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SPECULATIVE HOUSING IN 1750s LONDON

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Amongst the mass of apparently anonymous building that went up in mid-Georgian London, four speculative developments exhibiting a repeated integrated character, a resolved solution to street design and a repetitive stylistic thread suggest a single designer. Such consistency speaks of more than a designing builder and in fact there were three different developers and associated craftsmen involved in these four schemes. Furthermore, several stylistic, constructional and planning traits of Sir Robert Taylor's can be revealed in these four schemes and thereby, in combination with the circumstantial evidence of the early resident's links to him, he can be identified putatively as the architect. Taylor, who was credited shortly after his own time as having with James Paine 'nearly divided the practice of the profession between them until Mr Robert Adam entered the lists', was equally noted in his day for standing aloof from direct financial profit from building speculation. His differing, but particular, potential role in organising mid-Georgian speculative developing will be suggested in the campaigns discussed here. Two of these attributions have already been published in the third edition of Sir Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*.¹ In the nature of that work, only the scantiest listing could be included in each case, which is fleshed out here, along with the setting out of the evidence for all the four schemes.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR DEVELOPMENTS

43-45 PARLIAMENT STREET,
WESTMINSTER² (1753-58)

The Survey of London has established the history of these houses.³ They were built as a direct consequence of the re-ordering of the roads in the immediate area north of the Palace of Westminster to create an approach to the newly constructed Westminster Bridge, completed in 1749 (Fig. 5-map). The original Act of Parliament for building the new bridge was of 1735, but a further Act three years later empowered the bridge commissioners to buy up properties in the way of improved approach roads to the bridge.⁴ Thus Parliament Street first enters the rate books in 1750, formed as an improvement on King Street, the old north-south route through the site of Whitehall Palace.⁵

In 1753 James Mallors acquired from the bridge commissioners a parcel of land fronting the east side of the new street sufficient for three houses.⁶ It was a tight site, as it backed directly on old houses on Canon Row, the next street nearer the river, which Mallors and incorporated as back premises to the new houses fronting Parliament Street. The new houses were first occupied in 1758, although the rate books note two of the eventual tenants from 1755, but against the wrong, still empty, houses.⁷ The initial rateable values of the houses were: No. 43 at £130, 44 at £160 and 45 at £120, these values being considerably higher than their neighbours' in the terrace stretching north from Bridge Street to Derby Street, most of which were at £40-£60, with only one each at £85 and £100.⁸

The one associated craftsman so far discovered from the deeds registered at the Middlesex Deeds Registry is Henry Cheere,⁹ the sculptor whose yard was not far away, near St. Margaret's, Westminster and who lived at Charing Cross, close to his pupil, Robert Taylor.¹⁰

JOHN STREET AND THEOBALDS ROAD, HOLBORN (1754-60)¹¹

The site of this street had remained open to the fields northwards for several years after the neighbouring streets, Great James Street and Grays Inn Road, running south-north had been built up. The developer was John Blagrave, carpenter, of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, who in 1754 took a lease from Henry Doughty of the land running north from Theobalds Road as far as the present Northington Street. Blagrave undertook to build 15 or more houses and open a new street from south to north, which by 1756 had been designated John Street.¹² In practice a total of 35 houses were built, 18 in two opposed palace-fronted terraces forming the new street and a further 15 forming the southern returns of each terrace into Theobalds Road and concealing the mews running north behind (Fig. 6-map). This leaves a balance of two houses that were squeezed in at the start of John Street, directly behind the corner houses on Theobalds Road which were thus of only half the depth of their neighbours, as shown on close inspection of Horwood's map in figure 6. In addition there was a mews row behind each of the John Street terraces.

The terraces fronting Theobalds Road were built first, the tenants moving in mainly in 1756-57 and the last in 1759; the first of the John Street houses was also taken in 1756 and a further 12 by 1759. It is very likely that the whole development was completed by the next year, but that is an assumption based on the take-up to 1759, as there is then a gap in the rate books until 1764, by when the initial tenants are all

shown to be in.¹³ Rate valuations for John Street were on the west side £100 for the central house and £60 for the others, and slightly less (save for the central house, similarly at £100) on the east side on account of the squeezing of the plots by the diagonal slant of Little John Street (now Northington Street) to the north. The exceptions were the houses at the upper end of the street and the small houses squeezed in behind the end of the terraces in Theobalds Road, which were all at lower values.¹⁴ The Theobalds Road terraces were largely rated at £70 excepting the smaller houses at the corners and the additional eighth house at the west end of the west terrace.¹⁵

Blagrave's associated tradesmen are revealed by their being parties to the leases and comprised Richard Meel, mason, William Barlow, bricklayer, Peter Westcot, slater, John Bosworth, glazier, Richard Cook, plumber, Samuel Room, carver and John Spinnye, painter.¹⁶ The one major gap in this list of craftsmen is the plasterer, a significant lacuna, as will be seen.

Nearly all the houses survived until the Second World War, when the whole of the western Theobalds Road terrace, the corner houses of the eastern terrace, and a number of houses in John Street were destroyed in the Blitz. The Theobalds Road houses have not been replaced in character, whereas in John Street the damaged or lost houses were rebuilt with facsimile facades.

GREAT AND LITTLE GEORGE STREETS AND DELAHAY STREET, WESTMINSTER (1756-c1770 AND LATER)

The *Survey of London* has studied only Great George Street out of this development.¹⁷ 1750 saw not only the completion of Westminster Bridge, but also the cutting through of Bridge Street (the western approach to the new bridge) as far as newly formed Parliament Street and long established King Street. A continuation westwards of the line of Bridge Street

as far as Green Park was a natural improvement and within the powers of the bridge commissioners, but it was strangely left to a private speculator to realise (Fig. 5– map).

He was the same James Mallors who, as has been seen above, was also active in Parliament Street. In 1752–53 he obtained a private Act of Parliament empowering him to acquire properties on the site of Great George Street.¹⁸ The scale of the enterprise required extensive financing, as witnessed by the numerous mortgages on the houses logged with the Middlesex Deeds Registry. Samuel Cox and Thomas Parker,¹⁹ both of the Inner Temple, seem to have been Mallors's trustees and mortgaged houses to sometimes more than one party, including (Sir) Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, Stirlingshire; the trustees of the marriage settlement of the Hon. John Barrington; Frances Sabine of Brook Street; Henry Lyell; Susannah Morris, widow of York Buildings and Crooms Hill, Greenwich; Annabella and Jane Cornwall, spinsters; and Francis Lequesne.²⁰

The new street was to be at least 60 feet wide, lined with 'good and substantial houses' on plots at least 25 feet wide, thus improving an area of rambling irregular yards and alleys of no social distinction.²¹ There were ancillary developments in association with the creation of the new street.²² Delahay Street was to be regularised and widened from its former winding course of varying width. Little George Street was cut through the southern terrace of Great George Street towards its eastern end as a narrow spur to connect with the pre-existing street pattern. Finally the old east-west running George Inn Yard cum George Yard (later named Blue Boar Yard) were moved northward and also widened. This last allowed for much deeper plots along the northern terrace of Great George Street, equalling the depth of the deeper plots in the south terrace opposite.

Site acquisition and clearance took three years and the first of Mallors's new streets, Great George Street, first appears in the rate books in 1757.²³ In that street's completed form there were 38 houses in all,

but with a visual emphasis on two opposing palace-fronted terraces of 13 houses each, not quite at the mid point of the street because of the rhythm of the two side-street intersections. The *Survey of London* says that by 1757 the majority of the houses were built. However, that statement may need modification as there seems enough evidence that the houses were built in carcass and some remained unlet and unfinished for many years;²⁴ yet others appear to have been redecorated in gaps between tenancies.

Take up of the Great George Street houses was rapid only to start with, 24 being let by 1762.²⁵ A couple more were taken in 1765–66 and three more in 1770, but there were a number of stragglers, especially the block of three west of Delahay Street.²⁶ The 1757 rate book shows, in addition to the five houses that were already taken, the nearly complete run of houses in each terrace, marked 'E', for empty.²⁷ This, and the uniformity of facades with continuous running string courses, suggests that the development must have by then been roofed in; there is then repeated evidence of individual houses being completed, but not let immediately, even remaining empty for some years. The final houses, No. 35, 36 and 37 were not completed and taken until the 1790s. The houses were rated between £100 and £200, with No. 34 on a nearly double-width site at £400.²⁸

Little George Street was composed of much smaller houses, rated at less than half the cheapest houses in the main street, and all were occupied by 1763, save two houses on its east side. Delahay Street was another short street of smaller houses, of which all but one were taken in 1760–61;²⁹ in the following year one of Mallors's builder partnership, John Horne, occupied the last house in the street to be finished.³⁰ The stable yard which Delahay Street gave access to behind the northern terrace of Great George Street, however, proved the least successful part of the development, as the majority of the stables, having all been taken by 1761, were vacant again within two or three years, remaining so for some years. Rateable values were in the region of £30 to £40 for Little

George Street and £40 for Delahay Street.³¹

The leases in the Middlesex Deeds Registry relating to the Great George Street development include the following tradesmen for the initial campaign, besides Mallors, who is usually described as builder, but once as mason³²: John Horne, successively of Ludgate Hill and Parliament Street, St. Margaret's Westminster, at first as bricklayer and then 'Esq.';³³ his junior partner William Wilkinson, of St James, Westminster, also bricklayer and once mason, but never 'Esq.';³⁴ William Eves, of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, carpenter;³⁵ James Buttall, of St. Martins in the Field's, ironmonger;³⁶ and Robert Barber, of St. Margaret, Westminster, blacksmith.³⁷

The dissolution of this initial team had begun by December 1762, by which time Wilkinson was dead,³⁸ followed by the death of Horne by 1770³⁹ and Mallors himself before June 1775.⁴⁰ It seems clear that by the early 1770s Horne and Wilkinson had been succeeded by a plasterer, Thomas Clark, who was by then reassigning leases in Great George Street and was potentially updating the decoration of some houses in the street.⁴¹

Despite such redecoration, by the early 1780s the street was described as unfashionable by the Bishop of Llandaff, who was able to take in Great George Street 'a better house than I could have had for the same sum in a more polite part of town'.⁴² The process continued and No.18 *bis* was demolished prior to the street being numbered,⁴³ and then, before Horwood's 1819 map was surveyed, Nos. 17 and 18⁴⁴ were demolished in 1810 and their materials sold at auction by Creation and Son on October 10, 1810,⁴⁵ as part of the process of opening up the space for Parliament Square. No. 34 and 35, the old State Paper Office, the last houses in the north terrace on the east corner with Delahay Street were surveyed by Soane's office in 1829⁴⁶ and later rebuilt as three houses with stucco Italianate fronts by Henry John Wyatt (died 1862). By then government and other offices had begun to move into the street,⁴⁷ sometimes

involving rebuilding, and wholesale demolition had taken place by 1910, so that of the original fabric in the street today the façade only of No. 11 survives.⁴⁸ The south side now comprises, from east to west, Alfred Waterhouse's Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors of 1896–98, re-using some internal fittings from the original houses on the site, then 'a utilitarian C20 stone building' replacing an interim building by Halsey Ricardo of 1887 and finally the Institution of Civil Engineers of 1912 by James Miller of Glasgow.⁴⁹ The whole of the north side is composed of J M Brydon's New Government Offices.⁵⁰

56 & 58 ARTILLERY LANE (1756–57)

The *Survey of London*, in its study of these houses, has shown how in mid-1756 Nicholas Jourdain, the existing occupier of No. 58 Artillery Lane, who already held the lease of both No.56 and 58, not only extended his lease on these two but also acquired co-terminating leases on adjacent plots, together with 'all messuages to be erected' thereon.⁵¹ In March 1757 he then leased out a parcel of these properties, including No. 52 Artillery Lane, to Peter Motteux⁵² and in June of the same year he re-leased No. 56 to its occupier, Francis Rybot. That Jourdain was evidently redeveloping the properties is confirmed both by the above and by the lease to Rybot, wherein No. 56 was described as a 'new built messuage'.⁵³ Meanwhile the rateable value of both No. 56 and 58 had doubled to £30 each.⁵⁴ In the opinion of the *Survey*, 'the survival of earlier interior features indicates that neither No. 56 nor No. 58 can have been wholly rebuilt at this time'.⁵⁵ However this conclusion may need modification.

Both houses were badly damaged by a 1970s fire in the upper storeys, but the interiors were about that time reinstated in facsimile and horizontal links with gib doors made between the two houses. Since then the rococo carved wood continuous chimneypiece

from No. 56 has been recovered from America by the Spitalfields Trust for reinstatement in No. 56 as soon as the future of the pair is secured, as at present they are unoccupied.

THE CHARACTER OF THE HOUSES

The three Parliament Street houses originally formed a unified composition, a trio with the central one higher than the other two. The three-bay elevations were all originally of brick, as No. 43 still is, but No. 44 was rendered in stucco probably at the same time early in the 19th century as the first floor windows were dropped, and No. 45 has been replaced by a taller stuccoed house late in the same century. Tallis's *Street Views* of 1839 shows that the flanking houses, No. 43 and 45, were built of three floors over a basement and with garrets, over a modillion cornice, in the mansard roof. Whereas No. 44 is four full floors high, the uppermost forming an attic over a cornice and with a top parapet pierced by three sections of balustrading for the garret windows in the roof. Tallis also shows that Nos. 43 and 45 had plat bands to the first floor forming a surbase; by supposition it can be assumed that this feature continued through the central house as well, before the windows were lengthened. The surviving doorcase at No. 43 is of wood and has engaged Tuscan columns, both with a complete section of entablature, supporting a pediment with open base framing a fanlight over the door.

Note must be made of the current arrangement of window architraves to the first and second floors of No. 44 Parliament Street. These are in 19th century stucco frames, but they and the entablature to the side windows and the pediment to the central one on the first floor may be a renewal of the original eighteenth-century articulation of the façade.

The frontages to Parliament Street, 25 feet wide, were wider than the four pre-existing houses on

Canon Row. To reconcile this, the central plot was allocated the central pair of Canon Row houses and thus the two outer plots skewed sideways from front to back and had back premises only half the width of the central house, as shown in the plan of No. 43 and 44 reproduced from the *Survey* volume (Fig. 21). While being based on the traditional terrace house plan of front and narrower back rooms flanked by a hall which leads to stairs in a wider compartment behind, this arrangement could only be achieved on the ground floors, because of the proximity of the pre-existing Canon Row houses. The upper floors are one room deep only on the Parliament Street fronts with the stairs continuing in an outshot,⁵⁶ thus allowing a light well before the back of the three-storey, two-room deep, block on Canon Row. In No. 43 the stair outshot does not rise to eaves height and, at the second and third floor levels, the stairs shift to the back corner of the main structure, whereas the outshot at No. 44 has been heightened at a later date to take the stairs the full height of the house.

The interiors of the two surviving houses are noteworthy. Both feature rococo plasterwork, richer in the central house, but featured in more rooms in its southern neighbour, including the back premises on Canon Row. The ceiling of the first floor front room at No. 44 (Fig. 33) is modelled in particularly high relief with symmetrically disposed, tightly packed motifs. These include *rocaille*-bordered C-scrolls which form compartments around the quatrefoil centrepiece. These compartments contain vases of flowers, which in turn suspend running floral garlands. Tree frond and leaf corners break through an egg-and-dart-moulded straight-line border on the diagonal with a looped and pointed strapwork interlace which has a leaf calyx terminal. The simpler ceilings at No. 43 (Fig. 30) are more sparsely composed of similar motifs, with greater emphasis on line decoration which divides the space into concentrically centred compartments. Door and window architraves in both houses are carved with boldly scaled shell and dart. The stair at No. 43 has a

rare Chinese Chippendale fret balustrade, constructed (in a display of virtuosity) on the curve at the junction with the landings, whilst the treads are of wood but made to look as though constructed in cantilevered stone, necessitating a cranked iron strap for strengthening towards the outer edge (Fig. 14). The wall surface of the stairs is pierced by sunken roundels at each storey and there is a niche (seated on a label) opposite the first landing. The construction of this niche is **particular**, as its depth on what is an outside wall required the formation of a curved, hanging outshot with its own semi-conical section of roof (plan, Fig. 15). Finally, both houses were recorded by the *Survey of London* as having a range of fine quality stone and wood chimneypieces.⁵⁷ These were attributed by Pevsner to Henry Cheere (Fig. 72 & 73).⁵⁸ This attribution may now be confirmed by the fact of Cheere's early involvement in the houses, as he was re-assigned the head leases on them by Mallors on 16 March 1753.⁵⁹ The two stone chimneypieces in No. 43 made liberal use of jasper panels; their statuary tablets featured scenes from Aesop's Fables, based on Francis Barlow's designs for the Fables published in 1665–66 and 1687; the other chimneypieces are of wood and had similarly carved tablets and Chinese fret frieze friezes.⁶⁰ Presumably they must also be due to Cheere.

The John Street terraces (Fig. 2), four storeys above a basement, are composed of three-bay houses with brick plat bands at first and second floor levels, excepting the two centrepiece houses (Fig. 4). These two are of four bays, break forward slightly and have greater floor heights. Unlike their neighbours, there is a stone plat band (now painted) at first floor level only and a cornice supporting a pediment against an attic that is lit by two small square flanking windows and an oval light in the tympanum. These centre-terrace houses are 35 feet wide, whereas the flanking houses are on graduated plots, 28 feet in the southern half towards Theobalds Road, the plots in the northern half of the terraces reducing from 26 feet. The Theobalds Road terraces are of similar

character to John Street, but the plots are slightly narrower (at 22 feet) and, while there was central emphasis through the stepping forward of the house in the middle of each terrace and a similar arrangement of plat bands, there is no pediment, only a cornice below the attic of the central house.

The original arrangement of doorcases in John Street was of two types, both generously scaled for their setting and both with engaged Roman Doric or Ionic columns supporting a pediment. The Doric examples (Fig. 11) are very similar to that at 43 Parliament Street, the Ionic ones (Fig. 10) also have unfluted Roman columns, but sport fully enclosed pediments over dentil cornices and pulvinated friezes, allowing no space for a light above the door. The Theobalds Road doorcases are all of the Doric type with either a Greek key or Chinese fret frieze below fully enclosed pediments; one has stop-fluted columns. In both streets there are extra narrow lights beside those doorcases with enclosed-base pediments in order to light the halls.

The John Street and Theobalds Road plans diverge from the standard terrace pattern of a hall and stairs behind, successively running beside a wider front and narrower back room. Here there is still a room front and back, but the stairs are either at the front in a wider hall, or top-lit in the middle of the house, parallel to the street, and the back rooms are the grander, commonly with a canted bay or deep bow overlooking the garden (Fig. 8 & 7). In the houses with central stairs, an elliptical or semicircular arched opening with moulded impost leads to the stair compartment. Only in three of the surviving John Street houses and three of the remaining Theobalds Road houses is or was the stair in the conventional position at the back and the principal rooms to the street, and, what is more, those of the conventional plan in Theobalds Road are those backing onto the flank wall at the south end of the mews block behind, obviating the desirable outlook of the other houses in the terrace.

The interiors are unusually finely fitted. The

staircases (with three exceptions) are of timber, generally with cut strings and carved spandrels to the tread ends, Doric column newels to mahogany handrails with curtails at the foot, and two plainly turned balusters to a tread (Fig. 17). From the second floor rises a smaller scaled stair sometimes with a Chinese Chippendale fret balustrade, also found on some flights down to the basement (Fig. 16). A more robustly membered Chinese fret balustrade (in part of the same pattern as at No. 43 Parliament Street) rises through the full height of No. 5 John Street's stair, again with column newels, and the carving of the tread ends here is particularly fine (Fig. 18 & 19). As at Parliament Street, great virtuosity is shown by carrying this fret round in a curve at the curtail at the foot of the stair. The uppermost wall surfaces below the top light of the stair at No. 31, 32 & 35 have blank plaster ovals.

Well-carved ornamental enrichment is found throughout Blagrove's development at John Street *cum* Theobalds Road. Ground floor rooms are lined in panelling of two heights, with corniced doorcases; in the better rooms the mouldings are generously carved, the window architraves likewise, with bold shell-and-dart pattern, and the doorheads with finely carved friezes (Fig. 56), evidently all due to Samuel Room. Also due to him must be the several finely carved wood chimneypieces, with enriched architraves to the marble slips, along with equally enriched friezes and cornice shelves. Some have a stepped-back upper stage with an enriched capping (Fig. 47); several feature rococo scrollwork or Chinese fret friezes, others short sections of pulvinated frieze over the jambs as though implying an order below, while yet others have floral drops below pronounced consoles terminating the frieze (Fig. 50 & 51). No.20 Theobalds Road contains a stone chimneypiece with carved reliefs to the tablet and frieze, (Fig. 74) reminiscent of those at Parliament Street, attributed to Cheere.

The first floor rooms, whilst similarly fitted up to those below, have in contrast plastered walls over a

dado, and in several instances ornate modelled plaster ceilings of pronounced rococo character (Fig. 27, 29 & 32). These are symmetrical and, like those at No. 43 Parliament Street, based on lined out compartments, either containing or overlapped by rococo decoration. Again there is a fondness for looped and pointed strapwork interlace running into leafy tendrils or graduated calyxes, as already seen at Parliament Street. Such ceilings are at Nos. 3, 30, 32, 33 & 35 John Street and No. 20 Theobalds Road.

The loss of the interiors of No. 6 John Street, the central house in the east terrace, burnt out in the Blitz (Fig. 4), its façade since rebuilt in approximate facsimile with the omission of the pediment, is pointed up by the survival of the answering house in the west terrace, No. 33. This has an unfortunate late nineteenth-century doorcase of cement render, but otherwise exhibits grander, richer decoration than its neighbours, both in plaster and woodwork. The plan of this house has the stair rising to one side of the wide hall in one and a half straight flights to the first floor, from which it continues round a top-lit well which rises through the centre of the house.⁶¹ Hall and stair are wide enough to allow two full-sized rooms at the back. The room directly behind the stairs has a gently apsed back wall, allowing a closet either side of the window, while the other back room has a generous bow projecting into the garden.

The highly architectonic, first floor front room of this house (Fig. 27) remains the grandest in the street, its correspondingly rich fittings marred slightly by the loss of its doorcases, stolen while the house lay empty in the later 1950s.⁶² At some 34 feet wide, its scale is unusual outside the better parts of the West End of London; its northern end is divided off by a shallow tripartite screen, composed of a wider central and narrow flanking semi-elliptical arches which spring from individual, four-sided, sections of full entablature supported by short, fluted Ionic columns on shallow square blocks (Fig. 28). The answering carved wood chimneypiece at the south end has a lugged shell-and-dart architrave to

the marble slip flanked by engaged columns of the same order (Fig. 47). The central tablet and frieze are richly decorated with carved *rocaille* and C-scrolls under a dentil cornice that breaks forward over the tablet and breaks forward again over the column jambs, where it forms the upper member of a full entablature with enriched pulvinated frieze. Over the cornice is a shallower upper section with an enriched capping. Lastly, an enriched modillion cornice frames the elaborately modelled rococo ceiling.

A further example of the use of short columns to articulate a room is found at No. 8 John Street. Here, in the front ground floor room, there is a screen at the back of the room with a depressed arch supported by fluted Ionic columns with complete sections of enriched entablature.

The Great George Street houses,⁶³ very reminiscent of John Street, were of four storeys over basements, the uppermost in the form of attics over a modillion cornice (Fig. 1). Again there were stone plat bands at first and second floor levels, the first floor here also with a narrower band at window cill height defining a surbase. These bands ran continuously all along the terraces, including the centrepiece houses, which broke forward slightly, and where (as at John Street) the cornice became the base of a pediment with a central oval window in the tympanum and two flanking square windows lighting the attic (Fig. 3). The south terrace spanned the entrance to Little George Street, the ground floor pierced by a depressed-arch triple opening, the narrower side ones for the pavements (Fig. 26).

Doorcases at Great George Street, as at John Street, were basically of two patterns, but with a greater proportion of later stylistic substitutions. Initially, while some of the doorcases were of the engaged Doric pattern (Fig. 12), as used at both Parliament and John Streets, a majority featured an arched brick opening containing an implied serliana, with over-arching side lights above the fan lights directly over the door (Fig. 3 & 13).

The plans are at first sight of conventional form,

as suggested by the basic plans of the main ground floor rooms shown in the *Survey* volume's chapters on the individual houses: these show the front ground-floor rooms to have had recesses at the back, probably indicating permanently set-up dining rooms with serving recesses. However, the *Survey* also published detailed plans of the ground and first floors of No. 28–32, which show that these houses, at least, on the north side of the street, incorporated extra, deeper rooms beyond the main and secondary stairs, in substitution for the small closet more commonly still found in this position at this period, the second half of the 1750s (Fig. 22). A natural supposition, on the basis of the great depth of many of the plots is that others on both the north and south sides had the same arrangement of a deep back wing behind the stairs. The relevant houses are Nos. 7–16 and 21–32, seemingly confirmed by their higher rateable values. The significance of this type of plan will be explored below.

Staircases in Great George Street were of cantilevered stone with shaped undersides to the steps and wrought-iron balustrades to a mahogany handrail. The ironwork was generally of either lyre or S-scroll pattern (Fig. 23 & 24), the latter with interwoven leafy tendrils; although at No. 15, a house with the stairs at the front, to one side of the hall, with which it connected via a triple-arched arcade, the wrought iron panels were of a hangover baroque style (Fig. 20). In some houses the main stairs rose to the first floor only, there being a flying gallery above at second-floor level, accessed by the secondary stairs (Fig. 22 & 23).

Ground floor rooms at Great George Street were lined in wood panelling of two heights (Fig. 55 & 59). Enriched wood fittings were particularly prevalent; these included window and door architraves, door heads, dado rails and skirting mouldings, and especially chimneypieces, which were frequently of breakfront, continuous form with framed and pedimented panels above (Fig. 52, 65 & 75). Much of this decoration was in a pronounced

rococo style, overlaying a basically Palladian format of Kentian type. The overmantels made much use of Greek key and guilloche bands (Fig. 49, 54, 65 & 75), as did window and doorcases, these last being frequently surmounted by an enriched frieze and cornice (Fig. 55, 57–62).

Good marble chimneypieces were also to be found at Great George Street: two at Nos. 6 & 10, with entablatures which break forward over respective Ionic and Corinthian columns (Fig. 48), being reminiscent of the columned chimneypieces in wood at Nos. 33 & 35 John Street.

None of the interiors dating from before the late 1760s exhibited enriched ceilings, plaster decoration being confined to cornices and occasionally in panels on staircase walls, as at Nos. 8, 9 & 10 (Fig. 35 & 36). This last was Gothick, the foliate scrolls and leaf tendrils winding up from the base being reminiscent of the ceilings in Parliament and John Streets and Theobalds Road. At No. 6 Great George Street there were rococo trophies on the staircase walls (Fig. 39). All the foregoing plasterwork was clearly contemporary with the houses' construction, the second half of the 1750s, but there are a number of houses that were clearly subsequently redecorated and gaps in occupancy may help dating these alterations.⁶⁴

The Artillery Lane houses are on plots 26 feet wide and the description of them in the *Survey* speaks for itself (bearing in mind that the shop-front of No. 58 was replaced in the early 19th century) and is worth quoting at length:

Nos. 56 and 58 are paired houses, well built and larger than the majority of houses in the neighbourhood, each containing a basement cellar and four storeys, the attic perhaps replacing an earlier roof garret. The ground floor of No. 56 contains the shop and a back room, and alongside the party wall with No. 54 is a narrow hall leading to the stair compartment. The first floor has a large front room with three front windows and a back room. The same arrangement occurs on the two upper floors, except that there are two front rooms, one with two windows and the other with one. The chimney-stack serving the

back rooms adjoins the staircase wall, an unusual position. The plan of No. 58 mirrors that of No. 56, and both houses *have back additions with rooms entered from the staircase half-landings* [my italics].

Apart from the shop-fronts filling the ground storey, the houses share a front of yellow and pink stock bricks, built to a design that reflects the sensible good taste shown in the smaller London houses of Ware and Flitcroft. Each house has three windows evenly spaced in each upper storey, the groups being linked on the first and second floors by recessed panels against the party wall. A block cornice of stone defines the attic storey, the brick face of which is carried up to form a parapet with a narrow stone coping. The window openings have stone sills, flat arches of gauged brickwork, and plastered reveals framing the double-hung sashes, most of which retain the original stout-section glazing bars. While the windows are all of equal width, their height decreases with each successive storey.

No. 56 has the finest mid-Georgian shop-front surviving in London. Extending the full width of the house, it is divided into four bays of different width by Doric three-quarter columns, which stand on plain stone pedestals and have moulded bases, plain shafts, and enriched capitals, all of wood. The extreme left-hand column has a much smaller girth than the others and its capital is not enriched. From the left, the first and third bays are equal and contain the shop windows; the shop entrance is [between them] in the second bay, and the house door is in the fourth. The windows form projecting bays with straight fronts and rounded angles, and they rest on stallboard gratings of vertical iron bars. Stout glazing bars divide each window, horizontally into five panes, each end one quadrant curved, and vertically into four panes with a fifth above the moulded transom. Stone steps rise to the shop's door of two leaves, each with a tall upper panel of glazing set in a 'Chippendale' geometrical fret pattern of moulded bars. The house door has six panels, the lower two flush and the others raised and fielded. The plain jambs of the doorway have enriched Doric impostes, the top members continuing on the transom beneath the wrought iron fanlight grille of Chinese-Rococo fret design. The shop windows and flanking columns are surmounted by an architrave and triglyphed frieze, the triglyphs centred over the columns being truncated by the shaped brackets that

project in support of the overhanging corona of the mutuled cornice. Architrave and cornice are omitted above the doorways in favour of two elaborately carved motifs set against a plain ground. An oval cartouche in a Rococo frame flanked by palm branches marks the shop entrance, and the house doorway has a double festoon of drapery centred on an Aurora mask encircled by rays with scrolls below. The first floor windows of No. 56 have been lengthened to give easy access to the balcony formed over the shop-front cornice. The cast iron railing of the Regency period has four identical panels, with anthemion ornaments and a diagonal bracing of spearheads enclosed in a border of small circles.⁶⁵

The shop interior at No. 56 retains what appears to be the original arrangement of three arched recesses against the party wall with No. 58. These are divided by plain pilasters with moulded impost. A tripartite treatment is also employed in the entrance halls to the two houses (Fig. 25). Tuscan pilasters supporting transverse arched bands divide the space into three equal bays with the ceiling divided into three corresponding square compartments, the middle one with a circular panel supported by pendentives, the ones either end being cross-vaulted. The central ceiling bay of the hall of No. 56 is decorated with a foliate boss; the equivalent compartment next door has a plain boss.

The *Survey* dates the stairs of both Nos. 56 and 58 to circa 1720, but their similarity to the wood stairs in the John Street houses would more convincingly suggest they are part of the 1756–58 campaign at Artillery Lane. Certainly a mahogany handrail would be early, although possible, for the 1720s. At Nos. 56 and 58 the two doorcases on the first floor landing, giving on to the front and back rooms, both have pedimented heads and at No. 56 the wall surface is additionally panelled out with plaster mouldings which have concave indented angles (Fig. 38). Over the door to the front room there is a double floral festoon with side drops running down beside the doorcase, suspended over the apex of the pediment from a ribbon-tied bow and at the sides from shell-

like *rocaille* motifs. There are further pendant drops within the panels on the side walls. The stair walls at No. 58 are plain, perhaps smoothed off in the early nineteenth century campaign during which its shop front was altered.

The panelled first floor front room of No. 56 is fitted out with two pedimented doorcases (Fig. 41) and glazed china or book cupboards with open headed swan-neck pediments in the alcoves either side of the chimneybreast. Above the veined white marble rococo chimneypiece, terminating at its cornice shelf, there is another double floral festoon with side drops, this time suspended from ribbon bows at sides and centre (Fig. 37). The room behind, lined with fielded panels of two heights, used to have an exuberantly rococo chinoiserie continued chimneypiece (Fig. 78), and the window overlooking the back yard is of astylar Venetian form. The two doorcases here have open swan-neck pediments and there is a gib door in the back corner leading into the deep room behind, which is also accessible from the stairs. The front room at No. 58 retains its rococo ceiling, but it has been stripped of its panelling and continued chimneypiece (Fig. 66). The ceiling (Fig. 31) is very reminiscent of that at No. 22 Theobalds Road and others in John Street, again with a straight line border, *rocaille* C-scrolls, vases (rather than baskets) of flowers, leafy fronds and repeated looped and pointed strapwork interlace, which terminates in the graduated foliate calyxes already noted above. The chimneypiece was of Kentian form, again overlaid with rococo ornament, particularly to the frieze, and the architrave to the stone slip was carved with bold shell and dart (Fig. 76 and detail, Fig. 67).

The *Survey* described the fielded panelling in the back first floor room and the chimneypieces in the upper rooms at No. 56 (Fig. 70) as hangovers from the houses of c1720 that Jourdain remodelled. But these, while admittedly old-fashioned, are arguably from the 1750s. It must be remembered that the front doors to the house also have fielded panels; and the chimneypieces on these upper floors are very like

those at Parliament, John and Great George Streets, with Chinese fret friezes and bold shell-and-dart carved architraves to their marble slips (Fig. 71 & 72).

THE ATTRIBUTION TO TAYLOR

The attribution to Taylor can be made both on grounds of style and of patronage. But the first clues are constructional. Wood stairs made to resemble cantilevered stone, necessitating a cranked iron strap for strengthening, as at 43 Parliament Street (Fig. 14), is a device employed by him at Harleyford Manor, Buckinghamshire, of 1755, and Barlaston Hall, Staffordshire, of 1756–68. The very particular construction of the hanging outshot for the staircase niche at No. 43 Parliament Street (Fig. 15) was repeated on a now demolished arm of the double stairs attributed to Taylor at Delapré Abbey, Northamptonshire.⁶⁶ The niche at Parliament Street also sits on a label, a motif that Taylor was particularly fond of using on hall and staircase walls, for instance at Sharpham, Devon and Thorncroft, Surrey.

In the 1750s Taylor had a fondness for Chinese-Chippendale stair balustrades for both constructional and stylistic reasons, and it is significant that the examples at 43 Parliament and 5 John Streets are in part of similar pattern (Fig. 14 & 19), while the lighter fretted balustrades of the flights to the upper floors and the basements in other of the John Street houses and at Parliament Street also match, even though the craftsmen in each campaign were different (Fig. 16 & 17). Another contemporary use of a curved Chinese fretted balustrade attributed to Taylor is found at Twickenham House, Abingdon, where the balustrade (as at No. 5 John Street) follows the line of the curtail.⁶⁷ Abingdon House is incidentally a house full of Taylor's 1750s stylistic traits, with its octagonal door panels and window glazing, blind arcading to rooms, a carved wood rococo continued chimneypiece and an overdoor carving, identical to that at No. 56

Artillery Lane, of an Aurora mask against a double drapery festoon.

The taste for Chinese frets, so evident in these four developments, both in stair balustrades and chimneypiece friezes, is a facet of the rococo in England. Like other second-generation Palladian architects, Taylor's 1750s style is also characterised by rococo decoration, whether in wood or plaster, as with the trophies to the stair walls at No. 56 Artillery Lane and 6 Great George Street (Fig. 38 & 39), which are reminiscent of Taylor's use of trophies at Barlaston, themselves less florid than those at Harleyford. Taylor's predilection for rococo applied decoration was doubtless reinforced by his original calling as a sculptor and carver, bearing in mind that rocaille in Britain was commonly more sympathetically responded to in the applied arts than architecture. And while pure sculpture was one of the Fine Arts, so much of the work of a carver was in the nature of applied art. That said, Taylor's marble rococo chimneypieces are distinctly un-English, even French or Italian in manner, as with the one in the front first floor room at No. 56 Artillery Lane (Fig. 37).

The re-assignment of Mallors's Parliament Street leases to the sculptor Henry Cheere lends veracity to a Taylor attribution. Taylor was apprenticed to Cheere and initially lived next door at Charing Cross (before moving to a house in Spring Gardens backing onto the same yard). If Mallors is documented working in association with Taylor's master, it is highly plausible that he should be working with the sculptor's former pupil. And the link continues at Blagrove's development, as we find another Aesop's Fable marble chimneypiece attributable to Cheere at 20 Theobalds Road as well (Fig. 74).

The twelve chimneypiece designs by Taylor that survive at the Taylorian Institute, Oxford, are all rococo. Some of these, in both the overall form and individual elements, mirror the exuberant chimneypiece at No. 56 Artillery Lane. Some also feature double floral festoons and side drops decorating the wall space above the overmantel,

which are very similar to the festoons in the same house, even down to the shell-like rocaille clasps from which they are suspended.⁶⁸

A recurrent motif in Taylor's town houses was the placing of a Venetian window in the back first floor room, overlooking the yard, seen here at 56 Artillery Lane, and used by him at 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields and Ely House, Dover Street. A similarly long-running preoccupation of his was in exploring the use of short columns to articulate a room. Whilst we do not find in these four schemes an example of his use of a screen of such columns to enable a view of the room 'as it were from an external point of view',⁶⁹ the room at No. 33 John Street comes very close to such a spatial device (Fig. 27). The use of short columns with their own individual sections of complete entablature both here in No. 33 and at 8 John Street is completely typical of him. So is the use of almost over-scaled pedimented doorcases, whether externally, as at John Street and Theobalds Road (Fig. 4), or internally as at Artillery Lane (Fig. 38 & 41). Part of this architectonic approach to room elevations was the use of recessed roundels, seen on No. 43 Parliament Street's stair (Fig. 14); the ovals on the upper stage of the stairs at John Street may be seen as a variation on this theme. Another recurrent theme in Taylor's work is the tripartite vaulted ceiling in halls and over stair heads and the tightly confined articulation in the halls at Artillery Lane, if on a miniaturised scale, is quite typical (Fig. 25).

Taylor's villas are famed for their exploration of new ideas in planning and the articulation of their elevations with canted bays or generous bows. All of the schemes under discussion here show a parallel concern for planning, and while the use of canted bays at the backs of terrace housing might be expected of him (Fig. 8 & 9), the similarly positioned bowed rooms in John Street are ahead of their time, but equally to be expected, considering Taylor's use of them in his 1750s villas. And as with the villas they were reserved for the principal room, which in so many of the John Street houses was at the back (Fig. 7).

Finally, in considering planning, the idiosyncratic placing of two houses as it were side-by-side at the end of the terraces in Theobalds Road where they turn into John Street (Fig. 6), may well prove to be a repeated device of Taylor's, for it also occurs at the Bond Street termination of his Grafton Street development.⁷⁰

The early residents of these schemes also reveal links with Taylor; and because of his known role as an estate agent, more than just the initial residents should be considered. Marcus Binney's study of Taylor analysed his patrons as follows: City men, particularly bankers and directors of the Bank of England, directors of the East India Company, men with interests in the West Indies, government financiers and army contractors, soldiers and sailors of fortune, lawyers, clients of the Duke of Newcastle and of the third Duke of Grafton.⁷¹ Many men like these were residents of these four development schemes.

The first occupants of the three Parliament Street houses were all MPs. John Calcraft, at No. 43, son of the Town Clerk of Grantham, made a fortune as an army contractor and gradually amassed considerable influence in the Commons.⁷² Edward Eliot, later created Lord Eliot, of Port Eliot, Cornwall, at No. 44, controlled seven Parliamentary seats and, after the death of the Prince of Wales in 1751, joined Newcastle, being appointed to a lucrative position as a Lord of Trade and Plantations in 1759, a post that he retained until 1776. He was also, in 1771, one of the founders of the Cornish Bank.⁷³ His sister was married to Charles Cocks, a Newcastle-supporting MP, later created Lord Somers, and brother to Thomas Somers Cocks, banker, of Charing Cross, who was a tenant of the houses in Downing Square which were possibly re-developed by Taylor.⁷⁴ John Olmius, of No. 45 Parliament Street, was the grandson of a rich Dutch merchant in the City and son of a Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, and he married the daughter and heiress of a Lord Mayor of London. He was a supporter of Walpole and then Newcastle, and was created Lord Waltham in 1762.⁷⁵

The John Street development proves equally fruitful ground, full of City men. The most curious fact is that one of the two small corner houses, the one tucked in behind the end of the east Theobalds Road terrace, was the London house of Barlow Trecothick, Alderman from 1764 and later Lord Mayor – a real case of City parsimony, although he did acquire a country house at Addington, near Croydon.⁷⁶ Trecothick was at no time a large-scale government contractor, although he was often in partnership with those who were, for instance with Sir George Colebrooke, who was a well-documented patron of Taylor.⁷⁷

The first occupant of the pedimented central house on the east side of John Street was Bamber Gascoyne, the son of a Lord Mayor, who went on to become a Lord of Trade and Plantations and a Lord of the Admiralty.⁷⁸ Otherwise we find one bank director, Thomas Plummer; four East India directors, John Purling, Thomas Dethick, Edward Holden Cruttenden, and Joseph Hurlock, who went on to become chairman; two South Sea directors, Thomas Liell and Richard Salwey; and a Royal Exchange Assurance director, Arthur Stert.⁷⁹ Of these the most significant for the present argument was Salwey, who in 1760–61 took No. 33 John Street, the large central house in the west terrace; he was the brother of a Bank director and married to the sister of another, Mark Weyland. Moreover, his Bank director brother, Theophilus Salwey, died as Richard was on the point of moving into John Street, and Richard as executor was responsible for the monument to his brother in Ludlow church that Theophilus's will directed should be erected at a cost of £250⁸⁰ (Fig. 42). This monument is based on a design by Taylor now at the Taylorian Institute, Oxford,⁸¹ (Fig. 43) and provides a direct link for the design of this street and its associated terraces on Theobalds Road being attributed to Taylor.⁸²

One Isabella Ord is a vital resident to fix, as it would greatly assist the present argument if a connection could be established with James Ord,

who was in partnership with Edward Manning, 'a very rich merchant and ship-owner whose trading was a major element in Jamaica's economy'.⁸³ Both Manning, who died in December 1756, and his other associate, George Hinde, who died a few months earlier, are commemorated by memorial tablets in the parish church at Kingston, Jamaica, clearly attributable to Taylor.⁸⁴ Again, there is a Tayloresque monument to the Beversham Filmer (†1763), bachelor uncle of the like-named resident in John Street from 1764, who, as a second son may well have inherited from his unmarried uncle; the two were successful barristers. The calyxed volutes flanking the monument (Fig. 69) are repeated on the overmantel of the continued chimneypiece in the first floor room at 58 Artillery Lane (Fig. 68) and on the series of chimneypieces by Taylor at Asgill House, Richmond; 12 Downing Street; Ely House, Dover Street and 4 Grafton Street.⁸⁵

The residents of Great George Street, being in Westminster and so close to Parliament, were more politically based (as were the three Parliament Street houses), but several also had a City base. John Wilkes is a case in point. The son of a Clerkenwell-based malt distiller, he took 13 Great George Street in the year he was returned for Parliament, and went on to become an infamous champion of press freedom, later Sheriff and Lord Mayor.⁸⁶

Two of the earliest to sign up in this development, appearing in the rate books from 1760, have close or direct links with Taylor. Augustus Boyd, a successful City-based merchant with West Indies connections, who had also specialised in lobbying Parliament on behalf of his sugar-planting clients, was the father of the Sir John Boyd who twice employed Taylor, at Danson Hill, Kent, in 1762–67, and at No. 33 Upper Brook Street, Mayfair, in 1767–68, and was then the first resident at Taylor's No. 7 Grafton Street.⁸⁷ And, as suggested by Richard Lea and Chris Miele, the father may well have taken the house in Great George Street at the advanced age of 83 on his son's insistence, as a West End house seems out of character with Augustus's previously demonstrated

character, and it was the son who concentrated on Westminster business once he had joined the family business in the early 1740s.⁸⁸ In the same year (1760) Edmund Keene, then Bishop of Chester, took one of the stables off Delahay Street in the yard behind the north terrace of Great George Street; he had been resident in Downing Street since 1758⁸⁹ (so must presumably have had a stable elsewhere before this) and it was for him that Taylor had worked at Chester Palace in 1754–57 and was to work at Ely Palace from 1771 and build Ely House, Dover Street, in 1772–76.⁹⁰

Earl Ferrers, later an Admiral, lived in the street from 1760. Further navy connections are suggested by Sir William Meredith, MP, resident at No. 20 from 1757 to 1762, and in 1765 a Lord of Admiralty.⁹¹ The Hon. George Grenville, sometime Treasurer, Lord and First Lord of the Admiralty, then Prime Minister, lived at No. 34 in 1761, in which house he was succeeded by the Earl of Halifax, who moved in in the year that he was First Lord of the Admiralty. Sir Gilbert Elliot, resident at No. 22 from 1770, had in the late 1750s also been a Lord of Admiralty and a Lord of the Treasury, and was Treasurer of the Navy from 1770 to his death in 1777.⁹² Sir Gilbert was additionally the eldest brother of General Elliot, later ennobled as Lord Heathfield, for whom Taylor is said to have remodelled Heathfield Park, Sussex, in 1766.⁹³

Residents from 1761 included Captain Pownall, the brother of two MPs,⁹⁴ and one of Binney's sailors of fortune, for whom Taylor was to build Sharpham, Devon, circa 1770,⁹⁵ and Sir John Gibbons, an MP and Newcastle follower, who had 'an immense fortune in land and money'. He was West Indies based, the eldest son of the Speaker of the Lower House of Assembly in Barbados, and maintained an active interest in that island's affairs even after he settled in England, remaining a member of the Assembly until at least 1767.⁹⁶ Gibbons's wife was the daughter of Rev. Scawen Kenrick, sometime rector of St. Martins in the Fields and Hambledon, Buckinghamshire. The Kenricks were doubly related to the Claytons of Taylor's neighbouring Harleyford

Manor in Buckinghamshire,⁹⁷ and the mausoleum at Hambledon erected to Scawen Kenrick by his son, Gibbons's brother-in-law, has been suggested as Taylor's work.⁹⁸ And Gibbons was MP for Wallingford when in 1767 Taylor was commissioned to fit up the interior of St. Peter's church in the town.⁹⁹

In 1762 Richard Hoare, banker, took No. 3 Great George Street. Taylor's father had worked for the Hoares at Stourhead, Wiltshire, in 1724 and 1732–33;¹⁰⁰ the connection was maintained as Richard Hoare next moved in 1767 into Taylor's No. 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields, in succession to Sir Thomas Sewell, the first occupant there,¹⁰¹ meanwhile retaining the lease on 3 Great George Street where redecoration was carried out in the late 1770s. Henry Drummond, another banker, took No. 10 Great George Street in 1761. He handled a considerable amount of American business for Drummond's bank, which was located at Charing Cross (not only where Taylor first house was, at No. 64, but also backing onto Spring Gardens where Taylor moved in 1757). From 1759 he acted as an army agent, later taking over many of Calcraft's agencies and becoming a government contractor.¹⁰²

Thomas Bradshaw was from 1762 the second resident of 5 Great George Street. From humble beginnings he secured a position as clerk in the War Office and was taken up by the chief there, Viscount Barrington (of whom more is said below), who, on becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer, transferred Bradshaw to the Treasury. There he developed as an important civil servant, forming links with several pivotal politicians, especially the Duke of Grafton, 'who as First Lord of the Treasury, appointed Bradshaw its secretary and brought him into Parliament for Harwich;' thence Bradshaw became Grafton's 'confidential man of business for both public and private affairs' and ended his career as a Lord of Admiralty.¹⁰³

George Brudenell, MP, resident in Great George Street from 1763, was a courtier who was not only a close friend of Lord Lincoln, Newcastle's nephew

and eventual heir, but from 1756 onwards received a secret service pension throughout Newcastle's term at the Treasury.¹⁰⁴ His sister was married to Sir Samuel Fludyer, MP, immensely rich clothier and West Indies merchant, deputy-governor of the Bank and Lord Mayor in 1761–62, whose Rococo tomb at Lee, Kent, much in the Rococo manner of Sir Robert Taylor, but apparently executed by Robert Chambers, was discussed in a previous volume of this journal.¹⁰⁵

1764 saw the arrival of Richard Vernon, MP, whose brother's widow later lived at Taylor's No. 16 Grafton Street from 1776 to 1786,¹⁰⁶ and in 1765 Robert Nugent moved into the street. He was to be created Viscount Clare and Earl Nugent, but had already been a Lord of the Treasury 1754–59, Privy Councillor 1759 and was to be First Lord of Trade and Plantations 1766–68. In the parliament of 1761 he controlled 'a group of four MPs.... [including Edmund Nugent¹⁰⁷ and Edward Eliot of 44 Parliament Street].... all connected with Nugent by blood or marriage with whom he acted in liaison with the Administration.'¹⁰⁸ Another MP in the street elected under the patronage of Newcastle was Nathaniel Cholmley of Whitby and Howsham, Yorkshire.¹⁰⁹

In 1766 No. 11 was taken by Sir George Amyand, MP, although he died before the house was ready and his widow moved in in the following year. Amyand, whose brother Claudius lived in the same street (Spring Gardens) as Taylor,¹¹⁰ was himself a prominent Hamburg merchant and a banker. He was also an Assistant [director] to the Russia Company and an East India director and he had links to the Newcastle Ministry through his brother, an Under-secretary of State. Sir George was an associate of the eminent City merchant Peregrine Cust, an East India director and its deputy chairman in 1769–70, who was to live in the street from 1771.¹¹¹ He was in partnership in the German trade with the brother-in-law of Sir Gerrard Vanneck, for whom Taylor later designed Heveningham, Suffolk;¹¹² he was a repeated and substantial underwriter of Government loans and he obtained important Government contracts in

Germany and Portugal.¹¹³ Sir George's country house was Carshalton House, Surrey, where work attributed to Taylor must on stylistic grounds date from Amyand's tenure.¹¹⁴

In 1767 the Earl of Abingdon and (Sir) Merrick Burrell took up residence in the street. Abingdon was responsible for the building of Swinford Bridge, Oxfordshire, attributed to Taylor and started in the same year as Abingdon arrived in the street,¹¹⁵ and Burrell was a Bank director, later to be its governor.¹¹⁶ In the same year John Jolliffe took No. 9. His father had married a cousin, the daughter of a London merchant and the sister of Sir William Jolliffe, MP and Turkey merchant, and he himself married the co-heiress daughter of Samuel Holden, a Governor of the Bank of England and of the Russia Company.¹¹⁷ Another banker in the street from 1775 was the Hon. Richard Walpole who had married a daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck,¹¹⁸ and whose brothers were Horace Walpole, who was to write such a complimentary obituary of Taylor, and Thomas Walpole, an East India director who married another daughter of Sir Joshua.¹¹⁹

Amyand's widow's successor at No.11 in 1768 was William Sumner, sometime member of the Bengal Council.¹²⁰ In the same year Charles Morgan of the Tredegar family took a sublease of Richard Hoare's house, No. 3. Morgan was to succeed his brother to the family estates in 1771 and as an MP followed the political line of his family (which controlled three seats in the Commons), being connected with the Newcastle-Rockingham group, and went over to the Grafton Administration in 1769.¹²¹ Joshua Smith, resident successively at three houses in the street, provides both East and West Indies connections. He was an East India Company director and had married the daughter of a member of the legislative council of Antigua.¹²²

Richard Oswald preceded George Brudenell at No. 14; a Scot, he was introduced by Adam Smith to Lord Shelburne, who, as Prime Minister, employed Oswald, on account of his extensive business interests

in America, to negotiate the peace treaty with the American commissioners in Paris.¹²³ Oswald also had West Indies links. His wife was the heiress daughter of Alexander Ramsey of Jamaica; co-incidentally his brother, James Oswald, a politician and a friend of Adam Smith,¹²⁴ had married in 1749 the sister of the Joseph Townsend (d. 1763) of Honington Hall, Warwickshire, who is commemorated there by a monument by Taylor of very similar form to the Salwey monument already mentioned.¹²⁵ Sir Alexander Grant followed Jolliffe at No.9; he had sought his fortune in Jamaica and by the 1740s was a leading West Indies merchant in Billiter Lane, in the City, going on to hold army contracts in the war. He was friendly with the regimental agent John Calcraft (of Parliament Street) and his business interests extended from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, America, Africa, and India.¹²⁶

The Bishop of St. Davids who took No.30 in 1781 was John Warren, who had in 1777 married Elizabeth Southwell, bringing him a considerable fortune.¹²⁷ He had been chaplain to Edmund Keene when Bishop of Ely, for whom Taylor worked repeatedly.¹²⁸ Finally, the Bishop of Llandaff, whose 1782 comment about the declining fashionableness of the street is noted above, was Richard Watson, who owed his preferment to the intercession of the Dukes of Grafton and Rutland with the Prime Minister, Lord Shelburne. And Grafton had first secured for him a sinecure rectory in the diocese of St. Asaph and then arranged for its exchange in 1774 for a prebendary at Ely where his bishop, the same Edmund Keene, collated him archdeacon in 1779.¹²⁹ It is noteworthy in this connection that the duke and Keene were chancellor and vice-chancellor, respectively, of Cambridge University.¹³⁰

There is also an interlinked circle of marriages in the tenants of the stables in Blue Boar Yard. The Duke of Dorset was succeeded, in the stable that he took there, by Earl Waldegrave. Now Waldegrave was married to the sister of Richard Vernon's wife (encountered above), and a third sister married

Dorset's brother, Lord Philip Sackville. Again, the next Sackville brother, Lord George Germain, Lord Sackville of Drayton, married Diana Sambrooke, springing from a family whence two sisters became the mother and wife of two documented patrons of Taylor, John Freeman of Chute Lodge, Wiltshire, and John Gore of Bishopsgate in the City, respectively.¹³¹

Nicholas Jourdain of Artillery Lane was a successful silk mercer, who had been elected in 1749 a director of *La Providence*, the French Protestant hospital in Rochester, Kent, where Lord Radnor was also on the board. Radnor, and other members of his family, were repeated patrons of Taylor.¹³²

Another angle to consider is where the residents lived before moving into these developments. John Tucker¹³³ is noted in the rate books as resident in Great George Street from 1757, but the annual *Court & City Kalendar* still continues, in the lists of MP's London addresses, to give him in 1758-62 as 'opposite the Royal Exchange', used in those years presumably as his business address. Such a specified location suggests it was part of the site on Threadneedle Street east of the Bank of England cleared for Taylor's Rotunda and Transfer Offices. They were under construction in 1765-68; but site acquisition and clearance at Great George Street took some three years, even though the Act empowering the Bank directors to buy up the properties on the Bank eastward-extension site was passed in 1764.¹³⁴ So the respective tenants should have begun to move on by 1763, the year when Tucker is first recorded in the *Kalendar* as at Great George Street. Robert Nugent lived in Spring Gardens, the same street as Taylor, whence he moved to Great George Street, and Richard Vernon had likewise lived in Spring Gardens in 1757-62, although a little before he arrived in Great George Street in 1764.¹³⁵

Finally, consideration must be given to the financiers behind the Great George Street scheme. One of these, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bt., MP, was head of a Scottish family with East Indies connections, and married as his second wife a daughter of Sir John

Heathcote.¹³⁶ Now Heathcote was a Bank director, East Indies director and president of the Foundling Hospital and not only was Taylor one of those who in 1746 ‘agreed to present performances in their professions for ornamenting the Hospital’, but he is alleged by the *Architectural Publications Society’s Dictionary* to have worked at Heathcote’s seat, Normanton Park, Rutland.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, John Barrington had Jamaican connections through his wife,¹³⁸ and two of his brothers were Shute Barrington, who as Bishop of Salisbury was to employ Taylor at the Bishop’s palace in 1783–85,¹³⁹ and William, second Viscount Barrington, who married the widow of the Hon. Samuel Grimston and was thus step-uncle of the 3rd Viscount Grimston for whom Taylor was to build Gorhambury, Hertfordshire, from 1777.¹⁴⁰

As a postscript, consideration must be given to the possible antecedents of John Horne, one of Mallors’s team of builders. It still has to be determined whether he was connected in any way to the dynasty of joiners comprising Thomas and James Horne, father and son. The latter of these, who died in 1756 and could, therefore, have been John Horne’s father, was most importantly engaged at the Foundling Hospital, where in 1742 he undertook to act gratuitously as surveyor in the execution of Theodore Jacobsen’s design for the hospital where Taylor’s connection has already been noted.¹⁴¹

To sum up, the distinctive constructional and stylistic elements of the houses, combined with an admixture of residents and financiers who were either patrons of documented and attributed schemes by Taylor, or who are linked to those who were, or who fit the well-established cast and character of his clientele, or whose previous addresses tie in with Taylor, all combine to make a compelling case for the attribution.

THE PLACE OF THE DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN TAYLOR’S WORK

Sir John Summerson’s book on Georgian London is none too complimentary about the style of houses built in the years immediately preceding what he calls the “Golden Age” of Chambers and Adam, which he divines as starting in 1763 after the Peace of Paris.¹⁴² The 1740s had been a sluggish period for building in the capital and elsewhere, on account of war; but activity accelerated throughout the 1750s, the period (according to Farington) that was dominated by Paine and Taylor, and it is their work which Summerson characterises as ‘competent, conventional and sometimes brilliant’.¹⁴³ That brilliance was confined, in his analysis, to those houses built to commission for individual patrons. The developments in question here, by contrast, were all speculations, and speculative housing made other demands of its designer: a familiar and relatively conventional format without wild flights of fancy in terms of circulation space or overly architectonic rooms, while still being decorated in fashionable style, thus satisfying the need both to contain costs and to maintain a broad-based appeal to potential lessees. At the fashionable end of the market, in this period as in any, speculators were driven by the twin mantra of construction costs and speed of sales.

Even within these constraints, all these developments share a sense of architectural integrity. In each case the unit was the development, not the individual house; care was taken of the impact of each unit on the streetscape and their disposition was symmetrical. Such was not before then the normal approach to speculative London housing, whose character was decidedly piecemeal, even when in the hands of architects working to their own account.

Such a concern for the integrated value of a development has already been noted by Marcus Binney, in his monograph on Taylor. He showed, quoting Christopher Hussey on Ely House, Dover

Street, how Taylor solved the problem of ‘designing... a narrow front that shall at once be self-contained and yet part of the street’s elevation’ by briefly returning the ends of his town house facades, giving the impression ‘that the house has sides, running back from the street’.¹⁴⁴ That was for a single house, whereas Taylor’s No. 35 and 36 Lincoln’s Inn Fields were built as pair with shared steps in front of the central, windowed, bay that was flanked by the bays containing the entrances. This disposition of the façades of the two Lincoln’s Inn Fields houses concealed a party wall between them that was cranked, giving additional space at the front to the right house and at the back to the left house.¹⁴⁵ The same concern for balanced linked facades is shown at Artillery Lane, a linked pair with blank panels balancing the façade across the line of the party wall between them, while Parliament Street was expressed as a trio with a taller centre and lower flankers, and both John Street and Great George Streets are grandly conceived as *counter-facing* palace fronted terraces (Fig. 1). This last was in itself revolutionary in street planning; John Wood the Elder in Bath was the first to employ the palace formula, in 1729–36, but on three sides of a town square,¹⁴⁶ and there had been two previous lone-standing, palace-fronted street terraces in London, an anonymous one of 1737 in the Strand¹⁴⁷ and Henry Keene’s Flesh Market development of 1749–50, facing Broad Sanctuary,¹⁴⁸ very close to Great George Street in Westminster.

The decoration of the houses in these four schemes was very much of its time, with liberal use of rococo ornament, including Chinese Chippendale fret and Gothick. The detailing of these houses, in contrast, is decidedly old fashioned, a facet of Taylor’s personal architectural development that is becoming more obvious as further works by him from the 1750s are discovered. While the study of Taylor is bedevilled by a general paucity of documented works, the 1750s is a particularly blank period, and especially for town houses. Colvin’s third edition of the *Dictionary* has only three documented terrace houses from before

1760 by Taylor and none of them are still standing; of those that survived into the age of photography, only No. 35 Lincoln’s Inn Fields was actually the subject of a full photographic survey.¹⁴⁹ However, there are more country houses or villas of this date known by him, and these can provide comparisons. The weightiness of architraves and dado rails in such country houses and in the town houses under discussion here and the motifs they are carved with, such as a bold form of shell-and-dart (Fig. 51–53), are more characteristic of an older generation than Taylor’s, very similar to work carried out from the mid-1730s onwards. However, he had come to architecture from sculpture and must have started by working in association with the members of his father’s circle of craftsmen¹⁵⁰ and their style was as likely as not increasingly conservative as they aged, especially as he turned to architecture some eight years after his return from Rome; certainly it was his father’s City connections that had launched his career on return from study in Italy to the discovery that his father had died in debt,¹⁵¹ and their taste would also have seemed increasingly conservative. Buildings now realised as by Taylor have repeatedly been placed at an earlier date than is the case,¹⁵² and parts of the four developments discussed here have similarly been erroneously dated. The *Survey of London* compared the Artillery Row pair to the work of Ware and Flitcroft, both first generation neo-Palladians, and assumed that the stairs and upper parts of the houses were not touched in Jourdain’s alterations.¹⁵³ Yet their fittings, as has been shown above, are perfectly consistent with Taylor’s work in the 1750s.

The almost overscaling of the pedimented doorcases at John Street and Theobalds Road may be seen as a step on the way to the ‘uncommonly massive’ pedimented Doric doorcases in stone at Taylor’s surviving Grafton Street houses.¹⁵⁴ The implied serliana-arched entrances at Great George Street (Fig. 13), on the other hand, would seem to be an attempt to draw more light into their entrance halls. A lack of light was a perennial problem in

single-bay entrance halls of terrace houses. One previous solution was the narrow sidelights piercing the brickwork beside the pedimented wood doorcases at John Street and Theobalds Road (Fig. 10), but those differently scaled openings interrupt the rhythm of the facades in such an integrated scheme, although they were still to be used by Taylor at Grafton Street, from the late 1760s. The solution hit on at Great George Street has greater architectural integrity and perhaps leads directly to Taylor's motif of a glazed relieving arch over a Venetian window, as first used by him at the Court Room of the Bank of England in the late 1760s.¹⁵⁵ This efficacious pattern of doorway was generally adopted elsewhere, particularly by the Adam brothers on the Portland estate, Marylebone. Perhaps it was these doorways (taken in association with the Adam designs for Henry Drummond in the Soane Museum) that prompted the *Survey* to muse on the potential role of Robert Adam in the design of the street.¹⁵⁶ However, Robert Adam had not returned from Rome until January 1758 by which time, as has been shown above, probably all the houses were roofed in and many were nearing completion; and the earliest design for Drummond in the Soane is dated 1765.¹⁵⁷

Despite the potential straightjacket of speculative housing, all of these schemes do have their own characteristics. The Artillery Lane houses were effectively bespoke, carried out by Jourdain on behalf of his associate or business partner, if not himself, and for his neighbour. The two houses could therefore have more florid fittings in the domestic quarters upstairs, above the shop premises that took up much of the ground floor and necessitated a 'house' door to the side. The Blagrove development was aimed at a closely-knit circle of City men and was evidently leased very quickly, although there was an extraordinary rate of changeover in the residents in 1764.¹⁵⁸ The intended occupants needed a business room or counting house in the ground-floor front room and the houses' wider front halls would have served as

waiting rooms for those coming on business. The stairs were prominently placed either in the hall or in the centre of the house, rising to the reception and family rooms above, with the principal room at the back away from the street and its business traffic. It was here on the first floor that the decoration was concentrated, and if the houses were pre-let as may well have been the case, that might explain the high degree to which the houses were fitted up.

Both of the Mallors schemes were intended for men who had no need for a counting house. At least two of the Parliament Street houses were taken early in their construction and so they also were fitted out in a florid manner. But Great and Little George and Delahay Streets were a much larger development and clearly took longer to let. The houses were built without enriched ceilings, decoration being concentrated on the stairs and door and window cases throughout, along with good chimneypieces, to give an air of stolid quality aimed at grander parliamentary types. The staircases, while conventionally placed, were grander, often rising one floor only. In addition their front ground-floor rooms had serving recesses at the back, an early instance of a permanently set-up dining room, a very new development in room function.

This leads directly on to the revolutionary nature of the planning in these four developments. They show a progression that may be considered a counterpart to Taylor's exploration of ingeniously conceived centralised villa plans with tightly knit rooms of varying shape. We see in these 1750s town houses the beginnings of a concern for extended rear accommodation, presumably for family use (Fig. 22). These extended back premises were facilitated by the disposition of the respective sites of the schemes considered here. First, there were the pre-existing Canon Row houses backing onto the Parliament Street plots (Fig. 21). Next, the width of the parcel of land leased out by Doughty was too narrow for two streets, but allowed a pair of mews behind the John Street terraces (Fig. 6). Thirdly, the complete

clearance of the area and relocation northward of old George Inn Yard, furnished extra deep plots behind both south and north terraces on Great George Street (Fig. 5). Finally, Jourdain's buying up of the properties in Frying Pan Alley, backing onto his Artillery Lane premises, provided the depth required for extra rooms behind the stairs in the houses he rebuilt at No. 56 and 58.

This back extending of the long-established London terrace house plan was to reach its apogee in the plans of such 1770s London houses as Adam's Derby House, Taylor's Ely House and his Grafton Street houses. Just as in those 1770s houses, the back wing rooms at Artillery Lane are accessed from the 'back' room of the main house as well as from the stair landings. Such was previously thought to be a development in terrace house plans later than the 1750s,¹⁵⁹ perhaps initiated by James Stuart at Lichfield House, 15 St. James's Square, built 1764–66,¹⁶⁰ but the origins of the fully-developed 1770s grand town house plan must now be pushed back by a decade, and on the basis of the attributions in this article should be given to Taylor. Indeed the clues were there to be read, as the plans of Taylor's documented No. 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields, published by the *Survey*, show the room in the back extension, *on both ground and first floors*, was accessible not

only from behind the stairs but also from the back room, which the *Survey* accordingly calls the 'middle' room.¹⁶¹

Finally, Taylor's capacity as a real estate agent, hinted at by Walpole, who described him as having 'surveyorship and agencies out of number' and enlarged on by Binney, can also be divined in these four schemes.¹⁶² At Great George Street in particular several of the residents had either employed him already or went on to do so. The repetitive occurrence of his known patrons and putative clientele hints at his being their source, but the picture does not seem to stop there. Taylor's extensive City connections must never be forgotten and it may well be that he was the lynchpin in the Mallors and Blagrove speculations, being not only the designer, but also linking the developers and the financiers and then sourcing tenants. His stewardship would not have stopped there, for as the houses appeared less fashionable later he masterminded their redecoration and continued to negotiate the selling on of houses as tenants moved on. It is by such an all-embracing role that his vast personal fortune can be explained, rather than being the product merely of architectural fees and shrewd investment.¹⁶³

APPENDIX

Lists of original rating values, initial/early residents and the date of their occupancy

Parliament Street

43	£130	1758–66 John Calcraft; 1766–92 James Meyrick
44	£160	1758–63 Edward Eliot (Lord Eliot 1784); 1764–70 Thos. Wheatley; 1771–82 (Sir) Grey Cooper; 1785–89 Lord Effingham
45	£120	1758–62 John Olmius, Lord Waltham

Theobalds Road [west]

38	£50	1756–64 Thomas Lee; 1764 John Gorham
36	£70	1756 John Bullock; 1757 Dr Feake; 1764 Elizabeth Goodlad
34	£70	1756 Catherine Western
32	£60	1756–64 David Grayham; 1764 Beversham Filmer
30	£70	1756 Joseph Gascoyne; 1758 Richard Marshall; 1775 Charles Frewin
28	£70	1756 Mary Rogers
26	£70	1757 Thomas Cook; 1764–67/8 John Smith; 1768 Woodcock; 1775 William Selwyn
24	£54	1756 Dr James Maxwell; 1772 – Perry; 1775 Sir Watkin Lewis, Kt.

John Street [west]

38	£40	1756 Thomas Savill; 1768 Burgh
37	£60	1757 Richard Milger; 1764 Abraham Chambers; 1768 John Warship; 1772 Thomas Emlyn
36	£60	1764 Thomas Plummer
35	£60	1758 George Nelson; 1764 James Nelson; 1772 Richard Cope Hopton Edward King
34	£60	1764 Mary Dunbar; 1768 Tyndall; 1772 Capper; 1775 Woodcock
33	£100	1761 Richard Salwey
32	£60	1764 John Purling
31	£60	1758 Jacob Davidson; 1768 James Coulthard
29	£60	1764 Henry Roper; 1768 John Burdett; 1772 Spencer Schutz
28	£60	1764–75 Thomas Herbert; 1775 Caster

John Street [east]

10	£24	1757 Rees Thomas; 1758 Susannah Godsall; 1764 John Youens
9	£38	1758 Anne Catherall; 1762 Joseph Sill
8	£42	1758 George Bateman Lawley; 1764 Sarah Ridgway; 1773 Thomas Dethick; 1775 'E'
7	£58	1759 Thomas Liell
6	£92	1759–64 Bamber Gascoyne; 1764 Thomas Holden Cruttenden; 1768 Edward Holden Cruttenden
5	£72	1759 Arm. Whitaker

4	£58	1759 or 64 Isabella Ord
3	£60	1764 William Bright; 1764 Joseph Hurlock
2	£58	1759–64 John Egerton/Evelyn; 1764 Arthur Fuller; 1767/8 Arthur Stert
1	£46	1759 Leak Okeover; 1767/8 Barlow Trecothick; 1773 Baron Eyre

Theobalds Road [west]

22	£42	1757 Joseph Girdler; 1772 Richard Jupp
20	£	1757 Thomas Eld; 1767/8 Fish Coppinger
18	£	1757 John Conrad Hinzelman; 1767/8 Lady Harrison
16	£	1757–64 Dr DeCastro; 1764 Thomas Eld
14	£	1756 Richard Cook
12	£	1757 George Dennis

Great George Street [south]

1	£83	1772 John Temple; 1773–74 Dr. Geo. Hinton; 1775 E; 1776–80 Matt. Wyldbore; 1782–96 John Meyrick
2	£90	1770–74 Nath. Cholmley; 1775 E; 1776–81 Abr. Grimes; 1781–85 Wm. Halhead; 1786–88 Lady Mary Meyrick
3	£100	1762–67 Rich. Hoare; 1768–82 Chas. Morgan; 1784–1820 John Hosier
4	£100	1760–67 Aug. Boyd; 1768–83 Mrs Boyd; 1785–88 John Berrow
5	£100	[E 1757] 1758–62 Thos. Tyrwhitt; 1762–69 Thos. Bradshaw; 1770–81 Thomas Parker; 1783–1810 Francis Jenks
6	£	[E 1763] 1765–80 Esther Lamb; 1780–83E; 1780–83 1784–86 James Nealson; 1787–88 Thos. Johns
7	£200	1761 John Jones; 1767 Earl of Abingdon; –1771 Edward Nugent; 1771 William Haggatt; 1774 E; 1775–79 Rich Walpole; 1780 E
8	£200	1761–83 Richard Spencer; 1785–94 General Murray
9	£200	1761–66 John Mackrell; 1767–70 John Jolliffe; 1771–72 Sir Alexander Grant; 1772–73 Lady Grant; 1774 E; 1784–89 Thos. Milner
10	£200	1761–71 Henry Drummond; 1772 E; 1772–74 Joseph Chaplin Hankey; 1774–77 Catherine Hankey; 1778–82 J C Hankey, jr.; 1783–90 Wm. Colhoun; 1791–92 Capel Cure
11	£	[E 1757] 1766 Sir George Amyand; 1767 Lady Amyand; 1768–87 Wm. Sumner; 1787–97 Geo. Sumner
12	£130	1758–67 Earl of Cork & Orrery; 1767–74 Joshua Smith; 1776 Lady Cotton; 1778 Giles Hudson; 1783–4 Sir Cecil Wray; 1785 Wedgwood; 1787 Edw. Polhill; 1788–93 Mark Beaufoy
13	£120	1757–62 John Wilkes; 1762–69 Sir Edw. Astley; 1771–72 E; 1776–80 John Clementson; 1781–84 Adam Martin; 1785–88 Adam Nepeene

Little George Street [west]

	£40	1760–72 John Hancock
	£36	1760 E / Saml. Sawcer; 1771–2 Nicholas Ladd

£36	1760 E; 1763 Wm. Jackson; 1771 Richard Murrayfield; 1771–2 James Grierson
£40	1760 E; 1761–72xx Roger Palmes
£30	1760 [part year] Saml. Sawcer; 1760 E; 1763–72xx Wm. Simson
£36	1763 Wm. Proctor; 1771–2 Thomas Tipton
£	Saml. Wooley; 1771–2 Wm. Cuthbertson

Little George Street [east]

£40	1762 James Strachan; 1771–72 James Gordon; 1772 Richard Hxxxx
£30	1762 Mary Burt; 1771–2 Mrs Gamp
£	1760 James Strachan [1762 moved two along the street]; 1771–2 Saml. Wolley
£	1761 James Convert [part year only]; 1764 John Budd; 1771 Jane Cox; 1771–72 Mary Miller
£	E; 1771–72 John Young
£	E;

Great George Street [south]

14	£130	1757–67 John Tucker; 1770 Jas. Wm. Bossier; 1771–72 Doddington Hunt; 1772–77 Richard Oswald; 1780–87 Geo. Brudenell; 1790–95 John Pownall
15	£130	1758–64 Bishop of Hereford (Lord Jno. Beauclerk); 1765–70 John Frederick; 1771–72 E; 1780–84 Henry Rawlinson; 1785–86 Rev. Dr. Prettyman; 1787–90 Jos. Smith
16	£200	[E 1757] 1761–72 Rev. Mr. Martin
17	£100	[E 1757] 1757 Mrs Toke; 1763 Geo. Brudenell; 1771–72 E;
18	£100	1757 Mrs King; 1763–72 Dr. Michael McNamara
18bis	£120	1757 Wm. Rusted; James Heachen; 1771–72 Lady Cotter

Great George Street [north]

19	£100	1757 Thos. Neale; 1763 Michael Vernon; 1764–67 Richard Vernon; 1767 (Sir) Merrick Burrell
20	£100	1757 Sir Wm. Meredith; 1762 E; 1762 Edw. Faringarib; 1763 Mrs. Giberine; 1771–72 Francis Wilson
21	£	[E 1763] 1765–71 Giles Godin; 1771–72 E
22	£200	[E 1763] 1764 Lady Carpenter [hse + stable]; 1770–77 Sir Gilbert Elliot; 1778–79 E; 1780 Lord King
23	£	[E 1763] 1765 Robert Nugent (1767 Vct. Clare, 1777 Earl Nugent)
24	£	[E 1763] 1770–71 Sir Brownlow Cust, Bt.; 1771 Peregrine Cust
25	£200	[E 1763] 1764 Robert Ongley (Ld. Ongley 1776)
26	£140>£110	1759 Thomas Parker; 1761–65 Capt. Pownall; 1771–76 John Burland; 1777–78 J.B. Burland; 1779 Bp. of Chester
27	£140>£110	1760–68 Joseph Watkins; 1769–85 Dr. (Sir) Richard Jebb; 1786–88 Edw. L'Epine; 1789–92 Matt. Bloxham; 1793–1805 Leonard Morse

28	£140>£200	1761–74 Sir John Gibbons, Bt.; 1775–86 Sir Geo. Nares; 1789–99 Sir James Eyre
29	£200	1760–71 Admiral Lord Ferrers; 1771–72 E; 1774–1812 Joshua Smith
30	£200	1760–74 Mrs Esther Sweet; 1775 Chris. Griffith; 1776–77 Peter Berlon; 1781–82 Bishop of St. Davids; 1783–1800 Bishop of Bangor; 1801–16 (his widow) Mrs Eliz. Warren
31	£200	1761–86 Naphtali Franks; 1787–1803 Gen. Sir Wm. Fawcett (tenant of Franks)
32	£	1785–86 Richard Oswald → 1787–88 Mrs Oswald; 1791–99 Wm. Lygon (later Earl Beauchamp)
33	£90	1770–82 Lady Carpenter (1778–82 E); 1782 Bishop of Llandaff
34	£400>300	1761 Hon Geo. Grenville; 1762 Earl of Halifax; 1771–75 HE Count d' Guygne, French Ambassador; 1776–79 Spanish Ambassador; 1780 E
35	£	[1755 deed = E] 1793–1802 (Sir) Thos. Turton; 1803–10 Commissary General's Office; 1811–17 C-in-C's Office; 1818–36 Chas. Short; 1837 Judge Advocate General
36	£	[1755 leased to Horne & Wilkinson] 1797–1803 Geo. Tollet; 1804–12 N. Vansittart
37	£	1793–1822 Capel Cure

Delahaye Street

£	1758 Danl. Borley
£40	1760 Mrs Delaporte; 1771 John Barker; 1771 E; 1772 Anne Archer
£40	1760 John Horne; 1762 John Barker; 1772 Rev. Mr Morgan
£	1761 Danl. Cummins; 1771 E; 1772 Philip Coston
£40	1763 John Horne

Stable Yard

£50	1758 Duke of Dorset; 1771–80 Earl Waldegrave
£23	1760 Bp of Chester; 1762 E; 1771–2 Eliz. Hamilton
£31	Jno. Cleveland; 1771–77 E;
£13	1760 Vinard, stable 1771–77 E;
£21	1760 Wm. Caley; 1771–77 E;
£37	1757 Mary Poole; 1771–77 E;
£36	1757 Thos. Wyndham; 1771–75 HE Count d'Guygne (French Ambassador); 1776–79 Spanish Ambassador; 1780 E

} 1778 'No houses here'



Fig. 1. Great George Street, Westminster, looking east towards Westminster Bridge; photograph by Bedford Lemere. *Westminster Archives*.



Fig. 2. John Street, Holborn, west terrace, looking southwest, 1950 photograph. *English Heritage* [hereafter *Eng. Heritage*].



Fig. 3. Nos. 31 to 29 (left to right) Great George Street;
1909 photograph by Bedford Lemere.
Westminster Archives.



Fig. 4. John Street, east terrace, looking north-east,
1942 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

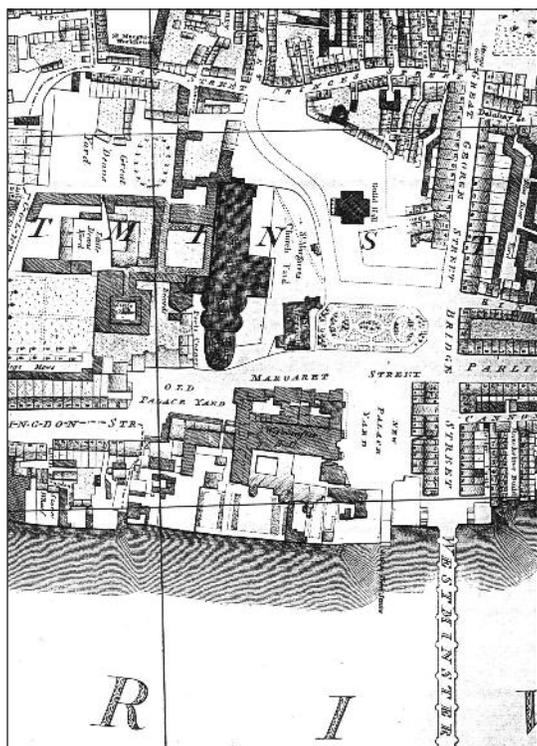


Fig. 5. Detail from Horwood's 1819 map showing Parliament Street, Great George street, etc. .

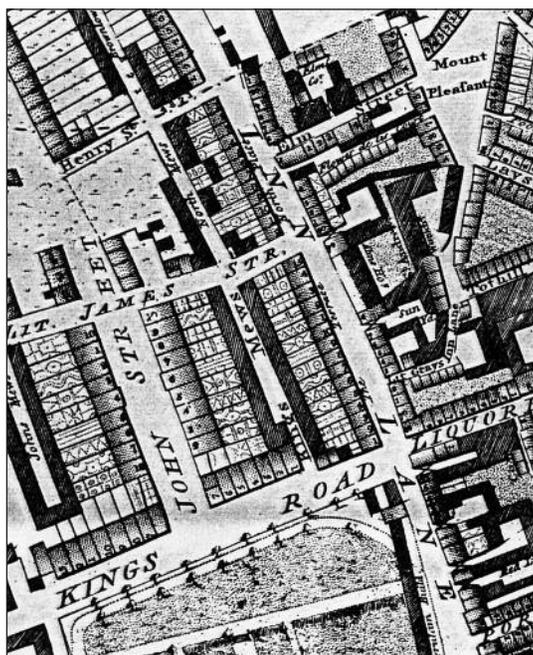


Fig. 6. Detail from Horwood's 1819 map showing John Street and Kings Road (now Theobalds Road).



Fig. 7. No. 30 John Street, bowed rear elevation (brickwork and window lintels partially renewed following war damage), 1970 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 8. No. 34 John Street, canted bay to rear elevation, 1968 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 9. Nos. 16-22 Theobalds Road, rear elevations with canted bays, 1974 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 10. No. 35 John Street, Ionic doorcase, 1942 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 11. No. 8 John Street, Doric doorcase and iron railings with overthrow. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 12. No. 5 Great George Street, Doric doorcase, 1914 photograph in Geffrye Museum. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 13. No. 31 Great George Street, fanlight entrance of implied serliana form, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 14. No. 43 Parliament Street, Westminster, staircase with Chinese Chippendale balustrade, the walls pierced with sunken roundels and an arched niche, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

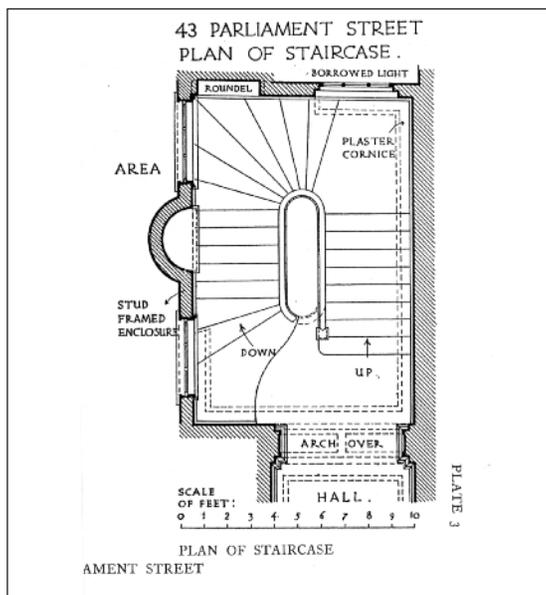


Fig. 15. No. 43 Parliament Street, plan of staircase showing construction of hanging niche wall projecting into light well (*Survey of London, X, pl. 3*). *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 16. No. 35 John Street, basement stairs with pattern of Chinese Chippendale balustrade repeated at 43 Parliament Street, 1973 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 17. No. 35 John Street, stairs with pattern of Chinese Chippendale balustrade repeated at 43 Parliament Street, 1973 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*



Fig. 19. No. 5 John Street, entrance hall with pattern of Chinese Chippendale stair balustrade repeated at No. 43 Parliament Street, 1947 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*

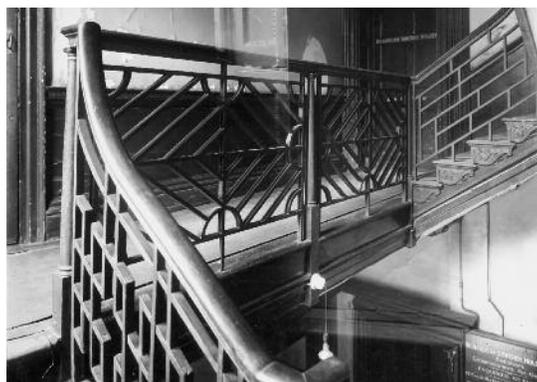


Fig. 18. No. 5 John Street, staircase at first floor with three differing patterns of Chinese Chippendale balustrade, 1947 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*

Fig. 20. No. 15 Great George Street, entrance hall and stairs with wrought iron balustrade of late baroque pattern, related to that at Taylor's No. 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



NOS 43 & 44 PARLIAMENT STREET.

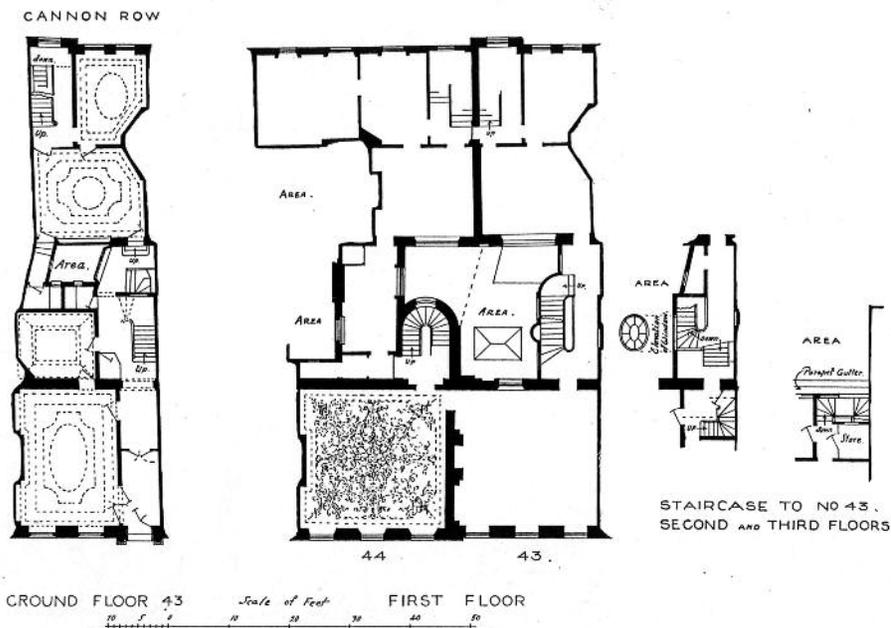


Fig. 21. Nos. 43 Parliament Street, plan of ground floor and first floors of No. 43 & 44 (*Survey of London*, X, pl. 2).
Eng. Heritage.

PREMISES IN GREAT GEORGE STREET: WESTMINSTER.

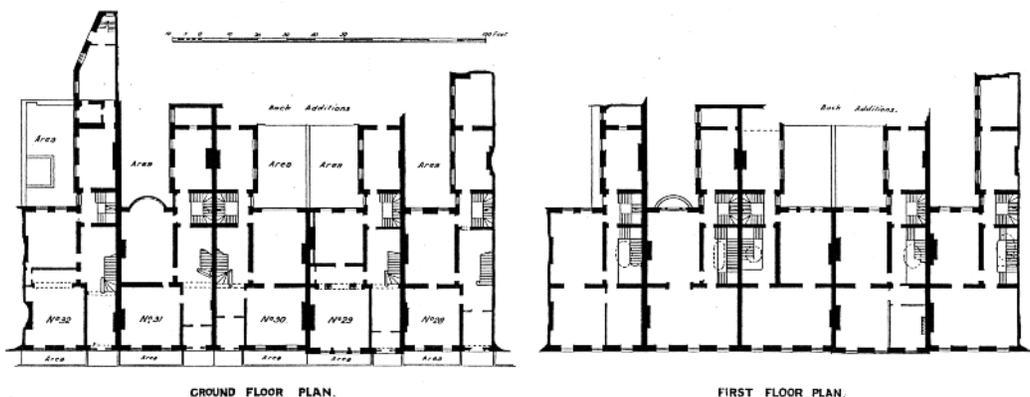


Fig. 22. Nos. 28-32 Great George Street, ground and first floor plans showing extensive back wings (*Survey of London*, X, pl.14). *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 23. No. 30 Great George Street, first-floor landing with view past secondary stairs' landing into extensive back wing, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 24. No. 13 Great George Street, first floor landing with lamp bracket to lyre-pattern balustrade (the upper flight and balustrade an addition of nineteenth-century date), 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 25. No. 58 Artillery Lane, Spitalfields, entrance hall with typically Tayloresque tripartite vaulting which incorporates cross-vaulted end sections. *English Heritage*.

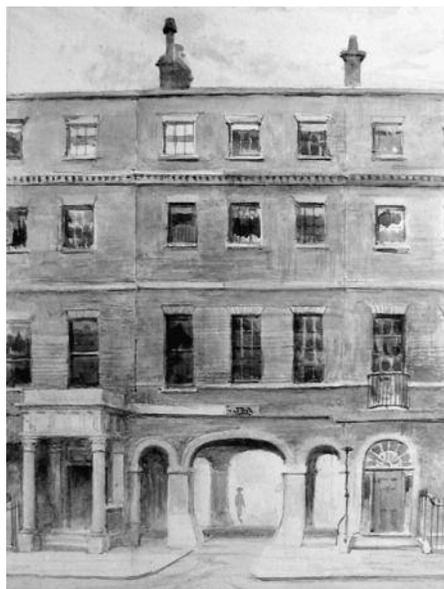


Fig. 26. Great George Street, south terrace with triple arched entrance through to Little George Street, nineteenth-century drawing. *Westminster Archives*.
Photograph: Richard Garnier.



Figs. 27 and 28. No. 33 John Street, first-floor front room with rococo plaster ceiling and triple arched screen; and detail of arch soffits, 1960 photographs. *Eng. Heritage*.

Fig. 29. No. 3 John Street, first-floor back room with rococo plaster ceiling, 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 30. No. 43 Parliament Street, first-floor 'front' room with rococo plaster ceiling the chimneypiece stolen, 1983 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.





Fig. 31. No. 58 Artillery Lane, rococo plaster ceiling of first-floor front room, detail, 1953 photograph.
Eng. Heritage.

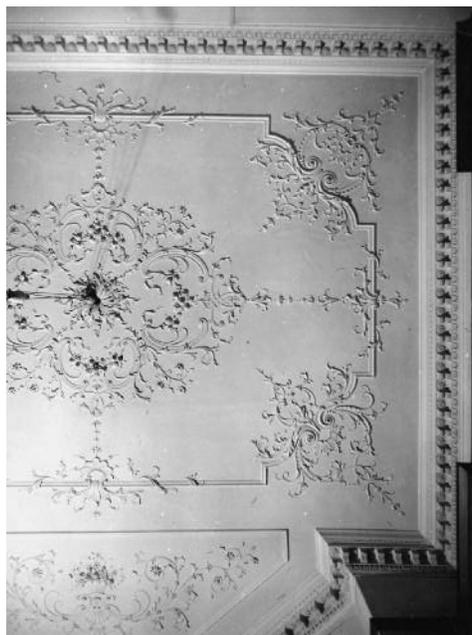


Fig. 32. No. 20 Theobalds Road, rococo plaster ceiling of first-floor back room, detail, 1958 photograph.
Eng. Heritage.



Fig. 33. No. 44 Parliament Street, rococo plaster ceiling of first-floor 'front' room, detail, 1983 photograph.
Eng. Heritage.

Fig. 34. No. 16 Theobalds Road, Gothick inner doorcase to entrance hall, 1975 photograph.
Eng. Heritage.





Figs. 35 and 36. No. 10 Great George Street, Gothic plasterwork wall panels to staircase, 1910 photograph (cf. rocaille clasps in Fig. 38 and swags in Fig. 37). *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 37. No. 56 Artillery Lane, east wall with rococo marble chimneypiece, 1908 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 38. No. 56 Artillery Lane, first-floor landing with pedimented doorcases and swag and drop plaster decoration to walls, 1908 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 39. No. 6 Great George Street, rococo trophy plaster decoration to walls (the fittings lotted up for sale on demolition), 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 40. No. 4 John Street, first-floor back room chimneypiece (*cf.* tablet urn to that over door in fig. 39), 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 41. No. 56 Artillery Lane, pedimented doorcase in first-floor front room, 1908 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 42. St. Laurence's, Ludlow, Shropshire, monument by Sir Robert Taylor to Theophilus Salwey (†1760, brother of the first occupant of No. 33 John Street) with lapetted pulvinated frieze. *Photograph: Richard Garnier*.

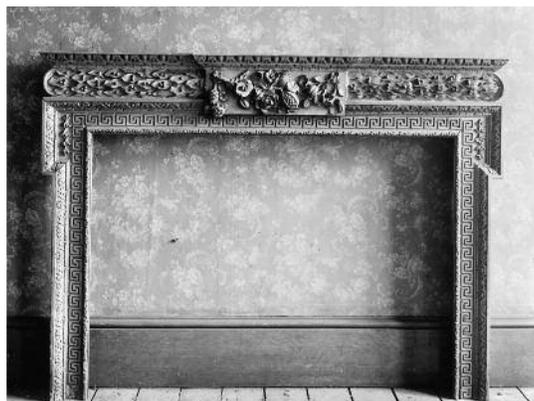
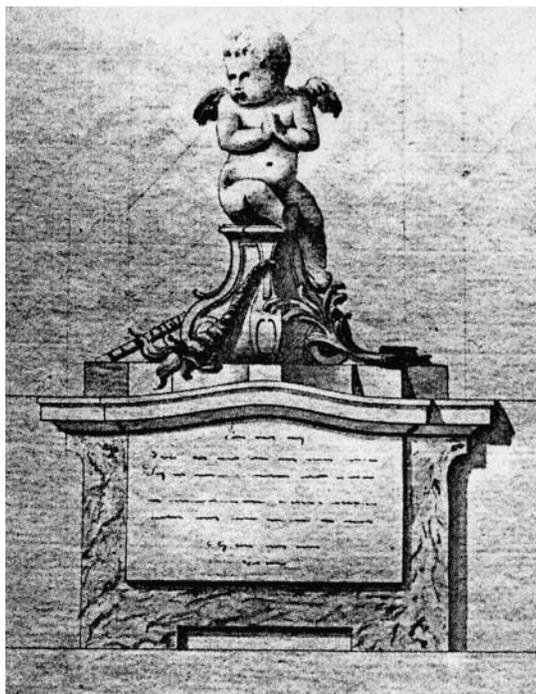


Fig. 44. No. 35a Great George Street/No. 15 Delahay Street, detached carved wood chimneypiece, lacking cornice, with lapetted pulvinated frieze, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.

Fig. 43. Sir Robert Taylor, design relating to the Salwey monument. *Taylorian Institute, Oxford.*
Photograph: Richard Garnier.



Fig. 45. No. 30 John Street, Ionic wood chimneypiece in first-floor back room, 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 46. No. 35 John Street, Ionic wood chimneypiece in first-floor back room, 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 47. No. 33 John Street, Ionic wood chimneypiece in first-floor front room, 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

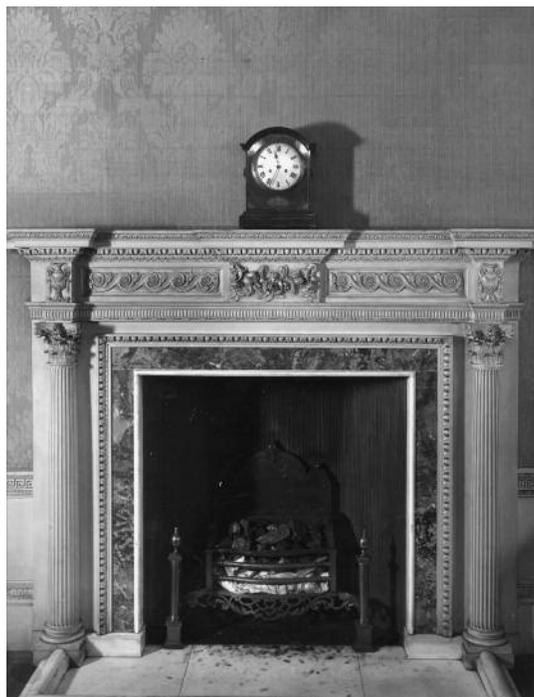


Fig. 48. No. 10 Great George Street, Corinthian marble chimneypiece in first-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

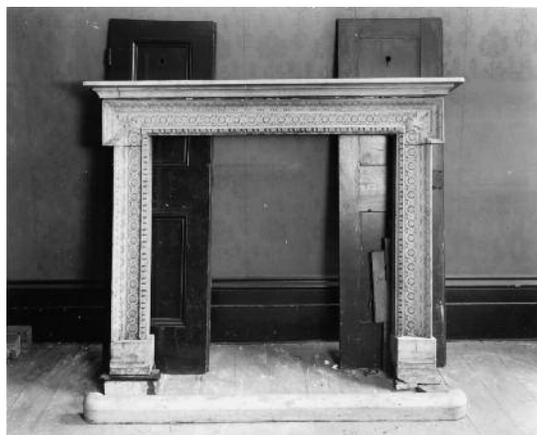


Fig. 49. No. 35a Great George Street/No. 15 Delahay Street, detached marble chimneypiece carved with a guilloche band, a favourite motif of Taylor's, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 50. No. 5 John Street, first-floor back room, 1947 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 51. No. 20 Theobalds Road, chimneypiece in ground-floor back room, 1947 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.

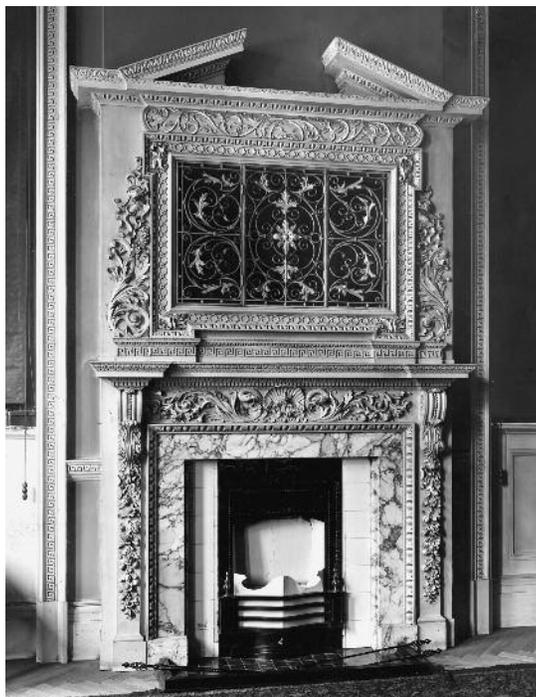


Fig. 52. No. 12 Great George Street, continued chimneypiece in Surveyors' Arbitration Room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 53. Sir Robert Taylor: No. 35 Lincoln's Inn Fields, chimneypiece in ground-floor room in back wing, detail. *Eng. Heritage*.

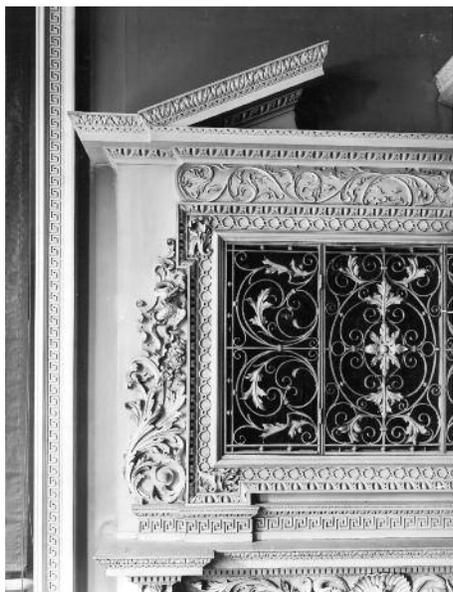


Fig. 54. No. 12 Great George Street, overmantel of chimneypiece in fig. 52, detail of carving, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 55. No. 31 Great George Street, doorcase and wall treatment in ground-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 56. No. 3 John Street, doorcase and wall treatment in ground-floor back room, 1960 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 57. No. 9 Great George Street, doorcase and wall treatment in first-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

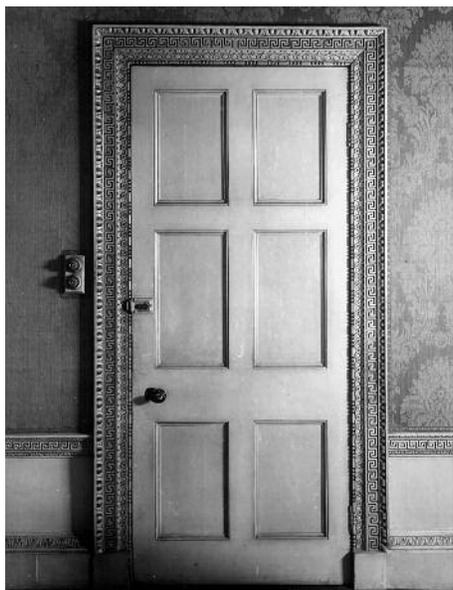


Fig. 58. No. 10 Great George Street, doorcase and wall treatment in first-floor front room (photograph endorsed on reverse 'doorheads removed, stored below, according to housekeeper'), 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 59. No. 9 Great George Street, window case and dado treatment in ground-floor front room (with view of the then newly built New Government Offices on the north side of the street), 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 60. No. 29 Great George Street, doorcases on first-floor landing, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 61. No. 9 Great George Street, doorcase and wall treatment in ground-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*

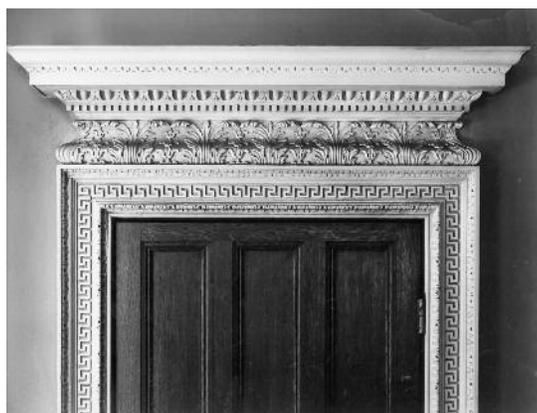


Fig. 62. No. 12 Great George Street, doorhead in Surveyors' Arbitration Room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 63. No. 9 Great George Street, chimneypiece in ground-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 64. No. 20 Theobalds Road, chimneypiece in ground-floor front room, with similar (inverted) tablet to that in Fig. 65, 1947 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 65. No. 12 Great George Street, continued chimneypiece in secretary to Surveyors' room on ground floor, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 66. No. 58 Artillery Lane, first-floor front room.
Eng. Heritage.



Fig. 67. No. 58 Artillery Lane, chimneypiece in first-floor front room, detail of carving. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 68. No. 58 Artillery Lane, chimneypiece in first-floor front room, detail of carving (*cf.* the side volute in fig. 69).
Eng. Heritage.

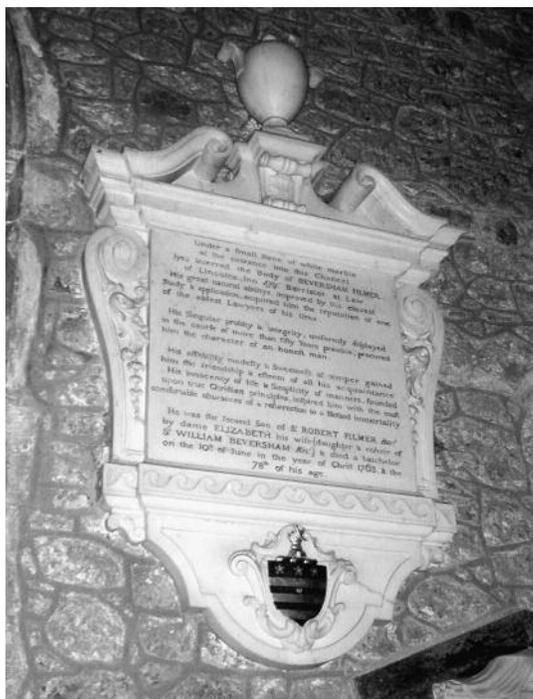


Fig. 69. Ss Peter & Paul, East Sutton, Kent, monument to Beversham Filmer (†1763) (*cf.* the side volute with that in fig. 68). *Photograph: Richard Garnier.*



Fig. 70. No. 56 Artillery Lane, chimneypiece in second-floor front larger room. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 71. No. 9 Great George Street, wood chimneypiece in first-floor back 'off' room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 72. No. 43 Parliament Street, wood chimneypiece by Sir Henry Cheere in ground-floor room in back premises on Canon Row (*SOL*, X, pl. 8). *Eng. Heritage.*



Fig. 73. No. 43 Parliament Street, wood chimneypiece by Sir Henry Cheere in first-floor front room to back premises on Canon Row (*SOL*, X, pl. 11). *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 74. No. 20 Theobalds Road, stone chimneypiece in first-floor back room, here attributed to Sir Henry Cheere, 1958 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 75. No. 5 Great George Street, continued chimneypiece in ground-floor front room, 1910 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 76. No. 58 Artillery Lane, continued chimneypiece in first-floor front room. *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 77. No. 35a Great George Street/No. 15 Delahay Street, carved wood fragments on detached chimney piece frame, 1910 photograph (cf. central *rocaille* motif with similar in pediment of fig. 58 and *rocaille* C-scrolls with those in fig. 78). *Eng. Heritage*.



Fig. 78. No. 56 Artillery Lane, first-floor back room with open scroll pediment doorhead, rococo carved wood continued chimney piece and gib door in corner to back wing rooms, 1908 photograph. *Eng. Heritage*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to English Heritage for permission to publish photographs in the care of their London Region.

NOTES

- 1 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, New Haven & London, 1995 [henceforth Colvin, *Dictionary*], 967.
- 2 Original numbering; the two surviving houses became 2 and 3 in the 1980s renumbering of the street.
- 3 London County Council, *Survey of London* (hereafter *SOL*), X, 1916, 1–6.
- 4 The Act vested in the commissioners ‘full power and authority, not only to widen and render more convenient the several ways, streets and passages now leading to and from the intended bridge, but also to make, open, design, assign, or lay out such new ways, streets and passages, as they shall find proper’ [26 Geo. II, c.101 (local), cited in *SOL*, X, 12].
- 5 *Idem*.

- 6 *Idem*.
- 7 London, Westminster Archives Centre (hereafter WAC), Rate Books, St. Margaret’s parish, Westminster, Grand Ward, first notes the three in 1754 as all empty, next in 1755 has them all described as empty ‘house and stable’, with No. 43 earmarked for Olmius and No. 45 for Calcraft, the reverse of how the houses were actually taken in 1758.
- 8 *Idem*.
- 9 London, London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA), Middlesex Deeds Registry (hereafter MDR) 1753,i,499 [transcribed in London, English Heritage, Survey of London [hereafter SOL], research files, but not used or quoted in the published volume].
- 10 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851*, revised ed. (undated), 97.
- 11 This street has not been treated by the Survey of London; much of the background information given here is based on the primary research by Brian Ashley Barker in the 1959 report on the street in the Historians’ Files, English Heritage [London, English Heritage, HA&RT, CAM80].
- 12 London, Holborn Library, Local Studies Centre, Rate Books, St. Andrew, Holborn, parish, 1756 has the first sign of the Blagrove scheme with the blank house plots ‘dotted’ out in ink with more houses than were

- finally built and the name of John Street added in in pencil.
- 13 For example Richard Salwey is recorded in the trade directories as resident in John Street from 1760 [London, Guildhall Library, trade directories].
 - 14 *Loc. cit.*; see the summary in Appendix, *infra*.
 - 15 *Idem*.
 - 16 English Heritage, HA&RT, CAM80.
 - 17 The SOL research files, *cit.*, make it clear that the same team of Mallors, Horne and Wilkinson were concurrently active in redeveloping the southern end of the western frontage of King Street, which was the return of the eastern end of the north terrace of Great George Street and giving onto Blue Boar Yard. Unfortunately, the relevant King Street houses do not seem to have been systematically photographed, but on the basis of the attribution in this article would presumably also have been due to Taylor.
 - 18 The act authorised Mallors ‘to open a street from the west side of King street... to the back part of the houses, gardens and yards on the west side of Delahaye Street’ with the rationale that ‘a large, spacious and publick new street would not only be extremely conducive to the benefit of the said parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John the Evangelist but highly advantageous and convenient to the publick in general, as well as a great ornament to the antient City of Westminster, more especially if such houses only as are fit for the habitation of persons of fortune and distinction, were erected on each side of the said street.’ [26 Geo. II, c.101 (local), cited in *SOL*, X, 12].
 - 19 Parker was to live at No.26 Great George St., 1759–61 and later at No. 5, 1770–81 [WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*; LMA, MDR 1762,iv,408; 1763,ii,772 (St. Margaret’s, Westminster); 1775,v,58 (Gt. Geo. St.).
 - 20 LMA, MDR 1756,ii,100; 1762,iv,408; 1765,vi,327,365; 1776,vi,388; 1777,iv,364 [Edmonstone]; MDR 1758,i,33 [Barrington]; MDR 1756,ii,394; 1765,vi,327 [Sabine, £3,300]; MDR 1757,i,401–05 [Lyell]; MDR 1755,iv,17; 1765,vi,365 (Crooms Hill); 1765,vi,327 (York Buildings.) [Morris, £4,000]; MDR 1765,vi,327 [Cornwall]; MDR 1756,i,451 [Lequesne, £850]: mostly transcribed in SOL research files, *loc. cit.*
 - 21 A declared benefit in the Act of Parliament was the social improvement of the area with the implication that there would be an increase in revenue for the parish from the higher rateable values of the new houses.
 - 22 *SOL*, X, 12–14.
 - 23 However, Mallors was issuing leases for the plots at the east end of the north terrace dating from Michelmas, 1753 [LMA, MDR,1754,iv,280].
 - 24 The *Survey* reports that No. 32 Great George Street was leased to Horne & Wilkinson in 1755 and a few months later assigned to Samuel Cox as security for a mortgage of £1,000, but it is not mentioned in the rate books, even as empty, until 1772, being first occupied only in 1785 [*SOL*, X, 53]. No. 32, when leased in 1769, was described as ‘the fifteenth house now empty and unfurnished situate on the north side of Great George Street’ [transcription in SOL research files, *loc. cit.*].
 - 25 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*; see Appendix, *infra*.
 - 26 *Idem*.
 - 27 *Idem*.
 - 28 *Idem*.
 - 29 *Idem*.
 - 30 Having been briefly resident in another house in the street, to which he had previously moved to from another Mallors house, that time on the west side of Parliament Street [LMA, MDR 1757, i, 5–6]. That house was No. 28 Parliament St., five up from the junction with Bridge Street (see map, fig.5) [conveyed to Mallors 31 December 1756 under LMA, MDR 1757, i, 5–6] and from which a circular plaster plaque of *Bacchus and Ariadne* within a foliate scroll and climbing vine surround terminating in a husk festoon, all in Taylor’s manner, is now at the V&A Museum, London, illustrated in Margaret Jourdain, *English Decorative Plasterwork of the Renaissance*, London, 1926/1933, 232, fig. 184.
 - 31 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*, see Appendix, *infra*.
 - 32 LMA, MDR 1770.ii.220 [mason].
 - 33 LMA, MDR 1757,i,588,89,90; 1757,ii,175 [Esq.]; MDR 1762,iv,408; 1763,ii,772 [bricklayer].
 - 34 LMA, MDR 1757,i,398,588,89,90; 1757,ii,175; 1758,i,33 [bricklayer]; 1760,ii,42 [mason].
 - 35 LMA, MDR 1770,iv,10–11.
 - 36 LMA, MDR 1769,ii,477; 1770,iv,11.
 - 37 *Idem*.
 - 38 LMA, MDR 1764,i,26 [Wilkinson].
 - 39 LMA, MDR 1770,iv,10: his executor was Charles Horne.
 - 40 LMA, MDR 1776,vi,588: his executor was his brother Francis Mallors of Missenden, Bucks., farmer.
 - 41 LMA, MDR 1771,iv,35 [No. 28]; 1772,ii,51 [No. 3]; 1777,iv,229,230,362 [No. 30].
 - 42 Abstract from a letter dated November 13, 1782, to the

- Duke of Rutland transcribed in SOL research files, *loc. cit.*
- 43 Its existence is proved both by the rate books and the way the original leases identify the respective houses by the number of plots they are west of the east end of the street.
- 44 Then numbered 16 & 17; 18 *bis* had been demolished before the street was numbered.
- 45 Creation and Son, *Catalogue of the very excellent Materials contained in two Substantial First-rate Dwelling Houses*, London, October 10, 1810.
- 46 London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Drawer 82, set 4, 1-5 (one dated 25 April 1829); the main purpose of the survey evidently was to ascertain the length of document shelving in the old office, preparatory to Soane's State Paper Office, Duke Street, built 1830-34 [Colvin, *Dictionary*, 908].
- 47 The National Portrait Gallery was housed at No. 29 Great George Street, 1859-69 [SOL, X, 48].
- 48 The doorcase from No. 5 is at the Geffrye Museum and various fragments at the V & A Museum, including carved wood fittings from the ground floor front room at No. 29 and figurative plasterwork, such as a roundel from No. 3 and an oval one within husk-looped festooning from No. 29.
- 49 Nikolaus Pevsner & Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England, London, I*, Harmondsworth, 1973, 578-79.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 548.
- 51 SOL, XXVII, 1957, 229.
- 52 As No. 52 & 54 were originally expressed as a pair with window-proportioned recessed panels to the outer ends of the combined façade, there may have been some related tidying up of this pair as well in Jourdain's campaign, but as the window frames are flush with the brickwork, a wholesale rebuilding cannot have taken place.
- 53 SOL, XXVII, 229.
- 54 *Idem.*
- 55 *Idem.*
- 56 Square-backed at No. 43 and with a curved back at No. 44.
- 57 A number were stolen in the 1980s when the houses were vacant pending the decision on their preservation or not in the development of the block as Parliamentary offices (see Fig. 30).
- 58 Nikolaus Pevsner & Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England, London I, The Cities of London and Westminster*, 3rd ed., Harmondsworth, 1973, 544.
- 59 See n.9, *supra*.
- 60 SOL, X, 4.
- 61 The upper flights were supposedly rebuilt in the nineteenth century in approximately circular form, niches being placed in the curved wall space where it cuts across the angles, although the current arrangement is remarkably alike in plan to the staircase at 35 Lincolns Inn Fields.
- 62 The arcade treatment along the back wall of the room was applied following the theft of the doorcases to compensate for their removal [Brian Ashley Barker report, English Heritage, *loc. cit.*].
- 63 As all but the façade of No. 11 are no longer extant, including the interiors, the evidence for their appearance comes from the photographs of the *Survey of London* and the topographical collections of Westminster Archives Centre and London Metropolitan Archives, along with the descriptions in the *Survey of London* volume.
- 64 These 1770s alterations, although very much in the style of Taylor's documented work of that decade, are beyond the scope of this article and will have to be treated in a subsequent article.
- 65 SOL, XXVII, 230-31.
- 66 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 967.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 966
- 68 See fig. 7 in Sophie Andraea, 'A wallpaper discovery at Barlaston Hall', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI, 2001, 130.
- 69 Binney, *op. cit.*, 74, quoting from Cockerell's 1845 Royal Academy lecture.
- 70 To be the subject of a future article in the subsequent issue of this journal. A detailed ground plan of Taylor's Grafton Street houses is at London, Guildhall, Corporation of London Record Office, Comptroller's City Land plans 1275,6 and an outline plan of the house plots in the Grafton papers at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, H513, A73.
- 71 Binney, *op. cit.*, 28-29.
- 72 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 170-74. He was clerk in the Pay Office 1745-57, clerk in the War Office 1747-56, Paymaster of Widow's Pensions, War Office, 1757-62 and Deputy Commissary of Musters 1756-63. Many lucrative contracts came his way. He was employed in connection with the building of Horse Guards, Whitehall, and held contracts for delivering coal to Gibraltar. In 1748 he started what became his chief concern, acting as financial and administrative agent to military regiments. During the Seven Years' War his coverage increased rapidly, successively 19, 23, 28, 37, 44, 52, 57 regiments, the last being about half the army. His influence in Parliament increased

- accordingly, managing the interest of serving army officer MPs.
- 73 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 386–90.
- 74 Richard Garnier, ‘Downing Square in the 1770s and 1780s’, *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 139–157.
- 75 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 226.
- 76 Addington Lodge, built 1773–79, was designed for him by Robert Mylne [Colvin, *Dictionary*, 684]; see also note 91, *infra*.
- 77 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 577–60: after an initial career in New England and Jamaica, once he had arrived in London from America, he became a partner in Thomlinsons & Apthorpe and negotiated for a victualling contract for the troops in America, and he held with Colebrooke and others contracts for remitting money for the troops there; in 1761 he took up a subscription for £17,500 government stock and in 1762 his firm applied for a subscription of £20,000 to Newcastle’s last loan. For Colebrooke’s patronage of Taylor, see Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965 & 967; and Richard Garnier, ‘Arno’s Grove, Southgate’, and ‘Gatton Town Hall’, in *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 122–34 & 72–75.
- 78 Bamber Gascoyne’s father was Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Lord Mayor in 1752–53; the son was Lord of Trade 1763–65 and 1772–79, Lord of Admiralty 1779–82 and Receiver-General of Customs from 1786 to his death in 1791 [Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 486–91].
- 79 London, Holborn Library, Local Studies Centre, rate books, parish of St Andrew’s, Holborn.
- 80 ‘I will my body be carried down to Ludlow in Shropshire and there buried at as moderate expense as may be I order that a monument be set up to my Memory in the Parish church of Ludlow and give the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds for that purpose’ [Abstract of Theophilus Salwey’s will in the possession of Mr Humphrey Salwey]; see also Richard Garnier and Richard Hewlings, ‘The Salwey Saga’, *Country Life*, CLXXXIII, September 21 1989, 208–13.
- 81 Oxford, Taylorian Institute, Arch. Tay., 2.
- 82 In addition, the trustees set up by Theophilus’s will included Peter Godfrey (†1769), Taylor’s first patron and ‘principal friend’ [Binney, *op. cit.*, 30], after whose death Taylor erected in 1771 the memorial column to the Godfrey family in Woodford churchyard. Theophilus Salwey also had a house at Woodford, next to the Godfreys’ opposite the church, and he left this to his brother Richard Salwey.
- 83 Lewis, F.S.A., ‘English Commemorative Sculpture in Jamaica, 9–Kingston Parish Church’, *Commemorative Art*, July, 1966, 231–36.
- 84 Illustrated and attributed, *idem.*; Lewis’s attributions are confirmed by a signed monument of similar form to the Manning tablet at Trinity Hall Chapel, Cambridge to Dr. John Andrew (†1747) [Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge*, London, 1959, II, 249b, & pl. 203], and the monuments similar to the Hinde tablet at Woodford Church, Essex and Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, the latter to Mary (née Warde, †1760) the first wife of William Clayton, the builder of neighbouring Harleyford Manor [see note 97, *infra*]. The existence of the Clayton monument was kindly communicated to me by John Redmill.
- 85 Richard Garnier, ‘Downing Square...’, *cit.*, 149, and figs. 9 & 10.
- 86 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 639–40.
- 87 Binney, *op. cit.*, 95–96; Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965, 966.
- 88 Richard Lea & Chris Miele, *The House and Park at Danson, London Borough of Bexley, the anatomy of a Georgian suburban estate*, English Heritage, Historical Analysis & Research Team, Reports & Papers 36, 2000 (unpublished), p. 12: ‘It seems odd that Augustus, who had resolutely kept up his City residence, should lease a house in Westminster at the end of his life instead of retiring to suburban Lewisham. The house might well have been intended for John, or leased at his insistence.’
- 89 Richard Garnier, ‘Downing Square...’, *cit.*, 150.
- 90 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965 *bis*, 966.
- 91 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, 130–33. His sister Anne was second wife of Barlow Trecothick of John Street.
- 92 Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 390–94. The Elliots evidently knew Sir Robert and his wife, as Sir Gilbert’s son (later 1st Earl of Minto), in 1789 described them as follows: ‘You know Sir Robert Taylor was originally a working bricklayer, but rose to the dignity of architect & has left his son 7 or 8000 £ a year. Lady Taylor is a true specimen of a rich upstart lady. She was once at Lisbon, & is fond of talking of her travels, & says ‘When I was abroad at Portugall.’ [National Library of Scotland, MS 11047, fol. 185v; kindly communicated to me by Mrs Clare Lloyd Jacob, formerly of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Bedford Square, London].
- 93 Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Sussex*, Harmondsworth, 1965, 531.
- 94 One of those brothers, John Pownall (1720–95), MP,

- who was described by Burke as having ‘made a fortune by continuing in the Board of Trade for thirty years,’ took George Brudenell’s Great George Street house in 1790 [WAC Rate Books]. John Pownall started as clerk to the Board of Trade in 1745–53, was joint secretary 1753–58, and secretary 1758–1776; he was also under-secretary of state, American department 1768–1776; a naval officer in Jamaica 1755–71; Provincial Marshall General of Leeward Islands from 1771, a post confirmed to him for life in 1776; commissioner of Excise 1776–85, and of Customs 1785–88. He was returned for St. Germans 1775–76 by Edward Eliot [of 44 Parliament Street], a lord of Trade. His brother, Thomas Pownall (1722–1803), MP, was jointly clerk of the Board of Trade 1743–54, secretary to the Governor of New York 1753, Lt. Governor of New Jersey 1755, Governor of Massachusetts Bay 1757–59, of S. Carolina 1760 (although he did not take up the post); he was first commissary of control in Germany 1761–63 and commissioner for investigating accounts in Germany 1763–66. The brothers’ mother was the daughter of John Burneston, Deputy Governor of Bombay [Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, 315–18]. The three brothers may have been cousins of General Burgoyne (patron of both Taylor and Adam) whose maternal grandfather was Charles Burneston of Hackney [Burke’s *Peerage*, 1883, *s.v.* ‘Burgoyne’].
- 95 Binney, *op. cit.*, 96; Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965.
- 96 Namier & Brooke, ii, 947–98.
- 97 The double relationship is demonstrated by the names of two of the cousins, Clayton Kenrick and Kenrick Clayton, the latter being the brother of Taylor’s patron at Harleyford.; for the Harleyford commission, see Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965.
- 98 Verbal communication from Christopher Woodward to the author.
- 99 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965.
- 100 Gunnis, *op. cit.*, 381. Taylor *père* was employed in 1724 by Henry Hoare (1677–1725), the purchaser of Stourhead, which he had bought in 1720, and in 1732–33 by his son, also Henry (1705–1785). The Richard Hoare at Great George Street was either their grandson and nephew (1735–87), or their cousin (d. 1776), the son of the builder of Boreham House, Essex, to which he succeeded in 1750. The latter’s daughter, Sophia, in 1783 was to marry the Hon. William (Grimston) Bucknall, younger brother to the 3rd Viscount Grimston who employed Taylor at Gorhambury.
- 101 *SOL*, III, 1912, 43; Hoare was resident to 1774 and the *Survey* gives the next resident (1775–78) as David Godfrey, probably Peter Godfrey’s adopted son and heir (see note 82, *supra*) [Binney, *op. cit.*, 30].
- 102 Namier and Brooke, II, 342–43. By 1771 Henry Drummond and his partner Richard Cox had 18 regiments on their books; in 1770 Henry had succeeded his cousin John Drummond as partner of Thomas Harley in the government contract for remittances to N. America; by 1772, with John’s failing health, Henry’s brother Robert Drummond persuaded him to return to the family bank as third partner. It should be noted that the Drummond connection with the Adam brothers is not generally reckoned to have predated 1777–78 [Colvin, *Dictionary*, 57]; but see also note 157, *infra*.
- 103 Namier and Brooke, II, 110–11. Bradshaw was clerk in the War Office 1757–59, first clerk 1759–61, Chief Clerk at the Treasury 1761–63, Commissioner of Taxes 1763–67, Secretary to the Treasury 1767–70 and a Lord of the Admiralty 1772 to his death in 1774. He married the daughter and co-heir of a London merchant, Robert Wilson. Bradshaw assisted Grafton with the general election of 1768 and came to occupy a key post in the Government as Grafton’s link with Lord North; when Grafton resigned in July 1770, he obtained for Bradshaw the reversion for two lives of the office of Auditor General of the Plantations, ‘worth upwards of £2500 a year and which may, and possibly will, be worth double that sum’ and a premium of £1500 a year until the office became vacant.
- 104 Namier and Brooke, II, 123–24. He was equerry to the King 1746–61, clerk controller of the Household 1765–68 and clerk of the Board of Green Cloth 1768–82.
- 105 Roger Bowdler, ‘Rococo in Lee: the Fludyer Tomb by Robert Chambers’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 1993, 91–93.
- 106 WAC, Rate Books, parish of St. George’s, Hanover Square.
- 107 Edmund Nugent, MP, a soldier, was returned on Edward Eliot’s interest at Liskeard. He lived at 7 Great George St. in succession to the Earl of Abingdon [Namier & Brooke, iii, 218].
- 108 Namier and Brooke, II, 110–11. Nugent’s close connection to Newcastle is seemingly confirmed by his choice of title as Viscount Clare in 1767 during Newcastle’s lifetime (†1768), as one of Newcastle’s many peerages included the Earldom of Clare (created 1714).

- 109 Namier and Brooke, II, 212–31.
- 110 WAC, *The Court & City Kalendar or Gentleman's Register for the Year[s]...*, 1754–56.
- 111 Following on from his nephew, Sir Brownlow Cust, Bt., the first occupant in 1770 [Westminster, rate books, *loc. cit.*].
- 112 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 966.
- 113 Namier and Brooke, III, 20–21. Sir George Amyand 'subscribed £40,000 to the loan of 1757; in April 1759 he was included among "the most known people in the City" whom Newcastle consulted on "the present state of credit"; and in December was the third largest subscriber to the £8,000,000 loan which he with other "principal men in the City" had agreed to underwrite, his own firm and its customers taking £660,000 of the sum of £924,000 allotted to him. In 1761 he subscribed £480,000 to the Government loan.... During the seven years' war Amyand obtained important Government contracts in Germany and by 1760 was remitting a large part of the money for the allied army there, and supplying it with grain. His banking firm Amyand, Staples and Mercer acted as bankers for the diplomatic service in the supply of money abroad and the handling of individual accounts' [*idem.*]. All this he achieved before an early death at 46.
- 114 Ian Nairn & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Surrey*, 2nd ed, revised Bridget Cherry, Harmondsworth, 1971, 134n.
- 115 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 967.
- 116 London Trade directories
- 117 Namier and Brooke, II, 687–88. Jolliffe, besides the fortune he received from his first wife (who also brought him the control of both seats at Petersfield, Hants.), received through his second wife a share in Samuel Holden's considerable estate, and also inherited the estate of his uncle Sir William Jolliffe, so that being cut out of his brother's will and therefore barred from inheriting his patrimonial estates was merely a sentimental disappointment, on account of his already considerable wealth.
- 118 Namier and Brooke, III, 598. Walpole was captain of an East Indiaman till 1758, when he changed to the 'steady and profitable profession of banker', joining the firm of Cliff, Walpole & Clarke. His brother Thomas in 1763 suggested him to Newcastle as a candidate for Lewes, but he declined to stand and only entered Parliament in 1768 for Great Yarmouth.
- 119 Burke's *Peerage*, 2160, s.v. 'Walpole'. The final brother, Robert, married secondly the daughter of Richard Stert, 'of Lisbon', perhaps a connection (brother?) of Arthur Stert of John Street, Holborn [*supra.*], Royal Exchange Assurance director.
- 120 Namier and Brooke, III, 511.
- 121 Namier and Brooke, III, 165.
- 122 Namier and Brooke, III, 448. A ship owner and proprietor of East India stock, he is listed in the London trade directories as a timber merchant. His brother, John Smith-Burges, an influential proprietor of Company stock, was also an East India director and was created baronet in 1763.
- 123 Sir Leslie and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1901 (1993 reprint) [hereafter *DNB 1993*], XLII, 329.
- 124 *Ibid.*, XLII, 328.
- 125 London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library, listing for Sir Robert Taylor.
- 126 Namier and Brooke, II, 528–29.
- 127 *SOL*, X, 50.
- 128 See note 89 & 90, *supra.*
- 129 *DNB 1993*, XX, 936.
- 130 *Idem.*; Binney, *op. cit.*, 66.
- 131 L G Pine [ed.], *Burke's Peerage*, London, 1953 (hereafter *Burke's*), 1846 s.v. 'Sackville', 2151 s.v. 'Waldegrave'; Binney, *op. cit.* 34.
- 132 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 965 bis, 967.
- 133 Tucker, cashier to Treasurer of the Navy 1744–49, paymaster of Marines ?1757–death, keeper of the King's private roads 1770–death, mayor of Weymouth six times in period 1726–72, had a considerable interest at Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in which he was in association with his fellow MP, George Bubb Dodington: Tucker managed the borough and Dodington oversaw their interests at Westminster, while both the borough's seats, by arrangement with Pelham were always placed at the government's disposal [Namier and Brooke, III, 565]. It was Bubb Dodington who in 1762 bequeathed to Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Despencer, the money to build 'an arch or temple', resulting in the Mausoleum at West Wycombe, Bucks. [Nikolaus Pevsner & Elizabeth Wilkinson, *The Buildings of England, Buckinghamshire*, 2nd ed., 1994, 739].
- 134 Binney, *op. cit.*, 71.
- 135 *Kalendar*, *loc. cit.* [respective dates].
- 136 *Burke's*, 708, s.v. 'Edmondstone'; Namier and Brooke, II, 380–82: Edmondstone's mother was sister to the 4th Duke of Argyll and his first wife Mary Harenc was daughter to a naturalised Parisian and London merchant, Roger Harenc of Fooks Cray Place, Kent.

- Lord Chesterfield commented on the match in September 1753, 'Your friend Mademoiselle Harenc is to be married... to one Mr Edmonstone, a Scotch gentleman whose father has an estate in Scotland and Ireland of about £1500 a year. He is... under the protection of the Duke of Argyll, by whom he expects to be brought into Parliament... Harenc gives £10,000 down with his daughter.'
- 137 Binney, *op. cit.*, 30, quotes both *Minutes of Foundling Hospital Court of Governors*, December 31, 1746 and the *AP S Dictionary*.
- 138 *Burke's*, 146–47, s.v. 'Barrington'.
- 139 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 966.
- 140 *Idem*.
- 141 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 516–17.
- 142 John Summerson, *Georgian London*, 1945, 115.
- 143 *Ibid.*, 116–7.
- 144 Binney, *op. cit.*, 67.
- 145 *Ibid.*, 56; plan in *SOL*, III, pls. 25 and 26.
- 146 Tim Mowl & Brian Earnshaw, *John Wood, Architect of Obsession*, Manchester, 1988, 65–69.
- 147 *Survey of London*, XVIII, 1937, p. 96–97
- 148 Tim Mowl, 'Henry Keene, A Goth in Spite of Himself', in R. Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders*, London, 1985, 84.
- 149 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 966; *SOL*, III, 39–47, and pls. 35–41.
- 150 See Richard Garnier, 'Sir Robert Taylor', in Giles Worsley (ed.), *Georgian Architectural Practice*, Georgian Group Symposium, 1991, 46; Binney, *op. cit.*, 23.
- 151 Colvin, *Dictionary*, 963; Binney, *op. cit.*, 30.
- 152 Ian Nairn & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Surrey*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1971, 134, dates the two rooms now attributed to Taylor to c1720 and c1750.
- 153 *SOL*, XXVII, 234–36.
- 154 Nikolaus Pevsner & Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England, London I*, Harmondsworth, 1973, 632.
- 155 Binney, *op. cit.*, 75.
- 156 *SOL*, X, 13–14.
- 157 The Adam drawings at the Soane Museum include a number for Henry Drummond, none of which appear to have been executed. These include an evidently late stylistic scheme for a double-width town house, perhaps from the 1780s; a number of designs for pier and other (girandole) glasses, a pedestal and urn, all dated 1781; and finally a ceiling and series of cornices dated 1765 and annotated in pencil as for Great George Street. [Soane Museum, London, Adam drawings, 46,44–49; 11.128–29; 53,55; 20,224; 17,67] These earlier drawings push back the Drummond connection with Adam, but the fact remains there is no executed work by him for the family before the alterations to their banking house at Charing Cross in 1777–78 [Colvin, *Dictionary*, 57].
- 158 See Appendix, *infra*.
- 159 For example, T J S Draper, 'Chandos House', *Georgian Group Journal*, VII, 1997, 133–34, and fig. 5.
- 160 I am grateful to Simon Bradley, of Pevsner Architectural Guides, for pointing out this house's plan to me.
- 161 *SOL*, III, pls. 25, 26 and 33.
- 162 Binney, *op. cit.*, 26 (citing Walpole), 27, 66.
- 163 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes*, V, 195, comments on Taylor's being worth £180,000 at his death: 'there is no instance in art like it. Kent died worth £10,000. Gibbs had about £25,000. Sir Christopher Wren had £50,000.'