

Dickie Bateman and the Gothicization of Old Windsor: Gothic Architecture and Sexuality in the Circle of Horace Walpole

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Mr Dicky Bateman was a typical eccentric, who resembled his friend Horace Walpole in his Gothic affectation, and [John] Wilkes in his impious buffoonery.¹

In one of the witty characterizations for which he is justifiably famous, Horace Walpole described the subject of this article — the transformation of the villa at Old Windsor owned by his friend, Richard (Dickie) Bateman — as a bout of one-upmanship between two men of taste: '[I] converted Dicky Bateman from a Chinese to a Goth [...] I preached so effectively that every pagoda took the veil'.² He later described the change of the style of Bateman's house in terms of spiritual affiliation: Bateman's house had 'changed its religion [...] I converted it from Chinese to Gothic'.³ Here as elsewhere in the early years of the Gothic Revival, Walpole serves as principal interlocutor, providing keen, if sharply biased, insights on many significant building projects in England.⁴ Walpole positions himself as a teacher and Bateman as a disciple whom he convinced to change his tastes from Chinoiserie ('the fashion of the instant') to the Gothic, the style 'of the elect'. Walpole's clever allegory of stylistic change as national and religious conversion was based in part on the fact that he provided the conduit for Richard Bentley and Johann Heinrich Müntz, two of his closest designers in the 'Committee of Taste', to design Gothic additions for Bateman between 1758–61. Rebuilt and expanded in the fashionable mode of Walpole's own Strawberry Hill and by its designers, from Walpole's perspective at least, Old Windsor as remodelled for Bateman served to reinforce his role as arbiter of the Gothic taste and Strawberry Hill as its paradigm.

Although it has been largely erased from studies of eighteenth-century architecture and from accounts of the Gothic Revival in particular, Bateman's villa was a *cause célèbre* of London's chattering classes during the middle years of the eighteenth century.⁵ It was one of a number of new villas built along the Thames to the west of London in the new



Fig. 1. Robert Levrac-Tournières, Portrait of the Hon. Richard Bateman, 1741, 49 × 35.8 cm, oil on canvas (City of Birmingham Art Gallery)

Chinese and Gothic styles, which Walpole famously described as a 'new face' that adorned the country, with 'generally Gothic or Chinese [buildings that] give a whimsical air of novelty that is very pleasing.'⁶ A significant man of taste in the period, Bateman (c. 1705–74) had an important role in the creation of both fashions through his works at Old Windsor and other commissions. Walpole considered him 'the founder of the Sharawadgi [Chinese] taste in England',⁷ a role celebrated in his 1741 portrait by Robert Tournières (Fig. 1). Here Bateman is represented as a Mandarin dressed in a silk robe, kneeling on a piece of parchment with Chinese pseudo-script in front of a Chinese screen. 'Visited by the best of company',⁸ the villa at Old Windsor was a frequent meeting place for the fashionable men and women in his circle, including Walpole and his coterie of friends and designers in the 'Committee of Taste' at nearby Strawberry Hill. In a once-famous episode in the history of eighteenth-century architecture, Bateman transformed his residence from a small seventeenth-century house set in extensive gardens principally in the Chinese taste ('Grove House') into a Gothic villa ('The Priory'), or, in the words of one critic, into 'an old monastery (for such it is to represent)'.⁹

Following Walpole's influential lead, we might easily overlook the fact that Bateman had already been a prominent patron of the new Gothic style during the first Gothic campaigns at Strawberry Hill in the early 1750s. Between 1746 and 1758, Bateman commissioned the new church at his family's estate at Shobdon, Herefordshire, based upon the Gothic designs of William Kent (Fig. 2), created the so-called Shobdon arches (a Gothic folly built from the portals from the former Romanesque church at Shobdon (Fig. 3)), and put up the earliest building at Old Windsor.¹⁰ Walpole's descriptions of Bateman's works are two of many in Walpole's writings that articulate connections between him and his friends, and between Strawberry Hill and the Gothic houses they built. Walpole alludes to a shared taste between them, albeit one that, he is quick to emphasize, definitively originated with him. What informs these artistic and personal exchanges is not only Walpole's highly subjective and frequently misleading self-fashioning as arbiter of the Gothic taste, but something more fundamental: a shared sexual subjectivity among these men that was performed in part through sociable discourses on art and architecture. Much recent attention has been paid to the sexualities of Horace Walpole and his circle.¹¹ The picture that is emerging is that these men belonged to what historians of sexuality have called the new 'third sex' of 'homosexual' men that emerged in England in the years after c. 1700.¹² Characterized by intimate (but not necessarily sexual) homoerotic attachments, these men formed elite, overlapping coterie that included Horace Walpole and Dickie Bateman, as well as John Chute, Richard Bentley, Thomas Gray, Lord Hervey, Henry and Stephen Fox and others. While the significance of Walpole's sexuality has been usefully explored in other disciplines, including literature (with a particular focus on Walpole's seminal Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* [1774]), biography, Walpole's epistolary writings, and the history of collections, historians of architecture have been late to consider what role sexuality may have played in shaping Walpole's tastes or in his promotion of the Gothic as a new architectural idiom in the eighteenth century.

In a parallel study of Walpole's Strawberry Hill, I have argued that the newly revived Gothic style was appropriated by Walpole and his circle of friends as a shared taste in architecture that served as a complex signification of an alternate sexual and aesthetic subjectivity in opposition to the dominant Palladian tastes of the day.¹³ This argument locates human sexuality within the established view that the Gothic and the other 'modern styles' in architecture and garden design of the early eighteenth century (including Chinoiserie) signalled the consolidation of a new, 'modern' aesthetic subjectivity, which Walpole called 'the new liberty of taste'.¹⁴ That men of the third sex had an important role in the development of 'modern' styles is evidenced in the very patterns of architectural patronage, and in contemporary critiques of their buildings and objects that elided the 'modern styles' with the tastes of women and the effeminate tastes of the third sex. Emblematising modern subjectivities, many newly built west-of-London villas — including Strawberry Hill and Old Windsor — were critiqued by traditionalists who considered them to be the products of 'coxcombs' and 'maccaronis', labels that describe a fluid range of behaviours, from effeminate masculinity to modes specifically connected with homoerotic cultures.¹⁵ The third sex and the 'modern styles' in architecture were frequently paired subjects in broader critical debates about the 'corruptions' of gender (and particularly the effeminization of English males), the moral effects of luxury, and



Fig. 2. *Shobdon Church, Herefordshire, c. 1751–55*
(Ron Baxter and the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)



Fig. 3. *The Shobdon Arches, Herefordshire, 1752*
(Ron Baxter and the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)

the new mobility of taste and wealth amongst the middling classes that informed aesthetic discourses around the middle years of the eighteenth century.

Dickie Bateman's residence at Old Windsor provides rich interpretative terrain upon which to continue these speculations. Because Bateman's works have never been fully studied, I begin with consideration of the visual and documentary evidence. Since Bateman's death, the villa has been subject to regular interventions, with the unfortunate result that the standing fabric and its internal divisions retain little that is original to his projects (Fig. 4).¹⁶ Fortunately, a wealth of textual evidence exists in the form of critical and topographical descriptions, architectural drawings and views, and the 1774 Christie's sale catalogue of Bateman's effects, which provide compelling, if partial, evidence for the form and furnishings of this significant eighteenth-century house.¹⁷ Second, I consider the artistic and social relationships between Bateman and Walpole, exploring in particular the subtext of Walpole's account of Bateman's 'conversion' to the Gothic. By engaging with contemporary languages of description, we understand that, from Walpole's perspective, Bateman's Gothicization of Old Windsor by the Strawberry Hill designers and his collection of religious art was an acknowledgement of his place within Walpole's coterie of taste, an observation explored within the context of other 'familial' relationships between patrons, buildings and objects in Walpole's circle. Finally, I turn to consider the critical reception of the house by eighteenth-century viewers who interpreted it as a mirror of Bateman's sexual subjectivity, a plastic manifestation of the tastes and modes of the third sex. Borrowing from recent developments in literature and the history of sexuality, this paper explores an alternate narrative for the meanings and development of the Gothic in Walpole's circle.



Fig. 4. Old Windsor (Photo: author, 2012)

FROM 'GROVE HOUSE' TO 'THE PRIORY': THE PATRONAGE OF DICKIE BATEMAN

Grove House 1730–58

When Bateman acquired the house around 1730, the estate consisted of a small seventeenth-century red brick house with an adjoining property of fourteen acres located on the Thames. As John Harris has shown, Bateman's earliest works to the property appear to have been to the gardens: forming an early *ferme ornée* or toy farm, the gardens were punctuated by garden and farm buildings described by Richard Pococke (1754) as being 'in the Chinese taste'.¹⁸ In fact, by c. 1735, when four anonymous views of the property were painted, Bateman's estate displayed a hybrid manner, synthesizing Chinese, Gothic, Indian and antique styles.¹⁹ Emblematic of this hybridity is Bateman's farmhouse, aptly characterized by Harris as 'a freakish confection of styles' (Fig. 5).²⁰ The earliest evidence for renovations to the house derives from the 1740s. One view shows the exterior of Bateman's house in an unaltered state around c. 1735 (Fig. 6), while a pair of later views by Thomas Robins (now lost) shows Bateman's first alterations between c. 1735 and c. 1748 (Figs 7 and 8).²¹ The first view, showing the rear façade of the house facing the road, indicates that the fenestration was altered with the addition of fanciful ogee arches; adjoining the façade, a barn (likely what Pococke referred to as the 'offices'²²) was added, dressed in spiky Gothic pinnacles and early Gothic shafting, and forming part of a courtyard entered via a Gothic entrance arch. Contemporary viewers considered it a 'Gothick front' or 'in the Gothic stile [*sic*]'.²³ Robins's second view shows the front of the house that faced the Thames. The 'show front' received a different treatment: extending the façade, Bateman added two canted bays and a projecting porch that were seemingly built in a Chinese or Chinese-Gothic manner with bells, eaves, nodding mandarins, and fretted glazing bars in the windows.²⁴ Some tentative evidence suggests that this front was in place by 1741.²⁵

Bateman's early works on the interior of the house are not possible to date with precision, but it is clear that some work was underway by c. 1750, if not previously. In that year he acquired painted glass from an Italian merchant named 'Asciotti' (whom Walpole was subsequently to employ to acquire glass for Strawberry Hill), which is described as being *in situ* in 1768.²⁶ Richard Pococke recounts the presence of 'painted and gilt ceilings', an eccentric collection of furniture, and a 'long gallery' in miniature. Pococke also confirms that offices behind the house then contained much of Bateman's collection of 'Japan, China and porcelane [*sic*] wares'.²⁷

The Priory 1758–68

Bateman's earliest works at Old Windsor prior to his 'conversion' were thus already an important statement of Gothic taste, albeit one that freely blended with Chinese, Indian and antique styles. The house's stylistic heterogeneity was described by Lord Lyttelton in August 1759 as 'half Gothick, half attick, half Chinese and completely fribble', a critique I explore below.²⁸ The transformation begun in 1758 was nevertheless profound for contemporary viewers. It was described by Mrs Delany in 1760 in Ovidian terms as having 'metamorphosed out of the Indian into the Gothic'.²⁹ Revisiting the house in 1768, Delany commented upon the Gothicization of its completion: 'Its outward appearance



Fig. 5. *Anonymous (English), View of the farmhouse, Old Windsor, 1730s, 19 × 25.5cm, oil on canvas (Private collection)*



Fig. 6. *Anonymous (English), View of Grove House, Old Windsor in an unaltered state, 1730s, 19 × 25.5 cm, oil on canvas (Private collection)*



Fig. 7. Detail of Thomas Robins, *View of Grove House, Old Windsor*, 1750s, gouache on canvas, private collection (from John Harris, *Gardens of Delight: Rococo English Landscape of Thomas Robins the Elder* [1983])



Fig. 8. Detail of Thomas Robins, *View of Grove House, Old Windsor*, 1750s, gouache on canvas, private collection (from John Harris, *Gardens of Delight: Rococo English Landscape of Thomas Robins the Elder* [1983])

is venerable — arched porticoes and windows, Gothic towers and battlements, encompassed and shaded in large trees'. She continues, 'Were I to particularize all I saw within and without the house — the vestibules, the "refectories," the monuments &c., &c., you would think I was quoting old [William] Dugdale'.³⁰ Besides those images reproduced here and in previous accounts of Bateman's patronage, no interior or exterior views of the house after 1758 have come to light to confirm Delany's description.³¹ In all likelihood, however, the 'Gothic towers and battlements' were additions to the existing house, created, like those at Strawberry Hill, in lath and plaster. Delany compares some of the ornament to the engravings by Wenceslaus Hollar in Dugdale's influential seventeenth-

century antiquarian texts *History of Old Saint Paul's, Monasticon Anglicanum*, and *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*. These antiquarian engravings were employed by Walpole and the Committee in the design of a long list of monuments at Strawberry Hill, effectively popularizing them as sources for eighteenth-century Gothic designs. This points to the likelihood that, as at Strawberry Hill, Bateman's interiors were based in part upon antiquarian engravings and that elements of the house (fireplaces, bookcases, etc.) were designed as recognizable 'quotations' of medieval monuments.³² The documentary evidence suggests that these works can be bracketed on one side by the employment of Richard Bentley in 1758, and on the other by Mrs Delany's 1768 description and that in *Windsor and its Environs* the same year.

It is not a coincidence that Walpole was staying with Bateman in July 1758.³³ In that year Richard Bentley was employed by Bateman to design alterations for the 'offices' which, I have suggested, are consistent with the barn shown in Robins's view (Fig. 8).³⁴ By far the most significant change to the house was the addition of an octagonal dining room connected to the main house by a cloister range (Figs 4, 9, 10, 11). The dining room is still extant (although much of the exterior stonework has been altered, the buttresses have been removed, and the Gothic window heads have been replaced with square-headed sashes), but the cloister was replaced after Bateman's death with the current brick structure. Walpole was clear that the cloister was built to the designs of Richard Bentley, although Müntz also produced designs for a cloister that appear not to have been followed, despite their greater stylistic consistency with the dining room.³⁵ A bitter disagreement between Müntz and Bentley resulted in Walpole dismissing Müntz from his employment, which may have influenced Bateman's choice of Bentley's cloister design.³⁶ As Michael McCarthy points out, Bentley's presentation drawing for the cloister at Old Windsor is almost certainly that now in the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale dated to 1759 (Fig. 12).³⁷ Müntz's presentation drawings (also at the Lewis Walpole Library) must have pleased Bateman, because the design of his dining room, punctuated by blind Decorated tracery designs in plaster, follows very closely from them.

Based loosely on medieval chapter-house designs, the dining room and cloister endowed Bateman's residence with many of the obvious signifiers of a late medieval religious house, as Mrs Delany noted. This association was emphasized through the display of medieval and medievalizing objects. The exterior of the dining room bore 'several orders of Monks and Fryars', perhaps wall paintings or images in stained glass.³⁸ The cloisters featured a painted genealogy of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to James I, as well as images of British worthies, including Sir Thomas Moore.³⁹ Also installed in the cloisters was the fourteenth-century tomb of the Welsh abbot Caducanus, Bishop of Bangor (1215–36) (Fig. 13) which Bateman had removed from Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, close to his family estate at Shobdon. Upon the tomb lay a series of 'medieval' objects attributed to Caducanus, including a mitre, a crozier, and a copy of the *Looking Glass for Christians*.⁴⁰ Also from the Welsh environs of Bateman's family estate was a series of triangular chairs set within the cloister that were believed by Bateman and others to be medieval in date.⁴¹ Walpole described it as Bateman's 'cloister of founders', and he expressed his envy of the tomb and chairs in private correspondence.⁴² Emulating Bateman's cloister as a set-piece, Walpole not only acquired the chairs at the 1774 sale, but he placed them within his own cloister at Strawberry Hill (Fig. 14) along-

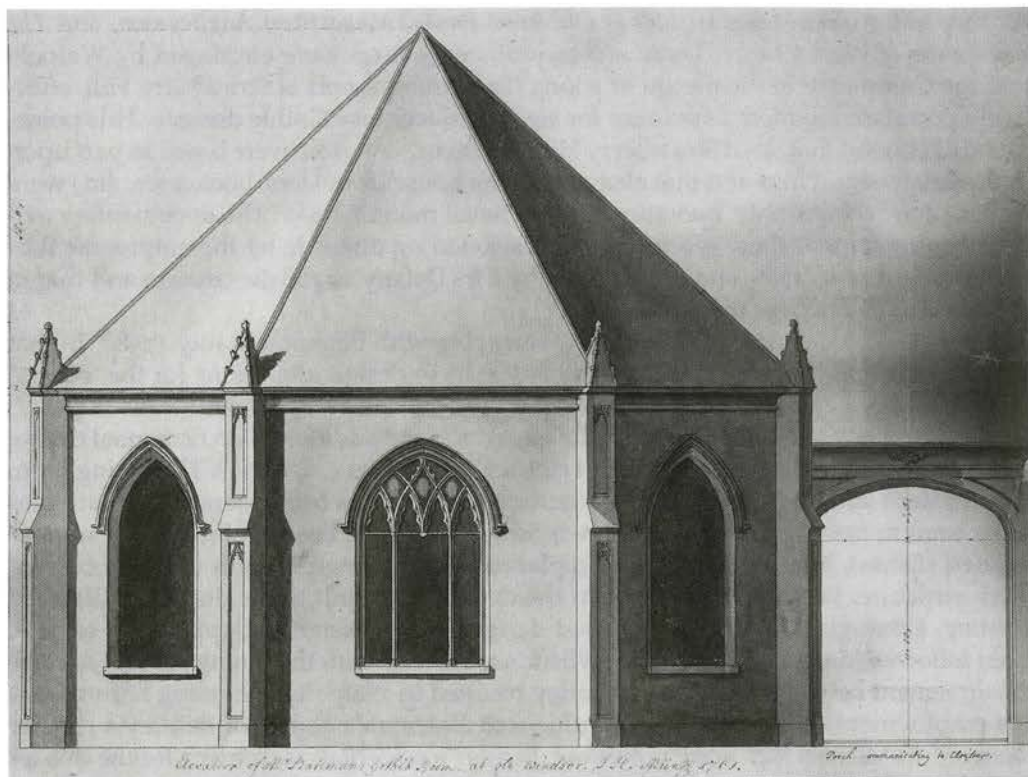


Fig. 9. Johann Heinrich Müntz, Elevation of Mr. Bateman's Gothik Room at Old Windsor, 1761, 22.3 × 29.2 cm, ink and wash, Lewis Walpole Library 75 M92 761 (Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

side images of his own 'founders', namely a neo-medieval monumental brass of Ralph Walpole, Bishop of Ely, designed by Müntz.⁴³ Bateman's renovations included a new garden feature entitled 'Brian's Cave', which commemorated the Irish hero Brian Boiríombe (c. 941–1014), featuring a cast-iron statue of the hero and images of his deeds based upon Geoffrey Keating's seventeenth-century *History of Ireland*.⁴⁴

The Gothicization of the exterior between 1758–68 also extended to the interior of the house, although, aside from the reference to Richard Bentley's redesign of the offices in 1758, there is no positive evidence that Müntz and Bentley were responsible.⁴⁵ The best evidence for the interiors is the eight-page account in *Windsor and its Environs* (1768), which provides a detailed, room-by-room description, much of which is corroborated by Mrs Delany's letter of the same year. She indicates that 'the walls are embossed with indescribable oddities brought from all corners of the world [...] an innumerable collection of china, japan and knick-knacks' (much of which must have been moved from the offices where this collection was noted by Pococke in 1754), and that the windows were 'glazed with as much variety as a glazier's sign', undoubtedly with the glass Bateman acquired in 1750. The ground floor comprised a hall 'hung with a large Collection of foreign Prints' and Chinese weaponry, and was illuminated by 'a curious Chinese Lanthorn';

Fig. 10. *Johann Heinrich Müntz, Section of Mr Bateman's Room, 25.4 × 22.9 cm, ink and wash, Lewis Walpole Library 75 M92 761 (Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)*

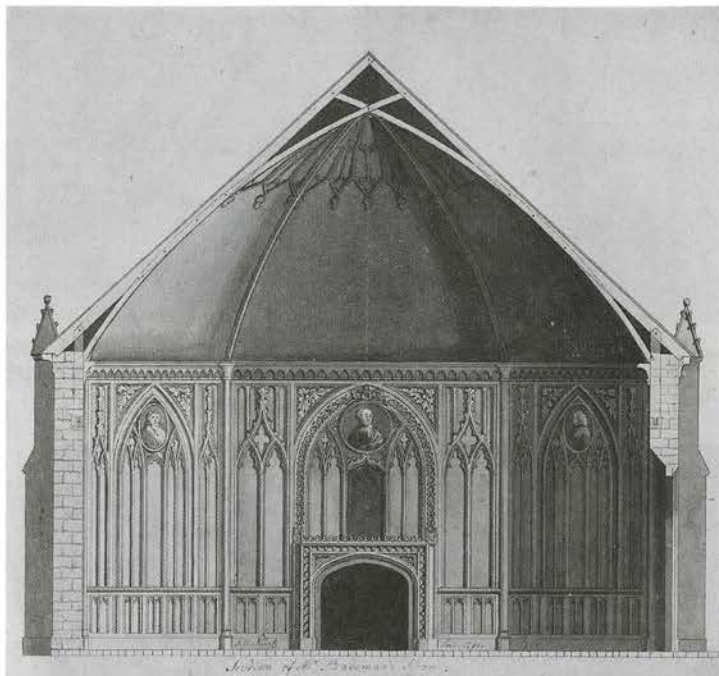


Fig. 11. Dining room at Old Windsor (Photo: author, 2012)

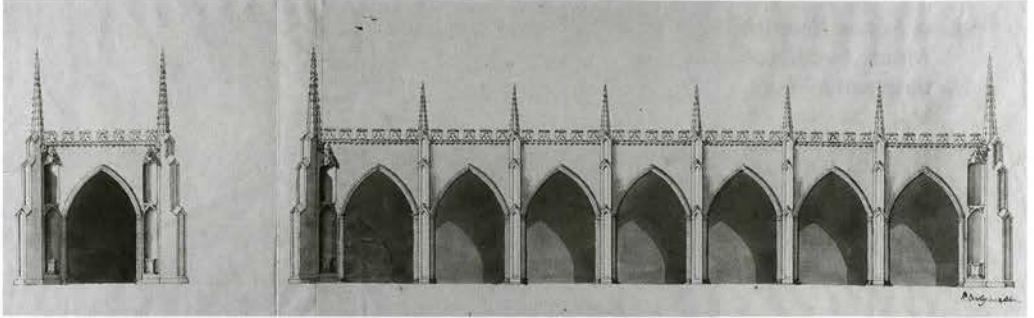


Fig. 12. Richard Bentley, *Elevation of a Cloister for the Grove, Old Windsor, 1759*, 23 × 38.2 cm, ink and wash, Lewis Walpole Library 49 3585c Folio (Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

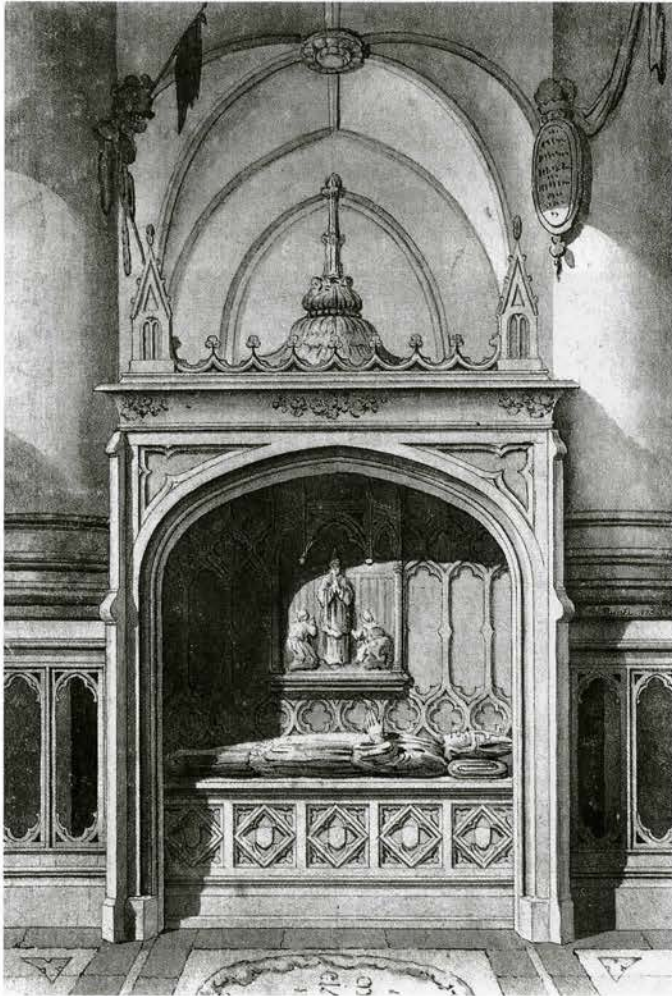


Fig. 13. Johann Heinrich Müntz, *The Tomb of Caducanus, Old Windsor, 1759*, 25.6 × 17.5 cm, ink and wash (from Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven and London, 1987), pl. 16)

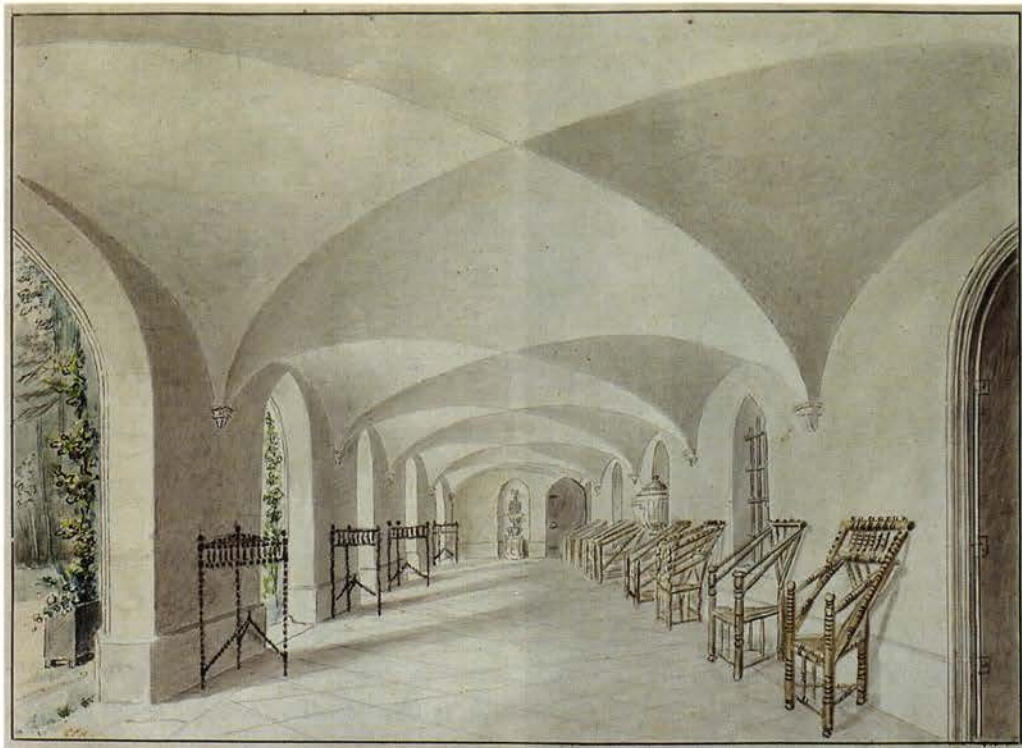


Fig. 14. George Perfect Harding after John Carter, *The Great Cloyster at Strawberry Hill*, showing chairs acquired from Dickie Bateman in 1774, c. 1800, 20.5 × 27.6 cm, ink, wash, watercolour. Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University SH views (Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

Bateman's dressing room was also richly decorated, featuring a substantial Catholic chapel fitted with liturgical paraphernalia (described below); a parlour with Egyptian and classical antiquities and religious art; and a drawing room decorated with 'Pictures of Fruit and Flowers' as well as medals of Pope Clement IX and the Virgin.⁴⁶

Access to the upper floor was granted by a single staircase painted with what must have been a stunning display of twenty coats of arms of the baronial signatories of Magna Carta, King John and the Mayor of London, as well as further stained glass with imagery from the Old and New Testament. The immediate inspiration was very likely Strawberry Hill, where in 1756 Walpole had hung copies of the Magna Carta and the warrant for Charles I's execution in his bedchamber, upon which he had written '*Major Charta*'.⁴⁷ The display of heraldry likely also referred to the history of Old Windsor itself, since Magna Carta was signed there and Bateman's property was thought to have been built upon a royal residence from the time of William the Conqueror.⁴⁸ The staircase led directly to the 'Monk Rooms' or 'Monkish Chambers', two small bedrooms in the Gothic style containing antique beds, hung with 'Pictures of Several Monks', and with stained glass in the window heads.⁴⁹ These rooms now retain some of the only visible evidence of Bateman's work in the form of pointed arch doorways and slender Gothic shafts running



Fig. 15. The 'Monkish Chambers' at Old Windsor
(Photo: author, 2012)

up the wall in the staircase vestibule (Fig. 15). The other rooms on the upper floor included the 'Half-Mourning Room', in which 'The Bed, Furniture, and every Thing [...] is in Half-mourning', and further bedchambers, including Bateman's, which had images of the Twelve Apostles, 'a set of Chinese Pictures' and a small ivory crucifix by the side of the bed.⁵⁰ The overtly monastic and Catholic nature of Bateman's Gothic residence was noted by a number of commentators, including the author of *Les Délices de Windsore* (1771) who notes that it had 'the appearance of a tendency to the superstitious Tenets of Popery'.⁵¹

'EVERY PAGODA TOOK THE VEIL': BATEMAN AND WALPOLE

With a fuller account of the architectural history of the house in place, we may now revisit Walpole's pregnant characterization of Bateman's 'conversion' by which 'every pagoda took the veil'. First, however notable the transformation from a Chinese or 'Indian' villa into a Gothic monastery was for contemporaries, it is clear that the pre-1758 house featured Gothic designs, and that the post-1758 house and its collections still bore some mark of Bateman's Chinese enthusiasms. The Gothicization of Old Windsor was thus a shift in which a more comprehensive adaptation of the Gothic idiom took the place of the earlier, rather selective approach to Gothic ornament that had been applied to the house. As a result of this process, it could be understood to 'represent' or simulate

a Gothic monastery. Second, despite Walpole's claim that he had converted Bateman to the Gothic taste, Bateman's works at Shobdon (which Walpole may have never seen) indicate he already had a developed appreciation of the Gothic idiom (although Walpole was characteristically dismissive of William Kent's Gothic designs upon which Shobdon church was based).⁵² Artistic influence manifestly flowed in both directions between Walpole and Bateman, even if Walpole was quick to claim otherwise. Here, as elsewhere in his architectural criticism, Walpole's views are vigorously partisan, and were regularly revised to reflect his own changing opinions or the sensibilities of different audiences.⁵³ Informing Walpole's aesthetic judgments of buildings was frequently an emotive connection with their patron or designer, which could also — as in the case of Dickie Bateman — extend to rivalry.

Indeed, as Clive Wainwright and John Harris have suggested, Bateman's early works at Old Windsor, its status as a residence frequented by 'the best of company', and Bateman's own well-established reputation as a leading man of taste (at least ten years senior to Walpole), were central inspirations to the young Horace Walpole in his acquisition and design of Strawberry Hill.⁵⁴ Emulation of Bateman undoubtedly informed Walpole's thwarted attempt to purchase the 'White House' at Old Windsor directly adjoining Bateman's property (then owned by their mutual friend Sir Charles Hanbury Williams), prior to purchasing Strawberry Hill in the late 1740s.⁵⁵ And, although he is careful not to mention it, Walpole was, following Bateman's flamboyant lead, enamoured with the more florid manifestations of Chinoiserie from c. 1735 when Lord Hervey gave him a copy of Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *General Description of China*, a text that made so profound an effect on the young Walpole that Hervey advised him 'to continue to be an Englishman' rather than become 'Chinese'.⁵⁶ This continued into the earliest phases of the design of Strawberry Hill around 1750, which included a goldfish pond called *Po Yang* (based on a reference in Du Halde) and a Chinese pavilion that was designed but never executed.⁵⁷

The 1750s was the crucial decade for the development of Gothic taste for both men. By 1755 — a few years before Bateman's 'conversion' of Old Windsor — Walpole had repudiated the appeal of Chinoiserie and stylistic hybridity in architecture in general.⁵⁸ In a letter to Richard Bentley of that year, which very possibly alludes to Bateman's residence, he noted, 'When I every day see Greek and Roman and Italian and Chinese and Gothic architecture embroidered and inlaid upon one another, or called by each other's names, I couldn't help thinking that the grace and simplicity and truth of your taste, in whichever you undertake, is real taste'.⁵⁹ As David Porter has shown, Walpole's repudiation of Chinoiserie was part of a complex change in his taste in the 1750s. These years saw Walpole's adaptation of the Gothic as his personal style and his earliest movements to fashion himself into England's dominant arbiter and myth-maker of the Gothic. This change was bolstered by an increasingly nationalistic bias within his art historiography, culminating in his overtly chauvinistic *Anecdotes of Painting* of 1762 in which Chinoiserie and the influence of the East on English art could have no place.⁶⁰ Walpole's own remodelling of Strawberry Hill between c. 1750 and 1757, in which a small seventeenth-century house was comprehensively Gothicized, was, as Sean Silver and others have recently argued, a performance of this nationalist historiography.⁶¹ Strawberry Hill's medievalism was a complex, multi-layered, and developing myth, based as much in the fabric of the

house as in its eventual mythologization as the setting for Walpole's other Gothic product, his novel *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story* (1764).⁶² In its complex significations, Strawberry Hill established an influential, if malleable, template for subsequent patrons of Gothic mansions, during the eighteenth century and after.

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE, SEXUALITY, AND TASTE IN WALPOLE'S CIRCLE

Walpole's account of Bateman's works was clear that the change of style or 'religion' from Chinese (or 'Confucian') to Gothic at Old Windsor had not only been a result of his 'preaching', but also meant that Bateman's residence could comply with the style of 'the elect'. Within the contexts of his epistolary writing, 'the elect' was not a socio-economic category, but rather a tongue-in-cheek reference to Walpole's own circle of friends and associates. As the paradigmatic statement of Gothic taste in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, Strawberry Hill was mythologized as a court of Gothic taste over which Walpole presided as (self-appointed) ruler, and his friends (often fellow builders in the style) as courtiers.⁶³ George Haggerty has recently reminded us that Strawberry Hill stands as the product of a system of male friendships (which he calls an 'erotic camaraderie'), whose halcyon days were during the 1750s.⁶⁴ These men were responsible for building, designing or advising on a long list of buildings in the Gothic style of Strawberry Hill, effectively popularizing the style among their own circle. Although they frequently denigrated the contemporary Gothic designs of architects such as William Kent, Batty Langley and Sanderson Miller, their comments are best understood as rhetorical flourishes designed to emphasize their own superior handling of the Gothic, rather than studied critiques of their rivals' buildings; the Gothic buildings commissioned by Walpole and his circle bore a much closer relationship to the work of these men than they cared to admit.⁶⁵ Calling themselves 'Goths' or 'Gothic Gentlemen', these labels coded a shared sexual subjectivity as a shared aesthetic subjectivity, a preference for the medieval rather than classical past. Here, as elsewhere in eighteenth-century aesthetics, 'taste' was a complex construction: synthesizing artistic judgment and sexual attraction (or aisthesis), artistic 'taste' was a pole around which genders and sexual identities could form.⁶⁶ The tastes of the 'Goths' were regularly polarized with those of contemporary Palladianism practised by 'Grecians' and 'Romans', although it is not clear in each case that a specific sexual subjectivity was implied.⁶⁷

Walpole's writings are full of (often tongue-in-cheek) allusions to the familial bonds he felt for his fellow 'Goths', and to Strawberry Hill as a product of their shared efforts and tastes. Reflecting what Stephen Clarke has called 'a sense of a gilded coterie', the relationship of the house to Gothic mansions built by Walpole's friends in its style was allegorized in patrilineal terms.⁶⁸ Lee Priory, Kent, built by James Wyatt for Walpole's friend Thomas Barrett, had a 'Strawberry Room' (Fig. 16) in homage to Strawberry Hill, and was described by Walpole variously as 'my Gothic closet' and 'a delicious closet, too, so flattering to me!' Walpole considered the building in general to be 'my Gothic child' and 'a child of Strawberry, prettier than the parent', thus positing a familial relationship between it and Strawberry Hill, and between himself and his friend.⁶⁹ By the time Lee was built, a convention already existed of building or decorating 'Strawberry rooms' within Walpole's circle: in 1755 Walpole and Chute noted a 'little Strawberry



Fig. 16. James Wyatt, 'Strawberry Room' from Lee Priory, Kent, now installed in the British Galleries, Victoria and Albert Museum (Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

parlour' at the Vyne in Hampshire in their list of proposed alterations. Bateman's Gothic works must be understood within this context, not only as signature works of the Strawberry Hill designers built to a shared taste, but also as emblems of Bateman's own place within their coterie, or 'family' as the case might be.⁷⁰

A significant statement of his place within a third sex coterie is made by the arrangement of pictures in Bateman's newly built Gothic dining room (Fig. 10). According to the account in *Windsor and its Environs*,

Its pictures are, over the Door,
 Lord Bateman [Dickie's older brother, Viscount Bateman]
 Over the Chimney,
 Lady Harvey [Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey]
 Lord Ilchester [Stephen Fox]
 Lord Foley [Thomas Foley]
 Lord Holland [Henry Fox].

While we cannot be sure from the description that there were not further portraits in the room, Bateman's portrait gallery as we know it appears to reflect a highly specific coterie of interconnected friends. 'Lord Bateman' is Dickie's brother, Viscount Bateman of Shobdon Court, who in 1738 caused a scandal on account of homosexual offences, leading to his exile in France, where he retained close ties with Dickie.⁷¹ Walpole, in his raunchy 1740s poem *Little Peggy*, satirized the Bateman brothers thus, 'Another Bateman

[i.e. Dickie] shall debauch the boys / and future Sapphos practice mimic joys', thereby implicating both brothers in sexual acts with younger males.⁷² Bateman's own sexuality — and a possible predilection for youths — was also potentially alluded to in a series of homoerotic objects at the Priory, including 'a fine bust of Antinous, by Bernini', a bronze of 'Antinous and its companion' and 'an antique figure of a Priapus'.⁷³ Lord Foley (of Witley Court in Worcestershire) was a friend and shared some of Bateman's tastes in art (Dickie imported French art for him in 1742).⁷⁴ Henry Fox served with Bateman as the receivers general of South Wales and was a regular visitor to Old Windsor. Henry and his brother Stephen Fox (owner of Redlynch estate, near Bruton, Somerset, where Gothic gates were built under his patronage) were both intimates of the husband of Lady Hervey, Lord John Hervey (1696–1743).⁷⁵ Stephen and Lord Hervey in particular developed an infamous ten-year relationship between 1726–36.⁷⁶ Hervey's sexuality has come to form the very archetype of the third sex, based upon Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's observation that 'The world consists of men, women, and Herveys'.⁷⁷ Lady Hervey's portrait can be identified as that by Allan Ramsay of 1762. She was a life-long friend of Bateman and Walpole (the three regularly dined together at Bateman's and at Strawberry Hill, and Walpole dedicated his 1762 *Anecdotes of Painting* to her).⁷⁸

Although some details about figures in this group are not known (particularly Lord Foley), Bateman's picture hang suggests an elite homoerotic coterie that shared tastes in art and architecture. From Bateman's perspective, membership within this coterie could extend to those not homoerotically-inclined or at least not exclusively so (as in the case of Henry Fox). The point here is that, from Bateman's perspective at least, an acceptance of homoeroticism, its practices and aesthetics formed part of the culture that bound these people together. If the list of paintings is complete, then it is possible that Walpole did not feature in the portrait gallery. Significantly, however, Walpole purchased Lady Hervey's portrait after Bateman's death, along with the chairs he admired and other objects, for display at Strawberry Hill, apparently to 'keep for the founder's sake', thus commemorating Bateman's role in the 'foundation' of the Priory.⁷⁹ Bateman's portrait collection was one of a handful of collections or images celebrating the overlapping homoerotic circles that these men formed, including William Hogarth's *Hervey Conversation Piece* of c. 1738.⁸⁰ Related coteries were also commemorated in the rooms of other homes built or designed by the men in Walpole's circle. John Chute's Gothic mansion at the Vyne, Hampshire, featured Chute and Francis Whitehead (whose union Walpole playfully celebrated with his label 'the Chute-heads'), Thomas Gray, and Richard Bentley, which Maurice Howard called 'a true "Strawberry circle"'.⁸¹ At Strawberry Hill, Walpole celebrated both 'real' family history, with the display of the Shorter family portraits in the library, and a 'queer' family in his own bedchamber, with portraits of John Chute, Henry Fox and others, and in the Blue Bedchamber with portraits of Henry Seymour Conway, Charles Churchill, Charles Hanbury Williams, Thomas Gray, and Richard Bentley.⁸² Our understanding of the consequences of the new third sex for the history and display of portraiture is still in its infancy, despite some excellent recent research on the subject, but these galleries nevertheless suggest clever ways in which existing conventions for portraiture were adapted to accommodate such coteries in the eighteenth-century domestic interior.⁸³

Central to the appeal of the Gothic to Walpole and his circle was its embodiment of

Catholicism (or 'Popery'), thus referencing England's pre-Dissolution, Catholic past or the Continent's Catholic present. These men not only simulated Catholic settings through their architectural patronage, but their buildings housed some of the earliest English collections of medieval (and later) Catholic art. As descriptions of Bateman's residence make clear, its overt Catholicism (i.e. 'monkish chambers', 'an old monastery [for such it is to represent]', 'the tendency to the superstitious tenets of Popery', etc.) was met with derision by commentators outside of Walpole's milieu. Within Walpole's circle, the suggestion that Bateman's villa had 'changed its religion' and that 'every pagoda took the veil' was based in a developed appreciation of Catholicism and its significations. In a letter to a fellow Goth, Walpole confessed the appeal of Catholicism (and by extension Gothic architecture) within the dynamics of contemporary associationism: 'I like Popery as much as well as you, and have shown I do. I like it as I like chivalry and romance. They all furnish one with ideas and visions which Presbyterianism does not. A Gothic church or convent fills one with romantic dreams'.⁸⁴ Here as elsewhere in Walpole's associationist fantasies inspired by Gothic architecture (which must include his novel, *The Castle of Otranto*), there is an erotic charge. Although largely remaining 'protestant Goth[s]', Walpole and his circle developed a range of related, Catholic tropes that they performed, including the construction of 'abbeys' and 'monasteries' (or 'Priories' in Bateman's case); Walpole famously described himself as 'Abbot of Strawberry Hill', and a 'brother monk', a trope that would be later explored by Goths such as William Beckford at Fonthill Abbey.⁸⁵

Although some attention has been paid to the strain of romantic Catholicism that runs through the early Gothic Revival,⁸⁶ architectural historians have largely overlooked the rich tradition during the eighteenth century in Protestant England that considered Catholicism to be a mode of religious transgression that coded sexual transgression. Across a range of cultural productions, including art, literature, prints, and architecture itself, the Gothic castle and the Catholic monastery in particular were figured as sites of illicit sexuality.⁸⁷ Recent accounts of the Gothic novel, focusing on Walpole's own seminal *The Castle of Otranto*, have shown that the Catholic or 'Gothic' past and its architectural settings served as loci to explore illicit sexualities (sexual violence, same-sex desire, inter-generational sexuality, etc.) that were otherwise excluded from contemporary discourse.⁸⁸ Historians of sexuality have shown that, during the eighteenth century, an interest in Catholicism as an alternate religion was one of a cluster of subjects that formed around an emerging construction of homosexuality as an alternate sexuality, including 'effeminacy, connoisseurship, high religion and an interest in Catholic Europe', all of which were components of an interest in the Gothic.⁸⁹ Gentlemen who went on the Grand Tour to Italy (a country called 'the Mother and Nurse of sodomy'), including Walpole, Gray, Chute, and other men in their circle, were broadly considered to have 'imported' effeminate tastes for the opera, a new sensitivity for Catholicism, and homosexuality into England with their return.⁹⁰ In Clara Tuite's useful epitome, Catholicism and same-sex desire were during the eighteenth century 'marked by a history of tropological substitution and interimplication' for contemporary audiences.⁹¹ But homoerotic cultures were not alone in exploiting Catholicism's conventual and sexual associations. The comparison of Bateman's 'impious buffoonery' to that of John Wilkes with which I began references Wilkes's participation in the notorious sexual exploits of the 'Monks of Medmenham' under Sir Francis Dashwood (who took the guise of 'St' Francis) in the 1750s

at Medmenham Abbey, just up the Thames from Old Windsor. Cavorting with 'nuns' from London (a synonym for 'prostitutes'), these sexual rites were performed within Gothic architectural settings including the so-called 'Hellfire Caves' and Medmenham Abbey itself.⁹² The Medmenham monks remind us that, during the eighteenth century, the mock-performance of Catholic ritual, the pomp of its liturgy, and its Neo-Gothic settings, could serve as a performative guise for the illicit sexuality of erotic brotherhood, whether homosexual or otherwise.⁹³

Understood in these terms, Mrs Delany's palpable shock at the Catholic objects in Bateman's residence stands in high relief. Focusing on the chapel in his bedchamber, she exclaims:

It is not above eight feet square, or rather an octagon; it is an exact representation of a popish chapel expensively decorated [...] it is like peeping through a show-glass in a box. There are many crucifixes in it, ivory figures of saints, crowns, and crosses set with sapphire, a little case called the treasury filled with rosaries, crosses, and a thousand things relating to ceremonies that I don't understand; and it is so adorned, so crowded, that it is almost impossible to distinguish one thing from another, but what must offend every serious observer must be the intent of the chapel, for if he does *not* make use of it in *good earnest*, his making a joke of it is *shocking*; and at least he should have omitted the *sacred figure*, which ought to strike us with awe and reverence, besides nobody can justify turning any religion into ridicule, though some ceremonies may be trifling and absurd, but I don't suppose he desires to be thought a papist, and perhaps he would rather be thought a heathen!⁹⁴



Fig. 17. John Carter, *The Crucifix under the Shrine in the Chapel*, 30 × 40 cm, ink and watercolour, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University 30 30 copy 11 Folio (Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

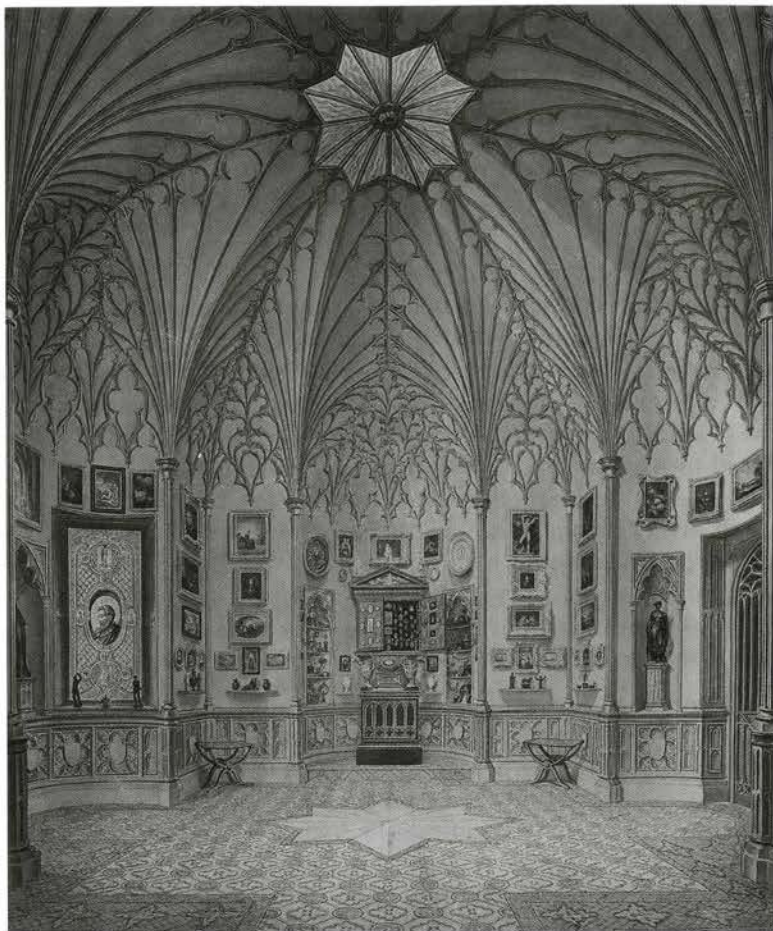


Fig. 18. John Carter, *The Tribune at Strawberry Hill*, c. 1789, 59.2 × 49.5 cm, watercolour, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University 789.00.0073dr++
(Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

Among the objects in Bateman's chapel were the Malmesbury Chasse of c. 1200 (now in the Royal Ontario Museum), and a 'crucifix inlaid with mother-of-pearl' that Walpole purchased in 1774 for Strawberry Hill (Fig. 17).⁹⁵ Bateman's was one of a number of 'popish' chapels built within Walpole's circle, including Walpole's own 'tribune chapel' (Fig. 18) in which he placed Bateman's crucifix, and his outdoor chapel based upon the chantry of Bishop Audley at Salisbury, which possessed 'all the glory of Popery'.⁹⁶ Alongside a range of Catholic liturgical *ornamenta* in Walpole's tribune were displayed a number of overtly homoerotic objects: an image of Antinous, 'a sleeping hermaphrodite between satyrs' and a miniature of Salamacis and Hermaphroditus given to him by John Chute.⁹⁷ At the Vyne, Walpole was involved in the redecoration of the chapel with Chute; when he visited it they conducted a mock mass with 'incense and mass books' and 'had a most Catholic enjoyment of the chapel'.⁹⁸ In this context, Delany's account of Bateman's

chapel and its Gothic/Catholic art is extraordinarily interesting. Her conservative, even doctrinaire religious sensibilities are manifestly not those of Bateman, Walpole and their circle.⁹⁹ Alluding to Catholicism as an alternate subjectivity whose art could lead the viewer to idolatry (amongst other sins),¹⁰⁰ its erotic appeal is seemingly lost on her (perhaps willingly), and she interprets the chapel instead as a kind of derisive, even heretical, joke.

'FRIBBLISH AS HIMSELF': CRITIQUING THE PRIORY

Bateman's works at Old Windsor were manifestly understood as novelties and they were critiqued as such. Significant patrons in their own right, Lord Lyttelton's and Mrs Delany's critiques indicate a sensitivity to the visual effects of the house and to its sexual and ethical meanings. As we have seen, Lyttelton's account of the Priory as 'Mr Bateman's half Gothick, half attick, half Chinese and completely fribble house' appears in a letter dated to August 1759.¹⁰¹ In it, Lyttelton — a man of conservative Palladian tastes and heterosexual inclinations — recounts 'a most complete party of pleasure' at the Priory, with his 'Old Love', Lady Hervey, and his 'New Love', Mrs Hancock. Mrs Delany's account occurs in a 1768 letter to her sister:

his library is indeed as *fribblish* as himself, and so furnished with looking glass that had it the property of representing to him his inside as well as outside, it might read him a better lesson than he could find in his whole collection of books, and shew him his own insignificance.¹⁰²

Both authors employ the same adjective, 'fribble' (or 'fribblish'), to describe Bateman's Gothic interiors. This adjective is not used elsewhere in this period to describe architecture, so its use in multiple commentaries on the same building is significant. Although the word had a range of possible significations, including flippancy, physical weakness, and effeminacy, 'fribble' is employed here as one of a number of new terms developed in the eighteenth century to describe men of the third sex. The 1753 *Dictionary of Love* states that the fribble 'signifies one of those ambiguous animals, who are neither male nor female; disclaimed by his own sex, and the scorn of both'.¹⁰³ The fribble (seemingly a combination of 'frivolous' and 'ribald') was an effeminate man who enjoyed the friendship of women and shared 'female' tastes in the arts, but their bonds were social and artistic, and did not extend to sexual or legal unions.¹⁰⁴ The pronounced domesticity of the fribble — his tastes in fashion, fabrics, collecting and interior design, lap dogs and scented powder — was understood as an unmanly usurpation of female taste that emasculated him, and he was satirized as such in later prints (Fig. 19). The term was used by William Warburton in a homophobic attack on Horace Walpole's affections for Gothic architecture and his 'fribble tutor' in taste, 'as sicklied over with affectation as himself' (perhaps Thomas Gray or Bateman himself): both were affected fops, 'half wits', and (quoting Dryden), were 'so little and so light / One should not know they liv'd but that they bite'.¹⁰⁵

The meaning of 'fribble' employed by Lyttelton and Delany is tied directly to David Garrick's wildly successful 1747 satire *Miss in her Teens: Or, the Medley of Lovers. A Farce in Two Acts*, performed in London's West End.¹⁰⁶ The play recounts a comic courtship

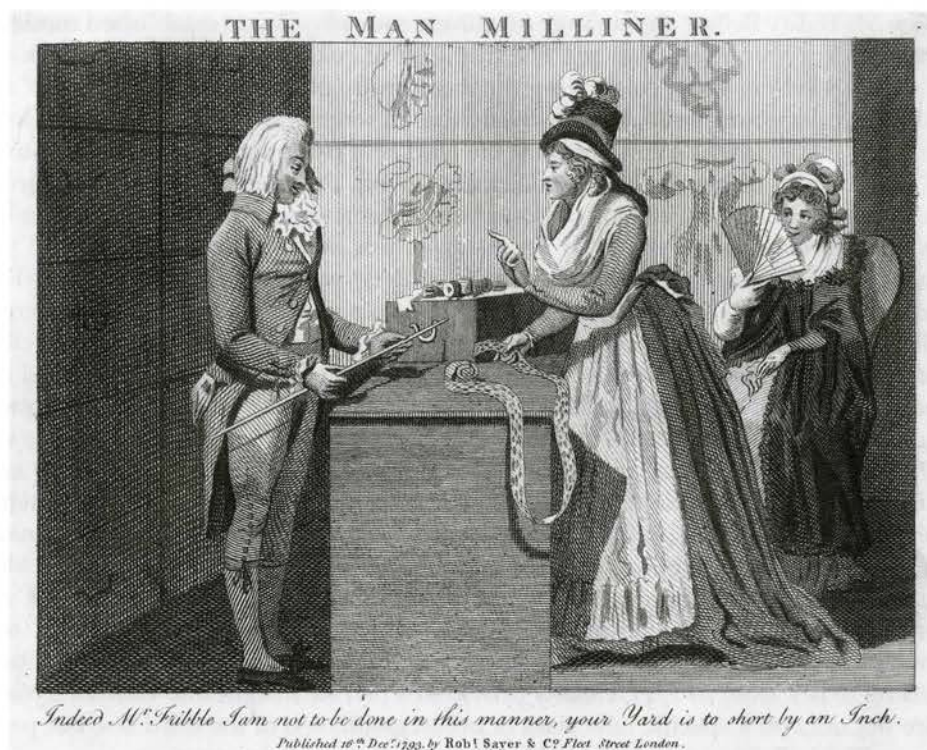


Fig. 19. The Man Milliner, satiric print featuring Mr Fribble published by Robert Sayer and Co., Fleet Street, London, 1793 (Courtesy of the British Museum)



Fig. 20. The Modern Duel, Taken from Miss in her Teens, as it is now acted at Covent Garden, London Magazine, February 1747 (Courtesy of the British Museum)

between Ms Biddy Bellair and a range of suitors, each playing on established models of masculinity to comic effect (Fig. 20). The character of Fribble — played by Garrick — is the comic foil for the story: celebrating the incongruity of an outrageously 'camp' man of taste to wed a young belle, he tells Biddy that in marrying him she will 'have love's better part, / His downy Wing, but not his Dart!'¹⁰⁷ Positioned as an antithesis to the virile masculinity of his rival suitor, Captain Loveit, Fribble is set up as a subject of mockery for the audience, voicing popular homophobic sentiments. Fribble relates how a coachman broke his fingernail while insulting him, stating, 'I'll carry you and your doll too, Miss Margery, for the same price' ('Margery' was a common slang for 'Molly' or sodomite). Garrick's Fribble is never directly called a sodomite, although, as Lawrence Senelik notes, the identification of effeminacy with sodomy characterized by Fribble 'became an admissible dramatic code'.¹⁰⁸ The character of Fribble quickly entered contemporary parlance as a term for a sexual subjectivity that may anticipate the 'queen' within the modern construction of homosexuality. An anonymous pamphlet of 1747 entitled *The Pretty Gentlemen, or, Softness of Manners Vindicated from the False Ridicule under the Character of William Fribble, Esq.*, provided a comic defence of the fribble, whose 'System is of a finer Turn, [with] superior Accuracy of Fabric, insomuch that it looks as if nature had been in doubt, to which sex she should assign him [...] the Happy Metamorphosis, Or the Gentleman turned Lady'.¹⁰⁹ Charles Churchill's *Rosciad* of 1763 specifically connected the effeminate fribble as an arbiter of taste with the new 'third sex', which he defines as a clear sexual category and a social coterie: 'the Fribble Tribe'.¹¹⁰

Writing to her sister in 1747, Delany provided a private insight into Garrick's play as a satire not only on a specific new class of urban gentlemen of the third sex, but particularly on Dickie Bateman and his close acquaintances:

It is said [Garrick] mimics *eleven* men of fashion — Lord Bate—n, Ld Her—y, Felton Her—y, some others you don't know, and our friend Dicky Bate—n, I must own the latter is a *striking likeness*; but do not name to any body these people, for I don't love to spread such tattle, though I send it for your private amusement, and that you may not be ignorant of the ways of the world.¹¹¹

As T. Eustace Harwood has noted, the character of Fribble was probably modelled directly on Dickie Bateman, which may be confirmed by Delany's notion of 'a *striking likeness*'.¹¹² Operating within a highly nuanced medium of epistolary exchange, Lyttelton and Delany thus employ fribble as both a sexual type and as a nickname. Articulating a tension between acceptance and ridicule of Bateman's sexuality within a common elite milieu, the accounts of Delany and Lyttelton provide a sophisticated reading of the perceived ethical and sexual character of Bateman's house. Eliding patron and building with a stereotype of the third sex, these commentaries reflect the displacement of a theatrical trope from the stage to the built environment, from theatrical domesticity to real domesticity, from an abstract type of man to a physical manifestation of his tastes.

In this context, 'fribble' proved a malleable adjective to describe architecture. Writing in 1759 on the cusp of Bateman's Gothicization, Lyttelton employs the term to describe the unseemly mixture of architectural styles at Grove House. Characterized by ornamental excess and extravagance ('half Gothick, half attick, half Chinese'), Bateman's residence is unnaturally abundant in signification — literally more than the sum of its



Fig. 21. A common council man of Candlestick Ward and his wife on a visit to Mr. Deputy at his modern built villa near Clapham, 1771, print on laid paper: etching with engraving, hand-coloured, Lewis Walpole Library 771.11.01.02 ++
(Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

parts — a ridiculous corruption of form that delights but disorients Lord Lyttelton.¹¹³ He aligns Bateman's house with current debates about the villa that were taking place in the popular press in which the new hybrid villas were understood as *nouveau riche*, debased aberrations of architectural form. A famous satire in *The World* for 1753 recounts Squire Mushroom's acquisition of an old farm house that,

he fell to building [...] with all the rage of taste. The old mansion immediately shot up into Gothic spires, and was plastered over with stucco; the walls were notched into battlements [...] while one-half [of the house] is designed to present you an old Gothic building, the other half presents to your view Venetian windows, slices of pilaster, balustrades and other parts of Italian Architecture.¹¹⁴

A version of this critique was pictorialized in *A Common Man of Candlestick Ward and his Wife on a Visit to Mr Deputy at his Modern Built Villa Near Clapham* of 1771 (Fig. 21), in which the ridiculous disorder of a hybrid villa with Gothic, Chinese, Palladian and Classical elements is the *mise-en-scène* for the physical and social inversion of a carriage tumbling to the ground and the horse wearing the groom's wig. Considering the villa 'fribblish as himself', Lyttelton suggests that the stylistic hybridity of Bateman's villa paralleled corruptions of form in the body or manners of its patron. Fribbles and men of



Fig. 22. Thomas Holloway, Contrasted attitudes of a man and a fribble (from Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy* [London, 1789], 3: 213)

the third sex were characterized as intersexual hybrids, and were frequently called 'hermaphrodites', articulating the third sex as composite of 'male' and 'female'.¹¹⁵ Charles Churchill's *Rosciad* describes 'a Motley Figure of the Fribble Tribe, Nor Male, nor Female; Neither, and yet both; Of Neuter gender, tho' of Irish Growth; A six-foot suckling, mincing in its gait; Affected, peevish, prim and delicate.'¹¹⁶ Writing in the context of such critiques, Lord Lyttelton suggests that Bateman's home is like his sexuality or fribbliness: being neither wholly Gothic, Chinese or antique, it is, like Bateman's own sexual hybridity, a corruption of natural form.

Most telling of the aesthetic character of the Fribble and its possible architectural analogues is Johann Kaspar Lavater's influential *Essays in Physiognomy* that illustrates the 'contrasted attitudes of a man and a fribble' (Fig. 22). Considered a 'harebrained coxcomb', the fribble is an infantilized male 'who will pass his whole life in eternal childhood'. 'Incapable of feeling either the great or the beautiful, or the simple and natural' (i.e. the great or Grand manner of Neoclassicism), the fribble is trapped in adolescence, and is accordingly engaged with the ephemerality of the world (the theatre, the court), and is perpetually transfixed by his own image in a looking glass.¹¹⁷ In Thomas Holloway's engraving, 'fribble' is a gaudily dressed old leech whose richly ornamented exterior and accoutrements (a bouquet of flowers and a codpiece that simulates a giant phallus) signifies affected decadence, and his stooped posture and age suggest moral and physical decay in contrast with the erect virility of the youthful and overtly chaste 'man'. Visualizing alternate modes of contemporary masculinity, this image might be understood as an analogue to contemporary Augustan paradigms on the gender of architecture in the Vitruvian tradition, in which the unadorned and upright form of the 'man' may be understood to embody the aesthetics of contemporary classicism in which

the male form was regularly understood as an analogue for the classical orders (particularly the 'manly' Doric).¹¹⁸ The fribble, by contrast, reflects the ornamental vocabulary of the modern styles of Chinoiserie and the Gothic, with their gaudy surfaces, rich patterns, and frequently fictive architectural elaborations in wood, papier-mâché, and paint. As styles conceived principally as ornament that often graced (or defiled) pre-existing structures, rather than styles conceived as structural systems in their own right, the modern styles were considered 'decoration' and were susceptible to the same moralizing critiques of the whims of sartorial fashion. In this sense, the fribble's richly patterned and attenuated clothing provides a ready parallel (as Lyttelton would have it) with the fancy dress or 'gaudy goût' of the modern interior.¹¹⁹

In Delany's 1768 commentary on the Priory, 'fribble' has different range of meanings. Focusing on the mirrored surfaces of his library — something which was relatively new to the English interior and therefore worthy of commentary — she, too, positions Bateman's house and its illusionistic surfaces as a double or second self. The stylish, pretentious, and effete surfaces of the man and the building become synonymous; these surfaces act like a veneer that exists independently of a hidden inner self, which Delany clearly derided, even if she had called him 'our friend' and had emulated his Chinese designs.¹²⁰ Delany provides a queer interpretation of an eighteenth-century trope of the mirror in which the 'subject becomes artificial by overinvesting in the [mirror's] image: the subject disappears behind the character he produces and takes pleasure from himself as he would from a realized fiction'.¹²¹ The mirrors, in other words, are not understood to reflect Bateman, but his 'fribble' persona. Unfortunately, we know much less about the original appearance of the room than we would like, but it is clear that the mirrors were the dominant ornamentation within it, since mirrors or 'looking glass[es]' were also noted in the contemporary account in *Windsor and its Environs*, which confirms that the Library is 'in the Chinese Taste, which, by Means of Glasses, gives a double Reflection'. This suggests that the mirrors were, like those of the famous Villa Palagonia or the slightly later mirrors from Robert Adam's Northumberland House of c. 1773–74, integral components of the wall surfaces rather than hanging mirrors in the Chinese style such as those by Chippendale or Ince and Mayhew.¹²² In the library, mirrors usurped the role of painted and graphic representations, and the multiplied human subject became the image for meditation and analysis (more so perhaps than the books, to follow the drift of Delany's critique). Mirrors were central to Bateman's design of the interior spaces of the Priory: elsewhere he toyed with optical illusion and manipulated its spatial properties, including 'Windows [mirrors] [...] so contrived as to shew the Company on their Heads', thus suggesting the use of concave mirrors to provide inverted, anamorphic images of their subjects.¹²³ In its style and in its fictive, 'unreal' surfaces, Bateman's house literally and figuratively inverted contemporary nostrums of English decorum.

Delany's and Lyttelton's commentaries on architecture (and later texts such as that by Lavater) are significant in that they anticipate some of the tropes of homosexuality that would be codified in sexological (and particularly psychoanalytic) discourses over the next two centuries. Paralleling a perverse architectural interior with a perverse or morally corrupt character, Delany suggests that if the surface of the mirror could expose Bateman's *inner* character, it might 'shew him his own insignificancy'. As the beautiful face of Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray disguises his real, inner character (displaced to a

painting), so the surfaces of the Priory and the mirrors in particular become doubles that fail to signify a morally or sexually corrupt inner self. They are, so to speak, pure fashion. 'Insignificancy' here codes male effeminacy — a lack of physical and, by extension, moral prowess.¹²⁴ Created predominantly in the Chinese taste, which was broadly associated with femininity, frivolousness, and the corrupt, effeminate luxury of a mercantile world besieged by glossy but morally dubious foreign imports, Delany's comment is well placed.¹²⁵ She also hints at narcissism in her discussion of the library interior. Narcissism was a common trope of contemporary male effeminacy and the third sex in particular: Lavater's *Fribble* and characters such as Sir Fopling from Colley Cibber's *Love's Last Shift: Or, the Fool in Fashion* (1696) were often figured obsessing over themselves in mirrors and being enamoured with their own reflections, thus justifying Thomas King's observation that the Fop or the Fribble's greatest offence was not his excessive display but rather his radical self-sufficiency.¹²⁶ Unsurprisingly, perhaps, after Bateman's death Delany's single response to the house was to 'moralize on the vanities of human life'.¹²⁷ The lavish attention devoted to the house, the fastidious care in its design and arrangement, and the erotic attachment to objects displayed therein — its fribbishness — are suggestive of a particular construction of narcissism linked to a 'homosexual' subjectivity in the eighteenth century. The fribble's aesthetic appeal to overtly ornamental, decorative art forms is a result of his own arrested development: his infantile, child-like imagination is enamoured with surface decoration and is, within the logic of the critique, apparently incapable of conceiving of art in the Great or Grand manner consonant with disinterested speculation advocated, for example, in Addison's *Spectator*. The two dominant strands of these critiques — the erotic identification with the self and the doubling of one's ego in images or in buildings (i.e. narcissism), and perception of queer aesthetic judgments as products of infantile or arrested psychic and sexual development — were manifestly at play in aesthetic discussion during the eighteenth century, but they awaited codification in sexological research of Sigmund Freud and Isidor Sadger over a century later.¹²⁸

CONCLUSION

Upon Dickie Bateman's death in 1774, ownership of the Priory went to his nephew, John Bateman (1721–1802), who seems to have had no love for his uncle's famous home. He pulled down parts of the house and sold its contents at Christie's the same year. Walpole provided an emotional response: writing to William Cole, he urges him to come to visit Strawberry Hill soon because 'Strawberry is almost the last monastery left, at least in England. Poor Mr Bateman's is despoiled: Lord Bateman has stripped and plundered it[!]' . He continues, 'I was hurt to see half the ornaments of the chapel, and the *reliquaries*, and in short a thousand trifles exposed to sneers. I am buying a few to keep for the founder's sake [...] I suppose Strawberry Hill will have the same fate!'¹²⁹ Commemorating the 'founder' of another Gothic 'monastery' in this passage, Walpole reflects upon Strawberry Hill as the last bastion of a shared taste. In purchasing these objects, Walpole becomes the protector of Bateman's Gothic legacy against the vulgar, grasping, unknowing bidders who degraded these emblems of a shared taste to the status of trifling commodities. Strawberry Hill becomes an environment that normalizes Bateman's

Catholic art that is otherwise received with sneers.¹³⁰ Walpole echoes similar sentiments in a letter to Lady Ossory describing the sale: 'it was a melancholy sight to me in more ways than one. I have passed many pleasing days there with him [Bateman] and Lady Hervey, and felt additional pain by reflections on my child Strawberry!'¹³¹ Walpole's grief over the loss of his friend and his friend's residence is palpable. Considering Bateman's house to be a 'monastery' that is spiritually connected to Strawberry Hill by a common 'religion', he is afraid that his own 'child' — which gave birth to Bateman's residence — will suffer the same fate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is part of a broader study, provisionally entitled 'Gothic: Architecture, Sexuality and Historiography in the Circle of Horace Walpole', which will include a fuller account of Bateman's Old Windsor than is possible here. I am grateful to Laura Ashe, Ron Baxter, Patricia Bruckmann, Ayla Lepine, Pierre Du Prey, John Harris, Crystal Lake, Lisa Moore, David Porter, Stacey Sloboda, and Randolph Trumbach for their advice on various aspects of this paper. I am also grateful to Mr James Cookson and the current owner of the Priory for allowing me access to the property and for being extraordinarily gracious hosts. I am indebted to the Yale Center for British Art where I was a fellow in 2012, and to my remarkable colleagues at the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale who answered many queries concerning this research. Aspects of this paper were presented at the Historians of British Art session at the College Art Association conference in February 2013.

NOTES

- 1 C. E. Vuilliamy, *Aspasia: The Life and Letters of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany (1700–1788)* (London, 1935), p. 181.
- 2 Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols (New Haven and London, 1937–83), xxxv, p. 359 (hereafter *HW Corr.*).
- 3 *HW Corr.*, x, p. 43.
- 4 For a recent overview, see Stephen Clarke, 'Horace Walpole's Architectural Taste', *1650–1850 Ideas, Aesthetics and Enquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 16 (2009), pp. 223–44.
- 5 The notable exception is the brief account in Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven and London, 1987), pp. 105–11.
- 6 *HW Corr.*, xx, p. 166.
- 7 *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 359.
- 8 Anon., *Windsor and its Environs* (London, 1768), p. 79.
- 9 Lady Llanover (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, 3 vols (London, 1862), i, p. 176.
- 10 See most recently, Terry Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 215–17; Howard Colvin, 'Henry Flitcroft, William Kent and Shobdon Church, Herefordshire', in *Essays in Scots and English Architectural History: A Festschrift for John Frew*, ed. David Jones and Sam McKinsty (Donnington, 2009), pp. 1–8; Ron Baxter, 'Whose Heritage? The Problem of the Shobdon Arches', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 163 (2010), pp. 154–76; David Whitehead, 'Artisan Attitudes to Gothic in Georgian Herefordshire', *Georgian Group Journal*, 17 (2009), pp. 61–76.
- 11 Timothy Mowl, *Horace Walpole: The Great Outsider* (London, 1996); Raymond Bentman, 'Horace Walpole's Forbidden Passion', in *Queer Representations: Reading Lives, Reading Cultures*, ed. Martin Duberman (New York, 1997), pp. 276–89; Andrew Elfenbein, *Romantic Genius: The Prehistory of a Homosexual Role* (New York, 1999); George Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1999); George Haggerty, 'Walpoliana', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 34.2 (2001), pp. 227–49; George Haggerty, 'Queering Horace Walpole', *Studies in English Literature*, 46.3 (2006), pp. 543–62; George Haggerty, 'Strawberry Hill: Friendship and Taste', in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 75–79;

George Haggerty, *Horace Walpole's Letters: Masculinity and Friendship in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg, 2011), and further studies cited below.

12 In particular, Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume One. Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago, 1998), and Randolph Trumbach, 'Modern Sodomy: The Origins of Homosexuality, 1700–1800', in *A Gay History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Men Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Matt Cook (Oxford, 2007), pp. 77–106.

13 Matthew M. Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture, Sexuality and License at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill', *Art Bulletin*, 95 (September 2013, in press).

14 For example, David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2010); Neil Levine, 'Castle Howard and the Emergence of the Modern Architectural Subject', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62.3 (2003), pp. 326–51; Rudolph Wittkower, 'Classical Theory and Eighteenth-Century Sensibility', in Rudolph Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London, 1983), pp. 193–204; Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Massachusetts, 1983). On 'modern' art as rococo and 'the new liberty of taste', see Patricia Crown, 'British Rococo as Social and Political Style', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23.3 (1990), pp. 269–82.

15 *The World*, xvi (12 April 1753), pp. 86–93. For John Gilbert Cooper's description of 'the splendid Impertinence, the unmeaning Glitter, the tasteless Profusion and monstrous Enormities [...] [in] some of the Villas in our Neighbourhood of our Metropolis', see his *Letters Concerning Taste* (London, 1755), p. 61. For an overview, see Beverley Sprague Allen, *Tides in English Taste*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass, 1937, 1969), II, pp. 87–114. On the Maccaroni, see Amelia F. Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.1 (2004), pp. 101–17, and Felicity Nussbaum, 'Effeminacy and Femininity: Domestic Prose Satire and *David Simple*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 11.4 (1999), pp. 1–24 (pp. 13–14).

16 For a brief account of the subsequent history of the house, see Geoffrey Tyack, Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 417. Aspects of both the Chinese and Gothic ornament were still present in 1922–34, including quantities of painted glass. This is noted in correspondence to Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis from Katherine Theodora Cater of 1947. See Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library WSL Correspondence folder cas-ce, Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, Correspondence. These details are absent from the 1969 sale particulars in Berkshire Record Office, D/EX 1051.15.

17 Mr Christie, *Catalogue of that Museum of that much esteemed and truly valuable museum of the Hon. Richard Bateman* (London, 1774).

18 John Harris, 'A Pioneer in Gardening: Dickie Bateman Re-assessed', *Apollo*, 380 (1993), pp. 227–33; John Harris, *Gardens of Delight: The Rococo English Landscape of Thomas Robins the Elder* (London, 1978), pp. 12–15; Richard Pococke, *The Travels Through England by Richard Pococke*, ed. James Joel Cartwright, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1889), II, p. 65.

19 These paintings were sold in the 2009 Old Master's sale at Christie's, London (sale 7744, lot 124).

20 Harris, 'A Pioneer', p. 227. It appears that Bateman's redecoration of the interiors of Shobdon Court, Herefordshire, his father's Palladian mansion, was in a similar manner. The evidence is now found in Hereford, Herefordshire County Record Office (hereafter 'HRO'), G39/III/E, a series of letters from Richard Bateman to Mr Fallowes, the estate manager at Shobdon between 1739–63. For his acquisition of Chinese porcelain for Shobdon in 1740, see HRO, G39/III/E/37, letter, 1740, and for the Chinese bedroom, see HRO, G39/E/242, letter, 10 January 1749.

21 Painted in gouache, these paintings had deteriorated somewhat by the time they were photographed, making some details indiscernible. Harris, *Gardens of Delight*, pp. 12–13.

22 Pococke, *Travels Through England*, p. 64. Fortunately, the veracity of Robins's view can be tested against a slightly later view by Thomas Sandby, which proves that he was accurate in most details. See T. Eustace Harwood, *Windsor Old and New* (London, 1929), p. 320 (facing page).

23 Pococke, *Travels Through England*, p. 64; Alice I. Hazeltine, 'A Study of William Shenstone and his Critics with Fifteen Unpublished Poems' (MA thesis, Wellesley College, 1913), p. 77, citing Wellesley, Mass., Wellesley College Library, Shenstone MS, 1753–54. This page also includes an overlooked Latin 'Inscription on a small Mausoleum supported by Four Ionic Pillars' in Bateman's garden.

24 Some of the original windows were employed to new uses at the property and are still extant.

25 A Chinese screen is mentioned in letters regarding Bateman's portrait by Robert Tournières (Fig. 1). Undoubtedly to celebrate his role as 'founder of the Sharawadgi taste', Dickie asked that the panel be included in the background, thus suggesting that the work on the front may predate 1741. Harris, 'A Pioneer', p. 230; Peter Cannon-Brookes, 'Robert Tournières, Lord Bateman and Two Picture Frames', *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 4 (1985), pp. 141–45. In 1985, the original MS containing these letters

was lost and was only known from a typescript. It has not been possible for the author to consult the typescript. The Chinese screen, however, appears to derive from Bateman's farmhouse (Fig. 5) rather than Grove House.

26 *HW Corr.*, xx, p. 199.

27 Pococke, *Travels Through England*, p. 64.

28 London, British Library, RP 2377 (i), letter 2, 11 August 1759. This passage is often cited out of context from the partial transcription in Emily T. Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu: The Queen of the Bluestockings*, 2 vols (London, 1906), II, p. 192.

29 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, III, p. 618.

30 *Ibid.*, I, p. 176.

31 It has not been possible to produce all of the images now available of Old Windsor. Some views not reproduced here are found in McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*; Harris, 'A Pioneer'; Harris, *Gardens of Delight*.

32 On Dugdale's works, see most recently Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark, 2002). This was noted by contemporary critics: in a rant on the impurity of contemporary villas, one author describes 'monstrous Chimney-Pieces, that look like Family Monuments in a Cathedral', although no particular villa is mentioned. See Cooper, *Letters Concerning Taste*, p. 64. A similar critique was advanced in *The World*, XII (22 March 1753), pp. 68–69: 'A few years ago everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our book-cases, and our couches were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals'. Walpole advocated the use of prints such as Dugdale for Gothic designs in his *A Description of the Villa of Mr Horace Walpole* (1784 edn, rep. London, 2010), p. 395: 'The general disuse of Gothic architecture, and the decay and alterations so frequently made in churches, give prints a chance of being the sole preservatives of that style'.

33 Thomas Gray addressed letters to Walpole at Bateman's in July 1758. *HW Corr.*, XIV, p. 102.

34 'The Hon. Rich. Bateman at Old Windsor has altered his offices in 1758 according to a plan given by Mr Bentley.' *HW Corr.*, XXXV, p. 644.

35 'His cloister of founders, which by the way is Mr Bentley's, is delightful'. *HW Corr.*, x, p. 43. For Müntz's design of the cloister, see McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, fig. 142.

36 Teresa S. Watts, 'The Life and Work of Johann Heinrich Müntz (1727–1798)' (doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1986), pp. 21–25, 49–53.

37 McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, p. 104.

38 Joseph Pote, *Les Delices de Windsore* (London, 1771), p. 93.

39 *Windsor and its Environs*, pp. 82–83. These may have been the 'twenty-two [framed paintings of] English worthies, poets &c' mentioned in the details of the 3 May sale account. Christie, *A Catalogue*, p. 3.

40 McCarthy, *Origins of the Gothic Revival*, p. 192, n. 36: inscription on verso of Caducanus drawing, 'Funeral monument of Caducanus, once Bishop of Hereford. J.H. Muntz Hereford 1759. The same erected at Old Windsor for the Honble [sic] R.: Bateman'. The canopy is an invention of Müntz and may reflect a commission by Bateman.

41 Walpole wrote covetously about Bateman's chairs to William Cole on 9 March 1765. *HW Corr.*, I, p. 90. See also Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750–1850* (New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 58–59, 106. See n. 42.

42 24 September 1762. Walpole writes to George Montagu, 'I envy him his old chairs and his tomb of Caducanus' (both of which were in the cloister). *HW Corr.*, x, p. 43. See also *HW Corr.*, I, p. 90.

43 Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, cat. no. 34.

44 Geoffrey Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland*, ed. and trans. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, 4 vols (Dublin, 1902–14). The text was translated into English in 1723; Clare O'Halloran, 'The Triumph of "Virtuous Liberty": Representations of the Vikings and Brian Boru in Eighteenth-Century Histories', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 22 (2007), pp. 151–63. This monument may have been intended as a celebration of his brother's Irish peerage.

45 See, however, Baxter, 'Whose Heritage?', p. 164.

46 *Windsor and its Environs*, pp. 79–80.

47 *HW Corr.*, IX, pp. 197–98. These political allusions were not uncommon in the early phase of the Gothic Revival: William Beckford was to employ the heraldry from the Magna Carta signatories in a grand genealogical display at Fonthill Abbey culminating in a sculpture of his father — former Lord Mayor — holding a copy of the Magna Carta. See Martha Hamilton-Phillips, 'Benjamin West and William Beckford: Some Projects for Fonthill', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 15 (1981), pp. 157–74 (p. 167).

48 This was noted in contemporary descriptions. For example, *Windsor and its Environs*, p. 81, and Joseph Pote,

Les Delices de Windsore (Eton, 1755), p. 80. Richard Pococke also draws attention to this and recounts the results of recent excavations near Bateman's residence to unearth medieval foundations. Pococke, *Travels Through England*, p. 64.

49 *Windsor and its Environs*, p. 82. The stained glass was still extant in 1934 and was described in a letter to Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis by its former resident Katherine Theorora Cater. Farmington, CT, Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library, WSL Correspondence cas-ce, 31 August and 20 October 1947.

50 *Windsor and its Environs*, p. 82.

51 Pote, *Les Delices de Windsore*, p. 93.

52 For example, Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London 1782), I, p. 186.

53 Clarke, 'Horace Walpole's Architectural Taste'.

54 Harris, 'A Pioneer', p. 229; and Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, pp. 80–81.

55 See Harwood, *Windsor Old and New*, pp. 319–20.

56 *HW Corr.*, XL, p. 18. Luisa Calè, 'Gray's Ode and Walpole's China Tub: The Order of the Book and The Paper Lives of an Object', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45.1 (2011), pp. 105–25.

57 *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 177. He also owned 'A landscape in Indian ink, with Italian, Chinese and Gothic buildings; by Mr Bentley, in his best style'. This may well have been an image of Bateman's house and gardens prior to his Gothification. See Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr Horace Walpole*, pp. 432, 428.

58 Porter, *The Chinese Taste*, pp. 115–30.

59 *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 241. For Walpole's distrust of hybridity, see Clarke, 'Horace Walpole's Architectural Taste', pp. 235–37.

60 Porter, *The Chinese Taste*, pp. 121–26. See, in general, Nigel Llewellyn, 'The *Anecdotes of Painting* and Continental Art History', in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, pp. 137–49.

61 See most recently Kevin Rogers, 'Walpole's Gothic: Creating a Fictive History', in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, pp. 59–73; Sean Silver, 'Visiting Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Historiography', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 21.4 (2009), pp. 535–64.

62 See Matthew M. Reeve, 'A Gothic Vatican of Greece and Rome: Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill and the Narratives of Architecture', *Architecture and the Classical Tradition, from Pliny to Posterity*, ed. Matthew M. Reeve (New York, 2013, in press).

63 For the influence of Walpole and Strawberry Hill on eighteenth-century Gothic architecture, see McCarthy, *Origins*, and David Duane McKinney, 'History and Revivalism: Horace Walpole's Promotion of the Gothic Style of Architecture', (doctoral thesis, University of Virginia, 1992), esp. pp. 250–79. On Walpole's Strawberry Hill as a 'court', see *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 3 vols, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley (Oxford, 1935), II, p. 775.

64 Haggerty, 'Strawberry Hill: Friendship and Taste', p. 84; Haggerty, *Horace Walpole's Letters*, esp. pp. 69–86.

65 The fullest account of their patronage to date is McCarthy, *Origins*. A typical statement of this form of emulative patronage is Thomas Gray's commentary on Thomas Wharton's new interiors, stating with approval that his friend had 'enter[ed] into the spirit of Strawberry-Castle'. *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, I, pp. 406–07. Elsewhere, Walpole commented on Sanderson Miller's Belhus, Essex, as being 'in Gothic, and very true, through not up to the perfection of the committee'. *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 183.

66 On the relationship of taste to gender, see most recently Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), esp. chs 6 and 10. For aesthetic and / as sexual aisthesis, see Whitney Davis, *Queer Beauty: Sexuality and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Freud and Beyond* (New York, 2010).

67 For example, *HW Corr.*, xxi, p. 471; Haggerty, *Horace Walpole's Letters*, p. 78.

68 Clarke, 'Horace Walpole's Architectural Taste', p. 237.

69 On Lee Priory, see John Martin Robinson, *James Wyatt: Architect to George III* (New Haven and London, 2012), pp. 220–23. The 'Strawberry Room' is now installed at the Victoria and Albert Museum. *HW Corr.*, xii, pp. 111, 137; *HW Corr.*, II, p. 59.

70 For the Vyne, see *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 639. Elsewhere I have described these familial connections as a manifestation of 'queer family romance' based on Whitney Davis, 'Queer Family Romance in Collecting Visual Culture', *GLQ: Gay and Lesbian Quarterly*, 17.2–3 (2011), pp. 309–29. See Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture, Sexuality and License'.

71 As noted in a letter by Mrs Delany of 29 January 1747 (Newport Public Library, vol. II, f. 105), that was recently published in Ellen T. Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Cambridge, Mass, 2001), p. 19: 'Lord Bateman has sometimes been famous for a male seraglio'.

72 *HW Corr.*, xxx, pp. 307–10 (p. 309).

73 Christie, *A Catalogue*, pp. 6, 8.

- 74 Cannon-Brookes, 'Robert Tournières', p. 143. Bateman was also responsible for transporting and storing statuary for Lord Foley at his family estate at Shobdon Court: HRO, G39/E/71, letter, 1740.
- 75 Walpole and Bateman planned a visit to Redlynch to visit Stephen Fox in 1762. See *HW Corr.*, XL, p. 249. I will discuss these in my forthcoming study. Henry Fox's letters to Charles Hanbury Williams from the 1740s (now Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library, Charles Hanbury Williams Correspondence vol. 48) contain frequent references to Dickie Bateman, Old Windsor, and his tastes in architecture.
- 76 The Fox brothers manifestly shared tastes in architecture, as reflected in their correspondence with Bateman. See British Library, Add. MS 51373A, Holland House Papers, 29 January 1755, ff. 37–38, discussed in Colvin, 'Henry Flitcroft', pp. 1–2.
- 77 See most recently, Lucy Moore, *Amphibious Thing: The Life of Lord Hervey* (London, 2000). For Bateman's connection, see pp. 76, 93. Hervey was described in Alexander Pope, *Epistle from Mr Pope to Dr Arbuthnot* (London, 1735): 'Now high, now low, now Master up, now Miss, / And he himself one vile Antithesis ... / Fop at the Toilet, Flatt'rer at the Board, / Now trips a Lady, and now struts a Lord'.
- 78 British Library, Add. MS 22628, Suffolk Papers, n.d., f. 39: in an unpublished note in Lady Hervey's hand, she cleverly describes 'the Society of Straw-berries' in anthropological terms as a society newly formed with distinctive 'Characters, Manners, Customs, Laws, Entertainments, places of meeting, and habit', which can only refer to the men of Walpole's circle. The note is undated. I am grateful to Eric Weichel for providing this reference. For the time spent by Walpole and Hervey at Bateman's see *HW Corr.*, xxxii, p. 241.
- 79 *HW Corr.*, xxxii, p. 241; I, p. 325. The portrait hung in his flower garden cottage at Strawberry Hill. See Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr Horace Walpole*, p. 509.
- 80 Jill Campbell, 'Politics and Sexuality in Portraits of John, Lord Hervey', *Word and Image*, 6.4 (1990), pp. 281–97.
- 81 Maurice Howard, *The Vyne, Hampshire* (London, 2006), p. 55.
- 82 Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr Horace Walpole*, pp. 435–36, 452–53, 464; Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture, Sexuality and License'.
- 83 Campbell, 'Politics and Sexuality'; Eric Weichel, "'Fixed by so much better a fire": Wigs and Masculinity in Early 18th-Century British Miniatures', *Shift: Queen's Journal of Visual and Material Culture*, 1 (2008), pp. 1–25. Notably Hogarth's 1755 *Election* series was dedicated to a broadly homoerotic circle including Charles Hanbury Williams and Henry Fox. See Bernd W. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Humour in Eighteenth-Century English Art* (Hildesheim, 2010), p. 147.
- 84 *HW Corr.*, x, p. 168.
- 85 See recently, Derek E. Ostergard, *William Beckford 1760–1844: An Eye for the Magnificent* (New Haven and London, 2001). On the sexual valences of Beckford's Fonthill, see Whitney Davis, 'The Site of Sexuality: William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, 1780–1824', in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Robert A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss (London and New York, 2000), pp. 104–16; and Davis, 'Queer Family Romance'.
- 86 See especially Rosemary Hill, "'The ivi'd ruins of forlorn Grace Dieu": Catholics, Romantics and Late Georgian Gothic', in *Gothic Architecture and Its Meanings 1550–1830*, ed. Michael Hall (Reading, 2002), pp. 159–84. On Walpole's crypto-Catholicism, see Mowl, *Horace Walpole*, p. 236, Patrick O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. pp. 14–15.
- 87 I have discussed this aspect of the Gothic in greater detail in Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture, Sexuality and License'. See also Haggerty, 'The Horrors of Catholicism: Religion and Sexuality in Gothic Fiction', in Haggerty, *Queer Gothic*, pp. 63–83; Dale Townsend, "'Love in a convent": Or, Gothic and the Perverse Father of Queer Enjoyment', in *Queering the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes and Andrew Smith (Manchester, 2012), pp. 11–35; Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism* (Cambridge, Mass, 1997); Patrick R. O'Malley, 'Epistemology of the Cloister, Victorian England's Queer Catholicism', *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies*, 15.4 (2009), pp. 535–64; and Patrick R. O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Culture*; Ana M. Acosta, 'Hotbeds of Popery: Convents in the English Literary Imagination', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 15.3–4 (2003), pp. 615–42; Domenic Janes, 'Unnatural Appetites: Sodomitical Panic in Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais*, or, *O the Roast Beef of Old England* (1748)', *Oxford Art Journal*, 35.1 (2012), pp. 19–31; David Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, 25.2 (1982), pp. 181–210.
- 88 Haggerty, *Queer Gothic*, and Hughes and Smith, *Queering the Gothic*.
- 89 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York, 1985), p. 93.
- 90 Harris, *Handel as Orpheus*, pp. 16–20.
- 91 Clara Tuite, 'Cloistered Closets: Enlightenment Pornography, the Confessional State, Homosexual Persecution, and *The Monk*', *Romanticism on the Net*, 8 (1997), p. 22.
- 92 Wendy Frith, 'Sexuality and Politics in the Gardens at West Wycombe and Medmenham Abbey', in

Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850, ed. Michel Cohen (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 289–309; Michael Symes, 'Flintwork, Freedom and Fantasy: The Landscape at West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire', *Garden History*, 33.1 (2005), pp. 1–30. For Hogarth's sexualized portrayal of Dashwood as 'St Francis', see Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2007), pp. 206–16.

93 Here I paraphrase Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism*, pp. 7, 24–25.

94 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, I, pp. 177–78.

95 *HW Corr.*, I, p. 325. For the Malmesbury Chasse, see Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, p. 134, and Simon Caudron, 'Connoisseurs of Champlève Limoges Enamels in Eighteenth Century England', *British Museum Yearbook*, 2 (1977), pp. 9–33 (pp. 16–18).

96 *HW Corr.*, x, p. 168; *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 421. The quasi-religious nature of Strawberry Hill would be lampooned in images by Thomas Rowlandson and others. See Hope Saska, 'Strawberry Hill: The Laughing View', in Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, pp. 249–60, esp. fig. 279.

97 Walpole, *Description of the Villa of Mr Horace Walpole*, pp. 471, 473, 477.

98 *HW Corr.*, xxxv, p. 185.

99 Despite the fact that Mrs Delany had lengthy homoerotic relationships with women, she remained traditional in her views and appears to have felt no solidarity toward men of the third sex or their tastes. Lisa L. Moore, 'Queer Gardens: Mary Delany's Flowers and Friendships', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39.1 (2005), pp. 49–70.

100 Clare Haynes, 'In the Shadow of the Idol: Religion in British Art Theory', *Art History*, 35.1 (2011), pp. 62–85 (p. 83).

101 See above, n. 28.

102 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, I, pp. 176–78; Vulliamy, *Aspasia*, pp. 180–81.

103 Anon., *The Dictionary of Love* (London, 1753), unpaginated.

104 On the fribble in general, see Thomas A. King, 'The Fop, the Canting Queen, and the Deferral of Gender', in *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Cranbury, NJ, 2001), pp. 94–135 (p. 131, n. 26); Thomas A. King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750, Volume 1: The English Phallus* (Madison, WI, 2004), esp. pp. 239–48, and Thomas A. King, *Volume 2: Queer Articulations* (Madison, WI, 2008), pp. 64–69, 128–34, 261–62, 267; Laurence Senelick, 'Mollies or Men of Mode? Sodomy and the Eighteenth-Century London Stage', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1.1 (1990), pp. 33–67; Randolph Trumbach, 'The Transformation of Sodomy from the Renaissance to the Modern World and Its General Sexual Consequences', *Signs*, 37.4 (2012), pp. 832–48 (at pp. 841–42).

105 *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 2 vols (London, 1831), I, pp. 138–39. Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis was of the opinion that Thomas Gray was referred to here, but it is more likely to have been Bateman for the reasons given below. See *HW Corr.*, xiii, p. 39. Walpole's 'fribbliness' was also noted in Thomas Babington Macaulay's famous 1833 critique. See Leslie Stephens, *Hours in a Library*, 3 vols (London, 1892), I, p. 348.

106 From 1747 to 1776 the play was performed at least 125 times at the Drury Lane Theatre alone. See Harry William Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick*, (Carbondale, Ill., 1954), p. 199; William J. Burling and William Franken, 'Garrick's Alterations of "Miss in Her Teens"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 62 (1999), pp. 145–52. For the play itself, see David Garrick, *Miss in Her Teens. A Farce in Two Acts* (New York, 1824).

107 Garrick reprised the 'fribble' to satirize another 'homosexual' man in *The Fribbleriad* (1761), the Irish critic Thaddeus Fitzpatrick.

108 Senelick, 'Mollies or Men of Mode?', p. 43.

109 Edmund Goldsmid (ed.), *The Pretty Gentlemen, or, Softness of Manners Vindicated from the False Ridicule under the Character of William Fribble, Esq.* (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 30.

110 Charles Churchill, *Poems, by Charles Churchill*, 3 vols (London, 1776), I, p. 15.

111 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, II, p. 453.

112 Harwood, *Windsor Old and New*, p. 320. This would not be the last time Bateman was satirized: his effeminacy was the subject of Charles Hanbury Williams's *Isabella; or, the Morning* (1740), in which Bateman is a foppish purveyor of Chinese novelties ('the newest, charming'st, most delightful thing!'). Charles Hanbury Williams and Horace Walpole, *The Works of the Right Hon. Charles Hanbury Williams* (London, 1822), pp. 72–89 (p. 73).

113 Stylistic hybridity was a current concern of Lord Lyttelton. Writing to Elizabeth Montagu in the same year, he expressed concern that his own building project at Hagley Hall, Worcestershire, would be similarly critiqued as 'little better than a gothick house modernized. The Goths will think it too Grecian and the Grecians too Gothic'. Climençon, *Elizabeth Montagu: Queen of the Bluestockings*, II, pp. 148–49. See also William Combe,

Letters of the Late Lord Lyttelton (Dublin, 1785), letter 20, on hybridity in architecture.

114 *The World*, xv (12 April 1753). See also Cooper, *Letters Concerning Taste*, letter IX.

115 In a fiercely homophobic critique of 1764, Walpole was described as a hermaphrodite. For discussion of this passage in the context of architecture, see Matthew M. Reeve, 'Gothic', *Studies in Iconography*, 33 (2012), pp. 233–46 (pp. 240–43).

116 Churchill, *Poems*, I, p. 15–16.

117 I cite here the English translation: Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essays in Physiognomy* (London, 1783), p. 213. On the reception of the text in England, see John Graham, 'Lavater's Physiognomy in England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 22.4 (1961), pp. 561–72.

118 For example, Vaughan Hart, 'From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books', in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, ed. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven and London, 1998), pp. 297–320; and George Dodds and Robert Tavernor, *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass, 2005).

119 My reference to the 'gaudy gout' is a paraphrase of Elizabeth Montagu's 1749 description of Chinoiserie cited in Arthur Oswald, 'Mrs Montagu and the Chinese Taste', *Country Life*, 30 April 1953, p. 1328.

120 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, II, pp. 273, 415. Mrs Delany also commemorated Bateman in her list of flower donors. See Lisa Ford, 'A Progress in Plants: Mrs Delany's Botanical Sources', in *Mrs Delany and her Circle*, ed. Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg Roberts (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 204–23 (pp. 214, 220).

121 Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, trans. Katherine H. Jewitt (New York and London, 2002), p. 177.

122 Thomas Dittelbach, 'Die illusio verspottet sich selbst. Goethes Spiegeltheorem und die Villa dei Monstri des Fürsten von Palagonia', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 68 (2005), pp. 501–20; Didier Laroque, 'Les Miroirs de la Villa Palagonia', in *Miroirs XVe entretiens de la Garenne Lemot*, ed. Jackie Pigeaud (Rennes, 2011), pp. 263–71; Felipe Chaimovich, 'Mirrors of Society: Versailles and the Use of Flat Reflected Images', *Visual Resources*, 24.4 (2008), pp. 353–67; Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Looking Glass Histories', *Journal of British Studies*, 43.3 (2004), pp. 317–38; and for an overview of costs and production in London, see Graham Child, *World Mirrors 1650–1900* (London, 1990), pp. 17–23 and James Parker, 'Rococo and Formal Order in English Furniture', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, NS 15.5 (1957), pp. 129–40.

123 *Windsor and its Environs*, p. 80.

124 'Insignificancy' stood at the centre of the characterization of Fribble in *Miss in Her Teens*: Captain Loveit chides him as 'a species too despicable for correction; therefore be gone; and if I see you here again, your insignificancy shan't protect you'. See also Senelick, 'Mollies or Men of Mode?' p. 53.

125 Porter, *The Chinese Taste*; Stacey Sloboda, 'Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation: Elizabeth Montagu's Chinese Room', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, ed. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 129–48. Walpole himself was not above a jibe at Bateman's Chinese enthusiasms: 'durst I risk shaking ornaments of Bateman-architecture when every Chinese shelf has weak nerves?' *HW Corr.*, XI, p. 52.

126 King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750, Volume 1*, pp. 228–55 (p. 229). See also *The Dictionary of Love*, unpaginated, for the 'Fop' as a category of fastidious, narcissistic masculinity: 'he passes most of his time in ogling himself in a glass, priming his figure, and caressing his curls and toupee'.

127 *Autobiography and Correspondence*, II, p. 25.

128 Davis, *Queer Beauty*, pp. 187–242. On the subsequent nineteenth-century history of these ideas in architectural description, see Michael Hatt, 'Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 8.1 (2007), pp. 105–28.

129 *HW Corr.*, I, p. 325. Walpole's friends also expressed interest in the sale and in Bateman's artifacts. In a letter to Walpole, Cole writes, 'I never wished for money more than at this instant, to enable me to have purchased St Anthony or St Francis over the door at Mr Bateman's, with some other of his relics, and particularly Caducanus, the Welsh Bishop'. *HW Corr.*, I, p. 327.

130 On the Christie's sales of the eighteenth century, see in general Cynthia Wall, 'The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31.1 (1997), pp. 1–25. Bateman's sale is not mentioned.

131 *HW Corr.*, XXXII, p. 241.