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THE WORK OF TWO ANTIQUARIES AT BRUCE CASTLE

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Bruce Castle, in Tottenham, is one of the oldest large houses to survive in the Greater London area. The name derives from its ownership in the early fourteenth century by Robert Bruce, who forfeited it in 1306 on becoming king of Scotland. The existing house was probably built in the 1570s by Henry, first Lord Compton or by his stepmother, possibly in part on earlier wall footings, and the

façade still preserves essentially its sixteenth century form, with a central porch and projecting stair turrets (Fig. 1). But no detail of this age remains visible elsewhere in the house, and as it now stands Bruce Castle is largely as it was left by the second and third Barons Coleraine between 1684 and 1749, and by the third baron's son-in-law before 1787 (Fig. 2).¹



Fig. 1. Bruce Castle, Tottenham: the south front.
English Heritage.

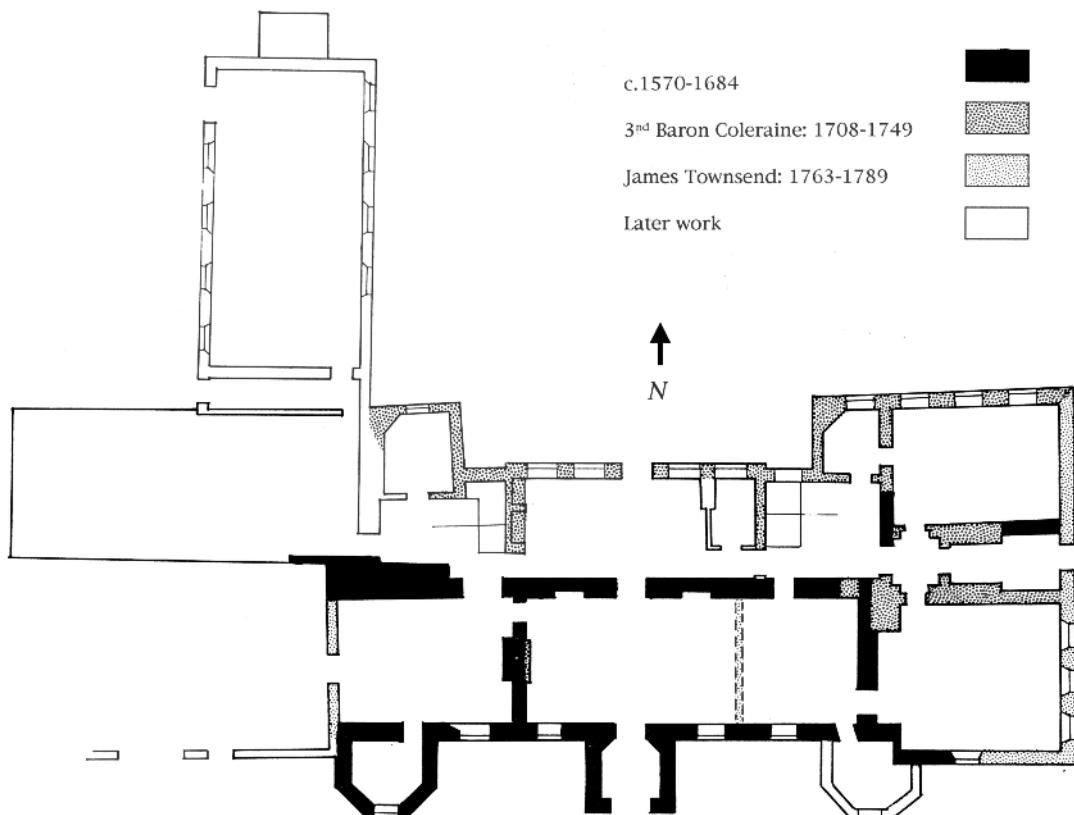


Fig. 2. Bruce Castle, principal building periods.

As it stands, the (justifiable) interest in the Tudor house and its successful operation as a local authority history museum perhaps risk overshadowing the importance of the work that is the subject of this article – that done by two generations of antiquarians and connoisseurs in the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries. Both seem to have been concerned to preserve a building of a period that was scarcely fashionable, while the third Baron, retaining the original façade, made substantial additions behind it in order to accommodate his huge library and his very large collections of pictures, marbles and *objets de vertu*. The essentials of their work remain.

THE TUDOR HOUSE AND THE 2ND BARON COLERAINE

Hugh Hare, 1st Baron Coleraine, had bought Bruce Castle in 1626. The Hare family came from Norfolk and a branch of the family still owns land there, but the first Baron's motives in acquiring the house were probably the same as those of many of his contemporaries. The social attractions of London were growing rapidly in the late sixteenth century, and it was becoming increasingly popular for members of the upper classes to acquire small estates where they could be close to the social life of the city while still enjoying the pleasures of the countryside. At the end of the century, Norden described

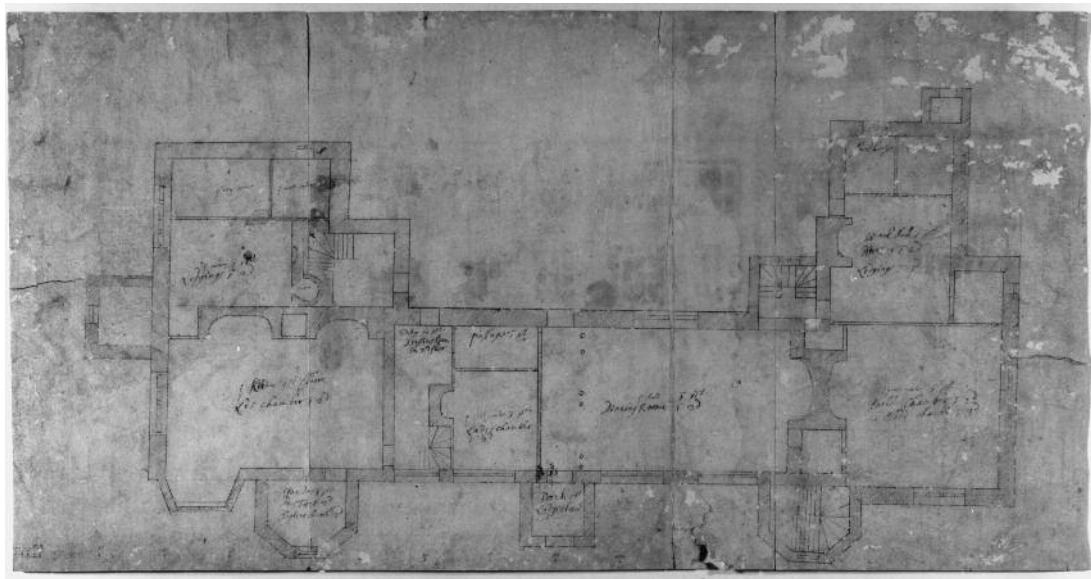


Fig. 3. Bruce Castle; ground floor plan, 1682.
London Borough of Haringey: Bruce Castle Archives.

Middlesex as 'plentifullie stored, and as it seemeth beautified, with manie faire and comelie buildinges',² while in 1631 William Bedwell, vicar of Tottenham, remarked of his parishioners that there were 'many of no mean quality. I have heard called at a Court there helde [i.e. the Tottenham Manor Court] foure Noblemen, as many Knights, and divers Gentlemen and Esquires'.³ In 1662 the house was rated on 17 hearths for the Hearth Tax; eight other houses in the parish were rated on between 13 and 25, implying that they were of comparable size and social standing.⁴ Tottenham remained an attractive suburban village for two hundred years after the house's building.

The approximate date of the Elizabethan house is indicated by its overall form, by tree-ring dating of timbers in the floor and in the roof, which indicate a building date fairly soon after 1560,⁵ by the Compton arms which were formerly on the house and which must pre-date the family's sale of the property in 1592,⁶ and by a letter of 1568 referring to the need for repairs – scarcely necessary had the house been

new.⁷ A plan of 1682, probably drawn by the 2nd Baron himself (Fig. 3),⁸ suggests that at that date the house had not been greatly altered since it was built, and externally the principal, south front of the house still preserves features of its original design. This is shown, with the Baron's alterations of 1684 to the porch, in an early nineteenth-century print after a late seventeenth-century painting (which has recently been restored and returned to the house) (Fig. 4). The front is symmetrical, a form virtually unknown before 1570, with a central porch and matching, projecting, polygonal stair turrets. As built, the house rose through two storeys with a gabled attic floor; these gables have been replaced by a screen wall with blind windows, but behind this screen the original roof remains largely intact. The turrets have lost the stairs that both probably contained⁹ and the eastern was wholly rebuilt in 1959, but they retain their plan.

The porch was altered in 1684, and was probably originally gabled, but the superimposed classical

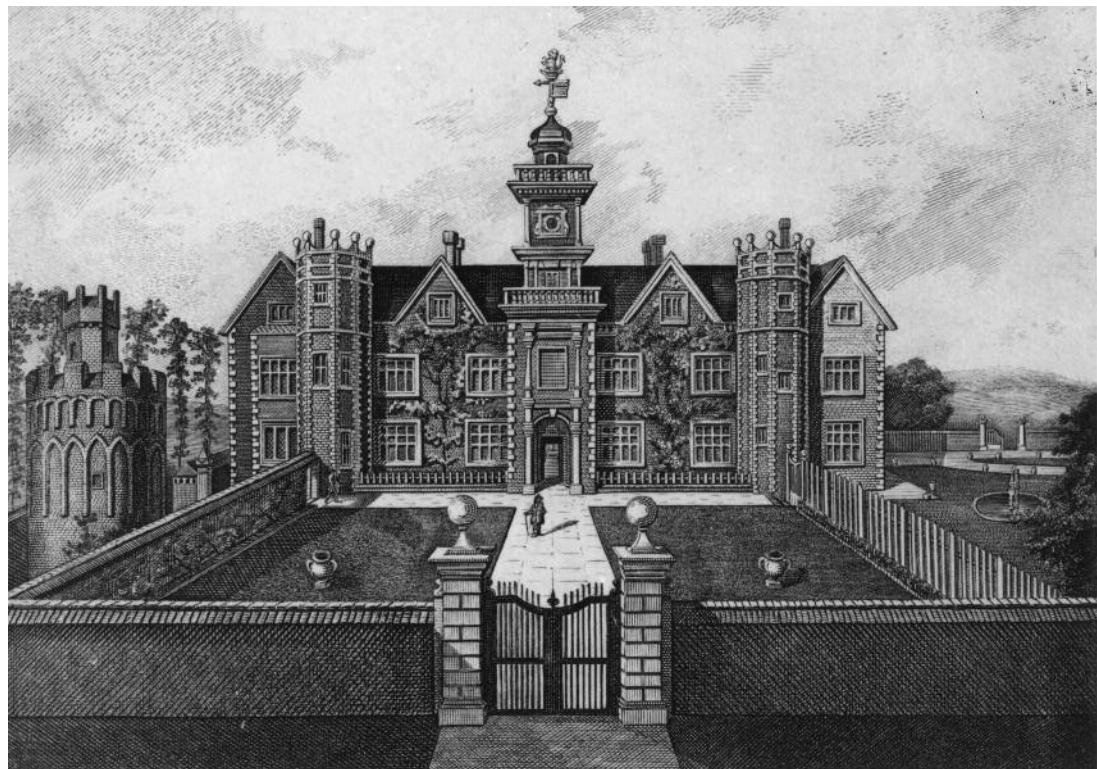


Fig. 4. Bruce Castle: south front, 1684.
London Borough of Haringey: Bruce Castle Archives.

orders to the ground and first floor may be Elizabethan in origin, although renewed (together with the surrounding brickwork) at a later date. These orders are Tuscan and Ionic; there may have been a further, Corinthian order in the gable. (It is certain that there was further ornament, with the Compton arms, in the upper part of the porch). Although the brickwork of the principal front has been very extensively altered and patched, an area survives between the porch and the western tower with a characteristic sixteenth-century pattern of black-on-red diaper.

The Elizabethan house has now lost its original eastern and western ends, demolished or rebuilt, but the layout shown in the 1682 plan appears a standard one for an upper-class house of the period.¹⁰ On the

ground floor, entrance was through the porch into a cross passage, with a conventional screen, at the west end of the hall. Beyond the hall to the east, at the high end of the house, was a parlour, with a closet and a further parlour in a wing to the rear (north). At the low end (the service end) was probably a buttery, with a short service passage along its north side which led to a large kitchen with two fireplaces in its north wall and with a bakehouse (with fireplace and bread oven) in a short wing to the north. In 1682 there were two stairs at the high end of the house, one in the eastern turret and one in the angle between the hall and the parlour wing; both are conventional locations for sixteenth-century stairs, and both may have been of that date. The space of the latter stair also provided a link between hall and

the northern parlour. There was also a stair in the angle between the kitchen and the bakehouse wing; this too may have been original to the house.

The inscriptions on the 1682 plan indicate that the first floor layout largely repeated that on the ground floor. Over the hall was the great chamber, used for formal entertainment and dining. At the east, over the two parlours, were probably a withdrawing room and a best bed chamber, perhaps with closets beyond them. To the west there were bed chambers over the low end of the house. In the 1680s Lord Coleraine's own chamber was over the kitchen, a common location for the owner's bed chamber from the late sixteenth century onward, and probably therefore where Lord Compton's chamber had been when the house was built. On the attic floor, the original roof has been curtailed at either end, but largely survives over the central part of the house (between the two projecting turrets) and contained (as now) a long passage which may have served as a species of long gallery providing access to bays or separate rooms behind the gables.¹¹

A map of the manor by the surveyor William Clay, made in 1619 and reproduced as a frontispiece to Robinson's *History of Tottenham* in 1840, includes a confused view of the house from the north. The original map has not been traced¹² but although (so far as can be guessed) the published version is probably a reasonably accurate rendering of it, any adequate representation of the house was probably impossible on so small a scale. However, it seems to show two ranges of single-storeyed buildings on the north side of the house (perhaps stables or other outbuildings to its rear), the outline of a tower to the west (perhaps the detached Tudor tower that still stands close to the house's south-west angle) and another tower to the east in line with the single-storeyed ranges. In 1790 there existed another painting, said to be of earlier date, showing two more towers,¹³ but this is lost. Such a painting is most unlikely to have dated from before c.1640, and it may indicate that more of the old house survived into the

seventeenth century than seems indicated by the irregularities of the 1680s plan.

It is not known whether the 1st Baron did any work at the house, but in any case Bruce Castle was probably never his main home. In 1641 he bought Longford Castle in Wiltshire, which remained his and his son's principal seat and was only sold by the 3rd Baron in 1717. Longford was damaged by Royalist troops in the Civil War; Bruce Castle is unlikely to have suffered, though it was probably neglected; Coleraine's wife was the daughter of the Earl of Manchester, a leading Parliamentary general, and in 1655 it was reported that he had paid no fines for loyalty to the King.¹⁴ The 1st Baron died in 1667¹⁵ and the work of the 1680s was carried out by his son Henry, 2nd Baron Coleraine, whose interest in building was already in evidence. It is possible that he had already been living at Bruce Castle before inheriting his father's property. Longford Castle had been repaired after the war by both the 1st and 2nd Barons. In 1680 the 2nd Baron celebrated their joint work there by the publication of a series of engravings of the house, only the third such series to be published in England,¹⁶ and also wrote a verse description of it.¹⁷

At Bruce Castle his most prominent alteration was the building of the clock tower at the centre of the façade. Two bricks on the west side of the porch bear the date 1684 and initials (which may be those of workmen involved) and an inscription in one of the upper rooms, now lost, apparently gave a date 'a little before the revolution' – *i.e.* before 1688.¹⁸ A drawn elevation on the back of the 1682 plan apparently shows Lord Coleraine's original proposals (Fig. 5): the lower two storeys of the porch lack the superimposed orders that they now retain, and it seems likely that he did not originally intend to keep them. Alternatively, they may not originally have existed and Lord Coleraine introduced them. The large, painted elevation of the house and the engraving based on it show the work as completed. The tops of the turrets have been decorated with



Fig. 5. Bruce Castle: proposals for the south front, 1682.
London Borough of Haringey: Bruce Castle Archives.

swept parapets terminating in ball finials, and a clear view through the front door of the house seems to show a gate on the far side of a garden to the north.

The clock tower is unusual for the date, even though belvederes offering the kind of view that is provided by the balustraded platform around it were common. However, in 1625 Francis Bacon, describing an ideal palace, had prescribed a clock tower at the centre, between the high and low ends.¹⁹ The only known house with a clock tower in this position is Hatfield, but it is possible that Coleraine was inspired to retain the lower part of the Elizabethan porch but to improve its upper part in a manner which he felt was still in keeping with the period of the original. Alternatively, it may have been suggested by Belsize House in Hampstead, built twenty years earlier, which apparently had a similar tower above the porch though without a clock. In any case, given the interest in building that Coleraine had already shown at Longford and the oddity of the 1680s alterations at Bruce Castle it seems likely that

Coleraine designed it himself – such an oddity is more characteristic of the work of an amateur than of a contemporary, professional architect, and it is likely that the surviving elevation drawing of 1682 is in his hand. Apart from the classical order to the porch, the drawing only differs from the view of the house as altered in showing no ridge to the roof; the omission of the ridge seems likely to be a draughting error rather than an actual proposal for an alteration which would in any case have been impracticable. Lord Coleraine's antiquarian interests (which were inherited by his grandson, the 3rd Baron) can be confirmed by his concern for the Tudor tower in the grounds (below) and by surviving letters concerning coins and medals, though these contain no information of a personal nature nor about his houses.²⁰

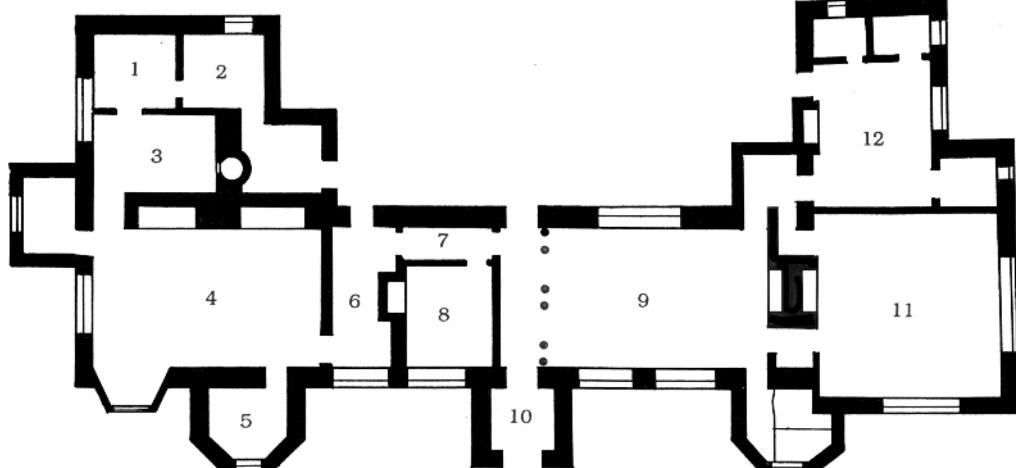
There is no indication on the 1682 plan of any internal alterations. Otherwise, the plan gives contemporary uses of rooms on each floor (Fig. 6). The original great chamber over the hall is now called the Dining Room (a common change of name,

GROUND FLOOR

- 1 Dry Larder
- 2 Wet larder
- 3 Pastry (i.e. bakehouse)
- 4 Kitchen
- 5 Pantry
- 6 Entry
- 7 Passage
- 8 Little parlour
- 9 Hall
- 10 Porch
- 11 Great parlour
- 12 Back parlour (?)
- 13 & 14 (illegible)

FIRST FLOOR

- 3 Lodging (i.e. bed chamber)
- 4 Lord's chamber
(i.e. Lord Coleraine's bedchamber)
- 5 Lord's closet
- 6 Dressing room
- 8 Lady's chamber
- 9 Dining Room
- 10 Lady's closet
- 11 Parlour chamber
(i.e. best guest bedchamber)
- 12 Nursery (?)



BRUCE CASTLE: ROOM NAMES 1682

Fig. 6. Bruce Castle: room uses, 1682.

implying little change of use) and the rooms over the former buttery are given as 'Lady's chamber', *i.e.* Lady Coleraine's bedroom, and a dressing room lying between it and Lord Coleraine's chamber. No names for top floor rooms are given for the centre of the house, probably implying that the central passage which formed a gallery in the Elizabethan house remained, but that it was now no more than a link between one end of the house and the other and a means of reaching attic bedrooms. There is no stair shown in the western turret, though this probably contained one originally.

The suggestion that the 2nd Baron was careful

for the Elizabethan house is strengthened by his recorded concern for the Tudor tower that still stands close to the house's north-east corner, shown in the print after the seventeenth century painting (Fig. 4). Neither its date nor its purpose are known, though it was probably built for recreational purposes of some kind; it seems to have had a fire place on the ground floor, and is reminiscent of the fanciful, fortified pavilions shown in Wyngarde's view of Hampton Court. In 1701, in a note of the customs of the manor of Tottenham, he wrote 'No mention can I find anywhere of the great brick round tower which is such a lasting monument of Antiquity

and has mightily spur'd on my Curiosity in the search after the Originall whether is was built by the Elder Robert Bruce for a Monument house or by Edwd Fawconer for a Mews or for a Pigeon house or as a Prison by any other Lord of the Manor as perhaps in Time may discover'.²¹

THE 3RD BARON, 1708–1749

The second Lord Coleraine died in 1708 and was succeeded by his grandson, Henry, who also inherited his grandfather's intellectual tastes.²² Described as 'a great proficient in learned languages', he had been a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (where his tutor married his sister Lydia), subsequently travelled three times to Italy, toured in England with William Stukeley and with Horace Walpole,²³ and made a huge collection of coins, prints (divided on his death between his old college and the Society of Antiquaries, both of which still retain his bequests) and books (over ten thousand books were in the house on his death in 1749).²⁴ He had separated from his wife quite soon after they were married, and by the 1740s had formed a permanent liaison with a French woman, Rose Duplessis, by whom he had a daughter, Henrietta. He was a keen supporter of the Antiquaries from its foundation in 1727,²⁵ and on his death, following the invalidity of his will, Mme. Duplessis herself purchased the prints he had bequeathed to the Society and to his college, and presented them to these institutions; the Society of Antiquaries has a portrait of Lord Coleraine as a young man.²⁶ The inventory of his goods at Bruce Castle made then provides a very full picture of the furnishings of the house in the mid-eighteenth century, and includes a number of items that he may have acquired abroad.²⁷ When he died most of these were sold; objects included in the inventory are recognisable in the sale catalogue. Pictures were not itemised in the inventory, but are listed in a separate sale.²⁸

The 3rd Baron was responsible for substantial alterations to the house, probably following the sale of Longford in 1717 and a decision to make Bruce Castle his principal home, perhaps preferring the intellectual life of London to the pastimes of the country squire.²⁹ By the standards of the early eighteenth century, the arrangements shown in the 1680s plan were old-fashioned. The staircases were quite inadequate, the entertaining rooms probably out of date and unfashionable; they certainly provided insufficient space for the furniture, books and pictures that he had inherited or collected, and (in a smart, suburban house) the old-fashioned hall no longer provided an acceptable approach to them. The precise dating and sequence of the 3rd Baron's alterations are not entirely clear from the structural evidence,³⁰ but they seem to have comprised making a new family and service stair in the western part,



Fig. 7. Bruce Castle: the west stair.
English Heritage.



Fig. 8. Bruce Castle: the east stair.

English Heritage.

Fig. 9. Bruce Castle: the east stair hall.

English Heritage.

with perhaps some other alterations at that end of the house; making a new principal stair in the eastern part, and the partial remodelling of the east wing; the building of a new range at the centre of the house on the north side, and probably the provision of an approach to the new stair and an entry from the east (Figs. 7–12). Externally, Lord Coleraine's new work was concentrated on the north side of the house, and it is likely that his antiquarian interests had led him to value the still mainly Elizabethan appearance of the south front and to preserve, at least in its general form, the old hall at its centre.

The two stairs are very different in style, and the western is probably the earlier (Fig. 7). This rises in straight flights to the second floor, and has a cut string, carved braggets, a ramped handrail, and three turned balusters to each tread with an unusual reverse taper. These balusters are virtually identical

to those of the stair at Chevening, Kent, designed by the architect Nicholas Dubois (c.1665–1735), c.1721 and based on a slightly earlier model,³¹ and the stair at Bruce Castle can reasonably be attributed to him. Details of its construction suggest that at some date it has been dismantled (or at least very heavily repaired), but it is likely to be in its original location.

The principal, eastern stair rises to the second floor round a hollow well (Fig. 8). It has a single, hour-glass baluster to each tread, and a broad, flat-topped handrail. A few photographs taken during repairs in 1959³² show it largely dismantled, but though stripped of stains and varnish (making it appear relatively new) it seems to have been reconstructed in its original form. It seems to have been part of a larger programme for the improvement of the eastern end of the house, which included making a new approach to the stair hall from the east

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Fig. 10. Bruce Castle: the north front. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 11. Bruce Castle: the third Baron Coleraine's gallery. *English Heritage*.

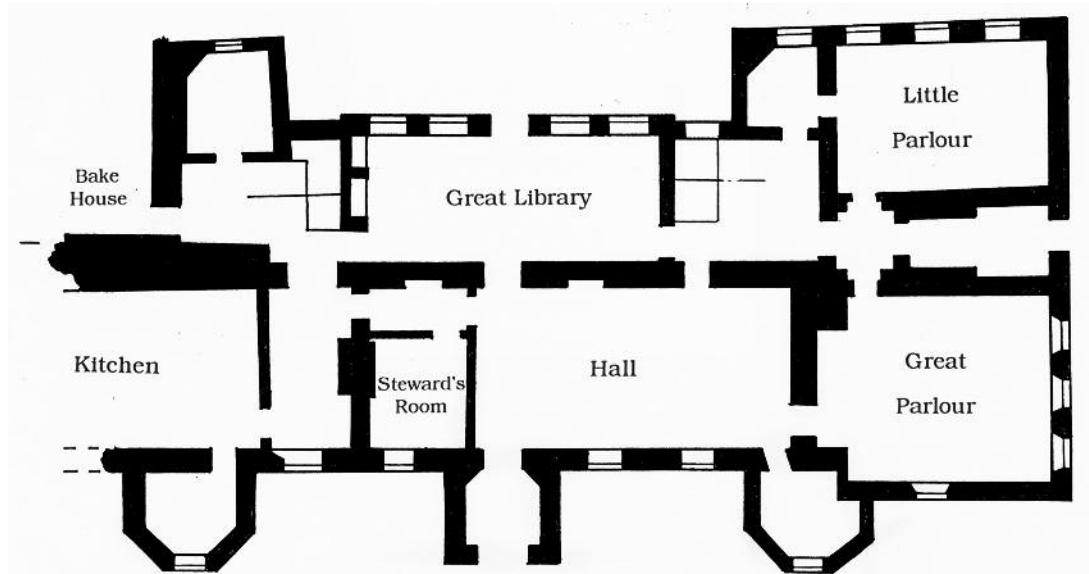


Fig. 12. Bruce Castle: the gallery fireplace. *English Heritage*.

front (Fig. 9), rebuilding the northern part of the east wing to form a more regular north front and an improved second parlour, and the redecoration of the larger parlour to the south. It is not certain how far Lord Coleraine's rebuilding of the east wing continued along its eastern front, though the fact that his successor refaced the whole of this façade suggests that Coleraine may have inserted his new east entrance into earlier work. On the first floor, the north-east room has a broad arched opening to a bed recess at its eastern end. Details of all of these changes at the east end of the house save for the east façade itself suggest a date of c.1725–40, similar to that of the staircase.

The third of Lord Coleraine's alterations was the building shortly afterwards of a new two-storey, five-

bay range against the northern part of the former hall, between the eastern and western stair compartments that he had already added, and creating a single, five bay room on each floor (Figs. 10 and 11). The north front is surmounted by a deep cornice with pulvinated frieze and a broad pediment with the Hare arms. Externally this is different in character from the work to the east and west: the brick is similar, but the ground floor windows have semi-circular heads with finely cut, radiating voussoirs. The first floor room has a good, Kentian chimneypiece of c.1735 with addorsed fauns (Fig. 12), and a heavy bracket cornice; the ground floor room has a decorative, palmette cornice, but has lost its chimneypiece. There is structural evidence that as built, the ground floor room may

Fig. 13. Bruce Castle: room uses in 1749. *English Heritage*.

have been partially open to the north, forming a loggia, with doorways in alternate openings, but probably soon after building the openings were closed. By the time of Coleraine's death, it seems likely that the room had become a library.

Lord Coleraine's new eastern entry was probably formed to provide a new, more up-to-date, approach to the new principal stair and the entertaining rooms on the ground floor, while the old hall in the south front remained unaltered – perhaps because Coleraine valued its antiquity. Coleraine may, however, have remodelled the first floor above it, where there is a clear sign of a former partition dividing the present space into two rooms, and mid eighteenth-century fireplaces (each formerly heating a separate room) remain at either end.

The inventory of Lord Coleraine's possessions taken in 1749³³ as part of the legal processes following his death gives the impression of a house fashionably fitted up, filled (in fact crammed) with furniture and souvenirs of his travels, with very many books and with innumerable pictures, prints and drawings,

both hanging on walls and in cabinets and cases. No doubt many of these had been inherited from his grandfather and great-grandfather, as well as having been acquired by himself on his travels.

Unfortunately there is no contemporary plan of the house and, partly because of the subsequent loss of the west end of the building as it was at that date, partly because of uncertainty about the order in which the appraisers went round the house, it is not possible to be sure of the place in the existing house of many of the rooms named.

Nevertheless, a few rooms can be identified (Fig. 13). The attic floor contained simply furnished bedrooms, including two for the steward and butler. There were six principal rooms on the first floor including Lord Coleraine's own, most of which had closets or dressing rooms off them and some of which had fireplaces. These closets will have been in the towers, over the front porch and in the space between the north-east and south-east bedrooms, besides whatever bedrooms and closets there may have been in the demolished west wing. The new



Fig. 14. Bruce Castle: the east front. *English Heritage*

room at the centre of the north front is probably that described as the ‘Long Gallery’, with its furnishings the most valuable of any in the house.

On the ground floor were two parlours, of which the smaller was the more expensively furnished. The ‘great parlour’, clearly the principal dining room, was in the south-east corner, which retains a sideboard recess. The ‘little parlour’, with more expensive contents (including tea things; perhaps serving as Mme. Duplessis’s boudoir) was probably the remodelled parlour in the north of the east wing. This had a dressing room off it, probably the small closet to its west. Three libraries are listed in the inventory: ‘Upper’, ‘Lower’ and ‘Great’, and by combining information from the inventory, from Coleraine’s will of 1746–7³⁴ and from the house itself it is possible to suggest, tentatively, that the ‘Great’ library was in the new ground floor, north room, that

the ‘Lower’ library (despite the name) was on the first floor, at the north east, and the ‘Upper’ library (whose furnishings were sparse compared to the other two) possibly on the attic floor. But other interpretations are possible.

To the west, the service rooms included a steward’s office (probably immediately to the west of the old hall, and the ‘little parlour’ of the 1682 plan), kitchen, bakehouse (probably the room shown as such in 1682, since demolished), pantries (housekeeper’s, butler’s and another), one or two other small rooms, and others which may have been outside the main house and which included brewhouse, wash-house, laundry, and rooms for coachman and gardner. In the garden were a greenhouse and probably a summerhouse (described as ‘the portico’). At a greater distance lay stables and a barn, with horses and two cows (to provide butter and milk for the house).

JAMES TOWNSEND, 1763–1789

The house was bought in 1763 by James Townsend, merchant and Alderman of London and Lord Mayor in 1772–3. The character of Tottenham had already undergone change and the western suburbs, Kensington, Chelsea and in particular those by the Thames, had long been gaining favour as upper-class rural retreats at the expense of the villages to north and east. In the 1720s Daniel Defoe wrote of Tottenham that the houses, though ‘fine in their degree . . . are generally belonging to the middle sort of mankind, grown wealthy by trade, and who still taste of London; some of them live both in the city, and in the country at the same time’.³⁵ Defoe described Coleraine’s house as ‘a small but pleasant seat’.³⁶ James Townsend, who married Coleraine’s daughter by Rose Duplessis in the same year in which he bought her father’s old house from the Crown, was typical of the mercantile aristocracy of the City. Townsend was responsible for substantial alterations to the house, both inside and out, and it is clear that he valued modernity more, and antiquity

less, than Lord Coleraine had done. When the house was sold by his son, the east wing was described as having been rebuilt by him. It is clear from the architectural evidence that Townsend refronted or rebuilt the existing east wing on the east and south, perhaps because Lord Coleraine’s work had left it externally an irregular mixture of old and new; Townsend’s new east front is of purplish brick, with flat heads to windows with finely cut, radiating voussoirs, and contrasts strongly with the style of Lord Coleraine’s work (Fig. 14).

Townsend was probably also responsible for rebuilding the upper part of the south front, removing the original gables and building up the attic storey as a screen with blind windows (Fig. 15). The west wing has been removed, but views drawn before its demolition show this too as rising to a parapet; whether Townsend carried out any internal alterations at this end of the house or merely refronted the existing building is not known. Either at the same time as the remodelling of the east and south façades or else a little later, ground floor



Fig. 15. Bruce Castle: the south front, c.1790.
London Borough of Haringey: Bruce Castle Archives.

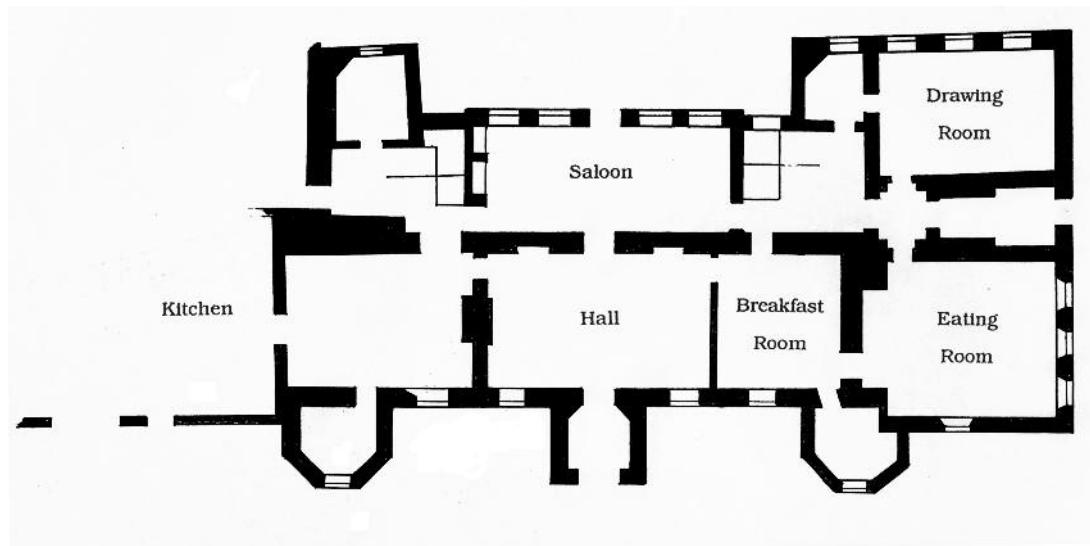


Fig. 16. Bruce Castle: room uses, 1789.

windows in Coleraine's north front were lowered and new sashes put in with narrower glazing bars.

Substantial changes to the form of the hall were probably also made by Townsend, and though it is possible that these had already been made by Coleraine before his death it seems more likely that Coleraine had left the old hall relatively unaltered. This had been entered at the 'low' end, and had extended as far as the east wing. These further alterations created an entrance hall of a contemporary form. The partition between hall and (former) buttery was removed, the hall was extended west as far as the brick wall that contained the buttery stack, and a new partition inserted at a corresponding distance to the east. By these alterations, the front door of the house now opened at the centre of a hall whose eastern and western walls closely aligned with those of the northern room and provided a formal and up-to-date approach to it. These also created a new room to the east (beyond the inserted partition) in the eastern part of the former hall; this retains a chimneypiece with a lugged surround.

The uses of the rooms in Townsend's house can be recovered from a description at the time of its sale which gives dimensions of some of the principal rooms and makes it possible to match these with existing ones (Fig. 16).³⁷ The rooms in the east wing, despite Townsend's external alterations, had not changed their use substantially. On the ground floor, the south-east room was the eating room – the principal dining room of the house, called the Great Parlour at the time of Coleraine's death. The French windows of this room were probably put in by one of the early nineteenth-century owners. The north-east, ground-floor room, probably Coleraine's Little Parlour, was Townsend's drawing room. To the west of the dining room, in the central part of the house, was a breakfast room formed out of the eastern part of the old hall; west of this lay the new hall, formed by the insertion of a partition and by the removal of the old hall's west wall. The ground-floor, northern room added by Coleraine was now described as the Saloon, the grandest entertaining room of the house. On the first floor at the centre of the house the

northern room was now the library, and to the south (where there is now a single large space) were the two rooms probably formed by Lord Coleraine, but possibly by Townsend, of which the smaller (west) was a bedroom and the larger (east) a billiard room. The position of the former division between them is still visible where there is a change in the cornice moulding.

Little is known of the former west wing of the house, pulled down before 1827. In 1789 it contained the steward's room, housekeeper's room, butler's pantry, servants' hall and kitchen, all of which are noted in the sales particulars and none of which can be identified now, but it is likely that Townsend also undertook some reconstruction in this area. Lord Coleraine's inventory implies that this end of the house may have been little changed from 1682, but the 1682 plan shows no wall on the line of the existing west wall of the house. This was probably built by Townsend as part of his remodelling of the services. It is uncertain what else was done in this area, but it seems possible that the former kitchen was remodelled as a servants' hall by taking in the former narrow room on its east (with access to the cellar), and a new kitchen formed in the area of the house that has since been demolished. The house also possessed a w.c., a modern innovation at the time,³⁸ which Townsend must have installed, though it is not known where this was located.

AFTER 1789

Following its sale by Townsend, Bruce Castle passed through the hands of several owners, none of whom made any major changes to it, before its acquisition in 1827 as a boys' school.³⁹ This was run on advanced lines pioneered by Rowland and Arthur Hill at their school at Hazelwood in Birmingham: the essence of their regime was to concentrate on practical skills and accomplishments, and to recognise and to develop whatever natural aptitudes

each boy may have had rather than subjecting all to a standard curriculum, while in its organisation the school was to an extent self-governing, with the boys participating in rule-making.⁴⁰ Most forms of punishment (including corporal punishment) were forbidden, discipline and rules being founded on common sense and consensus. The prospectus described *inter alia* how

It is held that if the teacher is skilful, zealous, and persevering, and the lessons judiciously selected and arranged, the pupil will be led by the natural desire of knowledge and love of employment to pay such attention as will render coercion unnecessary. The lessons are therefore of moderate length, and are limited to such subjects as really accord with the taste and capacity of the pupils ...

In the leisure hours encouragement is given to any kind of useful occupation, especially such as exercise the body equally with the mind: several of the pupils have become expert carpenters, and, for their age, tolerable machinists; others, of a more sedentary turn, pass a large portion of their leisure time in reading ...

Lastly, all prizes, privileges and distinctions awarded in the school, are in attestation and encouragement, not of mere proficiency, but of high moral conduct, taking the term in its widest sense ...⁴¹

The school attracted considerable attention (from Charles Dickens among many others)⁴² and for as long as it was run by the Hill family it achieved considerable success. The Hills sold the school in 1877 and it closed in 1890, perhaps not so much because of any failings in its management or in its ideals as because the style of education that it provided ran counter to prevailing ideas of how public schools should be run.

There have been relatively few major alterations to the building since the early nineteenth century. Chief of these was the building of the north wing in order to provide dormitories and school rooms for the Hills' school. Its date is unknown, but it is shown as a single-storey building in photographs of c.1865⁴³ and must have been heightened to its present three

storeys soon afterwards. The central lantern, presumably a ventilator, appears to have been re-used from the single-storeyed building. The ground-floor, northern room was used as the school refectory,⁴⁴ and photographs of c.1865 to c.1945⁴⁵ show a single-storeyed range running west from the central, north door of this room along the north side of the house, perhaps communicating with kitchens. The old kitchen of the house itself would have been inadequate to feed 70 or so pupils in the dining room.⁴⁶

The central, south part of the building now comprises two large rooms, on ground and first floor, created by the removal of partitions. (Fireplaces that formerly heated these rooms remain, so that these large rooms each have remains of fireplaces at both ends.) It is not known when this alteration was carried out, though it was probably done by the Borough in order to create larger exhibition spaces. There is in addition extensive evidence of twentieth-century repair and rebuilding undertaken by the local authority, much of which is undocumented. The south front and the upper levels contain large areas of modern brickwork, and the south-east turret was rebuilt in its entirety in 1959. The central, ground floor ceiling was entirely renewed c.1950, with the destruction of its former cornices. The principal stair was also rebuilt in the 1950s, though evidently reusing the original elements. Many of the roof timbers are modern softwood, although recent steel reinforcements sympathetically inserted by Carden and Godfrey have made possible the retention of much of the original structure. Though sometimes badly treated in the past, the house is now well cared for and its function as a museum makes it easy to visit. It is worth doing so, partly (with Eastbury) as one of the two most important Tudor houses remaining in the greater London area, and partly as the work of two aristocratic connoisseurs with antiquarian tastes that were, perhaps, a little in advance of their age.

APPENDIX

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF THE 3RD. LORD COLERAINE, 1749.

The Inventory of Lord Coleraine's goods, preserved among the legal papers arising out of his disputed will [London, National Archives, Public Record Office, PROB 31/319] gives a good impression of the furnishings of Bruce Castle at the time of his death. These were evidently of high quality, appropriate to the house of a nobleman and connoisseur. They included a number of items – marbles and furniture – that he may have acquired on his foreign travels, as well a great numbers of prints and pictures. The gardens too were evidently well cared for, to judge by the quantity of tools and garden furniture (though the inventory only includes plants – such as a hundred auriculas – when they were moveable objects). The 'portico' was probably a classical summer-house. The cow and heffer in the field – together with the dairy, brewhouse, bakehouse and wash-house – are a reminder of how even a small estate like Lord Coleraine's depended on its own resources for many of the daily necessities such as milk and butter, beer and bread.

The inventory is not here given in its entirety; the preamble is omitted, as is the latter part which includes linen, Lord Coleraine's clothes, property, rents and other assets. There is a photo-copy of the original in the Bruce Castle archives.

Garrett No. 1

Imprimis Two Sacking Bedsteads one Sett of Green Cheney Furniture two Bolsters six Green Curtains a large looking Glass easy Chair and Cushion a Marble Chimney Peice two Screens two Pictures two Maps Shovel Tongs and Brush a China Bottle a Deal Packing Case some Wainscotting and Stairs

Next Garrett No. 2

Item A Sacking Bedstead half Canopy Furniture of Blew Linsey Father Bed Bolster two Pillows four Blanketts one Counterpane three Old Chairs one peice of Tapestry part of a Chest of Drawers One Curtain Rod

Next Garrett No. 3

Item A Four Post Bedstead with two Curtains a Head Cloth and Tester and Rod Feather Bed Bolster two Pillows a Mattress four Blankets two Quilts a four Post Bedstead one Serge Curtain and Head Cloth one large Curtain Rod Feather Bed Bolster two Pillows a Checked Mattress three Blankets a Coverlid a Wainscott Chest of Drawers two Old Chairs a Row of Peggs

£8.5.0

Next Garret No. 4

Item a Sacking Bedstead with blue Chiney Furniture lined with printed Callicoe two Feather Beds One Rugg two Old Blanketts one Chair a Wooden Horse to Brush Cloaths on two Rows of Peggs

£4.4.0

Next Garrett No. 5

Item A four Post Bedstead with blue Harateen Furniture two Feather Beds One Bolster four Blanketts one Quilt three Chairs a Desk Board some Deal Boards a broken Sconce with Glass Arms

£5.0.0

£6.2.0

The Lobby No. 6

Item A Deal Cistern and Cover lined with Lead Ten Wainscott Chests One Chest of Drawers Old Square Table a Wicker Chair and Cushion lined with Green Stuff

In the Chest No. 1

Two Buff Coats one of them trim'd with Silver Lace on Scarlet Cloth Cloak a great Saddle with Furniture a pair of Jack Bootts a p[iece of Portugal matting

Chest No. 2

A Feather Bed and Bolster

In the Press

One Old Rugg a Seat for a Couch two Pillows large peice of Tapistry Hangings A Portmanteau Trunk a Map some Old Bedsteads in the Closet

[total, Lobby, Chests and Press] £14.5.0

Garrett No. 7

Item a Sacking Bedstead blue Harateen Furniture a Feather Bed two Bolsters one Pillow a White Mattress three Blanketts one Quilt three striped Curtains and Rod a Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker and Fender a lookin g Glass three matted Chairs a Wainscott Cupboard with Drawers a dressing Table and Dressing Glass a Bed Chair a Wainscott Chest of Drawers six Cloaths Basketts

£6.10.0

Stewards Room No. 8

Item A Bedstead Yellow Harateen Furniture two Feather Beds One Bolster One Pillow three Blanketts One Quilt two Window Curtains and Rod a Cane Couch four Chairs two Deal Tables a Grate Poker and Fender a broken looking Glass the Hangings of the Room one Picture

£8.5.0

Butlers Room No. 9

Item A Sacking Bedstead Green Cheney Furniture two Feather Beds two Bolsters One Pillow four Blankets One counterpane two Plad Curtains and Rod a Grate Poker and Fender two Chairs one Stool and part of a Wainscott Chest of Drawers three Prints one picture a Deal Table a Row of Peggs

£6.2.0

The Upper and Lower Stair Case No. 10 and 11

Item Seven Pictures twenty four Prints two Mapps thirty three Pictures seventy four Prints two Drawings two Sconces with Brass Arms Eight Day Clock Black Case

£18.10.0

The Upper Library

Item A Stove Grate Shovell Poker and Fender three matted Chairs two Elbow Chairs a Cane Couch and Squab One Turkey Work Chair a Wind Stove Shovel Tongs Poker and Fender and Files one Green Curtain one Picture four Prints seven Mapps

Lower Library

A Walnutt Tree Case with brass Wire Doors a Mahogany Square Table on Castors a small Cabinet on Frame a Walnutt Tree Couch with a Squab and Bolster and Pillow a Stove Grate Shovell tongs Poker and Fender Bellows and Brush Firescreen six matted Chairs thirteen Green Cheney Curtains and Rods two Scarlett Camblett Window Curtains printed Linnen Furniture for a Bed and a pair of Window Curtains a Brass Sconce a Walnutt Tree Bureau a Chimney Glass a Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker and Fender a Square Table One Stool twelve Caesar's Heads in Brass two Brass Casts two painted small Heads a Model of a Monument one Allabaster Head nineteen Prints and Map A Marble Bust a Hand Ditto a Stone Tea Pott two Antique Vases a Carved Scull Seven Pictures

[total for the upper and lower libraries] £31.10.0

One pair of Stairs No. 12

Item A Sacking Bedstead with brown Cloth worked Furniture lined with Yellow Silk a Down Bed Feather Bolster two Pillows a Checked Mattress three Blanketts one Quilt two Old Yellow Silk Window Curtains Vallen and Rod two Easy Chairs and Cushions a Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Bellows and Brush a Chimney Glass a six Leaf India Screen a short green Silk Window Curtain and Rod four peices of Tapistry Hangings a small Turkey Carpett a List Carpet a Mahogany Bureau a Looking Glass Walnuttree Frame a dressing Table a Japan Tea Chest a Mahogany Card Table a Cane Couch and Squab three matted Chairs four Cane Chairs two Elbow Chairs six Cushions a Copper Coal Scuttle a small square Mahogany Table a painted Table on a Claw a Shagreen Case with Bottles two small Wallnutt Tree Cases twenty eight Pictures ten Mapps

Closet

A Portmanteau Trunk a six Leaf painted Screen a Bathing Tub a Chest a small Cabinet one peice of Tapistry Hangings a round Close Stool and Pan a Press and Cupboard two Cushions one Yellow Curtain two Pictures three Prints

[total for no.12 & its closet] £50.2.0

One pair of Stairs No. 13

Item A Bedstead with worked Dimity Furniture lined with printed Callicoe Feather Bed two Bolsters two Pillows three Blankets a worked Counterpane one pair pf printed Lined Window Curtains and Rod an Ebony Inlaid Cabinett a Brass Hearth Iron Back and Doggs Shovel Tongs Fender Bellows and Brush a Chimney Glass India Cabinett on a Frame India Chest a Chimney Glass a Bedside Carpett a Sconse with Glass Arms a Dressing Table India Paper Screen six Cane Chairs one Elbow Chair seven Cushions a Chints Counterpane four China Jarrs two peices of Tapistry a Picture of Sir James Thornhill and Eighteen other Pictures Various Sorts one Picture in Crayons and twenty Prints

£51.5.6

Closet one pair of Stairs No. 14

Item Six matted Chairs six Cushions a Claw Table a Windstove Shovell Tongs Poker Fender and Brush a Chimney Glass two Sconces Brass Arms a Card Table a small Pier Glass a small China Cistern and Cock Black Card Table printed Linnen Cover a China Flower Pot a Close Stool and Pan a Silk Door Curtain one Pillow two China Sconces thirty four Pictures Various Sorts Eight Prints

£45.16.0

Next Room No. 15

Item A Bedstead Old Cutt Velvet Furniture lined with White Satin Feather Bed Bolster two Pillows two Blankets two Quilts a Mattress a Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Brass Fender Bellows and Brush Six Chairs Velvet Seats two Chimney Glasses one Pier Glass Frame a larger Turkey Carpet a Marble Table Gold Frame a dressing Glass Japan Frame a Wallnutt Tree Dressing Table and two Stands a Wainscott Oval Table two Silk Window Curtains Vallen and Rod two Matted Chairs two black Elbow Chairs a small square Mahogany Dressing Table a List Carpett a small Glass a Mahogany Basin Stand two peices of Tapestry Hangings a large Shell Ornamented wth Silver a China Turin and Cover three Flower Pots a Marble Figure twenty Pictures various Sorts two Cstayons three India Prints

£67.10.0

Closet No. 16

Item A Wallnutt Tree Cabinet and Frame a Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Brass Fender Bellows and Brush a large looking Glass three Wallnutt Tree Matted Chairs a Marble Table with Iron Bracketts twenty five Prints of the Luxemburg Gallery and two Drawings

£11.15.0

Next Room No. 17

Item A Wallnutt Tree Bureau a Wainscott Bureau Bedstead Feather Bed and Bolster three Blanketts a Quilt a Marble Table on a Frame a Stove Grate a Shovell Tongs Poker and Fender three large Sconses in Wallnutt Tree and Gold Frames a Barometer a small Sconse in a Gold Frame Brass Arms a Sconce in a Wallnutt Frame a fine marble Table Gold Frame a Couch Squab and Pillow a Persia Carpet a peice of fine Tapistry a painted Table on a Claw two Square Tables two Stands a long deal board and Tressells a Wallnutt Tree Writing Table with Drawers six Chairs one Wooden Elbow Chair a Table one Stool two round Stools a Chamber Horse a long Stool Green Silk Curtain a Swinging Glass four Pictures of Views in Venice and twenty nine other Pictures various Sorts two Prints three Plaister Figures and Deal Cases two Bronzes a Plaister Head and a Vase

£137.15.0

Long Gallery No. 18

Item Two large Pier Glasses Glass Frames two Fine marble Tables two Carved and Gilt Bracketts a Fine Marble Table on a fine Carved and Gilt Frame a large Persia Carpet six fine Mahogany Chairs and two Settees fine Irish Pitched Seats BrassNails a Brass Hearth and Doggs Shovel Tongs a pair of Brass Snake Arms two Book Cases with Glass Doors a Picture of Queen Ann and twenty one other Picture various Sorts two fine Vases on Frames

£289.8.0

The late Lord Colerane's Room No. 19

Item A four Post Bedstead with Yellow Harateen Furniture lined with Yellow Stuff Feather Bed Bolster One Pillow two Blanketts One Quilt a Mattress three pair of Yellow Harateen Window Curtains and Rods a Wallnutt Tree Cabinet on a Frame a Hearth and Doggs Shovel Tongs Poker Fender Bellows and Brush a Wallnutt Tree Escrutoire and Frame a Black Cabinet a black Table a Glass Case and Frame a Wallnutt Tree Writing Table a Mahogany Table a fine Marble Table Iron Bracketts a Marble Slab a dressing Table a dressing Glass with Drawers five matted Chairs one Elbow Chair five Cushions two small Glasses in the mantle peice two Japan Tea Tables a square Table a Claw Table a Sconce a Wallnutt Tree Frame Glass Arms a short green Window Curtain and Rod four peices of Tapestry Hangings a Green Silk Curtain and Rod a Shagreen Bottle Case and Bottles a Fire Iron four Curtain Rods a Wallnutt Tree Corner Cupboard a small Glass two Antique figures twenty six Pictures various Sorts

£68.3.0

Closet No. 20

Item A Hearth and Doggs two Iron Backs one pair of Tongs a Wallnutt Tree Desk and Book Case with Plate Glass Doors a Deal Table and Drawers two Deal Nest of Drawers one small nest of Drawers a blew Draw up Window Curtain three Wainscott Nest of Drawers a small square folding Table two Chairs a broken Sconce four Portraits nine Heads two fighting Cocks and two more Aurora and two more Pictures the Wise Men Offering and two more Pictures two Drawings and two Prints

£26.18.0

Great Library No. 21

Item A Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Fender Bellows and Brush a Mahogany Claw Table a Mahogany Book Case with Glass Doors a Mahogany Writing Table with Drawers covered with Green Cloth and Leather Cover four Sconces with Glass and Brass Arms a Mahogany Square folding

Table three blue Harateen draw up Window Curtains lines and Brass Hooks a Cane Couch Squab and Pillow a fine inlaid Table with Tortoiz Shell and Brass Leather Cover Six Chairs three Cushions a pair of Steps and a Stand two Turkey Carpets a Brass Candlestick with two Arms a nest of Drawers and Frame and Brass Lock nine three Quarter Heads fifteen Busts of various Sorts Prince George of Denmark in Basso Releivo in a Rich Gold Frame and two small marble Busts two Globes a Basso Releivo of Boys over the Chimney in a painted Frame two Statues in Plaster a Venus and Fawns as big as Life on Pedestals two Pictures of Fowls three Pictures of Hunting

£87.16.0

Back Stair Case

Item Nine Picture twenty two Prints Drawings and Maps £2.12.0

Closet No. 22

Item A Grate to burn Wood on a Hearth and Doggs Shovell and Tongs a small Chimney Glass a Mahogany Wooden Chair an Oval Table painted Floor Cloth three deal Drawers a Square Table a Watering Pott two Spouts the Holy Family two painted Busts a Picture Antique and eight other Pictures fifteen Prints thirty two Casts in a Frame an Urne and Figures

£21.0.0

Hall No. 23

Item A Stove Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Fender and Bellows a Marble Table two Iron Bracketts two Wainscott Oval Tables a Mahogany Table two Hall Seats with Cane Bottoms three Sconces with brass Arms three Floor Cloths two Old Turkey Carpetts ten Elbow Cane Chairs five Cushions five Portrait Pictures three large History Pictures a large Picture of Birds and two Pictures of Doggs four Landschapes three other Pictures one Print three Flower Potts

£35.15.0

Steward's Office No. 24

Item Two Deal Presses a Wainscott Bureau a Frame of a Looking Glass Ornamented with Brass five matted Chairs one Cane Chair a Wainscott Oval Table a Square deal Table a Nest of four Deal Drawers a Beam and Copper Scales seven Brass Weights two Pullies a Saw some Tools a Brass Lock four Iron Lockers a large Brass Cock Green Cheney Door Curtain and some Old Iron two Pictures nine Prints and Mapps two Busts

£6.0.0

The Great Parlour No. 25

Item A Steel Hearth and Doggs Shovel Tongs Poker Fender Bellows and Brush One pair of Susee Window Curtains Vallen Cornice and Rod Marble Slab Iron Bracketts a large looking Glass six Mahogany Chairs Black Leather Seats One smoaking Chair three small Sconses with Glass Arms a Mahogany Dining Table a Mahogany Claw Table a Fire Screen Piller and Claw a painted Floor Cloth three large Landschapes two Battle peices a large Picture of a Kitchen a View in Italy and eight other Pictures and two Prints

£21.5.0

Passage and Lumber Room No. 26

Item Some Barrs sett a Wind stove some Iron Hoops two Iron Bracketts a Brass Sconce Marble Chimney Peice and Slabb two Bells a Wind stove Brass mounted a Iron for a Rolling Stone two Barrs a small Grate and Iron Hoop for a Chimney a Globular Lamp a Lanthorn a large Quantity of Lead three Prickles a Hamper two Sacks a Casement some Old Iron and other odd things six Pictures seven Mapps

£11.9.6

Little Parlour No. 27

Item A Wallnutt Tree Bureau a Windstove Brass Fender Shovell Tongs Poker Bellows and Brush three small Glass Sconces with Brass Arms a Marble Slabb six Wallnutt Tree Chairs Black Leather Seats a Wainscrott dining Table a small Sconce Brass Arms a Mahogany Tea Board with Banisters a small Mahogany Table three China Jarrs and Covers four small Jarrs and Covers a Japan Bowl and Dish three small Basons three Tea Potts four White Cups four peices Ornamented China twenty one Tea Cups fifteen Saucers a Sugar Dish Silver Rimm four half Pictures seven Heads eight small Pictures

£26.14.0

The Little Room next the Kitchen No. 28

Item A small Old Grate Shovell Tongs Poker Fender and Trevett a Square Table a Flap Table five Old Chairs a looking Glass Old Press Bedstead with two Irons one Picture Atchievement two Prints

£1.10.0

The Bake House No. 29

Item An Old Grate a Malt Mill and Hopper and one other Mill a Beam and Brass Scales a Iron to hang a Beam on a Quarter of a hundred Brass Bell Weight One Quarter Hundred two fourteens one seven One four Lead Weights

a standing Iron Chafing Dish a Marble Mortar Wooden Pestle a pair of Stilliards a Wigg Block and Knading Trough a Bottle Rack Glass Sconce Iron Oven Lid three Irons for the Oven Iron Crow a Wooden Peel a Dresser Board two Coal Tubs a Cold Still a Dragg Nett Seven Bee Hives five Basketts two Old Pictures two Prints

£6.10.0

Housekeeper's Pantry No. 30

Item Old Chest of Drawers Pickleing Jarrs Six Enamelled China Dishes One blew and white soap Dish two blew and white China Dishes one Japan Dish One China Basin two small Baking Panns some old Peices of Earthen and Glass Wares three Pounds three Quarters of Brass Weights

£5.10.0

Kitchen No. 31

Item A Range Checks Keeper Iron Backs Shovell Tongs Poker Fender two Trevetts a Salamander a pair of Bellos Ash Grate two Cranes three Hooks two Grid Irons one Pigg Iron two Trevetts One hanging Iron three Chaffing Dishes a Windup Jack Multiplying Wheel and Lead Weight compleat two Spitts One standing Rack One Hanging Rack Iron Plate Warmer twenty four Pewter Dishes fifty six Plates One Water Dish Six Plates Turin and Cover twelve Buttett Basons three Pewter Basons twelve Alchymist Spoons three Boiling Pott and Covers four Stew Pans a Copper Fish cover and Plate seven Saucepans two Covers a Bell Metal Mortar Iron Pestle and Wooden Stand two Copper Coffee Potte two Chocolate Potts three Tea Kettles a large Copper drinking Pott a Copper set with Iron Work and Lead and a Copper Cover two Stoves and Trevetts with Iron Work sett and a Iron Romlight Hand Brass Candlesticks one Brass Standing Candlestick a Brass Mortar and Pestle a Bass Plate Warmertwo Warming Pans a Copper Coal Scuttle a Hand Bell a Meat Screen lined with Tinn a Plate Rack two Tinn Apple Roasters one Tin Dripping Pan a Elm Plank and Frame a small Square Table four Forms three Old Chairs a Towell Roller a pair of Buck Horns a Small Bell and a Coal Tub three Box Irons Heaters and Stands three flat Irons a Wooden Seat a Stool two Trays a Wooden Waiter &c.

£25.10.6

Dairy & Pantry

Item A Barrel Churn three Pails two standing Churns Eight Earthen Milk Pans a Milk Sive and Strainer a Copper preserving Pan two Skimming Dishes a Milk Barrel a Cream Stirrer a Butter Board a Jelly stand three Pickleing Troughs lined with Lead and Covers a

THE WORK OF TWO ANTIQUARIES AT BRUCE CASTLE

Chopping Block hanging Shelf a pair of Stilliards one
 Chair a Stool a Tub a Earthen Pitcher a parcell of Earthen
 Ware
£3.10.0

Butler's Pantry

Item a large Iron Chest a Copper Dutch Kitchen Dutch
 Tea Kettle and Lamp a Napkin Press small Bottle Rack a
 mahogany Tray Twelve Knives ten Forks a small Cistern
 two China Basketts twelve Enamell's China Plates Eleven
 burn't in Plates twenty blue and white Plates Old Japan
 China Bowl a Copper Japan Cistern two Drawers three
 Quart Decanters one Pint fifty two Drinking Glasses
 various Sorts two Cruitts
£10.10.0

Brewhouse

Item A Copper Iron Work and Brass Cock Sett a large
 Copper Pump two Marshing Tunns and lined with Lead
 three Cooling Backs a Jett a Tunnell ten Tubbs Iron
 Hoops under Back lined with Lead some Iron Barrs set in
 Brick Work two Iron Rakes a Cyder Press some Iron
 Hoops
£24.10.0

Wash House

Item A Copper and Wooden Cover with Iron Work a large
 rinsing Tubb three Forms a Bowl a Copper Still Eorm and
 Tub seven Washing Tubs Old Grate and Stove for Heaters
 two Basketts a Earthen Pann
£5.5.0

Laundry

Item A Grate Cheeks two Shovels a pair of Tongs Poker
 and Fender and hanging Iron three Deal Tables two
 Cloaths Horses a Form a pair of Steps three Old Chairs
 two Pans two Folding Cloths a Bedstead Old Feather Bed
 Bolstyr one Pillow Old Blanketts Old Rugg a Ironing
 Board with two Iron Feet
£2.5.0

Yard

Item Three Water Tubs a Water Cart with a Iron bound
 Tub a Wooden Cisters lined with Lead a Wheel Barrow
 and about fifteen Chaldron of Coals and a bearing Tub two
 Leaden Flower Potts
£30.10.0

Coachman and Helpers Room

Item An Old Bedstead Feather Bed Bolster One Pillow
 two Blanketts two Green Ruggs a old Grate Shovell Tongs
 Poker and Fender a Coal Tub part of a Chest of Drawers
 two Old Chairs a Table and a Form a Old Bedstead Old
 Feather Bolstr One Pillow three Blanketts One Quilt Old
 looking Glass
£3.0.0

Gardener's Room

Item A Square Table two Chairs a Seed Box with sixteen
 Drawers a Lanthorn a Hair Broom on Brass Candlestick
 Fire Shovell Tongs and Poker a Bedstead and Curtains
 Feather Bed Bolster One Pillow two Blanketts Old Quilt
£2.18.0

Fire Arms

Item An Old Carbine on Old Fowling peice three
 Blunderbusses two pair Horse Pistolls a small broken
 Pockett Pistoll a Basket Hilted Sword
£2.5.0

In the Vault & Cellar

Item Six small Casks of made Wine One Ditto of Ale and
 one of Cyder and one Gross of Bottles

Cellar next the Vault

Two Hogsheads one Barrell One Barrell & a small Cask of
 Ale One Gross of Bottles

Small Beer Cellar

Four Hogsheads One Butt two Jarrs two Stone Bottles
 eleven empty Hogsheads thirteen Stillings Six Brass Cocks
 two Filters One Screw Hoop
[total of the three cellars] £14.5.0

Item An Old Coach with a white Fore Glass two Chariotts
 a Fore Wheel Chair and four Setts of Coach Harnesses
£34.10.0

The Stable

Item Five Coach Geldings a Gret Nagg nine Saddles three
 Bridles Eight Collars a Corn Binn Curry Combs and
 Stable Candlestick
£35.14.0

In the Barn

Item four Carts Eight Asses (seven of which were strays)
 two Horses vizt. a Black Gelding and a Bay do.
£12.15.0

In the Field

Item A Chesnutt Mare two Cows two Heifers (one of which was a Stray) a Bay Mare £28.8.0

In the Portico

Item Three Pictures three Columns and Capitalls two Pillasters and Capitalls four Hall Chairs a Table and some Wainscotting ten Antique Heads six Marble Statues several odd peices of wrought Stone and Plaster £21.10.0

In the Garden and Green House

Item Two Stone Vases on Pedastals five Rakes two Dutch Houghs three Turnip Houghs two small Houghs for pair of Sheers eight Garden Seats twelve Garden Chairs one Stage a Table a Chair one Stool fifteen Bowls one Jack four Garden Chairs a Statue a large Cupboard some Wainscotting a pair of Steps a Chain two Potts four Scyths five Spades six Water

Potts two Mattocks a Turfing Iron and Plow two Bills two Hammers a Fann two Water Barrows two Tubs two Wheelbarrows a large Iron Roller three Stone Rollers ten Bell Glasses three pair of Steps four Scythes one pair of Sheers thirteen Tubs with Orange Trees and other Plants ninety Potts with various Plants One hundred Potts of Auriculas twenty one with Stocks two Frames with six lights a Stand with four Swarm of Bees and the Hives

£40.10.0

Barn

Item Two Cross Cut Saws One Hand Saw three Square Deal Tables two Carpenters Benches about One hundred of Deals One Step Ladder two three Story Ladders some Scaffolding Poles and Joyces a large Quantity of Fire Wood and Brushes and Babbins a large Bottle Rack with a Padlock and six Dozen of Bottles

£28.10.0

N O T E S

- 1 The early history of the house is given in Victoria County History, *Middlesex*, V, 1976, 325–6. The sixteenth-century house and its ownership are discussed in greater detail by the present writer in *Bruce Castle, Tottenham, A Historical Report*, 2000, London Borough of Haringey, Bruce Castle Archives. This also contains detailed analysis of some of the archaeological problems raised by the house.
- 2 John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae. The first parte An historickall, an chorographicall discription of Middlesex...*, London, 1593, 12.
- 3 Wilhelm Bedwell, *A Brief Description of the Towne of Tottenham...* [written 1631], London, 1718, 114.
- 4 London, London Metropolitan Archives, MR/TH 22.
- 5 Report included in English Heritage (RCHM) NMRC report, NBR 93513, Bruce Castle, Haringey, 1994.
- 6 H.G.Oldfield and R.R.Dyson, *History and Antiquities of Tottenham High Cross*, London, 1790, 38.
- 7 London, British Library (hereafter BL) MS. Lansdowne 6/39. The letter is quoted (with some errors and omissions) by William Robinson, *History and Antiquities of Tottenham*, new ed., London, 1840, I, 216, n.330.

- 8 London, Borough of Haringey, Bruce Castle Archives (hereafter BCA).
- 9 The eastern turret retained its stair in the 1680s; the western had disappeared before that date.
- 10 For the plan type, see Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480–1680*, New Haven & London, 1999, 78–9.
- 11 The Long Gallery mentioned in the 3rd Lord Coleraine's Inventory, 1749, was clearly on the first floor.
- 12 Clay's name appears as the surveyor on the engraved copy. When published by Robinson, it was in the possession of Sir William Curtis, Bt. .
- 13 Oldfield and Dyson, *loc.cit.*, “A painting of the house before its alterations by the Colerane family, over the chimney of one of the parlours, exhibits two more such towers [*i.e.* like the surviving one]”. Paintings of private houses are virtually unknown in England before the mid-seventeenth century, and it is conceivable that some other house was shown.
- 14 London, National Archives, Public Record Office (henceforth PRO), *Calender of Committee for Compounding*, 718.
- 15 Said to have choked to death ‘trying to swallow the rump of a turkey’; Christopher Hussey, ‘Longford Castle, Wiltshire’, *Country Life*, LXX, 1931, 700.

- 16 The two earlier suites were of the gardens at Wilton (c.1640) and of Audley End (c.1676). Wilton is close to Longford, and Coleraine may have commissioned Robert Thacker's engravings of Longford in conscious emulation of the Wilton prints.
- 17 Quoted in part in Hussey, *op.cit.*, 696–702; 700 where Coleraine's work is discussed.
- 18 Oldfield and Dyson, *op.cit.*, 37.
- 19 Francis Bacon, 'On Building', in Arnold Spedding (ed.), *Works*, VI, 1858, 484.
- 20 BL, Add. MS. 3962. An enquiry of 1695 when a marriage was proposed with his daughter elicited the response that 'as to the lord of Cold Raine hee is not accoumpted a fair delling man among his neighbours' but that his daughter was of great beauty [Trowbridge, Wiltshire Record Office, CRO 490/1387].
- 21 BL, MS. Lansdowne 827/15.
- 22 *Dictionary of National Biography*; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1812–15, II, 248; V, 348 and 352. The information in Nichols derives principally from a note by Henry Baker, *Archaeologia*, I, 1770, XXXIV, n. [s].
- 23 *Dictionary of National Biography*, *loc.cit.* There is, however, no mention of Coleraine in W. S. Lewis (ed.), the Yale edition of Walpole's letters.
- 24 PRO, PROB 31/319: inventory of his goods.
- 25 Joan Evans, *History of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Oxford, 1956, 54–5 and 84.
- 26 Evans, *op. cit.*, 100–101 and 116. A caricature of him was reproduced in *The Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 62 and back cover.
- 27 For the third Baron as a collector of drawings after the antique, see Louisa Connor Bulman, 'The market for commissioned drawings after the antique', *ibid.*, 59–73.
- 28 BL, 7805 E.5(3); 128 i.5(2).
- 29 On the other hand he seems to have taken an active part in local affairs in Tottenham; Robinson, *op.cit.*, cites several examples of his acting as a trustee of local charities, being one of a party beating the parish bounds, etc..
- 30 There is no documentation for any of these alterations except for the list of rooms in the 1749 Inventory, not all of which can be identified, and the similar list in the 1789 sales particulars (see below).
- 31 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, New Haven & London, 1995: Dubois, Nicholas. The stair is illustrated in (*inter alia*) Arthur Oswald, *Country Houses of Kent*, London, 1933, pl. 174. The Chevening stair was copied (at least in part) from that in Dubois' own house in Brewer Street, Soho, which no longer exists [Colvin, *loc.cit.*]. I am grateful to Dan Cruickshank for calling my attention to this parallel.
- 32 BCA.
- 33 PRO, PROB 31/319/267.
- 34 Oldfield and Dyson, *op.cit.*, 53. Coleraine's will and codicil mentions 'his great and little upper libraries, ... his great lower libary at the west end of the house ... and ... the lower library over the little parlour' and 'the new library next the hall door'.
- 35 G.D.H. Cole (ed.), Defoe, *A Tour through England and Wales* (first published 1724–6), 1928, II, 2.
- 36 *Idem*.
- 37 BCA, 927 BRU, 'Particulars and Conditions of Sale of ... a spacious and capital Mansion, called Bruce Castle ... to be sold by Auction by Mr Young on Thursday the 24th and Friday the 25th day of September, 1789 ... at Garraways Coffee House, Exchange Alley, London, in Forty Lots'.
- 38 Bramah's water closet – the first practical W.C. produced in numbers – was invented in 1778.
- 39 Transactions 1708–1804 are covered in the *Abstract of Title* in Robinson, *op.cit.*, I, app. II.
- 40 The two schools and their highly original syllabus and organisation are described in W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators*, London 1967, I, 98–125. Further accounts of the school (notably the Report to the Schools Enquiry Commission of 1868–70) are referred to there, while there are a few further papers in BCA. The prime mover in the enterprise seems to have been Rowland Hill, the postal reformer, though his brother Arthur was headmaster.
- 41 Robinson, *op.cit.*, 220–1, perhaps quoting the school's prospectus.
- 42 'Gable College', *Household Words*, 101, 28 February 1852, 546–50.
- 43 BCA.
- 44 Illustrated as such in an undated, unidentified magazine illustration of c.1870: BCA.
- 45 BCA.
- 46 Edward Walford, *Old and New London*, n.d., c.1885, V, 556, 'The average number of pupils in the school is about seventy'. The numbers of boarders noted in the census returns [copies at Bruce Castle] averages around 50; there may have been a few day-boys as well. The resident staff are also listed in the census returns.