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# RIVALRY BETWEEN YORK AND LINCOLN, OR THE ART OF GEORGIAN CHURCH PAVING

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'The marble *pavement* closes, he is enter'd  
Into his radiant roof'. (Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*)<sup>1</sup>

**D**uring the eighteenth century the foremost English ecclesiastical paving enterprises outside the capital concerned the cathedrals at York (between 1730 and 1733) and at Lincoln (1778–80).<sup>2</sup> These two great structures had long been rivals vying for both antiquarian and popular supremacy. In 1701 York (erected c.1230–c.1472) was 'recon'd the largest highest, & longest in England',<sup>3</sup> though two years later another, more dispassionate visitor thought it 'not quite so large as that of Lincoln [erected 1191 – 15th century] but... better lighted, larger and loftier; the windows...infinitely more beautiful and the interior very much better decorated'.<sup>4</sup> The well-travelled John Macky, who visited Padua, Genoa and Rome in 1704, regarded it as the 'chief Ornament' of York, 'much the finest in *England*, and not inferior to any I have seen in *Italy*',<sup>5</sup> Defoe 'the beautifullest church of the old building that is in Britain' and 'nothing indeed of the kind of structure in England go beyond it', apart from Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey, St George's Chapel at Windsor and King's College chapel, Cambridge, which, though 'very gay things...neither...can come up to...York'.<sup>6</sup> Whereas the celebrated Lincolnshire antiquary the Rev. William Stukeley in 1725, while admitting York was a 'noble building...it is exceeded in every thing by Lincoln minster...in the manner of approach on the west...the front for breadth and height...the stone roof... towers...cloisters, and in general the magnificence of the whole'.<sup>7</sup> Thomas

Gent, in *The Ancient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*, 1730, claimed with equal patriotism that 'its towering Spires...seem'd to vie with the Clouds...the External Part...is exquisite... The Battlements...the Loftiness of its Spires, and the Majesty of the Whole, may make us justly conclude... That for an ancient and reverend Fabrick, beautiful and uniform it may vie with any Church this Day in Europe'.<sup>8</sup> Later, in 1740, Stukeley praised its:

'astonishing beauty [which] produces an effect superior...to any building upon earth. I cannot persuade myself to except even S. Peter's at Rome... the general proportions...exceeds all other cathedrals... the chapter house; grand and beautiful beyond imagination. I must needs prefer it to the Pantheon itself; assuredly, in regard to the effect it produces, superior... Coming so lately from York minster I was more able to form a judgment in comparing that and Lincoln. The length and breadth exceeds York somewhat... The stone work of Lincoln...is grander, more various, more of ornament...the situation, the approach is to be preferred... The chapter house at Lincoln and that of York are equal in diameter... Lincoln is elegant and vaulted with stone; but that rests on a central pillar, whereby the good effect of it is quite hindered; but York is the noblest gothic pantheon in the world'.<sup>9</sup>

## YORK MINSTER

More to the point was an anonymous tourist in 1741 who found York 'prodigiously grand in all its parts but falls far short of the neatness of Lincoln'.<sup>10</sup> This then was the building's conspicuous failure. As early

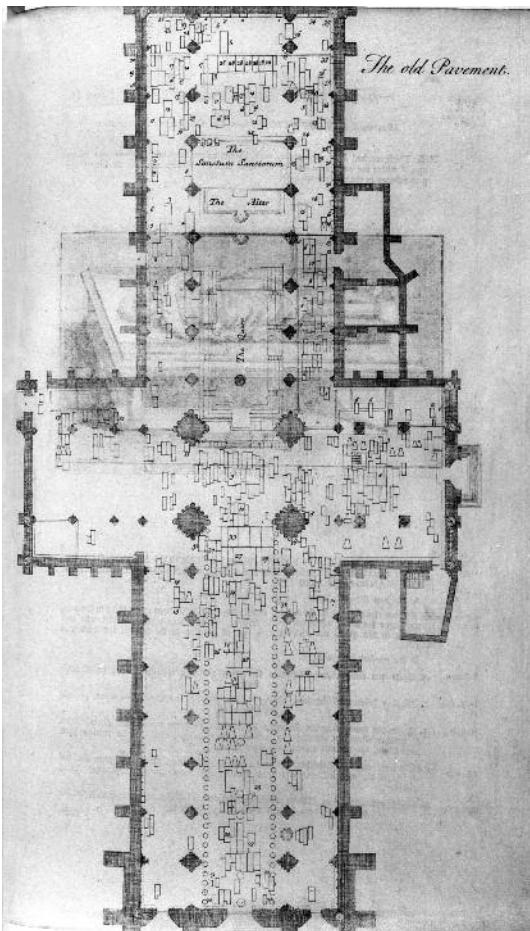


Fig. 1. York Minster, 'The old Pavement' in F. Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*, London, 1736, p. 49.

as 1697 Celia Fiennes complained that 'the people of fashion use [the aisles] to walke in and on that account its much [a pity] they keep it not cleaner'<sup>11</sup>, while Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, visiting in 1725, observed that in 'the main aisle...betwixt the western gate and the choir, the gentlemen and ladies walk after evening service in the summer time, for want of a convenience of a park or garden: and it seems some people take as much delight in sitting here'.<sup>12</sup> A plan of the 'old Pavement' (Fig. 1) shows the entire floor, except the choir, high altar and

sanctum sanctorum, clogged irregularly with what a contemporary described as 'an innumerable quantity of gravestones, many of which formerly shone like embroidery; being enriched with the images, &c. in brass, of bishops, and other ecclesiasticks...long torn off...ragged and shattered', the fate of 'sublunary things'.<sup>13</sup> In the light of the otherwise excellent state of the fabric, having escaped the destructive hand of both Henry VIII's Reformation and the Civil War, the Dean and Chapter now set out to remedy this distasteful situation by pursuing, according to Gent in 1730, 'a Design to grace the greater Part with a handsome Pavement'.<sup>14</sup>

However, our story begins three years earlier at Beverley Minster, in eastern Yorkshire, when John Moyser, M.P. for the town, was allocated £134.18.7½ to purchase 'Marble for paving the...Quire'.<sup>15</sup> By 1728 the marble blocks arrived by ship from Leghorn in Italy and were sawn into '27 Cross Cutts diamonds...14...Long Cutts [and] 6 ditto Black' by George Burfitt, his wife and assistants.<sup>16</sup> A tourist in 1732 reported the area was 'pav'd wth Squares of white Stone & black Marble',<sup>17</sup> and in the following year Gent further described 'Pavement in the Body...margin'd with black Marble: That in the Choir, still more exquisitely fine, of four different Colours, in Form of an Hexagon or Cube' (Fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> Observers leaving written accounts were particularly struck by the arrangement of 'Marble of Different Colours so as to form figures in perspective' and 'lozenge-wise, appearing to the eye'.<sup>19</sup>

This treatment had long been fashionable. *The City and Country Purchaser, And Builder's Dictionary: or, The Compleat Builders Guide*, by Richard Neve, first published in 1703, then again in 1726, states that:

'Paving with Marble is of all other the most beautiful [including] two Colours laid square, or Chequer-ways...others are laid Arrace-wise...Angle to Angle and this last is the neatest way; but there may be diverse Forms contriv'd...as you may see in several Chancels, in the Choir of St Paul's...and diverse other Places. This kind of Pavement is valu'd from 2 to 3s. the Foot square, and upwards, according as 'tis well laid and polish'd'.<sup>20</sup>

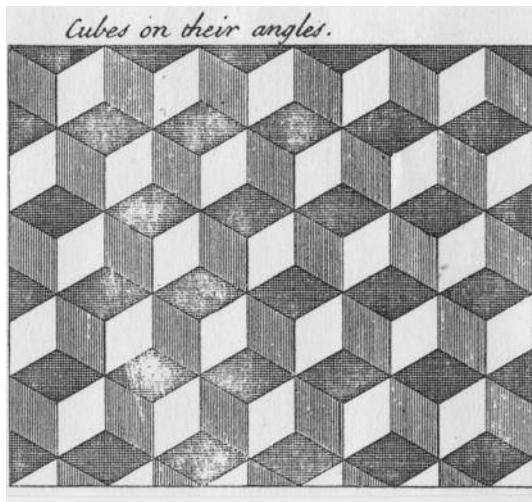
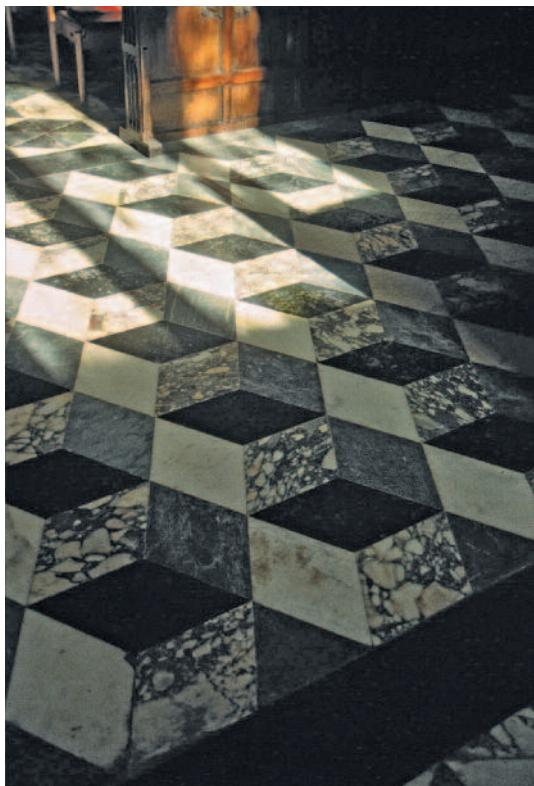


Fig. 2 (left). Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, the choir pavement, marble, 1728–32. Author.

Fig. 3 (above). 'Decorations for Cabinet-works, Floors &c. Cubes on their angles' in Batty Langley, *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, London, 1740, Pl. XCVI, detail.

The perspective 'Cubes on their angles' pattern was published in Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, 1740 (Fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> On 18 March 1735 Nicholas Hawksmoor, the key figure in the Beverley improvements at this time (who was an experienced ecclesiastical architect resulting from his long involvement as one of the co-surveyors of the London Fifty New Churches programme), reported to his employer, the Dean of Westminster, that Beverley Minster was 'fully repaired and, the floor all new paved, with marble and other hard stone, in figures'.<sup>22</sup> He had previously, in 1726, been involved in an unsuccessful attempt to erect a magnificent new high altar of flamboyant Baroque form in York Minster on the orders of Dean Henry Finch, which was abandoned on the latter's death in 1728.<sup>23</sup>

One of the first endeavours of his successor, Richard Osbaldeston, was to initiate 'a Design to grace the greater Part with a handsome Pavement'.<sup>24</sup> Following this inaugural announcement in 1730, the authorities launched a building subscription fund, on 11 May 1731, which attracted 258 well-wishers and by 19 April 1736 raised a total of £1,766.8.8. Among the contributors were Lancelot Blackburn, Archbishop of York (£100), the Dean (£50), the Mayor of York (£5.5.0), the Earl of Carlisle of Castle Howard (£25), John Moyser of Beverley (£10.10.0) and a group of local landed gentry committed to the newly fashionable Palladian style: John Aislaby of Studley Royal, Sir Charles Hotham of Beverley, Sir William Robinson of Newby Park, Sir Rowland Winn of Nostell Priory, Col. James Gee (for whom the architect Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington designed but never

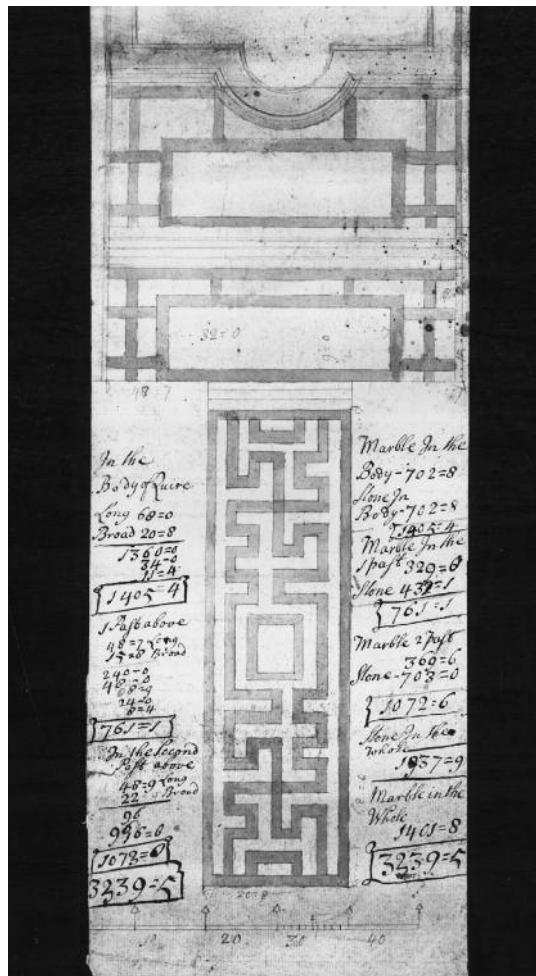


Fig. 4. Francis Bickerton, York Minster, plan of the 'New Pavement' of 'Marble In the Body' and 'Quire', pencil, pen and ink and wash, 1731, after a design by Lord Burlington and William Kent. *York Minster Archives, YM/C 249/1.*

built a house at Bishop Burton) and the Earl himself, who owned the Londesborough estate in the East Riding of Yorkshire and had served as Lord Lieutenant of the East and West Ridings between 1715 and 1733, who gave £50 on 31 October 1734.<sup>25</sup> On 21 June 1731 Francis Bickerton, a York surveyor, was paid £2.2.0 for 'copying of Two Plans of the Minster Pavement'.<sup>26</sup> One (Fig. 4) is a rough sketch

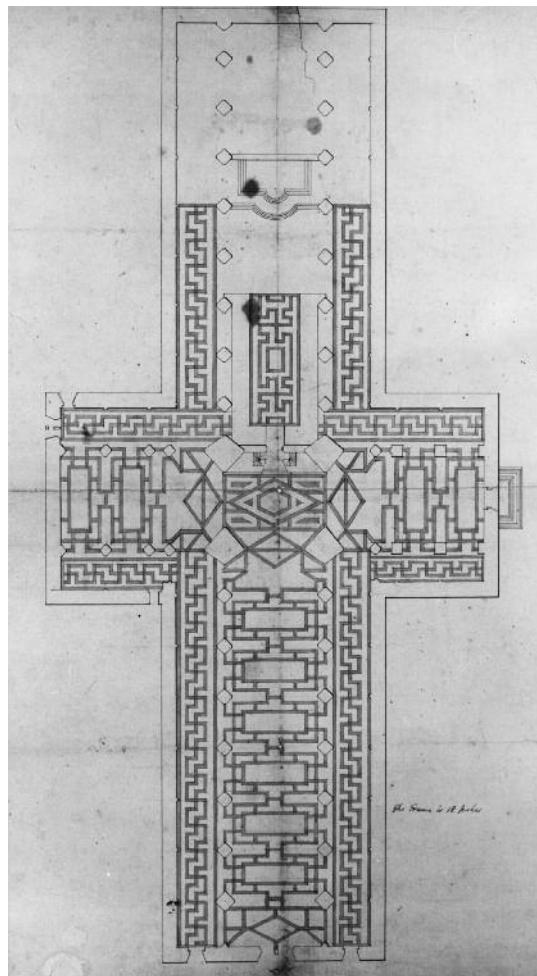


Fig. 5. Francis Bickerton, York Minster, plan of the 'New Pavement', pen and ink and wash, 1731, after a design by Lord Burlington and William Kent. *York Minster Archives, B3/2/1.*

of the middle aisle eastward of the central crossing, with an irregular geometrical pattern, and the raised, stepped platform leading to the high altar, heavily annotated with measurements. The other covers the entire floor surface including the above, the choir aisles, crossing, transepts and central and side aisles of the body to the west entrance (Fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> The celebrated York historian, Francis Drake, who

subscribed £1.1.0 to the paving fund on 17 November 1734,<sup>28</sup> in his *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*, 1736, dedicated to Lord Burlington, recounted that ‘Whilst I am writing this, is now a carrying on a new pavement...which noble design was begun...Set on foot and brought to perfection by the care and management of the present governour [Archbishop William Blackburn]. The plan was drawn by that eminent painter and architect Mr Kent, under the direction of the lord *Burlington*.’ It was this now untraced drawing that Bickerton had copied (Fig. 5). Both were subscribers to the above book, with William Kent (1685–1748), the son of a joiner at Bridlington on the east Yorkshire coast, identified as ‘architect, master carpenter to his majesty’ (George II).<sup>29</sup> Drake eulogized the Architect-Earl on account of the city ‘by your means, is now possessed of a structure, in a truer and nobler taste of architecture, than in all probability, the *Roman EBORACUM* could ever boast of’, referring to the Assembly Rooms (1731–32), the most radically *avant garde* Neoclassical building of its time in Europe. He goes on ‘Your Lordship’s great knowledge in this Art, soars up to the Augustan age and style, that *Pretorian* palace, once in old EBORACUM...must... have given place to your *Egyptian* hall in our present *York*’, that is, the above mentioned building.<sup>30</sup> Significantly, the cathedral stands on the site of the ancient palace.<sup>31</sup> This deliberate attempt to associate a contemporary essay in Palladian classicism with a local building of Antique origin, rather than the more usual practice of resorting to some geographically remoter Italian model, is important in the light of the probably Burlington – Kent source of inspiration, as we shall shortly see.

The finished ensemble, recorded variously by Drake (Figs. 6–7), was praised by Hawksmoor because, as at Beverley (see above), the paving was now ‘not suffered to be dug up for any buryalls whatsoever’,<sup>32</sup> a condition which survived until its destruction by fire in 1829, though accurately re-created in 1993.<sup>33</sup>

The white marble and dark blue limestone pattern of consistently repeated elements of short straight divisions either of interlocking rectangles or overlapping ‘frets’<sup>34</sup> are interrupted in the strategic areas immediately before the west door and approaching as well as directly under the central crossing, where the motifs change into diagonals and diamonds, which the Hon. John Byng (later Lord Torrington), who abhorred classicism, ridiculed because he believed the patterns ‘might be invented by a school boy for his kite’.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, care was taken throughout to relate each unit to the medieval bay system, with diamonds signifying access and elongated transverse rectangles defining each nave subdivision, with their right-angled tails hinged to the lateral colonnettes of the corresponding piers. This prompted Drake to describe the pavement as ‘a kind of *mosaick* work, thought properst for a *Gothick* building’.<sup>36</sup> It bears a striking similarity to one of a group of fourth-century AD mosaics which had recently been uncovered at Aldborough (the Roman town of Isurium Brigantium), located between York and Ripon, a property owned by the diocese, four of which are illustrated in *Eboracum* (Fig. 8).<sup>37</sup> The Earl’s interest in Romano-British mosaics is attested in Drake’s 7 June 1749 letter to William Stukeley in which he refers to having sent him in the previous year ‘a duzzon of prints from a plate of a Roman bagnio and pavement found lately at Hovingham [in north Yorkshire], near us, and published at the expence of Lord *Burlington*’.<sup>38</sup>

What makes the York pavement additionally of special importance in the history of this technology is the carefully detailed progress of its making recorded in the Chapter Acts, Fabric Day Book, Reports, Contracts, Accounts and Vouchers preserved in the Minster Archives. On 11 July 1731, at the outset of operations, 5s was paid for ‘Horse-Hire’ to travel to Parlington Park at Aberford, to the south-west of the city, for ‘Waiting upon Sir Edward Gascoigne to ask His Leave to Gett Stone in Hudlestone Quarry which he Generously Granted’.<sup>39</sup> Located a short



Fig. 6. ‘The inside of the Cathedral Church of St Peter’s, York, from the west end’  
in F. Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736, p. 524.

distance, near Sherburn-in-Elmete, the celebrated stone was also originally used at York and in parts of King’s College chapel, Cambridge.<sup>40</sup> The recusant Gascoigne’s involvement has a piquancy in the light of the monument to his parents he set up in nearby Barwick-in-Elmete parish church in 1729 (destroyed 1858), which had been commissioned from the Florentine architect, Alessandro Galilei in 1725. Correspondence between the two men reveal that the latter reported that the tomb ‘is composed of severall sorts of very noble and rich marbles’, with the client requesting that ‘I w’d still have [the arms] in the stones of the proper colours, for all paint will soon decay in a Church’ and Galilei’s assurance that:

‘[the]workmanship...is done to the best perfection. I have keep the monument sett up in the workmans shop...all the nobility of Florence and other people have seen it and has been liked and approved by every body...I believe it will be the first that ever was seen in England of this sort’; he enclosed ‘a Pattern of a Floor [untraced] to beg you w’d tell me what it w’d come to...of 3 different butt common coloured Marbles; for as the Chappel, the Monument is to standin, is small, if the charge of such a Floor were not very great I shoud possibly do it so, if you approve’.<sup>41</sup>

In addition, William Wilberforce of Hull (the wealthy merchant father of the famous abolitionist of the same name) supplied ‘Black Marble for the use of the Cathedral’ (undesignated but presumably connected with paving).<sup>42</sup>

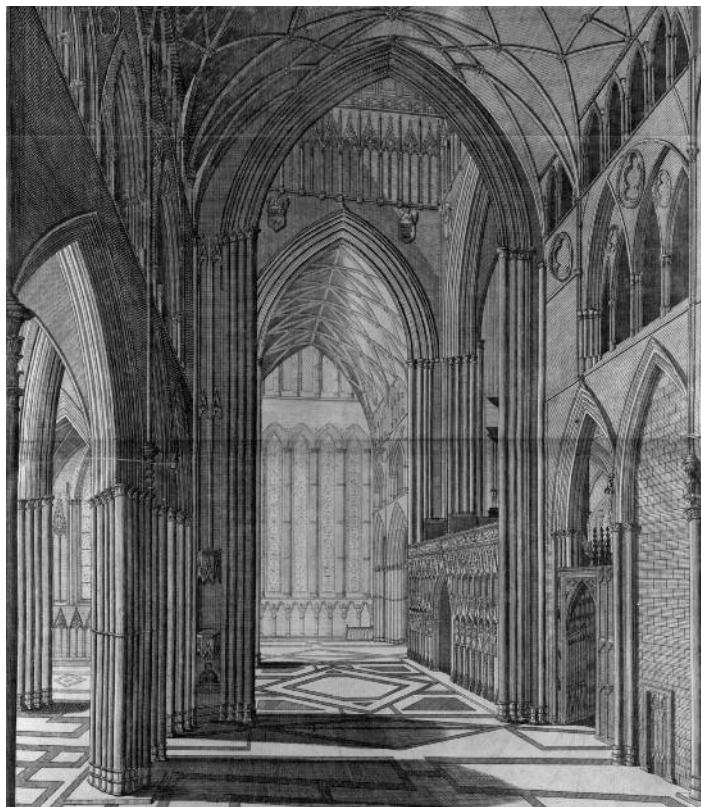


Fig. 7. 'An internal perspective view of the Cathedral at York from the South cross', in F. Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736, p. 534.

Returning to York on 15 July 1731, Thomas Jubb, the cathedral treasurer, spent 5s for 'printing Two Advertisements for Masons to come and View the plan of the floor [probably that based on Fig. 5, which was paid for on the same date] and make their proposalls for finishing the Work':<sup>43</sup>

'Advertisemt...A New pavemt. will Shortly be Laid in the Cathedrall Church of York by the Contributions of Generous Benefactors, According to a plan Lodged with Mr Jubb at his house in the Minster Yard. These are therefore to give Notice to ask Masons and others, Skill'd in Marble and Stone Work, - that they may view the said plan, and, if they think proper offer proposalls to finish the said Work in the best manner. And if these be approved by Contracts will be made for Executing the same'.<sup>44</sup>

There is no record of the immediate responses, though on 17 November the masons William Ellis of Malton, Robert Shout of Helmsley, John Rushworth of Beverley and John Watson of Hothroyd signed a contract.<sup>45</sup> (see Appendix). On 24 February 1733 Jubb reported to Osbaldeston (then in London):

'The Workmen have Laid the South and Midle Isles which have been Measured Over by Mr Etty and Mr Mortimer, who Compute the Expence...to... £763: 15s: 11½d. I have lately paid the Masons...One hundred pounds, so that they have already Received Six hundred and Seventy pounds...They have taken up the Old paving in the North Isle adjoyning to the finisht Work, and purpose to pave the...North Isle, unless you Give Contrary Orders'.<sup>46</sup>

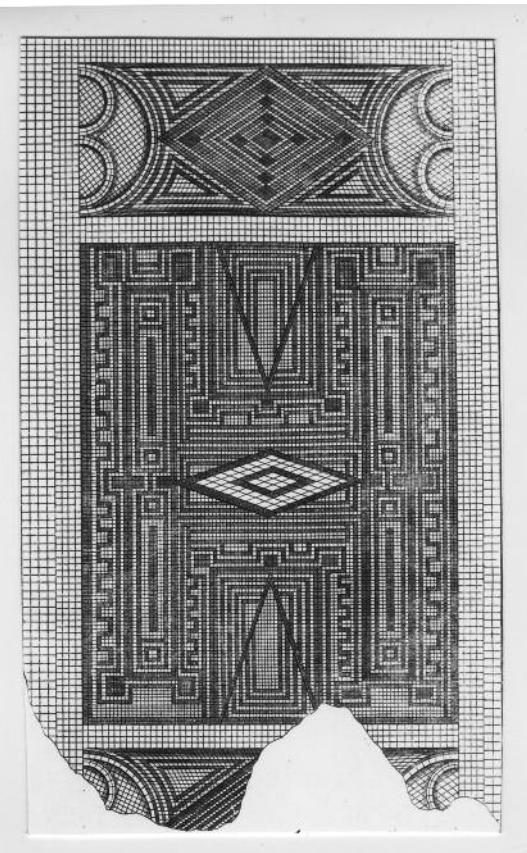


Fig. 8. 'ROMAN Pavement at Aldburgh' (Aldborough, Yorkshire), in F. Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736, pl. 24, no. 3.

William Etty (c.1675–1734) was one of the key figures linking activities at York and Beverley, where he had surveyed and valued the carpentry work in 1724; he also served as clerk of the works at Colen Campbell's Palladian villa at Newby Park (1720–21) and as the independent architect of St Andrew, Penrith, Cumberland (1719–23) and Holy Trinity, Leeds (1723–27), both pioneer efforts in ecclesiastical Palladianism in the north of England.<sup>47</sup> William Fleming, bricklayer, received £13 on 2 January 1740 'for Brick Work under the new Pavem. in the Quire', which was 'laid hollow, to prevent the damp from affecting it'.<sup>48</sup>

The 1734 accounts list 264 feet of 'Marble At the West End of the Great Isle', 1,720 feet 'In Six Compleat Figures of the said Isle', 295 feet 'In the Work so far as the Nave Figure', 2,181 feet 'In the Main Side Isles', 27.1 feet 'In the Two End Margins', 306 feet 'In the Font Isle', 175 feet 'In the Spiritual Court Isle', 757.1 feet 'From the South Door to the nave Figure', 436.2 feet 'In the Nave Figure', 759.4 feet 'From thence to the North End', 135.7 feet 'Near the Chapter-house Door and Vestrys', with a total 10,589.3 square feet of marble costing £529.9.3, 23,708.6 feet of stone at £839.12.6, 34,297.9 feet of brick at £250.1.8¾, bringing the total bill to £1,619.14.2, according to measurements and valuations 'Survey'd and adjusted' by Ellis, Shout and Samuel Ascough.<sup>49</sup> On 20 November the masons received £124.4.11 (the balance of the account) for work including:

'Takeing up the Grave Stones at the East End... Working the Stepps at the East Door and Choir and the Bases under the Skreen...900 foot of Old Stone belonging to the Old ffloor...at the Least, apply'd by the... Workmen and used in the New pavement', [and they agreed that] 'the Work already Laid Under the Midle Steeple...shall be taken up and Laid again with Marble & Stone according to The ffigure... Drawn in A New plan...annext'.<sup>50</sup>

In addition, William Wood received £1.11.0 for work including transporting marble and stone from medieval St Martin-Le-Grand, Coney Street to the Minster, and '1 Grave Stone...1 Load of Stone' and '1 Load of flaggs' in the opposite direction.<sup>51</sup>

In 1735 St Martin's parishioners petitioned the Dean and Chapter that they were 'about to build a new...porch', for which they had submitted 'a Sketch or plan' (untraced, the church having been severely damaged in the Second World War), and requested to be given 'some of the Old Stone belonging to the floor...taking into Consideration that [they] did freely and willingly give a considerable Quantity of blue Marble Stone out of their... Church...towards...making the new pavement in the...Cathedral'.<sup>52</sup> An interesting symbiotic

relationship between neighbouring medieval buildings intended to achieve continuity of materials and appearance.

By February of that year Ellis, Shout and Watson had received £99.16.0 'for Laying the New floor in the Alley on the South Side of the Choir' and in the north aisle.<sup>53</sup> Having 'laid a beautifull and handsome floor throughout the whole Exclusive of the choir' the Dean and Chapter ordered on 21 April that 'the part of the Choir not new paved shall be laid with a new floor according to...the plan that has hitherto been excepted in other parts' and 'takeing into Consideration the best Method to preserve the new floor...in Beauty and Strength Unanimously Decreed that for the time to come no Corps be buried nor Graves opened under the...new pavement' except 'the space behind the Communion Table not intended to be new paved' (the Lady Chapel, Fig. 5).<sup>54</sup> The total cost of the operation came to £2,500 'upwards'.<sup>55</sup> Altogether this represented the most expensive and expansive improvement made in the cathedral during the early eighteenth century.

Two other less important paving operations were undertaken. On 25 February 1736 the mason William Bateson contracted:

'to Work part of the Stone taken out of the Old ffloor...and therewith make and Lay the...[external] Stairs at the South Door...in A handsome Workmanlike Manner on or before May=Day next and at my Own Expence to find Lime Sand and what ever else is necessary...And... when... finished according to the within Written plan I am to be paid ffive pounds A foot for the Stepps, which are to be wrought with A nosing or...Ogee and four pound A foot for the plain Work or fflaggin the Area upon the Topp of the...Stairs'.<sup>56</sup>

Bateson also directed 'A Plan of the Chapter-House... and of the passage Leading thereto - which wants - New flooring in a pritty Manner', addressed to 'John Aislabilie Esqr' of Studley Royal (died 1736), who, as already noted, was one of the major pavement subscribers.<sup>57</sup>

However, the renewal did not run entirely

smoothly. According to the masons' team, among 'The Perticulars of Mason work...not Accounted for', dating to 25 July 1735, was 'takeing out all the Short lenthls of marble And makeing fit for the Blackstone in the South Isle of the Choir'; moreover, 'by the misfortune of agreeing to take up the Old floor and Carrying out, Leavelling the floore & Raising the graves and being at the Expence of carrying part of the Earth out of the town which we did not expect And by the Brick work included', costing £40, 'Likewise by the Memorand. of 40 pounds Allowd for Saws we have Suffer'd the Loss of 58 pounds which...we hope you will not Stick to, but take it into your Good Consideration and not let us be losers - - When this is allow'd by the Misfortune of the quarry and Other misfortune we shall be losers' by £73.6.6½, adding that 'one part in the loss is by Altering the designe after the Stones were got'.<sup>58</sup> Despite these hiccups the classical unity of the Burlington – Kent scheme<sup>59</sup> was rare in medieval cathedral improvement before the Victorian period, and unsurprisingly Drake concluded his observation on the fabric with a hope that it 'may stand firm and transmit to late posterity the vertues of its founders; and continue, what it has long been, not only a singular ornament to the city and these northern parts, but to the whole kingdom'.<sup>60</sup>

#### LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

The history of Lincoln cathedral's repaving is of an altogether different and less graphically recorded, though no less poignant, kind (Fig. 9). The great fabric perched on a steep plateau above the River Witham, according to Edward Harley, on a journey north in 1725 which also took in York (see above), was a 'most magnificent pile, but...now in a very poor condition and has all the tokens of entire ruin approaching'<sup>61</sup>, further observing that 'the first thing the Chapter designed to do [towards] securing it against an utter desolation...was to pave it, which I

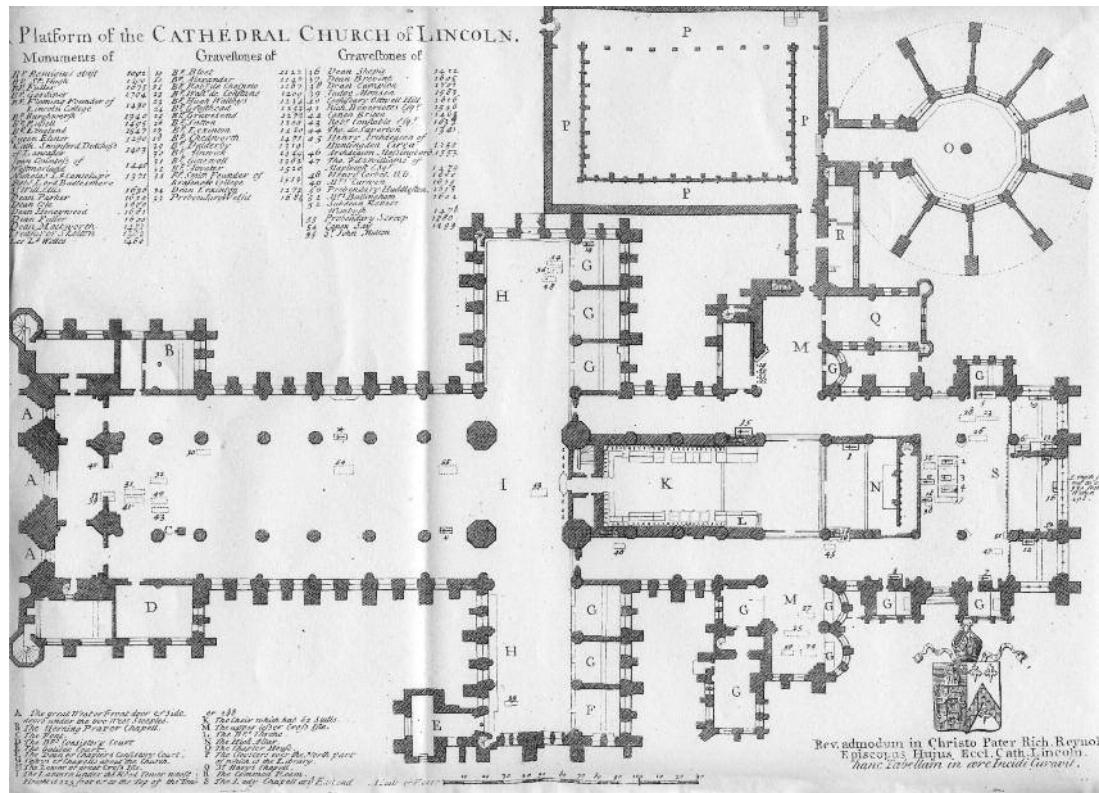


Fig. 9. 'A Platform of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln' in B. Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough*, London, 1730.

thought but an odd conceit to prevent the tumbling down of the tottering roof and pillars.', while another commentator lamented on its 'wrinkled majesty'.<sup>62</sup>

At the same time Beverley and York underwent their first major post-medieval overhauls in the 1720s under Nicholas Hawksmoor, his metropolitan rival James Gibbs surveyed Lincoln and alerted the authorities to the dangerous condition of the western spires, which he proposed removing (thus inciting a town riot), as well as to the ‘very bad...paving...all over the Church’.<sup>63</sup> However, nothing was done to remedy the problem either then or in 1755, in response to James Essex’s estimated cost of new-paving at £2,850,<sup>64</sup> and it was not until 1778 that the Dean and Chapter launched an improvement

programme. The cathedral documents offer a myriad of insights into both the technology and the inner workings of the paviour trade.

On 24 July John Platt II (1728–1810) – an architect based at Rotherham in south Yorkshire, who owned black and grey marble quarries in Derbyshire – travelled to Lincoln to discuss ‘Estimates for paving [the] Minster’.<sup>65</sup> Essex (1722–84), who began working there in 1755 and quickly emerged as the leading national advocate of ecclesiastical gothic authenticity, submitted an ‘Account of Paving’ in September 1778, recommending removing the:

'Old floor...level...& ram the ground, with...dry Rubbish [and] sand fit for the reception of a new floor', 'Pave the Nave Ailes & Transept with Stone in

Streight Courses...from West to East and Random the other way the middle course, not...less than 3 ft: broad the courses on Each side...diminish gradually to 1 ft: 8 In...Stones to be neatly faced & marble Jointed, Stone, Mortar and work included by the Y[ar]d. Exclusive of Leveling the Ground...pave the Choir with Hopton Stone in Squares proportion'd to the breadth not being less than 2 ft. Square...laid diagonaly, with black marble dotts 5 In. Square the Stone to be 1 In. $\frac{1}{2}$  thick, neatly faced and marble Jointed. Stone Mortar and work included by the Yd. the ground being leveled...square and lay the Old grave stones and other old Stones in the Aisles and East end behind the Choir, the ground being prepared as before by the Yd. Supl[ement]. mortar and work only included ...The...work to be done with the best stone of it's kind sound and free from vents or cracks and executed in a Workmanlike manner the Carriage of all materials included.<sup>66</sup>

During September 1778 a number of architects, masons and quarry owners offered advice on a wide variety of potential materials and their geological properties, an episode to my knowledge without parallel in this technological category in Britain during the eighteenth century. Gilbert Feston of Castor, Northamptonshire recommended:

'Leeds paving which is the best in the Kingdom for standing not being liable to rise in flakes or Shill which the Ealand Edge always does.<sup>67</sup> For the outward part of the Church For the Choir I should recommend the Roach [Roche] Abbey which will always retain remarkable whiteness & forms a great Qntrast with black dotts. I propose to Pave the Church with Leeds paving of Random lengths from 2 feet to 5 feet lengths & 2 feet wide at 4s: 9d: p yard viz: 9 Square feet with the same Stone & diamonds of 2 feet Square at 5s: 8d: p Yard...Roach Abby Stone with diamonds 2 feet Square 8s: 6d: p foot Ditto with black Marble Dotts at 10s: 6d: p yard The Sheffield Blue Random Lengths at 15d. p yard - with 2 feet Diamonds at 17d. p foot with white Marble Dotts at 20d. p. foot Roach Abbey is white as Chalk and something of that Quality The... Sheffield is a hard good Stone of a deep blue Colour'.<sup>68</sup>

John Hayward (1708–78), 'Master Mason' of Lincoln, submitted 'Specimens of all the Sorts of Stone',

noting that 'Mansfield is a good Stone, but bad Colour...Hopton...a fine Colour and the best Stone in Quality that has been produced'. Later he proposed 'Best Lincoln Stone' at 5s 6d per yard, the 'Choir with Hopton stone & Black Marble Dotts' at 13s, employing '16 Men [to] Compleat the floor from the west End up to the Choir Doors Including the 3 Isles and Cross Transipt in 12 Months, All the other parts...Except the Choir will take the same No. of Men 6 Months and the Choir...about the same time', with a total cost using 1,694 yards of Hopton stone at £1,016.8.0, 126 loads of sand £17.16.6, 2,584 yards of Lincoln stone £710.12.0 and so on.<sup>69</sup>

James Wallis (*c.*1748–1824), a builder and monumental mason of Newark, Nottinghamshire, responding on 10 September to:

'advertisements appearing sometime since in the Cambridge Papers Inclosed a proposal...accompanied by a Specimen of Woodhouse...another of Black Stone, the former in my humble opinion, is the best and Cheapest...that can be got to Lincoln, at least for the purpose of Paving, & notwithstanding the seeming appearance of the Laminea therein, I will be bound to produce a sort of it that will indure ages the same, it is a hard Compact Stone & very good Colour, Consequently a pavement may be selected out of it as good & durable as any whatsoever, the specimen of Black, I also presume will answer the purpose of Doting, in every respect, as well as Marble, being equally hard & the Colour full as good if not better, I wou'd by no means recommend a Stone for such a weighty business but from a thorough Conviction of its superiority over any that can be got at Lincoln, except by Incurring (perhaps) a double expence, but if the above Stone should not be approv'd of, & any other sort prefer'd, should be very happy to be Indulg'd with an opportunity of giving in a proposal for the same, & if I shou'd chance to be honour'd with the work, every satisfaction required will be given for the performance thereof, in such a manner, that shall do Honour to the Gentlemen concern'd therein, & Confer a lasting Credit on myself'.

He estimated 'Random Courses in Woodhouse Stone laid a 4s / 6d p. yard in Squares a 5/3 Do. in Octagons & other Geometrical figures with Black

Dots as p Specimens a 7/6 Do...in Octagons &c &c and Black Marble Dots a 8/6. Do. NB. The above Prices are exclusive of Labour attending taking up the old Floor ready for the reception of the Pavement, and being furnish'd with Sand, laid down in the Minster Yard, at the most Convenient places'.<sup>70</sup> On 16 September Wallis 'sent another proposal ... accompanied by a Specimen of Newton Stone, in my opinion a very handsom sort & better Colour than the Woodhouse Stone, but not quite so hard, though in every respect very fit for the purpose of Paving'.<sup>71</sup>

On 18–19 September Platt again travelled to Lincoln 'abt...paving the Minster', and on the latter date, as 'Builder and Proprietor of the Marble Quarries & Machines in Derbyre', submitted estimates for 'Black marble p Foot superl.' at 1s 10d, 'Derbyre. Grey marble p foot do' 1s 8d, 'Do. Bird Eye resembling the Sussex marble p. foot' 1s 6d. These were accompanied by 'A Schedule of the Proposals delivered in for new paving' with a rider that though including 'No specimens of the marble; But has given an ingenious Design for a pavement of Black and white; It would have a Striking Effect; but the Execution of it would be very expensive'.<sup>72</sup>

A second Yorkshire contingent, the Catholic architect Thomas Atkinson (1729<sup>3</sup>–98), who opened a stone yard in St Andrewgate, York in 1765 and during the 1770s was preoccupied with building work in Sheffield, recommended paving from the Island of Portland in Dorset, costing 1s 4d,<sup>73</sup> 'Yorkshire Cromwell Bottom...the best Grit Stone in the Country', at 8d, and 'Sherburne Stone the same as the Cathedral of York' 1s 4d.<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, instead of submitting a specimen, like his rivals, he specified that 'the Quality of this Stone may be known from Mr Devall Little Portland Street, Oxford Market' in London, presumably John Devall Sr, Master of the Masons' Company, also from 'Mr Tyler, Vine Street Piccadilly'<sup>75</sup>, the otherwise unknown 'Mr Pinder, Ludgate Street', London, and most aptly 'Mr Gayfere, Abington Street Westminster', that is,

the enormously capable Thomas Gayfere Sr (c.1721–1812), Master Mason to Westminster Abbey and Master of the London Masons' Company, as well as 'from any principal Mason in London'.<sup>76</sup>

William Lee of Tottenham Court Road, London, otherwise unrecorded and clearly inexperienced, sent a 'sample of...Yorkshire...Crumwellbottom stone...allowed in general to be the best pavement in the Kingdom', adding:

'As I am not a Jud[g]e of the Expence of Drawing the Stone from the Navigation to the Minster neither do I know the Expence of Providing gravel to lay the pavement in neither do I know the Expence of making the Ground good on which the Pavement is to be laid, otherwise I will Ingage to pave any Part of Lincoln Minster with the...Stone well scoured, squared, laid and bedded with good Morter at seven pence half penny p Square foot every Stone two feet Wide but Random lengths...also lay the above in 2 feet Squares with Black Marble dotts, you providing the Marble Dotts & Including them in my Measure at One Shilling p. Square foot – Will procure you the Marble Dotts, from Mr Platts Quarries in Derbyshire you paying the Neat Price'.<sup>77</sup>

Covering an area greater than York,<sup>78</sup> Essex abrogated the use of pattern except for the introduction of squares 'laid diagonaly with black marble dotts', a conventional Georgian solution,<sup>79</sup> and he relied almost exclusively on the colour and texture of native stone laid in random courses, which he undoubtedly regarded as a wholly authentic medieval treatment, though, as we shall see, there may have been a further good reason. Between the effusive, over-obliging Wallis and the vacillating, suspiciously self-deprecating Lee, both of whom not unexpectedly subsequently vanished entirely from the competition, it is unsurprising that the Dean and Chapter were bewildered by the choices put before them and turned for support to Essex.

On 22 November he obligingly answered their 'Queries'. Unacquainted with Crumwellbottom, Elland and Lincoln stones, he reaffirmed his choice of Hopton stone with marble dots for the choir,

'being whitest', a colour traditionally associated with Christian purity:<sup>80</sup>

'I do not think the Chapter will save any thing by contracting for the materials at the pitts as they will loose more by waste than they will save in the price ... The whole floor within the rails... rather then stone... if covered with...carpeting is much warmer and handsome. I think the two steps in the middle of the Choir should be removed to the end of the seats... The three steps beyond the transept cannot be in a better place, but the Altar rail will do better if brought down to the next two steps. But as the steps at the Altar were so rais'd that the Readers voice might be better heard, it may be proper to consider whether the Rails may not be removed without taking away the steps, for the [communion] table and steps may remain if more convenient tho the Rails may be removed to the other place, and will have a better effect than otherwise'.<sup>81</sup>

We next hear from Essex on this matter a year later, on 21 November 1779, having delayed to contact the Dean and Chapter because of the 'great difference' between the price of Hopton stone at Lincoln and Cambridge, where he maintained his office.<sup>82</sup> A month later, Hayward's price having been reduced to a 'Not unreasonable' sum, Essex believed that 'he can do the floor very well, that it is his interest to offer the lowest prices he can afford to do it for; and it is more his interest to do it well...if he does it in a bad manner he will have more to loose than a stranger, for he must not only forfeit his reputation, but his Business also'. Moreover:

'Advertisments are seldom of Any Advantage, as workmen of Credit seldom attend them: the lowest prices generally come from people the most distant, who do the work according to their prices, & getting their money as fast as they can; they are soon gone beyond the hearing of any complaints. The new paving under the Lantern at Ely [Cathedral] and the old relay'd in the Ailes, was advertised, but in the end it was badly done and cost at least £40 more than their own Mason would have done it for, the Marble pavement in that Choir was done by Masons from London at a small matter less price than could be offered by the Mason at Cambridge who laid Clare Hall Chapl: in a masterly manner: But when it was

finished, the marble was so bad and ill layd', that they were obliged to take out a great many squares before the Choir was used, and now the new floor is worse than the old one that was taken up'.<sup>83</sup>

Essex had been in charge of both Ely's remodelling between 1757 and 1762, and of Clare's new build between 1763 and 1765, where the masons Benjamin Jeff and Thomas Bentley were paid £1,976.13.1½, though in neither commission is there evidence of contemporary expressions of dissatisfaction.<sup>84</sup>

On 18 January 1780, about the time Essex was occupied with redesigning the high altar and screens at Lincoln, based on the thirteenth-century tomb of Bishop de Luda at Ely, he wrote the Dean and Chapter:

'I have drawn up the plan of the Nave...the manner in which the Courses Run from E[as]t to W[es]t, and from N[or]th to South...As they will find these courses are not parallel to the walls of the nave, they may be changing the breadth of them between the pillars, and avoiding a joint too near them prevent that irregularity being observed...but if care be taken to have the courses on both sides of it equal breadth, until they have passed the opening of the Arch...the unequal number of courses beyond, will not be observed...I think the Font might be removed into the Chapel on the North side...by thus observing the Courses all defects will be hid'.<sup>85</sup>

This ancient irregularity of the nave in which the middle coarse was not centralized may have been an additional, practical reason Essex did not consider pursuing a York-like geometrical pattern. Furthermore, he wrote on 9 August 1783:

'I have made a plan & section of the upper part of the pavement of the Choir, and a Design for the screens to be placed under the great Arch of the upper transept... It is a desireable thing to have the [medieval] floor in the Choir lowerd a step or two, if it can be done conveniently...If any steps remain at the entrance... when the floor is lowerd, they should not be made semicircular as at present, but square without mouldings on the front, in like-manner all the steps in the choir should be made, moulded steps being to modern for that place. Before the pavement in the



Fig. 10. S. H. Grimm, View of the High Altar, Lincoln Cathedral, pen and ink and wash, 1786.  
*The British Library Board, Kaye Coll., V, Add. MS. 15541, f. 72.*

Ailes is relaid it would add much to the beauty of that part of the Church, if the Choiristers Vestry and the inclosed place on the side answering to it were laid open, and if the table monuments were removed from the back of the Altar, and if the pavement continued on the same level, no alteration will be wanting at the North & South [transept] doors... The removal of the Choir beyond the upper transept would be a noble addition to the Nave and Ailes, but it will occasion many alterations not easily foreseen'.

The additional cost was estimated as £3,000.<sup>86</sup>  
 Essex's set piece is recorded in Samuel Hieronymus Grimm's 1786 perspective (Fig. 10).

Lincoln's high altar screen is a remarkably sensitive and authentic Gothic-looking addition, which miraculously has largely survived intact to this day. Little wonder John Byng, visiting in 1791, stood a half hour gazing 'with admiration...at...the noblest architecture I ever saw', in turn leading him to muse 'How superior to a lumbering Grecian St Pauls'.<sup>87</sup>

## APPENDIX

Contract for the floor of York Minster signed by Ellis, Shout, Rushworth and Watson, witnessed by Jubb and Thomas Gilbank:<sup>88</sup> This contract specified that the 'jointly and severally agreed (by and with the permission and leave of Sr. Edward Gascoigne of parlington...now obtained to bare a sufficient part of the East Side of the Quarry called Huddlestone Quarry...Gascoigne will [at] all Convenient speed...carry and lay the Earth and Rubbish ariseing in Careing the same...they will raise and get Blocks of Stone of such proper Dimensions and Scantlings as shall be directed by the Dean...to lay the intended new ffloor...according to the plan or Model...hereunto annext and deliver such Stone in some part of the Minster Yard...to be appointed by the...Dean...and saw rubb face square and lay...at least ffour Inches thick with Good square joints in the best manner in the...Intended New ffloor at eight pence half penny per ffoot Square superficial Measure<sup>89</sup> to be measured of when laid and finisht and that they shall and will saw face Rubb and polish with sand square and lay the Marble work...in the most workmanlike manner with square Joints (which is intended to be of the old marble Grave Stones in the present ffloor at one Shilling per ffoot Square superficial Measure to be measured of when laid and they do also agree that such Stone as shall be gotten by them in the said Quarry of Lesser Dimensions or Scantlings than those aforementioned and which shall not be of a proper Size or Sort to be made use of in the...new ffloor shall be left in or near the... Quarry for the sole proper use of...Gascoigne...further they do jointly...agree to abate six pounds for Each Tun of Stone which they shall bring up the River Ouse in Case those concerned can be prevailed upon by the Church to remitt the Tunnage Duty; [also] agree that they will committ no wilfull Waste in or about the...Quarry but...bare a Sufficient part thereof and get proper stone...for the Use of the...ffloor...only in the best and most Workmanlike Manner and...lay

down one hundred Tun of Stone in the Minster Yard...on or before May Day next [1732] and one other Hundred Tun more as soon after as the same shall be necessary for continuing the Work without Intermission and work and lay down Two Hundred Tun of Stone intermixt with Marble...on or before Michelmas Day next [29 September 1732] and so proceed to finish the ffloor of the three West Isles... and the Cross Isles...from South to North with all convenient Speed and as the Dean...shall direct within the Compass of the Subscription Money subscribed or to be subscribed... out of which they are to be paid as they finish the... Work... agree that they will take up the old Stone ffloor... or so much...as the Dean shall direct and carry the same out and lay the Stones in some part of the Minster Yard... Raise and levell the Ground and lay three Courses of Brick in Mortar for the...New ffloor to lay upon...find hard Bricks Lime and Sand... all other materialls and Workmanship...Lime and Sand...at the Rate of One penny three farthings p ffoot Square superficial Measure... & that over and above the...above mentioned Rates the... Workmen shall have ffifty pounds allowed them out of the...Subscription Money for finding...Saws Ropes frames and all other Materialls for finishing the Whole ffloor But if it shall happen that the... Subscription Money shall not be sufficient to finish the Whole ffloor then the... Workmen shall abate so much of the...forty pounds as shall be in proportion to the number of ffeet wrought and unwrought... the Rates...abovementioned shall be in full satisfaction for the perfecting of the...Work Excepting only that...the...Workmen shall have deals<sup>90</sup> allowed them for making shedd and fencing of the Work which they are imediately upon at the Expence of the...Subscription money'.

## NOTES

- 1 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), quoted in T. M. Russell, *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary in the Eighteenth Century Architecture, Arts and Crafts*, vol. 4, (Aldershot, 1997), p. 158 (henceforth Russell).
- 2 For the elaborate geometric marble pavement of St Paul's Cathedral, of 1707–08, see K. Downes, *Sir Christopher Wren: the Designs of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1988), pp. 47–8, 178–80; D. Keene et. al., *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (New Haven and London, 2004), figs. 159, 306 (henceforth Keene).
- 3 M. R. Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Bryd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, Missouri, 1989), p. 108; G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant, *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977) (henceforth Aylmer and Cant).
- 4 N. Hardwick (ed.), *A diary of the journey through the North of England made by William and John Blathwayt of Dyrham Park in 1703* (Dursley, 1977), p. 18, 12 June.
- 5 *A Journey Through England*, London, II (1722 ed.), p. 210; J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800* (New Haven and London, 1997), p.626.
- 6 *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, II, 1724–26, (London, Everyman's Library ed., 1962), pp. 229–30.
- 7 W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum: or, An Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels Through Great Britain*, II (London, 1776), p. 75; D. Owen (ed.), *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridgeshire, 1994); T. Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (New Haven and London, 2011), Document 116 (henceforth Friedman).
- 8 Pp. v,57,59–60 (henceforth Gent).
- 9 *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, MD, and the Antiquarian and other Correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale, Etc.*, III (London, 1887), pp. 379–80, 26 June 1740; II (1887), p. 316, 3 July 1740, respectively. 'I have seen Lincoln and York...prefer the former...scandalized in the latter': W. S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven and London, 1937), pp. 275–76. Friedman, Document 206.
- 10 British Library, Add. MS. 38,448A, f.40 (a tour begun 13 June 1714 from Cambridge). George Vertue recorded in 1750 'a large print of York Minster or Cathedral and a large print of Lincoln Cathedral – both engrav'd by Vivares. – at 6s. a pece both... have been Several times in print. but these ...excells all of them done yet': *Vertue Note Book*, VI (Walpole Society, 30, 1955), pp. 203–4. A later manifestation of this rivalry compared York's crossing tower 'probably the largest and finest in the world. The Cathedral...exceeds all...I ever saw. Salisbury...in the fineness of pillars and spire; Winchester in the grand ascent to the quire; Strasburgh, in the fine open work of the tower and Spire; but...it may be called the glory of all Gothick churches...the queen of Gothic buildings': J. J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke Successively Bishop of Neath and of Ossory during 1750, 1751, and Later Years* (Camden Society, London, NS, 42, Part I, 1888, p. 54).
- 11 C. Morris, ed., *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London, 1947), p. 77.
- 12 *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Portland*, VI (1901), p. 93.
- 13 F. Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (York, 1736), p. 488 (henceforth Drake).
- 14 Gent, p. 47.
- 15 East Riding of Yorkshire Archive Office, DDBC/3/108, Vouchers, 21 September 1727; Friedman, Document 19; H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 712–3 (henceforth Colvin).
- 16 I. Hall, 'The First Georgian Restoration of Beverley Minster', *Georgian Group Journal*, (1993), pp. 23–24, figs. 6–8, 28 March 1728.
- 17 John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732* (Roxburgh Club, Edinburgh, 1890), p. 200.
- 18 T. Gent, *The Antient and Modern History Of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (York, 1733), p. 91.
- 19 British Library, Add MS 14259, f.134, 16 October 1760; P. Russell and O. Price (eds.), *England Displayed*, II (London, 1769), p. 141, respectively.
- 20 David & Charles reprint of 1726 edition (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 217–8, giving colour range, method of laying and polishing, prices, 194–96. The definition is repeated in *The Builder's Dictionary*, 1734 (Russell, p. 192, with an additional, longer list of colours and geographical origins, 161–63). E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1728 (Russell,

- pp. 256–59, 304–05) adds: ‘Pavement of Churches... frequently consist of Stones of several Colours; chiefly black and white, and in several forms, chiefly Square, and Lozenge, artfully disposed’ (p. 305). See Keene, fig. 159, and J. Watson, *British & foreign building stones: a descriptive catalogue of the specimens in the Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge* (1911).
- 21 Page 21. According to James Gibbs’s *Bibliotheca Radcliviana: or, A Short Description of the Radcliffe Library, At Oxford* (London, 1747), p. 11, pls. XIV, XVI, white Portland and red Swedish or Bremen stones paving the reading room replaced the originally proposed black and white marble ‘because the Air condensing upon it, occasioned by its Hardness (which commonly, though improperly is called Sweating) makes the Place damp, especially where no Fire is kept, and is fitter for Churches’.
- 22 Westminster Abbey Muniments, 24840, quoted in K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1959), p. 259.
- 23 T. Friedman, ‘The Transformation of York Minster, 1726–42’, *Architectural History*, 38 (1995), pp. 70–75, figs. 2–4, of which the present article is an elaboration; Friedman, Document 207, pl. 286.
- 24 Gent, p. 47. Interestingly, in 1731 the choir floor of Chichester Cathedral was laid with black and white marble after monumental brasses were re-sited in the nave and aisles: *Victoria County History of Sussex*, III (London, 1935), p. 112.
- 25 York Minster Archives (henceforth YMA), B3/2/10, ‘Subscription to the New-paving of York Minster’; B3/2/11 ‘The Accompt of Subscriptions towards the New Paving of the Cathedral Church of York’.
- 26 YMA, B3/2/12, B3/2/11, ‘Payments made by Thomas Jubb [treasurer] towards New-paving of the Cathedral’, paid to ‘Mr Bickerton for Drawing Two plans of the New Pavement’; T. Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 263; Colvin, p. 123.
- 27 This more careful rendering may have been used for ‘The ichnography of the Cathedral church of York, with the new Pavement’ published in Drake, p. 5.
- 28 YMA, B3/2/11.
- 29 Page 519; Colvin, pp. 147, 612. A visitor in 1744 gave the design solely to Kent: ‘The Travel Journal of Philip Yorke 1744–63’, in J. Godber, *The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park*, (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 47, 1968), p. 129. Others attributed it solely to the Earl: ‘The pavement pattern was the invention of (that great architect) Lord Burlington’;
- C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries*, III (London, 1934–38), p. 36, 5 June 1792 (henceforth Torrington).
- 30 Dedication. The Assembly Rooms, with its colonnades and windowed attic, was described as ‘an antique Egyptian hall...one of the finest rooms in Europe. The design was taken by that truly English VITRUVIUS, RICHARD earl of BURLINGTON from PALLADIO’ (p. 338), that is, the reconstructed ‘Egyptian Halls’ of Antiquity published in the Second Book of *I Quattro Libri dell’Architettura*, 1570, Ch. 10 (R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, trans., *Andrea Palladio The Four Books on Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1997), pp. 117–18; see Colvin, 151.
- 31 Aylmer and Cant, pp. 1–3, Plan I.
- 32 See note 23.
- 33 *Country Life*, 18 February 1993, p. 51 illus.
- 34 The type is illustrated in J. Gibbs, *Rules for Drawing The several Part of Architecture* (London, 1732), pl. LIX.
- 35 Torrington, III, p. 36, 5 June 1792.
- 36 Page 519.
- 37 Page 24, noting in 1736 ‘several great curiosities have been discovered at this place; particularly, about four years ago...a mosaick pavement...was laid open of singular figure and beauty...well preserved, and shewn by an old woman...to strangers...Not long since more pavements of this kind were discovered on a hill called Burrough hill’. Alas, almost all vanished: P. Leach and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 95–6. In 1729, £1,000 was raised for the York Minster fabric fund on rents from a Minster property at Aldborough: Aylmer and Cant, pp. 247–48.
- 38 *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley*, MD, III, (Durham, London and Edinburgh, 1887), p. 356. The Hovingham mosaic engraving is untraced. Burlington subscribed to Alexander Gordon’s *Itinerarium Septentrionale: or, A Journey Thro’ most of the Counties of Scotland, And Those in the North of England* (London, 1726), which includes Part I ‘Containing an Account of all the Monuments of Roman Antiquity’.
- 39 YMA, B3/2/11 ‘Payments...towards New-paving of the Cathedral’, unpaginated.
- 40 N. Pevsner and E. Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire The West Riding*, (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 276.

- 41 E. Kieven, 'The Gascoigne Monument by Alessandro Galilei', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 77, (1975), pp. 13–23; Documents 4, 5, 20, 21.
- 42 YMA, E4B, f. 4iv, 28 June 1737, and f. 43v, 19 April 1738.
- 43 YMA, B3/2/11 'Payments...towards New-paving of the Cathedral', unpaginated.
- 44 YMA, B3/2/12, draft text.
- 45 For Shout (1703–74) see Colvin, p. 922.
- 46 YMA, B3/2/9, with separate undated sheet inscribed 'Measurement comes to 1619:4:2 Bases and other Jobs 39:2:8 Tunnage of Stone 11:2:6 Steps & Bases to Screen 9:1:6 Laws 4010:0' totalling '1719:0:10 Reciev'd 1569:15:11, 149:4:11 Due without Sawing Marble'.
- 47 T. Friedman, *Church Architecture in Leeds 1700–1799* (Thoresby Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, 7, 1997), ch. 3; Colvin, pp. 366–67; Friedman, Documents 19, 47, 111.
- 48 YMA, E4B, f. 45v; Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 519, 534. In 1737 Fleming was paid £60. 10. 0 (E4a, f. 44v). On 2 April 1736 the masons reminded the Dean and Chapter of the 'Remainder of the Money agreed to be allowed them towards Saws, Ropes and other Materials for finishing the New floor' (E4B, f. 39v).
- 49 YMA, B3/2/12, 26 August, 26–27 September 1734; E4B, f. 39v.
- 50 YMA, B3/2/12. The plan is untraced.
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 YMA, H7, f. 105, 7 February.
- 53 YMA, E4B, f. 38v, 25 February; B3/2/11–12.
- 54 YMA, H7, ff. 108v–109.
- 55 J. Hildyard, *An Accurate Description and History of the Metropolitan Cathedral Churches of Canterbury and York* (London, 1755), p. 143.
- 56 YMA, B3/2/13, plan of external south transept platform, pen and ink, witnessed by Thomas Jubb.
- 57 J. Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Colen Campbell* (New Jersey, 1973), p. 16, no. 33, fig. 127. Bateson received £10.10.0 on 14 May 1739 'for Stone Work Done in the Minster': YMA, E4B, f. 45v.
- 58 YMA, B3/2/12.
- 59 Lovingly depicted by John Haynes in 1735: *York through the Eyes of the artist* (York, 1990), p. 108, no. 92. An engraving of 'The Inside of the Cathedral Church of St Peter's York Taken from the West End by John Haynes 1735' was published 7 January 1742: The Hepworth, Wakefield, Gott Collection, vol. I, f. 26.
- 60 *Eboracum*, pp. 533–34.
- 61 *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, VI (London, 1901), p. 84, April 1725.
- 62 Anon., *Journey from London to Scarborough in Several Letters from a Gentleman there, to his Friend in London* (London, 1734), p. 16.
- 63 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, George I*, 35, no. 63, no. 51(2), 15–18 March 1725, quoted in J. W. F. Hill, 'The Western Spires of Lincoln Minster and their threatened removal in 1726', *Lincolnshire Architectural Society's Report*, NS. 5, no. 2 (1954), pp. 101–17.
- 64 Lincolnshire Archives (henceforth LA), DAC/A/4/13, item 3.
- 65 'John Platt's Journies and his other transactions in Business', Rotherham Central Library, Archives, microfilm 101/F, Vol. I, f. 45. He had already, on 2 August 1765, sent workmen to assist Essex in erecting his Gothic high altar (see the present article, Fig. 10). The quarries were located at Ashford and Richlow Dale near Monyash.
- 66 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 1.
- 67 'Elland Flags' is a fine-grained, carboniferous sandstone from the Yorkshire Coal Measures: F. G. Dimes and M. Mitchell, *The Building Stone Heritage of Leeds* (Leeds, 1996), pp. 16–17 (henceforth Dimes and Mitchell).
- 68 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 5, 9 September; N. Pevsner and E. Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: The West Riding* (1967), pp. 13–14. Roche Abbey is close to the borders with Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire.
- 69 LA, DAC/A/4/16, items 10–13, 9 September; Colvin, p. 507. Mansfield stone is a Nottinghamshire magnesian limestone; Lincoln is an Inferior Oolite or Lincolnshire limestone, one of the most famous building stones of England: N. Pevsner, J. Harris and N. Antram, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (New Haven and London, 1989), p. 23.
- 70 LA, DAC/A/4/16, items 2, 7; Colvin, p. 1085; I Roscoe et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain 1660–1851* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 1319. Woodhouse Moor Stone, a fine-grained, buff coloured sandstone, was quarried in Leeds (Dimes and Mitchell, pp. 45–6, 71).
- 71 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 3.
- 72 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 6. The 'Design' is untraced. For Platt II's use of black marble in the Constable Mausoleum, Halsham, Yorkshire in collaboration

- with the architect Thomas Atkinson, 1794–1802, see Friedman, Document 95.
- 73 A ‘Freestone...much softer and whiter than Purbeck-stone...rais’d out of the Quarries in bigger Blocks’: Neve, p. 250.
- 74 That is, Huddleston or Tadcaster stone: N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 23; Colvin, pp. 78–79.
- 75 G. Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 256, perhaps the stone carver William Tyler, employed at Audley End, Essex in 1763–74 (p. 288).
- 76 LA, DAC/A/4/16, items 7, 9; Colvin, p. 413.
- 77 LA, DAC/A/14/16, undated.
- 78 John Hayward and Essex’s assistant William Lumby provided ‘The Measurement of the Minster floor from the new Arch at the West end of the Choir Including the three Aisles and Cross Trancents’, less pillar space, at 2,468 yards, 7 feet, 4 inches, plus other areas, totalling 2,628 yards, 5 feet, 10 inches: LA, DAC/A/4/16, items 14–17. York measures 633 feet long by 280 feet: B. Willis, *A Survey of Cathedrals* (London, 1727), p. 2.
- 79 A typical example is shown in Thomas Eayre’s ‘Ground Plot’ for St Rumbald, Stoke Doyle, Northamptonshire, 1723: Shropshire Records and Research Centre, 6000/17810 (Friedman, pl. 130).
- 80 J. Rykwert, N. Leach and R. Tavernor, trans., *Leon Battista Alberti On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (1485) (Cambridge and London, 1991), pp. 163–64, 179, 220; R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, trans., *Andrea Palladio The Four Books on Architecture* (1570) (Cambridge and London, 1997), p. 217.
- 81 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 25.
- 82 LA, DAC/A/4/16.
- 83 *Ibid.*, item 26.
- 84 Friedman, Documents 49, 75.
- 85 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 27. Essex’s plan is untraced: Friedman, pls. 201–202.
- 86 LA, DAC/A/4/16, item 29.
- 87 Torrington, II, pp. 344–45, 28 June 1791.
- 88 YMA, B3/2/1-2. Note that ‘c’ in the original MS here changed to ‘and’. B3/2/17 ‘Workmen wages...April 23<sup>rd</sup>. 1732’, 39 names including 32 ‘Labourers’ and 7 ‘Masons’. B4 ‘Memorandum of Agreement with Plan of Paving annexed’.
- 89 W. Salmon, *The London and Country Builder’s Vade Mecum: Or, The Compleat and Universal Architect’s Assistant* (London, 1748), provides ‘A New Table Of Superficial or Flat Measure. Ready cast up for finding the superficial Content of any Quantity of Board, Glass, &c.’ (pp. 113–19), including Example III ‘What’s the superficial Content of a Floor’ (pp. 138–39).
- 90 ‘Deals. Dressing of Deals’[ i.e. rough-plaining them over with a Fore-plain, that they may dry,]: R. Neve (see n. 20 above), p. 122.