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Richard Hewlings, 'The Belvedere,  
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# THE BELVEDERE, WALDERSHARE PARK, KENT

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The Belvedere at Waldershare is a brick tower in the style of the ancient Romans, three miles north of Dover. Its appearance is remarkable – a seventy-foot cliff of largely bare brickwork, originally whitened (Fig. 1). Its ornament, although there is little of it, is magnificent, both in scale and in detail. Its summit is probably the only point from which both the French and the Essex coasts can be seen. Apart from this, its purpose can only be hypothesized. It was built for Sir Robert Furnese, 2nd baronet, between May 1725 and the early part of 1727, left incomplete, and repaired in 1813 or soon after. Hitherto its design has been attributed to Lord Burlington; this article suggests another architect, probably Colen Campbell.

## I

Building accounts survive, but they do not name an architect. <sup>1</sup> The principal means of establishing his identity is a single drawing (Fig. 2) among Lord Burlington's collection at Chatsworth. <sup>2</sup> It is a plan of the Belvedere's first floor, unsigned and undated, with few, but enough differences of detail from the existing building to indicate that it is a proposal. <sup>3</sup> The collection includes many drawings by Lord Burlington, and the drawing proposes features such as newels, to which Burlington was demonstrably partial. <sup>4</sup> So it is hardly surprising that the drawing was attributed to him. <sup>5</sup> However, his collection also includes other drawings by contemporary architects. Some, by John James, Isaac Ware and Samuel Savile,

are signed. <sup>6</sup> Others, like those evidently presented by Juvarra or Muttoni, are easily identified. <sup>7</sup> Others have been attributed to Flitcroft, Garrett, Ware, Kent and Vardy. <sup>8</sup> The collection displays a variety of scale bars, hands and draughtsmanship, of which further analysis might reveal other authors, but it is possible to identify some drawings which appear to be Burlington's own. Seventeen of these are annotated in his hand, <sup>9</sup> recognisable from the portfolio of his letters, also at Chatsworth. <sup>10</sup> Of these, seven have the dimensions marked distinctively with a 'p', presumably for *pedi* or *palmi* instead of feet; <sup>11</sup> only one of the others has dimensions shown, <sup>12</sup> so Italian measurements are all but universal among them. All but six of them <sup>13</sup> (plus another thirteen without any hand to help identify them) have a distinctive scale bar, which consists of a single horizontal line, with measurements marked off, but not enumerated. Figure 3 shows examples of his hand, dimensions and scale bar.

The Waldershare plan does not have these. Only a few figures represent its author's hand, but they do not resemble figures on Burlington's drawings; the dimensions are in feet and inches separated by a dash in three instances, and a colon in the remaining five, without any 'p's; the scale bar has two horizontal lines with feet enumerated in decades from ten to thirty. So the Waldershare plan does not appear to have been drawn by Lord Burlington.

What evidence does the building present? It is three storeys high, although the central room on the first floor rises up through the storey above. It is 48 feet square in plan, with a circular room 36 feet in

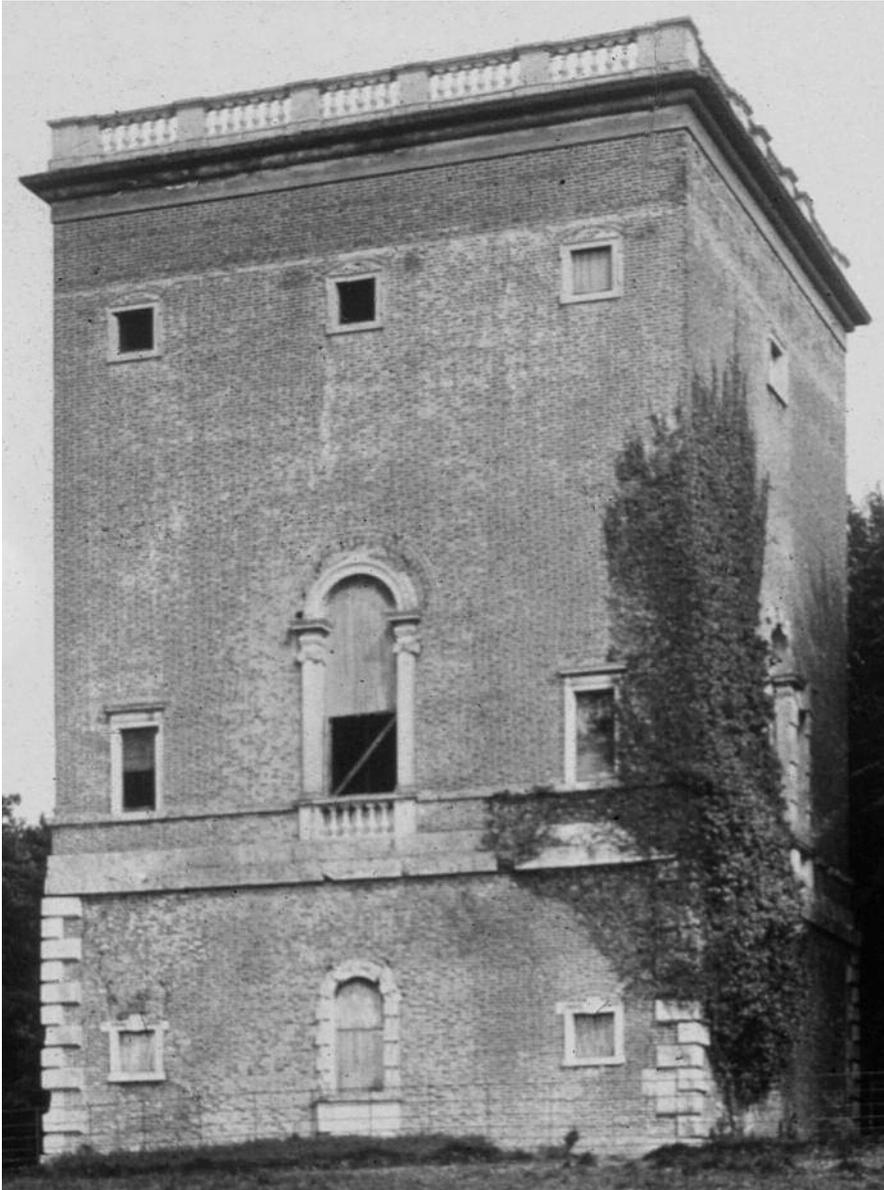


Fig. 1. The Belvedere, Waldershare Park, Kent, c.1900.

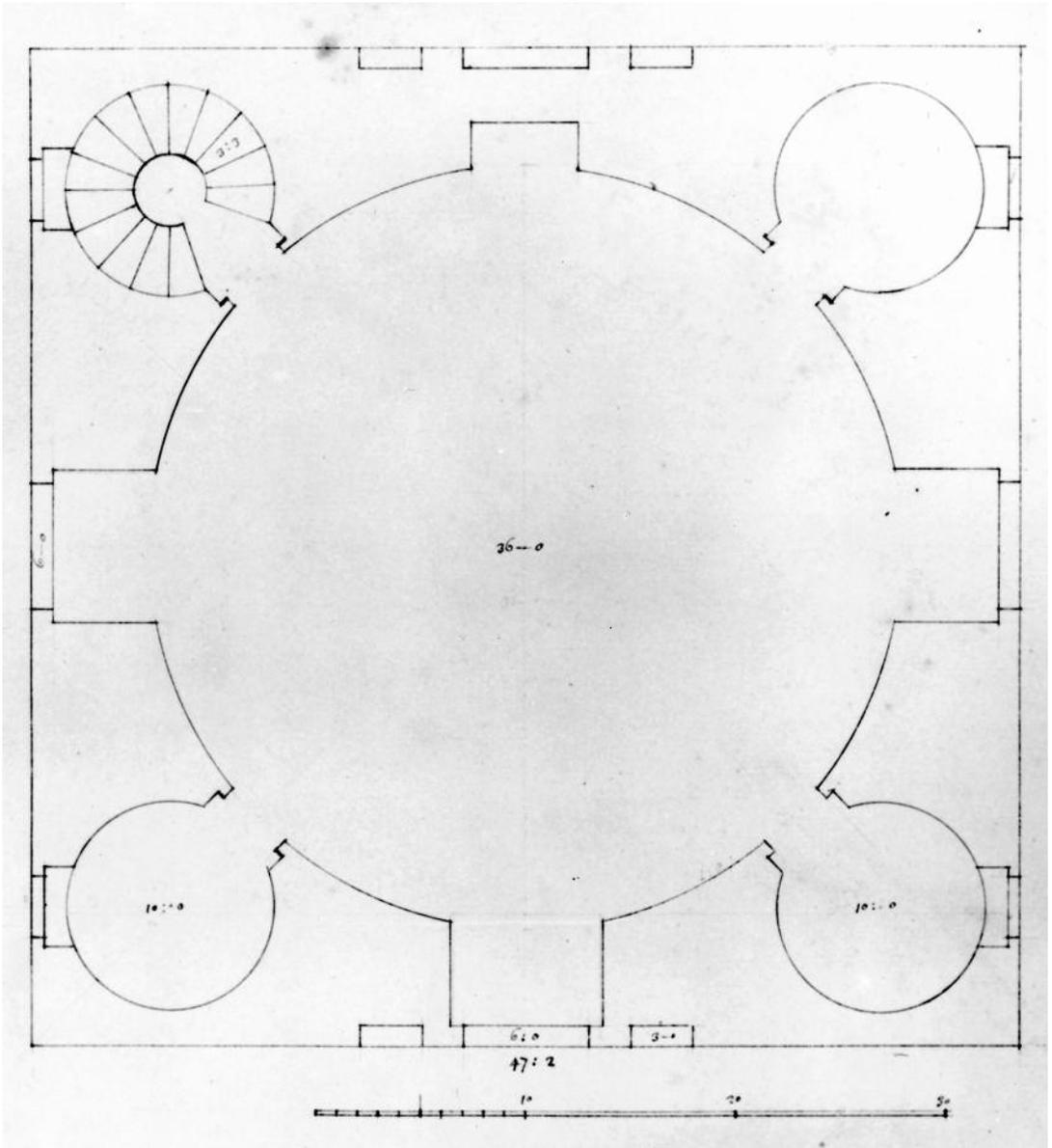
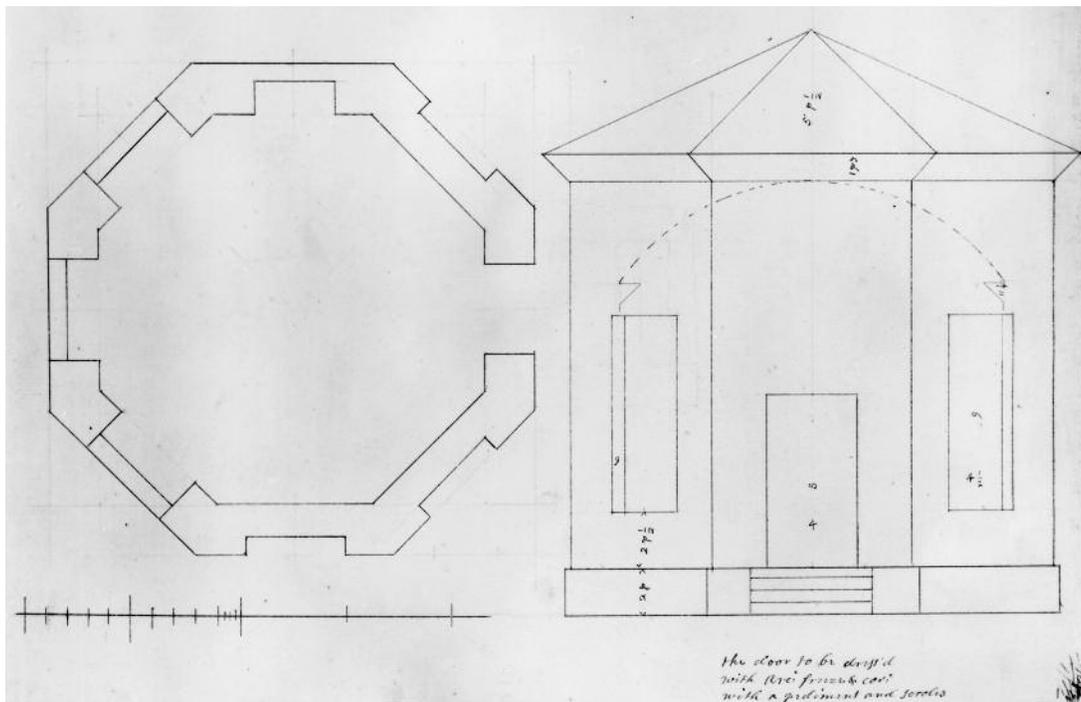
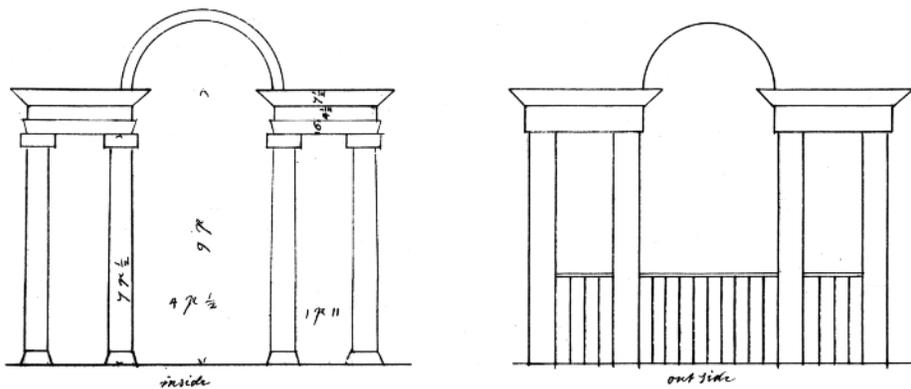


Fig. 2. Plan of the first floor of the Belvedere as proposed, c.1725.  
*Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.*



Figs. 3A and B. Lord Burlington, drawings. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.

diameter inscribed within the square on both ground and first floors (Figs. 4 and 5). Four more circular rooms, only 10 feet in diameter, are inscribed in the residual spaces left at each corner. One of these is filled by a cantilevered stair, whose stone treads, 3 feet 6 inches long and without a balustrade, leave a void 3 feet across the full, terrifying height of the building. The ground floor rooms have domical vaults of brick, that in the central room segmental in section and impressively shallow (Fig. 6). The ceiling of the central first floor room has collapsed, but it was evidently a domical vault of plaster, divided into sixteen sections, each about 5 feet 3 inches wide.<sup>14</sup> There are no ceilings in the three corner rooms on the first floor; their ceilings may either have been flat or vaulted, but, if the latter, evidently not brick-vaulted. The corner rooms are flanked by semi-cylindrical voids, presumably to reduce the mass of brickwork (Figs. 4 and 5). The Belvedere roof collapsed following a fire in the 1950s, but it is visible in an aerial photograph of 1946;<sup>15</sup> it was described to the authors of a report in 1988 as having been pyramidal, with a wide parapet gutter.<sup>16</sup> As the stair continues to the roof it was evidently intended to be a viewing platform. Parts of a stone balustrade with vase-shaped balusters remain.

Chimney flues pass up through three of the balustrade pedestals; they relate to fireplaces on the south wall of the central ground floor and first floor rooms, and in the north-east ground floor room. Four lead pipes embedded in the attic walls may have lead down to cisterns in the basement. There are at least three brick-vaulted basement rooms, now filled with rubble and inaccessible; these three rooms are under the corner rooms, but one has a blocked opening which would have led into another basement room under the central room. They were formerly reached by trap doors, possibly grilles, formed in the brick floors of the corner rooms. One or more of these rooms could have been cisterns. But the south-west corner room has an additional hole formed in its floor, suggesting that it may have been the necessary house, and the void beneath it the cesspit.<sup>17</sup>

There is little external ornament, all of it stone: quoins to the ground floor, plat-band, surbase and continuous cill to the first floor. The remaining stone ornament is concentrated around the windows. The central windows on the first floor are 15 feet tall, and light the central room at the points where it meets the external walls. Those on the east and west elevations are framed by Ionic pilasters taking short lengths of full entablature, from which round arches spring (Fig. 7). Those on the north and south elevations are serlianas, with four courses of square un moulded blocks interrupting the architraves. The serliana on the south elevation is blind; the saloon fireplace is behind it (Fig. 8). The two outer lights of the serliana on the north elevation are also blind (Fig. 9). These two elevations have no flanking windows, and no windows at all on the ground floor. The east and west elevations, however, are three windows wide, and the flanking windows on the first floor are only 6 feet high, in proportion with the size of the corner rooms, with architraves, friezes and cornices. The flanking windows on the ground floor are smaller still, 3 feet square, and have architraves with triple keystones. The windows in the centre of the east and west elevations of the ground floor are 8 feet high; they have round arches with architraves which are also interrupted by square un moulded blocks, and they stand above stone pedestals. The door is in the north elevation; it is 12 feet high, and round-arched without an architrave, only with chamfered rustication. The second floor windows are also 3 feet square, with shouldered architraves. There are no internal finishes of any kind, including door jambs or chimneypieces, nor even plaster. The plaster vault of the main room may never have been constructed, as only £8 5s. had been paid to plasterers by the time that the accounts closed,<sup>18</sup> and John Whaley, a young Fellow of King's, described the Belvedere as 'unfinished' when he saw it in 1735.<sup>19</sup>

In two particulars the Belvedere was not as it is now. First it was rendered. The serlianas have relieving arches, which must have been concealed. The ashlar of which the moulded architraves are

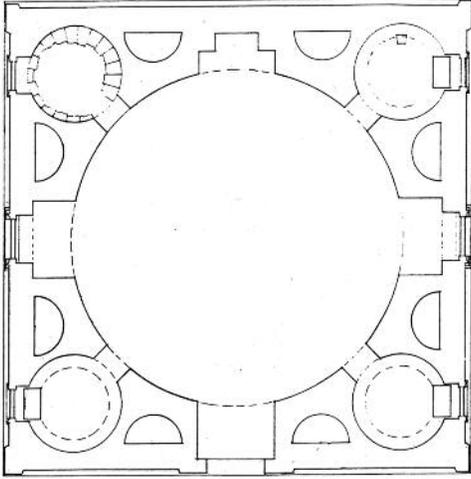


Fig. 4. The Belvedere, ground floor plan, 1988.  
*Architecton.*

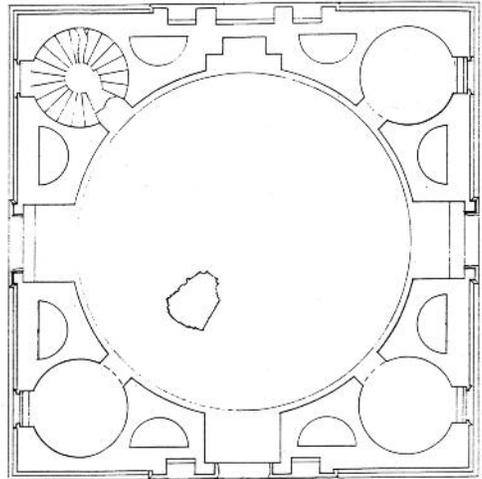


Fig. 5. The Belvedere, first floor plan, 1988.  
*Architecton.*

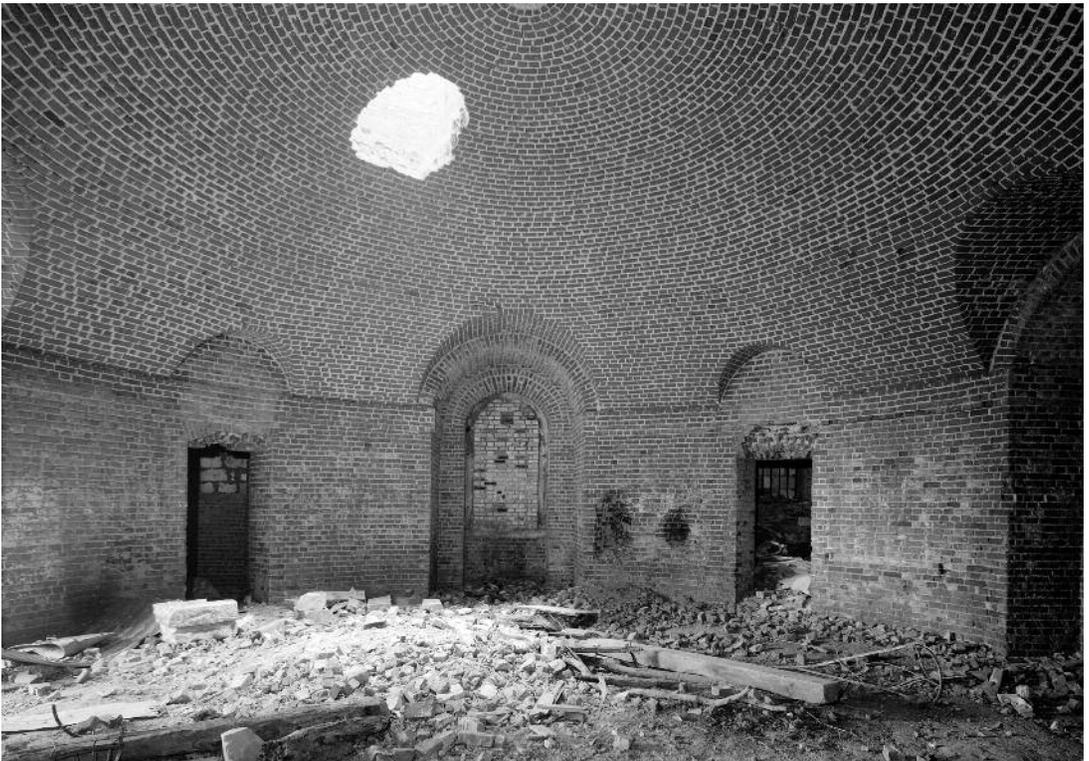


Fig. 6. The Belvedere, ground floor room, 1980. © *Crown copyright..NMR.*

formed are continued in a horizontal direction flush with the adjacent brick wall plane, and that part of them must therefore have been masked by a render coat. That this was done, rather than merely intended, is revealed by Whaley in 1735, who described the Belvedere as ‘a square white building’.<sup>20</sup> It was described by Sir Richard Kaye *c.*1790 as ‘repaired and Whitened last summer’,<sup>21</sup> and an estimate made in April 1813 by a bricklayer and carpenter called J. Whitnall for ‘Whitewashing the Belvedere’ at a cost of £26, reveals the intention of maintaining its white exterior, and suggests that the external render was at least still present then, if less white.<sup>22</sup>

Second, it appears to have had a full entablature. Presently it has only a cornice, formed in Roman cement to a simplified profile, both material and style indicating an early nineteenth-century date; Appendix IV suggests when and by whom this may have been done. Below this, at a level where an architrave might be expected, a course of bricks of a paler colour has been inserted. If these features replaced a full entablature, it seems to have been a plaster one: an estimate from a bricklayer called Thomas Easter, endorsed ‘1812’ (and thus just

preceding Whitnall’s), for ‘Whitewashing and Repairing the Cornice of the Belvedere Waldershare’, allowed £52 10s.

To find Lab.<sup>r</sup> Lime Laths and Nails for two Coats of White Wash Composition and Size.<sup>23</sup>

Obviously laths and nails would not be needed for a stone entablature. And Whitnall’s estimate for whitewashing was additional to an ‘Estimate of the Belvedere Cornice East and south side’, which reveals the same, thus

New Lath and two Coat Plastering Including Labour lime sand Laths nails hair & carriage – £40 0s. *od.*<sup>24</sup>

It is true that the design is compatible with Burlington’s style. The rather simplistic geometry of the plan, and the distinctively high ratio of wall to window are characteristic.<sup>25</sup> But these are also characteristic of Colen Campbell’s style. The newel stair, whose geometrical clarity is uncompromised by any mouldings (and not even by a balustrade),<sup>26</sup> is a feature which evidently appealed to Burlington: his architectural drawings include sixteen with newels, proposals for Chichester Council House, Richmond

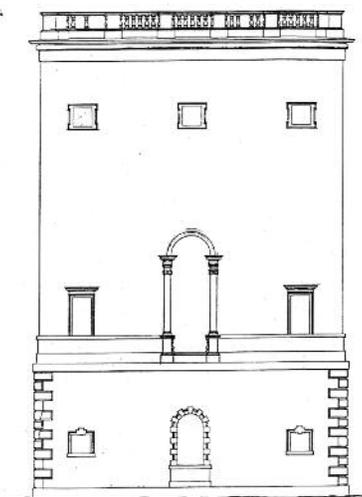


Fig. 7. The Belvedere, west elevation, 1988. *Architecton.*

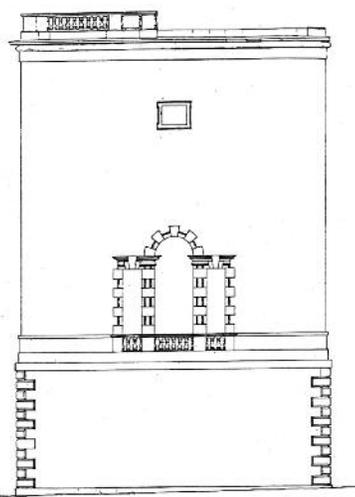


Fig. 8. The Belvedere, south elevation, 1988. *Architecton.*

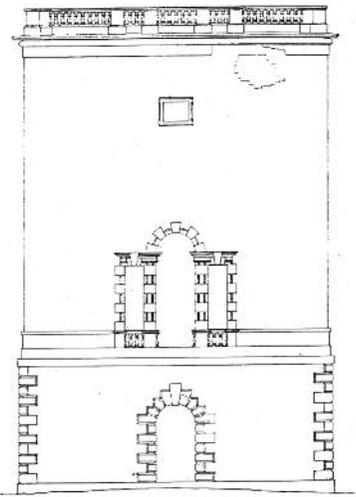


Fig. 9. The Belvedere, north elevation, 1988. *Architecton.*

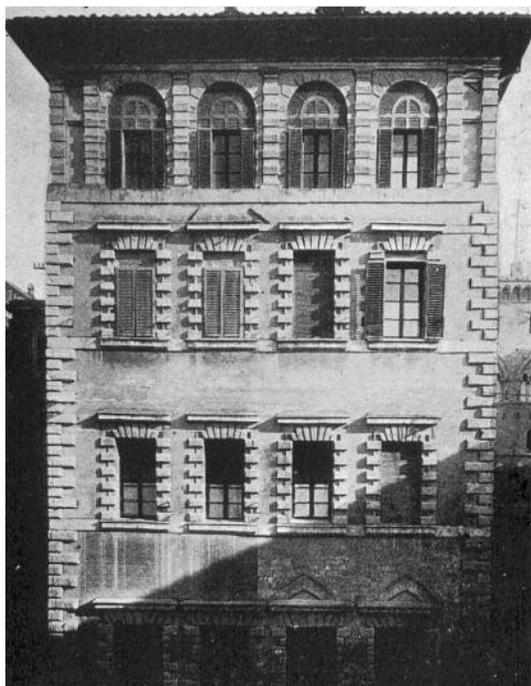


Fig. 10. Palazzo Tantucci, Siena.



Fig. 11. Giulio Bonasone (attrib.), engraving of Palazzo Bocchi, Bologna, 1545.

House, Tottenham Park and York Assembly Rooms among them.<sup>27</sup> But it evidently appealed to Campbell as well. His architectural drawings also include sixteen with circular stairs, although illustrating a rather smaller number of buildings; only proposals for Goodwood and Mereworth can be identified from them.<sup>28</sup>

Some of the ornament was used in other designs by Burlington. But the first floor windows in the centre of the east and west elevations of the Belvedere are of a type which he used only once, on the front elevation of Lord Mountrath's house, No. 30 Old Burlington Street (c.1721).<sup>29</sup> Campbell used this window type first, and more often. Its distinctive feature is that its arch is supported by pilasters instead of continuing vertical architraves. Colen Campbell designed doors or windows like this at Wanstead (c.1714–20),<sup>30</sup> Newby Park (1718–28),<sup>31</sup>

Kensington Palace (1718–20),<sup>32</sup> Stourhead (c.1720–24),<sup>33</sup> Houghton (1722–3),<sup>34</sup> Hall Barn (1724),<sup>35</sup> and Plumpton House, Nottingham (1724).<sup>36</sup> And he illustrated six out of these seven buildings in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.<sup>37</sup>

The serlianas at first floor level on the north and south elevations are unlike any designed by Burlington. In 1725 they were unique to Campbell. Their distinctive character is imparted by the unmoulded blocks. In 1725 blocked architraves (which, for no very good reason, we call Gibbs surrounds) were not as commonplace as Campbell was to make them. Vignola had used them on the Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna (1545);<sup>38</sup> so had Bartolomeo Neroni, on the Palazzo Tantucci in Siena (1548–9) (Fig. 10),<sup>39</sup> and (presumably following Vignola's example) Bartolomeo Triacchini, on the Palazzo Lambertini in Bologna (c.1559–65).<sup>40</sup> So had

Pierre Huyssens, the Jesuit architect of the Counter-Reformation in Antwerp.<sup>41</sup> But these buildings were not well-known; only the Palazzo Bocchi was illustrated, in engravings of 1545 and 1555 (Fig. 11).<sup>42</sup> The only Renaissance architect whose use of the device can have been influential was Pierre Lescot, whose use of it on the Château de Valléry appears in du Cerceau's [*Les*] *Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (Fig. 12).<sup>43</sup> Inigo Jones may or may not have seen the Italian and Flemish examples, although he is less likely to have been ignorant of du Cerceau's illustration.<sup>44</sup> He experimented with the block device, at least on paper, and noted on one drawing that it came from Serlio's Book VII.<sup>45</sup> Book VII was not published until 1619, long after the device had been realised, but Serlio was presumably making drawings of it at much the same time as Vignola.<sup>46</sup> Jones's experiments and observations would certainly have been known to Burlington, who owned these drawings,<sup>47</sup> and probably to Campbell also. Yet Jones was not the first English architect to realise this feature in stone. It occurs on the central first floor window of the east range of St Giles House, Wimborne St Giles, Dorset, built in 1651;<sup>48</sup> its architect remains unknown, but for this reason at least he may have been under Jones's influence. Jones's drawings may also have stimulated John Webb to use the feature on the King Charles Block at Greenwich Palace in 1664,<sup>49</sup> which was its second and more conspicuous appearance in stone in England. Webb's Greenwich design became more widely available through its publication by Colen Campbell in 1715 (Fig. 13).<sup>50</sup> And it was Campbell who was the greatest enthusiast of blocked architraves. He deployed the version which Webb had arrived at on at least eight designs of his own, all published in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.<sup>51</sup> Four of these designs (for Houghton, Stourhead, Lambeth Bridge, and 'A New Design of my Invention' in volume III) apply the blocked architrave device to serlianas. The serliana at Waldershare is almost identical to that in the end bays of Houghton (Fig. 14).<sup>52</sup> There are no serlianas

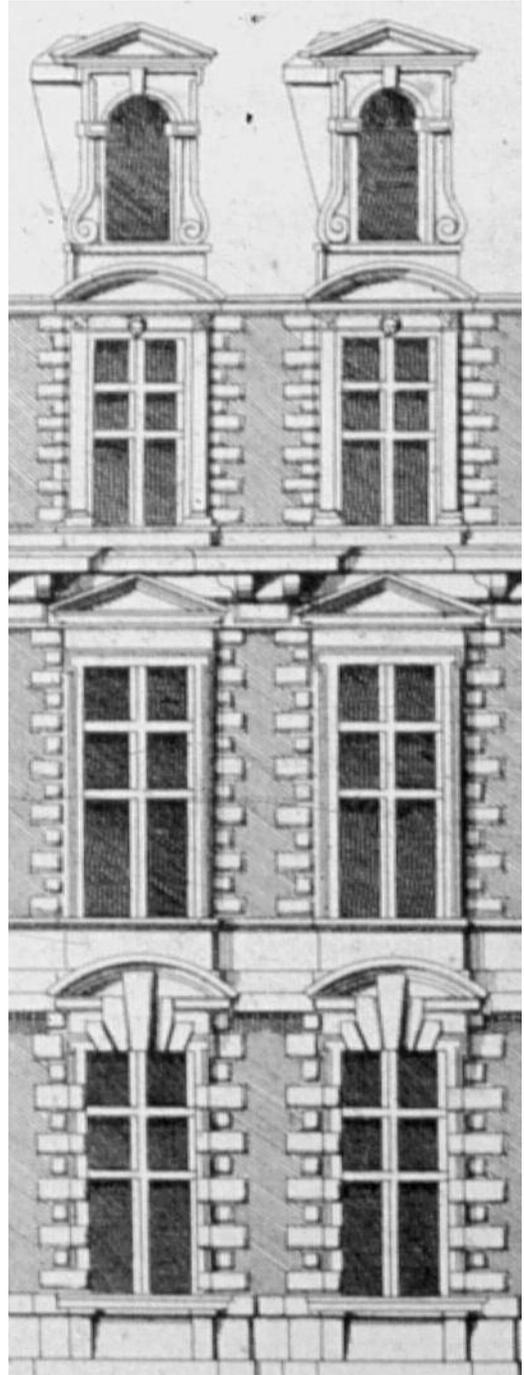


Fig. 12. Château de Valléry, from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, [*Les*] *plus excellents Bastiments de France*, 1576.

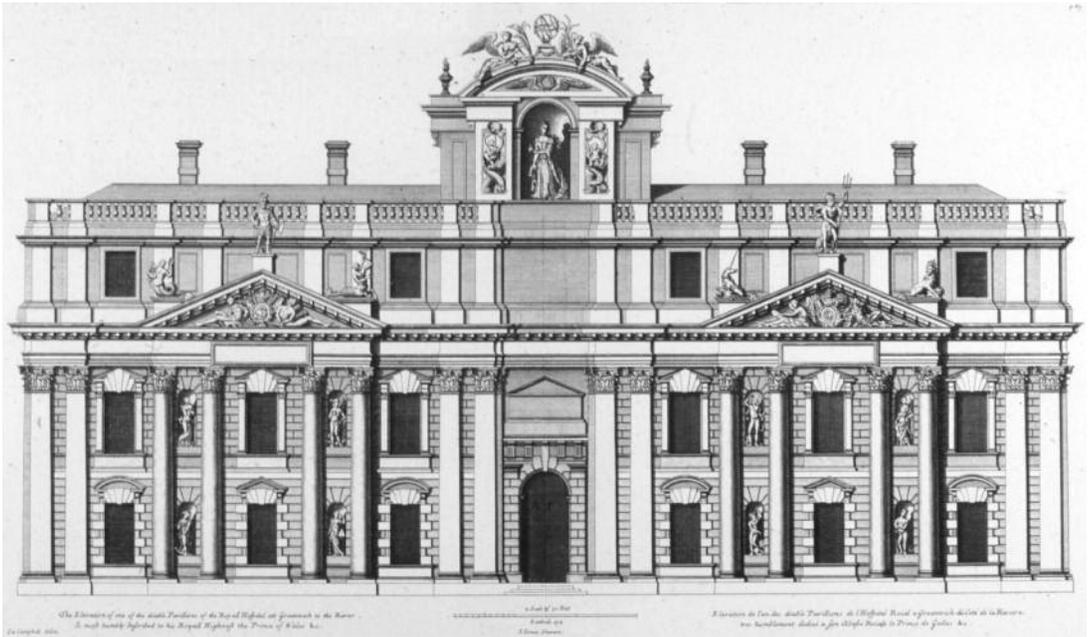


Fig. 13. John Webb, King Charles Block, Greenwich Palace, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, 1715.

like this in any of Burlington's designs. Burlington could obviously have designed them, under Campbell's influence. But it is more likely that Campbell did so.

The builders also suggest the employment of Campbell, or possibly of his assistant and successor, Roger Morris.<sup>53</sup> Only two of them had recognisable associations with architects. These were the mason George Mercer and the plasterer John Hughes. Mercer had worked under Campbell, Gibbs and Roger Morris, was a partner of Andrews Jelfe and a friend of Henry Keene. His employment at Waldershare is not an absolute indicator of a particular architect, although the association with Campbell and Morris may be indicative. For the plasterer, John Hughes, is only known to have worked under Campbell and Morris, and, at one remove, under Burlington, as Campbell's employer at Burlington House.<sup>54</sup> Campbell or Morris would therefore have been the best advocates of

Hughes's employment, although he would presumably have been known to Lord Burlington also.

The Furneses also had some acquaintance with architects. Probably hungry for patronage, Gibbs noted the arrival of the twenty-year-old Robert Furnese in Rome in 1707, but it does not follow that Robert Furnese noticed Gibbs;<sup>55</sup> George Mercer had worked for Gibbs, but he also worked for Colen Campbell and Roger Morris. Sir Robert's father, Sir Henry Furnese, who had been a principal contributor to the building of Deal church in 1706,<sup>56</sup> may have been responsible for seeking the advice of John James there in 1712.<sup>57</sup> Sir Henry had been a Governor of Greenwich Hospital since 1695,<sup>58</sup> and John James had been assistant Clerk of Works there since 1705.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that James's presence in east Kent in 1705 was due to his responsibility for the building of Waldershare Park; he may have been the 'James' to whom Sir Henry paid £50 in August

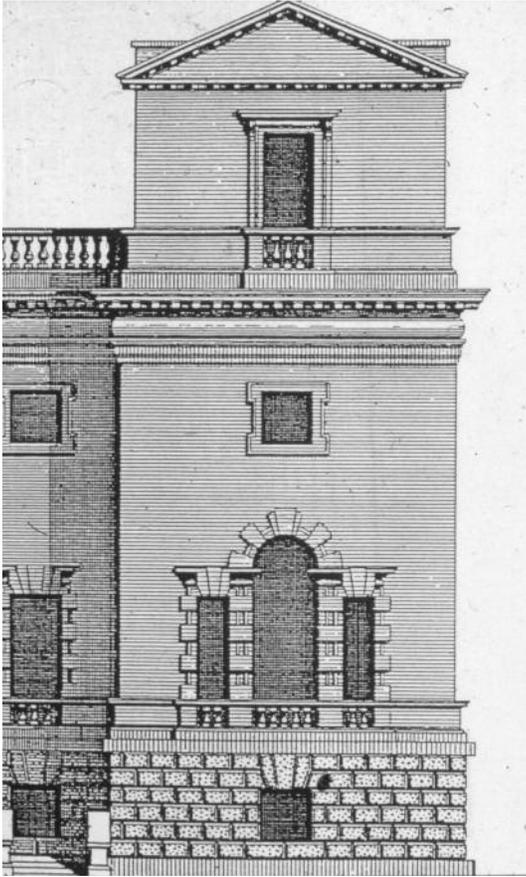


Fig. 14. Colen Campbell, Houghton Hall, end bay, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, 1725.

1707.<sup>60</sup> Sir Robert's first cousin, another Henry Furnese, bought Gunnersbury Park in 1739, and engaged William Kent there c.1740–43.<sup>61</sup> Later again, in 1748, Henry Furnese was appointed an executor of the will of the 2nd. Viscount St John, who had married Henry Furnese's cousin Anne, daughter of Sir Robert, in 1729.<sup>62</sup> In 1743 Lord St John had rebuilt Lydiard Park to the design of Roger Morris, and both armorial evidence and an inscription in this house make clear Lady St John's joint responsibility for this initiative.<sup>63</sup> In 1722 Henry Furnese had bought Lathom Park, Lancashire, from the Earl of

Derby, and had sold it to Sir Thomas Bootle.<sup>64</sup> Bootle rebuilt it to the design of James Leoni, who appears to have been at least influenced by, and possibly associated with Colen Campbell.<sup>65</sup> Although it does not follow that Furnese influenced his successor's choice of architect, Henry Furnese and Bootle were apparently friends, or at least political allies, for both were prominent members of George Dodington's circle.<sup>66</sup> Dodington's architect at Eastbury, Hammersmith and Pall Mall was Roger Morris;<sup>67</sup> and in 1732 Morris and Dodington travelled to Italy together.<sup>68</sup> Morris also acted for the 7th. Earl of Westmorland at Mereworth Castle and probably at Apthorpe,<sup>69</sup> for the latter's heir, Sir Francis Dashwood, at West Wycombe Park,<sup>70</sup> and for the Earl of Wilmington at Compton Place, Eastbourne.<sup>71</sup> Both Westmorland and Dashwood were members of Dodington's circle, Dodington was an adherent of Wilmington, and Dashwood was a close friend of Furnese.<sup>72</sup> Morris was evidently the favoured architect of this circle, and, as at least two of its members (Westmorland and Wilmington) had been patrons of Campbell,<sup>73</sup> it is possible that he inherited its patronage from the latter.

Style, commercial and social connections suggest probabilities, but do not resolve the question of authorship. But it helps to turn again to the drawing (Fig. 2) with the probabilities in mind. It has no inscription, only a scale bar and some dimensions. The scale bar has two parallel horizontals, vertical strokes to mark off the feet from 0 to 10, the vertical stroke for 5 feet protracted upward, and '10', '20' and '30' shown as figures on the upper side of the bar. The dimensions are given in feet and inches, though not identified as such, separated by colons in five instances and by dashes in three. Gibbs's, James's, Kent's and Morris's drawings have distinctive characteristics, none of which appear in this drawing.<sup>74</sup> Campbell's do not have such easily noticed features, but the characteristics of the Waldershare drawing can nevertheless be found among Campbell's drawings in the RIBA.<sup>75</sup>

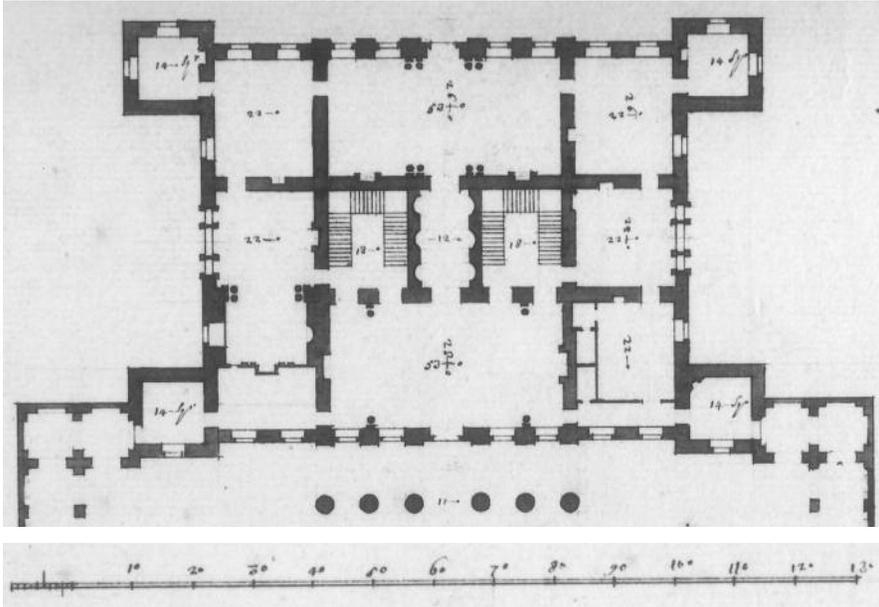


Fig. 15. Colen Campbell, plan of Eastbury House, Dorset.  
*RIBA British Architectural Library, Drawings Collection.*



Fig. 16. Colen Campbell, section of proposal for Lowther Castle, Westmoreland.  
*RIBA British Architectural Library, Drawings Collection.*

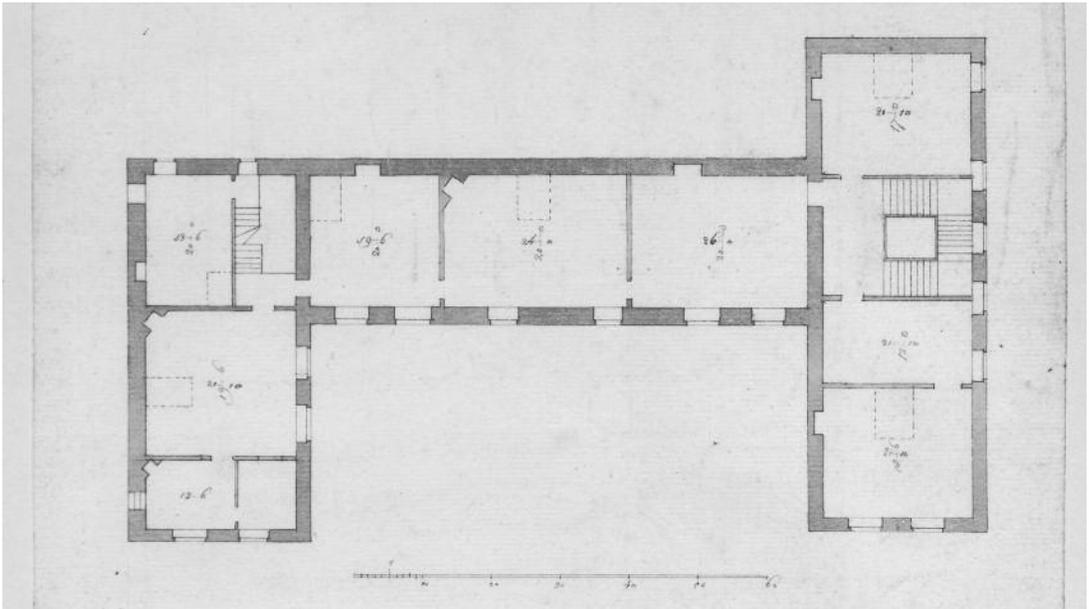


Fig. 17. Colen Campbell, elevation and plans of the old house at Goodwood, Sussex.

*RIBA British Architectural Library, Drawings Collection.*

Among these, numerous scale bars have two horizontal lines, feet marked off by vertical strokes from 0 to 10, and the vertical stroke for 5 protracted upward. Some, for instance one inscribed 'A design for some distant offices at Goodwood. C:C:.', have no figures.<sup>76</sup> One, annotated 'The old house at Goodwood 1724', has the figure '5' above the bar, and the figures '10' to '60' below it (Fig. 17).<sup>77</sup> Another, unidentified, has no figure '5', but figures '10' to '100' below the bar.<sup>78</sup> These (and others) are close to the Waldershare scale bar, but not identical. However, there are a few exactly like it, with '5' not shown as a figure, and the decades shown as figures above the bar. Scale bars on a plan of Eastbury,<sup>79</sup> and a section of a proposal for Lowther Castle<sup>80</sup> may serve as examples, and it may be added that the figures are in an apparently identical hand (Figs. 15 & 16).

Most drawings in the Campbell collection show the dimensions in feet and inches, and so few identify them as such as to be negligible. Some have neither dashes nor colons, but dashes are numerous,

and occur, for instance, on the Eastbury plan and 'The old house at Goodwood' drawing already cited (Fig. 17). Colons are rarer, but occur on three plans and two elevations for unidentified buildings, as well as after Campbell's initials as shown above.

The Waldershare drawing therefore has enough features in common with drawings in the RIBA Campbell collection to propose an attribution to Campbell, and nothing to suggest an attribution to any other architect. The alternative possibility of Morris's responsibility is only raised by trade and patronal relationships.

## II

Although the Belvedere at Waldershare is a tower, its ornament is not Gothic. Nor is it unusual in that respect. As early as the sixteenth century park standings, or viewing towers, had thrown off Gothic ornament. A late seventeenth-century example,



Fig.18. Carrmire bastion, Castle Howard, Yorkshire (North Riding). © Crown copyright. NMR.

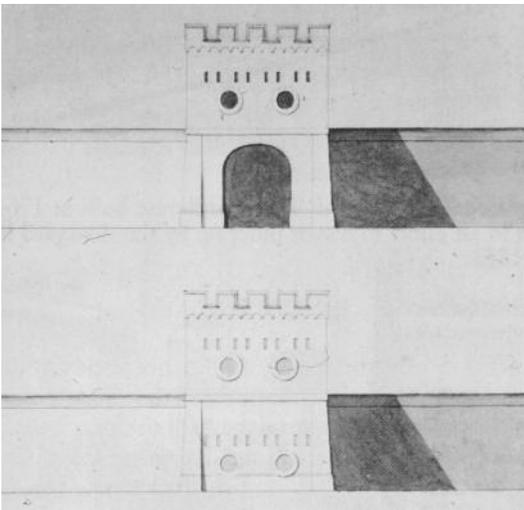


Fig. 19. Dockyard wall tower, Chatham, Kent.

‘Mitchell’s Folly’ at Islandbridge, Co. Dublin, built by Michael Mitchell, an Alderman of Dublin, to overlook Phoenix Park, is clearly astylar.<sup>81</sup>

The imagery of earlier eighteenth-century towers is overtly ancient. At Castle Howard, mural towers, designed either by Vanbrugh or by Hawksmoor, resemble Roman mural towers (Fig. 18).<sup>82</sup> The real mural towers of Chatham Dockyard (actually defensible, if only against thieves) are also styled as Roman military buildings, probably under the influence of Hawksmoor (Fig. 19).<sup>83</sup>

Nor was this reflection of Roman secular architecture entirely military. Vanbrugh’s Bourbon Tower at Stowe (built between 1713 and 1726) is a machicolated cylinder of coursed rubble, but it stands alone, less like a component of a fortification than like a mausoleum (Fig. 20).<sup>84</sup> Archdeacon Sharpe’s Tower at Whitton (1720), perhaps designed by William Etty, is a crenellated cylinder (Fig. 21), but otherwise its ornament is pacific (generous windows and a moulded cornice).<sup>85</sup> The flint tower on Box Hill, undated and unattributed, is another cylinder, and may be one of this group.<sup>86</sup>

These towers are single-cell buildings of two or three storeys, but Vanbrugh also designed more complex plans, similarly ornamented. The Belvederes at Claremont (1715–20)<sup>87</sup> and Swinstead (date unknown)<sup>88</sup> and the demolished Water Tower at Kensington (1722–24)<sup>89</sup> have single-cell cores of two storeys, flanked by three-storey turrets (Figs. 22–24). Their ornament is Roman (round arches, *oculi*, imposts and keystones), too simple (unmoulded plat bands and sills) to be sacred, and with some military imagery: at Claremont and Kensington the tower parapets are crenellated, and at Kensington the centre parapet is machicolated. The Water Tower at Carshalton House, (c.1720), attributed to Henry Joynes,<sup>90</sup> has a different plan, which also includes a tower and a lower attachment; its ornament is similar, but with more civil features (gadrooned urns and obelisk pinnacles), and the military allusions (toy-like crenellation) are more delicate (Fig. 25).



Fig. 20. Bourbon Tower, Stowe, Buckinghamshire.



Fig. 21. Archdeacon Sharpe's Tower, Whitton, Northumberland.

To a greater or lesser degree military in ornament, all these neo-antique buildings are towers.

The Belvedere at Waldershare was therefore not unprecedented as a tower of ancient type. It has no military imagery save its scale, its block-like mass and sheer cliff faces. Its ornament is both richer and less crude than that of the towers designed by Vanbrugh and those influenced by him. So is that of two towers which succeed it, the Cage at Lyme Park (Fig. 26), and the Castle at Stainborough (Fig. 27). None are Gothic; all have ancient Roman ornament. If they appear to have military allusions these arise more from their basic forms than from their details; the Belvedere and the Cage are towers, while Stainborough Castle consists of four towers linked by a curtain. Their ornament is not the simplified Roman of some of the

foregoing examples, or the simple Roman of others, but expensive Roman, requiring skilled stone cutters.<sup>91</sup> The Cage was built in 1733–35, and probably designed by Leoni.<sup>92</sup> Stainborough Castle may be contemporary with The Cage: it was first illustrated in 1736.<sup>93</sup> Its architect is unknown, but Leoni may be considered; in 1743 John Platt, the brother of the mason at Lyme, worked under him at Wortley Hall, just over two miles south of Stainborough,<sup>94</sup> and in 1755 John Platt repaired Stainborough Castle.<sup>95</sup>

The Lantern at Lyme Park, which is presumably also designed by Leoni,<sup>96</sup> is also a tower of ancient type, although not like the preceding group. It is a two-storey octagon on a square base, roofed by an octagonal stone pyramid; but its window architraves are unmoulded—of ancient type, but the simplified



Fig. 22. Belvedere, Claremont, Surrey.  
*National Trust.*



Fig. 23. Belvedere, Swinstead, Lincolnshire.  
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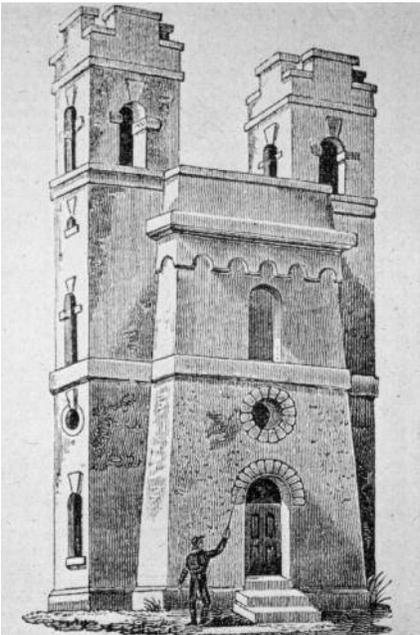


Fig. 24. Engraving of the water tower,  
Kensington Palace, Middlesex, in 1821.  
*Gentleman's Magazine.*

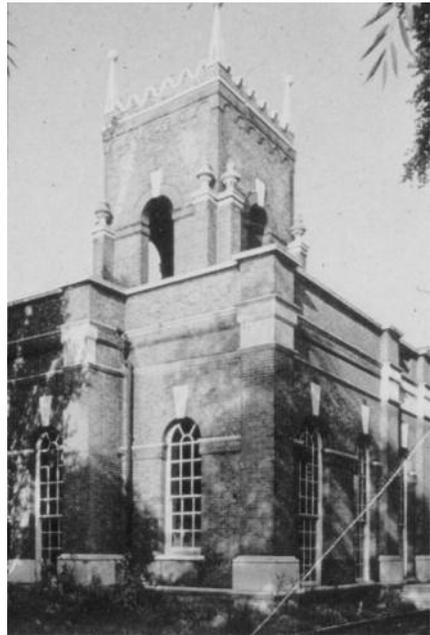


Fig. 25. Water Tower, Carshalton House,  
Surrey.



Fig. 26. The Cage, Lyme Park, Cheshire. *National Trust*.



Fig. 27. The Castle, Stainborough, Yorkshire (West Riding). © *Crown copyright. NMR.*



Fig. 28. The Lantern, Lyme Park, Cheshire.  
*National Trust.*

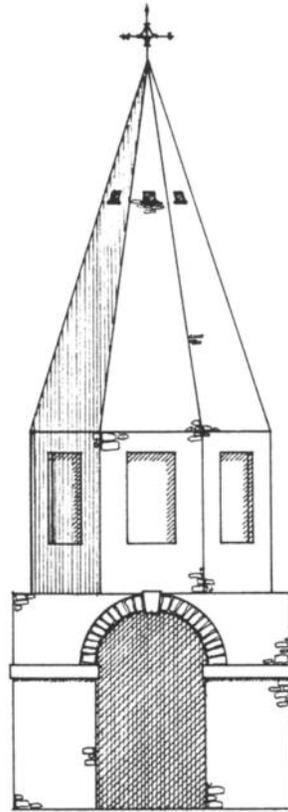


Fig. 29. The Pigeon House, Waterston,  
Co. Westmeath. *James Howley.*

Roman of Vanbrugh's towers (Fig. 28). It was followed (or perhaps preceded, since neither are dated) by the Pigeon House at Waterston, Co. Westmeath, attributed to Richard Castle; it has one fewer storey and no architraves at all, but is otherwise nearly identical (Fig. 29).<sup>97</sup> A similar pigeon house at Castle Hume, Co. Fermanagh, has also been attributed to Castle.<sup>98</sup>

Most single-cell buildings of the mid-century were simple in elevation also. Knight's Law Tower at Penicuik was a single-cell building with a circular plan (Fig. 30). It was built between 1748 and 1750, to the designs of its owner, Sir John Clerk, and thus stands midway between the Belvedere at Waldershare and a later taste for rustic towers.<sup>99</sup> So does Dunstan Pillar,

a land lighthouse 8 miles south-east of Lincoln, built for Sir Francis Dashwood in 1751 to guide travellers over Lincoln Heath (Fig. 31). Dunstan Pillar was 92 feet high and ornamented by little more than a plinth, cornice and elegant inscription.<sup>100</sup> But it was not plain to reflect a purely practical purpose. It was enclosed in a quadrangular pleasure garden, kept 'in a thriving state' to contrast with the furze and bracken of the heath, with the objective of being 'the Paradise of Lincolnshire'.<sup>101</sup> There were pavilions at the corners, a bowling green and an assembly room, described in 1766 as 'the Vauxhall of this part of the world',<sup>102</sup> with 'as many as sixteen or eighteen carriages there at one time' later in the century.<sup>103</sup>



Fig. 30. Knight's Law Tower, Penicuik, Midlothian.

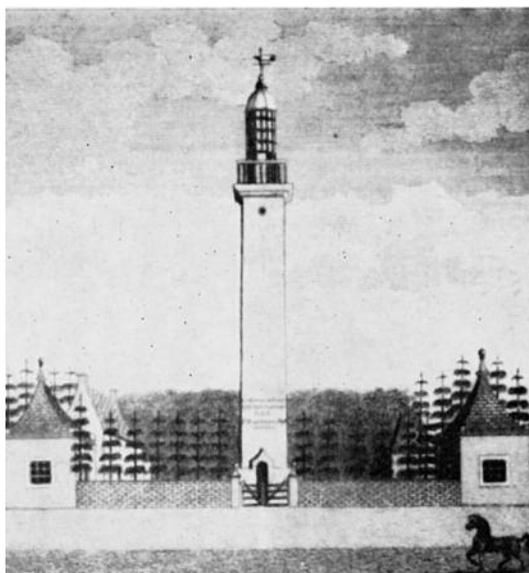


Fig. 31. Dunston Pillar, Dunston, Lincolnshire.

Dunstan Pillar's simplicity may therefore have had an aesthetic intention.

But a small number of single-cell towers have elevations which are not simple. The Wonderful Barn at Celbridge, Co. Kildare, dated 1743 on an inscription, has a circular plan, but in elevation it tapers upwards, and an external stair winds round it like a ziggurat (Fig. 32).<sup>104</sup> It forms one corner of a walled enclosure, and pigeon houses, smaller versions of it, stand at two other corners. Another copy, known as The Bottle Tower, was built at Rathfarnham Castle, Co. Dublin, near by.<sup>105</sup> Hooper Stand at Wentworth Woodhouse, built in 1747–48, has a triangular plan with rounded corners, and it also tapers upwards (Fig. 33).<sup>106</sup> The ornament of these buildings is also unusual. Hooper Stand has unmoulded round-arched windows, vertically aligned, so that their upper parts are proud of the sloping walls. They are surmounted by moulded pediments. The windows of The Wonderful Barn and its progeny are triangular, and have horizontal

unmoulded hoodmoulds. Hooper Stand was designed by Flitcroft, and The Wonderful Barn, according to its inscription, was 'executed by John Glinn'. It was built by William Connolly, who was married to Lady Anne Wentworth, cousin and neighbour of Lord Rockingham of Wentworth Woodhouse, so there may have been some connection.

Another group, built slightly later, had hexagonal plans, with attached turrets. The Belvedere (now Fort Belvedere) in Windsor Great Park, also designed by Flitcroft and built between 1751 and 1753,<sup>107</sup> is hexagonal, with three hexagonal turrets on every other face (Fig. 34). Sturt's Folly at Horton, is undated and unattributed,<sup>108</sup> although Flitcroft was perhaps its architect, as it is not unlike Fort Belvedere (Fig. 35). It has a hexagonal plan, with circular turrets on every other face. It is an astonishing six storeys high, and its principal difference from Fort Belvedere is that the turrets are lower than the main body; at Fort Belvedere the turrets are higher. It also bears some resemblance to another tower designed by Flitcroft,

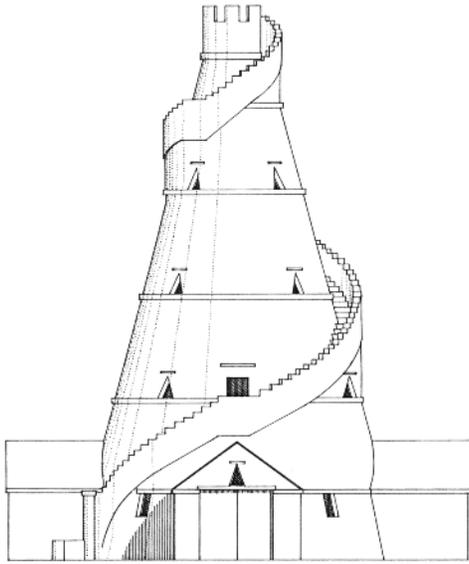


Fig. 32. The Wonderful Barn, Celbridge, Co. Kildare.  
*James Howley.*

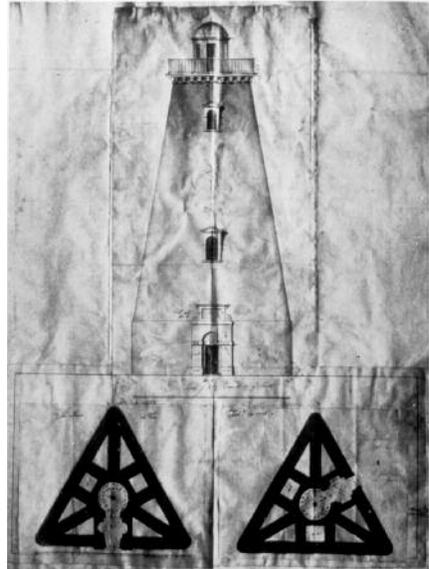


Fig. 33. Henry Flitcroft, elevation and plans of Hooper Stand, Wentworth, Yorkshire (West Riding), c.1747.

Alfred's Tower at Stourhead, built between 1765 and 1772 (Fig. 36).<sup>109</sup> Alfred's Tower also has a hexagonal plan with circular turrets on every other face. It is also astonishingly high, but the turrets are as high as the main body. Like the previous group, the ornament of this sets it apart. It is simple, sparingly applied and mostly of ancient type (pediments, for instance, on every other face of Sturt's Folly), but not entirely: the windows have two-centred arches, although no mouldings or any other ornament of medieval provenance.

Dunstall Castle, one of the ornamental buildings in the park of Croome Court, probably designed by Robert Adam and built in 1766,<sup>110</sup> has a quite different plan (Fig. 37). It has two tall and narrow cylindrical towers of coursed rubble, linked by walls which are only slightly lower and are pierced by very tall and narrow round-headed arches. But in common with Sturt's Folly and Alfred's Tower its ornament is mixed: most of it is of ancient type (the round arches with primitive impost mouldings, the

moulded string courses and modillioned cornices), but another length of curtain wall joins the higher tower to a third tower with a square plan, and this length of curtain is pierced by a two-centred arch.

The inclusion of Sturt's Folly, Alfred's Tower and Dunstall Castle depends on how contemporaries interpreted the two-centred arch. If they believed, as most did, that it was a medieval invention, these three buildings are illustrations of a different concept, not under discussion here. But some antiquarians believed that the two-centred arch, in the primitive form in which it appears on these three buildings, was part of the ancient Roman repertoire. There was some cause for this belief. The *Supplement to Montfaucon's Antiquity Explained*, whose English translation appeared in 1725, illustrated the south gate of the Egyptian city of Antinopolis (which Montfaucon clearly stated to have been built by Hadrian) as a Corinthian triumphal arch, whose three openings were not just pointed, but ogival.<sup>111</sup> Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, published in 1732, illustrated two Roman

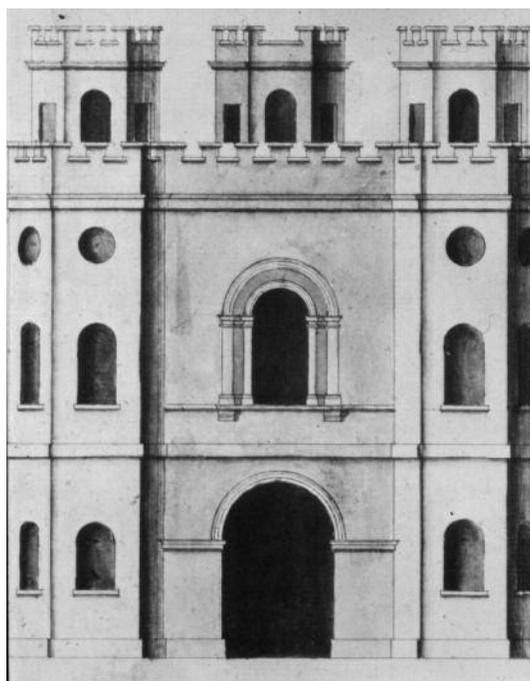


Fig. 34. Henry Flitcroft, elevation of the Belvedere, Windsor, Berkshire, c.1751. *Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, New York.*

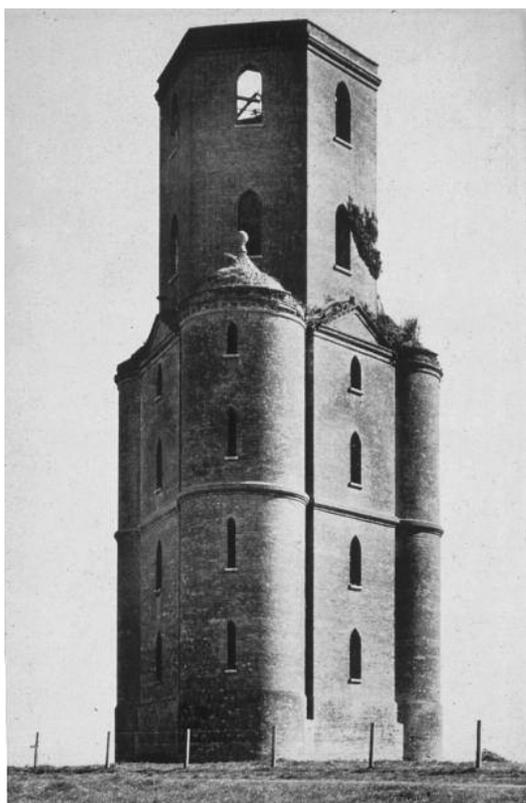


Fig. 35. Sturt's Folly, Horton, Dorset.  
© Crown copyright. NMR.

funerary effigies set in two-centred arched frames.<sup>112</sup> Both Montfaucon and Horsley passed over their illustrations in virtual silence, Horsley only commenting that one of his, of a stone found at Skirvay in Scotland, was 'rather strange'.<sup>113</sup> But in 1787 the Revd Edward Ledwich of Dublin read a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, which drew the conclusion that

There are enough of the productions of ancient art to evince, that the pointed arch was known and used many centuries before the Gothic power was established, or the Romantic expedition to the Holy Land commenced.<sup>114</sup>

Ledwich used Montfaucon's and Horsley's illustrations as evidence, plus coins of Louis the Pious

and Berengarius in the ninth century, and of Edward the Confessor in the eleventh century.<sup>115</sup> Ledwich's paper was read long after these towers were built, but his opinion might have been shared by an earlier generation. It was certainly shared later, and expressed more combatively and with the addition of more, but less reliable evidence, by John Whitaker in *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed*, published in 1804.<sup>116</sup> But if it was not uncommon, the group could also include buildings like the Temple at Aske Hall (c.1735), whose ornament includes an even higher proportion of two-centred arches to other ornament of unambiguously ancient type.<sup>117</sup>

Some storeyed gate houses of the 1740s are tall enough to be regarded as towers. William Kent's

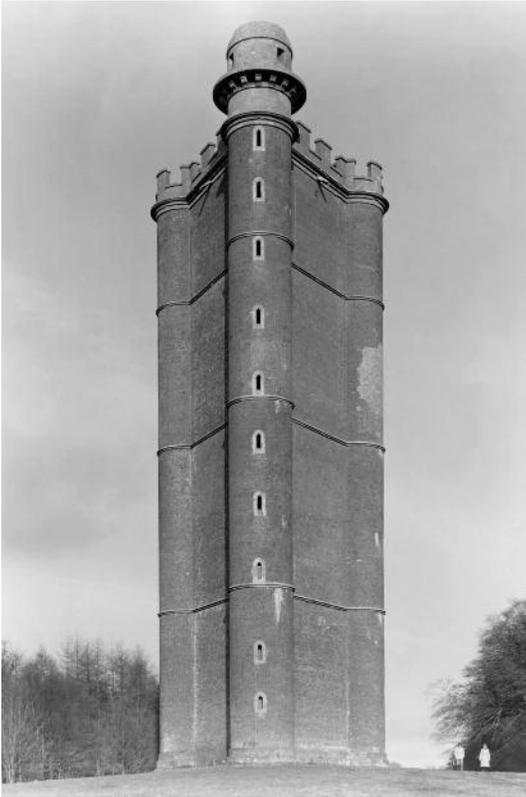


Fig. 36. Alfred's Tower, Stourhead, Wiltshire.  
*National Trust.*



Fig. 37. Dunstall Castle, Croome, Worcestershire.

Worcester Lodge at Badminton, begun in 1746, has five storeys (Fig. 38).<sup>118</sup> Belmont at Belton, built between 1749 and 1751 to designs which are still unattributed, only has three storeys, but it has a viewing platform on the roof, and the arch in its ground storey is unnecessarily tall for its function (Fig. 39).<sup>119</sup> Both had plans which were more than single-cell; Worcester Lodge has flanking buildings, and so initially did Belmont. An undated triumphal arch at Emo Court, Co. Leix, belongs to this group, although it is smaller; it has an octagonal tower of two storeys above the arch (Fig. 40).<sup>120</sup>

In the later eighteenth century towers developed in two different ways—rustic and associative, or complex and stylar. The first includes Adam's Tea

House Tower at Auchincruive (1778)<sup>121</sup>, and Thomas Wright's tower at Westerton (c.1778),<sup>122</sup> both cylindrical towers with crenellated parapets. The tower at Auchincruive has machicolation of the Vanbrugh type, and its drum is ornamented by a blind arcade (Fig. 41). Westerton Tower was machicolated by large *cyma recta* modillions, and ornamented by a door with rusticated architraves and voussoirs, and by pedimented windows with corbelled-out balconies below them (Fig. 42). They were presumably intended to resemble those antique buildings of the Roman *campagna* which were fortified in the Middle Ages, rather than ancient military buildings.

At the opposite end of the imaginative spectrum, Robert Adam's proposed View Tower at Kedleston,



Fig. 38. Worcester Lodge,  
Badminton, Gloucestershire.  
*John Harris.*

dated 1760, is richer in all ways—outline, plan and elevation; it has a narrow cylindrical core of four tall storeys, encircled by a giant colonnade at first and second floor levels, with four-storey turrets at the cardinal points of the colonnade's circumference (Fig. 43).<sup>123</sup> Soane's belvedere designs for Ossington, made in 1785, succeeded to this tradition of festive and ostentatious towers.<sup>124</sup>

These towers of the later eighteenth century are not innovative. With the addition of the developments and variations outlined above, they follow seamlessly in the order established by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. The modern word neoclassical indicates nothing in particular, although the models were continually enriched by archaeological discovery. For towers two new models was adopted. The first was the Tower of the Winds in Athens, known from Montfaucon (although not in detail) in 1717,<sup>125</sup> but first accurately recorded by Stuart and Revett in 1762,<sup>126</sup> and reproduced by Stuart first at Shugborough in 1765 (Fig. 44),<sup>127</sup> then at Mount Stuart in 1782–83,<sup>128</sup> and in the interim by James Wyatt in the Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford in 1772–94.<sup>129</sup> A version of it had been built at West Wycombe (as the Temple of

the Four Winds) in 1759, to the designs of Captain Moody (Fig. 45).<sup>130</sup> Other two-storey octagons, with ancient detailing, pyramidal roofs and lanterns, may be reflexions of it. The Folly at Milngavie is one;<sup>131</sup> the Temple at Carnaby is another, in this case with a pretty roof of ogee profile to the main body, and another roof of concave profile to the lantern.<sup>132</sup>

The second was the Tomb of the Julii at Saint Rémy, long known, but not apparently copied until Soane adapted it for Downhill, Co. Derry, in 1780; Soane's sketch design was not built, but Michael Shanahan adapted it further for the Hervey Cenotaph (Fig. 46).<sup>133</sup> Meanwhile John Carr had also used it as a model for the Mausoleum of the 2nd. Marquess of Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse, built between 1785 and 1791 (Fig. 47).<sup>134</sup>

When in 1785 Soane submitted four different designs for a belvedere in the ancient style at Ossington, one of them, a two-storey hexagon in plan, had one-storey porches attached to every other side, clearly under the influence of the Tower of the Winds (Fig. 48).<sup>135</sup> Another was a polygon with nine sides and five main storeys; it tapers upwards like (though less dramatically than) Hoober's Stand, and,



Fig. 39. Belmont, Belton, Lincolnshire.  
*National Trust.*

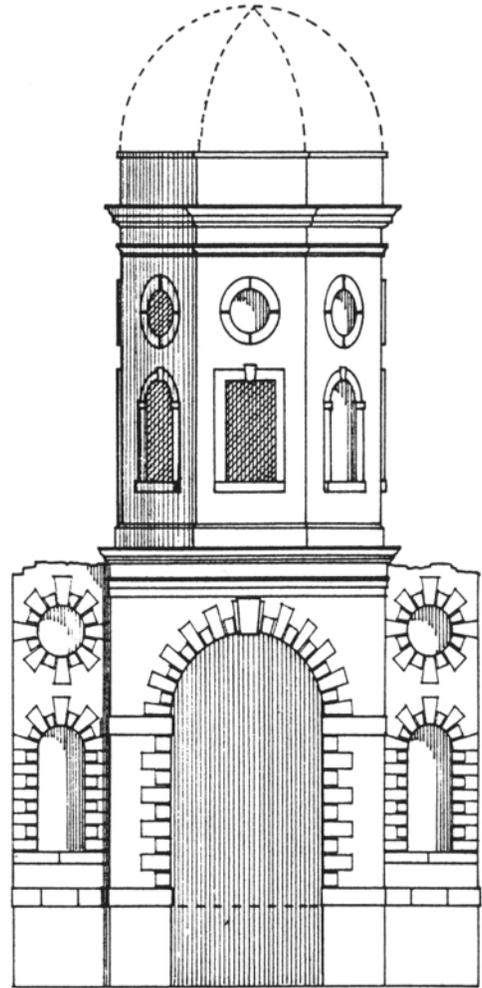


Fig. 40. Arch at Emo Court, Co. Leix.  
*James Howley.*

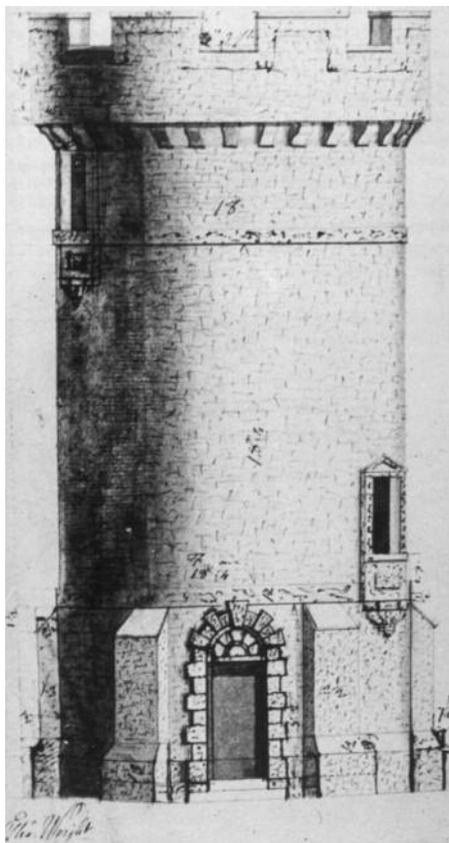
like that, it has a balustraded platform with a separate belvedere structure forming a sixth floor (Fig. 49).<sup>136</sup> A third design is a cylinder with three rectangular turrets attached, and is evidently related to Fort Belvedere (Fig. 50).<sup>137</sup> Although Soane's efforts were in the the complex and stylar direction, a number of models had by then become available.

Towers continued to be built into the nineteenth century. Stratton's Observatory at Little Berkhamstead

(1789) (Fig. 51)<sup>138</sup>, the Watch Tower at Sedbury (1795), designed by John Foss (Fig. 52),<sup>139</sup> Clavel Tower at Kimmeridge (1820) (Fig. 53),<sup>140</sup> and Saxonbury Tower at Eridge (1820)<sup>141</sup> are cylindrical towers of different heights, with no ornament of medieval provenance. They have round-arched windows. Stratton's Observatory has a giant blind arcade of round arches, and *oculi* as well. Clavel Tower has an encircling Tuscan colonnade. Saxonbury Tower has



Fig. 41. Tea House Tower, Auchencruive, Ayrshire.



42. Thomas Wright, proposed astronomical tower, Westerton, Co. Durham. *Eileen Harris*.

machicolation of the Vanbrugh type. James Wyatt's Broadway Tower (1794) might be taken for one of these; in general it looks like one of Vanbrugh's towers, but the mouldings of its first floor windows are Romanesque, not Roman (Fig. 54).<sup>142</sup> It is an illustration of how the former style was perceived to be a version of the latter, although Wyatt himself inscribed his drawing 'Saxon Tower'.<sup>143</sup>

Beckford's Tower, Lansdown, Bath, on the other hand, designed by H.E. Goodridge in 1822, is neither vernacular nor primitive; it is educated, subtle and rich.<sup>144</sup> Beckford's Tower differs from all the foregoing towers in having a house at its base, and initiates a line of nineteenth-century towers either attached to houses or with houses attached to them. Although its ornament is of ancient provenance, its concept is different from that of the Belvedere at Waldershare.

### III

It was known long before Stuart and Revett's publication that the ancients had built towers. Defensive towers were known, either from general compendia of antiquities like Montfaucon's,<sup>145</sup> or from architectural books like Perrault's edition of Vitruvius,<sup>146</sup> or from specifically military books like Du Choul's *La Castramentation et Discipline Militaire des Romains*.<sup>147</sup> Seven plates in Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* illustrate mural towers, and plate 17 shows a round and a square tower flanking a round arch with rusticated voussoirs, which could have inspired Stainborough and Dunstall Castles.<sup>148</sup> Otherwise these military towers may have been more useful for Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, Adam and Thomas Wright, than for Campbell at Waldershare.

Lauro also illustrated more pacific towers. His plates of urban tower-houses<sup>149</sup> and of tower-pavilions for spectating<sup>150</sup> may have been inspirational in some situations, but not for Waldershare. However, he illustrated one garden tower of six diminishing storeys which seems only to be designed for the view.<sup>151</sup>

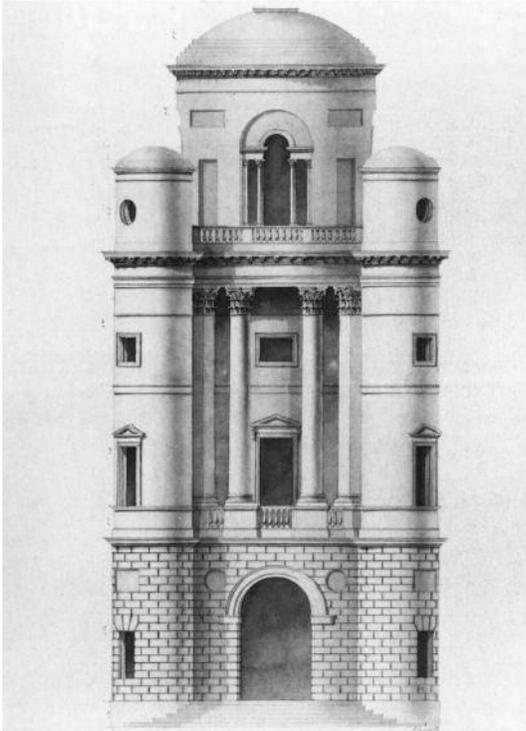


Fig. 43. Robert Adam, proposed view tower, Kedleston, Derbyshire. *National Trust*.



Fig. 44. The Tower of the Winds, Shugborough, Staffordshire. *National Trust*.



Fig. 45. The Temple of the Four Winds, West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire.

Ancient lighthouses were also a subject of curiosity, and probably a source for the design of modern lighthouses.<sup>152</sup> Sixteen miles north-east of Waldershare, the North Foreland Light, built in 1683,<sup>153</sup> was an octagonal tower of flint with brick quoins, and its cornice was correctly Doric, complete with triglyphs in moulded brick (Fig. 55).<sup>154</sup> Its inspiration must surely have been the Roman *pharos* within Dover Castle, only three miles from Waldershare in the opposite direction, a survival sufficiently celebrated to have been (inaccurately) illustrated by Mountfaucon in 1719 (Fig. 56).<sup>155</sup> Burlington had a copy of Mountfaucon's book at Chiswick,<sup>156</sup> and Montfaucon's illustration shows a tower more similar to the Belvedere at Waldershare than to the *pharos* itself; its windows are different, but its dimensions are remarkably similar. If this inspired Waldershare it was the illustration, not the building, which did so. This seems improbable; ancient masonry would doubtless have been more inspirational than modern literature, and a three-mile trip would have revealed that the *pharos* had a polygonal plan,<sup>157</sup> an observation even available to an architect who did not visit the site, from the plate in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published in 1724 (Fig. 57).<sup>158</sup> In 1683, however, it would have been the *pharos* itself which inspired the North Foreland light.

Another type of ancient tower which was known to students of antiquity was the mausoleum tower. Montano illustrated four unnamed, perhaps imaginary, tower-sepulchres.<sup>159</sup> Montfaucon illustrated three famous tower-sepulchres, those of Q. Verannius (Fig. 58), of Virgil at Posilippo, and of the Julii at St Rémy, on a single plate,<sup>160</sup> and a three-storey tower and one other near Tivoli on another plate.<sup>161</sup> The latter plate includes a plan of the so-called Tomb of the Scipios on the Via Appia, which has semi-cylindrical voids around its periphery, similar to the voids visible in the plan of the Belvedere (Fig. 6). Most famous for the number of its mausolea was Palmyra, which had been visited by Dr William Halifax, chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo in 1691.<sup>162</sup> Halifax published

an unillustrated description of Palmyra in the *Philosophical Dissertations* of October 1695.<sup>163</sup> His description was acknowledged as a source by Corneille Le Brun in his *Voyage au Levant* of 1714, but Le Brun's book was illustrated, and it includes a general view of Palmyra, with the mausoleum-towers in the surrounding hills.<sup>164</sup> Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architectur*, published in 1725, also showed a general view of Palmyra, also with the towers in the distance (Fig. 59).<sup>165</sup> He also published a view of another tower-mausoleum, the Tomb of the Scipios at Tarragona (Fig. 60).<sup>166</sup>

But ancient towers were not necessarily associated with any of these types, nor with any specific type. Fischer had nine plates in Book 1 and three plates in Book 2 with unspecific tower-like buildings in the background.<sup>167</sup> Evidently they were envisaged as part of the ancient townscape, as they are in Poussin's or Claude's paintings.<sup>168</sup> Pirro Ligorio's hypothesized sketches of ancient Rome also included numerous towers (Fig. 61);<sup>169</sup> these sketches belonged to Lord Burlington, and were doubtless available to architects like Campbell or Morris who enjoyed his patronage or who collaborated with him. And in the Library on the ground floor of Chiswick House, on the 'First Shelf over y<sup>e</sup> . . . Lowest Shelf between y<sup>e</sup> Hall Door, & y<sup>e</sup> Farther-End', they could have found a copy of Le Brun's *Voyage au Levant*.<sup>170</sup>

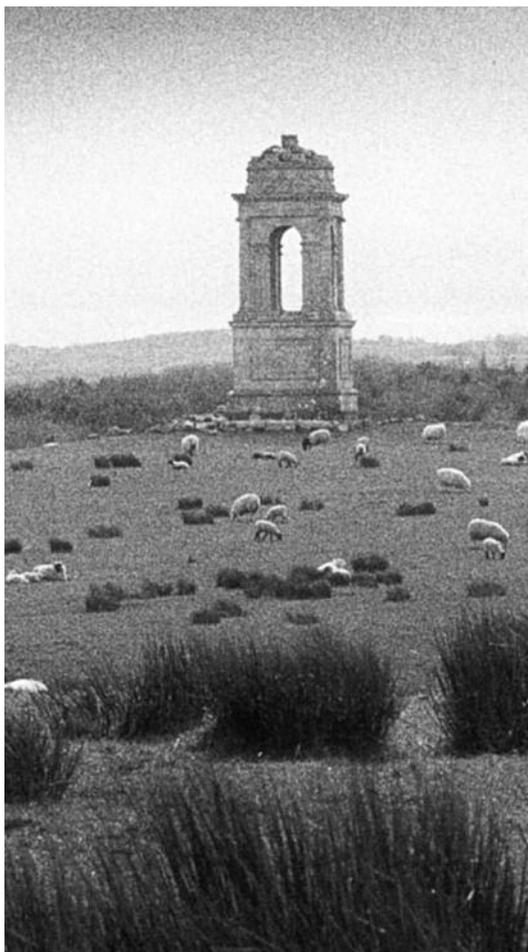


Fig. 46. Hervey Cenotaph, Downhill, Co. Derry.  
James Howley.

#### IV

It is not clear what type of tower the Belvedere was intended to be, although a little can be inferred from the material evidence, and the building accounts offer some clues. But the appealing idea of a Roman lighthouse might have to be eliminated from this enquiry; neither the archaeological fragments nor the distant aerial views seem to offer evidence of a fire platform.

The ancient type which the Belvedere most resembles is the mausoleum tower. It is possible that

the Belvedere was designed with a sepulchral function in mind. Sir Robert Furnese's father, who died in 1712,<sup>171</sup> is commemorated by an unusually high free-standing monument in a small and architecturally unpretentious aisle of Waldershare church.<sup>172</sup> This space is so confined that it is impossible to see the monument properly, and its modest astylar setting does not complement its lavish ornament and classical allusion. Yet the aisle was apparently built to house the monument;<sup>173</sup> surely it was intended only to be



Fig. 47. Rockingham Mausoleum, Wentworth, Yorkshire (West Riding). *Giles Worsley*.

temporary. The monument would be seen to better advantage in the first floor room of the Belvedere, an unusually high space with a circular plan and a domical vault. Perhaps this was its intended location.

On the other hand the Belvedere was heated and drained, not the usual requisites of a mausoleum. The arrangements for heating at least three rooms still survive; and the building accounts reveal that drains were dug in November 1725 and back-filled in November 1726, and that 17 days had been spent in

September and October 1726 ‘cleaning rubbish out of the Clossets’ and ‘cleang. The Clossets for ye plumers’.<sup>174</sup> The closets must be the three small rooms in the corners, and plumbers’ work within them must have been water supply, rather than water disposal. A water supply could indicate a *bagnio*. It could also indicate a banqueting function. And c.1790 Sir Richard Kaye described the central room on the ground floor as a dining room.<sup>175</sup>

Finally, the geography makes it obvious that the Belvedere was built to take advantage of the views. From the second floor windows, 410 feet above sea level, a panorama of the French coast is visible, which at its nearest point is 24 miles SSE. Northward the sight line passes over Pegwell Bay and the Isle of Thanet to the Thames Estuary. Weather permitting, it should be possible to see the Essex shore 35 miles NW. The earliest record of its present name, ‘Belvidere’, dates from 1735.<sup>176</sup> All the written descriptions remarked on the panorama, and Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Kent* particularly noted the ‘broad stretch of sea, and the French coast beyond’.<sup>177</sup>

Idealistic social theory of the 1720s was as interested in alluding to, or even reproducing ancient social practice as it was in reproducing ancient form.<sup>178</sup> Ancient Romans held banquets in, on or around their ancestral sepulchres.<sup>179</sup>

No religious ceremony was more universally performed in the most diverse regions of the Empire than this cult of the grave. At every hour of every day families met in some tomb to celebrate there an anniversary by eating the funeral meal.<sup>180</sup>

Tacitus (in the *Annals*) and Petronius (in the *Satyricon*) described the *cena noviendalis*, feasts such as these which took place on the ninth day after burial;<sup>181</sup> Lucian described a funeral feast in Egypt; and Augustine reproached Christians for observing them.<sup>182</sup> Colen Campbell and Sir Robert Furnese could thus have been aware of such practices.<sup>183</sup> It is possible that the Belvedere was designed to

accommodate all these functions—banqueting on the ground floor, mausoleum on the first floor, and prospects from the second floor.

On the other hand, it may have been planned for no function, merely as a demonstration. Park buildings of any sort identified possession. Towers identified it from a distance, and thus signified its extent. ‘Some conspicuous object’, wrote Repton, ‘should mark a command of property’.<sup>184</sup> The property which Sir Robert commanded could even have been observed from France. As his family’s fortune had been made by a war against the French in a theatre only just across the Straits, such a demonstration was not inappropriate.<sup>185</sup>

But, as conspicuous objects went, towers were open to undesirable interpretations. For Pope they represented *hubris*; in *The Rape of the Lock* nothing resists steel, not even ‘th’ imperial towers of Troy’.<sup>186</sup> Steel strikes them to dust, and when ‘Jove’s thunder roars, ... Earth shakes her nodding towers’.<sup>187</sup> Roger North, for whatever reason, thought that ‘grandeur proper to quality’ was better expressed by breadth than by height.<sup>188</sup> For Bacon towers represented pride.<sup>189</sup> For Alberti they were the habitations of tyrants.<sup>190</sup> No one would invite *hubris*, although pride always attracts risk-takers. But tyranny was a topical subject. The Furnese family politics were consistently Whig. Their fortune had depended on Monmouth, William III and Marlborough; their political base was a town full of religious refugees from the Netherlands. Sir Robert supported the Whig government for part of his Parliamentary career, but for much of it he was attached to the Whig opposition, and he died protesting against the tyrannical imposition of the Excise.<sup>191</sup> He would hardly have endorsed a symbol of tyranny. If he conceived it as such, its purpose would have been ironical, placed in a distant part of his park in contrast to the house which his father had built, the bountiful reward of a virtuous citizen.

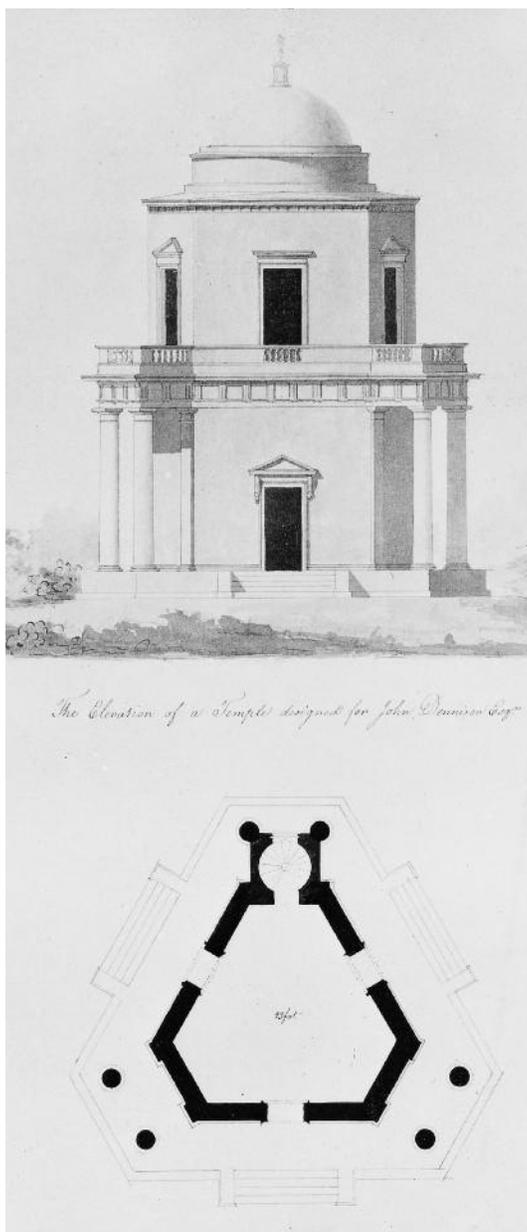


Fig. 48. John Soane, proposed belvedere, Ossington, Nottinghamshire.

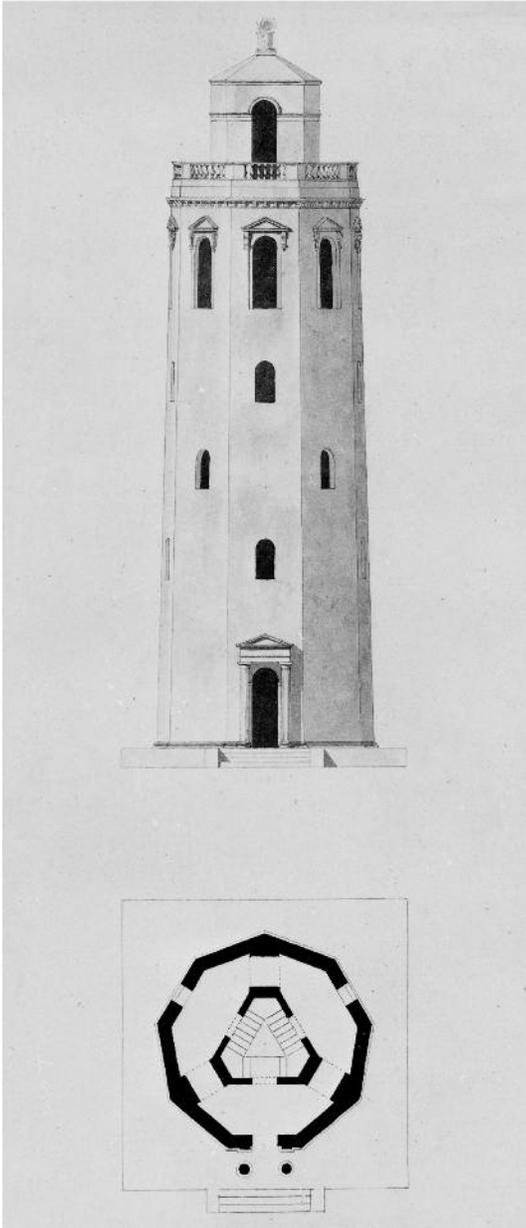
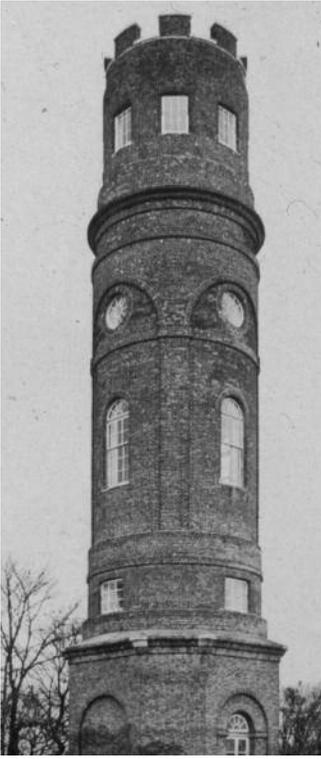


Fig. 49. John Soane, proposed belvedere, Ossington, Nottinghamshire.

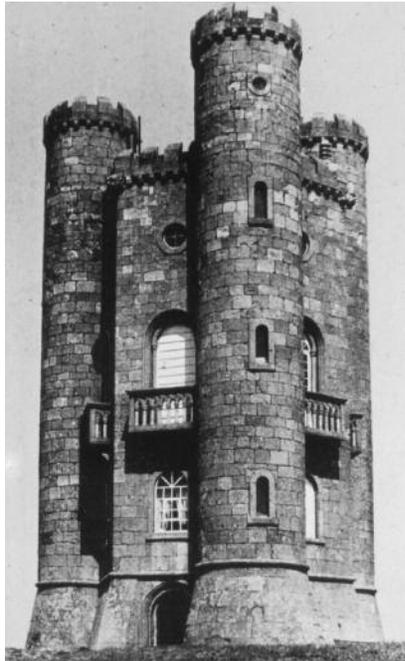


Fig. 50. John Soane, proposed belvedere, Ossington, Nottinghamshire.



*Far left:* Fig. 51.  
Stratton's  
Observatory, Little  
Berkhampstead,  
Hertfordshire.

*Left:* Fig. 52.  
The Watch Tower,  
Sedbury, Yorkshire  
(North Riding).



*Far Left:* Fig. 53.  
Clavel Tower,  
Kimmeridge, Dorset.

*Left:* Fig. 54.  
Broadway Tower,  
Broadway,  
Worcestershire.



Fig. 55. Michael Angelo Rooker, water-colour view of the North Foreland lighthouse, Broadstairs, Kent, in 1780. © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

## V

Two conclusions may be inferred. First, although ‘Gothick’ and ‘tower’ are two words which are often juxtaposed in the popular imagination, especially in the Georgian garden context, and although even more informed opinion might regard the tower as a medieval form, the Belvedere is a tower and it is not Gothic. Few of the towers discussed above have details of medieval provenance. Their detailing is otherwise of ancient type; they were regarded as ancient Roman, or, in some cases, as ancient Greek in appearance. Ancient architecture was not limited to temples and baths; its eighteenth-century students evidently recognised this. When they wished to employ ancient imagery, for whatever reason (intellectual, moral, political or social) they had a wider range of forms at their disposal than the portico and the pediment.

Secondly, classed among all the foregoing towers, the Belvedere is innocent of twentieth-century art-historical morphology. To impose order on the considerable amount of architectural evidence accumulated from the eighteenth century, historians have distinguished phases which they style Baroque, Palladian and Neo-Classical. Vanbrugh is usually placed in the first, Burlington in the second, and Stuart into the third. These towers, including examples designed by all three of these architects, clearly form a sequence which does not recognise the twentieth-century classification. There is little distinctively Baroque about Vanbrugh’s towers. Palladio, who did not illustrate towers, contributed nothing to Waldershare, nor to any of the other examples. Nor are Athenian Stuart’s or Soane’s efforts any more ‘neo-classical’ than their predecessors’. All these towers were intended to

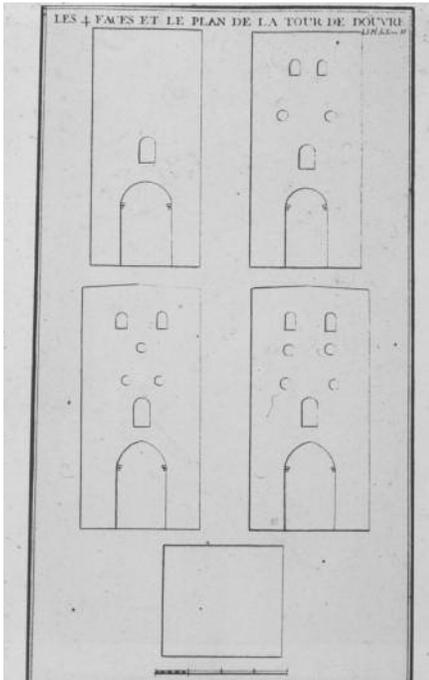


Fig. 56. Bernard de Montfaucon, engraving of the Roman pharos, Dover Castle, 1719.

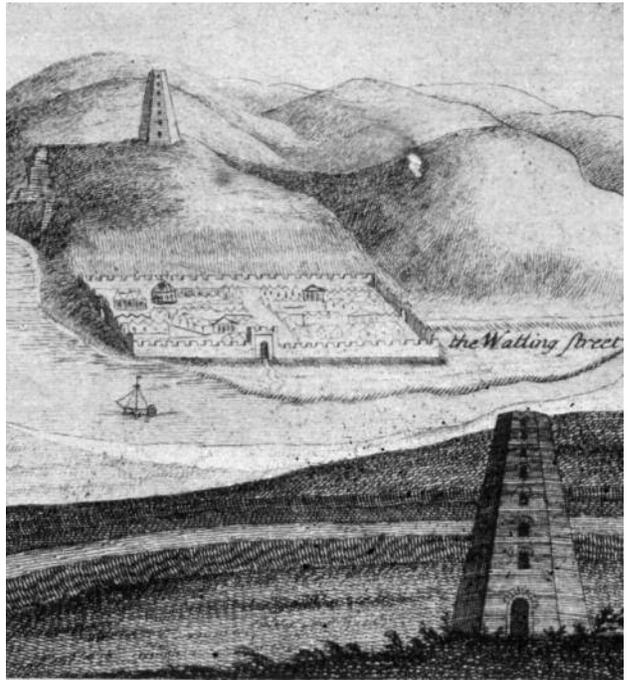


Fig. 57. William Stukeley, engraving of the Roman pharos, Dover Castle, 1724.

look ancient, whenever in the eighteenth century they were built.

The sum of these two observations is this. That although eighteenth-century patrons looked to newly discovered cultures (medieval, Islamic and Oriental) for imagery, they continued to find new images in the world which the Renaissance had opened up to them. The ancient tower was one of those images, and it is likely that in many of the cases illustrated here it was employed meaningfully.

## APPENDIX I

### THE FURNESE FAMILY

The builder of the Belvedere was Sir Robert Furnese, 2nd Bart. (1687–1733). Sir Robert's grandfather, Henry, a Cromwellian Sergeant of Dragoons, had settled in Sandwich as a tallow-chandler or grocer, and married the daughter of Andrew Gosfright, a former mayor. His son, also Henry (1658–1712), the future 1st baronet, was apprenticed to a Gosfright uncle, a hosier in Cheapside, became a merchant draper, traded in army clothing and sword blades, and remitted cash to William III's and Marlborough's forces in the Netherlands and Portugal. Another Gosfright uncle had been Deputy Paymaster to the forces in Flanders under the Duke of Monmouth in 1678, and this was also to be Henry Furnese's principal business. Between 1705 and 1710 he was the

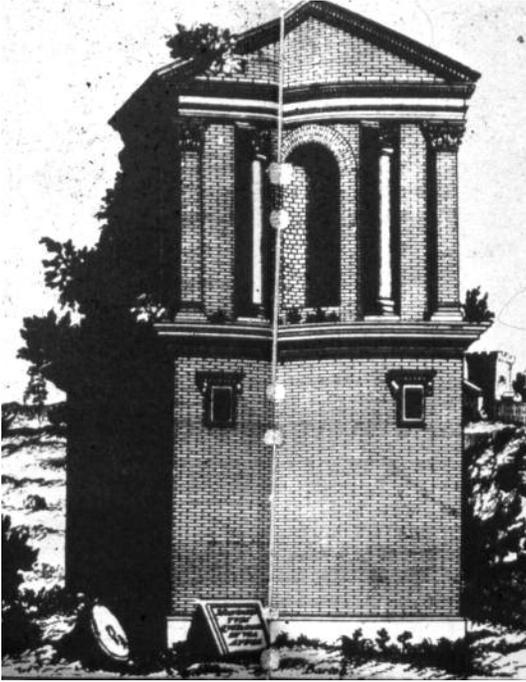


Fig. 58. Bernard de Montfaucon, engraving of the Tomb of Quintus Verannius, on the Via Appia, Rome.

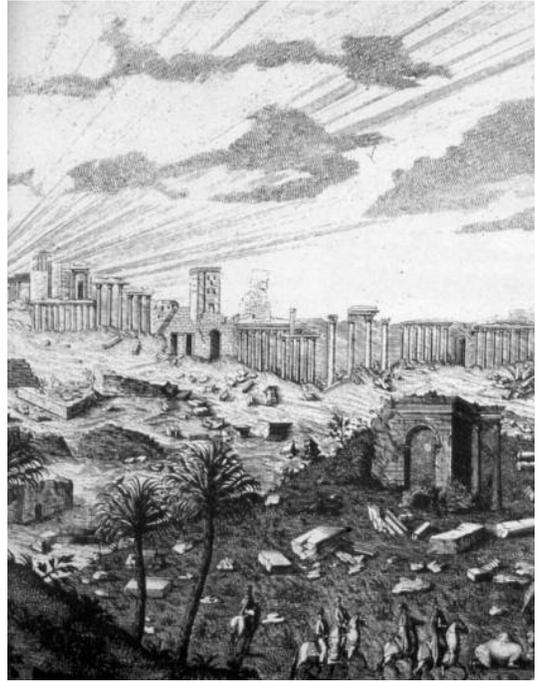


Fig. 59. Johann Fischer von Erlach, engraved view of Palmyra, from *Einer Historischen Architectur*, 1725.

most important government financier in England.<sup>192</sup> Much of his success was due to an intelligence network superior even to the government's, and he and the Duke of Marlborough became interdependent; Sir Henry died after entertaining Marlborough at Waldershare,<sup>193</sup> and Marlborough was sheltered there by Sir Robert on his return to England after the death of Queen Anne.<sup>194</sup> Sir Henry became a director of the New East India Company in 1698, and of the Bank of England in 1694–7 and 1699–1702. He served as Alderman and Sheriff of the City of London in 1700–01, and as Alderman again in 1711.<sup>195</sup> He also cultivated an interest in his natal town, which had a large immigrant population, mainly Walloon; 20% of the inhabitants were dissenters.<sup>196</sup> After a short spell as MP for Bramber (1698–99), he was MP for Sandwich from 1701 until his death.<sup>197</sup> He was knighted in 1691, and created a baronet in 1707.<sup>198</sup>

He died on 30 November 1712, willing that a monument be erected to 'God's great goodness to me in advancing me to a considerable estate from a very small beginning'.<sup>199</sup>

Robert Furnese, born on 1 August 1687, was MP for Truro in the Boscawen interest from 1708 to 1710.<sup>200</sup> His half-sister Matilda was married to Richard Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe,<sup>201</sup> another Cornishman, though not of the Boscawen party in Cornwall.<sup>202</sup> In 1710 Furnese was named as MP for Thetford by the Norfolk Whig managers, Robert Walpole, Sir Charles Turner and Ashe Windham.<sup>203</sup> But by then Sir Henry had acquired an interest in New Romney, and thence Robert Furnese transferred himself.<sup>204</sup> From 1713 the other member for New Romney was the Hon. Edward Watson, heir to his mother, formerly Lady Catherine Sondes of Lees Court, and in 1714 Furnese married Watson's sister.<sup>205</sup>



Fig. 60. Johann Fischer von Erlach, engraved view of the Tower of the Scipios at Tarragona, Spain, from *Einer Historischen Architectur*, 1725.

They followed the Prince of Wales into opposition in 1717, but when the King and the Prince were reconciled in 1720, they desired the Corporation of New Romney to drink their health, and gave them £20 with which to do so.<sup>206</sup> In 1727 Sir Robert Furnese was returned for both New Romney and Kent, and chose to sit for the latter. He received no government position, and in 1729 went into opposition. He died on 7 March 1733, ‘roaring against the Excise’.<sup>207</sup>

Sir Robert married three times. His first wife, Ann Balam, whom he married in 1708, was the daughter of his step-mother by her previous husband, Anthony Balam; she died in 1713.<sup>208</sup> Their only child, Ann, married John St John in 1729; he became 2nd Viscount St John in 1742, and in 1743 they rebuilt Lydiard Park to the design of Roger Morris.<sup>209</sup> In 1714 Sir Robert Furnese married the Hon. Arabella Watson, daughter of Lewis, 3rd Lord Rockingham, of Rockingham Castle.<sup>210</sup> In 1709 Miss Watson’s

mother, daughter of the 1st Earl of Feversham of Lees Court, had inherited that property, and the Watsons thereby acquired an interest in Kent.<sup>211</sup> Isabella Twisden of Watringbury, near Maidstone, wrote in June 1714 of the forthcoming marriage ‘I think Sr. Robert judges right to get a little quality to so much riches’.<sup>212</sup> In the Coronation honours of March 1715 Lady Furnese’s father became Earl of Rockingham. Lord Rockingham’s mother, born Lady Anne Wentworth, and daughter of the 1st Earl of Strafford, had inherited Wentworth Woodhouse on the death of her brother in 1695. When she died in the following year, she left it not to Lord Rockingham (who was well provided for by his wife’s inheritance of Lees Court), but to her younger son, the Hon. Thomas Watson, with the obligation to change his name to Watson-Wentworth.<sup>213</sup> On his death in 1723 Wentworth Woodhouse descended to his son of the same name, Lady Arabella Furnese’s first cousin,

who enlarged it to the design of Henry Flitcroft from 1733.<sup>214</sup> Sir Robert Furnese had two children by his second wife—Sir Henry, the 3rd Baronet, who died in Marseilles in 1735, aged 19, and Katherine, who in 1736 married her cousin, the 2nd Earl of Rockingham, and in 1751 married Francis, 7th Lord North, created Earl of Guilford in 1752.<sup>215</sup> She inherited Waldershare Park, which has descended with the earldom of Guilford to the present. In 1729 (and thus after the Belvedere was complete) Sir Robert married his third wife, Lady Anne Shirley, daughter of the 1st Earl Ferrers,<sup>216</sup> by whom he had another daughter, Selina, who married Sir Edward Dering in 1755.<sup>217</sup>

Sir Robert was a connoisseur. He was abroad from 1705 to 1708, initially as part of Lord Sunderland's embassy to Vienna.<sup>218</sup> In May 1706 he was in Rome, where he bought pictures worth 2,000 *scudi* from Ficorini. In August 1707 he signed the Padua University Matriculation Book. By early November he had bought bronzes from Soldani in Florence.<sup>219</sup> In December Gibbs recorded the return to Rome of 'Mr Furnace'.<sup>220</sup> Sir Robert's paintings passed first to his son, and on the latter's death to his cousin Henry Furnese, who died in 1756; the collection was sold in 1758, and outstanding pictures by Sachetti and Guido Reni were bought by Lord Spencer, presumably for Spencer House.<sup>221</sup> Sir Robert subscribed to all the English Palladian publications,<sup>222</sup> and was painted with his hand on a copy of a book entitled *Monumenta Romana*.<sup>223</sup>

The 1st baronet bought Waldershare on 23 March 1705 from James Johnston and Edward Harley, trustees for the daughters of Peregrine Bertie.<sup>224</sup> Johnston, Secretary of State in Scotland from 1692 to 1696 and Lord Register from 1704 to 1705,<sup>225</sup> employed John James to build him a house at Twickenham (later known as Orleans House) in 1710,<sup>226</sup> and James Gibbs to add the still surviving octagonal pavilion to it in 1720.<sup>227</sup> Harley, Auditor of the Imprest from 1702 until his death,<sup>228</sup> was the brother of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford and Secretary of State, and the uncle of the 2nd Earl of

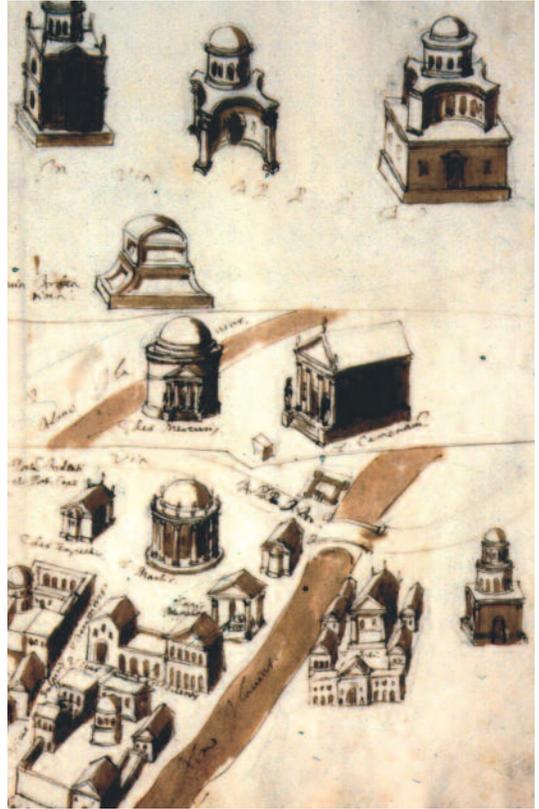


Fig. 61. Pirro Ligorio, sketch view of ancient Rome. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.

Oxford, who employed Gibbs to alter Wimpole Hall in 1719–21.<sup>229</sup> Auditor Harley was responsible for the development of the Harley estate in Marylebone from 1717, on which John James took leases.<sup>230</sup> Much later, James altered Welbeck Abbey for the dowager Countess of Oxford.<sup>231</sup> Sir Henry Furnese subscribed £25 (the second largest sum, after the Archbishop of Canterbury) towards the building of St George's Church, Deal,<sup>232</sup> and when the building ran into difficulties, John James was brought in to advise in 1712.<sup>233</sup> Sir Henry had been a Governor of Greenwich Hospital since 1695,<sup>234</sup> and he might have known James as the assistant Clerk of Works there since 1705.<sup>235</sup>

Gibbs, who was in Rome until 1709, cannot therefore have been the architect of Waldershare Park, but James may have been. Although its construction is not dated, the surviving account book contains no reference to the house, apart from statues, picture cases and upholstery, so it was evidently complete before 3 December 1711 when the book was begun.<sup>236</sup> However, the book records payments for the construction of the stables between September 1713 and December 1714—to Thomas Brown and Henry Pingle (bricklayers), John Stupple (carpenter), Goodman Norris (sawyer), James Knott (smith), Edward Vincer (glazier and plumber), Mr Lance (ironmonger) and Mr Pilcher (painter).<sup>237</sup> By then James had given his advice on St George's Church, but he had also been in the neighbourhood earlier; in 1705 he had explained his absence from Hampshire to Thomas Jervoise of Herriard Park by a visit to East Kent.<sup>238</sup> It is possible that he was the 'James' who was paid £50 by Sir Henry Furnese in August 1707.<sup>239</sup>

Sir Henry Furnese was buried in a vault at Waldershare church, constructed by Sir Robert between March and July 1713.<sup>240</sup> Above this an enormous free-standing monument by Thomas Green of Camberwell was erected; Green was carver to the Board of Ordnance, and his armorial carvings embellish the gateways of Woolwich Arsenal, Chatham Dockyard and the Middle Tower of the Tower of London.<sup>241</sup> It is one of the more ostentatious monuments of the eighteenth century; Rupert Gunnis described it as 'towering mass of marble [rising] tier by tier to the very ceiling'.<sup>242</sup> In September 1713 a Mr Bradford was paid 7s. for 'measuring ye brickwork at ye church and ye stable', and in September 1714 £50 was paid 'for ye Repairing of Waldershare Church'; some alterations were probably necessary to accommodate the towering mass.<sup>243</sup>

At New Romney father and son treated the Corporation by improvements to the chancel of St Nicholas's church. John Whalley, who visited in 1735, described them as 'an handsome Altar Piece & Organ, given by Sir Henry & Rob: Furnese'.<sup>244</sup>

Hasted did not mention either of these in 1799, but noted the chancel wainscot and the Corporation's seats:

In the middle chancel, on the wainscot, are painted the arms of Furnese, with the hand of Ulster, impaling Broughe, and underneath Sir Henry beautified this chancel at his cost, and made the mayor and jurats seats, 1712. On the other side are the arms of Furnese impaling Balam, and underneath, Sir Robert Furnese, bart., combaron, completed the work of this chancel, begun by his father, Sir Henry Furnese, in 1713.<sup>245</sup>

W.H. Freland, in 1829, confirmed that the Furnese treat included seating, and added the chancel roof:

The chancel, which has two side aisles, is enclosed, and highly ornamented with a fine roofing of wainscot, painted and gilt at the expense of the family of Furnese, formerly barons of this port in parliament, by whose munificence also the seats of the mayor and corporation were fitted up in a manner suitable to the 'representatives of majesty'.<sup>246</sup>

There is no indication that the Furneses engaged an architect for these works. Churchwardens' accounts record payments to John Cosby and William Rolfe, carpenters, between 1710 and 1713, and to William Friend, mason, in 1712–13, and even these payments (apparently for unspecified work) may have been independent of the Furnese gift.<sup>247</sup> And the Borough treat continued beyond 1713. In October 1716 Sir Robert's fellow MP (and brother-in-law), by then Lord Sondes, wrote to the mayor

I have been some time in expectation of hearing of ye Pewing for ye Church being come to Romney, wch. ye Joyner promised me should be soon...<sup>248</sup>

Lees Court, Lord Sondes's seat, is in north Kent, which may perhaps explain the choice of George Theobald, of Milton, near Gravesend, as joiner. Three weeks later Theobald wrote to the mayor from Milton, evidently *à propos* the pews,

I have bine ille & not able to looke out for a wessel to bring it.<sup>249</sup>

Later, in May 1720, Lord Sondes wrote to the mayor:

Having been informed sometime since By Friend that he had finished the paveing of ye church, I have been in Exspectation of hearing from you whether it was well done & to yr. Satisfaction, wch. I hope it is. I now write ys to acquaint you that now the Remainders of what is wanting, shall be speedily finished & have last week wrote to Friend to go over in order to ye finishing ye 2 windows, you desire to be enlarged & shall give orders for the painting of the Pews. The Pulpit & Desk Cloth are Bespoke. I hope you had a merry Day in drinking ye King & Prince's health upon yr happy Reconciliation, at Sr Roberts & my desire.<sup>250</sup>

But the mayor replied:

The Pavement in the Church has been done sometime for wch our gentlemen Return your Lordshipp thanks and esteem it as an Addition to former favours But we can give Friend no Comendations for his Work.<sup>251</sup>

## APPENDIX II

### LORD BURLINGTON AND THE FURNESES

Lord Burlington owned the Waldershare drawing, even if he may not have been its author. He presumably admired it; he may have taken an interest in the building; he could even have contributed to the design. He was doubtless given it, either by Sir Robert Furnese, or by his architect. No direct social connection between Burlington and Furnese is known. However, Burlington was certainly on friendly terms with first cousins of both Sir Robert and Lady Arabella Furnese some years later. On Sir Robert's side, Henry Furnese was a friend of William Pulteney,<sup>252</sup> who was in turn a close friend of Burlington.<sup>253</sup> Like Pulteney, Henry Furnese was politically allied to Lord Morpeth from c.1723, and when Lord Morpeth became 4th Earl of Carlisle in 1738, Henry Furnese represented the Borough of Morpeth in his place;<sup>254</sup> it was on Burlington's advice that Lord Carlisle engaged Daniel Garrett to

complete the Mausoleum at Castle Howard.<sup>255</sup> Henry Furnese lived at Gunnersbury Park from 1739, and William Kent told Lady Burlington that he had spent three nights there in September 1744, and two or three days there in September and October 1745.<sup>256</sup> Gunnersbury is only two miles from Chiswick, and by 1749 certainly (and doubtless earlier) he was on dining terms with Burlington; he must have been the 'Mr Furnese' who dined at Chiswick in July of that year.<sup>257</sup>

On the distaff side, Lady Arabella Furnese was first cousin to Thomas Watson-Wentworth,<sup>258</sup> 'the whole finishing' of whose house, Wentworth Woodhouse, was 'submitted' to Lord Burlington in 1733.<sup>259</sup> It is possible that Burlington and Watson-Wentworth were acquainted earlier, and that Burlington might have been known to Lady Arabella Furnese by that means. And Lady Arabella may have been instrumental in the conception and construction of the Belvedere. On 3 August 1726 the workmen were given 1gn. 'per Lady's ordr.'<sup>260</sup> She died just over one year later, on 6 September 1727.<sup>261</sup> Little was done at the Belvedere in 1727, and the last payment was made on 26 September.<sup>262</sup> Yet in 1735 it was described as 'unfinished',<sup>263</sup> which the evidence of the fabric confirms.<sup>264</sup> If left unfinished at the time of her death, it may have been her initiative to build it.

## APPENDIX III

### THE BUILDING OF THE BELVEDERE

Part of a Waldershare estate account book entitled 'Account of Money disbursed . . . for the New Building on The Mount' evidently refers to the Belvedere, for not only does the latter stand at the highest point of the park, but close to a farm called Coldred; in the account title 'The' has been written over 'Coldred'.<sup>265</sup> The chronology is made clear by the accounts. The ground was opened on 31 May 1725; the first brick was 'laid by my Son' on

16 August; the 'Clossets' were complete enough to be cleaned out just over a year later, on 24 September 1726; the carpenter was paid 'for ye Raising dinner' on 15 October; the first payment to a plasterer was made on 29 October; the drains were back-filled on 26 November; the first payment to a painter was made on 31 December; and scaffolding was carried away on 21 January 1727. The accounts from Christmas 1726 are for a few small sums only, totalling £18 5s. 4d., and marked 'entered in Ex<sup>s</sup>'; unfortunately an Extraordinary account does not survive to complement or continue the 1727 payments, but it is evident that by the end of 1726 the carcass was probably complete. The first season's work, ending on 18 January 1726, cost £648 4s. 7d. The 1726 season cost £1,036 17s. 5d. With the known cost of the 1727 work, therefore, the total was at least £1,703 7s. 4d. Of this the principal tradesmen's share was as follows:

**Contractors**

Carpenter (Charles Jacob)	£233 17s. 0d.
Bricklayer (Richard Mucklow)	£226 18s. 0d.
Mason (Thomas Ogilvie)	£152 17s. 0d.
Mason (Mr Mercer)	£105 2s. 6d.
Smith (Knott)	£34 15s. 9d.
Carpenter (John Stuppel)	£21 19s. 6d.
Plumber (Peter Lord)	£10 14s. 0d.
Plasterer (John Hughes)	£5 5s. 0d.
Plasterer (Thomas Freeman)	£3 0s. 0d.
Painter (Pilcher)	£1 5s. 0d.

**Suppliers**

Bricks (William Smith)	£123 9s. 8d.
Lime (Pingle)	£94 0s. 0d.
Stone (Mr Tucker of Weymouth)	£56 15s. 0d.
Bricks (Titus Ruffit)	£32 18s. 0d.
Boards (Mr Hayward)	£31 18s. 0d.
Ropes (Cooper 'ye Coller-maker')	£29 19s. 0d.
Iron (Starr)	£13 9s. 6d.

Lead (Mr Vincer of Dover 'ye glazier')	£12 14s. 2d.
Iron (Laine or Lane)	£5 6s. 2d.
Hair (Mr May of Dover)	£1 0s. 0d.
Wire Sieves (Mr Austin)	10s. 0d.
Pitch (Boymn Sampson)	8s. 0d.

It should be noted that, if the two masons' receipts are added together, the bill for masons' work, at £257 19s. 6d., would exceed all the others. As the stone (£56 15s.) was little more than one third of the cost of the brick (£156 7s. 8d.), the masons' price reflects the high quality of the building's ornamental stonework, and the relatively low quality of the brickwork, intended to be rendered. It is surprising that the carpenters' receipts, £255 16s. 6d., were so large (especially as there is none of their work to be seen); but no doubt it included centring and scaffolding, and possibly joinery. The smith's work exceeded the plumber's, just as iron (£18 15s. 8d.) cost more than lead (£12 14s. 2d.). The plasterer's work, all paid for between 29 October and 9 November 1726, only totalled £8 5s. If the external render was put on at this time, it may have been held back until the spring of 1727, and thus have fallen outside the period of these accounts. The tiny painter's bill may just have covered priming the window joinery: top coats could also have awaited better weather. No payments for glazier's work are recorded: although Vincer of Dover was a glazier, he was only paid for supplying lead.

Bricks took the largest share of the materials bill. The accounts do not always quantify the bricks, but at least 536,000 are recorded. On one occasion Titus Ruffit was paid £6 for 28,000, which equals 4,666 bricks to the £. If Smith and Ruffit both charged the same price, their combined bill of £156 7s. 8d. represents approximately 728,000 bricks. Lime was a substantial charge. No payment is recorded for sand, though many payments were made for its carriage, usually from Deal, sometimes from Sandwich, and on one occasion (24 May 1726) it is described as 'from the Downs', *i.e.* the Goodwin Sands. Was sand

therefore free, its only cost being transport? There are many payments for carriage, wharfage and harbour dues, the latter usually at Sandwich, and some material, like the Portland stone, iron and lead, must therefore have come from afar. There may thus have been payments for materials bought, for instance, in London, and recorded in London account books, now lost. The cost of timber, which is small, may be one of these; although it is possible that the large carpenter's bill includes the cost of the carpenter's material.

The building accounts name 21 tradesmen, but 11 are unidentifiable, eight are demonstrably local, and only two (and one of the suppliers) had national reputations. These were Mr Mercer, described in his first payment as 'Mar. Mason', the plasterer, John Hughes, and the stone supplier, Mr Tucker. The first was presumably George Mercer, who, although not holder of any public office of that name at that time, subsequently became Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance (in 1734),<sup>266</sup> and Master of the London Masons Company (in 1763).<sup>267</sup> George Mercer's earliest known work was under Colen Campbell, for Sir Spencer Compton (subsequently Earl of Wilmington) in 1722, probably at Compton Place, Eastbourne, and he went on working for Compton until 1733, by which time Roger Morris had succeeded Campbell as his architect.<sup>268</sup> Subsequently he had worked for Gibbs; he was mason at the Oxford Market House, Marylebone Place in 1726–37,<sup>269</sup> at Marylebone Court House in 1729,<sup>270</sup> and at No.16 Arlington Street for the Duchess of Norfolk in 1734–40;<sup>271</sup> and he was paviour at Hartwell House, Bucks., for Sir Thomas Lee, Bt., in 1740.<sup>272</sup> It may have been Gibbs, the Duke of Argyll's architect at Sudbrook and Adderbury, who introduced Mercer into the Duke's work force.<sup>273</sup> But it could equally have been Morris, as Mercer was paid for unspecific work for the Duke in 1731,<sup>274</sup> perhaps at Adderbury, where Roger Morris was at that date adding wings.<sup>275</sup> He acted as a mason for the Dowager Duchess of Argyll as late as 1754,<sup>276</sup> and

he worked under Roger Morris at Monkey Island, Bray, for the Duke of Marlborough in 1745–55.<sup>277</sup> For the Board of Ordnance, of which Morris was Master Carpenter,<sup>278</sup> Mercer rebuilt Landguard Fort, Suffolk, in 1744–47.<sup>279</sup> His other associates, besides Gibbs, Campbell and Morris, were the mason-architect Andrews Jelfe, with whom he was in partnership in succession to Christopher Cass,<sup>280</sup> and the architect Henry Keene, with whom he was painted in a conservation piece by Robert Pyle in 1760.<sup>281</sup>

John Hughes's earliest known work was also under Campbell, at the Rolls House in Chancery Lane in 1717–24,<sup>282</sup> at Burlington House in 1719–22,<sup>283</sup> and at Compton Place, Eastbourne, in 1726–27.<sup>284</sup> He had also worked under Morris at Leicester House, Leicester Square, at Goodwood *c.* 1729–31,<sup>285</sup> and at Pembroke House, Whitehall in 1733.<sup>286</sup> He is not known to have worked with any other architect.

'Mr Tucker of Weymouth' was presumably Edward Tucker, Mayor of Weymouth six times between 1702 and 1735, and MP for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis from 1727 to 1737. Tucker held a lease from the Crown of the quarries on the Isle of Portland, and from 1714 to 1727 also held the post of supervisor of the Portland quarries. When tenure of this post proved incompatible with membership of the House of Commons he relinquished it in favour of his son, John, who was Mayor a further five times, and MP for the borough from 1735 to 1747 and 1754 to 1778.<sup>287</sup> The Tuckers controlled the supply of Portland stone to the building industry and, as such, would have been known to many architects, and were resented by some of them.<sup>288</sup> But few would have had the opportunity to have benefited from the Tuckers' goodwill as much as Roger Morris, as Morris's patron and travelling companion, George Dodington, was their close political ally. The Tuckers managed Dodington's interest in the borough, and John Tucker is the only man for whom direct documentary proof exists of membership of Sir Francis Dashwood's so-called Hellfire Club.<sup>289</sup>

Another eight were evidently locals. 'Knott' is

likely to have been James Knott ‘ye Smith’ who was paid for work either at Waldershare Park House or at Waldershare church in 1713 and 1714. John Stupple, the carpenter, was paid for work at Waldershare in 1712, 1713 and 1714. Pilcher was presumably ‘Mr Pilcher ye Painter’ who was paid in the same estate account in 1714. William Smith the brickmaker had been paid £48 10s. for making 194,000 bricks with Henry Hopkins in September 1713. Pingle, lime-supplier in 1726, was probably Henry Pingle, bricklayer, paid £2 3s. ‘for doing my M<sup>rs</sup> Grave and other jobs about ye House’ in March 1713, and more in October 1713 and December 1714. Vincer, described as of Dover, was a glazier who supplied lead in 1726, and was probably the Edward Vincer who was paid for glazier’s work on the estate in 1713 and 1714. Lane, who supplied iron in 1726, might have been ‘Mr Lance ye Ironmongr.’, paid in 1714. Mr May, who supplied hair (for plasterers) in 1727, was described at that time as ‘of Dover’, and was presumably a tanner. That still leaves, however, another eleven unidentifiable tradesmen or suppliers.

#### APPENDIX IV

##### REPAIRS

Easter’s estimate of 1812 and Whitnall’s of 1813 indicate that the plaster cornice had decayed by then. It is possible that Whitnall may have begun work; although his voucher is clearly endorsed ‘Estimate’, and his proposals for cornice repair each and separately begin ‘estimate’, the voucher includes one further item which does not. This is his ‘Account of time at the Belvidere Erecting a scaffold’, which apparently refers to actual rather than notional time since it itemises ‘Myself 2 Bricklayers 1 labour 5 days’, spread between 15 and 27 March; the voucher is dated 4 April 1813.<sup>290</sup>

Having scaffolded the Belvedere, Whitnall may have carried out the cornice repairs for which he

estimated. Or he may have replaced the plaster cornice with the Roman cement cornice which exists today. If the latter was not put up in that year, its profile suggests a similar date. At a time unknown, probably in 1817, just after C.R. Cockerell’s return from his seven-year exploration of Italy and Greece, the 5<sup>th</sup>. Earl of Guilford, who had accompanied Cockerell in the early part of this trip, engaged him to repair his library ceiling. Cockerell re-visited the library two years later, describing what he found in a letter which unfortunately does not reveal in what building the library was. But whereas a London house might not be expected to have a library, Waldershare Park did, in a wing built by Robert Furze Brettingham in 1802.<sup>291</sup> And Cockerell’s letter suggests that it was part of an old and important building, with ‘extraordinarily heavy sashes & shutters’. ‘I should be glad’, he wrote, ‘such a question should be put to the great original contriver of the Fabric’.<sup>292</sup> It seems unlikely that he would describe the speculative builder of a London house as a ‘great original contriver’. In Cockerell’s language such reverential terms were reserved for few except Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren.<sup>293</sup> It is unlikely that Cockerell would have thought that Wroxton Abbey, the Norths’ other seat, had been designed by Jones or Wren, but in 1778 Hasted had attributed Waldershare Park to Inigo Jones,<sup>294</sup> and, if Cockerell had doubted that, it would have been understandable if he had attributed it to Wren. In which case the library ceiling which Cockerell repaired in 1817, earlier than any of his other recorded commissions, was at Waldershare. It is possible that the Greek Revival cornice of the Belvedere is Cockerell’s work also.

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## NOTES

- 1 Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U471 (hereafter North MSS), A17, Waldershear Account: Book Decr. 3d. 1711.
- 2 Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (hereafter Chatsworth), Lord Burlington's architectural drawings, Boy [19].
- 3 The doors are shown with jambs, which do not exist; the fireplace is shown as a simple recess, whereas it breaks back in two planes.
- 4 See note 27, *infra*.
- 5 The attribution was first made in Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, London, 1978, 130 ('A plan from Chatsworth appears to establish Burlington's authorship'). But in his revised edition, New Haven and London, 1995, 150, Sir Howard added, 'on purely stylistic grounds [the design] might be attributed to Colen Campbell'.
- 6 Chatsworth, Lord Burlington's architectural drawings, Boy. Coll. [12] is signed by James, and Boy. Coll. [15] is signed by Ware; Album 26A, fol.27 is signed by Savile.
- 7 Rudolf Wittkower, 'A sketchbook of Filippo Juvarra at Chatsworth', in *Studies in the Italian Baroque*, London, 1975, 210ff.; Franco Barbieri, 'I disegni di Francesco Muttoni a Chatsworth', *Arte Lombarda*, LV–LVII, 219–35.
- 8 Chatsworth, Boy Coll. [2] and [4]–[10] are attributed to Flitcroft, Boy Coll. [3] to Samuel Savile, Boy Coll. [11] to Daniel Garrett, Boy Coll. [13] to William Kent, Boy Coll. [14] to John Vardy and Boy Coll. [16] to Isaac Ware. These attributions can be found in a typescript catalogue in London, RIBA Library, Drawings Collection (hereafter RIBAD), drawn up by Dr Gordon Higgott in 1970, though not all are beyond dispute.
- 9 These are Chatsworth, Boy [5] 1, for Iver Heath, Boy [6], unidentified, Boy [8] 1, 28, 29, 30, 33, 35, 39, for Chiswick, Boy [13] 4, for Richmond House, Boy [14], Boy [20] 4, Boy [31], Boy [32], Boy [35] 1, Boy [36] 1, and Boy [44], unidentified.
- 10 Chatsworth, Archives, Letters, 127.0–38.
- 11 Chatsworth, Boy [8] 1, for Chiswick, Boy [14], Boy [20] A, Boy [32], Boy [43] 1 and 2, and Boy [44], unidentified.
- 12 *Ibid.*, Boy [36] 1, unidentified.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Boy [8] 39, for Chiswick, Boy [13] 4, for Richmond House, Boy [31], Boy [32], Boy [43] 1 and 2, unidentified.

- 14 Architecton and the Vivat Trust, Report for English Heritage, March 1988, chapter 2 (hereafter Architecton), 'At a height which is one and a half radii [*i.e.* 27 feet] above the finished floor level, the dome was intended to spring and the evidence for this springing level still survives as a decaying oak ring beam with an offset above it. Some feet below is another small section ring-beam set flush. This would have been intended to support the entablature'. If this description is accurate, the crown of the dome would have been 45 feet above the floor. This ring beam and a fallen piece which corresponded with it provided Paul Richold, the author of the report, with the evidence for the frame and the spacing of its ribs.
- 15 Swindon, National Monuments Record Centre, RAF aerial photograph 106G/UK 1443 35 4107.
- 16 Architecton, *loc. cit.*
- 17 All the features described in this paragraph are taken from Architecton, *loc. cit.*; but the interpretation of them is mine.
- 18 See Appendix III.
- 19 V.J.B. Torr, 'A Tour through Kent in 1735', in Margaret Roake and John Whyman, *Essays in Kentish History*, London, 1973, 182. The diarist's identification as 'Mr Whaley', a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was made by William Cole [*ibid.*, 174]. He must therefore have been John Whaley (1710–45), elected Fellow in 1731, and later an assistant master at Eton [John Venn and J.A.Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I(IV), Cambridge, 1927, 376]; he would have been about 25 at the time of his visit and was acting as a bear-leader.
- 20 Torr, *op. cit.*, 182.
- 21 London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS. 18, 556 (Notebooks of the Very Rev. Sir Richard Kaye, Bt., Dean of Lincoln), VII, fol.6.
- 22 North MSS, A104/2.
- 23 *Ibid.*, A104/1; Easter is only identified by the endorsement 'Estimate supposed to be Easter – for Belvedere', but he is presumably Thomas Easter, bricklayer, to whom payments are recorded in estate accounts of 1803 [*Ibid.*, A95/2].
- 24 *Ibid.*, A104/2.
- 25 Pamela D.Kingsbury, *Lord Burlington's Town Architecture*, London, 1995, 70.
- 26 Architecton, *loc. cit.*
- 27 Chatsworth, *loc.cit.* Boy [2] 3 and 4, Boy [13] 1–3, Boy [18] 8 and 14, Boy [19], Boy [21] 2, Boy [28], Boy [35], Boy [41], Boy [43] and Boy Coll [11] 4; RIBAD, Burlington-Devonshire Collection, VI/3 and VI/5.
- 28 RIBAD, SC 8/3/3–5, 8 and 12; *ibid.*, SC 12/24/1–6 and 12.
- 29 F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, XXXII, London, 1963, 505–08 and plate 80.
- 30 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, London, 1725, plates 39–40; Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995 (hereafter Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*), 211.
- 31 Campbell, *op. cit.*, III, 1725, plate 46; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 212.
- 32 H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, V, London, 1976, 196.
- 33 Campbell, *op. cit.*, III, 1725, plate 42; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 212.
- 34 Campbell, *op. cit.*, III, 1725, plates 33 and 34; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 212
- 35 Campbell, *op. cit.*, III, 1725, plate 50; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 212.
- 36 Campbell, *op. cit.*, III, 1725, plate 55; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 212.
- 37 All but that at Kensington Palace, nominally the responsibility of William Benson [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 123].
- 38 Ludwig H.Heyrenreich and Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600*, Harmondsworth, 1974, 268 and plate 274; Richard J. Tuttle, 'Palazzo Bocchi', in Richard J. Tuttle, Bruno Adorno, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Christof Thoenes, *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, Milan, 2002, 149–52.
- 39 Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, XI(2), Milan, 1939, 668–69. There are two other palaces in Siena with architraves, like the Palazzo Tantucci, at 109 via di Città and 1 via del Capitano.
- 40 Timothy Clifford, *Designs of Desire*, Edinburgh, 1999, 73; G. Cuppini, *Palazzi Senatori a Bologna*, Bologna, 1974; G. Zucchini, *Edifici di Bologna*, Bologna, 1976; G. Roversi, *Palazzi e Case Nobile a Bologna del' 500*, Bologna, 1986; Anton Boschloo, *Il fregio dipinto a Bologna*, Bologna, 1984, 65–79.
- 41 J.H.Plantenga, *L'Architecture Religieuse dans l'ancien Duché de Brabant*, The Hague, 1926, figs. 36, 78, 121, 123, 129, 198, 231 and 257, and plate 24.
- 42 Johann Karl Schmidt, 'Zu Vignolas Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, XIII, 1967/8, 84–5, figs.1 and 2.
- 43 David Thomson, *Renaissance Paris*, London, 1984, 141, fig.104; Josianne Sartre, *Châteaux 'brique et*

- pierre' en France*, Paris, 55 and figs. 111–13; for its authorship, see Pierre du Colombier, 'L'enigme de Valléry', in *Humanisme ... et Renaissance*, IV, 1937, 7ff.; R. Planchenault, 'Les Châteaux de Valléry', *Bulletin Monumental*, 1963.
- 44 Androuet du Cerceau, *Le Premier Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France*, Paris, 1576, 6–7 and un-numbered plate. However, Jones's surviving books at Worcester College, Oxford, do not include *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments* [John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, London, 1973, 217–18].
- 45 John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, London, 1989, 97 and 205.
- 46 *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese ... in sette libri*, Venice, 1619.
- 47 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 148–49. The drawings are now part of the Burlington-Devonshire Collection at the Royal Institute of British Architects, and are published in John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Inigo Jones and John Webb*, Farnborough, 1972, figs. 34, 76a (the drawing with Jones's note about its source), and 76b.
- 48 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England, *Dorset*, V (*East*), London, 1975, 95 and plate 74; Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*, Manchester, 1995, 102 and plate 42.
- 49 *Wren Society*, VI, plate xlii, xliii and xliv.
- 50 Campbell, *op. cit.*, I, 1715, plates 86–7.
- 51 *Ibid.*, II, 1717, plates 83–4; III, 1725, plates 32, 43, 49, 53, 55, 56 and 98–9.
- 52 *Ibid.*, III, 1725, plate 32. The only difference is in the keystones of the centre lights; Waldershare has a single keystone, while Houghton's is triplicated.
- 53 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 666; G.L.M. Goodfellow, 'Colen Campbell's Last Years', *Burlington Magazine*, CXL, April 1969, 189–90.
- 54 See appendix III.
- 55 John Ingamells, *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800*, New Haven and London, 1987, 385, gives the outside dates for Furnese's stay in Rome, December 1706 to December 1707; Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 7, implies that Furnese may have been one of the grand tourists who were 'of service to him'; Harry Sir, 'Contemporary Information Relating to Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Architects', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XVIII, 22 April 1911, 429.
- 56 John Laker, *History of Deal*, Deal, 1917, 265.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 263.
- 58 Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley and D.W. Hayton, *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, Cambridge, 2002, III, 1125.
- 59 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 536.
- 60 Sally Jeffery, *English Baroque Architecture: the work of John James*, London University Ph.D. thesis, 1986, 327–28; Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, Jervoise MSS, 44M69, P1/33; London, Bank of England Record Office, Private Drawing Office, Ledger F–L, 1707–8.
- 61 Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715–1754*, II, London, 1970, 56 (for the date of purchase); Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 585; Roger White, '“As finely finished as anything”', *Country Life*, CLXXII, November 11, 1982, 1480–82.
- 62 Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and Lydiard Tregoze', *Georgian Group Journal*, XIV, 2004, 36.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 34 (for the inscription, '...Rebuilt AD:MDCCXLIII by John Lord Viscount St John who Married Anne the Daughter & Coheirress of Sr. Robert Furnese...') and 37, fig. 3, for the armorial evidence.
- 64 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 473–74; *ibid.*, II, 55.
- 65 Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni', in Roderick Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders*, London, 1985, 36–41, 210–11; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 609, 610.
- 66 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56; John Carswell and Lewis Arnold Dralle, *The Political Journal of George Bubb Dodington*, Oxford, 1965, *passim*.
- 67 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 668–69; T.P. Connor, 'Bubo's House', *Architectural History*, XXVII, 1984, 111–15.
- 68 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 666; Connor, *op. cit.*, 112; Frances Harris, '“The Best Workmen of all sorts”', *The Building of Wimbledon House, 1730–1742*, *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1992, 88 and 90 (note 12).
- 69 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 669.
- 70 Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Early Georgian 1715–1760*, London, 1955, 236.

- 71 Chatsworth, Archives, Compton Place MSS, Box P, Folder 2.
- 72 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 501–02, 604–05; *ibid.*, II, 56; Carswell and Dralle, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- 73 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 212.
- 74 Gibbs's scale bars have inverted v's underneath the principal numerals; James's have three dots above them and either 'Ft.' or 'ft.' at the right hand end; Kent's scale bars are less neatly drawn, and usually have only one horizontal, or use vertical strokes alone; Morris's have three dots below the principal numerals.
- 75 RIBAD, Colen Campbell. In fairness it must be noted that this is a collection and, like Burlington's, may include drawings by other hands. Its bulk attribution to Campbell derives from its provenance, Studley Royal, where Campbell worked, and the graphic consistency of the majority of the drawings. Other drawings are of buildings which Campbell is known (from other sources) to have designed. Some, but few, are signed or initialed. For preference I have taken my evidence from the latter, supported from the former. A catalogue of the collection was published as John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell*, Farnborough, 1973.
- 76 RIBAD, Colen Campbell, [3], 11; Harris, *Catalogue*, *cit.*, 9, and fig. 15.
- 77 RIBAD, Colen Campbell, [3], 2; Harris, *Catalogue*, *cit.*, 9, and fig. 9.
- 78 RIBAD, Colen Campbell, [41]; Harris, *Catalogue*, *cit.*, 17, and fig. 138.
- 79 RIBAD, Colen Campbell, [2], 1; Harris, *Catalogue*, *cit.*, 9, and fig. 6.
- 80 RIBAD, Colen Campbell, [22], 20; Harris, *Catalogue*, *cit.*, 13, and fig. 85.
- 81 Vivien Igoe and Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Early views of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham', *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 1988, 79. Mitchell's Folly is known from a view by Francis Place, dated 1698. Its details cannot be seen from the artist's distant standpoint, but it was apparently a house, although a tall and narrow one. It had a hipped roof, with a balustraded platform, within which another storey was built. This also had a hipped roof which supported yet another storey, and this in turn had a lantern.
- 82 Charles Saumerez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard*, London, 1990, 134–36. The tower in the garden north of Hampton Court Palace, incorporated into the garden walls like another mural tower, and somewhat in Vanbrugh's style, also has ornament of Roman type. But Mr Jonathan Foyle, when Assistant Curator, Historic Royal Palaces, told me that cartographic evidence reveals it to have been built in the 1740's.
- 83 Jonathan Coad, *Historic Architecture of the Royal Navy*, London, 1983, 93–5; Jonathan G. Coad, *The Royal Dockyards 1690–1850*, Aldershot, 1989, 83; for Hawksmoor's responsibility, see Richard Hewlings, 'Hawksmoor's Brave Designs for the Police' in John Bold and Edward Chaney (eds.), *English Architecture, Public and Private*, London and Rio Grande, 1993, 228–29.
- 84 Gervase Jackson-Stops, *An English Arcadia*, London, 1991, 68–9; Barbara Jones, *Follies and Grottoes*, London, 2nd. edit., 1974, 136–37.
- 85 Geoffrey N. Wright, 'The Archdeacon's Folly', *Country Life*, CLXXXI, May 14 1987, 208; [Stuart Barton], *Monumental Follies*, Worthing, 1972, 138; John Grundy, Grace McCombie, Peter Ryder, Humphry Welfare and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, London, 1992, 629. The attribution to Etty is mine, based on Sharpe's York connections (he was the son of the Archbishop), on Etty's work in Northumberland (at Seaton Delaval [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 354], Morpeth Town Hall [Durham, University of Durham, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Howard of Naworth MSS, Northumberland Estates, 198/13] and perhaps Eglington [Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Eglington Hall, Northumberland', *Country Life*, CLVIII, November 27, 1975, 1460–61], Eslington and Bavington Halls), and on ignorance of any other architect in the county with a similar style.
- 86 Barbara Jones, *Follies and Grottoes*, London, 2nd. edit., 1974, 396; [Barton], *op. cit.*, 192.
- 87 Downes, *op. cit.*, plate 258; Colvin, *op. cit.*, 1007.
- 88 John Harris, 'Vanbrugh at Swinestead', *Architectural Review*, CXXIV, February 1961, 69–72; Downes, *op. cit.*, plate 259; Nicholas Antram, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, London 1989, 739.
- 89 Colvin, *King's Works*, V, *cit.*, 195, and plate 19a.
- 90 Derek Sherborn, 'The Landscape Garden and Water Pavilion at Carshalton', *Country Life*, CV, May 27, 1949, 1254–55; *ibid.*, 'Carshalton House, Surrey', *Country Life*, CV, March 4, 1949, 480–83.
- 91 These were not the same, but George Mercer at the

- Belvedere, Peter Platt at the Cage [Stockport, Central Library, Lyme Hall Records, BJJ/6(D298/21A), *Receipts 1733–71, Disbursements and Receipts 1732–8*, fol. 251] and Joseph Bowers at Stainborough Castle [*ex inf.* Sir Howard Colvin].
- 92 Michael Hall, 'Lyme Park, Cheshire', *Country Life*, CXC, February 1, 1996, 41, fig. 3.
- 93 J. Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus [sic]*, Volume the Fourth, London, 1739, plates 57–58 (the plate is dated 1736).
- 94 Richard Hewlings, 'Wortley Hall', *Archaeological Journal*, CXXXVII, 1980, 397.
- 95 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 760, note 1; J.D. Potts, *Platt of Rotherham, Mason-Architects 1700–1810*, Sheffield, 1959, 6.
- 96 Hall, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.
- 97 James Howley, *Follies and garden buildings of Ireland*, New Haven and London, 211, and figs. 332–33.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 234, note 25.
- 99 Gwyn Headley and Wim Meulenkamp, *Follies*, London, 1986, 485 and plate 192; Iain Gordon Brown, *The Clerks of Penicuik*, Edinburgh, 1987, 24; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 255.
- 100 Betty Kemp, *Sir Francis Dashwood*, New York, 1967, 120–23, and figs. 7–8.
- 101 West Wycombe, Dashwood MSS B19, Rev. William Wroughton to Sir Francis Dashwood, 15 August 1766 [cited by Kemp, *op. cit.*, 122].
- 102 *Idem.*
- 103 [John Saunders], *Lincolnshire in 1836: displayed in a series of Nearly One Hundred Engravings* [cited by Kemp, *op. cit.*, 122].
- 104 Howley, *op. cit.*, 212–15 and figs. 334, 336, 337 and 340; Maurice Craig and the Knight of Glin, 'Castletown, Co. Kildare—II', *Country Life*, CXLV, April 3, 1969, 798–99.
- 105 Howley, *op. cit.*, 211–12, fig. 335.
- 106 Jones, *op. cit.*, 89; R.B. Wragg, 'The Stand on Hooper Hill', *Architectural Review*, CLV, June 1979, 384–85; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, 347–48. A possible source for this extraordinary building is a plate in G.-B. Montano, *Raccolta di Templi, e Sepolchri disegnati dall'antico*, III, plate xvi, of a Corinthian temple on the road to Palastrina.
- 107 Christopher Hussey, 'Fort Belvedere, Surrey', *Country Life*, CXXVI, 898–901, 960–63; Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscape: the gardens and parks of Windsor*, New Haven and London, 1997, 449;
- Flitcroft's drawing is illustrated in John Harris, *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture, Decoration, Sculpture and Landscape Gardening 1550–1900 in American Collections*, Upper Saddle River, 1971, 266, plate 207, but it was then believed to be by Isaac Ware.
- 108 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England, *Dorset*, V (*East*), London, 1975, 37, and plate 49.
- 109 Kenneth Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity*, London, 1970, 56; Malcolm Kelsall, 'The Iconography of Stourhead', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVI, 1983, 141–43; Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 70.
- 110 David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam*, Oxford, 1991, 328–9; Jones, *op. cit.*, 67.
- 111 [Bernard de] Montfaucon (trans. David Humphreys), *The Supplement to Antiquity Explained*, London, 1725, III, pl.lxxxii, opposite p. 337. The site of Antinopolis is in Middle Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile; it was founded in memory of Hadrian's favorite, Antinous, who drowned himself there.
- 112 John Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, London, 1732, plates after p. 192, No. 5 (stone at Skirvay) and No. 75 (stone found at Ludgate in 1669, and in 1732 among the Arundel Marbles in Oxford).
- 113 *Ibid.*, 200.
- 114 'Observations on our ancient Churches. By the Rev. Mr Ledwich F.A.S. ... Read March 23, 1786', *Archaeologia*, VIII, 1787, 192.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 193–94.
- 116 John Whitaker, *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed*, London, 1804, I, 82–103. Whitaker (who called it 'the peaked arch') cited the evidence which Ledwich had previously cited from Montfaucon and Horsley, but added another seven examples from Horsley whose 'peaks' are actually straight-sided, and thus derived from the pediment, not two-centred. He also found Roman peaked arches in an acqueduct near Segovia, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem ('and sharply peaked too'), in the church of St Martin at Canterbury (which he dated to the seventh century), in a part of St Alban's Abbey which he dated to 1077–93, and elsewhere.
- 117 Peter Leach, 'In the Gothick Vein', *Country Life*, CLVI, September 26, 1974, 836–37. The Temple at Aske is not alone in this respect, but some of the

- buildings whose ornament includes two-centred arches have other ornament which contemporaries would not have failed to recognise as medieval only. The Octagon at Studley Royal, for instance, a small tower whose round-arched windows have impostes and voussoirs with profiles of ancient type, has a band of blind two-centred arched panels; but it also has quatrefoil panels and crocketed pinnacles. Evidently it was conceived as a modern building with ornament chosen promiscuously [Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, plate 182; National Trust, *Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal*, London, 1989, 55].
- 118 Christopher Hussey, 'Badminton, Gloucestershire – III', *Country Life*, LXXXVI, Dec. 9th., 1939, 600–02. I am indebted to Mr John Harris for the correct date, from his examination of the archives at Badminton House.
- 119 Adrian Tinniswood, *Belton House, Lincolnshire*, [London], 1992, 91.
- 120 Howley, *op. cit.*, 131–32, and figs. 214–16.
- 121 King, *op. cit.*, 322.
- 122 Eileen Harris, *Thomas Wright, Arbours and Grottos*, London, 1979.
- 123 Jackson-Stops, *English Arcadia, cit.*, 98–9.
- 124 Richard Hewlings, 'Soane's designs for Ossington', *Architectural History*, XXVII, 1984, 270–76.
- 125 Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, I, Paris, 1719, plate 98.
- 126 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1762, chapter III, plates I–XIX.
- 127 John Martin Robinson, *Shugborough*, London, 1989, 85–88; Christopher Hussey, 'A classical landscape park – II', *Country Life*, CXV, April 22, 1954, 1222–23.
- 128 The Knight of Glin, *The Temple of the Winds, Mount Stewart*, London, 1966; Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down—I', *Country Life*, CLXVII, March 6 1980, 647–8.
- 129 Geoffrey Tyack, 'The making of the Radcliffe Observatory', *Georgian Group Journal*, X, 2000, 122–40; Christopher Hussey, 'The Radcliffe Observatory', *Country Life*, LXVII, 10 May, 1930, 676–81.
- 130 Ann Purchas, 'Nicholas Revett's Island Temple, West Wycombe Park', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1995, 109–110; Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, plate 117.
- 131 Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 493–94, and plate 189.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 413, and plate 170.
- 133 Howley, *op. cit.*, 172–74, and figs. 271–72.
- 134 Brian Wragg [edited by Giles Worsley], *John Carr of York*, York, 2000, 220, and fig. 71.
- 135 Hewlings, 'Ossington...', *cit.*, plate 2a.
- 136 *Ibid.*, plate 1a.
- 137 *Ibid.*, plate 1d.
- 138 Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 231–2, and plate 132.
- 139 [Barton], *op. cit.*, 236; Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 443; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 372.
- 140 Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England), *Dorset*, II (*South East*), 1970, 133, and plate 58; Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 44, and plate 32.
- 141 Jones, *op. cit.*, 320; Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 126.
- 142 Headley and Meulenkamp, *op. cit.*, 176–77 and plate 97; Jones, *op. cit.*, 67, 340; Colvin, *op. cit.*, 1118.
- 143 Croome (Worcs.), Croome Estate Office: I am grateful to Sir Howard Colvin for telling me about Wyatt's inscription (letter of 30 July 1995).
- 144 Michael Forsyth, *Bath*, New Haven and London, 2003, 270–72.
- 145 Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, IV, plate 27; *ibid.*, Supplement, IV, plate 102.
- 146 [C. Perrault], *Abregé des dix livres d'Architecture de Vitruve*, Paris, 1674.
- 147 Guillaume du Choul, *Discours sur la castration et discipline militaire des Romains*, Lyon, 1555.
- 148 Iacobus Laurus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Rome, 1612, plates 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 121 and 144.
- 149 *Ibid.*, plates 19 and 113 (*Forum et Columna Antonini*).
- 150 *Ibid.*, plate 80 (in the Circus Flaminius).
- 151 *Ibid.*, plate 104 (*Turris seu Domus et Horti Mecenatis*).
- 152 For instance, Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architectur*, Leipzig, 1725, I, plate 9, illustrates the *pharos* of Alexandria; Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, Supplement, IV, 457–66, has two chapters on Roman lighthouses, with an illustration of that at Boulogne [plate 97].
- 153 Douglas B. Hague and Rosemary Christie, *Lighthouses*, Llandysul, 1975, 52–3, 77–8.
- 154 London, Royal Academy of Arts, Library, TG/26, watercolour of North Foreland Light by Michael Angelo Rooker.

- 155 Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, Supplement, IV, plate 51. The English edition of 1724, p. 466, reproduces the lighthouse in its correct, octagonal form.
- 156 Chatsworth, Library, MS ‘Catalogue of the Earl of Burlington’s Library, At His Lordships Seat at Cheswick: January, 1741/2’, 13.
- 157 R.E.M. Wheeler, ‘The Roman Lighthouses at Dover’, *Archaeological Journal*, LXXXVI, 1929, 29–46.
- 158 William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, London, 1724, 129.
- 159 Montano, *op. cit.*, plates xxxiii, xxiv, xxv and xxxxiv.
- 160 Montfaucon, *op. cit.*, V, plate 29.
- 161 *Ibid.*, plate 27.
- 162 Iain Browning, *Palmyra*, London, 1979, 53–62.
- 163 Charles Hutton, George Shaw, Richard Pearson (eds.), *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, IV (1694–1702), London, 1809, 38.
- 164 Corneille le Brun [Cornelys de Bruyn (1652–1726 or 7)], *Voyage au Levant...*, Paris, 1714. Le Brun’s view is not unlike the general view of Palmyra in Dawkins’s and Wood’s book of 1753 [Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, London, 1753].
- 165 Fischer von Erlach, *op. cit.*, II, plate 13. Fischer claimed that his was the first view of Palmyra since Le Brun’s, and added that ‘it accords well with M Le Brun’s design and with that which some Swedish Knights have brought from the Orient by the order of H.M. The King of Sweden’. The Swedish knights presumably included the architect Cornelius Loos, sent by Charles XII to Syria in 1710 [Browning, *op. cit.*, 63].
- 166 *Ibid.*, II, plate 1.
- 167 *Ibid.*, I, plates 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 18; *ibid.*, II, plates 4, 6 and 9.
- 168 For instance, The Ashmolean *Exposure of Moses* has a townscape with towers, the Louvre *Christ Healing the Sick* has one prominent tower in the town background, the Louvre *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice* has a town with one tower, the Berlin *Landscape with St Matthew and Angel* has a solitary tower, the Earl of Plymouth’s *Landscape with Funeral of Phocion* has a polygonal tower, and the Louvre *Death of Sapphira* and *Plague at Ashdod* have Vanbrugh-like towers, with machicolation, crenellation and *oculi* [Alain Mérot, *Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1990, *passim*]. Among Poussin’s drawings, the Uffizi *Martyrdom of St Erasmus* and the Windsor *Entombment* also illustrate towers [Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1958, 81 and 87].
- 169 Chatsworth, Album 37, fol.29.
- 170 *Ibid.*, ‘Catalogue of the Earl of Burlington’s Library’, *cit.*, 27. Burlington’s copy was evidently a later edition, dated 1718.
- 171 Sedgwick, *cit.*, II, 56.
- 172 John Newman, *The Buildings of England: North East and East Kent*, Harmondsworth, 1969, 487; Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1850*, London, 1951, 179.
- 173 North MSS, A17: the vault was constructed between March and July 1713, and £50 was paid ‘for ye Repairing of Waldershare Church’ on 30 September 1714.
- 174 North MSS, A17, 26 November 1725, 12 November 1726, 24 September 1726, 15 October 1726.
- 175 London, British Library, Add. MS, 18,556, VII, fol.6.
- 176 Torr, *loc. cit.*
- 177 *Idem*; BL, Add. MS. 18,556 (Sir Richard Kaye), *loc. cit.*; George Alexander Cooke, *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Kent*, London, [c.1810], 105; [John Murray], *Handbook for Travellers in Kent*, London, 1877, 147.
- 178 Philip Ayres, *Classical culture and the idea of Rome*, Cambridge, 1997, *passim*, but, for instance, 55, Sir John Clerk’s preference for grave Roman beards to ludicrous modern wigs, in a letter of 1725.
- 179 Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, London, 1993, 56–7.
- 180 Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, New Haven, 1922, 55.
- 181 J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London and Southampton, 1971, 51, citing Tacitus, *Annales*, VI, 5, and Petronius, *Satyricon*, 65.
- 182 Cumont, *op. cit.*, 54 and 56, citing Lucian, *De Luctu*, 37, and Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manicheorum*, 34.
- 183 They may have been aware that some Roman *mausolea* had dining rooms and even kitchens, although much of the evidence for this comes from more recent archaeology [Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, and 136].
- 184 Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*, Oxford, 1984, 336, citing Repton’s Red Book for Antony, in *The Red Books of Humphry Repton*, London, 1976.
- 185 See Appendix I.

- 186 Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, 1714, Canto III, 174. I am indebted to Prof. Howard Erskine-Hill for drawing this to my attention.
- 187 *Ibid.*, Canto V, 49–51.
- 188 Howard Colvin and John Newman (eds.), *Of Building Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, Oxford, 1981, 24–5, 68–9.
- 189 Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope A Life*, New Haven and London, 1985, 76.
- 190 James S. Ackerman, *The Villa*, London, 1990, 76.
- 191 See Appendix I.
- 192 Stuart Handley, 'Furnese, Sir Henry, first baronet (1658–1712)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, XXI, 188–89; Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1,125; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56; Geoffrey Holmes, *British politics in the reign of Anne*, London, 1967, 156; BL, Add. MS 5,507, fol. 303, genealogical notes on the Furneses by Edward Hasted; *ibid.*, Add. MS 5,752, fols. 237–38, Sir Henry's transactions.
- 193 Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1,130.
- 194 *Ibid.*, III, 1,132.
- 195 *Ibid.*, III, 1,125.
- 196 *Ibid.*, II, 772.
- 197 *Ibid.*, III, 1,125.
- 198 Rev. Alfred Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London*, London, II, 1913, 122; BL, Add. MS 5,507, fol. 303.
- 199 Handley, *op. cit.*, 188; North MSS, F2.
- 200 Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1,132–4; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 475–76; *ibid.*, II, 56.
- 201 North MSS, F2.
- 202 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 476; II, 4.
- 203 Reed Browning, *The Duke of Newcastle*, New Haven, 1975, 217.
- 204 Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1,132–4; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56.
- 205 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 523–4; and *infra*.
- 206 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56, 524; Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, NR/AZ 83, 84.
- 207 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 57. But a draft monumental inscription in North MSS, F2, gives his date of death as 14 March.
- 208 *Ibid.*, II, 56.
- 209 Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and Lydiard Tregoze', *cit.*, 34, 36, 38.
- 210 G.E.C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, London, various dates, XI, 57–8; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56; North MSS, F2.
- 211 G.E.C, *op. cit.*, V, 365, note c.
- 212 T.G.F., 'A Chapter of County Gossip', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, V, 1862–63, 91, Isabella Twisden to Mary Hammond.
- 213 G.E.C., *op. cit.*, XI, 1949, 57–8.
- 214 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 367–68.
- 215 G.E.C., *op. cit.*, XI, 59; North MSS, F2.
- 216 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56.
- 217 Waldershare church, MI, Sir Robert Furnese; R. Parsons, *Monuments and painted glass in East Kent*, 1794.
- 218 Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1,132–4.
- 219 Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 385. In Padua he was accompanied by John Colebrooke, presumably a member of the London banking family who from 1724 were seated at Chilham Castle [Edward Hasted, *The History ... of Kent*, Canterbury, VII, 1798, 275; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 566; Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 228]. He bought 'a set' of 24 heads and 3 statues from Soldani, which could have meant prints rather than bronzes.
- 220 Harry Sir, 'Contemporary Information Relating to Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Architects', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XVIII, 22 April 1911, 429; Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 385; Friedman, *op. cit.*, 7. He arrived with 'Sir Thomas Samuel', presumably Sir Thomas Samwell of Upton, near Northampton [Sir, *loc. cit.*; Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 839].
- 221 Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 385.
- 222 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, London, 1978, 130.
- 223 Edward Hasted, *The History ... of Kent*, Canterbury, X, 1800, 57. *Monumenta Romana* cannot have been Sir John Clerk's book of this name, which was not published until 1750 [I am indebted to Dr Iain Gordon Brown for this information]. According to Hasted, the painter's initials were 'FT'; this could have been Frederick Tellshaw (fl.1728, 1745) [Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters*, Woodbridge, 1981, 367, *ex inf.* Ms. Elizabeth Moore].
- 224 North MSS, T3. Bertie had inherited Waldershare from his father-in-law, Sir Edward Monins [Hasted, *op. cit.*, X, 53–4], and had died in 1700 [Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, London, 1953, 57]. He was the younger brother of the 3rd Earl of Lindsay, who had altered Grimsthorpe Castle in 1685 [Howard Colvin, 'Grimsthorpe Castle, the

- North Front', in Howard Colvin and John Harris (eds.), *The Country Seat*, London, 1970, 91–3] and the elder brother of Charles Bertie of Uffington, a large house which Charles had built between 1681 and 1686 [F. d'A. Willis, *History of the Parish of Uffington with Casewick*, London, 1914, 45].
- 225 John R. Young, 'Johnston, James (1655–1737)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004–5, 368–70.
- 226 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 539.
- 227 *Ibid.*, 406; Friedman, *op. cit.*, 316.
- 228 G.E.C., *op. cit.*, X, 268; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 110; Gordon Goodwin (rev. David Whitehead), 'Harley, Edward (1664–1735)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004–5, 305–06.
- 229 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 406; Friedman, *op. cit.*, 295–96.
- 230 Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, 148.
- 231 Peter Smith, 'Lady Oxford's alterations at Welbeck Abbey 1741–55', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI, 2001, 133–68.
- 232 Laker, *Deal*, *cit.*, 265.
- 233 *Ibid.*, 263.
- 234 Cruickshanks, Handley and Hayton, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 125.
- 235 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 536.
- 236 North MSS, A17. On 24 May statues were brought by hoy and wagon, perhaps 'the figures on the library roof' which were admired by an anonymous mason in 1825 [*Ibid.*, C147/24]. On 30 June a picture case was brought from Whitstable. On 16 January 1713 Samuel Goodall, upholder, of Richmond, was paid his bill of £1 7s. 8d.
- 237 North MSS, A17, *passim*.
- 238 Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, 327–28; Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, Jervoise MSS, 44M69, P1/33.
- 239 Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, 327–28; London, Bank of England Record Office, Private Drawing Office, Ledger F–L, 1707–8.
- 240 *Ibid.*, A17.
- 241 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1850*, London, 1951, 179.
- 242 Rupert Gunnis, 'Signed monuments in Kentish churches', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXII, 1949, 69.
- 243 North MSS, A17, 7 September 1713, 30 September 1714.
- 244 Torr, *op. cit.*, 183; BL, Add. MS 5,842, fol. 248.
- 245 Hasted, *op. cit.*, VIII, 1799, 460–61.
- 246 W.H. Freland, *A New and Complete History of the County of Kent*, London, 1829, II, 332.
- 247 Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, NR/ZPa/2/39, 40, 41. I am indebted to Dr Roger Bowdler for this information and for that referred to by the following four notes. Friend was presumably related to the J. Friend, marble mason, who worked in Canterbury between 1717 and 1732 [Gunnis, *op. cit.*, 158–59].
- 248 *Ibid.*, NR/ AZ 82, 20 October 1716.
- 249 *Ibid.*, NR/ AZ 80, 15 November 1716.
- 250 *Ibid.*, NR/ AZ 83, 10 May 1720.
- 251 *Ibid.*, NR/ AZ 84, 19 May 1720.
- 252 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 56.
- 253 Chatsworth, Archives, Letter 169.0 (Pulteney to Burlington, 11 March 1722); Eveline Cruickshanks, 'The Political Career of the Third Earl of Burlington', in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, London, 1995, 207.
- 254 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 55–56.
- 255 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 333.
- 256 Chatsworth, Archives, Letters, 206.7, 206.9, 206.11, 206.14.
- 257 BL, Althorp MSS, B8, Lady Burlington to Lord Hartington, 6 July 1749.
- 258 See Appendix I.
- 259 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1995, *cit.*, 148.
- 260 North MSS, A17.
- 261 *Ibid.*, F2
- 262 North MSS, A17.
- 263 Torr, *loc. cit.*
- 264 Architecton, *loc. cit.*
- 265 North MSS, A17. All the information in this appendix whose source is otherwise uncited comes from this account book.
- 266 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1995, *cit.*, 542.
- 267 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1995, *cit.*, 482.
- 268 Chatsworth, Archives, Compton Place MSS, Box P, Lord Wilmington's account book, 1708–42.
- 269 Friedman, *op. cit.*, 307.
- 270 *Ibid.*, 306.
- 271 *Ibid.*, 304.
- 272 *Ibid.*, 291.
- 273 Mary Cosh, 'Two Dukes and their Architects', *Country Life*, CLII, July 13, 1972, 78–81.
- 274 Richard Hewlings, 'Adderbury House', in Malcolm Airs (ed.), *Baroque and Palladian: The Early Eighteenth Century Great House*, Oxford, 1996, 131.
- 275 *Ibid.*, 130–34; Cosh, *loc. cit.*

- 276 Hewlings, 'Adderbury', *cit.*, 138; London, Coutts and Co., Archives, Ledger 28, fol.1.
- 277 Steven Parissien, 'Monkey Business', *Country Life*, CLXXXVIII, November 8, 1990, 110.
- 278 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 666.
- 279 Christopher Storr, *Landguard Fort*, unpublished report for English Heritage, 1987.
- 280 Richard Hewlings, 'Jelfe, Andrews (c.1690–1759)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004–05, XXIX, 916; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1995, *cit.*, 542.
- 281 *Ibid.*, 571.
- 282 Colvin, *King's Works*, V, 358.
- 283 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII (2), 1963, 400.
- 284 Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain*, London, 1975, 224.
- 285 T.P.Connor, 'Architecture and Planting at Goodwood', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXVII, 1979, 188–89.
- 286 Trowbridge, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Wilton MSS, 2057, A6/2, loose sheet, is a record by Roger Morris of a payment to 'Widow Hughs' for the 'Earl of Pembrokes Workes', which otherwise appear to have been at Pembroke House, Whitehall.
- 287 Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, II, 484–85.
- 288 For instance, Andrews Jelfe, whose letter-book [London, British Library, Add. MS 27,587] reveals his dependence on the Tuckers' co-operation [R.J.B. Walker, *Old Westminster Bridge*, Newton Abbot, 1979, 120–23; Hewlings, 'Jelfe', *loc. cit.*].
- 289 Carswell and Dralle, *op. cit.*, xii, xv, and *passim*.
- 290 North MSS, A104/2.
- 291 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1995, *cit.*, 160.
- 292 North MSS, C152/16.
- 293 David Watkin, *The life and work of C.R. Cockerell*, London, 1974, 62, 121.
- 294 Hasted, *op. cit.*, IV, 1778, 187ff.