick Knights in his Political Register (1817), p. 72.

[79] Cobbett's Weekly Political Register (1817), pp. 74, 76-77.

[80] Ibid., p. 74.

[81] Ibid., p. 82.

[82] Fortesque, quoted by Cobbett in the Political Register (1817), p. 83.

[83] Cobbett's Weekly Political Register (1817), p. 78.

[84] Cobbett wrote in the Political Register (1817), p. 83: "Let any man look at the dress and food of our labourers now ... a short smock frock is the general garment ... I have seen many actually made out of old sacks, which had become too rotten to hold corn! ... many of them have no stockings, bits of rag are wrapped round their feet to keep their feet from perishing in their shoes, and pieces of old sack, or rags of some sort, are tied round their legs instead of stockings ... they do not taste flesh from month's end to month's end..."

[85] Cobbett's Weekly Political Register (1817), p. 79.

[86] "Proceedings of the Society of United Friars." Norwich Record Office, Col. 9. 30.

[87] For mayors of Norwich, see Basil Cozens-Hardy and Ernest A. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich 1403-1835 (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons, 1938), pp. 151-152.

[88] "Exordium to the rules and orders of the Fraternity of United Friars" Norwich Record Office, Col. 9. 30.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Brother Taylor, "The Reign of Queen Elizabeth considered in reference to its popular character of being the Golden Age of England." Read before the College of Friars, November 7th, 1814. Norwich Record Office, Col. 9. 109.

[91] In accordance with the liberal principles of the members of the United Friars, Brother Taylor held that England's 'Golden Age' of progress had truly begun with the Revolution of 1688: "It remained for the riper era of the Revolution to engraft those milder and more enlightened principles that give encreased security to person and property, success to industry, encouragement to learning, patronage to the arts--principles the most eminently calculated to promote the Christian virtues of Charity and benevolence; and to be in time, the bounteous and never failing source of all that exalts human nature and renders it really valuable. In these consist the superior pretensions of modern over ancient times ... in

England." Paper read before the Society of United Friars, 1814. Norwich Record Office.

[92] This image is in the copy of Browne's History of Norwich in the Norfolk Local Studies Library at Norwich, but is missing from the copy at the Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

[93] Stacy's map, as the inscription shows, was originally engraved in 1807 for John Britton's Beauties of England and Wales.

[94] The copy of Stacy's Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich at Yale University Library has only these two illustrations. The copy at the Norfolk Local Studies Library at Norwich includes an image of Norwich Castle--however, this images, judging from its different style and format, seems to have been a later addition.

[95] Cromwell's work was also introduced by a map marking out principal tourist sites which included both medieval and later edifices.

[96] Britton, History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich (1816), p. 6.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid., p. 5.

[99] Ibid., p. 15.

[100] John Wycliffe, a theologian and Master of Balliol College, Oxford, asserted that it was the right of every man to read the Bible in his own language, and that all authority must be founded on grace; therefore no homage was owed to wicked kings, popes and prelates. Wycliffe's disciples were known as Lollards. See John Burke, An Illustrated History of England (London: St. James Place, 1974), p. 67.

[101] Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, p. 55.

[102] Ibid., p. 55.

[103] Ibid., pp. 43, 46.

[104] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[105] Ibid.

[106] See Alun Howkins, "J. M. W. Turner at Petworth: Agricultural Improvement and the Politics of Landscape," Painting and the Politics of Culture, ed. John Barrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 240.

[107] William Marshall, The Rural Economy of the Southern Counties, 2 vols. (London, 1798), vol. II, p. 195.

[108] Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, p. 4.

[109] A petition by merchants for the removal of the gates was approved by the town corporation in 1792. Norwich Record Office, Case 10. Shelf F.

[110] See P. J. Corfield, "Towns, trade, religion and radicalism," p. 17.

[111] W. Chase, The Norwich Directory (Norwich, 1783), p. v.

[112] Jewson, The Jacobin City, p. 2.

[113] Stacy, A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, pp. 41-42, described the town wall as a "wall of flint stones, having forty towers and a ditch: much of the wall still exists, though in a very dilapidated state; it having ceased, after the introduction of artillery, and the improved method of modern attack, to be of much utility ... It had twelve gates, of which eight were taken down in 1792, and the two following years, and more recently the remaining ones have been levelled."

[114] Stacy, A Topographical and Historical Account of the County and City of Norwich, p. 42, also saw the erection of new buildings as a positive sign of growing wealth and employment, arguing that "These additions to the growth of this populous city, strongly argue the existence of an increasing prosperity, and whether or not they were, at the beginning, the effect of a previous want of employment, amongst an industrious and speculative set of workmen (as has been hinted,) the unceasing application to works of this nature ... prove, that at the present time, sufficient encouragement is given to the embarkers in such undertakings, and that many structures are the productions of men and capital."

[115] Ninham's drawings were not engraved and published in book-form until 1861, when the collection appeared under the title Views of the Gates of Norwich ... by the Late John Ninham, ed. Robert Fitch (Norwich: Cundall et al., 1861).

[116] The copy of Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk at Norwich Public Library also contains a map of Norwich, dating to 1819 and showing the town as encircled by its medieval walls. However, this map was based on earlier maps, such as Armstrong's, and hence has less bearing on my particular argument than the representation of the town, executed specifically for Cromwell's publication.

[117] Browne, The History of Norwich, p. 380.

[118] Medieval castles were commonly used as prisons in this period in several counties of England, Scotland and Wales. The widespread use of castles as prisons stemmed from an edict to sheriffs in 1166 giving them the choice of using the King's Borough or the King's castle as the location for a prison. See Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue. English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), note p. 423. Norwich Castle had served as the County Gaol since 1339.

[119] Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, pp. 94-96.

[120] John Howard, The State of the Prisons in England and Wales ... (1775; London: J. Johnson, 1792), passim.

[121] Between 1800 and 1832 the prison population doubled in Britain, from 7000 to 14000, the increase being due to the rise in national population and to unemployment following the French Wars. See Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 236 and note 2, p. 440.

[122] The Gurney family was involved in the 'Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge Upon the Punishment of Death and the Improvement of Prison Discipline,' founded in 1801. See Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 239.

[123] See Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, pp. 210-227, for a discussion of prison reform in the context of empiricist science, sensibility and morality in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

[124] Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 211.

[125] Ibid., p. 211.

[126] Ibid., p. 214.

[127] Ibid., p. 215.

[128] Wilkins, "An Essay towards a History of ... Norwich Castle," p. 153.

[129] Ibid., p. 155.

[130] Ibid., p. 156.

[131] Wilkins, "An Essay towards a History of ... Norwich Castle," quoting Milton, Paradise Lost, p. 156.

[132] Browne, The History of Norwich, pp. 390-391.

[133] Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 236, notes that the reformed prisons of the late 18th century were in the early decades of the 19th century generally considered to be inadequate and old-fashioned, and seen as failing to provide facilities for classification, proper surveillance and employment for prisoners.

[134] Edward Harbord, Remarks respecting the Norfolk County Jail, with some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline ... (Norwich, 1819), pp. 1-43 passim. Harbord recommended in his memorandum that the Castle gaol be rebuilt after plans drawn up by the architect William Wilkins. The new prison was erected in 1823.

[135] In fact, while the interior of the building was condemned by commentators like Wilkins and Harbord, the exterior of Norwich Castle accorded well with the contemporary sense of prison morality and reform. For example, in a series of letters to the editor of the Norwich Mercury, "Three letters on prison discipline, addressed to the editor of the Norwich Mercury" (Blandford: J. Smith, 1819), p. 3, the anonymous writer elaborated on the question of comfort in the prisons, noting the common criticism of the time that prisons were being built as 'palaces' and that the attractions of a modern prison were such that men were "induced to commit crimes for the express purpose of being admitted to participation in its luxuries." While the humanitarian and enlightened view of this writer was that comfort in prisons was necessary and beneficial to the reform of criminals, what is significant for my discussion here is the more general opinion that prisons should not be comfortable and 'luxurious' but rather austere and melancholy, in order to fulfil their appropriate reforming functions. Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 251, has noted that in the design of prisons strength and utility were emphasised, and that the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline also supported austere prison design, affirming that "the absence of embellishment was in perfect unison with the nature of the establishment."

[136] Stacy, A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, p. 75.

[137] Browne, History of Norwich, pp. 381, 392.

[138] Robin Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 2.

[139] Robin Evans, in The Fabrication of Virtue, p. 94, notes that with the crowding of the nation's prisons gaol fever, or epidemic typhus, became increasingly common. Epidemic typhus tended to spread outside the prisons as well, hence adding to the concern with the separation of prisoners from the general population.

[140] Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV, 1814.

[141] Mackenzie's print in Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain and Higham's print in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk depict in the distant background the spire of Norwich Cathedral---inclusions which situate the centre of civic and judicial authority in relation to the time-sanctioned power of the Church both in terms of its historic authority and its modern link with State and Crown.

[142] Norbert Elias, The Civilising Process (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. xv.

[143] For a discussion on the process through which the cultural public sphere changed from an emphasis on political debate and involvement in political practice to an emphasis on the cultural sphere in terms of consumption, see Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), pp. 159-175.

III. Ruins and the traumatic memory of the nation. Land and property; contesting space and place.

1. Questioning rural hegemony. The politics of land-ownership.

The countryside around the city of Norwich also featured monuments from the medieval past, notably including ruins of abbeys and priories destroyed by Henry VIII during the Dissolution of the monasteries, which began in 1536. Continual debates around land-ownership, agrarian management, and the question of the political interests of the Established Church played a role in how these monuments were visually represented and how they were assimilated into historical narratives. During the 18th and early 19th centuries aristocratic and upper class landowners formed a group of major importance in Britain's social and political life. This elite and their estates were celebrated in a multitude of publications featuring the country-houses of upper class families. Notable among these publications is John Preston Neale's famous Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, of 1818-1823.[1] Among prominent Norfolk country houses illustrated in Neale's work were the classicising Palladian residence, Houghton Hall (fig. 41), designed by Colen Campbell for Sir Robert Walpole in 1722,[2] the late medieval Blickling Hall (fig. 42), built by Sir Henry Hobart in the mid-16th century, [3] and Holkham Hall, designed by William Kent in 1734 for Thomas William Coke, the Earl of Leicester (fig. 43).

Throughout the 18th century aristocratic country manors constituted popular sites for British tourism, and, as Carole

Fabricant has shown, country house tourism played an important role in the upholding of traditional hierarchies.[4] Country house guides participated in the creation of a middle class public accustomed to viewing these aristocratic mansions and holdings in terms of national pride and as parts of a national heritage, as belonging, in essence, to all Britons, rather than as private holdings exploited by their owners for vast profits. Neale, in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, referred to these houses as "the mansions of our nobility," and he argued in his introduction that such country seats marked out the stature of the nation in relation to other European powers:

> Great Britain may justly boast her decided superiority over every other state in Europe, in the grand display of its numerous country seats, presenting a succession of variety in the architectural embellishment, and surrounded by a landscape smiling with cultivation.[5]

As historian Philip Ayres has demonstrated in his recent study, classical culture was, throughout the 18th century, the dominant culture of Britain's upper classes.[6] Although the victory of the liberal Whig Parliament over the Crown at the time of the English Revolution in 1688 was seen in terms of a national victory over an absolutist ruler, the opposition Whig nobility and upper classes had in particular identified with classical Rome and Roman Republican liberty.[7] While in the early part of the 18th century the Earl of Shaftesbury had advocated the creation of a national taste and style based on the spirit of national freedom, this concept of national freedom, linked with upper class and Whig interests, was in essence superscripted on a foundational identification with

universalistic classical ideals.[8] In the early 18th century upper class landowners embraced Renaissance Palladian classicism which could be associated not only with ideals of classical liberty, but also with 'national' English liberty.[9] Yet the erection of Palladian aristocratic country mansions during this period, while evoking 'English' liberty, also stood as visible signs of the power of the aristocratic landowners and the victory of the Whig Parliament over the absolutist Crown. Still, the Whigs needed continually to justify their rule, not only in opposition to the Crown, but also in opposition to the rising industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. The doctrine of civic humanism elaborated in the early 18th century in England by the Earl of Shaftesbury provided such legitimation. The classical civic humanist ideal of land-ownership as the guarantee of disinterested rule, through effecting the guarantee of leisure time to devote to the general welfare of the country, was intertwined with the sense of power embodied in the great country houses. Country house culture functioned as testimony to the claims on the part of upper class landowners that they served the public good.[10] The country manors illustrated in Neale's Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen included houses dating to medieval times, for example Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, built in 1483, to the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, for example Stanfield Hall, already a residence in the 16th century, and Blickling Hall, built between 1619 and 1627, as well as later houses, such as Holkham Hall, designed and remodelled in the Palladian mode in the 18th century. This

juxtaposing of baronial mansions of the late medieval era with the classical and classicising manors of the post-Renaissance and Enlightenment periods provides a convenient point of entry into contemporary tensions between models of society that nostalgically evoked the semi-feudal organisation of a 'traditional' past, at a time when industrial development and expanding markets were changing land-ownership and the political access and privilege it implied.

Neale's description in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen of Thomas William Coke's Holkham Hall, one of the great country estates in England, is particularly revealing in regard to contemporary tensions involved in questions of land-ownership and social responsibility. Coke, the landowner attacked at the Corn riots in Norwich discussed in Chapter Two, was a descendant of Thomas Coke, the builder of Holkham, who had been created First Earl of Leicester in 1744.[11] The family traced their descent from Robert Coke of Sparham, who was said to have come from a yeoman family long settled at East Ruston in Norfolk.[12] Throughout his political career, and until he was created Viscount Coke and Second Earl of Leicester in 1837, Coke was referred to as "The First Commoner."[13] Coke refused a peerage on several occasions; however, the reason for his refusal, as he himself made clear, was that he wanted the nomination of Earl of Leicester, and would not accept a mere baronetcy.[14] The image of Holkham Hall in Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, engraved by F. Byrne from a drawing by the author Neale (fig. 43), was accompanied by a description of Holkham as a "princely"

and magnificent seat. Emphasising the classical design, Neale noted that the building was commenced in 1734 and that the plan "was struck out by Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, and the Earl of Burlington, assisted by Kent, from the designs of Palladio and Inigo Jones."[15] Representing Thomas Coke in terms of Palladian classicism thus evoked an identification of the British Whig aristocracy with the ideal of civic humanism, with classical traditions of liberty and with the English Revolution and the period of Whig dominance in the early 18th century.

In the first decades of the 19th century the land-owning classes were increasingly threatened and challenged by the emerging power and influence of a rising manufacturing and industrial elite. Thus the landowner Sir Martin Folkes Rishton complained in a letter of March 3rd, 1815, to his friend Thomas Coke that the country gentry were disappearing:

> We who vibrate in the middle station betwixt Prince and Peasant are now nearly lost, that class of subjects once the pride and boast of Britain, the impudent scions of Freedom and Independence....[16]

Rishton also lamented the decline of rural society and the distress of farmers. According to Rishton, in order to return the countryside to prosperity, the rural gentry had to be supported and had to assume a more powerful voice. This local testimony to landowners' feelings of threat posed by the new economic power of industrialists and manufacturers is also evidenced in a letter written by Sir Francis Burdett to Coke in 1812. Burdett's politics followed the 17th century Whig tradition; he saw Magna Carta, the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights as the true foundations of the English

constitution.[17] Burdett complained that a "Purser of a Man of War" could in a few years "amass an enormous fortune, obtain a great Parliamentary interest and build a palace fit to receive the King in," while country gentlemen were obliged to "pay court to this Fungus and ask favours for their children."[18] Burdett also pointed out that the wealth and means to pay for the war machinery and militia originated in Britain's country estates. Calling for an end to the "upstart system" of merchant capitalism, and noting the new spirit of popular opposition to "corruption," he called for a revitalised role for the landed property owner:

> ... and who so fit to direct it [the new opposition], or so likely to direct it beneficially as country gentlemen of unsophisticated understanding, disinterested views and independent fortunes. In truth, they are the persons principally concerned, infinitely more than the common people ...[19]

Like other landowners, Coke and Burdett in 1815 opposed the proposed continuation of the wartime property tax, initially designed to support the wars with France, which they saw as an illegal encroachment on the rights of landowners.[20] The continuation of the property tax, however, gained popular support on the basis that it was a tax on the wealthy. At a meeting in Norwich, convened to consider a petition against the continuation of the property tax, the petition was opposed by John Harvey, a Norwich manufacturer and previous mayor of the city,[21] on the grounds that the tax was directed at the rich. By implication, Harvey also brought out the capitalistic emphasis on profit in the farming operations of the great Whig

landowners. The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette pointed to these aspects in its report on the meeting on January 7th, 1815:

> Mr. John Harvey ... did not consider the principle of this tax, either unjust, or oppressive ... It was a tax operating upon the rich, which he approved. It moreover reached a class of persons, which hardly any other scheme of finance could affect, viz. the great capitalist.[22]

However, the property tax was abolished in 1816, to the great satisfaction of landowners.[23]

In this period, as the famous surveyor of agriculture in Britain, Nathaniel Kent, noted in his 1796 survey, rural Norfolk was undergoing substantial changes: traditional communal village farming was giving way to new systems of cultivation concentrated in large, privately owned or tenanted enclosed farms, while small farmers and the poor were increasingly being forced off the land.[24] The growing perception since the 18th century of land as a valuable commodity was intensified in the years of the French wars, a period which saw a staggering growth in enclosures as landowners were able to realise vast profits due to the Napoleonic blockades which prevented the importation of cheap foreign grain to Britain.[25] In the period of the late 18th and early 19th centuries the acceleration in the pace of enclosures[26] was bringing to a climax a crisis involving drastically changing views of the world. In the medieval era, during feudal times, human beings and the earth had been regarded, in a general sense, as a natural unity; human beings had not perceived themselves as apart from nature, but as living in communion with nature and as exercising their natural right to take their subsistence from the land.[27] However, through an

emerging social order based on industrialism and capitalism the lived environment was gradually abstracted and came to be seen as 'land,' as an object to be regarded in terms of profit rather than in terms of common nature to be used by all. The continuing process of private appropriation of land, and the conceptualisation of space in terms of property in land, not only gave rise to growing unrest and distress, but also to tensions around the issue of how to represent the rural environment and its landscape.

At the turn of the century questions of land-ownership and the control of land were increasingly the subjects of contestation and of public debates initiated in particular by radical factions. In Norfolk Coke of Holkham, who derived a large part of his wealth from exploitation of the land, was especially the object of criticism. Thus, in the specific context of land-ownership, an election pamphlet of 1796 accused him of leasing large properties into a few hands, and thereby preventing "the industrious poor man from ever having a farm."[28] Indeed, in this period in Britain land-ownership and the power of the great landowners were being widely criticised and attacked, and revolutionary agrarian radicalism was a much publicised and widely feared political movement. The most notable organisation of radical agrarianism was that of the Spencean Christian Philanthropists, a movement which openly advocated the abolition of private land-holdings and saw as its mission the education of public opinion, leading the people

toward an eventual revolution which would overthrow the system of private ownership of land. [29]

Thomas Spence, the founder of the movement, had first published his ideas in the late 18th century, but his doctrine was still widely circulated in the second decade of the 19th century. According to the Spencean Philanthropists, landlords were the oppressors of the people.[30] In 1816 Thomas Evans, librarian of the Spencean Philanthropist Society, published a pamphlet titled "Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire," in which he described the situation of cottagers and the effects of the enclosure movement:

> I have lived long enough to witness the effect of enclosure after enclosure, and tax after tax; expelling the cottager from gleaning the open fields, from his right of the common, from his cottage, his hovel, once his own; robbing him of his little store, his pig, his fowls, his fuel; thereby reducing him to a pauper, a slave.[31]

The Philanthropists held that the territory of the nation was the "people's farm," provided for them by their Creator:[32]

> The divine laws promulgated through the interposition of Moses, command the establishment of an agrarian commonwealth, a republic ... all the land and all the buildings in a Christian community should be the declared property of all the people ... The territory of a nation is the people's farm, provided for them by their great Creator ... I ask the present pretended proprietors of the world, how came it theirs? ... God gave the earth we inhabit, equally for the use of all the human race.[33]

The Saxon and Norman disputes discussed in the first Chapter of this thesis also had crucial implications for questions of ownership and control of the land. In fact what was at stake in the disputes around the Saxon and Norman past was not only who could represent the nation, but also who could claim the right to ownership of the land. While evoking the myth of the Saxon

Golden Age and stating that England's true constitution had been established by its Saxon ancestors, Evans also emphatically asserted the right of the conquered Saxons to the land. He maintained that the Saxon King Alfred had founded an agrarian commonwealth in England:

> ... it cannot be denied that Alfred the Great, Alfred the Good, whose name will never be forgotten ... established in this island the agrarian common-wealth, rooting out that enemy to mankind--paganism; by destroying feudality in the soil ... and dividing the land among the people ...[34]

It was the Norman Conquest, according to Evans, that had instituted again a system of feudalism.[35] However, Evans maintained that King Alfred's constitution was a written one which the Norman Conquest could not obliterate:

> Alfred was the third saviour of the liberties of the world; his constitution was a written one ... all the tyranny of the pagan Norman conquest could not obliterate it ...[36]

Evans also called for the cancellation of the Domesday Book in which William the Conqueror had recorded his distributions of the land to his vassals, [37] and on which the aristocracy based their claims to ownership. He demanded that the land should be restored to the people:

> All the land, the waters,the mines, the houses, and all permanent feudal property, must return to the people, the whole people, and be administered in partnership ... If our divine institutions, our real constitution, established by our pious Saxon ancestors, was destroyed by the tyranny of the Norman conquest; that again introduced paganism, (the feudal system) which has lasted eight centuries, is it not time it should be wholly abolished?[38]

That Spencean Christian Philanthropy and Evans' pamphlet posed real threats to current systems of land-ownership is attested by the response of the conservative journal The Quarterly Review, in 1816, where the situation of Coke in

Norfolk was raised. The anonymous author argued that Robespierre had had ideas similar to those professed by Thomas Evans. The article amounted to a warning to landowners, and in particular made mention of the Whig Member of Parliament Thomas Coke, no doubt in allusion to the attack made upon him in front of Norwich Castle by the 'mob' angered by the Corn Laws in March 1816:

> ... the French Revolution made Spence suppose that the time for realising his speculations was arrived ... 'We must destroy private property,' he says 'all private property in land. The landholders are like a warlike enemy quartered upon us for the purpose of raising contributions, therefore anything short of a total destruction of the power of these Samsons will not do; and that must be accomplished, not by a simple shaving (look to it Mr. Coke of Norfolk!) not by a simple shaving, which leaves the root of their strength to grow again;--no, we must scalp them, or else they will soon recover and pull our Temple of liberty about our ears. Nothing less than a complete extermination of the present system of holding land will ever bring the world again to a state worth living in ... The people have only to say, Let the land be ours, and it will be so.'[39]

But The Quarterly Review also voiced conservative fears of radical organisations like the Spenceans and warned that reforms called for by "Ultra Whigs" risked opening the way for subversive groups to gain more power:

> The Spencean levellers have organised themselves in regular sections, they are increasing in numbers, and they are zealously spreading their opinions ... If the system were taken up by a stronger hand ... it would be found as Thor's mallet ... If the English Revolution were once commenced, it would go on ... to an iron tyranny. Let the Ultra Whigs make the break, and the Spenceans will level the wall--what the shavers begin the scalpers will finish.[40]

In Norwich fear of the "Spencean levellers" was also expressed by a conservative supporter of the Anglican Church, the Norfolk lawyer William Firth, in a letter of 1813 to Henry Bathurst, the

Bishop of Norwich[41] who was well known for his tolerant views towards dissenting sects.[42] Firth was critical of tolerant attitudes towards Non-conformist beliefs, and he strongly advocated one universal Church as the best protection of social peace. Firth in particular attacked "universal philanthropy" which he saw as posing a revolutionary danger to the social fabric and to public and private property:

> I would have you, my Lord ... beware of this universal philanthropy system. It is a treacherous word, and has a pit-fall under every letter of it ... The universal philanthropy of these wrangling unquiet days would level all ranks and distinctions, marshal all property, public and private, subvert all order, extinguish all learning, pull down all establishments, appropriate all endowments, together with the payment of every tribute of gratitude, and by statute abate the rights of the heart to pity and the offices of Christian charity.[43]

Interestingly, Firth also commented on the "modern Teutonic origin" of the "universal philanthropy system," thus evoking the claims put forth in the 18th and early 19th centuries, outlined in Chapter One of this thesis, concerning the Saxon past with its democratic and equalising associations:

> Its field [universal philosophy's] is the whole moral and natural world, its supporters, agrarian and sumptuary laws ... As to its family and stock, it is of modern Teutonic origin, the elder sister of Sedition, and cousin-german to Rebellion! But ... it by no means follows, that what is morally good in the abstract, is necessarily a political good to be brought into action. On the contrary, that which is sound and true in ethicks in the closet of the Divine, may well be politically deleterious to the State when practically applied.[44]

2. Aristocratic genealogies; cosmopolitanism and nationalism. The turn to medievalism; chivalry and the patriarchal manor.

From the time of the Renaissance, historians and antiquaries in Britain registered an interest in the country's Roman past. The Roman presence in Britain had stretched over nearly five centuries, from the landing of Julius Caesar in 55 or 54 B. C. to the departure of the last legionaries in 410.[45] William Camden, the well-known 16th century antiquary, published in 1586 the first general survey of Britain's Roman history, Britannia. In this work Camden in particular reflected on the genetic and spiritual links between Roman and modern Britons:

> Whilst I thus treat of the Roman Empire in Britain (which lasted, as I said, about 476 years) I cannot but consider with my self, how many Colonies of Romans must be transplanted hither in so long time ... who intermarrying with the Britains, seated themselves here, and multiplied their Families ... I have often times concluded ... that the Britains should derive themselves from the Trojans by these Romans (who doubtless descended from them) ... And 'tis easy to believe that the Britains and Romans, by a mutual engrafting for so many years together, have grown up into one Nation ... Not to repeat what I have already said, that this island was call'd Romania, and the Roman Island.[46] [47]

As Ayres has observed in his study of classical culture in Britain, in this passage Camden represents the British as genetically Roman.[48] As classical civic and political ideals were fore-grounded for the political purposes of the land-owning oligarchy in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the preoccupation with Britain's Roman past intensified and involved archaeologists, historians and upper class Whigs.[49] The well-known classical scholar and antiquary William Stukeley, in the

introduction to his study of Roman antiquities in Britain, Itenarium Curiosum ..., of 1725, stressed the importance of reviving the 'Roman Glory' of the British:

> I hold myself obliged to preserve, as well as I can, the memory of such things as I saw; which added to what future times will discover, will revive the Roman glory among us, and may serve to invite noble minds to endeavour at that merit and public-spiritedness which shine through all their actions.[50]

Stukeley was also the founder in 1722 of a Roman society, "Equites Romani" or The Society of Roman Knights.[51] The members of the Society of Roman Knights were given Celtic or Roman names, many of them from the period of Julius Caesar's invasion.[52] Stukeley's speech at the first official meeting of the Society emphasised the historical link and continuity between the contemporary British and the ancient Romans in Britain, as well as the importance of preserving the memorials of the ancestors of the British:

> ... we are to be the Secretarys the interpreters & preservers of the memorials of our Ancestors & to commit them to the eternal cognisance of posterity. Whence the mystical circle of time that infolds all things shall centre in us, here place its beginning, here find its medium & its termination.[53]

While upper class Whigs had appropriated Palladian classicism as the 'national' style in the early 18th century, already since the Renaissance, as historian Ann Janowitz has noted, the nation had been conceived, among the aristocracy and the upper classes, "in more genealogical than geographic terms," as having its origin in the ancient classical world.[54] That is, "the site of national origin was taken to be external to physical terrain, and derived

from the classical tradition, in which the nearest genealogical link to be found was in a mythological parent-child relation between Rome and England."[55] The aristocracy and the upper classes had thus used "cultural materials as the simulacrum of a nation, without locating that nation as a geographical entity."[56] Most significantly, however, Stukeley was particularly instrumental in involving the ruling oligarchy in Romano-British research and archaeology.[57] As Ayres has observed, when archaeological research was able to detect remains of Roman settlements and architecture on the lands of upper class individuals, it could also provide the owners of the land with a tangible hereditary connection with Roman history; this connection could consequently be used to imply that the country seats of the aristocracy had come down to them from the Roman Britons.[58] The French Revolution, however, forced a shift in such appropriation of classical ideals through its own adoption of Roman Republican symbolism.[59] Although the Revolution's appropriation of the classical ideal of liberty differed significantly from that employed in England by land-owning Whigs of the 17th and 18th centuries, still, following 1789, the vocabulary of Palladian classicism could no longer be exclusively associated with specific British and elite values. One result was that, instead, the medieval past came more and more to be adopted to historically justify upper class claims to positions of power and, importantly, to ownership of land.

The interest in the medieval past in Britain in the 18th and early 19th centuries was manifested in antiquarianism, a popular

vogue for things Gothic[60] and a growing preoccupation with national and regional history and geography. Although it is tempting to see these interests as signalling a resistance to the contemporary classical cosmopolitan worldview of the elite and a rejection of aristocratic pan-Europeanism in favour of the nation as based in geographical regions and in national heritages,[61] what is important to note is that the upper classes, by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, began to appropriate the medieval past as a traditional legitimation for their ruling position and control over the land. As historian Linda Colley has shown, the British aristocracy were able to preserve their positions of power in the turbulent aftermath of the French Revolution partly because they adopted a patriotic stance, representing themselves as dedicated to serving the nation.[62]

The involvement with the country's medieval past formed a part of this increasing preoccupation with patriotism among the ruling elite. The identification with their own national past took, at one level, the form of an association with the Norman dynasty as providing lineage, and with Norman regulations, including the Domesday book, which legalised their ownership of the land. However, as the Norman Conquest itself was attacked in the early 19th century by radicals as an illegal occupation of England,[63] and as the Norman-derived aristocracy in Britain was also in this period increasingly criticised for their 'foreign' and 'French' tastes, and faulted for their corruption and abuses of political power and for their capitalist exploitation of the land, the emphasis on the Norman past underwent a

transformation. Thus the aristocratic upper classes began to associate and identify themselves, not only with a Norman and medieval heritage, but in particular with medieval aristocratic chivalry and benevolent paternalism, representing themselves as the heirs and defenders of traditional piety and moral values, as well as the responsible guardians of the land. The image of medieval chivalry had, since the latter part of the 18th century, been established in national literature, most famously with Richard Hurd's work Letters on Chivalry and Romance, originally published in 1762.[64] Walter Scott's Waverley novels and his medieval romance, Ivanhoe, and Kenelm Digby's famous work on medieval chivalry, The Broad Stone of Honour; Or, the True Sense and Practice of Chivalry, first published anonymously in 1822 and 1823,[65] testify to the widespread vogue for medieval chivalry in Britain in the early 19th century.

Thus, in the early 19th century the aristocracy and the upper classes could be associated with both a classical and a medieval heritage. This sense of a dual and divided heritage can be detected in representations of country-houses and their aristocratic upper class owners which emphasised both classical and medieval imagery. For example, Robert Havell's title-page in his A Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, of 1823, features an arrangement of prints of famous country-houses and sites, both classical and Gothic (fig. 44). The depictions of classical and Gothic monuments and buildings surround an image of the Royal Arms, while the whole is framed in a curved ogee arch, a feature of Gothic architecture. In

addition to displaying the allegiance of the upper classes to the Hanoverian Royal House, the nobility is here associated both with medieval and with classical traditions, that is, with a national heritage and roots as well as with cosmopolitan and international allegiances.

Neale, in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, of 1818-1823, attempted to give a concise systematic and historical account of the developments, both social and stylistic, of Britain's country houses. In the introduction Neale emphasised the central place of the country manors in the historical and cultural life of the nation, noting for example their magnificent art collections and extensive libraries, and paid special attention to the architectural development of the houses and the "prevalent and distinguishing features of each successive era from early time" as "worthy of investigation."[66] In particular, Neale linked the development of architecture with current debates on 'race.' Beginning with earliest history, Neale wrote that the ancient Britons, "that rude though independent race, were content with simple structures, not calculated for long duration," and that it was "from the Romans, who introduced a refinement in manners and customs wherever their dominion extended," that the ancestors of the British "acquired a regular, ornamental and durable style of architecture."[67] He argued that the "elegant establishments" in use by the Romans, "that refined people ... must have been possessed by the incorporated Roman-Britons," who remained after the Roman legions had left Britain.[68] Although Neale further

contended that under the Saxon King Alfred the arts had been revived and protected in Britain, he also claimed that the "uncivilised" Saxons lacked the ability to improve on the arts and the architecture of the Romans. [69] Predictably Neale favoured the Normans, the ancestors of Britain's upper classes. Indeed, his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen was dedicated to prominent members of the aristocracy.[70] Neale contended that it was through the Norman Conquest that England became truly capable of cultivating the arts:

> ... every example of early architecture remaining in the kingdom partakes of the character of the Roman, but less and less fettered by rule, until by degrees the modes of building, mis-called Saxon, prevailed ... the Saxons, an uncivilised people, were alike destitute of an ability and inclination to add to the degree of perfection, which the natives, instructed by Rome, had previously acquired ... By the Norman Conquest we were placed in a situation of receiving from Normandy the arts which that comparatively enlightened people had cultivated.[71]

In turn, medieval architecture was termed "our ancient and national architecture."[72] Although Neale lauded the Palladian mansions of the aristocracy and the upper classes, for example Holkham Hall in Norfolk,[73] he reserved his warmest admiration for the baronial mansions of the medieval era:

> We cannot fail to express the pleasure with which our fancy dwells on the ancient baronial mansion, encompassed by a great extent of domain and approached through an avenue of spreading trees; the magnitude of the building, its irregularity and grandeur of design, its diversity of form in its various parts, and the rich decorations both of the painting and gilding on its exterior, are far more calculated to strike the imagination than the most correct model of the Grecian school.[74]

The privileged status given to the medieval period was evident in his assessment of modern architects. In his description of

domestic architecture in the 18th century Neale praised the brothers Adams for their restrained classicism; he also noted the path-breaking work of "Athenian Stuart" in his study of the exact measurements of Greek temples and saw him as having "established the foundations of a decided taste for elegance in architecture."[75] However, in concluding his historical survey of Britain's domestic architecture of the 18th century, Neale fore-grounded the architect James Wyatt, designer of the famous Gothic Revival structure Fonthill Abbey, by praising his contribution to the reviving of the ancient architecture of the country:

> It was left to Wyatt to commence a revival of the neglected beauties of the ancient architecture of the kingdom by a proper attention to its character and peculiarities. The splendid mansions at Fonthill in Wiltshire ... will attest to posterity the progress he had made in the attempt to restore a style of building that for centuries had been adopted and admired in our Baronial residences. Neglected and stigmatised as gothic, or barbarous, on the introduction of classic models; it has again asserted its pretensions to public favour in all its characteristic magnificence ...[76]

Although Thomas Coke's renowned estate at Holkham was a Palladian mansion, Neale carefully inserted in his description of the estate and its owner references to a manorial paternalism that evoked an earlier historical period and which Neale would, in other entries, associate more explicitly with a feudal and baronial social organisation. Describing Coke's estate at Holkham in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Neale elaborated on the Palladian architecture, the magnificent art collections and extensive library of the manor, but especially focused on Coke's hospitality, his agricultural

improvements and his famous sheep-farming.[77] Neale noted Holkham's reputation as a model rural estate, and he praised Coke's "liberal hospitality" at the annual sheep-shearing meetings at Holkham:

> At the annual Holkham sheepshearing, and agricultural meeting, he [Coke] entertains, for several successive days, not fewer than 3000 individuals of various ranks and professions of his neighbours, of strangers, and of foreigners.

Robert Havell, in his lavish and beautifully illustrated A Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, included a large tinted engraving of Holkham Hall, drawn by Elizabeth Blackwell and engraved by Havell, showing the Palladian mansion at Holkham surrounded by its well-tended grounds and its sheep-farming operation (fig. 45). In his description of the famous sheep-shearing meetings at Holkham, Havell emphasised that they included visitors of every rank and that "The true English hospitality of the host is extended likewise to all." He in particular underlined Coke's important service to his country, stressing that the successful management of the estate at Holkham benefited the whole nation:

> ... it is impossible to pass over in silence--the benefits he has conferred upon his native county and indeed upon the whole kingdom, by his agricultural meetings. At these, the house is for three days open to visitors of every description. Scarcely any rank is so high as not to find its equal in the society then present; none is so low as not to experience a ready admittance provided the talents or knowledge of the parties warrant an application for it ... We are to consider Holkham as one of those seats which do honour to the kingdom, and which, in the possession of our commoners, is a proud characteristic of England ...[78]

This identification of the upper classes with a manorial paternalism could have explicit medieval associations. For example in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Neale praised feudalism and its association with the Norman Conquest, claiming that "the institution of the Feodal system inculcated a high sense of honour and military pride."[79] However, he also emphasised that a universal hospitality, benevolence and charity toward the poor were practised by the medieval owners of aristocratic mansions:

> ... feasts were the means of rendering the nobility extremely popular; the poor also were daily partakers of their hospitality and charity ...[80]

Neale also claimed that after the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII, the nobility had extended their traditional hospitality and had taken over the former monastic responsibilities of caring for travellers and the poor. Indeed, the manors of the nobility were described with this function in mind. In Neale's account they were

> calculated for a display of much hospitality, afterwards rendered more necessary by the dissolution of the Monasteries, where formerly the traveller had been entertained, and the poor provided with food ... [the poor] now turned to the mansions of the nobility for that support which was sometimes made a condition in the grants of ecclesiastical property ...[81]

Neale also related how after the Dissolution and the destruction of the monasteries the former monastic edifices furnished the building materials for the new mansions of the nobility:

> When the fate of the numerous monastic institutions of the kingdom was decided by Henry VIII, many of the favourites of that monarch were enriched by the spoil, receiving noble manors and large estates which had belonged to the

> dissolved houses; the monastic buildings were doomed to furnish materials for the new mansions.[82]

In short, the nobility's continuation of the hospitable functions and charitable work of the monastic institutions was given symbolic status in Neale's account at a material level, through the physical appropriation, stone by stone, of the former monastic edifices now re-fabricated as country seats.

While Neale emphasised the social role played by the aristocratic manors, he also took care to comment on the waning of their power since medieval times. He noted how the statutes of Henry VII which forbade the nobility to keep retainers, and allowed them to sell their estates, greatly diminished the power of the nobles:

> When Henry VII attained the Crown, His laws against engaging retainers greatly lessened the grandeur of the Barons; the statutes admitting the sale of their estates ... completed the annihilation of their former exorbitant power ...[83]

While the several volumes of Neale's work were dedicated to members of the nobility, the publication was also targeted, as the lists of subscriptions included in the different volumes show, to a large group of merchants, industrialists and professional individuals, some of whom also had their country houses illustrated and described in his publication. Neale in fact criticised--although safely--the unequal social organisation of medieval times, writing that while the institution of the "Feodal system" inculcated a high sense of honour and military pride, it admitted only two ranks of society, the potent Barons and their vassals who were chiefly employed in cultivating the lands of the manor.[84] In this context

Neale took care to emphasise that the growth of commerce, and the ascendancy of a new class of merchants served to balance the power of the nobility:

> Commerce was encouraged from political motives by the monarch, who thereby created a new class of subjects forming a balance to the power of the nobles and by that means laid the foundation of a more equal distribution of wealth.[85]

According to Neale, mercantile wealth and the repeal by Henry VII of the statutes which had stipulated that prospective builders of mansions had to obtain a license from the king, encouraged the increase of manorial country residences, the source of much of England's national pride:

> This important change in society gave rise to the many country residences which now appear on every side amid the perfection of agriculture, and which are a source of so much gratification to our national pride.[86]

In the 18th and early 19th centuries the idea of feudalism, as a vaguely defined historical mode of social organisation, was exploited by different political factions, and variously interpreted in terms of land-ownership and tenure, the private exercise of public authority, or as an embodiment of a chivalric ideal.[87] What in particular emerges from Neale's discussion is a preoccupation with a responsible and benign characterisation of the nobility and the upper classes at a time when their influence was being widely criticised; Neale's discussion played down the political power of the aristocracy, instead focussing on the benevolent patriarchal and socially responsible position of the upper classes.[88]

Other representations produced in the period also emphasised the patriarchal character of land-owning estates. An

anonymous print of the early 19th century underlines Coke's ties with the region of Norfolk and with its rural area; the print shows Coke involved in the management of his farm, inspecting his sheep-farming operation in the company of his tenants, against the background of the Neo-Palladian façade of Holkham Hall and the Gothic Church at Holkham (fig. 46). The view is inscribed with the text "Portrait of Thomas William Coke, Esq., M. P. for Norfolk. Inspecting some of his South down Sheep with Mr. Walton and the Holkham Shepherds."[89] Since the middle of the 18th century, capitalising on the growing commercialisation of agriculture, landowners had began to involve themselves more directly with the management of their holdings and their tenants.[90] Coke was continually being lauded for the economic prosperity of his farm, seen as due to his personal involvement, but he was also praised for the well-being of his tenants and labourers, and for the benefits his agricultural practices had rendered to the poor.[91] Representing Coke in the context of his rural domains in Norfolk would have served indirectly to distance him from his political position as Member of Parliament, and, as well, from his support of widely unpopular Parliamentary legislation such as the Corn Bill of 1815, and the abolition of the property tax, both of which favoured landowners but hurt labourers and the poor. Furthermore, in this print the Gothic Church at Holkham,[92] depicted prominently against the lighted sky, is accorded equal visual importance with the Palladian Holkham Hall. Already in the earlier half of the 18th century, while classical art and culture were still predominant

among the upper classes in Britain, Gothic buildings had occasionally been erected in country house gardens, sometimes associated with the new 'Gothic' political liberty of the land-owning Whigs. Thus, featured alongside classical buildings and emblems, Gothic edifices had participated, albeit in an obscure fashion, in the writing of a history of Britain which included its classical civilisation as well as its national historical past. Lord Cobham erected in his famous gardens at Stowe House in Buckinghamshire a classical temple, The Temple of Ancient Virtue in the Elysian Fields, designed by William Kent in 1734, and a Gothic temple, the Temple of Liberty, designed by James Gibbs in 1741-1744. Significantly, however, in distinction from Lord Cobham's gardens at Stowe House where the Gothic Temple of Liberty was a fantasy edifice, a garden 'folly,' the anonymous early 19th century print of Coke figures an actual Gothic Church, a building with the potential to evoke a wide range of issues, including that of the combined social roles of the Church and the manor. Indeed, the rule of the modern landlord can here be seen as being symbolically sanctioned and supported by the Church, and the manorial lord represented as the protector and guardian of rural England's welfare. This image, while retaining Coke's links with classical Whig liberty and the ideal of civic humanism, also calls up associations with a religious heritage, and can be seen to conjure up a sense of regional paternalistic and modern 'feudalism,' at exactly the time when the social geography and relations in rural areas were drastically

changing, and the control of land was increasingly being vested in the hands of a few powerful individuals.[93]

3. Imaging the medieval priory; picturesque mediation and the rewriting of the historical ruin.

Emerging at this time when dynamic changes in the relations of production brought about shifts in social relationships,[94] and when land in the rural areas of Norfolk was being claimed by competing interests, representations of medieval ecclesiastical antiquities, outside of Norwich, as those within the city, not only represented the historical past, but also participated in issues and debates relating to the turbulent present. Among the most frequently represented ecclesiastical antiquities in the Norfolk region were the famous ruins of Castle Acre Priory. The ruins of the Priory were shown in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain in an image engraved by William Woolnoth after a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (fig. 6). These ruins were also represented in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, in a print engraved by J. Smith after a drawing by Edward Dayes (fig. 47), and in an etching by Cotman in his A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (fig. 7). The history of Castle Acre Priory was well known and repeated in the travel and antiquarian publications of the period. As Britton told his readers in The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, Castle Acre Priory had been founded about 1085 for the Clugniac order by the first

Earl Warren and Surry to whom William the Conqueror had given 140 manors in Norfolk, [95] and it had been destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII.

The importance attached to the nation's medieval antiquities, both as works of nature and as belonging to the whole nation, was emphasised by the famous writer on domestic travel and theorist on the picturesque, William Gilpin, in 1786:

> The refined code of this court [the court of taste] does not consider an elegant ruin as a man's property, on which he may exercise at will the irregular sallies of a wanton imagination: but as a deposit, of which he is only the guardian, for the amusement and admiration of posterity.--A ruin is a sacred thing. Rooted for ages in the soil; assimilated to it; and become, as it were, a part of it; we consider it as a work of nature, rather than of art.[96]

Representations of antiquities and ruins were in this period frequently dedicated to the landowners on whose grounds the edifices were located, and the texts often commented on and praised the owners' roles as guardians, and lauded their endeavours to preserve the buildings. The engraving of Castle Acre Priory in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain was dedicated to Thomas Coke on whose lands the ruins of the Priory were situated. Britton's text beneath Mackenzie's picture reads:

> To Thomas William Coke, Esq. M. P. on whose estate the above ruins are situated, and who laudably preserves them from wanton demolition, this plate is inscribed by his obedient servant. J. Britton.

In his text accompanying Mackenzie's image of Castle Acre Priory, Britton noted that the original Norman entrance dating to the 11th century still survived although it had been superseded by the later Gothic window, and that the former

residence of the prior now served as a farmhouse. The farmhouse is emphasised in the picturesque images by Mackenzie, Dayes and Cotman. Dayes's representation shows the farming family at work around the Priory; in Mackenzie's image the farmhouse is alluded to in the depiction of pigs in front of the ruin, and in Cotman's etching in the rickety fence which surrounds the livestock enclosure. All three images thus emphasise a sense of historical continuity, from the Norman foundation of the Priory to the later Gothic architectural additions and eventually to the farmhouse. In addition, Dayes's print also shows the Gothic parish Church at Castle Acre in the background, further tying together past and present in a sense of natural continuity.

Another important landmark included in the publications on architectural antiquities of Norfolk were the ruins of the monastery and Priory Church at Walsingham.[97] Walsingham Priory was shown in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales in an engraving by R. Sands from a drawing by Neale (fig. 9), and in two engravings in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, after drawings by Cotman (figs. 10, 48). Britton also showed in his The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain an image of Walsingham Priory Church, engraved by S. Rawle after a drawing by Jos. Gandy and a sketch by F. Mackenzie (fig. 8); in this work Britton informed the reader that the Priory was founded in or about 1061 by Ricoldie de Faverches, in honour of the Virgin Mary, and that it had been destroyed at the Dissolution of the monasteries.[98] Walsingham Priory, being a repository for miraculous relics, had in fact been an important destination for

pilgrims from all over the country and indeed from Europe, rivalling even Canterbury.[99] The representations of Walsingham Priory, in a manner similar to the images of Castle Acre Priory, emphasise historical continuity. One of Cromwell's images of Walsingham Priory, engraved by T. Ronson after Cotman's drawing (fig. 10), shows the ruins set within a pastoral landscape with figures of women and children by a stream, with the image conjuring up a sense of continuity from generation to generation through succeeding historical eras. The other image in Cromwell's work, engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by Cotman (fig. 48), shows an overview of the town of Walsingham, which includes the shadowy ruins of the Priory in the far left corner of the image, the Anglican Church at Walsingham in the centre,[100] and to the right a Palladian villa, the residence of Henry Lee Warner who was, as Cromwell pointed out in his description, the present owner of the Priory site.[101] This image thus also narrates a historical succession, from the ruined Priory to the Gothic Church and the modern Palladian manor house. Neale's image of Walsingham Priory in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales (fig. 9) shows Walsingham Church, which in the early 19th century served as a place for Anglican worship, as framed by the monastic medieval ruins of the old Catholic Priory; the present emerges naturally framed within the historical, medieval past. In this respect the representations of ruined abbeys and priories, marked as they were by modern habitations and modern economies, negotiated contemporary regimes of power by

aesthetising both the rural poor and the social hierarchies of past and present.

Picturesque landscape imagery has also been examined in the context of liberal and conservative ideologies. Most recently, Ann Bermingham has argued that the picturesque aesthetic, with its emphasis on the details, particularities and varieties of nature, was perceived in political terms in the years after the French Revolution. An emphasis on the 'real' details and variety in nature, as forming parts of a naturally harmonious whole, implied a celebration of the particular and the individual, in a reaction to the universalistic ideas of the French Revolution.[102] Within such a frame the picturesque representations of Castle Acre Priory and Walsingham Priory can be read as underscoring a slow and evolutionary change effectively linking past and present within a varied, harmonious whole. As such, the picturesque gives form to contemporary claims that the harmonious assimilation of opposing historical heritages could be achieved in modern Britain. By implication, this narrative of time obviates contemporary calls for radical destruction of past institutions and past social forms. However, images of ruins, with their different and varied history and human connotations, also formed a category rich in conflicting meanings and associations. Given the shifting and unstable political environment of early 19th century Britain, the ruins of Castle Acre Priory and Walsingham Priory, with their accretions of modern sheds and domiciles and evidences of modern occupation, could also challenge and disrupt both conservative and

conciliatory readings. It is my argument here that it is important to examine these images as sites where a wide range of tensions, involving conflicts between different social groups and interests, could be played out and negotiated. Of particular significance here is the charged field of the contested history of the Church in Britain's past and present.

Since the Protestant Reformation the medieval Catholic age had been represented in terms of abusive papal power and superstition, and monastic and abbatial edifices had stood as symbols of an era of spiritual darkness and monkish fraudulence and guile. However, as historian Margaret Aston has noted, since the Dissolution of the monasteries British historians and antiquaries had also continually lamented the despoliation of the Catholic monasteries and the destruction of the learning and charity which these institutions had embodied; hence, the monastic and abbatial edifices had also stood as reminders of the wanton demolition of an important part of Britain's heritage.[103] From the latter part of the 18th century the medieval past began to be evoked in specific terms as an ideal age, and ruins of churches, monasteries and abbeys came to be represented as symbols of an era of social harmony, religious piety and spirituality. Thus the well-known poet George Crabbe, lamenting the destruction of the old monastic edifices, wrote in his poem The Borough of 1810:

> ... The earth where abbeys stood
> is layman's land;--the glebe, the stream, the wood;
> His oxen low where monks retired to eat,
> His cows repose upon the prior's seat;
> And wanton doves within the cloisters bill

Where the chaste votary warr'd with wanton will.[104]

While the Anglican Church was frequently being criticised for the worldliness of its ecclesiastics and for negligence toward its parishes, the Catholic Church was increasingly founding its claims to legitimacy both on its ancient roots in England's Saxon era and in its historic role as the leading centre of charity and learning during the Middle Ages. In the years leading up to Catholic Emancipation in 1829, Catholicism was more and more represented by Catholic historians as an integral part of Britain's history. The Reverend Joseph Berington, member of the liberal Roman Catholic Cisalpine movement, defended in his The Rights of Dissenters from the Established Church in Relation Principally to the English Catholics, of 1789, the Catholic faith against charges of Papal domination.[105] He denied that high Papalism had been an intrinsic part of Catholicism, and treated it as a product of a stage in the development of society.[106] Further, Berington's history linked the Catholic question to England's constitutional tradition, and he argued that Catholicism could not be incompatible with the constitution, for the constitution had in large measure been created by English Catholics.[107]

The Catholic priest and historian John Lingard wrote the first comprehensive history of the introduction of Christianity to Saxon England, The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which was published in 1806.[108] Lingard related how the conversion of the Saxons to the Christian Catholic Faith had been brought about by Catholic monks and missionaries sent by

Pope Gregory to Britain in the sixth century. In his description of the Saxon Church, Lingard fore-grounded its monastic organisations and its close contact with the Papacy, but he also placed great emphasis on the piety and charity of the Catholic monks and clergy, representing them as the true benefactors of a barbaric Saxon society, and as the force which had brought civilisation to Saxon England.[109] As the Catholic Faith was shown by Lingard to have been the original Christian Faith of the Saxons, then, implicitly, the Protestant Reformation could be seen as having overthrown Britain's original Church.

Bishop John Milner, in his famous The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, of 1798, also stressed the fact that Saxon and medieval England had been Catholic, and he linked the Catholic Saxon Church to the Anglo-Saxon polity and to the English Constitution, identifying the cult of king Alfred and Saxonism with Roman Catholicism.[110] Milner described the town of Winchester in terms of continuing social decline which he linked to the Protestant Reformation and related to the decline of English society as a whole.[111] Indeed, Milner argued that the medieval Catholic monasteries had filled an important social role as charitable institutions:

> In a word, the monasteries, besides paying their quota to the state, supported the whole body of the poor; every where kept open, gratis, schools for the education of youth, and hospitals for the reception of the sick and infirm. They also let their lands upon such easy terms, and were otherwise so indulgent and beneficent to their tenants, that towns and cities almost every where grew up round their convents.[112]

The perceived change brought on by the Reformation had also been brought up by other writers who had noted the coincidence of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 16th century and the establishment of the Tudor Poor Laws.[113]

Milner's ideas in his The History Civil and Ecclesiastical ... of Winchester were, however, scathingly attacked by, among others, the Protestant churchman John Sturges, Chancellor of Winchester, in his Reflections on the Principles and Institutions of Papacy, in 1800, and by Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St. David's from 1803 and of Salisbury from 1825, in his The Protestant's Catechism. Milner responded to his critics in another work, The End of Religious Controversy, a collection of letters written originally in 1801 and 1802 but not published until 1819 due to political and religious repression.[114] In this work Milner emphasised the continuing loyalty which the English Catholics had shown toward the Crown.[115] Milner's sense of Catholic loyalty had, however, conservative political underpinnings which are clearly demonstrated in the fact that Milner included in his work an illustration "The Apostolical Tree" (fig. 49). The text below the image is a famous quote from The New Testament, John XV. 5.6, and reads:

> I am the vine, you are the branches, he that abideth in me beareth much fruit. If any one abide not in me he shall be cast forth as a branch & wither, & be thrown into the fire.

The image represents the history and the important personages of the Catholic Church, named in the branches of the Apostolic Tree, beginning from the Apostles and continuing to the present

time. However, the depiction also shows the withered branches, and the names here include not only 'heretics' such as Mahomet, Luther and George Fox, the founder of Quakerism in England, but also Condorcet, Robespierre, Voltaire and Rousseau. Hence in this work Milner, in a period of political volatility and uncertainty, represented the Catholic Church as a body defending social and political stability against rebellion and revolutionary uprising.

The growing tendency to regard Catholicism as an accepted religion had other important political underpinnings as well. Milner stressed that a fundamental fallacy of the Protestants was the belief that individuals were capable of finding the way to God and to Salvation through their own, private spiritual inspiration, without the interceding of the Church. According to Milner, such private spiritual inspiration could in fact be dangerous and lead to delusions; the acceptance of the principle of individual interpretation of the Bible had historically led to the splintering of the Church into numberless sects, as well as to violent confrontations between different religious factions.[116] Milner refuted the Protestant tenet that the Bible was the main source of true understanding and that every individual was a judge for himself of the sense and meaning of the Scriptures.[117] He reiterated the Catholic belief in the authority of the Church and of tradition over individual interpretations of the Bible:

> On the other hand, we Catholics hold that the word of God in general, both written and unwritten, in other words, the Bible and Tradition, taken together, constitute the Rule of Faith, or Method appointed by Christ for finding out the

> true Religion; and that, besides the Rule itself, he has provided in his Holy Church, a living, speaking Judge to watch over it and explain it in all matters of controversy.[118]

Milner's work, addressing the question of the Bible and the Scriptures as having the potential for endlessly multiple readings and interpretations, also echoed contemporary secular and political preoccupation with clarity and distinction in language.[119] To demonstrate how factual vagueness of language impeded the establishment of sound Faith, Milner quoted from the 17th century poet John Dryden's poem Hind and Panther:

> As long as words a different sense will bear,
> And each may be his own interpreter,
> Our airy faith will no foundation find;
> The word's a weathercock for ev'ry wind.[120]

The denial of individual spiritual inspiration in Catholicism, and the emphasis on the authority of the Church would have been particularly significant at this time when dissenting groups, both political and religious, were seen as threats to the established social order and its hierarchical rankings.

In this period the Anglican clergy, including their highest echelons, were almost unanimous in their opposition to Catholic Emancipation. It is significant that Bishop Henry Bathurst of Norwich was the only one among the Anglican Bishops who supported Emancipation.[121] Bathurst was in fact outspoken in his demands for Catholic Emancipation, addressing both Anglican ecclesiastics and the House of Lords with the Catholic issue.[122] Thus the emphasis on the medieval era and its ecclesiastical antiquities would have had particular relevance in Norfolk, associated with debates around Catholic revival and

Emancipation. The depiction of Walsingham Priory Church in Norfolk, in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 8), showing the remaining imposing arch of the ruined Priory Church being admired by the minuscule figure of a tourist, thus raised a number of levels of associations. The image had the potential, not only to evoke interest in the architectural magnificence of the ruin, but also to convey a sense of celebration of England's Catholic and monastic heritage. Furthermore, the celebratory imaging of the powerful remains of Walsingham Priory Church and other monastic ruins can also be seen as indirectly critiquing the contemporary Anglican Church which, at this time, seemed to lack the ability to assume strong spiritual authority and leadership in support of the established social order. In face of the feeling of praise for the Catholic past, conveyed by the widespread popularity of representations of the medieval Church and its monastic remains, it is significant that Britton, like many other writers of antiquarian and travel books, indeed felt it necessary, in the Post-Reformation tradition, to disparage the monastic institution. In his text accompanying the depiction of Walsingham Priory Church, Britton wrote that "our Lady of Walsingham was held in sacred and superstitious veneration by the catholic community of former ages," and he characterised those who made pilgrimages to the shrine as immense crowds of "inferior devotees." Furthermore, according to Britton, the dissolution of the monastery at Walsingham was merited, as medieval sources attested the notorious "incontinency" of the

canons at Walsingham, and as "great superstition and much forgery was found in their feigned, pretended relicks and miracles."[123] The continual stress in travel and antiquarian publications on the alleged corruption and superstition inherent in the medieval monastic system constituted attempts at defending and justifying the Protestant Reformation, as a counter to the increasing sympathy among Britons, if not for the Catholic cause itself, but for the social organisation that was linked to Catholicism and to the Middle Ages. The tensions inherent in the imaging of the medieval Catholic Church and its institutions, alternatively in terms of an emphasis on the Catholic 'Dark Ages' and on the Catholic era as a time of charity and well-being, also served to disturb the marking of the Catholic past as the 'other,' traditionally used to differentiate and define a contemporary Protestant and 'enlightened' British national identity.

The historical tensions between Catholicism and Protestantism play a role in Neale's image, discussed above, of Walsingham Priory in Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales (fig. 9). In Neale's depiction the Gothic Anglican Church at Walsingham is given the central place and focus in the composition; however, the Church is framed by the imposing ruins of the Catholic Priory Church, hence giving weight, not only to a harmonious historical continuity, but also to the significance and importance of the Catholic and monastic heritages. Cotman's image of the town of Walsingham in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, also discussed above, shows a distant overview which

includes in the centre the Anglican Church at Walsingham, and to the left a windmill and the old Priory (fig. 48). In Cotman's image the tension between Catholic monasticism and Protestant Anglicanism is mediated through the sense of inclusion of both in the overview image; however, the tensions are not wholly erased, because the monastic ruins still form an important part of the countryside. Cromwell too, like Britton, felt the necessity to remind his readers of what were claimed to be the superstitious practices and deceptions of the Catholic priests, and he termed the monastic practices "mummeries" which were being played off in the "dark ages."[124] Cromwell also compared the dark ages with the present, and remarked on "the triumph of truth and knowledge over ignorance and falsehood" in the contemporary age.[125]

In this period when questions not only of the power but also of the social and civic responsibilities of the great landowners occupied such notable attention in political debates, the association of upper class landlords with the paternalistic social organisation of the Middle Ages served, at one level, to conceal the self-serving interest of the contemporary land-owning oligarchy as capitalist entrepreneurs. While in the representations of country houses the question of upper class domination over the land was being circumvented through the shift from an emphasis on Palladian Whig classical traditions to an association with medieval paternalism, the association of landowners with the Catholic and monastic past in the form of ruined monasteries, abbeys and priories can be seen as a further

step toward the erasure of the sense of rural exploitation from the image of the aristocratic landlords. However, associating the great landowners with the medieval past was also deeply problematic. Thus for instance, in the context of contemporary local distress and agrarian radicalism, the imaging of the Norfolk landowner Coke as the protector of the medieval ruins of Castle Acre Priory and as the heir to medieval feudal traditions had deep underpinnings in local tensions concerning the real threats to land-ownership and hence to the power of the upper classes.

Some of the important tensions which the imaging of Castle Acre Priory can be seen to conjure up relate to the history of the Priory itself. As Britton mentioned in his description of this site, the land on which the Priory stood had originally been given by William the Conqueror to his vassal, the First Earl Warren and Surry.[126] In the modern context of radical and Spencean critiques of land-ownership and the Norman usurpation of the land, the images of the Priory conjure up a fractured body politics. Furthermore, as Britton also noted in his description, Castle Acre Priory had been violently destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII. Thus the imaging of the Priory could also have reminded the viewers of the further usurpation by the nobility of the land which had belonged to the former Catholic monasteries, and had been used, albeit according to the Catholic myth, for the benefit of the people. In this context the inclusion in the representations of Castle Acre Priory of the farmhouse and cattle-shed are

significant. Although the inclusion of discordant elements such as cattle-sheds and decrepit farmhouses in depictions of architectural monuments and ruins was a common feature of picturesque imagery and the narratives of time that the picturesque entailed, such inclusions were also criticised. The architectural writer John Carter lamented the neglect and decay of the medieval abbeys and churches, the nation's heritage. He complained that an ancient chapel was used to keep a "covey of pigeons," that the ruins of Coventry Priory "had degenerated into a pig-pen," and that St. Ethelbert's Gate at St. Augustine's Abbey, near Canterbury Cathedral, had been "turned into a cockpit," its adjacent buildings serving as "hopdrying chambers." [127] That the inclusion of unseemly shacks in depictions of architectural antiquities could be read in terms other than those of the picturesque aesthetic is also shown by John Preston Neale's reaction to such representations in his Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches, of 1824. In his description accompanying the illustration of St. Alban's Church, drawn by Neale and engraved by T. Barker (fig. 50), Neale complained about a newer building abutting the majestic church, and he noted that this newer building had "of course" been omitted in his image:

> ... the prospect forces upon the mind a melancholy train of reflection on the instability of human institutions ... The south side ... of the venerable and majestic church is at present disgraced by a building immediately abutting against its sacred walls, betraying in its erection a violation of taste and feeling ... Such buildings ought always to be detached, in order to display the pristine dignity of the sacred pile. This building has been, of course, omitted in our view.[128]

While Neale left out the sheds in his images of ecclesiastical antiquities, the famous social and political reformer and radical journalist William Cobbett drew critical attention to these added buildings. Cobbett, shocked at the poverty and decline in rural Britain, upbraided the Church for the abandonment of its true charitable mission. He regarded England's medieval and Catholic era as an ideal age of social harmony and, although Cobbett was not a Catholic, he supported Catholic Emancipation; like Bishop Milner, he saw the Reformation as the source of social evils in Britain.[129] Writing in 1811 Cobbett praised the institution of the medieval monastery as a model for an ideal community, and he described the medieval Catholic Church as the defender of the poor.[130] Cobbett's views were condensed in a passage in his History of the Protestant Reformation, first published in 1824-1826, in which he lamented the decay and neglect of the medieval cloister and the medieval manor house:

> Look at the cloister, now become in the hands of a rackrenter, the receptacle for dung, fodder and faggot wood; see the hall, where, for ages, the widow, the orphan, the aged, and the stranger, found a table ready spread; see a bit of its walls now helping to make a cattleshed, the rest having been hauled away to build a workhouse; recognise in the side of a barn, a part of an once-magnificent Chapel.[131]

As a result, the juxtaposing in picturesque travel and antiquarian imagery of ruins from the pre-Reformation Catholic era with farmhouses and cattle-sheds can be seen as deeply meaningful in the turbulent early decades of the 19th century in Britain. At a time when the pre-Reformation period was

increasingly being elevated as an ideal, and when rural distress and resentment against enclosures and profiteering landlords in Norfolk ended up by erupting in the 1816 East Anglia Riots, images of sheds and farmhouses, growing up in the shadow of local monastic ruins, had the potential to conjure up tensions and disturbing associations linked to problematic social issues. These sheds and farmhouses, clinging to the remains of the old monastic walls, could evoke the desperate attempts of rural society to hold on to a traditional way of life, leaning on the institutions which had in the past provided them with a measure of security. Cobbett's observations, linking the ruination of the Catholic and the feudal past with the ruination of the contemporary social fabric, pointed out how these ruins did in fact signify for many social reformers exactly what was wrong with society in the early 19th century: the continuing erosion and destruction of a social system which had traditionally functioned to protect rural inhabitants and which had been able to secure the people's use of the land.

NOTES

[1] John Preston Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (London: W. H. Reid, 1818-1823).

[2] Colen Campbell was the most prominent architect of the Neo-Palladian movement in Britain, and author of the famous Vitruvius Britannicus (1715); Sir Robert Walpole was Prime Minister 1721-1742.

[3] The estate had previously belonged to the Boleyne family. It had been the home of Anne Boleyne before her marriage to Henry VIII.

[4] Carole Fabricant, "The literature of domestic tourism and the public consumption of private property," eds. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown, The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, Literature (London: Methuen, 1987).

[5] Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, vol. I, Introduction.

[6] Philip Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-century England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chapter 1, "Oligarchy of Virtue." Norfolk country houses, such as Holkham, Houghton and Wolterton contained famous collections of classical art, collected by their owners and inhabitants during their Grand Tours of Europe. Contemporary travel literature, such as Beatniffe's The Norfolk Tour, enumerated these collections in detail. See also Andrew W. Moore, Norfolk and the Grand Tour, (Fakenham: The Iceni Press, 1985).

[7] Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-century England, Chapter 1, "Oligarchy of virtue."

[8] Rudolf Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), Chapter 13, "Classical theory and eighteenth century sensibility," passim.

[9] Ibid.

[10] For a discussion of civic humanism, land-ownership and culture in 18th century Britain, see J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Chapter 13; John Barrell, The Political Theory of Painting. From Reynolds to Hazlitt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), introduction; David H. Solkin, Painting for Money. The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), Introduction.

[11] Thomas Coke undertook the Grand Tour in 1712-1718; he was an avid collector of art and antiquities, and he laid the foundations for the extensive and famous collections at Holkham. See Andrew W. Moore, Norfolk and the Grand Tour, pp. 33-39. The family's rise to prominence began with the political career of Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice in the early 17th century. On Sir Edward Coke, see Smith, The Gothic Bequest, pp. 2-10.

[12] Walter Rye, Coke of Holkham (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1895), p. 1.

[13] Rye, Coke of Holkham, p. 1.

[14] See Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends, vol. II, pp. 418-422.

[15] Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, vol. III, section on Norfolk, "Holkham Hall," un-paginated. On Holkham Hall, see also Tom Williamson, The Archaeology of the Landscape Park. Garden Design in Norfolk, England, c. 1680-1840 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1998), pp. 59-72.

[16] Letter from Martin Folkes Rishton to Coke, March 3rd, 1815; quoted in Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends, vol. II, p. 112.

[17] Smith, The Gothic Bequest, p. 139.

[18] Letter from Francis Burdett to Coke, Oct. 24th, 1812; quoted in Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and His Friends, vol. II, pp. 91-92.

[19] Ibid.

[20] The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, Jan. 7th, 1815.

[21] Harvey served as mayor in the early 1790s. See Jewson, The Jacobin City, pp. 30-32.

[22] The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, Sat. Jan. 21st, 1815.

[23] Peacock, Bread or Blood, p. 44.

[24] Nathaniel Kent, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk, pp. 170-190. Kent drew attention to the real distress in the countryside, and to tensions between the great landowners and small farmers. While praising the increased agricultural productivity in Norfolk, Kent was also critical of the practices of large farms, maintaining that they caused a decrease in the population of the countryside.

[25] G. E. Mingay, Parliamentary Enclosure in England. An Introduction to its Causes, Incidence and Impact 1750-1850 (London: Longman, 1997), p. 21.

[26] The enclosure movement can not be isolated from land improvements, changes in the mode of production, price-movements, changes in property relationships, and the concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a small group of upper-class individuals. Furthermore, as Raymond Williams' has argued, rack-renting, short-lease policies, and the need for greater capital for farms to survive in an increasingly competitive market were also among causes which drove people from the land. However, the parliamentary procedures for enclosures made this process more public and recorded, and rendered it one of the most visible explanations for rural distress. Many contemporaries, including Nathaniel Kent and William Cobbett, saw the enclosure movement as an important factor in rural distress. For a discussion of the enclosure movement and historical changes in agrarian and rural areas, see Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London: The Hogarth Press, 1993), Chapter 10. On revolutionary agrarianism, see Malcolm Chase, The People's Farm (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[27] See David Harvey, Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference, pp. 213-215.

[28] Election pamphlet in the Local Studies Library in Norwich.

[29] Spencean radicalism formed an important and much feared part of popular radicalism; the Spenceans were involved in the Spa Fields rebellion in London in 1816, and in the Cato Street conspiracy in 1819. The Spenceans were mentioned in no less than three parliamentary Committee of Secrecy reports in 1817. See David Worrall, "Agrarians against the Picturesque," The Politics of the Picturesque, eds. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 248. See also Malcolm Chase, The People's Farm.

[30] Thomas Evans, Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire ... (London: Seale and Bates, 1816) p. 16.

[31] Ibid., p. 17.

[32] The Philanthropists based their claim on the books of the Pentateuch, which state that God gave the land to the people, to be used in common by all.

[33] Thomas Evans, Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire, pp. 8-9, 15.

[34] Ibid., pp. 11-13.

[35] Ibid., p. 16.

[36] Ibid., pp. 11-13.

[37] Ibid., p. 16.

[38] Ibid., pp. 14, 16.

[39] Untitled article in The Quarterly Review, by an anonymous author, vol. XVI (1816): p. 267.

[40] Ibid., p. 270.

[41] William Firth, A Letter to the Right Reverend Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich: on the Tendency of some of his Public Opinions ... Containing a summary History of Roman Catholic Domination and Papal usurpation from the Conquest to the Revolution (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1813).

[42]Norwich was at this time well known for its, for the time, unusual tolerance toward religious Dissent and Non-conformity. Ursula Henriques, Religious Toleration in England 1787-1833 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 165, notes that Bishop Henry Bathurst was in fact the only

one among the Anglican Bishops who supported Catholic Emancipation. Edward Taylor, in John and Edward Taylor, History of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich (London, 1848), pp. 52-54, emphasised the harmonious relations between the members of different religious groups.

[43] Firth, A Letter to the Right Rev. Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich: on the Tendency of some of His Public Opinions ..., p. 16.

[44] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[45] Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, p. 85.

[46] William Camden, Britannia (1586); quoted in Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, p. 86.

[48] Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, p. 86.

[49] Ibid., p. 90.

[50] William Stukeley, Itenarium Curiosum; or, an Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain (1725); quoted in Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, p. 97.

[51] Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, p. 92.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Stukeley, (1725); quoted in Ayres, Classical Culture and the Ideal of Rome, p. 95.

[54] Ann Janowitz, England's Ruins. Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 9.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid. See also Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood; the Elizabethan Writing of England (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), especially Chapter 1, "Two versions of Gothic."

[57] Ayres, Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome, pp. 88-89.

[58] Ibid., pp. 98-99, 108-111.

[59] The most prominent example was the elevation of the Pantheon in Paris as the emblem of the Revolution. See Stephen Daniels, Fields of Vision. Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England & the United States (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 20.

[60] The Gothic novel was an important form of medievalism in the 18th and early 19th centuries. At one level, the Gothic novel epitomised a

powerful movement toward social levelling, through its concern with sensibility and the local, and through its 'carnivalesque' and burlesque qualities. For a discussion of the Gothic novel and sensibility, see Francis R. Hart, "Limits of the Gothic: The Scottish Example," in Racism in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Harold E. Pagliaro (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1973), pp. 137-153.

[61] Gerald Newman, in his "Anti-French propaganda and British liberal nationalism in the early nineteenth century," discusses the opposition in Britain to an aristocratic, classical and cosmopolitan worldview and the emergence of a more narrow concentration on the regional and the national, associated with the bourgeoisie. On the tensions between nationalism and cosmopolitanism see also Alan D. McKillop, "Local attachment and cosmopolitanism in the eighteenth-century pattern," in From Sensibility to Romanticism. Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle, eds. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 191-218.

[62] Linda Colley, Briton's. Forging the Nation 1707-1837, Chapter 4, discusses the British aristocracy's turn to patriotism and nationalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

[63] Thomas Paine had most famously attacked the legality of the Norman Conquest and the subsequent line of royalty. Paine questioned the "honourable origin" of "the present race of kings," continuing that "... it is more than probable that, could we take off the dark covering of antiquity and trace them to their first rise, that we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners ... obtained him the title of chief among plunderers ..." (Thomas Paine, Common Sense, ed. Nelson F. Adkins, p. 14).

[64] Richard Hurd, Letters of Chivalry and Romance (London, 1762).

[65] Kenelm Digby, The Broad Stone of Honour, 5 vols. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1877). See also Marc Girouard, The Return of Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman, for a discussion on the emerging vogue for medievalism among the upper classes.

[66] Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, vol. I, Introduction.

[67] Ibid., vol. I, p. i.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Volume I of Neale's Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen was dedicated to John Russell, Duke of Bedford; volume II was dedicated to Lord Grenville; volume III to George Granville Leveson Gower, Marquess of Stafford; volume IV to John Henry Manners, Duke of Rutland; volume V to John Murray, Duke of Atholl.

[71] Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, vol. I, pp. i-ii.

[72] Ibid., p. v.

[73] Ibid., vol. III. Description accompanying the illustration of Holkham Hall. Un-paginated.

[74] Ibid., vol. I, p. ix.

[75] Ibid., p. xviii.

[76] Ibid., p. xviii. James Wyatt designed the Gothic 'Fonthill Abbey' as a residence for William Beckford, son of a London alderman. The family had made their fortune from their colonial possessions and trade. See Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival, pp. 86-91.

[77] The lucrative farming of sheep which had, throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries led to enclosures of farmland and their conversion into grazing land was disapproved of by many as it encroached, not only on valuable farmland but also on the old village commons.

[78] Robert Havell, A Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats (London: Published by the Author, 1823), section on Holkham Hall, un-paginated.

[79] Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, vol. I, p. iii.

[80] Ibid., p. vii. William Stafford, in his "This once happy country: nostalgia for a pre-modern society," in The Imagined Past. History and Nostalgia, eds. Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase (Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 39, has pointed out that the 1817 edition of the Encyclopedia Brittannica located a Golden Age of feudalism in the era preceding the Norman Conquest. The Encyclopedia, describing this age, stated that "The cordiality, equality and independence, which then prevailed among all ranks in society, continued to be remembered in less prosperous times, and occasioned an ardent desire for the revival of those laws and usages which were the sources of as much happiness" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 5th ed. 1817, entry "Feodal system"), pp. 597, 599. It is thus important to note that Neale, in his Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen moved this Golden Age to the later era of the great medieval country houses; Neale's aim was to celebrate, not the Saxon rulers of the time prior to the Norman Conquest, but the aristocratic descendants of the Norman Conquerors, the present rulers and upper classes.

[81] Neale, vol. I, p. iv.

[82] Ibid., p. v.

[83] Ibid., p. iii.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., p. iv.

[86] Ibid.

[87] For a discussion of the problems involved in the defining of the concepts 'feudalism' and 'feudal society' in the study of medieval history, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of medieval Europe," The American Historical Review, vol. 79 (June 1974): pp. 1063-1088.

[88] Neale's position echoed that of Nathaniel Kent who, in his General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk ... (1796), pp. 132-133, argued that the gentlemen of landed estates were "the natural guardians" of "the middling and lower classes of society." In contrast with Neale, however, Kent also brought up the practical benefits to large landowners, arguing that they "would find their consequence much augmented, by a closer attention to the inferior husbandmen; and, I am greatly mistaken, if their [the landowners'] fortunes would not likewise be improved by it" (pp. 132-133).

[89] Anonymous view of Holkham, in the collections of Norwich Castle Museum.

[90] See John Rule, The Vital Century. England's Developing Economy 1714-1815 (London: Longman, 1992), p. 56.

[91] The well-known Norfolk farmer and historian Edward Rigby, in his Holkham, its Agriculture, &c (Norwich: R. Hunter, 1817), pp. 31-41, praised the estate at Holkham, arguing that the situation of the poor had been considerably improved through Mr. Coke's judicious management of his farm which employed a large number of local labourers.

[92] Cromwell, in his Excursions through Norfolk (1818), vol. I, p. 182, wrote that the Church at Holkham was thoroughly repaired in 1767 by the Countess of Leicester.

[93] Chase, in his The People's Farm, p. 11, discusses the sense of communal ownership of un-enclosed lands, both among urban workers who used the un-enclosed lands for leisure activities, and among rural inhabitants, who depended on the commons for their livelihood.

[94] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, pp. 46-53, discusses how changing relations of production produce changes in social space and changes in representations of space. The 18th and early 19th centuries constituted a historical period when the effects and consequences upon social and labour relationships caused by the gradual shift from a feudal rural organisation to a capitalist system of farming became increasingly evident and pronounced.

[95] Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. III, p. 2.

[96] William Gilpin, Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland, 2 vols. (London: R. Blamire, 1786; Facsimile ed., Surrey, England: The Richmond Publishing Co. Ltd., 1973), vol. II, p. 188.

[97] The monastery buildings at Walsingham were variously referred to by contemporary sources as 'abbey' and 'priory.' I will use the designations 'abbey' and 'priory' as employed by the authors of the texts and illustrations which I am examining.

[98] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV, pp. 102-104.

[99] Ibid. See also Tom Pocock, Norfolk (London: Random House, 1995), pp. 108-110.

[100] The Anglican Church at Walsingham was, according to Beatniffe's The Norfolk Tour, p. 274, built in the reign of Henry VI.

[101] Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, vol. 1, p. 178. According to Armstrong, in his History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, vol. 6, p. 77, the Lordship of Walsingham was conveyed, in 1637, "to Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester, a prelate famous for noble acts of charity." While the manors of Walsingham had changed owners several times after the 17th century, they were at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries again in the possession of the Warner family. Armstrong also informed the reader that the present owner of "the manors of Walsingham, and mills," and "divers lands" in the area, was Henry Lee-Warner, esq., who "has built here an agreeable seat, on the site of the priory" (p. 79).

[102] Ann Bermingham, "System, order and abstraction; the politics of English landscape drawing around 1795," Landscape and Power, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (The University of Chicago Press, 1994), passim.

[103] Margaret Aston, "England's ruins and England's history: the Dissolution and the sense of the past," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. XXXVI (1973): pp. 231-55. Describing Walsingham Priory in his The Beauties of England and Wales, vol. XI, p. 314, John Britton expressed the common ambiguous feelings in regard to the destruction of the monasteries in the 16th century: "... we cannot but regret the wasteful destruction that has taken place at this once celebrated place of monastic splendour and human superstition."

[104] George Crabbe, The Borough, A Poem in Twentyfour Letters (London: J. Hatchard, 1810), Letter IV, p. 50. Significantly, these lines by Crabbe introduced a description of Castle Acre Priory in an 1843 guide to the

Priory by J. H. Bloom, Notices Historical and Antiquarian of the Castle and Priory at Castle Acre (London: Pelham Richardson, 1843), p. 101.

[105] Joseph Berington, The Rights of Dissenters from the Established Church in Relation Principally to the English Catholics (Birmingham: M. Swinney, 1789). For a discussion of Joseph Berington's arguments, see Smith, The Gothic Bequest, pp. 106-109.

[106] Smith, The Gothic Bequest, p. 109.

[107] Ibid., p. 108.

[108] John Lingard, The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 2 vols. (1806; London: Thomas Baker, 1858).

[109] Lingard, The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. I, Chapter 1.

[110] John Milner, The History Civil and Ecclesiastical and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, vol. I, pp. 113-114. See also Smith, The Gothic Bequest, pp. 128-129.

[111] Milner, The History ... of the Antiquities of Winchester, passim. See also Smith, The Gothic Bequest, pp. 128-131.

[112] Milner, The History ... of the Antiquities of Winchester, vol. II, p. 119.

[113] Smith, The Gothic Bequest, p. 130.

[114] John Milner, The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine (London: Keating, Brown and Co., 1819), p. iii.

[115] Ibid., p. x.

[116] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

[117] Ibid., p. 48.

[118] Ibid., p. 49.

[119] Ann Bermingham, in her "System, order and abstraction," discusses the debates around words and language in this period and the contemporary anxieties emerging with the understanding that words had the potential to take on wide ranges of different, often subversive, significations.

[120] Ibid., p. 66.

[121] Ursula Henriques, Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833, p. 165.

[122] One example is the speech by Bathurst, Speech of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Norwich in the House of Lords, on Friday the Nineteenth of May, 1817, in Favour of the Catholic Petitions (London: Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1817).

[123] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), pp. 103, 104.

[124] Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk (1818), vol. I. p. 121.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. III (1812), p. 2.

[127] Carter, The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXXIII (1803): p. 1021; vol. LXXI, (1801): p. 32; vol. LXVIII (1798): p. 1027. See also J. M. Crook, John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival, p. 32.

[128] John Preston Neale, Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain (London: Longman, 1824), p. 5.

[129] For a discussion of Cobbett's medievalism and his relation to Catholicism, see R. J. Smith, "Cobbett, Catholic history and the Middle Ages," Medievalism in England, ed. Leslie Workman (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 113-159.

[130] See Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order, p. 65.

[131] William Cobbett, The History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland, 2 vols. (1824-1826; London, 1829), vol. I, p. 155. See also Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order, p. 72.

IV. Disturbing the margins; John Sell Cotman's un-picturesque picturesque.

1. Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk;' reception and critique. Medieval imagery and antiquarianism as 'art.'

Norwich was already in the 18th century an important centre for the patronage of the arts. A collection of portraits of civic dignitaries, begun in the city as early as the 17th century, was displayed at St. Andrew's Hall, one of the first publicly owned picture galleries outside London.[1] With the emergence of the new mercantile class in the latter part of the 18th century, the city also saw the appearance of enlightened collectors of art who were interested both in old master paintings and in contemporary art.[2] Norwich saw the founding in 1803 of the first provincial society of artists in Britain, the Norwich Society of Artists, formed on the model of the Royal Academy in London.[3] The group counted among its members such notable artists as John Crome, James Stark, John Thirtle and John Sell Cotman, all working in Norwich in the early 19th century.[4] The activity of the group was seen as part of a project to elevate the county of Norfolk as supportive of culture; this is attested by the remark of the Duke of Sussex when he visited the exhibition of the Norwich Society of Artists in 1819: "I like ... the plan of pitting county against county, and have at all times considered Norfolk as the first in talent ... "[5] The Society declared in its inaugural statement that it was formed "for the purpose of an Enquiry into the Rise, Progress and present state of Painting, Architecture and

Sculpture with a view to point out the Best Methods of Study to Attain to Greater Perfection in these Arts."[6] Thus the group formed a part of the contemporary debates on the function of art in society at a time which was marked by anxieties concerning what many saw as the decline of art from a moral, cultural and civic role into commercialism and luxury.[7] The founding of the Norwich group gave expression to the growing concern among artists who, in aspiring to raise their position in society, strove to define art as a 'liberal' profession, as part of a reaction to perceptions that artists were increasingly compromising high artistic standards and instead tailoring their products to a growing commercial and popular market.[8]

The members of the Norwich Society of Artists in particular responded in their production to the growing demands for images of local scenery and topography. Art historian Andrew Moore has pointed out that underlying the innovative localised imaging of landscapes by the artists of the Norwich School was a profound reflection on the conservative values that characterised the early 19th century English cultural retreat from the turbulence of war and revolution.[9] The sense of emphasis on conservative values was underscored in this period of growing interest in the national and regional historical past by the fact that several among the artists of the Norwich group also concentrated on producing paintings, etchings and engravings representing the architectural antiquities of the county and the city. However, while Norfolk landscape imagery of the period, especially when it included ancient ruins and monuments, can be seen as

reflecting on conservative values, it is also possible to see representations of the medieval architectural remains of the county as giving form to anxieties concerning the permanence and stability of these conservative values and, moreover, as testifying to a sense of insecurity in regard to modern liberal views of continuing national progress.

Cotman, one of the founding members of the Norwich Society of Artists, was in the first decade of the 19th century in particular known for his watercolour landscapes which he had executed based on views taken during his travels ranging over many of the Southern counties of England. However, in the early second decade of the 19th century, at the encouragement of his patron Dawson Turner, Cotman embarked on the ambitious venture of depicting the medieval architectural antiquities of Norfolk in a series of etchings, comprising churches, castles, town-gates, abbeys and monasteries.[10] These etchings, issued to subscribers between the years 1812 and 1818, and depicting such notable Norfolk landmarks as Castle Acre Priory (fig. 7), Walsingham Abbey (fig. 11), Binham Priory (fig. 51) and Wymondham Church (fig. 52), were published in 1818 as A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk. As the dedications of the prints show, Cotman's work was aimed at specific groups within an upper and upper middle class audience. The patrons and subscribers to Cotman's publication included politicians such as the Member of Parliament Hudson Gurney, antiquarians and historians such as Dawson Turner, several Anglican prelates, among them Henry

Bathurst, the Bishop of Norwich, and members of the aristocracy, such as the Earl of Orford.[11]

Cotman's etchings of architectural antiquities have been examined by several art historians. A. E. Popham found the large mass of Cotman's architectural etchings "noncommittal," intended merely as antiquarian records, and "divided from work which can be judged from an aesthetic point of view."[12] Martin Hardie regarded the architectural etchings as "mainly hackwork," executed by Cotman "out of the dire necessity of producing something immediately saleable."[13] Sydney Kitson, in his informative biography of Cotman, saw these etchings predominantly as a response to the interest of Cotman's patron, Dawson Turner, in obtaining visual images of Norfolk's Norman edifices, to aid him in his research into the stylistic origins and development of Saxon, Norman and Gothic architecture.[14] More recently, Andrew Hemingway has examined these etchings comprehensively, analysing them in terms both of their technique and their patronage.[15] Hemingway has also looked at a small number of Cotman's watercolours and etchings, situating them in the historical context of early 19th century Norwich and has suggested some of the meanings these images could have conjured up in the minds of contemporary viewers.[16] What is missing from these analyses, however, is an examination of Cotman's etchings of architectural antiquities and their ambivalent reception in the context of the medieval and Gothic revivals and the many social and political issues connected with medievalism in the early 19th century, as well as an assessment of how Cotman's

collection of etchings interacted with other types of representations of antiquities and travel and antiquarian publications of the period.

According to an advertisement of 1811, Cotman's etchings were meant to supplement and illustrate Francis Blomefield's An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, originally published in 1745 and reissued in 1805-1810, and Samuel and Daniel Lysons's Magna Britannia;[17] in fact Dawson Turner's support for Cotman's project was in part based in his interest in acquiring illustrations for his own copy of Blomefield's history.[18] Cotman's advertisement read in part:

> This work shall be printed on ... Super-Royal Paper, of a Size to be bound either with the new edition of Blomefield's Norfolk, in Quarto, or with Lysons's Magna Britannia, both of which it is designed to illustrate.[19]

The advertisement further stated that the purpose of the work was to combine architectural fidelity with picturesque effect, and it singled out Cotman's targeted upper class viewer-ship:

> Although it will be the principal object of the Author to exhibit faithfully the Styles of the various Structures, yet he will not be inattentive to the Selection of the most favourable points of view; being persuaded it will be the wish of his Subscribers to see architectural fidelity combined with picturesque effect ... P.S. The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully invited to view the drawings for the work and Specimens of the Etchings at the Author's, St. Andrews Street, Norwich.[20]

Traditional county histories, including Francis Blomefield's work, were largely focused on the history of the Church and of the great families in each county, thus constituting a celebration of an elite consisting of the Church and the upper classes.[21] That Cotman situated his work in the context of

Blomefield's history served to associate his publication with the same goals, namely the elevation of Norfolk's ecclesiastical elite and upper classes.

The collection of etchings, accompanied by descriptive notices by Dawson Turner, was published in 1818 in a folio volume in a brown paper cover.[22] The work received a short mention from a critic in The Gentleman's Magazine who noted:

> The plates are all drawn and etched, in a clear, free, and spirited style by Mr. Cotman, who by their execution has evinced very considerable abilities.[23]

However, Cotman's work was not profitable. Although he also tried to have his etchings published in book form, he was unsuccessful; the collection was not bound and issued as a book until 1838 when the publisher Henry Bohn bought Cotman's etched plates and published the series in revised form, with many of the original plates re-bitten.[24] Unlike the established painter J. M. W. Turner who employed professional engravers to execute the manual labour involved in the production of engravings after his drawings, Cotman, possibly in an attempt to distance himself from an association with commercialism that was clearly linked to many publishers of prints, including Britton, executed the whole process from sketch to finished etching in his own studio, helped only by his family and apprentices.[25] Employing this manner of working, reminiscent as it was of medieval practices, Cotman could not compete financially in a highly specialised commercial print-market dominated by a system of division of labour. Art historian Andrew Hemingway has argued that the uncertainty which characterised the reception of Cotman's work

was in part due to the general decline in the fashion for painters' etchings that resembled drawings or sketches, over the first decades of the 19th century.[26] Such painters' etchings had mainly been produced by amateurs and by drawing masters for amateurs, and were associated with William Gilpin and his theories on picturesque landscape painting.[27] According to Hemingway, the development of the English School of landscape engravers, and the new standards being achieved by for instance J. M. W. Turner's professional engravers, would have served to lessen the admiration for artists' etchings such as Cotman's.[28] Sydney Kitson has argued perceptively that Cotman's etchings of Norfolk antiquities were not successful because they were neither picturesque enough to appeal to a general public, nor sufficiently scholarly and accurate as architectural representations to appeal to architectural historians and connoisseurs.[29] This observation has particular import to the demands made of representations of medieval edifices and ruins at this time. What I want to trace out in the following pages is how two different criteria in illustrations of medieval monuments, picturesque representation and scientific architectural accuracy, responded to specific needs and expectations of patrons and viewers of such images, and how Cotman's etchings, disrupting conventional modes, also disrupted conventional narratives associated with the medieval.

The major complaint regarding Cotman's etchings, voiced by his patron Dawson Turner and others, was that they did not seem to be "finished" enough.[30] 'Finish' in etching terms implied

that the etched plates were finished either by repeated re-biting or by engraving with a burin in order to achieve more delicate and deeper tonal shadings; Cotman does not seem to have finished his etchings by engraving, although he did rely on re-biting.[31] Already at the beginning of his etching career Cotman's prints had been criticised in regard to their lack of finish by his patron and friend Francis Cholmeley. In a letter to Cotman in 1811 Cholmeley mentioned, as models for Cotman to follow, the works of the well-known publisher of views, William Bernard Cooke and of the artist George Cuitt:

> My uncle [Sir Henry Englefield] in a letter some time ago mentioned etchings on the Thames by Cooke, as beautifully delicate. It strikes me that yours would be more likely to attract if finished like pictures, as Cuitt's etchings of Chester are, than having only the character of pencil sketches as they now have ...[32]

With Cookes' print of Medmenham Abbey on the Thames (fig. 53) and Cuitt's illustration of "Saxon Arch, St. John's, City of Chester" (fig. 54) standing as examples of the works of these two producers of architectural images,[33] what Cholmeley apparently wanted to see were "beautifully delicate" pictures, rather than Cotman's more sketch-like work.

In fact, as Hemingway notes, Cotman strove throughout his career as an etcher to give his images a higher degree of finish, which can be seen when comparing the earlier etching of Yarmouth Priory, of 1812 (fig. 55), with the later image of Walsoken Church, of 1817 (fig. 56).[34] Yet, while Cotman endeavoured to respond to the wishes of his patrons, his images were still judged as lacking in proper finishing.[35] Thus when

Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk was re-published in 1838 by Henry Bohn, twenty years after the initial publication, the plates were re-bitten, the contrasts between black and white softened, and areas which Cotman had originally left white were shaded, in an apparent attempt to make the images 'finished like pictures.'[36] This can be seen in comparing for instance Cotman's original etching of Binham Priory, executed between 1812 and 1818 (fig. 51), with the print in the Bohn edition of 1838 (fig. 57).

Since the 16th century antiquarian research had been primarily concerned with the production of knowledge, and had been the domain of professional antiquaries and scholars. While in the 18th century antiquarianism increasingly came to be associated with elevated taste and connoisseurship, and could therefore usefully mark its growing number of practitioners as members of a social elite, the interest in the historical and architectural past was also underpinned by serious interests linked to constitutional and political issues and debates.[37] The concern with history and antiquities of Cotman's patron the Member of Parliament Hudson Gurney was partly connected with his Parliamentary position, as he believed that an understanding of the development of national history was important in the context of contemporary constitutional legislation.[38] Gurney was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and he served as a Vice-President of the Society between the years 1822 and 1846.[39] In the years of the French wars and the Napoleonic blockades, as British nationalism burgeoned, the Society of Antiquaries became

increasingly preoccupied with explorations of Britain's own national past.[40] Hudson Gurney himself was involved in researching England's history.[41] Within this context accurate, or what was termed in the period 'scientific' representations of Britain's medieval history and monuments fulfilled an important role in the production of new knowledge which could locate the past concretely and in turn posit its implications for political and social organisation in the present.

Although Cotman emphasised in his advertisement to A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk that his work aimed at accurate architectural representation, his appropriation of the representation of architectural antiquities as a vehicle for a particular style of artistic expression was alien to the expectations placed on historical and antiquarian imagery by his patrons, and served to de-centre the antiquarian and architectural focus. That it was specifically Cotman's artistic vocabulary which was perceived as problematic was clearly attested by Dawson Turner's critique, inserted in a later work on Norman and Gothic antiquities which Cotman published in 1822, The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, and which employed a similar artistic language as the A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk.[42] Dawson Turner, who wrote the introduction and the descriptive notices for Cotman's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, offered a veiled warning concerning the role of the antiquarian illustrator by pointing

out that if an artist was to be educational, then artistic license could not be allowed:

> The author of a work which professes to be in any degree didactic can never impress too strongly on his mind the value of the Roman precept 'prodesse quam delectare;' and an artist accustomed by his habits to the contemplation of the beautiful and picturesque requires above all men to be warned on this head.[43]

What is of significance here is that while engaged in printmaking as an architectural draftsman and as an artisan, endeavouring to address the antiquarian and historical concerns of his patrons, Cotman at the same time strove to associate his work with art and connoisseurship, and to represent his patrons and viewers as a gentlemanly class, educated in the liberal arts. In the dedications of his prints in A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, Cotman frequently praised his patrons for their love for and support of the arts. Thus the texts below the etchings "St. Benet's Abbey," dedicated to Mrs. Dawson Turner, "South Gate at Yarmouth," dedicated to Dawson Turner, and "Doorway at Rungton Holme Church," dedicated to Francis Cholmeley, all refer to the love of the Arts of these patrons. A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk as a whole was dedicated to Sir H. C. Englefield, and Cotman's text reads in part: "I am aware Sir, that your character is too well established as a most liberal and enlightened patron of every thing that appertains to the arts for any praises of mine to add to it...." As 'art,' and aimed at viewers educated in the liberal arts, Cotman's etchings would therefore have demanded

different viewer responses concerned with aesthetic issues, in contrast with the more specialised scholarly attention required by draftsmen's illustrations of antiquities.

Early 19th century 'polite' viewers of visual representations were well aware of academic notions of the moral purpose of art, and of connoisseurship and the ability to abstract general and permanent 'truths' from particularities and details, as marking out gentlemanly status. The importance of representing the general and the universal in art had been enunciated most famously in the writings of Sir Joshua Reynolds of the Royal Academy, who emphasised the importance of representing "central form," in order to express universal and permanent values.[44] However, the idea of universality had also been transformed into the national and local context by theorists on the picturesque, notably Uvedale Price. As historian Malcolm Andrews has noted, Price, writing on landscape design, advocated attention not only to details, to the local and the particular, but also to the importance of retaining the harmony of the whole.[45] Significantly, Price emphasised the link between a good landscape and good government, stressing that the unity of variety within the larger order of nature should serve as the model for government, which must also aim to unite diversity within a larger frame of harmony:

> A good landscape is that in which all parts are free and unconstrained, but in which, though some are prominent and highly illuminated, and others in shade and retirement, some rough, and others more smooth and polished, yet they are all necessary to the beauty, energy, effect, and harmony of the whole. I do not see how good government can be more exactly defined.[46]

As numerous scholars have implied, this linking of the diverse elements of nature into an ordered harmonious whole was directly related to a traditional hierarchical ordering of society.[47] The ideas of Reynolds and Price were echoed by the Norwich author William Taylor who addressed the important role of the artist in balancing the particular with the general in an article appearing in the Monthly Magazine in 1814 in three parts, "Outlines on a Discourse on the history and theory of Prospect painting delivered at the Norwich Philosophical Society." Evoking contemporary associationist aesthetics and its inherent potential for relativism and subjective readings of art works, [48] Taylor in particular stressed the importance of representing the "essential," maintaining that the particular had always to be incorporated in the universal idea:

> It is by a greater command over associated ideas that the painter sometimes makes a stronger impression than the reality he represents, especially when the included objects have a mixed character. The chief care of the painter should always be directed to fix on that which constitutes the inherent, the essential, the inseparable, character of the scene, and to render all his accessories subordinate to the enforcement of this principal expression.[49]

Taylor's emphasis on "objects of mixed character" alludes to the problems in representing the local environment. Admonishing the artist to strive to depict the "essential," Taylor indirectly made reference to the principles of Academic art theory where the underlying character or the 'essence' of an object was to conform to its place within a hierarchically ordered social world.[50] The insistence on the need to represent a harmonious whole in Price's and Taylor's aesthetic theory responded to

contemporary anxieties concerning the possible instability of a seemingly harmonious social and political entity. The emphasis on difference, on the local and the particular in picturesque representations also had the potential to suggest threats to traditional hierarchical ordering.[51] These points have implications in relation to the rendering of medieval architectural monuments. Emerging in the margins of the discourses on architectural antiquities and picturesque and artistic representations, Cotman's own etchings of Norfolk antiquities, rendered with the artist's ambiguous pictorial vocabulary, expanded the margins of familiar imaging of the past. Cotman's pictorial language opened up his illustrations to unsettling associations that were partly concealed under the picturesque surfaces and 'scientific' accuracy of more conventional representations.

2. "A proper state of decay." Ruins, rubble and the shattering and repairing of the illusion of antiquity.

In the course of the 18th century both topographical mapping and visual depictions of medieval antiquities played an important role in the invention of Britain in terms of its own national history. Publications from the earlier 18th century, such as Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's Views of the Ruins of Castles and Abbeys in England and Wales, of 1726-42,[52] situated within an antiquarian tradition, exemplify the interest in topographical rendering of the country's historical sites. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's spread-out and schematic view of the

ruins of Castle Acre Priory in Norfolk (fig. 58), and their view of the ruins of the nearby Castle Acre Castle, taken from an elevated viewpoint and showing the Castle fronted by a row of stylised trees (fig. 59), attest a topographical interest in exploring and mapping Britain's national history. However, while representations of Britain's medieval past and architectural ruins and monuments were expected to elevate national history, ruination itself was also associated with nostalgic moral and philosophical contemplation.[53] Thomas Hearne's and William Byrne's engravings in the Antiquities of Great Britain, first published intermittently between 1778 and 1800 and republished in 1807,[54] were especially conducive to lending ruin imagery an aura inspiring to moral reflections; through the employment of an elegiac picturesque visual language, evocative of the passing of Time, Hearne's and Byrne's work situated their depictions of ruins within a contemplative frame of progress and decline. In the images in Hearne's and Byrne's Antiquities of Great Britain of Furness Abbey in Lancashire, drawn by Joseph Farrington and engraved by Hearne (fig. 60), of Lanercost Priory in Cumberland, drawn by Hearne and engraved by Byrne (fig. 61), and of Caister Castle in Norfolk, also drawn by Hearne and engraved by Byrne (fig. 62), a concern with historical monuments as a kind of memento mori is prominent and noticeable, not only in the poetic quality of the visual images as a whole but also in the text. Thus the engraving representing Lanercost Priory in their publication was associated with reflections on the mutability of

life, as the poem accompanying the image, written by the Reverend Charles Davy, makes clear:

> These lone walls
> and storied arches have a character,
> marking the Virtues of the times deceas'd,
> Whilst Echo from her hollow charnel Vaults,
> Speaks to the listening ear of Contemplation,
> The Epilogue to Life's Morality.
> How soon its gaudy Pageantries are pass'd
> And Death without his mask shuts the last Scene! [55]

However, for these images of ruination to be read, not only in terms of moral contemplation, but as elevating and glorifying the nation's past, it was crucial that the visual decay of the ruins be softened and mediated. Indeed, at the turn of the century the author of the anonymous work, Journal of a Three Weeks Tour, in 1797, through Derbyshire to the Lakes by a Gentleman of the University of Oxford, describing the ruins of Furness Abbey, emphasised that images of ruins should balance decay with a sense of past grandeur:

> We enter Furness Abbey through a Gothic arched gateway, with a thick drapery of ivy hanging gracefully down on one side ... The approach is lined by venerable old trees, which envelop the ruin in their awful listening gloom. The way is strewed with fragments of desolation. Reached through these, the silent contemplative remains of the tall pile; and a train of the ideas of the most serious nature rush upon the mind; melancholy from remembrance, calm with stillness, breathing "love of peace and lonely musing." We are struck with an extensive ruin exactly in a proper state of decay [emphasis mine], to show the depredations of time, without effacing the grandeur of what it once was.[56]

While Hearne's and Byrne's representations emphasised ruination, distinctly fore-grounding the deterioration of the buildings, at the same time ruination was subtly concealed and sublimated behind the veil of the alluring aesthetic quality of the picturesque representation and the sense of passing Time. The

picturesque rendering in Britton's illustrations of Norwich Cathedral in his The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, of 1816 (figs. 1, 32), also negotiated and softened visible signs of decay through the use of the picturesque aesthetic. However, the images in Britton's work, as my discussion in Chapter Two showed, also actively 'repaired' the ravages of time, by concealing the advanced ruination and the "ragged, crumbled and decayed appearance" of Norwich Cathedral through more concrete and deliberate means of visual representation referencing architectural details. Thus, in contrast with Hearne's and Byrne's work, with their emphasis on the picturesque aesthetic which fore-grounded moral contemplation on the passage of Time, Britton's work served more directly to glorify the nation through his representation of the magnificent and lasting architectural achievements of the country's past.

In this context a discussion on the Greek Revival movement in Britain in the early 19th century will open up further possible layered 'meanings' associated with images of ruination, and will contribute to the assessment of Cotman's work.[57] That the evidence of excessive decay in representations of the past could be problematic had also been raised, famously, by Lord Elgin's importation of the Parthenon Marbles, as the culmination of the Greek Revival movement in Britain. The Marbles were first exhibited in London in 1807, when artists and critics, as well as fashionable London flocked to see them.[58] Artists such as Antonio Canova, John Flaxman and Henry Fuseli praised the

sculptures, and Benjamin Robert Haydon saw in them a "combination of nature and idea," and a "revelation of divine truth."[59] However, Elgin was also criticised for the illegal plunder and despoliation of the Parthenon Marbles and for the destruction of the ancient Greek heritage. Thus the well-known antiquary Edward Dodwell who had witnessed the actual removal of the sculptures expressed his shock at the brutal depredation when he wrote in his diary: "... down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins."[60]

Although the British government bought the sculptures in 1817, the purchase was marked by controversy and preceded by prolonged debates on the authenticity of the Marbles, and, crucially, criticism of their mutilated and fragmented state, and debates over their monetary value.[61] The cartoonist George Cruikshank published an image satirising Lord Elgin who was shown attempting to convince John Bull to buy "Stones" for "thirtyfivethousand pounds," and exclaiming: "Never think of Bread when you can have Stones so wondrously cheap" (fig. 63).[62] When Richard Payne Knight, a member of the Society of Dilettanti and considered an expert on classical art, was requested by the Select Committee handling the State's purchase of the Marbles to give his opinion of the sculptures, he praised the metopes and the frieze, considering their addition to "our national collection as likely to contribute to the improvement of the arts, and to become a very valuable acquisition."[63] However, his response was not enthusiastic concerning the main sculptures of

the collection, with Knight reasoning that "their state of preservation is such I cannot form a very accurate notion; their surface is gone mostly...." [64] Knight further disparaged the main Marbles, complaining that "they are so mutilated I cannot say much about them: they are but of little value, except from their local interest, from having been part of the Temple."[65] Knight and those among the Society of Dilettanti who did not appreciate the Greek Marbles were subsequently ridiculed as lacking in real connoisseur-ship. Thus the journal The Examiner wrote in 1816:

> The great cause of all the animosity against Lord Elgin arose chiefly from the mean passions of collectors ... their vanity was deeply wounded at the prospect of a new era being effected in Art by works too dirty for their drawing-rooms.[66]

What is important for my analysis here is Cruikshank's characterisation of the Parthenon Marbles as overpriced "Stones," Knight's disparaging opinion of them as "mutilated," and the sense of the writer in The Examiner that the sculptures were "dirty." With the physical importation of the Elgin Marbles and their visual display in London, the actual state of ruination, decay and decomposition of the sculptures became evident. The aura of romance and nostalgia that was attached to Greek antiquity and to the Greek sculptures was close to vanishing when the sculptures, suddenly seen as heaps of mutilated fragments and decomposing stone, became distanced from the classical ideal, and associated instead with the palpable decay and mutilation which the geographical distance between England and Greece had hitherto hidden and obscured.

The qualified reception of the Parthenon Marbles, when they were seen as mutilated fragments, parallels the tensions inherent in the depiction of Britain's own medieval past, and in particular serves to illuminate the ambiguous reception of Cotman's work. Andrew Hemingway has observed that Cotman's imaging of architectural antiquities in rural Norfolk had been conditioned by the naturalistic tendencies in British landscape art, and that his etchings were based on close observation of everyday reality. [67] He also notes Cotman's attention to texture,[68] pointing out that Cotman's handling of ruination and decay imitated visually the material and real decaying state of the medieval buildings which he depicted.[69] This observation has special importance for my argument. It is particularly significant that Cotman's pictorial vocabulary, adhering closely to the visual evidence, evoked exceedingly clearly a sense of the existing material ruination and decay of Norfolk's medieval architectural remains. His etchings thus failed to respond to what I have argued was a general need for a visual mediation of competing narratives of the past, which formed such an important part of architectural representations that could stand as both cultural and 'scientific' records of the nation's history. Cotman's etching of the Tower in Castle Rising Church (fig. 64) can stand as an example of his emphasis on palpable decay and destruction in his depictions of Norfolk antiquities. While this etching shows an attempt at recording the decorative mouldings of the "Saxon" arch, the attention of the viewer, due to Cotman's emphasis on material texture, is primarily drawn to the

crumbling stone and decaying wood. Cotman's image, lacking picturesque and softening effects such as atmosphere and vegetation, also lacks both the contemplative narrative, seen for instance in Hearne's picturesque image of Caister Castle in the Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 62), and the celebration of Britain's medieval architecture, as evidenced in Britton's carefully reconstructed, 'scientific' images of Norwich Cathedral in his The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich.

3. Social implications of representing decay. 'Repairing' the medieval ruins.

While taking part in the larger narrative of the British nation in terms of its historical medieval past, Cotman's etchings of Norfolk antiquities, aimed at an audience of notable middle and upper class individuals, were also linked to more specific local questions, and associated with individual interests, social hierarchies and positions of power. Although Cotman emphasised the pedigrees of his patrons of professional, gentry and upper class status by enhancing the dedications of his works with careful visual depictions of family arms, the images themselves did not provide clear and unambiguous readings of architectural antiquities in terms of elevating these social groups. For instance, Cotman's print of the Tower in Castle Rising Church (fig. 64) allows the unresolved tensions between the Norman and Saxon heritages, linked to the traditional hierarchical ordering of ranks, to emerge. The etching was

dedicated to John Gurney, another member of the prominent Norwich Gurney family. However, the fact that Cotman inscribed the print with the words "Saxon Arches in the Tower of Castle Rising Church" would seem surprising in view of the antiquarian expertise of Dawson Turner and his denial of the existence of remains of Saxon architecture; it would also seem surprising in view of the claims of the Gurney family to Norman ancestry. Thus, at one level, the print of the Tower of Castle Rising Church, focusing attention on the ruination of the Saxon past, implies a commentary on the Norman Conquest which had brought about this ruination, and, by extension, served to question the deployment of a Norman heritage in the definition of class distinctions and social hierarchies. Thus it is not surprising that Turner, in his descriptive notice accompanying the image, categorised these arches as Norman, in contradiction with Cotman's inscription on the etching.

Both Castle Rising Church and the nearby Norman Castle Rising Castle, discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, were situated on lands belonging to Richard Howard, a member of the renowned aristocratic Howard family who traced their descent to the Normans. Cotman also represented a view of Castle Rising Castle in his A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (fig. 65). The image shows the imposing form of the Castle, apparently being sketched by an artist included in the foreground. Cotman's image is inscribed with the dedication "To Richard Howard Esq. ... Proprietor of these noble remains this Plate is most respectfully dedicated by

his Obed. Servant J. S. Cotman." The dedication, linking Howard's name with the word 'noble,' serves at one level as a homage to Richard Howard, and a reference to his aristocratic family. At the same time the ruined and crumbling state of the edifice erases the sense of political power wielded by Howard due to his ownership of the Castle and his control over the borough of Castle Rising and its voters. However, Cotman's visual language also raises other associations. In the etching the image of the Castle, close to the picture plane, fills almost the entire space, omitting any background vista. The viewer's gaze is restricted and forced to concentrate on the form of the Castle itself, potentially evocative of a sense of restriction and limits to freedom. Placed in a position of a low and confined viewpoint, the viewer is unable to gain an overview and to appropriate the vista, and is thus denied the mastery of the view and, by implication, the mastery of the historical past. Thus, when seen together, the etching of Castle Rising Church, evoking the destruction of Saxon civilisation and of the Saxon Church, and the etching of Castle Rising Castle powerfully conjuring up, in contrast, the Norman tradition, constitute sites where the legitimacy of the contemporary rule of the upper classes, the descendants of the invading Normans, is brought under scrutiny.

While Hemingway's observation that Cotman's etchings of Norfolk antiquities were founded on close material observation is correct, it is also important to note Cotman's attempts to achieve architectural accuracy. This in turn brings up Kitson's

comment that Cotman's etchings were problematic because they constituted neither picturesque images nor exact architectural representations. An examination of Cotman's etching of Binham Priory can throw light on the tensions associated with pictorial representation of architectural antiquities and their state of repair. Cotman's etching of Binham Priory (fig. 51) was dedicated to "the Right Honourable Horatio Earl of Orford."[70] Due to its decaying state the large Gothic West window of the Church had been filled with a wall of bricks in 1809.[71] Cotman drew his sketch of Binham Priory in 1811,[72] and in his etching the large Gothic window is shown in its recently bricked-in condition; indeed, Cotman's image is almost dominated by the large blind openings of the West window. Cotman's view exhibits, clearly, a tension between picturesque representation, attention to material 'reality,' and the need to concentrate on architectural detail. The image seems to pull in several directions; the faultless rendering of the Gothic arches and quatrefoil motives in the centre conflicts with the derelict appearance of the rest of the Church, reduced to a few hollow arches at the sides, and the materiality of the bricked-in West window. The Gothic arches at the base of the building, rendered as precise architectural drawings and lacking any shading, contrast with the picturesque depiction of the two donkeys, an untidy heap of leaning lumber, and what looks like a pile of bricks covered with an old sack, remaining after the West window had been filled in. Thus, although Cotman declared in his advertisement for his A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of

Norfolk, discussed at the beginning of this Chapter, that he endeavoured to combine "architectural fidelity" with "picturesque effect," this image seems to exhibit architectural fidelity and picturesque effect separately, side by side, evoking a sense of clashing contrasts as much as of combination. Although the etching was dedicated to the Earl of Orford, Cotman's emphasis on the bricked-in West window, and the seeming refusal to aesthetise the view of the Priory, diminishes the homage to the Earl expressed in Cotman's dedication. In this respect Cotman's image can be usefully compared with Mackenzie's and Cattermole's depictions of Norwich Cathedral in Britton's The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich (figs. 1, 32). While in Mackenzie's and Cattermole's images of the Cathedral the attention to Gothic architectural details helps to conceal the ruination of the edifice, in Cotman's image of Binham Priory the precise rendering of architectural details rather brings attention to the ruination and decay of the rest of the building. Certainly the image cannot be seen as exalting the local nobility and their endeavours to preserve and restore the country's heritage. Cotman's etching can also be compared with Britton's representation of the same building, sketched by Mackenzie and engraved by William Woolnoth in the The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 26). As Britton informed his readers, Binham Priory Church was in this period still being used as the parish Church.[73] Britton's image represents the Church as an imposing and venerable old structure, as a

commanding presence in the countryside. The sense of grandeur is enhanced by the small figure of a tourist contemplating the seemingly immense edifice. Significantly, in Mackenzie's image, dated to 1812, the West window with its intricate tracery and three rose windows is shown as intact. Although it is possible that Mackenzie's image was based on an earlier drawing, executed before 1809, it is still of interest that his depiction, appearing in Britton's volume in 1812, showed the window as intact, with Binham Priory thus represented in a more imposing form, in turn elevating the county of Norfolk through its medieval heritage.

Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk included two images of Walsingham Abbey, one representing the Abbey gate (fig. 66) and one the Refectory (fig 11). Andrew Hemingway observes that the architectural monuments in Norfolk were often modest buildings, lacking the imposing qualities of scale and magnificence, and that they appeared in Cotman's representations as small and insignificant.[74] Indeed, Cotman's etchings of Walsingham Abbey Gate and the Refectory, showing close-up views of the ruins, depict them as structures of modest scale. As Hemingway observed, Cotman's Norfolk prints were based on close observation of 'reality,' and the figures in his images are not being dominated by the monuments of the past, but appear to have a natural relationship with them.[75] Thus Cotman's figures, rendered in a proportionate scale, did not serve to aggrandise the monuments, but rather to emphasise their modest size and

extent. In contrast, the engraving by S. Rawle after Mackenzie's sketch of Walsingham Priory Church in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (fig. 8), aggrandises the Priory ruins. Mackenzie chose for his illustration the most imposing part of Walsingham Priory Church, the still standing arch of the East End of the building, and the ruin is rendered even more impressive by the inclusion of an admiring and seemingly awe-struck tourist depicted at the base of the ruin. The sense of grandeur is emphasised by the contrasts in scale; the tourist seems dwarfed in comparison with the soaring Gothic arch, the size of which is additionally stressed by the view of smaller ruins through its span.

Britton noted in his text describing Walsingham Priory Church and its history that "the manor, town, and priory, now belong to Henry Lee Warner, Esq. who has built a mansion here, on the site of the priory."[76] In a similar fashion Cromwell, in his description accompanying Cotman's views of Walsingham in the Excursions through Norfolk (figs. 10, 48), noted that "At present the principal part of these ruins are included in the pleasure-gardens of Henry Lee Warner, esq. who has a large commodious house that occupies the site of the Priory."[77] As noted in Chapter Three, the print after Cotman's drawing in Cromwell's work showed the ruins of the Priory, the Gothic Church of Walsingham and Warner's Palladian mansion. This inclusion of the medieval Catholic monastic ruins in the pleasure gardens of a wealthy individual is reminiscent of the 18th century fashion of erecting garden pavilions or 'follies,'

often designed for sensuous pleasures and dalliances. [78] However, in the early 19th century when the preservation of medieval ruins was deemed a patriotic act, the fact that Britton's image included an admiring tourist, depicted in front of the magnificent arch of the old Priory church, instead seems to point to the importance of the antiquity of the building, and indirectly to compliment the owner of the ruins on his efforts to preserve the nation's medieval heritage. Britton in fact dedicated his image of Walsingham Priory to John Haverfield, the garden architect who had planned the gardens around the abbey. The dedication reads: "To John Haverfield Esq., who has displayed much taste in laying out the gardens around these ruins."

In comparison, Cotman's images of the same ruins, taken from close viewpoints, represent them not only as ruins, but as insignificant, crumbling structures devoid of lofty intimations. Cotman's etching of Walsingham Abbey Gate (fig. 66) was dedicated to Edmond Wodehouse, a member of the leading Norfolk family, the Wodehouses of Kimberley. The Wodehouse family, known for their Tory alignment, had a long tradition of serving in office, several of them having been elected Members of Parliament. Sir Armine Wodehouse, elected Member for Norfolk in 1736, had been deeply engaged with the Jacobites and was in correspondence with the Pretender in 1745. [79] While Cotman dedicated his image to Wodehouse, he chose to depict, not the imposing Gothic arch, but a more modest part of Walsingham Abbey, the Abbey Gate. The Gate is represented by Cotman in an

advanced state of decay; the original sculptures ornamenting the façade of the Gate have largely vanished leaving a bare surface of rough stone and plaster, and the doorway exhibits a patchwork of worn wooden slates. A few figures, including a dog and a child, are shown in front of the Gate. In contrast with Mackenzie's admiring tourist, Cotman's figures are portrayed as though isolated in their private worlds, oblivious to the antiquity of the architecture. Other aspects could also have undermined the authority of the image. Although Walsingham Priory was known as one of the most important medieval Catholic priory churches, it was also frequently associated with Catholic superstition, as for instance in Britton's and Cromwell's descriptions of the ruins.[80] Associating Edmond Wodehouse with the crumbling remains of the old Catholic Abbey Gate could have had ironic implications evoking at once the family's support of the Catholic Jacobites in 1745, but more recently Edmond Wodehouse's conservative affiliations.[81] Elected Member of Parliament representing Norfolk in 1817, Wodehouse distanced himself from any association with Catholicism and the rebellion in 1745; a Tory, he voted for the suspension of habeas corpus in 1817 and endorsed government employment of informers on suspected radicals and revolutionaries in 1818, and, until 1825, opposed Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Relief.[82]

While Britton's image of Walsingham Priory emphasised and celebrated the magnificence of the ancient ruins, and indirectly complimented the owner, Henry Lee Warner, on the preservation of the building, Cotman's etchings do not seem to convey any

compliments or praise. The wheelbarrows in both his views of Walsingham Priory are also of note here. In the etching of the Abbey Gate (fig. 66), a figure is shown seated on a wheelbarrow filled with what looks like rubble and stones, and in the etching of the Refectory (fig. 11) a figure is depicted as digging in the ground, next to a wheelbarrow. Wheelbarrows were often depicted in prints showing well-tended famous gardens belonging to the aristocracy and upper classes, referencing the continuous care lavished on these gardens. For instance, Mostyn Armstrong's print depicting Henry Lee Warner's well-kept gardens around Walsingham Priory in his History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, of 1781, features a wheelbarrow prominently in the foreground (fig. 67). However, in Cotman's etchings, with their evocation of ruination and desolation, the inclusion of wheelbarrows could also have evoked different associations. It was a common practice, ever since the destruction of the monasteries and abbeys in the Reformation, to cart away stones and bricks from these buildings to be used for the building of farmhouses, or for the dwellings of the upper classes. It can thus be seen as ironic that Cotman's etching of the crumbling Refectory at the monastery at Walsingham was in fact dedicated to Henry Lee Warner, the owner of the town and Priory at Walsingham. Rather than honouring Warner, this image could be seen as implying that Warner, building his mansion on the Priory grounds and including the last remains of the ruined Priory as a 'folly' in his pleasure gardens, was in fact completing the pillaging begun by the 16th century barons.[83] While Britton's

images of Walsingham Priory, especially the one in his The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, showing the old Priory ruins as framing the modern town of Walsingham (fig. 9), imply a historical view which saw Britain as framed within the security of its medieval past, in contrast, Cotman's images depicting Walsingham Abbey evoke a sense of slow, aimless and arbitrary destruction.

In a similar manner Cotman's etching of Castle Acre Priory, although dedicated to Thomas Coke, the Member of Parliament and landowner on whose domains the Priory stood, cannot be seen as constituting an unqualified celebration of its present owner. Cotman's view (fig.7) can be compared with the images of the same ruins in Britton's publication discussed in Chapter Three (fig. 6). Mackenzie's image of Castle Acre Priory in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain embellished the scene with swaying grasses in the foreground, and softened the decay of the ruin with an abundance of vegetation clinging to the walls; he also included the admiring tourist. Edward Dayes's image of the Priory in Britton's Beauties of England and Wales (fig. 47) included figures working in the landscape, evoking a sense of peaceful and secure rural occupation. In contrast, Cotman's depiction of Castle Acre Priory features rickety fences which enclose the farmhouse corner and block the entrances to the Priory, which is itself surrounded by an unkempt yard of windblown weeds. The farmhouse, the original residence of the Prior, is shown as a barely defined and derelict appendage. Devoid of human or animal figures or of softening vegetation,

Cotman's image imparts an overwhelming sense of desolation, rather than of any harmonious continuity between the past and the present. Although this image was dedicated to Thomas Coke, it seems neither to celebrate the medieval heritage nor to give an impression of the rural security with which Coke's agricultural practices were associated.[84]

Similar contrasts are at work in Cotman's other representations of Norfolk. While Cromwell and Browne in their images of Norwich had erased the question of the city walls and gates by simply omitting depictions of their remains (figs. 2, 16, 17), Cotman depicted several of the town-gates in Norfolk. Cotman's etching of the North-West Tower in Yarmouth (fig. 68), an important coastal town well known for its medieval and civic history, can in particular be seen as raising disturbing issues in connection with the development of towns. Cotman represented the North-West Tower in an almost un-picturesque style, featuring rough, scratch-like etched lines and un-modulated surfaces. This image contrasts with Thomas Hearne's smooth and finished depiction of another of the gates at Yarmouth, the South Gate (fig. 69), shown in Hearne's and Byrne's Antiquities of Great Britain of 1778-1800. Hearne's engraving, imaging the Gate and the town from the outside, shows the scene in a picturesque light, and as set against an atmospheric background of sky and clouds. The engraving features fishing boats in the distance and smaller craft drawn up on the shore, hence drawing attention to Yarmouth's famous fishing industry. In contrast, Cotman's etching depicts the North-West Tower and the Gate from

the inside, the only signs of industry being the tops of boat masts visible behind the walls. Cotman's etching underlines, and even exaggerates, the ruined condition of the Tower which is shown in a state of dilapidation, with the crumbling stones being gradually and almost palpably reduced to rubble. The image also features a ramshackle lean-to construction against the wall of the old Tower as the background for a scene of a woman and a child feeding a rooster. As the building seems to be the home of a family, it conjures up the common usage of ruins as dwellings for the poor.[85] However, as historian Ian Ousby points out, while images of medieval antiquities in the 18th century sometimes portrayed these buildings as housing the poor, such portrayals were rare in representations after 1800.[86] Cotman's representation, in the second decade of the 19th century, of the family who live in the hut erected against the old Gate-tower, can be seen as drawing attention to the practice of housing the poor in derelict ruins, and thus also as disrupting conventions relating to subject matter in antiquarian illustrations.

As the town of Yarmouth was an important port, and proud of its successful fishing industry, this representation of the town in terms of a crumbling medieval past undermines, however inadvertently, ideas of progress which were so important in early 19th century Britain. At a time when the medieval past was studied and scrutinised to an unprecedented degree, and when its evocation played a crucial role in the creation of a sense of pride in Britain's history, the combination of the imaging of local desolation and ruination with a depiction of a woman and

children had particularly important connotations. Indeed, considered within the context of Reynolds' Discourses on Art, in which the feminine was associated with the particular and with 'formlessness,'[87] Cotman's etching, combining a depiction of a woman and children with an image of the not only visible but exaggerated ruination and decay of the past, would also have enhanced the sense of 'formlessness' conjured up by the disintegrating Tower. Thus while at one level Cotman's etching aesthetises poverty, at another level this image can also be seen in terms of subtle irony, as questioning and even critiquing the gathering of knowledge for the building of the foundations of a new society from an examination of a past which, as the depiction shows, has been reduced to 'formless' rubble.

A comparison between the etching of Wymondham Church in Cotman's A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (fig. 52), with an image of the same Church engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by Cotman in Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk (fig. 70) also highlights some of the ways Cotman's artistic vocabulary may have evoked disturbing issues rather than mediating them. The village of Wymondham near Norwich was well-known as the site where the famous Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk had begun in 1549. The original cause for Kett's Rebellion had been the Dissolution of the monasteries in 1536, when Henry VIII had confiscated the former Catholic abbey lands and had sold or granted them to his supporters among the nobility and the upper classes. The new

owners had proceeded to enclose the lands, thereby depriving the rural population of the traditional common use of the lands belonging to the monasteries. A series of peasant uprisings and revolts led by the Wymondham landowner Robert Kett and his brother William Kett, protesting the enclosures, erupted in several parts of Norfolk. The Rebellion ended with the executions of several of its leaders, including the Kett brothers. Robert Kett was hanged on top of Norwich Castle and William Kett was hanged on the steeple of Wymondham Church.

Kett's rebellion was mentioned in all the histories on Norfolk, including Francis Blomefield's eminent An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, of 1745, republished in 1805-1810, which gave a long and detailed account of the uprising. In 1814 the history of Kett's Rebellion, lifted verbatim from Blomefield's history, was published anonymously as a separate small work titled The History of Kett's Rebellion in Norwich in the Reign of Edward the Sixth ... .[88] Blomefield's history began by locating the origins of the uprising in actions of aristocratic and gentlemen landowners who deprived the "poor and indigent people" of the right to use the commons as pastures for their cattle:

> The occasion of this rebellion was, because divers lords and gentlemen, who were possessed of abbey lands, and other large commons and waste grounds, had caused many of those commons and wastes to be enclosed, whereby the poor and indigent people were much offended, being thereby abridged of the liberty that they formerly had, to common cattle, etc. on the said ground to their own advantage.[89]

That Kett's Rebellion was understood to have been caused by the enclosures of land, and by the ensuing hardships experienced by

the rural population, was highly meaningful in the early 19th century. There was an unprecedented number of enclosures during the Napoleonic wars when the pace of enclosing had accelerated considerably. Significantly, Blomefield's account did not fault upper class property owners for depriving the people of the use of the former monastic lands. Instead it put the blame on the rebels who were described as "seditious," possessed of "wicked notions," and associated with "the ancient levellers:"

> Divers seditious persons and busy fellows ... designing not only to lay open parks and new enclosures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great danger of overthrowing the commonwealth. They openly declared their hatred against all gentlemen, whom they maliciously accused of covetousness, pride, extortion, and oppression, practised against their tenants and the common people, and having thoroughly imbibed the wicked notions of the ancient levellers, they began to put in execution their vile designs ...[90]

It is important that Blomefield's history of Kett's Rebellion, retold in 1805-1810, and republished independently in 1814, omitted the fact that Kett's Rebellion was not involved in treason and subversion, but instead constituted a movement attempting to claim the traditional rights of the people to use the village commons as pastures for their cattle. However, in the context of fears of revolutionary unrest in the turbulent first two decades of the 19th century, the re-publication of Blomefield's account served to evoke the power of the State to subdue unrest and rebellion, while also warning of the dangers of uprising and the consequences of revolt.[91] Within this frame the imaging of Wymondham Church, where the rebel Kett had been executed, would have carried meaningful connotations.

Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk noted Kett's rebellion and the hanging of William Kett "upon the high steeple of the church here," in his description of Wymondham Church,[92] but the image (fig. 70) features the Church in the distance, set in the midst of a treed rural landscape which includes a windmill in the background and the figures of a man and a dog in the foreground. Although Cromwell's text reminded the reader of Kett's rebellion, the image of the Church, silhouetted against a light sky and surrounded by a halo-like aura, evokes both a sense of reassuring rural peace and of timeless spirituality. In contrast, Cotman's etching of Wymondham Church in the A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk (fig. 52) is difficult to 'read.' This stark depiction of the seemingly abandoned Wymondham Church and the single remaining arch of the old Abbey, with its associations with the Dissolution and the ensuing rebellion, conveys a sense of desolation, unmediated by the softening influences of rural vistas and human presence. In this image attention to architectural details of the Gothic arches is rivalled by the attention accorded the tangible, visible disintegration of stone and mortar. Ruination in this image cannot be described as picturesque. Rather, reference to direct observation, concentrating on palpable decay, effectively blocks any escape into an illusionist and aesthetised rendering of history. Indeed, as the ability of medieval ruins to conjure up national progress is shattered, so Cotman's image seems to constitute an empty moment in time, one of a historical rupture when

traditional ways of life were lost, and the new social organisations emerging in their place denied clear understanding and articulation.

Representations of the nation's medieval edifices, which at a general level could conjure up a sense of national unity and pride in an ancient history, were found at a local level to have the potential to invoke associations outside of accepted historical narratives. While conventional imagery of medieval antiquities abstracted the views of medieval monuments and sites in ways which opened these images to different and varying, but recognisable mythical interpretations, Cotman's imaging of the medieval past, partly due to his rough etching style which in exposing the artist's hand and the artistic process also registered the artificiality of illusionist imagery, failed to fuse separate particulars into specific and readable totalising narratives. In so doing, the artist's employment of a pictorial vocabulary, not conventionally used to represent the nation's antiquities and ruins, could disrupt the imagined relationship of his patrons and viewers with the medieval past. Conjured up instead was contemporary distress and alienation, at odds with modern myths of medieval community, charity and compassion which could and did legitimate contemporary power-structures and hierarchies. Rather than evoking associations of 'essential' order linked with a hierarchically ordered natural and social world, which the Norfolk author William Taylor had so emphatically stressed in his article of 1814,[93] the emphasis on the process of decay could have been perceived as elevating

ruination itself as the 'essential' and the 'permanent,' seemingly implying that disintegration was what constituted the natural underlying order of human and social existence. Hovering between architectural drawing, picturesque imaging and artistic expression, Cotman's etchings refuse easy appropriation by myth. Their ambiguous pictorial language did not lend itself easily to readings in terms of those 'essential' truths which would have been helpful in re-confirming traditional social hierarchies.

Roland Barthes' distinction between "readable" and "writeable" texts is useful here. Barthes argued that "readable" texts recreate meanings already familiar to the viewer, whereas "writeable" texts, more ambiguous and difficult to decipher, have the potential to encourage subversive interpretations by forcing the reader to "write" or complete the text her/himself.[94] While Cotman's etchings with their ambiguities stand as "writeable" texts, the images drawn and engraved by different artists in Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, where closer 'scientific' attention to historical accuracy was coupled with conventional picturesque rendering, stand as "readable" texts. Britton's images worked to mediate contentious social and political issues by responding to the many needs and desires involved in questions of permanence as well as reform and rejuvenation in the social, cultural and political spheres. Educated viewers would be able to abstract from these depictions 'essential' narratives, supportive of prevailing structures and institutions, which also served to underline their own gentlemanly status as viewers and readers.

There is an important implication to the comparison drawn here between Cotman's images of ruination and those in Britton's publication where decay is transformed and erased and the ruins of the past are effectively 'repaired.' While the reception of Cotman's artistic language was marked by uncertainty and qualified approval, Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826, was read as merging both picturesque and precise, 'scientific' renderings of antiquities. A critic referring to the earlier volumes of this work commented in the New Annual Register of 1815 that the engravings constituted

> a real honour to the country ... scientific enough to excite professional attention, and sufficiently picturesque and diversified to afford an ample treat to the general reader.[95]

However, the increase in domestic tourism and travel in Britain in the early 19th century had brought a new awareness among the travelling public of the material appearance and of the actual state of the nation's medieval antiquities and its historical heritage. In this situation, the aesthetics of nostalgia and of the picturesque, even when supplemented with 'scientific' visual rendering, was no longer able to fully mediate and negotiate the disintegration of the remains of the monuments of the medieval past which constituted the most important symbols of Britain's ancient traditions. As a totality, Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, including all the five volumes with their wide range of illustrations of views, plans and sections, was able to address the complex issue of glorifying

the nation by representing it, paradoxically, through its decaying and ruinous past. Britton who, as architectural historian J. M. Crook has noted, was well aware of the growing specialist market for diagrammatic illustrations, [96] began in 1818 the work on a fifth volume to his The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. This volume was published in 1826 and constituted a systematic survey of Gothic architecture, in contrast with the previous volumes which had presented a general overview of medieval antiquities. The work was prefaced by a historical introduction and an overview of the several different theories which had been put forth on the origins of Gothic, and it also attempted to determine a stylistic terminology for the Gothic mode. In this volume Britton provided what the previous four volumes of 1807-1814 had partly lacked. Responding to a contemporary need for plans, sections, elevations and views, the work contained exact drawings executed by architectural draughtsmen and architects, notable among them Auguste Charles Pugin, father of the famous Gothic Revival architect Augustus Welby Pugin. Britton's illustrations, among which Pugin's drawing of Roston Tower in Lincolnshire can stand as an example (fig. 71), rendered tangible a real and material continuity between the past which lay in ruins and a future which could be built upon the ruins of the past. Indeed, by juxtaposing side by side medieval edifices more or less in ruins with informative designs of architectural structures, plans and details, Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain served as a guide for an actual recreation and reconstruction of the

medieval past and its historical environment. Britton's compilation constituted an early foundation for the Gothic Revival in the Victorian era, and was equally important for the recreation of Britain as a modern and progressive society which also valued its national medieval roots. Also at stake, however, was the representation of the physical space of the nation as a place of political and social order and stability. This vision of the past and present transformed demands for social and political change into an image of progress based on customs and traditions, an image which ultimately served to reaffirm the status quo and its fundamentally unequal social relations.

NOTES

[1] Andrew Moore, The Norwich School of Artists (London: HMSO, 1985), pp. 9-10.

[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[3] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[4] Andrew Hemingway has pointed out in his article "Cultural Philanthropy and the Invention of the Norwich School," The Oxford Art Journal, vol. 11:2 (1988): p. 17, that the Norwich Society of Artists has been seen in terms of a homogenous school of artists, linked by their common geographical base, by the fact that they often exhibited together, by some slight formal affinities in their works and by their concern with representations of local subject matter. Hemingway questions the existence of a homogenous Norwich school of artists, and sees the idea as a construction of late 19th and early 20th century art historians. According to Hemingway the idea of a Norwich school of artists was part of the usage of the visual arts by the late 19th century bourgeoisie as a way of defining their social status through cultural capital and of demonstrating their responsible stewardship of wealth by improving the 'lower orders' in the interest of social control.

[5] See Moore, The Norwich School of Artists, p. 12.

[6] Josephine Walpole, Art and Artists of the Norwich School (The Antique Collectors Club, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), p. 12.

[7] The founding of the Royal Academy in 1769, and Joshua Reynolds' "Discourses on Art," delivered between 1769 and 1790, attest to the desire to establish a distinct civilising and civic function for Art. Reynolds wrote in Discourse I in his Discourse on Art, p. 13, on the founding of the Royal Academy: "An Institution like this has often been recommended upon considerations merely mercantile; but an Academy, founded upon such principles, can never effect even its own narrow purposes. If it has an origin no higher, no taste can ever be formed in manufactures; but if the higher Arts of Design flourish, these inferior ends will be answered of course."

[8] For discussions on the perceived decline of art into a production of luxury goods and of artists' endeavours to raise art to the status of a 'liberal' occupation, see for instance Paul Mattick, "Art and money," and Martha Woodmansee, "'Art' as a weapon in cultural politics: rereading Schiller's Aesthetic Letters," in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art, ed. Paul Mattick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 152-177, 178-209.

[9] Moore, The Norwich School of Artists, p. 13.

[10] Hemingway, in his article "The English Piranesi," p. 212, notes that Cotman became disillusioned with the watercolour medium as a way of earning a living, and turned to print-making as a more lucrative occupation.

[11] Horatio, Earl of Orford, was a member of the famous Walpole family who had counted among their members Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister of England in the early 18th century, and Horace Walpole, the builder of the Gothic villa Strawberry Hill in the mid-18th century.

[12] A. E. Popham, "The etchings of John Sell Cotman," The Print Collector's Quarterly (London: J. M. Dent, 1922), vol. 9, p. 240.

[13] Martin Hardie, "Cotman as an etcher," Burlington Magazine (July, 1942): p. 176.

[14] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, Chapter 14.

[15] Andrew Hemingway, "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy': some amendments to Kitson's account," The Walpole Society, vol. XLVI (1976-1978); "'The English Piranesi': Cotman's architectural prints," The Walpole Society, vol. XLVIII (1980-1982).

[16] Hemingway, "Meaning in Cotman's Norfolk subjects," Art History, vol. 7 (March, 1984).

[17] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, p. 147. I am not aware of any copies of Blomefield's History of Norfolk or Lysons's Magna Britannia which would actually have been bound together with Cotman's illustrations.

[18] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, p. 173.

[19] Ibid., p. 147.

[20] Ibid., p. 148.

[21] Traditional county histories, concentrating on the history of the Established Church and the great families of the different regions in Britain had been published throughout the 18th century. The illustrations in these publications comprised mainly images of local churches, cathedrals and carefully detailed depictions of family arms and family tombs. These histories thus constituted exclusive narratives of the Church and the aristocracy, serving to underline the traditional claims of these elite groups to social and political power in the different counties. The lengthy subtitle to Blomefield's An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk ... (1745; 1806), reads in part: "... Containing a description of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, with the Foundations of Monasteries, Churches, Chapels, Chantries, and other Religious Buildings: also an Account of the Ancient and Present State of all the Rectories, Vicarages, Donatives and Impropriations, their Former and Present Patrons and Incumbents, with their Several Valuations in the King's Books, whether Discharged or not: Likewise, an Historical Account of the Castles, Seats, and Manors, their Present and Ancient Owners; together with the Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Arms in All the Parish Churches, and Chapels; with Several Draughts of Churches, Monuments, Arms, Ancient Ruins and other Relicks of Antiquity...." Significantly J. Nightingale, in his preface to vol. XIII of Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales (1813), p. vi, dealing with the county of Somerset, complained that an earlier history of Somerset had been "too much loaded with pedigrees and genealogies," thus subtly criticising the overwhelming preoccupation with aristocratic families in historical and topographical works.

[22] A copy of this folio volume is in the Print Room at British Library.

[23] The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXXXVIII (March 1818): p. 253.

[24] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, p. 171. Cotman's work was republished by Henry Bohn as Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, a Series of Etchings of the Most Remarkable Remains in the County, by John Sell Cotman, Esq., with Descriptive Notices by Dawson Turner Esq. ... and Architectural Observations by Thomas Rickman, Esq., Author of "An Attempt to Descriminate [sic] the Styles of Architecture in England," etc. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1838.

[25] See Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi:' Cotman's Architectural Prints," pp. 223-227, for an account of the execution of Cotman's etchings.

[26] Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi,'" pp. 229-230.

[27] Ibid., pp. 229-230. Several of Cotman's etchings of Norfolk antiquities were in fact produced both for his own publication and also for examples for his pupils. Cotman spent a large part of the second decade of the 19th century in Yarmouth, working in the household of Dawson Turner as a drawing master for Turner's wife and daughters. See Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, Chapter XIII.

[28] Hemingway, "The English Piranesi," pp. 213-214.

[29] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Cotman, p. 148.

[30] Hemingway, "The English Piranesi," p. 221.

[31] Ibid., p. 219.

[32] Letter from Francis Cholmeley to Cotman, Feb. 24th, 1811, in the collections of British Museum. In another letter to Cotman, dated April 16th, 1811, (also in the collections of British Museum) Cholmeley continued on the issue of finish: "I have real pleasure in telling you that I think the improvement made in your later etchings is most rapid and striking. The only thing I could wish otherwise now (and perhaps I am wrong) is that you would put in skies in order to give the whole more the appearance of a finished piece. Piranesi's skies are many of them beautiful, I think, and add much to the richness of effect in his views."

[33] The view of Medmenham Abbey was shown in William Bernard Cooke's The Thames; or Graphic Illustrations of the Seats, Villas and Public Buildings, and Picturesque Scenery on the Banks of that Noble River (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1811). The view "Saxon Arch St. John's, City of Chester," is from George Cuitt's Etchings of Ancient Buildings in the City of Chester, Castles in North Wales, and Other Miscellaneous Subjects (Chester: Published by the author, 1816).

[34] As Hemingway notes in his "'The English Piranesi,'" pp. 220-222, the etching in the early image of Yarmouth Priory is lighter and airier than the etching in the 1817 image of Walsoken Church, where the lines are firm, regular and even, and the architectural masses more clearly defined.

[35] Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi,'" p. 221.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Already in 1768 the antiquarian writer and publisher Richard Gough, in his Anecdotes on British Topography ... (London: W. Richardson and S. Clark, 1768), preface, p. xxvii, had linked antiquarianism with the retrieving of traditional knowledge: "... our enlightened age laughs at the rudeness of our ancestors, and overlooks the manners of that rank of men whose simplicity is the best guardian of antiquity. Innumerable lights may be drawn from local customs and usages, which are generally founded on some

ancient fact, and serve to guide us back to truth--Aids to tradition they are its most faithful interpreters!" In a similar manner John Britton referred to the importance of the study of history and antiquities for statesmen and lawmakers. The tenth volume of Britton's The Beauties of England and Wales (1815), dealing with Westminster, was dedicated to Charles Abbott, Speaker of the House of Commons. The dedication, written by Joseph Nightingale, p. vi, read in part: "The History and Architectural Antiquities of Westminster are closely connected with all that is great and durable in the British Constitution. May I venture to presume, that this humble delineation of them will be acceptable during the leisure hours of a Statesman, whose life has been devoted to the preservation of that Constitution ..." p. vi.

[38] Hemingway, "Cotman's 'Architectural Antiquities of Normandy,'" p. 170.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries, p. 202.

[41] As the Gurney family endeavoured to trace their descent from the followers of William the Conqueror, Gurney was in particular interested in the period of the Norman Conquest. However, his interest also concerned constitutional law and the legality of the Conquest. He published in 1817 an article on the Bayeux Tapestry, "Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by Hudson Gurney ...," Archaeologia, vol. XVIII (London: Bensley and Son, 1817). In this article Gurney disputed the interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry, according to which the Tapestry illustrated Harold's heroic journey to free his relatives, held hostages by William. Instead, Gurney claimed that the Tapestry illustrated how "Harold was sent by Edward to assure to William the succession to the Crown of England on his demise," and that it constituted "an apologetical History of the Claims of William to the Crown of England, and of the breach of faith, and fall of Harold ...," pp. 5-6.

[42] Hemingway, in "'The English Piranesi,'" p. 221, notes that Cotman's representations of Norfolk, in a manner similar to his images in the work on Normandy, clearly seemed to lack the proper "middle tints." Although the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy was undertaken on a larger scale and paid stricter attention to precise architectural rendering than the Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, the work on Normandy also failed as a commercial success. See Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi,'" p. 232.

[43] Dawson Turner, in his introduction to Cotman's Architectural Antiquities of Normandy (1822).

[44] Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, for instance pp. 16, 45.

[45] Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 64.

[46]Uvedale Price, Essays on the Picturesque (London: Mawman, 1810), pp. 373-374.

[47] See for instance Ann Bermingham, "System, order and abstraction," passim, and Andrew Hemingway, Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-century Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 62-67.

[48] On associationist aesthetics in the early 19th century, see Andrew Hemingway, Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in early Nineteenth-century Britain, especially pp. 67-72. See also Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque. Studies in a Point of View (1927; London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), especially Chapter 3.

[49] William Taylor, "Outlines on a discourse on the history and theory of prospect painting delivered at the Norwich Philosophical Society," The Monthly Magazine, vol. 39 (Jan. 1811): p, 499. Taylor adhered to contemporary aesthetic theory, and his opinions closely resembled those of the famous writer on taste, Archibald Alison. Alison wrote in his Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790; Edinburgh, Bell & Bradfute, 1815), vol. II, pp. 199-200, that "it ought to be the unceasing study of the Artist to disengage his mind from the accidental Associations of his age, as well as the common prejudices of his Art; to labour to distinguish his productions by that pure and permanent expression, which may be felt in every age; and to disdain to borrow a transitory fame, by yielding to the contemporary caprices of his time, or by exhibiting only the display of his own dexterity or skill."

[50] For discussions on academic art theory and its social implications in the 18th and early 19th centuries, see Maureen Ryan, "Liberal ironies, colonial narratives and the rhetoric of art; reconsidering Gericault's Radeau de Méduse and the Traite des Nègres," in Théodore Géricault. The Alien Body: Tradition in Chaos, eds. Serge Guilbaut et. al. (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1997), pp. 35-37; John Barrell, The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt. 'The Body of the Public' (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), Chapter 1; Andrew Hemingway, Landscape Imagery & Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth Century Britain, pp. 63-72.

[51] For a discussion on the role of art in the ordering of particularities within a harmonious whole in the early 19th century, see for instance Ann Bermingham, "System, order and abstraction."

[52] Samuel Buck and Nathaniel Buck, Views of the Ruins of Castles and Abbeys in England and Wales (London: 1726-1742). This work was republished in 1774 by Robert Sayer as Buck's Antiquities.

[53] David Morris, in his Thomas Hearne and his Landscape, pp. 42-45, discusses the moralising function of medieval ruin imagery in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[54] Thomas Hearne's and William Byrne's Antiquities of Great Britain (1778-1800; London: T. Caddell and W. Davis, 1807), a publication intended for an up-scale market, secured considerable support from subscribers who included such well known antiquarians, historians, artists and writers as Richard Gough, Henry Englefield, Francis Grose, Paul Sandby, Edward Gibbon and Richard Payne Knight. See David Morris, Thomas Hearne and His Landscape (1989), p. 32.

[55] Poem by Charles Davy, below the image of Lanercost Priory in Hearne and Byrne, The Antiquities of Great Britain.

[56] The anonymous Journal of a Three Weeks Tour, in 1797, through Derbyshire to the Lakes by a Gentleman of the University of Oxford was included in William Mavor's famous travel-publication, The British Tourists; or Travellers Pocket Companion, through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, 6 vols. (London: E. Newbery, 1798-1800), vol. 5, pp. 199-281. The quote is on p. 249. Ian Ousby, in his The Englishman's England. Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 92, also uses this quote from the Journal of a Three Weeks Tour in Mavor's The British Tourists; however, Ousby's emphasis is directly on the tourist experience, and thus differs from mine, which concerns further social and political implications of the representation of decay.

[57] For a discussion on the cultural impact of explorations of the classical Greek heritage throughout the 19th century in Britain, see The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1981).

[58] J. M. Crook, The Greek Revival. Neo-classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870 (London: John Murray, 1972), pp. 38, 42.

[59] See Crook, The Greek Revival, p. 39. The arrival of the Parthenon Marbles in Britain was also represented in terms of English patriotism. Thus the antiquary E. I. Burrow, in his The Elgin Marbles: with an Abridged Historical and Topographical Account of Athens (London: Ogles, Duncan, and Cochran, 1817), pp. 170-171, wrote that "A feeling sui generis, indescribable, but allied to awe, is excited by the reflection that these carved stones, untouched by any chisel since their original creation, as organised, as almost living forms, link, as it were, the ages that are long past with the present passing day; and having stood, in their elevated station, alike insensible to the applause and contempt of Heathens, Mohammedans, and Christians, of race succeeding race, have at last been brought, by English enterprise and patriotism, to adorn, a second time, the metropolis of a free and illustrious country."

[60] Ibid., p. 38.

[61] William St. Clair, Lord Elgin and the Marbles. The Controversial History of the Parthenon Sculptures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Chapter 22.

[62] Ibid., p. 254.

[63] Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, in The Annual Register or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1816 (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817), pp. 450-451.

[64] Richard Payne Knight, quoted in St. Clair, Lord Elgin and the Marbles, p. 249.

[65] Ibid., p. 259.

[66] The Examiner, 19th May, 1816. See St. Clair, Lord Elgin and the Marbles, p. 254.

[67] Hemingway, "'The English Piranesi,'" p. 218.

[68] Ibid., p. 220.

[69] Ibid., p. 219.

[70] Member of the famous family of Walpole, and related to Horace Walpole, the builder of Strawberry Hill and author of Anecdotes on Painting in England (1762).

[71] Binham petition for Faculty. Norfolk Record Office, FCB/5/1.

[72] Kitson, The Life of John Sell Kitson, p. 149.

[73] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. III (1812), p. 72.

[74] Ibid., p. 219.

[75] Ibid., p. 218.

[76] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), p. 104.

[77] Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, vol. I, p. 178.

[78] For discussions on 18th century garden edifices, see John Dixon Hunt, Gardens and the Picturesque. Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), and Michael Saudan and Sylvia Saudan-Skira, From Folly to Follies. Discovering the World of Gardens (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1997).

[79] John Earl of Kimberley, The Wodehouses of Kimberley (Privately printed, 1887).

[80] Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. IV (1814), p. 104; Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, vol. I, p. 177-180.

[81] Wodehouse was not known in Parliament as a politician of steadfast and independent opinions. Charles Arbuthnot, secretary to the Treasury, found him "always queerish, and who I suppose, does not choose to commit himself till he knows what others think." See R. G. Thorne, The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790-1820 (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), vol. III, pp. 639-640.

[82] Ibid.

[83] It was an added irony that not only had the upper classes appropriated the monasteries and abbey lands, but they had also largely taken control of nominations of the clergy. Thus Armstrong noted in his History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, vol. 6, p. 80, that Henry Lee Warner "is impropriator, and nominates the curates of the churches of Great and Little Walsingham."

[84] For instance the Norfolk specialist on agriculture, Edward Rigby, in his Holkham, its Agriculture &c (1817), pp. 34-39, praised the agricultural practices at the Holkham estate as producing labor and helping to employ the poor.

[85] In his Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the Summer of the Year 1770 (London: R. Blamire in the Strand, 1782), p. 35, William Gilpin described Tintern Abbey as a site of huts housing the poor: "Among other things in this scene of desolation, the poverty and wretchedness of the inhabitants were remarkable. They occupy little huts, raised among the ruins of the monastery, and seem to have no employment, but begging ... As we left the abbey, we found the whole hamlet at the gate, either openly soliciting alms; or covertly, under the pretence of carrying us to some part of the ruins, which each could shew ..."

[86] Ian Ousby, The Englishman's England, pp. 120-121. Indeed, the huts of the poor, which William Gilpin described in his account of Tintern Abbey, were carefully omitted in his illustration of the Abbey. His other famous works on tours through England also did not contain overt signs of dwellings of the poor in the illustrations.

[87] As Elizabeth A. Bols in her "Disinterestedness and the denial of the particular; Locke, Adam Smith and the subject of aesthetics," in Eighteenth-century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art, ed. Paul Mattick, pp. 25-26, and Naomi Schor in her Reading in Detail. Aesthetics and the Feminine (New York and London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 11-22, have shown, Reynolds' association, in his Discourses on Art, of the capability to generalise and abstract with the concept of 'form,' and the lack of this ability with 'formlessness,' are linked with stereotypic gendered notions of the masculine and the feminine.

[88] The History of Kett's Rebellion in Norwich in the Reign of Edward the Sixth... (Norwich: R. Chipperfield). This anonymous work does not show a publishing date; however, it is catalogued at The Local Studies Library at Norwich as dating to 1814.

[89] The History of Kett's Rebellion in Norwich, p. 3.

[90] Ibid.

[91] The history of Kett's Rebellion was later retold in yet another anonymous work, published under the same title around 1840, The History of Kett's Rebellion in Norwich ... (Norwich: Henry Jones, circa 1840). Appearing in the period after Reform, at a time of different social awareness, this book gave an account of Kett and his rebels far more sympathetic to their cause than the one in the earlier history. In the later history, the rebels' grievances are seen as having been the direct result of the avarice of the enclosing landlords who obtained from Henry VIII the former monastic lands.

[92] Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, vol. II, p. 179.

[93] See this thesis, Chapter IV, section 1.

[94] Roland Barthes, S/Z. An Essay (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974).

[95] New Annual Register (1815), p. 423; quoted in J. M. Crook, "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival," p. 111.

[96] See J. M. Crook, "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival," p. 117. Between 1820 and 1825 Britton, together with A. C. Pugin, published a work titled Specimens of Gothic Architecture, which also provided precise diagrammatical illustrations of Gothic Architecture.

Conclusion and implications.

As this thesis has shown, visual representations of Britain's medieval architectural monuments and ruins in travel and antiquarian publications articulated and negotiated a range of complex contemporary issues and debates. These concerned nation, 'race' and religion, as well as social hierarchies and political organisation at both a national and a local level. Representations of the medieval past played an important role in the creation of a sense of national unity in the aftermath of Britain's wars with France and the country's own attempts at internal unification. However, as the thesis has argued, visual and textual representations of Britain's medieval history also constituted porous and critical sites, open to continually shifting and conflicting interpretations. To begin to unravel the many different and contrasting 'meanings' which these representations of the medieval past conjured up for contemporary readers and viewers, the Chapters of the thesis have been organised around specific debates and contestations involving different appropriations of the nation's Middle Ages in the service of competing social and political ideologies. These concerned modern conflicts over land-ownership and social allegiances, tensions between country and city, the changing nature of the urban public sphere, as well as religious conflicts involving the Established Church and Catholic and Protestant Dissent. In particular, the regional and local focus which has framed this study, that is its assessment of representations of architectural antiquities in the county of

Norfolk and the city Norwich, has enabled an evaluation of how the interplay between the local and the national both intersected with and disrupted seemingly homogenous national narratives.

In order to provide a historical framework for investigating the national and local resonances of images of the medieval, Chapter One has focused on the textual and visual representations of Britain's Saxon and Norman past, and the 'racial' associations which these conjured up. To illustrate how the imaging of Britain's medieval history was implicated in constructions of a British 'racial' identity the thesis has examined representations of an important Norfolk landmark, the medieval Norman Castle at Castle Rising, that appeared in a number of widely circulated publications: the famous antiquarian publisher John Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1807-1826, and his The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, and Thomas Cromwell's popular tourist book, Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, which formed part of his multi-volume series Excursions through England. I have argued that, at one level, representations such as these could serve to create a sense of a nation which had arrived at a reconciliation of its divided political, cultural and 'racial' heritages. Through the ability of both text and image to represent the contested period of the Norman Conquest in terms of a 'natural' and inevitable fusion of the Saxon and Norman past, depictions of the Norman Castle helped forge the myth of an inherently 'English' and therefore national origin of the Gothic style, a

development which had important implications for the later 19th century Gothic Revival proper in Britain.

The different ways in which illustrations of the city of Norwich itself could articulate social and political tensions at a time of civic and economic changes in modern urban life provided the focus for the second Chapter of the thesis. A number of issues current in the period, involving the Established Church and religious Dissent, criminality and prison reform and the competing interests of agriculture and urban manufacture were raised by representations of medieval Norwich. Images showing the town as incorporated into rural vistas in for example Philip Browne's The History of Norwich from the Earliest Records to the Present Time, of 1814, and Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, could mediate contemporary antagonisms between landowners and manufacturers, and between agricultural interests and an urban industrial economy, by obscuring any separation or boundaries between the city of Norwich and is surrounding countryside. John Britton's celebration of Norwich Cathedral and his emphasis on its long history in his The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church in Norwich, of 1816, helped conjure up a sense of the Reformed Anglican Church as an entity which had preserved the important spiritual and charitable functions of the Catholic Church while erasing what for many modern Britons had been its popish and superstitious practices. In terms of current fears of political unrest, picturesque representations of Norwich Castle in Cromwell's and Browne's travel books and Britton's The

Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain obscured the contemporary function of the Castle as a civic centre and an execution site, and site of protest by unruly and threatening crowds. In turn, at a time when prisons and criminality were much debated subjects, these textual and visual representations, by emphasising the function of the Castle as a modern and secure prison, helped create a reassuring image of current social order and stability. Representing Norwich Castle as a historical and architectural monument, a tourist site and a site for leisure, underlined the distancing of citizens from the active governance of the city at a time when power was gradually becoming abstracted and concentrated in a liberal capitalist economic process.

Visual and textual representations of ruins of medieval ecclesiastical edifices in Norfolk's rural areas were deeply implicated in modern debates over the role of the Church, the accelerating pace of change in the rural and agrarian economies and the important and contested issues of manorial power and the ownership of land. As the third Chapter shows, picturesque representations of medieval monasteries, abbeys and priories in rural Norfolk, for example in John Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1806-1826, and The Beauties of England and Wales, of 1801-1816, and in Thomas Cromwell's Excursions through Norfolk, of 1818, were able to evoke a sense of a harmonious and seamless continuity between the past and the present, and an illusion that paternalistic manorial organisation continued the traditions of both the medieval

Church and medieval feudal society. The picturesque aesthetic, in naturalising difference and variety in the landscape, could by implication also legitimate the hierarchical ordering and rankings which underpinned fundamentally unequal social structures.

Each age rebuilds the past according to its own needs and aspirations. While representations of medieval antiquities could forge a sense of national and political unity, in this period of political turmoil the highly visible ruination of many of Britain's medieval monuments also brought to the surface a range of controversial issues and conflicts. The concluding Chapter of this thesis has been concerned with the ways in which the work of one particular artist, John Sell Cotman of Norfolk, subtly disrupted medieval narratives. The ambivalent reception given Cotman's collection of prints that comprised views of ruined monasteries, churches and priories, can in part be explained as a reaction to his pictorial language which broke with what had become acceptable conventions for the depiction of medieval monuments. While illustrations in popular publications, like John Britton's, had softened the sense of deterioration through an emphasis on the picturesque quality of decay, Cotman's etchings instead drew attention to, and even exaggerated, the ongoing destruction and erosion of the nation's and the region's past.

I have been arguing in the last Chapter of this study that visual emphasis on ruination could suggest the disintegration of a traditional society of harmony and security. The

representation of Britain's Middle Ages in travel and antiquarian publications in terms of a long sequence of ruin and decay had exposed the impossibility of constituting a morally viable and believable national tradition out of the country's medieval history. Images of the discordant fragments of a ruined as opposed to an idealised past could evoke the 'racial' inequalities associated with the Saxon and Norman heritages, the decay of the traditional role given to the Church, and conjure up the destruction wrought by past social and political conflicts that had led to appropriation of both land and power.

This, I would argue, had implications for the development of the later Gothic revival. In contrast with the medievalism of the 18th and early 19th centuries, and its concern with history and the remains of existing edifices, the Gothic Revival toward mid-century attempted the actual building of a medieval illusion in 'real' architectural terms. I have pointed out that the concluding volume of John Britton's The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, of 1826, laid the foundations for this development. However, it was left to medievalists such as the famous architect Augustus Welby Pugin to realise this transformation. Both Pugin's architectural illustrations and his building practice were devoted to a revival of Gothic architecture as a way of recreating in modern Britain a set of values and traditions that could evoke an earlier and Catholic past. In his well-known work Contrasts; or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day ..., first published in 1836, Pugin

associated medieval architecture with community, charity and spirituality. [1] Thus in his illustration comparing a modern and a medieval town (fig. 72), the modern, characterised by a sense of alienation, was represented with an emphasis on factory chimneys and the prominent presence of a prison. In contrast, the medieval town, dominated by Gothic church spires, was described in terms of social harmony and religious faith. In erasing ruin and decay, Pugin's illustration did not focus on an isolated monument, but pictured instead the social harmony of a medieval community in terms of a flawless Gothic architecture. Underscored here is the means through which a medieval ideal could be transported into the contemporary present as both a vision and a material plan for the building of a new society. By effacing the visible deterioration of ancient monuments, Gothic Revival architecture could, by implication, erase a set of connotations which ruination carried: social distress and the disintegration in the present of a communal social fabric.

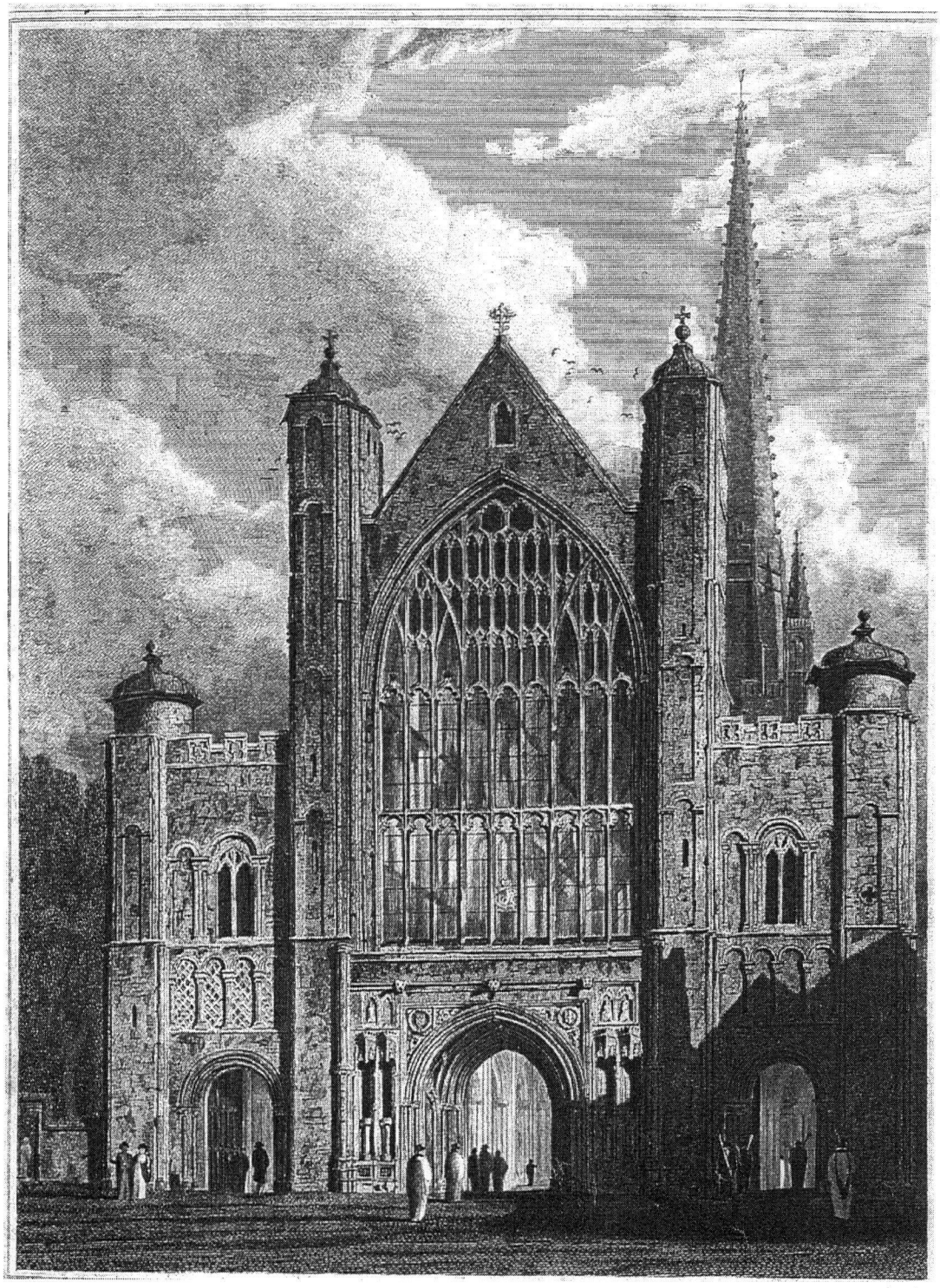
What I am also suggesting is that this transformed medieval heritage helped give form to a particular image of contemporary Britain as a modern world power. Made flawless and intact, Gothic Revival architecture further rewrote the medieval heritage, and could be appropriated to the needs of a progressive and powerful nation, one which declared that the foundations of the modern state rested on the traditions of the country's medieval past. The most important building of the early Gothic Revival in Britain, the Houses of Parliament, designed in 1836 by Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin, can

be seen as a sign that the country's political institutions were firmly rooted in a progressive, and not a ruined past. Furthermore, the Gothic, understood to have developed from Saxon and Norman architecture, would be regarded, most famously by John Ruskin in his The Stones of Venice, of 1851-1853, as a style embodying the rugged individuality and love of freedom of the Northern Teutonic Goths. These Northern Goths were, by the mid-19th century, constructed by such famous writers as Thomas Arnold, Thomas Carlyle and Walter C. Perry as a 'race' that included both the Normans and Saxons.[2] Within these terms the recreated Gothic could stand as a modern national symbol--which rewrote and reconciled the conflict between Saxon democracy and Norman traditional hierarchical order into an abstract concept of Gothic, Teutonic 'liberty.'

NOTES

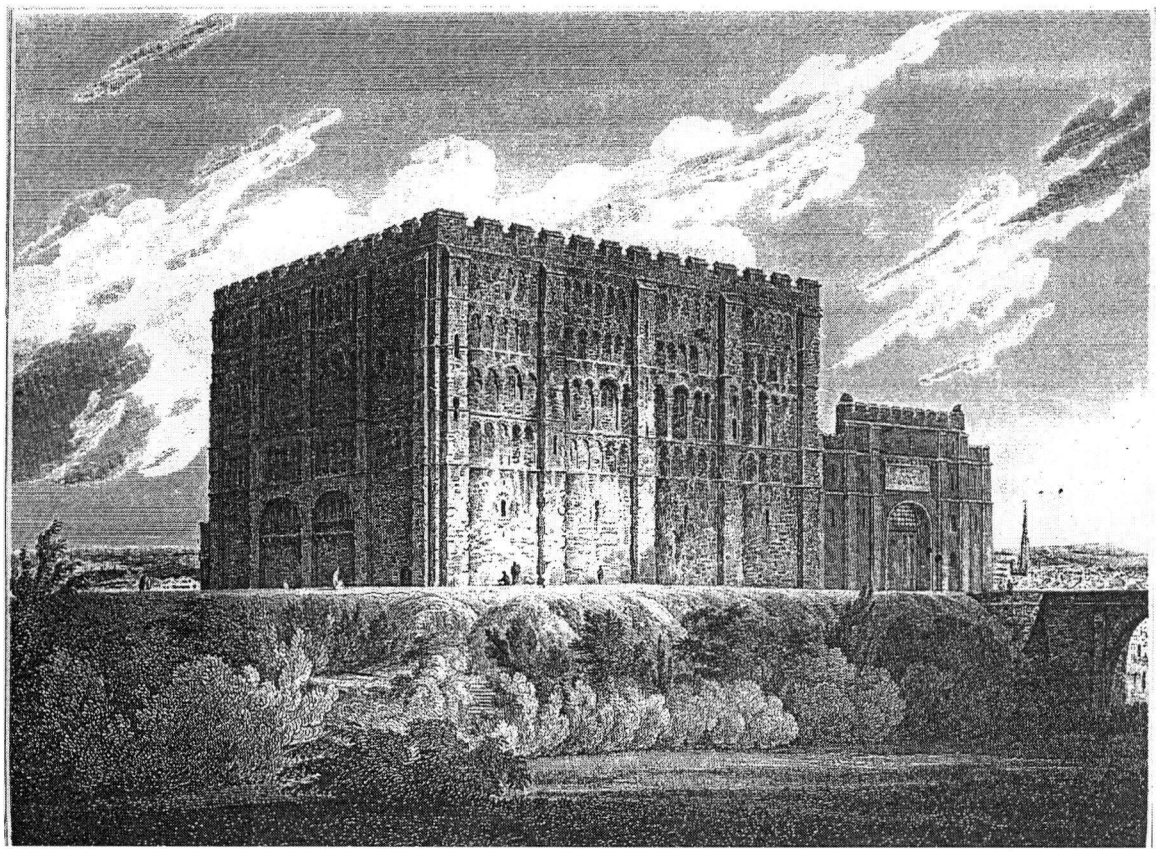
[1] A. Welby Pugin, Contrasts: or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste (1836; London: Charles Dolman, 1841).

[2] See my discussion on Thomas Arnold, Thomas Carlyle and Walter C. Perry in Chapter One of this thesis.

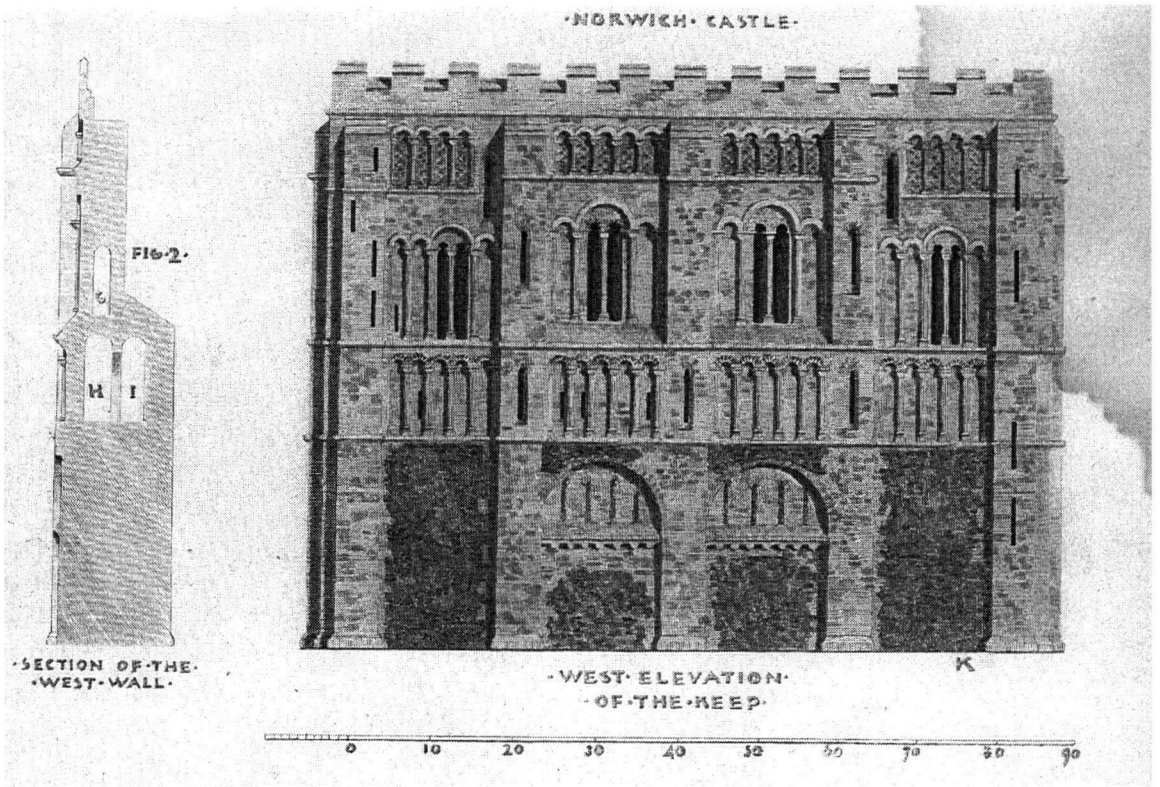


1. Norwich Cathedral, West Front." Engraved by W. Radcliffe after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and the Cathedral Church of Norwich, 1816. (16 x 21.5 cm)

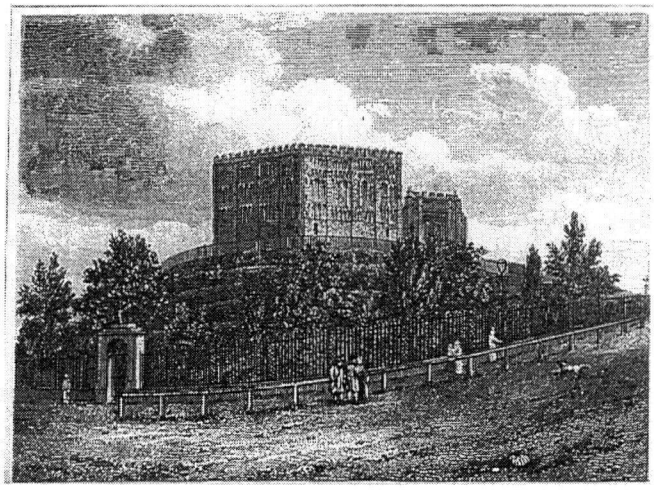
2. "View of Norwich." Engraved by J. Varrall after a drawing by Thirtle. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (9.5 x 6.25 cm)



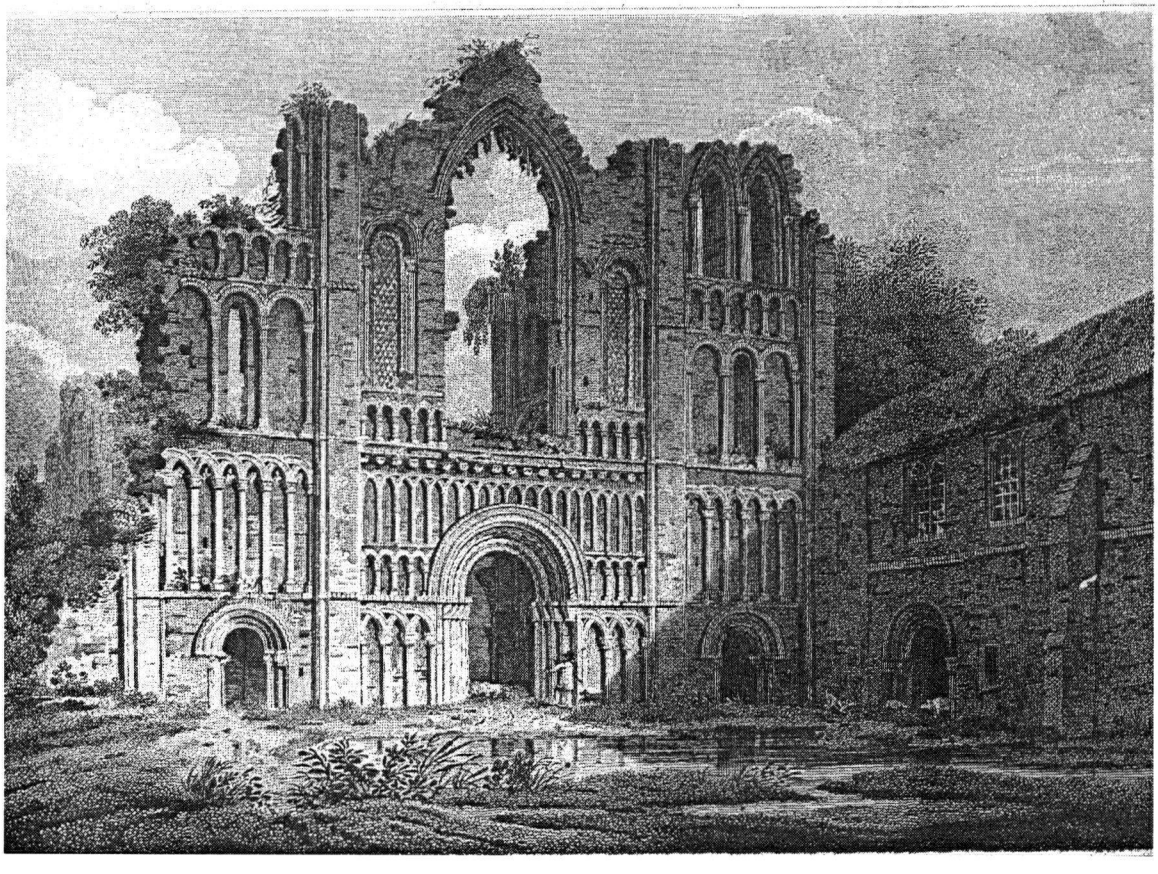
3. "Norwich Castle." Engraved by S. Rawle after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (21 x 15.5 cm)



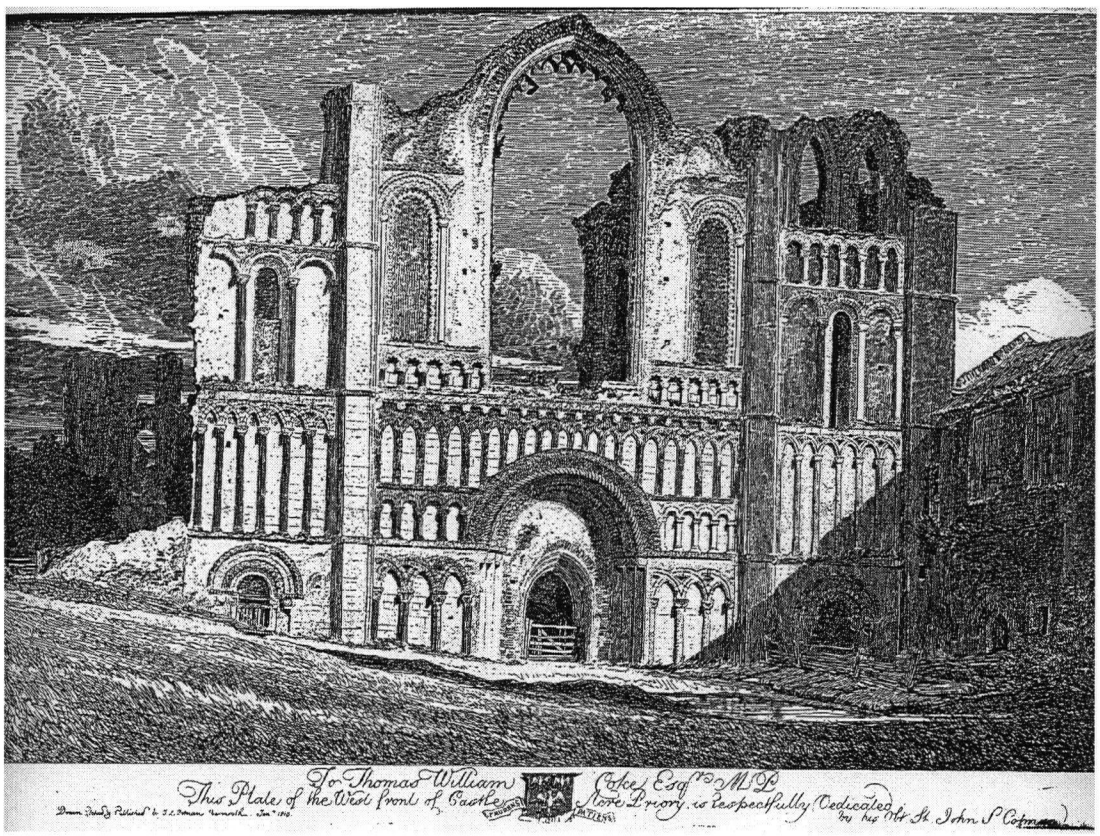
4. "Norwich Castle." Engraved by Basire after a drawing by William Wilkins. In William Wilkins, An Essay towards a History ... of Norwich Castle, 1795. (23 x 16.5 cm)



5. "Norwich Castle." Drawn and engraved by T. Higham. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (9 x 6.5 cm)

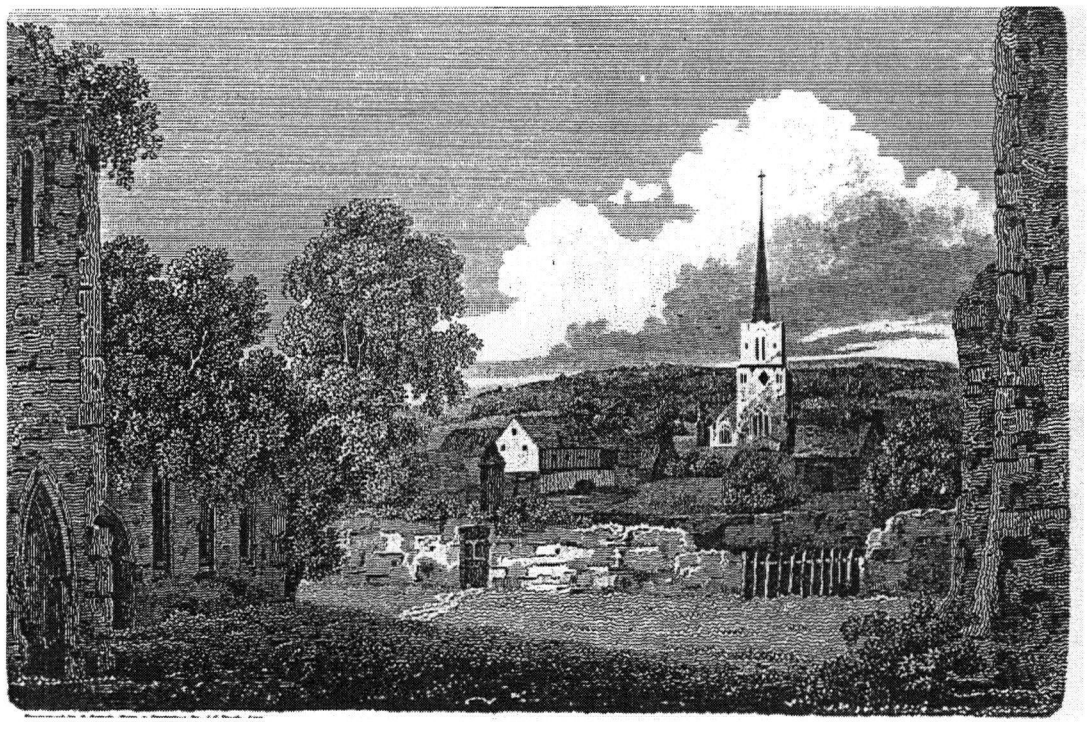


6. "Castle Acre Priory." Engraved by Wm. Woolnoth after a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (20.5 x 14.5 cm)



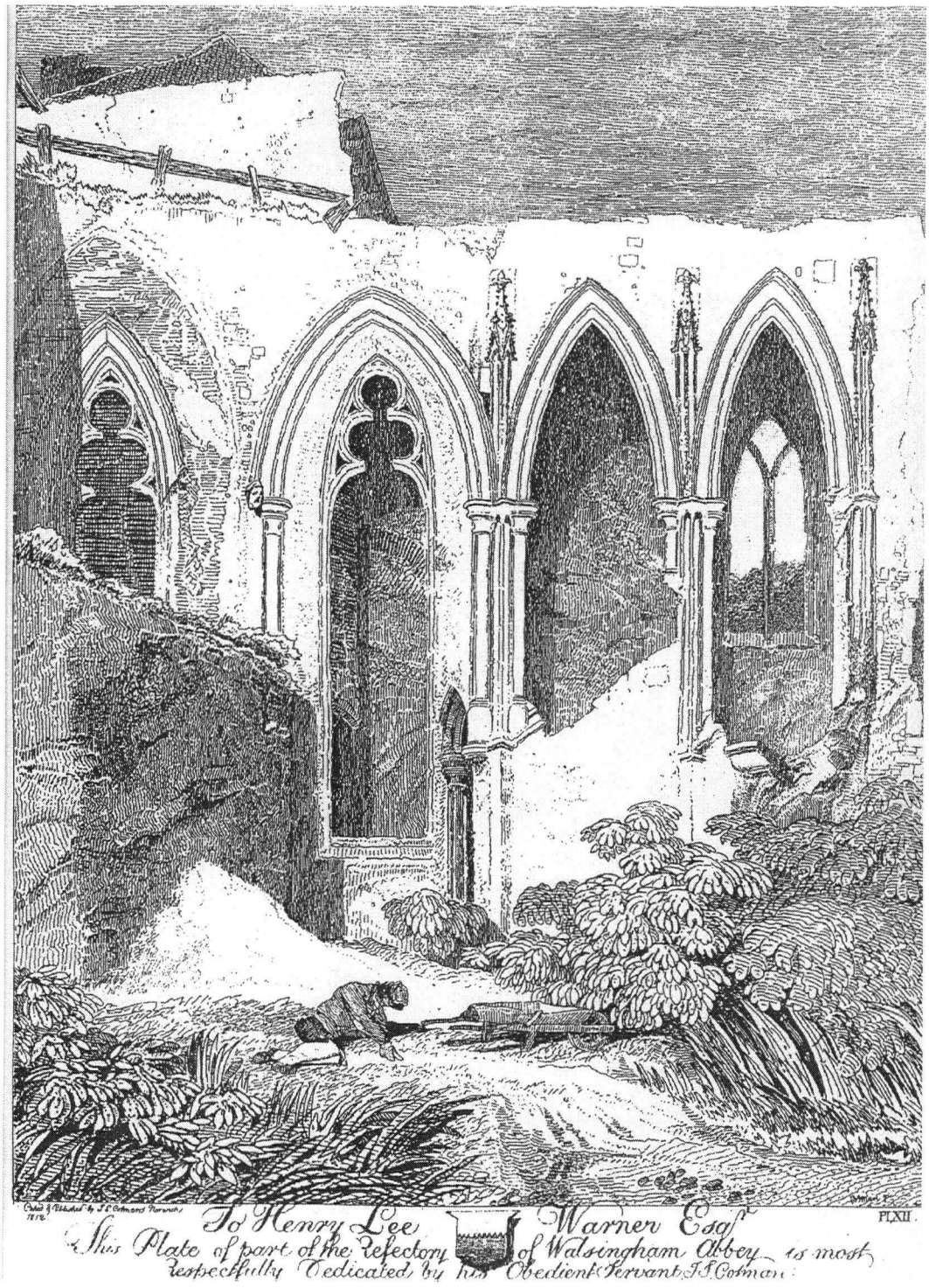
7. "Castle Acre Priory, West Front." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (27.5 x 40 cm)

8. "Walsingham Priory Church." Engraved by S. Rawle drawing by Jos. Gandy and a sketch by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (15.5 x 21.25 cm)



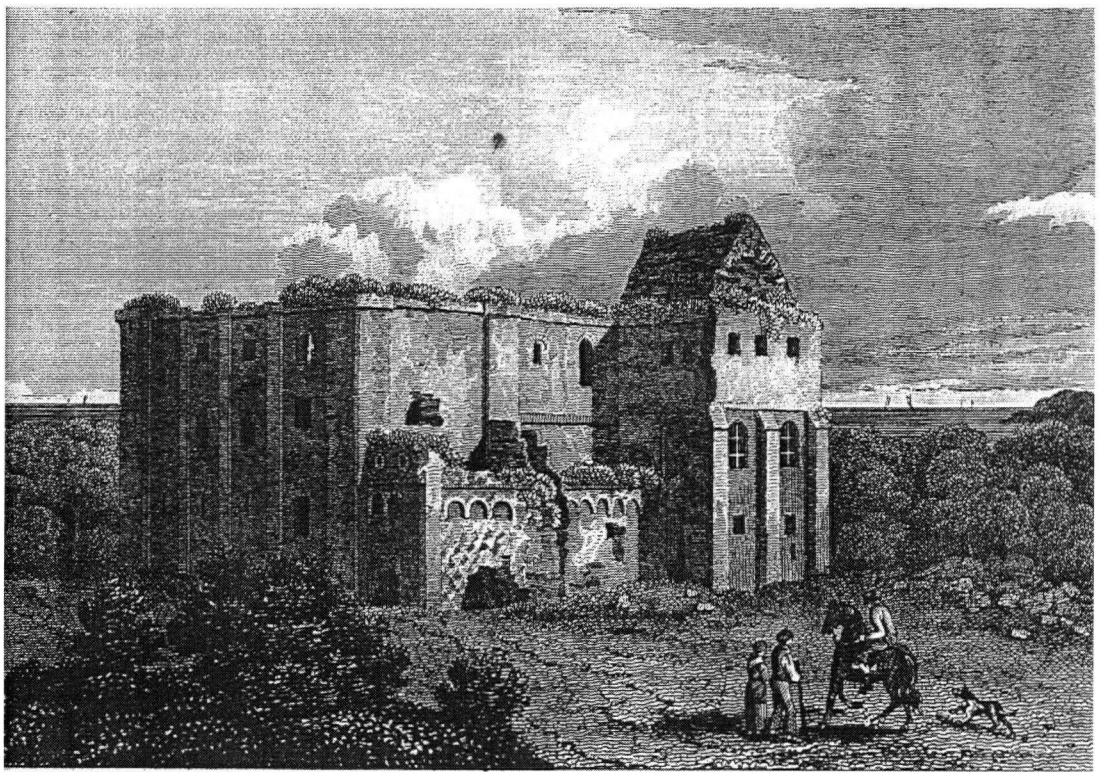
9. "Walsingham, from the Priory." Engraved by R. Sands from a drawing by J. P. Neale. In John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales,1801-1816. (15 x 10 cm)

10. "Walsingham Priory." Engraved by J. Ranson, after a drawing by John Sell Cotman. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (9.5 x 6.5 cm)



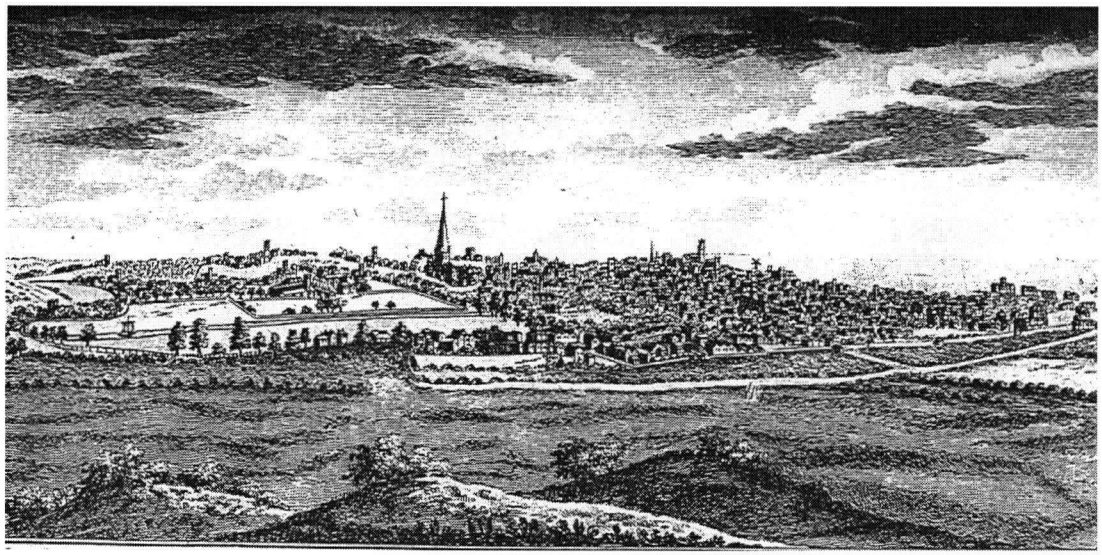
11. "Walsingham Abbey, Refectory." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (22 x 28 cm)

12. "Castle Rising Castle." Engraved by R. Sands after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (16 x 21 cm)

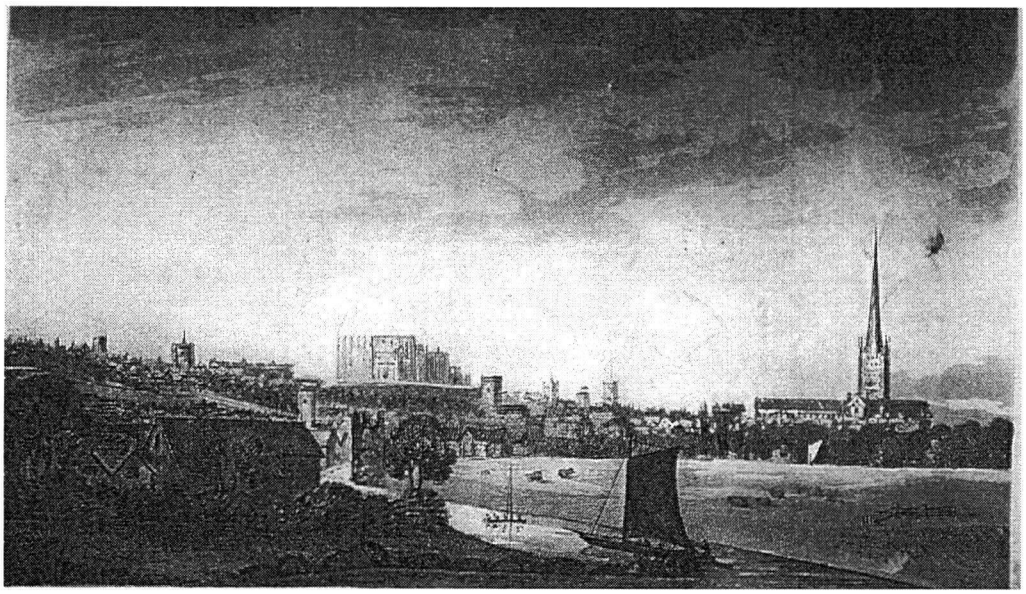


13. "Castle Rising Castle." Engraved by Hay after a drawing by John Preston Neale. In John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, 1801-1816. (14.5 x 10 cm)

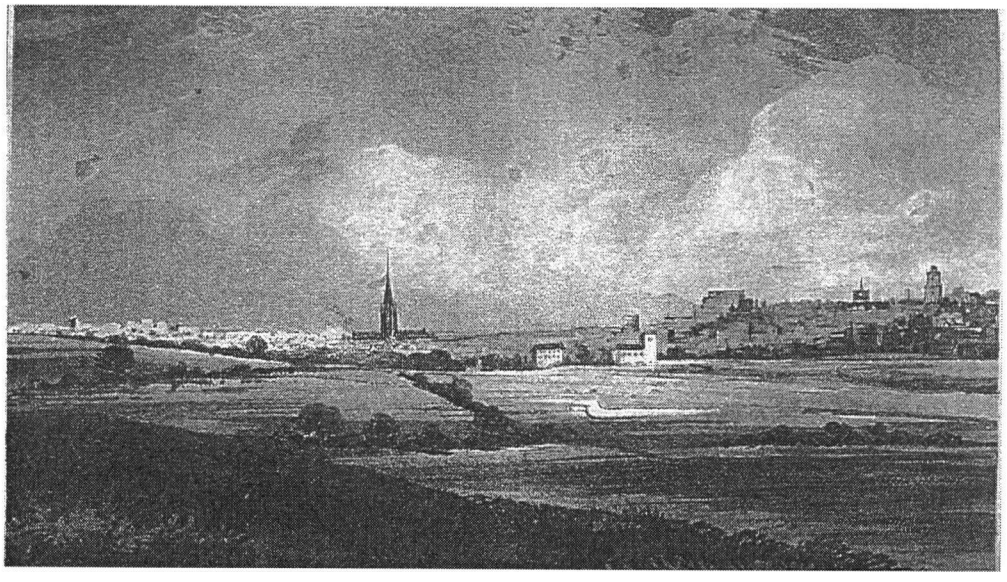
14. "Castle Rising Castle." Engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by John Sell Cotman. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk. (10.5 x 6 cm)



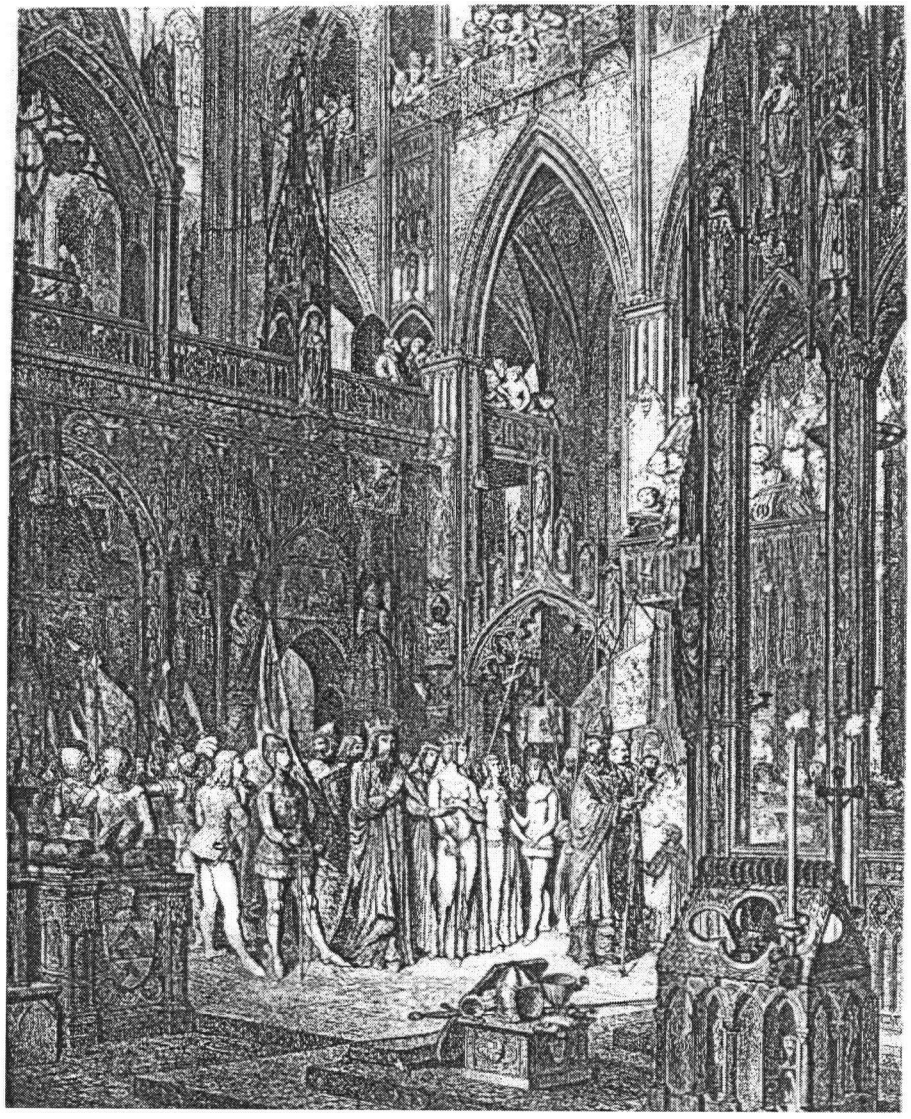
15. "View of Norwich." In Mostyn Armstrong, The History and Antiquities in the County of Norfolk, 1781. (19.5 x 9 cm)



16 "View of Norwich." Frontispiece in Philip Browne, A History of Norwich, 1814. (16 x 9.5 cm)

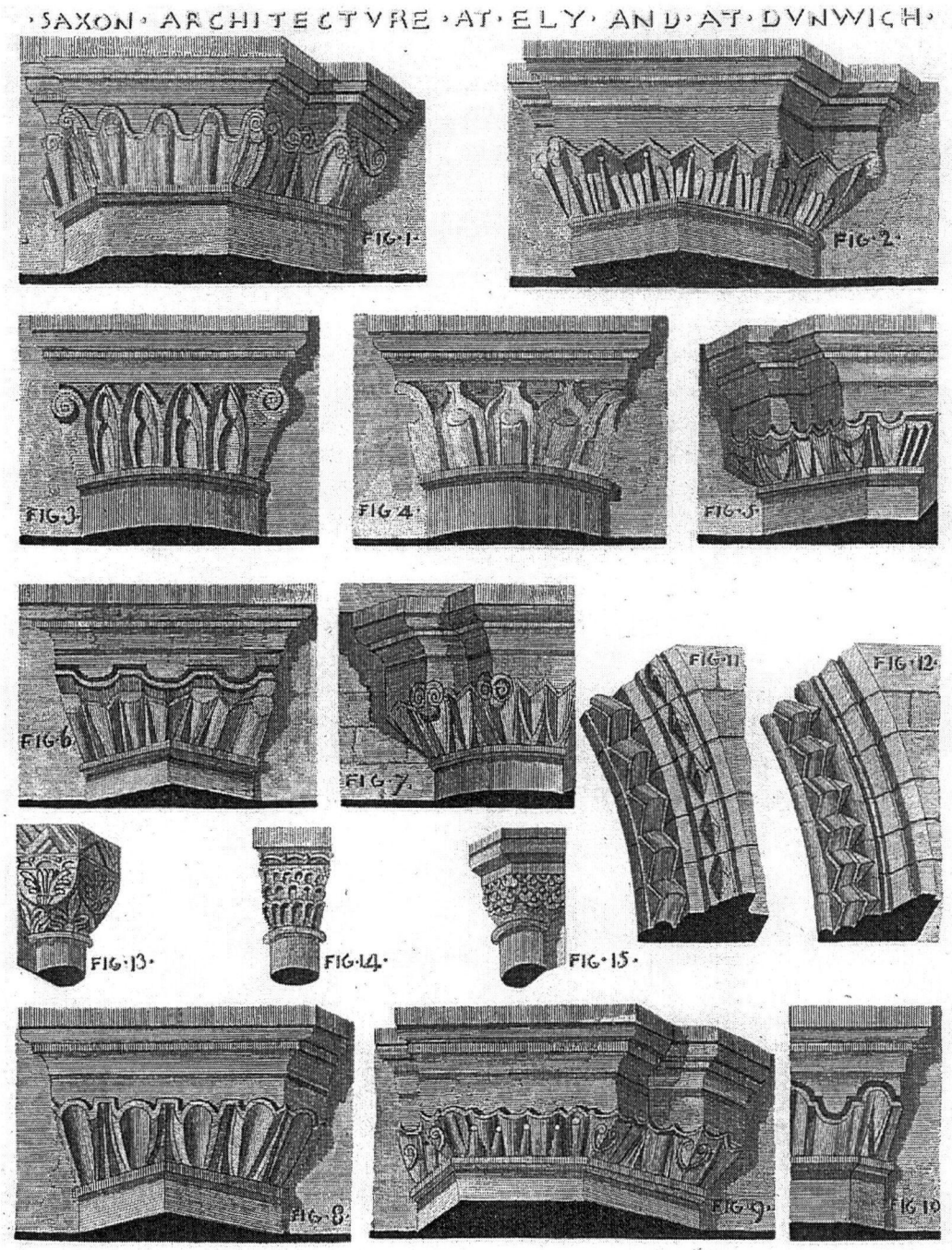


17. "View of Norwich." In Philip Browne, A History of Norwich, 1814. (16.5 x 9.5 cm)

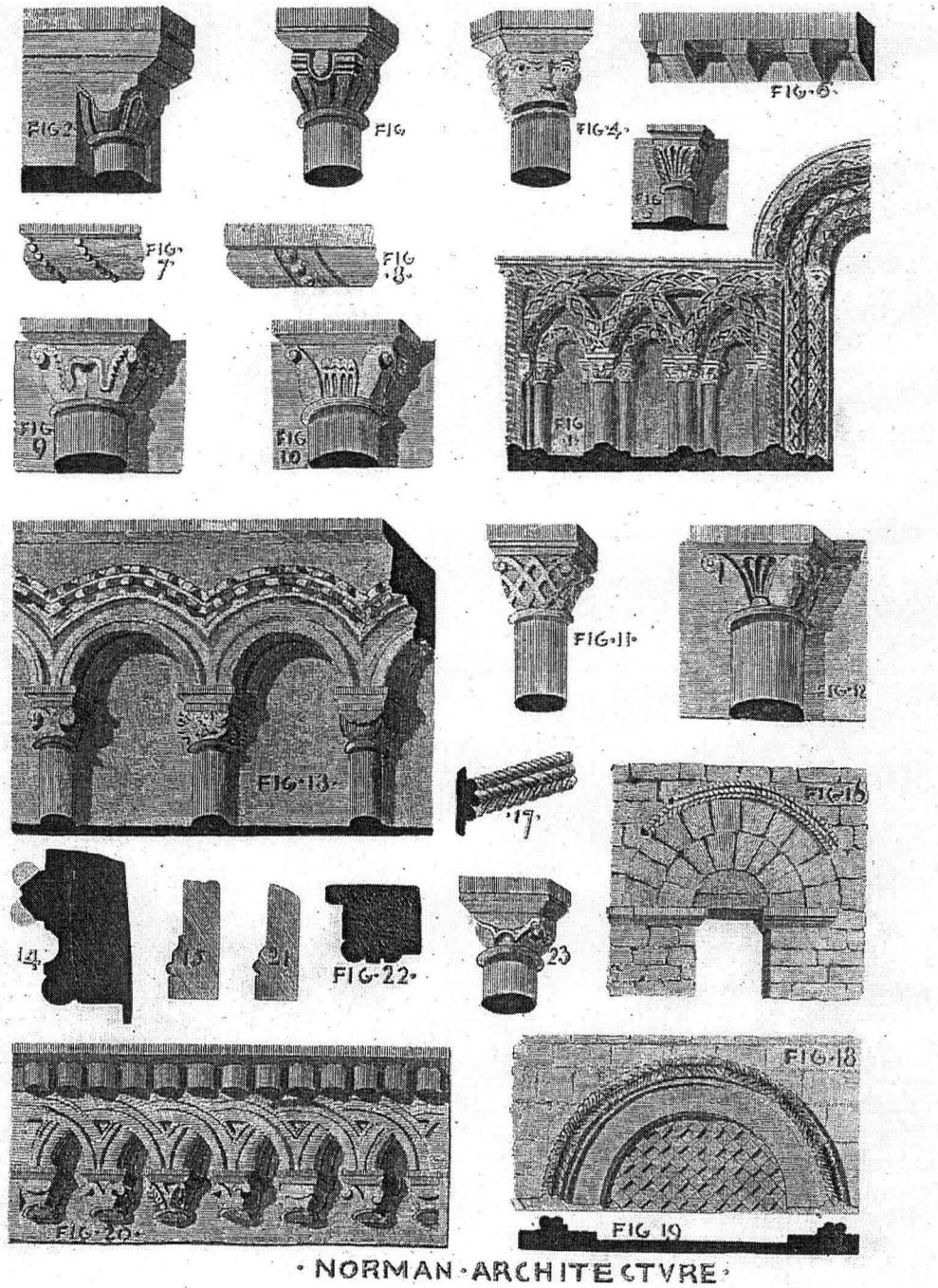


18. "Frontispiece." Engraved after a drawing by John Carter. In John Carter, Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting, vol I, 1780-1794. (21.5 x 31 cm)

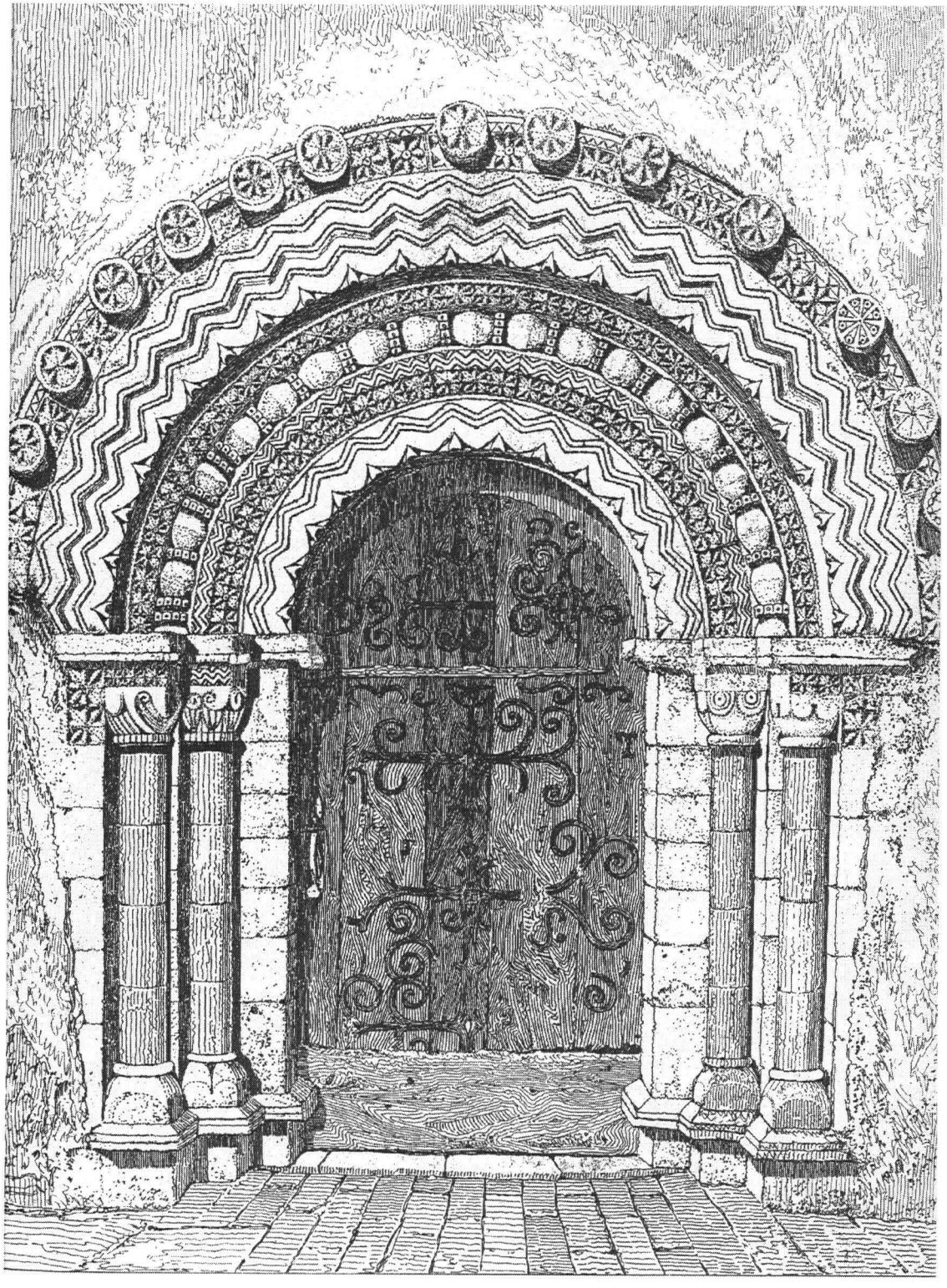
19. "Frontispiece." Engraved after a drawing by John Carter. In John Carter, Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting, vol. II, 1780-1794. (21.5 x 31 cm)



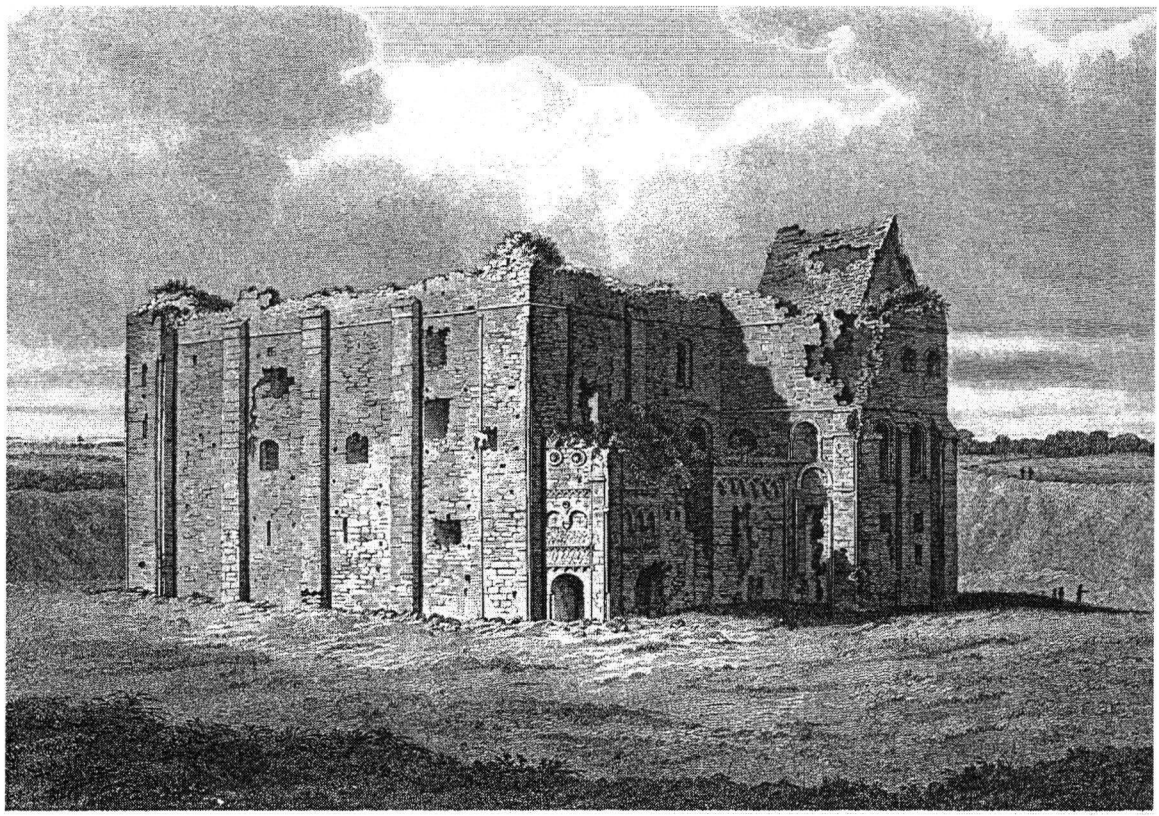
20. "Norwich Castle; Saxon Architecture." Engraved by Basire after a drawing by William Wilkins. In William Wilkins, An Essay towards a History ... of Norwich Castle, 1795. (17 x 22.5 cm)



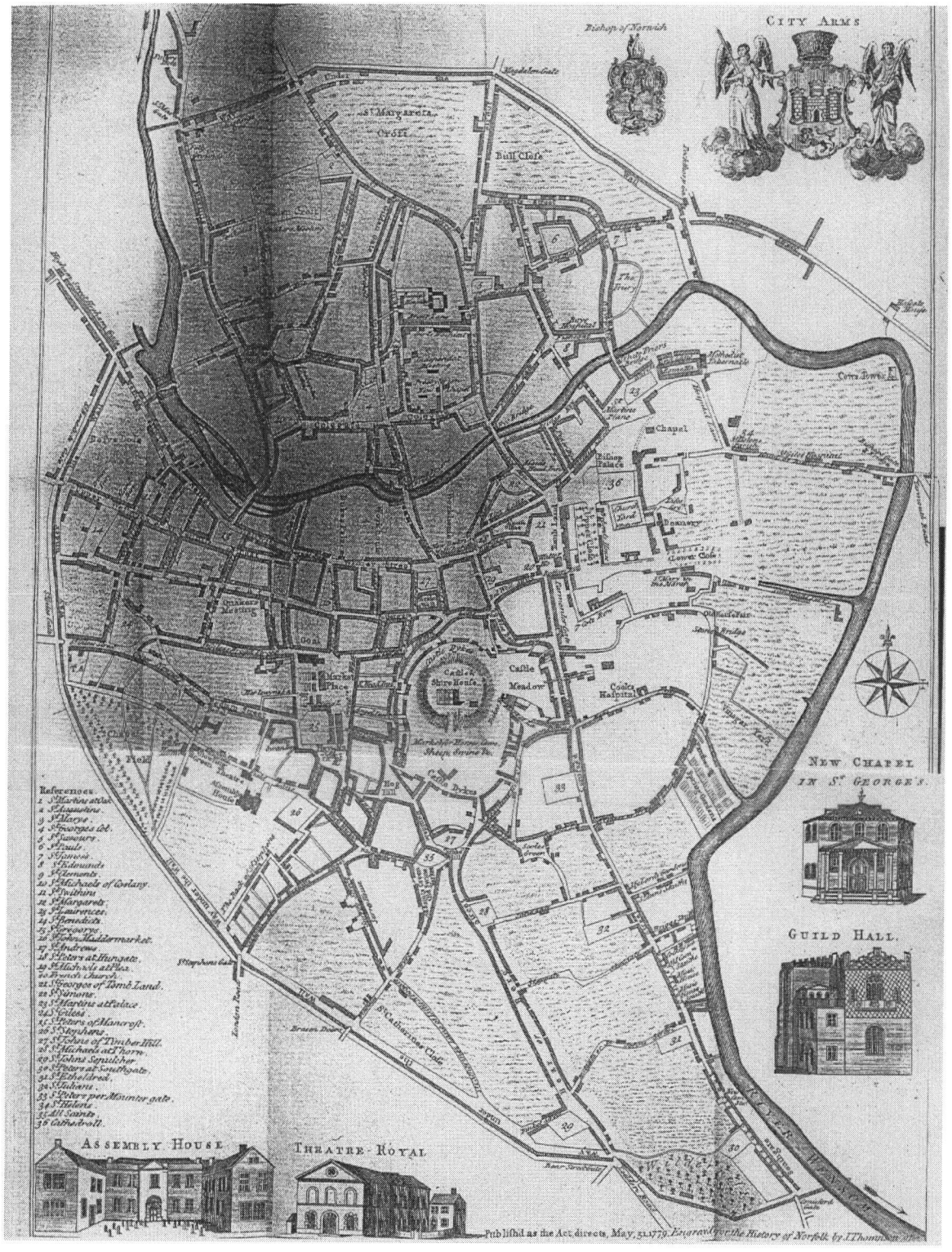
21. "Norwich Castle; Norman Architecture." Engraved by Basire after a drawing by William Wilkins. In William Wilkins, An Essay towards a History ... of Norwich Castle, 1795. (17 x 23 cm)



22 "North Doorway, Hales Church." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (24 x 29 cm)

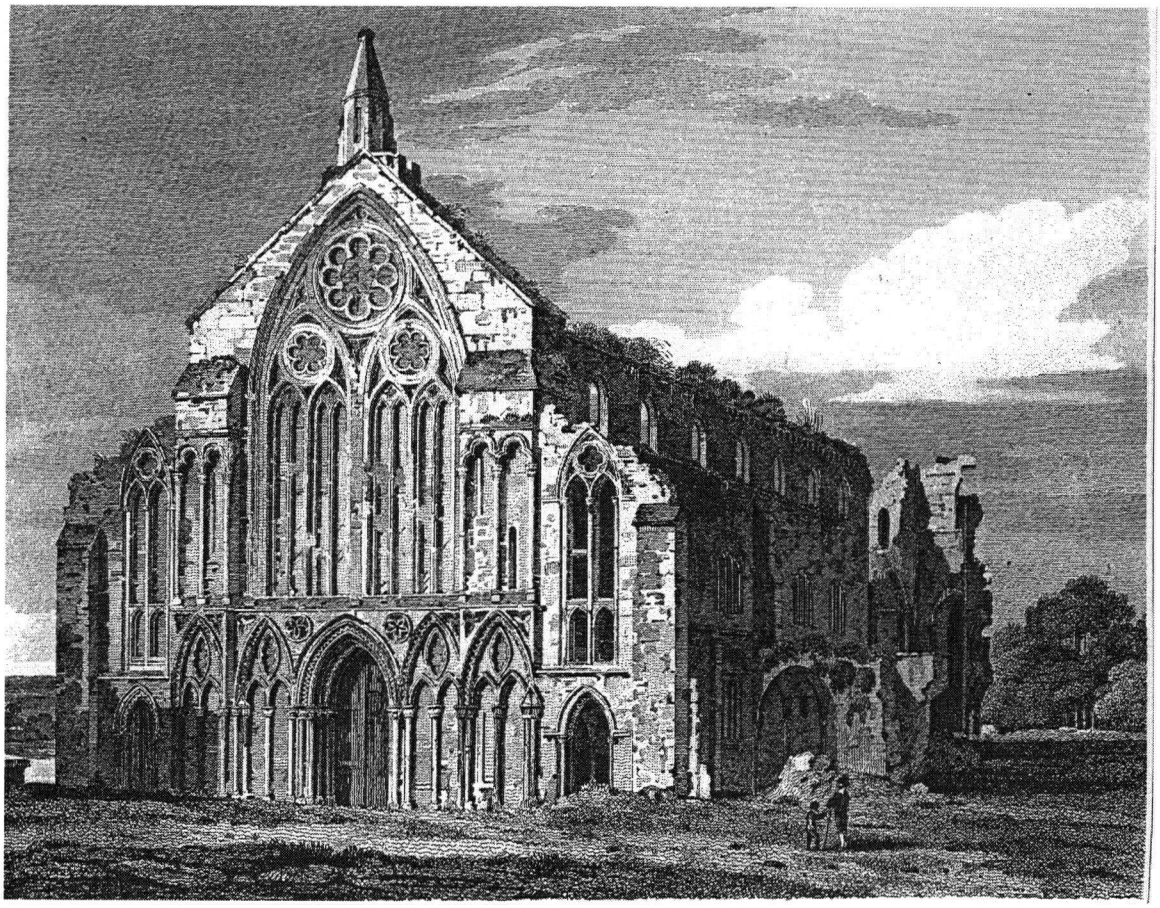


23. "Castle Rising Castle." Engraved by J. Smith after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (20.5 x 14 cm)

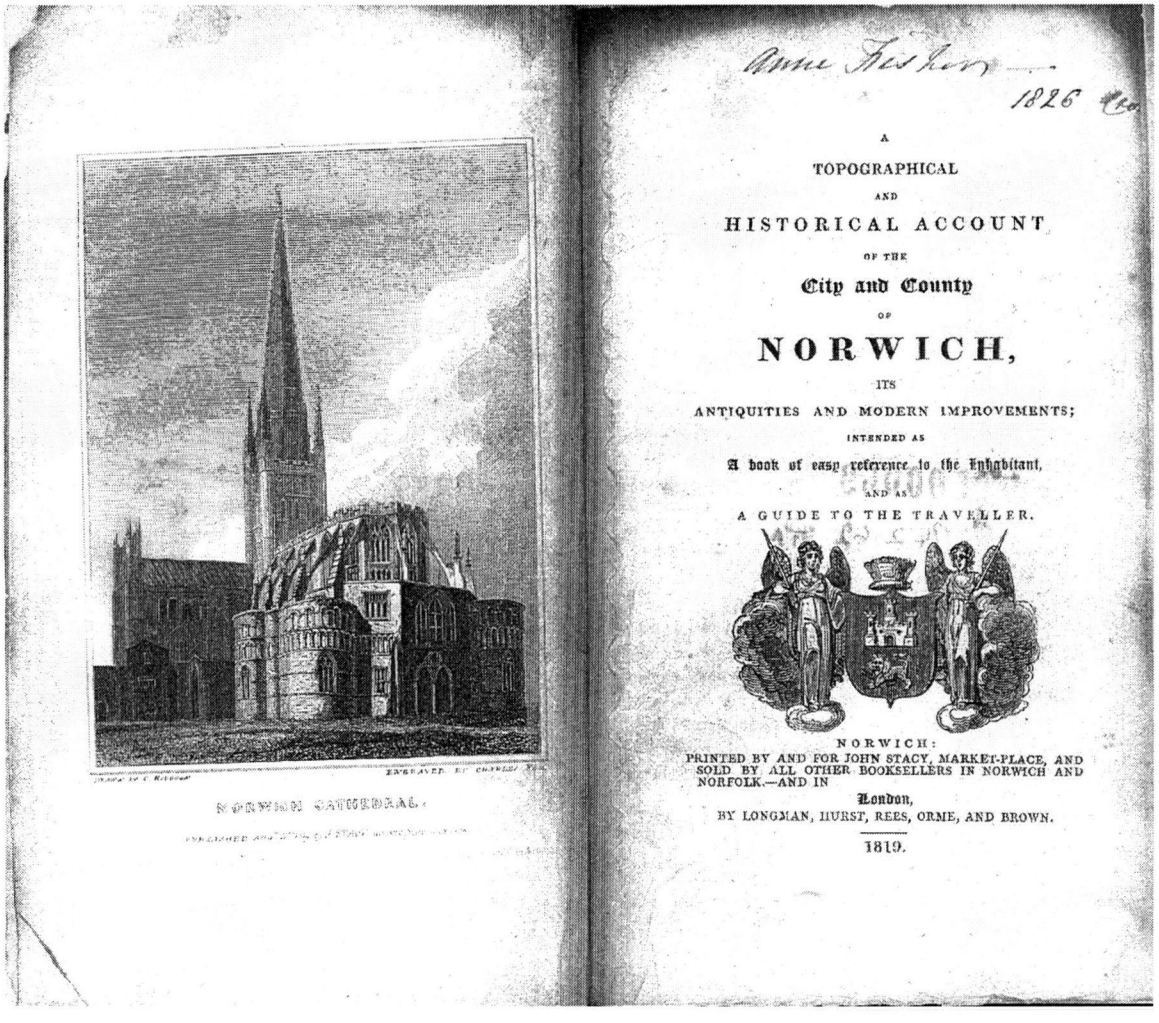


24. "Map of Norwich." In Mostyn Armstrong, History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, 1781. (32 x 41.5 cm)

25. "Gurney's Bank." In Mostyn Armstrong, History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, 1781. (19 x 10 cm)



26. "Binham Priory." Engraved by Wm. Woolnoth after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (21 x 16 cm)

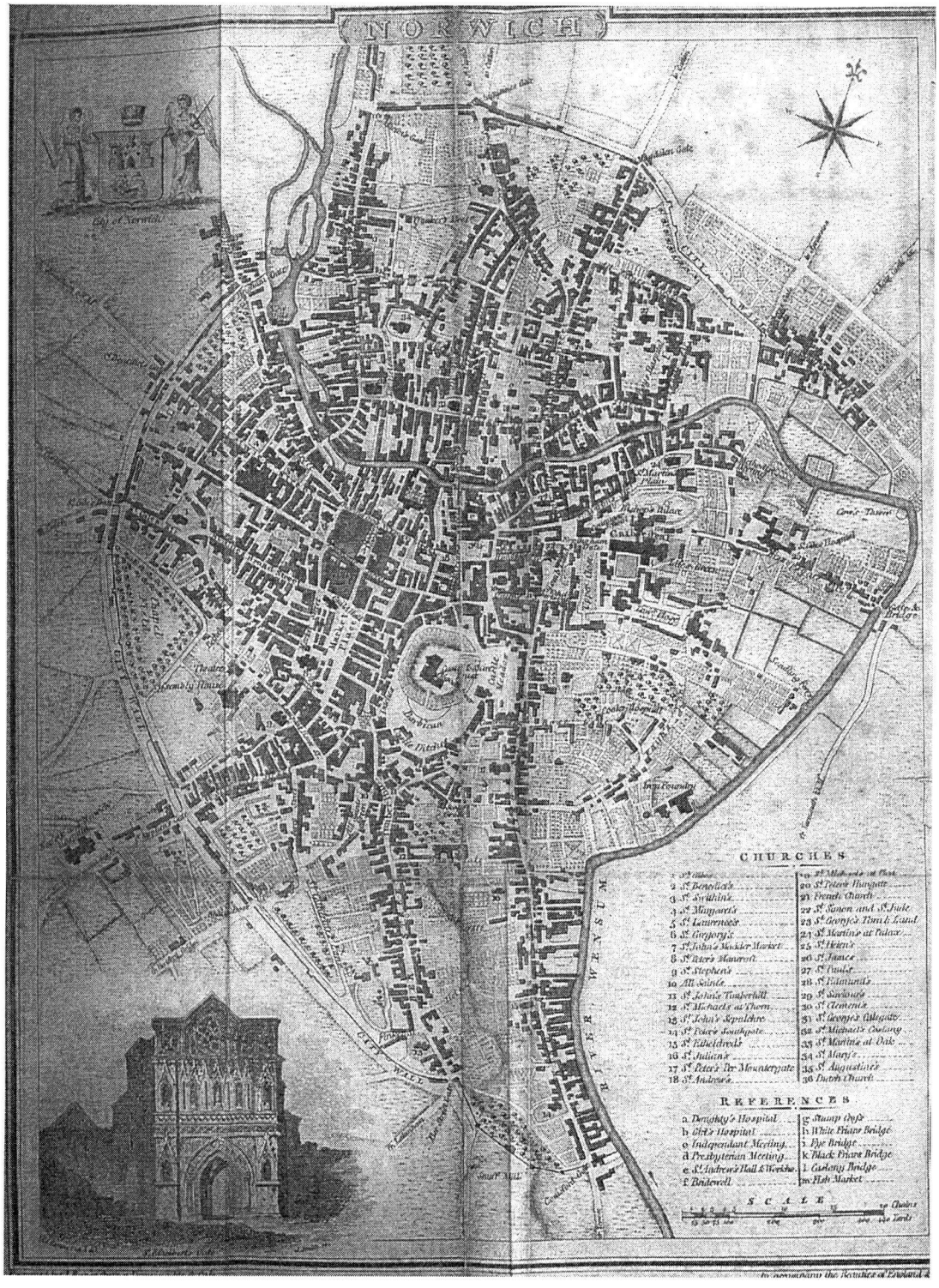


NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

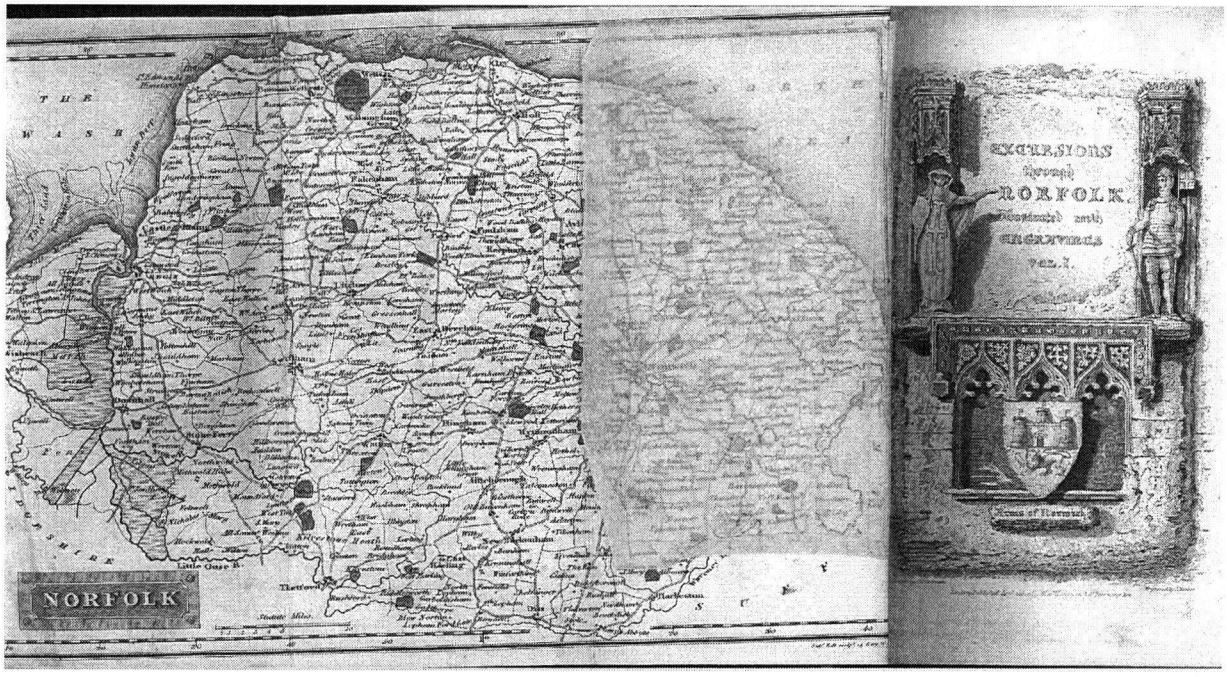
A
TOPOGRAPHICAL
AND
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
City and County
OF
NORWICH,
ITS
ANTIQUITIES AND MODERN IMPROVEMENTS;
INTENDED AS
A book of easy reference to the Inhabitant,
AND AS
A GUIDE TO THE TRAVELLER.

NORWICH:
PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN STACY, MARKET-PLACE, AND SOLD BY ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS IN NORWICH AND NORFOLK.—AND IN
London,
BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN.
1819.

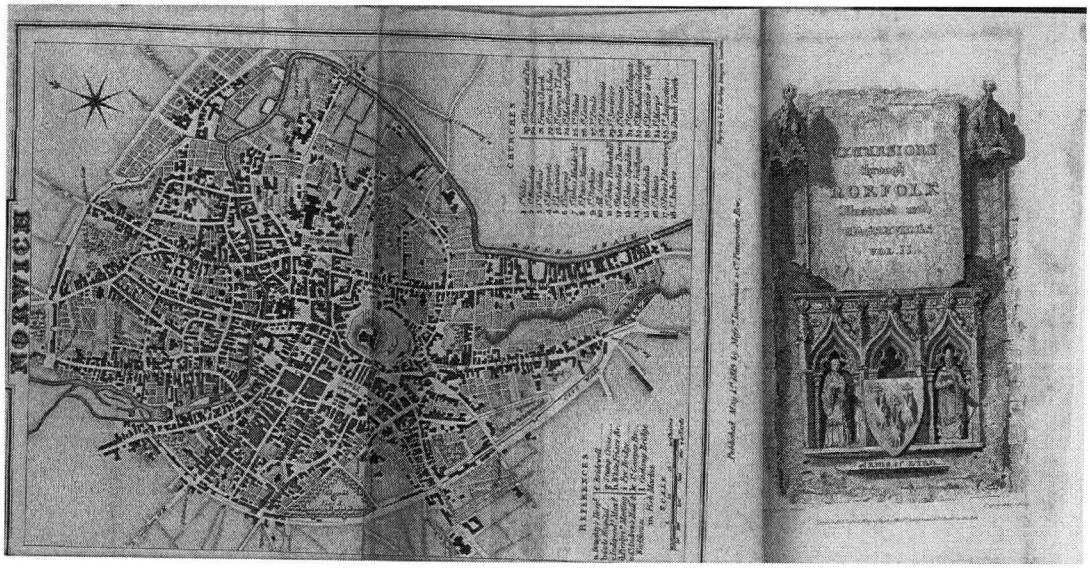
27. "Norwich Cathedral." Engraved by C. Fox after a drawing by C. Hodgson. In John Stacy, A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, 1819. (8 x 10.5 cm)



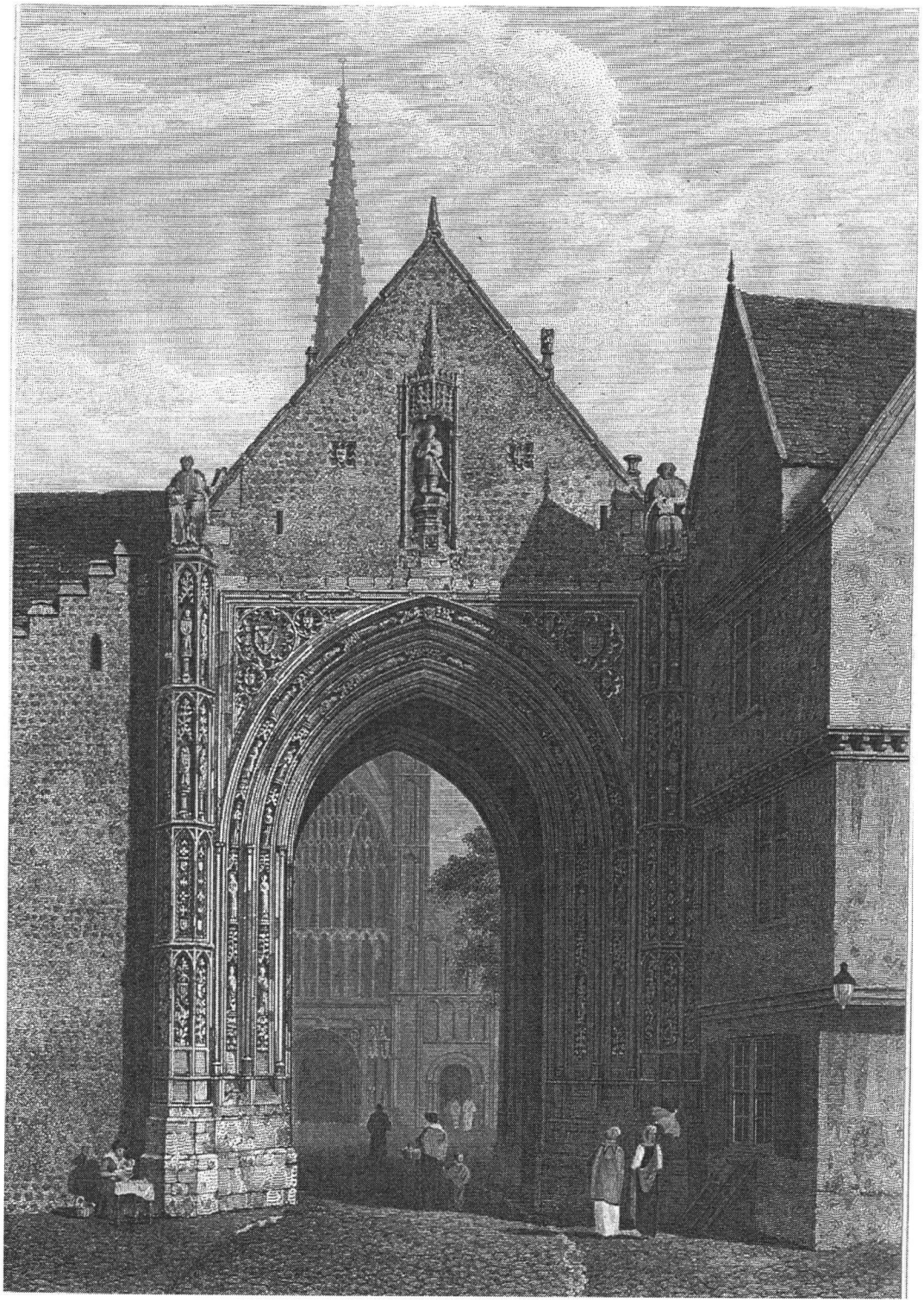
28. "Map of Norwich." Engraved by J. Roper after a drawing by G. Cole. In John Stacy, A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, 1819. (17.5 x 22.75 cm)



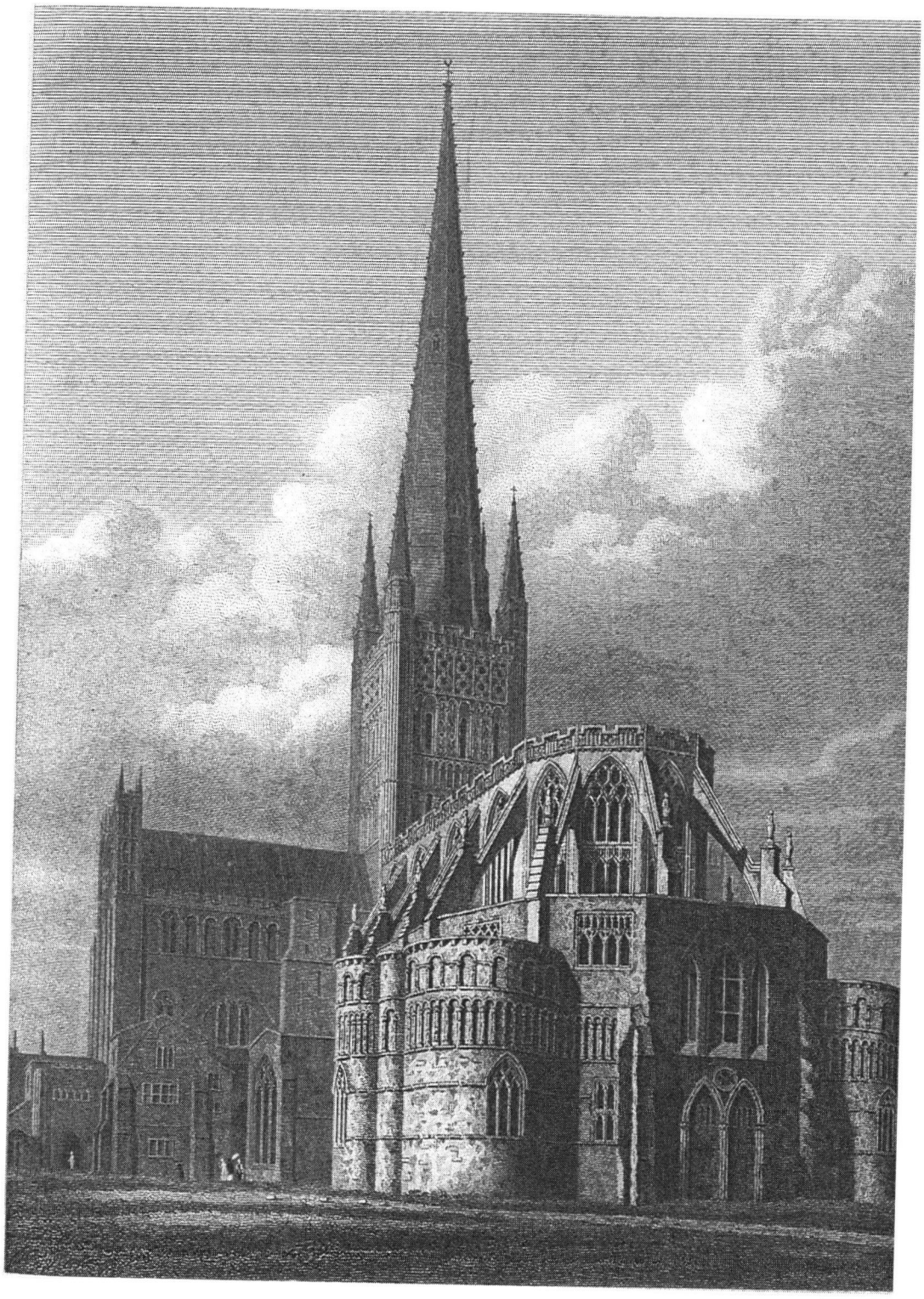
29. "Titlepage." Engraved by I. Barber after a drawing by John Sell Cotman; "Map of Norfolk." In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (6.75 x 13 cm)



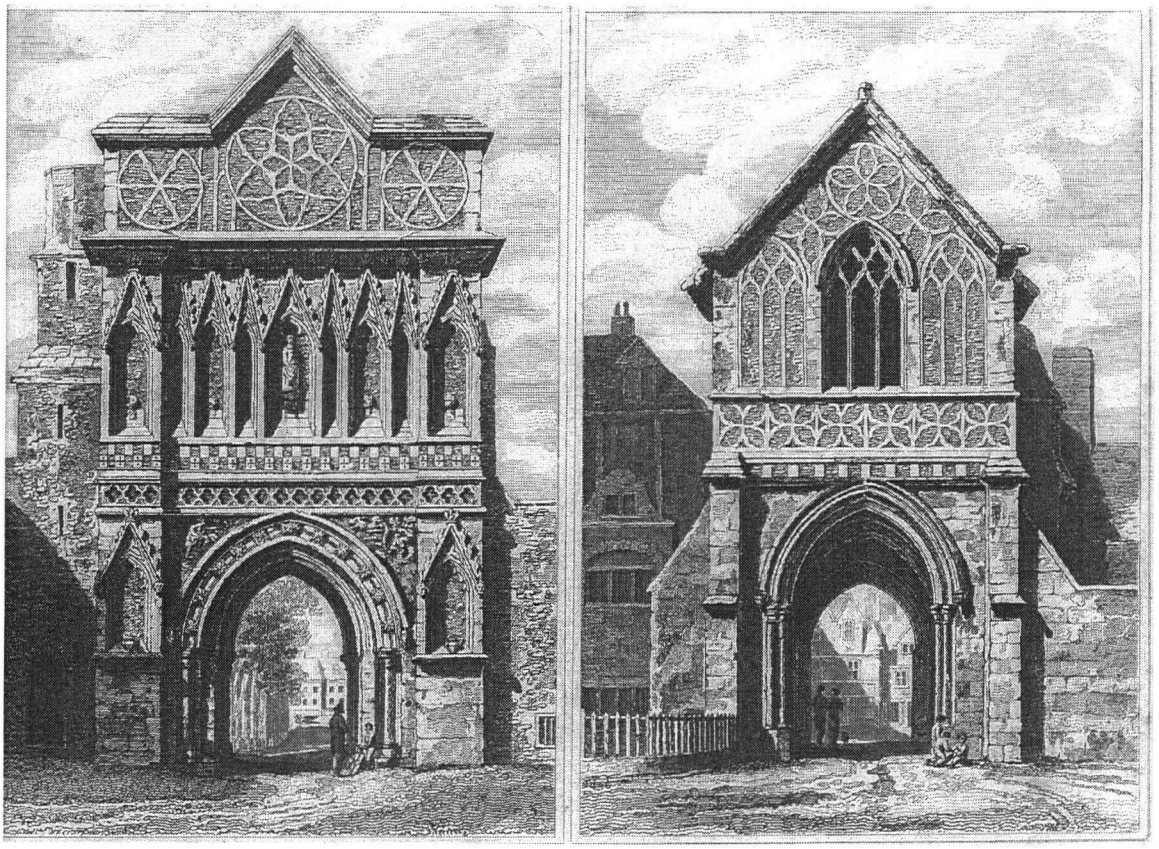
30. "Titlepage." Engraved by J. Greig after a drawing by John Sell Cotman; "Map of Norwich," engraved by T. Starling. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (7 x 12 cm)



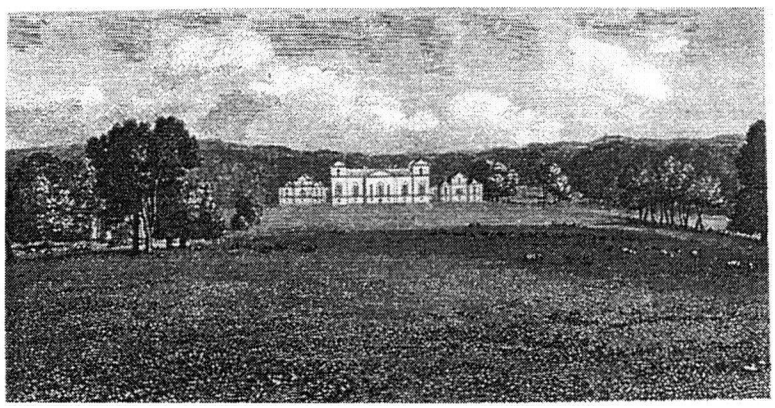
31. "Erpingham Gate." Engraved by Henry L. Keux after a drawing by F. Mackenzie. In John Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, 1816. (15 x 21.5 cm)



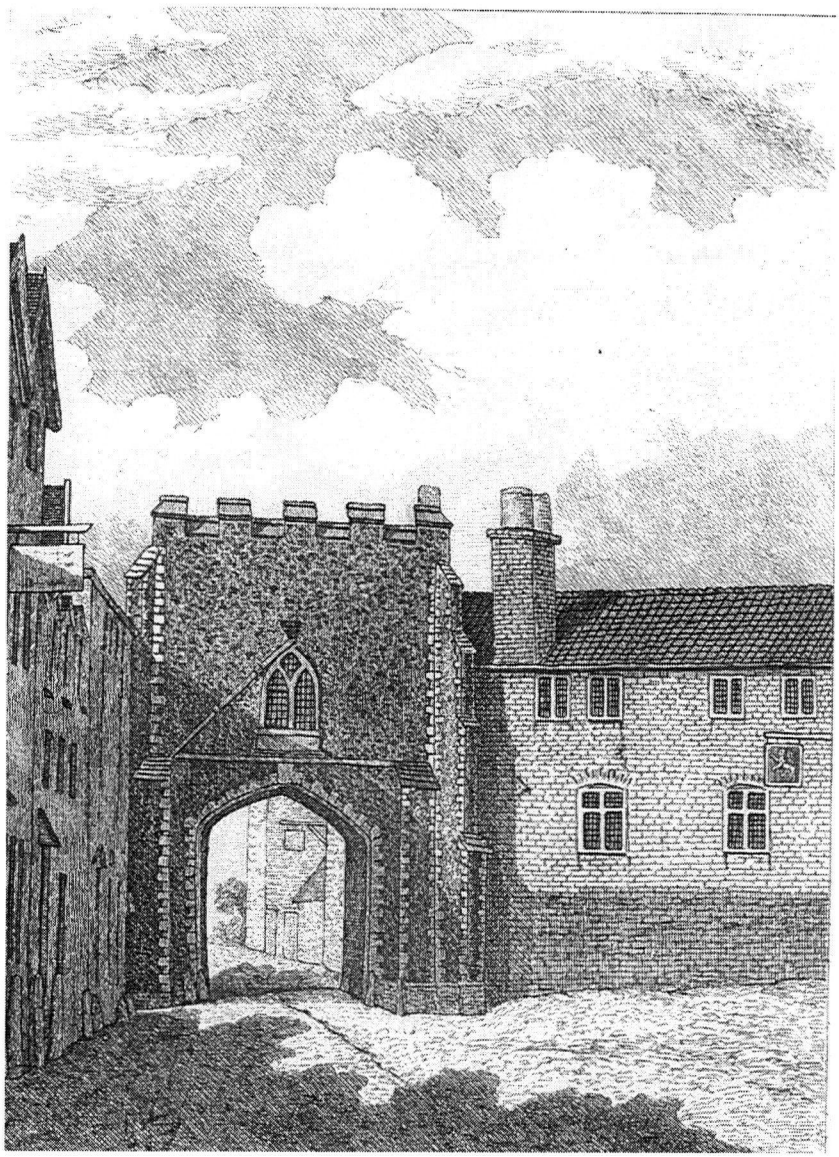
32. "Norwich Cathedral Church, East End." Engraved by William Findlay after a drawing by R. Cattermole. In John Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, 1816. (15.5 x 20.5 cm)



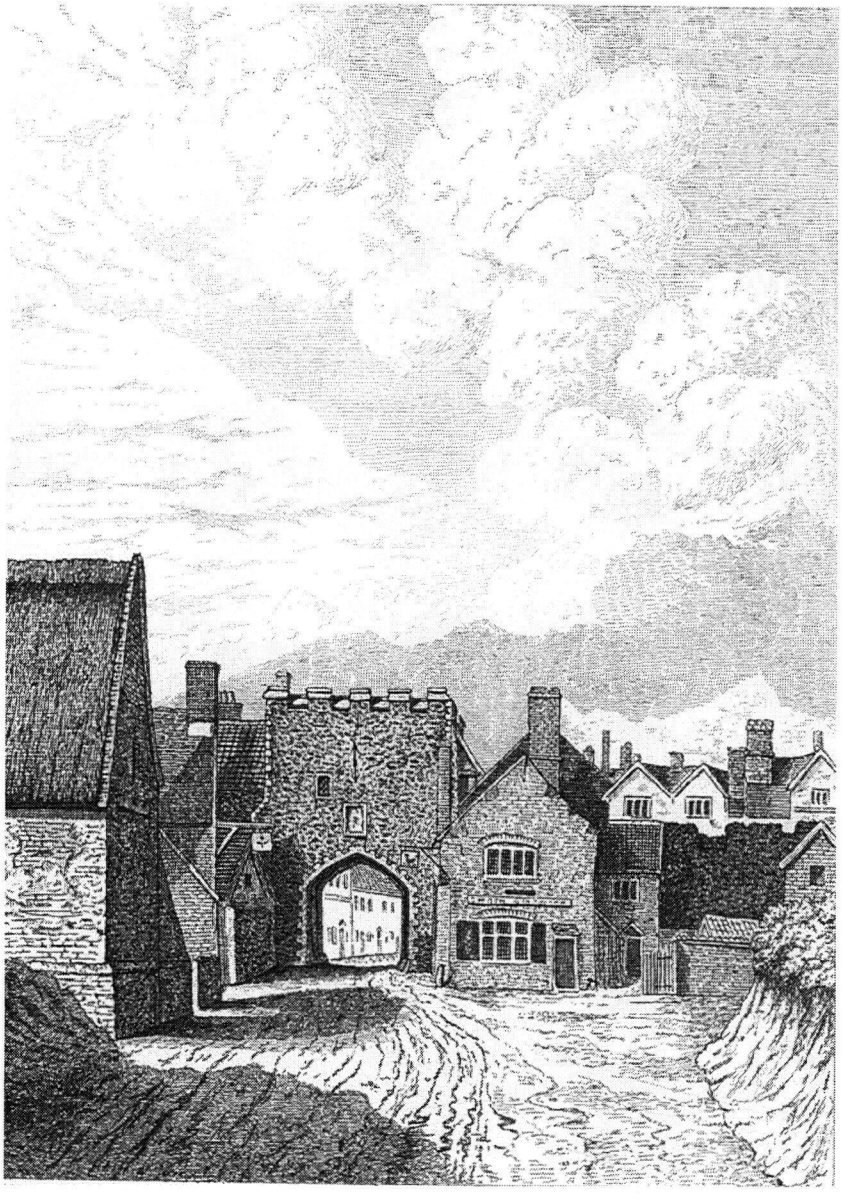
33. "Ethelbert's Gate." Etched by T. Ranson, after a drawing by R. Cattermole. In John Britton, The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Norwich, 1816. (22 x 15.5 cm)



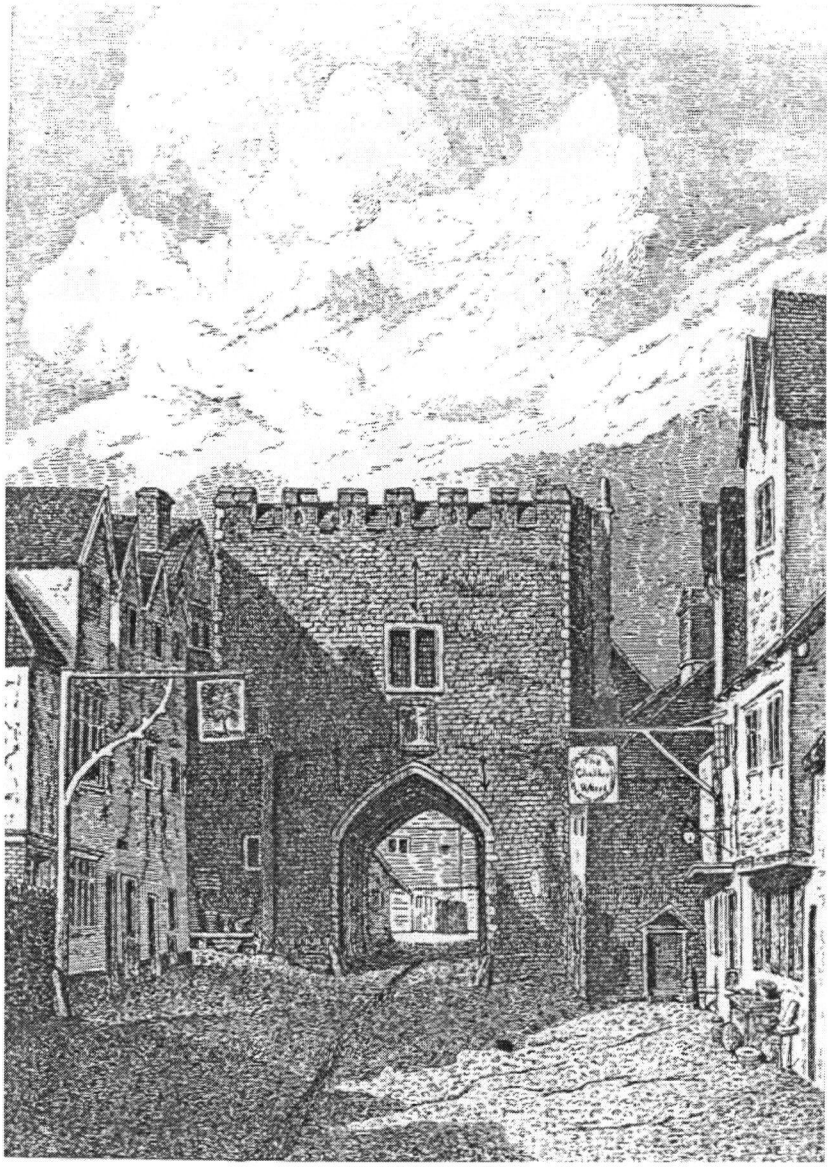
34. "Holkham Hall." Engraved by J. Webb after a drawing by John Sell Cotman. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (10 x 5.5 cm)



35. "Magdalen Gate." Engraved by Walter-Hagreen-Fecit after a drawing by John Ninham. In Robert Fitch, Views of the Gates of Norwich, 1861. (11 x 15 cm)



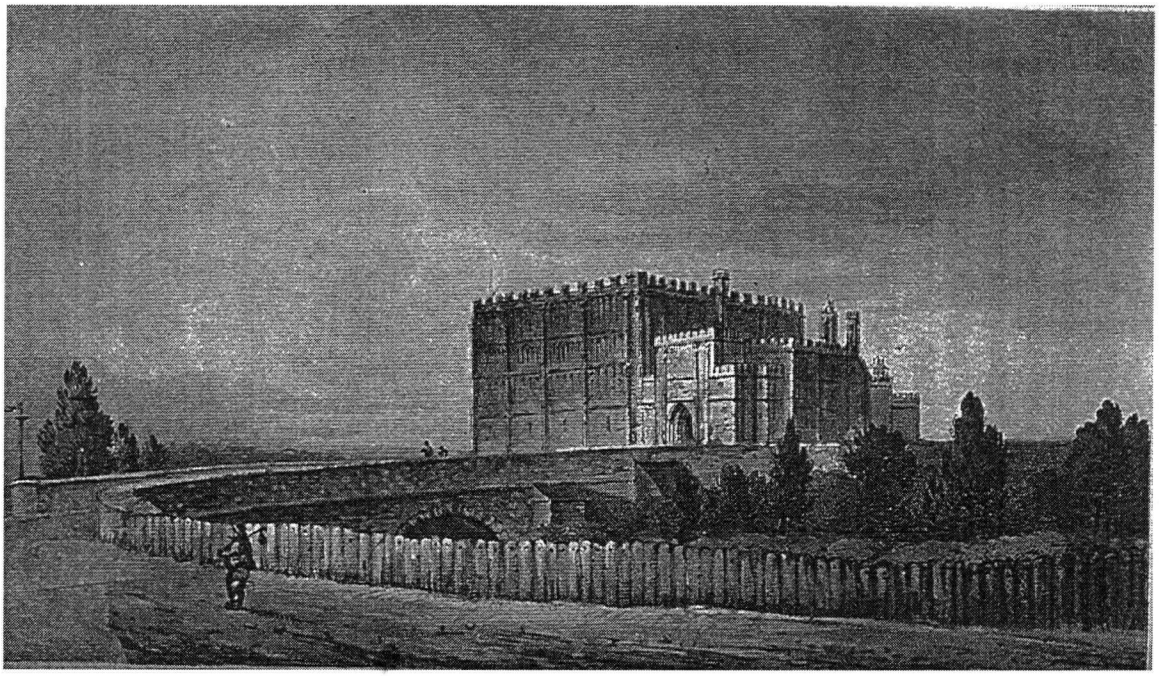
36. "Magdalen Gate." Engraved by Walter-Hagreen-Fecit after a drawing by John Ninham. In Robert Fitch, Views of the Gates of Norwich, 1861. (11 x 15 cm)



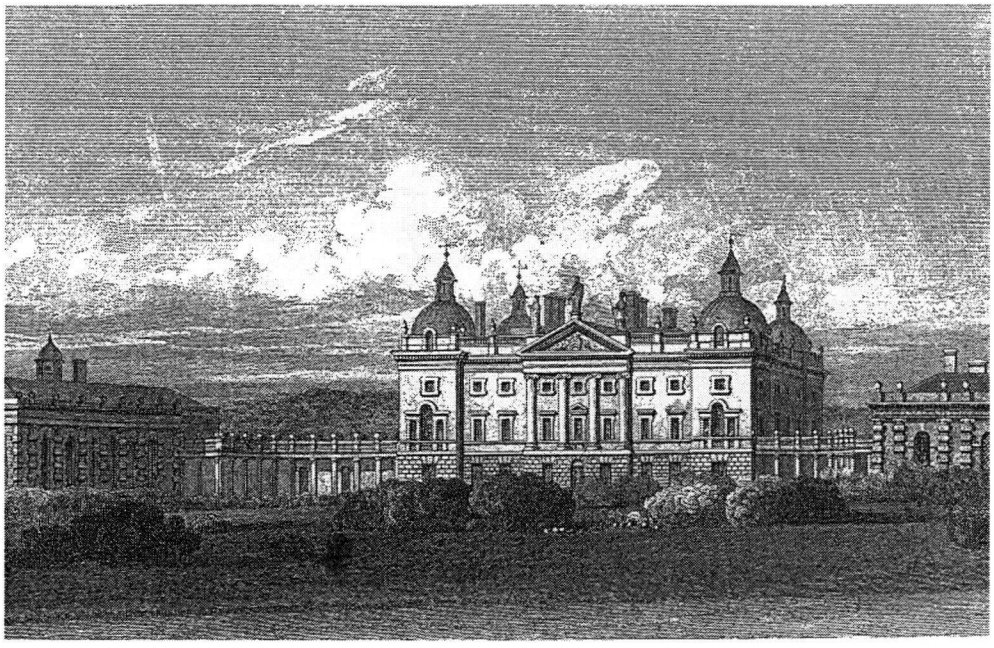
37. "St. Augustine's Gate." Engraved by Walter-Hagreen-Fecit after a drawing by John Ninham. In Robert Fitch, Views of the Gates of Norwich, 1861. (11 x 15 cm)

38. "St. Augustine's Gate." Engraved by Walter-Hagreen-Fecit after a drawing by John Ninham. In Robert Fitch, Views of the Gates of Norwich, 1861. (11 x 15 cm)

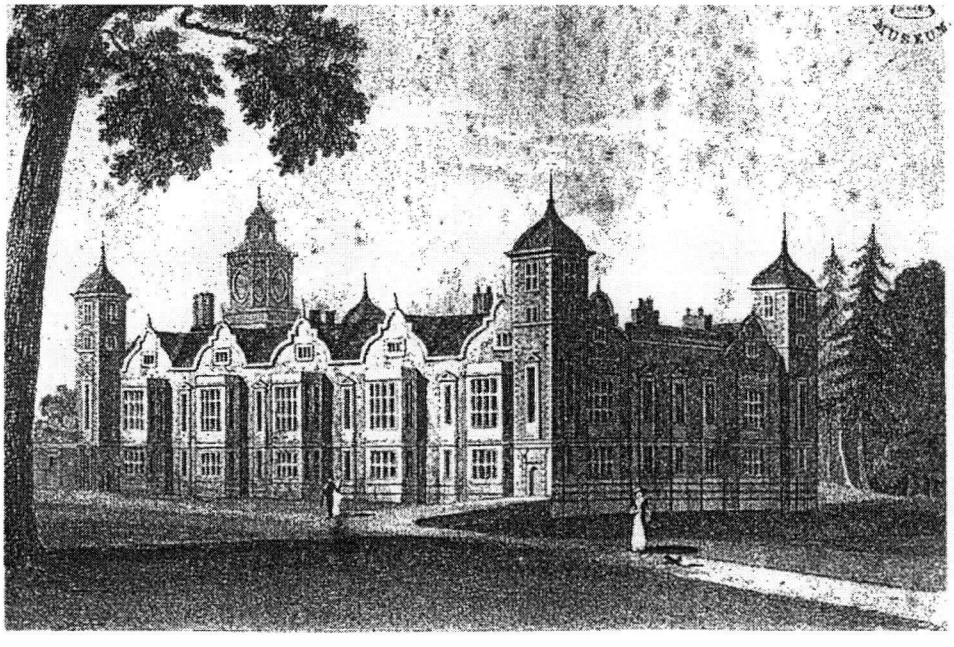
39. "Back of Magdalen Gate, Norwich." Watercolour by Robert Dixon, 1809. (57.5 x 79.8 cm)



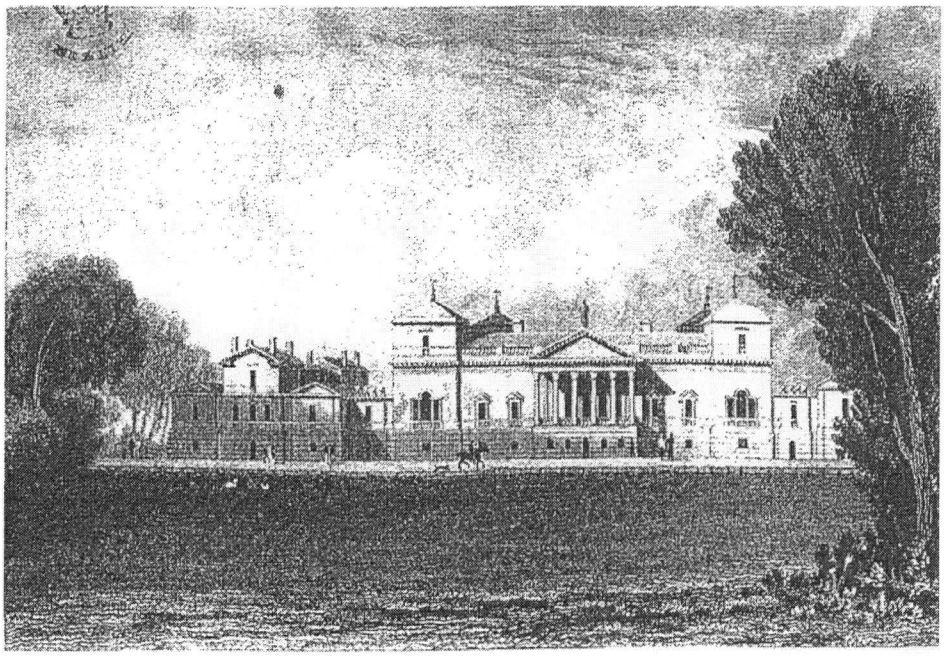
40. "Norwich Castle." In Philip Browne, The History of Norwich, 1814. (16.5 x 9.5 cm)



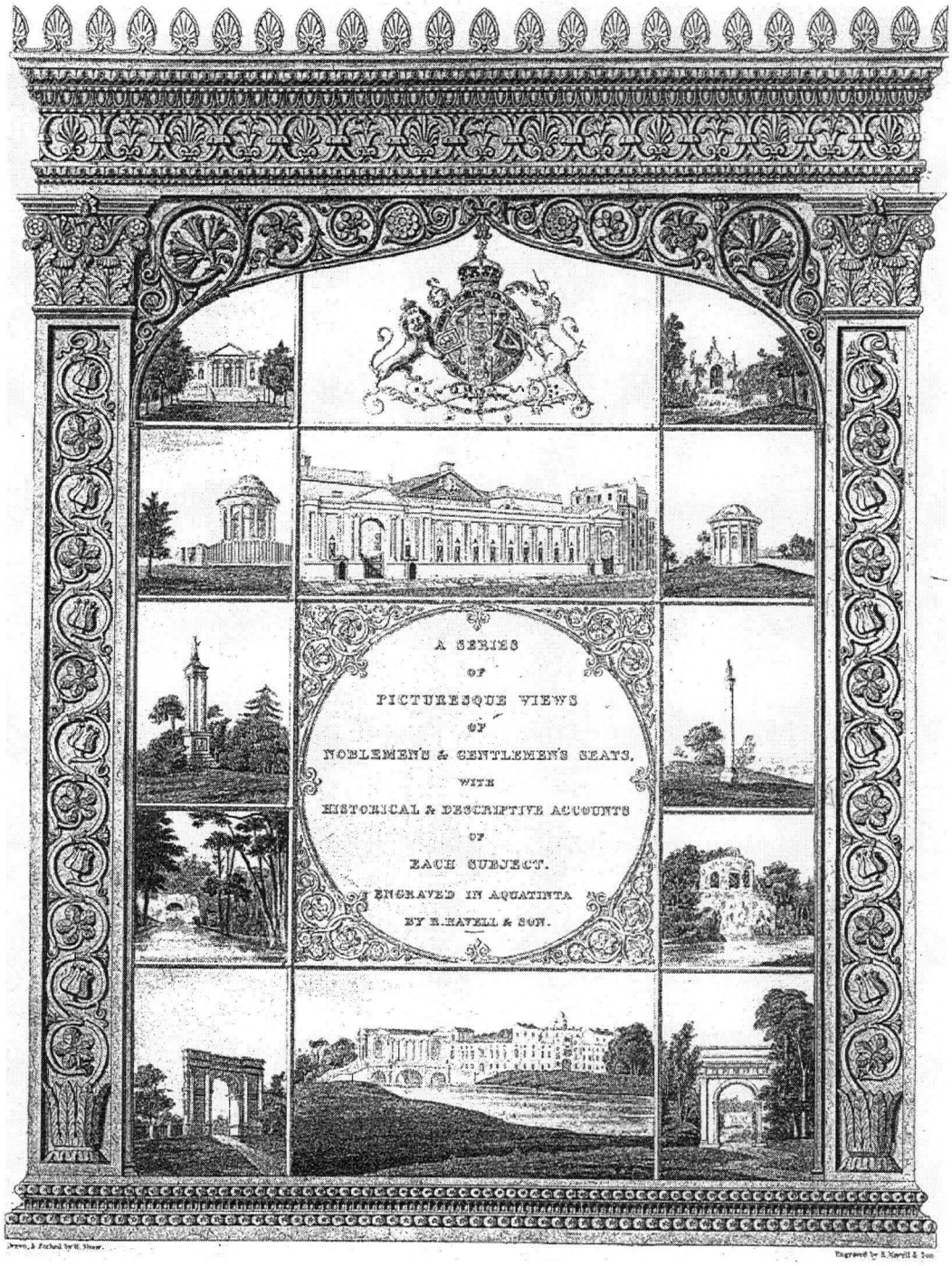
41. "Houghton Hall." Engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by John Preston Neale. In John Preston Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, 1818-1823. (13.5 x 8.5 cm)



42. "Blickling Hall." Engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by John Preston Neale. In John Preston Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, 1818-1823. (12.5 x 8.5 cm)



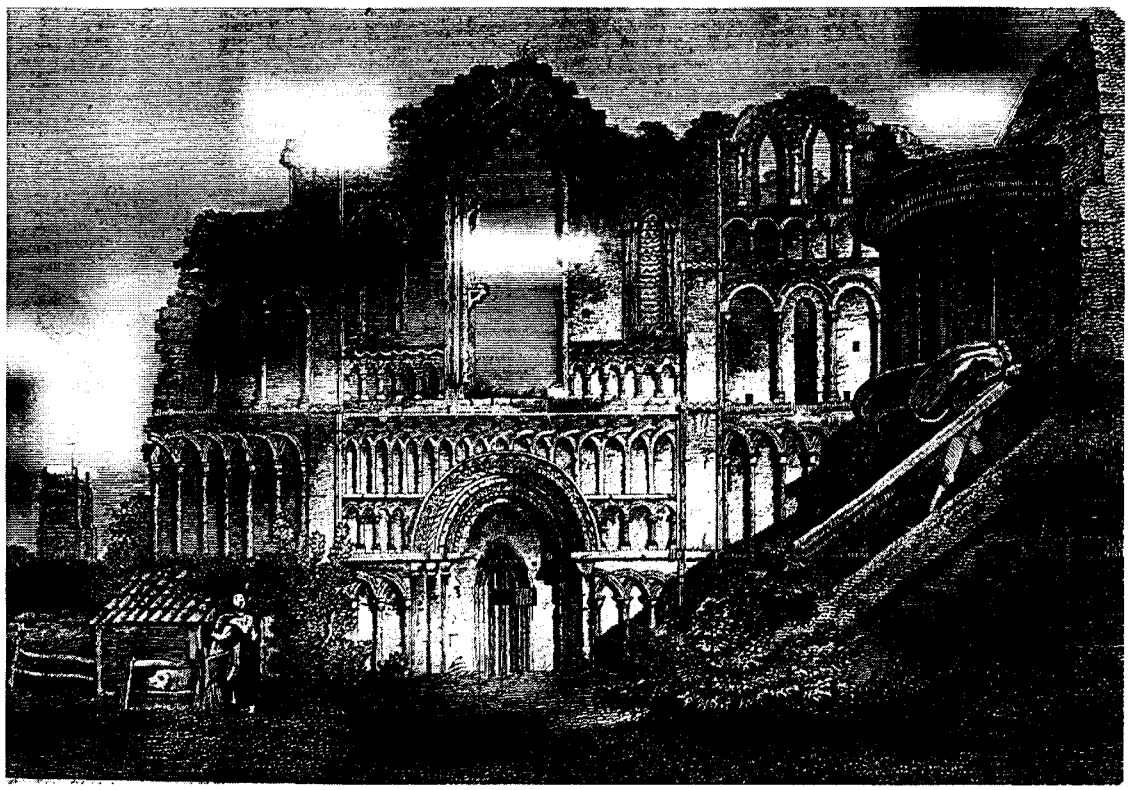
43. "Holkham Hall." Engraved by F. Byrne after a drawing by John Preston Neale. In John Preston Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, 1818-1823. (12.5 x 8.5 cm)



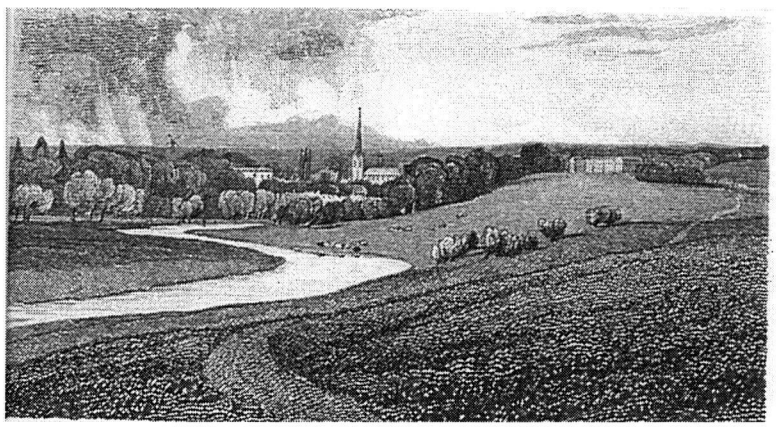
44. "Titlepage." Engraved by Robert Havell, drawn and etched by H. Shaw. In Robert Havell, A Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, 1823. (24 x 31.5 cm)

45. "Holkham Hall." Engraved by Robert Havell after a drawing by Elizabeth Blackwell. A Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, 1823. (30 x 22 cm)

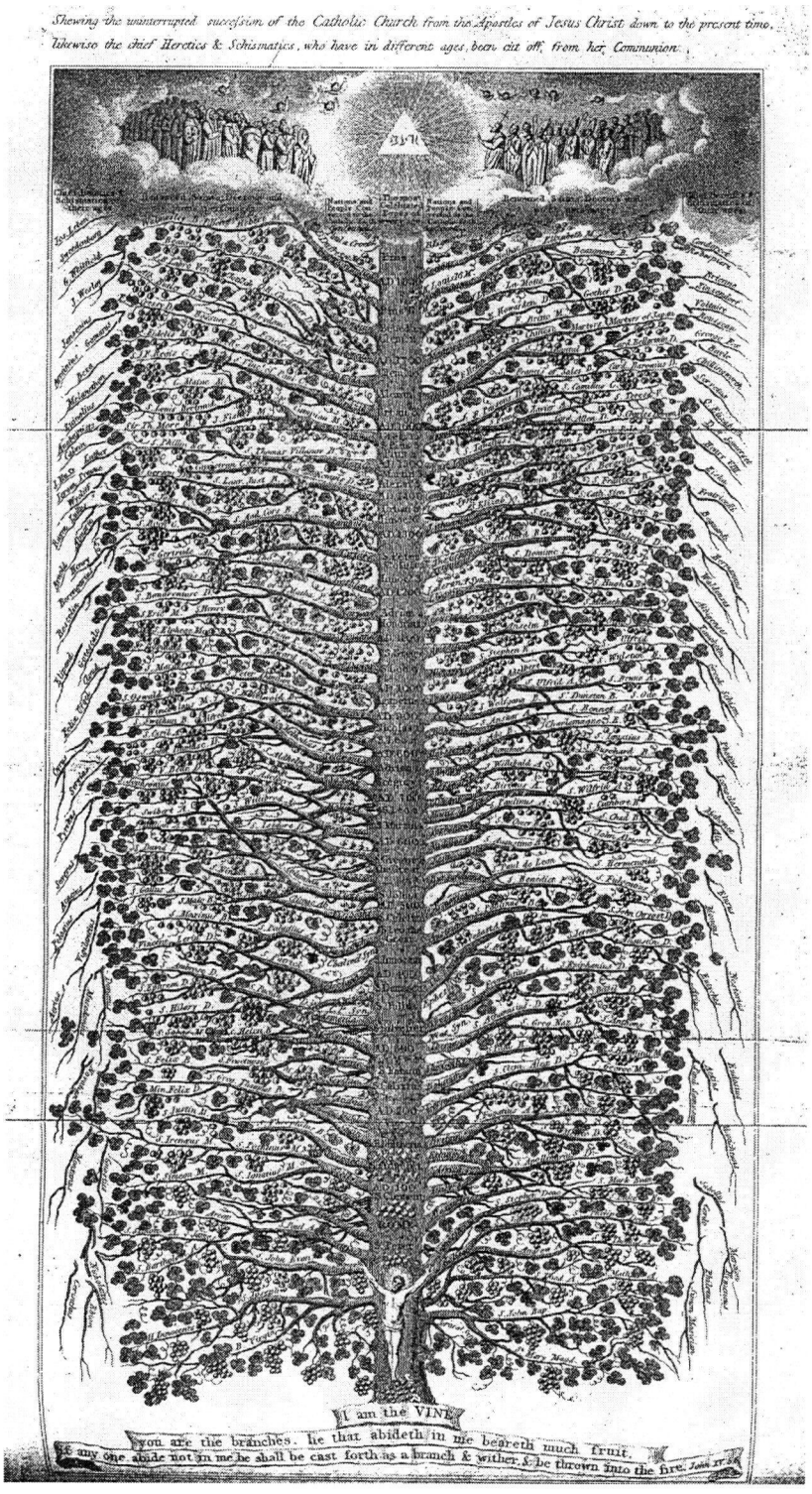
46. "Holkham Hall." Print by anonymous artist. Of the period. (20 x 15 cm)



47. "Castle Acre Priory." Engraved by J. Smith after a drawing by Edward Dayes. In John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, 1801-1816. (15 x 10.5 cm)

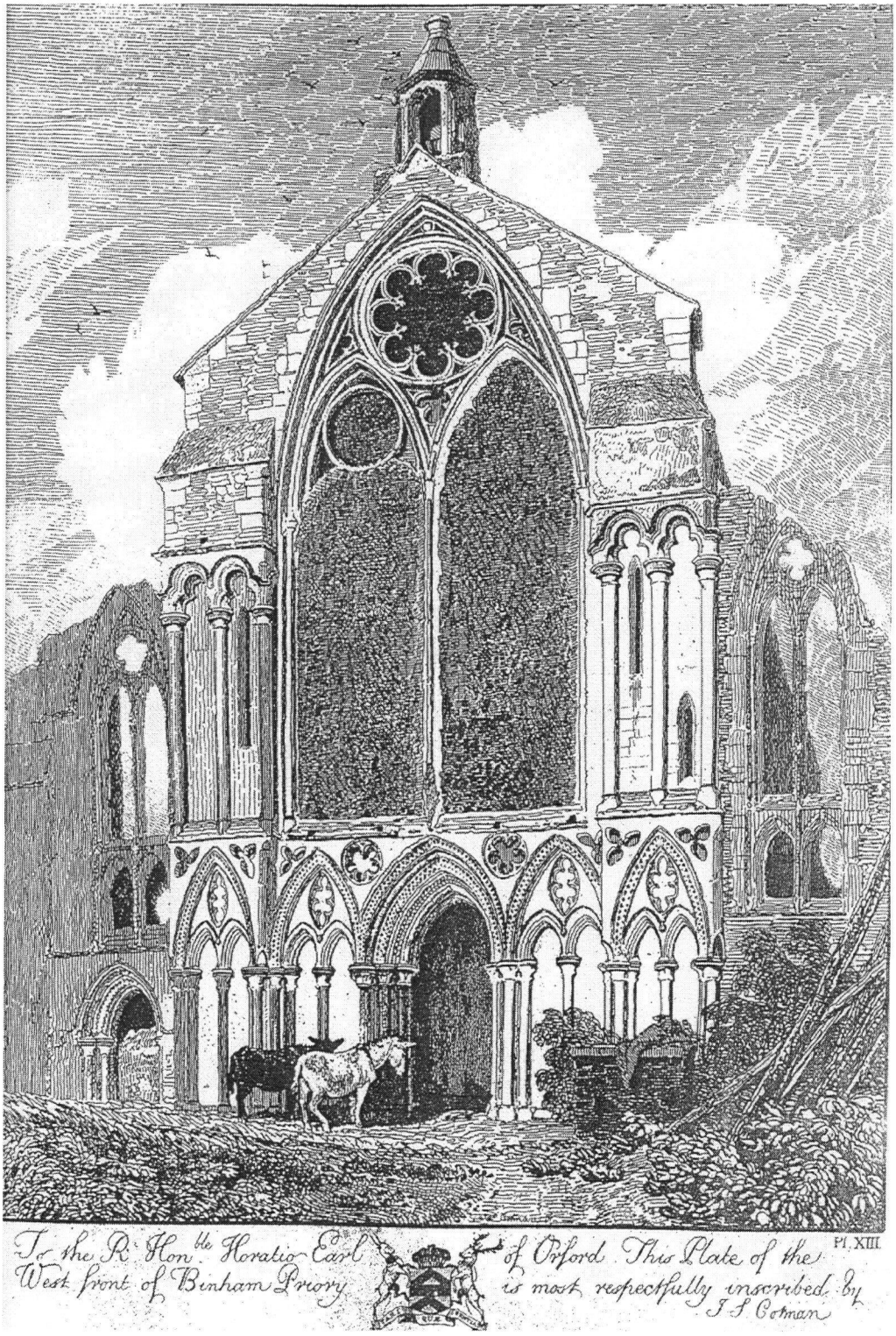


48. "Walsingham." Engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by John Sell Cotman. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (10.5 x 5.5 cm)

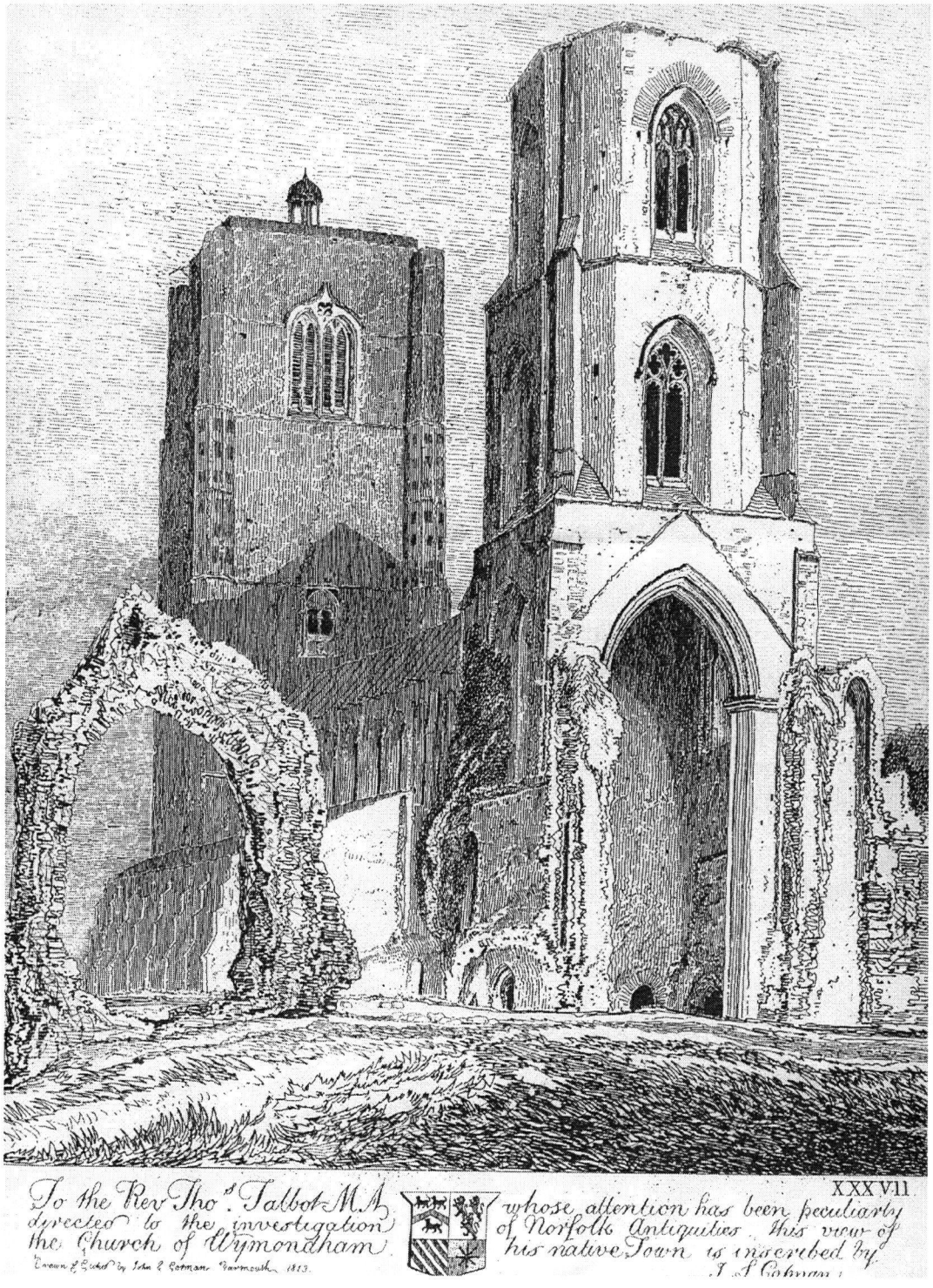


49. "The Apostolical Tree." In John Milner, The End of Religious Controversy, 1819. (21 x 41 cm)

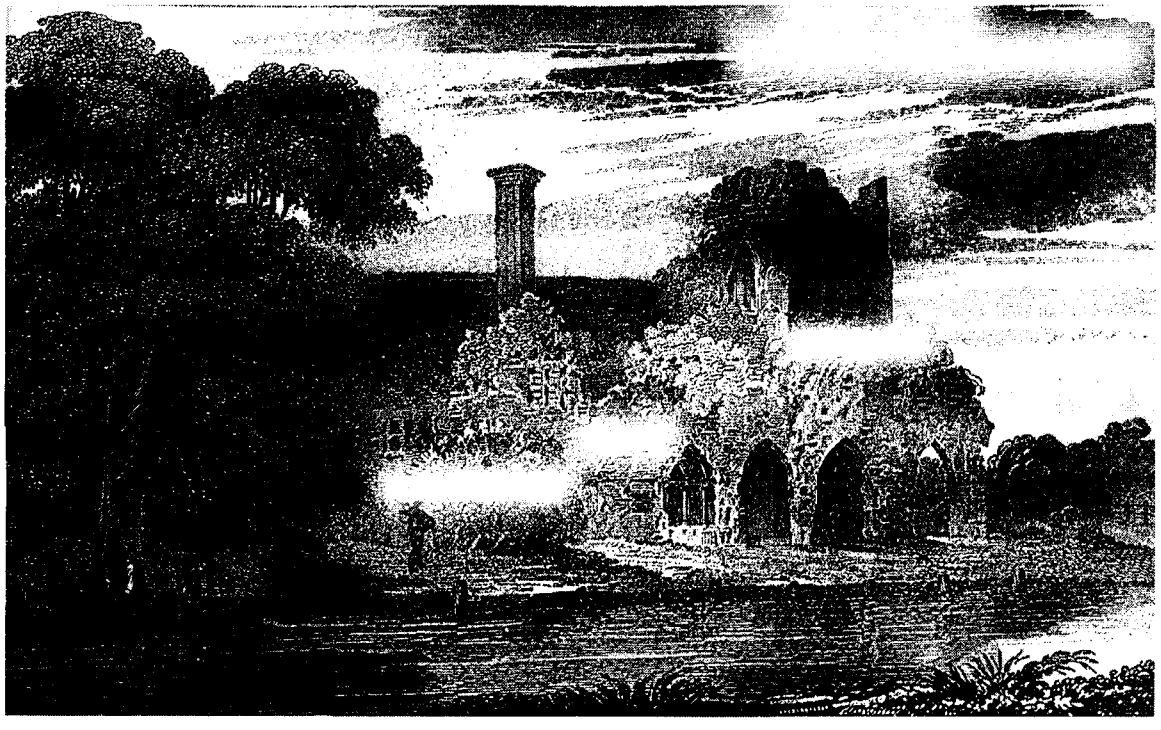
50. "St. Alban's Church." Engraved by T. Barker after a drawing by John Preston Neale. In John Preston Neale, Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches, 1824. (12.5 x 8.5 cm)



51. "Binham Priory, West Front." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (25 x 36.5 cm)

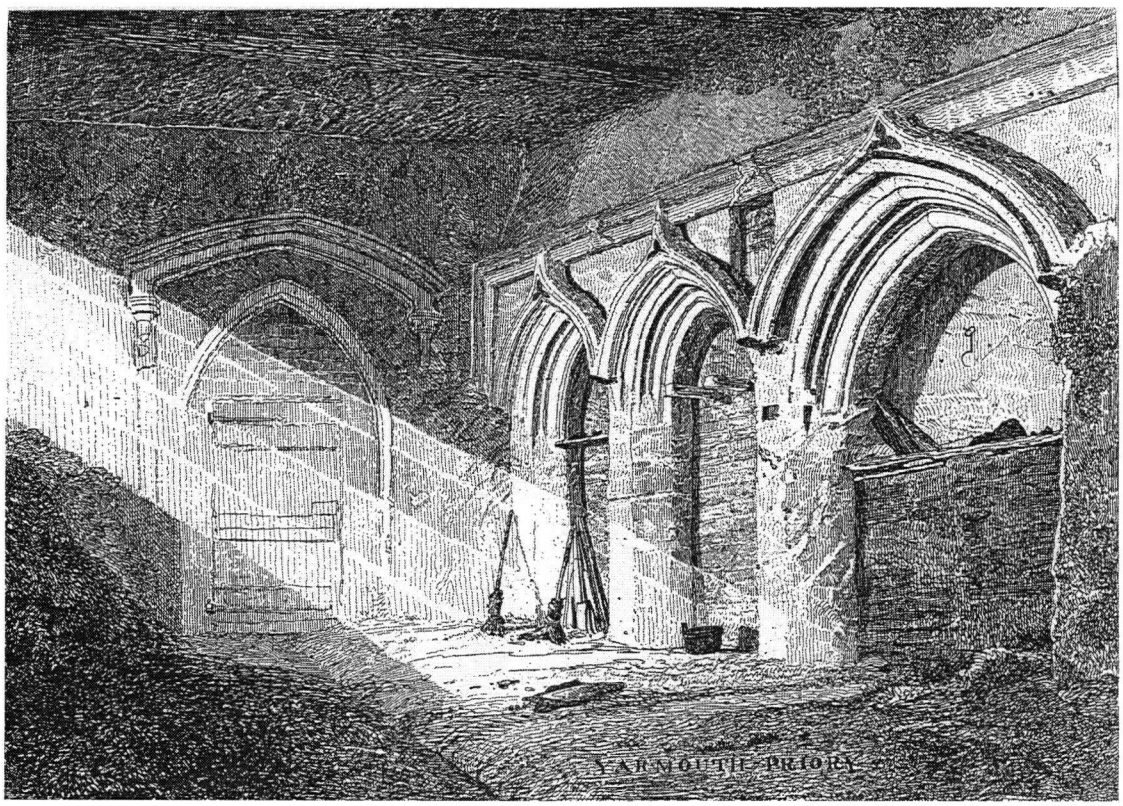


52. "The Church of Wymondham." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (22 x 30 cm)

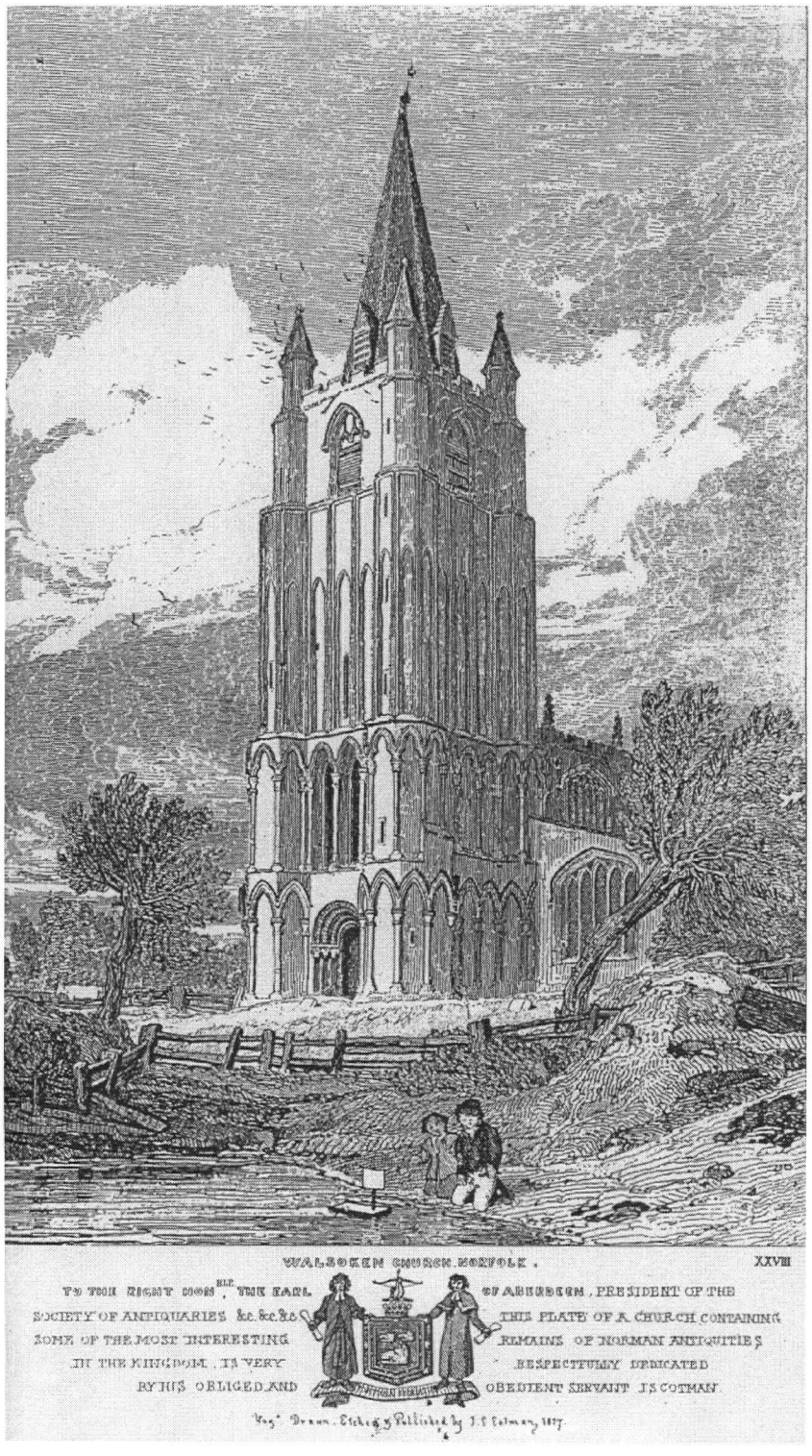


53. "Medmenham Abbey." Engraved by S. Middiman after a drawing by S. Owen. In William Bernard Cooke, The Thames, or Graphic Illustrations of the Seats, Villas and Public Buildings and Picturesque Scenery, 1811. (19 x 11.5 cm)

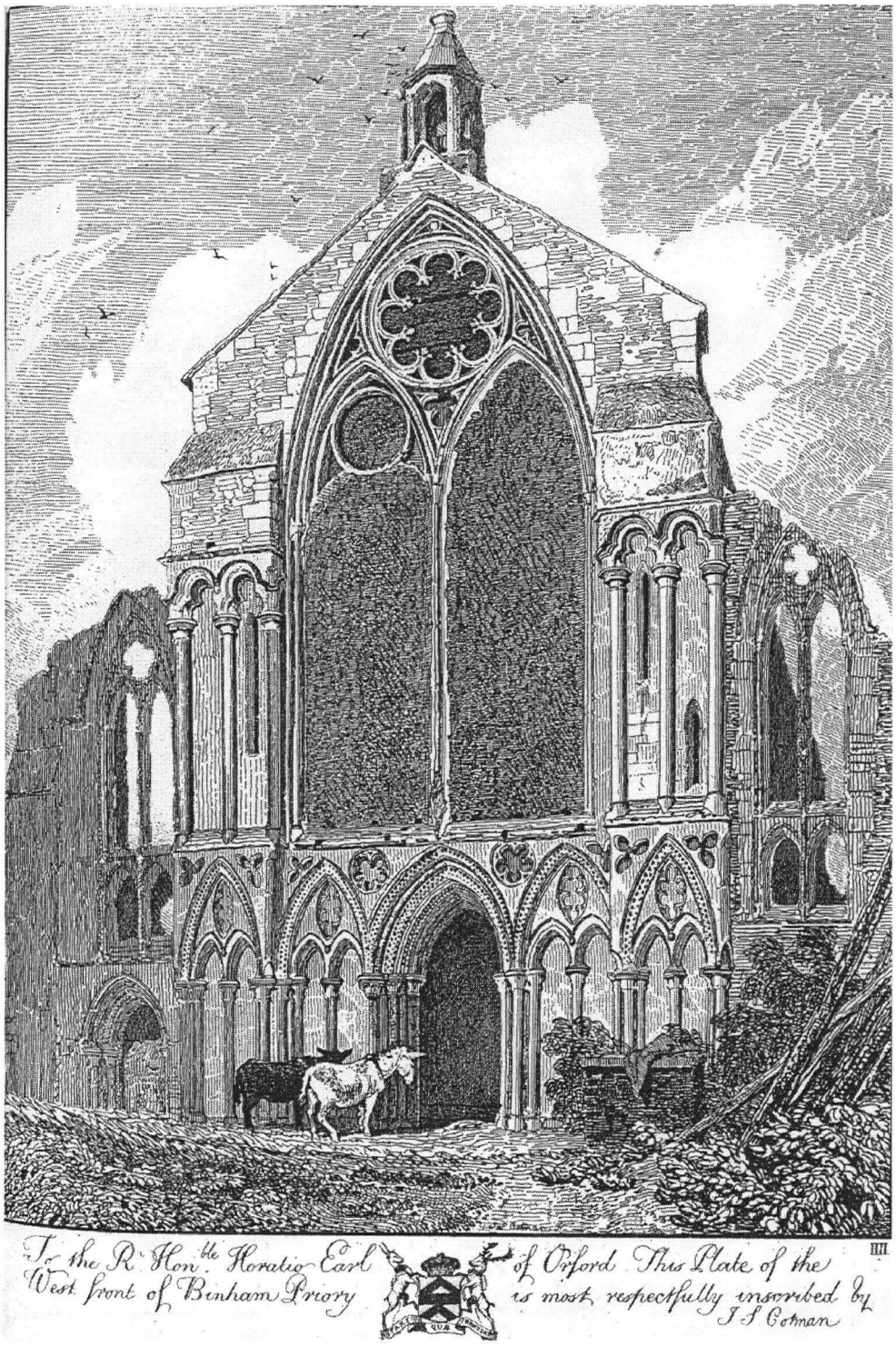
54. "Saxon Arches, St. John's, City of Chester." Drawn and etched by George Cuitt. In George Cuitt, Etchings of Ancient Buildings in the City of Chester, 1816. (24 x 23 cm)



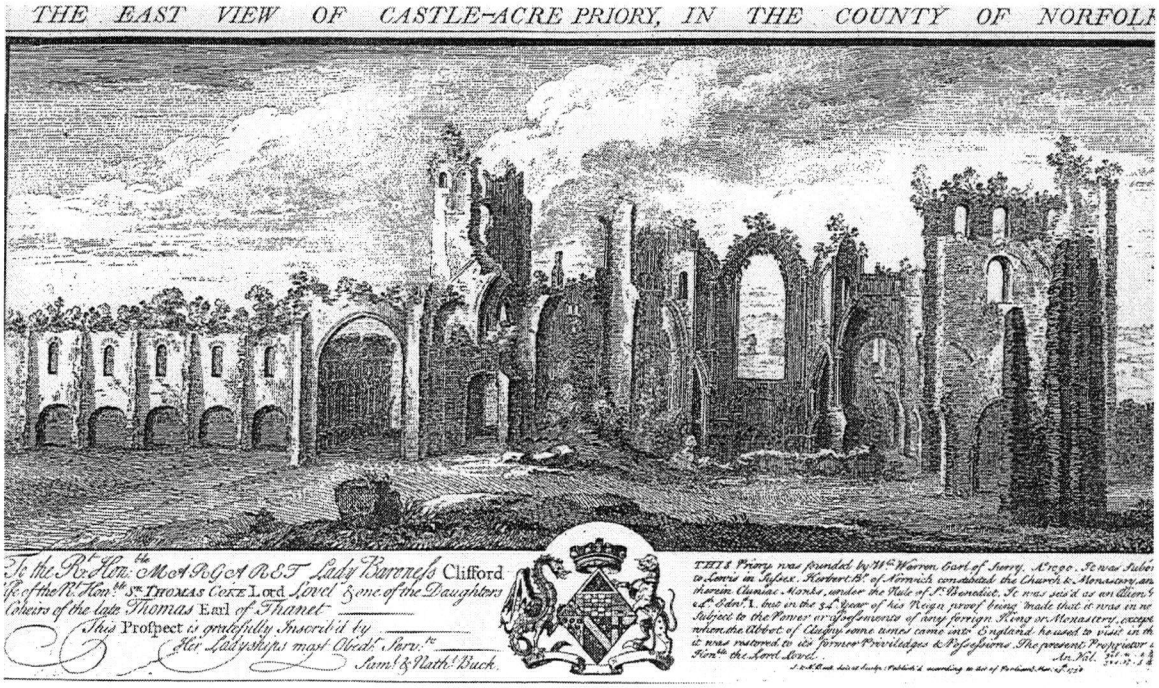
55. "Yarmouth Priory." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (29.5 x 21.5 cm)



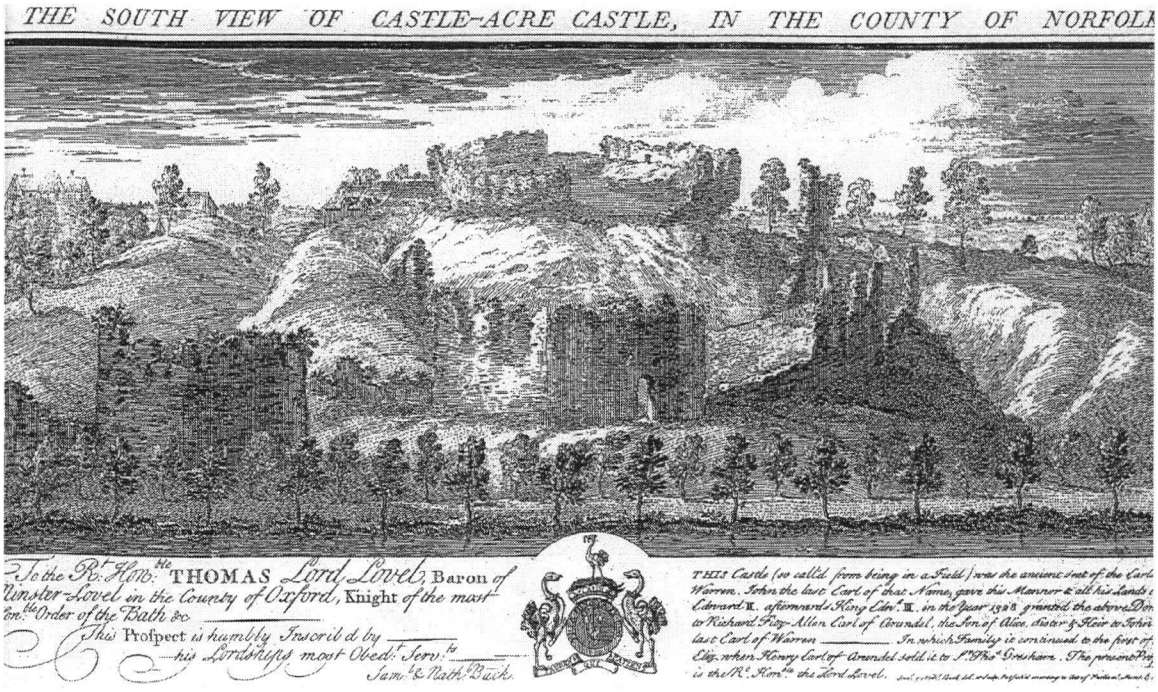
56. "Walsoken Church, Norfolk." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (21 x 36 cm)



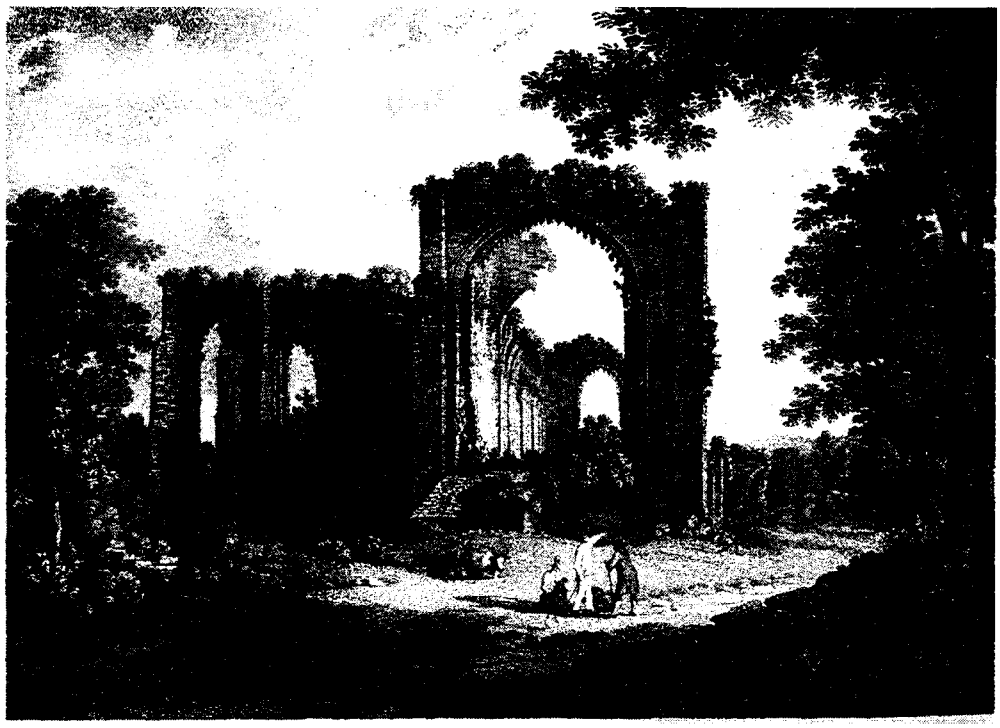
57. "Binham Priory." John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk. (Henry Bohn ed., John Sell Cotman, Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1838). (24.5 x 36 cm)



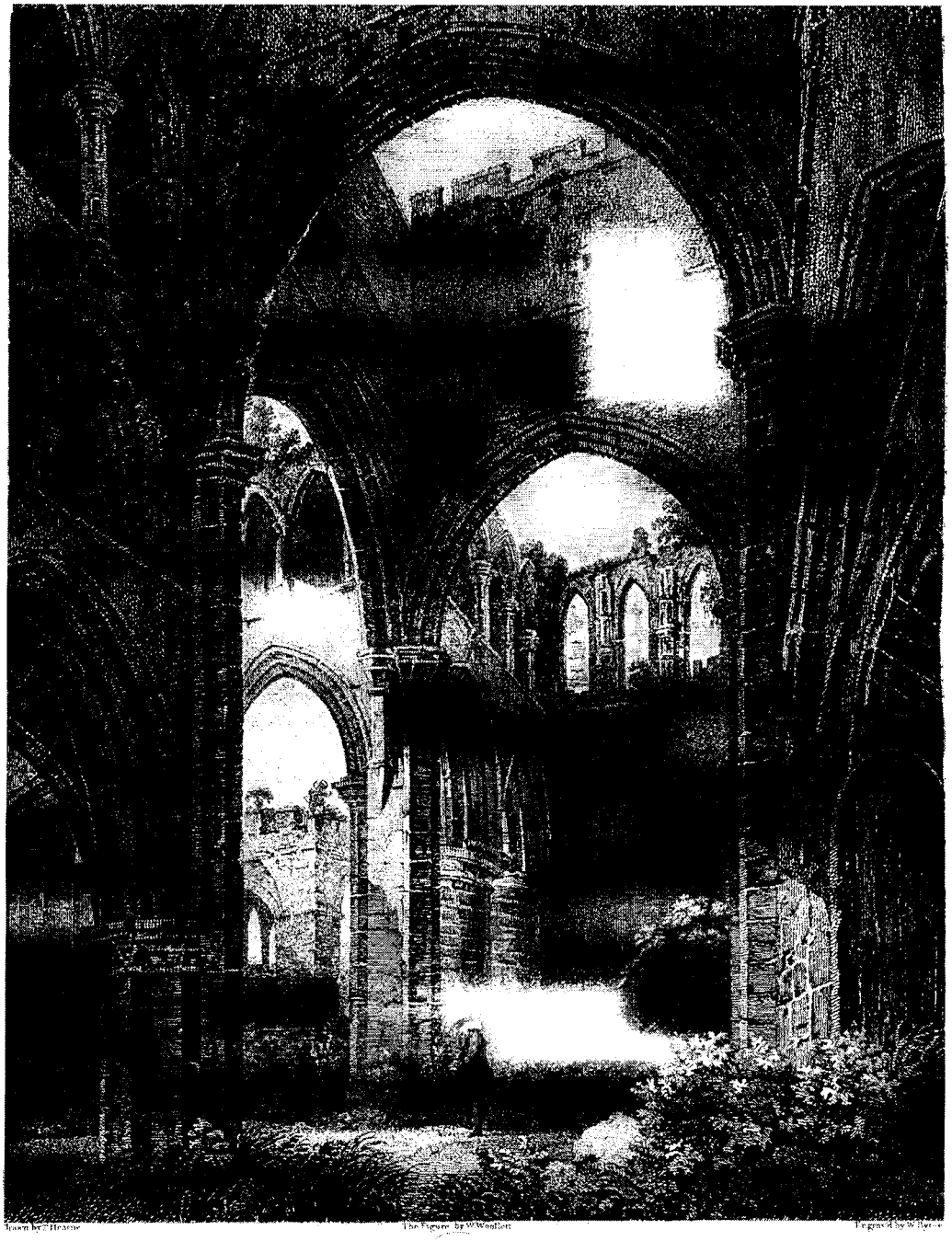
58. "Castle Acre Priory." Drawn by S. and N. Buck. In Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, Views of the Ruins of Castles and Abbeys in England and Wales, 1726-1742. (36.5 x 19.5 cm)



59. "Castle Acre Castle." Drawn by S. and N. Buck. In Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, Views of the Ruins of Castles and Abbeys in England and Wales, 1726-1742. (36.5 x 19.5 cm)



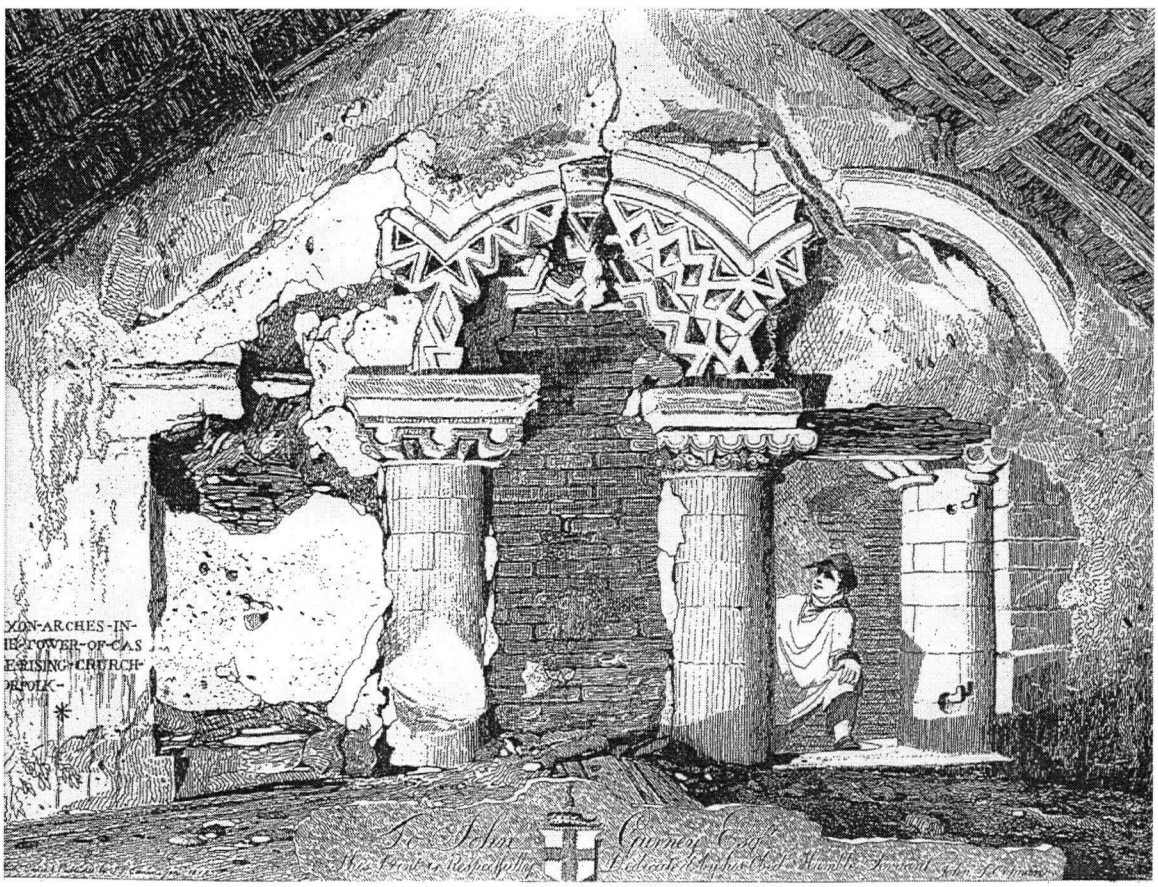
60. "Furness Abbey." Engraved by T. Hearne and W. Ellis after a sketch by J. Farrington. In Thomas Hearne and William Byrne, The Antiquities of Great Britain, 1778-1800. (26 x 19 cm)



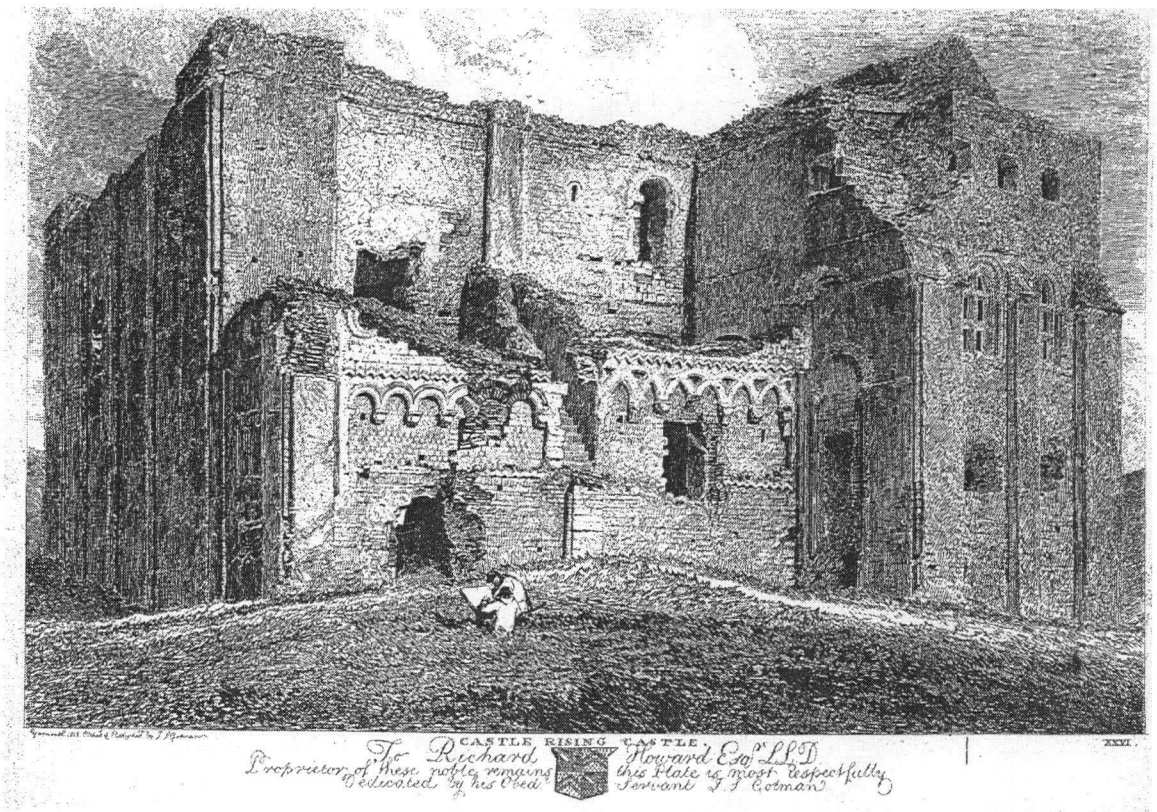
61. "Lanercost Priory." Engraved by W. Byrne after a drawing by T. Hearne. In Thomas Hearne and William Byrne, The Antiquities of Great Britain, 1778-1800. (19.5 x 25 cm)

62. "Caister Castle." Engraved by W. Byrne after a drawing by T. Hearne. In Thomas Hearne and William Byrne, The Antiquities of Great Britain, 1778-1800. (25.5 x 18 cm)

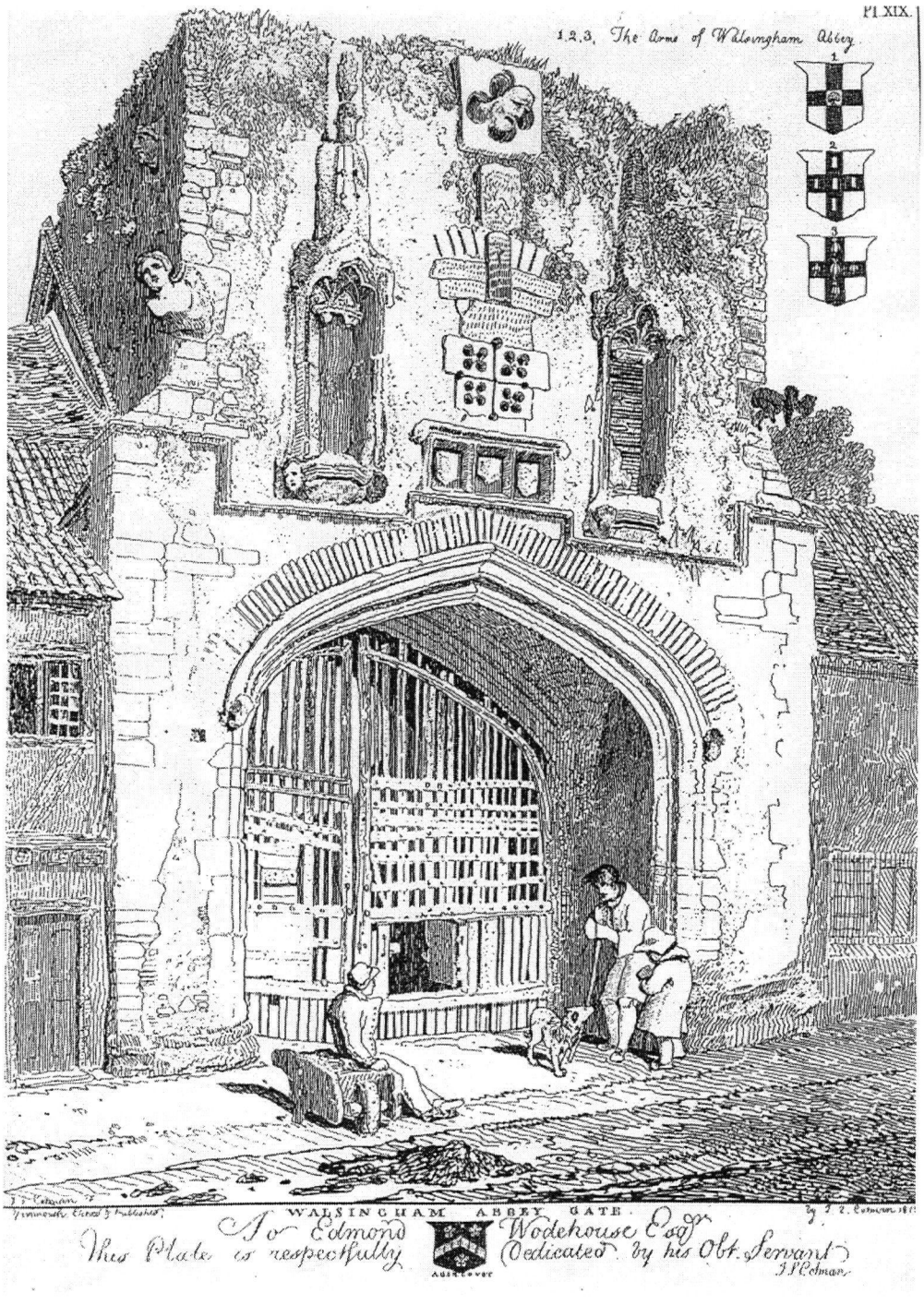
63. "The Elgin Marbles! Or John Bull buying Stones when his numerous Family wants Bread." Cartoon by George Cruikshank, 1816.



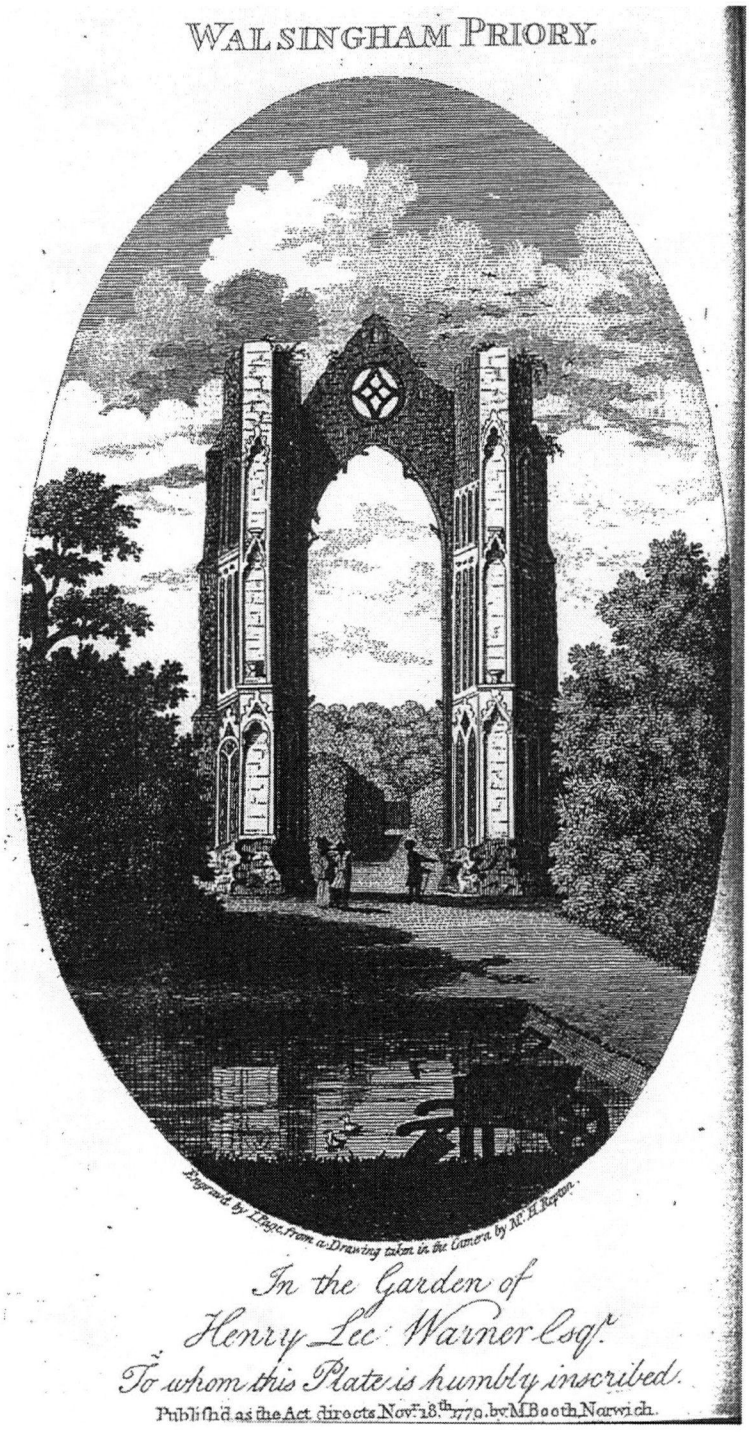
64. "Tower in Castle Rising Church." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (36 x 25 cm)



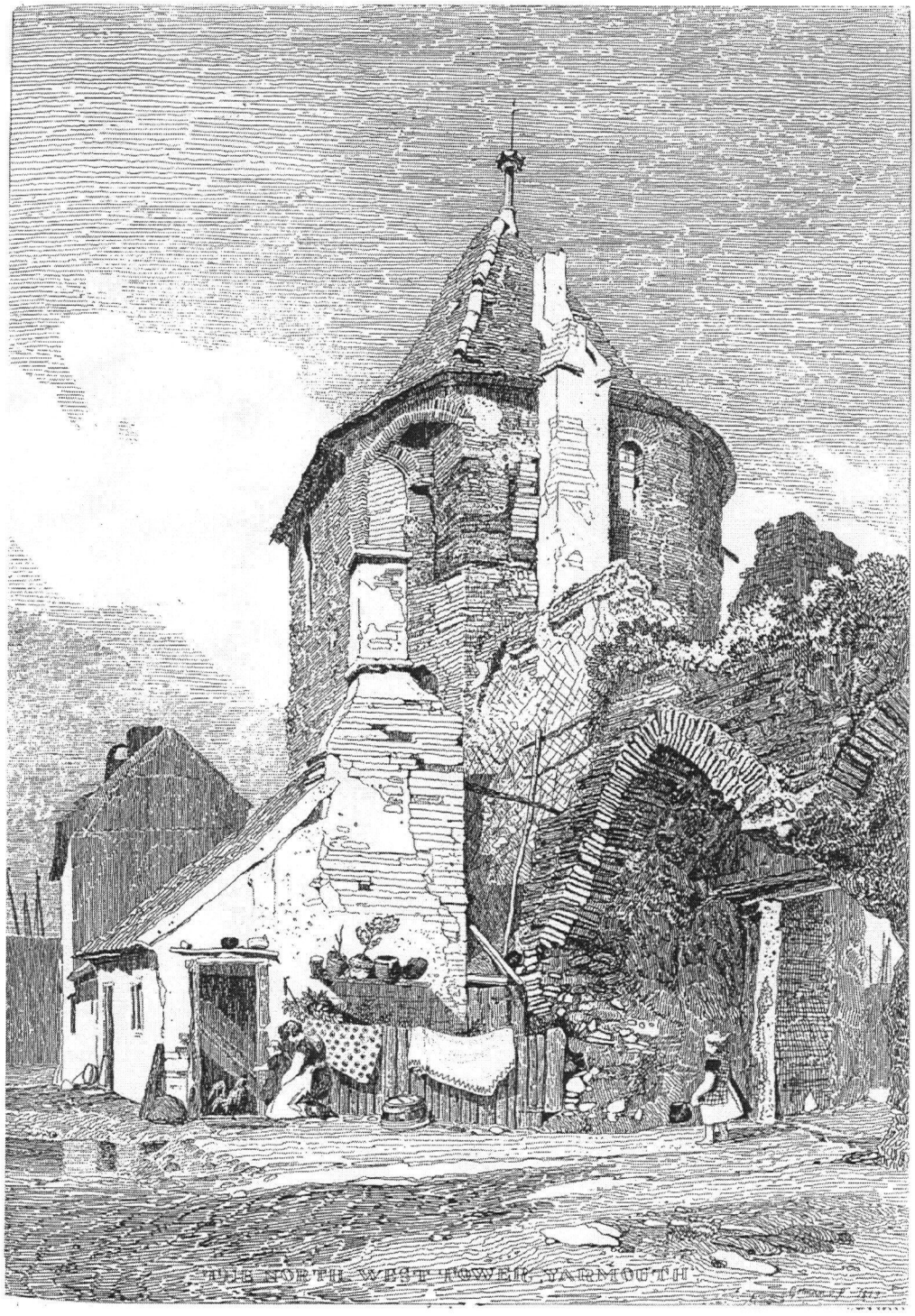
65. "Castle Rising Castle." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (37 x 24.5 cm)



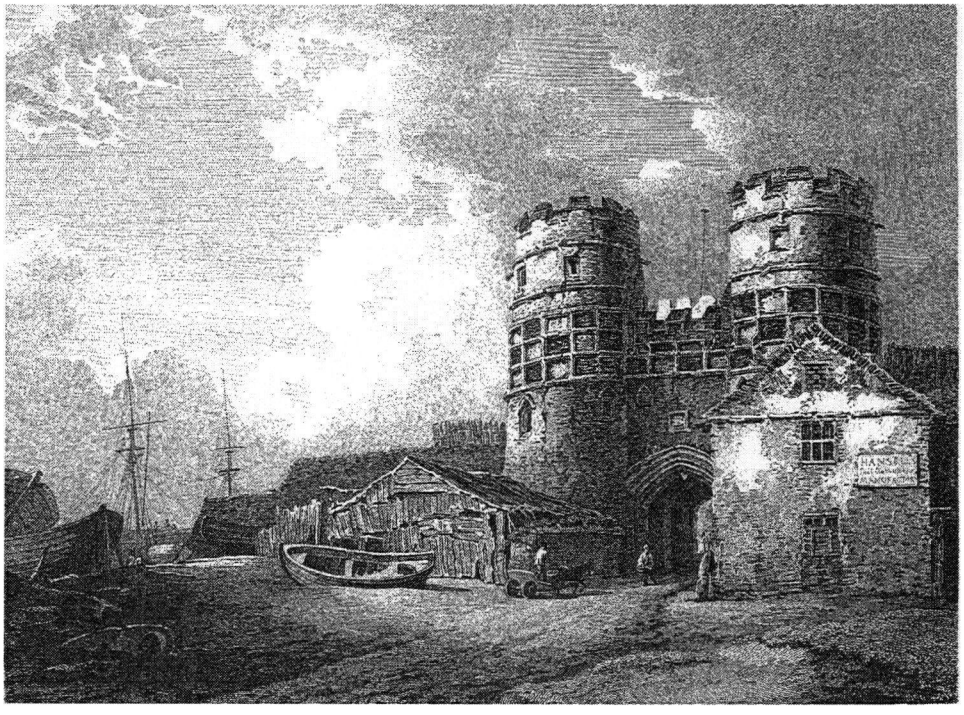
66. "Walsingham Abbey Gate." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (21.5 x 30 cm)



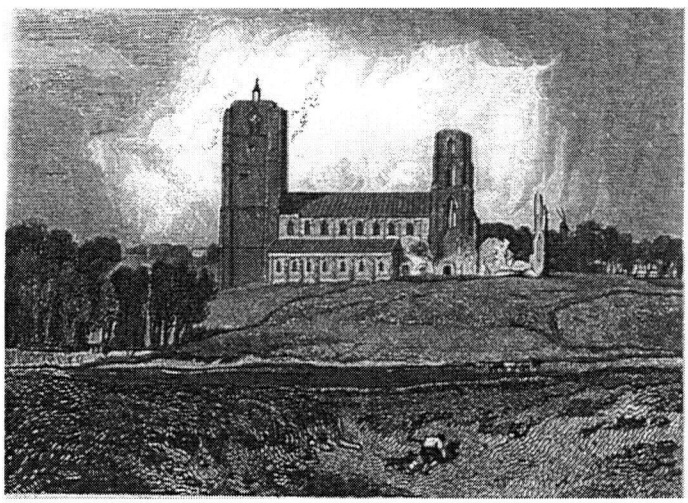
67. "Walsingham Priory." Engraved by I. Page, after a drawing by H. Repton. In Mostyn Armstrong, History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk, 1781. (10.5 x 17 cm)



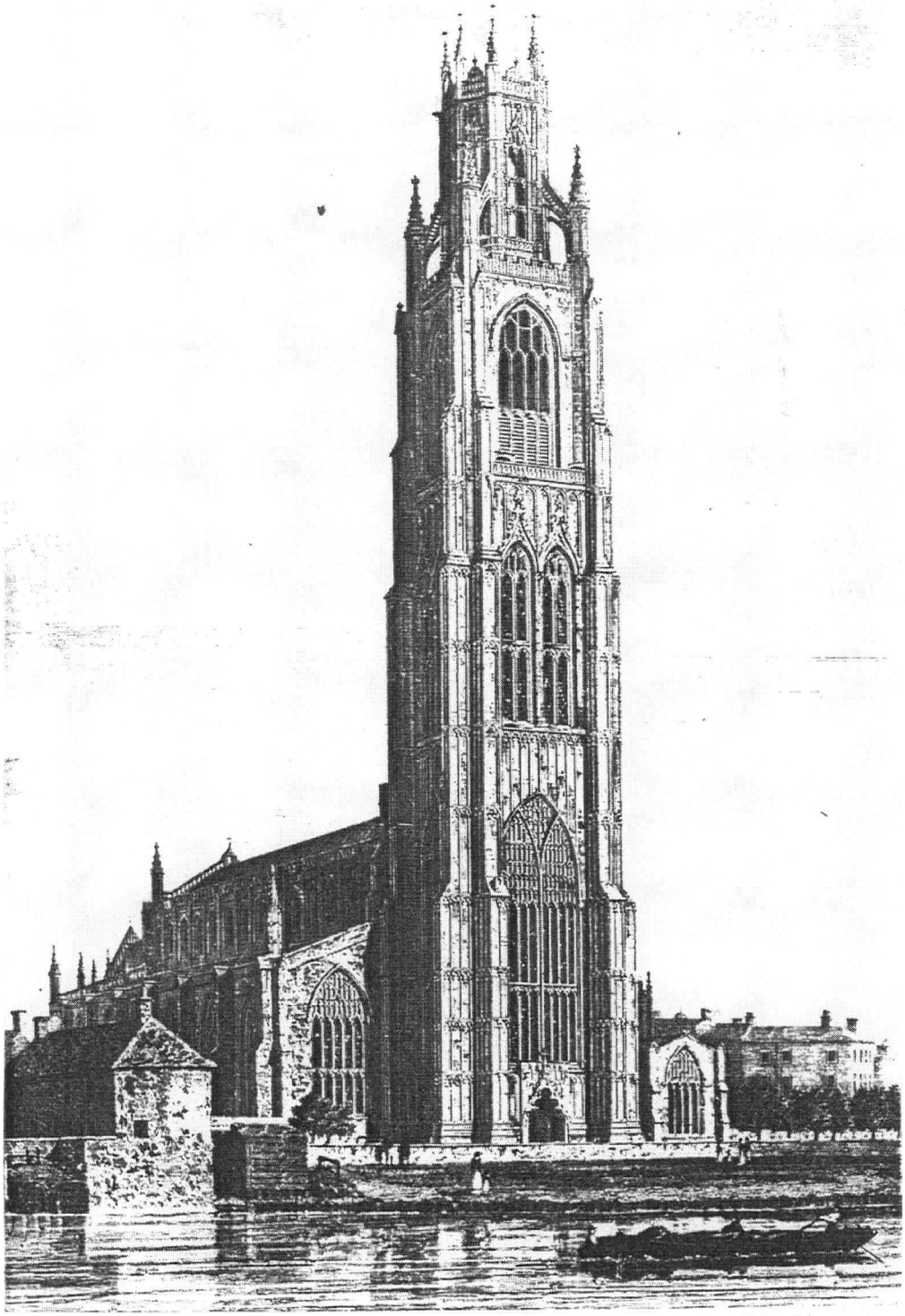
68. "The North West Tower, Yarmouth." Drawn and etched by John Sell Cotman. In John Sell Cotman, A Series of Etchings Illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk, 1818. (25 x 35 cm)



69. "South Gate, Yarmouth." Engraved by W. Byrne after a drawing by Thomas Hearne. In Thomas Hearne and William Byrne, The Antiguities of Great Britain, 1778-1800. (25 x 19 cm)



70. "Wymondham Church." Engraved by W. Wallis after a drawing by John Sell Cotman. In Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through Norfolk, 1818. (9 x 6.5 cm)



71. "Roston Tower." Engraved by J. Le Keux after a drawing by A. Pugin. In John Britton, The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-1826. (15 x 22 cm)

72. "Catholic town in 1440." Engraved after a drawing by A. W. Pugin. In A. W. Pugin, Contrasts; or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, 1841. (19.5 x 27 cm)

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