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# WILLIAM LINDLEY OF DONCASTER

Angus Taylor

“William Lindley, Architect, and Director of Buildings, who has been an assistant of Mr. Carr of York, in that Business, near 20 years Draws and Designs all Kind of Edificies, from the plain Farm house to the most stately Mansion: Also Designs for Churches, Chapels, Monuments, Temples, Pavilions, Green-houses, Baths, Bridges, Gateways, Stables, etc. — he likewise makes Alterations, additions, and Improvements in old or inconvenient Houses, and designs all Manner of Inside Finishings, as Door-cases, Chimney-Pieces, Cornices, Ceilings, etc., etc. in the genteelist Taste, with proper Directions for the execution of each Design. He hopes the long Study of his Profession, and the great Practice he has had (while with Mr. Carr) will enable him to give entire Satisfaction to those that please to favour him with their Commands, who may depend on having them executed with the greatest Expedition and on moderate Terms. Mr. Lindley may be heard of at his Lodgings, at Mr. Milner’s, Coach-Painter, in Blake Street, York.”

This self-advertisement appeared in the *York Chronicle* of October 18, 1773 and the *Courant* of the next day. It was repeated in September 1774 and seven days later a committee of the Corporation of Doncaster, which had sought the plans and estimates of the playhouses of Stamford, Hull and Scarborough in 1770, asked Lindley for a plan and estimates for a new playhouse. These were ready by the end of the year and the building itself for Tate Wilkinson’s company on September 23, 1776.<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson ran a circuit of theatres and described the “very pretty elegant theatre . . . well filled . . . by the gentlemen of fashion . . . For nobility and genteel families/Doncaster/ is the first attended place of sport in the country.”<sup>2</sup>

William Lindley was born in 1739 almost certainly to the Lindleys of Heath near Wakefield. Joseph Lindley (1756-1808) surveyor and cartographer, who published in 1777 an engraving of Malton’s drawing of Pontefract Market Place, was presumably a relative, for Lindley’s early career with Carr was concerned with drawing and engraving. He made plans, elevations and perspectives of buildings with great precision. His plate of Kirby Hall near York shows the elaborate ceilings in minute detail.<sup>3</sup> His perspectives are frequently enlivened by Rococo groups of strollers as in his interior of Burlington’s Assembly Rooms, York.<sup>4</sup> His bird’s-eye view of Carr’s new stables (1755-58) at Harewood is his earliest known engraving;<sup>5</sup> his latest a multiple view of a Roman altar discovered when digging the foundations of a house in Doncaster.<sup>6</sup>

Lindley joined Carr as his assistant in about 1754 as he was finishing Kirby Hall and about to undertake Harewood. The drawings of the next 20 years give little help in understanding Lindley’s contribution to work going on. By the early 1770’s Harewood was nearing completion and now in his early 30s the time for Lindley’s independence had come.<sup>7</sup>

Standing detached in the market place the Doncaster theatre’s nine-bay, three-storey facade is clearly a reduction of Carr’s Bootham Park Hospital, York (1773-74).<sup>8</sup> Enlarged by its architect in 1814 with a bow and a Tuscan portico, the interior was described as having the ceiling painted as sky, its cove enriched with bronze wreaths and masks (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup>

His success<sup>10</sup> encouraged Lindley to move to Doncaster and the playhouse served his reputation much as the York grandstand<sup>11</sup> had Carr’s 20 years earlier. Cooke of Owston was probably not alone when he promised to employ him “when he should build”.<sup>12</sup>

Little is known of Lindley’s life. He was a bachelor and a Freeman of the Borough (1783). No portrait is known and although he built himself a fine house in the best part of town, he was never, unlike Carr, rich, had no carriage and made even long journeys on horseback. Letters,

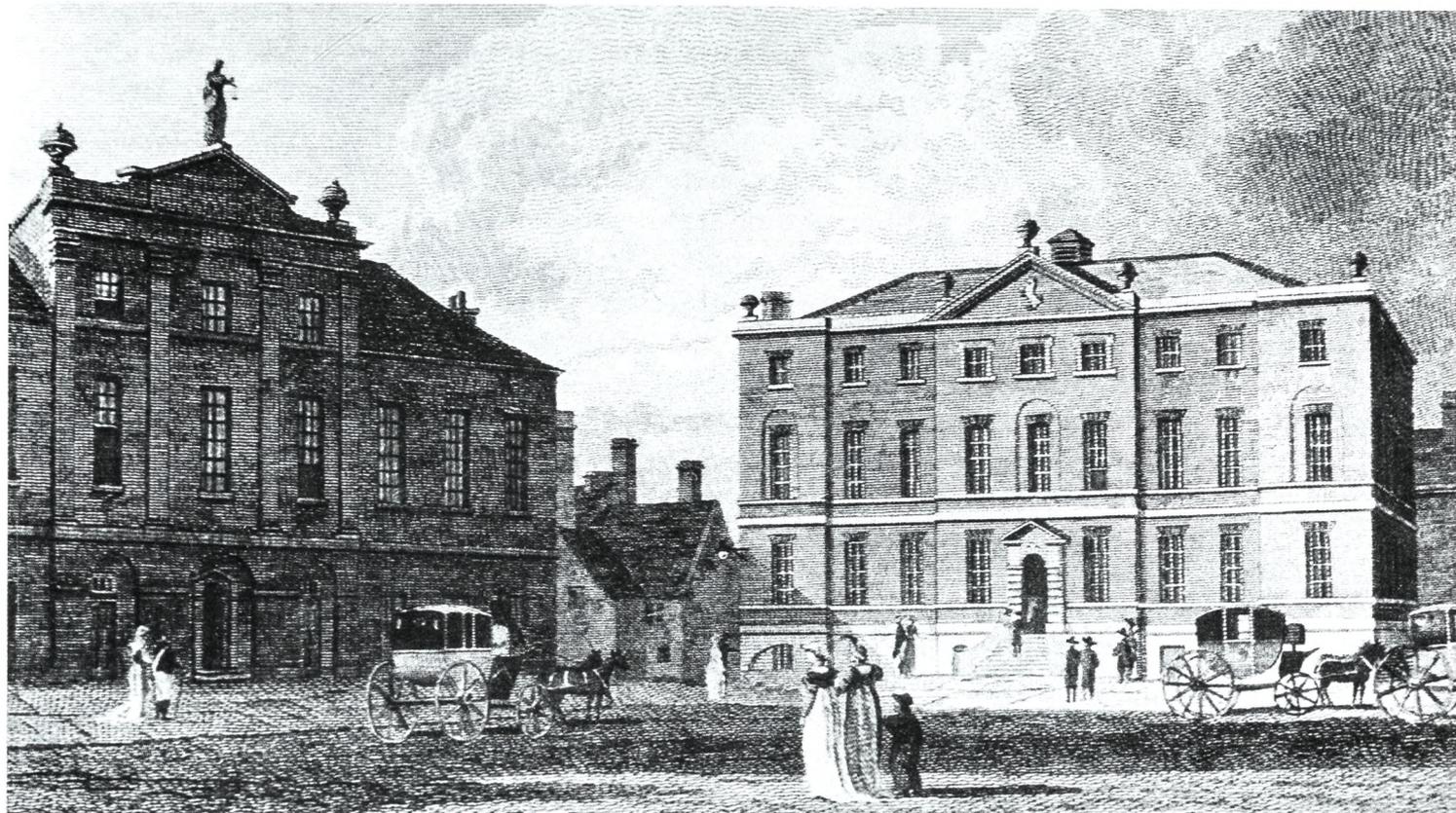


Fig. 1. Doncaster, the Market Place, with Lindley's Theatre, 1775 (right) and Town Hall, 1784, engraved from Miller's *Doncaster*, 1804.

however, show him unexpectedly aware of his qualities, even boastful, and he declined to provide the Feoffes of Rotherham with a design for a new market on the grounds that no architect was needed for such a modest enterprise. "As a gentleman"<sup>13</sup> he was always paid in guineas.

In 1790 Lindley was busy enough to advertise for "an artiled clerk . . . of moral character and good genius"<sup>14</sup> and by 1791 Charles Watson was dealing with orders. His father, John Watson, is best known for his ambitious Foundling Hospital at Ackworth (1759-63).<sup>15</sup> Clerk became a partner and was resident in Wakefield from 1792,<sup>16</sup> to oversee the firm's work there. The partnership was dissolved in 1800 when Watson acknowledged Lindley's "kind offices and friendship".<sup>17</sup> As with Carr and Lindley individual contributions are impossible to separate but here too the senior partner's style prevailed. John Woodhead joined Lindley in about 1810, probably as a business partner, and William Hurst in 1815. William Lindley died on February 28, 1818.

Lindley's clients had conservative tastes and limited means. A product of Carr's office during Robert Adam's time at Harewood, he was clearly indebted to both, as he was to Paine whose early works were in or near Heath and some of which he would alter.

His letters show a familiarity with a wide geographical spread of houses, the Duke of Kingston's at Thoresby; Sir Francis Sykes's at Basildon; Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's in Whitehall (Dover House) and Mr Middleton's at Stockeld.<sup>18</sup> He may have assisted Carr at the first two: the Paine houses he must have visited out of admiration and curiosity. Paine was the source of some of Lindley's favourite motifs: open-based pediments; tall shallow arches enclosing two or three storeys of doors and windows<sup>19</sup> — these two often combined; "floating" cornices and a liking for doubling the outer columns of porticos. The shallow relief of his facades is an Adam characteristic. To the canted bays of Paine and Carr he preferred the bow. Other idiosyncratic details announce his presence, particularly his treatment of the pediment. Sometimes he provides a full complement of columns or pilasters, sometimes the minimum of a slight projection in the wall below. Often, however, the pediment "floats" on the cornice and the elements of both flow into one another. The idea of a temple front is denied. Between these

solutions is the use of one block of stone, flat, scrolled (and fluted) or a demi-baluster as “supports” at the angles of the pediment.<sup>20</sup> This is a feature seen in two houses not otherwise associated with Lindley, the 1778 front of Methley Hall<sup>21</sup> and Crownest, Dewsbury, raised about 1800.<sup>22</sup>

The New Offices at Bretton Hall, Wakefield,<sup>23</sup> of about 1800 confirm these reductionist tendencies. Here the even strips of pilaster and architrave form an abstract grid with a band of fluting doing service as capitals at the inter-sections. The capitals of the doorcase are modified triglyphs complete with guttae met with elsewhere in his work.<sup>74</sup>

Lindley subscribed to Thomas Scaife’s *A Key to Civil Architecture* of 1774,<sup>25</sup> a technical work strong on mathematics but bereft of visual material. No doubt he had a library of pattern books and would have been familiar with them in Carr’s office where a draughtsman copied Langley’s *Gothic Architecture Improved* (1747) as an exercise, and Carr himself annotated Morris’s *Select Architecture*.<sup>26</sup>

A letter to William Turbutt of Ogston Hall, Derbyshire, is revealing of Lindley’s dealings with clients. Stressing “every necessary convenience” with the “least possible expence” he provides explanations of every proposal, giving sound reasons for changing the functions of rooms. He will “take a Ride to give Directions to your workmen on the spot so plain and clear as to require very little personal attendance”;<sup>27</sup> a ride of about 40 miles.

The workmen were “your” workmen at Ogston. For the Corporation of Doncaster Lindley sometimes contracted to build his designs. The playhouse was built “under the direction of the friendly Alderman Rickard”<sup>28</sup> since the architect was still in York. Rickard, a master-carpenter who had worked at the Mansion House for Paine, was referred to in Lindley’s will as “my late respected friend”<sup>29</sup> and was his builder for the Mansion House extensions as late as 1805-06.<sup>30</sup> Before Lindley’s arrival he had prepared plans for the Corporation.<sup>31</sup> Other craftsmen who carried out Lindley’s designs included Thomas Anelay who built the Gaol<sup>32</sup> and, with George Howitt the Dispensary,<sup>33</sup> and J. Lockwood who was paid £105 for building the new Hall Cross.<sup>34</sup> Doncaster carvers worked for Lindley as they did for Carr. Thomas Waterworth carved the figure of Health on the Dispensary<sup>35</sup> and Christopher Theakston the vase and coat of arms for the Gaol.<sup>36</sup>

The success of the playhouse brought Lindley to Doncaster where he remained the Corporation architect for the rest of his life. His new Gaol<sup>37</sup> of 1779 had a canted front with a centre raised over an arch and the Town Hall was “beautified . . . and underwent . . . many alterations”<sup>38</sup> in 1784. With the Grammar School it had been contrived around St Mary Magdalen’s church. The central three bays of Lindley’s re-modelling<sup>39</sup> had pilasters with Adamish capitals on a rusticated basement crowned with a one-bay pediment and vases (Fig. 1).<sup>40</sup> No doubt he provided the architectural detailing for the widened Friar’s Bridge<sup>41</sup> in 1787 and certainly he took down the medieval cross at the top of Hallgate to allow for street improvements in 1793, intending to rebuild it further south. Perhaps it was too decayed, for a new one was designed which combined in its tall shaft 18th-century Gothic and allusions to its predecessor.<sup>42</sup>

In 1793-94 the Corporation built a dispensary<sup>43</sup> to Lindley’s designs. The five-bay building had a centre marked by his favourite arch rising into an open-based pediment. A large proportion of the organising committee were landowners who were or would be his patrons. The reservoir at the top of Hallgate, of about 1785, was of similar design but with a closed pediment.<sup>44</sup>

In 1800 the stonework of the Mansion House was reported “much decayed” and Lindley replaced the pediment by carrying up Paine’s coupled columns as square piers carrying vases to form an attic.<sup>45</sup>

The Corporation’s unfinished school of 1801 at Rossington south of Doncaster, was converted by Lindley into a new rectory,<sup>46</sup> a substantial house. The arch under the pediment is, unusually, segmental.

There followed the enlargement of Carr’s grandstand at the racecourse by the addition of

crosswings with large Venetian windows at either end in 1803-05. At the same time a charming Steward's Stand, a domed octagon on a high basement was built.<sup>47</sup>

In 1805 the Mansion House was enlarged again. An ante-room linked Paine's great room with a new banqueting room, 60ft by 27ft and one of Lindley's finest surviving interiors.<sup>48</sup> The coved ceiling and panelled walls are decorated with husk garlands and vine trails and as in Paine's room the centre of the long wall has a recess for a band, Lindley's being framed by coupled Corinthian columns from floor to ceiling.

Lindley's career with the Corporation ended with the remodelling of his first commission, the playhouse.<sup>49</sup>

Lindley's public buildings elsewhere begin with the Meeting House<sup>50</sup> when the Foundling Hospital at Ackworth became the Friend's School in 1779, and in 1786 he redesigned the entrance area. His Cold Bath had an open-based pediment over an arch.<sup>51</sup>

In 1784 the Earl of Surrey, the Lord of the Manor, obtained a bill in Parliament to improve Sheffield's Market Place.<sup>52</sup> Lindley designed the New Shambles considered both "handsome and extremely convenient", its long low front was very varied in its elements.<sup>53</sup> Also in Sheffield he took his place between 1791 and 1802 in the list of Georgian architects who restored St Peter's, now the cathedral.<sup>54</sup> Further commissions in the town included the Court House and Gaol at Eccleshall for Earl Fitzwilliam in 1791.<sup>55</sup> Two surviving designs both have shallow arches, one being finished with a "floating" pediment, the other a low attic between consoles.

An engraving of St John's church Wakefield of 1791<sup>56</sup> links Watson's name with Lindley's (Fig. 2).<sup>57</sup> Of five ashlar bays, the three-bay centre has paired Doric pilasters on a rusticated base. The porch-tower culminates in a dome and there is an apse at the opposite end.<sup>58</sup> In the old town and again with Watson and following Soane he surveyed the spire of what is now the cathedral in 1796 and recommended rebuilding.<sup>59</sup> At the end of his life, with partners Woodhead and Hurst he was awarded third premium in the competition to enlarge the York Lunatic Asylum, that is, Carr's Bootham Park. Ironically, his old pupil and partner Watson with his new partner J.P.Pritchett got the job.<sup>60</sup>

Thanks to the survival of the Corporation archive Lindley's public work has been both known and supported by documents. Until recently, when previously overlooked bundles of letters to one of his most loyal clients Bryan Cooke of Owston were examined, many of his private commissions were anonymous. A very different picture has emerged through his constant efforts to persuade Cooke to abandon attempts to modernise his old house and start afresh on a new site by recommending his work for others.

In 1826 there were 29 male descendants of Sir George Cooke,<sup>61</sup> the second baronet, living, an amazing number of them in houses designed or improved by Lindley. Moreover, Cooke relatives by marriage, the Eyres of Adwick and Grove, the Thornhills of Stanton in-the-Peak, the Ackloms of Wiseton and so on employed him. The Denisons of Leeds and Ossington, having rejected Soane, were as assiduous as the Cookes, having chosen him, it seems, on the strength of the houses he designed for their steward's brother. The playhouse and other work for the Corporation would have had its effect too, as it did with Cooke. Many, like him, sat on

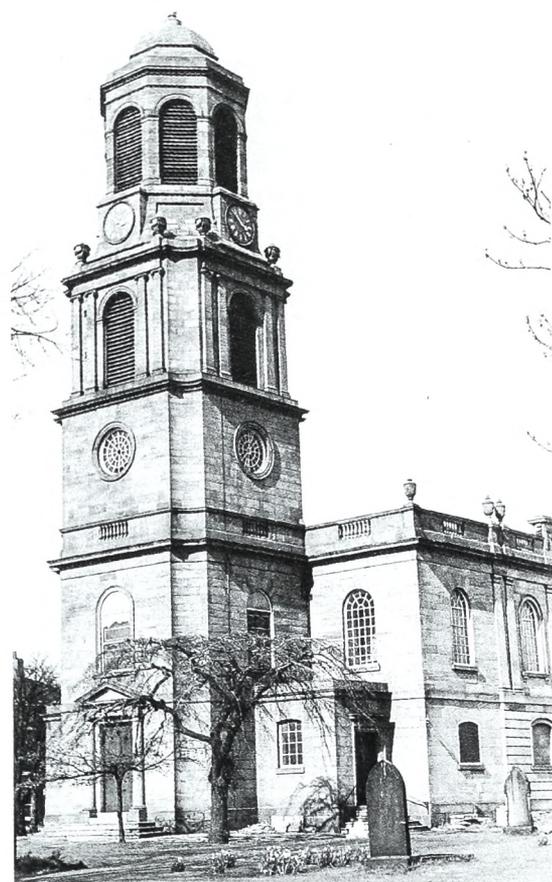


Fig. 2. Wakefield, St John's church by Lindley and Watson, 1791-94, the centre of the "new town".



Fig. 3. Doncaster, 19-21 South Parade, c.1799. Lindley lived in the middle house.

committees. The list of officers and benefactors of the Dispensary published in the Doncaster Gazette of September 22, 1792 reads like a catalogue of Lindley's patrons.<sup>62</sup>

Until about 1900 the Great North Road through Doncaster — Frenchgate, High Street, Hallgate and South Parade—was still a demonstration of William Lindley's impact on his adopted town in the last quarter of the 18th century. Even now the general impression is of that period. His first house, however, was probably Nos. 9 and 10 St George Gate of about 1777 for Solomon Holmes, "built under the direction of an able architect".<sup>63</sup> It has a floating pediment.

Numbers 19 and 20 Haileygate, a palatial house of seven bays with a pediment on blocks for Thomas Bradford<sup>64</sup> of about 1779, was in fact two houses. The Old Bank in the High Street of about the same size was rebuilt by George Whittaker in 1783.<sup>65</sup> The pediment was supported on Adamesque pilasters. Whittaker's brother John built a similar house at 39-40 High Street, also in Adamish taste. The New Bank<sup>66</sup> in Goose Hill for Leatham Tew was given a new facade in 1800 with a Lindley arch enclosing his tri-partite window design (Fig. 6). The same features were doubled in the house for John Jarrett in St Sepulchre Gate of 1781. With shallow bow windows and a segmental carriage entrance, it was a catalogue of Lindley motifs.<sup>67</sup>

As houses spread up Hallgate two more adventurous designs materialised near the top. One at the corner of Princes Street has an elaborate doorcase between full-height bows but round the corner a flat facade with a simple door.<sup>68</sup> Again two masquerade as one. Just beyond in South



Fig. 4. Ferham House, Rotherham, 1783, one of Lindley's least altered houses displaying many of his favourite motifs.

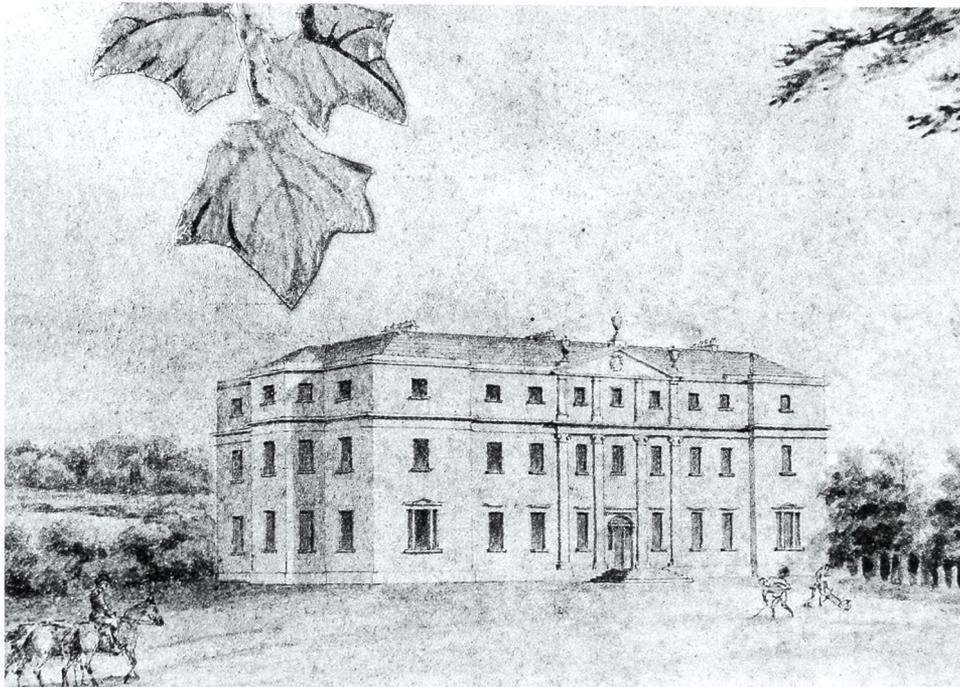


Fig. 5. Allerton Park, near Knaresborough, c.1780, rebuilt in the mid-19th century. The right-hand tripartite window survives (Photograph Joe Rock).

Parade, 19-21 have their doors set back in a columned loggia (Fig. 3).<sup>69</sup> Lindley lived in one and here the Prince Regent stayed when attending the St Ledger. Next to it is a seven-bay house with coupled pilasters, a pediment and a good staircase, probably a Lindley design of 1808.<sup>70</sup> Number 18 is an urbane design by John Rawsthorne<sup>71</sup> followed by more Lindley houses to a large square house with a pediment on Adamish pilasters and segmental carriage entrances.<sup>72</sup> Over the crest of the hill is a villa in a park, Elmfield of 1803 for J.W.Childers of Cantley Hall, with more Adamish pilasters.<sup>73</sup>

When George Hay Drummond, son of the Archbishop of York, was presented to the vicarage of Doncaster in 1785 he found a house in need of repair and invited Lindley to provide plans for a virtually new building with a seven-bay front and a bow towards the river with which he was “well pleased”.<sup>74</sup> For the vicarage at Wath-on-Dearne his design of three bays had a pediment right across.<sup>75</sup>

Number 5, Market Place, Pontefract was given a new, or at least revised facade when it became the bank of Leatham Tew in 1800. The design has been attributed to Paine, of about 1750-55,<sup>76</sup> and it has Paine details but as deployed by Lindley, constantly. But there are details not in common: the top window with its architrave stepped down at the ends in deference to the enclosing arch; the shallow bows and thin glazing bars and little supports under window sills — all indicative of Lindley.

Lindley and Watson’s new church at Wakefield was the centre of a “new town”, the idea of John Lee but under the overall control of the two architects.<sup>77</sup> The terraces, the longest of 49 bays went up from about 1790. Lee’s own house of seven bays with a pediment on blocks and the vicarage at the end of another terrace, paid for by Lee, were probably wholly by Lindley. South Parade<sup>78</sup> another terrace across the town by



Fig. 6. Doncaster, the New Bank, c.1800 with a window of the type used at Allerton.

Lindley may just precede St John's, and Barstow Square, Wentworth House and 136 Westgate among others, are in his style.

Lindley's earliest-known country-house work was at Kirklees Hall, Yorkshire, before 1777, for Sir George Armitage, Bart. The work included the new drawing-room and probably the sashing of the Jacobean north front. His work, and Carr's, was once attributed to Adam.<sup>79</sup>

In 1778 he added wings on either side of Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, for Godfrey Bosville,<sup>80</sup> one containing a gallery, the other a dining-room both with typical plasterwork. For another member of the family, William Bosville, he remodelled Darfield New Hall, Barnsley, in 1787.<sup>81</sup>

He built a complete new house for Pemberton Milnes, Bawtry Hall, Yorkshire,<sup>82</sup> in 1780. The seven-bay east front has a pediment on blocks over an arch and a tri-partite porch moved from the south front when the entrance was changed.

Ferham House,<sup>83</sup> Rotherham, of 1783 for Jonathon Walker, the ironmaster, is one of the least altered of his houses and displays many of his favourite motifs and has good plasterwork (Fig. 6). Becca Hall<sup>84</sup> near Leeds of 1785 is almost submerged in additions and Newhill Hall, Wath-on-Dearne (1784-85) for John Payne<sup>85</sup> has totally vanished. It had a tall centre scanned by pilasters and one-bay pavilions at the ends of straight links. The interior is said, inevitably, to have been in the Adam style.

It was in 1785 that Lindley wrote to Bryan Cooke "I wish to show you Sir Thomas Frankland's plan"<sup>86</sup> and soon after that Frankland had "so liked the double glass doors of Lord Gallway's new house . . . that he consented to have his new house in the same way which is built accordingly".<sup>87</sup> Frankland's house, Thirkleby Hall, Yorkshire, was built to James Wyatt's designs in 1785-87 but here is Lindley directly involved and changing Wyatt's design on Sir Thomas' whim. A simple explanation could be that he was the executant architect.

"Lord Gallway's house" was Allerton Park near Knaresborough, here attributed to Lindley. The fourth viscount settled there on inheriting in 1774, letting Serlby Hall.<sup>88</sup> Perhaps about the time of his marriage in 1779 he decided to rebuild the rather incoherent old house. The new building of nine bays and three storeys had an attached portico of pilasters continued above the cornice to a pediment.<sup>89</sup> The projecting end bays had tripartite windows in the architect's peculiar manner. The house was virtually rebuilt again in 1850 but one such window survives<sup>90</sup> and is identical with others in his buildings and designs.<sup>91</sup>

Galway sold Allerton to the Duke of York in 1786<sup>92</sup> and moved to Serlby, and in 1788 the Duke brought in Henry Holland whose "supervising improvements"<sup>93</sup> would have been to the interior; the exterior showed nothing of Holland's style.<sup>94</sup>

Lindley worked in Knaresborough itself — perhaps the "north" he was on his way to in 1785.<sup>95</sup> He designed a house for a Dr Hutchinson<sup>96</sup> of some notoriety which may have been in Kirkgate where he had two grottoes cut into the rock above the river.<sup>97</sup> The grandest houses in the town are, however, in York Place where number 7 and the detached Fysche Hall both have, *inter alia*, pediments on scrolls. The design of the front of Coghill Hall<sup>98</sup> for Sir John Coghill, just north of the town, are used again at Ackworth House the next year. The dining room survives, bowed at either end and with fine plasterwork.<sup>99</sup> Lindley may have been its architect.

John Denison was one of the richest merchants of 18th-century Leeds.<sup>100</sup> His steward, Robert Arthington, had a brother, John, for whom Lindley designed numbers 5, 6 and 7 Park Place in the "new town" of Leeds in 1777.<sup>101</sup> They form a unified composition of a three-storey pedimented house flanked by two storey ones. They were finished in 1778 for Arthington's widow. Something about the houses or possibly Lindley's expeditious ways must have attracted Denison's attention for on succeeding to the family wealth it was William Lindley who was, by April 1786, "exceedingly busy"<sup>102</sup> planning a new house for him at Little Woodhouse, a hamlet to the west of Leeds. Masons were advertised for in late July.

The Austenish-sounding Woodhouse Park, later Denison Hall,<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 7) was the most



Fig. 7. Leeds, Denison Hall, 1786, John Denison's palatial town house.

palatial of Leeds merchant houses and effectively a country house.<sup>104</sup> In April 1787 Lindley was “in haste . . . I doubt not of getting completely finished within the space of twelve months . . . the greatest work for the time that was ever performed at least in this county”.<sup>105</sup> The five-bay, three-storey centre has a pediment on Ionic pilasters on an arched basement and is extended by bow-fronted two-storey attached wings. A stray elevation of 1786 in the Owston designs is unrelated to any of them but very close to Denison Hall. It was probably part of Lindley's campaign of persuasion against Bryan Cooke. The house is entered at the side allowing an uninterrupted sequence of entertaining rooms across the south front. The hall leads through a screen of columns with garlanded capitals to the domed oval staircase hall based on Carr's at Norton Place (1776). The design for the staircase rail is in the Denison papers.<sup>106</sup> Upstairs, a coved gallery has two screens of Corinthian columns but elsewhere sparse decoration is a sign of Denison's waning interest in business and Leeds. His attention was turning to Ossington Hall, Nottinghamshire, and a career in Parliament. Denison Hall was for sale in 1791.<sup>107</sup>

At almost the same time as Denison Hall was building, Sir John Soane produced plans for a prospect tower and a temple for Ossington in April 1786, and in October Denison sent for designs for altering the early-18th-century house.<sup>108</sup> None of these seem to have been seriously considered and in 1789 it was Lindley who prepared four sets of designs to the same end, the first of over 200 he produced in the next 25 years (Fig. 8).<sup>109</sup> In contrast to the impetuous progress in Leeds, Denison now dragged his feet. There was no comprehensive rebuilding. Drawing room and hall were remodelled in about 1790 and wings were added to the garden front perhaps as late as 1809, but when everything was swept away in 1961 the house was still recognisably the house the Denisons had bought.

A few miles away is Markham Hall where Edmund Cartwright of Doncaster moved after 1772 on his marriage to a member of the Whittaker family for whom Lindley made many designs. He evidently gave the house a new front and added the drawing room, a replica of that at Ferham House.<sup>110</sup>

It was probably when Lindley was working at Ackworth School in 1786 that he designed Ackworth House nearby. The south front has a tripartite door and Venetian window within a super arch under an open-based pediment, all between canted bays. The interior has decoration like that at Denison hall.<sup>111</sup>

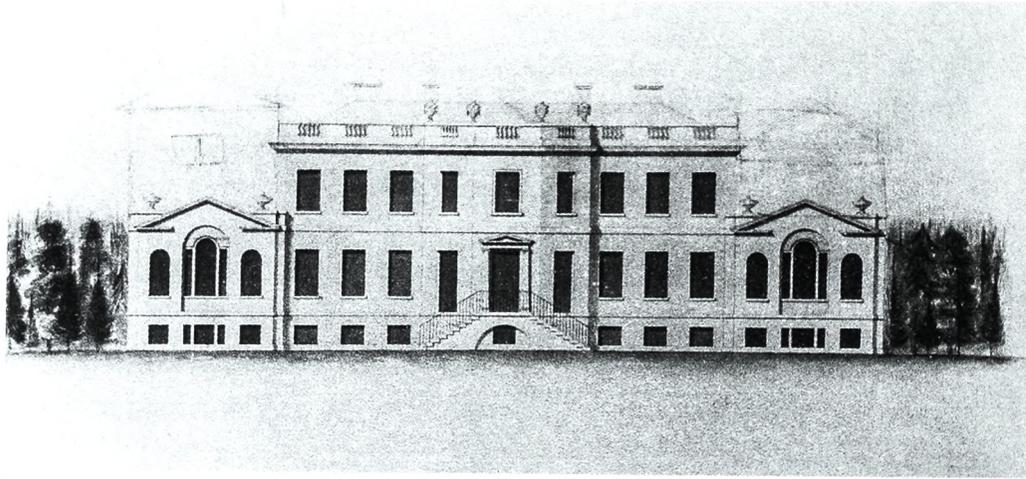


Fig. 8. Ossington Hall, Nottinghamshire, one of Lindley's many designs (1805) for John Denison. The wings are like those carried out (Denison papers, courtesy of Nottingham University Library).

Engravings published in 1788 and 1792 show the changes Lindley made to Wiseton Hall, Nottinghamshire, for Jonathan Acklom, Cooke of Owston's cousin, in about 1787. The "new wing"<sup>112</sup> he mentions is a large open court to the east of the house and house and wings have enrichments to the cornices.

For St Andrew Warde, Cooke's brother-in-law, Lindley added a wing with two three-storey bows to Hutton Pagnell Hall, north-west of Doncaster in 1787.<sup>113</sup>

Cooke himself at this time was resisting Lindley's pleas to build a new house on a new site "with good prospect"<sup>114</sup> and persisted in improving the old. Even a one-sided correspondence shows neither client nor architect was happy with the result. In 1790 the architect triumphed: a fresh start was agreed and, as so rarely with Lindley, survives as built. It filled the blank page in Repton's Red Book of 1792 inscribed "here I intend to insert a view of the house as it will appear",<sup>115</sup> that is, with a pilastered Ionic attached portico and a bow on the return front.

Why the Horsfall heiresses of Storthes Hall near Huddersfield chose Lindley to design their new house in 1787-90 is not known.<sup>116</sup> This large severe house in a splendid Pennine valley is complete with its original offices.

Fryston Hall was largely rebuilt for Richard Milnes M.P., brother of Pemberton Milnes of Bawtry, in 1790. The attached Ionic portico and windows set in arches suggest Lindley, perhaps with Watson, was the architect.<sup>117</sup>

Anthony Eyre of Adwick-le-Street Hall, Doncaster, bought Grove Hall, Retford, Nottinghamshire, and had the house extended by Carr of York. His son Anthony Hardolf Eyre succeeded in 1788 and added a new drawing-room and two lodges. Lindley was paid 50gns in 1794.<sup>118</sup> Adwick was bought by Thomas Bradford who divided the estate, sold the hall to George Wroughton in 1791 and built The Woodlands on the western half to Lindley's designs.<sup>119</sup>

William Turbutt was a client who was unhappy with Lindley's proposals and his plans for altering Ogston Hall, Derbyshire, of 1795 were largely set aside.<sup>120</sup> Lindley was gratified, however, by the praise of "two great connoisseurs of houses"<sup>121</sup> the Rev. William Mason and his friend the Rev. Mr Alderson of Eckington, for Thundercliffe Grange, Ecclesfield, Yorkshire. He had finished the house which they told him was "the most comfortable and convenient . . . they ever saw"<sup>122</sup> for the fourth Earl of Effingham in 1795. A large square house, the garden front has a pediment between two full-height bows: the dining-room a Venetian screen with a segmental arch.

Soon after, the architect dined with Alderson, like Mason "very eminent for his taste in laying out grounds"<sup>123</sup> who repeated his praises. At about this time Alderson gave his rectory at Eckington a new facade attributable to Lindley on stylistic and personal grounds.<sup>124</sup>

Alderson's brother Thomas (c.1745-1806), "considerably improved" Sunderland House, Tickhill, with a perfect five-bay pedimented facade, for, like his brother's rectory at Eckington,

the house behind is older.<sup>125</sup> The patron of the living of Tickhill, Francis Foljambe of Osberton House, Nottinghamshire, consulted Lindley in 1792 and the stable court is probably his.<sup>126</sup> If he altered the house his work disappeared when it was rebuilt by Wilkins in 1806.

1799 saw Lindley again in Derbyshire, at Stanton-in-the-Peak, where he added what is in effect a five-bay square villa to Bache Thornhill's house. Of fine ashlar, the front has a three-bay pediment and a semi-circular porch forming a balcony for the segmental tripartite window above.<sup>127</sup>

Thomas Beaumont of Bretton Hall, Wakefield,<sup>128</sup> commissioned Lindley in about 1800 to build the new wing considered earlier and a large stable court. A drawing shows a Gothic hermitage in a rock fissure: a Classical folly in such a position was perhaps the preferred design.<sup>129</sup>

Cantley Hall, Doncaster, was remodelled in 1802 for John Walbanke Childers. Lindley's design<sup>130</sup> shows a giant Adamish portico, reduced to a porch of coupled columns in execution. The finest rooms are behind the canted bays: the drawing room with an elaborate ceiling and the dining room whose screen of Corinthian columns now stands pointlessly in the hall.

The seven sets of designs (1812) for Campsmount, Campsall,<sup>131</sup> for George Cooke-Yarborough were to have enlivened Carr's plain house by raising the wings and binding them to the centre with strings and emphasising the centre with pediments or groups of vases. Nothing of this was done, merely minor internal changes.

Lindley replaced Robert Brettingham in providing designs for Gautby Hall, Lincolnshire, in 1803.<sup>132</sup> The house of about 1700 had a high basement and his task was to modify the inconvenience of this. He proposed to either move earth to conceal it or to build a grand staircase inside to improve the approach. Wings would be raised to give an even roofline and the library remodelled. Old photographs — the house went as long ago as 1874 — show that little was done externally.<sup>133</sup>

The architectural history of Campsall may remain a mystery now that the house has been allowed to disappear. Carr and Lindley both worked for Bacon Frank and the latter designed the elegant entrance screen and lodges in 1804.<sup>134</sup>

Lindley with his partner John Woodhead worked for the Galways again this time at Serlby Hall for the fifth Viscount in 1812.<sup>135</sup> Paine's pediments and wings were removed and the centre was enlarged, given a Lindley arch, three-bay pediment and porch of coupled columns. Some of Paine's rooms were retained but Lindley greatly increased the accommodation at the expense of external drama.<sup>136</sup> Two villas on the estate, Bishopfield and the Mantles, were probably built at the same time.<sup>137</sup>

Lindley is a persuasive candidate for several country houses with no known architect. If Papplewick Hall, Nottinghamshire, is by him, as is sometimes suggested<sup>138</sup> none of the details agree with his other work. References to Newhill Hall being "longer than Mr. Cookes of Streetthorp" and having the "stone hammer-dressed like Mr. Cookes Streetthorp"<sup>139</sup> make one wonder if he designed that house. Dinnington Hall, Yorkshire, has a suite of late-18th-century rooms,<sup>140</sup> most notably a circular one, the designs for which may have come from Lindley. The case for his authorship of the three sumptuous rooms added to Paine's Hickleton Hall near Doncaster must rest partly on the fact that they were built for Godfrey Wentworth. He assumed the name on inheriting and was the second son of Sir George Armitage of Kirklees, Lindley's early patron.<sup>141</sup>

Lindley has been particularly unfortunate in the number of both houses and public buildings that have been demolished, but in spite of that emerges as a considerable architect with a range almost as great as he claimed in his advertisement of 1773.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to the owners of houses and designs, in particular to the Davies-Cooke family whose papers revealed so many anonymous houses to be by Lindley. Howard Colvin has made many contributions and given patient advice.

## NOTES

1. A Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster, IV, 241-49. Lindley was paid 25gns for designs and £1,500 for erecting them. He had "all the materials to purchase". (Doncaster Archives, letters from Lindley to Bryan Cooke, Esq. of Owston, Yorkshire, DDDC/H/1/1/2, June 16, 1785).
2. Tate Wilkinson, *The Wandering Patentee*, London, 1795, 241.
3. Engraved by Basire, (York City Art Gallery). The house was designed by Lord Burlington and Roger Morris but Carr was the builder and fitted up the interior.
4. York City Art Gallery. "The ceiling was always plain despite the rococo detailing in Charles (sic) Lindley's engraving." *RCHM York*, V, 1981, 102. The copperplate at York shows that he engraved and etched on the same plate and added washes afterwards.
5. Wakefield Art Gallery, Gott Collection, Vol.10. The date 1748 is an error.
6. *Ibid.* Vol.2. Engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, 361.
7. William Belwood, also Carr's assistant, gave notice of his independence in the York Courant in 1774 and 1775.
8. Lindley may well have worked on the designs just before leaving Carr's office.
9. *Doncaster, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire Gazette*, September 22, 1815.
10. The demolished theatre at Pontefract, 1782, can be attributed to Lindley on stylistic grounds.
11. Drawn and engraved by Lindley, n.d.
12. Owston letters -/2, June 16, 1785.
13. H.E.C. Stapleton (ed.), G.G. Pace and J. Day, *A Skilfull Master-Builder, York*, 1975, 39.
14. *Yorkshire Journal*, July 17 and 24, 1790. Watson had been Lindley's apprentice since April 14, 1788. (PRO IRI/33, p198).
15. H. Thompson, *A History of Ackworth School*, 1879, 31-32.
16. *York Courant*, March 27, 1792.
17. *Doncaster, Nottingham and Lincoln Gazette*, March 7, 1800.
18. Owston letters -/2, August 17, 1787.
19. D. Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture*, London, 1978, 103, suggests that the shallow arches in the Wakefield area may have been introduced by Lindley.
20. The device appears in B. Langley, *The Builders Director*, 1747, 130, on a chimneypiece.
21. The Beauties of England and Wales; Harrison, *Picturesque Views of Seats*, Yorkshire, 1788, 54, states that Carr was the architect. In its details Methley (dem.) most resembles Garrett's Kippax Park across the valley, also with ogee arches and ogee-roofed bays.
22. For J. Haigh who bought the house in 1798. The house had a plain facade, which made baluster supports the simplest solution when adding a pediment to an existing building, as Keene did at Bowood, 1755-60.
23. For Col. T. Beaumont, New Wing, stable court (dem.), and garden buildings c.1800, Bretton Hall, BEA/C2/B40/17; Arthur Oswald, "Bretton Hall", *Country Life*, May 21 and 28, 1938.
24. E.g. Ferham House, Rotherham. A usage associated more with Rome around 1600 than late-Georgian England. It appears at Ferham House, Eckington Rectory, Sunderland House, Fysche Hall and the Red Lion Conisborough.
25. The only other architect subscriber was Peter Atkinson of York.
26. Charles Mason in 1768, signed by Carr. Both are in the Soane Museum.
27. Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock, Turbutt papers P44 and 48.
28. Wilkinson, *op.cit.*, 241.
29. Sheffield Archives, Baxter papers, 61926.
30. Doncaster Borough Records, Cash Books, ABG/7/4, May 1805-February 1806.
31. E.g. for the miller's house, 1776, Calendar IV, 241.
32. Calendar IV, February 3, 1780.
33. Cash Books, -/3, August 31, 1793.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Calendar IV, 261.
36. Cash Books AB6/7/2, October 10, 1780.
37. Drawing in Sheardown collection, Doncaster Art Gallery.
38. E. Miller, *A History of Doncaster*, Doncaster, 1804, 185.
39. Lindley contracted to build for £280, Tomlinson, *op.cit.* 233.
40. On demolition in 1846 the complete Romanesque church, 125ft long was revealed, J.E. Jackson, *A History of the Ruined Church of St Mary Magdalenes*, 1853.
41. No architect is named but Lindley was paid 19gns "for attending to business", August 16, 1791; Cash Books -/3. John Gott the bridgemaster, (Colvin *op.cit.* 354) was paid "for attending to the business of the Friars Bridge", Cash Books -/3, May 1, 1790.
42. Cash Book -/3, August 31, 1793. Originally enclosed in an elegant iron cage, Sheardown collection.
43. G. Swann, *The Doncaster Royal Infirmary*. Doncaster, 1973, 13-15.
44. A drawing by Frederick Nash (Doncaster Art Gallery) n.d. shows it in this form. It was engraved for Miller's Doncaster (1804). But Calendar IV November 14, 1793 says "now begun" and another view shows a straight top and the date 1794.
45. Calendar IV, 265. Windows were lowered to provide balconies and decorative garlands added.
46. *Ibid.*, 268-69, "according to Mr. Lindley's plan".
47. Stapleton ed., *op.cit.*, 41, "pulling down the ceiling by Mr. Lindley's order" (dem. 1853 and 1969).
48. Calendar IV, 271. P. Leach, "Doncaster Mansion House, Yorkshire", *Country Life*, July 6, 1978; *Doncaster, Nottingham and Lincoln Gazette*, September 5, 1806.

49. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1815.
50. Thompson, *op.cit.*, 31-32. (Replaced).
51. Hailstone. The design occurs elsewhere, including the Denison papers, DE2P 130, 1799.
52. Sheffield Archives, Arundel Castle ms., P425329 (Dem.).
53. Gale and Martin, *Directory of Sheffield*, 1787, frontispiece.
54. R.E. Leaders Notes 141, p.39, Sheffield Library.
55. Sheffield Archives, Fitzwilliam papers, MP 3G.
56. Soane Museum.
57. Lindley announced in the *York Courant*, March 27, 1792 that Mr Watson was now resident in Wakefield.
58. Lindley was paid for his design for a new tower for St Giles church, Pontefract (1790), but Thomas Atkinson's was built. St Giles Vestry Books, West Yorkshire Archives, Wakefield (J.E. Whitehead).
59. J.W. Walker, *Wakefield*, private, 1939, I, 260.
60. York Health Archives, Bootham Park Hospital records. Contracts show that Watson and Pritchett were the architects.
61. J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, 1828-31.
62. H. Marland, "Doncaster Dispensary 1792-1867", *Doncaster Library Services Occasional Papers* 3, 1989, fig.3.
63. Sale notice quoted in E.L. Braim, *Doncaster Civic Trust News*, February 1991 (Dem.).
64. For Thomas Bradford (c.1799) for whom Lindley worked on several occasions. It has a pediment on blocks.
65. Owston letters -/3, March 17, 1796. An explanation of how a design for Cooke was delayed because it was "covered by Mr. George Whittaker's plans — they are the fifth set . . . including the Doncaster Bank . . . 1783". His brother's house may have been one of the set.
66. Stylistic attribution and compare the Leatham Tew bank in Pontefract. E.L. Braim, *Civic Trust Newsletter*, April 1987.
67. Where Lindley discovered the Roman altar in excavating the basement. Illustrated in *Doncaster Coronation Souvenir*, 1911.
68. Baxter papers, 61926.
69. *Ibid.*
70. P. Coote, *The Salutation Inn*, Doncaster, 1991, 1 and 2, for Ben Turner; Denison papers DE2P 73.
71. A pupil of James Wyatt and related to local gentry, he returned to Doncaster to supervise his Sheffield Royal Infirmary.
72. For John White with a later porch.
73. Stylistic attribution and work already done for the Childers. Bays and and porch later.
74. Plan and elevation, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 387; Owston letters -/2, July 21, 1785.
75. Doncaster Archives, P52/2/B, 1793, dem.
76. P. Leach, *James Paine*, 1988, 204. Lindley designed the Doncaster branch in the same year.
77. Linstrum, *op.cit.*, 103-04.
78. *Ibid.*
79. The house is an indecipherable masonry puzzle. D. Nortcliffe, "The Restyling of Kirklees Hall", 1753-90." *Huddersfield Archaeological Society*, 1982; "Kirklees Hall", *Country Life*, August 22, 1908.
80. Hull University Library, Macdonald papers, DDBM/32/7.
81. Plan at Bretton Hall, REA/C2/MPD17/12. (In ruins).
82. Stylistic attribution. Milnes only daughter and heiress married first Peter Auriol Hay Drummond, brother of the vicar of Doncaster and second the 2nd Viscount Galway. Alterations by Demaine and Brierley, c.1890. (Stapleton, (ed.) *op.cit.*, 64).
83. Owston letters -/2, June 16, 1785.
84. Elevation, Hailstone Collection. For W. Markhall, secretary to Warren Hastings.
85. Owston letters -/2, June 16, 1785. A copy elevation of Lindley's design exists.
86. Presumably Wyatt's. Owston letters -/2, July 21, 1785.
87. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1786.
88. University of Nottingham Library, Galway papers. Estimates and accounts end in 1773. The Large Calendar, p.348, has only minor references to Allerton (1782).
89. Clive Aslet, "Allerton Park", *Country Life*, January 16, 1989 and letter of June 1, 1989.
90. At Ferham House, the New Bank, Doncaster and designs for Ossington Hall (Galway papers, DE2P, 33, 1795).
91. An engraving of the library shows an apsed room typical of him. ( Hailstone Collection).
92. Galway papers, 10234, release, October 17, 1786 to the Duke of York. (Incomplete).
93. *The World*, March 28, 1788.
94. The stables and temple may be by Lindley too. There are similar designs for temples for Ossington (private collection).
95. Owston letters -/2, June 16, 1785.
96. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1787.
97. E. Hargrove, *The History of the Castle, Town and Forest of Knaresborough*, 5th, ed. York, 1798, 42.
98. Engraving, 1788, in W. Angus, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain and Wales*, London, 1787. Coghill and Bacon Frank, Lindley's patron at Campsall Hall, Yorkshire stood as Tories at the election of 1784. (B.Jennings, (ed.), *A History of Harrogate and Knaresborough*, Huddersfield, 1970, 355.) Rebuilt in 1856 and now known as Conyngham Hall.
99. The chimney piece in the dining room is a replica of that at Carr's Norton Place, Lincolnshire.
100. R .G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, Manchester, 1971, *passim.* and "Ossington and the Denisons", *History Today*, March, 1968.

101. Owston letters -/2, August 20, 1787. Finished design for a fireplace and sketch plan of drawing-room with alcoves in Leeds Archives, Acc. 3249.
102. Owston letters -/2, April 30, 1787.
103. R. Hewlings, "Denison Hall, Little Woodhouse, Leeds", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 61, 1989, 173-180; A.C. Taylor. "A Footnote to Richard Hewlings", *ibid.*, 63, 1991, 220-21.
104. It stood in a small park and was approached by way of a lodge and a sinuous drive.
105. Owston letters -/2, April 30, 1787.
106. Denison papers, DE2P 73.
107. Denison's brother, Edward Wilkinson stayed close to Leeds and doubled the size of Potterton Lodge (Hall) almost certainly to Lindley's design.
108. R. Hewlings, "Soane's Designs for Ossington", *Architectural History* 27, 1984; H.A. Johnson, "The Architects of Ossington Hall", *Thoroton Society*, 84, 1980.
109. Denison papers and private collection.
110. Cartwright introduced machine weaving to Doncaster in 1787 (Miller, *op.cit.* 154; C. Hadfield, *Historic Notices of Doncaster*, 2nd series, 1868, 315). He married the daughter of Richard Whittaker: the family who later employed Lindley (C. Hadfield, *Historic Notices of Doncaster*, 2nd series, 1868, 315).
111. Stylistic attribution and see Coghill Hall, above.
112. Harrison and co., *Picturesque Views of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in England and Wales*, London, c.1788; J. Throsby, *The New Copper Plate Magazine*, London, 1792; Owston letters - 2, September 15, 1787
113. The rendering was removed in about 1880 in a search for medieval features. A design is said to exist.
114. Owston letters -/July 16, 1785 and August 17, 1787, "I so deep despair of every building a new house for you." There is a break in the Owston letters from 1787 to 1796 when the new house was finishing.
115. In Doncaster Art Gallery.
116. Wakefield Library, Goodchild loan mss., Box M55/2.
117. Damaged by fire in the 19th century and partly rebuilt. Demolished 1931, the columns are incorporated in a church in Castleford.
118. H.A. Johnson and A. Cox, "The Architecture of Grove Hall", *The Thoroton Society*, 1985, 83. The authors interpret the 50gns as payment for the lodges only, an exorbitant fee. It must cover the other work where the craftsmen, Holiday and Waterworth, were working for Lindley at Owston at the same time.
119. Stylistic attribution and the Bradford connection.
120. Designs in the Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock, Turbutt papers, P44.
121. Owston letters -/3, August 6, 1796.
122. *Idem.*
123. *Idem.*
124. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, pt. 11, October, illustration. Alderson was vicar of Tickhill near Doncaster and in 1777 presented the buttercross, a domed Tuscan rotunda to the town (inscription) perhaps to Lindley's design.
125. Conveyance of 1861. (Information from Mr T.W. Beastall). Undated.
126. H.A. Johnson, "Osberton House", *Thoroton Society*, 1983, 65.
127. Bache Thornhill married Margaret Eyre and so was related Lindley's patrons, the Armytages, Cookes and Hay-Drummonds.
128. Bretton Hall, Beaumont papers, BEA/C2/B40/17. Other estate buildings like the school and almshouses have blank arches.
129. Other follies include a circular temple (1802) at Parlington Park, Yorkshire for Sir Thomas Gascoigne. Two designs in Leeds archives, Gascoigne papers, GC/MA 55.
130. Hailstone Collection. Altered 1930 by Garside and Pennington of Pontefract, designs at the house.
131. Designs in the possession of C.H.Cooke-Yarborough. T.Connor, "The Building of Campsmount", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 47, 1975, 121-32.
132. Brettingham's and Lindley's designs are at Newby Hall, Yorkshire.
133. Other unexecuted designs include Ouzlethwaite, Barnsley, 1794, Sheffield Archives, Elmhirst papers EM 1751-2; The Oaks, Norton, Derbyshire, 1811, Sheffield Archives, Oaks deeds, Vol 1.
134. Hailstone Collection. A finished drawing of the centre is in Wakefield Library, Goodchild loan mss., M93. Barnsdale Lodge, 1784, a large Gothic summerhouse has a plan initialled J.C. (John Carr) but the elevation is signed William Lindley, delineavit, Buckinghamshire Record Office, Drake papers, D/DR/4/15 and 19.
135. A. Oswald, "Serlby Hall", *Country Life*, March 26, April 2, 9, 1959; Galway papers, 12788, basement plan, 1810.
136. The brickwork was rendered white.
137. The Mantles is almost a copy of Cantley vicarage of 1812 by Lindley and Woodhead. (York, Borthwick Institute (MGA1812/1). Bishopfield is larger and prettier.
138. *Nottingham*, N. Pevsner, revised Elizabeth Williamson, *Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth, 1979, 287. The odd form of the battlements on the church, however, are strikingly like designs in the Denison papers, DE2P 76, 78, 80.
139. Owston letters -/2, June 16, 1785 and March 18, 1786. Cooke had plans from Lindley when he inherited Campsmount in 1802.
140. For Robert Athorpe.
141. Hunter, II, 389.