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THE PAINTED ROOMS OF ‘ATHENIAN’ STUART

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Better known today as an architect and author of the *Antiquities of Athens*, James Stuart was also a pioneering Egyptologist; an engraver and book illustrator; a designer of medals, funerary monuments and furniture; and a painter of enough ability to have been regarded by Anton Raphael Mengs as possessing ‘superior genius’.¹ After an inauspicious beginning as a fan painter and drawing master in Salisbury Court, London², Stuart developed an enviable reputation as a connoisseur of Old Master paintings and drawings during the decade he was employed as a *cicerone* in Italy. He was absorbed into the milieu of the St. Martin’s Lane Academy upon his return to London in 1755³ and, being a member of both groups, found himself in a unique position to act as intermediary between the Society of Dilettanti and the group of artists headed by Francis Hayman and Francis Milner Newton that tried to form an Academy of Arts at mid-century. Stuart’s first known commission was portraits of William III and George II for the Rockingham Club (now lost)⁴, and it was his career as a painter that became the factor in common of his membership in the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (where he judged drawings) and the Free Society (where he exhibited over 120 works between 1765 and 1783). His profession is reflected in his official appointments as Serjeant-Painter of the Office of Works (1764–1782)⁵ and portrait painter to the Society of Dilettanti (1763–1769).⁶ The surviving evidence of Stuart’s activity as a painter is frustratingly scanty, however, and often suggestive of missed opportunities rather than great achievements.

He proposed a treatise on painting, but it remained unfinished⁷ and by the time Stuart was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1758, he had already begun to practise as an architect.

That Stuart was able to develop a successful architectural career within three years of his return to London is all the more remarkable as no evidence has arisen to indicate that he ever received any architectural training; nor does his later career suggest that he possessed a strong understanding of the practical side of building. Instead he relied on others to implement his ideas. Much of his architectural *oeuvre* has been destroyed as the heirs of his original patrons preferred to employ younger, more fashionable architects when altering and rebuilding their properties, but enough has survived to demonstrate that Stuart was a skilful and original practitioner who designed some of the earliest fully integrated Neo-Classical interiors in Britain. His failure to capitalise on his early promise has been attributed to alcoholism and lack of ambition but, when he returned from Greece early in 1755, there were few precedents for a painter-turned-architect to follow. Stuart was more than a decade older than Robert Adam and William Chambers, and lacked their architectural training; and it must have been a natural choice for him to model his career on that of William Kent, the most successful painter-turned-architect of the first half of the eighteenth century. Instead of forming an architectural office in the modern sense, Stuart developed a relationship with his most important patron, Thomas Anson of



Fig. 1. James Stuart, drawing of Lady Spencer's Closet at Wimbledon House, Surrey. *RIBA, Drawings Collection.*

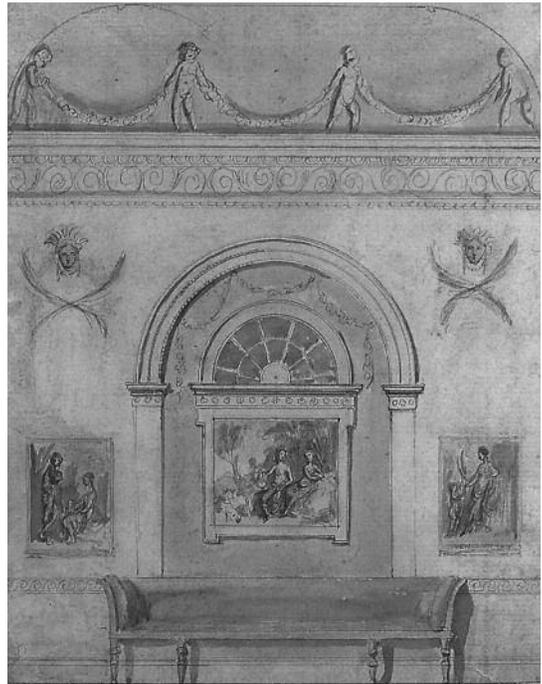


Fig. 2. James Stuart, drawing of Lady Spencer's Closet at Wimbledon House, Surrey. *RIBA, Drawings Collection.*

Shugborough, which was similar to that between Lord Burlington and Kent. He also collaborated with Peter Scheemakers, the sculptor responsible for Kent's memorial to William Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey and, most significantly, looked to Kent's painted ceilings at Kensington Palace and Rousham House as a high-profile precedent for his own work when he proposed the first of his 'Painted Rooms' – Georgiana (later Countess) Spencer's closet of c.1758 at Wimbledon House, the Surrey villa designed by Roger Morris and Lord Pembroke for Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

Lady Spencer's closet was the earliest Neo-Classical expression of a type of decoration originally found in ancient Roman interiors such as the *Domus Aurea* and revived in the early sixteenth century by

Raphael and his followers in the Vatican Loggia and Villa Madama. It was imported into England in the early eighteenth century by William Kent and proliferated throughout the latter half of the century, ironically becoming synonymous with 'Adam style', although it has long been recognised that both Kent and Stuart designed such decoration before Adam, and that it continued in use as late as Penrose and Crace's Pompeian Room at Ickworth, completed in 1879. Although sources for these rooms (called 'Pompeian', 'Painted', 'Etruscan' or 'grotesque', without distinction) varied as more antique examples were excavated and published, the general trend after the 1760s was towards an increasingly archaeologically-correct form that expunged Renaissance intermediaries.⁸

Unfortunately, Wimbledon House was destroyed by fire in 1785 and completely rebuilt by Henry Holland in 1800. Stuart's painted interior is known only from two drawings now in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects (Figs. 1 and 2) and two contemporary references, neither of which is complimentary. Horace Walpole's oft-quoted opinion that Lady Spencer's closet was 'villainously painted'⁹ might be dismissed as biased in favour of the gothic but it is corroborated by a recently discovered entry in the diary of Stuart's friend, the Republican propagandist Thomas Hollis. On 3 September 1759, Hollis

Dined at Wimbleton. Saw Mr. Spencer's . . . Some fine paintings there, tapistry, jars etc. etc. Saw Mrs. Spencer's closet painted in grotesque by Stuart; With the Figures of The Allegro and Pensero[so] after the divine Milton. Stuart's ideas very fine, his execution indifferent. This easily to be accounted for.¹⁰

The identification of two inset paintings as *Allegro* and *Penseroso* in Fig. 1 confirm that this drawing and its companion were proposals for Lady Spencer's closet; a small room with a coved ceiling along which Stuart arranged his characteristic fully-rounded putti. Although no evidence has survived to reveal the appearance of the ceiling beyond Walpole's description of it as 'ornamented . . . in a good antique taste'¹¹, the inclusion of a settee and painted bookcase suggests that Stuart presented his patrons with designs for complete interior schemes from the very beginning of his career. This desire to design and provide everything from furniture to chimneypieces and picture frames may be the real reason why Stuart's architectural schemes were so time-consuming and why he was never as prolific as Robert Adam. The more business-like Adam did not adopt the same approach until the early 1770s, and then only for extraordinary clients such as Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

From the evidence presented by the Wimbledon drawings, the reason for Stuart's 'indifferent execution' is no longer 'easily to be accounted for',

but it is possible that he had originally conceived such a room as a vehicle to promote his talents as a painter and, as he began to receive more architectural commissions, he was forced to rush his work, resulting in poor quality execution. Significantly 1758 was the year in which Stuart was appointed surveyor of the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich.¹²

The second of Stuart's painted interiors, and the only one to survive, was also executed for the Spencer family – the Painted Room at Spencer House, No.27 St. James's Place, London (Fig. 3). Spencer House was begun in 1756 for John (later first Earl) Spencer by John Vardy, under the auspices of Colonel George Gray¹³, through whom in March 1757 Spencer paid £221 8s.8d. for the Portland stone which the Society of Dilettanti had originally intended for the construction of their clubhouse.¹⁴ Vardy was responsible for the elevations and the ground floor interiors and had begun work on the first floor when he was unceremoniously replaced by Stuart in 1758.¹⁵

The Painted Room at Spencer House has frequently been called a 'Pompeian' room, but Pompeii had not been excavated when Stuart visited Naples in 1748¹⁶ and the green colour scheme bears little resemblance to the typical reds, blacks and golds of 'Pompeian' interiors. Research by Joseph Friedman has revealed that the decoration of the walls and ceiling was influenced by both Renaissance and antique Roman *groteschi*, with an intermingling of Greek motifs.¹⁷ Of these eclectic sources, undoubtedly the most important was Raphael, as the overall conception of the Painted Room is close in feeling to that of Raphael's garden loggia of the Villa Madama. It is surely no coincidence that Stuart was influenced by one of the most famous sites on the Grand Tour, for there had been an upsurge of interest in Raphael's *oeuvre* among Grand Tourists at mid-century. According to his first biographer, observations on Raphael were to be found in one of Stuart's long-lost notebooks¹⁸, and he both engraved a drawing by Raphael in the collection of Cardinal



Fig. 3. Painted Room, Spencer House, No. 27 St James's Place, London. *Conway Library*.

Valenti¹⁹ and executed a pen and wash drawing of the Holy Family after Raphael in the Vatican collection.²⁰

Opinion varies as to how much of the painted scheme at Spencer House Stuart executed himself, yet he had trained as a painter and devoted much of his sojourn in Italy in the 1740s to the study of painting, so he was certainly capable of undertaking such a task.

What may have been Stuart's third painted interior was a scheme of zephyrs and cupids in the bedroom of the 'bluestocking' Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, begun in 1760.²¹ In July 1759, Stuart had painted a scene from *The Tempest* for her to the satisfaction of both patron and artist²² but Mrs. Montagu possessed a more restless personality than Stuart's other patrons and, after a delay of more than

two years, she began to complain, expressing surprise when Lord Lyttelton informed her that Stuart had found time to visit Hagley Hall when she thought he was busy elsewhere.²³ She evidently forgave Stuart's behaviour, although her answer to Lyttelton contains the cryptic comment: 'Mr Stewart is a perjured man, he swore to me he would court no Zephirs, see no flowers but in my new Room'.²⁴ Even though Stuart was still employed by Mrs. Montagu in 1766, it was to Robert Adam that she turned when she planned further work elsewhere.

Recent studies have assumed that Stuart's Zephyr bedroom was at Mrs. Montagu's Berkshire retreat of Sandleford Priory, while Adam was employed at her London town house, No.23 (now No. 31) Hill Street²⁵, but the surviving evidence

suggests the opposite – that Adam was consulted about alterations to Sandleford Priory before he received the Hill Street commission, while Stuart may never have been employed in Berkshire at all. In October 1765, Mrs Montagu wrote Lord Lyttelton: ‘... I believe Mr Adams will be able to make me a comfortable habitation here, and the place will easily be made very pretty.’²⁶ Lyttelton’s reply confirms that these alterations were intended at Sandleford Priory:

... I am glad to hear that you have had Mr Adams’s Opinions about your House, and that he believes he can make it a comfortable Habitation. The Place is naturally so pleasant that a very little expense will make it all you wish, a sweet Retirement from the bustle and tumult of the World, which I agree with you in thinking more desirable for you than a proud Country Seat at a great distance from London.²⁷

Certainly the tone of her 15 October 1762 letter to Lyttelton (quoted above) suggests that Mrs. Montagu was not expecting Stuart at Sandleford, but did believe he was working on her Zephyr room, while a letter written from Hill Street on 3 November 1767 (quoted below) appears to include discussion of the Zephyr room because she has just viewed it. Slightly less ambiguous is a reference made much later, in 1780, to the carver and gilder John Adair:

I thought I had delivered to you certain papers containing Mr Adairs bill for the work he has done at my new House [in Portman Square] as the said Mr Adair made me pay, what I thought exorbitant, for some carving in Hill Street. . . If you will have ye goodness to send my man Valency. . . to ye said Mr Adair (whose abode may be learnt at Mr Stuarts) and order him to make out his bill. . .²⁸

Adair was one of Stuart’s most faithful craftsmen, having met him at Nuneham Courtenay in the mid-1750s and subsequently finding employment at Shugborough, No.15 St. James’s Square, and Holderness House, as well as Portman Square. Adair was employed by the Adam brothers at Syon

House in 1764 (although this does not appear to have been a successful commission as the Duke of Northumberland criticised his ‘ill-executed’ mouldings and returned them for amendment²⁹) and at Audley End in 1768–69³⁰, but he does not seem to have formed a close working relationship with the Adams and never appears connected with the Adams in Mrs. Montagu’s correspondence.

The most convincing evidence of the location of the Zephyr bedroom is to be found in a description of its official opening in May 1773, when Mrs. Delany wrote that it was

open’d with an assembly for all the foreigners, the literati, and the macaronis of the present age. Many and sly are the observations how such a genius at her age, and so circumstanced, could think of painting the walls of her dressing-room with bowers of roses and jessamins entirely inhabited by little Cupids in all their little wanton ways, is astonishing! unless she looks upon herself as the wife of old Vulcan, and mother to all these little loves!³¹

Mrs. Delany makes no mention of a journey out of the capital and Mrs. Montagu was unlikely to have held a soirée for ‘foreigners’ and ‘literati’ at any location other than her Hill Street home.

There is only one letter from Robert Adam in the collection of Mrs. Montagu’s papers in the Huntington Library and this makes no reference to Stuart, so no clues are provided as to her reasons for employing both architects at once.³² But Mrs. Montagu certainly knew that Stuart and Adam were in competition, as she wrote Sarah Scott in January 1767: ‘My dressing room is really wonderfully pretty. Mr. Adam has done his best, he has exerted much genius on the doors in emulation of his Rival Stewart.’³³ In the 1760s, however, Stuart was already suffering from ill-health and, with no end in sight to work on her Zephyr bedroom, perhaps the Adams’ professional manner (and a promise of rapid execution) was more appealing. In fact the Adams had been angling for a commission for several years, claiming distant kinship with Mrs. Montagu³⁴, and attempting to oust their

seemingly work-shy rival. The resulting commission only amounted to a single room, several designs for which are now in the collection of Adam drawings at Sir John Soane's Museum³⁵ but perhaps this represented ample victory. An undated letter from Stuart to his patron, which may relate to her decision to employ the Adams, suggests that Stuart was unhappy with this turn of events:

Mr Stuart presents his respects to Mrs Montague & will do himself the honour of waiting on her next Thursday about noon or sooner, if his surgeon dismisses him sooner.

It looks so much like impudence to solicit any indulgence at this time, that he hardly knows how to request the honour of seeing her before any other artist is spoken to. How could he hit on the lamentable Secret of extracting shame & uneasiness from what could have afforded him perhaps some credit, & most undoubtedly the highest pleasure, but men do sometimes manage their affairs so as to distress themselves in a most unaccountable manner, & so as to deserve much blame & more pity.³⁶

Whatever her reasons for approaching the Adam brothers, Stuart continued to work on the Zephyr bedroom throughout the decade, for Mrs. Montagu wistfully wrote her agent Leonard Smelt that:

... Mr Stewart has painted me some of the sweetest Zephirs & Zephirettes in my bedchamber that ever I beheld, but he is ill now, & the room will not be finished perhaps till spring. I wish there had been one Zephir quite unfinish'd, & Id have orderd he shd have been in a sweeping attitude, clearing away les feuilles mortis.³⁷

Surprisingly, the room was several more years in the finishing. Stuart anticipated its completion in June 1769³⁸ but it was not until June 1772 that Edward Montagu was able to inform his aunt that Stuart had finally finished work:

Mr Steward came here [Hill Street] today, & has finish'd yr room. he says there is nothing now wanted but the varnishing wch cannot be done till it is dry, then if anything is wanting or wants correction he will give it, he presents his Complimts. ³⁹

After such a wait, no doubt Mrs. Montagu would have been displeased to discover that popular opinion did not rate her new room very highly.

The Zephyr bedroom proved short-lived as Mrs. Montagu decided to build herself a new town house when Portman Square was laid out in 1773. Her lease was granted in 1775 and Stuart began work soon after.⁴⁰

No visual record of the room has survived, although Stuart's inset ceiling paintings of *Flora* and the *Seasons* in the Tapestry Room at Hagley Hall may represent something similar (Fig. 4). Lord Lyttelton and Mrs. Montagu were warm friends and it was Lyttelton who had originally introduced Stuart to Mrs. Montagu.⁴¹ Lyttelton, of course, knew Stuart through Thomas Anson, who commissioned yet another painted room for Shugborough.

Shugborough was completely transformed by Samuel Wyatt in the 1790s, when all evidence of Stuart's work on the house was swept away, but in an inventory made after Anson's death in 1773 there is an entry for a sitting or dressing room with the curious name of 'Mr. Stewarts Painting Room' that was situated next to Anson's bedchamber.⁴² References to a 'vestibule', which may be the same room, occur in letters between Anson's relations-by-marriage, Philip Yorke, Viscount Royston, and his father, the first Earl of Hardwicke, written when Royston was on his Midland tour of 1763:

Pray Tell Jack [Royston's brother John Yorke] that I do not admire Stewarts Paintings in the Vestibule; They are hard, have no Keeping, & the Colouring is [?Hard]. I have not hinted this to Mr Anson. . . ⁴³

Hardwicke's reply was equally frank:

... In Designs for Sculpture, He is I believe in the right to make use of Stewart's Scavoir faire; but I wonder He suffers him to daub his House with his Pencil; for, were it not that we must be every Thing, He is certainly no painter. In This Jack entirely agrees with You. . . ⁴⁴

In spite of Royston's negative reaction to Anson's painted room, the last of Stuart's painted interiors



Fig. 4. Tapestry Room, Hagley Hall, Worcs.
Country Life.

was in the Park Building at Wimpole, Stuart's only known architectural commission for the Yorke family. Further discussion of the Park Building can be found in David Adshead's article in this volume.

Two drawings for the Park Building survive in the RIBA; a cross-section and an elevation of the south facade which is similar in appearance to the engraving of the exterior commissioned by the second Earl in 1778. Unfortunately, the Park Building was ruinous by 1800 when its appearance was recorded by the Reverend James Plumptre, a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Plumptre was an inveterate traveller and a keen admirer of the Picturesque (mentioning William Gilpin, Uvedale

Price and Richard Payne Knight in his travel journals, as well as quoting from William Mason's *The English Garden*)⁴⁵, and his description of the Park Building is remarkably detailed:

... the Pavilion itself was a Scene of desolation and ruin. It has been built about 25 years and cost about £1500 building. When finished it was one of the most elegant buildings I ever remember. The Tea room was simple and elegant; the little room on the side was a rare specimen of painting, of Etruscan figures in Colours. It was done by Stewart and cost £700. What the inside is now, we did not see, but we could discern from the outside, that the blinds were falling to pieces. The pillars which supported the Center, were rotting away, and the building supported by rough props...⁴⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Park Building had disappeared altogether.

Plumptre's reference to an Etruscan room is startling because 'Etruscan' is a much more specific word than 'Painted' or even 'Pompeian' and denotes a decorative scheme based on the red- and black-figure Greek pottery excavated in Etruria from the mid-eighteenth century onward. A room painted in 'Etruscan figures in Colours' suggests that Stuart's key source of inspiration was red figure vases. In the absence of further evidence, it is difficult to determine whether Plumptre's description is accurate, or whether he considered an 'Etruscan' room to be synonymous with a 'Pompeian' or 'Painted' room and used the word 'Etruscan' simply because it was a familiar one in 1800. Plumptre was an intimate of the Yorke family, however, and had known Wimpole Hall since his childhood when, through the patronage of the first Earl of Hardwicke, his father Dr. Robert Plumptre had been appointed rector of the neighbouring St. Andrew's parish church.⁴⁷ The younger Plumptre was a close friend of the second and third Earls of Hardwicke, even inspecting alterations to the interior of Wimpole Hall at the second Earl's request⁴⁸, and had been ordained by one of the second Earl's younger brothers, James Yorke, Bishop of Ely.⁴⁹ In light of this personal relationship, it is likely that Plumptre called the Park Building painted room an 'Etruscan' one because the Yorkes family referred to it as such. The name the Yorkes gave it would have been influenced by the manner in which Stuart described it.

The question then arises as to whether James Stuart could have been familiar with Greek vases by c.1766⁵⁰ and introduced the Etruscan style some five years before the earliest known example, James Wyatt's island temple at Fawley Court, Bucks. of 1771⁵¹, and nearly a decade before Robert Adam's first attempt at Derby House (1774).⁵² Eileen Harris and John Martin Robinson have suggested that Wyatt's inspiration for the Etruscan style came from two sources: Sir William Hamilton's *Collection of*

Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities (1766–76) and Josiah Wedgwood's Etruscan-ware, manufactured from 1768 (which derived from the illustrations in Hamilton's books).⁵³ The Wedgwood connection may have been particularly influential because of Wyatt's Staffordshire origins and his family association with Sir William Bagot of Blithfield Hall, one of Wedgwood's earliest patrons.⁵⁴

In 1766, however, Stuart's connection with the Staffordshire gentry was even stronger than that of the twenty-year-old Wyatt. Stuart was a frequent visitor to Shugborough throughout the 1760s and Thomas Anson readily recommended Stuart's services as both designer and architect to his neighbours, resulting in Stuart's designs for an orangery at Blithfield in the mid-1760s. Stuart was also a close friend of Wedgwood. They travelled together in 1770, after which time the enterprising potter provided a bowl for the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Shugborough⁵⁵, and shortly thereafter they co-designed a funerary monument for Sir William Chetwynd (d.1770) of Ingestre, the neighbouring estate.

Adam's source of inspiration for his Etruscan rooms was a series of engravings by G.B. Piranesi in *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini* (1769).⁵⁶ Although no evidence has arisen to prove that Stuart had access to *Diverse maniere...*, he certainly knew Piranesi's *Della introduzione e del progresso delle belle arti in Europa* (1765) and *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* (1761)⁵⁷, so it is not unlikely that he knew *Diverse maniere...* as well.

Perhaps the most telling point in Stuart's favour, however, is his personal acquaintance with Sir William Hamilton, a friendship which dates from as early as January 1758, when Stuart nominated the future Envoy Extraordinary to the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies for membership of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.⁵⁸ Thus it is possible that Stuart was in possession of a copy of Hamilton's first volume soon after it left the press, or that he had access to the proof engravings sent to Wedgwood before 1766.⁵⁹

Given Stuart's interest in antiquity, his ability to create schemes as different as the Spencer House Painted Room and Mrs. Montagu's Zephyr bedroom, and with the increasing demand for archaeological correctness prevalent from the 1760s, it is not

inconceivable that Plumptre was correct in his description of an Etruscan Room in the Park Building at Wimpole and that this room was the final refinement of a style that Stuart had introduced in Lady Spencer's closet at Wimbledon House.

NOTES

- 1 Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (eds.), *The Farington Diary*, New Haven and London, 1978, IV, 1554.
- 2 W.T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England 1700-1799*, London and Boston, 1928, 27.
- 3 Early in his career, Stuart had been associated with Louis and Joseph Goupy, both of whom were members of the St. Martin's Lane Academy [An association with the Goupys is first mentioned in Stuart's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1788, 216-218]. His first nominee to the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce was Joshua Reynolds, then forging his own links with the St. Martin's Lane Group. Stuart's next three nominees were all friends of Reynolds or William Hogarth. For a full list of Stuart's nominees, see Kerry Bristol, 'James 'Athenian' Stuart and the Society', *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, CXLIV, 29.
- 4 Sheffield, Sheffield Libraries and Information Services, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, R1/70.
- 5 London, Public Record Office, WORK 5/65; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, New Haven and London, 1971, 509.
- 6 London, Society of Antiquaries, *Minutes of the Society of Dilettanti* (hereafter *Dilettanti*), III, 6 February 1763.
- 7 Parts of a treatise on painting survive in draft form in London, British Architectural Library, RIBA Drawings Collection, L3/4.
- 8 For discussion of the development of painted rooms, see John Wilton-Ely, 'Pompeian and Etruscan Tastes in the Neo-Classical Country-House Interior', in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Washington, 1989, 51-73; Nino Strachey, *Ichworth*, London, 1988, 25. Wilton-Ely cites Joseph Bonomi's Gallery of 1785+ at Packington Hall, Warwickshire, for Heneage Finch, fourth Earl of Aylesford, as one of the first authentic reconstructions of an ancient interior (i.e. inspired by both antique form and decoration), in this case based on M. Ponce's 1786 publication on the Baths of Titus.
- 9 Paget Toynbee (ed.), 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats', *Journal of the Walpole Society*, XVI, 1927-1928, 15: 'A closet, ornamented and painted by Mr Stewart. the ornaments in a good antique taste. a Hymen, the Allegro & Penseroso, on the cieling & in compartments, villainously painted'. Walpole's visit dates from after February 1758 (see Toynbee, note i).
- 10 Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library Manuscript ENG 1191, 3 September 1759. Publication is by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 11 Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 15.
- 12 London, Public Record Office, ADM 67/10, *Minutes of General Court Meetings 1735-1767*, 337, entry for 30 May 1758.
- 13 Joseph Friedman, *Spencer House*, London, 1993, 70.
- 14 *Dilettanti*, II, March 1757. This suggests that the houses in Cavendish Square long thought to have been constructed from the *Dilettanti* stone are unrelated to any *Dilettanti* building project.
- 15 By Autumn 1758, Robert Adam had gained access to Spencer House and passed unflattering judgement on Stuart's ceilings, chimneypieces and furniture [Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, Clerk of Penicuik Manuscripts (hereafter Clerk), GD18 4852, Robert to James Adam, 5 September 1758].
- 16 Excavation of Pompeii began in March 1748 but was soon abandoned in favour of work at Herculaneum. Serious excavation of Pompeii did not begin until 1754. For a concise history of the buried cities see Joseph Jay Deiss, *Herculaneum: Italy's Buried Treasure*, Malibu, California, 1989 and Robert Etienne, *Pompeii. The Day a City Died*, London, 1998.
- 17 Friedman, *op.cit.*, 134-185.
- 18 London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 22,152 f.2. This is a list of contents of Stuart's notebooks compiled by Josiah Taylor in preparation

- for the publication of volume IV of the *Antiquities of Athens* (1816). The original notebooks have been lost.
- 19 Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica. The engraving is dated 1747.
- 20 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 12665 G.G.22
- 21 San Marino (Ca.), Henry E. Huntington Library, Montagu Papers (hereafter Montagu), MO 1394, Mrs. Montagu to Lord Lyttelton, 15 January 1760: 'Stewart was so amusing and so humble I could not scold him. He says he will soon finish the designs he promised me. . .'. Extracts from the Montagu Papers are reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- 22 Montagu, MO 5135, Stuart to Mrs. Montagu, 14 July 1759.
- 23 Montagu, MO 1302, Lyttelton to Mrs. Montagu, Hagley 15 October 1762. This visit is confirmed by William Shenstone who recorded that, in the summer of 1762, his many visitors included 'Mr. Anson of Shuckburgh with Mr. Stuart the painter and publisher of "Athenian Ruins"' [Marjorie Williams (ed), *The Letters of William Shenstone*, Oxford, 1939, 638, Shenstone to Graves, The Leasowes, 20 November 1762].
- 24 Montagu, MO 1421, Mrs. Montagu to Lord Lyttelton, Sandford Priory, 21 October [1762].
- 25 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, London, 1970, 284; David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart. Pioneer of the Greek Revival*, London, 1982, 47.
- 26 Montagu, MO 1443, Mrs. Montagu to Lord Lyttelton, Sandford Priory, 7 October 1765.
- 27 Montagu, MO 1336, Lord Lyttelton to Mrs. Montagu, Hagley Hall, 13 October 1765.
- 28 Montagu, MO 23, Mrs. Montagu to Leonard Smelt, Bath, 2 April 1780.
- 29 Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660-1820*, Edinburgh, 1981, 209.
- 30 J.D. Williams, *Audley End. The Restoration of 1762-1797*, Chelmsford, 1966, 34. I am grateful to Richard Hewlings for bringing this important information to my attention.
- 31 Lady Llanover, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, London, 1862, second series, I, 508, Mrs Delany to Mrs Port, 28 May 1773.
- 32 Montagu, MO 1, Robert Adam to Mrs. Montagu, London, 11 October 1766.
- 33 Reginald Blunt, *Mrs Montagu, 'Queen of the Blues'. Her Letters and Friendships from 1762 to 1800*, London, 1923, 153, Mrs. Montagu to Sarah Scott, Hill Street 8 January 1767.
- 34 Clerk, GD18 4927, James to Peggy Adam, Rome 20 February 1762: 'I did not know till very lately that Bob's Mrs Montague was a relation of ours being also a Robertson, or Rather a Robinson being of the English family, but as her Brother & his wife were here. . . I us'd to joke them with our relationship. . .'. I am grateful to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik for permission to quote from the Adam letters.
- 35 London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 11/200 and 22/218. Drawings for the ceiling and a chimneypiece (but no elevations) have survived. The ceiling design is a loose paraphrase of a ceiling from the Baths of Augustus, inset with Chinoiserie paintings. Although Adam's designs were for a dressing room, this is clearly not the room described by Mrs. Delany.
- 36 Montagu, MO 5137, Stuart to Mrs Montagu, n.d.
- 37 Montagu, MO 4994, Mrs. Montagu to Leonard Smelt, Hill Street, 3 November 1767.
- 38 Stafford, Staffordshire County Record Office, Lichfield Manuscript s (hereafter Lichfield), D615/P(S)/1/6/26, Stuart to Thomas Anson, 17 June 1769; Lichfield, D615/P(S)/1/6/27, Stuart to Anson, 23 September 1769.
- 39 London, British Library, Add. MS. 40.663, f.31, Edward Montagu to Mrs. Montagu, Hill Street, 21 June 1772. Montagu also indicates that he is about to set out for Sandford to visit his aunt who had recently returned from taking the waters at Bath.
- 40 Arthur T. Bolton, 'James Stuart at Portman House and Spencer House.' *Country Life*, XXXVII, May 1st., 1915, 8*.
- 41 Their first recorded meeting is in 1758 [Montagu, MO 1280, Lyttelton to Mrs. Montagu, Hagley, 21 October 1758].
- 42 Lichfield, D615/E(H)10.
- 43 London, British Library, Add. MS. 35.352, ff.406-407, Royston to Hardwicke, Shugborough, 22 August 1763. In his journal entry for the same visit, Royston again mentioned that he 'did not like the pictures in stucco by Stewart in the vestibule' [Joyce Godber, 'The Travel Journal of . . . Philip Yorke, 1748-63', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, XLVII, 1968, 161].
- 44 London, British Library, Add. MS. 35.352, f.413, Hardwicke to Royston, Wimpole Hall, 28 August 1763.
- 45 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (hereafter CUL), Additional Manuscript 5819, *A Journal of a Tour to the Source of the River Cam made in July 1800*

- by Walter Blackett Trevilyan Esqr A.B. of St. John's College, and the Revd James Plumptre. For an edited edition of Plumptre's journals, see Ian Ousby (ed), *James Plumptre's Britain. The Journals of a Tourist in the 1790s*, London, 1992. Unfortunately, many of Plumptre's references to country houses were omitted on the grounds that they were 'conventional' lists of contents. Uvedale Price is mentioned on 171, Payne Knight on 174 and Gilpin on 183-184. For the quotation from Mason's *The English Garden*, see 172-173.
- 46 CUL, Additional Manuscript 5819, ff.26-29; Ousby, *op. cit.*, 198-199.
- 47 Ousby, *op. cit.*, 3.
- 48 London, British Library, Add. MS. 35,629, f.21.
- 49 Ousby, *op. cit.*, 4.
- 50 The first mention of the Park Building occurs in London, British Library, Add. MS. 35,607, f.234, Stuart to the second Earl of Hardwicke, Bath, 27 January 1766.
- 51 Eileen Harris and John Martin Robinson, 'New Light on Wyatt at Fawley', *Architectural History*, XXVII, 1984, 263-265.
- 52 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 57.
- 53 Harris and Robinson, *op. cit.*, 264.
- 54 *Idem.*; see also Geoffrey Tyack, 'The making of the Radcliffe Observatory', in this volume.
- 55 Elizabeth Meteyard, *The Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, London, 1866, 221-223, Wedgwood to Bentley, 24-26 December 1770.
- 56 Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Robert Adam*, London, 1978, 12.
- 57 *Della Magnificenza . . .* is mentioned in Lichfield D615/P(S)/1/6/14, Stuart to Anson, 18 September 1764. Stuart used an engraving from *Della introduzione . . .* as the source for the goat-head cresting he added to the parapet at Shugborough.
- 58 Bristol, *op. cit.*, 29.
- 59 Wilton-Ely, *op. cit.*, 72, n.29.