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WHITE LODGE, RICHMOND NEW PARK

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White Lodge takes its name from its limestone facing, supplied, like that of many other public buildings in the reign of George I, by Christopher Cass and company. But officially it is the New Lodge in Richmond New Park, and the two 'news' are not complementary. The New Park was created by Charles I on the east side of Richmond village; the Old Park, beside the river, spread northwards from Richmond Palace on the west side of the village, and is today partly absorbed into Kew Gardens.¹ The New Park had a lodge for the Ranger, which survived until 1841;² thus, from the moment of its conception in 1726, White Lodge was the New Lodge, and the other, only ¼ mile to the south of it, was the Old Lodge. But as early as 1751 it was being called 'Stone Lodge', 'White House', 'Stone House', 'White Lodge' or 'White Building'.³

The early architectural history of White Lodge is outlined in *The History of the King's Works*. As built, it consisted only of the central block. The two flanking blocks on the east side were added between 1761 and 1764, connected to the main block only by subterranean quadrant-planned passages; these were raised by the addition of a first floor only in 1801–06, when the entrance front was also altered.⁴ But the authors of the *King's Works* were unaware of two early views of White Lodge by Augustin Heckel in the manuscript of Horace Walpole's *Aedes Walpolianae*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.⁵ One of these (Fig. 1) shows the west front, corresponding with all the later illustrations and with the building's present appearance, save for the addition of a perron in 1922 which leads straight up to the piano nobile,

and obscures the ground floor (Fig. 2).⁶ The other (Fig. 3) shows the east front, and is a revelation. Heckel's drawings, which are unexpectedly located in a collection of views of houses of the Walpole family, prompts a re-examination of the origins of the house.

By all agreed tests White Lodge was a villa.⁷ But its architecture also indicates that it was a specific type of villa. It stands on ground which falls steeply to the west. The entrance is on the east side (Fig. 4), where it is only two storeys high, but on the west side, whence the view across the Park is obtained, it has three storeys (Fig. 5). The lowest floor is thus buried on the entrance side, but on the west side it has a vaulted *loggia* (Fig. 6), originally opening to the park by three arches set in rusticated masonry (Fig. 7). As there was no garden until 1805, the boundary between house and park fell along the inner sides of the *loggia*, which was as much outdoors as indoors, somewhat like de Caux's famous grotto at Woburn. Rusticated masonry was appropriate for a situation which pained Humphry Repton; he substituted 'the neatness and security of a gravel path' for the 'uncleanly, pathless grass of a forest, filled with troublesome animals of every kind, and some occasionally dangerous'.⁸

A single large room stands above the *loggia*, occupying the space of two storeys; the cove of its ceiling rises into the level of the second floor (Fig. 8). The tetrastyle Doric portico applied to the west elevation is thus equivalent to two dimensions of the large room behind it. The large room only leaves space for one apartment on each side (Fig. 9). The south apartment has a large ante-chamber and a

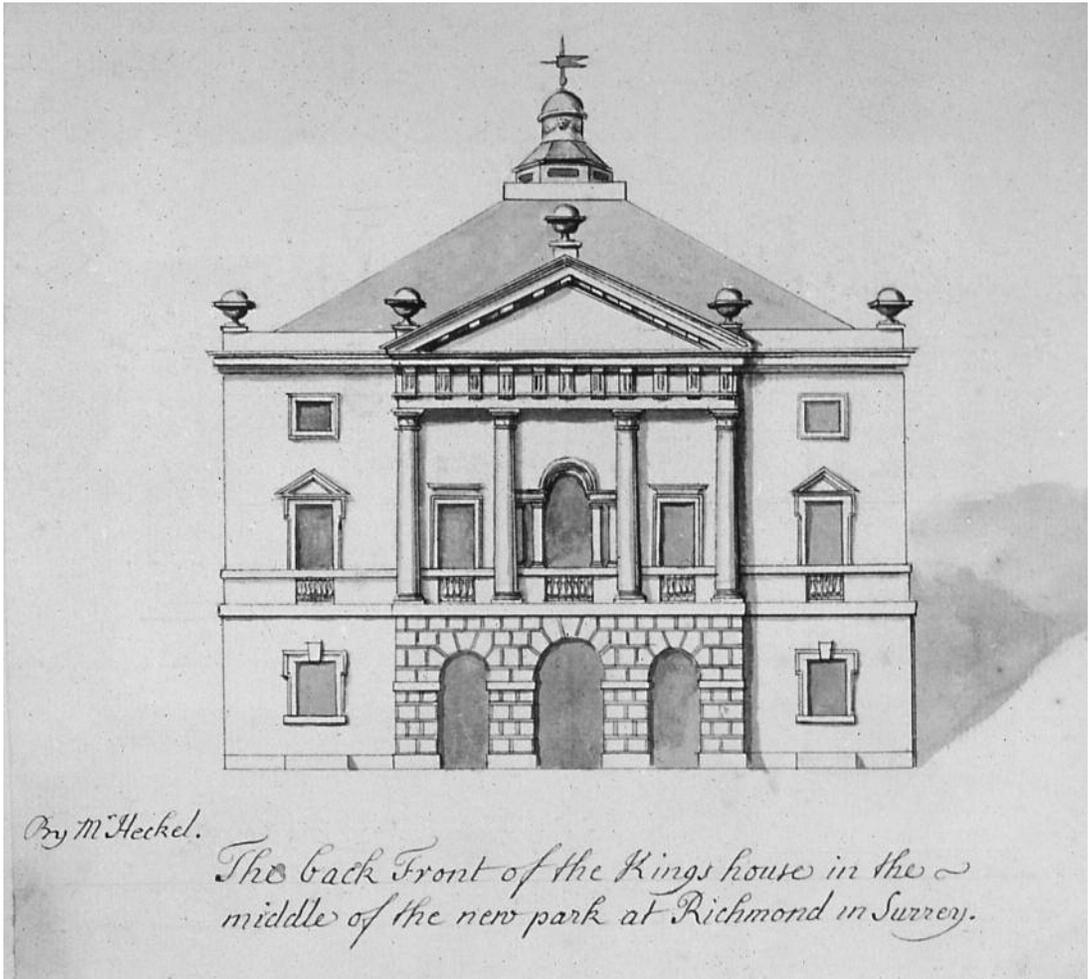


Fig. 1. Augustin Heckel, west side of White Lodge before 1747.
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photograph all rights reserved).

bedchamber, but the north one has only a bedchamber and a closet, the corresponding space being lost to a principal and a back stair. The north bedchamber has a distinctive feature which was present from at least 1752, and probably from earlier, a groin-vaulted bed alcove at its east end, separated from the rest of the room by a segmental arch on Corinthian columns (Fig. 10).⁹ The dedication of so much space to the single large room, and the loss of so much of

the interior to the exterior by means of the loggia, suggests a specific function, that of a hunting lodge. Return from the field presumably took place through the loggia, and banqueting, the principal function of a hunting lodge, took place in the room above, with only the residue for nocturnal accommodation.

If White Lodge was the King's, there might have been another way in which these rooms could be deployed for his accommodation. Instead of a

banqueting room with two flanking apartments it could be a single royal apartment, with a guard room below stairs, and a sequential presence chamber, privy chamber, drawing room, bedchamber and closet, the same exactly as George I's new apartment at Kensington.¹⁰ It was certainly conceived as a single apartment in 1752, when it was held by George II's eldest unmarried daughter, Princess Amelia.¹¹ At that date the loggia was called the Arcade, the 'presence chamber' was called the Great Dining Room, the 'privy chamber' was called the Drawing Room, the 'drawing room' was called the Great Room, the 'bedchamber' was called the Bedchamber and Alcove, and the 'closet' was called the Little Bedchamber.¹² (In 1927, incidentally, these rooms were named the

Garden Lobby, Dining Room, Small Drawing Room, Drawing Room, Library and Dressing Room).¹³

Some light on these issues may be cast by determining how White Lodge came to be designed. Hunting was a recreation expected of kings, but George I was one of those kings (like James I and Louis XV) for whom it was a particular passion; he spent up to three or four hours in the saddle as late as 1725, when he was 65.¹⁴ Deer and boar were his quarry in Hanover, and Richmond provided a rare opportunity to pursue at least the former within reach of St James's or Kensington.¹⁵ Ragnhild Hatton's 1978 biography has corrected the xenophobic view of George as a philistine misanthrope. In her presentation he was a ruler of the early Enlightenment,



Fig. 2. White Lodge: west side.

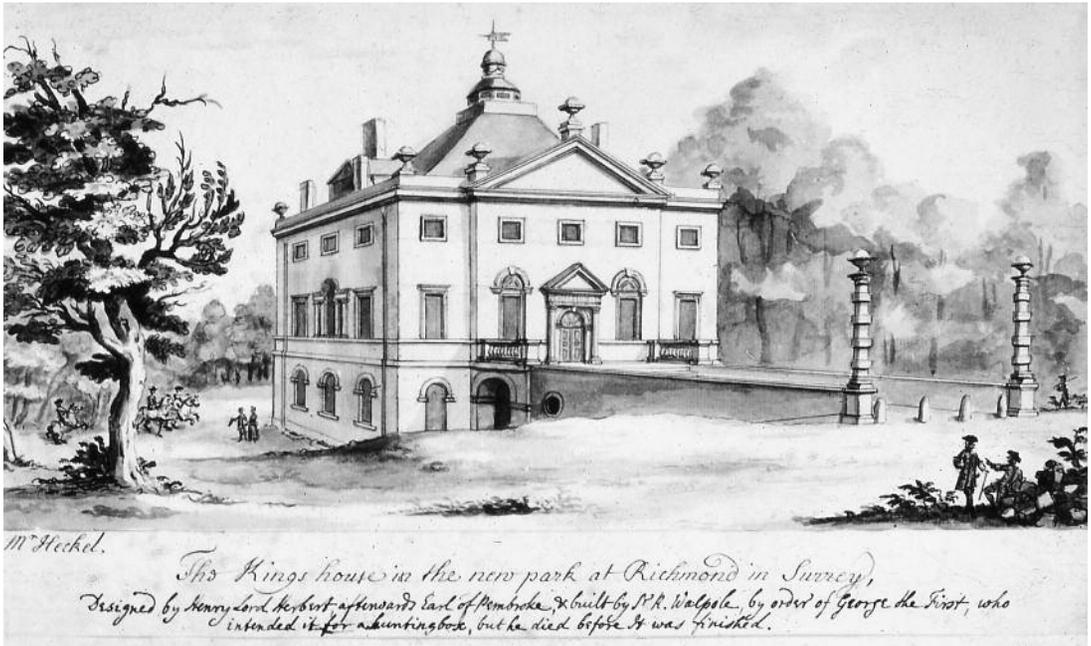


Fig. 3. Augustin Heckel, east side of White Lodge before 1747.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photograph all rights reserved).

in political matters a follower of Pufendorf, both employer and correspondent of Leibnitz, protector and financial supporter of Voltaire, more committed to religious toleration than his Whig ministers, a man who refused to touch for the King's Evil, and who endowed Regius chairs of History at the universities 'in the interests of the state'.¹⁶ His interest in music and particular patronage of Handel created the favourable climate which Handel needed in London.¹⁷ His conversion of the great hall at Hampton Court into a theatre was due to his fondness for Shakespeare, despite his poor English.¹⁸ He drove in the country with his daughter Trudchen, and visited courtiers' houses; visits to Claremont and Cliveden in 1717 are known, and another to Lord Peterborough's, presumably the Villa Carey, his house in Parson's Green, rather than Drayton Hall in Northamptonshire.¹⁹ His own patronage was not inconsiderable, particularly of Thornhill, whom he took to Hanover in 1719, and

knighted in 1720, but also of William Kent, whose painted ceilings at Kensington and Hampton Court may not have been forced on him by Burlington, as is usually intimated.²⁰ Herrenhausen was continuously developed during his reign, and his improvements to Hampton Court were planned, if not with the urgency of William III, at least within the first year of his succession.²¹ Kensington was of course rebuilt by him, first by Benson and Campbell, then by Hewitt; and Wise and Bridgeman's redevelopment of the gardens, usually associated with Queen Caroline, was planned by George.²² Pope once saw him there alone with his Vice-Chamberlain, Thomas Coke, creator of the garden at Melbourne.²³ The King walked there every evening when he could, sometimes for as long as three hours.²⁴

The construction of White Lodge is therefore consistent with George I's interests. It has been suggested that the design is the development of a



Fig. 4. White Lodge: east side.

plan produced by the Westphalian architect Lambert Friedrich Corfey for George before he succeeded to the English crown.²⁵ It is certainly true that George's interest in building and gardening had not diminished in his 66th year any more than his interest in hunting. His sudden death on 11 June 1727 took place on his way to Hanover, where he was looking forward to inspecting the *allée* of 1,300 lime trees which had been planted between Herrenhausen and Hanover since his last visit.²⁶ It is also true that he had seen and approved 'The Draughts & Plann for a Lodge intended to be Built in Richmond Parke' before they were sent to the Board of Works on 2 February 1727.²⁷ But there is no more evidence of his personal involvement than that, and Corfey's plan does not resemble White Lodge.

Besides, this procedure was not standard. When the Crown wanted a new building it was customary to instruct the Board of Works to produce it. The

Board would then make its own design and seek the necessary approvals. In this case the Board had heard something before receiving the drawings on 2 February, because at their previous week's meeting they had received proposals from John Mist, the paviour, for digging the foundation, drains and wells.²⁸ But Mist may have seen the designs before they did; their relative ignorance was made clear on 20 February, when they wrote to the Treasury:

'...wee have examined and Considered the same, and not being apprized of the manner of finishing it, only lay before your Lordships the estimate for building the carcass faced with stone, digging and making the Terrass round the House,...'²⁹

Evidently the proposals had not originated with them. Since this letter was signed by Richard Arundell (Surveyor-General), William Kent (Master Carpenter) and Tobias Jenkins, those three can be

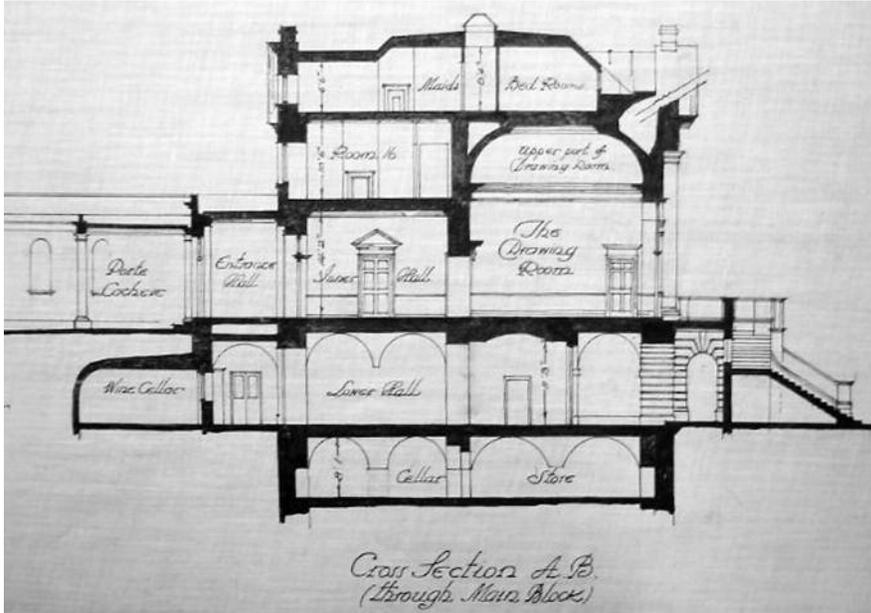


Fig. 5. White Lodge: east-west section, 1927. Allen Gilham.

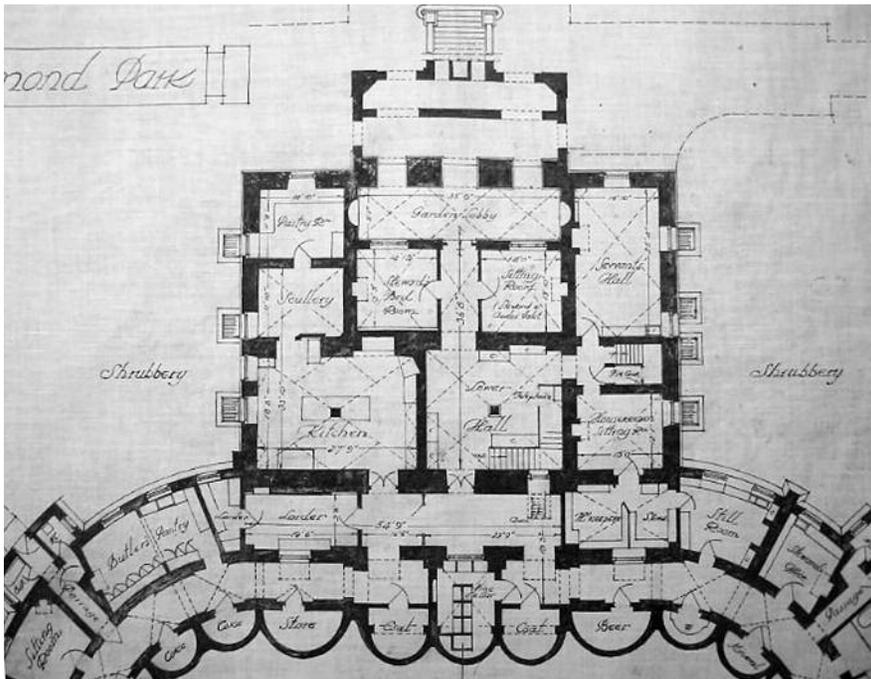


Fig. 6. White Lodge: plan of ground floor, 1927. Allen Gilham.

exonerated from any design responsibility, as can Thomas Ripley (Comptroller) and Nicholas Dubois (Master Mason), who attended the meetings on 2 and 14 February.³⁰

Nor had the Treasury solicited the drawings. They had merely passed on to the Board ‘a letter directing an Estimate to be made and laid before their Lordships, for building and finishing a New Lodge for His Majesty’.³¹ Evidently the design was generated at a higher level. Woolfe and Gandon tell us that the architect was Roger Morris;³² Horace Walpole tells us that he was Lord Herbert.³³ Assuming that both were involved, how had their design been put before the King? Lord Herbert was Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales, and thus could not possibly be held in favour by the King; his only other post was the colonelcy of the 1st Troop of Life Guards, a far from intimate position.³⁴ Morris still styled himself ‘bricklayer’, and was in some position of dependency upon Colen Campbell;³⁵ in the summer of 1729, over two years later, Campbell was still able to order Morris to correct drawings which Campbell found ‘very ugly’.³⁶ Neither would appear to have been preferable to the officers of the King’s own Works; someone closer to the King must have sponsored them.

The Royal Household was headed by the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of Grafton, and the Vice-Chamberlain, Thomas Coke. In daily attendance on the king were the Groom of the Stole, the Earl of Godolphin, and the fourteen Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (five dukes, a marquess, six earls, a viscount and a baron) in rotation.³⁷ Herbert and Morris were in due course to have connections with some of these, though not all as early as 1726–7. Some of these connections may have been made through Lord Burlington, with whom both collaborated at Castle Hill from 1729.³⁸ The Dukes of Grafton, Richmond and Dorset were friends of Lord Burlington, the Earl of Orrery was his first cousin and heir to his peerage, the Earl of Lincoln received a design from him.³⁹ Colen Campbell had worked for



Fig. 7. White Lodge: west side of ground floor, partly obscured by the perron added in 1922.

Julia de Borman.

the Duke of Richmond, and Morris was to succeed him.⁴⁰ Morris had built Sevenoaks School, under the nose of the Duke of Dorset at Knole.⁴¹ The Duke of Kent, presumably with the knowledge of his son the Earl of Harrold, had employed Leoni, who may also have had some connection with Campbell.⁴² Any of these may have brought Herbert and Morris to the King’s attention, but they were not the only ones.

The King was also in close contact with his ministry, most of all with the First Lord of his Treasury, Sir Robert Walpole, but also with the two Secretaries of State, Viscount Townshend and the Duke of Newcastle. Both of the latter employed



Fig. 8. White Lodge: salon ceiling, *Allen Gilham*.

Kent, in Newcastle's case through contact with Lord Burlington, but neither had known contacts with Herbert or Morris.⁴³ This is not the case with Walpole, however, then employing Campbell at Houghton.⁴⁴ The water tower which was built there was attributed to Lord Herbert by Horace Walpole, who was generous in his attributions to Herbert;⁴⁵ it is as likely that it was designed by Roger Morris.

Sir Robert had an interest in Richmond. His eldest son, Robert, Lord Walpole, was appointed Ranger of Richmond Park in 1727, and Sir Robert became the Deputy Ranger.⁴⁶ The subordinate role was a device to keep the office in the family longer, but by private agreement Lord Walpole surrendered the privileges of the office to his father.⁴⁷ Of these the principal benefit was the hunting, of which Walpole was, if anything, more impassioned than the King.⁴⁸

But the Ranger also had the use of the Lodge in the King's absence, and the Abstract of the Works' Accounts record considerable sums spent on the Old Lodge between July 1729 and March 1730, including £25 to Henry Flitcroft.⁴⁹ The two lodges, ¼ mile apart, could have been used in tandem by father and son.

Lord Walpole's appointment was only made on 3 October 1727, nearly four months after George I's death, by which time at least the carcass of White Lodge was built, and it might thus appear that the availability of magnificent new accommodation was fortuitous.⁵⁰ But Sir Robert's appointment may precede his son's, and both could have acquired the reversion earlier. For Sir Robert's account books reveal that he rented a house in Richmond from a George Bentley from at least December 1725, and a later rent payment reveals that this house was not in the Park, but 'on Richm^d. Hill', so just outside it;⁵¹ in May 1726 Catherine Bagley, housemaid there, was paid one year's wages, and, since wages were not paid in advance, she must have been there since at least May 1725.⁵² From February 1726, and probably earlier, Sir Robert paid for corn delivered 'at new park for the horses + ye fowls',⁵³ and from April a man was paid 'for dog keeping' there.⁵⁴ Walpole was evidently hunting in the park, even before he lived there.

In May 1727 Walpole paid Edward Loton £30 'for work done in New Park', possibly on another building, as by then little more than foundations and drains had been laid at White Lodge; yet Loton was soon to work there for the Office of Works.⁵⁵ Not only was Walpole paying for work within the Park; he was also making money from it. As early as October 1726 he received £65 10s. 11d. 'for ten bullocks sold from Richmond park at Smithfield'.⁵⁶ In February 1727 he received £96 1s. 6d. 'for 120 sheep sold in Smithfield', £82 4s. for the same the following April, and £95 2s. 6d. one year later.⁵⁷ In August 1727 his occupation of White Lodge itself is made clear. Then he paid £111 to 'Tho^s. Roberts upholster^{er} for goods

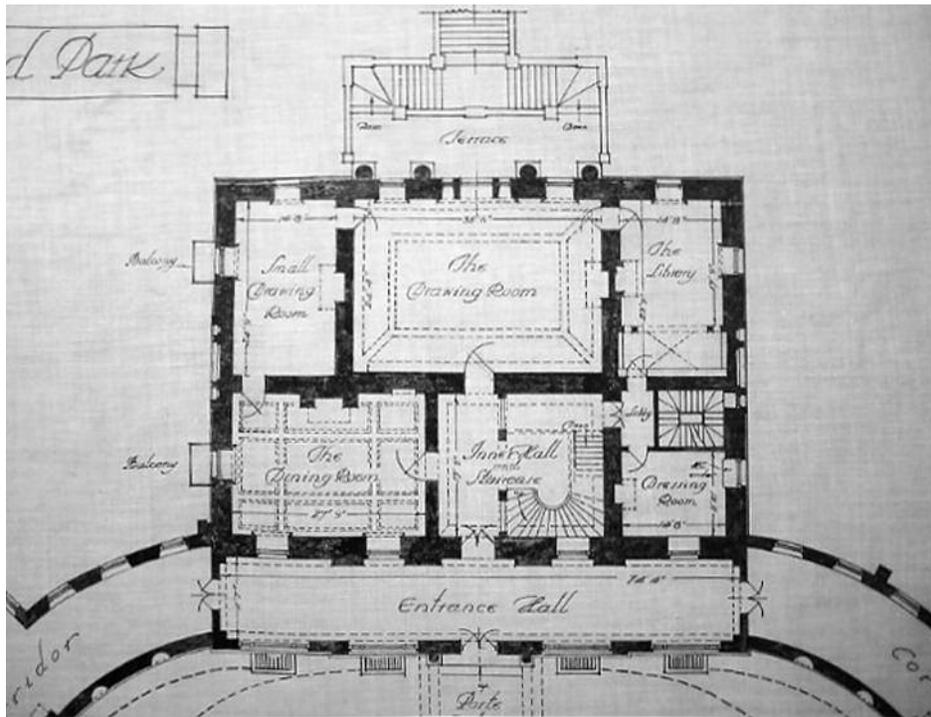


Fig. 9. White Lodge: plan of principal floor, 1927. Allen Gilham.

to New Park for the new Lodge', £50 4s. 6d. to 'Edw^d Mortimer brasier, for Ditto', £11 8s. to 'Joshua Ridding pewterer for Ditto', and £37 1s. to 'Rich^d Booth-smith-for Ditto'.⁵⁸ Walpole was simultaneously employing Thomas Roberts at Houghton on a much larger scale,⁵⁹ and Booth was a leading London smith.⁶⁰ In February 1728 'goods to furnish the new Lodge in New park' were sent by a waterman.⁶¹ Walpole evidently regarded White Lodge as his own, and thus it seems likely it was he who chose the architects. When his youngest son, Horace, assembled images of all the Walpole houses for publication as *Aedes Walpoleanae*, he included the two drawings by Augustin Heckel, and added: 'Designed by Henry Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, & built by Sr R. Walpole, by order of George the First, who intended it for a hunting box...'⁶²

The caption might seem to answer all speculation, except that it is not entirely accurate. Sir Robert Walpole may have inspired it, he may have loosely supervised it, it may have been built for him, but it was not built by him. It was built by the Office of Works. On 14 February 1727 the Board ordered Morris, Bridgeman and Mist to go to Richmond the next day and make an estimate of the cost.⁶³ Two days later they expressed their satisfaction with the estimate, which they sent on to the Treasury on 20 February.⁶⁴ There were in fact three estimates, £5,780 2s. 3½d., £4,826 14s. 3½d., using bricks and timber already in the park, and £4,450 18s. 10½d., omitting the stone facing above basement level, and the Treasury of course chose the cheapest.⁶⁵ The Board insisted on the appointment of a clerk of works at a salary of £100 *per annum*, and of a



Fig. 10. White Lodge: bedchamber alcove. *Julia de Borman*.

labourer in trust at a salary of 2s. 2d. *per diem*.⁶⁶ The Treasury agreed that too, on condition that these appointments terminated with ‘the actual performance of the work’.⁶⁷ On 30 March the Board of Works appointed Roger Morris to the former position and Daniel Garrett to the latter.⁶⁸

It was presumably because the beneficiary was the head of the Treasury Board that both the Treasury’s conditions were ignored. Roger Morris remained Clerk of Works for the rest of his life, and Daniel Garrett until his dismissal for non-attendance in September 1737, when he was replaced by Edward Hiatt.⁶⁹ Despite the Treasury’s requirement to omit stone facing above the basement, the masons, Christopher Cass ‘+c.’, received £3,217 19s., which

suggests that it was stone-faced from the beginning.⁷⁰ The ‘+c.’, later written as ‘and Comp^{ny}’,⁷¹ doubtless refers to Cass’s partners, who in January 1728 were Edward Strong, junior, and Andrews Jelfe, although Strong withdrew later that year.⁷² Cass was ordered to use Sir William Strickland’s stone;⁷³ this was doubtless Sir William Strickland, fourth Baronet, of Boynton Hall, in the East Riding, who was, surprisingly, another Lord of the Treasury.⁷⁴ Cass having died on 21 April 1734,⁷⁵ it was Jelfe who delivered Hildenley stone to New Park Lodge in October 1737.⁷⁶ As Hildenley lies between Castle Howard and Malton, this may have been Sir William’s property, and it reveals that White Lodge gets its name from Magnesian limestone, not from Portland.



Fig. 11. White Lodge: ground floor room.
Julia de Borman.

By the time of the King's death on 11 June 1727 (when the Board ordered work to stop at all palaces) nearly £2,000 had been spent.⁷⁷ If Walpole was the prospective occupant it would have been particularly prudent to stop work at White Lodge, for he had no idea whether the new king intended to retain him in office.⁷⁸ But by January 1728 expenditure had risen to £6,483.⁷⁹

Three of the tradesmen were officers of the King's Works: Thomas Churchill, bricklayer;⁸⁰ John Mist, paviour;⁸¹ James Richards, carver.⁸² George Devall, the plumber, was not, although he had Office of Works connections, and won some Office of Works contracts in the later part of his career. He owed the first of these to Walpole, for whose brother-

in-law and ministerial colleague, Lord Townshend, he had been working since 1724; he worked for Walpole himself at Houghton from at least 1725, and for Walpole's brother, Horatio, at Wolterton from c.1730.⁸³ The five other recorded tradesmen had not worked for the King's Works, nor were they to do so. Of these, the brickmaker, Thomas Rogers, who had made the bricks for St Mary, Twickenham, may thus be presumed to be local;⁸⁴ and the smith, John Cleave, who was, by contrast, the leading London smith of the day, had worked mainly on the Fifty New Churches.⁸⁵ The other three had worked, or were to work, for Walpole or his family: the carpenter, John Neale, who had previously worked on speculative houses in Mayfair,⁸⁶ worked at Wolterton c.1730;⁸⁷ the slater, John Barnes, worked at Nos. 86–8 Brook Street for Townshend in 1728–30;⁸⁸ and Edward Loton worked for Walpole himself.⁸⁹ The trade of Gabriel Garrett, who received £49 8s., is not identified; presumably he was related to Daniel. Henry Flitcroft received £5; as he was Clerk of Works for Kew and Richmond, he was, unlike Morris, the Office of Works's man on the spot. This may reflect some responsibility there, or it may have been a perquisite.⁹⁰

No work was done between January and October 1728, but it was not finished. On 8 October the Board, on this occasion represented by Thomas Ripley (Comptroller), Nicholas Du Bois (Master Mason), and Westby Gill (Deputy Surveyor), wrote to the Treasury

‘...to represent to your Lordships that the New Lodge lately erected in Richmond New Parke will be in danger of receiving damage by the Rain & Frost that may Fall this Winter for want of being inclosed. If it be Your Lordships Pleasure that the Doors and Shasses be forthwith made made and put up together with digging and Levelling some of the ground there, the charge may amount to about the sum of li. 365.’⁹¹

These works were carried out between then and December, at £6 under estimate.⁹² The largest share (£192 4s. 3d.) went to Richard Lawrence, James



Fig. 12. White Lodge: salon chimneypiece. *Julia de Borman*.

Richards's assistant, presumably working as a joiner, as there can have been no carving to be done.⁹³ Charles Carne, glazier, received £79 16s. 5¼d.⁹⁴ John Mist received £72 19s. 7d., presumably for the levelling. John Cleave, the smith, received £12 8s. 4d., perhaps for locks. Cass received £2 8s. 4d.

Although weather-tight it still cannot have been habitable. No plasterer's or painter's bills had been paid. Only in May 1729 did the Board order that 'a Report and Estimate be prepared for the Treasury for finishing part of the New Lodge in Richmond Parke.'⁹⁵ The estimate was for £500, and the Treasury fiat was received on 12 June.⁹⁶ But the payments, made in September, came to £1,148 15s. 2½d.⁹⁷ The tradesmen were the same, except for Thomas Phillips, who replaced the carpenter John

Neale, dismissed the previous November, and for the first time a plasterer and painter were paid.⁹⁸ George Worrall, Master Plasterer in the Office of Works, was the plasterer, and he received £114 13s. 6¾d.⁹⁹ John Jones, who worked at Raynham, Houghton and Wolterton, was the painter, and he received only £14 17s. 7½d.¹⁰⁰ One wonders which 'part' it was that was completed. It included fitting up the kitchen, which is identifiable as the vaulted room in the south-west corner of the ground floor (Fig. 11). The still existing range may represent part of the £49 8s. 10½d. paid to John Cleave the smith. The estimate also included a 'Portland chimney piece to the Great room'. If this was installed, it was replaced by two marble chimneypieces in 1753,¹⁰¹ and the present wooden chimneypiece with the royal ciphers



Fig. 13. White Lodge: stair. *Allen Gilham*.

‘G’ and ‘C’, is evidently an even later replacement (Fig. 12); ‘G’ and ‘C’ must represent George and Charlotte, not George and Caroline, as previously suggested.¹⁰² £193 was spent in March 1730, of which more than half went to ‘Cass and Comp’¹⁰³ for masons’ work.¹⁰³ Thereafter payments were made intermittently – £89 in November 1734, £117 in June 1735, £148 in December 1735, £149 in September 1737 (all on mason’s work by Andrews Jelfe), £300 in December 1740 (all on carpenter’s work by John Phillips).¹⁰⁴

Sir Robert Walpole died on 18 March 1745, by then the Earl of Orford, and Lord Walpole, thereafter the second earl, died on 31 March 1751.¹⁰⁵ Both Old and New Lodges were granted to Princess Amelia; between June and December 1751 she spent £482 on

alterations to the garret and roof and on a new back stair, all apparently at the New Lodge, under the supervision of Stephen Wright.¹⁰⁶ In January and February 1752 she obtained detailed estimates for work costing £1,396 in the principal floor, which included a Portland stone stair (Fig. 13), new plaster modillion cornices, new doors and shutters, marble chimneypieces in five rooms, two of which were to be in the Great Room, where a second chimney was to be made.¹⁰⁷ There are no marble chimneypieces in the building today, and only a single wooden chimneypiece in the Great Room. Yet in July 1752 and February 1753 all the bills for this work were settled, so it must have been carried out.¹⁰⁸ So much work suggests that the building was unfinished in Walpole’s lifetime. So does Morris’s continuation in post, as the Treasury had only sanctioned the appointment ‘for so long time only as the actual performance of the work shall require’.¹⁰⁹

As Horace Walpole’s claim that it was built by his father can be shown to be inaccurate, doubt must be cast on his claim that it was designed by Lord Herbert. Woolfe and Gandon do not mention Herbert, and Woolfe may have known the history; in the 1750s he had been James Paine’s clerk, at a time when Paine was Clerk of Works at White Lodge in succession to Stephen Wright.¹¹⁰ Roger Morris was appointed on 30 March 1727, but the Board had ordered him over a month earlier to prepare articles and an estimate, although he was not then or ever an officer of the Works.¹¹¹ During the long periods when there were no works to be clerk of – six months in 1728, eleven months in 1729, eight months in 1730, twelve months each in 1731, 1732 and 1733, eleven months in 1734, ten months in 1735, twelve months in 1736, nine months in 1737, twelve months in 1738, eleven months in 1739 and again in 1740 – Morris and Garrett drew their salaries, a polite fiction for rewarding an architect for designs already submitted.¹¹²

If there is any doubt that Morris was the real architect, the discovery of Heckel’s drawings dispels it. Some of the idiosyncracies for which Morris is

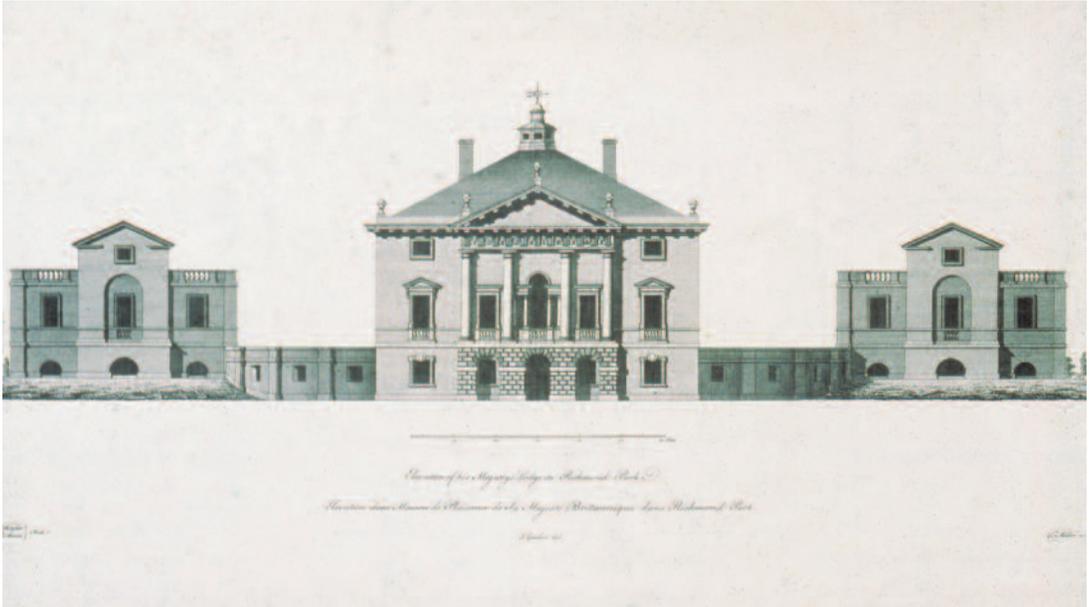


Fig. 14. John Woolfe and James Gandon, west elevation of White Lodge, 1771.

known can also be seen on Woolfe and Gandon's elevation (Fig. 14), most obviously the pyramidal roof with its octagonal cupola, but also the ball finials apparently bisected by flat slabs.¹¹³ Some of Morris's idiosyncracies can also be found within the fabric, such as the coved ceiling of the salon, and the arched bed alcove.¹¹⁴ But what Heckel alone shows is the approach causeway with Morris's much-used *oculi* below it, and free-standing ringed columns (as illustrated by Campbell at Wilton) at its end.¹¹⁵ Morris's Wimbledon House, set in a ditch, has a similar causewayed approach, as does Campbell's Mereworth.¹¹⁶ Heckel's drawing makes the design look even more like Morris's than it was already thought to be.

In addition, some of the features of White Lodge have a resemblance to features at Houghton. The vaulted ground floor, for instance, known as the Arcade in 1752, is similar to the ground floor at Houghton, and it may not be a coincidence that that too was known as the Arcade.¹¹⁷ It is argued here that

White Lodge was only formally built for George I, and really as a perquisite for Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Robert Walpole usually found architectural jobs for his *protégé*, Thomas Ripley, but it should not be forgotten that he also employed Campbell to the end of the latter's life. Morris was in a subordinate position of some kind to Campbell, and it would seem that White Lodge indicates that some elements of Morris's distinctive style may have originated in Campbell's imagination. Its presence in the manuscript version of *Aedes Walpolianae* indicates that it belongs within the political dominion of the Walpole family, but it also belongs within the architectural dominion of Colen Campbell.

NOTES

- 1 Owen Manning and William Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, I (London, 1804), pp. 413–7; E Beresford Chancellor, *History and Antiquities of Richmond, Kew, Petersham, Ham, &c.* (Richmond, 1894), pp. 211–38; Michael Baxter Brown, *Richmond Park* (London, 1985), p. 18.
- 2 H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* [hereafter cited as *HKW*], V (London, 1976), p. 230, note 2.
- 3 Nottingham, University of Nottingham Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Galway Collection [hereafter cited as Galway], Ga 12873/3, 7, 9, 13, 14 and 20 ('Stone Lodge'), Ga 12873/2, 10 and 14 ('White House'), Ga 12873/1 and 22 ('Stone House'), Ga 12873/16 and 21 ('White Lodge'), and Ga 12873/15 ('White Building').
- 4 *HKW*, V, p. 232; VI, p. 355.
- 5 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925, 25.62, fol. 66v (a). *Aedes Walpolianae* was published in London in 1747; Andrew Moore (ed.), *Houghton Hall*, (London, 1996), 169.
- 6 'The Duke of York's New House', *Country Life*, LIII (April 21st, 1923), pp. 526–7.
- 7 This paper was originally written for a conference on early eighteenth-century villas at the Oxford University Department for Continuing Education on 7 January 2006.
- 8 *HKW*, VI, p. 355, note 6.
- 9 Galway, Ga 12873/1/1, 12873/20, 12873/21.
- 10 *HKW*, V, pp. 194–201.
- 11 EH Chalus, 'Amelia [Emily], Princess (1711–1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, I, (Oxford, 2004), pp. 925–8.
- 12 Galway, Ga 12873/22.
- 13 Kew, The National Archives [hereafter cited as NA], WORK 32/628–37. I am grateful to Mr Allen Gilham for bringing these drawings to my attention.
- 14 Ragnild Hatton, *George I*, (2nd edition, New Haven and London, 2001), p. 162.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 165–6, 90–1, 291, 289, 165, 290.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 264–7.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 131; *HKW*, V, p. 180.
- 19 Hatton, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 133–4, 339–40 (n. 72). For the Villa Carey, see John B Hattendorf, 'Mordaunt, Charles, third earl of Peterborough and first earl of Monmouth (1658?–1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIX (Oxford, 2004), p. 13.
- 20 Hatton, *op. cit.*, p. 260–4.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 98–100, 129.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 262–4.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
- 25 Barbara Arciszewska, *The Hanoverian Court and the triumph of Palladio* (Warsaw, 2002).
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 27 NA, WORK 6/15, f. 156, copy letter from J. Scrope, Treasury Chambers, to Richard Arundell, Office of Works, 'The Draughts & Plann for a Lodge intended to be Built in Richmond Parke which accompany this having been approved by His Majesty, The Lords Commiss^{rs}. of His Majesty's Treasury are pleased to direct you to make an Estimate of the whole charge of Building and Finishing thereof'.
- 28 NA, WORK 4/3, [26 Jan. 1727]. John Mist (c.1691–1737) was described at his death as 'Paviour to the Royal Palaces, and to the Office of Works, Slater, Cartaker, Thatcher, Scavenger, and Foundation-Digger' (worth £50,000) [*HKW*, V, p. 93]. His sister, Sarah, was married to Charles Bridgeman [Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman*, (London, 2002), pp. 26–7]. He was also Master Paviour to the Board of Ordnance, in which capacity he had worked at Woolwich between 1716 and 1720 [O.F.G. Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal*, I (London and New York, 1963), pp. 267–8]; from 1734 Morris was his colleague as Master Carpenter to the Board of Ordnance [*Ibid.*, pp. 285–94]. Mist worked for some of the Directors of the South Sea Company in 1720–1, for instance, at Briggens, Herts., Carshalton House, Surrey, and Purley Hall, Berks. [*ex inf.* Andrew Skelton]. In 1720 he was working in Bedford Row with his other brother-in-law, George Devall, the plumber [*ex inf.* Frank Kelsall]. Between 1721 and 1724 he worked at St Peter, Vere Street, under Gibbs [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 306–7]. He worked under John James at St George, Hanover Square, in 1721–5, St John Horsleydown, and St Luke, Old Street, in 1727–33 [Sally Jeffery, 'English Baroque architecture: the work of John James' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1986)]. For the Office of Works he worked as labourer in 1733, presumably digging foundations, for the Treasury Building [*HKW*, V, 432] and the Paymaster-General's Office [NA, T52/38, p. 98], and as paviour at Queen Caroline's Library,

- St James's Palace, in 1736 [NA, WORK 5/59]. He was an influential figure in the Office of Works, having power of attorney for Richard Arundell as Surveyor-General [Galway, catalogue, p. 293].
- 29 NA, WORK 6/15, f. 156.
- 30 NA, WORK 4/3, [2 and 14 Feb. 1727]. Jenkins, MP for York and in 1701 Lord Mayor, had been added to the Board in 1719, but was not an architect, although alleged by Colen Campbell to have a 'particular Attachment to Architecture' [HKW, V, p. 67].
- 31 NA, WORK 4/3, [2 Feb. 1727].
- 32 John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV (London, 1767), pls. 1–4.
- 33 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925, 25.62, fol. 66v (a).
- 34 G.E.C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, X (London, 1945), p. 425.
- 35 Marie P. G. Draper and W.A. Eden, *Marble Hill House* (London, 1970), pp. 17–18.
- 36 G.L.M. Goodfellow, 'Colen Campbell's last years', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI (1969), pp. 189–90.
- 37 John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967), *passim*. The dukes were Dorset, Kent, Richmond, Grafton and Manchester; the marquess was Lindsey; the earls, beside Godolphin, were Berkeley, Lincoln, Selkirk, Orrery, Stair and Harrold; the viscount was Lynne; and the baron was Cartaret.
- 38 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 150, 515, 707.
- 39 For Burlington's relationship with the Duke of Grafton see James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation* (London, 1962), pp. 116, 142, 147; for that with the Duke of Richmond see T. P. Connor, 'Architecture and Planting at Goodwood 1723–50', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXVII (1979), p. 187. For those with the Duke of Dorset and the Earl of Orrery see Richard Hewlings, 'The School and Almshouses at Sevenoaks', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI (2001), pp. 234–6. For that with the Earl of Lincoln see Lees-Milne, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–40; and for his designs for the latter, see John Harris, *The Palladian Revival* (London, 1994), p. 22, fig. 23; John Harris, *Georgian Country Houses* (Feltham, 1968), pp. 10–11; and Kenneth Woodbridge, 'Bélanger en Angleterre', *Architectural History*, XXV (1982), 9, 17, and pl. 16.
- 40 Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 188, 189, 190.
- 41 Hewlings, '... Sevenoaks', *cit.*, pp. 220–49.
- 42 Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni', in Roderick Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders* (London, 1985), pp. 38–9, 205.
- 43 Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 616–7.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 515.
- 46 Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 416, and Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 218, gives 3 October 1727 as the date of appointment. But J.H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole*, II (London, 1960), p. 90, gives '1726'; and G.E.C[okayne], *op. cit.*, X, p. 85, gives '1725'; neither of these cite a source, and Plumb is inaccurate in other particulars.
- 47 Plumb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90, note 4. In May 1740 Lord Walpole was additionally appointed Ranger for life, with survivorship to his father [*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1739–41 (London, 1901), p. 424].
- 48 Plumb, *op. cit.*, II, p. 88.
- 49 NA, WORK 5/58, Abstract of Accounts 1729–34, vol. 4, July 1729, September 1729, March 1730.
- 50 Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 416; Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
- 51 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS, Account Book 22, Cash Book of Edward Jenkins, 1714–29 [hereafter cited as Cambridge, C(H) 22], 1725, Sep. 7, Dec. 9, 1726, Feb. 23, July 15, Oct. 5, 1727, Ap. 4, Oct. 5, 1728, Jan. 4, Apr. 3, 'Geo Bentley, A Quäters rent due at Lady last for his house on Richm^d. Hill + all demands 17. 02. 00'.
- 52 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1726, May 28, 'Catherine Bagley house maid at Richm^d. a years wages + board wages + expences 33. 03. 06'.
- 53 *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 'Ra: Raunce Corn Chandler for Corn delivered at new park for the horses + ye fowls 31. 09. 00'.
- 54 *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 'Samuel Matthews bills for dog keeping Labourers + other things + himself, in New park 9. 10. 06'.
- 55 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1727, May 29, 'Edw^d. Loton for work done in New park'. Loton was presumably an elder relative of James Loton, glazier at No 22 Arlington St in 1775–8 [Nicholas Thompson and others, *A House in Town* (London, 1984), p. 120]. If Edward Loton was also a glazier (and therefore, as was customary, a plumber), he could have been laying pipes to the drains.
- 56 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1726, Oct. 16, 'Rêc^d. of John Marshall for ten bullocks Sold from Richmond Park at Smithfield. 65. 10. 00'.

- 57 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1727, Feb. 28, 'Rēc^d. for two Sheep sold in Smithfield + all Charges Deducted 96. 01. 06', Apr. 5, 'Rēc^d. for Sheep as above 82. 04. 00', 1728, Apr. 29, 'Rēc^d. for sheep sold in Smithfield 95. 02. 06'.
- 58 *Ibid.*, Aug. 29.
- 59 John Cornforth, 'The genesis and creation of a great interior', in Andrew Moore (ed.), *Houghton Hall* (London, 1996), pp. 34, 39, 119, 121, 126; John Cornforth, 'Houghton Hall, Norfolk-II', *Country Life*, CLXXXI (May 7, 1987), pp. 105, 106, 107; Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers 1660-1840* (Leeds, 1986), p. 754.
- 60 Edward Saunders, 'Biographical dictionary of English wrought iron smiths of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Walpole Society*, LXVII (2005), pp. 267-9; in addition Booth worked at Briggens, Herts., and Carshalton House, Surrey, in 1720-1 (*ex inf.* Andrew Skelton) and at Stanmer Park, Sussex, in 1722-7 (*ex inf.* Richard Morrice).
- 61 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1728, Feb. 2, 'James Matthews waterman for Caring the goods to furnish the new Lodge in New park'.
- 62 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925, 25.62, fol. 66v (a).
- 63 NA, WORK 4/3, [14 Feb. 1727].
- 64 *Ibid.*, 16 Feb. 1727; WORK 6/15, f. 156, [20 Feb. 1727].
- 65 NA, WORK 6/15, f. 157, [15 March 1727].
- 66 *Ibid.*, f. 156, [20 Feb. 1727].
- 67 *Ibid.*, f. 157, [15 March 1727].
- 68 NA, WORK 4/3, [30 March 1727].
- 69 NA, WORK 5/59, Abstracts of accounts 1734-1739, vol. 4, August 1737, September 1737 *et seq.*; Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 410.
- 70 NA, WORK 5/57, Abstract of Accounts 1726-1729, vol. 2, January 1727/8.
- 71 NA, WORK 5/58, Abstract of Accounts 1729-1734, vol. 4, March 1730.
- 72 Richard Hewlings, 'Jelfe, Andrews (c.1690-1759)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIX (Oxford, 2004), p. 916.
- 73 NA, WORK 4/3, [14 Feb. 1727].
- 74 Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, II (London, 1970), p. 453.
- 75 Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851* (London, 1951), p. 88; Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 571.
- 76 NA, WORK 4/7, [27 Oct. 1737].
- 77 WORK 4/3, [17 June 1727].
- 78 Plumb, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 164-7.
- 79 NA, WORK 5/57, Abstract of Accounts 1726-1729, vol. 2, January 1727/8. The subsequent unreferenced facts in this paragraph are taken from this source.
- 80 Thomas Churchill was the Master Bricklayer from December 1725 until his death in September 1736 [*HKW*, V, pp. 472]. He may have been the Churchill, bricklayer, who was Richard Stacey's partner at Blenheim [D.B. Green, *Blenheim Palace* (London, 1951), p. 319], and possibly the Thomas Churchill, trade unknown, who worked on the Haymarket Theatre under Vanbrugh in 1718 [Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London, 1977), pp. 194, 232]. Between 1715 and 1718 he worked at Sudbrooke Park under Gibbs, and in 1719 he worked either at Burlington House, Piccadilly, or at Chiswick House, under Campbell [*Survey of London*, XXXII (London, 1963), p. 400]. In 1720 he was 'of St Margaret, Westminster', and had a property near the Cockpit, Whitehall [*ex inf.* Frank Kelsall]. In 1725, 1727 and 1732 he was involved as a developer on the Burlington estate, north of Piccadilly [Chatsworth, Devonshire MSS]. Thereafter he is only known as an Office of Works tradesman, working on the stables at the Royal Mews in 1732-3 [*HKW*, V, p. 212], the Treasury Building in 1733 [*HKW*, V, p. 432], the Paymaster-General's Office, with Joseph Pratt, in 1733-4 [NA, T 52/38, p. 98], and Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace [NA, WORK 5/59].
- 81 For Mist see note 28, *supra*.
- 82 James Richards was Master Carver from 1721 until his death in 1759, although from 1754 onwards his duties were undertaken by his assistant George Murray, 'Age and Infirmary' rendering Richards 'incapable of performing the Duty' [*HKW*, V, pp. 473, 479]. His career is summarised in Beard, *op. cit.*, 277, although work at the following locations may be added: Ditchley in 1726 [John Cornforth, 'Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire-I', *Country Life*, CLXXXII (November 17, 1988, 102); Raynham in 1727-30 [James M. Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham* (Middletown, Conn., c.1989), p. 186]; Sherborne Park, Glos., in 1730-1 [Geoffrey Beard, 'Kentian furniture by James Richards and others', *Apollo*, CLVII, (January 2003), p. 39, which mistakenly identifies the location as Sherborne House, Dorset]; No. 30 Old Burlington Street in 1731-2 [Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 707]; The White House, Kew, in 1731 [Frances Vivian, *A Life of Frederick, Prince of Wales, 1707-1751* (Lampeter, 2006),

- pp. 134, 138–9]; the Treasury Building in 1733 [HKW, V, p. 432]; the Paymaster-General's Office in 1733–4; and Queen Caroline's marble coffin in 1737 [HKW, V, p. 455].
- 83 George Devall was presumably related to John Devall, who was Sergeant Plumber (and Master Plumber at Windsor Castle) from 1742 to 1769, and plumber at the Horse Guards Building from 1750 [HKW, V, pp. 388, 436, 473, 479]. He was also the brother-in-law of John Mist [HKW, V, p. 106, note 5], and was responsible for the development of Nos. 9–11 Argyll Street in 1737–9 as Mist's executor [Survey of London, XXXI (London, 1963), pp. 284–9], so he was closely connected with the personnel of the Office of Works. But, although he worked at Hampton Court in 1726 [HKW, V, p. 85], the Treasury Building in 1733 [HKW, V, p. 432], the Paymaster-General's Office, in 1733–4 [NA, T 52/38, p. 98], and probably on Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace (where the plumber is only called 'Devall')[NA, WORK 5/59], these are the only commissions which he is known to have had from the Office, and came late in his career. In contrast, he had eight contracts for the Fifty New Churches between 1713 and 1730 [H.M.Colvin, 'Fifty New Churches', *Architectural Review*, CVII (March 1950), p. 196]. In 1720 he worked at Bedford Row with John Mist [ex inf. Frank Kelsall]. In 1720–1 he worked at Carshalton House, Surrey, and in 1726 at Carshalton Park [ex inf. Andrew Skelton]. In 1732 he worked at Chiswick House [Chatsworth, Lord Burlington's account books, Book of Accounts with Nath. Gould & Albert Nesbitt Esq^{rs}. 1732 Sept^r 6]. In addition he was probably the 'Devall' who worked either at Lord Stanhope's apartment at Whitehall or at Chevening in 1718 [Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, Stanhope MSS, E26/3], at Holkham between 1732 and 1742 [Leo Schmidt, Christian Keller and Polly Feversham, *Holkham* (Munich, Berlin, London and New York, c.2005), p. 131], and for the Chelsea Waterworks Company in 1733 [ex inf. Andrew Skelton]. In 1743 he tendered for work (with John Devall) at the Foundling Hospital [Richard Hewlings, 'The Builders of the Foundling Hospital', *Georgian Group Journal*, XIII (2003), p. 37]. However, it is perhaps significant that in 1725, and again from 1732 to 1736, George Devall was the plumber at Houghton for Sir Robert Walpole [Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Cambridge, University Library, Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS, Account Book 33], and c.1730 at Wolterton for Walpole's brother Horatio [Nares, *op. cit.*, p. 168]. And he was probably the 'Duvall' who was the plumber at Raynham for Walpole's brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, between 1724 and 1730 [Rosenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 186]. The commission at Hampton Court in 1726 was obtained for him at the request of Sir Robert [HKW, V, p. 85].
- 84 Jeffery, *op. cit.*
- 85 Cleave's career is summarised in Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–4, although work at the following locations may be added: Greenwich Hospital in 1709 [Philip Newell, *Greenwich Hospital* (Greenwich, 1984), p. 35] and 1718 [John Bold, *Greenwich* (London, 2000), p. 144]; St Michael, Cornhill, in 1715–22 [H.M.Colvin, 'Fifty New Churches', *Architectural Review*, March 1950, p. 196]; Lord Stanhope's apartment at Whitehall or Chevening in 1718 [Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, Stanhope Pp., E26/3]; the university crane, Cambridge, in 1722 [Cambridge, University Library, University Archives, VCV 13(1)]; unspecified work for Vanbrugh in 1724 [Downes, *op. cit.*, p. 226]; St Luke, Old Street, in 1727–33 [Jeffery, *op. cit.*]; Deptford Rectory in 1728–9 [Paul Jeffery, 'Thomas Archer's Deptford Rectory', *Georgian Group Journal*, 1993, p. 38]; and Boreham House, Essex, in 1731 [ex inf. Mr H.P.R. Hoare].
- 86 Maddox Street in 1720 [ex inf. Frank Kelsall]; No. 12 Savile Row in 1733; *Survey of London*, XXXII, (London, 1963), p. 561.
- 87 Gordon Nares, 'Wolterton Hall, Norfolk-II', *Country Life*, CXXII (July 25, 1957), p. 168.
- 88 Raynham Hall, MSS, Drawer 80.
- 89 Cambridge, C(H) 22, 1727, May 29, 'Edw^d. Loton for work done in New park'.
- 90 HKW, V, p. 475.
- 91 NA, WORK 6/15, Memorials 1723–32, vol. 2, 157.
- 92 NA, WORK 5/57, Abstract of Accounts 1726–1729, vol. 2, December 1728.
- 93 Lawrence is identified as Richards's assistant at Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace in 1736–7 [HKW, V, p. 242]. Later he worked at: Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire, in the 1760s [Giles Worsley, 'Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire-II', *Country Life*, CLXXXVIII (22 September 1994), p. 58]; Milton Manor, Berkshire, in 1764–72 [Arthur Oswald, 'The Manor House, Milton, Berkshire-II', *Country Life*, CIV (24 December 1948), p. 1332]; the Excise Office, Old Broad Street, in 1769–76

- [*HKW*, V, p. 349]; the Queen's Lodge, Windsor Castle, in 1776–82 [*HKW*, V, p. 340]; No. 22 Arlington Street in 1775–8 [Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 120]; and Greenwich Hospital Chapel in 1788 [John Bold, *Greenwich* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 173, 176].
- 94 Charles Carne worked on Queen Caroline's Library at St James's Palace in 1737 [NA, WORK 5/59].
- 95 NA, WORK 4/4 [15 May 1729].
- 96 NA, WORK 4/4 [12 June 1729].
- 97 NA, WORK 5/58, Abstract of Accounts 1729–1734, vol. 4, September 1729.
- 98 Thomas Phillips (c.1689–1736), formerly apprenticed to Jeremiah Franklin of Oxford [Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 800], but 'of St Giles in the Fields' by 1720 [*ex inf.* Frank Kelsall], was a leading London carpenter and speculative builder, often in partnership with Benjamin Timbrell [Richard Hewlings, *The History of Huntingdon Town Hall* (Huntingdon, 1995), pp. 2, 3]. His earliest known London work was as the joiner at St George, Bloomsbury, for Hawksmoor, between 1720 and 1730 [H.M. Colvin, 'The Fifty New Churches', *Architectural Review*, March 1950, p. 196], but thereafter he was particularly favoured by Gibbs, for whom he executed the carpentry at St Martin-in-the-Fields between 1720–7, the Senate House, Cambridge, between 1721 and 1730, St Peter, Vere Street, between 1721 and 1724, the Fellows' Building, King's College, Cambridge, between 1724 and 1742, and No. 16 Arlington Street, between 1734 and 1736 [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 293, 294, 304, 310–1]. However, he was to work for the Office of Works on the Treasury Building in 1733 [*HKW*, V, p. 432], and on Queen Caroline's Library, St James's Palace, in 1736 [NA, WORK, 5/59], and for the Board of Ordnance at the Tower of London [Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 276]. He worked under Morris again at Wimbledon House in 1734 [Frances Harris, 'Wimbledon House', *Georgian Group Journal*, 1992, p. 88], and with both Morris and Gibbs in speculative building in Little Argyll Street in 1736 [*Survey of London*, XXXI (London, 1963), pp. 284–97]. His obituary appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736, p. 488.
- 99 *HKW*, V, pp. 472. Worrall subsequently worked under Morris at Wimbledon House in 1732–4 [Frances Harris, *loc. cit.*], under Kent at the Treasury in 1733 [*HKW*, V, p. 432], under Ripley at Greenwich Hospital Chapel in 1746–8 [Bold, *op. cit.*, p. 165], and under Paine at the Royal Mews c.1750 [Peter Leach, *The Life and Work of James Paine*, DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1975, p. 303]. He is also supposed to have worked at Drayton Hall, Northants. [Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 292], although no date is given for this.
- 100 John Jones worked under Thornhill, 1722 [Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537–1837*, I (London, 1970), pp. 226–7]; and at Raynham, 1727–32 [Rosenheim, *loc. cit.*]; Wolterton, c.1730 [Nares, *op. cit.*, p. 168]; Houghton, 1732 [Cornforth, *op. cit.*, p. 106]. These three commissions were for Walpole and his family. The next three were Frederick, Prince of Wales: The White House, Kew, 1731 [Vivian, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 137; Cornforth, *loc. cit.*]; Hedsor, Bucks., 1737–9; The Durdans, Epsom, 1742–3 [Croft-Murray, *loc. cit.*]. No. 25 Argyll Street (lessee and occupant), 1737 [*Survey of London*, XXXI (London, 1963), p. 288]; No 22 Arlington Street, 1740–54 [Thompson *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 113]; Wimpole, 1744 [London, British Library, Add MS 36,228].
- 101 See *infra*.
- 102 'The Duke of York's New House', *Country Life*, LIII (1923), p. 526.
- 103 NA, WORK 5/58, Abstract of Accounts 1729–1734, vol. 4, March 1730.
- 104 *Ibid.*, *passim*.
- 105 G.E.C[okayne], *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.
- 106 Galway, Ga 12873/3, 5–10, 12–17, 19.
- 107 Galway, Ga 12873/1, 20–22.
- 108 Galway, Ga 12873/4, 10–11. The tradesmen were Kemble Whatley (carpenter), William Wheeler (joiner), Joseph Pickford (mason), Thomas Abbott (painter), Andrew Carne (glazier), Thomas Clark (plasterer), William Hollis (bricklayer), Benjamin Holmes (smith), Richard Troubridge (plumber), Richard Hughes (slater), and George Murray (carver).
- 109 NA, WORK 6/15, f. 157 [15 March 1727].
- 110 Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 1149; *HKW*, V, p. 475.
- 111 NA, WORK 4/3, [14 February, 30 March 1727].
- 112 NA, WORK 5/58 and 5/59, *passim*.
- 113 For instance, at Combe Bank [John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV (1767), pl. 76].
- 114 For coved ceilings see Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris & Lydiard Tregoze', *Georgian Group*

- Journal*, XIV (2004), p. 43. For bed alcoves see Marie P. G. Draper, *Marble Hill House and its owners* (London, 1970), pl. 35; John Harris, *A Catalogue of British and Irish Drawings for Architecture, Sculpture and Landscape Gardening 1550–1900 in American Collections* (Upper Saddle River, 1971), p. 139; Steven Brindle, ‘Pembroke House, Whitehall’, *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII (1998), pp. 102–3, figs. 21 and 23; and Rosemary Baird, ‘Fox Hall, West Sussex’, *Country Life*, CXCVI (January 17, 2002), 57.
- 115 For *oculi* see Richard Hewlings, ‘Roger Morris and the Bank of England’, *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII (1998), p. 24. For ringed columns see John Harris, ‘An English neo-Palladian episode and its connections with Visentini in Venice’, *Architectural History*, XXVII (1984), pp. 237, pls. 1a and 1b.
- 116 For Wimbledon House see Marie P. G. Draper, ‘When Marlborough’s Duchess built’, *Country Life*, CXXXII (August 2, 1962), pp. 249–50, fig. 7, and John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, V, (London, 1771), pls. 20–2. For Mereworth see Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Early Georgian* (London, 1955), pp. 58–65.
- 117 John Cornforth, ‘Houghton Hall, Norfolk–I’, *Country Life*, CLXXXI (April 30, 1987), p. 126, and fig. 8.