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THEODORE JACOBSEN AND THE BUILDING OF THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL

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Theodore Jacobsen (c.1695–1772)¹ was responsible for designing a number of important public buildings, including East India House, the Foundling Hospital, the Royal Hospital at Haslar, and Trinity College, Dublin (Fig. 1). He advised on and made major modifications to George Sampson's plans for the new Bank of England. He built himself a country house in Surrey and he left plans for an unusual triangular house, which may relate to additions and alterations carried out at Longford Castle in Wiltshire. Among his unexecuted projects was a House for the recently formed Society of Antiquaries of London. He is often referred to as an amateur architect, although the term gentleman architect, proposed by Howard Colvin, seems more accurate,² and his projects were certainly prestigious.

Jacobsen's career and designs are surveyed elsewhere;³ this paper is solely concerned with his work for the Foundling Hospital, which is particularly fully documented. Although he was identified as the architect in *The History of The Foundling Hospital* in 1935, that work also disclosed that three other architects competed unsuccessfully in 1742, but did not name them.⁴ This article reveals that they were John James, George Dance and George Sampson, and establishes that the architect John Sanderson was the surveyor before James Horne, and had himself produced a design in January 1740; as had George Dance. Thereafter Sanderson had the bricklaying contract. It shows that Horne, who was also responsible for some practical design details, had been succeeded as surveyor by Henry Keene by May 1751. The elevations of the forecourt colonnades

were drawn, and perhaps designed by Keene. It identifies all the other building contractors, and an appendix lists the unsuccessful tenderers as well. It also reveals that John Spencer, the carpenter, was surveyor to the Antiquaries' House in 1752. It dates Hudson's portrait of Jacobsen. It sets out the process by which Jacobsen was appointed and shows that he designed all the separate blocks up to 1757, ending speculation, for instance, that the chapel was designed by someone else.

The origins of the Foundling Hospital are well known. Captain Thomas Coram, who had spent much of his life developing trade and settlement in the American Colonies, retired to London, but, shocked by the plight of abandoned children in the capital, set about establishing a Hospital to receive homeless infants, where they might be safely brought up and given a useful education. He secured the support of numerous members of the aristocracy and gentry, petitioned the King in 1737 and secured a Royal Charter to establish the Hospital in 1739.

One of the original signatories named in the Charter was Theodore Jacobsen. Of German descent, he was a successful merchant in the Steelyard, the London headquarters of the Hanseatic trade.⁵ His interest in and knowledge of architecture had already been displayed when his proposals for rebuilding East India House, the Company's headquarters, had been accepted in 1726. Despite being involved in a lengthy legal dispute with the Hanse towns, his business activities clearly left him well off and with enough leisure to pursue other interests. The new Foundling Hospital was among



Fig. 1. Thomas Hudson, *Theodore Jacobsen*, 1746, presented to the Foundling Hospital by the artist.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the Foundling Museum.

the most important of these activities. He was one of thirty people present at the first recorded meeting of the charity in November 1739, and contributed £50 as a founding Governor.

Thereafter Jacobsen was among the most active Governors and attended meetings regularly for the next eighteen years. All Governors were members of the Court, which met four times a year, but the day-to-day business was conducted by the General Committee, meeting fortnightly and often more frequently, to which fifty Governors, including Jacobsen, were initially elected. In practice only around ten regularly attended the General Committee; Jacobsen remained a member of it until April 1757, hardly ever missing a meeting, apart from a gap of some three months in the winter of 1747/8.⁶

The new Charity needed a home and the first meetings were devoted to finding one. The Duke of Montagu offered to lease Montagu House (later taken by the British Museum) and in December 1739 Jacobsen was one of those sent, with John Sanderson, already the Hospital's surveyor, to view it and assess the cost of conversion. This immediately introduces us to the closely-knit world of architects, surveyors, and craftsmen, for Jacobsen would also work with Sanderson on Trinity College, Dublin, together with another who would be later involved with the building of the Hospital, Henry Keene.⁷

The General Committee also called for information to be collected about similar establishments abroad, including those in Paris and Amsterdam,⁸ and in January Sanderson was requested to view other hospitals, as well as to estimate for the cost of conversion of Montagu House. He concluded that repairs to the house would cost £2,002 10s 8d, and redoing the rooms a further £666, but that the result would provide 637 beds. Already the idea of a purpose-built Hospital was being discussed and Sanderson produced his own plan for a new building, to contain as many beds as the conversion of Montagu House. He estimated this to cost £10,000, "besides all outside paving, fence, walling, drains, shores, lead

pipes, etc.". Curiously, nothing more is heard of Sanderson's plan, but at the same meeting (25 January 1740) the Committee "received a Plan from Mr George Dance for a new Hospital of a square of 300 feet within the Walls with a Collonade all round, and an area of 277 feet between the columns and to contain 24 Wards; which he estimated to cost £11,000 and computed that in the Wards 270 Beds may be conveniently placed". This was George Dance senior, Clerk of Works to the City of London, who had just completed his best-known work, the Mansion House.⁹

It soon became clear that there were objections to the Montagu House scheme, not least that the Duke might not be entitled to sanction the proposed conversion. Moreover, an alternative proposal was to hand, for the Earl of Salisbury was prepared to sell his fields "against Great Ormond Street" as the site for a new building. It was therefore "Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee not at present to engage in building", and other Governors, including Captain Coram, were deputed to negotiate the purchase of the land. At a meeting on 31 October 1740 the General Committee was "empowered to purchase of the earl of Salisbury his two pasture fields, containing thirty four acres of land on the north side of Ormond Street, between Lamb's Conduit and Southampton Row for a scite to build an Hospital upon".

A temporary home for the charity was found in a house belonging to Sir Fisher Tench in Hatton Garden. In December 1740, the Committee directed four Governors, Captain Coram, Theodore Jacobsen, Robert Nesbitt and Nathaniel Newnham to view it and see what was necessary to be done to the house. The composition of this group is interesting, in view of the dramatic dispute which broke out amongst the governing body less than a year later. The report on the property was favourable and a lease was taken out on it. Staff were engaged and the first foundlings admitted in April 1741. At the same time negotiations proceeded for the purchase of the Earl of Salisbury's fields and a satisfactory price of £7,000 was agreed for four fields, comprising 56 acres, with the Earl

making a donation of £500 to the charity, thus reducing the price to £6,500.

Shortly after this a dispute occurred, involving Jacobsen, which resulted in a permanent rift between Thomas Coram and the rest of the Governors. As noted above, Coram and Jacobsen had worked together to find a home for the Hospital and there is no obvious sign of friction between them. However, the minutes of the General Committee on 21 October 1741 record that

Whereas the Committee is informed that some Gentlemen who have attended the Execution of this Charity have been grossly aspersed in their Characters, resolved that it be referred to Lord Charles Cavandish, Mr Milner, Mr Hume Campbell, Mr Taylor White, Mr Waple, Mr Joseph Hankey, Mr Adair, Mr Hucks and Mr Nettleton or any three of them to inquire into the Promoters of such Reports and to report the Facts as they shall appear to them and that they do meet on Saturday next at five in the Afternoon exactly and have a power to adjourn and that the Secretary do acquaint them therewith.

It is usually stated that the origin of these aspersions was a letter, signed only with the initials G.W.¹⁰ However, the reference to the slander is the first item in the minutes, after which the Committee moved on to regular business, and only at the very end of the meeting did the Secretary “read a letter from G.W. dated 30th of September 1741 representing many Irregularities in the Hospital and proceeded to examine Evidence concerning same”. It seems likely that the slander and the complaint by G.W. may have been connected, but it is not certain.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the General Committee on 24 October proceeded to examine the evidence concerning the irregularities in the Hospital set out in the letter, while on 4 November

Mr Taylor White reported from the Gentlemen to whom it was referred to inquire into the Promoters of Reports grossly aspersing the Characters of some Gentlemen who have attended the execution of this Charity; and delivered to this Committee the original proceedings under the said reference; resolved that this Committee will take the said Report into

Consideration upon Monday next the 9th instant at eleven in the forenoon precisely, and that the Secretary do send a particular Summons to every Member of this Committee to attend upon this Occasion acquainting them with the Business.

Seventeen members (including Captain Coram) attended the next meeting but, before the report was considered, Jacobsen and Martin Folkes, a Vice President, withdrew.¹¹ It was

Resolved, nemine contradicente, that after the strictest Examination and Inquiry it appears to this Committee that the Information given by Mary Rayner and others late Nurses in this Hospital containing several scandalous Insinuations and Aspersions upon Martin Folkes and Theodore Jacobsen Esquires, two of the Governors of this Hospital are Unjust, False, Groundless and Malicious. Resolved that the promoting and spreading of Accusations or Aspersions upon the Characters of Gentlemen who are diligent in the Execution of this Charity tends to the ruin of it, by preventing their attendance. Resolved that it appears to this Committee that Mr Thomas Coram one of the Governors of this Hospital has been principally concerned in promoting and spreading the said Aspersions on the said two Governors. Resolved that it appears to this Committee that Dr Nesbitt another of the Governors of this Hospital was very early acquainted by Mary Rayner and other Nurses with the said Aspersions and did not take Measures proper to discountenance the same contrary to what in Justice was due to the Governors of this Hospital and the Character of the Gentlemen aspersed. Resolved that the diligent and constant Attendance of Martin Folkes and Theodore Jacobsen Esquires, two of the Governors of this Hospital, and their indefatigable Zeal in the Execution of their Trust have been highly beneficial to this Charity and deserve the Thanks of all who wish well to it, and that the Thanks of this Committee be returned accordingly, and that this Committee hope they will continue to act in the same Manner. They being satisfied nothing can contribute more to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Hospital. Resolved that the Papers this Day read to the Committee from the Gentlemen to whom it was referred to inquire into the Promoters of the before mentioned reports be sealed up by Mr Milner, Mr Folkes, and Mr Burrell, Vice Presidents, and be kept by the Secretary.

We shall probably never know the full details of this affair and the sealed papers have long since disappeared, but on 23 December the Committee recorded that the information given by Nurse Rayner and other nurses whereby Mrs Sarah Wood the chief nurse “is charged with Immodesty, Dishonesty and Drunkenness, and their Insinuations that she had miscarried in this Hospital are groundless and malicious”. Nonetheless, they concluded that “the Affairs of the Hospital under the care of the said Sarah Wood have been very improperly managed” and they resolved to dismiss her immediately, only paying her wages to Christmas (*i.e.* a further two days).

Despite all this, both Coram and Jacobsen continued their regular attendance of the Committee until the following May, but when Coram attended the Court meeting on 12 May he was not re-elected to the General Committee. This effectively ended his official connection with the charity to which he had devoted so much time and effort. There is a later report from Mr Collingwood, Secretary of the Hospital from 1758, which paints a pathetic picture of Coram “sitting in the Courts of the Hospital in his red Coat distributing with Tears in his Eyes Gingerbread to the Children, himself being at the time supported by Subscription”.¹²

Was the design of the new Hospital the cause of the dispute between Coram and Jacobsen? Certainly Coram’s last act at the Court meeting in May was to register the only vote against letting a contract for making bricks for the new building. He also held on to the original petition to the King to set up the charity and the book of the subscriptions towards the building. The General Committee had to ask the Secretary to write and ask for their return, “they having an immediate occasion for them”. Coram was in due course persuaded to part with the records, but he kept the Committee waiting for almost two years. Equally, there was some belated attempt to restore relations with the ageing founder, when in 1749 “Mr Mead proposed that one of the Prints of this Hospital should be sent as a Present to Captain

Coram; ordered that one of the Prints framed be sent to Captain Coram from the Committee”. This was the plan and elevation of the new building engraved by Roberts after a drawing by Jeremiah Robinson, published on 6 July 1749, which gives us the best impression of Jacobsen’s overall design for the still unfinished building (Fig. 2). Then, when Coram died in 1751, aged 83, he was buried at his own request in the vaults of the new chapel, and on this occasion many of the Governors attended to pay their respects.

The Court meeting in December 1741, attended by both Coram and Jacobsen, had agreed to ask the General Committee “to consider of a plan for building an Hospital for this Charity”, and gave them the power “to call to their assistance any of the Governors and Guardians of this Hospital to consider the said plan”. The following 23 February the General Committee appointed a sub-committee for the new building; this included Jacobsen, but not Coram.¹³ They in turn agreed to meet on the following Friday at Meyer’s Coffee House in King’s Street, Bloomsbury, together with Sanderson, to consider the plans. Perhaps someone (Captain Coram?) objected to this procedure, because on 9 March the General Committee agreed that they would elect by ballot, rather than appoint, the Committee for Building. A ballot was duly held for a new Committee on 23 March and the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lovell, Joseph Hankey, Alexander Hume Campbell, Theodore Jacobsen, John Laroche, Taylor White, The Earl of Abercorn, Lord Charles Cavendish, William Adair and John Waple were elected.

The minutes of the meeting on 9 March had also returned thanks to “Mr Dance and Mr Horne, having offered to this Committee to design or survey the intended building gratis”. It has often been assumed that Jacobsen’s designs were preferred because he offered his services free, but this indicates that Dance also offered his services for nothing, as did James Horne, the surveyor. Horne worked as

building, was let and approved by the General Committee, who subsequently approved the paying of the bills. This detailed process is all recorded in the Minutes and gives us a very complete picture of the building of the Hospital.¹⁷

The General Committee also had a clear idea of the building that they wanted and specified their requirements precisely. On 25 May they resolved that construction should start as soon as possible and the Hospital should be built in stages, the first phase “as shall be capable of containing two hundred children. And that the building be composed of two stories and an attic storey, the wards to be twenty four feet wide, and that there be an arcade to each wing the whole length of the building”. They further resolved that the “plan proposed by Mr Jacobsen and the plan proposed by Mr Waple be given to Mr Taylor White to procure the opinion of builders on them or to procure any other plans for the consideration of the building committee”. Nothing further is heard of Mr Waple’s plan (he was another Governor and a member of the Building Committee elected on 23 March), but on 22 June 1742 Mr James “attended the Committee with the Plan of an Hospital designed by him for their Consideration”; this, with all others, was referred to the Building Committee. It was also agreed that a notice should be put in the *Daily Advertiser*, stating that the Governors had “fixed upon a Plan of an Hospital designed to be erected by them, they are ready to contract for the digging of the Foundations of the same, and that any Person willing to undertake the same may deliver in their Proposals at their Hospital in Hatton Garden”.

On 30 June 1742 the General Committee received a report from the Building Committee that

they have had Four Plans only delivered to them, which were presented to this Hospital by Mr Sampson, Mr Dance, Mr James and Mr Jacobsen.

They are of the Opinion that the Plan delivered by Mr Sampson which was delivered therewith marked No 1, is much too small to answer the Purposes of this Hospital.

That the Plan delivered by Mr Dance marked No 2 and delivered therewith is too Expensive and stands on too much Ground. It consists of a Quadrangle whose Side within the Building is 100 yards or 300 feet. The area contains 10,000 square yards, ie 90,000 square feet. The Building would contain 250 squares exclusive of a Colonnade of 114 columns. It is estimated by Mr Dance at £12,000 but at £50 a square will cost £12,500 besides the colonnade and paving the area. In this Plan there is no Chapel. This is proposed to contain 224 beds or 448 children.

Mr James’s and Mr Jacobsen’s Plans are a Quadrangle open on the Side next Red Lyon Street, on the Opposite Side is proposed the Chappel; the other Two Sides are proposed for the Hospital of which one only is proposed at present to be built.

These being the two Plans which to them seemed best calculated to answer the Purposes of this Hospital, we have considered wherein they differ.

There follows an extremely detailed table of comparison of the two plans, giving relative dimensions and costs and coming to the following conclusion:

That the Committee were of the Opinion that the Method of placing four Beds together as proposed by Mr James is not so proper for an Hospital for Children as being too close liable to be kept dirty, especially if divided by Partitions as proposed. And they were also of Opinion that Double Wards as proposed by Mr Jacobsen are more convenient than single as proposed by Mr James, as they will be warmer in Winter, cooler in Summer and easier kept clean. And they were of Opinion that Mr Jacobsen’s Plan will be executed at a less Expense, as it is built in a much smaller Area and that it will in this Wing now proposed to be built contain 192 children and such Rooms as for the present will serve for your General Court, Committees, Officers & Servants and also necessary offices. And therefore were of Opinion that it will best answer the Purposes of this Hospital. And they were also of Opinion that the Western Wing thereof ought to be immediately proceeded upon, which they submitted to the general Consideration of this General Meeting. Resolved that this General Meeting do agree to the said Report and that the General Committee be desired to carry unto immediate execution Mr Jacobsen’s plan.

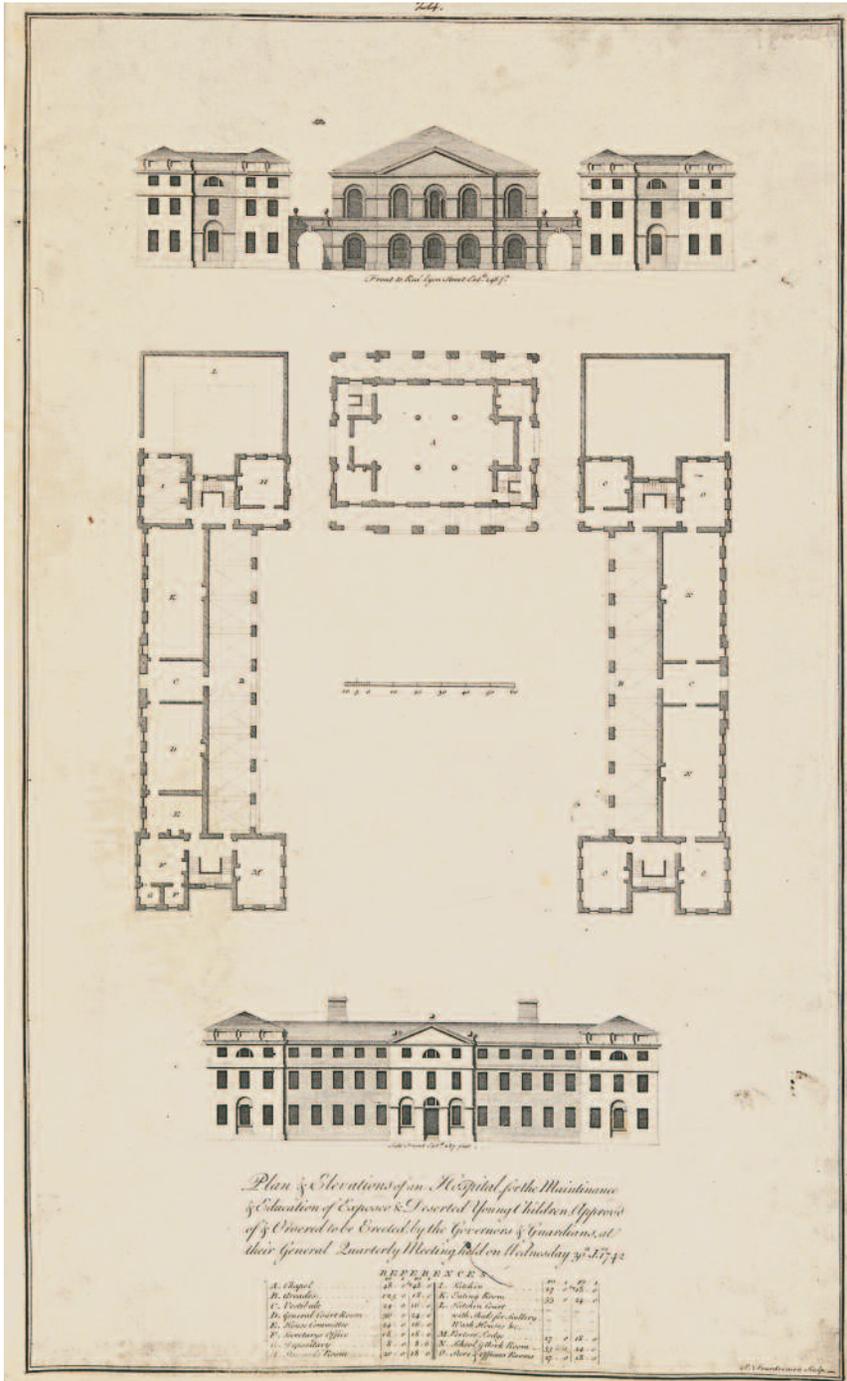


Fig. 3. P. Fourdrinier, engraved plan and elevations of the Foundling Hospital, between June 1742 and July 1746.
By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

James was in attendance and was called in to receive the thanks of the General Meeting “for the great pains he had taken in preparing the plan approved of for this Hospital and for his great service therein”. This must have been the well-known architect and architectural writer John James (c.1673–1746), who had been Surveyor to the Fifty New Churches and had worked for many members of the nobility. He had worked with Jacobsen as Surveyor for East India House a dozen years earlier, and may even have been responsible for Jacobsen’s architectural training.¹⁸ The two men obviously knew each other well and came up with broadly similar plans, both of which could be constructed in a series of discrete phases, starting with the west wing.

Jacobsen’s design was preferred for the reasons given, and, despite phased construction, was very largely completed in accordance with the original designs. The plan consisted of three sides of a rectangle, with the west and east wings forming the main Hospital and the chapel the third side, linked to the wings by arcades. In external appearance the building was severe and unornamented, as befitted a charitable institution. The wings were terminated by pairs of rectangular pavilions at the ends and had central pedimented projections on the outward-facing elevations; the courtyard sides were arcaded at ground level (Fig. 2). Several of these features recurred in Jacobsen’s designs for the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar and Trinity College, Dublin.

Having decided on the plan, the Committee invited tenders for the building work. John Sanderson, who had first acted as surveyor, could not afford to work for nothing and had been replaced on 30 June by James Horne, who offered his services free. Sanderson tendered for the brickwork and was awarded the contract on 22 July. Jacobsen was party to all these decisions and his overall supervision of the work seems to have been continuous. In September he was thanked by the General Committee for having 600 copies of his plan for the Hospital engraved and printed at his own expense,

and they resolved that one be sent to every Governor. An example of what is probably the plan referred to is in George Dance’s collection of engravings in Sir John Soane’s Museum (Fig. 3).¹⁹

The Committee agreed to meet on 9 September to lay the foundation stone, but this was subsequently postponed to 16 September. They did, however, decide to seek other bids for making bricks. But no other proposals came forward and, since it was Horne’s opinion “that it would be proper to have the Bricks made as early in the Spring as possible in order for the Covering in the Building early”, it was agreed that Thomas Scott should make a further million bricks. On 23 September Jacobsen reported that it would be necessary to build a shed by the wall of the burying ground, for grinding bricks; he also informed the Committee that the estimate for a new sewer of 712 ft, designed and planned by Horne, was £188, and this was approved.²⁰ Sanderson’s contract was signed, specifying that he would dig the vaults and foundations of the western wing and do the brickwork for the same.

The meeting received the following report of the laying of the foundation stone:

The Secretary acquainted the Committee that on Thursday last pursuant to the Order of this Committee for laying the Foundation Stone and Mr Horne’s apprehending that an Inscription in the said Stone might be destroyed by Salt Petre, a Copper Plate was prepared to be bedded in the said Stone between two Plates of milled Lead and covered with another Stone, and that the Foundation Stone being placed at the South East corner of the West Wing, John Milner Esq in the presence of Mr Jacobsen and Mr Sainthill put in the said Plate whereon is the following Inscription: The Foundation of this Hospital was laid on the 16th of September, 16 George 2nd 1742.

On 27 October the Committee decided that the cornice of the Hospital should be done in stone, instead of brick as initially intended, “that of stone being more durable and not much greater expense”. The design of the cornice was left to Horne, who proposed a stone “truss”, to be made by John



Fig. 4. The Foundling Hospital. Arcade beneath the west wing, subsequently enclosed to become the boys' dining room. *English Heritage*.

Devall, the mason, at the cost of seven shillings and six pence a running foot. John Sanderson was also instructed to check that Scott was not trying to pass off any bad bricks.

The building was obviously progressing and in February 1743 the Committee advertised for carpenters. Contracts for this work were issued jointly to Messrs Timbrell and Spencer and Mr John Phillips. At the same time a deal was done with the New River Company, who wanted to lay their pipes across the Hospital's land; this provided for the company to supply water to the Hospital for £10 annually without any advance.

In March the brickmaker Scott was asked to rail off "so much of the Ground where the Building is now erecting as will be sufficient for making Bricks, framing the Timber, and other works necessary for carrying on the Building", and Horne was instructed to provide enough stock bricks to lay the foundation of the arcade, which Sanderson should proceed to build (Fig. 4).

On 8 June Mr Alexander's tender "for the iron necessary for the Chimneys to be built in this Hospital" was accepted and still more bricks had to be ordered from a second supplier, Daniel Harrison.

In September Edward Ives was contracted for



Fig. 5. The Foundling Hospital. View of the Boys' Wing from the west, 1926.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the Foundling Museum.

plumbing work, “including Lead Gutters, Hipps, Ridges, Valleys, Rain Water Pipes and Cistern Heads, including Soder [*sic*] Holdfasts and fixing up Carriage and Nails”. Richard Hughes’s proposal for slating was accepted, namely

to slate the said house with the best Westmorland Slates to lay them upon good Oak Laths or good Fir Laths of half an inch thick and half wide and to nail all the Laths with Four Penny Clout Nail, to nail all the Slates upon the Rafters and Purlines with Eight Penny and Six Penny Clout Nails, to point all the Slates With Side with good Lime and Hair and to perform all in a good and workmanlike Manner.

John Devall proposed “a coping of Portland Stone 1ft. 6 ins. wide, with a Throat with proper Breaks as in the Design, cramping and running with Lead”, and that too was accepted at the same meeting.

The new building was now so advanced that Horne advised it was necessary to have a watchman on site, to attend all day Sundays to prevent mischief. In December we also have the first of a number of references to Horne’s father, Thomas, who “would be glad of £10 upon account of surveying the Workmen”. He is formerly recorded as a joiner, and was presumably earning a pension by helping out on the project.

In February 1744 the Committee chose Lancelot Dowbiggen and William Spiers for the work in fitting up the interior, once again providing very detailed specifications; for example, doors of different pattern and quality were required, including “two inch Panel Doors framed in Six Panels, the framing wrought with an Ovolo and the Panels raised with a Bead on both Sides ganging included... in all respects as good as the Specimen or be returned”.

There was some concern that work was not making enough progress and Horne was asked to inform the slater that if his work was not done by 21 March the penalty clause in his contract would be invoked. The carpenter was instructed to make sash frames and flooring and the best crown glass was ordered for the sashes from Bowles at Cockhill. Jonathan Crooke was appointed plasterer and the Committee approved a proposal of Benjamin Lovett for painting “to be done three times in Oyl Colours”. The carpenter was asked to board up the lower windows to prevent any damage and in May 1744 it was decided to insure the still unfinished structure against fire for £4,000.

By August Horne had prepared a scheme for inclosing the front of the hospital, “leaving forty feet against the road, to be filled up with a gate for coaches and two side gates for foot passengers”, and was employing labourers to level the ground. Jacobsen supervised this, as well as agreeing with Mr Alexander the design of the iron railings for the front. In October Dr Taylor White, the Treasurer, presented plans of the garden around the hospital and in December we find him securing “the plants appropriate to the Physick Garden of the Hospital, as specified by Dr Conyers”.

So by the beginning of 1745 it appeared that the west wing was almost ready to move into (Fig. 5). In fact, there was an irritating number of small jobs still outstanding, and at the General Committee on 18 April

Several of the Gentlemen having observed that the Joiners at this Hospital make very slow Progress in

their Work and in particular in putting up the Staircase, ordered that notice be immediately given to Messers Dowbiggen and Spiers that this Committee do expect Twenty Men at least be constantly employed by them in order to compleat the Work ... On failure thereof Mr Horne the Surveyor is to employ other persons to perfect the Work.

It was not until October that the building was ready enough for meetings to be held there, rather than in the Hatton Garden house, and even then the Court Room was unfinished, for in January 1746 the Steward paid Mr Wilton’s foreman the not very generous sum of one guinea “as a gratuity to be distributed by the said Foreman to himself and the other Workmen employed in doing the Ceiling of the Court Room, the Work and the Materials being the Gift of Mr Wilton to this Hospital” (a contribution that was later valued at £93). And it was not until the following December that Devall’s men also received a guinea as a reward “for their extraordinary trouble in the chimney piece put up in the Court Room, the benefaction of the said Mr Devall”. This mantelpiece incorporated the fine marble relief representing Charity made and donated by Rysbrack, while John Sanderson presented the carved pine sidetable, with green Grecian marble top, that still faces the fireplace on the other side of the room.

It is not clear who actually designed the Court Room (Fig. 6). The main feature is the famous series of paintings in specially designed wooden frames (probably made by William Linnell),²¹ contributed by Hogarth and others. It is known that Linnell made frames for pictures given by Monamy and Casali (for the chapel) and that he had offered a “curious carved frame” as a gift to the Hospital, which was rejected, probably because it was considered too ornate. He was asked to frame the Monamy “agreeable to the pattern of those in the general court room”, which suggests that he had made those too. But the whole room presents a coherent and carefully thought out scheme and it is tempting to attribute its overall conception to



Fig. 6. The Foundling Hospital. View of the Court Room.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the Foundling Museum.

Jacobsen, rather than Hogarth, since he already had experience of creating a not dissimilar interior. This was the Court Room for his first building, East India House; in 1732 six oils, representing Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Tellicherry, Cape Town, and St Helena, were painted by George Lambert and Samuel Scott for the Room and set in architectural frames.²² Both artists subsequently offered works to the Foundling Hospital (although only Lambert's piece survives). Another parallel was provided by the Rysbrack overmantel; he had also supplied a marble relief at East India House in April 1730, at a cost of

£100, representing Britannia receiving the offerings of India.²³ A watercolour by T.H. Shephard²⁴ shows the East India House Court Room to have been a much more classical, less rococo interior than the Foundling Hospital's equivalent, but there is a gap of fifteen years between the two (Fig. 7).

It was in December 1746 that a group of well-known artists pledged to present examples of their work to the Hospital, most of whom subsequently did so. At the same time, a Committee was set up, comprising Jacobsen, Hogarth, Rysbrack and Frederick Zinke, the miniaturist, to "consider of

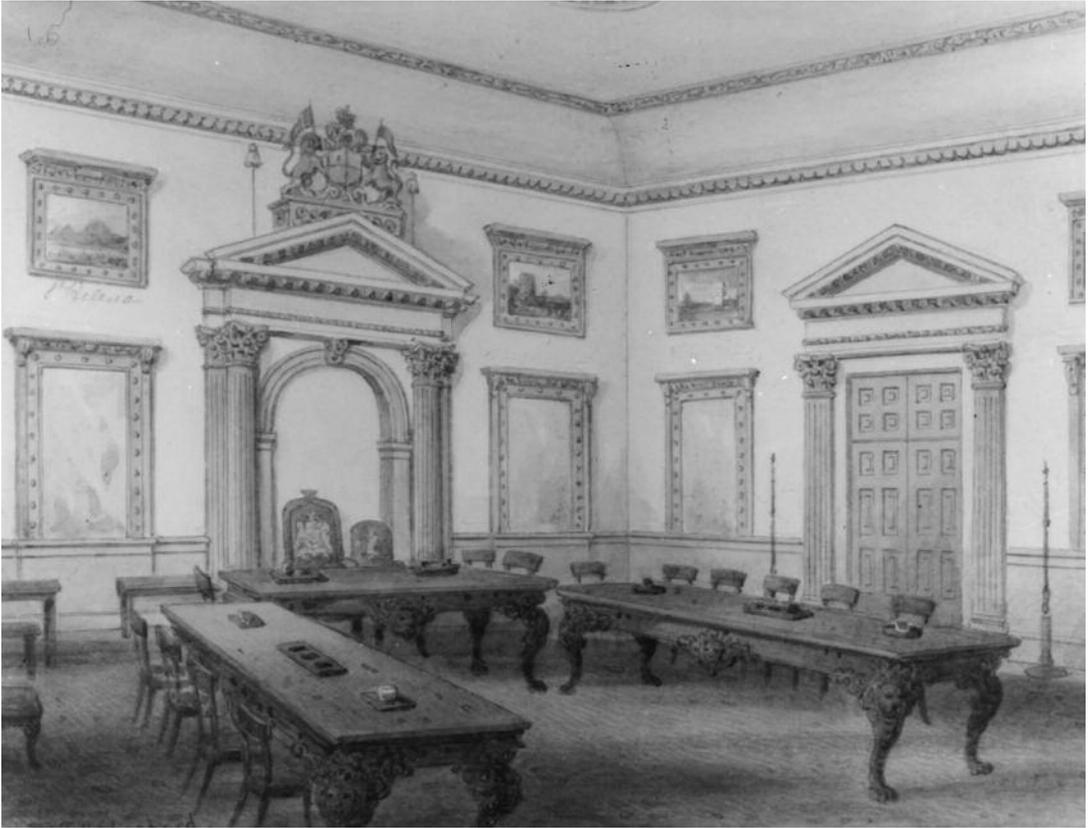


Fig. 7. T.H.Shephard, *The Court Room, East India House*, c.1830.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Library.

what further Ornaments may be added to this Hospital without any expence to the Charity". Earlier, in July, it had been resolved "that Mr Jacobsen be desired to favour this hospital with his picture for the great services done by him for the good thereof", and this resulted in Thomas Hudson's portrait preserved in the collection (Fig. 1).²⁵

The west wing is shown completed in John Rocque's 1746 map of London, and one of the last jobs reported was on 12 March of that year, when the distinguished clockmaker John Ellicott took down the clock in the Hatton Garden house, cleaned it and

fixed it up in the Hospital, for which he did not charge. Snagging continued for some time in the completed wing and in June 1746 Jacobsen was requested "to give such directions concerning the repairing or rebuilding such part of the walls of this hospital which were damaged by the frost or otherwise". As late as November 1747 four double branches were provided to illuminate the Court Room, and in the following May thanks were returned to Messrs. Monamy, Whale and Gainsborough for presenting their pictures; we may assume that the project was finished by that date.



Fig. 8. The Foundling Hospital. Interior of the Chapel, looking east, 1926.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the Foundling Museum.

Apart from the Court Room, the interior of the Hospital was mostly plain, but its spirit was well caught by W. H. Wills, writing in Dickens's magazine *Household Words* in March 1853:

It is a commodious roomy comfortable building, airily situated though within advertisement distance of Temple Bar, which, as everybody knows, is precisely ten minutes walk. It stands in its own grounds, cosily surveying its own shady arcades, its own turf, and its own high trees....It preserves a warm, old fashioned, rich-relation kind of gravity, strongly indicative of Bank Stock. Its confidential servants have comfortable

places. Its large rooms are wainscoted with the names of benefactors, set forth in goodly order like the tables of the law. Its broad staircases, with balustrades such as elephants might construct if they took to building arts, not only lead to long dining rooms, long bedroom galleries, long lavatories, long schoolrooms and lecture halls, for the [blank] children; but to other rooms, with listed doors and Turkey carpets, which the greatest English painters have lent their aid to adorn.²⁶

In March 1746 Jacobsen had been "desired to lay before the General Committee a plan for the building a Chappel for this Hospital" and the foundation



Fig. 9. The Foundling Hospital. Interior of the Chapel, looking west, 1912.
English Heritage.

stone was laid on 1 May 1747.²⁷ The building of the Chapel followed much the same pattern as the West Wing and involved many of the same workmen (Figs. 8 and 9). The first problem was to find the money, and a book of subscriptions was opened for this purpose. A feature of the appeal was a series of Ladies' Breakfasts, with tickets at two shillings and sixpence, but the most famous contributor was Handel, who offered to perform a concert of music to raise funds for the finishing of the chapel. This took place on 4 May 1749, and was the first of a series

of concerts given by the composer in support of the Hospital. These soon came to consist of performances of *Messiah*, although the first concert was comprised of extracts from recent works, including the oratorio *Solomon* and the *Music for the Royal Fireworks*, together with the anthem *Blessed are they that consider the Poor*, composed specially for the occasion.

Despite all these efforts, the money for the Chapel did not come in easily at first and there was some discussion in the Committee of adopting a less ambitious plan, omitting the arcades (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. The Foundling Hospital. Arcade below the Chapel gallery, 1912.
English Heritage.

However, in August 1747 they decided to revert to the original plan and dimensions, including the arcades at either end and vaults beneath, at an estimated cost of £4,196 17s 4d. Some changes were allowed, as when Devall purchased two Venetian windows at the Canons House sale for £24 10s and offered to incorporate them into the Chapel for the same price; unfortunately they proved to be too large. Mr Miller and Mr Baker made further vast quantities of bricks and in March 1748 Sanderson was instructed to begin the foundations, with Jacobsen directing what was necessary in terms of planking and piling.

After this, the work progressed smoothly, although in September 1748 the Committee observed that the framing of the roof “varys from the drawing, which they are generally displeas’d with; and require that the same may be finish’d conformable to the drawing and that Mr Spencer do take Mr Jacobsen’s direction therein”. In December it was agreed to go ahead with turning the arches in the vault, even though this would exceed the money already subscribed, but it was “absolutely necessary to proceed”.

The funding situation improved dramatically in



Fig. 11. The Foundling Hospital. Chapel gallery in 1912, showing Wilton's "flowers to suffeits between groynes" and the pews of Norway oak. *English Heritage*.

March 1749, when "the Governors were encouraged by Thomas Emerson, a late worthy Governor, to undertake the East Wing, in which the Girls are now kept separate from the Boys; who at his decease left the Residue of his Estate, amounting to upwards of £11,000, to this Hospital". It was resolved to ask Sanderson to make a start on digging the foundations of the east wing forthwith. In April, Spencer was doing the general bracketing work in the Chapel, and Mr Wilton was busy making "stucco on brick; Ionick cornice enriched; superficial plain swelling frieze and cornice; circular glasses and flowers to suffeits

[sic] between groynes; etc." (Fig. 11). There were still details of the fitting out to be considered. In February 1750 Mr Wragg, the King's smith, offered to make the iron rails for the altar and Jacobsen and Hogarth were asked to consult with him about the design. These rails can be seen in photographs of the chapel taken in the 1920s. On 18 April the General Committee reported that Chevalier Cassali had finished the picture for the altar and requested that it be sent to the hospital to be framed by Mr Linnell "in the manner that Mr Jacobsen shall direct". Again, Jacobsen was asked to supervise the erection

of the pews and benches, to be made from Norway oak and to give directions for the installation of a moving pulpit. A turret clock, capable of going for thirty hours, was ordered, under Mr Ellicott's direction, at a cost of £63 and this is also visible in the pre-demolition photographs.

Handel had presented an organ to the Chapel, made by Morse of Barnet, and this was inaugurated on 1 May 1750, at the first performance of *Messiah* given in the Foundling Hospital. This was so popular that it had to be repeated on 15 May, when George Harris attended with Hudson and recorded that "Handel [was] out of humour about the organ. The altar piece in the chappel of the Hospital done by Cassali. Saw the 4 pictures given by Hudson, Hogarth, Heighmore, & hung up in some apartments of the Hospital".²⁸ A week earlier, the General Court had resolved that thanks "be given to Thomas Jacobsen Esq for his excellent plan of the building of the chapel of this hospital, and his great care and trouble in seeing the execution thereof".

The east wing now progressed quickly. No doubt all concerned had learnt lessons from the work already completed. Richard Hughes, the slater, was at work by October 1750 and Mr Baker was complaining that he had made upwards of one million bricks, for which he had not yet been paid. Indeed, the strict organisation seems to have been slipping somewhat it was reported "that there has been a neglect of entering into proper contracts". It was resolved that "all contracts shall be entered in a book and signed by the respective workmen". Perhaps this lack of discipline was connected with the departure of the surveyor, James Horne, who went to work on another of Jacobsen's designs, the Royal Hospital at Haslar, until his death in 1756. Henry Keene, who was shortly to work with John Sanderson on Jacobsen's design for Trinity College, Dublin, had replaced him at the Foundling Hospital by May 1751.

On 12 June 1751 Jacobsen laid before the committee a plan "for inclosing the area before the

Hospital with its Colonnades and Building and making the Avenue to the Hospital. It was Keene, however, who produced "several uprights of the Buildings and Colonnades according to the plans before approved for the new Inclosure" on 25 June.

As often happens towards the end of a job, some of the workmen began to slacken off, so that in October the Treasurer had to inform the General Court

of the great neglect of the Carpenter, Mason, and Bricklayer in carrying on the works at this Hospital, resolved that it be recommended to the General Committee that no more money be paid to any of the said Workmen, until the Committee shall be satisfied of their speedy and effectual carrying on their several works; and that Mr Keene the surveyor be desired to certify when they shall do so; and that the Messenger acquaint the Committee from time to time what number of Hands are severally employed in the respective works daily.

This seems to have had the desired effect, for by February 1752 Jacobsen was asked to give directions for the fitting up of the new wing "in such manner as he shall think proper".

The end of the project was signalled by a resolution of the General Court on 13 May 1752, "that the thanks of this Court be given to Mr Jacobsen, for his great attention and care in carrying on the Buildings of this Hospital on the approved plan made out by him". A formal report was made to the Court in June of the following year, relating the progress of the charity from its establishment in 1739. This reveals that a total of £22,072 2s 2d had been spent on building the Hospital.²⁹

There were still things to be done, of course, and Jacobsen's final contribution was the design, presented in May 1756, of a receiving room and porch at the gates, to cope with the expected influx of children, following a parliamentary vote of £10,000 to the work of the Hospital. In April of the following year he finally left the General Committee, and after almost eighteen years his connection with the Foundling Hospital seems to have ceased entirely.



Fig. 12. The Foundling Hospital. One of the forecourt colonnades in 1912.
English Heritage.

Although there is no hint of any rift, it is a little surprising that when Theodore Jacobsen died in 1772 he left nothing to the Foundling Hospital. He did, however, make a bequest of £500 to “the President and Governors [of the Hospital] for the Relief of and Support of sick, maimed and disabled seamen”.³⁰ This was the Royal Hospital at Haslar, for which he had made the designs in 1745. His allegiance had clearly been transferred there, but his most personal monument remained the Foundling Hospital. As this study has shown, he was closely involved in all aspects of the building and played a much more active part than has previously been supposed.

The Foundling Hospital survived into the

twentieth century, but was sold and pulled down in 1926, when the Court Room, the Picture Gallery, the West Wing Staircase and some other fittings were incorporated into the new building at 40 Brunswick Square, now the Foundling Museum. The site of the Hospital itself became a children’s playground, although the forecourt colonnades (Fig. 12), front gates, and some perimeter buildings survive. It is only from contemporary engravings, pre-demolition photographs, and a good model in the Museum that we can get any real impression of what the Hospital building was like (Fig. 13). Had it survived, perhaps Jacobsen’s reputation too would have emerged from the obscurity that he has long enveloped it.

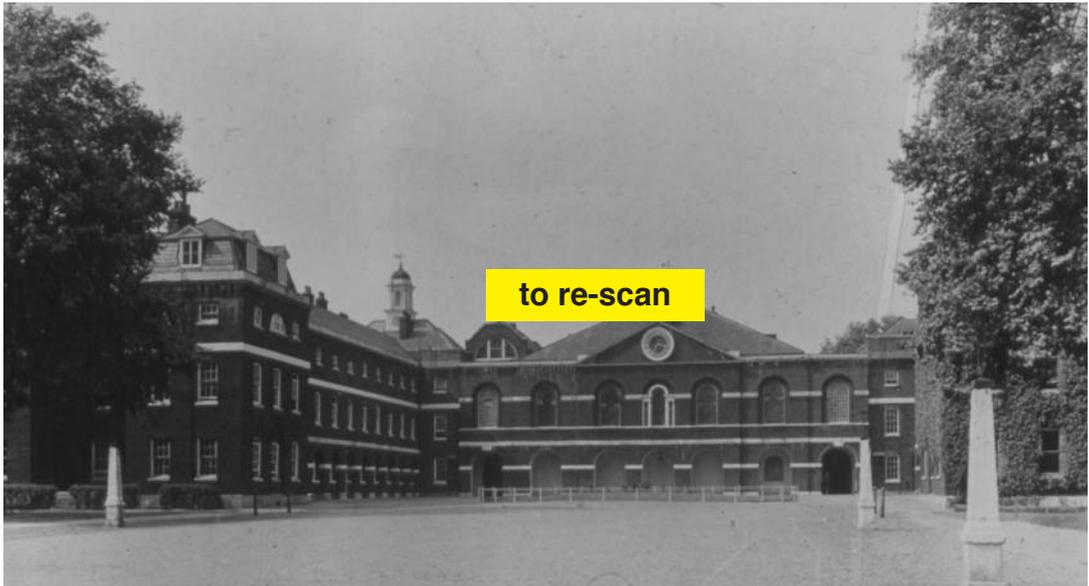


Fig. 13. The Foundling Hospital. View from the south, 1926.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the Foundling Museum.

NOTES

All the above information comes from The Foundling Hospital General Committee Minutes [London, London Metropolitan Archives, A/PH/A/3/2], except as stated below.

- 1 The date of his birth is unknown, but in his uncle's will of 1706 it is stated that if Theodore should die before attaining the age of twenty one, his inheritance should be divided between his brothers and cousins [P. Norman, "Notes on the later history of the Steelyard in London", *Archaeologia*, LXI, London, 1909, 389–426]. He is recorded doing business with the East India Company in May 1721 [London, British Library, Court Minutes B56], so it seems safe to place his birth in the 1690s.
- 2 Howard Colvin, "What we mean by amateur" in *The role of the amateur architect. Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium*, London 1993, 4–6.
- 3 Forthcoming, in the *Festschrift for Peter Harbison*, Princeton, 2003. There is also a recent study of Jacobsen by Jacques Carré, "Theodore Jacobsen: commerce, philanthropic et architecture," in J-L Jam (ed.), *Les Divertissements Utiles: des amateurs au XVIIIe siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand, 2001, 109–124. This is a useful essay, but it does not revisit the primary sources. I am most grateful to Richard Hewlings for drawing my attention to this study and for much other assistance.
- 4 R. H. Nichols and F.A. Wray, *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, London, 1935; R. K. McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven and London, 1981. On the collection, see Benedict Nicholson, *The Treasures of the Foundling Hospital*, Oxford, 1972, and David Solkin, *Painting for Money*, New Haven and London, 1992.
- 5 Norman, *loc. cit.*
- 6 All the papers relating to the Hospital are lodged in the London Metropolitan Archives. These include full sets of Minute Books for the Court and the General Committee, which are the source of most of the detail given in this paper. There are also papers of particular officers of the Hospital, although most of these date from a later period than that considered here.

- 7 Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680–1760*, New Haven and London, 2001.
- 8 Minutes of 26 March 1740, “referred the translations of the establishments of the Hospitals in Paris and Amsterdam to the Committee for transacting the affairs of the Hospital”.
- 9 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 287–288.
- 10 Nichols, *op.cit.*, 23, draws attention to, but does not quote from the manuscript account left by Morris Lievesley, Secretary to the Hospital from 1799–1849; the text of this (in the London Metropolitan Archives) reads as follows, “Coram, the great the good founder was driven out of his own temple of mercy by cabal. Sir Thomas Bernard to whom the hospital owes its building revenue was obliged to resign his office of treasurer by cabal – a petty quarrel about supremacy between Mrs Jones the Matron and Mr McLellan the apothecary agitated a numerous portion of the governors. Those on the side of the matron were arrayed against those on the side of the apothecary. The real interests of the charity were neglected and forgotten. This quarrel occasioned the absence of all the dignified minded governors and threw the whole management of the institution upon the treasurer, whose habits rendered him unfit to bear the burthen”. This does not really fit with the account drawn from the Minute Books that is given here and probably relies more upon traditions and memories rather than facts.
- 11 Folkes was at this time also President of the Royal Society and was to become first President of the Society of Antiquaries [Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford, 1956].
- 12 This story is reported by Morris Lievesley in his manuscript memoir referred to in note 10
- 13 The other members were the Earl of Abercorn, Lord Charles Cavendish, Mr Adair, Mr Drake, Mr Laroche, Mr James Theobald, Mr Waple and Mr Taylor White, together with the President, Vice Presidents and Treasurer.
- 14 Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence, British Hospital and Asylum Architecture 1660–1815*, New Haven and London, 2000
- 15 London, Royal Institute of British Architects, SD43/5, is an undated drawing by Sanderson for the façade of the Chapel of the Hospital. This is no more than a rough sketch, but it appears to follow Jacobsen’s design, so it is probably not related to Sanderson’s own plan, mentioned above, but refers to his time as the building contractor.
- 16 W. Marston Acres, *The Bank of England from within*, London, 1931, I, 167–9; Richard Hewlings, “Roger Morris and the Bank of England”, *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 19–27.
- 17 As an example of their thoroughness, here are the specifications given to Scott: “That he is to make Four Hundred Thousand of the best Stock Bricks at twelve shillings a Thousand; that he is to dig the Earth for making the same one hundred feet from the Centre of East Conduit Field from the Wall of the Burying Ground to Red Lyon Street; and that the digging be carried on Two Hundred Feet in length extending from East to West and Thirty Feet from North to South the said Thirty Feet to be computed from the Outline of the One Hundred Feet towards the Centre; that he be not tied down to the Colour grey provided he delivers a sufficient Number of that Colour for Outside Work; that he is to be paid only for such well burnt Bricks as are sound and good and shall be delivered for the use of this Hospital at the Place of Building; that no sammell [i.e. half fired] or rotten Bricks will be received for the use of the Hospital nor are any Bricks to be carried off from the Hospital Land without leave; that all Bricks made and not received for the use of this Hospital the said Thomas Scott is to have the Liberty of purchasing, he paying for the same after the Rate of Four Shillings a Thousand or of leaving them on the Premises at his own Option. And that the Brick Kilns for burning the said Bricks and the Places necessary for making the same be erected at the costs and charges of the said Thomas Scott at the North East Corner of the said Field contiguous to the Road leading from Grays Inn Lane to Hampstead and adjoining to the Road going from thence to the Burying Ground”.
- 18 Colvin, *op.cit.*, 536–40.
- 19 London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, Dance Folio of Engravings, No 24. It should be noted that this is the same as the plan which Jacobsen is shown holding in Hudson’s 1746 portrait of him.
- 20 Interestingly, this seems to have been Horne’s only contribution to the design of the Hospital, although he is otherwise known as an architect. He had acted as clerk of the works for the formation of the Serpentine in Hyde Park, so perhaps he had a special expertise in the handling of water [Colvin, *op.cit.*, 516].

- 21 Helena Hayward and Pat Kirkham, *William and John Linnell, 18th century London Furniture Makers*, London, 1980, 94–6
- 22 William Foster, *The East India house, its History and Associations*, London, 1924. The connection between the Court Rooms of East India House and the Foundling Hospital was first made by Brian Allen, “The East India Company’s Settlement Pictures”, in *Under the Indian Sun; British Landscape artists*, Bombay, 1995, 1–16. I was unaware of this essay when I first wrote mine and the fact that we reached the same conclusion independently would seem to strengthen the case. I am very grateful to Dr Allen for drawing my attention to his work and for many other valuable comments.
- 23 This is now in the Council Chamber of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
- 24 British Library, East India Company collections
- 25 Nicholson, *op.cit.*, 13, was unaware of this reference, which not only dates the picture but indicates that the engraving by Fourdrinier which Jacobsen holds must be earlier than this date. Hudson was one of the artists who had offered to donate work to the Hospital and so we can presume that he painted Jacobsen for no fee.
- 26 Nichols, *op.cit.*, credits Dickens himself with this passage, but see Harry Stone, *Charles Dickens, Uncollected Writings from Household Words, 1850–1859*, Bloomington, 1968, II, 455–466.
- 27 Recorded in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, XVII, where it is said that Jacobsen himself laid the stone.
- 28 Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music & Theatre in Handel’s World; the family papers of James Harris 1732–1780*, Oxford, 2002, 271.
- 29 A good description of the new Hospital was included in John Noorthouck, *A New History of London including Westminster and Southwark*, London, 1773, 746–7: “This building consists of two large wings connected by a chapel in the center; one wing being for the boys and the other for the girls, They are directly opposite to each other, and are built in plain but regular, substantial and convenient manner, of brick, with handsome piazzas. It is well suited to the purpose, and as fine as hospitals should be. In the farthest end is placed the chapel, which is joined to the wings by an arch on each side, and is very elegant within. Before the hospital is a large piece of ground, on each side of whereof is a colonnade of great length, which extends toward the gates, that are double, with a massy pier between, so that coaches may pass and repass at the same time. These colonnades are now inclosed and contain ranges of workshops where the children are taught to spin, weave, and exercise other handicrafts. The large area between the gates and the hospital is adorned with grass, gravel walks, and lamps erected upon handsome posts: beside which there are two convenient gardens. In erecting these buildings, particular care was taken to render them neat and substantial, without any costly decorations; but the first wing of the hospital was scarcely inhabited, when several eminent masters in painting, carving, and other polite arts, were pleased to contribute many elegant ornaments, which are preserved as monuments of the abilities and charitable benefactions of the respective artists”.
- 30 London, Family Record Centre, PROB 11/976, quire 137, April 1772.

APPENDIX

THE BUILDERS OF THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL

RICHARD HEWLINGS

The General Committee of the Foundling Hospital minuted the receipt of proposals from nearly all the building tradesmen, including those which they did not accept, and it also minuted its choice. The large number of competitors for the west wing (seven painters, nine joiners, ten carpenters and eleven glaziers, for instance) contrasts with the smaller number who competed for the chapel. There seems to have been no competition for the east wing, by which time contractual practice had evidently become more relaxed; on 20 February 1751 the sub-committee reported that contracts had been “neglected to be

entered” and that no contracts “were subsisting” except with the plasterer William Wilton and the brickmaker William Baker. Yet at that date work on the east wing had been in progress for nearly two years.

The committee also made payments to other tradesmen whose employment does not appear to have been won by public competition. Among these were some well-known tradesmen, the mason John Devall and the plasterer William Wilton, for instance, who gave the more conspicuous parts of their work *gratis*. Devall gave the marble chimneypiece of the Court Room, prominently inscribed “I. DEVALL Fecit &



Fig. 14. The Foundling Hospital. Court Room chimneypiece in 1912; the relief is by Rysbrack, the chimneypiece and overmantel are by John Devall. *English Heritage*.

Donavit" (Fig. 14), but charged considerable sums for paving and other masonry. Wilton gave the ceiling of the Court Room, valued at £93, but was paid over £200 for the rest of his work on the west wing alone, and gratitude for his benefaction might have helped him to secure the large contracts for the chapel and the east wing. The painter and gilder Samuel Leightonhouse, the brazier Thomas Bedwell and the carvers Messrs. Dryhurst, who also gave some part of their work without charge, were less well-known, but, as luxury tradesmen, their "benefactions" would have been conspicuous.

Some tradesmen, who were not otherwise employed by the Hospital, also gave "benefactions". They included the carver William (or possibly John) Linnell and the upholsterer William Reason.

Seventy-seven master tradesmen, not counting journeymen and apprentices, aspired to work on, worked on, or donated work to the Foundling Hospital. All are listed here, but it is the record of the unsuccessful tenderers which is unusual, and worth listing with those who were successful. The latter's names are set in bold type.

WEST WING

The Committee resolved on 30 June 1742 to seek proposals for digging foundations and for bricklayers' work by advertisement in *The Daily Advertiser*; proposals to be submitted by 14 July. On 9 September they noted that they had only had one response to their advertisement for brickmakers, so they had presumably also advertised for that trade shortly before. They resolved to place an advertisement for carpenters on 2 February 1743, proposals to be left by 16 February. Proposals for plumbers' and slaters' work were received on 28 September 1743, presumably in response to another advertisement, as there were three and two competitors respectively. The committee resolved to advertise for joiners on 14 December 1743, proposals to be received by 11 January following. They did not resolve to seek proposals for plasterers, painters and glaziers' work until 23 May 1744, to be received by 5 June.

BRICKLAYERS. Proposals, including digging foundations, received on 22 July 1742.

John Sanderson.; proposal accepted on the same day; agreement signed on 16 September.

Thomas French.

Philip Forrester.

BRICKMAKERS. Proposal accepted on 9 September 1742.

Thomas Scott. Scott had been working for the Hospital since May 1742, four months before tendering for the main contract. On 2 June he was paid for railing off his pits at the north-east corner of East Conduit Field, and an agreement was reached about their future location and the grey colour of the outside bricks. By 9 September Scott was the only brickmaker to have responded to the Committee's advertisement, and it decided to accept one million bricks at 11s. 6d. per thousand from a pit "contiguous to the Foundation now digging", 6d. per thousand cheaper than from his previous pit.

CARPENTERS. Proposals received on 16 February 1743.

Timbrell and Spencer. Proposal accepted on the same day, jointly with John Phillips.

John Phillips. Proposal accepted on the same day, jointly with Timbrell and Spencer.

Mrs Mary Gordon. Her proposal was unsuccessful, but Mary Gordon was regularly paid for small jobs from September 1742 to July 1753. The jobs are not recorded except in the east wing, where she made bedsteads.

Marquand.

Edwards.

Sparkling.

Stevens.

Sanderson.

Robinson.

Lyster.



Fig. 15. The Foundling Hospital. Staircase in 1912; the main stair was made by the joiners Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spier, and the iron balustrade to the lower flights was made by the smith John Philips. *English Heritage*.

PLUMBERS. Proposals received on 28 September 1743.

Edward Ives. Proposal accepted on the same day.
John Painter.
George and John Devall.

SLATERS. Proposals received on the same day.

Richard Hughes.
Proposal accepted on 28 September 1743.
Patrick Laroch.

JOINERS. Proposals received on 11 January 1744.

Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spie. Proposal accepted on 8 February; agreement signed on 22 February.

Jupp and Blackden.

Thomas Ellis.

Charles Marquand.

John Grey.

William Lyster.

Francis Hill.

Joseph Sanderson and Co.

Phillips, Timbrell and Spencer.

PAINTERS. Proposals received on 6 June 1744.

Benjamin Lovett. On 6 June 1744 he was asked to attend the next meeting; his proposal was accepted on 20 June.

John Hamilton. On 6 June 1744 he was asked to attend the next meeting.

John Wright. On 6 June 1744 James Horne was asked to investigate his character and Wright was asked to attend the next meeting.

James Theebridge.

Henry Wilson.

Josh. Gough.

John Thompson.

GLAZIERS. Proposals received on 6 June 1744.

Thomas and John Lovett. Proposal accepted on the same day.

Lambert.

Charles Carne.

John Jeffkins.

William Sharpe.

Thomas Palmer.

James Simpson.

John Mackly.

Benjamin Oakes.

William Hills.

John Hamilton.

PLASTERERS. Proposals received on 6 June 1744.

Jonathan Croke. Proposal for “common plastering ... common rendering ... rough rendering ... plastering groined cove of arcades ... plain plastered cornices” accepted on the same day; it appears not to have included decorative work.

Laban.

Proposals were not invited for the following trades, but these tradesmen were employed, evidently without competition.

MASON

John Devall. He agreed on 8 December 1742 for the

“stone Truss cornice” alone, which was evidently designed by James Horne rather than Jacobsen, for it was Horne who “delivered in Proposal for making” it, and “annexed a draught of the same.” And it was Horne who was “left to make an agreement with Mr John Duvall for performing the same Work, at seven shillings and six pence per foot running.” On 28 September 1743 John Devall [*sic*] submitted a proposal for coping; again there were no competitors.

SMITHS

William Alexander. Mr Alexander “attended for contracting for the Iron necessary for the Chimneys” on 8 June 1743, and William Alexander was paid £134 16s. 7³/₄d. for ironmonger’s work on 28 August 1745. William Alexander was also paid as a brazier in November and December 1742 and January 1744. On 12 September 1744 Jacobsen and White were instructed to agree with Alexander for making iron railings, and for fixing iron bars in the windows.

John Phillips. Phillips, a blacksmith, was regularly paid for small jobs. They may have included the plain bar balusters of the secondary staircases, because in June 1751 he was asked to make these for the east wing “in the same manner as in the former Wing”. He also attended the Committee on 22 May 1745 “for making black grates and cast backs”.

BRICKMAKERS

Daniel Harrison. Eight months after letting the contract to Thomas Scott the need for bricks was still unsatisfied, and on 29 June 1743 the Hospital bought another 12,000 from Daniel Harrison, while an order was placed with Mrs Harrison for a further 10,000 at 12s. per thousand.

Samuel Miller. On 7 November 1744 Miller agreed to provide paving bricks.

PUMP MAKER

Francis Sutton. He submitted a bill for £1 12s. 6d. on 23 May 1744.

PLASTERER

William Wilton. Wilton did not tender; yet he was paid £200 “more ... in further part for his work” on 17 July 1745 and another £71 15s. 8½d. on 11 February 1747, “over and above his benefaction of ornamenting the ceiling of the General Court Room”, which might have circumvented the need to tender (Figs. 16 and 17). As Jonathan Crooke agreed for the plain work, other decorative work by Wilton may have been in a room other than the Court Room, perhaps the Secretary’s room or the stair.

PAPER HANGERS

Price and Hall. Their bill for £4 9s. 4d. was paid on 4 December 1745.

CARVER

Thomas Ady. He submitted a bill for £10 15s. on 3 June 1747.

UPHOLSTERER

Tristram Chambers. His bills for £43 16s. and £42 7s. 6d. were settled on 1 July 1747 and 10 January 1750, the former before the chapel was designed, and the latter when its plaster ceiling was still drying, so doubtless both relate to the west wing.

PAINTER

Charles Scarlett. His bill for £20 19s. 6½d. was paid on 15 July 1747.

CABINET MAKER

Hallett. His bill for £57 5s. 6d. was paid on 2 December 1747.

BRAZIER

Thomas Bedwell. His bill (£9 17s. 7d.) for work on the west wing was paid, very late, on 6 December 1752.

CHAPEL

The Committee agreed for bricks in September 1746. On 29 July 1747 it resolved to advertise for proposals in *The Daily Advertiser*, proposals to be received by 12 August. All of the following submitted proposals by the advertised date, but they were taken up in stages, the bricklayer’s almost immediately, on 26 August 1747, the brickmaker’s, carpenter’s, mason’s and slater’s on 10 February 1748, the smith’s apparently by April 1748, the plumber’s by 8 February 1749, and the glazier’s on 6 September 1749.

BRICKMAKER

Samuel Miller. His first proposal, to make 600,000 bricks to be delivered within twelve feet of the foundations of the chapel, was accepted on 24 September 1746. Half of these were to be delivered by 1 June 1747, the rest by 1 July. Payments on account on 3 June and 29 July 1747 suggest that he delivered. His second proposal, perhaps in response to the advertisement, was accepted on 10 February 1748, but on 11 May he was reported to have left off work, owing the Hospital £25 14s. 6d.

BRICKLAYER

John Sanderson. His proposal was accepted on 26 August 1747. In the course of this contract Sanderson had a foreman called **John Lee** or **Leigh**, who valued bricks and slates between 13 July and 2 November 1748.

CARPENTERS

Timbrell and Spencer. The proposal of **Phillips and Spencer** were accepted on 10 February 1748, but, as Timbrell and Spencer were partners, it is possible that Timbrell was also included.

George Shakespear. The proposal of **Phillips and Spencer** were accepted on 10 February 1748, but John Phillips, who did not tender, was Shakespear’s partner, so it is possible that Shakespear was also included.

Taylor and Johnson.

Dowbiggin and Spier.



Figs. 16 & 17. The Foundling Hospital. Details of the Court Room ceiling in 1912, the gift of the plasterer William Wilton. *English Heritage*.

MASON

John Devall. His proposal was accepted on 10 February 1748.

SLATERS

Richard Hughes. His proposal was accepted on 10 February 1748.
Gar[ret]t Fitzgerald.

SMITHS

John Phillips. The acceptance of Phillips's proposal is not recorded, but he received £147 between April 1748 and October 1750, when the chapel was being built.

Richard Burnett.

PLUMBER

Edward Ives. The acceptance of Ives's proposal is not recorded, but, in addition to many small unspecified bills, his bill for "plumber's work in the Chapel" was paid on 8 February 1749.

GLAZIERS

John Lovett. Lovett's "estimate" for the chapel was accepted on 6 September 1749. Presumably this was the same as the "proposal" he had delivered in on 12 August 1747, over two years before. Meanwhile he had received some payments, for instance for repairing the chapel sashes on 12 July 1749.
Thomas Palmer.

PLASTERERS

Jonathan Crook.
John Laban.

PAVIOURS

Thomas Phillips.
Thomas Lord.

The proposals of these plasterers and paviours were not taken up. After a gap of nearly two years the Committee accepted proposals for these trades for

which they had apparently not advertised, so there was presumably no competition.

PLASTERER

William Wilton. Wilton did not submit a proposal in 1747, but he was asked to attend the Committee with a proposal on 17 May 1749. He attended on 14 June and his proposal was accepted. His work in the chapel was not free; he was paid £609 7s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in instalments between 15 November 1749 and 29 May 1751. Some of it must have been complete by 13 December 1749, when he asked for charcoal to be burnt in the chapel to dry the plaster.

PAVIOUR

John Devall. Devall did not submit a proposal in 1747, but on 10 January 1750 he was asked to submit one, which the Committee had already decided was to include black marble dots in the middle "isle" and "crossings". On 24 January his son attended with his father's proposal, which was accepted, subject to the direction of Henry Keene, the altar step to be of marble "as Mr Jacobsen shall direct".

The following did not submit proposals, but were nonetheless employed on the chapel.

BRICKMAKERS

William Baker, of St Marylebone. Baker took over Miller's contract, including the sheds which Miller had built, on 18 May 1748, one week after Miller was reported to have left off work. There is no record of any proposal which he may have submitted; no doubt he indicated his willingness to adhere to Baker's. But on 30 November the Committee agreed a second proposal for making another seven or eight thousand bricks in 1749 at 12s. per thousand. He came in to sign this agreement on 14 December.

Mrs Callins. She was paid £8 2s. for bricks for the chapel on 7 September 1748, certified by Sanderson's foreman, **John Lee.**

JOINERS

John Spencer & Co. No separate proposals for joiner's work were submitted, but they may have been included in Spencer and Phillips's carpentry proposals. Spencer and Co.'s final bill for carpenter's work for the chapel, submitted on 7 August 1751, came to £1,279 14s. 6d., exclusive of "carcass already paid for". Without the carcass this carpentry must really have been joinery. This supposition is supported by the Committee's request on 31 March 1752 for Spencer to put up the picture in time for the Oratorio and to fit up the chapel with benches as before.

PAINTER

Samuel Leightonhouse. He submitted a bill for £8 5s. on 12 July 1749, for unspecified work, but at that date likely to be on the chapel. Much later, on 20 March 1751, he "offered a Benefaction of Gilding" **Linnell's** frame to Casali's altarpiece, which the Committee accepted and hoped that he might be able to implement before the Oratorio on 18 April.

BRAZIER

Thomas Bedwell. On 22 January 1752 "Mr Bedwell" offered to give a branch capable of holding 24 candles. This may have been under consideration for some time; as early as 15 November 1749 Jacobsen had been asked to provide iron chains for lustres, and on 7 February 1750 the Committee had resolved to have iron double branches at the sides of the chapel. Whatever emerged, Bedwell was also employed by the Hospital, and was paid £60 on 4 March 1752, and "Thomas Bedwell" was paid £7 2s. specifically for the chapel on 6 December 1752.

CARVER

Messrs. Dryhurst "had given to the Hospital the Carving of all the Seats Except the Front Seats in the Chapel". It was therefore presumably for the front seats that they were paid £140 15s. on 21 July 1751. On 6 December 1752 they were paid £28 10s. for work on the pulpit. This was a "moving pulpit" for

which Jacobsen was asked to give directions on 21 February 1750; in the event it was Keene who produced a "plan" of it, approved by Jacobsen, and the Committee ordered its execution in wainscot for not more than £50, of which the Dryhursts' bill must have been the largest part.

The following tradesmen made gifts of their work, apparently without any other employment there.

CARVER

Linnell, of Long Acre, was not employed by the Hospital, but he presented a "curious carved frame" for the picture by Monamy to be hung in the Court Room (west wing) on 16 December 1747. However, on 30 December the Committee decided that the Monamy should have a frame like the others in the room and that Linnell's frame should be adapted for the altar piece of the chapel. On 20 March 1751 the painter **Samuel Leightonhouse** "offered a Benefaction of Gilding" it.

UPHOLSTERER

Reason, of Long Acre, described (on 6 December 1752) as the King's upholsterer. He offered to present coverlets for the communion table, pulpit and reader's desk on 17 October 1750. On 16 October 1751 Keene arranged for the dimensions of these items to be sent to him and desired him to have his upholstery ready in time for the opening of the chapel on 5 December. However, it was only on 6 December of the following year that the Committee viewed Reason's benefaction and agreed that, it "appearing very valuable", he should be invited to become a Governor.

SMITH

Wagg. On 27 May 1752 he received the Committee's thanks for his benefaction of iron rails to the communion table. The top rail must have been upholstered, as he had been asked in the previous October to give Reason its dimensions.

EAST WING

Proposals were apparently not sought at first, although tradesmen were appointed. On 20 February 1751 the sub-committee reported that no contracts “were subsisting” except with the plasterer William Wilton and the brickmaker William Baker, and, since Wilton entered into a contract for the east wing the following month, the contract they referred to must have been his old one for the chapel.

BRICKMAKERS

William Baker. He agreed to prepare earth for 800,000 bricks for “new wing”, offices and one side of “pavilion and colonade” on 29 November 1749. He was asked for another 20,000 from Walham Green on 26 June 1750. On 25 July he told the Committee that he had used 30,000 bricks from this source and needed another 10,000. Despite being paid £290 3s. 6d. (half for the Chapel, half for the new wing and the farm) on 25 July, he represented to the Committee on 14 November that he had not been paid for over 1,100,000 bricks. On 12 December he was asked for another 800,000 bricks. He billed for 899,800 stock bricks in 13 November 1751. On 8 January 1752 he was ordered to make another 6 or 700,000.

Trimmer and Clarke. On 6 September 1749 Trimmer sent in proposals for bricks for the arches of the “new building”. On 31 October 1750 Trimmer and Clarke were paid for grey stock bricks for the “new wing”; they presented another bill (£25 5s. 9d.) for 14,450 grey stocks “for arch work in East Wing”; and they were paid again on 14 March 1753 for stock bricks.

BRICKLAYER

Sanderson. He was appointed to direct the digging of the foundations on 8 March 1749 and instructed to lay foundations on 4 May following. Cellar and shores were complete by November. For the east wing Sanderson had a foreman called **Robert Smith**, who valued bricks on 31 October 1750. Sanderson bought lime from **Pankeman and Pratt**, “dealers in

materials of the Building way”, whose first bill was presented on 24 January 1750. However, when their next account came in, on 13 June, Sanderson was asked to attend the Committee. On 26 June he failed to show as requested, and Mr Smith, perhaps Robert, but now described as Pankeman and Pratt’s clerk, was asked whether Sanderson was a partner in the company. The answer was affirmative, and all bills delivered by them between 6 and 28 March had apparently been sent on his orders. Punishment fell on Pankeman and Pratt, rather than on Sanderson, however, and there is no indication of the Committee’s displeasure with him. But from October 1750 to August 1752 all lime was supplied by **Joseph Goodman**.

SLATER

Hughes. He was appointed on 4 April 1750. On 3 October he was asked to begin work at once. His final bill, £398 11s. 2d., covered work on “outbuildings” as well as the new wing; it was settled on 29 April 1752.

GLAZIERS. On 6 February 1751 the Committee resolved to advertise in *The Daily Advertiser* for glaziers to deliver proposals within a fortnight, with prices of best Newcastle, Blackfriars and Ratcliff glass.

Thomas Palmer. Palmer’s proposal for glazing “the East Building” with Ratcliff glass, was agreed on 20 February. His is the only proposal recorded, but **William Cobbett**, who had been paid for glazier’s work, presumably elsewhere, on the same day, was also paid for glazing garrets and attic windows in the “East Building” on 29 May 1751.

PAVIOURS

Devall. His proposal for paving with Purbeck the great kitchen, scullery and pantry, the Treasurer’s kitchen, scullery and pantry, the areas to the yards, the passages to the coal vaults and the beer cellars, all in the “East Building”, was agreed on 6 March 1751. On 15 May the Treasurer’s hall was added to the list.

Sanderson. His proposal for paving the coal vaults and the Treasurer's wine vaults with brick was agreed on the same day.

MASON

Devall. His paving proposal included Portland and veined marble chimneypieces, the latter presumably in the Treasurer's apartment. On 18 September 1751 it was reported that he should send in hands to expedite his work, and on 1 October the Committee wrote to express their surprise at the neglect of it and to request his attendance the next day.

PLASTERER

Wilton. His proposal for the east wing was agreed on 6 March 1751, and included "trowelled stucco to groins" (presumably of the arcade), plain cornices and plain modillioned cornices, as well as all the common plastering which in the west wing had been done by Jonathan Crooke.

PAINTER

Leightonhouse. His proposal must have been before the Committee on 6 March 1751, because they then left it to the sub-committee to agree on as best terms they could. On 20 March the sub-committee reported that they had agreed terms "lower than he receives for like work in consideration of its being for a charity", and that he had also offered to gild Linnell's frame for Casali's altarpiece as "a Benefaction".

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

Spencer & Co. As carpenters, Spencer and his partners may have worked without a contract. Proposals for carpenter's and joiner's work in finishing the new wing (presumably largely joiner's work) were requested on 20 February 1751 and agreed on 20 March. On 18 September it was reported that they should send in hands to expedite their work, and on 1 October the Committee wrote to express their surprise at Spencer's neglect and to request his attendance the next day.

PLUMBER

Ives. There is no record of his bringing in a proposal, but he was paid at least £810 on account "of work in the new wing" between 1 May 1751 and 16 May 1753.

SMITH

John Phillips. "Mr Phillips" was instructed to make iron rails for the staircase of the new building in the same manner as in the former wing on 25 June 1751. He must have been the John Phillips who received regular small payments for smith's work. The rails may have been like the plain bar balusters to the lower flight shown in Fig. 15.

BRAZIER

Thomas Bedwell. His bill of £89 10s. 3d. for work on the east wing was paid on 6 December 1752.

CARVERS

Messrs. Dryhurst. They were paid £23 7s. 8d. for work on the east wing on 6 December 1752.

UPHOLSTERERS

Chambers. This was presumably the Tristram Chambers who had supplied the upholstery for the west wing. He was paid £83 8s. on 25 June 1751 and £12 2s. on 22 July 1752, presumably for the east wing.

BEDSTEAD MAKERS

Mrs Gordon. A suitable bed type for the east wing evidently exercised the Committee. On 13 November 1751 Lord Southwell presented a plan of beds and chambers in the Foundling Hospital in Paris. On 18 April 1752 Mr Whatley showed them a plan of an iron bedstead used in the General Hospital in Marseilles. On 8 July 1752 the Committee evidently held a trial, and chose the wooden bed type made by Mrs Gordon. It is therefore possible that the numerous small payments for carpenter's work which she had received since September 1742 were actually for beds.

Bates, of Southwark. On 8 July 1752 Bates sent in an “iron hammered” bedstead, which the Committee did not choose.

Sunderland, of St Thomas Apostle. On 8 July 1752 Sunderland sent in a cast iron bedstead, which the Committee did not choose.

* * *

Thirty-six of these tradesmen can be identified from other jobs, as follows.

Brickmakers

Thomas Scott is otherwise only known from St Mary, Rotherhithe, designed by John James, where Scott was the brickmaker in 1714–15.¹

William Baker was the brickmaker at No. 23 Argyll Street in 1740.²

Bricklayers

John Sanderson (died 1774) was described as the hospital’s Surveyor in December 1739 and he also submitted a design in January 1740. He continued as Surveyor until Horne’s offer to act in this capacity *gratis* was accepted on 30 June 1742. He was an architect as well as a bricklayer, and as such, his career is described by Colvin.³

Masons

Devall (1701–74) was the eldest of three mason-carvers of that name, and was Master of the Masons’ Company in 1760; his career is outlined by Gunnis.⁴ More is known about Devall since the publication of Gunnis’s *Dictionary*, however, as follows.

He was the son of George Devall of Eynsham, Oxon., who was paid by Roger Morris in 1728–30 for work on New Park Lodge, Richmond.⁵ John Devall was apprenticed to Joshua Fletcher on 2 August 1718,⁶ not, as Gunnis states, to Andrews Jelfe; but Fletcher was at that date in partnership with Christopher Cass, then foreman of the Blenheim work force of Jelfe’s master, Edward Strong, so he

would have been known to Jelfe, who formed a partnership with Strong and Cass after Fletcher’s death.⁷ In 1723, before his time was up, “Jonathan” Devall was paid by the Board of Ordnance for work at the Ordnance Wharf in Plymouth, of which Jelfe was the architect.⁸ He became free on 20 February 1727.⁹ In 1731 he worked, under John Sanderson, at Stratton Park, Hants.¹⁰ In 1731–32 he worked at Wimbledon House, Surrey, at first under Roger Morris.¹¹ In 1733–36 he worked at Bedford House, Bloomsbury, together with John Sanderson.¹² In 1736 a tradesman called Devall worked on Queen Caroline’s Library, St James’s Palace, designed by William Kent, although this could have been the plumber George Devall.¹³ John Devall worked under Roger Morris on the Palladian Bridge at Wilton, where his initials are inscribed, with the date 1737.¹⁴ Between 1737 and 1740 he was involved with Roger Morris and James Gibbs in building houses on the Duke of Argyll’s estate off Oxford Street.¹⁵ In 1742–43 he worked at No. 30 Old Burlington Street under Roger Morris.¹⁶ In 1745 he worked at No. 45 Berkeley Square under William Kent,¹⁷ and at Wimpole Hall, Cambs., under Henry Flitcroft.¹⁸ In 1749, 1752 and 1755 he worked at Adderbury House, Oxon., probably under John Phillips.¹⁹ He was perhaps the “Mr Devall” who worked at Wakefield Lodge, Northants., in 1750–53, under John Marsden, who carried out Kent’s design.²⁰ Between 1754 and 1760 he worked at No. 19 St James’s Square under James Paine.²¹ In 1756 he worked at Spencer House, Green Park, under John Vardy.²² In 1758–60 he was paid by the 4th Earl of Holderness either for work at Holderness House, Hertford Street, or at Sion Hill, Isleworth, Middlesex.²³

His son of the same name (1728–94) was Master of the Masons’ Company in 1784,²⁴ and presumably became free around 1759. Payments to “John Devall” between then and 1774 could therefore be to either of them, but they covered work at Hovingham Hall, Yorks., in the 1760s,²⁵ Croome Court, Worcs., and Coventry House, No. 106 Piccadilly, in 1764,²⁶

Harewood House, Yorks., in 1768,²⁷ Stanmore Park, Middlesex, in 1770,²⁸ the Excise Office in 1768–72,²⁹ Coutts's Bank (No. 59 Strand) in 1770–71,³⁰ No. 15 Mansfield Street in 1771,³¹ the Temple of Victory at Audley End, Essex, in 1772,³² Erddig Hall, Denbighshire, in 1772–74,³³ and undated work at Kedleston Hall, Derbs. .³⁴

Carpenters

Timbrell and Spencer were awarded “One Moiety of the Carpenters Work” of the west wing, John Phillips “the other Moiety”; Spencer and Phillips won the contract for the chapel; Spencer “and Co.” won the contract for the east wing. The former may have been the carpenter-architect Benjamin Timbrell (died 1754), but on 15 July 1747 £69 1s. 7¹/₄d. was paid to William Timbrell and John Spencer for carpenters' work, so it is possible that the earlier references are also to William.

Benjamin Timbrell's career as an architect is described by Colvin,³⁵ to which can be added an unexecuted design for St George's Hospital, Hyde Park Corner, submitted in 1736.³⁶

His career as a carpenter and builder-developer can be amplified, however, as follows. From 1721 to 1730 he had the carpentry contract for the Senate House, Cambridge University, with Thomas Phillips.³⁷ From 1724 to 1742 he had the carpentry contract for the Fellows' Building, King's College, Cambridge.³⁸ In 1720–23 he was the builder of No. 52 Grosvenor St., and in 1735–36 the builder of the monument room at St Lawrence, Whitchurch, Middlesex.³⁹ These last four buildings were designed by Gibbs. In 1728–30 he was paid for carpentry work at Nos. 86–88 Brook St. for Viscount Townshend.⁴⁰ He received payments for unspecified services, possibly carpentry, from Henry Watson in 1735,⁴¹ the 2nd. Duke of Argyll in 1739, possibly in connection with his house in Bruton St.,⁴² and William Drake in 1750–53.⁴³

Mr. Frank Kelsall has discovered that in 1720 alone Timbrell held building leases in Bond St. and Clifford St. on the Burlington estate, Maddox St. and

Bond St. on the Conduit Mead estate, and St George's St. and the site of St George's, Hanover Square on the Scarborough estate, all in Westminster, presumably as a developer, though possibly as a carpenter also.⁴⁴ On the Burlington estate he held leases in Clifford St. in 1719 and 1723,⁴⁵ Old Burlington St. in 1720–22 and 1724,⁴⁶ Boyle St.⁴⁷ and Savile Row in 1722.⁴⁸ He held leases in Sackville St. in 1731–32.⁴⁹ In 1739 he was the co-developer with the architect Roger Morris of Nos. 54–64 Strand.⁵⁰

In 1741–2 he and Roger Morris were the measurers of St John's church, Marylebone, designed by Gibbs.⁵¹

William Timbrell, presumably Benjamin's heir, is only known as a carpenter. He worked at Marble Hill House, Twickenham, under Matthew Brettingham's direction, in 1750–51.⁵² He was presumably the Timbrell who worked at Northumberland House, Strand, under first Daniel Garrett, then James Paine, from 1748 to 1767, as the latter part of this time was after Benjamin's death in 1754.⁵³ Either could have been the Timbrell who acted as carpenter at No. 6 St James's Square in 1748, although, as he did so in partnership with William Timbrell's later partner John Spencer, it may well have been William.⁵⁴ It can only have been William who was the Timbrell paid in 1756 and 1759 for carpentry work on the new University Library at Cambridge, designed by Stephen Wright; in the latter year he was again in partnership with Spencer.⁵⁵

John Spencer was Timbrell's partner as carpenter at Northumberland House and Cambridge University Library. But at No. 6 St James's Square he was apparently the surveyor. Dr. Borg has discovered that he was also the surveyor of the proposed house for the Society of Antiquaries of London.⁵⁶

John Phillips (c.1709–75) was the nephew of Thomas Phillips (c.1689–1736), who had been Benjamin Timbrell's occasional partner; John's partnership at the Foundling Hospital with William Timbrell and John Spencer reveals that the relationship was continued by the next generation.

John Phillips was frequently in partnership with George Shakespear, and, although Phillips did not tender for the carpentry of the Foundling Hospital chapel in 1747, Shakespear did.

John Phillips was also an architect, and, as such, his career is described by Colvin,⁵⁷ to which may be added the rebuilding of the south front of Adderbury House, Oxon., for the dowager duchess of Argyll in 1749–50,⁵⁸ some unidentified work for her daughter, the Countess of Dalkeith, in 1755,⁵⁹ his position as arbitrator, with Shakespear, of the designs for Bristol Bridge in 1762,⁶⁰ and his provision of a plan for the Watch House for the parish of St George, Hanover Square, in 1768.⁶¹

As a carpenter (occasionally joiner) and builder, the following work can also be added. He may have been involved with Thomas and Leonard Phillips in the development of Argyll St., and he certainly witnessed the assignment of the lease of No. 26 Argyll St. to Elizabeth, widow of his uncle Thomas Phillips, in 1740.⁶² In 1744 he was involved in the development of No. 46 Berkeley Square.⁶³ He was probably the Phillips who was the joiner at Wimpole Hall in 1744,⁶⁴ and builder at Bedford House, Bloomsbury Square, in 1748, in both these places under the direction of Flitcroft.⁶⁵ From 1749 to 1755 he was the carpenter at Ragley Hall, Warks., then being altered by Gibbs,⁶⁶ and from 1756 to 1763 he and George Shakespear were the principal contractors of Egremont House, Piccadilly, designed by Matthew Brettingham.⁶⁷ In 1756–58, 1760, 1763–64 and 1765–66 he was paid for unspecified work by the Earl of Holderness, presumably on either Holderness House, Hertford St., Sion Hill, Isleworth, Middlesex, or Hornby Castle, Yorkshire.⁶⁸ In 1764–68 Phillips and Shakespear were the carpenters of the Infirmary of Greenwich Hospital, designed by James Stuart,⁶⁹ and in 1768 they were the carpenters of Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, designed by Robert Adam.⁷⁰ After 1766 he executed carpentry contracts for the Office of Works; these were for the office for the Board of Ordnance

in St Margaret St., Westminster, which the Works built between 1766 and 1769,⁷¹ the Excise Office, Old Broad St., designed by William Robinson, and built between 1769–73,⁷² and the Fleet Prison, built between 1770 and 1773.⁷³

In 1739 John Phillips leased a house in Bruton St. with Isaac Ware.⁷⁴ In 1757 he leased a house in Stanhope St., Mayfair, to William Ayray, glazier.⁷⁵

Like Phillips, George Shakespear (died 1797) was an architect as well as a carpenter, and his career as the former is also described in Colvin,⁷⁶ to which can be added his position as arbitrator of the designs for Bristol Bridge in 1762, in partnership with John Phillips.⁷⁷ As a carpenter, he acted with John Phillips as general contractor of Egremont House, Piccadilly, in 1756–63,⁷⁸ as carpenter of the infirmary of Greenwich Hospital in 1764–68,⁷⁹ and as carpenter of Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, in 1768.⁸⁰ In 1770 he examined the gardener Fuller White's accounts at the invitation of Stephen Wright.⁸¹ He was presumably related to the George and John Shakespear who were successively Master Scavellers of the Board of Ordnance, although neither were his father, who was a leatherseller; this George Shakespear worked for the Board at Woolwich Arsenal between 1715 and 1735; John Shakespear worked there between 1741 and 1748.⁸² Both of them worked for the Board at Landguard Fort, Suffolk, in 1717–18 and 1744–47 respectively.⁸³

Marquand is likely to be Charles Marquand (died 1767), who also tendered for the joinery contract in January 1744. His career as a bridge builder, civil engineer and architect is described in Colvin,⁸⁴ to which can be added his provision of drawings and a model for a new bridge at Boston for Boston Corporation in 1741.⁸⁵ He was presumably the "Marquan" who bought demolition material at the sale of Canons House, Middlesex, in 1747.⁸⁶

The Sanderson who tendered for the carpentry of the west wing in 1743 was presumably the same as Joseph Sanderson, who also tendered for the joinery contract in 1744. Joseph (who died on 17 August 1747)

was John Sanderson's cousin, a carpenter and architect whose career as the latter is described in Colvin.⁸⁷

Robinson was presumably William Robinson, who contracted to repair Mr. Gould's and the adjoining house in Lamb's Conduit Fields for the Foundling Hospital, and was ordered to be paid for doing so on 29 June 1743. The two contemporary architects of that name recorded by Colvin are not known to have been carpenters, although that would not have been impossible.⁸⁸ To Colvin's account of the better known of them, Clerk of Works at Greenwich Hospital and holder of various posts in the Office of Works, may be added his responsibility between 1740 and 1754, with Thomas Ripley, as measurer of Henry Pelham's house at No. 22 Arlington Street,⁸⁹ designed by William Kent, his work as surveyor (replacing Gibbs) at St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1749 to 1768,⁹⁰ and his work as architect of Coombe Place, Offham, Sussex, in 1775.⁹¹

The less well known of the two was Surveyor of the East India Company from 1747 to 1767, and would therefore have been known to Jacobsen.⁹²

There was, however, a joiner called William Robinson, paid for unspecified services in 1756–58 by the Earl of Holderness,⁹³ for carpentry and joinery in 1771 at No. 41 Trinity Square, Minories, designed by Robert Taylor for the Sick and Hurt Board,⁹⁴ and paid for moulds for the Rustic Gate of the Elysian Garden at Audley End, Essex, in 1783.⁹⁵ He might have been either of the two architects, or he might have come from Cambridge, where in 1752 a carpenter of that name repaired Merrill's house for the University⁹⁶ and worked as a carver in Sidney Sussex College hall, designed by Sir James Burrough,⁹⁷ and in 1755 worked in Great St Mary's church.⁹⁸

Smiths

William Alexander of Wood Street, Cheapside,⁹⁹ was successively Citizen (1714), Alderman (1753–62), and Sheriff (1750–51) of London, and in 1744 he contracted for the iron work at the Mansion House, designed by George Dance.¹⁰⁰ As the William

Alexander at the Foundling Hospital was a brazier as well as a smith, Alderman Alexander may have been the Alexander who was from c.1742 to 1757 the locksmith at Ormsby Hall, Lincs., designed by James Paine.¹⁰¹ He may have been the Alexander who in 1759–63, with his partner Shrimpton, was the locksmith at Ashburnham Place, Sussex, designed by Stephen Wright,¹⁰² and at Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, in 1766–68.¹⁰³ In 1760–62 Alexander and Shrimpton supplied steel grates at Corsham Court, Wilts., designed by Capability Brown, and in 1765 at Mersham le Hatch, designed by Robert Adam.¹⁰⁴

Thomas Wagg was the smith at the Paymaster-General's Office, Whitehall, in 1733–34, designed by John Lane.¹⁰⁵ He worked several times under Gibbs, at No. 16 Arlington Street in 1734–40, at William Hanby's house in Mortimer Street in 1735–40, and at the Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, in 1737–49.¹⁰⁶ In 1736–7 he worked under Kent on Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace.¹⁰⁷ Thereafter he worked under Paine, at Hickleton Hall, Yorks. (1745–8), Doncaster Mansion House (1745–9), Nostell Priory, Yorks. (c.1747), and Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk (1753).¹⁰⁸ He was probably the Wagg who bought material at the Canons sale in 1747.¹⁰⁹

Plumbers

Edward Ives worked at No. 47 Berkeley Square in 1743¹¹⁰ and at No. 5 St. James's Square in 1748–49, under Matthew Brettingham.¹¹¹ He was plumber and glazier at Holkham Hall from 1755 to 1758, also under Brettingham.¹¹² A tradesman called Ives bought material at the Canons sale in 1747.¹¹³

There was a plumber called Painter active in Cambridge slightly later. In 1756 and 1758 he worked on the new University Library,¹¹⁴ designed by Stephen Wright, and in 1763 and 1765 he worked at Addenbrooke's Hospital.¹¹⁵

George Devall was the most successful plumber of the decades 1710–40. John Devall became Serjeant Plumber in the Office of Works in 1742, and led the field until his death in 1769.¹¹⁶ Jeremiah Devall,

possibly the latter's son, was a leading plumber from 1769 to 1795. They were presumably related to the masons of that name.

George Devall's earliest known work was on the Fifty New Churches, initially St Anne, Limehouse (1712–24) and St John, Westminster (1714–28).¹¹⁷ He was probably the plumber named Devall who worked for the 1st Earl Stanhope at either Chevening House, Kent, or Dorset House, Whitehall, in 1718.¹¹⁸ He was involved in development in Bedford Row in 1720.¹¹⁹ He worked at St George, Bloomsbury (1720–30),¹²⁰ at Carshalton House (1720–21),¹²¹ and at Christ Church, Spitalfields (1723–29).¹²² He worked at Carshalton Park (1726),¹²³ St Luke, Old Street (1727–33),¹²⁴ Houghton Hall, Norfolk, in 1727–35,¹²⁵ Wolterton Hall, Norfolk (1730),¹²⁶ either Chiswick House or Burlington House, Piccadilly, for the 3rd Earl of Burlington in 1732,¹²⁷ the Treasury in 1733,¹²⁸ and the Paymaster-General's Office, both in Whitehall, in 1733–34.¹²⁹ He was probably the plumber named Duvall who worked at Raynham Hall, Norfolk (1724–30).¹³⁰ He was probably the plumber named Devall who worked at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, in 1732,¹³¹ and who worked for the Chelsea Waterworks Company in 1733.¹³² He may have been the tradesman called Devall who worked at Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace in 1736,¹³³ although that could have been the mason Devall. As the executor of his brother-in-law, the paviour John Mist, he was co-developer of Nos. 9 and 10 Argyll St., and No. 11 Argyll Place in 1737–39,¹³⁴ and in the same capacity he leased ground in Westminster from William Pulteney and Elizabeth, widow of the carpenter Thomas Phillips in 1742.¹³⁵

John Devall's earliest known work was in buildings designed by William Kent, No. 22 Arlington Street (1740–54),¹³⁶ and No. 44 Berkeley Square (1742–47).¹³⁷ He was presumably the plumber called Devall who worked at Wakefield Lodge, Northants., from 1749 to 1753.¹³⁸ For the Office of Works he worked at Westminster Hall (1749),¹³⁹ the Horse Guards (1750–59),¹⁴⁰ and the Royal Mews

(1750).¹⁴¹ A John Devall was paid by the Earl of Holderness in 1758–60, but it could have been either the plumber or the mason.¹⁴² He was probably the Devall who in 1761 was the plumber at Grafton House, Bond St., under Robert Taylor,¹⁴³ and who bought the lead from Merlin's Cave, Richmond, when that building was being demolished in 1766.¹⁴⁴

Glaziers

Thomas Palmer may in 1714–5 have been the plumber at St Mary, Rotherhithe, designed by John James.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that he was the glass painter T Palmer, who worked at Arbury Hall, Warks., in 1756 under Sanderson Miller.¹⁴⁶

William Cobbett seems to have been one of a dynasty of Cobbbett glaziers.¹⁴⁷ He was the glazier at Newnham Paddox House, Warks., under Capability Brown in 1754,¹⁴⁸ at No. 9 Mansfield Street in 1771,¹⁴⁹ and at Audley End House, Essex, in 1774,¹⁵⁰ on these last occasions working under Robert Adam.

Slater

Richard Hughes was the slater of No. 22 Arlington Street between 1740 and 1754,¹⁵¹ and slated the roof of Westminster Hall in 1748–49.¹⁵² William Kent was the architect of both these works.

Joiners

Lancelot Dowbiggin was also an architect and his career is described by Colvin.¹⁵³

William Spier was also his partner in 1748 as joiner at the Mansion House, designed by George Dance.¹⁵⁴

Jupp was probably Richard Jupp of Clerkenwell, Master of the London Carpenters' Company in 1768, and father of the architects Richard and William Jupp.¹⁵⁵

Plasterers

Crooke was perhaps related to the plasterer Thomas Crooke of London, who had worked at Walbrook House, in the City, in 1668.¹⁵⁶ Thomas Crooke had

taken an apprentice named Henry Wells in 1656,¹⁵⁷ and it may or may not be a coincidence that William Wilton, the decorative plasterer, had a “man” named Samuel Wells in 1728.¹⁵⁸

Laban was the plasterer of St John’s church, Hampstead, in 1747; its architect was John Sanderson.¹⁵⁹

Wilton’s date of birth is not known, but he was the father of the famous sculptor, Joseph Wilton, who was born in 1722.¹⁶⁰ In that year William Wilton worked at Stanmer Park, Sussex, whose architect was Nicholas Dubois.¹⁶¹ Much of his early work, however, was done for Gibbs in London—the Oxford Market House, Marylebone Place (1726–37), repairs to St Peter’s church, Vere St. (1730 and 1740), and No. 16 Arlington St. (1734–40).¹⁶² He may therefore be the Wilton who was involved with Gibbs in the development of No. 13 Henrietta Place in 1726.¹⁶³ As he was presumably the Wilton, plasterer at Madingley Hall, Cambs., in 1728, it is possible that Gibbs designed the alterations to that house.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, in 1733–36, Wilton worked at Bedford House, Bloomsbury Square, where the architect was probably John Sanderson.¹⁶⁵ In 1737 he was involved with Gibbs and Roger Morris in the development of No. 9 Argyll Place and No. 23 Great Marlborough St.¹⁶⁶ In 1747 he bought demolition material at the Canons sale.¹⁶⁷ In 1753 he worked at Audley End House, Essex, as did James Horne, John Phillips and George Shakespear.¹⁶⁸ In 1754 he worked at an unknown location for the dowager Duchess of Argyll.¹⁶⁹ In 1754–61 he worked at Linley Hall, Salop., under Henry Joynes. He died in 1768, and was buried at Wanstead.¹⁷⁰

Painters

It is possible that Wright was the painter at Dinnington Hall, Yorkshire, c.1754–72, where the architect was the London-based James Paine.¹⁷¹

Samuel Leightonhouse was in 1731–3 the painter at Boreham House, Essex, designed by Henry Flitcroft.¹⁷²

Pump Maker

Francis Sutton bought houses on Kensington Green in 1737, together with William Bates, carpenter.¹⁷³

Carvers

Linnell was probably the famous cabinet maker William Linnell (c.1703–63),¹⁷⁴ although possibly his son John (1729–96).¹⁷⁵

Thomas Adye’s career is described both in Gunnis and in Beard and Gilbert.¹⁷⁶

One of the Messrs. Dryhurst may have been James Dryhurst, who in 1729–33 was the carver at Boreham House, Essex, designed by Henry Flitcroft.¹⁷⁷

Cabinet maker

Hallett was doubtless the famous cabinet maker William Hallett (c.1707–81),¹⁷⁸ although possibly William Hallot.¹⁷⁹

Upholsterers

Tristram Chambers had premises in Cary Street.¹⁸⁰ Reason was presumably William Reason.¹⁸¹

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