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# THE 'BEST TURNED' HOUSE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Giles Worsley

Southampton or Bedford House, as it later came to be known, was one of London's great aristocratic houses, but it has largely been ignored by architectural historians, perhaps because it was demolished as long ago as 1800. Few accounts of mid-17th-century British architecture refer to it more than tangentially, and those that do assume that it was built after the Restoration.<sup>1</sup> Careful examination of the documentary sources, however, shows that Southampton House was begun between 1638 and 1640 and built, although probably not fitted out, before the Civil War. This makes it one of the most substantial new houses to be built in England during the reign of Charles I and raises intriguing questions of authorship, for the sophistication of the design compares well with the works of Inigo Jones and John Webb.<sup>2</sup>

The house stood on what was then the northern edge of London, in the parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields, to the north west of Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was a detached *hotel particulier* with rustic, piano nobile and attic storeys, hipped roof and dormers. Sir Roger Pratt noted that the whole building was of brick.<sup>3</sup> Its south front, facing a forecourt and (from the 1660s) Bloomsbury

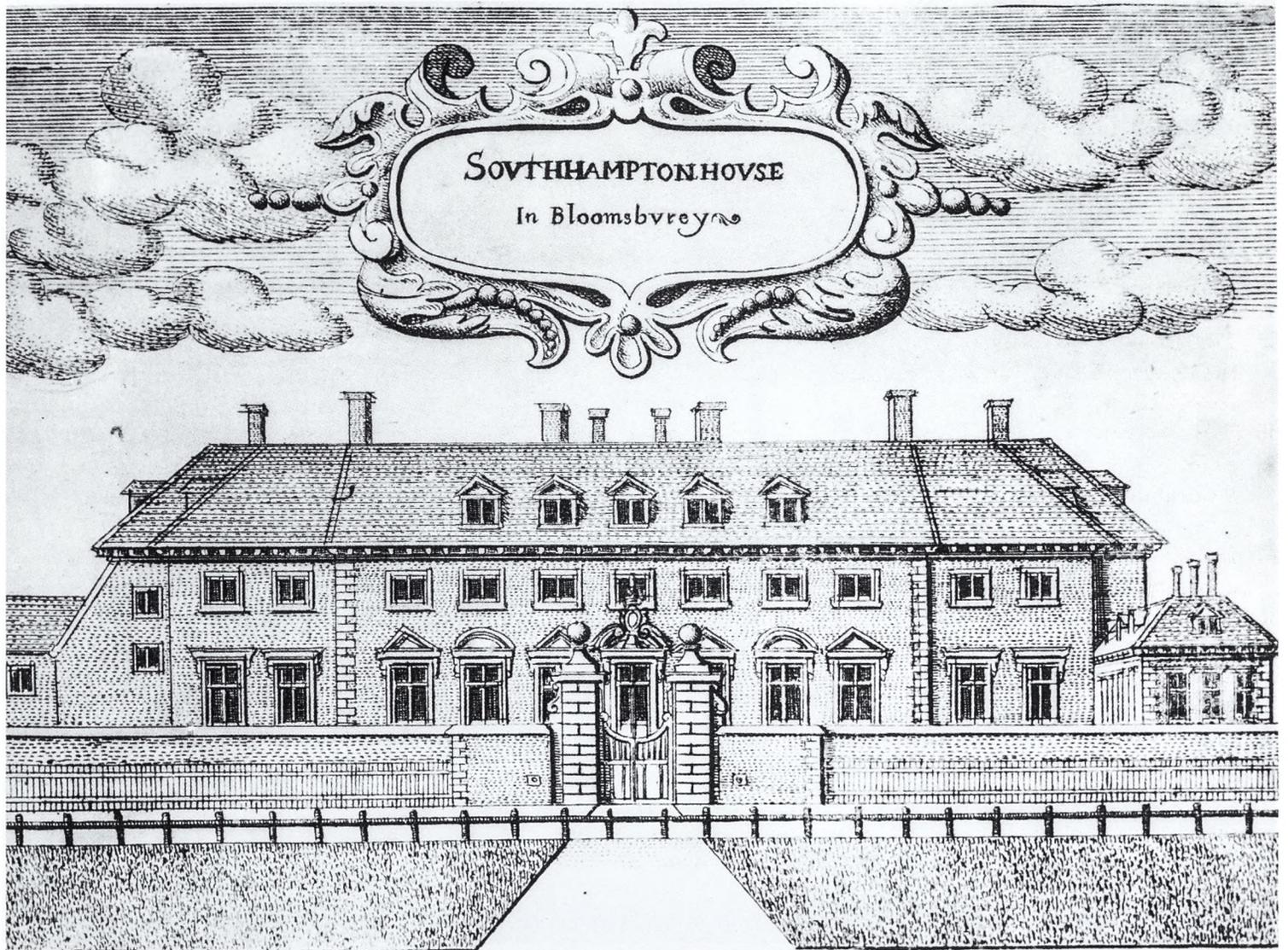


Fig. 1. John Dunstall, Southampton House from the south, before 1693. *British Library*.

Square beyond, was eleven bays wide, the central seven bays slightly projecting. The north front, which looked over open country, was thirteen bays wide, with the central seven bays flanked by slightly projecting three-bay pavilions.<sup>4</sup> At each end was a single-storey, half pedimented bay with a niche set in an aedicule.<sup>5</sup>

Both fronts were similarly ornamented, with a channelled rusticated base, quoins marking the main vertical divisions of the facade and a modillion cornice. On the entrance front (Fig. 1) triangular and segmental pediments alternated over the central windows of the piano nobile, with a segmental broken pediment over the front door. On the north front (Fig. 2) the door had a segmental pediment, with triangular pediments over all the piano nobile windows.

The first known illustration of the house, an etching of the south front used by John Dunstall (who died in 1693) to illustrate his treatise on the Art of Delineation,<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 1) shows that the wing on the east side of the forecourt already existed by that date, but not that to the west. It also confirms the early presence of such details as the alternately triangular and segmental pedimented windows of the central block, the quoins and modillion cornice.

No illustrations are known of the interior of the house and only one plan showing the piano nobile survives, in the archives at Woburn Abbey.<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 3) This must predate 1733 when the west wing was added. As no major structural work is known to have been carried out to the house by this date, it probably shows the core of the house as built. The plan reveals that the central seven bays of the house formed a double pile, with a square entrance hall, flanked by a pair of two-bay rooms, leading to a slightly shallower room of similar width on the garden front, again with a room on either side. The main staircase, a relatively simple structure ascending in a single run and then turning back on itself, lay to the west of these rooms, and a large room at the east end of the garden front could have been the chapel. What appear to be the kitchens were placed in a wing at the west end of the house. Two service courts flanked the main courtyard. That to the east housed the stables. The plan also reveals that the courtyard was

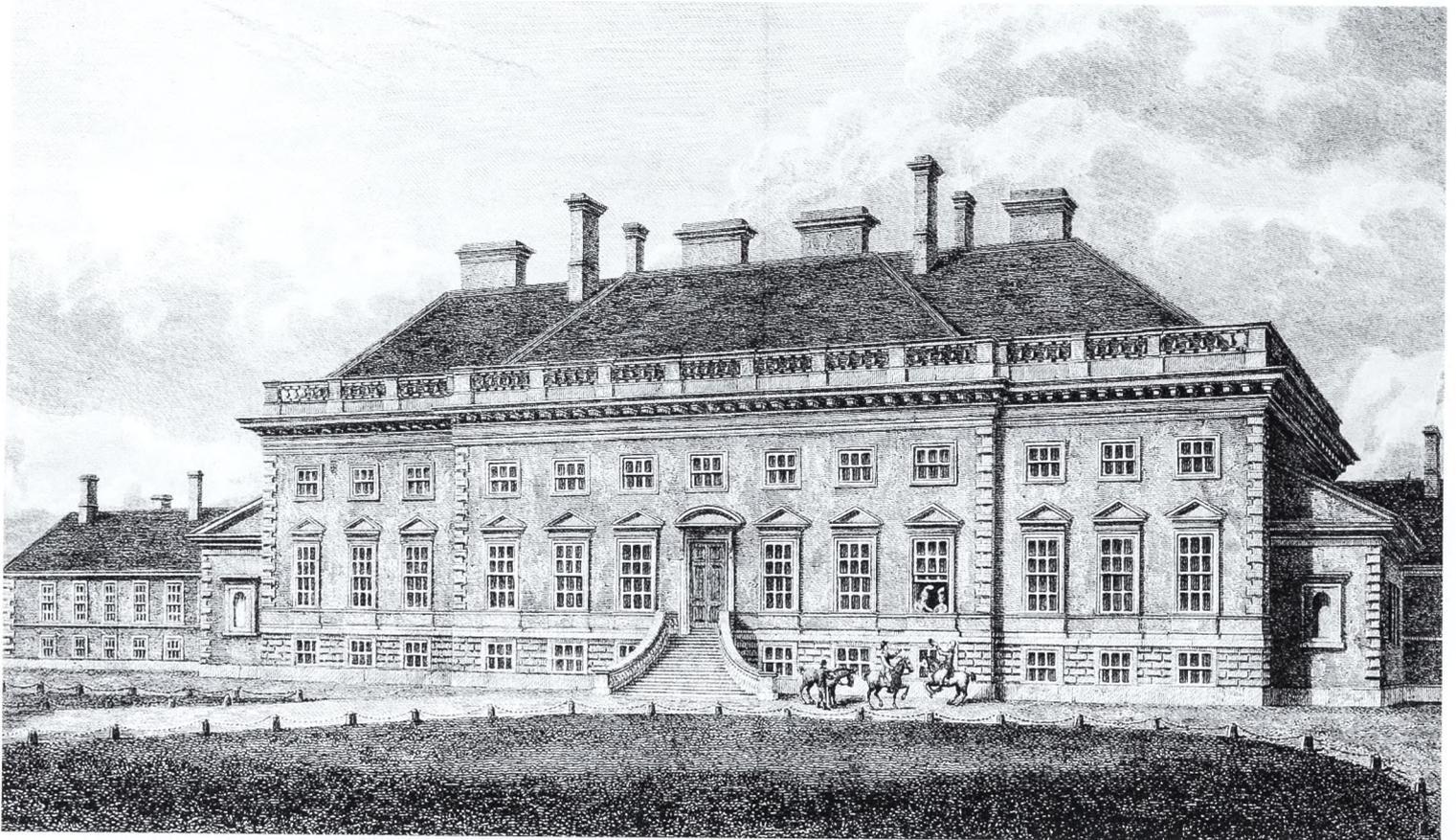


Fig. 2. Bedford House from the north, shortly before 1800, engraving by Howlett, published by R. Wilkinson, 1822. *British Library*. The draughtsman has mistakenly projected the central seven bays. These were in fact recessed.

surrounded on three sides by a raised walk, and that the entrance was flanked by a pair of lodges.

The tale of building is a sketchy one, for no bills survive from this date, but clues lie in the various licences which the 4th Earl of Southampton (1607-67) had to acquire from the Privy Council in order to build in London; in the details which emerged when he compounded his estate during the Commonwealth; and in a statement made to Henry Cromwell by the man who appears to have been the builder.

From his father, whom he succeeded in 1624, the earl had inherited the position as a leader of the moderate aristocratic opposition to the Crown, and he was singled out as a victim of royal exactions. In 1635 the Forest Court effectively confiscated much of his Beaulieu estate by declaring it to be ancient royal forest, and in 1640 the earl was to emerge as a leader of the constitutional reformers who were determined to place limited restrictions on royal power in the future. Trapped between two groups of extremists, he changed from a moderate Parliamentarian in 1640 to a reluctant Royalist in 1642.<sup>8</sup>

In 1638 the earl received a licence to demolish old Southampton House at the north end of Chancery Lane<sup>9</sup> and sell off the house and garden for housing.<sup>10</sup> He also received a second licence to build the new Southampton House in Bloomsbury, an estate which his great-grandfather had acquired.<sup>11</sup> A ban on all new building by the Star Chamber in October 1640

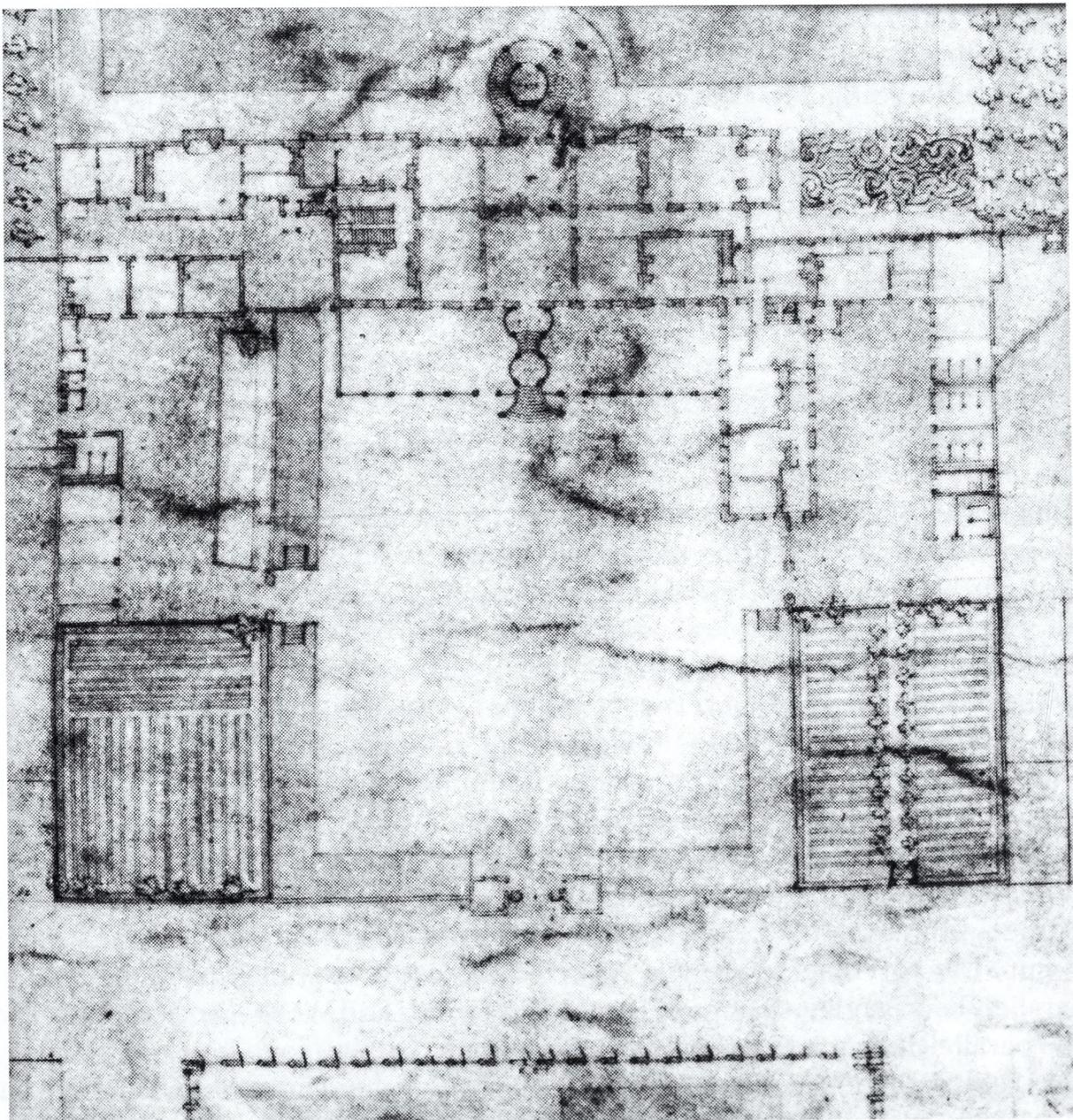


Fig. 3. Plan of Bedford House, before 1733. *Trustees of the Bedford Estate.*

brought work to a halt, but in December the earl received a confirmatory licence.<sup>12</sup> This records the first licence for demolishing and developing the site of old Southampton House and notes that the new houses had been “erected and built with brick and stone or one of them according to the terms of our proclamations”. It then refers to the second licence to enclose part of Long Field in Bloomsbury and build a mansion there, and states that the Earl of Southampton had accordingly begun and was proceeding with the said building when work was stopped in October 1640. This shows that Southampton House was begun before the Civil War, although it is unlikely that the earl had done more than complete the shell when with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 he left London for his Hampshire estates to campaign for the King.

That Southampton House predates the Civil War is confirmed by details of the Earl of Southampton’s estates drawn up in November 1646 to assess how much he would have to pay to compound for them. Discussing Bloomsbury, these stated that the earl was “seised in fee simple of a house there intended for his own habitation but not finished, which will cost £2,000 to finish it, and will not then be worth to be let £100 pa”. It also noted that “He has sustained damage in the new house in Bloomsbury caused by putting in prisoners as it is estimated by workmen £1,060.”<sup>13</sup> Prisoners were probably kept at Southampton House because this lay within a parliamentary fort, whose bastions survived into the 18th century.<sup>14</sup>

Final proof that Southampton House had been built before the Civil War comes in a letter written by Daniel Thomas to Henry Cromwell soliciting building work in Ireland in 1657. Thomas writes that “My education and practice from my youth untill this warr hath binn with the the best of undertakers for Buildinges in London and cann make knowne my former performances befor I cam thence. As the buildings of the Inn of Chancery called Furnifall’s Inn, Holborne, South Hampton house behind Gray’s Inn...”<sup>15</sup>

If Southampton House was built in the years immediately before the Civil War, who was the architect? For its date it was a very advanced building. It must have been one of the first detached *hotels particuliers* in London, a fashion more usually associated with the Restoration houses along Piccadilly, Clarendon House, Berkeley House and Denham House. Southampton House was also unusual for a pre-Civil War house for its long and low form, which it shared with Leicester House in Leicester Square, built between 1631 and 1635,<sup>16</sup> and with the south front of Wilton House, Wiltshire, rebuilt from 1636. In the 1630s most fashionable newly built houses seem to have been compact three storey blocks, whether in London, such as Jones’s house for Sir Peter Killigrew in Blackfriars, or in the country, such as Chevening House and St Clere, Kent.<sup>17</sup> The development of the more horizontal house is a predominantly post-Restoration phenomenon, to be seen in the houses of Sir Roger Pratt such as Kingston Lacy, Dorset, and Horseheath, Cambridgeshire, although anticipated in the 1650s at Coleshill House, Wiltshire. In plan, the relationship between the square entrance hall and the rectangular saloon beyond also anticipates the layout of Sir Roger Pratt’s influential post-Civil War houses. The particular proportions, the use of a rustic, piano nobile and half-storey chamber floor, and the details - the design of the windows, the use of aprons below them, the quoins and channelled rustication of the basement storey - are all very sophisticated for a pre-Civil War date.

The most obvious place to look for an architect is Inigo Jones’s office, or someone strongly influenced by Jones. We still know too little about the work of such architects as Edward Carter, Nicholas Stone and Peter Mills to assume that it could not be their work. But it seems unlikely that the obscure Daniel Thomas was the designer, although he may have been the builder. There are clear parallels between Southampton House and Jones’s and Webb’s work. In plan the central block can be paralleled by the first floor of the unexecuted design for a house at Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire, by Webb dating from after 1644.<sup>18</sup> Both have the same relationship of a three-bay centre formed of a larger and a smaller room, flanked by a pair of rooms on either side, with the staircase lying at right angles to the main axis. The facade composed of a rustic, piano nobile and

attic with dormers above was anticipated by Jones's astylar design for the Prince's Lodgings at Newmarket of 1619.<sup>19</sup> Sir Peter Killigrew's house in Blackfriars of c.1630<sup>20</sup> also has rustic, piano nobile and attic, as does Wilton. Simple modillion cornices can be found in Jones's designs for Lord Maltravers of 1638.<sup>21</sup> Alternately segmental and triangular pediments were used over the windows on the Banqueting House, but a closer comparison is with Webb's Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, of 1654, where alternately segmental and triangular pediments are used over windows placed above aprons, with attic windows above, flanking a front door with a broken segmental pediment holding an oval cartouche. Lamport has channelled rustication (also used by Jones at the Banqueting House and the Queen's House, Greenwich), although for the whole facade, and its corners are defined by quoins. There are also strong parallels with Coleshill, in particular the channelled rustication of the rustic, the windows sitting on aprons, the modillion cornice, the use of dormers and the emphatic chimneystacks. A niche set in an aedicule similar to those on the north front of Southampton House can be found among Jones's designs for the windows for the Strand wing of Somerset House.<sup>22</sup> Without documentary evidence it is not possible to attribute Southampton House with any certainty, but the closest parallels lie with the circle of Inigo Jones, and in particular with the work of John Webb.

After the Civil War, the Earl of Southampton was in no position to repair or complete the house. On top of the depredations of war, as a Royalist he was forced to compound for his estates in 1646 for the substantial sum of £6,466.<sup>23</sup> Following the execution of Charles I the earl retired to live quietly in the country.<sup>24</sup> The Restoration changed everything. Six volumes of accounts for 1660-63 among the Portland Papers show that Thomas Bayley was paid £5,096 15s for repairing and finishing the house.<sup>25</sup>

The Restoration also brought the creation of a new town around Southampton House. In 1661 the earl sought a licence to tear down the old wooden houses in Bloomsbury and create a new square, a grand forecourt to Southampton House.<sup>26</sup> By October 1664 Samuel Pepys was able to stroll "through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn", which he described as "a great and noble work".<sup>27</sup> The following February John Evelyn "dined at my Lord Treasurer's, the Earl of Southampton, in Bloomsbury where he was building a noble Square or Piazza, a little towne". Although he considered the house far too low - this was to be a common complaint - he was impressed by "some noble rooms", "a pretty Cedar Chapel" and the "good air".<sup>28</sup>

Southampton died in 1667, and Southampton House and the Bloomsbury estate were left to his second daughter, who in 1669 married William Russell (1639-83). Russell was the second son of the fifth Earl of Bedford and became heir to the title in 1678. He never succeeded, for he was executed in 1683, following the Rye House Plot. His widow lived on at Southampton House until she died, aged 86, in 1723. The Earls - or Dukes as they became in 1694 - of Bedford had their own town house, Bedford House in the Strand, but this was demolished and replaced by housing in 1705 by the 2nd duke (1680-1711) who joined his mother at Southampton House.<sup>29</sup>

This now became the Bedfords' London seat, and Gladys Scott Thomson records that various rooms on the main floor, including the Great Saloon, were redecorated for the new duke and duchess by Mr Pink the painter, and mentions a bill from Mr Hertock for straining, varnishing and enlarging the two pictures of architecture for the doors of her Grace's room.<sup>30</sup> According to Scott Thomson the walls of virtually every room were hung with tapestry or leather hangings, and this is confirmed by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough who visited the house in 1732 and mentioned the large dining room with its set of blue and gold leather hangings and its chimneypiece which had cost £90. She considered this excessively elaborate.<sup>31</sup>

The second duke's occupation was brief, for he died from smallpox in 1711 leaving a three-year old son. This was the third duke (1708-32), a notorious spendthrift who came of age in 1729. Luckily for the family, he died in 1732, leaving his worthy younger brother, the fourth duke

(1710-71), during whose life Southampton House finally achieved the importance it deserved. It was during these years that Horace Walpole commented on the excellence of the balls; that it was the political focus of the Bedford House Whigs; and that it was nearly sacked in 1765 by an angry mob of Spitalfields weavers and had to be garrisoned.<sup>32</sup>

After nearly a century Southampton, or Bedford House as it was now known, must have been in need of a major overhaul, and between 1733 and 1736 the substantial sum of £19,581 3s was spent on “building and repairing Bedford House, Including the New Wing, the New Stables, the New Kitchen Wing, Pavement of the Court Yard, The Walls about the Court, the New Paddock Wall and other alterations”<sup>33</sup> (Figs. 4 and 5). The new west wing facing the courtyard balanced the existing wing. At the same time smart new walls to the forecourt with Palladian details and entrance piers topped by sphinxes were set up, and, according to the Duchess of Marlborough, the house was stuccoed.<sup>34</sup>

The Duchess, who believed Bedford House to be by her favourite architect, Inigo Jones,<sup>35</sup> considered it “the handsomest, the most agreeable and the best turned that ever I saw either in town or country. There is everything in it that can be wished.” With its improvements she reckoned that “I am sure there is not so good a house anywhere in the world. There is more convenience than in any house that I ever saw; and the two courts on each side of the house for the stables and offices are better placed than ever I saw in town or country.” Her only wish was that the duke would replace the single flight of external stairs with a double flight like her own at Marlborough House.<sup>36</sup>

No architect is mentioned in the account, but Sanderson the bricklayer is clearly John Sanderson who was currently building Stratton Park, Hampshire, for the duke, and who had also drawn up plans for rebuilding Woburn,<sup>37</sup> so he was probably in charge. Others involved include

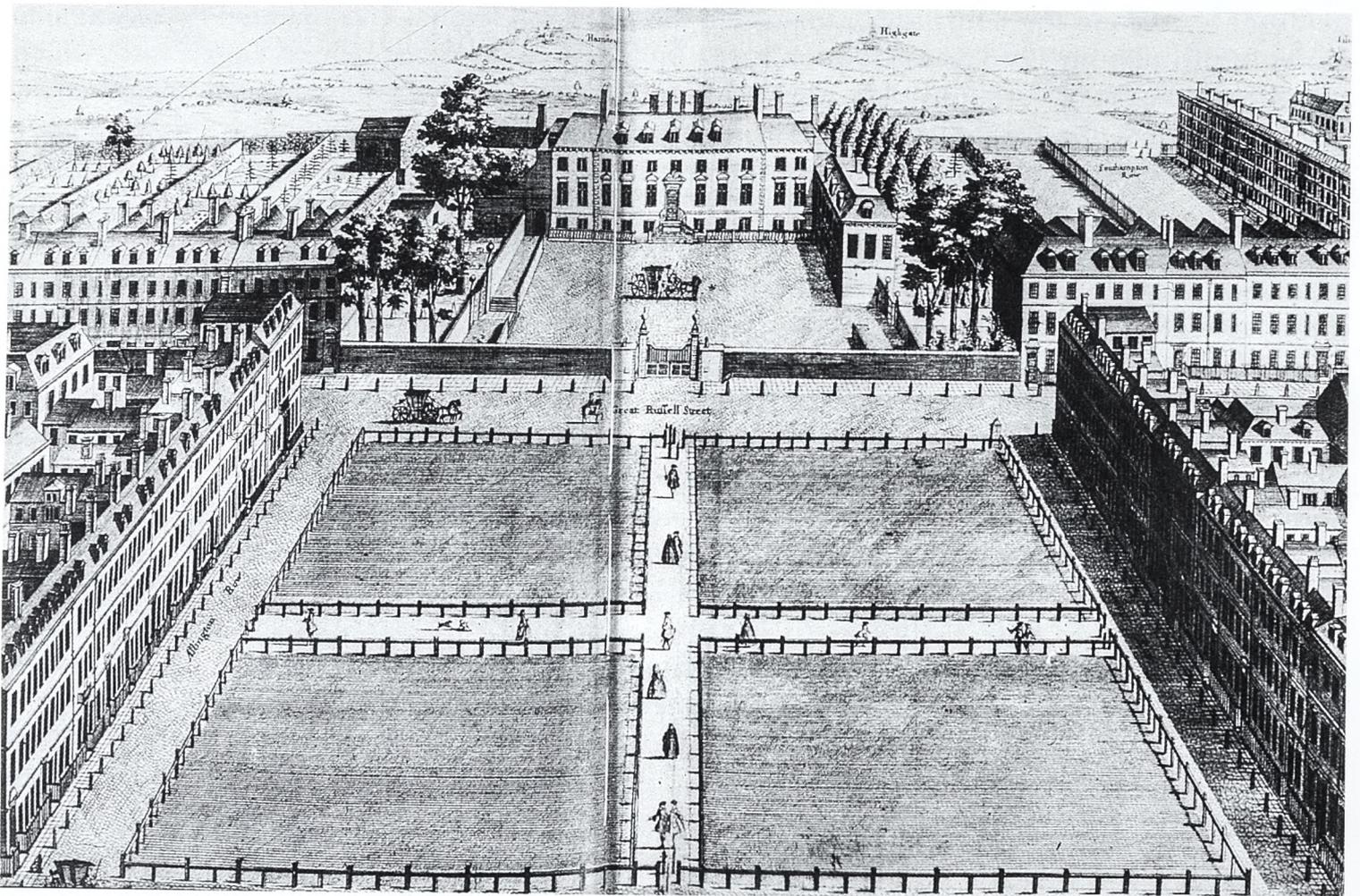


Fig. 4. Bedford House from the south in 1727.

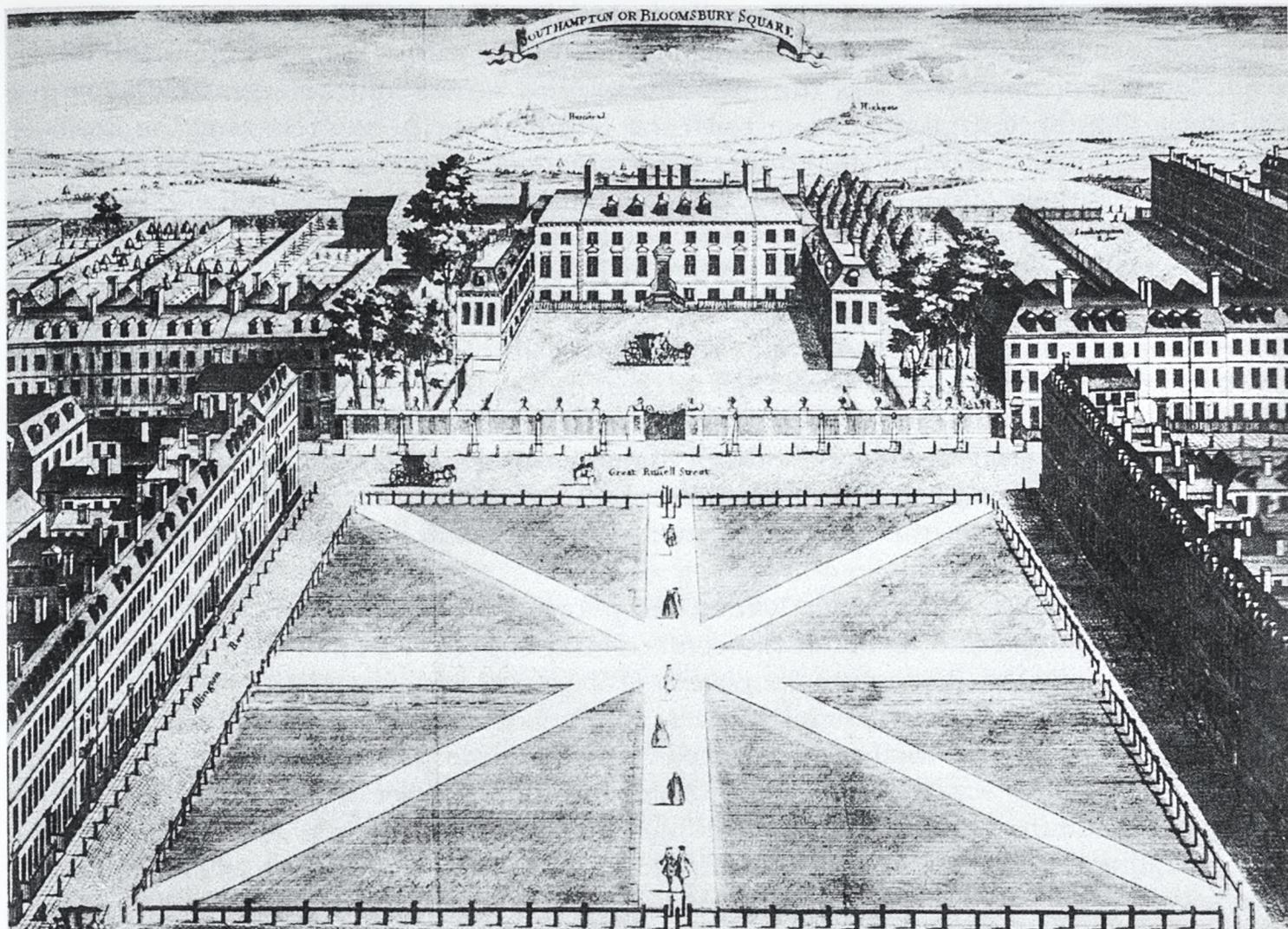


Fig. 5. Bedford House from the south in 1746.

some of the leading craftsmen of the day, such as the well-known stone mason John Devall; the plasterer William Wilton, who was also employed at the nearby Foundling Hospital;<sup>38</sup> Bason the carver, presumably John Bason who worked in several London churches and for William Kent at Kew;<sup>39</sup> and Mansfield the plasterer, presumably Isaac Mansfield who was also employed at Kew<sup>40</sup> and a host of other houses.<sup>41</sup>

Unfortunately the bill is only a summary so we can get little idea of what was done, although the costs - which do not include new furniture and fabrics such as wallpapers or hangings and curtains - suggest a very major, indeed perhaps a complete, internal remodelling. Three payments are particularly interesting, £547 to John Thornhill, painter, for painting and gilding in the Long Room; £324 10s to Paul Lafranchini the Italian stuccatore for work between January 10 and February 16, 1736; and £415 to Michael Rysbrack for a marble chimneypiece. These would seem to be for what later became known as the ballroom, whose great chimneypiece was probably by Rysbrack. This room, which is likely to have been in the new wing, with its elaborate stuccowork by one of the finest Rococo plasterers, its vast chimneypiece by the greatest sculptor of the day and its copies of the Raphael cartoons which had been bought at Sir James Thornhill's death, was clearly intended to compete with the finest rooms in London.<sup>42</sup> It would be interesting to know how much of the furniture described in the 1771 inventory was commissioned at the same time - the four statuary marble slabs supported by carved and gilt dolphins<sup>43</sup> almost certainly would have been - and who was responsible for executing them.

Minor repairs occurred in 1748<sup>44</sup> and again in 1758 when Henry Flitcroft's bill for much more extensive work at Woburn included "giving some directions at Bedford House for Outside

repairs and viewing the ground in Bloomsbury which was to be rebuilt and making a General Plan for the same and some particular Designs of houses for part of the said ground etc".<sup>45</sup>

Much more extensive was the major renovation carried out between May 1764 and Christmas 1765 by Stiff Leadbetter, in particular reroofing the house, removing the dormers, adding a balustrade and pulvinated frieze and installing new staircases, including the main stairs which were now built of stone. The total cost of the work came to £8,119 2s 10d, with Leadbetter being paid £100 for surveying, making plans and giving directions to the labourers, as well as carrying out the carpenters and joiners' work.<sup>46</sup> 1764 also saw the beginning of a long relationship between the furniture maker Paul Saunders and Bedford House. From 1767 until his death in 1771 Saunders submitted a regular bill every few months - for items such as the "rich carved compass sideboard with 4 legs and rail'd gilt in burnished gold for dining room", which cost £19. The quarterly bill for January 1770 was £188 0s 4d showing that substantial sums were still being spent on furnishings a year before the death of the fourth duke. Nor did the connection come to an end with his death and that of Saunders in 1771: regular accounts were submitted from Saunders and Brackman, the firm which continued his practice, to the dowager duchess at Bedford House until 1783.<sup>47</sup>

Following the death of the 4th duke an exceptionally detailed inventory was made.<sup>48</sup> It lists, for instance, every piece of china in the confectionary cupboard and all the plate, which was valued at £3,929 8s 11d. By contrast the plate at Woburn was valued at £2,401 4s. Even so, when there were balls at Bedford House more silver, and indeed more servants, had to be borrowed from other nobles.<sup>49</sup> The inventory also makes clear that the bulk of the Duke of Bedford's collection of pictures was kept at Woburn. Apart from the fine set of Canalettos in the Little Eating Room and the Great Dining Room (which were probably acquired deliberately for these settings, as they were bought in 1732-35) and the Thornhill copies of the Raphael cartoons, there were few paintings of importance at Bedford House. The occasional reference to a Carracci, a Caravaggio and a Claude is nothing to compare with the number or quality of paintings at Woburn. The inventory also lists the rooms of the office - three rooms and an inner room, together with the chamber over the office and the closet at the bottom of the stairs - an important reminder that Bedford House, not Woburn, was the centre of administration for the Bedford estates.

Another minority followed, as the fourth duke's eldest son had died hunting in 1767, and his grandson, the fifth duke (1765-1802) was only six. It was during this minority that the development of Bloomsbury was set on a new course by his grandmother, with the development of Bedford Square and Gower Street.<sup>50</sup>

The young duke came of age in 1786, and, following family tradition, moved in Whig circles. He was an associate of Charles James Fox and a friend of the Prince of Wales. So it is not surprising that the following year he turned to Henry Holland to modernise the house. Interestingly, this did not necessarily mean complete renovation. Among the volume of record drawings from Holland's office in the RIBA is one for a "New Cornice and Frieze to be added to [an] old Glass Frame" in one of the drawing rooms at Bedford House.<sup>51</sup>

This is likely to be the East Drawing Room, where work was clearly extensive, and very fashionable, as can be seen from the detailed Christie's sale catalogue of 1800 which records an excellent modern chimneypiece, five new white silk blinds, a pair of brilliant and perfect French pier glasses and chimneyglass, a pair of semi-circular pier tables, with tops and shelves of statuary marble, ormolu mouldings, rich carved white and gilt frames, a large white and gilt French stuffed sofa, three sets of French window curtains, and superb 12 light cut glass and ormolu chandelier, profusely ornamented with cut drops.<sup>52</sup>

But the steady northward growth of London was placing Bedford House under pressure. Its charmed position on the edge of the city with extensive views across to Highgate and

Hampstead was being outflanked. The duke forbade any building north of Great Russell St and east of Gower St, and when in June 1787 the neighbouring estate of the Foundling Hospital asked if it could make use of the Duke of Bedford's private road as access for its new development Holland, acting as the duke's Surveyor, wrote that "His Grace the Duke of Bedford would be very glad to aid and assist the interest of the Charity but is advised that he cannot permit any openings into his private Road or give encouragement to any plan of building as referring to the estate west [meaning east?] of Bedford House without considerable prejudice to his property and without a decision respecting Bedford House for which his Grace is not prepared."<sup>53</sup>

The pressure was proving irresistible and by 1795, with building progressing rapidly on the Foundling Estate, an agreement had been made to permit the Hospital to make openings onto the duke's private road. As a compromise the duke determined to develop the rest of the Bloomsbury estate but exclude the portion immediately north of Bedford House. A map of 1795 shows that this would have been landscaped, with terraces of houses overlooking it - in a similar manner to what subsequently happened at Regents Park. But the scheme was not practical for it would have left Southampton Terrace isolated from the rest of the estate.<sup>54</sup>

The truth was that Bloomsbury was no longer the fashionable area for the aristocracy to live in that it had been in 1720, when John Strype's edition of Stow's *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* called Great Russell Street, "a very handsome large street graced with the best buildings in Bloomsbury, the best inhabited by the gentry and nobility, especially on the north side which then looked out over open fields, esteemed by Physicians the most healthful in London".<sup>55</sup> The neighbouring great mansion of Montagu House had been bought by the trustees of the British Museum after the death of the 2nd Duke of Montagu in 1749; Powis House in Gt Ormond St had already been demolished; Sir John Rushout had sold his large house on the corner Bloomsbury Square in 1777 to be redeveloped by John Nash.<sup>56</sup> Accepting the same commercial and social imperative that had forced his great-great-great-grandfather to leave old Southampton House, and his great-grandfather to leave old Bedford House, the fifth Duke of Bedford sought two acts of parliament for developing the estate, accepted £6,000 for the disposable materials and fittings of Bedford House from James Burton, auctioned the contents - except for the Canalettos which went to Woburn and the Thornhills which were subsequently given to the Royal Academy - and moved to Arlington Street in St James's.<sup>57</sup> The duke did not long outlive the house. He died in 1802.

## NOTES

1. Christopher Simon Sykes, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London House*, London, 1985, 47; David Pearce, *London Mansions: The Palatial Houses of the Nobility*, London, 1986, 111. Southampton House is not discussed in John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, Harmondsworth, 1977, nor in John Bold, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, nor in Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*, Manchester, 1995.
2. I must thank the archivist at Woburn, Anne Mitchell, for her help with this article. Much undoubtedly remains to be discovered about Southampton House in the Bedford Papers at Woburn Abbey, but these are largely uncatalogued, hence the lack of specific references for documents cited from the Woburn Abbey Archives. However, Ms Mitchell was able to provide me with the key documents mentioned in this article. Reference is also made to Gladys Scott Thomson's work on Southampton House, particularly *The Russells in Bloomsbury*, London, 1940. Unfortunately, the bills that she mentions have proved frustratingly difficult to identify.
3. R.T.Gunther (ed.), *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928, 26.
4. Slight confusion is cast over the projection or recession of the central seven bays of the north front by a late-18th century illustration (Fig. 3) which shows them projecting. However, the only known plan of Southampton House, in the archives at Woburn Abbey (Rosemary Weinstein, "Southampton and the Civil War", *Collectanea Londiniensia*, ed. J.Bird *et al.*, London, 1978, 343, fig.9.) clearly shows that the central range was recessed, and this is confirmed by John Rocque's 1746 map of London (Ralph Hyde, *The A to Z of Georgian London*, Lympne Castle, 1981, 7) and by an 18th-century drawing of the north front in the Museum of London (Weinstein, *op.cit.* 329, fig.1.).
5. As there is no illustration of the north front of the house known to predate the major alterations which took place in the 1730s and 1760s, we cannot be sure whether these are original. They are shown in a drawing in the Museum

of London which has been believed to date from the late 17th century. However, it shows the house without dormers and with a balustrade, alterations made in the 1760s, and is therefore probably late 18th century. The ground plan of the house, which predates the 1730s' alterations, certainly shows a bay in this position at the east end of the house, attached to what was probably the chapel, (the west end is less distinct) and there is no reason to believe that they are not original. In appearance they would fit happily with a mid-17th-century date. (See footnote 22.)

6. London, British Library, Sloane Ms 5244, fol.41.
7. Weinstein, 1978, fig.9.
8. Lawrence Stone, *Family and Fortune*, London, 1973, 236.
9. Southampton House was at the north end of Chancery Lane (on the east side), where it can be seen on the "Agas" map of the City of London of about 1561-70 (Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, *The A to Z of Elizabethan London*, Lympe Castle, 1979, 7).
10. London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), C82 2198.
11. Scott Thomson, *op. cit.*, 19.
12. PRO, C82 2198.
13. PRO, SP 23/192 f 201-05.
14. John Rocque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark*, 1746.
15. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 972.
16. Pearce, 1986, 116.
17. Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, New Haven and London, 1995, 10-12.
18. John Harris and A.A.Tait, *Catalogue of the drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1979, fig. 73.
19. John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, London, 1989, 105.
20. *Ibid.*, fig.108.
21. *Ibid.*, 257.
22. Harris and Tait, 1979, fig. 18.
23. Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*, London, 1890, 1507.
24. *Idem.*
25. Nottingham, Nottingham Record Office, Portland MS, DDP5/7 (information from a draft article in the Woburn Muniment Room); Weinstein, 1978, 329.
26. Scott Thomson, *op. cit.*, 38-39.
27. H.B.Wheatley (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, London, 1894, IV, 256.
28. A.Dobson (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, London, 1906, II, 223.
29. Scott Thomson, *op. cit.*, 96.
30. *Ibid.*, 136.
31. Gladys Scott Thompson (ed.), *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-35*, London, 1943, 70.
32. Scott Thomson, *The Russells...*, *cit.*, 192, 285, 353.
33. Woburn, Woburn Abbey Archives, "A particular account of the charge of building and repairing Bedford House...1736".
34. Donald Olsen, *Town Planning in London*, New Haven and London, 1982, figs. 15 (1727) and 16 (1746).
35. Giles Worsley, "The Wicked Woman of Marl", *Country Life*, CLXXXV, March 14 1991, 44-7.
36. Scott Thomson, *Letters...*, *cit.*, 70-71, 122-23.
37. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 846.
38. Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England*, Edinburgh, 1981, 291.
39. *Ibid.*, 247.
40. *Ibid.*, 270.
41. Sanderson, carpenter £4,749 13s; Francis Wedge, carpenter, £4,874 16s 8d; Edward Davenport, stone mason, £1,207 1s 6d; John Deval, stone mason, £769 14s; William Wilton, plasterer, £931; Linny, paviour, £833 16s; Boson, presumably John Boson, carver, £867 16s; Waddle, plumber, £1,771; Mansfield, plasterer, £348; Jeffrys, glazier, £200; Sheffard, painter, £596 14s 8d; Waller, smith, £503 8s; Paul Lafranchini, £324 10s; William Covey, plumber, £18 15s; John Jones, ironmonger, £369 8s; John Thornhill, painter, £547; Michael Risbrack, £415; and Francis Goodge, £253 9s.
42. Marie P.G. Draper, "The Houses of the Russell Family", *Apollo*, CXXVII, June 1988, 390.
43. Woburn, *loc. cit.*, Bedford House Inventory 1771.
44. On June 25, 1748, a letter from J.Becuda at Bedford House to Robert Butcher, the chief steward, speaks of his hope "of having the painters in the hall today but there is no possibility of the plaisterers getting work done as there were many cracks in the stucco not perceivable till the scaffold was erected - now finished, so painters will begin on Monday" [Bedford, Bedfordshire Record Office, transcript of the correspondence of Robert Butcher, chief steward to the Duke of Bedford, 3/3.] In August Mr Phillips's men were recorded as about to begin on the

- north range [Ibid., 3/72] . This was presumably John Phillips, a London master carpenter of considerable repute.
45. Woburn, *loc. cit.*, Henry Flitcroft invoice 1755 to 1758.
  46. *Ibid.*, "Bills of Several Extra Works done for His Grace the Duke of Bedford at Bedford House commencing May 1764 & Ending Christmas 1765".
  47. Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers. 1660-1840*, London, 1986, 785.
  48. Woburn, *loc. cit.*, Bedford House Inventory, 1771.
  49. *Ibid.*, transcriptions of bills in a folder marked "entertainments in the time of the 4th Duke".
  50. Olsen, *op. cit.*, 33.
  51. Jill Lever (ed.), *Catalogue of Drawings of the Royal Institute of British Architects, G-K*, Farnborough, 1973, 134.
  52. Woburn, *loc. cit.*, Christies sale catalogue, *Part of the elegant household furniture...at Bedford House*, 25 May 1800.
  53. Olsen, *op. cit.*, 48-49.
  54. *Ibid.*, 49, fig.8.
  55. John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, [ed. John Strype], London, 1720, II, 85.
  56. Pearce, *op. cit.*, 47, 116; John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, 6.
  57. Olsen, *op. cit.*, 52-53.