



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Paul Holden, ‘Trewithen and the “Brettingham plans”’, *The Georgian Group Journal*,
Vol. XXI, 2013, pp. 58–72

TREWITHEN AND THE 'BRETtingham PLANS'

PAUL HOLDEN

Amongst the Hawkins papers in the Cornwall Record Office are three undated and unsigned architectural drawings showing six alternative schemes to modernise the north front of Trewithen, near Truro, Cornwall.¹ Inscribed in pencil on the reverse of one of these drawings are the words 'Brettingham Plans'. In his biographical dictionary the late Sir Howard Colvin pointed out that Robert William Furze Brettingham (c.1750–1820) may have been behind these plans – an attribution based on the fact that he had displayed drawings entitled 'Improved elevations to an old house in the West of England' at the Royal Academy in 1776.² There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the house illustrated was Trewithen. This article will, for the first time, assess the 'Brettingham Plans' in conjunction with other associated materials held in the Hawkins archive. In doing so, it will address the problematical issue of authorship and will consider the ambitious solutions proposed for the unfashionable Cornish seat of the Hawkins family. Drawing also on Pamela Dodds's published research, the architectural development of Trewithen during the eighteenth century can be reappraised.³

The origin of the 'Brettingham Plans' lies in the development of Trewithen between 1728, the year Philip Hawkins (1700–38) took title to the estate, and 1761, when the architect Thomas Edwards (1710–75) disappears from the accounts. In 1730 the Cornish antiquarian Thomas Tonkin wrote: 'Philip Hawkins now resides [at Trewithen] and has much improved the seat, [he has] new built a great part of the house' which suggests that between c.1728 and

c.1730 a new west range was added to the rear of the existing east-facing L-shaped house creating a U-shaped plan. A drawing of this work exists but the architect is not recorded.⁴

In June 1738 Philip Hawkins wrote to his friend, the Cornish antiquary, geologist and naturalist, William Borlase (1695–1772) stating: 'I am currently making alterations to my house'.⁵ There has been a good deal of scholarly debate over the originator of this second-phase of alterations but most now agree that James Gibbs (1682–1754) was the architect.⁶ Gibbs proposed two schemes for Trewithen. The first considered sweeping away the old buildings in favour of a new four-storeyed seven-bay house in a simple English Palladian form (Fig. 1).⁷ His vision was to direct the principal entrance northwards onto an open court flanked with two pavilions in a restrained French style (which functioned as kitchen offices and stables).⁸ These brick pavilions were to be linked to the house by a curved colonnade walk beneath which underground passages concealed the ebb and flow of servants. The second scheme, marked on the verso 'Trewithan', reused the existing buildings to achieve the same ends.⁹ The overall plan and design of buildings follow examples illustrated in Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728) and specific projects, such as Kelmars Hall, Northamptonshire, and Lowther Castle, Westmorland.

Being conservative in his architectural ambitions, Philip Hawkins opted to retain the existing house and set about adding a new 'Parlour' to the U-shaped house by building over the south-facing courtyard.¹⁰ This work created a new 2-5-2 garden elevation with

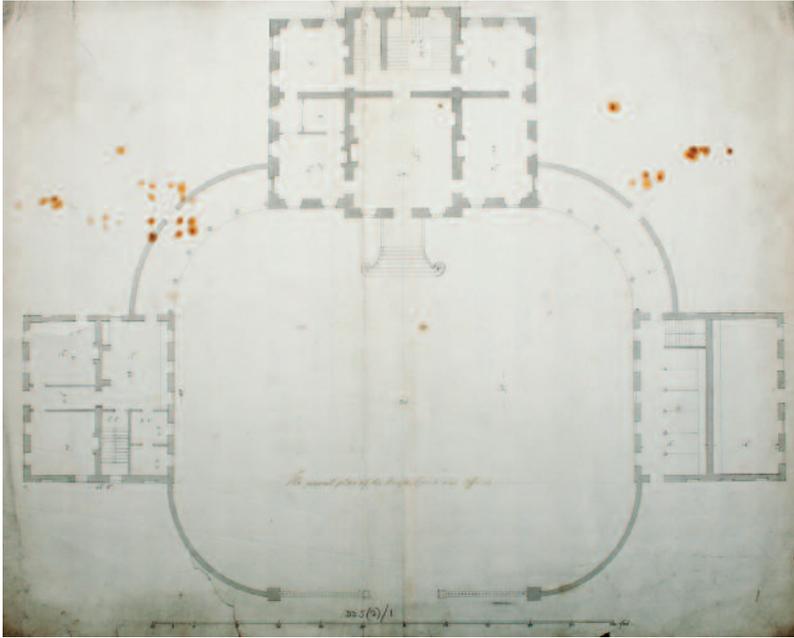


Fig. 1. 'The General Plan of the House, Court and Offices' by James Gibbs c.1740.
(*Cornwall Record Office/Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/1*)

a projecting central block. It would seem that the architect charged with executing Gibbs' scheme was Thomas Edwards of Greenwich who first appeared in Cornwall in December 1736 working at Tehidy, near Redruth, for John Pendarves Basset, who in April 1737 married Philip Hawkins's niece Ann.¹¹ Philip Hawkins died in August 1738, and the house and estate passed to his sister Mary and her husband, the successful London barrister Christopher Hawkins of Trewinnard. The inclusion of an 'Old Staircase', 'Old Parlour' and 'Old Hall' in the 1738 household inventory, coupled with the fact that a '[new] Hall' was furnished, suggests that work on the new south front was completed by this time.¹²

Despite Philip Hawkins's death, building at Trewithen continued, subject to the terms of his will that specified the continuation of '...contracted [works] with Abel Croad for erecting a new front to Trewithan house for £250'. Undated 'payments on the building' show an expenditure of £1,447 15s 11d

of which Croad received £250 as per his contract and Thomas Edwards was paid 'for divers workmen £467 6s 5d'.¹³ These references would seem to relate to the north front, where the existing façade was changed to a 2-5-2 bayed elevation with the two flanking wings gently projecting forward in order to accommodate chimney stacks in the thickness of the wall.¹⁴ Work on '...ye new front' continued until January 1742, when the building accounts end.

In 1750 Christopher Hawkins moved his family to Trewinnard, and his son Thomas Hawkins (1724-66) inherited Trewithen. Thomas was well educated and articulate on matters of classical architecture. He became MP for the rotten borough of Grampound and married Anne Heywood, daughter of a wealthy London merchant, whose dowry of £10,000 appears to have supported further works at Trewithen. Anne's father, James Heywood, followed the progress of the building work with interest, noting in 1757 that the service courtyard

only had one pavilion 'about twenty yards short of the house' and that an identical building 'being for coach houses, stables, dovecote etc' was to be built in the spring of 1758.¹⁵ Also in 1757 William Borlase published an engraving in his *Natural History of Cornwall* showing the south range, of which he wrote some years earlier in 1745 '[the] front of the house is to the south which is all built of Portland Stone with nine large sash windows (by his father in his son's minority)'.¹⁶ Judging by these comments, Gibbs' proposals for a north facing house following a Palladian plan was unfulfilled by 1757. Therefore Borlase's engraving must have been a hypothetical view, since it shows the two flanking pavilion wings *in situ*.

William Borlase first referred to plans for a replacement east range in 1756, when John Heywood wrote: '...the East is to be taken down and rebuilt next summer, a great quantity of stones ready cut and prepared by the masons against the approaching season, which is built in the modern taste with bow windows'.¹⁷ The term 'bow window' in this case, refers to a canted, or angular, bay. Indeed, Borlase advised: '...I should chuse to put two windows on each side of the Bow'.¹⁸ An undated estate map and an associated undated preparatory survey sketch shows that the second pavilion was built before any work on the east range had even been considered – a point further confirmed in Borlase's illustration.¹⁹ Such slow progress towards completing the north-facing house may well explain why, on 30 January 1758, Hawkins wrote to Borlase: 'The architect as you call him is I know in good health ... but you certainly jest when you talk of fine sherry to a person who has scarcely begun to build'.²⁰

'The architect' referred to must be Edwards, since the canted bay design does not constitute part of the Gibbsian plan, nor is it backed up with any Brettingham designs. Indeed, Pamela Dodds, in her research on Thomas Edwards, rightly connects Trewithen's canted bay with several other examples by Edwards in Cornwall. Despite the animosity

between patron and architect, Edwards remained on the payroll until 1761 when, presumably, the new north and east ranges were completed. The split may well have been mutual. Working to Gibbs's plans and building an unambitious east range must have been uninspiring for an architect who had simultaneously built impressive Anglo-Palladian gentlemen's seats at Tehidy near Redruth for the Basset family (1736) in the style of Palladio's Le Ghizzole villa, Nanswhyden near St Columb for Robert Hoblyn (1740) and, later, Carclew near Falmouth for William Lemon (c.1749).²¹ These buildings (all since lost through fire) show that Edwards was well placed to produce exciting plans for ambitious patrons like Thomas Hawkins. However, for the next stage of alterations Hawkins turned to more fashionable architects for guidance.

THE BRETTINGHAMS

Once Edwards had departed, Thomas Hawkins radically reconsidered the design of his country seat. The plans suggest that in about 1761 he commissioned either Matthew Brettingham the Elder (1699–1769) or his son, Matthew Brettingham the Younger (1725–1803), or both, to pull together a neo-Palladian solution for the outdated Gibbsian plan. Hawkins later approached Robert (later Sir Robert) Taylor to remodel the interior. According to Colvin, Brettingham senior was 'an orthodox but unenterprising Palladian whose dull, well-bred facades betray neither the intellect of a Burlington nor the fancy of a Kent'.²² His reputation as a surveyor and building contractor was established in East Anglia with the construction of Holkham Hall for the first Earl of Leicester, to the designs of William Kent and others. Throughout the 1750s and 1760s he forged a successful national architectural practice, working on several significant London houses as well as country house commissions including Goodwood for the second Duke of Richmond (1750), Euston Hall in Suffolk for the

architectural treatises or William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759), the design faintly draws on elements of the west front of Petworth House in Sussex. As at Petworth a heavy inclined cornice is deployed above the first floor windows, above which is a simple hipped roof and broken balustraded parapet. Yet while Petworth deploys no orders along its 320-ft. frontage, each of Trewithen's five central bays is defined by an Ionic column, and the projected end bays are framed by double columns.

Brettingham the Elder was employed as architect for Charles Wyndham, second Earl of Egremont at both Petworth and in London between 1756 and 1763, so it is possible that a French design was rooted in his mind when he first tackled the commission at Trewithen.²⁵ The younger Brettingham also knew Petworth well, being commissioned to purchase antique sculpture for the Earl's collection whilst abroad, and being paid in a supervisory capacity for 'working and setting of sand stone on the Parrapet and setting Do on the west front [of Petworth House]' in 1777/8.²⁶

This French-inspired design forms the basis of an incremental scheme entitled 'Plans for altering Trewithen House Old and New' which sets out options for fenestration along the north front.²⁷ Reading across from the left, the drawing provides a selection of architectural details, such as plain ionic or fluted tapered columns, differing styles of parapet

balustrading, plain cornices or fleur-de-lys friezes in the Neoclassical taste culminating, on the far right, with a fully rusticated option with radiating voussoirs.

On the reverse of the sketch is a very faint plan of a service range incorporating kitchen, servants' hall and aerial view of roof. This scheme was later developed further to relocate the service range to the west of the house.²⁸ The writing and sketching style bears some similarities to other examples of Brettingham's known work.²⁹

CRO, J/2/39/2 Pencil and wash on paper, 390 × 225mm (Fig. 3).

The second, more finished, sketch shows a single, symmetrical, pavilion in the Italian Renaissance style. Despite no obvious sculptural decoration the drawing displays a better understanding of proportion. Between the heavy podium and cornice are six rows of double Tuscan pilasters, which, according to Palladio, were '... rarely used above ground except in one-storey buildings like villa barns'. The combined width of the two short, parallel columns is identical to the width of the door, while the overall height of the building is twice that of the columns, and to create a streamlined appearance the roof and attic storey are the same height. There is no obvious model for this structure. However it seems to have drawn some inspiration from villa designs by Bramante, the contemporary work of Jacques Francois Blondel, and the shared

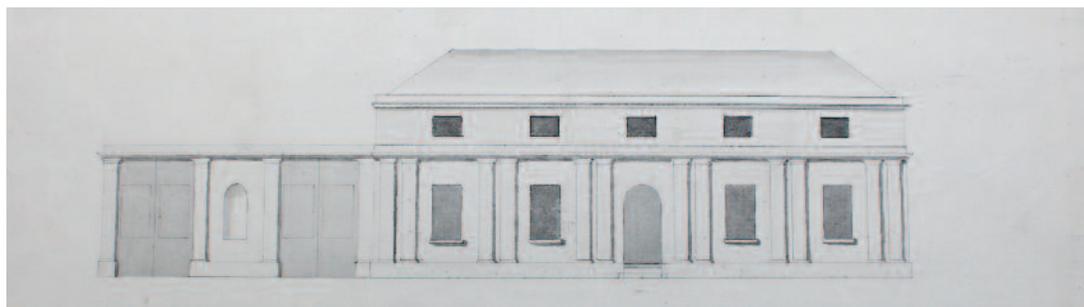


Fig. 3. Sketch drawing of a proposed pavilion at Trewithen, c.1760.
(*Cornwall Record Office/Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/39/2*)



Fig. 4. Sketch drawing showing a proposal for alteration to the south front of Trewithen, c.1760.
(Cornwall Record Office/ Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/39/3)

ideologies of the younger Brettingham's travelling companions Nicholas Revett and James Stuart.³⁰

On the reverse is a ground-floor plan most likely showing the inside layout of this building. This sketch shows walls painted in two coloured washes, the grey denoting an existing structure and the red a new build, suggesting that a more substantial six-compartment service building with a tripartite façade was being proposed as an extension to an existing building, the position of which is unclear. As it also shows sleeping locations, it may have been the intention to relocate the servants' accommodation from the house to pavilion. This may explain why the dormers shown in Gibbs's plan were removed in the later designs. This pavilion plan was used, albeit in different formats, by Brettingham the Elder at Holkham (1750s), Kedleston Hall (1759) and Lowther Castle (1763).

CRO, J/2/39/3 Pencil on paper, 327 × 210mm (Fig. 4).

The third sketch shows a proposed elevation of the south front of Trewithen. By 1760 the villa style, made popular by Palladio, had been reinvented for

small country houses by fashionable architects, such as William Chambers and Robert Adam. This design elevates the existing five-bay astylar projecting block to incorporate a tetrastyle portico with Corinthian columns, thereby creating the sense of a tripartite villa, albeit in a 2-5-2 formation. The plain pediment follows precedents set at Kedleston (1759), Gunton Hall (1745) and at Wortley Hall (1757-59) where Brettingham deployed the villa pattern for the central range but defined the end bays with double Ionic columns in the same way as the French-inspired design proposal at Trewithen.

Brettingham's sketch shows a principal door leading into the garden, suggesting that it was drawn before Taylor was commissioned to create a new saloon, when this door was made redundant. A worked-up elevation based on this sketch shows a hexastyle portico with Corinthian columns and dentilled pediment spanning the full five bayed range, resembling Palladio's courtyard villa planned for Leonardo Mocenigo.³¹

On the reverse is a very rough sketch elevation of a building with seven bays, each culminating in an

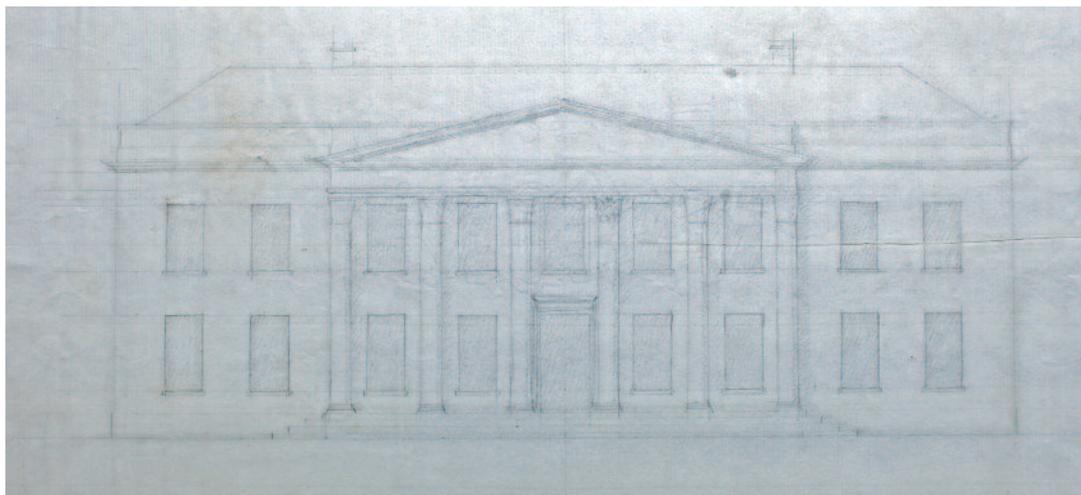


Fig. 5. Sketch drawing of an alternative proposal for the north front of Trewithen, c.1760.
(*Cornwall Record Office/Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/39/4*)

end pavilion, positioned each side of a central three-bay pavilion. Although the design resembles some of Palladio's long axial villas, in particular the Villa Barbaro at Maser, it also draws on contemporary buildings such as the Royal Stables at Charing Cross by William Kent. Later, more detailed, elevations were drawn up, based on this initial sketch, offering two alternative schemes, the first having square headed openings and the second, arched. The first option also shows, in pencil additions, an option to elevate the end turrets with low pyramidal roof in the style of Brettingham's stables at Packington Hall (1766–72) and the more substantial main blocks of, for example, Holkham Hall (1734) and Euston Hall (1750–56).³² This sketch and the more detailed elevations portray the proposal for a new coach house and stable block at Trewithen.³³

CRO, J/2/39/4 Pencil on paper, 389 × 245mm (Fig. 5).

The last sketch shows the remodelling of the north front of Trewithen in a similar style as the south. Yet, rather than mimicking the villa style, it aspires to a much grander scheme with a hexastyle Corinthian

portico spanning the central five bays. Yet, unlike the south side, the windows in the wings are elevated to be the same height as the central house, creating a more uniform appearance. To create a sense of drama the portico columns rest on four graduated steps which, as the drawing shows, would have needed some excavation. The overall effect is a building much more slender and proportionally stylish. The reverse shows an interior which may relate to a new Saloon design and ties in with the colour tinted worked-up plan for a neo-classical interior.³⁴

THE BRETTINGHAM PLANS

Designs shown on three of the four preliminary sketches were later worked up into six detailed elevations on three unsigned and undated sheets, all of which display the same watermark and are in the same hand.³⁵ These six proposals feature the north elevation and associated pavilions only, each design being a progression from the preceding one. Despite the inscription 'Brettingham Plans' being on the back of one of the three drawings, determining authorship

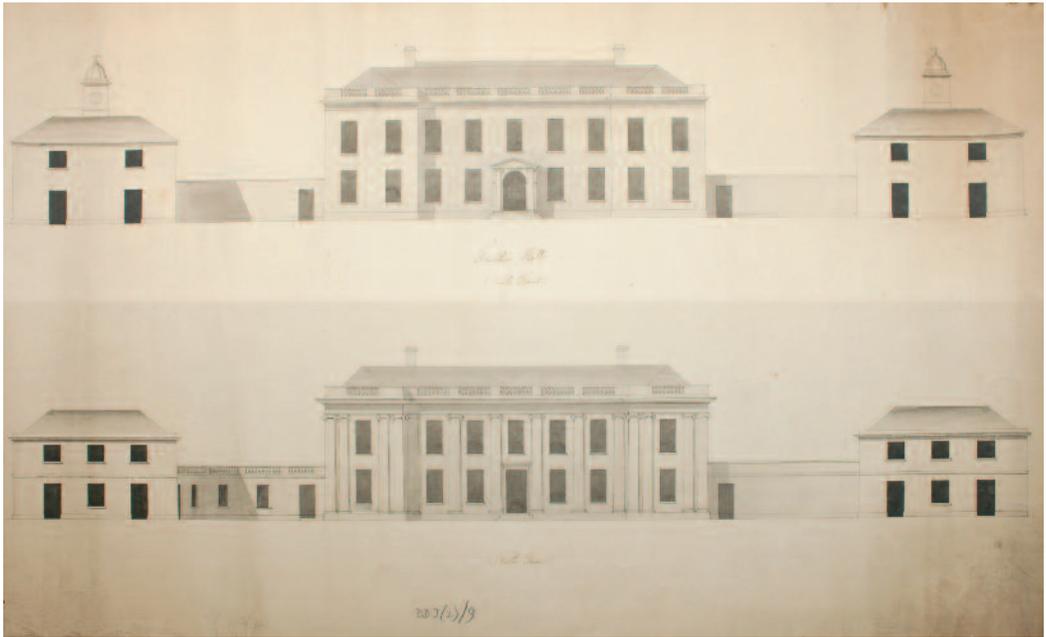


Fig. 6. 'No.2 Trewithen Hall, North Front'. (*Cornwall Record Office/Sharkfin Media*, CRO J/2/9)

is difficult, since some architectural elements suggest the authorship of the elder Brettingham, while some of the pavilion designs remain based in the Neo-classical idiom favoured by his son. No interior plans by Brettingham exist, suggesting that his commission was limited to architecture only.

CRO, J/2/9 'No.2 Trewithen Hall, North Front' Pen and wash on paper 720 × 511mm (Fig. 6).

This elevation, the first in the sequence of six, shows the unornamented north front. This drawing would illustrate the most basic reworking of the existing frontage; gone are the Gibbsian details, such as, heavy keystones above the windows, while measures to update the façade include a simple pedimented porch and balustrading on the parapet.³⁶ This elevation is unique amongst the other five in that it shows the south range roofline above that of the north. This may suggest that Brettingham produced these plans either simultaneously to, or in conjunction with, the heightening of the south range to facilitate

Sir Robert Taylor's new saloon of 1763–4. Each option thereafter shows a heightened roofline on the north range creating a more aesthetically streamlined proposal.

The second option underneath is a worked-up example of the French-style scheme complementing the 1750s pavilions, which have been slightly reworked with extra windows and the removal of the cupolas.

CRO, J/2/11 'No.3' pen and wash, with later pencil additions, on paper 715 × 530mm (Fig. 7).

The next two options shown on the second drawing follow the French-style proposal but offer more elaboration in the architectural details, such as plain and fluted columns and Neo-classical friezes between ground and first floors and above the pilasters.³⁷ The fourth option is significant for being overtly Neo-classical, the principal doors being relocated to the wings, an option made possible through the earlier alterations made to the east range which repositioned the old chimney flues.

CRO, J/2/12 'No.4' Pen and wash on paper, with later pencil additions, 727 × 516mm. Pencil on verso 'Brettingham Plans' (Fig. 8)

The fifth and sixth options are by far the most ambitious. The first option incorporates a hexastyle portico with Corinthian columns, a dentilled pediment and parapet, decorated frieze, and Neo-classical pavilions, a design that is backed up with a similar proposal for the south range.³⁸ The second option replicates the French style design but enhances the pavilion detailing.

These six options show alternative details for the house and pavilions, the last going through a series of alternative designs including pyramid roofs, fluted columns, rusticated stonework, radiating voussoirs, blind windows, carved friezes and three bay structures.³⁹ Each alternative design is aimed to complement the house itself. It would appear that Hawkins was happy enough with the proposals to ask his architect to develop his ideas further, as is shown by a series of more detailed proposals presented in drawings entitled 'Baluster to Ionic order ½ size Trewithen Hall'; 'Plan of flutes'; 'Profile of Capital of Pilaster'; 'Door Entablature &c half size Trewithen Hall' 'Profile of Truss half size'; 'Middle of Egg to be in the Centre Volute of Capital full size – Pilaster at top to be 2: 2½'; 'Profile of Base'; 'Entablature to the Ionic Order on North Front Half Size', 'Entrance Door at Trewithin Hall'.⁴⁰

What remains unclear is how far Thomas Hawkins's architectural ambitions had progressed before his death in 1766. The suggestion here is that the completion of the east range facilitated the reworking of the north which included the installation of windows in the two projections. The fact that this was carried out before the south range was heightened is suggested by some architectural evidence. On the north-east corner of the house there is an aesthetically awkward junction where, beyond the Tuscan column, the north wing extends by 5ft. This junction is highlighted as a potential

problem on a drawing of the east range.⁴¹ The north range is also mentioned in a letter written in 1758 by Thomas Hawkins which states 'The North side is built with brick with nine sash windows coped and ornamented with stonework under as well as over the windows'.⁴² These 'coped and ornamented' windows must have been removed after 1758 in favour of the Gibbs-style keystone windows, but nine windows fitting that description are evident on the south side. As no 'ornamented' windows are shown on any drawings associated to Brettingham, but do appear on a later plan of the heightened south range, as part of Taylor's scheme for the new saloon, it could be suggested that the south range was raised in conjunction with, or soon after, works on the north front which, in turn, deployed some architectural salvage.

Progress was again recorded by Heywood in 1764 when he wrote to his son-in-law, Hawkins, 'I suppose you have got rid of the workmen at Trewithen before now and hope you has (sic) from Mr Taylor answered your expectations'.⁴³ Although this sheds little light on building activity it remains likely that the workmen referred to had been working the north front, while Taylor's 'expectations' most likely refers to the alterations to the south front in order to facilitate his new saloon and cantilevered staircase. According to the historian Davis Gilbert, Trewithen remained 'unfinished' in 1766: a situation perhaps caused by Brettingham's failing health.

Another aspect to Brettingham's proposal was the range of outbuildings to the west. Although the aesthetics of the north frontage were clearly a factor in reallocating the service range another may have been more functional, as suggested in a letter of 1758 which states:

'About twenty yards short of the house there is a handsome brick building with sash windows coped with stone, four rooms on a floor. In one of the apartments, Mr Hawkins proposes to act in the capacity of Justice of the Peace, in which building there is a brew-house, laundry with a very handsome turret and vane on the top'.⁴⁴

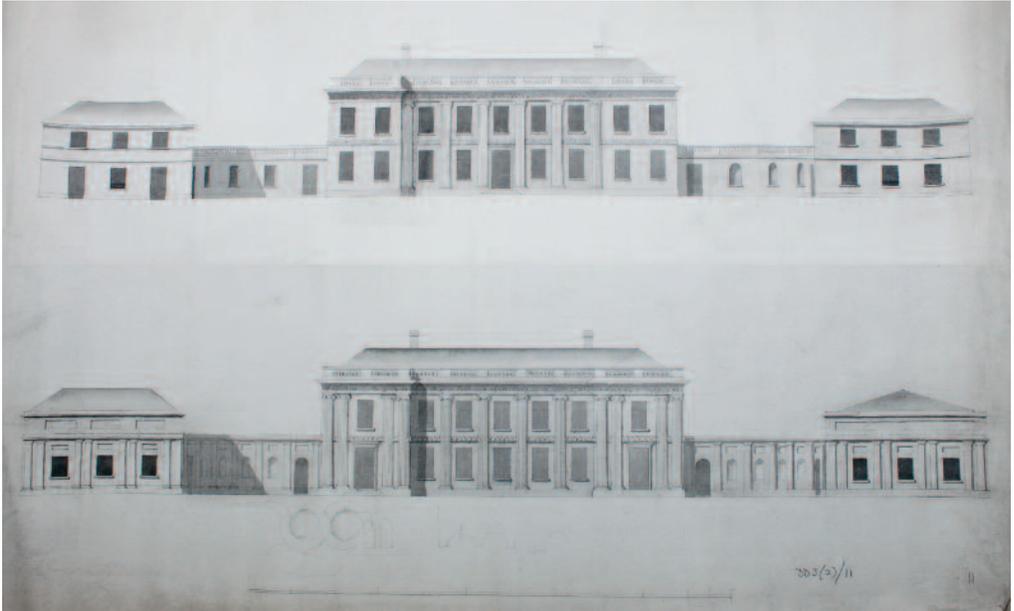


Fig. 7. 'No.3' Two further options for remodelling the north front.
(*Cornwall Record Office/ Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/11*)

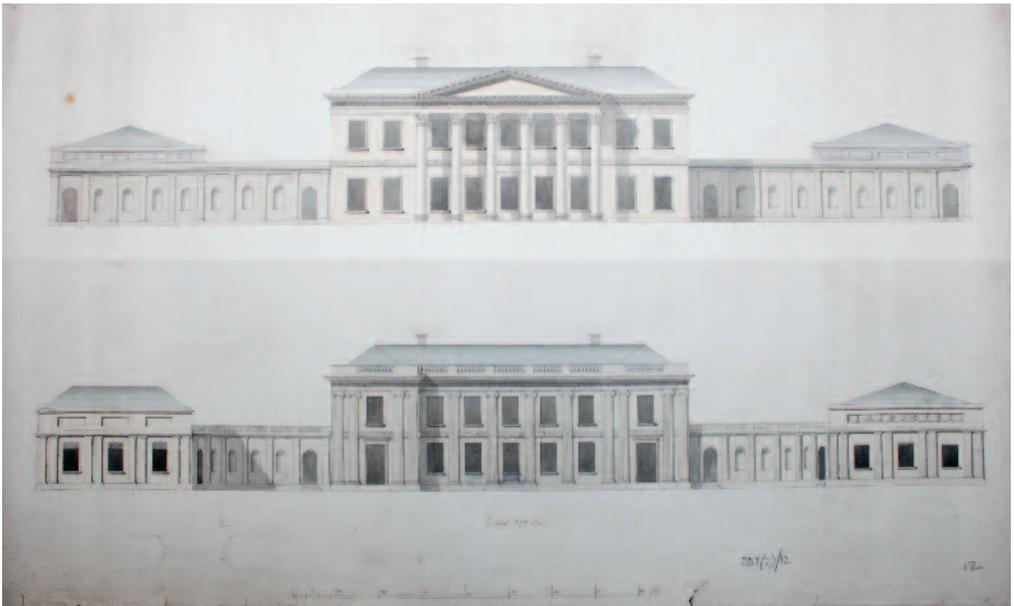


Fig. 8. 'No.4' Two further options for remodelling the north front. Inscribed on the back of this plan are the words 'Brettingham Plans'. (*Cornwall Record Office/ Sharkfin Media, CRO J/2/12*)



Fig. 9. Proposed alterations to Trewarthenick, near Truro. This plan, along with Fig.10, is inserted into the back of Humphrey Repton's Red Book of Trewarthenick, 1793. (*Cornwall Record Office/ Sharkfin Media*, CRO G 1957c)



Fig. 10. Proposed alterations to Trewarthenick, near Truro. These two plans show remarkable similarities to the east canted bay elevation and south garden front at Trewithen. (*Cornwall Record Office/ Sharkfin Media*, CRO G 1957d)

The pre-1766 estate map and an architectural plan of c.1760 show that a stable block and coach house was envisaged immediately to the west of the service range.⁴⁵ However, this was never built and was substituted instead by a walled garden which, if not by Taylor himself, certainly dates to the 1760s or 1770s, since the buildings replicate the chinoiserie style found in the interiors. The relocation of the stable block and coach house, based loosely on Brettingham's designs, though executed much more modestly, was eventually built in red brick to the north of the walled garden.⁴⁶ When this work was carried out remains unclear as Thomas Hawkins son, Sir Christopher Hawkins (1758–1829), was stimulated by horticulture, rather than architecture. Speculatively, a bell inscribed 'Ben Andrew' and dated 1769 may in some way mark some progression of this phase.

After Thomas Hawkins's death Sir Christopher employed a series of lesser-known architects to fulfil his wider garden and estate ambitions, including 'Mr Weeks', who supervised the building of a pleasure house in 1786, William Blogg (1767–1815) who designed estate cottages in 1798 and Luke Henwood of Mitchell, near Truro (d.1830) who worked at Hawkins's London home at 30 Argyll Street (n.d.) and in April 1788 wrote to Sir Christopher: 'I went to Trewithen to lay the foundation as was first proposed but when I found your letter there and examined the contents of it I much approved of your plan'.⁴⁷ Later, in 1807, the inexperienced Joseph Gandy (1771–1843) designed a pair of gate lodges which were never built.

BRETTINGHAM AT TREWARTHENICK

Evidence to connect the Brettingham family with more Cornish patrons appear in Humphry Repton's Red Book for Trewarthenick, a medieval house near Truro that was much altered in the late seventeenth century. Repton considered that the roof

'... oppresses the house by its depth' and the pediment to be 'out of proportion', adding: 'I see no remedy for this evil, but altering the roof and the pediment' – a solution he shows in cut-away elevations in his Red Book. He also added a note in the back of the Red Book:

'P:S: Since I wrote this & the following page – I have learn'd from my ingenious friend Mr Brettingham, that he had been consulted & it is possible that his inventive Powers may suggest some external improvement more convenient with vide; but this is a subject which I am always happy to submit to Professed architects'.

Repton tells us that that he had not seen Brettingham's proposal by the time he delivered his Red Book to the Gregor family in the spring of 1793, nor did he seem to be aware that an architect had been approached to advise on such matters. Furthermore, as Repton fails to specify when the visit took place, or which of the Brettinghams visited Trewarthenick, we are left to surmise whether it was the younger Matthew Brettingham or, as Sir Howard Colvin suggested, Robert William Furze Brettingham.⁴⁸

Yet, tucked into the back of the Red Book are three water-colour perspectives, presumably of the aforementioned proposed alterations by Brettingham. Two of these elevations bear a remarkable similarity to the canted bayed east range and the south garden range of Trewithen (Figs. 9 & 10). The third shows a double-cube house front elevation incorporating two semi-circular bay windows on the ground floor, Palladian first floor window, balustrading throughout and double Corinthian columned porch. Other than the fact that the drawings show proposals for Trewarthenick, based on the 1750s and 1760s works at Trewithen, they also show that junior branches of the Brettingham family worked in Cornwall after the death of the elder Brettingham in 1769. As with the 'Brettingham Plans' for Trewithen, the designs for Trewarthenick were never carried out.

THE 1760S SCHEME

Understanding the architectural development of Trewithen and the interlinking roles of Gibbs and Edwards, and Brettingham and Taylor, is a challenge because of the limitations of the source materials. This essay has shown that building progressed through much of the eighteenth century, but in a piecemeal fashion. It has shown that the Gibbsian master-plan took over thirty years to reach fruition, a situation caused by each patron having his own set of priorities. It has also developed the idea that Brettingham and Taylor worked together on a solution to modernise the house. While Taylor's interiors at Trewithen have long been considered the epitome of Georgian design in the county, Brettingham's work has not, until now, received any scholarly attention. This is unfortunate, since his designs do not follow the stiff formalism of William Chambers or the more daring unified Neoclassical approach of Robert Adam. Rather, they show how architects were adapting existing architectural fashions at the beginning of the Neoclassical revival in the 1760s.

1. CRO J/2/33 Plan of cantilevered staircase, not signed but as installed by Sir Robert Taylor (662 × 556mm, pen and wash on paper, watermarked 'Villedary' with shield motif).
2. CRO J/2/9 'No.2. Trewithen Hall North Front' (Fig.6)
3. CRO J/2/11 'No.3' (Fig.7)
4. CRO J/2/12 'No.4' marked on back 'Brettingham Plans' (2, 3, and 4 are all watermarked 'WHATMAN') (Fig.8).
5. CRO J/2/29 Interior design for new Saloon not signed but as installed by Taylor (530 × 375 mm, pen and wash on paper, watermark 'Villedary')
6. CRO J/2/30 Alternative interior design for saloon in style of Taylor (535 × 385mm pen and wash on paper)
7. CRO J/2/10 Elevation of south front in Palladian style. Unsigned but in style of 'Brettingham Plans' (pen and wash, 528 × 327mm)

8. CRO 2/31 Stable design with neo-classical interior. In style of Taylor (490 × 325mm, pen and wash on paper, watermark shield, suggesting split sheet with No.5)
9. Missing
10. Missing
11. CRO J/2/37 Plan of Drawing Room in the east range, unsigned by in style of Taylor and inscribed 'Trewithen hall. Bow window Room to be painted of a Lead Colour according to Drawing, the Panels to Doors and windows of the same Colour, Styles and Dado excepted, which are to be a much lighter Tint, if the same Colour Mouldings in Doors and Windows, to be white mark'd A. Cornice round Room to be plain white, Architrave sto Doors and Windows white, skirting Subase Mouldings white, Chimney and frontispiece to Door towards South Breakfast Room white' (pen and wash on paper, 485 × 367mm)

By grouping the plans together an overall scheme emerges. The 'Brettingham Plans' show that a neo-Palladian reworking of the Gibbsian north front was an aspiration for Thomas Hawkins but, perhaps because of the elder Brettingham's failing health, he first focussed on Taylor's abilities to rearrange the interiors. This work included the installation of a cantilevered staircase, provision of a decorative scheme for the canted bay range and the creation a new saloon from the old parlour. To do this, he raised the height of the south range and installed new windows, perhaps with a view to adopting Brettingham's portico design at a later stage. The final phase was to relocate the service range to the west side of the house. This was eventually done after the chinoiserie-style walled garden was first installed, pushing the stable court further north.

Work on this scheme clearly progressed in Hawkins' lifetime. In 1768 the household inventory shows that the 'Saloon' drawing room and 'Bow parlour' were furnished which would suggest that

Taylor's schemes had been completed.⁵⁰ After 1766, later owners of Trewithen rejected the fanciful French and neo-Palladian facades which may reflect the diversion of their ambitions towards the gardens.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the architectural development of Trewithen and the interlinking roles of Gibbs and Edwards, and Brettingham and Taylor, is challenging because of the limitations of the source materials. This essay has shown that building progressed through much of the eighteenth-century but in a piecemeal fashion. It has highlighted that the Gibbsian master-plan took over 30 years to reach fruition, a situation caused by each patron having his own set of priorities. It has also developed the idea that Brettingham and Taylor worked together on a solution to modernise the seat of the Hawkins family. While Taylor's interiors at Trewithen have long been considered the epitome of Georgian design in the county, Brettingham's work has not, until now, received any scholarly attention. This is unfortunate, since his designs do not follow the stiff formalism of William Chambers or the more daring unified Neo-classical approach of Robert Adam. Rather, they show how architects were adapting existing architectural fashions at the beginning of the Neo-classical revival in the 1760s.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the staff of the Cornwall Record Office, Pamela Dodds, Christine Edwards, Michael Galsworthy, Richard Gardiner, Nicholas Kingsley and Kathryn and Eleanor Holden.

NOTES

- 1 Cornwall Record Office (CRO) J/2/9, 11 and 12.
- 2 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1660–1840* (New Haven and London, 2008), p. 160.
- 3 Pamela Dodds, 'The Hawkins of Trewithen and Thomas Edwards of Greenwich', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, New Series II, 3(2), (1999), pp. 44–68.
- 4 CRO J/2/43/6. The drawing is not in the style or hand of James Gibbs.
- 5 Morrab Library, Penzance, Letters to William Borlase, Vol. 1, p. 247.
- 6 Discussed in Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 297. The claim that Gibbs produced designs that were later used by Thomas Edwards was first made by Christopher Hussey in 'Trewithen', *Country Life* (2 April 1953), p. 993. A house similar to Antony, near Saltash, was illustrated in James Gibbs, *Book of Architecture* (1728), plate xxxviii, to which Philip Hawkins subscribed. It is likely that Gibbs designed Antony House in 1727 for Sir William Carew, fifth Baronet, and possibly Bake for Carew's neighbour John Moyle between 1713 and 1721.
- 7 CRO J /2/ 1–8, said by Colvin to be a 'set of designs for a new house for Philip Hawkins, probably 1730 unsigned but in Gibbs's hand'. The name 'Philip Hawkins' is on the verso of CRO J/2/1.
- 8 CRO J/2/5 'the Old Front of ye Offices' shows a pavilion significantly smaller than those built so most likely shows an early scheme to completely rebuild Trewithen.
- 9 CRO J/2/13 entitled 'Trewithan'.
- 10 CRO J/2/36; CRO J/44/3 shows the 'Parlour' as having dimensions of 41ft 10 in. × 19ft 6 in. × 14ft high.
- 11 The building accounts of John Pendarves Basset records that Thomas Edwards was paid £1,307 between November 1737 and August 1739. Another £580 is also itemised 'To Thomas Edwards his Bill'.
- 12 CRO J/1/1690; CRO J/2/36.
- 13 CRO J/ 1687.f.130. Skilled labour included 'Matt Redfern the plasterer' and 'John Kimber the painter'. The career of Thomas Edwards is quoted in D.Clifford and H.Colvin, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall', *Country Life*, 4/18 October 1962, pp. 744–7, 952–62.
- 14 CRO J/2/13.

- 15 Quoted in Dodds, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.
- 16 William Borlase, *The Natural History of Cornwall* (1758), plate xxiii. Borlase's comments would date the work to 1745 as Christopher Hawkins's son, Thomas, was born in 1724.
- 17 CRO J/ 778; Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 18 Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 19 CRO J/2/48/3 and estate map in the Trewithen collections.
- 20 Morrab Library, Penzance, Letters to William Borlase, Vol. .5, p. 228.
- 21 These buildings were also illustrated in Borlase, *Natural History, op. cit.*, plates x, viii and xi respectively.
- 22 Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- 23 D.E. Howell James, 'Matthew Brettingham's Account Book', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 35 (1971), pp. 170–82.
- 24 Edward Heawood, *Watermarks. Mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, (1981).
- 25 The west front of Petworth was rebuilt between c.1688 and 1702 and has been attributed to the Huguenot architect and designer Daniel Marot.
- 26 Christopher Rowell, *Petworth* (National Trust, 1997), p. 7.
- 27 CRO J/2/19, 'Plans for altering Trewithen Old and New', the title is in the same hand as the 'Brettingham Plans' inscription.
- 28 CRO J/2/43/1, 3, 4, 9; CRO J/2/42.
- 29 Compare for example with plans for Foots Cray Place, Kent, in. Anderson, 'Matthew Brettingham the Younger, Footh Cray Place, and the Secularization of Palladio's Villa Rotunda in England', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53(4) (December 1994), p. 431 and J. C. Palmes, *Architectural Drawings from the Collection of the RIBA* (1961), pl. 17. Stanford Anderson speculatively dates the works at Trewithen to c.1790 and attributes it to Matthew Brettingham the Younger. This mistake arises from a discrepancy between the second and third editions of Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary*, the second edition (p. 138) crediting Brettingham the Younger and the third crediting Robert Furze Brettingham (p. 159).
- 30 Similar principles of design were adapted by George Steuart at the new St Chad's Church in Shrewsbury (1790–2).
- 31 CRO J/2/35; *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture* (1738), pl. lviii. Both Thomas Edwards and Matthew Brettingham the elder were subscribers to this book.
- 32 A similar design was used at Hatch Farm, Thorden in Essex by Samuel Wyatt for Lord Petre in 1777.
- 33 CRO J/2/15.
- 34 CRO J/2/31.
- 35 CRO J/2/ 9–12.
- 36 CRO J/2/9. The porch is shown on CRO J/2/42.
- 37 CRO J/2/11.
- 38 CRO J/2/35.
- 39 CRO J/2/16/2; CRO J/2/18 'Plans for improving Trewithen' and CRO J/2/11–12.
- 40 CRO J/2/20–28; CRO J/2/49/10. These details are identified as being for the north front of Trewithen and are all drawn on the same heavy cartridge paper used for the 'Brettingham Plans'.
- 41 CRO J/2/34 'East Front'.
- 42 Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
- 43 CRO J/ 684.
- 44 Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
- 45 CRO J/2/42.
- 46 CRO J/2/31; CRO J/2/15. Another undated drawing entitled 'A plan of new wall to kitchen garden' shows a 270 feet long wall forming a new boundary to the kitchen gardens.
- 47 Royal Institution of Cornwall, Courtney Library, HH/14/66–67, letter from Luke Henwood regarding building at Trewithen, dated 1788. In the letter he referred to minor alterations to the kitchen and passage on the west side 'the labour part of the Brickwork will be 2 geniys or nearly Bricks and Lime exclusive of what sought brick was on the on the premises – about £5 more to carry up the walls and turn the arches over'.
- 48 Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 49 D.E. Howell James, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
- 50 CRO J/1/1691.