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GRAFTON STREET, MAYFAIR

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The Corporation of London's 24 acre Conduit Mead Estate in the West End of London is approximately bordered on the east by New Bond Street (with an eastward projection encompassing Conduit Street) and on the north by Oxford Street. Its boundary on the west is formed by the curving line of the Ay (or Tyburn) Brook, which sweeps southwards via South Molton Street, Bruton Place and Bruton Lane, to the bottom of Hay Hill. From there the southern boundary of the estate cuts back to Bond Street. While the extent of the City's holding in this corner of the West End is well established,¹ the development of the southern portion of the Conduit Mead, incidentally one of the last parts of Mayfair to be built over systematically, has never been adequately fixed, beyond the basic information that the third Duke of Grafton in the late 1760s decided on redeveloping the land he held here from the Corporation of London and that (Sir) Robert Taylor was his project architect.² The accepted tradition is that 14 houses were built on the north and west sides of Grafton Street, of which four survive on the west side of the south arm of the street.³

It is the intention of this article to chronicle the late eighteenth century redevelopment of this southern portion of the Conduit Mead, an approximately six-acre triangular area stretching from Hay Hill across to Bond Street, then north up to, and back round by, Grafton Street (Fig. 1). Previously comprising gardens, mews and stables, the redevelopment furnished the area with 'first' and 'second rate' terraced houses in a consciously zoned mixture of private residences and luxury retail-trade

premises, specifically aimed at the upper end of the market. At the same time it will be shown, first, that it was the Earl of Albemarle and James Paine, not the Duke of Grafton and Taylor, who first planned to redevelop the street. Second, it can now be shown that Taylor's scheme was much more extensive than previously thought, at first comprising 23 houses (not 14), later reduced by Taylor to 22.⁴ Third, even though the Duke of Grafton was the prime mover in the development, it was not on his land alone but also that of his immediate neighbour, John Roberts. The scheme thus not only encompassed the outer terraces of Grafton Street (a dog leg), but extended some way down the east side of Albemarle Street and the west side of Bond Street and included the south side of Grafton Street between those two streets. Fifth, the duke's estate in this part of Mayfair was originally very much smaller and did not extend to the north side of the street or round to Hay Hill, and additionally, he only acquired that extra land by default. Sixth, once he found himself in possession of the extra land he had to do something with it in order to cover the cost of the additional ground rent. Finally, it will be shown there were two distinct building campaigns in the formation of the present street, the second of which was initiated by the City as the freeholders.

Both the elder and younger George Dance make frequent appearances throughout the narrative in their capacity not as architects but as successive surveyors to the City Corporation, the freeholders of the site. Their role in overseeing the interests of the City resulted in the collation and preservation of

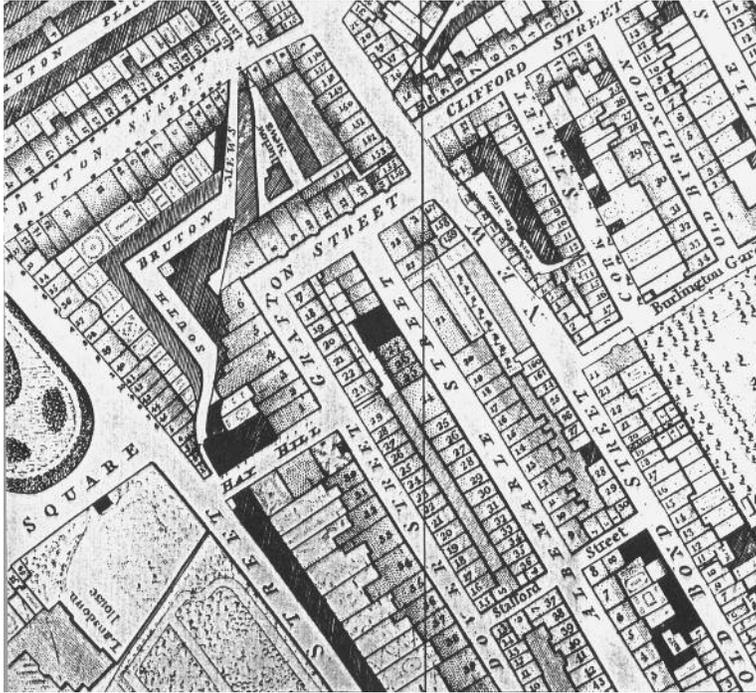


Fig. 1. Detail from Horwood's 1819 London map showing Grafton Street area, Mayfair, with the Grafton street numbering followed throughout this article.

crucial information for the architectural historian. The first campaign, in 1767–75, following the renewal of the lease from the City of London, was under the documented direction of Taylor, but was initially in grave danger of not coming off, and had never been intended at the outset. The second campaign, in 1779–90, was nothing to do with the duke and comprised the remaining eastern frontage of the south arm of Grafton Street. This has no documented architect, who could have been Taylor but is more likely to have been Samuel Wyatt. Taylor's on-going stewardship of the duke's estate included the subsequent alteration of two neighbouring houses into one, and it will be shown how this was as a result of an association with the leading cabinet makers Mayhew and Ince. But first, on account of the lack of a systematic survey of the

area's preceding history (which bore directly on the re-development itself), some analysis of that history is necessary, including the possibility of Lord Burlington's authorship of the late 1720s extension of 'old' Grafton House in Bond Street.⁵ At the same time it will be shown how the purchaser of that house from the Duke of Grafton proceeded to alter it to the design of Samuel Wyatt, and how similarly the house behind old Grafton House, N^o. 21 Albemarle Street, was modified by John Carr for its new owner. This was despite the fact that the same patron was concurrently engaged with Taylor in the Grafton Street scheme, a relationship that came to him with the purchase of the house, as the previous owner had, at his death in 1772, been in the midst of the Taylor scheme, which the purchaser was then contracted to complete.

THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT TO 1765

The curtilage of the Conduit Mead estate described above follows the former field boundaries of the area, which was still all open countryside when granted to the Corporation of London by Charles I in 1628 as a means of sidestepping the repayment of an outstanding loan from the City.⁶ The Conduit Mead was valuable as a gathering ground for water to supply the City, pumped up the intervening slope from a pump house just north of the present junction of Bruton and New Bond Streets,⁷ and the City appears to have held the ground as crown tenants from at least the reign of Henry VIII.⁸ By the 1660s the Earl of Clarendon wanted the ground as a northward extension of the garden behind his new courtier's palace, Clarendon House, fronting Piccadilly, which he had begun in 1664 on freehold land granted to him by Charles II. So in 1667 the Corporation granted Clarendon a 99-year lease.⁹

Clarendon's house was to be very short-lived and was demolished as early as 1683. But the effect of that lease was to tie the future of the four to six most southerly acres of the Conduit Mead to the mixed fortunes of the Clarendon House site as the two parcels of ground were jointly subject to a mortgage from the 1st Earl of Burlington.¹⁰ In the process the southern Conduit Mead became a blighted corner, its systematic development delayed until George III's reign – much later than the immediately surrounding areas. The circumstances were that Clarendon had fled into exile in 1667 before his house, reputed to have cost £50,000, was completely finished, and after his death his son sold it, including the freehold and leasehold City-owned land, to 2nd Duke of Albemarle, whence the house was called Albemarle House and its site the Albemarle ground.¹¹ But Albemarle was soon, in 1683, to sell on to a syndicate headed by John Hinde, a City goldsmith, who sold off the building materials of the house and let out building leases on the freehold site to a group of speculators: Sir Thomas Bond, Henry Jermyn (soon to be created

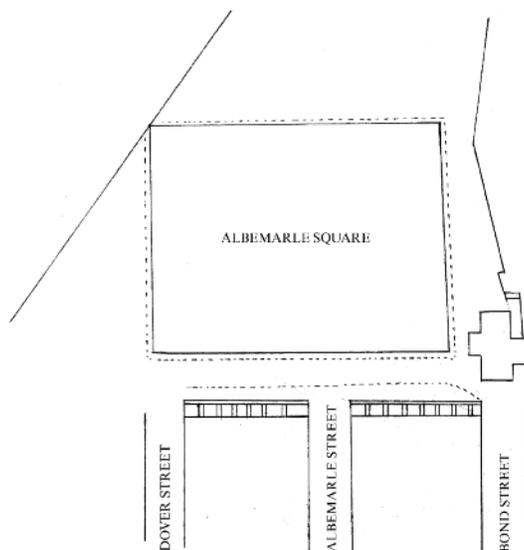


Fig. 2. Plan of proposed Albemarle Square, Mayfair, redrawn from late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century plan in Corporation of London Record Office (hereafter CLRO), CCLP 228. *Richard Garnier*.

Lord Jermyn of Dover¹²), and Margaret Stafford.¹³ Hinde had also planned to develop the leasehold Conduit Mead land, but the pace of development was already faltering when Bond died in 1685, just as the syndicate was coming rapidly unstuck, and Hinde was forced into bankruptcy in 1687.¹⁴

By this stage the parallel Bond, Albemarle, and Dover Streets and the cross street of Stafford Street, intended to take up Clarendon's freehold ground, were still very incomplete, and the planned Albemarle Square (Fig. 2), on the southerly triangle of leasehold City land at the north end of the three streets running up from Piccadilly, had not been laid out.¹⁵ Thus Bond and Dover Streets first appear in the rate books from 1686, but Albemarle Street not for another 10 years, in 1696.¹⁶ A copy of a 1694 map (Fig. 3) shows how, at that date, the western terrace of Dover Street was the only one on Albemarle ground that extended as far as in line with the south

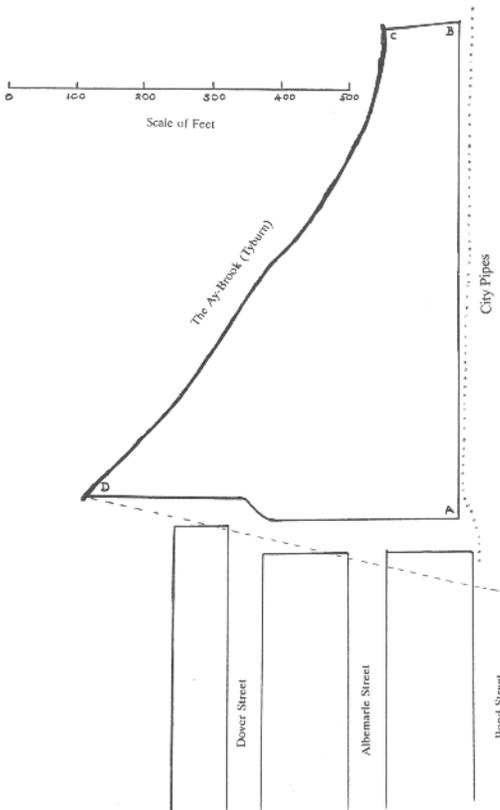


Fig. 3. George Dance the elder, plan of land let to the Marquis of Normanby, 10 December 1694 by the City of London, a 1760s copy of the 1694 original by John Olly [adapted from the redrawn plan CLRO, SCLP 1193 for Professor H. J. V. Tyrrell, formerly of the Royal Institution, here re-oriented to give north to the top].
Royal Institution / Richard Garnier.

side of Hay Hill, the corresponding terraces on the east side of Dover Street, both sides of Albemarke Street and the west side of Bond Street stopping short of that line, which was the boundary between the freehold and City land.¹⁷

The unravelling of Hinde's bankruptcy through the Court of Chancery trundled on for some years. In 1694, as part of this process, the Marquess of Normanby secured the unexpired residue of the 99-year lease on the seven most southerly acres¹⁸ of the

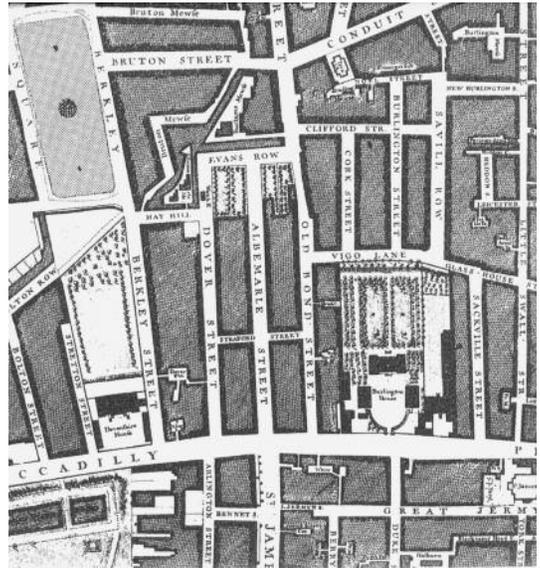


Fig. 4. Detail from John Rocque's 1745 London map, featuring the Grafton Street area (then called Evans Row) and showing differing lengths of wings to old Grafton House and Grantham House between Bond and Albemarke Streets.

City land in the Conduit Mead.¹⁹ The land acquired by Normanby comprised the triangle stretching from just north of the 'Clarendon' freehold land as far as just beyond (*i.e.* north of) present day Bruton Street²⁰ (Figs. 3 and 6). He then promptly negotiated from the City a 100-years' extension, from the lease's expiration date of 1766, up to 1866, retaining that reversion when re-assigning, within a year, the remainder of the initial 99-year lease to the second Lord Jeffreys.²¹

Because of the very slow pace of development on the 'Clarendon' freehold ground the eventual end-of-terrace houses in Bond and Albemarke Streets only went up in the very first years of the eighteenth century. These filled in the previous shortfall of development up to the Normanby boundary that is shown in the 1694 plan in line with the south side of Hay Hill.²² These houses were grander than the contiguous terrace houses running up to them, as they

had a wider street frontage and a return elevation that enjoyed extensive open views northwards over the still undeveloped leasehold city land of the Conduit Mead. One of the two houses at the top of the block between Bond and Albemarle Streets was taken by the Earl of Grantham and the other bought by trustees for the then still underage second Duke of Grafton.²³ The indentures of sale of both houses declare their plots as fronting north on a street 50 feet wide between the ground on which each house stood and ‘an intended square’.²⁴ That wording might indicate that the houses were built with show fronts in line with each other to face the square. However, the evidence that this was not so appears overwhelming, as set out in Appendix A, below. No matter what the deeds declare, by the time the houses were built the idea of a square must already have been abandoned, a casualty of the slow take-up rate of the plots in the Albemarle ground. As Bradley and Pevsner quote, even ‘in 1720 Strype found the district “like the ruins of Troy”, full of abandoned house-beginnings’.²⁵

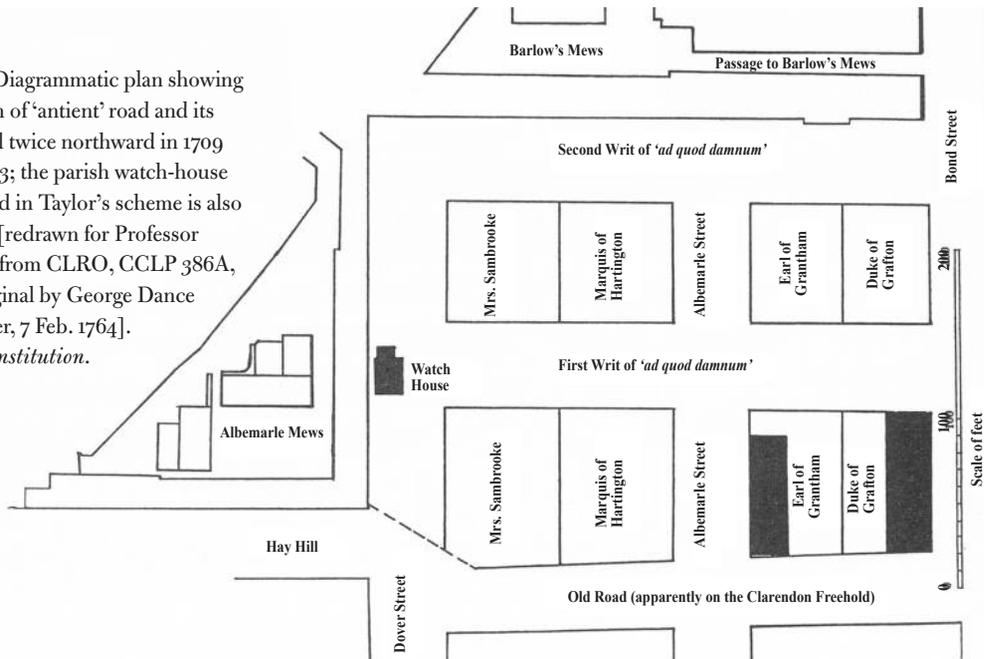
Meanwhile, on Lord Jeffreys’s death in 1702/3 his executors had put up for sale the Conduit Mead land that he had obtained from Normanby. The area north of what is now the north arm of Grafton Street and the triangular plot north of Hay Hill (the north and west sides of the formerly projected square) both sold soon enough, but the piece corresponding to the intended open space in the centre of the square remained unsold. At this point the speculators still developing the streets on the Albemarle ground running up from Piccadilly saw an opportunity to improve the value of the sites at the north end of the streets, lying against the ‘Normanby’ ground. They bought the lease on the land with the declared intention that it ‘might be preserved as an Area Garden or Plott of ground without Buildings so that the houses erected near the said piece of Ground may have a clear and free prospect into the fields’.²⁶ They next, in 1707, sold the parcel to a consortium of the incoming freeholders of the houses they had been building at the head of the respective terraces in

Bond, Albemarle and Dover Streets, crucially with a restrictive covenant not to build on the ground and ‘to lay the same into a garden and preserve the prospect’.²⁷ The purchasers were the peers Grafton, Grantham and Poulett²⁸ and a widow, Mrs. Alicia Wallop. These four freeholders divided the leasehold land between them, each acquiring a linear plot running north from their respective freehold houses at the head of the blocks between Bond, Albemarle and Dover Streets.

In order to benefit from their newly acquired ground, intended for gardens but awkwardly cut off from their houses by the road from Hay Hill to Bond Street, the freeholders Grafton, Grantham, Poulett and Wallop in 1709 obtained a writ of *ad quod damnum* (Appendix, G, below). The writ authorised moving the road some 90 feet northwards, from where it was approached from the junction with Hay Hill via an extension of the course of Dover Street northwards; Albemarle Street was similarly extended (Fig. 5). Not satisfied with that, the freeholders supposedly obtained a second writ in 1723 (Fig. 5) permitting another removal northwards, giving the street pattern that has survived to this day. However, the name Grafton Street was not adopted until the late 1760s at the start of the duke’s development, and it was in the interim first called Evans Row and then Albemarle Row.²⁹ The dating of the second writ was principally based on a report in the *British Journal* of 30 March 1723, stating ‘All the waste ground at the upper end of Albemarle Street and Dover Street is purchased by the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Grantham for gardening and the road there, leading to May Fair, is ordered to be turned.’ However, that presumptive dating is now found to be confirmed in the minutes of the City Lands committee.³⁰

Neither Grafton’s nor Grantham’s house was re-rated on account of its newly acquired garden in 1707.³¹ But somehow, despite the restrictive covenant, both subsequently took the opportunity (unlike the other two freeholders in the syndicate that bought the lease on the garden land) to extend

Fig. 5. Diagrammatic plan showing location of 'antient' road and its removal twice northward in 1709 and 1723; the parish watch-house removed in Taylor's scheme is also shown [redrawn from Professor Tyrrell from CLRO, CCLP 386A, the original by George Dance the elder, 7 Feb. 1764]. Royal Institution.



their houses northwards, encroaching on the gardens. By the time of Rocque's 1745 London map (Fig. 4) both end-of-terrace houses in the block between Bond and Albemarle Streets had a long, narrow wing extending northwards along the line of the street frontage. At that date the Grafton extension was some 50% longer than Grantham's, but it seems to have been built in one campaign, whereas Grantham's house must have been extended in stages and some of those after his death by the next owner.³² Following Grantham's death on 5 December 1754, his executors sold his freehold house (N^o. 20 Albemarle Street) and the leasehold wing (subsequently N^o. 21, and now the Royal Institution's premises) and garden on the City ground to John Roberts³³ and his trustee William Mellish.³⁴ These two promptly divided the house, Roberts having the wing and Mellish the original house as his under-tenant³⁵ (Fig. 10). Roberts must have initiated immediate improvements to make his section a self-contained house, including the provision of a separate entrance and an independent staircase, following this work with an extension, which triggered a rate increase in 1758.

A single rate increase of nearly a third (from £155 to £200) for Grafton's house occurred in 1727. Tallis's *London Views* (Fig. 18) makes clear the addition triggering this increase was a very grand, tall block of 2½ storeys, while the 1760s survey plan by the elder or younger Dance (Fig. 10) reveals a shallow wing with a string of three rooms *en filade* on a central axis with the space at the foot of the main stairs in the original part of the house. This axis ended in what was presumably a state bedroom with a closet beyond and a privy beside that. These three rooms and the closet had windows giving on the garden, while a corridor beside them ran along the street frontage to a staircase beside the presumed bedroom. The corridor communicated only with the "bedroom" and the rear of the privy beside the closet. The hierarchical, baroque character of this plan suggests a repeat on the floors above, in theory giving a suite of rooms for the duke on one floor and his lady above, with intercommunication via the staircase adjacent to the bedrooms. Doubt might be cast on this analysis as it conflicts with the death of the duchess the previous year, unless the duke installed a mistress in something like Walpole's *ménage* at 10 Downing Street, where the bedroom of the latter's

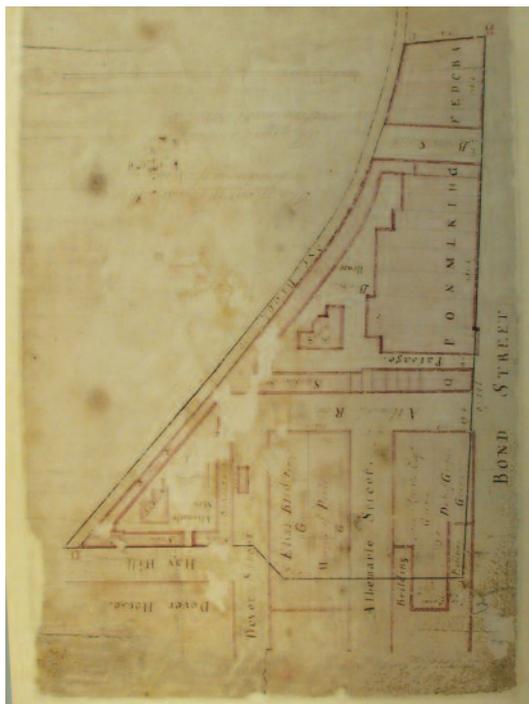


Fig. 6. George Dance the elder, copy of Mr Heaton's plan of the mid-eighteenth century street and house pattern overlaid with an outline of the plot leased in 1694 to the Marquis of Normanby; 25 July 1763. CLRO, CCLP 565.
Richard Garnier.

mistress, Mrs Skerit, was on the second floor, above his own.³⁶ The likely date of this wing presents the intriguing problem of its authorship. Both William Kent, employed by the duke from around 1740 to his death in 1748, and Matthew Brettingham the elder, whom he used thereafter, can both be excluded at this early date.³⁷ But Sir Thomas Robinson's description in 1731 of a wooden bridge at Euston, then recently designed by Lord Burlington, might be suggestive.³⁸ Burlington was of course Grafton's neighbour in town, as the duke's house in Bond Street overlooked the back gardens of Burlington House. Nonetheless, the lack of parallel in any documented town house scheme by Burlington renders the case for attributing the wing to him inconclusive.³⁹

THE RENEWAL OF THE CITY LEASE – 1765–67

The falling in of the original Clarendon lease proved to be the turning point in the history of Grafton Street and its immediate environs. Following the termination of the original 'Clarendon/Normanby' lease in 1766 the 100-year reversion was to come into force, from when it would have been open to the Normanby heirs to issue renewals to sitting tenants or new leases to all-comers. The pace of development had been more than faltering (if not static) when, in 1694, the reversion had been granted to Lord Normanby, so the City had not then thought that it was giving away anything of particular financial significance; Strype's comment, quoted above, must be remembered here. However, with the transformation of the Albemarle ground into a highly fashionable area by the mid-eighteenth century, the City Corporation were keen to regain the benefit of granting such renewals, foreseeing a lucrative flow of income if the reversion could be bought back.

Protracted negotiations were begun with the Normanby heirs in 1763; agreement was reached at a price of £24,000 and sanctioned by the Court of Common Council in August 1765.⁴⁰ Completion was reported by the Committee for Letting City Lands on 19 March 1766 as having occurred the day before.⁴¹

The freeholders of the end-of-terrace houses giving onto the long linear gardens on the City ground were not unaware of what the City were up to. On the very same day, 19 March 1766, as the completion was made of the repurchase of the Normanby reversion, a Mr Heron re-presented to the Common Council of the City of London the petition of the sitting tenants: the Duke of Grafton, John Roberts, the Earl of Powis and Elias Bird. They had first presented their petition on 13 June 1765 and were acting 'upon a Rumour that the Corporation were about to purchase the said reversionary lease and on the persuasion that they were *equally objects in favour with the rest of the City's tenants*'⁴² in



Fig. 7. James Paine, *Earl of Albemarle, Intended Plan of Building*, c.1764. CLRO, CCLP 409B. Richard Garnier.

Conduit Mead' and offered 'to treat for renewals of their respective interests'.⁴³

The sitting tenants could not properly have made a formal approach to the City until it had repossessed the reversionary lease, but the language of their petition conceals the fact that they had discovered they were already not first in the running. The Earl of Albemarle, a tenant of some stables on neighbouring land beside the Ay Brook in what is today Bruton Lane,⁴⁴ seeing an opportunity to ease himself in at the time City leases were to be issued on the Conduit Mead, had been busy putting together a development plan of his own. He had first presented his petition on 25 July 1765 and he proposed to take

the land from the back of the terrace of decaying houses along the north side of the then Albemarle Row (later to be Grafton Street) southwards over the gardens of the four sitting tenants nearly as far as the north wing of Grafton's house.⁴⁵ While this proposal would have left the Earl of Powis's and Elias Bird's houses with half their former gardens (but at the full depth of their plots back from the street frontage), the duke's house would be left with merely a strip of open garden behind its long narrow wing cum side-yard and John Roberts with a small area of full depth beyond the narrow strip of open garden behind the shorter north wing of his house.

On this site Albemarle planned a grand terrace of

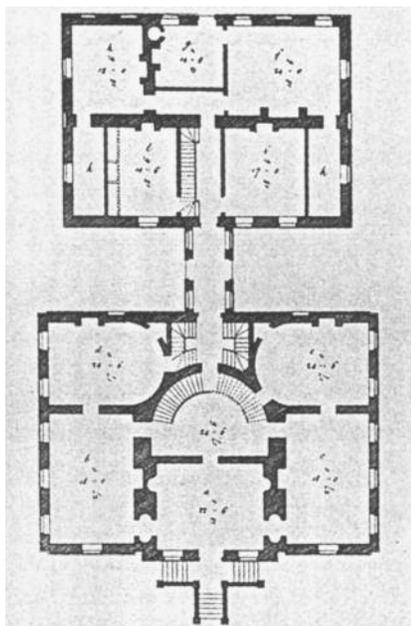


Fig. 8. James Paine, ground-floor plan of St. Ives, Bingley, Yorkshire, from his *Plans, Elevations, Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses*, I, London, 1767.

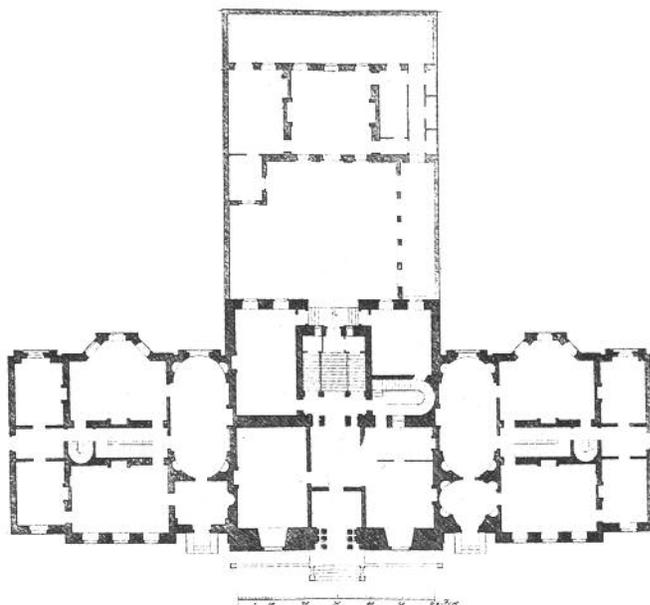


Fig. 9. James Paine, ground-floor plan of the Mansion House, Doncaster, from his *Plans, Elevations, Sections... of the Mansion House... of Doncaster*, London, 1751.

five deep houses, shown in a ground plan, endorsed verso 'Earl of Albemarle intended Plan of Building', at the Corporation of London Record Office, probably dating from 1764 (Fig. 7).⁴⁶ The revolutionary feature of the plan is its provision of a mews along the east return façade of the terrace, fronting on Bond Street. This comprises a line of 12 loose boxes, flanked by some five coach bays, presumably one for each house in the terrace. Such an arrangement would surely have been unique in London. Meanwhile two of the individual house plans each display a suite of intercommunicating geometrical-shaped rooms with curved inner ends or a canted rear bay. This is at first sight typical of the newly-emergent neo-classical style of the 1760s as practised by a number of architects. But in the spaces between these shaped rooms there are ingeniously fitted D-plan stairs, a

device typical of James Paine; indeed the plan of the house at the west (left) end of the terrace is akin to that of his 1759 villa at St. Ives, Bingley, in Yorkshire (Fig. 8).⁴⁷ It is as though the slightly earlier villa plan was extended by a range of rooms across its front and then entered through its side. Again, although dictated to some degree by the diagonal fall of the land at the back of the site, the grouping of the houses within the terrace, with a deep service court behind the central house, is reminiscent of Paine's plan of the Mansion House, Doncaster (1745-49) (Fig. 9).⁴⁸ The attribution of this plan to Paine is confirmed by the payments to him in Lord Albemarle's account books of London expenses for 1766-72. The payments are unspecified but at least some if not all of them must be for this London scheme rather than the work that was proceeding at

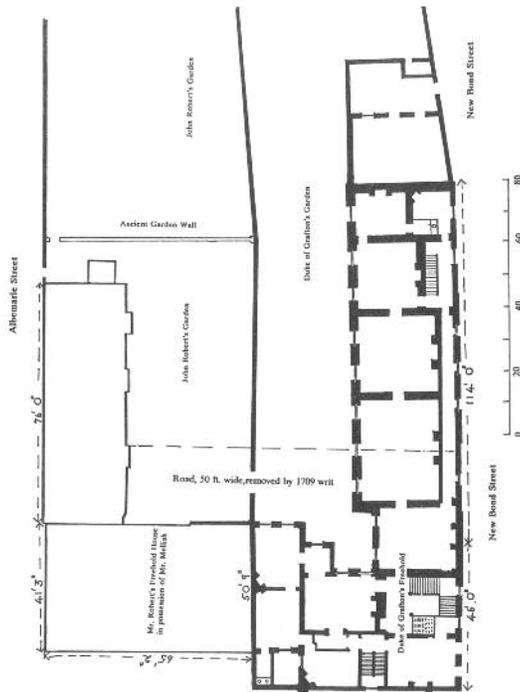


Fig. 10. George Dance the elder or younger, ground-floor plan of old Grafton House and its 1727 wing with accompanying outline block plan of Grantham House and its wing in possession of John Roberts and William Mellish *c.* 1765–67, redrawn for Professor Tyrrell from CLRO, CCLP 190A. *Royal Institution.*

Bagshot Park shortly thereafter, a house which Albemarle obtained from George III in 1766.⁴⁹

With the detailed ground plan for the houses in the terrace there is another plan of the site, endorsed with the date 1764, confirming the ground intended to be taken by Albemarle.⁵⁰ Although in a very faded state, it does illustrate the problems which Albemarle's intervention presented both to the sitting tenants and their landlord. The City naturally wanted the best price for the ground, but did not relish the prospect of negotiating with a set of sitting tenants aggrieved and possibly litigious first at losing a good half of their respective leasehold holdings and next at the

loss of ancient lights as new development went up against their accordingly reduced boundary. At the same time the City was not so much anxious to avoid ending up with an unwanted piece of ground on their hands as desirous to treat with one party only. The problem was that the conflicting proposals from Albemarle and the sitting tenants were for overlapping, but not identical, parcels of the disputed six-acre area: Albemarle wanted approximately the northern half and the tenants approximately the southern three-quarters of the area south of the ground leased from the City by Robert Ireland, in Barlow's Mews. Additionally, Albemarle's scheme involved the removal back southwards of the road in front of Albemarle Row, returning it almost to the course it had followed as a result of the first writ of *ad quod damnum* in 1709. Having received competing formal tenders for the two overlapping parcels of land, the City gave out the clear hint that it would prefer to let the whole to one party. A fierce and protracted bidding war ensued (the details of which are set out for ease of reference in Appendix B, below), dragging out from mid-March 1766 until the start of July 1767.

It was on 12 March 1766, a week before the announcement by the Committee for Letting the City Lands of the completion of the repurchase of the Normanby reversion, that Robert Taylor first enters the picture. He is recorded as Mr Taylor, surveyor, petitioning the committee on behalf of the Duke of Grafton for permission to remove fixtures from the part of his house standing on leasehold City land, stating that

as the Premises wou'd come into the Citys hands in the space of six days his Grace could not in case he did not Renew with the City justify the taking any such Fixtures after the Expiration of his Term without Permission he therefore applied to us (as this Committee would not meet till the day after the Duke's Term expired) to know whether his Grace might have such Permission'.⁵¹

That hints at the duke being aware of Albemarle's

scheme, but at this stage Taylor was acting for the Duke alone. However, within a month, on 8 April, Taylor is minuted as acting for all four sitting tenants, orchestrating their joint proposals to the City, submitted in competition with Albemarle at meetings of the Court of Common Council held at Guildhall.⁵² At that 8 April meeting the tenants first set down their individual offers for their respective holdings and, following a presumed rejection in the face of Albemarle's higher counter proposal for the whole parcel of disputed ground, Taylor then made an offer for Grafton to take the whole on behalf of all four tenants, including the Albemarle Row terrace and the mews in the triangle north of Hay Hill. Thus, as a result of Grafton's determined intention to continue enjoyment of the gardens 'long since purchased by their families' (expressing a sentiment no different in origin from his neighbouring sitting tenants, but with greater stomach to see it through), we see him being bounced into considering taking more than he had originally bargained for. Roberts, Powis and Bird were seemingly never interested in more than their own gardens. Clearly then from this point, 'it being hinted to y^e. s^d. Duke of Grafton, Earl of Powis, John Roberts and Elias Bird that this Committee would prefer a contract for the whole to the trouble of treating with the separate tenants',⁵³ if Grafton were successful in his bidding, he was going to end up with the mews north of Hay Hill and the Albemarle Row terrace, and with the aged Elias Bird dithering over whether to stay in the bidding for his own garden, there was a chance the duke might have to take that as well.

Albemarle considerably upped the stakes in June 1767 with a vastly improved offer in two alternative formulae, presumably hoping to frighten off the sitting tenants.⁵⁴ Bird, having previously demurred, came back in at this stage, at the same level as his immediate neighbour, Powis.⁵⁵ This was a little too late to be of any effect as Powis and Roberts had both just signalled their defeat by Albemarle. However, at the same Council meeting Taylor (stating that as his

grace's previous proposals were not accepted because of counter offers) said that he would cap Albemarle's latest offer by bidding on behalf of Grafton acting alone, matching the fourteen-yearly renewal fine offered by Albemarle, but with the crucial addition of the token sum of £5 to the annual ground rent. In order to seal the duke's success, Taylor carried the day with an appeal to Common Council to respect and

secure to their Ten^{ts}. that Preference to which they seem equitably entitled and which y^e. City have in fact given to their other Tenants in Conduit Mead but [also] will avoid any difficulties which may arise in respect to an antient Highway leading from Bond Street to Hay Hill as it cannot be expected that y^e. Proprietors of y^e. adjoining Freehold will suffer the same to be built upon and themselves thereby deprived of the benefit of Light and Front which they enjoyed whilst the s^d. Highway existed. Your memorialist therefore humbly prays this Honourable Court that they will be pleased to grant his Grace the Duke of Grafton a Lease of all the s^d. Ground south of Mr Ireland's Ground with Lights into Barlow's Mewse for 61 years renewable for ever at and under the clear yearly Rent of £905 and a renewing Fine of £4,000 every fourteen years with the Covenants usual in City Leases.⁵⁶

With Roberts and Powis having already declined to go higher when the bidding was still at a lower level, and Bird hesitating, Grafton was taking a huge gamble on persuading his fellow sitting tenants back into offloading some of this onerous undertaking from him.

But Albemarle was still not prepared to go quietly and, despite the City's already declared intention to grant a lease of the whole to Grafton we see him still playing for some of the ground, even at this late stage.⁵⁷ As Taylor's proposal on Grafton's behalf had been couched in terms that the existing tenants were to be 'accommodated', Albemarle was hoping that this might give him enough leverage to assert the right to 'renew' the six houses on the north side of Albemarle Row. Thus his associate, Major-

General Prevost⁵⁸ at the next meeting of the City Lands, on 18 June, petitioned that he

has sometime ago purchased and become owner... [of the six houses]... situate in Albemarle Row and upon the ground which now belongs to the City of London,... [begging leave to have]... a Lease... on the same proportional terms as the Duke of Grafton and Elias Bird and others are to enjoy,... [despite this] late application.... Or upon any other terms that shall be by you thought reasonable and just so that the Major [-General] may not loose the benefit of his purchase or be put out of possession of his premises, but that he may be permitted to enjoy the same as freely as the other tenants of y^e. s^d. City.⁵⁹

The Committee would have none of this and ‘were of the opinion they could do nothing therein’.⁶⁰ Not to be put off, Albemarle had a last-ditch go on 2 July, the day of the final settlement of the leases on Grafton’s syndicate, but the answer received was the same.⁶¹

Meanwhile, following the decision on 3 June in Grafton’s favour his ‘agent’, presumably Taylor, promptly offered the other three sitting tenants proportional terms, as outlined at the next meeting of Common Council on 2 July, whereat permission was asked for division between the four of them of the single lease previously voted at the last meeting to be given to Grafton:

That immediately after the s^d. Order the Agent of his Grace the Duke of Grafton proposed to your other Memorialists certain Ground Rents and Renewing Fines to be charged upon their respective premises but the Earl of Powis and Mr Bird (not having had an opportunity to enquire into y^e. value of the whole premises intended to be granted to the Duke of Grafton did on the third day of June Instant request the Com^{ee}. for letting y^e. Citys [Lands] to allow them a short time to make such enquiry and if necessary to lay before them any Observations that might occur touching the same before any leases are granted of y^e. premises in their respective possessions... [and].... That your all your Memorialists have since agreed upon Terms w^{ch}. they conceive to be just and reasonable and in proportion to y^e. Value of the whole premises and do therefore desire this Hon^{ble}. Court will

be pleased to empower the Com^{ee}. For Letting this Citys Lands to grant separate leases to your Memorialists....⁶²

The petition ends by specifying that Powis and Bird desired their own leases, whereas the remainder of the ground was to go to the duke ‘by one or more Lease or Leases’ (Fig. 11).⁶³

This wording importantly reveals that by this stage John Roberts had come in with Grafton on the development plan that followed; both their leases are dated 2 July 1767.⁶⁴ Roberts was a self-made man of comparatively humble beginnings, having started out as ‘the very faithful secretary of Henry Pelham’, and although he had raised himself by various civil service or governmental positions and secured ‘a pension of £800 a year on the Irish establishment’,⁶⁵ he may not have found it easy to raise the cash for his parcel of ground at the inflated price. Powis presumably was a grandee rich enough to cope with the cost of his lease,⁶⁶ and Elias Bird could pass it on as he was renewing in order to sub-let to his under-tenant, Lord Digby.⁶⁷ But Bird died shortly after the syndicate won the competition with Albemarle and his executors did not sign his lease until 20 November.⁶⁸

The fact that Grafton had obtained a private Act of Parliament in 1766 allowing him to break the entail on old Grafton House on Bond Street and sell it,⁶⁹ suggests he had been minded for some time to develop. But reading between the lines, the duke must have had the intention originally to develop only his own garden, on his own and not including Roberts. The full building campaign that followed his eventually successful bid was forced on him by either the cost or merely the fact of the extended plot he ended up with. Thus it can be argued the 14 (or in reality 16) houses on the outer sides of Grafton Street (which have since 1981 been documented as by Taylor⁷⁰) were simply the result of Grafton having to do something with the extra land he had to take in order to secure that piece of the City ground whereon stood part of his house and all of his garden

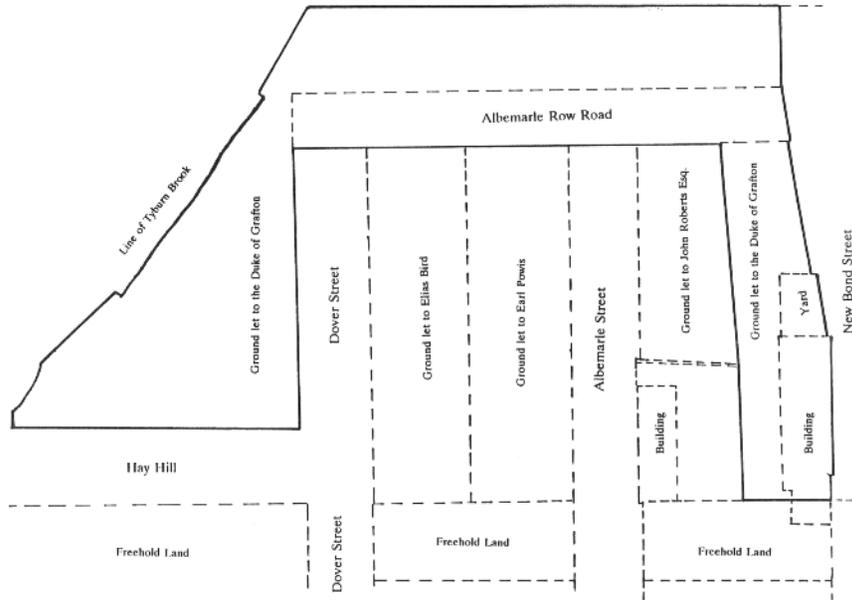


Fig. 11. Ground plan of Duke of Grafton's leaseholding and those of the neighbouring tenants, redrawn for Professor Tyrrell from the plan by George Dance the younger, dated 28 August 1769, in the indenture of the City's 1767 lease to the duke [CLRO, CCLD 107B,1B.]. *Royal Institution*.

(Fig. 11). By extension of this argument, even the six houses in the block between Bond and Albemarle Streets that can now additionally be demonstrated as due to Taylor must have been the natural extension of both the scheme devised to fill Grafton's "new" land and the fact that Roberts had thrown his hand in with Grafton towards the close of the bidding war. As two of these six "additional" houses are built straddling the boundary between Roberts's and Grafton's gardens, they cannot therefore have been intended in the original scheme. If the duke were originally minded to develop only his own garden plot and no more, then in such a comparatively minor scheme the three houses fronting Bond Street running south from the Grafton Street corner, and the house round that corner could never have been planned as they were finally built. What is incontrovertible is that Grafton's sudden acquisition of the additional land led to a far grander scheme than can have been originally envisaged, depriving

Paine of one of the greatest opportunities in his career as an architect and presenting that opportunity to Taylor instead. In summary, Paine's scheme was the more daring in considering moving the road, but in the process resulted in more conventional house plans with their lack of extended back premises for both parade and family use, although the idea of a mews at the end of his terrace was unique and his individual room shapes were modulated with subtlety. On the other hand, because of Grafton's undertaking not to disturb the road pattern, Taylor was stuck with it and worked through the difficulties of the site to produce a revolutionary set of town house plans, especially when the steep fall of the land away from the street-line is considered. This will be discussed below.

There remained four loose ends to sort out before Grafton could proceed. Least irksome, the removal of Peter Thomas, the occupier of the house on the corner of Albemarle Row and Bond Street, had to be

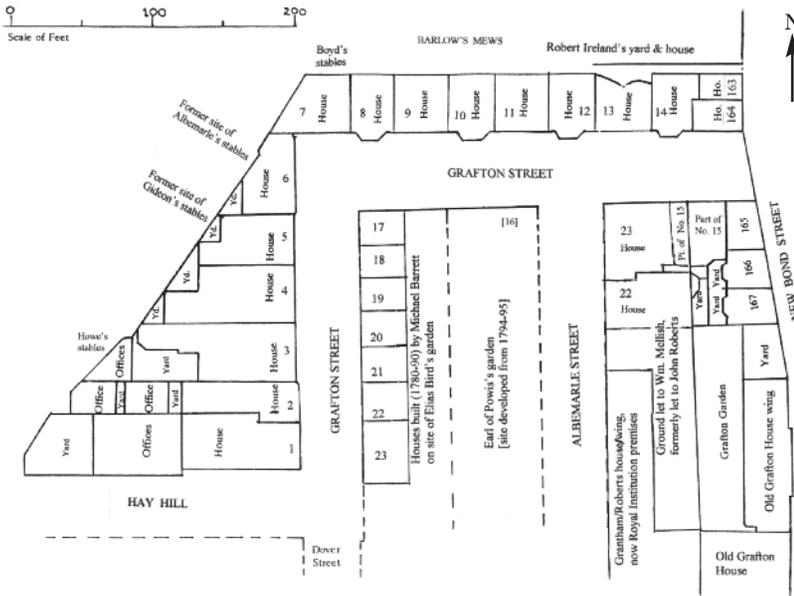


Fig. 12. Ground plan of development in Grafton Street area in 1795, redrawn for Prof. Tyrrell from margin plan by George Dance the younger in City's 1795 lease to the duke [CLRO, CCLD 122,1] to which are added the houses on Roberts's holding and those built by Barrett. *Royal Institution / Richard Garnier.*

managed. Thomas presented an unfortunate predicament, none of his own making, and was reluctant to go. In May (while the bidding war was still in progress) he had petitioned the City Lands.⁷¹ His house was in too bad a state to let, yet he had still to pay the ground rent on an asset that he was prevented from benefiting from, as it was not worth investing the cost of repair while he was merely a tenant-at-will since the expiry of the original Clarendon/Normanby lease. Potentially on short notice to quit, he requested a lease for a term of years in order to justify the expense of repairs. Of course this was counter to the City's intention to have the house included in the ground let to one successful bidder, and on 18 June he was told there was 'nothing could be done therein' and was given notice to quit by Michaelmas.⁷² Accordingly he was back at the City Lands committee on 23 September, six days before Michaelmas, saying 'as he apprehends the House is to be pulled down and rebuilt' he petitions to remove certain fixtures, to which Taylor declared he has no objection.⁷³

At the same meeting the question of mutual lights had to be settled between Grafton and his

neighbour on his newly acquired north boundary. As new leaseholder Grafton had been given the right to make lights (i.e. windows) in the back of any houses he should build on Albemarle Row, overlooking Barlow's Mews.⁷⁴ At the same time the ground of the neighbouring tenant, Robert Ireland, wine merchant,⁷⁵ who held the first house on the west side of Bond Street north of the way into Barlow's Mews behind Albemarle Row, was rationalised to run in a straight line along the back of the Albemarle Row terrace.

Mr Taylor... took notice that this Committee had given leave to Mr Robert Ireland to include in the Renewal of his House and Premises in Bond Street a small piece of Ground in Barlows Mewse to make the Ground whereon his Back Buildings stand square and as he understood Mr Ireland designed to erect a building thereon hoped he should be restrained from so doing the Duke having by Order of Common Council permission to make lights into s^d Mewse and consequently any erection on that piece would be an infringement of that order and be prejudicial to his Grace as the centre house to be erected on Albemarle Row wo'd come back to that place.⁷⁶

GRAFTON STREET, MAYFAIR

Fig. 13. Ground plan of the complete scheme designed by Sir Robert Taylor on the Grafton and Roberts combined leaseholdings, a conflation of two early nineteenth-century survey plans by George Dance the younger, combined with the Pilkington survey and the plans of the Albemarle Street houses given in the indentures at the Royal Institution. *Richard Lea.*



As Ireland had a like concern over obstruction of lights closer to Bond Street both parties were to have mutually restraining covenants inserted in their leases: ‘Mr Taylor was then informed that his Grace or any other person was not to erect any buildings on the south side of Mr Ireland’s house to stop or obstruct any of his lights’.⁷⁷ This explains the curious indented line in the back wall of Taylor’s north terrace along Grafton Street (Figs. 12 & 13); how he turned this difficulty to advantage in the plan of the houses in that part of the terrace will be shown below.

Meanwhile George Dance the elder, as City surveyor, had been delving into the archives of the City Lands office and on 5 August came up with a potential anomaly over the actual position of the boundary between the City and Clarendon freeholds.⁷⁸ There was a case to be made that, as the late Stuart developers had held the ground on both sides of the boundary, they had built houses across the dividing line between the City and Clarendon holdings, or at least had built over part of the original road, straightening its course in the process.⁷⁹ Dance produced the original counterpart of the lease granted to the Marquis of Normanby with a plan which showed (Fig. 3):

a Pricked Bevil Line presumed to be the South Boundary of the City’s property extending to that end beyond the limits Granted to s^d. Marquis and on part whereof was formerly an antient Highway but removed by Writs of ad quod damnum.... and desired to know whether the parcels of Ground, to be let to his Grace the Duke of Grafton, John Roberts Esq^{re}, the Earl of Powis and Elias Bird (since deceased) sh’d be described so as to extend as far as that bevil line.

The Committee’s decision opened a potential can of worms:

Whereupon Ordered s^d. leases to be Granted take in the Ground as far as s^d. pricked line if the parties have no objection thereto and will enter into covenants to save the City harmless in case of any suit at law or in Equity in respect to that boundary.⁸⁰

This must explain the flurry of survey plans of the southern Conduit Mead site dating from around 1766–67 in the City of London Record Office, some with numerous annotations of alternative measurements.⁸¹ As the sitting tenants were effectively being asked to sign away part of their freeholds the matter naturally dragged on somewhat and on 25 November 1767 Taylor was still trying to reach a settlement on the duke’s behalf.⁸² This was eventually achieved in the City’s favour, the duke, Roberts and Powis all agreeing to a revision of their leases, thus signing over part of what they might have considered their freeholds. How the matter took a good deal longer to settle with Bird’s executors, leading to the development of his garden in the 1780s, is covered in Appendix G, below.

A buyer for old Grafton House had soon been found. Grafton had moved out in 1765 and let it briefly, for one year, to his close political colleague, the Earl of Chatham, in 1767.⁸³ Next the house is noted as empty in the 1768 rate book. By 27 February 1768 Grafton had reached agreement for the sale of the freehold part of the old family house,⁸⁴ and a perpetually renewable sub-lease on its wing and garden standing on City ground, to 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire.⁸⁵ Buckinghamshire’s lease was effective from Midsummer Day (24 June) 1769 and he is first noted in the rate books from that year.⁸⁶

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN – 1767–75

The vestry clerk of the parish of St. George’s Hanover Square minuted on 20 January 1768: ‘touching the stoppage of the highway from Bond St. to Dover St.: Ordered that Mr Taylor be desired to attend with the plan of the intended buildings’.⁸⁷ From this and the fact that Peter Thomas had had to quit his house on the corner of Bond Street and Albemarle Row at Michaelmas in late September the previous year, it can be assumed the old houses in Albemarle Row were being torn down in early 1768.⁸⁸

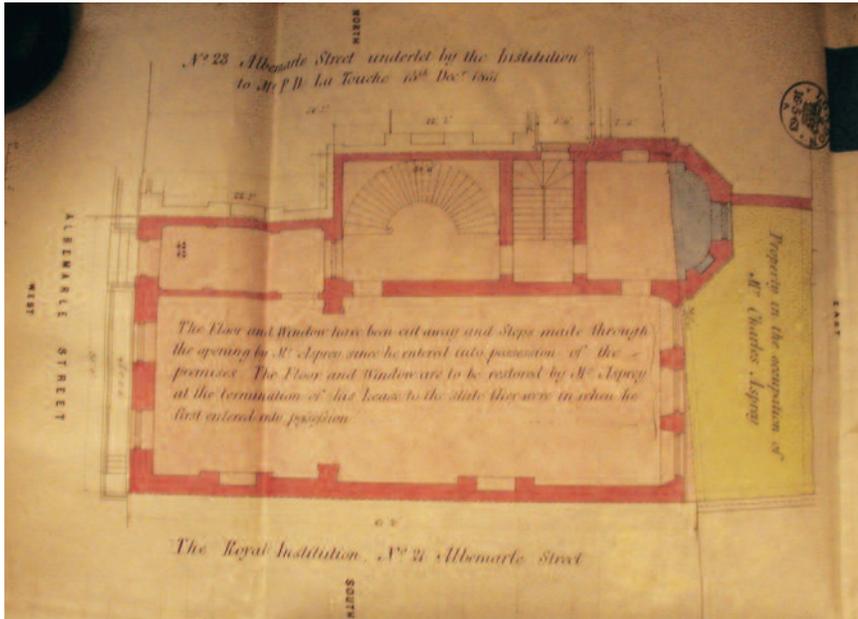


Fig. 15. Ground-floor plan of N^o. 22 Albemarle Street, from an 1863 indenture. *Royal Institution, 1,L,9,7. Richard Garnier.*

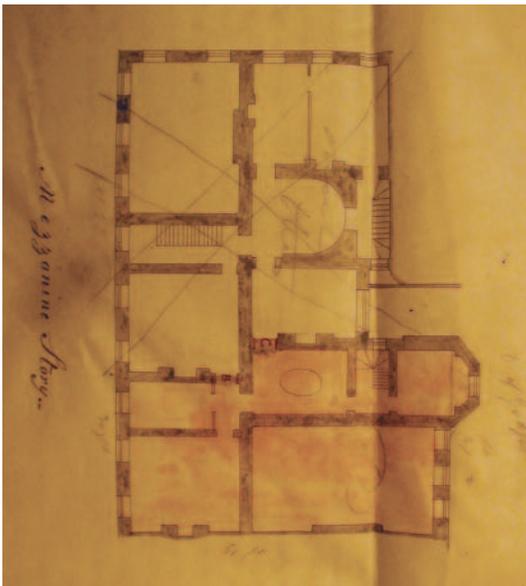


Fig. 16. 'Mezzanine' basement-floor plan of Nos. 22 & 23 Albemarle Street from 1841 licence indenture from the Royal Institution to the then occupier, James Spooner. *Royal Institution, 1,L,9,4. Richard Garnier.*

However, the indication of when work first started on site is in the building lease granted by John Roberts to the 'bricklayer and brickmaker' Edward Gray on 19 May 1768.⁸⁹ The start of this lease is backdated to 24 June the previous year, at which time the final negotiations were still in train with the City on how Grafton's winning bid was to be divided up amongst the sitting tenants. The fact that Gray's lease from Roberts provided for a peppercorn rent only in the first quarter means that Gray must have been well on site by the time he signed it. The ground assigned to him by Roberts abutted 'east on land demised or about to be demised to the said Edward Gray by his Grace the Duke of Grafton',⁹⁰ but the actual lease from Grafton to Gray, effective from Midsummer 1769, was not signed until 6 September in that year.⁹¹ Nonetheless, as two of the individual house plots in the block between Bond and Albemarle Streets straddle the boundary between the Roberts and Grafton ground⁹² (Figs. 12 & 15), the project must have been

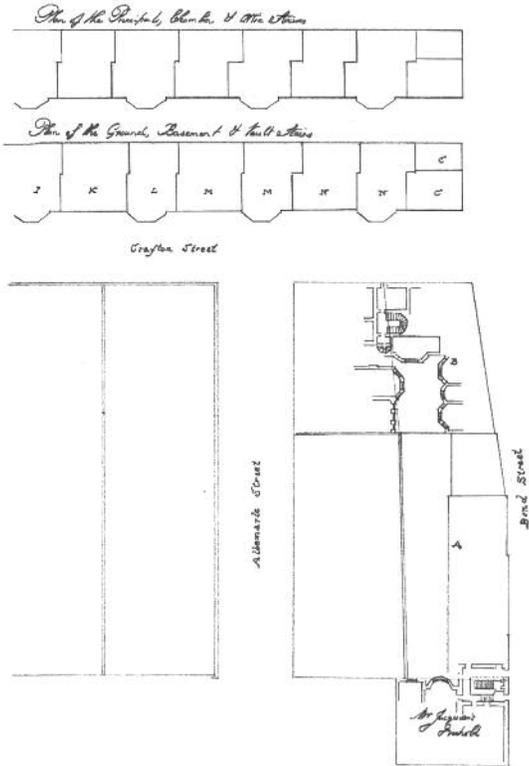
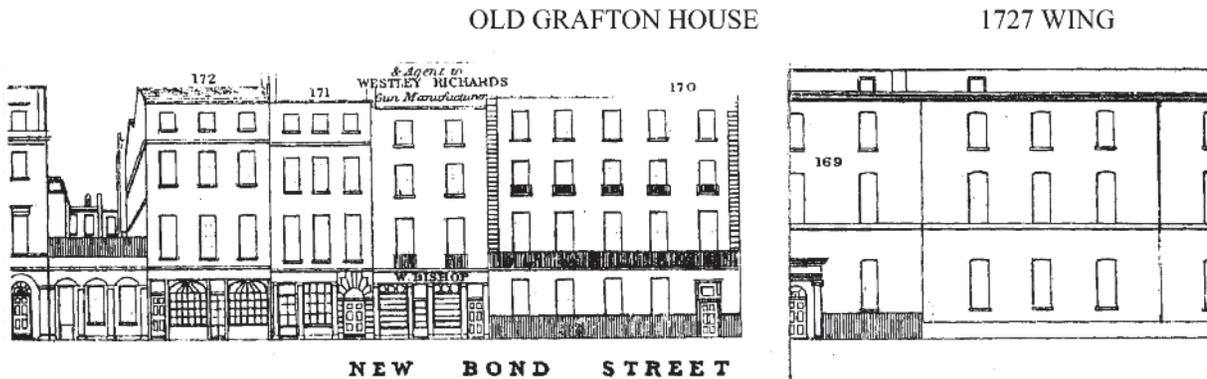


Fig. 17. William Pilkington, ground plan of the Grafton leaseholding with block plans of the houses thereon, showing the cranked party walls as they differ on the upper and lower floors, detail of east half of plan. Redrawn from *East Suffolk Record Office, HA 513, AA73*.

advancing in unison on the properties of both and the legal situation formalised only later. This idea is corroborated by the fact that the great majority of the building leases on Grafton's ground were signed in the first week of September 1769, even in those cases for which there had been earlier *Articles of Agreement* drawn up in December 1767.⁹³ But for some reason the building leases for the first two houses north of Hay Hill (Nos. 1 and 2 Grafton Street) were not issued until two years later than the rest, in September 1771.⁹⁴

Edward Gray was a long-time associate of Taylor's by the start of the Grafton Street campaign. He is first noted in October 1764 as the contracting builder for Taylor's Bank Buildings in the City, opposite the front of the Bank of England.⁹⁵ Next, concurrently with his involvement in the Grafton Street scheme, Gray is found as submitting the winning tender for bricklaying at the Office of the Sick and Hurt Board of the Admiralty, Trinity Square, Tower Hamlets, on the edge of the City, a house that was attributed to Taylor in last year's number of this journal.⁹⁶ In continuation of this association, Edward Gray was in 1778 the builder of Long Ditton church, Surrey, designed by Taylor.⁹⁷ He was also involved in the construction of King's Bench Prison in 1780–81.⁹⁸ Kenton Couse was the Office of Works

Fig. 18. Old Grafton House, New Bond Street, Taylor's blocks north and south of the Grafton Street junction, and view into Grafton Street, composite detail from Tallis, *London Street Views*, 1839, with present author's labelling annotations.



architect in charge of that project, but Taylor oversaw the payments in his capacity as Master Mason and Deputy Surveyor of the King's Works.⁹⁹

A revealing illumination of the workings of Taylor's office is provided by the payments recorded in the duke's bank account at Drummond's. An extensive trawl of the ledgers reveals only a single payment by Grafton to Taylor personally, and that as late as December 1779.¹⁰⁰ Yet there is an uninterrupted sequence of often more than quarterly payments to Taylor's pupil, William Pilkington, from as early as February 1769 right up until Taylor's death in 1788.¹⁰¹ Pilkington remained a member of Taylor's office until Taylor's death, thereon succeeding as the duke's surveyor, as surviving correspondence concerning the subsequent locating of the Grafton Street lease indentures confirms.¹⁰² As the payments are recorded as 'by cash paid to . . .' the assumption must be they were for Taylor's office only in the person of Pilkington as the one who actually attended at Drummond's to draw the money to Taylor's order. Taylor's deep involvement in organising the Grafton Street development is anyway confirmed by the facts that others of his 'clerks', namely Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Charles Alexander Craig and John Nash were employed as witnesses to many of the leases or re-assignments and Cockerell was generally the one

who actually attended at Middlesex Sessions House to register the indentures at the Middlesex Deeds Registry.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Daniel Simpson, a lawyer, wrote to the Duke of Grafton in August 1790 to the effect that 'every lease that has been granted by your Grace of the Ground and Buildings in New Grafton Street was and were prepared by me from Sir Robert Taylors Instructions as to descriptions and any special Matter &c.'. ¹⁰⁴ Simpson at the same time confirms that as part of Taylor's stewardship of the Grafton Street estate it was customary for the deeds to be lodged for safe keeping at his bankers, Sir Charles Asgill's. Taylor seems also to have been responsible for organising insurance cover on at least one of the houses, that of Sir George Warren, N^o. 1 Grafton Street (see Appendix J). Additionally, Taylor was instrumental in negotiating for and then assigning the lease on the stables at the back of N^o. 3 Grafton Street to Lord Howe, the land on which they stood being outside the curtilage of the City land granted to Grafton¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 12). As the stable yard behind N^{os}. 5 and 6 (Figs. 1, 12 and 13) similarly extended beyond the City's boundary onto the site of Sir Sampson Gideon and Lord Albemarle's former stables, Taylor may have negotiated that too, once Albemarle realised he was defeated.¹⁰⁶ Again, the indentures for Boyd's house, N^o. 7, describe it as

TAYLOR'S GRAFTON STREET DEVELOPMENT

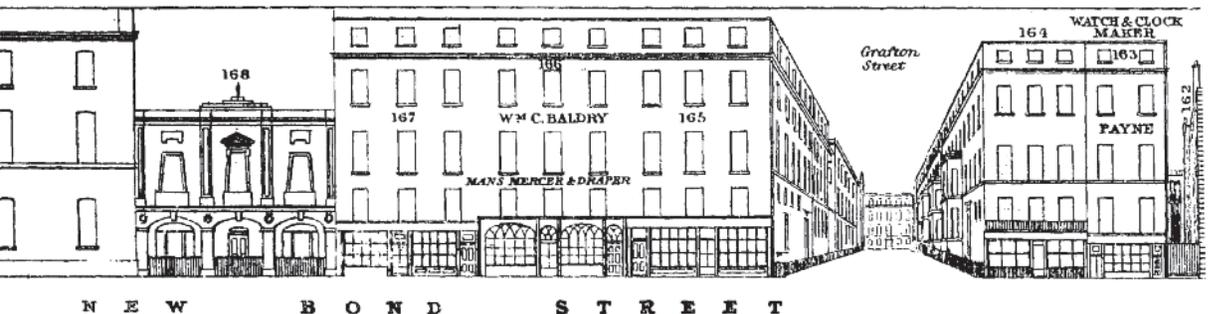




Fig. 19. T. C. Dibdin, *New Bond Street*, c.1835, showing Taylor's tall blocks either side of the Grafton Street junction and (in the distance) the outline of the 1727 wing to old Grafton House.

abutting north on stables 'in the possession of the said John Boyd' and, since they must have been on the next parcel north in the Conduit Mead, either part of or behind Ireland's holding, the supposition must be that Taylor fixed that as well (Fig. 12).¹⁰⁷

Taylor was soon to be found stalling the Board of the parish vestry on the duke's behalf. The parish clerk's minute concerning the stoppage of the road concealed a far more pertinent issue: the resultant cutting off and demolition of the parish night watchman's watch-house, as hinted at by a minute in the subsequent month (Fig. 5). It was noted on 20 February, 'Mr Parry had written to Mr Taylor, His Grace the Duke of Grafton's Surveyor to attend the Board touching the Inclosing part of the Highway near Albemarle and Dover Streets *and other matters*'.¹⁰⁸ This is the first suspicion that Taylor's Grafton Street scheme involved not just the

temporary blocking off but the removal altogether of the watch-house, a matter of real consternation to the Vestry. But in reply Parry merely 'received a card from him purporting that he was now ill'¹⁰⁹ and when Taylor did attend the next month's meeting, on 31 March, it was only to inform that 'as His Grace was not in Town, he had nothing to offer the Board in his Grace's Name. But that he would acquaint the Bishop when the Duke comes to Town'.¹¹⁰ This has all the marks of a deliberate stalling operation, as it can hardly be imagined that Taylor, as designer of the scheme, was ignorant of what was planned. It was only after two further attempts to get to the duke through Taylor that one of the churchwardens, the Hon. George Townshend,¹¹¹ succeeded in (p.20) ascertaining that there was 'no liklyhood of obtaining a piece of ground from the Duke of Grafton for the building a watchhouse' and that the parish would

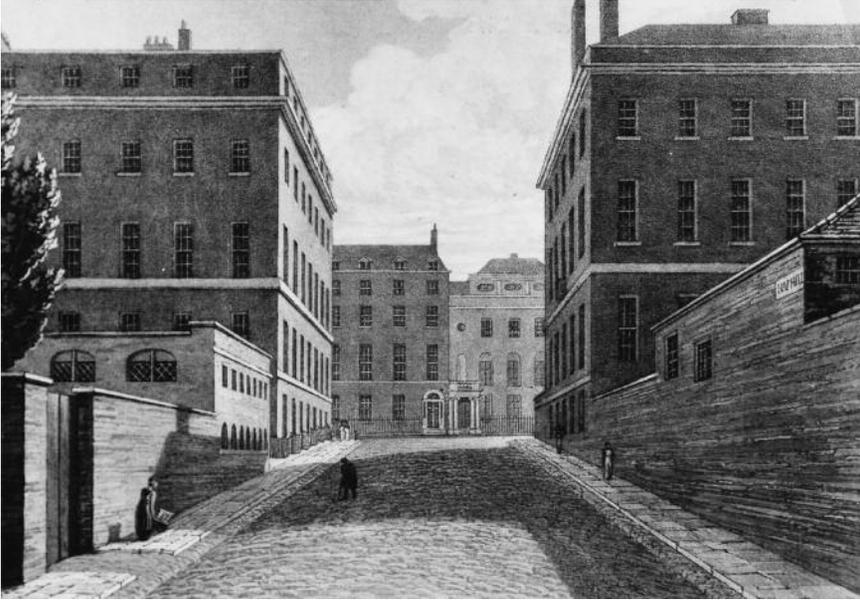


Fig. 20. Early nineteenth-century drawing, looking east up Hay Hill, with Ashburnham (originally Dover) House to right and N^o. 1 Grafton Street with offices and back yard to left, N^o. 23 (now 24) Grafton Street and Nash's house-cum-office in Dover Street facing. *English Heritage*.

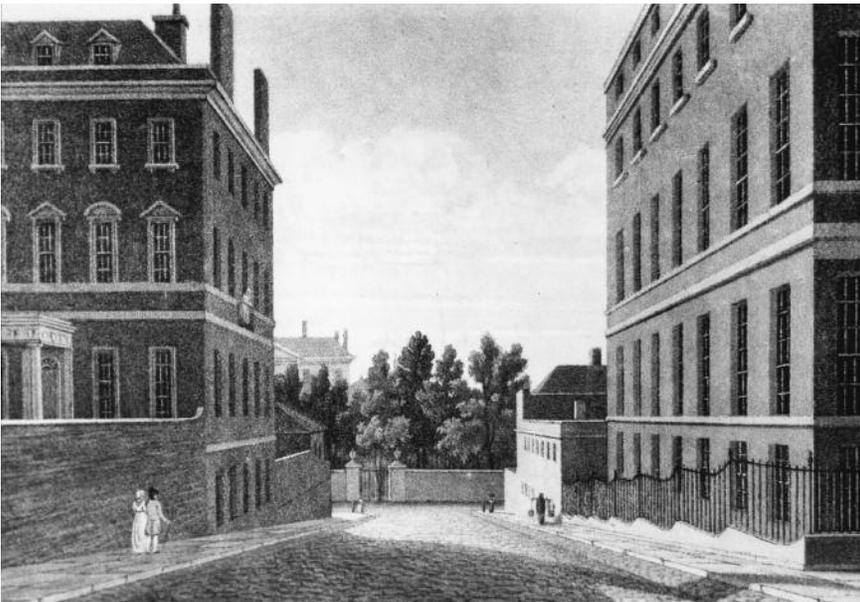


Fig. 21. Early nineteenth-century drawing by the same hand as the previous, looking in the opposite direction, west, towards Lansdowne House and garden. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 22. Nos. 3-6 Grafton Street;
by Sir Robert Taylor;
1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 23. No. 6 Grafton Street;
by Sir Robert Taylor;
1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.

Fig. 24. Grafton Street, north terrace, looking west, showing alternate houses of north terrace with two-storey canted bays (all demolished) by Sir Robert Taylor, 1937 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 25. N^o. 13 Grafton Street (dem.) by Sir Robert Taylor, and his canted bay of N^o. 14 (dem.) as heightened and redressed in nineteenth century, 1970 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 26. N^{os}. 167–165 New Bond Street and N^o. 15 Grafton Street; by Sir Robert Taylor (N^o. 15 with nineteenth-century stucco facing), 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.





Fig. 27. N^o. 22 Albemarle Street; by Sir Robert Taylor with nineteenth-century stucco facing, flanked by 1896–97 re-built terracotta façade of N^o. 23 (left) and Vulliamy’s 1837–38 façade of the Royal Institution, N^o. 21 (right), 1979 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 28. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, canted bay of rear elevation to Bruton Lane by Sir Robert Taylor, 1965 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 29. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, stone Doric doorcase by Sir Robert Taylor, 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.

therefore have to look elsewhere for a suitable site.¹¹² It was of some recompense that Grafton, but only the next year, paid the parish a £100 sum 'to be applied... at the discretion of the Vestry... [as] he was obliged to take down the late Parish Watchhouse for his private convenience'.¹¹³

There was next a temporary hiatus over the sewer in Bond Street. The trouble here was that Gray, 'on digging the foundations for the said houses [in Bond Street] found that the dry sewer in which the City's pipes belonging to the Marylebone and Paddington Waters were deposited would be exactly under the front walls of the said houses' (Fig. 3).¹¹⁴ This necessitated the digging of a new trench out in the roadway and relaying 114 foot of the City's lead pipes, but at a cost 'with the extra depth of the foundations' of £185.¹¹⁵ Thus on 20 January 1769 the Clerk of the Westminster Commissioners of Sewers made a minute concerning 'Mr Taylor the architect and Mr Gray the builder of the several new houses at Hay Hill... [being built on]... orders from his grace the Duke of Grafton to whom the Ground belonged',¹¹⁶ while Gray on 25 July 1770 petitioned the City Lands for reimbursement of his costs, but two years later was merely referred back to the duke, as the committee gave their standard response that they 'could do nothing therein'.¹¹⁷

The first house completions were in 1771, when four or five were first occupied.¹¹⁸ Four more were occupied in the following year, along with four others being listed in the rate books as empty or their sites noted, presumably nearing completion. After only a couple of new tenants noted in the 1773 rate books, five more houses were occupied in 1774, after which the rate of occupation falls off as the development neared completion, so that all but one were taken by 1778 (Appendix D, below). The one straggler was N^o. 6 Grafton Street, a house built by Edward Gray for Alexander Fordyce, a banker. The trouble here was that Fordyce's bank had failed in the financial crisis of 1772 and the house languished in limbo while the ramifications of some potential skulduggery by

Fordyce and an associate, one Browne, were sorted out. It appears from a letter written on 21 June 1781 to the duke by his solicitor, Joseph Sharpe, that Browne had bought the lease on the house from Fordyce's assignees in bankruptcy as a speculation in Fordyce's favour, but the property market being unfavourable, Browne was declining to complete and Fordyce's assignees were filing a bill in Chancery to compel Browne to do so.¹¹⁹ This Gordian knot took a while longer to unravel, so that the rate books do not note an occupier for the house until 1786.¹²⁰ Then they record Michael Barrett as paying the rates, someone who will be encountered below as the builder of the final houses in Grafton Street, N^{os}. 17–23, that went up in the second development campaign from 1780 onwards.

The letter from Joseph Sharpe to Grafton also included the assurance that he had settled the answer 'respecting the house in Grafton Street with Mr Taylor and his son who is a young Counsell as he agreed and signed the same'. Here we see yet another facet of the comprehensive way Taylor worked for his patrons. This is also shown by his granting mortgages first to the builder Edward Gray¹²¹ and in 1771 at £4,000 to the duke:¹²² thus even in 1795, after Taylor's death, Grafton was re-assigning the renewal of the City lease over to Taylor's son Michael Angelo Taylor, as executor for his father's estate, as security for the still subsisting mortgage.¹²³

MELLISH AND JOHN CARR

John Roberts died on 13 July 1772, in the midst of the development campaign with his ducal neighbour.¹²⁴ Mellish, as his trustee and in association with the executors (Roberts's sisters and their husbands in Chester), now oversaw the sale of N^o. 20 Albemarle Street,¹²⁵ which he had occupied as Roberts's tenant, having in the meantime bought for himself the lease of N^o. 21, the house Roberts had occupied.¹²⁶ That house was re-rated immediately, presumably in conformity with the vestry's already noted practice of

revaluing houses that changed hands by purchase rather than inheritance.¹²⁷ The rate books next note a two-year period as 'Empty', before Mellish's residence is first noted in 1775 and there was a further rate increase in 1785–87. This latter increase must have been due to additions put up for Mellish. The unexpected factor here is that while he bound himself to honour and continue the contracts and development leases entered into by Roberts for the Taylor scheme,¹²⁸ Mellish seems to have employed his own architect for the house that was now his. This must have been John Carr of York, a personal friend whom Mellish also used at his country house, Blyth Hall, north Nottinghamshire.¹²⁹ An obvious supposition would be that Mellish was altering his newly acquired town house in the period noted in the rate books as empty, but as there are parallels between the cast iron staircase balustrade there and a number of others by Carr including those at Workington Hall, Cumberland and Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, of 1783–91 and 1800–06 respectively, that might suggest that the still surviving staircase at the Royal Institution (Fig. 61) dates from the scheme which triggered the 1785–87 increase.¹³⁰ As the payments to Carr in Mellish's bank account run from 1769 to 1784, some at least of the early and later amounts can refer to the Albemarle Street house, as work at Blyth had not started before 1773 and ran until 1776.¹³¹

EDWARD GRAY'S WORSENING FINANCIAL SITUATION

The reason why Edward Gray was not involved in the later building campaign in Grafton Street may well be because he was overstretched at the time. The bald facts of his increasing indebtedness and inability to redeem his mortgages are set out in Appendix E, below. He had been progressively hedging his interest in the leases on the Grafton and Bond Street houses by putting them in trust with his associate Thomas Saunders, bricklayer,¹³² while

raising mortgages on those and other houses in the Taylor scheme, in one case from Taylor himself.¹³³ Gray was at the same time also engaged on another large speculative development, in Marylebone, centred on Duke Street, between Oxford and Wigmore Streets, effectively the former site of the Lord Mayor's banqueting house.¹³⁴ With that volume of work and despite a sequence of re-mortgaging, his cash flow was under increasing strain and his creditworthiness threatened, coming to a head in September 1777, the very year that the City were considering letting Elias Bird's garden for building, as will be seen below.¹³⁵ On 12 September 1777 Gray's creditor Nathaniel Tanner agreed not to foreclose on £2,500 still owed by Gray, lending him an additional £500 but stipulating that the entire sum was to be repaid within six months.¹³⁶ As by then Gray had managed to raise no more than £1,000 from his own resources, he only extricated himself from his predicament by re-mortgaging the balance of £2,000 from Edward Stracey.¹³⁷ Stracey, being fully apprised of the situation, in turn stipulated that Gray was to pay £50 interest six-monthly on the £2,000 outstanding, running up to 1794. Before then Gray turned (in June 1790) to some fellow developers, the brothers John and George Elwes of Welbeck Street, to clear his debt to Stracey, at the same time borrowing a further £1,000 from them.¹³⁸ The final outcome was that when Gray died in 1798 his estate was declared insolvent.¹³⁹ In the then manner of such cases, the resolution of his estate's insolvency dragged on and his interest in the Grafton and Bond Street leases was liquidated at auction only several years later, on 28–30 July 1812, under an order in Chancery.¹⁴⁰ But even then his debts were not fully cleared, as at John Elwes's death in 1817 the principal of the brothers' mortgage had been repaid, but not the interest.¹⁴¹ These sales explain the ground-plan survey carried out by the younger Dance for the City (Fig. 13) and the survey with block plans of the individual house plots prepared by Taylor's pupil William Pilkington for the Duke of Grafton in 1818 (Fig. 17).

THE CRAFTSMEN ENGAGED IN THE
TAYLOR SCHEME

Before mid-1771 Edward Gray was acting independently in the Grafton Street scheme; he alone was cited as a party and signed any leases in which he has an interest.¹⁴² But that year represents a turning point. From then one way in which Gray evidently attempted to reverse his worsening financial position was by bringing in new blood to form a partnership.¹⁴³ While he continued to contract alone in mortgage deeds on the properties on which he already had leases, from June 1771 the new leases for N^{os}. 1 and 2 Grafton Street, and the assignment of N^o. 4 to him from John Burgoyne, were all issued in the name of the new partnership, comprising himself, James Swinton and Henry Barrell, while (in the first record of their association) Barrell witnessed Gray's signature on Roberts's lease to him agreed in May of the same year.¹⁴⁴

Whereas Gray had been variously described in the indentures as either 'bricklayer and brickmaker' or 'builder', Swinton is invariably designated 'carpenter' and Barrell as 'mason and carver'.¹⁴⁵ Swinton hailed from Greenwich, and Barrell was from closer at hand, in St. Martins-in-the-Fields, which suggests that he is the same Henry Barrell 'senior' who is mentioned with gratitude in Taylor's will.¹⁴⁶ This states that Henry Barrell was living in an unspecified one of Taylor's houses in Spring Gardens, Charing Cross. The will additionally left Barrell a bequest of money, while absolving any debts that might be due from Barrell to Taylor. Edward Gray was, as Binney has pointed out, Taylor's favourite builder.¹⁴⁷ The supposition must be that Taylor floated a member of his own masons' yard into the partnership with Gray in order to keep him afloat. There are payments to Barrell in Gray's bank account at Drummond's from as early as September 1768.¹⁴⁸

Swinton must have been involved at Grafton Street already as he had been paid £300 by the duke in November 1770,¹⁴⁹ but the earliest payment to him

yet discovered was made in 1766 from the same John Burgoyne who agreed with the Duke of Grafton in 1767 to take the building lease on N^o. 4 Grafton Street.¹⁵⁰ Swinton also appears to have worked concurrently with Taylor and Gray elsewhere, if the attribution to Taylor is accepted for the Sick and Hurt Board offices in Trinity Square by Tower Hill on the edge of the City, as argued in last year's number of this journal.¹⁵¹ In that commission Swinton was the surveyor to the Board and had been since at least the late 1760s, while Gray was the contracting bricklayer whose tender was accepted in June 1771, the same month the two appear as partners in the Grafton Street scheme. Again, Taylor may have introduced one to the other.

Gray's bank account¹⁵² reveals the names of other craftsmen he was working with at the time, while the callings of others less familiar are to be discovered in the trades attached to those cited in the indentures which Gray registered at the Middlesex Deeds Registry. Repeated payments were made to John Deval senior and junior (plumbers and glaziers),¹⁵³ Thomas Saunders (bricklayer and 'clerk' to Gray),¹⁵⁴ Jos. Saunders (presumed carpenter)¹⁵⁵ and less frequently to John Mallcott (mason). This last was apprenticed to Taylor's father and kept on in (Sir) Robert's employ on his return from Italy on his father's death in 1742.¹⁵⁶ As set out below, John Mayhew (cabinetmaker) received repeated payments, seemingly on account, and perhaps for architectural carving.¹⁵⁷ In the indenture assigning N^o. 163 New Bond Street from Gray to Arthur Edwards of St. Marylebone (plumber and glazier), the house is described as abutting south on one (N^o. 164) being devised to David Cooper (smith).¹⁵⁸ Finally, there are payments from 1770 to Joseph Rose, presumably the renowned plaster, to whom the plasterwork in the Grafton Street houses can thus be ascribed (Figs. 30–32, 36, 38–42, 47–52 and 55–58).¹⁵⁹



Fig. 30. N^o. 6 Grafton Street, entrance hall, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1967 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 31. No. 11 Grafton Street (dem.), entrance hall, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1970 photograph. *English Heritage*.

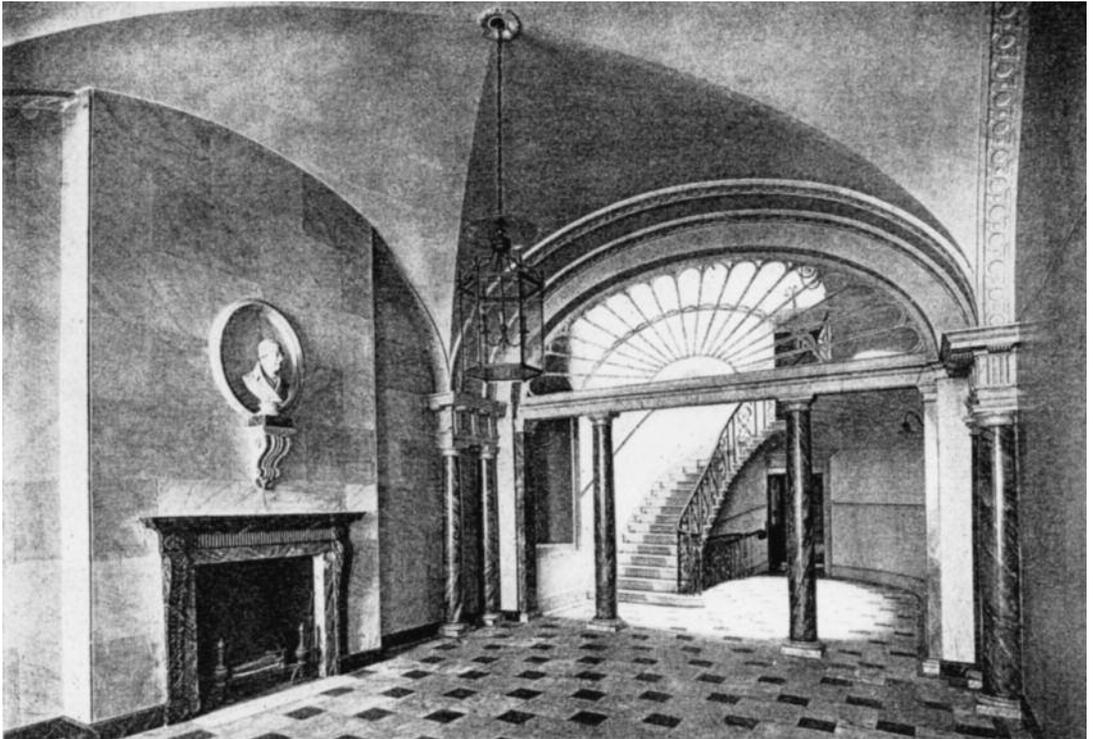


Fig. 32. N^o. 14 Grafton Street (dem.), entrance hall, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.

Fig. 33. N^o. 14 Grafton Street (dem.), second floor cross-vaulted corridor, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1970 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 34. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, entrance hall and screen to staircase, by Sir Robert Taylor, from Margaret Jourdain, *English Decoration and Furniture of the later XVIIIth century, 1760–1820*, Fig. 28.



THE SECOND CAMPAIGN – 1779–90

Following the death of Elias Bird in the summer of 1767,¹⁶⁰ shortly after Grafton's winning bid for the City lease, his under-tenant Lord Digby had continued to live until 1773 in the house at the head of the eastern terrace of Dover Street.¹⁶¹ But Digby's landlords, Elias Bird's executors, were in dispute with the City over the exact position of the boundary between the freehold ground on which the house stood and the leasehold ground of the garden (see Appendix G, below). Settlement was finally reached in July 1777 and the City repossessed all but the most southerly 20 feet of the garden. Dance was ordered on 30 July by the City Lands Committee to draw up a measured plan of the site¹⁶² with a view to it being advertised 'to be let by publick auction on a building lease of 61 years, renewable every 14 years at a fine of 7 years ground rent'.¹⁶³ In order to maximise the market value of the site Dance advised specifying a single patrician town house with offices across an enclosed yard.¹⁶⁴ The sale was fixed for 29 April 1778, but on no bids being received at that and a subsequent auction, it was put out to tender.¹⁶⁵ The only offer came in from Michael Barrett¹⁶⁶ on 28 July 1779, at £84 ground rent, to build a terrace of houses, and this was thought too low. However, with no bargaining power this time round on account of a lack of competition, 'These being the utmost terms Mr Barrett was willing to give this Committee thought it best for the City's interest to accept'.¹⁶⁷ Barrett undertook to comply with Dance's stipulation advised to the City Lands that £3,000 should be laid out (£1,000 within the first year and a further £2,000 to be expended by the end of five years) in 'erecting good new substantial dwelling houses'.¹⁶⁸ Seven houses were built, starting at the north end of the plot, the first occupied in 1783, and the most southerly noted in the 1790 rate books and first occupied in the following year¹⁶⁹ (Figs. 12, 65 and 66).

THE CHARACTER OF TAYLOR'S HOUSES

The fortunate survival in the Corporation of London Record Office of two early nineteenth century survey plans by the younger Dance (one of which was probably prepared in connection with the Court of Chancery directed sale of Gray's leases to unwind his insolvent estate), even if in somewhat distressed condition, gives a very detailed ground plan of all the houses on Grafton's City holding (Fig. 13). With the addition of the margin plans in the early nineteenth century lease indentures for Nos. 22 and 23 Albemarle Street (Figs. 15 and 16) and those in the lease renewal indentures of 1796 for the houses built by Barrett (Figs. 62–64) the complete ground plan of the Grafton Street houses can now be reconstructed. The other survey plan by Dance is of the whole 'Normanby' ground, giving the use of each room, but although conserved to prevent further deterioration it is unfortunately partly illegible and incomplete.¹⁷⁰

These two survey plans by Dance graphically show the varying hierarchy of the houses that Taylor organised within the development. The head leases from the City specified there were to be no noisome or noxious trades practised in the houses to be built,¹⁷¹ a clause which both Grafton and Roberts then strengthened to read that the houses built were to be 'fit for gentlemen and no part of the said houses should be made into a shop or shops or have any mark or sign of business'.¹⁷² The exceptions to this strengthened clause were the houses fronting Bond Street: for these the stipulation was left as in the original head lease from the City, thus allowing shops catering for the gentry.¹⁷³ Besides the fact that the duke's garden strip was narrower than Roberts's and also tapered northwards (Fig. 11), and was therefore less suitable for gentlemen's houses, Bond Street had started to become the famous luxury-retailing street it has now long been. Thus the houses fronting that street, including the pair at the end of the Grafton Street terrace were designed on a smaller scale and were always intended as luxury-retail premises with living quarters over.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore the elevations shown in Tallis's *London Street Views* demonstrate how these houses always had a mezzanine floor (Fig. 18). Thus in N^{os}. 165–167 New Bond Street, the three northerly houses in the block now occupied by Asprey's, this is the original arrangement rather than a later, nineteenth-century, alteration as otherwise might be thought (Fig. 26). However, the Bond Street houses, like all the others in the Taylor scheme, had an air of grandeur and towered over their neighbours in the street. This is seen in the oblique view of this side of Bond Street in a drawing of c.1835 by Dibdin (Fig. 19) and in Tallis's street view. Nor were the interiors of the Bond Street houses entirely plain; there survives a decorative plaster ceiling in the apsidal-ended, first floor front room of N^o. 166.¹⁷⁵

Taylor's big-boned but plain houses in the west and north terraces of Grafton Street (Figs. 21–25) have been well described by Marcus Binney:

The houses are externally plain with little in the way of architectural dressing apart from handsome Tuscan doorcases [Fig. 29, *herein*]. Rather they have the look of eighteenth-century houses in Dublin, for example in Henrietta Street where there is the same mixture of broad plain brick fronts three or four windows wide, with only the distance between the first and second floor windows giving a hint of the very grand rooms within. Around the corner Taylor gave alternate houses a two-storey bay window, like the canted bays of his villas, another instance of him introducing a feature that was to become a commonplace feature of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century terrace houses all over the country.¹⁷⁶

From the schedule of building leases in Appendix C, below, it can now be shown that this arrangement of alternate canted bays (Figs. 24 and 25) also reflects the division of the estate between the building leaseholders, all the houses in the north terrace being parcelled out in pairs, even down to the two small houses fronting Bond Street side-by-side at the end of the terrace. This curious pairing of houses at the end of a terrace on a street junction is a device that was also to be found in the late 1750s development at

John Street, Holborn, attributed to Taylor in the previous number of this journal.¹⁷⁷

The four surviving houses by Taylor in the west terrace of Grafton Street form part of what was undoubtedly the grandest section of the whole scheme (Figs. 22 and 23). These are by now well known on account of Marcus Binney's short monograph on Taylor, the same author's 1981 articles in *Country Life*, and the description in Pevsner, none of which needs repeating here.¹⁷⁸ The point has previously been made about Taylor's pioneering development of extended back premise for family use within London terrace houses.¹⁷⁹ That interest was evident in Taylor's town houses by the mid-1750s. Suffice to say here that these Grafton Street houses took full advantage of the varying depth of the site with its steep slope running away from the street frontage, especially at N^o. 3, where the exceedingly long back wing terminates in a towering canted bay rising through six storeys, as the fall of the land leaves the two basement storeys fully exposed to view (Fig. 28). The furthest room on each floor is octagonal, the upper five with an extensive view west across the south arm of Berkeley Square and along the length of Charles Street, Mayfair. It should be remembered that this sightline would have encompassed the garden and front of Lansdowne House (as hinted at in Fig. 21) and must have been one of the best urban vistas anywhere in London at the time, as heady in its day as the view from an upper-floor apartment overlooking Central Park in New York today. It has long been thought difficult to disentangle the alterations carried out at N^o. 3 for Mr and Mrs Arthur James in the Edwardian era from the original fabric of the house (e.g. Fig. 49),¹⁸⁰ but the discovery of the "insolvency" plan now confirms that the stair originally conformed to the others in the development (Figs. 35–37) and was of apsidal cantilevered form, as was always suggested by the shape of the space directly below it in the basements.¹⁸¹

It has been commented that the "insolvency" plan immediately points up the grading of houses

within the development. First of all there is the hierarchy amongst the gentlemen's houses. These divide between the patrician town houses in the western terrace (Figs. 22 and 23) and the more ordinary gentry houses in Albemarle Street (Figs. 15, 16 and 27) and those with alternate canted-bay fronts in the north terrace of Grafton Street (Figs. 24 and 25). Finally, along the Bond Street frontage, there are the shops with accommodation over (Fig. 26). However, the great revelation thrown up by the plan is how the houses along the north arm of Grafton Street had tighter and more intricate plans as the individual house plots diminish in size, top-lit geometrical staircases and octagonal rooms crowding together towards the east (Fig. 13). This was partly dictated by the juxtaposition of Ireland's house next north on Bond Street, adjoining the Grafton terrace over a covered way, preventing any windows in the back of the terrace at its easternmost end. But in addition there was the order restraining the blocking of ancient lights in Ireland's back wing, effectively preventing Grafton from building right up to his back boundary in the next part of the terrace. It has already been hinted that Taylor turned this restriction to advantage and it will now be seen to have dictated the setting of the back wall of N^{os}. 11, 12 and 13 forward from the back line of the plot (Fig. 13). Here he set out a succession of generous bows for the staircases interspersed with a pair of octagonal rooms, all the while allowing a lateral window at the eastern end of this section to light the otherwise enclosed back room of N^o. 14, this last being against what must have been the mews end of the covered way from Bond Street.

Rarely can the confined back of a street terrace have had such a lively interplay of geometry, although something of its feel is still to be experienced in the back elevations of the houses surviving in the Asprey block today: N^{os}. 165–167 New Bond Street (Figs. 12 and 13), along with N^o. 15 Grafton Street and N^o. 22 Albemarle Street.¹⁸² Here there is still, although in a looser packing in of the elements, four canted

window-bays centred by a curved bow for an apsidal stair itself belonging to N^o. 167 New Bond Street. Meanwhile there is an enclosed and top-lit, tight spiral or corkscrew stair (Fig. 43) at the back of neighbouring N^o. 166, in its detailing like a miniaturised version of the only slightly earlier stair at Taylor's Chute Lodge, Wiltshire, of c.1768 (Fig. 44). This Bond Street corkscrew stair in turn backs onto the flanking party wall of N^o. 15 Grafton Street round the street corner, a house that has an elegant cantilevered stair typical of Taylor's manner towards the end of his career.¹⁸³ Here the treads are again cut away with cyma-curved undersides and the sweep climbs through two floors to a galleried landing on the second floor below a domed top light (Fig. 41). This relates to those by Taylor in the north and west terraces and in nearby Ely House of the same date, round the corner in Dover Street; over the landing a section of panelled barrel vaulting bordered by characteristic bands of guilloche gives via pendentives onto the domed light. At the opposite end of the space the top-light nestles into the curve of the wall above the cantilevered steps. This articulation of the stairhead vault is the same at N^o. 14 Grafton Street (Fig. 40), if different in its detailing, which itself is similar to that of N^o. 5's staircase vault (Figs. 39 and 42).

Amongst the archives at Asprey's there is an early twentieth century plan of the ground floor of N^{os}. 165–167 New Bond Street (before it was all knocked into a single retail-space), which shows the hall of N^o. 166 or 167 with three sections of cross-vaulting divided by bands presumably decorated with guilloche, as existed in the hall of 14 Grafton Street (Fig. 32).¹⁸⁴ Again, the Royal Institution, as head landlord from the City, has plans of all floors of both N^{os}. 22 and 23 Albemarle Street before one was altered for Asprey's and the other was demolished to make way for the terracotta fronted building on the corner with Grafton Street (Figs. 15 and 16).¹⁸⁵ These demonstrate that the D-shaped stair of N^o. 23 rose the full height of the house, whereas the one next



Fig. 35. N^o. 11 Grafton Street (dem.), foot of apsidal stair, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1970 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 36. N^o. 6 Grafton Street, main staircase, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1970 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 37. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, main staircase, looking up from hall by Sir Robert Taylor, 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 38. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, first floor landing and flying top gallery, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 39. N° 5 Grafton Street, vaulted roof light over main staircase, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1967 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 40. N° 14 Grafton Street (dem.), vaulted top light over staircase, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 41. N° 15 Grafton Street, vaulted top light over staircase, detail, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1992 photograph. *Richard Garnier*.



Fig. 42. N° 5 Grafton Street, vaulted top light to main staircase, detail, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1992 photograph. *Richard Garnier*.



Fig. 43. N^o. 166 New Bond Street, corkscrew staircase, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1992 photograph. *Richard Garnier*.



Fig. 45. N^o. 7 Grafton Street, Venetian window to apsidal staircase at back of Medici Gallery premises, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1977 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 44. Chute Lodge, Wiltshire, main staircase (c.1768), by Sir Robert Taylor, 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 46. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, double-height former kitchen at rear of site, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1965 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 47. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, first-floor front ante room, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1965 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 48. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, first-floor cabinet room, behind stairs, looking east, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1959 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 49. N^o. 3 Grafton Street, first floor room behind stairs, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., looking east towards flight of stairs inserted in early twentieth century for Mr & Mrs Arthur James. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 50. N^o. 3 Grafton Street, first floor room behind stairs, looking west towards screened apse, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co. *English Heritage*.

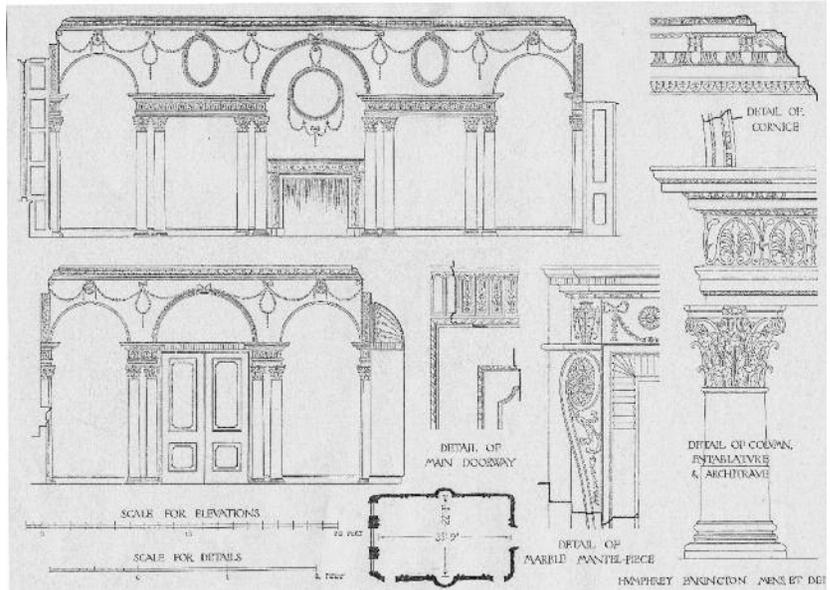


Fig. 51. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, ground floor rear room, by Sir Robert Taylor, line drawing of architectural details and plan. *M. Jourdain, op. cit., Fig. 34.*

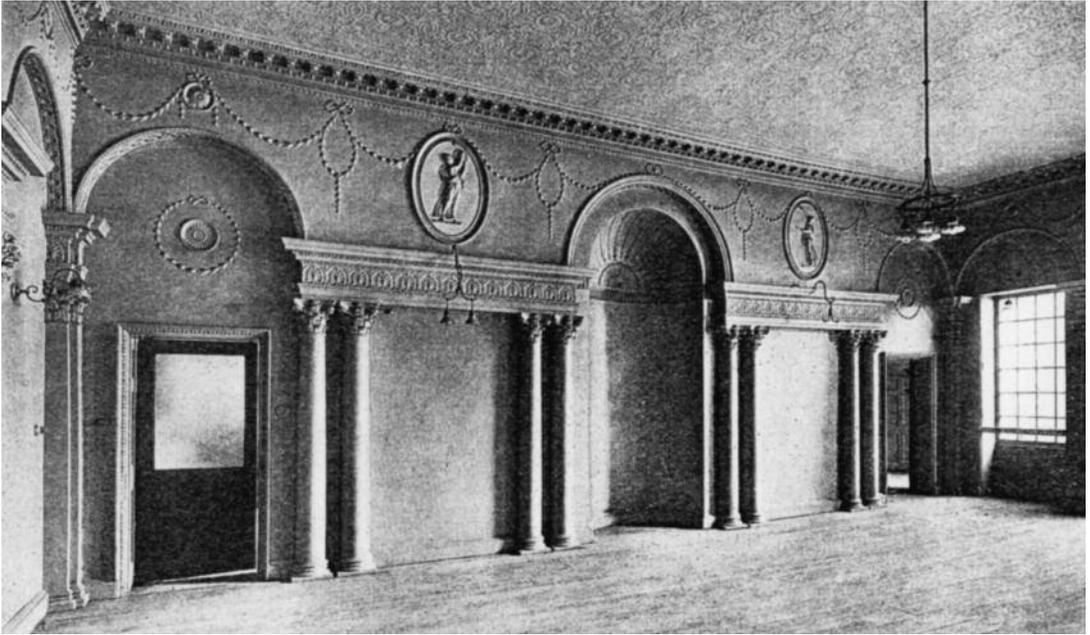


Fig. 52. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, ground floor dining room with arcaded treatment, south wall, by Sir Robert Taylor for General Burgoyne as building-leaseholder, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co. From Jourdain, *op. cit.*, Fig. 27.

door ascended to the first floor only, above which there was an oversailing gallery at second floor level, in a manner similar to that at N^o. 4 Grafton Street (Fig. 38).¹⁸⁶ Also revealed is that the house still surviving at N^o. 22 Albemarle Street originally had an ingenious system of downward lighting, via an oval light or well let into the floor of the stair hall, illuminating the internal space in the ‘mezzanine story’ or half-basement (Fig. 16). Such a system is also found at Taylor’s Gorhambury, Hertfordshire, if on a smaller scale, lighting the internal corridors behind the double-height entrance hall on the two floors below the attic floor.

These ‘Royal Institution’ plans of N^{os}. 22 and 23 Albemarle Street confirm that the cranked line of the party wall between the two houses is the original arrangement and not the product of the redevelopment

of the corner house, N^o. 23. Such cranked party walls are similarly found all along the north terrace of Grafton Street in both the Dances’ and Pilkington’s surveys (Figs. 13 and 17). The curious feature of these cranked party walls between the houses in the north terrace of Grafton Street, however, is that their course differs on the upper floors from those on the ground floors and below (Fig. 17). As will be seen from the Pilkington plan the result of this was that parts of one house would have run under the house next door on the floor above and this arrangement is specifically confirmed via the dimensions of the respective floors given in the lease indentures recorded in the Middlesex Deeds Register.¹⁸⁷

Taylor’s fondness for architectonic treatment of interiors is very evident in his Grafton Street scheme houses. This is characterised by vaulted spaces, the



Fig. 53. N^o. 4 Grafton Street, ground floor dining room with arcaded treatment, north wall, by Sir Robert Taylor for General Burgoyne as building-leaseholder, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1965 photograph. *English Heritage*.

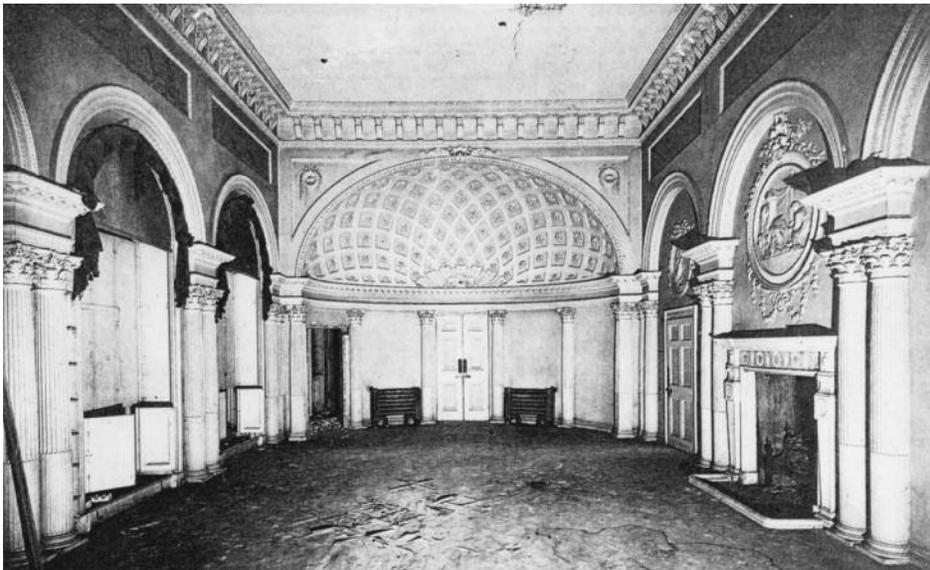


Fig. 54. The Oaks, Carshalton, Surrey (dem.), ballroom (c.1765), by Sir Robert Taylor for General Burgoyne. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 55. N° 5 Grafton Street, first-floor ante room, looking east, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1968 photograph. *English Heritage.*

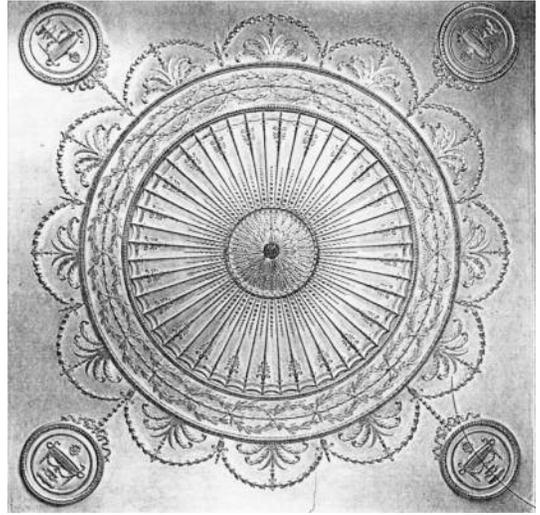


Fig. 57. N° 4 Grafton Street, ceiling of first-floor front room, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1959 photograph. *English Heritage.*

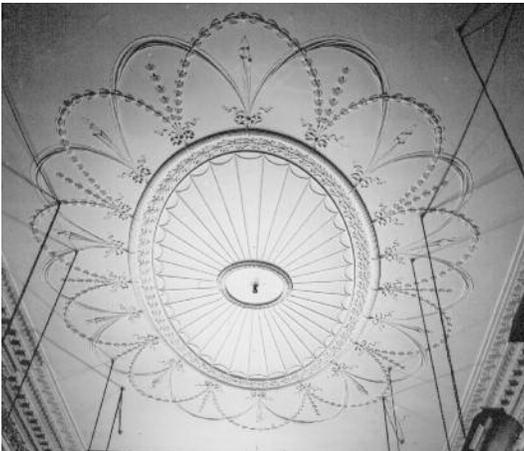


Fig. 56. N° 3 Grafton Street, ceiling of first floor room behind stairs, by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co. *English Heritage.*

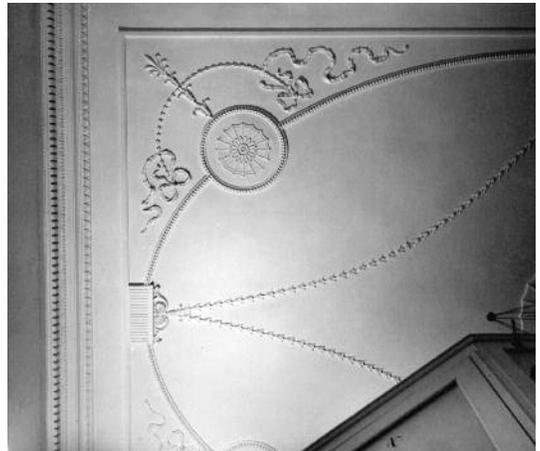


Fig. 58. N° 4 Grafton Street, ceiling of first-floor front room by Sir Robert Taylor, the plasterwork herein attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., 1959 photograph. *English Heritage.*

use of serlianas, and in the repeated employment of a short order either to support a vault, an arcade, or a screen dividing off a section of a room. Vaulting is seen not only over staircases but also in entrance halls, corridors, and in the rooms themselves. Entrance halls were variously furnished with coffered, semi-circular barrel vaults, either decorated or plain, as at N^{os}. 6 and 11 Grafton Street (Figs. 30 and 31), or triple sections of cross-vaulting separated by bands of guilloche, as at N^o. 14 Grafton Street (Fig. 32) and either N^o. 166 or N^o. 167 New Bond Street. The second-floor corridor of N^o. 14 Grafton Street has cross barrel vaulting (Fig. 33) identical to that in the minor corridors at Delapré Abbey, Northamptonshire, where Taylor was working c.1770.¹⁸⁸ And whereas the first-floor ante room of N^o. 5 Grafton Street with its deeply coved ceiling (Fig. 55) is very much in the spirit of a vaulted space, the house next door, N^o. 4, exhibits two pioneering examples of a segmental barrel vault. These are the first-floor ante room at the front of the house and the double-height former kitchen at the very back of the site (Figs. 46 and 47). Taylor also used a segmental barrel vault contemporaneously at Ely House, Dover Street, and he was one of the first in Britain to utilise this neo-classical motif. Meanwhile the entrance hall at N^o. 4 Grafton Street (Fig. 34) is treated as one broad cross-vaulted space, and other cross-vaulted ceilings are in the first floor cabinet rooms behind the stairs in both N^o. 4 Grafton Street (Fig. 48) and N^o. 22 Albemarle Street, although one suspects that the latter room is stripped of its order of short columns and full entablature supporting the vault.

Such floor-standing short columns are typical of Taylor. The confirmation now that Burgoyne built N^o. 4 Grafton Street, rather than Lord Howe's house at N^o. 3, throws up the noteworthy similarity of the ground-floor dining room at N^o. 4 Grafton St. (Figs. 51–53) and the ballroom at The Oaks, Carshalton, Surrey (Fig. 54). Both have the same system of classical wall medallions within an arcaded wall treatment supported on a short order of engaged Corinthian columns.

Arguably unique to Taylor was his habit, even in quite small rooms, of dividing off a small vaulted section of lower height separated by a short-columned screen from the main space, which could thus be experienced as though from an external viewpoint. C. R. Cockerell commented on this in an 1854 Royal Academy lecture and the device is by now well known from Taylor's work at Braxted Park, Essex, Trewithen, Cornwall, Arno's Grove, Southgate, and the Bank of England, London. A like device occurs on the first floor at N^o. 3 Grafton Street (Fig. 50), but is now less obvious on account of the Edwardian alterations carried out for Mr and Mrs Arthur James, as seen in Figure 49. Taylor's original articulation does, however, survive in the room directly below on the ground floor, and the arrangement there would originally have been repeated on the floor above. As both these rooms lie immediately behind the apsidal end of the staircase, the originally intended 'parade' route to them, via the room beside the stairs, involved a right-angled change of direction. It is this change of direction that gives the clue to the real purpose of these lower, vaulted ante-spaces to a room, as they unconsciously steer one to the point (as in Fig. 50) where you enter the 'actual' room on a central axis (instead of entering it in the corner, which would be unsatisfactory in such a room with an apse at the opposite end), thus enlivening a town house plan in an unexpected manner. The screens of these sectioned-off, vaulted sub-spaces are often expressed as serlianas (Figs. 49 and 50), a motif that is repeated in staircase windows (Fig. 45) and is implied in the arcaded wall treatment of the rear reception room on the ground floor at N^o. 4 Grafton Street (Figs. 51–53). And the oversailing relieving arch of these serlianas is frequently articulated in Taylor's characteristic manner with three panels (Figs. 49 & 50).

Finally, Taylor was never afraid to repeat an architectural fitting, as demonstrated in the entrance hall of N^o. 4 Grafton Street (Fig. 34) by his re-use of a chimneypiece model also found in Ely House, Dover



Fig. 59. N^o. 5 Grafton Street, first-floor front room chimneypiece, by Sir Robert Taylor, 1967 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 60. N^o. 5 Grafton Street, first-floor back room, re-used 1750s carved wood chimneypiece, 1968 photograph. *English Heritage*.

Street and at Asgill House, Richmond Surrey, both documented as his work, and also at N^{os}. 11 and 12 Downing Street, where his putative work was analysed in the 1999 edition of this journal. Meanwhile the chimneypiece illustrated here from N^o. 5 Grafton Street is a development of that model.

THE CHARACTER AND AUTHORSHIP OF BARRETT'S HOUSES

Despite certain repeated motifs, Barrett's houses lacked the unity of appearance evident in the first Grafton Street campaign. The heights of the houses were not uniform, although they shared common floor heights and each house had a Venetian and an ordinary window to the first floor. These Venetian windows are distinctive in having an oversailing relieving arch framing an arched recessed panel corresponding to the side lights. The ground floor windows below these Venetian windows were also tripartite and unusually for this date have segmental heads (Fig. 67). These were remarkably early for their 1780s date but consort unhappily with the window heads above. Their plans as revealed in the margins of the lease renewal indentures of 1796,¹⁸⁹ excepting the end houses, were by-and-large consistent: rectangular parlours front and back were accompanied by distinctive elongated D-plan stairs in the front halls, the flights rising from the back to a landing stretching back from over the front door (Fig. 63). N^o. 17, the north, corner house, had its Venetian window (and presumably its segmental-headed tripartite window) on the side elevation, along with the entrance which gave onto the stairs at the back (Fig. 62). N^o. 23 (Fig. 64), at the southern end of the terrace, had a plan very like Taylor's 1786–88 modification of N^o. 15 Grafton Street, round the corner on the south side between Bond and Albemarle Streets. The front parlour had an apsidal back wall, while the main and subsidiary stairs in the middle of the house behind the hall were both apsidal-ended and top lit.



Fig. 61. Royal Institution, N^o. 21 Albemarle Street, grand staircase by John Carr of York for William Mellish, c.1773–74 or 1785–87, 1949 photograph. *English Heritage*.

Barrett and his widow's address, given variously as of St. Margaret's Westminster and Duke Street in the same parish, in the successive City leases for the ground on which these houses stood,¹⁹⁰ and his bank account at Drummond's reveal Barrett to be the same as the contracting developer-builder for the (slightly earlier) N^{os}. 14–24 Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster.¹⁹¹ Barrett's lease for Queen Anne's Gate dated from 1774 and all the houses he built there were occupied by 1778.¹⁹² The indentures re-assigning those houses to their first tenants graced

him with the rank of *Esquire*,¹⁹³ suggesting he was more than a common builder, and allowing the possibility that he was related to the recently deceased Thomas Barrett, also *Esquire*, late of Brentford, Middlesex, who had been an associate, along with his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Edwardes, B^t,¹⁹⁴ of the same Edward Gray in the Marylebone speculative development mentioned above.¹⁹⁵ The Marylebone scheme was advancing at the same time as the first Grafton Street campaign and if Thomas and Michael Barrett were father and son, the

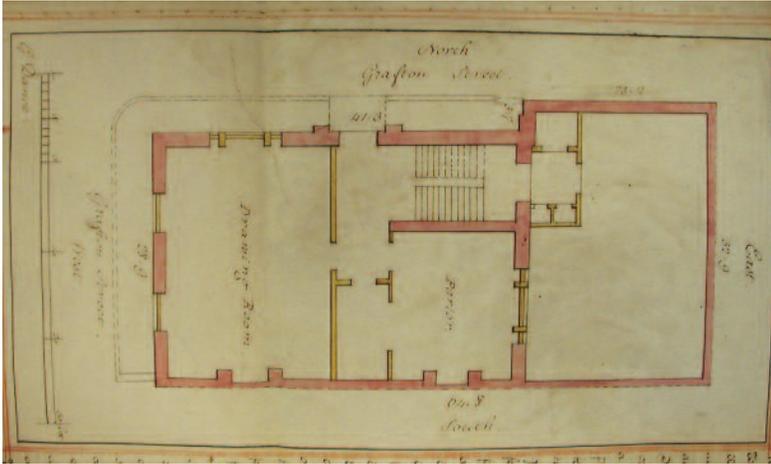


Fig. 62. George Dance the younger, plan of N^o. 17 Grafton Street (here attributed to Samuel Wyatt) from margin of 1796 lease-renewal indenture. CLRO, CCLD 129, 28, 2. *Richard Garnier.*

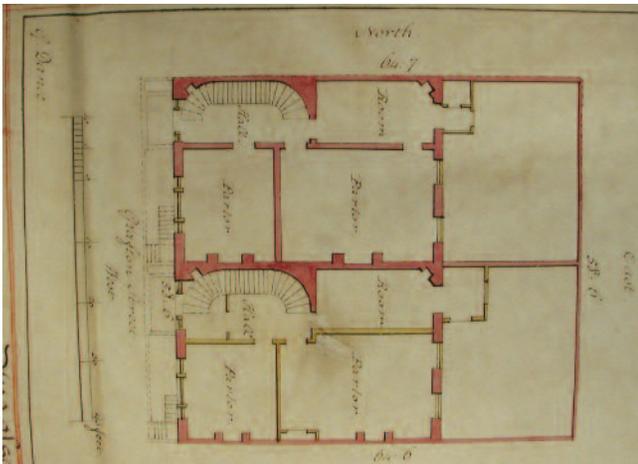


Fig. 63. George Dance the younger, plan of N^{os}. 21 and 22 Grafton Street (here attributed to Samuel Wyatt) from margin of 1796 lease-renewal indenture. CLRO, CCLD 129, 26, 1-2. *Richard Garnier.*

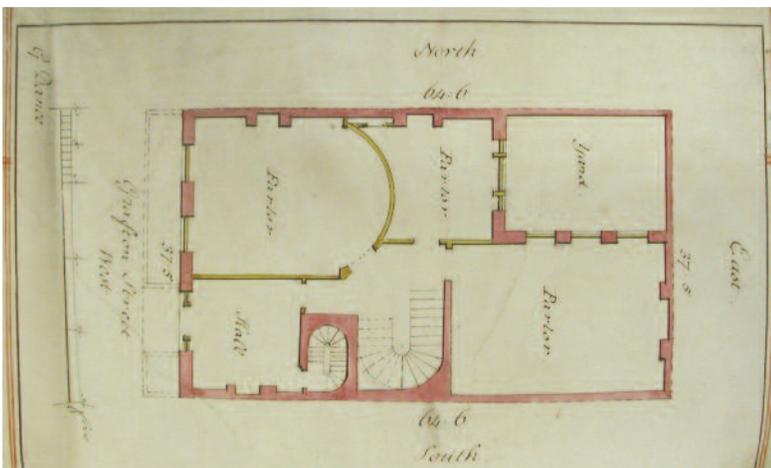


Fig. 64. George Dance the younger, plan of N^o. 23 Grafton Street (here attributed to Samuel Wyatt) from margin of 1796 lease-renewal indenture. CLRO, CCLD 129, 27, 1-2. *Richard Garnier.*



Fig. 65. Nos. 17-22 (now 18-23) Grafton Street (Nos. 17-19 dem.), 1779-90, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, 1958 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 66. Nos. 17-22 (now Nos. 18-23) Grafton Street (Nos. 17-19 dem.), 1779-90, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.

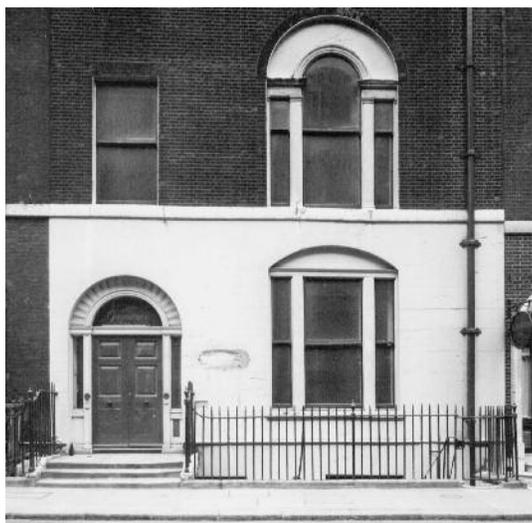


Fig. 67. No. 21 (now No. 22) Grafton Street, completed 1786, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, 1966 photograph. *English Heritage*.

Fig. 68. No. 21 (now No. 22) Grafton Street, completed 1786, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, staircase at first floor, 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.



connection with Gray would provide a link to Taylor for the second campaign in Grafton Street at a time when Gray was too overstretched to undertake it himself. And if this were so, it would explain why the rate books for 1786–89 show Michael Barrett as responsible for the rates on N^o. 6 Grafton Street, which probably still needed finishing after the Fordyce debacle.¹⁹⁶

Besides Michael Barrett, the residents provide a number of links between the two phases of Grafton Street. Arnold Nesbitt, who had from 1772 been the first occupier of N^o. 5 Grafton Street, was the uncle of two tenants of the houses from the second phase, Walter and John Nesbitt in N^{os}. 17 and 19 respectively; and Arnold's widow later married Thomas Scott, who was to be first resident of N^o. 21.

But such putative connections may well be a red herring, even though the question of who was architect of Barrett's Grafton Street houses cannot at present be established with certainty. The respective styles of Taylor and Wyatt in the 1780s can be hard to distinguish from each other, as is demonstrated by the houses Barrett built both in Queen Anne's Gate and Grafton Street, and is demonstrated particularly by the plasterwork in Barrett's Grafton Street houses (Figs. 69–72). However, there is just enough to suggest a tentative attribution to Samuel Wyatt rather than Taylor, despite the similarities in their styles at this date.¹⁹⁷ Dan Cruickshank has shown that Barrett's Queen Anne Street houses were designed by Wyatt, and in the final analysis the anomalies in Barrett's Grafton Street houses outweigh the similarities with Taylor's style and preclude an attribution to him. Just as the series of top-lit staircases with elegantly sweeping flights on a flattened D-plan in the centre of the houses at Queen Anne's Gate might have been considered Taylor's, the Venetian windows to the first floors of Barrett's Grafton Street houses with their oversailing relieving arches (Fig. 67) might also be thought more typical of Taylor than Wyatt. But Taylor's stair treads are seemingly invariably cut away on the undersides in a cyma-curved or

wavy line, whereas here at Barrett's Grafton Street houses they follow each other in a straight diagonal line (Fig. 68), as at Queen Anne's Gate. Next, there are very similar marble chimneypieces in both of Barrett's developments, distinct from those in Taylor's contemporary houses¹⁹⁸ (Figs. 73 and 74). Finally, very similar segmental-headed tripartite windows feature elsewhere in Wyatt's *oeuvre*, for instance in the rusticated ground floor of the end pavilions of his Trinity House, Tower Hill, London, of 1793–96.¹⁹⁹ In the light of these factors, the conclusion naturally suggested is that there seems no reason to think Barrett was associated with a different architect in the later of his two documented speculations and had turned again to Samuel Wyatt for Grafton Street.

TAYLOR'S LINKS TO THE LEASEHOLDERS

Even though Marcus Binney has already given a sketch of many of the early residents of Taylor's Grafton Street houses, including much natural play on connections to the duke, it is worth exploring this aspect further, especially as the scheme is now known to have been so much more extensive.²⁰⁰ As has been seen, the duke's acquisition of the Grafton Street land was quick and unexpected; he had not had the same opportunity for forward planning as Lord Albemarle and must have needed to secure tenants with a minimum of delay, as is seemingly corroborated by the parcelling out of the building leases for pairs of houses.²⁰¹ This is where Taylor's extensive connections and known role as a proto-estate agent would have been so useful. Important as the duke's connections were, it can be shown how Taylor's were also vital in assuring the success of the development.

It therefore comes as no surprise that several of the Grafton Street residents had already employed Taylor or had links to previous commissions of his. Sir John Boyd appears to have been almost

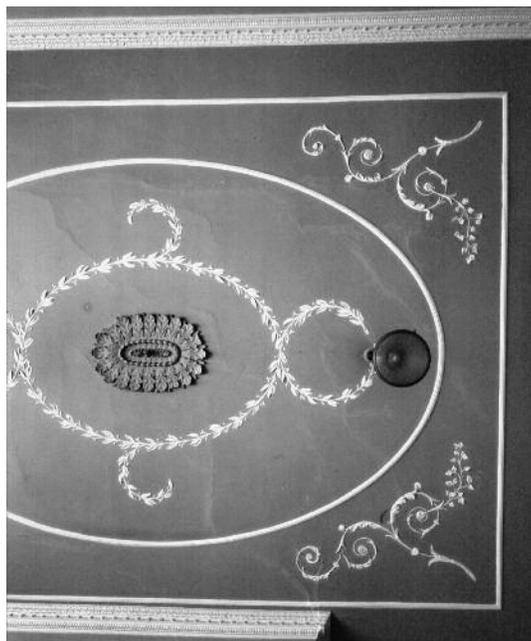


Fig. 69. N° 18 (now N° 19) Grafton Street (dem.), completed 1785, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, ceiling of first-floor front room, 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.

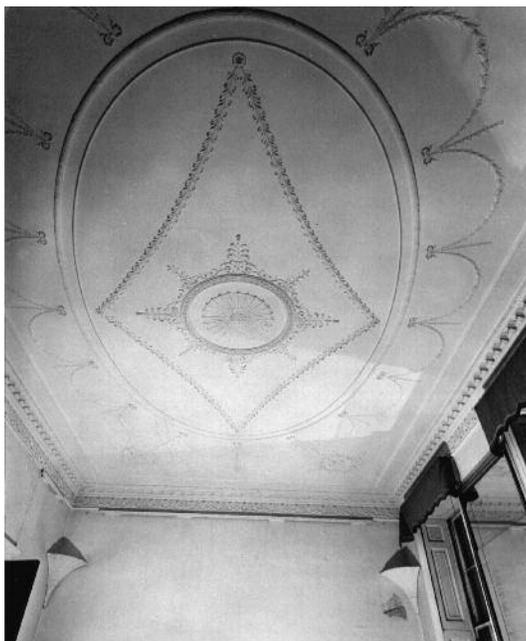


Fig. 70. N° 21 (now N° 22) Grafton Street, completed 1786, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, ceiling of first-floor back room, 1966 photograph. *English Heritage*.



Fig. 71. N° 21 (now N° 22) Grafton Street, completed 1786, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, ceiling of first-floor front room, 1966 photograph. *English Heritage*.

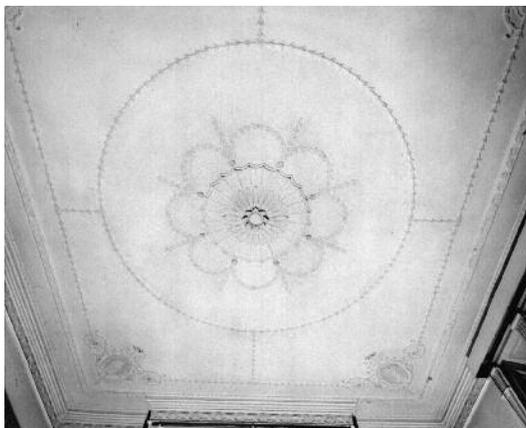


Fig. 72. N° 21 (N° now 22) Grafton Street, completed 1786, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, ceiling of ground-floor front room, 1966 photograph. *English Heritage*.

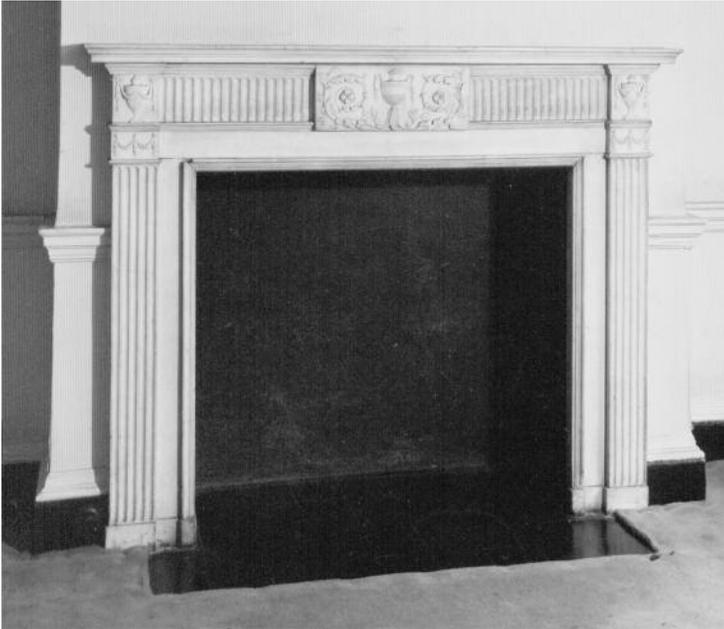


Fig. 73. N^o. 22 (now N^o. 23) Grafton Street, completed 1789, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, first-floor front room chimneypiece, 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.

continuously engaged with Taylor over a period of at least 14 years. First, his aged father at the extraordinary age of 83 had in 1760 taken a house in Great George Street, a street that was argued in last year's number of this journal as due to Taylor.²⁰² Next, Boyd commissioned Danson Hill, Kent, built 1762–67, followed straight after by a speculation at 33 Upper Brook Street, Mayfair, during 1767–68, and finally in 1769 signed up to build a pair of houses (N^{os}. 7 and 8) in Grafton Street, one a speculation and the other for himself, in which he took up residence in 1773.²⁰³

John Burgoyne, the building leaseholder of N^o. 4 Grafton Street, was also responsible for the ballroom addition to The Oaks, Carshalton, Surrey, a room firmly attributed to Taylor.²⁰⁴ Its dating is commonly given as c.1770 but is more likely to be closer to 1765, in other words before the initiation of the Grafton Street scheme.²⁰⁵ The Villiers family, from which sprang the first resident of the house which Burgoyne built, also included the Hon. Thomas Villiers,

1st Earl of Clarendon, who had employed Taylor on the Grove, near Watford, Hertfordshire, in the mid 1750s.²⁰⁶ The next occupant, the 2nd Earl of Radnor, who took the house in 1779, was the head of a family that repeatedly employed Taylor. His father and grandfather, the 1st Viscount Folkestone and the 1st Earl of Radnor, made payments for unspecified work at Longford Castle in 1751 and 1763 respectively,²⁰⁷ his uncle the Hon. Edward Bouverie had employed Taylor at Delapré Abbey, Northamptonshire, in 1769,²⁰⁸ while the 2nd Earl was to finance the construction of the Salisbury Guildhall, built to Taylor's design the year after Taylor's death in 1788.²⁰⁹

Robert Pigot, resident at N^o. 10 Grafton Street was MP for Watlington, Oxon, a position in which he succeeded his elder brother, Sir George, who had made a fortune while in East India Company service as governor of Madras.²¹⁰ And his brother's term as MP there had coincided with Taylor's employment to fit up the interior of St. Peter's church in that

Fig. 74. N^o. 22 (now N^o. 23) Grafton Street, completed 1789, here attributed to Samuel Wyatt, first-floor rear room chimneypiece, 1964 photograph. *English Heritage*.



town,²¹¹ while there is a note of the dimensions of ‘the pillar in Stoke church’ designated for the monument to ‘my sister Pigot’ tipped into the volume of Taylor’s designs for monuments held at the Taylorian Institute, Oxford.

The partnership of John Mayhew and William Ince can now be revealed as continual associates of both Edward Gray and Taylor. Mayhew and Ince’s was one of the leading furniture and ‘upholding’ practices of George III’s reign, of similar stature to Chippendale or Vile and Cobb, but they also ran a sideline in holding houses in fashionable areas of London for subletting to short-term tenants.²¹² The full extent of their connection with Taylor, including the subsequent formation for them of a single house from two of the smaller houses in the street, is examined in Appendix H, below.

Several residents of Grafton Street had links with other patrons of Taylor. Arnold Nesbitt, at N^o. 5, was a partner of Sir George Colebrooke, one of Taylor’s

most repeated patrons.²¹³ Fordyce, for whom N^o. 6 was built, was a banker and joins the ranks of other bankers whom Taylor worked for.²¹⁴ Lady Harriet Vernon at N^o. 15^b was the widow of the brother of a first resident in Great George Street, a development already cited as attributed to Taylor.²¹⁵ The Hon. Mrs Caroline Howe, the builder of N^{os}. 11 and 12 Grafton Street was an intimate friend of Countess Spencer, for whom she co-ordinated Taylor’s works at Althorp, Northamptonshire, and at Spencer House, London, c.1772.²¹⁶ Mrs Howe also knew the Earl and Countess Clermont well, and they were the builders of Clermont Lodge, Norfolk (1777–78), attributed to Taylor.²¹⁷

A final note must be made of the Wildman’s Club axis. This was a dining club founded in the winter of 1763–64 for political dissenters in opposition to the Bute Administration, which met at Thomas Wildman’s house in Albemarle Street.²¹⁸ At least two members went on to become Grafton Street residents: Arnold Nesbitt and Sir George Warren,²¹⁹

but it can now also be revealed that Wildman's house was N^o. 12 Albemarle Street.²²⁰ And Wildman was followed in residence by Sir Sampson Gideon and then in 1775 by the Duke of Grafton himself.²²¹ One suspects the clear hand of Taylor acting as a letting agent for this house, as it has already been shown how the site of Gideon's stables in Bruton Mews became attached to N^{os}. 5 and 6 Grafton Street, while Grafton's tenure of the house preceded the completion of new Grafton House in Piccadilly to Taylor's design, which he moved into in 1779.²²²

TAYLOR'S ALL-ENCOMPASSING ROLE
Last year I wrote in conclusion about the four 1750s schemes therein attributed to him,

Taylor's capacity as a real-estate agent, hinted at by Walpole, who described him as having 'surveyorship and agencies out of number' and enlarged on by Binney, can be divined in these four schemes. At Great George Street in particular several of the residents had either employed him or went on to do so. The repetitive occurrence of his known patrons and putative clientele hints at his being their source, but the picture does not seem stop there. Taylor's extensive City connections must never be forgotten and it may well be he was the lynchpin in the Mallors and Blagrave speculations, being not only the designer, but also linking the developers and the financiers and then sourcing tenants. His stewardship would not have stopped there, for as the houses appeared less fashionable later he masterminded their redecoration and continued to negotiate the selling on of houses as tenants moved on. It is by such an all-embracing role that his vast personal fortune can be explained, rather than being the product merely of architectural fees and shrewd investments.²²³

This conforms absolutely to the picture of Taylor's activities emerging at Grafton Street. He first represented Grafton concerning the potential removal of his fixtures, proceeded to conduct the bidding war for the lease, attended to the removal of fixtures by the occupant of a house about to be

pulled down on the site, stalled and then met with the parish vestry concerning the demolition and removal of the parish watchhouse and with the Commissioners of Sewers about the drains under the new houses. He was to work or had worked elsewhere for a number of the tenants and probably provided many of them for this scheme; he demonstrably oversaw the drafting of the leases, most of which were witnessed by his clerks Cockerell, Craig and Nash; and he then dispatched one or other of them to register the indentures at Middlesex Sessions House in Clerkenwell. His ongoing stewardship of the estate included the subsequent alteration and combination of two of the houses into one, related to its next tenancing. He provided Counsel's opinion from his son, a rising barrister, on the Fordyce debacle; found and assigned stabling for at least one of the tenants, Lord Howe, on ground belonging to a neighbouring leaseholder on Lord Berkeley's contiguous estate across the Tyburn Brook and probably for three of the others in the same way. He seems to have been instrumental in the formation of the partnership to keep Edward Gray afloat and advanced mortgages on the development to both Gray and the duke. Lastly, through the builder Edward Gray, who was his chosen preference in several schemes, Taylor seems to have had an association with the leading cabinet-makers and upholders, Mayhew and Ince, who joined in here to take houses for letting to short-term tenants. It is by such illustrations of his all-encompassing role that flesh is put on the bare bones of the critique on Taylor's practice found in *The Oracle* for January 20, 1792,

Sir Robert Taylor's vast fortune flowed in from every corner of a building – He would erect you an elegant habitation, he would furnish it as you pleased – deliver in the tradesmen's bills more reasonable than you could contract for, and he charged a single *Five* per Cent. for his trouble.²²⁴

How extraordinary to think that this particular commission almost never happened.

APPENDIX A: ANALYSIS OF
GRANTHAM'S HOUSE AND ITS
EXTENSION, AND OF GRAFTON'S
ORIGINAL HOUSE

The suggestion that Grafton's and Grantham's houses cannot have been built with uniform return façades to form the south side of the intended Albemarle Square is based on two initial pieces of evidence, to which may be added the early change in the rateable values of Grantham's house. First, there are the evident wall thicknesses in the present fabric of what is now N^o. 20 Albemarle Street, the house originally built for Grantham.²²⁵ Secondly, there is a survey plan (Fig. 10) prepared in the mid-1760s by either elder or younger Dance as City Surveyor (at the time of, or shortly after, the City's recovery of the Normanby lease reversion), showing the Earl of Grantham's house in outline and giving a complete ground plan of the Duke of Grafton's house, albeit in its 1727-extended form.²²⁶ The northern boundaries of the plots let out by Lord Dover at the head of the two terraces are shown in line with each other. The

plots themselves, however, are clearly documented in their deeds as of different widths, their frontages being 50 feet on Bond Street and 41 feet on Albemarle Street, their unaligned southern boundaries dictated by the then existing, unequal, stretch of development up the terraces.²²⁷ It is now argued that Grantham's house, on the narrower plot was built along the street frontage right up to the north boundary, where it was double fronted, but behind the front rooms it probably reduced in width to a single range, occupying slightly less than the southern half of the site, thereby giving the house a back area or yard in the northern half of the plot. This is suggested by the extra thickness of walls surviving in the current plan today. Again the 1760s survey shows, on account of its thickness, what must have been the original north return façade of Grafton's house positioned some feet south of the plot's north boundary, allowing a side yard running back from the street along the north side of the plot. These would have been quirky plans if the sides of the two houses were supposed to front the south side of the intended Albemarle Square.

APPENDIX B: TABLE OF SUCCESSIVE TENDER BIDS, 1765–67²²⁸

Date	Party tendering	Down payment £'s	Ground rent, £'s	Renewal fine, £'s	Total rent, £'s	Total fine, £'s
13 June 1765	Sitting tenants petition to treat with City for renewal					
25 July 1765	Albemarle petitions to treat with City					
19 Mar 1766	Heron for sitting tenants re-expresses desire to treat for renewed leases from City on their gardens & Albemarle re-offers for northern section of ground only					
19 Mar 1766	Albemarle: A; to take whole ground, leasehold		900	1,600	900	1,600
8 Apr 1766	Albemarle: B; freehold of whole ground	24,000				
8 Apr 1766	Joint Grafton, Powis, Roberts; not Bird: A [each, x3]	2,500	[x3] 50	[x3] 375	150	1,125
	Joint Grafton, Powis, Roberts; not Bird: B [each, x3]		[x3] 150	[x3] 375	450	1,125
	Taylor for Grafton, Powis, Roberts, to take Bird's		[x4] 150	[x4] 375	600	1,500
	Taylor for Grafton to take whole		905	2,000	905	2,000
3 Jun 1767	Albemarle: C		1,000	1,600	1,000	1,600
3 Jun 1767	Albemarle: D		900	4,000	900	4,000
3 Jun 1767	Bird, same as Powis, if Powis secures a lease		[150]	[375]	[]	[]
3 Jun 1767	Taylor for Grafton to take whole, as Powis & Roberts decline any more		905	4,000	905	4,000
2 July 1767	Taylor for Grafton, on garden, Albemarle Row & Mews		455	2,200		
	Taylor for Roberts, on garden		150	600		
	Taylor for Powis, on garden		150	600		
	Taylor for Bird, on garden		150	600		

APPENDIX C: THE BUILDING-LEASE HOLDERS, 1767–71

Lease Date	Agreement	Lease Effective	Holding	Holder	Witnessed	LMA, MDR reference	Registered by
19 May 1768		24 June 1767	22 & 23 AS*	Edw. Gray	Hy. Barrell† Geo. Pilfold	None traced	
1 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	wing of Grafton House	Earl of Buckinghamshire	Joshua Sharp, Lincoln's Inn	1770,3,473	J Sharp
1 Sept 1769	12 Dec 1767 ²²⁹	24 June 1769	3 GS*	Viscount Howe	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1770,3,414 & 1770,6,316	SPC
1 Sept 1769	12 Dec 1767 ²³⁰	24 June 1769	4 GS	Col. Burgoyne ²³¹	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1771,3,477	CAC
2 Sept. 1769		24 June 1769	5 GS	Edw. Gray, builder	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1770,6,317	SPC
? Sept 1769		?24 June 1769	6 GS	Edw. Gray		None traced	
1 Sept 1769	12 Dec 1767 ²³²	24 June 1769	7 & 8 GS	John Boyd	S P Cockerell & J Nash	1771,4,449	SPC
4 Sept 1771	1 Aug 1771	24 June 1769	8 GS	Edw. Gray	J Swinton & S P Cockerell	1771,4,450	SPC
13 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	9 GS	G F Tufnell ²³³	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1773,2,311	SPC
12 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	10 GS	G F Tufnell	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1773,2,310	SPC
1 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	11 & 12 GS	Mrs. Caroline Howe	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1770,6,315	SPC
2 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	13 & 14 GS	Edw. Gray	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1770,6,318	SPC
? Sept 1769		?24 June 1769	15 GS	Edw. Gray		None traced	
5 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	163 & 164 NBS*	Edw. Gray	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1770,6,319	SPC
6 Sept 1769		24 June 1769	165, 166 & 167 NBS	Edw. Gray	S P Cockerell & J Nash	1771,4,451	SPC
	3 Sept 1771	24 June 1771	1 & 2 GS	Gray, Swinton & Barrell	S P Cockerell & C A Craig	1771,5,264	SPC
4 Sept 1771		24 June 1771	1 GS	Gray, Swinton & Barrell	R Stonehewer ²³⁴ & S P Cockerell	1771,5,266	SPC
4 Sept 1771		24 June 1771	2 GS	Gray, Swinton & Barrell	R Stonehewer & S P Cockerell	1771,5,265	SPC

* AS = Albemarle St; GS = Grafton Street; NBS = New Bond St

† AS = Roberts's witnesses were H Shelley and Geo. Garnier [RIGB,1,L,1,3]

APPENDIX D: COMPLETION AND OCCUPATION OF HOUSES, 1771-91²³⁵

Date	No of 1st occupations	Details of houses
1771	4 (+1 [?])	3,12 Grafton St; 164 (+163 [?]) N. Bond St.
1772	4 (+4=empty)	5,8,11,13,(xx) Grafton St.
1773	2	7 Grafton St; 166, N. Bond St.
1774	5	9,10,14,15 Grafton St; 167 N. Bond St.
1775	3	1,2,4 Grafton St.
1776	2 (+1=empty)	22,23 Albemarle St; (165 N. Bond St.)
1778	1	165 N. Bond St.
1786	1	6 Grafton St.

APPENDIX E: EDWARD GRAY'S MORTGAGES

Year	Date	Property	Amount	Mortgager	ex-Mortgager
1770	Dec. 21 ²³⁶	5 GS*	£2,500	William Finch Palmer ²³⁷	
1771	Feb. 28 ²³⁸	163 NBS*	assigned in trust to Arthur Edwards, plumber & glazier, @ £?/yr. rent		
	Mar. 20 ²³⁹	13/14 GS	£1,000	William Finch Palmer ²⁴⁰	
	Jun. 28 ²⁴¹	4 GS	£3,150	John Barber	
	Aug. 7 ²⁴²	8 GS	£2,100	Maj.-Gen. Chas. Venables	
	Sept. 5 ²⁴³	1/2 GS	£5,200	Robert Taylor	
1772	Feb. 6 ²⁴⁴	1/2 GS	£4,500	Duke of Manchester (balance of £1,500)	Robert Taylor
	Mar. 5/6 ²⁴⁵	166/167 NBS	assigned in trust to Thos. Saunders, bricklayer, @ total £69/yr. rent		
	Apr. 24 ²⁴⁶	5 GS	£1,000	John Allen	Palmer
	May 22/3 ²⁴⁷	166 NBS	£1,200	Wm. Gibberd	
	Nov. 6 ²⁴⁸	167 NBS	£1,000	Matt. Robinson Morris	
1773	Mar. 23 ²⁴⁹	2 GS	sold to Wm. Gale, who pays off Taylor (£1,500) & Manchester (£4,500)		
	Dec. 25 ²⁵⁰	165 NBS	assigned in trust to Thos. Saunders, bricklayer, @ £31, 10s/yr. rent		
1774	Feb. 24 ²⁵¹	165 NBS	£?	Thos. Heming	
	Nov. 21 ²⁵²	5 GS	£4,000	Nath. Tanner	Allen, deceased
1776	Nov. 2 ²⁵³	22 AS*	assigned to Jas. Swinton		
	Dec. 24 ²⁵⁴	23 AS	£2,500	Nath. Tanner	
1777	July 30 ²⁵⁵	Dance ordered to draw site plan of east terrace, Grafton Street, preparatory to letting by City			
	Sept. 12 ²⁵⁶	Tanner agrees not to foreclose on £2,500 still owed provided £3,000 paid by 12 Mar. 1778			
	Oct. 31 ²⁵⁷	22 AS, back part	assigned to Jas. Swinton		
1778	Mar. 12 ²⁵⁸	23 AS	£2,000	Edw. Stracey Gray's own resources)	Tanner (£1,000 paid out of
1787	Nov. 29 ²⁵⁹	23 AS	Gray to pay Stracey £50 interest 6-monthly on £2,000 still outstanding, running to Nov. 29, 1794		
1790	Jun. 24 ²⁶⁰	23 AS	£2,000	brothers John & Geo. Elwes of Welbeck St.	
	Jun. 24 ²⁶¹	166 NBS	£1,000	Elwes brothers, as £1,200 still outstanding to Gibberd	
1798	Jun. 10 ²⁶²	Edw. Gray dies insolvent			
1812	Jul. 30 ²⁶³	Sale of Gray's leases by order of Court of Chancery			

* GS = Grafton Street; NBS = New Bond St; AS = Albemarle St

**APPENDIX F: THE RATINGS, TENANTS TO 1800
AND THE FIRST DATE OF THEIR RESIDENCE**

Grafton Street west & north

1	£210	1775: Sir George Warren; ²⁶⁴ 1793: Warren for tenants; 1791: empty; 1793: Warren for tenants; 1794: empty; 1796: Richard Sullivan; ²⁶⁵ 1797: Sir Geo. Warren
2	£90/125	1776: William Gale; 1787: Mrs Hervey Mildmay; ²⁶⁶ 1790: Hon. Geo. Keith Elphinstone; ²⁶⁷ 1792: Rev. Sir Chas. Rich ²⁶⁸
3	£210	1771: Lord Howe ²⁶⁹
4	£210/190	1776: Lord Villiers; ²⁷⁰ 1778: empty; 1779: Earl of Radnor ²⁷¹
5	£160	1772: Arnold Nesbitt; ²⁷² 1780: Sir Robert Smith; ²⁷³ 1786: Maj. Gen. Campbell; ²⁷⁴ 1789: Drummond Smith; 1794: empty; 1795: Hon Robert Murray Keith; ²⁷⁵ 1796: Chas Duncombe
6	£130	1786: Michael Barrett; ²⁷⁶ 1789: empty; 1793: Robert Thornton ²⁷⁷
7	£130/96	1773: (Sir) John Boyd ²⁷⁸
8	£100/70	1774: Lord Villiers; ²⁷⁹ 1775: Mayhew & Ince for tenants; ²⁸⁰ 1786: Sir Ralph Payne; ²⁸¹ 1787: Mayhew & Ince for tenants
9	£110/96/70	1774: (Sir) John Taylor; ²⁸² 1781: Lovel Stanhope; ²⁸³ 1784: Evan Law; 1790: Mayhew & Ince for tenants ²⁸⁴
10	£80/70	1774: Robert Piggott; ²⁸⁵ 1775: Lord Molesworth; ²⁸⁶ 1795: Lady Malpas
11	£110/90/72	1772: John Crawford; ²⁸⁷ 1794: Richard Myddleton; 1796: James M Heywood
12	£70/64	1771: Hon. Mrs Caroline Howe ²⁸⁸
13	£70/60	1772: Mrs Baddesley; 1773: empty; 1775: Mrs Eliz. Jelfe; ³⁰⁵ 1799: Earl of Llandaff
14	£60/56	1774: Lord Winchilsea; ²⁸⁹ 1775: Mayhew & Ince; ²⁹⁰ 1786: Hamburt Mackenzie; ²⁹¹ 1787: Mayhew & Ince; 1794: Geo. Mowbray

Grafton Street south and east

15a	£40	1771: John Stewart; 1773: Mrs Stewart; 1784/85: No house; 1786 Mrs Stewart
15b	£50	1774: William Defoe; 1778: Lady Harriet Vernon ²⁹²
15	£80	1787–88 Empty; 1789: Mayhew & Ince ²⁹³
[16]	[Part of Lord Suffield's development in 1794–95 on his garden on west side of Albemarle St.] ²⁹⁴	
17	£60	1783: Walter Nesbitt; ²⁹⁵ 1786: John Comerall; 1790: Walter Nesbitt; 1791: Charles Herries
18	£60	1785: Henry Hoare; ²⁹⁶ 1796: Mrs Whetham
19	£60	1786: Michael Barrett; ²⁹⁷ 1787: John Nesbitt ²⁹⁸
20	£60	1786: Michael Barrett; ²⁹⁹ 1787: Lord Berkeley; ³⁰⁰ 1794: Samuel Prado
21	£60	1787: Empty; 1789: Thomas Scott ³⁰¹
22	£60	1789: John Taylor Vaughan
23	£90	1790: Empty; 1791: Lord John Russell; ³⁰² 1796: Mrs Maria Fitzherbert; ³⁰³ 1798: George Hyde Clarke

Albemarle Street east

22	£70	1776: Count Malzen; ³⁰⁴ 1781–88: Empty; 1789: John Baxter; 1791: Messrs. Chipchase & Son
23	£160	1776: Mayhew & Ince; ³⁰⁶ 1786: Earl of Hopetoun; ³⁰⁷ 1787: Mayhew & Ince

Bond Street west

163		
164	£16	1790: Claud Comp; 1791: Wm. Ladbroke
165	£30/16	1778: Geo. Darling; 1790: Anne Darling
166	£40/33	1773: Alex. Cumming; ³⁰⁸ 1784: Messrs. Clarke & Byrne; 1786: Wm. Carr
167	£40/32	1774: Walter Shropshire; 1780: Watson & Dickenson; 1784: Wm. Dickenson

Old Grafton Hse:

£224; £240 from 1773; £291 from 1784

To 1765: Duke of Grafton; 1766: Empty; 1767: Earl of Chatham; 1768: Earl of Buckinghamshire

**APPENDIX G: THE SOUTHERN
BOUNDARY OF THE CITY LAND**

As alluded to above, the elder Dance's researches at the time of the City lease renewals in 1767 had unearthed an uncertainty concerning the boundary between the City's Conduit Mead land and the freehold Clarendon land. The problem here was that initially at the time of the mid-1760s renewal the City thought the new leases should be co-extensive with the Normanby plot. By early August of 1767, however, Dance had discovered the Normanby lease indenture specified the land granted to him bordered south not on the Clarendon land but on part of the City's land within the Conduit Mead. The plan that accompanied the lease showed the City/Clarendon boundary as a 'pricked bevil line',³⁰⁹ running diagonally somewhat south of Normanby's parcel of ground. In other words Normanby's holding extended south only to the north edge of the old east-west road from Bond Street to Hay Hill, and the old road itself had been on City ground, the ownership of which had become clouded by the double removal northward of that road. This led to the City re-negotiating their leases on the garden plots with the four neighbouring freeholders:

It appears clear that the City have been defrauded of a piece of ground fifty feet by one hundred and twenty which in this part of town is of considerable value.

Of this the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Powis, Mr Roberts and Elias Bird, Esq^r were so sensible that they applied to the City (when they had purchased the reversionary term granted to the Marquis of Normanby) for leases of their respective parts, which have been accordingly granted to the three first with the old fifty foot way included. But Mr Bird dying before his lease was made out, his executors refused to accept it, on pretence that it contained the said fifty foot way which they thought proper from the length of possession, to claim as their freehold, although upon the face of their own purchase deed it appears that it was never granted to their testator.³¹⁰

How this problem had arisen is clearly set out in the City Lands committee minutes, relating:

That in May 1667 (near three years after the said Grant from the Crown and not two months after the said lease from the City) he [the Earl of Clarendon] agreed with Sir William Pulteney (who had purchased part of his freehold) that a small piece of ground between their Garden Walls and the Conduit Mead should be laid out in a twelve foot way which the said Earl covenanted that the said Sir William should enjoy as a way forever.

From which fact it is reasonable to assume the said wall stood at the northern extremity of the said Earl's and Sir William's freehold and that consequently the said way was made out of the adjoining field, which they might safely venture to do, as the said field was therein the said Earl's possession for a term of near one hundred years....

When and by whom the said twelve foot way was afterwards enlarged to fifty feet is not clear, only it appears it was of that width in 1707, being so described in the assignment of part of the Conduit Mead to the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Grantham, the Earl Powlett, and Mrs Wallop (from which last Elias Bird derives his title). But it seems reasonable to conclude that the said way had been enlarged out of the City's leasehold as that is described to be still a waste. There is no doubt but the new way which upon a writ of *ad quod Damnum* in 1708 was substituted in lieu of the old one was taken out of the City's leasehold.³¹¹

By the time of this committee minute in 1777, the matter had been dragging on for some time since the City in desperation had resorted to law during 1771. The bill filed in the High Court of Chancery in 1771 had been dismissed by the Lord Chancellor without costs to either side, leaving something of a stalemate. 'Ejectment' was considered by the City, but on Counsel's advice, they opted for a 'court of equity' suit. But on the approach of the court date in the summer of 1777 Bird's executors made overtures to settle.³¹² As a result the City recovered all but the most southerly 20 feet of the garden and so was afforded the opportunity to develop the site, as detailed in the main text above.³¹³ John Nash later acquired the 'Bird' house and in 1796-98 there built for himself a house cum office, visible in Figure 20.³¹⁴

APPENDIX H: THE MAYHEW AND
INCE CONNECTION AND
N^o. 16 ALBEMARLE STREET

It is remarkable that, of the 23 houses originally designed by Taylor comprising the first phase of the Grafton Street development, four should have been at some time held by the cabinet making partnership of John Mayhew and William Ince and that two of the smaller ones were knocked together as another house for them in the late 1780s (Appendix E, above). In addition to their mainstream cabinet-making and upholstery business Mayhew and Ince ran a sideline in taking leases on London townhouses for sub-letting to short-term tenants.³¹⁵ It has been suggested in an earlier number of this journal that this fact and the number of houses they held in the Grafton Street development is circumstantial evidence enough to suggest a formal association between them and Taylor.³¹⁶ The discovery now of a mortgage advanced to these leading cabinet makers by Taylor in 1773 confirms this suggestion,³¹⁷ but there was longer-standing connection between Mayhew and the builder Edward Gray, as revealed by the mutual payments in their respective bank accounts.³¹⁸ As a final illustration of the links between them, when drawing up his will in 1794 Edward Gray appointed John Mayhew an executor.³¹⁹ The house that became N^o. 15 is a revealing case in point. This was originally two individual houses, the first rated at £40 and let to John Stewart and his wife, the second at £50 and taken successively by William Defoe and Lady Harriet Vernon.³²⁰ She died on April 12 1786 and Mrs Stewart drops out of the rate books in 1784 (with a single re-appearance in 1786).³²¹ The following year a single house only is shown, at £80, but it remained empty until 1789, whence it is accredited to Mayhew and Ince.³²² The presumption is that the conversion to one house was carried out for them by Gray, to Taylor's design.

The conversion of two houses to create N^o. 15 Grafton Street for them, by extension then supports the involvement of Gray and Taylor in the updating



Fig. 75. N^o. 16 Albemarle Street, tripartite ceiling treatment of entrance hall, here attributed to Sir Robert Taylor for Mayhew and Ince, and the plasterwork attributed to Joseph Rose and Co., c.1785–87. *Richard Garnier*.

of 16 Albemarle Street.³²³ That freehold house, which dated from c.1700 and (being some way south down Albemarle Street) lying outside the Taylor development on the Grafton/Roberts holding from the City, had languished tenantless for nine or ten years before it was taken by Mayhew and Ince in 1787.³²⁴ The suggestion is, therefore, that it was for them that the entrance hall of this house was decorated in a manner consistent with Taylor's style. It has a characteristic tripartite composition with a central implied saucer dome supported by pendentives between sections of barrel vaulting, while the wall surfaces are enlivened with figurative medallions hung with husk festoons (Fig. 75) akin to the wall decoration of the back ground floor room at 4 Grafton Street (Figs. 51–53).

APPENDIX J: SUN FIRE OFFICE POLICIES

These records, held at the Guildhall Library, London include:

262/395030

Sir George Warren & Robert Taylor of Spring Gardens Esquire

On a brick house only situate in New Grafton Street
aforesaid in tenure of said Sir Geo. Warren not exceeding
six thousand pounds

6000

On the Offices only adjoining each other brick behind
not exceeding one thousand pounds

1000

£13 Lady Day 1779

7000

337/517212

7 April 1786

Rt. Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Howe of the Admiralty

On his house in Grafton Street not tenanted

5000

Household goods

500

Printed books

200

£10, 14s Lady Day 1787

5700

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NOTES

- 1 B. H. Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, London, 1952, upon which much of the early history of the Grafton Street site herein is based.
- 2 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995 [hereafter Colvin, *Dict.*], 966; Marcus Binney, *Sir Robert Taylor, Rococo to Neoclassicism*, London, 1984 [hereafter Binney, *Taylor*], 60–61.
- 3 *Idem*; this article will show additionally that another five of Taylor’s houses survive, although in an altered state, namely Nos. 165–67 New Bond Street, No. 16 (originally 15) Grafton Street, and No. 22 Albemarle Street.
- 4 These 23 were later reduced to 22 when, in 1786–88, two were knocked together to form No. 15 Grafton Street (see Appendix H, above).
- 5 Throughout this article ‘new’ Grafton House indicates the house built on the corner of Piccadilly and Clarges Street in the late 1770s to Taylor’s design, in delayed replacement of ‘old’ Grafton House on Bond Street that had been sold by the Duke of Grafton in 1767.
- 6 H. J. V. Tyrrell, ‘The Mayfair Properties of the Royal Institution’, *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, LXXI, 2001, 202.
- 7 Hence the name of Conduit Street.
- 8 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 8.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 39–41.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 76–83; the mortgage was in support of the previously unpaid settlement made by Clarendon on the marriage of his second son, Lawrence Hyde, and Burlington’s youngest daughter, Lady Henrietta Boyle.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 79. The term ‘Ground’ (with a capital letter in the usage of the time) was generic rather than as a proper noun, as has sometime otherwise been thought from the almost germanic eighteenth-century use of capital letters for all significant common nouns in hand-written documents.
- 12 Commonly known as Lord Dover, giving the name both to the street and to his house on the corner of Dover Street and Hay Hill.
- 13 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 81–83. Bond and Jermyn (Lord Dover) were both Catholics and formed part of the Queen’s circle; additionally Bond was married to Lord Jermyn of Dover’s niece and co-heiress, daughter of Jermyn’s elder brother, 2nd Lord Jermyn. [J. & J. B. Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, 1977 reprint of 1841 2nd. ed., Baltimore, USA, 70–71, *sv.* Bond of Peckham]. Johnson, *op. cit.*, makes the point that Dover’s flight to France at the Glorious Revolution (with the sons of James II, who had entrusted them to his care) only contributed to the slow pace of development. Dover commanded a troop at the Boyne, but was later reconciled to William III [*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1939, 689].
- 14 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 84–148.
- 15 Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, 204.
- 16 London, Westminster Archives Centre [hereafter WAC], rate books, St. Martins-in-the-Fields.
- 17 London, Guildhall, Corporation of London Record Office [hereafter CLRO], SCLP 1193–5.
- 18 This figure is my estimate, computed from the submission in the 1760s from the Duke of Grafton and his three neighbouring end-of-terrace freeholders that their gardens together totalled four acres, to which must be added the area of the north terrace of present-day Grafton Street and the triangle of ground north of Hay Hill.
- 19 Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, 204.
- 20 As was established by the City in the 1760s–80s, the roadway along the boundary between the Clarendon and City land was not included in Normanby’s lease (see Appendix G, below).
- 21 Son of Judge Jeffreys of Bloody Assize infamy.
- 22 Both plots were let out on building leases by Lord Dover in, or shortly before, 1703 [Grafton: Bury St. Edmunds, West Suffolk Record Office (hereafter WSRO), 11WS,16,1a&b; & Grantham: Royal Institution of Great Britain (hereafter RIGB), 1,L,1,1(13,Jan., 1706)]. The house on the west side of [Old] Bond Street was built by Thomas Barlow of St Paul’s Covent Garden and John Chamberlain of St James’s Westminster, both carpenters by trade. Robert Fryth, plasterer, and Richard Fryth, bricklayer, built the house backing onto it, on the east side of Albemarle Street. Charles, 2nd. Duke of Grafton came into the Bond Street house in December 1706, while Lord Grantham had bought the Albemarle Street house for £5000 on 12/13, January, 1706.
- 23 *Idem*.
- 24 The deeds of January 20–21, 1703/4 released ‘the corner piece of ground whereon a messuage formerly called Clarendon House, then Albemarle House used to stand in the parish of St. Martin’s in the Fields, Middlesex, on the west side of Bond Street fronting east on that street abutting south on ground of Lord Dover’s let to John Chamberlain, on

- west on other ground of Henry Lord Dover let to Robert and Richard Fryth, to the north on a street fifty feet wide between the ground hereby granted and an intended square. The ground conveyed contained in front from north to south next Bond Street fifty-one feet and in depth east to west on the south side sixty-five feet and in breadth from north to south at the west end fifty-one feet and in depth from east to west on the north side sixty-five feet together with the 'messuage which had been or was being built thereon'. [WSRO, 11WS,16,1,a&b].
- 25 Simon Bradley & Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster*, New Haven & London, 2003, 495.
- 26 In September 1705 Huntley Bigg, scrivener, and Terry Sturgeon of the Middle Temple paid £9,900 5s for it [CLRO, CCLD, Box 90, No. 2].
- 27 *Idem*.
- 28 The indenture curiously records him so, presumably using an abbreviated form of the title inherited from his father, Baron Poulett of Hinton St. George, whereas on 24 December of the previous year he had been created Viscount Hinton St. George and Earl Poulett. The indenture cannot have indicated his son, who was born only in 1708, and the confusion must have originated from the negotiations for the purchase having started before he received the new honours so late in 1706 [see *Burke's Peerage*, 1956, 1764–65, *sv*. Earl Poulett].
- 29 John Rocque, *Map of London and Westminster*, 1745.
- 30 CLRO, JCLC, 69, 1777–78, 125ff., Jul. 9, 1777: 'About the year 1707 Mrs Wallop in conjunction with the owners of the three other freehold houses on the said south side of the road obtained an assignment of the City ground on the north side of the road for the residue in the term in Lord Clarendon's lease of the Conduit Mead estate which expired in 1766 and soon after obtaining the same they sued out a Writ of ad quod Damnum and [later] without any licence thereon enclosed the said road and made a new road fifty feet wide further northward upon the City's ground which new road was enclosed about the year 1723 and the present highway called Grafton Street made in lieu thereof at the north end of the said garden.' The use of 'about' prefacing the dating is legalese in a court submission for a precise and generally accepted dating not backed up by documentary evidence.
- 31 Nor does there seem to have been a general revaluation on the formation of the parish of St. George's Hanover Square in 1725, when this area was transferred from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.
- 32 The clues that the north wing of Grantham's house was undertaken in stages are found both in the periodic rating increments and in the survey plans of the building when acquired by the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1800 [London, RIBA, Drawings Collection, SB/58/1 (9–13)]. Those plans of 1800 show breaks in the building line within the street front and the garden façade at the back, indicating four campaigns that do not immediately correspond (even if the initial 1722 increase from £100 to £120 was for infilling the back of the freehold plot) with the five subsequent rate increases up to that date. This must either indicate the subsequent rebuilding of at least one section to perhaps a greater height, or it is the result of the parish vestry's policy of re-rating houses on a change of ownership by purchase rather than inheritance, as also pointed out in *n.127*, below. The post-1722 increments were £30 (to £150) in 1725; £10 (to £160) in 1754; in 1758 (on the north section of the now divided house newly rated at £80, being half the joint rating) by £10 (to £90); £20 (to £110) in 1772; £20 (to £130) in 1785–87; and lastly £70 (to £200) due to the alterations for the Royal Institution in 1801. As the rate book listings sometimes mention '& stables', there is a case for the latter having been moved north at least once, the space they had been occupying then being rebuilt (at full height) as domestic quarters. It is perhaps relevant that the grand stair hall of the Royal Institution has no basement under, suggesting that space was first occupied by stabling. The resultant suggested sequence is as follows: back room behind double front of No. 20 1722; the now 'Conversation Room' 1725, as two rooms; the present Grand Stair 1754, as stables, all for Grantham; the same converted to domestic quarters 1758 for Roberts, and stables (noted in WAC, rate books, Parish of St. George Hanover Sq.) added to its north; the space representing the present Main Entrance 1772 while Grand stairs inserted; and the present Council Room 1786–87; leaving the last few feet short of the south party wall of 22 Albemarle Street to be filled in as part of the Royal Institution's works in 1800–01.
- 33 Son of Deputy Registrar of Chester; MP 1761–72; Deputy Paymaster Gibraltar 1743–61, inspector of the out ports in the Custom House 1746–62, receiver of quit rents in Virginia for life 1748; received

- pension on Irish establishment in 1754; Lord of Trade 1761–62 & 1765 to death in 1772. His monumental inscription in Westminster Abbey records Roberts as ‘the very faithful secretary’ of Henry Pelham, Newcastle’s younger brother and his predecessor in the Premiership. His life hinged on this connection. He had become tutor to Pelham’s son, on whose death Roberts was retained as Pelham’s secretary. Pelham, when Premier, obtained leave of the King to admit him ‘into a full and unreserved confidence in all his most secret affairs’. ‘From this time therefore Mr Roberts saw all the papers’, even such as were laid before but very few of his Majesty’s ministers. All the internal secrets of Government whatever, *not proper to be specified* [i.e. secret service disbursements], came under his knowledge’, and he was sometimes sent ‘upon very private messages to the king’. On Pelham’s sudden death in 1754, Hardwicke reported that Roberts by order of ‘his late good master’ had taken all Pelham’s papers into his custody and that the private papers belonging to his Majesty [the secret service accounts] he was to deliver to the King. In the following weeks Roberts assisted Newcastle in carrying through Pelham’s arrangements for the general election in that year. However, Newcastle did not take to Roberts and his relations with Newcastle were never cordial or even smooth. [Namier & Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 361–63].
- 34 RIGB, 1,L,1,1,1 verso; RIGB, 1,L,1,2,2. Mellish, an MP 1741–51, was second son of Joseph Mellish of Doncaster and Blyth, Notts., by Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Gore, Lord Mayor of London. The Mellish family were engaged in the London trade with Oporto and William’s first wife was the widow of a rich Portuguese Jew; his second wife was his first cousin and brother’s sister-in-law, Anne, daughter of his mother’s brother John Gore of Bush Hill, Middlesex, a South Sea director and an early patron of Taylor [Binney, *Taylor*, 30,34]. William Mellish succeeded to Blyth on the 1757 death of his elder brother; in 1751 he had given up his seat for a the commissionership of excise with a salary of £1,000 per annum, and in 1760 Newcastle gave him the receivership of customs, at £1,500 *p. a.*, but he was turned out in 1763 under the general proscription of Newcastle’s friends. Mellish’s mercantile background and triple connection with the Gore family would seem to make him a natural patron of Taylor, which he duly became, first as the trustee of his landlord, John Roberts, and then on his purchase of Roberts’s City lease when he undertook to continue the contracts entered into by Roberts in the Taylor scheme. However, for the work on his own house in town and at his property at Blyth Mellish employed, as has been seen above, his personal friend John Carr of York. [Romney Sedgwick, *House of Commons, 1715–54*, Oxford, 1964].
- 35 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*, note Roberts and Mellish initially in the first two years as the other way round, but that must be in error, only corrected once the rating revaluation caused by Roberts’s building works was being entered up in 1758.
- 36 *Survey of London*, XIV, St. Margaret Westminster, pt. III, London, 1931, 117–18; for details of the life of Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, MP, acknowledged natural son of 2nd Duke of Grafton, see Namier and Brooke, II, 436–37, and a copy of his will, annotated as received by the 3rd Duke on Fitzroy Scudamore’s death in August 1782, is held with the duke’s papers at WSRO, HA513,4,36.
- 37 Grafton had employed Kent to paint official portraits of George II (*e.g.* one dated 1741), while the Banqueting house at Euston by Kent dates from 1746 and Wakefield Lodge was built to Kent’s design largely after his death in 1748–56 [Colvin, *Dict., cit.*, 581, 585]; Brettingham worked at Euston 1750–56 [*Ibid.*, 156]; Richard Hewlings, ‘Wakefield Lodge and other houses of the second Duke of Grafton’, in *Georgian Group Journal*, III, 1993, 43–61.
- 38 Colvin, *Dict., cit.*, 151.
- 39 Burlington’s surviving town house plans are not known for suites of room *en filade* on a centralised axis, with the sole exceptions of the first floor of General Wade’s house, No. 29 Burlington Street, and the ground floor of the first scheme for Richmond House, Whitehall [reproduced in Pamela D. Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington’s Town Architecture*, London, 1995, figs. 49, 59 and 67].
- 40 CLRO, JCLC, 57 (1765), 59, 73, 93 (15 May); JCLC, 58 (1766), 32ff.
- 41 CLRO, JCC, 64 (1765–69), 21 (Apr. 8, 1766).
- 42 My italics.
- 43 CLRO, JCC, 64 (1765–69), 21 (8 Apr., 1766); and CLRO, JCLC, 58 (1766), 22ff. (19 Mar.).
- 44 CLRO, SCLP 1223, dateable to 1767, shows the location of Albemarle’s stables.
- 45 CLRO, JCC, 64 (1765–69), 21 (8 Apr., 1766); and CLRO, JCLC, 58 (1766), 33ff. (16 Apr.).
- 46 CLRO, CCLP 409 B.

- 47 Peter Leach, *James Paine*, London, 1988, 73, plan.
 48 *Ibid.*, 94, plan.
 40 *Ibid.*, 173; and it might be considered unusual for an eighteenth-century patron to start settling his bills so soon after acquiring a house, besides which Leach writes (*loc. cit.*) that it appears that Paine was not involved at Bagshot before January 1770.
 50 CLRO, CCLP 409 A.
 51 CLRO, JCLC, 58 (1766), 20ff. (16 Mar.).
 52 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 25ff. (25 Mar.).
 53 CLRO, JCC, 64 (1765–69), 22 May 1767.
 54 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 65ff. (3 June).
 55 *Idem.*
 56 *Idem.*
 57 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 82 (18 June).
 58 Gen. Augustine Prevost, of a Genevan French Huguenot family, ‘settled in England, and served in the Earl of Albemarle’s Regt. of Horse Guards, and also in the 60th Royal America Regt.; was present at Battle of Fontenoy and at the Battle of Quebec, where he was severely wounded; ultimately commanded the British forces against the French, and won the Battle of Savannah, 1779. He purchased the estate of Greenhill Grove, co. Hertford’ [L. G. Pine, *Burke’s Peerage*, 1954, 1778–89, *sv.* ‘Prevost’].
 50 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 82 (18 June).
 60 *Idem.*
 61 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 94 (2 July): ‘Mr Venables agent for the Earl of Albemarle attended and alleged yt. General Prevost had purchased the interest in the leases of Albemarle Row in Conduit Mead at considerable expense in order to become a tent. to the city and enable him to renew and as he understood the premises were let to the Duke of Grafton subject to his accommodating the respective tenants he therefore attended to desire the sd. Earl might be accommodated with his part. Whereupon he was acquainted that accommodation was limited only to those three tenants who were then and for many years past had been in possession of large tracts of Garden Ground two whereof were held with their respective [freehold] dwelling houses and on the third all or most of the dwelling house was erected and if taken from them would have been of the greatest inconvenience which was not the same of ye. sd. earl and therefore his applicatn. could not be of any effect.’
 62 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 86ff. (2 July).
 63 *Idem.*
 64 Effective from Michaelmas 1767: CCLD, 107b, 1b and 2; LMA, MDR, 1769.7.296 (Grafton) and MDR, 1775.1.392 (Roberts), the last also cited in both MDR 1775.2.263 and RIGB, 1, L, 3, 4.
 65 Namier and Brooke, *op cit.*, III, 361–63.
 66 It was the Powis holding that remained open garden longest of the four, the first houses appearing thereon in WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*, in 1794–95.
 67 CLRO, CCLD, Box 92, 1.
 68 *Idem.*
 69 WSRO, HA513,4,332,3; a printed copy of the Act, and a schedule giving ‘State of matters respecting house in Bond Street and money received by sale thereof’, compiled by the duke’s lawyer, are both at WSRO, HA513,4,31 and HA 513,4,332, respectively.
 70 Marcus Binney, ‘Taylor’s Grafton Street’ I & II, *Country Life*, November 12 and 19, 1981.
 71 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 56 (20 May).
 72 *Ibid.*, 59 (1767), 85 (18 June).
 73 *Ibid.*, 59 (1767), 181 (23 Sept.). This also throws up a possible explanation for the use of earlier fittings in Taylor’s houses on the site, for instance the 1750s carved wood chimneypiece in the first floor back room of No. 5 Grafton Street (Fig. 60) [photograph in London, English Heritage, London Region collection].
 74 CLRO, CCLD, 107, 1b.
 75 Information on his calling in CLRO, CCLD, 107b, 6.
 76 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 181ff.
 77 *Idem.*
 78 See Appendix G, above.
 79 It may be pertinent here that in the basement of No. 20 Albemarle Street (Grantham’s original house) there is a spinal passage running from front to back right through the building that has more the character of a former area passageway, open to the sky, and which may be a survival from such an area and under-pavement vaults shown as running along the south side of Albemarle Square in the plan reproduced in Fig. 2. With the abandonment of the idea of the square the plot would then have been doubled up to make the size that Grantham took. This would not be inconsistent with Strype’s comment about abandoned house beginnings in the area and it would be worth knowing whether a similar arrangement survives under what replaced the Duke of Grafton’s original house.
 80 CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 167.
 81 *E.g.* CLRO, SCLP 1193, 1223 and 1272.
 82 *Ibid.*, 230.
 83 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*

- 84 WSRO, HA513,4,335; completion took place on 15/16 December, 1769 [LMA, MDR 1770,3,474; WSRO, HA513,4,332,4 (erroneously noted as on 11 December); and on May 5 and 27, 1772 Grafton paid £3,150 and £3,490 into 3% Consols [WSRO, HA513,4,332,5]. The foregoing corrects the mooted assumption in Richard Hewlings, 'Wakefield Lodge and other Houses of the Second Duke of Grafton', *Georgian Group Journal*, 1993, 54, that the discrete group of payments cited therein as "for London Accot" were for new Grafton House, designed by Taylor [I am grateful to the author for pointing this out]; see also n. 222, below.
- 85 LMA, MDR1770,3,473.
- 86 Buckinghamshire did, incidentally, update the house in the middle of the building work due to Taylor going on just north of him, but chose instead to use his own architect, Samuel Wyatt. Payment to Wyatt in 1780 is recorded for work on the earl's Bond Street house [John Maddison, *Blickling Hall*, National Trust, 1987, 40], but this must have been in settlement of a long-standing bill, as the rateable value of the house was raised in 1772. Something of the extent of Wyatt's work can be assessed from comparison of the survey plan by Dance in the 1760s, just before the sale to Buckinghamshire (Fig. 10), and another by Pilkington from 1820 for the Duke of Grafton, following the sale of the leases belonging to the insolvent estate of the builder Edward Gray (Fig. 17). Apart from some internal alterations, a deep curved bay has appeared on the north front of the old house, in the angle against the north wing and giving onto the view up the narrow garden strip at the back of the 1727 wing.
- 87 WAC, St. George, Hanover Sq., Vestry Minutes, 1768, 78ff. (26 Jan.). The parish vestry was not so much concerned with the blocking of the road as the consequent shutting off of the parish watchman's house in the street; see below.
- 88 The previous vestry meeting had been on 20 Nov. 1767, whose minutes make no mention of the stopping up of the street.
- 89 RIGB, 1,L,1,3. This lease covered the 87ft. 8in. long by 54ft. wide northerly part of Roberts's garden in the angle of Albemarle Street and 'new Grafton Street, formerly Albemarle Row'. This is the earliest reference to the street as Grafton Street.
- 90 *Idem*.
- 91 MDR 1771,4,451 (165-167 New Bond St.); RIGB, 1,L,3,4 also refers.
- 92 The boundary passes N-S through the body of 15 Grafton Street and through the canted bay at the back of 22 Albemarle Street: RIGB, 1,L,2,1; 1,L,2,2; 1,L,2,3 & 1,L,2,6.
- 93 See Appendix C, above.
- 94 *Idem*.
- 95 Binney, *Taylor*, 71.
- 96 Richard Garnier, 'The Office of the Sick and Hurt Board', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 96-100.
- 97 Binney, *Taylor*, 79.
- 98 PRO, Office of Works, Minutes, Proceedings, 14-16 [ref. *ex. inf.* Binney, *Taylor*, 99, n.25; H. M. Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, V, 1976, 357.
- 99 Binney, *Taylor*, 26.
- 100 London, Royal Bank of Scotland, archives dept., Drummond's ledgers [hereafter Drummond's], DR427,81 (11 Dec., £49 10s.): here suggested as most likely for the design of new Grafton House, first occupied by Grafton in mid-1779 [see n.222, below].
- 101 Drummond's ledgers, *loc. cit.*; the yearly totals of the individual payments are: 1765 £340; 1766 £350; 1767 £300; 1768 £550; 1769 £380; 1770 £150; 1771 £850; 1772 £700; 1773 £420; 1774 £400; 1775 £550; 1776 £680; 1777 £500; 1778 £415; 1779 £500; 1780 £325; 1781 £620; 1782 £424; 1783 £625; 1784 £410; 1785 £550; 1786 £300; 1787 £242; 1788 £400; making the substantial total for the period of £10,472.
- 102 WSRO, HA 513,4,334-335 and 337, one dated 2 Feb. 1795; HA 513, 4, 43, a letter of 7 Aug. 1790 from Danl. Simpson to the duke talks of 'Mr. Pilkington your Graces Surveyor and Collector succeeding Sir Robt. Taylor?'
- 103 See Appendix C, above.
- 104 WSRO, HA 513,4,43.
- 105 LMA, MDR 1769,5,464.
- 106 See also n.78, *infra*. The position of these stables and their proprietors are noted on a plan endorsed verso 'Hay Hill Premises let to Duke of Grafton' [CLRO, SCLP 1223]. As this plan also notes the duke's freehold house as 'in the possession of the E. of Chatham' that must date the plan to 1767, the only year in which the earl of Chatham is noted in the rate books as resident at old Grafton House, Bond Street. It is also of note here that the Duke of Grafton on leaving 22 Arlington Street in 1775 (where he had been living since leaving old Grafton House in Bond Street) next moved into what had previously been Sir Sampson Gideon's house at 12 Albemarle Street (the site of the present Royal Arcade in Albemarle Street) [WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*]. And Gideon had followed Thomas Wildman,

- who hosted the Minority Club (commonly called Wildman's Club) in the house. For the connection between that club and the residents of Grafton Street see 'Taylor's Links to the Residents' in the main text, above.
- 107 LMA, MDA 1771,4,449, which also describes No. 7 as abutting NW on a 'stable belonging to the Earl of Albemarle'.
- 108 WAC, Vestry Minutes, *loc. cit.*, 1768, 84ff. (20 Feb.).
- 109 *Idem.*
- 110 *Ibid.*, 1768, 90 (31 Mar.); the 'Bishop' in question was of St. David's, a pluralist who was also rector of this Westminster parish.
- 111 The churchwardens of St George's Hanover Sq. at this date were all grandees, including Lord Boston, Lord Walpole and Lord Willoughby de Broke.
- 112 WAC, Vestry Minutes, *loc. cit.*, 1768, 104 (12 May).
- 113 *Ibid.*, 1769, 121 (26 Jan.). In the meantime, the Vestry had built a new watch-house and (fire-engine house on the 'piece of ground leading from Mount Street to the Burial Ground (the property of the Parish). . . . sufficient to Build a Watchhouse and Engine House thereon, and leave room enough for a proper passage for Funerals to enter into the Burial Ground'. The plan was by Mr Phillips, and execution was by Mr Pratt, carpenter, and Mr [Edward] Gray, bricklayer, at a cost of £244 1s. 4d. [*Ibid.*, 1768, 104-5 (12 May), 123 (20 Feb.)]. The draft of Grafton's £100 payment to the Bishop of St. David's is shown in Drummond's ledgers [London, Royal Bank of Scotland, archives, DR 427, 58 (27 Jan. 1769)].
- 114 CLRO, JCLC, 64, 1772, 111, July 8, 1772.
- 115 *Idem.*
- 116 Binney, *Taylor*, 61.
- 117 CLRO, JCLC, *loc. cit.*
- 118 Appendix D, above.
- 119 WSRO, HA 423,4,19.
- 120 *Loc. cit.*
- 121 LMA, MDR 1771,5,264-7.
- 122 WSRO, HA 513,4,335 & 337 (lists 1771 mortgage assignment) and HA 513,4,41 (lists 1781 mortgage assignment).
- 123 Probate had not been granted to Michael Angelo Taylor until handed down in a judgement on appeal in the Court of Delegates on 13 June 1795 [London, National Archives, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), DEL 9,9,13-14v]. The 8 Oct. 1795 indenture of Grafton's City lease renewal is endorsed on its reverse: 'Be it remembered that on 14 October 1795 licence is granted unto the within named Augustus Henry Duke of Grafton to assign transfer and set over unto Michael Angelo Taylor of Whitehall in the County of Middlesex Esquire son and only executor of the last will and testament of Sir Robert Taylor late of Spring Garden in the parish of Saint Martins in the Fields Westminster deceased the within written indenture of lease and premises. . . with right of renewal . . . subject to the proviso of redemption to be contained in such assignment. The said Michael Angelo Taylor paying the rent and performing the covenants, etc. [CLRO, CCLD 122, 1].
- 124 Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 363.
- 125 LMA, MDR 1775,3,4 (20 Albemarle St.); RIGB, 1,L,1,1,2; 1,L,1,2,3.
- 126 LMA, MDR 1775,2,263 (21 Albemarle St.).
- 127 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*; the parish's policy of revaluations on a change of occupier by purchase as distinct from inheritance, is repeatedly spelt out in the Vestry minutes over the handling of successive appeals by new occupiers against rating increases.
- 128 RIGB, 1,L,2,1.
- 129 Colvin, *Dict.*, 224; Brian Wragg (Giles Worsley, ed.), *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, Otley, 2001, 116.
- 130 Colvin, *Dict.*, 225 and 222; Dr. Ivan Hall kindly communicated the information about Workington; Wragg, *op. cit.*, 99, fig. 81, illustrates the Wentworth Woodhouse stair.
- 131 Wragg, *op. cit.*, 116; the payments were: Feb. 1769 £60; Jan. and Dec. 1770 £42 each; June 1773 £82; Feb. 1774 £21; Jan. 1775 £42; Apr. 1777 £21; Aug. 1779 £112; Aug. 1780 £20; Nov. 1782 £10, 10s; and May 1784 £69.
- 132 LMA, MDR 1774,1,154 (No. 165 New Bond St.); MDR 1772,2,88 and 89 (Nos. 167 and 166 New Bond St.); RIGB, 1,L,1,4; 1,L,1,6; 1,L,1,7 (all No. 166 New Bond St.); and 1,L,3,4.
- 133 LMA, MDR 1771,5,264-7 (Nos. 1 and 2 Grafton St.); RIGB, 1,L,1,4; 1,L,1,5; and 1,L,3,4.
- 134 This development was the cause of numerous registrations in the Middlesex Deeds Registry in the late-1760s to mid-1770s, e.g. LMA, MDR 1770,3,367-76.
- 135 At much the same time Gray transferred No. 22 Albemarle Street to Swinton, perhaps in recompense of the latter's investment in the partnership discussed above [RIGB, 1,L,2,5; 1,L,2,6 & 1,L,2,7].
- 136 1,L, 2,8; 1,L,13,1.
- 137 *Idem.*

- 138 RIGB, 1,L,2,9 (23 Albemarle St.); 1,L,2,10 (166 New Bond St.); 1,L,3,4.
- 139 RIGB, 1,L,3,4: date of death was 10 June 1798.
- 140 *Idem*; and RIGB, 1,L,13,1 & 1,L,21,7.
- 141 RIGB, 1,L,3,4 & 1,L,13,1.
- 142 See Appendix C, above.
- 143 Gray's bank account at Drummond's does not run beyond 1770; presumably the partnership banked elsewhere, perhaps in continuance of an account held by Swinton, who, unlike Gray or Barrell, never banked at Drummond's. Barrell's account at Drummond's runs from 1768 to 1777, but was never greatly used and in the last years was completely inactive.
- 144 LMA, MDR 1771,5,264-7; MDR 1772,1,367; MDR 1771,3,477; MDR 1771,4,88 (both feature in each deed).
- 145 LMA, MDR 1771,3 477; 1771,4,88; 1771,5,264-67; & 1772,1,367.
- 146 PRO, DEL 9,8,159 to end, running on as DEL 9,9, 1-15: the will itself contains a bequest of 50 guineas to Barrell [*loc. cit.*, 164v], who is cited as living in Taylor's 'Messuages or Tenements in Spring Gardens and Charing Cross' [*loc. cit.*, 159v], whereas a codicil entitled 'Hasty Heads of Instructions for the Will of Sir Robert Taylor Knt. increases the bequest to £500 and states 'it is my express desire that all and every Balance or Sum or Sum of Money which may be due in account or otherwise from the said Henry Barrell senior to me at the time of my Death be cancelled or annihilated and that the Legacy and Reversion to him as aforesaid be paid to him free from any Consideration of Account between us' [*loc. cit.*, 10].
- 147 Binney, *Taylor*, 62 and 79.
- 148 Drummond's ledgers, DR427,56.
- 149 A single payment of £300 by the Duke of Grafton to Swinton was made in November 1770 [Drummond's ledgers, *loc. cit.*, DR427,60].
- 150 *Ibid.*, DR427,52, *sv.* account of Colonel John Burgoyne: he paid £93 9s. *od.* on 8 May 1766. Other payments by Burgoyne were £80 and £100 in 1764 and £94 in 1766 to the master builder Henry Holland the elder; and £50 in 1766 to Henry Barrell. These payments were probably in connection with the construction of the ballroom addition to The Oaks, Carshalton, Surrey, attributed to Taylor and until now dated to *c.* 1770 [Binney, *Taylor*, 37, 96], but see also *n.* 204, below.
- 151 Richard Garnier, 'The Office of the Sick and Hurt Board', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 96-100.
- The duke also made subsequent payments to Gray, Swinton and Barrell, starting in 1776/77, along with 'Jos. Rose' from 1778, must have been in connection with the construction of new Grafton House.
- 152 Drummond's, *loc. cit.*
- 153 Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England, 1660-1820*, Edinburgh, 1981, 256.
- 154 *E.g.* LMA, MDR 117,1,96 and 154 & 219.
- 155 Colvin, *Dict.*, 849, lists a George Saunders, architect, the son of one Joseph or Joshua Saunders, carpenter of London. Thos. and Jos. Saunders may have been brothers.
- 156 Richard Garnier, 'Sir Robert Taylor', in Giles Worsley, (ed.) *Georgian Architectural Practice*, Georgian Group Symposium, London, 1991, 46.
- 157 See Appendix H, above.
- 158 LMA, MDR 1771,2,376.
- 159 Drummond's ledgers, *loc. cit.*
- 160 CLRO, JCLC, 69 (1777-78), 30ff. refers to his death.
- 161 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.* note him as "Gone" in the second half of 1773; the City Lands committee minutes on May 26, 1773 note that he had served notice to 'quit the premises at Midsummer next' [JCLC, 65, 1773, 58b].
- 162 CLRO, CCLP 68A and CLRO, JCLC, 69 (1777-78), 163 (30 July, 1777).
- 163 CLRO, JCLC, 69 (1777-78), 163 and 209.
- 164 *Idem.*
- 165 CLRO, JCLC, 70, 1778-xx, 19, 32 and 101.
- 166 Not to be confused with the Henry Barrell, already encountered as a partner of Edward Gray and James Swinton from 1771. Barrell lived at Taylor's house in Charing Cross, Barrett in Duke Street, near Great George Street, Westminster.
- 167 CLRO, JCLC, 72 (1780-81), 6ff. (March 8, 1780).
- 168 CLRO, CCLD, Box 107B,22.
- 169 *Loc. cit.*
- 170 CCLP 1288, n.d. but *c.* 1803-07. On 15 Dec. 1802 the City lands Committee accepted the recommendation of their special sub-committee that a plan of the Conduit Mead estate should be prepared [JCLC, 94, 1802, 182] and on 27 Jan. 1808 the committee agreed to issue warrants to the Chamberlain for three payments of £95 each to George Dance for preparing the plan [JCLC, 99, 1807-08, 268].
- 171 MDR 1775,1,392; MDR 1769,7,296; MDR 1770,3,473; CLRO, CCLD 107B,1B (Grafton's City lease) and CCLD 107,2 (Mellish's City lease) specifically bar the following trades from being followed in the houses to be built: 'tallow chandler,

- melter of tallow, soap maker, tobacco pipe maker, brewer, distiller, butcher, slaughterman, founder', or any other noisesome or offensive trade.
- 172 E.g. RIGB, 1,L,1,3; a later lease from Mellish to Gray of No. 23 Albemarle St. (1776) specifies no trading on the premises, no commercial signs, and in the event of the demolition it is to be rebuilt with the same elevations [RIGB, 1,L,2,1,2].
- 173 E.g. LMA, MDR 1770,6,319 (163–64 New Bond St.); 1771,4,451 (165–167 New Bond St.). The “shop” leases were also distinguished by being for a period of whole years, or years and quarters, ‘*less eleven days*’ [my italics]. This must have been a knock-on effect of the unrest amongst the commercial classes in 1752 over the “short” quarter that was occasioned by the British adoption of the Gregorian Calendar. The infamous cry of ‘Give us back our eleven days!’ was due not to some romantic sentiment but the practical matter of the loss of that number of days for which rent had already been paid. If left un-rectified that would have given an unfair advantage to landlords as any renewals on Old Style leases would occur eleven days earlier than originally envisaged. Even though these Grafton Bond Street leases were for new-built houses, not renewals on leases originating from before the change in calendar, the specific wording in these leases seems to hint at a continuance in “commercial” leases of the old rental quarter days being on the same “actual” day as under the Old Style, merely converted into the new calendar notation, in much the same way as the end of the governmental financial year has evermore been taken as 5 April, eleven days after Lady Day properly is in the New Style. In this way all commercial leases would run on concurrent periods, regardless of which Calendar they originated under. The gentry leases on the purely residential houses in Grafton and Roberts’s development were unconcerned with such niceties, using the Quarter Days of Midsummer, Michaelmas, Christmas and Lady Day as they truly fell under the New Style.
- 174 No. 165 New Bond Street was leased to one Fryer, stationer [LMA, MDR 1772,2, 89 and 1772,3,405] and No. 166 was taken in 1773 by Alex. Cumming, an eminent clockmaker [WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*].
- 175 Although the existence of this ceiling has been confirmed to me, Asprey’s have specifically not let me see a photograph of it, even though the room in question is planned to be a circulation area open to the public after the re-opening of the store on completion of the current alteration and refurbishment works.
- 176 Binney, *Taylor*, 61.
- 177 Richard Garnier, ‘Speculative Housing in 1750s London’, *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 163–214.
- 178 Marcus Binney, ‘Taylor’s Grafton Street’ I & II, *Country Life*, November 12 & 19, 1981.
- 179 Richard Garnier, ‘Speculative Housing...’, *loc. cit.*
- 180 Binney, *Taylor*, 62.
- 181 The stair of No. 3 Grafton Street as altered is derived from Michelangelo’s stair to the Laurentian Library, Florence, although with pilasters substituting for Michelangelo’s engaged wall columns.
- 182 Until recently cluttered with the aerial walkways and other paraphernalia of the retail premises and associated offices this now is, but currently undergoing extensive reorganisation by Norman Foster and Partners.
- 183 For the evidence that No. 15 was originally two houses see Appendix H, above.
- 184 Asprey’s have declined permission for me to re-examine this plan, thus preventing confirmation of whether the vaulted hall in question was in No. 166 or 167.
- 185 RIGB, 1,L,9,4 and 7.
- 186 The stair of No. 22 has since been continued to the top of the building, but the steps of the first flight have cut-away curved undersides characteristic of Taylor.
- 187 References to the individual indentures are given in Appendix C, above.
- 188 Colvin, *Dict.*, 967.
- 189 CLRO, CCLD 129, 25–29.
- 190 CLRO, CCLD 107B,22; 129,25,1–2; 129,26,1–2; 129,27,1–2; 129,28,1–2 and 129,29,1–2.
- 191 Drummond’s ledgers, *loc. cit.*; LMA, MDR 1781,3,33 and a Thomas Barrett, brickmaker was involved at No. 43 Berkeley Sq. in 1744 [LMA, MDR 1744,1,154; kindly communicated to me by Richard Hewlings].
- 192 Dan Cruickshank, ‘Queen Anne’s Gate’, *Georgian Group Journal*, II 1992, 56–67.
- 193 LMA, MDR 1776,2,246; 1777,7,412; 1778, 2,147 and 1781,3,33.
- 194 For the relationship see Sir Bernard Burke, *Peerage and Baronetage*, 40th ed., London, 1878, 417, *sv.* Edwardes of Shrewsbury; the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Francis Edwardes, (3rd or 4th) Bt., as

- Lady Malpas, the widow of the pre-deceased heir apparent of 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley, was subsequently reident, from 1795, at No. 10 Grafton Street [Namier and Brooke, II, 213]: see Appendix F, above.
- 195 LMA, MDR 1774.4.45.
- 196 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 197 Bradley & Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 527, 'Nos. 21–23, two-bay brick houses of c.1775, have each one normal and one Venetian window on the first floor. The later have unusual relieving arches, typical of Taylor.' Unfortunately Barrett's bank account at Drummond's [*loc. cit.*] was not opened until 1785, by which date he would probably have paid his architect.
- 198 Cf. Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, 65, Fig. 11.
- 199 Colvin, *Dict.*, 1128.
- 200 Binney, *Taylor*, 29.
- 201 See Appendix C, above.
- 202 Richard Garnier, 'Speculative Housing in 1750s London', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 163–214.
- 203 LMA, MDR 1771.4.449–50.
- 204 Colvin, *Dict.*, 967; Binney, *Taylor*, 96. In addition it can now be suggested, on the basis of payments during 1764–66 in Burgoyne's bank account at Drummond's [*loc. cit.*; see also n.147, above] that the team of craftsmen engaged at The Oaks included the same James Swinton and Henry Barrell who were later to join Edward Gray in partnership at Grafton Street, although the apparent contracting master builder at The Oaks was Henry Holland the elder.
- 205 Both Colvin, *Dict.*, *loc. cit.*, and Binney, *loc. cit.*, give the date of the ballroom as c.1770. However, the similarity of the elliptically fanned coffering in the apsidal ends of The Oaks ballroom to the treatment at Taylor's Rotunda at the Bank of England (1765–68) and his work at Arno's Grove, Enfield, of before 1762 [see Richard Garnier, 'Arno's Grove, Southgate', *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 122–134] suggests to me that the ballroom at The Oaks was earlier than previously has been thought, and plausibly should be set in the mid-1760s. This earlier date is seemingly corroborated by the payments in Burgoyne's bank account at Drummonds [*loc. cit.*, DR427.48 and 52 (1764 and 1766), the details set out in n.150 and 205, above].
- 206 Colvin, *Dict.*, *cit.*, 965; Binney, *Taylor*, 94; the Lord Villiers recorded in the rate books is distinct from the other Lord Villiers, who was by this time 4th Earl of Jersey. The particular Lord Villiers resident in Grafton St. must have been the son of Elizabeth Villiers, herself Viscountess Grandison in her own right, the only surviving child of 5th Viscount Grandison. A spoilt child and a spendthrift, he quit the country by 1779, which accords with the note in the rate book that the house was empty from 1778 [Namier and Brooke, III, 586; WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*]. See also n.255 and 265, below.
- 207 Binney, *Taylor*, 34 and 95; Colvin, *Dict.*, 965.
- 208 Colvin, *Dict.*, *cit.*, 967; Binney, *Taylor*, 34.
- 209 Binney, *Taylor*, 34.
- 210 Namier and Brooke, III, 281.
- 211 Namier and Brooke, III, 279–81; Colvin, *Dict.*, 965.
- 212 Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert (eds.), *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers, 1660–1840*, London, 1986, 591.
- 213 Namier and Brooke, III, 194–5; Binney, *Taylor*, 95; Richard Garnier, 'Gatton Town Hall' and 'Arno's Grove, Southgate', *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 72–75 and 122–134.
- 214 Binney, *Taylor*, 32, quoting WSRO, HA 423.419.
- 215 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 56, I, 353; Namier and Brooke, III, 584–86; Richard Garnier, 'Speculative Housing in 1750s London', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 177.
- 216 *Survey of London*, XXX, 521; Colvin, *Dict.*, 966; Binney, *Taylor*, 38.
- 217 Richard Garnier, 'Clermont Lodge, Norfolk', *Country Life*, September 23 1993, 122–25; Colvin, *Dict.*, *cit.*, 967.
- 218 Binney, *Taylor*, 29.
- 219 *Idem*; Namier and Brooke, III, 607–9; previously it had been thought that the Lord Villiers of No. 8 and then No. 4 Grafton Street was a member of Wildman's, but this is to confuse him with the other Lord Villiers, who by this date had succeeded his father as 4th Earl of Jersey.
- 220 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 221 *Idem*.
- 222 Colvin, *Dict.*, 966; Binney, *Taylor*, 95; but the accepted dating given therein is in error, the rate books confirming that the duke took up residence in 1779 [WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*]; see also n. 84, above.
- 223 Richard Garnier, 'Speculative Housing in 1750s London', *Georgian Group Journal*, XII, 2002, 182.
- 224 Kindly communicated to me by Mrs Clare Lloyd-Jacob whilst compiling a newspaper-cutting index at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Bedford Square, London.
- 225 H. J. V. Tyrrell, *Guides to the Royal Institution of*

- Great Britain: 2, The Site and the Buildings*, London, 2001, back cover, gives a ground plan showing wall thicknesses.
- 226 CLRO, CCLP 190A.
- 227 WSRO, 11WS,16,1,a&b; RIGB, 1,L,1,1.
- 228 CLRO, JCC, 64 (1765–69), 22 May and CLRO, JCLC, 59 (1767), 59ff. (25 Mar.) both give in narrative the sequence of competing bids.
- 229 WSRO, HA 513,4,337.
- 230 *Idem*.
- 231 A second son who had little money of his own and none from his wife (the daughter of 11th Earl of Derby) with whom he eloped and married in 1743. He therefore sold his commission in 1751 and retired to France to escape creditors, but was later reconciled with Lord Derby and in 1756 returned to England and regained his commission, rising to Lt.-Gen. in 1777 and C-in-C Ireland 1782–84; MP 1761–92, before his election assuring Newcastle of support, later also supporting Chatham and Grafton. In 1772, it is said on Grafton's encouragement, he moved for a select committee on the East India Co. and became its chairman, aiming to censure Clive and deprive him of his wealth gained in India. He was disappointed in hopes for high command in America, in 1776 being appointed second-in-command in Canada, but, having captured Ticonderoga (received at home as a great success), he was later surrounded and forced to capitulate. His subsequent career was marked by an obsessive desire to justify his failure in the American War of Independence. [Namier and Brooke, II, 141]. In 1769–71, at the same time as he was speculatively engaged in building No. 4 Grafton Street, Burgoyne employed Robert Adam to carry out the interior decoration of No. 10 Hertford Street, a house that he had bought in carcass from Henry Holland [Colvin, *Dict.*, 56; Tara Draper, 'No 10 Hertford Street', *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 116–138].
- 232 WSRO, HA 513,4,337.
- 233 Of Turnham Green, Middlesex, and Chichester, Sussex, he was a London speculative developer who, as MP for Beverley, received the Duke of Newcastle's whip via Andrew Wilkinson, a Yorkshire MP closely connected with Newcastle [Namier and Brooke, II, 567; Peter Thorold, *The London Rich*, London, 1999, 162]. He sprang from a London-based family of merchants and brewers; he was the son of a commissioner for settling commerce, whose monument (†1758) at Pleshey, Essex was attributed to Cheere by Mrs Webb and who left Langleys, Essex, to his elder son, John Jolliffe Tufnell, G. F. Tufnell's elder brother. The middle name of Jolliffe records a descent from that family, the brothers' great uncle being Sir William Jolliffe, a Bank director and Alderman, whose monument (†1749), also at Pleshey, was similarly attributed by Webb to Cheere. The 1769 indentures [*cit.*] have George Forster Tufnell as of Horkstow, Lincs., which John Harris & Nikolaus Pevsner, *Lincolnshire*, Harmondsworth, 1964, 276, describe as 'a mid Georgian builder's job with some pattern book pretensions, the staircase with delicate Rococo ceiling'. As his second wife, in 1767 J. F. Tufnell married Mary, daughter of John Farhill of Chichester, to whom he assigned one of the two houses for which he was contractual builder [WSRO, HA513,4,41].
- 234 Grafton's private secretary; see *n.* 283, below.
- 235 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 236 LMA, MDR 1770,6,523.
- 237 Presumably a connection of the Finch family, Earls of Winchilsea; Edward Finch-Hatton and his brother, the 8th Earl of Winchilsea (uncles of the 9th Earl, first resident, in 1774, of No. 14 Grafton St.), both married sisters, the heiress daughters of Sir Thomas Palmer, 4th Bt., of Wingham, Kent [*Burke's Peerage*, 2335, *sv.* Winchilsea and Nottingham].
- 238 LMA, MDR 1771,2,376.
- 239 LMA, MDR 1771,2,201.
- 240 See *n.* 237.
- 241 LMA, MDR 1771,4,88.
- 242 LMA, MDR 1771,5,13.
- 243 LMA, MDR 117,5,267.
- 244 LMA, MDR 1772,1,367.
- 245 LMA, MDR 1772,2,88–89; RIBA 1,7 and 3,4.
- 246 LMA, MDR 1772,3,86.
- 247 LMA, MDR 1772,3,405; RIGB, 1,L,1,4–5 and 1,L,3,4.
- 248 LMA, MDR 1772,7,298.
- 249 LMA, MDR 1773,2,429.
- 250 LMA, MDR 1774,1,154.
- 251 LMA, MDR 1774,2,64.
- 252 LMA, MDR 1774,7,267.
- 253 RIGB, 1,L,2,6.
- 254 RIGB, 1,L,2,4 and 1,L,2,8.
- 254 CLRO, JCLC, 69 (1777), 163 (30 July).
- 255 RIGB, 1,L,2,8.
- 256 RIGB, 1,L,2,5.
- 258 RIGB, 1,L,2,8.
- 259 RIGB, 1,L,2,8.
- 260 RIGB, 1,L,2,9.

- 261 RIGB, 1,L,2,10; 1,L,3,4.
- 262 RIGB, 1,L,3,4.
- 263 *Idem.*
- 264 Of Stockport & Poynton (which he rebuilt 'on a grand scale'), Cheshire; MP 1758–96 (classed by Newcastle as a sure friend); member Wildman's Club; married Jane Revel (with a fortune put at £4,000 a year); early industrialist who tried to levy feudal dues on the industrial development of Stockport [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 607–09].
- 265 As Warren's tenant; of Thames Ditton, Surrey, a cousin of Laurence Sullivan, MP and many times chairman of the East India Co., and through whose influence Richard went to India as a writer; in 1781 appointed minister at Arcot but never went; returned to England 1782; MP 1787–96 and 1802–06 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 511].
- 266 Perhaps Jane (d.1799), widow of Carew Hervey Mildmay of Shawford House, Hants., Hazlegrove, Somerset, Marks Hall, Essex, and Mildmay Park, Stoke Newington. [L. G. Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, London, 1956 (hereafter *Burke's Peerage*), 1503, *sv.* St. John-Mildmay; J. Burke & J. B. Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies...*, 1841, Baltimore, 1977 reprint, 356, *sv.* Mildmay of Moulsham].
- 267 MP 1781–90 and 1796–1801, discharged from navy at own request and returned home 1768 after profitable trading ventures in India and China, then obtaining a new commission in fleet bound for East Indies; sent in 1778 by Howe to defend E. Florida and distinguished himself in operations leading to capture of Charleston, S. Carolina, in May 1780; created Baron Keith 1797 & Viscount Keith 1814; married Hester Maria, daughter and co-heiress of Henry Thrale [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 400–01].
- 268 Born Bostock, married 1783 Mary, dau. and heiress of Lt. Gen. Sir Robert Rich, Bt., and assumed name; created Bt. 1791 [*Burke's Peerage*, 1838, *sv.*, Rich, Bt.].
- 269 Father was Gov. of Barbados; he was a professional naval officer, rising to Admiral of the Fleet 1796; Ld. of Admiralty 1762–65, Treasurer of Navy 1765–70, C-in-C American station 1776–78, 1st Ld. of Admiralty 1783–88; MP 1757–82 for Dartmouth, elected on the Admiralty interest; supporter of Chatham and Grafton; succeeded brother as 4th Viscount 1758, created Earl Howe 1788 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 647–49]. For him Taylor designed Porter's Lodge, Herts., built soon after 1772 [Binney, *Taylor*, 96].
- 270 A spoilt only child and spendthrift, MP for Ludlow 1774–80 on Lord Powis's interest, he had had run out of money by 1777 and, with his wife, moved in with his mother, but had by 1779 quit the country [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 568]; this accords with the house in Grafton St. being marked as empty in 1778.
- 271 2nd Earl, the son, grandson and nephew of patrons of Taylor, and who himself financed the construction of Taylor's Guildhall, Salisbury in 1788–95; see main text above.
- 272 Apprenticed to uncle, an eminent London merchant, to whom became heir; connected to Pelham clan; married Susanna Thrale, sister of Henry Thrale, brewer; MP 1753–68 and 1770–79; held Government contracts in close partnership with James and George Colebrooke and later with Adam Drummond; large underwriter of Government loans. Member of Wildman's club. Towards end of life in financial difficulties, presumably brought on by association with Colebrooke, who was bankrupted following the 1772 financial crisis. Left bulk of his remaining fortune to nephew, John Nesbitt (see *n.* 295, below) [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 194–95].
- 273 5th Bt., of Berechurch, near Colchester, Essex; 1765 succeeded cousin to family baronetcy; MP 1774–75 & 1780–90 [Namier and Brooke, III, 456–57].
- 274 Of Inverneil, Argyllshire (which bought 1775); MP 1774–80 and 1789–91, a professional soldier, rising to Maj.-Gen. 1782, with reputation as a military engineer and expert in fortifications, returning from India in 1773 with a large fortune; Lt.-Governor Jamaica 1781–2, Governor 1782–84; Governor Madras 1785–89 but opposed by directors, especially for his agreement with Nawab of Arcot and settlement of his debts, so resigned, returning home in poor health [Namier and Brooke II, *op. cit.*, 179–80].
- 275 Of Murrayshall, Peebles, to which succeeded 1743 from gt. Uncle, Robert Murray, taking name of Murray before Keith. Unemployed from 1763 and finding Edinburgh society uncongenial, settled in London, becoming leading member of 'The Gang', which included Lord Frederick Campbell, Anthony Charmier, Thomas Bradshaw, Richard Rigby, Thomas Harley and Henry Drummond. Son of ambassador to Vienna and St. Petersburg; himself envoy to Saxony 1769–71, Denmark 1771–72 and Austria 1772–90, returning to London in 1792 with a

- substantial pension, having previously been deeply in debt c.1778 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 189].
- 276 The developer of 17–23 Grafton St.; see main text, above.
- 277 Of Clapham, Surrey, an East India director and MP, springing from a family of merchants originating in Hull, Yorks.
- 278 East India director and continual patron of Taylor in period 1760–1773, as set out in main text above.
- 279 Moved to No. 4 Grafton St.; see *n.*270, above.
- 280 Cabinetmakers and upholders; see Appendix H, above.
- 281 From and old established rich West Indies family, first son of Ralph Payne, Chief Justice of St. Kitts; was Governor of Leeward Islands 1771–75, so vacated his seat in Parliament, otherwise MP 1768–99, having been recommended to Grafton; 1777 obtained valuable office as Clerk of Board of Green Cloth; K.B. 1771; created Lord Lavington [I] 1795 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 253–54].
- 282 Of Lyssen Hall, Jamaica; owner of extensive estates acquired through his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Houghton of Hanover, Jamaica; created Bt. 1778 [Binney, *Taylor*, 33–34; *Burke's Extinct Baronetcies*, 520].
- 283 Of Winchester, Hants.; distant cousin of Lord Chesterfield, by whom introduced to Secretary of State's office; appointed Under-Secretary by Halifax & re-appointed by Grafton, July 1765, but resigned after only a few days on realising that Richard Stonehewer, Grafton's private secretary, 'only should attend his person and receive his commands'. Clerk Comptroller of Board of Green Cloth 1780–82 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 463–64].
- 284 Cabinetmakers and upholders; see Appendix H, above.
- 285 Brother of Sir George Pigot, 1st Bt. and of Lord Pigot, of Patshull, Staffs. (which bought for £100,000), Governor of Fort St. George, Madras. In 1777 succeeded him in baronetcy and to Patshull estate; MP 1768–72, also in succession to his brother [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 279–81].
- 286 4th Viscount, died 1793, un-married.
- 287 Of Errol, Perthshire, Drumsoy, Ayrshire (both of which sold by 1780 on account of gambling debts of himself and his younger brother) and Auchenames, Renfrewshire. Both father and grandfather were successful Amsterdam merchants, the grandfather buying his wife's ancestral estates and his own family's property of Drumsoy, the father marrying the daughter of a Scottish London banker. A school friend of Stephen Fox, through whom he became an intimate of the Holland House circle. Often in France, bored by his father's society in Scotland, he was soon after 1766 immersed in fashionable London life, cultivating Grafton's favour for his father and himself at the next election; MP 1768–84, and apart from a dispute with the duke shortly after his election, remained a Grafton supporter [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, II, 269–72].
- 288 Widow of Hon. John Howe (d.1769), and so sister-in-law of Admiral Lord Howe, resident of No. 3 Grafton St. She was a friend of Countess Spencer and supervised Taylor's work at both Althorp, Northants., and Spencer House, London, during the Spencer's absence abroad in 1772 [Binney, *Taylor*, 38].
- 289 9th Earl; succeeded 1769, died 1826; one of the promoters of The Royal Institution.
- 290 Cabinetmakers and upholders; see Appendix H, above.
- 291 Of Seaforth, nephew of Earl of Seaforth; MP 1784–90 and 1794–96; governor of Barbados 1800–06; created Lord Seaforth 1797 [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 85–86].
- 292 Daughter of 3rd Earl of Strafford; married Henry Vernon (died 1765), of Hilton Park, Staffs., MP; Lady of the Bedchamber to HRH Princess Amelia [*Gentleman's Magazine*, 56, I, 353, which erroneously gives her father as Earl of Stafford, rather than Strafford].
- 293 Cabinetmakers and upholders; see Appendix H, above.
- 294 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 295 Nephew to Arnold Nesbitt of No. 5 Grafton St. and brother to John Nesbitt of No. 19 Grafton St.
- 296 Presumably a member of the Hoare family of bankers; there were three members of the family called Henry at this date.
- 297 The developer of Nos. 17–23 Grafton St.; see main text, above.
- 298 Nephew and heir to Arnold Nesbitt of No. 5 Grafton St. (see *n.*272, above), whose Winchelsea estate, land in Hertfordshire, sugar plantations in Jamaica and estate in Grenada he inherited, but encumbered with debts of £120,000, largely to the Crown; MP 1780–1802, partner in Dublin bank of Arnold Nesbitt and George Colebrooke; lived beyond his means and forced to sell Winchelsea in

- face of an order in Chancery made against him [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 195–96].
- 299 The developer of 17–23 Grafton St.; see main text, above.
- 300 5th Earl, whose widowed mother married secondly, in 1757, Robert Nugent, Viscount Clare and Earl Nugent, sometime resident in Great George St., a street attributed to Taylor [*Burke's Peerage*, 201, *sv.* Baroness Berkeley; see also Richard Garnier, 'Speculative Housing. . .?', *loc. cit.*; Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 218].
- 301 Of Shepperton, Middlesex; MP Bridport 1780–90; a brickmaker, according to Mrs Thrale; married Susanna, sister of Mrs Thrale's husband Henry and widow of Arnold Nesbitt of No. 5 Grafton St. [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 417].
- 302 Posthumous son of Francis, Marquess of Tavistock and brother of 5th and 6th Dukes of Bedford; MP 1789–1819 and 1826–30; married Charlotte Villiers, daughter of 4th Earl of Jersey [Namier and Brooke, *op. cit.*, III, 388].
- 303 Wife of George IV when Prince of Wales, although the union was contrary to the Royal Marriage Act [*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1930, 440].
- 304 Russian ambassador [RIGB, 1,L,2,5].
- 305 Possibly the widow of the "Jelfe Stone Mason" cited in Hewlings, *loc. cit.*, 54, as presumably Andrews Jelfe, and paid for work on Grafton House in London.
- 306 Cabinetmakers and upholders, see Appendix H, above.
- 307 2nd Earl; presumably a sub-tenant of Mayhew and Ince; had employed John Adam to finish Hopetoun House, Midlothian in 1750–54 [Colvin, *Dict., cit.*, 50] and later Robert Adam (c.1787) for alterations to No. 1 (now No. 2) Harley St. [Colvin, *Dict., cit.*, 57].
- 308 Clockmaker.
- 309 CLRO, SCLP 1193, 1194 and 1195 (the last two dated 21 Oct., 1768) are probably the drawings produced by Dance for the meetings of the City Lands Committee; they also show the line of the City pipes disturbed by Gray when excavating for the foundations of the street façades of Nos. 165–167 New Bond Street [see *n.*114, the corresponding narrative in the main text, and Fig. 3, above].
- 310 JCLC, 69, 1777–78, 30ff, 14 Mar. 1777.
- 311 *Idem.*
- 312 JCLC, 69 (1777–78), 125ff. (9 July 1777). The rent arrears were discharged in the Chamberlain's accounts 'by virtue of a late determination of the High Court of Chancery' [JCLC, 69 (1777–78), 246 (5 Nov. 1777)].
- 313 JCLC, 69 (1777–78), 163 (30 July 1777), 209 (1 Oct. 1777); and 70 (1778–79), 19 (25 Mar. 1778).
- 314 Michael Mansbridge, *John Nash, a complete catalogue*, London and Oxford, 1991, 84 (no. 57).
- 315 Beard and Gilbert (eds.), *op. cit.*, 1986, 591.
- 316 Richard Garnier, 'Downing Square in the 1770s and 1780s', *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 152, 156 (n.31) and & 157 (n.70).
- 317 LMA, MDR 1773,1,238 & MDR 1774,6,200.
- 318 Both parties sometimes banked with Drummond's and the ledgers there [*loc. cit.*] record a single payment each in 1762 from Mayhew to Gray and his associated bricklayer Saunders (encountered above), and a run of payments from Gray to Mayhew from April 1766 over five years until the closing of the account in 1770. The frequency of the payments to Mayhew and the round sums involved (mainly £100 or £50), suggest payments on account, perhaps for architectural carving carried out by Mayhew for houses which Gray was building. The payments were: 1766: 30 Apr. £100 and 4 July £105; 1767: 29 Aug. £50 and 7 Sept. £50; 1768: 11 Jan. £100, 26 Jan. £100, 16 Mar. £100, 31 Mar. £100, 16 Apr. £40, and 16 July £50; 1769: 17 Jan. £50, 7 Apr. £50, 1 Aug. £100, and 9 Nov. £50; 1770: 11 Jan. £90, and 3 Mar. £24.
- 319 RIGB, 1,L,13,1.
- 320 The evidence in the rate books conforms to an analysis of the structure of the present house. There is a wall thick enough to be a party wall rising right up through the house and through the roof, to be expressed as a party-wall parapet, and the ridge lines either side of this are not in line. The supposition must be that the present grand stair was inserted into the space of the back room on each floor of the western house at the stage when the two houses were knocked together, as a house with only one room on each floor (at the front) served by a stair of such a scale would seem inconceivable.
- 321 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 56, pt. 1, 353; WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 322 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*
- 323 I am grateful to Simon Bradley of Pevsner Architectural Guides for pointing out the character of this house.
- 324 WAC, rate books, *loc. cit.*