



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Alan Mackley, 'The Construction of Henham Hall', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. VI, 1996, pp. 85-96

THE CONSTRUCTION OF HENHAM HALL

Alan Mackley

During the night of Saturday 8 May 1773, Henham Hall in east Suffolk was destroyed by fire, the result, it was said, of the carelessness of a drunken butler whose candle fell whilst he robbed the wine cellar during his master's absence in Italy.¹ The uninsured loss was reported to be £30,000.² This was a serious blow for the 23-year old sixth baronet, Sir John Rous, who had succeeded his father just two years before. The loss represented at least eight years' rental income from his landed estate.³ Almost twenty years elapsed before rebuilding began. John Rous's surviving letters and accounts throw a revealing light on the reasons for the delay. Additionally, the survival of detailed building accounts and his clerk of works's reports permit the almost total reconstruction of the building process at Henham in the 1790s.⁴

The existence of plans dated 1774 by James Byres indicate an early interest in rebuilding, but Rous's letters in the 1780s, before he married, reveal an equivocal attitude to investment in his estate, concern about his financial position, and pessimism about the future.⁵ His views were not untypical of that generation of landowners who lived through the dramatic collapse of land and farm prices at the end of the war of American Independence. Rous had little income beyond the £3,600 generated annually by his Suffolk estate. In comparison with investment in funds, he considered land to be a certain loss, 'unless situated so as to be an object to look at, or to sport upon'; although he could not resist an opportunity to buy a farm close to the heart of his estate.⁶ Rous also complained about the cost of his political career – he was Tory MP for Suffolk from 1780 to 1796 – and declared that, although the only ambition for a gentleman was an English peerage, he had neither the income to support it nor an heir to succeed to it. 'As to the day of my growing rich', he wrote, 'I do not expect it in this century.'⁷ These were the thoughts of a bachelor with a landed estate lacking a major house and generating insufficient means to build one. His net debt in 1788 exceeded £16,500, or over four times his annual income.⁸

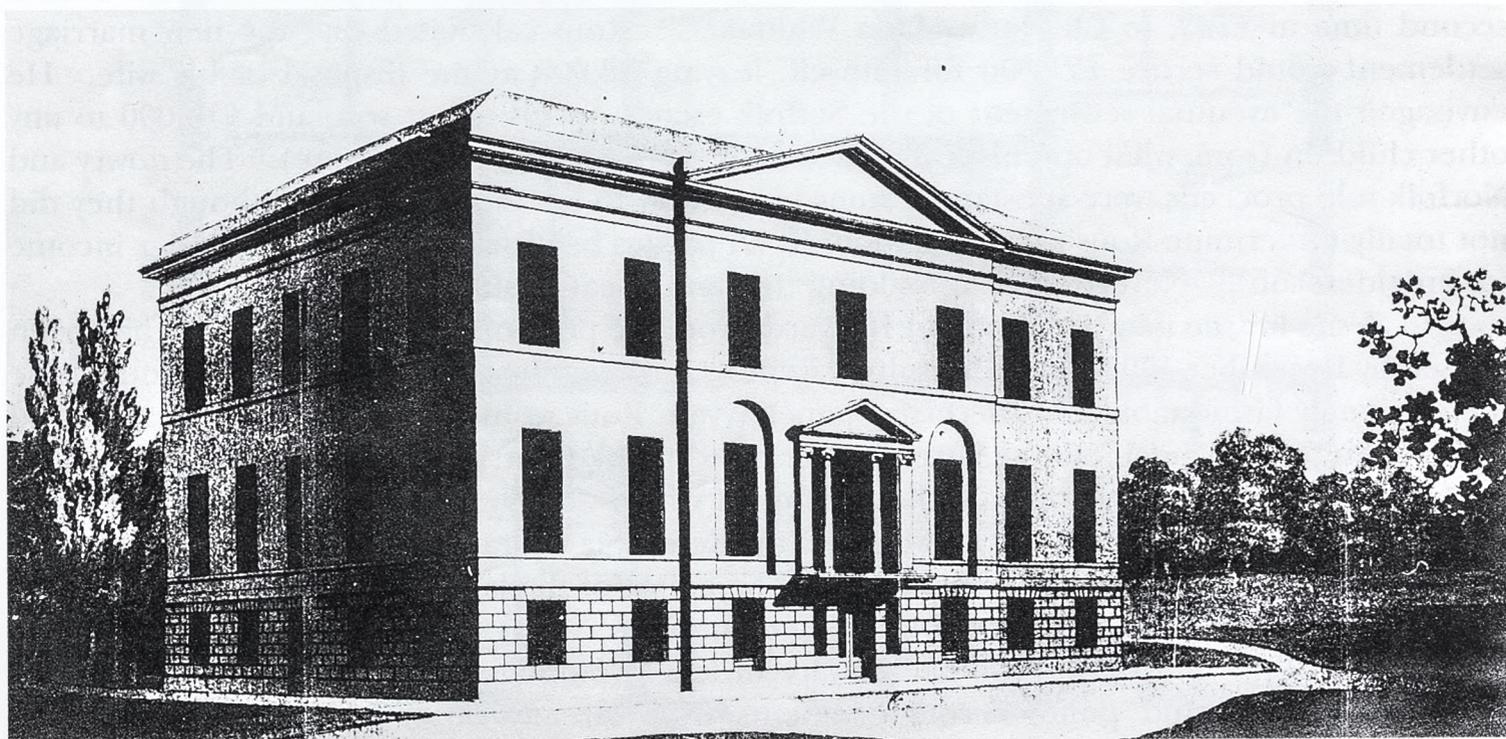


Fig. 1. James Wyatt, proposed "Principal and West Fronts", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office, HA11 C46/65.*

Elevation of the North Front

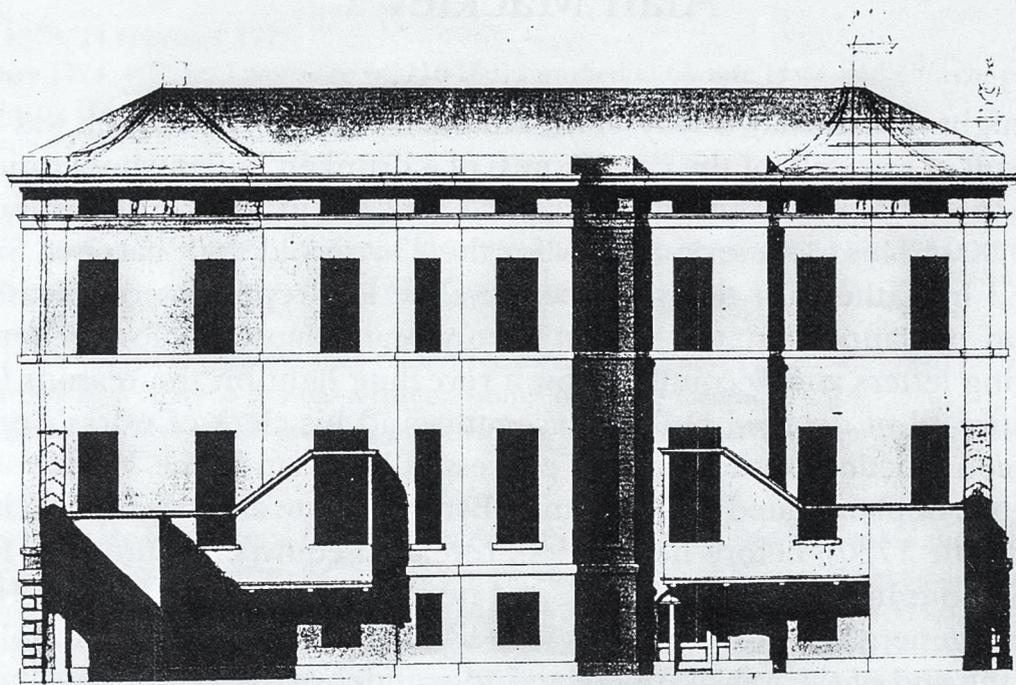


Fig. 2. James Wyatt, proposed "Elevation of the North Front", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office*, HA11 C46/65.

John Rous's financial situation was transformed, and the economic foundation laid for the rebuilding of Henham Hall, by two marriages, and the sale of trust land released by his mother in return for an augmented pension. In 1788 he married an heiress, Frances Juliana Warter Wilson, gaining Irish property worth over £1,900 per annum, although its income was largely consumed by charges on the estate.⁹ Frances died in June 1790, six weeks after the birth of their only child, a daughter. In the same year the dowager Lady Rous transferred land at Caistor in Norfolk to her son, which he then sold for £40,000 clear.¹⁰ John Rous married for a second time in 1792, to Charlotte Maria Whittaker.¹¹ Rous calculated that the new marriage settlement would secure £21,000 for himself, leaving £3,000 at the disposal of his wife. He envisaged the eventual settlement of the Suffolk estates on his eldest son, and £10,000 to any other children (somewhat optimistically since there were eventually to be nine).¹² The dowry and Norfolk sale proceeds were substantial sums in relation to his estate income, although they did not totally undermine Rous's usual caution: 'If all parties be alive, it will leave a slender income for an eldest son'.¹³ Nevertheless, rebuilding the family seat could now be undertaken.

A site for the new house, about 100 yards from the position of the old mansion, had been chosen by December 1790 when Humphrey Repton surveyed the park.¹⁴ As architect Rous chose the extremely fashionable and successful James Wyatt. Rous would have known of work he had done in Suffolk in the 1780s: at Fornham for Sir Charles Kent, at Sudbourne for Sir Richard Wallace, and at Heveningham Hall, the interior of which was Wyatt's masterpiece.¹⁵ Indeed, in February 1782 Rous dined at Ickworth with Kent, Sir Gerard Vanneck, the builder of Heveningham and the Hon. William Hervey. The editor of the latter's journal commented that 'this party would seem to be a sort of building committee'.¹⁶

John Rous must also have been aware of less favourable aspects of Wyatt's reputation. Polished manners and polite accomplishments were already offset by irresponsibility and unbusinesslike conduct.¹⁷ Later, Wyatt's nephew Jeffrey told Joseph Farington that 'when a commission to build a house ... is proposed to him by a nobleman or gentleman by whom he has

never before been employed, he will eagerly attend to it till he has got all the instructions necessary for the commencement of the work, but then he becomes indifferent to it'.¹⁸ Rous's letters reveal an increasing level of frustration with Wyatt even before building began and there is no evidence that the architect ever visited Henham. He was paid a commission equivalent to five per cent of his estimate of £12,000 for the house, but neither Wyatt's travelling nor other expenses are recorded in the meticulous set of accounts which survives. A small consolation for Rous, perhaps, was that Wyatt did not adopt the common practice of charging a commission on actual building costs, but instead took a percentage of his estimate.¹⁹ Farington recorded at the time that the house cost £20,000, a figure the accounts substantiate.

When reporting damage caused by a fire at Henham in 1867, *The Builder* commented: 'Wyatt's instructions seem to have been to design a comfortable house without any pretensions to architectural effect'.²⁰ It was certainly unadorned, and Rous wrote that it was decided to remove from a draft proposal 'columns and unnecessary stonework by which there will be a saving of £500'.²¹ He observed that the house would be quite ornamental enough and he had no interest in an 'unnecessary show of expense'. John Rous respected the advice of his friends - the importance of the housekeeper having the kitchen and laundry within sight of her windows was stressed by Mrs Berners, for example.²² Initially, the client also responded to his architect's effusiveness: 'The divisions, dimensions and plans . . . I executed and I am much flattered by Mr Wyatt's thinking he cannot make them better nor alter one chimney, door, or window from what I have marked'.

Henham was a conservative house, brick-built with Portland-stone details, with symmetrical facades in the classical tradition. A rectangular main block, over a rusticated

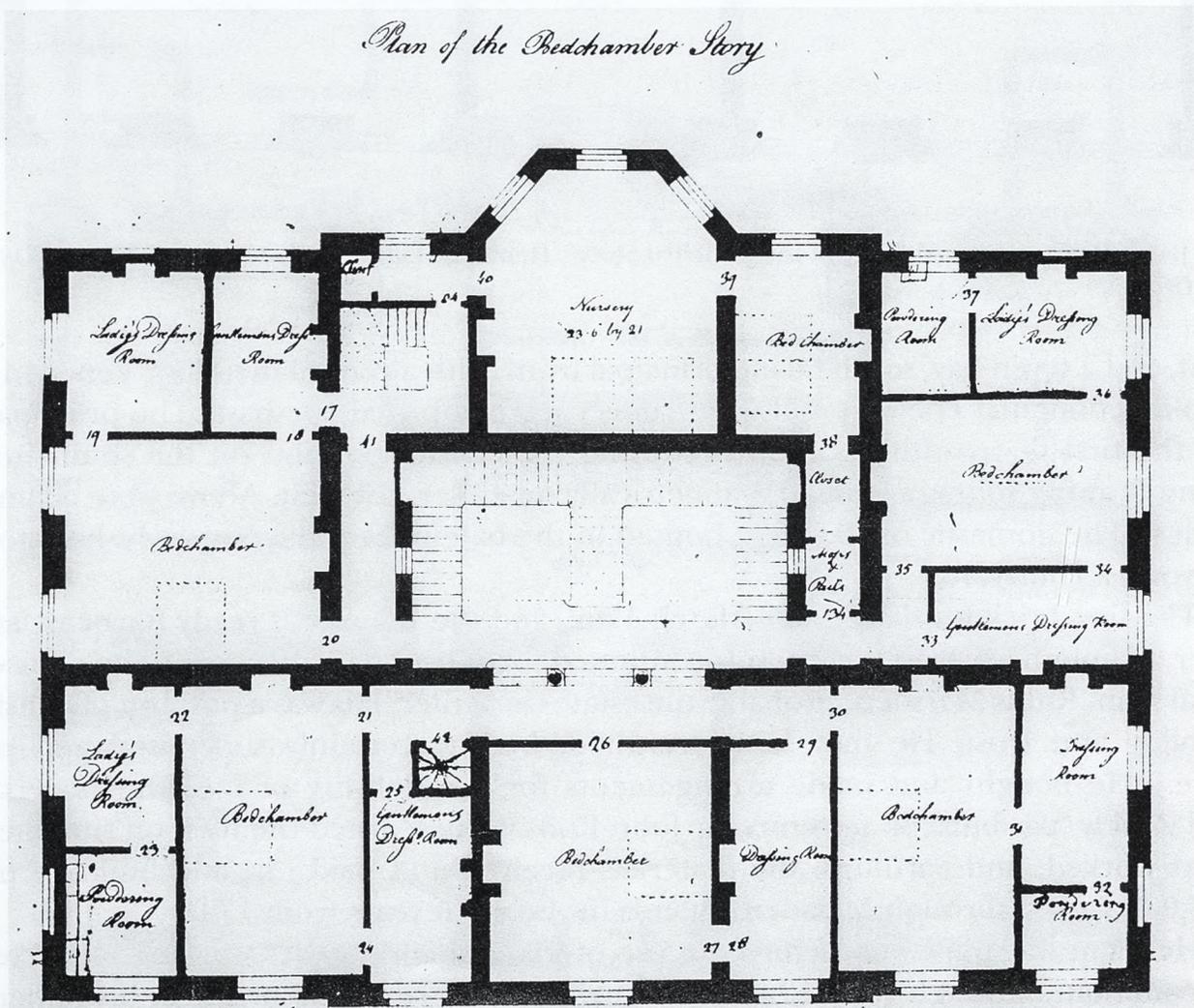


Fig. 3. James Wyatt, proposed "Plan of the Bedchamber Story", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. Suffolk Record Office, HA11 C46/65.

Plan of the Principal Story.

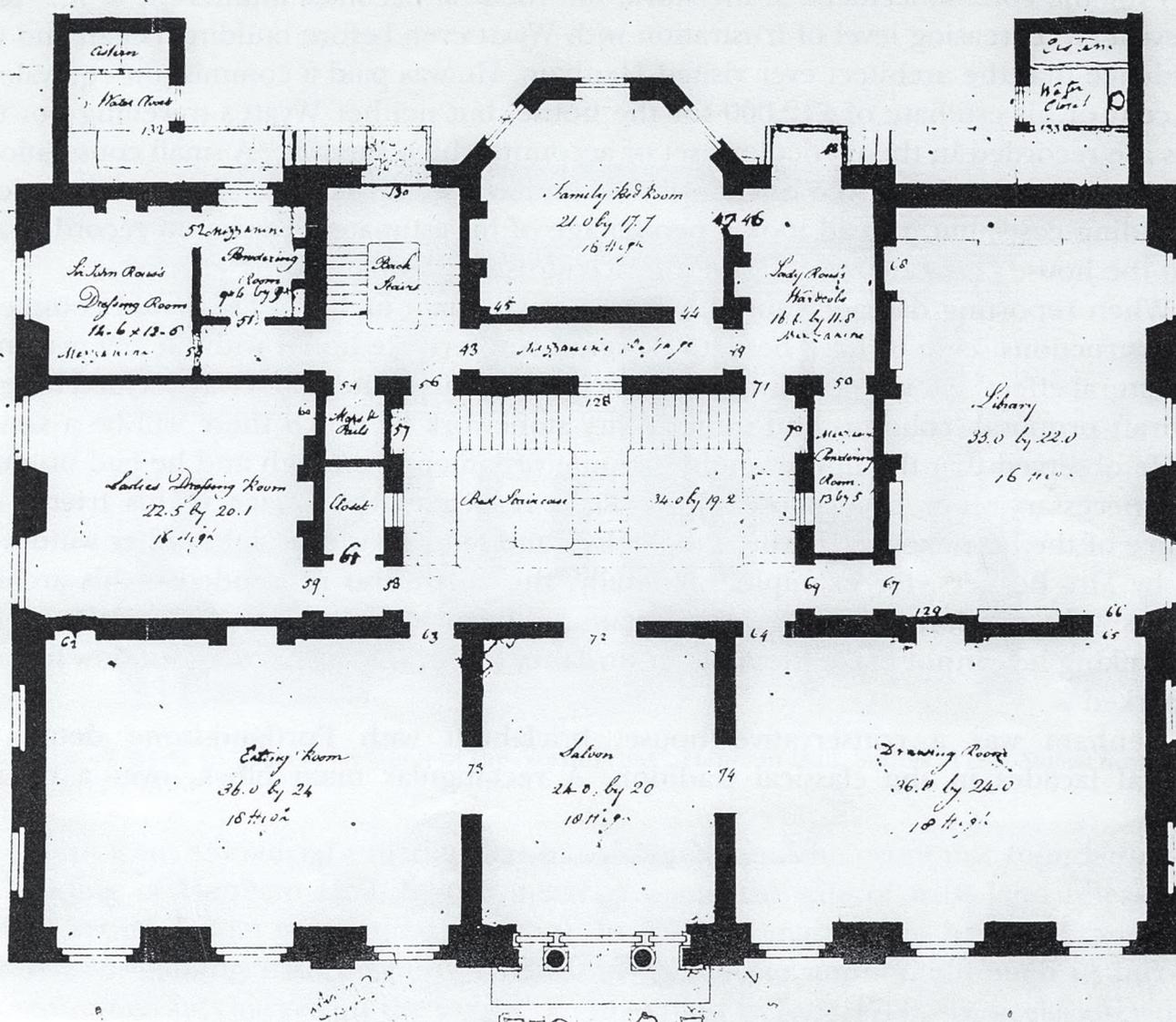


Fig. 4. James Wyatt, proposed "Plan of the Principal Story", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office*, HA11 C46/65.

basement, had a seven-bay, south-facing principal front, with a central first-floor Venetian window and simple pediment. The east and west fronts each comprised five bays. The principal rooms were on the first floor, with a saloon occupying the central position on the south front, and dining and drawing rooms arranged symmetrically on either side of it. Above were chamber and attic stories. The domestic offices were housed in the basement and a one-and-a-half-storey rear block beyond a courtyard.²³

The first brick was laid on 26 March 1792, and the house was ready for occupation five years later, although work on the interior continued for at least a further year. The clerk of works was a local man, Rufus Marsden, probably the estate carpenter. His was a position of considerable responsibility and trust. He may have recruited, but he certainly supervised and paid the workforce. He bought and made arrangements for the delivery of building materials, and prepared weekly 'pay-bills' or accounts for John Rous.²⁴ These listed the men on site, their wages, days worked, and earnings, the materials received and paid for, and building progress. Over £17,000 passed through Marsden's hands in the eight years from 1792.

Henham was built well before the use of general contractors working to a fixed price became common, although John Rous may have been aware of the practice, his father having sold land nearby for the site of the Blything Incorporation's House of Industry, built by a contractor in the 1760s.²⁵ Most of Henham's structure and all the carpentry and joinery were

carried out by a labour force directly recruited and paid by the day. Piece-work was restricted to the digging of foundations, sawing, and the laying of floors. Sub-contracted master-craftsmen handled the stonework, plastering, leadwork, glazing, and some small works. The number of workers involved was remarkable. A feast for 82 men was held in December 1794 to celebrate the raising of the main roof, two years and nine months after building began, and a supper for 45 men was arranged in May 1797, when servants moved into the house.²⁶

However, these numbers conceal great changes in the composition of the workforce, not just in terms of trades but also of individuals, as the work progressed. The number on site at any one time peaked at about 65, but at least 417 different individuals worked on the project. Of these only 11 were employed for more than 50 per cent of the project's duration. The 87,000 or so man-days of employment required to build the house were therefore spread across the workforce rather thinly. Identifiable as migrants by the payment of expenses for lodging, travelling and the carriage of tools were 30 men, mainly bricklayers, carpenters, joiners and painters from London. Because they tended to remain on site for relatively long periods, they accounted for 19.3 per cent of the man-days worked, and an even higher percentage of the wage bill, since they were usually more highly paid. Metropolitan wage rates therefore had an important influence on the cost of this provincial rural project. There were seasonal fluctuations in the level of building activity but these were not, after the first winter, either marked or of long duration. The origins and identities of the workmen are considered in the Appendix.

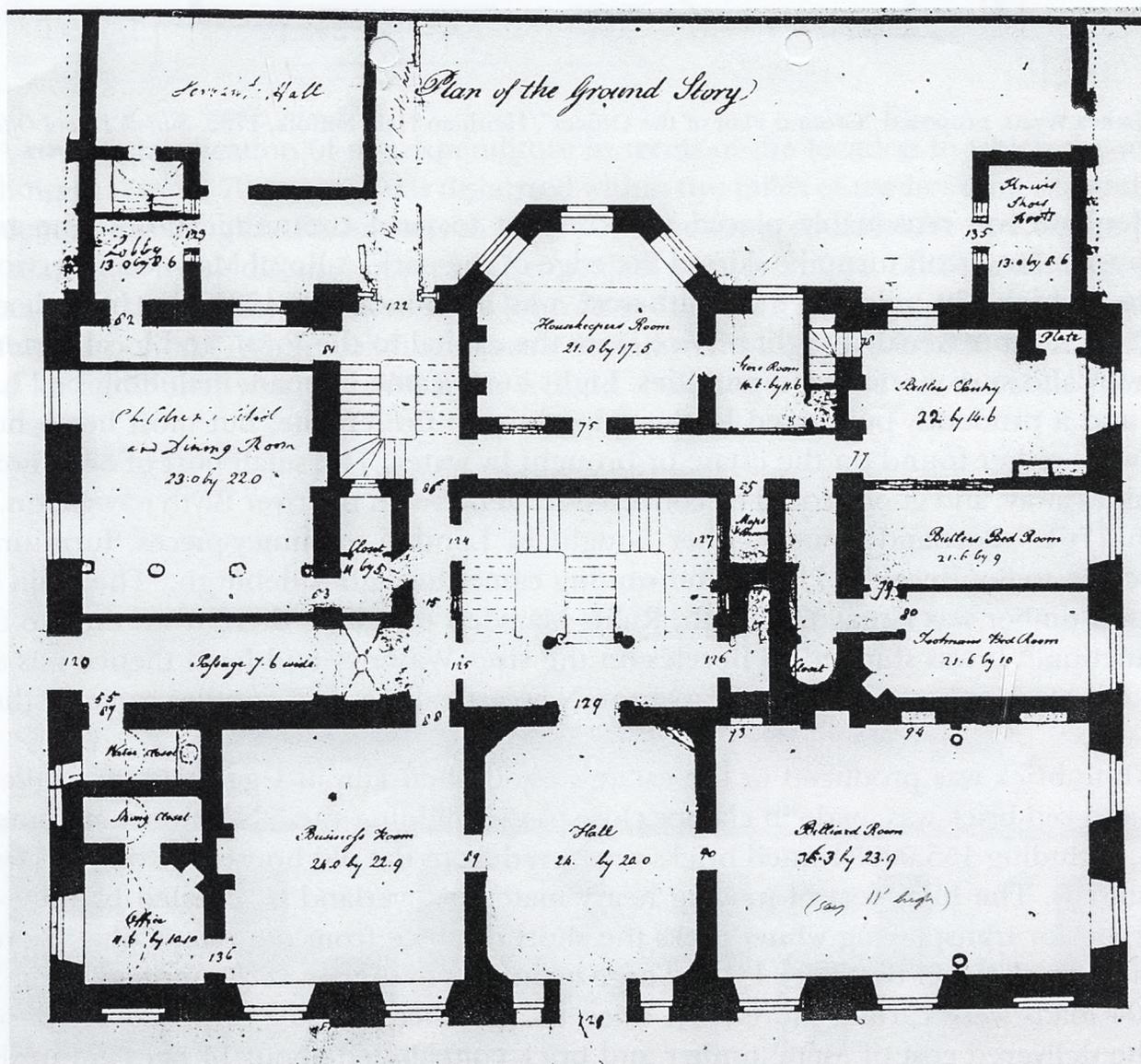


Fig. 5. James Wyatt, proposed "Plan of the Ground Story", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. Suffolk Record Office, HA11 C46/65.

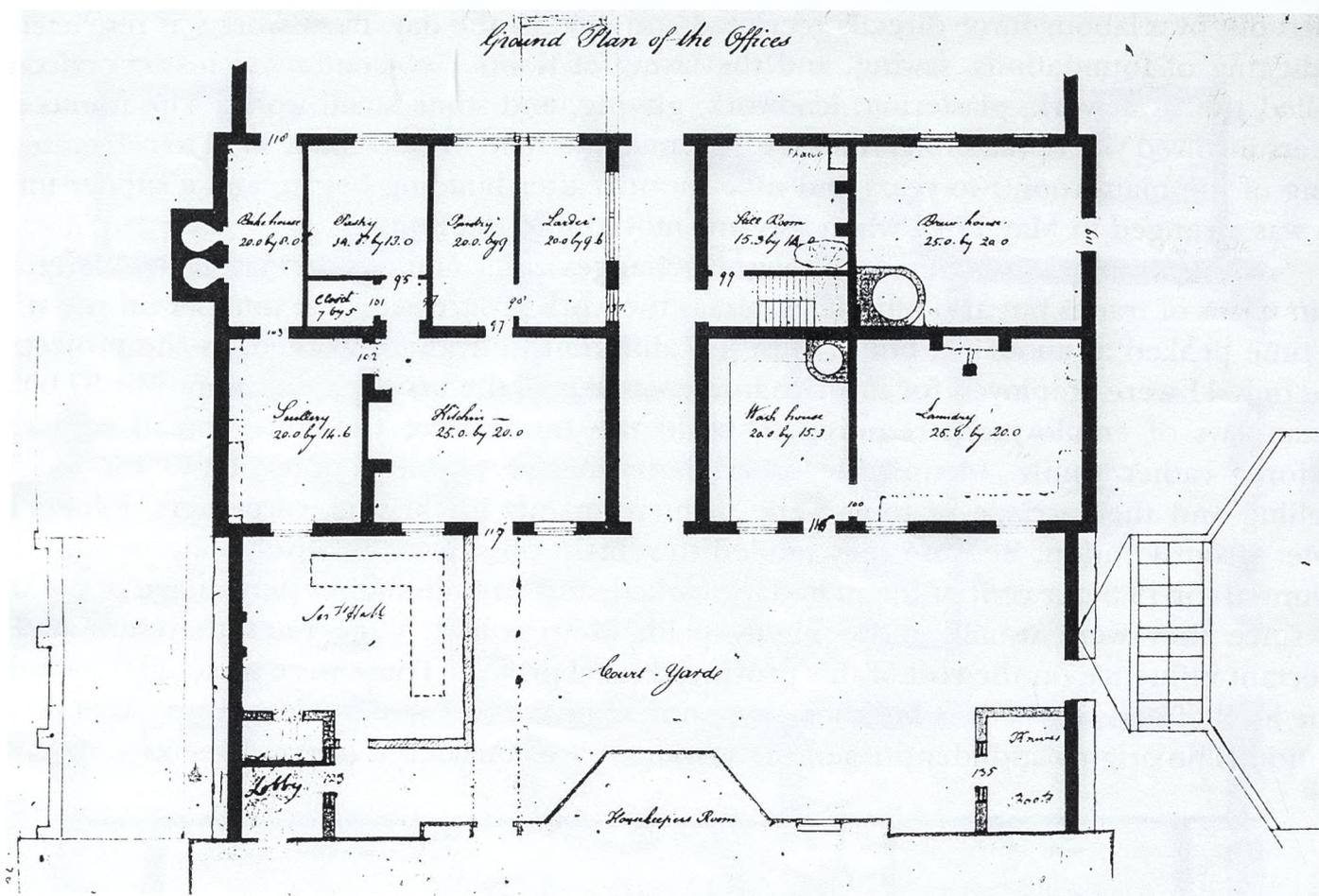


Fig. 6. James Wyatt, proposed "Ground Plan of the Offices", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office*, HA11 C46/65.

Henham was reasonably placed with respect to road communications. The recently opened Ipswich-Lowestoft turnpike skirted the edge of the park. A Royal Mail coach service from London to Ipswich, 30 miles to the south-west, was introduced in 1791. An Ipswich carrier, William Frewer, ran a weekly freight service from the capital to the town, and local carters took goods onwards to surrounding communities. Light items came by road, including bell-hanging materials and a prudently-purchased leather pipe for the fire engine, but most heavy building materials were either found on the estate or brought by water. The small port of Southwold was only five miles away, and goods could be conveyed from there on the river Blyth navigation, which opened in 1761.²⁷ Portland stone, timber bought in London, chimney-pieces, furniture, and groceries came to Southwold.²⁸ Plaster and whiting came through Aldeburgh. The main source of purchased timber was Great Yarmouth, Rufus Marsden travelling there from time to time to buy it at auction.²⁹ It was shipped to Beccles on the river Waveney and from thence was carried the eight miles to Henham by road.³⁰ Glass from Newcastle, lime, and pantiles came by the same route.³¹

White brick was produced in the estate's established kiln at Uggeshall, two miles from Henham, and red brick was made in clamps close to the building site.³² Nearly two million bricks were used, including 155,000 cleaned bricks recovered from the old house, the only declared re-use of materials. The high cost of moving heavy materials overland is revealed by the 5-6s per 1,000 charged for transporting white bricks the short distance from the estate kiln, where their market price was about £1 8s 0d per 1,000. Large quantities of timber were supplied by the estate. At least 404 loads were carted, more than twice the number of loads recorded for purchased timber. The delivered cost of estate timber and brick contributed about 14 per cent of the cost of the house.

Although John Rous declared himself to be cost-conscious, he nevertheless indulged in

the expensive exercise of bringing eight cargoes of stone, totalling nearly 360 tons, from Portland to Henham: clearly there were pressures of fashion, style, taste and expectation that cut across his predilection for economy. The prime cost of the stone was about £290, the delivered cost £714 – in itself about one-third of the amount spent on brick.

The derivation of a credible statement of building cost depends upon a clear definition of the scope of a project, the extent of its coverage by surviving accounts, and a good basis for estimating any costs which are not documented. Henham presents some problems of definition - work was proceeding simultaneously on the house, garden, stables, a lodge, and on the wider estate. However, allowing for these, the accounts show that Farington's figure of £20,000 spent on the house appears to be soundly based. The calculated cost is £21,373, including £600 paid to James Wyatt. The breakdown is shown below.

Henham Hall: the Cost of Building

	£	s	d	per cent
Wages	11,975	14	0 ³ / ₄	56.0
Materials	7,459	0	5	34.9
Carriage	1,197	15	2 ¹ / ₄	5.6
Unclassified	140	19	1 ¹ / ₂	0.7
Architect	600	0	0	2.8
TOTAL	21,373	8	9¹/₂	100.0

A rough classification of the expenditure in terms of the location in which the money was spent shows that some 70 per cent was disbursed within five miles of the building site and a further 12 per cent in East Anglia. Rather less than 15 per cent was accounted for by London purchases or for materials from distant sources. The project was therefore of considerable economic significance for the locality - in seven years John Rous laid out a sum equivalent to his total Suffolk rental for the period.³³ While building, Rous's Suffolk rents averaged £3,030 per annum and he received an additional yearly £1,650 from Ireland. Building a house on the scale to reflect his

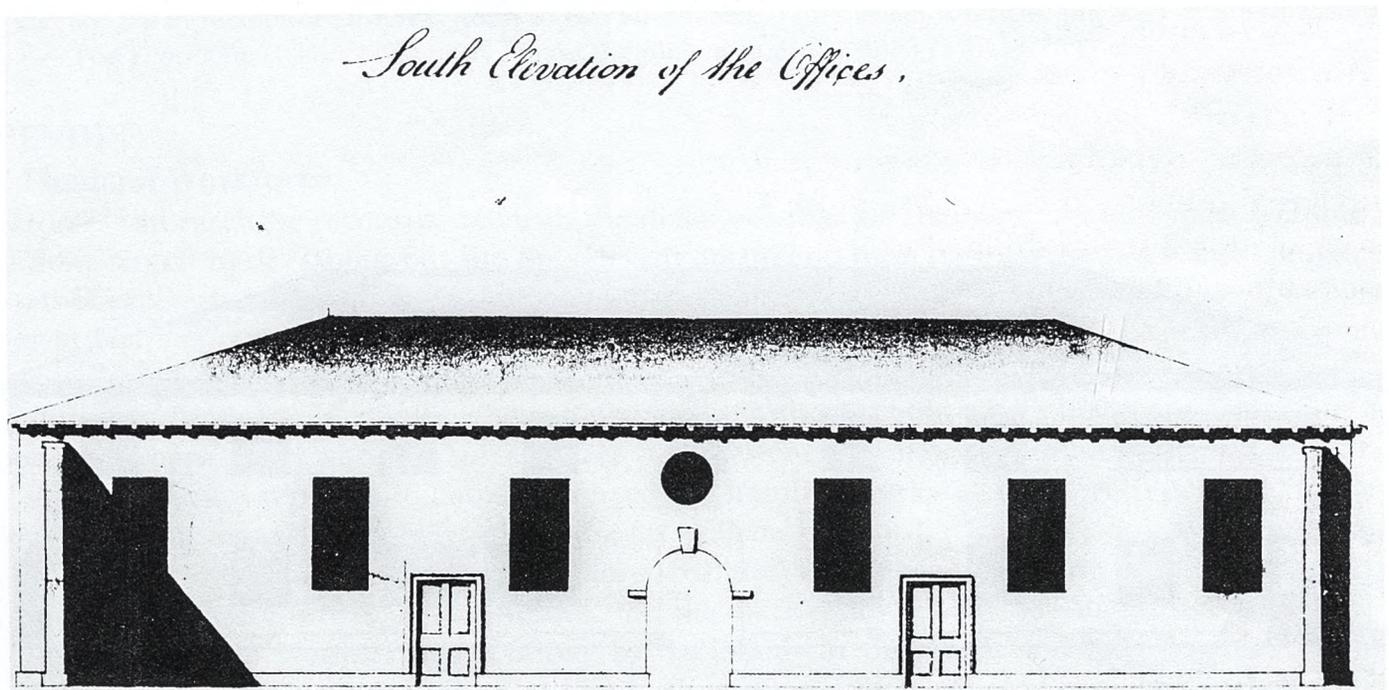


Fig. 7. James Wyatt, proposed "South Elevation of the Offices", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office*, HA11 C46/65.

family's antiquity, his estate and his standing in Suffolk from rents alone would not therefore have been possible. It was only achieved by the acquisition of capital from two marriage settlements and the extensive sale of land. Although his Suffolk rents were to rise sharply soon afterwards he could hardly have foreseen this when he made the decision to build in the early 1790s.

The relevance of Henham is seen more clearly if the wider literature on country houses is considered. This is large and varied but it rarely links building to the economic history of landownership. The examples that are quoted tend to be from a narrow range of grand houses. In the case of Burley-on-the-Hill, for example, it has been shown that up to c.1704 the annual cost of building easily exceeded the small annual surplus of income after other expenditure.³⁴ Not far short of half the cost of building was met by the sale of property. The building of Castle Howard consumed one third of Lord Carlisle's income from 1703 to 1709. Other expenditure pushed him into debt from midsummer 1704.³⁵

The use of the rewards of public office for the building of Houghton in the 1720s is well known.³⁶ The building of Holkham over a long period, within current income, is also well documented, but Lord Leicester still left enormous debts when he died in 1759.³⁷ The vast sums spent on Wentworth Woodhouse from the 1760s to the 90s were buttressed by Irish rents and an industrial empire.³⁸ It is reasonable to conclude that such spending on house-building was regarded as consumption rather than investment.

The example of Henham reflects the experience of many landowners who did not have other sources of income, who were reluctant to sell land from the core of their estate, who could not contemplate spreading the cost by building over a long period, or could not engage in large-scale borrowing to build. It was not unusual, however, for the equivalent of five or more years' rents to be spent on building. Hence the importance of supplementary capital, from legacies and marriage for example, and the significance of the many landowners who chose to adopt an alternative strategy — periodic alteration, extension and modification, in order to keep their houses abreast of their needs and current fashion, and yet stay within their income.

John Rous was created first Earl of Stradbroke in 1821 and died in 1827.³⁹ The house he built, much embellished by E. M. Barry in the 1850s, was demolished in the 1950s.⁴⁰ Through its

North Elevation of the Offices

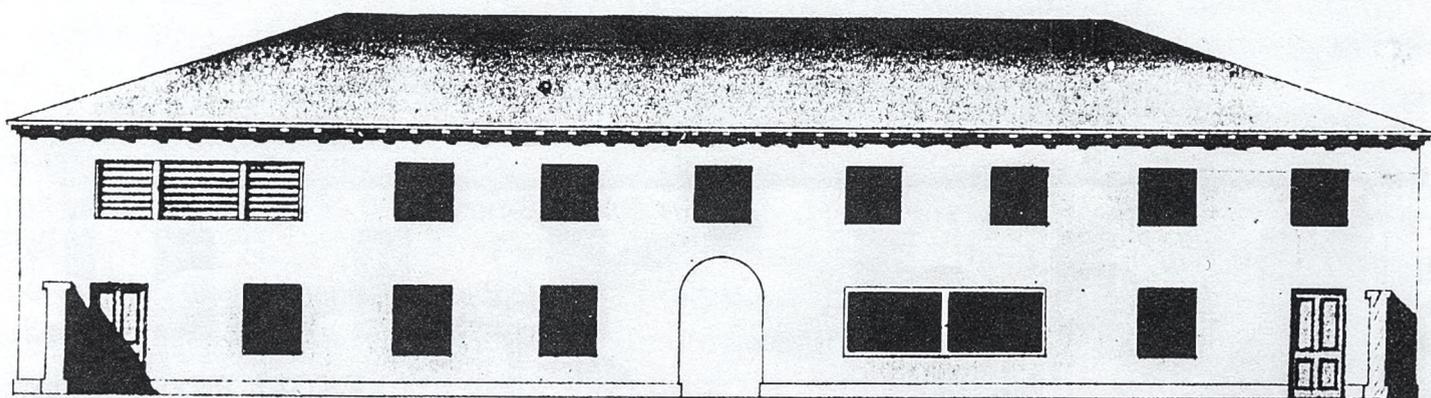


Fig. 8. James Wyatt, proposed "North Elevation of the Offices", Henham Hall, Suffolk, 1793. *Suffolk Record Office, HA11 C46/65.*



Figure 8. Henham Hall, c.1870. *RCHME, BB74/1214*.

documentation it survives to reflect the paradox of the country house, that although it was the physical symbol of the country estate and landed society, land alone was often incapable of generating the wherewithal to build it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For this article I have drawn upon my unpublished thesis, *An Economic History of Country-House Building, with particular reference to East Anglia and the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire c.1660-1870*, University of East Anglia, Norwich, PhD 1993. My work was supervised by Dr R. G. Wilson and I am grateful to him for his help in the preparation of this article. Together we are in receipt of an ESRC grant to extend our researches which will form the basis of a jointly-authored book on 'The Economic History of Country House Building in England, 1660-1870'.

APPENDIX

The Henham Workforce

Workforces can rarely be reconstructed with the detail possible for Henham: not only must building have been done largely by day labour but also the relevant documents must have survived - a scarce combination. Few sets of accounts have been analyzed in such detail and whether the apparently high rate of turnover of labour at Henham was typical is therefore unclear. It may be a consequence of the ready availability of labour in Suffolk at the time, or be a feature of the way the project was managed. The picture could have been different, for example, in places where labour was in short supply, where building was done by estate labour, or perhaps, when work was sub-contracted to master-craftsmen, employing more stable teams.

James Wyatt is reported to have transferred five hundred workmen from Windsor Castle to Fonthill Abbey, the gothic extravaganza he was building for William Beckford, when Beckford complained in 1799 about the lack of progress.⁴⁰ However, more realistic comparisons include East Carlton Hall in Northamptonshire, for which a wages book for the period April 1777 to August 1780 survives, and Haverling Hall in Norfolk, built entirely by day-labour in the 1840s and fully documented by the surviving reports of the clerk of works.⁴¹ At East Carlton, where the number of man-days worked was about 14,300 compared with 87,200 at Henham, the number of men on site at any one time peaked at about 40. The number of different men who worked on the house was about 90, a much lower rate of turnover than

at Henham. At Haveringland about 63,800 man-days were worked, the number of men on the site peaking at 86 with 249 different individuals being employed. On this rather limited evidence, the rate of turnover of labour at Henham does look high.

The origins of the Henham contractors are not known but they can all be named: Edward Hall, mason; John Davidson, plumber and glazier; James Berry (or Bury) and James Kedworth, plasterers; James Crump, bricklayer (most of his work was paid by the day); George Crower and Joseph Stanley, bellhangers; and James Taylor who worked on the water cistern. The brickmaker was William Loyns. Whether any men were recommended by James Wyatt is not known, but the accounts contain a single enigmatic reference to 'Wyatt's plasterers'.⁴²

Among the men paid by the day, some London tradesmen are identifiable. The highest-paid was William Cottril (4s per day plus 1s per week lodging allowance). His trade is not revealed by the accounts but his arrival in April 1793 (he worked until January 1795) and his high wage are consistent with his being a master-bricklayer. He stayed in the nearby village of Wangford.⁴³ William Abbot, James Crump, William George, and George and John Ralph were bricklayers (3s 6d plus 9d or 1s); George Pollard, Charles Price (or Ryce), James and Robert Stamford, Thomas Whitehead and Charles Winks were joiners (3s 6d plus 1s); Edward Hawke a carpenter (3s 6d plus 1s); Robert Bedford and William Burn joiners fitting-out the house in 1798 (4s plus 1s); and the two James Burch, junior and senior, were painters (2s 4d). William Brook (3s 6d plus 1s), Daniel Cade (2s 6d), and Thomas Cheel (3s 6d) were also from London but their trades are unknown. Nine other men are identifiable as migrants by the payment of lodging allowances or the cost of carriage for their tools: Brian Higgins, bricklayer (2s plus 9d); Charles Ayton and Samuel Westgate (3s 6d), John Labrook (2s 6d), William Lee (2s), Robert Garrad (1s 10d), James Canham (1s 4d) and William Pane a blacksmith (2s plus 1s). Abraham Brook, another blacksmith (2s 4d plus 1s) came from Ipswich. Other named men are Coleman, a London mason, and Thomas Cutton, an upholsterer.⁴⁴

The recruitment of men from the nearest towns is suggested by the listing of Samuel Brock and Robert Robinson, carpenters, and William Card and John Clark, bricklayers, in a contemporary directory for Halesworth, five miles from Henham.⁴⁵ The distance could be crucial: there are no Henham workers named in the tradesmen's lists for Beccles (seven miles away) or Lowestoft (thirteen miles). The rest of the workforce, the majority, were either local men or locally-recruited men 'on the tramp'. Among them are some estate workers: a small number of labourers and carpenters appear in Henham estate accounts outside the building period.

NOTES

1. The Rev. Alfred Suckling, *The History and Antiquities of the Hundreds of Blything and part of Lothingland in the County of Suffolk*, London, 1847, 350.
2. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIII, 1773, 249. The house may not have been completely uninsured. £1,000 fire insurance cover had been taken out as early as 1721 with the Sun Fire Office, policy no. 21968 [London, Guildhall Library, MS. 11936/12/524].
3. Based on £3,600 per annum quoted by John Rous in a letter to Eleazar Davy of Yoxford, Suffolk [London, British Library, Add MS 19,223, fol.22]. The estate was one of the most important in Suffolk. By the 1870s it extended to 12,203 acres, the sixth largest in the county [J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4th edn, London, 1883].
4. Sir John Rous's letters are in London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add MS 19,213-19,241 (Original letters addressed to Eleazar Davy and David E. Davy c.1750-1851, 29 volumes). The building accounts are in Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, Rous family papers, HA11 (hereafter SROI HA11).
5. Byres's plans are discussed by Hugh Honour in H. M. Colvin and J. Harris (eds), *The Country Seat*, London, 1970, 164-9.
6. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 26, letter 16 May 1788; fol. 28-9, letter 22 May 1788; fol. 30-2, letter 5 June 1788 and fol. 33-4, letter 9 June 1788.
7. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 28-9, letter 22 May 1788, and fol. 37-8, letter 1788.
8. SROI HA11 C6/1/3, General Account Book, 1788-94.
9. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 46-7, letter 19 January 1789.
10. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 126-7, letter 19 May 1791, and SROI HA11 C6/1/3, General Account Book, 1788-94.
11. Geoffrey H. White (ed.), *The Complete Peerage*, XII, part 1, London, 1953, 322-3.
12. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 90-1, letter 2 December 1790; fol. 100-1, letter December 1790; fol. 126-7, letter 19 May 1791, and SROI HA11 C6/1/3, General Account Book, 1788-1794.

13. The resettlement of estates on the occasion of marriages is discussed by Barbara English and John Saville, *Strict Settlement*, Hull, 1983. Heirs could be left with slender resources but no work seems to have been done on the impact this may have had on house building. It is noteworthy, however, that in promoting a private Act of Parliament in 1789 to charge £12,000 to a settled estate, Sir John Ingleby stated his need to spend £6,500 on building a new house because his seat Ripley Castle was 'falling down and . . . ruinous' [Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives Service, Ingleby MSS/1671].
14. SROI HA11 C46/64, photocopy of Repton's Red Book for Henham dated April 1791.
15. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed., New Haven and London, 1995, 1115-6, and Antony Dale, James Wyatt, Oxford, 1956, 33-43.
16. S. H. A. Hervey (ed.), *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey 1755-1814*, Bury St Edmunds, 1906, 324, entry for 2 February 1782.
17. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 1108.
18. Kathryn Cave (ed.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, VIII, New Haven, 1982, 2,887, entry for 16 October 1806.
19. K. Garlick and A. Macintyre (eds), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, III, New Haven, 1979, 914, entry for 2 November 1797. Wyatt did sometimes base his commission on building costs, as shown by the accounts for Dodington Park, the house he designed for Christopher Codrington [Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, D1610/A96-7].
20. *The Builder*, 16 March 1867, 194. History almost repeated itself. In a letter to Lord Crewe, for whom he was rebuilding fire-damaged Crewe Hall, the architect E. M. Barry, who remodelled Henham from 1858, noted that Henham had had a very narrow escape from total destruction. He estimated the potential loss from £30,000 to £40,000, whereas the insurance cover was only £13,000 [Chester, Cheshire County Record Office, DCR/15/7, letter 2 March 1867]. This insurance was little higher than the £10,000 cover under Royal Exchange policy no. 149,309, taken out in March 1797 when the house was first built [SROI HA11 C7/1/38, and GL 7253/31/61].
21. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 112-3, letter 16 March 1791.
22. BL Add MS 19,223, fol. 164-5, letter 29 December 1791. Rous refers to advice from 'Broke' and 'the notable Mrs Berners'. They are likely to have been Suffolk neighbours. Philip Broke employed James Wyatt at Broke Hall, Nacton, in 1791-2, and the Berners family had bought Woolverstone Hall in the county in about 1773 [J. Kenworthy-Browne, P. Reid, M. Sayer and D. Watkin (eds), *Burke's and Savills Guide to Country Houses, III (East Anglia)*, London, 1981, 220 and 269-70].
23. SROI HA11 C46/65, Wyatt's plans and elevations.
24. Marsden's pay-bills survive complete for the building period, with the exception of one week in 1794 [SROI HA11 C7/1/32 and 37-40; C7/2/1-4; C7/2/5].
25. J. Shaw, 'The Finance and Construction of the East Anglian Houses of Industry', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, XXXVII, 1992, 351-65.
26. SROI HA11 C7/1/38. £16 18s 3d was spent on the 1794 feast, with a further 6s 8d for beer. The 1797 supper cost £5 12s 6d.
27. Rachel Lawrence, *Southwold River*, Exeter, 1990, 26.
28. Mahogany, wainscot and deals were supplied by North and Frith of 80 Gracechurch Street, London.
29. Yarmouth suppliers included Joseph Sharpe (mahogany), Samuel and William Hurrey (deals and battens), Samuel Hobbins (deals at auction), Samuel Howes (Petersburg deals) and William Burton (laths).
30. A Henham estate rental of 1799 shows that tenants had an obligation to provide carting to the Hall but none of their names (the list is incomplete) appear in the building accounts [SROI HA11 C3/4-6]. Payments for carriage from Great Yarmouth were made to Samuel Lilliston (of Beccles), and for goods from Southwold to David and John Carman, and William Edwards. Other named carters were Thomas Archer, James Bardwell (freight from London), John Barfort, David Brown (plaster and stone), William Cole (tools to Saxmundham, and a stove from London), Christopher Harling, John Mills, James Taylor, and Jonathan Thrower [SROI HA11 C7/2/3-4, C7/1/37-8].
31. Some nails were bought from John Potter in the nearby village of Yoxford [SROI HA11 C7/1/40], nails and screws from R. M. Westthorp, and other ironmongery from James Turner, and John Browne of Norwich. Iron columns for the colonnade from the hall to kitchen also came from Norwich [SROI HA11 C7/2/2, C7/1/38].
32. Coal for brickmaking, the smith, and the hot-house was supplied by Southwold merchants, for example James Crisp (34s per chaldron in January 1797) [SROI HA11 C7/1/37], and Stephen Self (27s 8d per chaldron in August 1797) [SROI HA11 C7/1/38].
33. The cost of fixtures such as stoves, and the decoration of the new house is included in the cost, but not furniture and furnishings. Furniture and carpets were moved to Henham from the Rous's temporary residence Darsham Hall [SROI HA11 C7/1/36]. Freight of 15s and pier dues of 2s were paid in July 1799 on a billiard table conveyed from London via Southwold in four parcels, and 24 chairs were received in August [SROI HA11 C7/2/5]. The accounts however do not reveal how much John Rous spent on new furniture.
34. H. J. Habakkuk, 'Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham: His House and Estate', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History*, London, 1955, 139-78.
35. C. Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard*, London, 1990, 77-84.

36. J. H. Plumb, 'The Walpoles: Father and Son', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History*, London, 1955, 196-7.
37. R. A. C. Parker, *Coke of Norfolk*, Oxford, 1975, 23-5.
38. P. Nunn, 'Aristocratic Estates and Employment in South Yorkshire 1700-1800', in S. Pollard and C. Holmes (eds), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, Sheffield, 1976, 28-45.
39. John Rous's quest for a peerage is described by R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790-1820*, II, London, 1986, 366-7.
40. Dale, *op. cit.*, 68.
41. *Ibid.*, 147.
42. East Carlton Hall was built by John Johnson for Sir John Palmer Bt [Leicester, Leicestershire Record Office, DG4/598, Weekly Book of Workmen's Time April 1777 - August 1780]. Haveringland Hall was designed by Edward Blore for Edward Fellowes and built 1839-42 [Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MS 8595 20B, clerk of works's reports].
43. The spelling of names in the source documents is variable, often having the character of phonetic transcription. The clerk of works's versions have generally been used, but more reliable alternatives are sometimes available from vouchers or directories [SROI HA11 C7/1/32 and 37-40; C7/2/1-4; C7/2/5. The reference to Wyatt is in C7/1/37].
44. Where other men lodged is not known. The common practice of using an old house before demolition was not available but, in addition to accommodation in the villages, Henham outbuildings not destroyed in the 1773 fire could have been used, and parts of the new building once the roof was on. Special arrangements were made for Thomas Lyon, who was paid his board and lodging at the Wangford Swan for seven weeks in July and August 1796 [SROI HA11 C7/2/4]. His role was not stated - he may have been a surveyor, but a Henry Barker is recorded as measuring work in 1797 [SROI HA11 C7/1/38].
45. London men were paid two days wages for the journey to Henham, and 16s each for the coach fare. The cost of carrying tools depended on weight but ranged from 17s 6d to £1 7s 0d [SROI HA11 C7/2/1, C7/1/40]. The cost to a London joiner of travelling the 100 miles to work at Henham was the equivalent of 14 days wages. The importance of having this paid by the employer is therefore clear.
46. The evidence is circumstantial - they may not have been the same men [Peter Barfoot and John Wilkes, *The Universal British Directory*, III, London, 1794, 228].