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TOR ROYAL: THE PALACE THAT NEVER WAS

OLIVER BRADBURY

‘A representative example of the small country house of the period [1780–1810] is Tor Royal, on Dartmoor, the property of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Built in 1795 as a country residence for Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, its plan originally followed the usual arrangement of a central hall with a staircase and rooms on the right and left, the kitchen and offices being in a wing to the left of the entrance. At a later date an additional suite of rooms was added. The roof has been remodelled, but otherwise the building is much as it was a century ago when Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt had included the fitments he had recently secured from Carleton [old spelling] House, London, which Holland designed. Tor Royal not only shows a minor aspect of building on Dartmoor according to local theories, but in the character of the courtyard features, such as the tower with its octagonal turret and the entrance lodge, reflects the striking economy of style combined with good taste essential alike to the requirements of the owner and the locality.’

So wrote Professor Sir Albert Richardson (1880–1964) in *Regional Architecture of the West of England* (1924),¹ but what he might have mentioned too is that in 1911–12 he had made disproportionately grandiose rebuilding proposals for this most obscure of royal properties, now a Grade II* house still owned by the Duchy of Cornwall. Although separated by 85 years, both Regency and post-Edwardian Tor Royal are formally linked through what amounts to the Anglicization of urbane French neo-Classical taste and how this had gone full circle from Henry Holland’s late eighteenth-century work at Carlton House to Richardson’s acute understanding of this era and associated royal architectural patronage, in the early years of the last century. As a design for the monarchy, Tor Royal forms an Edwardian coda to the nineteenth century,



Fig. 1. Tor Royal, Princetown, Dartmoor, Devon (1795–98; 1827–28; and 1912).

projecting a deference and formality of function that now belongs to a long-closed epoch. This account is in two parts, the first dealing with Tor Royal's earlier history and connections with Carlton House, and the second with Richardson's post-Edwardian proposals and later interventions.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BUILDING AND LATER CARLTON HOUSE INCORPORATIONS

Tor Royal, situated 1,430 feet above sea level at Princetown on Dartmoor (Fig. 1), began life as a very modest farm house built in 1795–98 for Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt (1762–1833), with an addition of 1827–28.² Tyrwhitt was Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales (from 1795), Secretary and Auditor to the Duchy of Cornwall (from 1796), and Lord Warden of the Stannaries (from 1803). In these roles he became a close friend of the Prince of Wales (after 1811 the Prince Regent), who became George IV in 1820. In 1812 Tyrwhitt was knighted and made Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. For many years he lived in the Prince of Wales's household, having a special suite assigned to him at Carlton House. Tyrwhitt's object had been to open up Dartmoor, and his house was a fulcrum to run his estate of 2,284 acres.

The Lobby (1893 survey description) within an 1827–28 wing is approached by a top-lit vestibule that connects the Entrance Hall of the 1795 house to the 1827–28 extension. Here a circular skylight illuminates a deeply tented ceiling. More mainstream Regency than in the style of Sir John Soane, the overall simplicity of this double sky-lit and multi-arched circulation space perhaps owes something to Soane and pre-dates Richardson's 1912 'reparation' campaign, as does the handling of natural light.³ It would be interesting to know the architect of this sophisticated 1827–28 extension; Richardson speculated in 1918 that 'later additions, such as the

hall and the incorporation of features from Carlton House, suggest the hand of [Daniel Asher] Alexander', architect of nearby Dartmoor Prison of War, 1806–09, but no documentary evidence has come to light to support this.⁴

Between autumn 1826 and Easter 1827 the contents and fittings of Carlton House were removed, prior to its demolition in 1827.⁵ The contents were then distributed between 'Carlton Ride' (the riding house of Carlton House, not demolished until 1858), King's Lodge (presumably Royal Lodge), Windsor, and St. James' Palace.⁶ At this stage Tyrwhitt might have acquired a series of doors, two Coade Stone ornaments and perhaps two chimney-pieces; however, these artifacts could have been removed during an earlier campaign and then put into storage, for the doors are not identifiable in William Henry Pyne's *The History of the Royal Residences* (1819).

The finest internal elements of Carlton House were eventually redeployed at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace.⁷ However, at Tor Royal, five pairs of doors were reused from Carlton House, all of them considerably taller than earlier doors of the 1790s found elsewhere in the house. There was clearly an attempt at recreating a Carlton House-like enfilade, with the doors of the three rooms on the west axis: Sitting-Room; Dining Room and Bed Room. It has been suggested that these fittings were rescued from Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt's own suite at Carlton House, more modest in scale than the surroundings of his patron, the Prince of Wales.⁸ Another possible scenario is that the suite was intended for royal occupation when visiting Princetown. If not originally designed for royal usage, the self-contained nature of the suite has lent itself well to the privacy required and to later adaptation for such requirement. It is likely the new suite or wing was built in 1827–28 to incorporate the taller Carlton House doors and not that they were installed into a preexisting series of rooms.⁹ Of this campaign *Country Life* observed in 1921:

‘The new wing was completed in 1820, and in the structure of its rooms some of the large folding doors designed by Henry Holland for Carlton House were incorporated, these doors having been brought down from London at the time when Carlton House was demolished to make way for Nash’s improvements to Regent Street. A pair of the doors, their panels decoratively treated with ornament in low tones of colour [...] these doors filling the opening between the dining-room and drawing-room, which rooms, one may note in passing, are admirably furnished with old pieces.’¹⁰

It might be tempting to dismiss Richardson’s historical claims as erroneous but in his defence, he knew the building intimately having completely overhauled it in 1912. That the best of the Carlton House painted doors were reused in Tor Royal’s Sitting-Room is reflected in the unusual plaster cornice with Prince of Wales’ plumes in this room, implying royal provenance (Fig. 6). Although Carlton House was redecorated in c.1806, the doors probably date from Henry Holland’s earlier campaign of c.1784–1796, and must be by his team of French decorators.¹¹ Painted internal decoration was characteristic of Holland’s Francophile work, often in imitation of bas-reliefs, with arabesques, and other ornaments appropriate to a room’s function. The Tor Royal doors are therefore significant for being what must be almost unique survivals of Holland’s first campaign.

The painted details on the doors in Tor Royal’s Sitting-Room, such as a pedestal with lion monopedias, might well be based on antique motifs found in drawings sent back from Rome by Charles Heathcote Tatham to Holland, his agent, in 1794–96. The character of the decoration, however, is decorative rather than archaeological. There is a nautical theme on one of the doors (Fig. 2), with a trident and a shell, while below the winged figure is Cupid with his arrows and burning flame. The design has a red ground with some ivy leaves, which might relate to Bacchus and could therefore have been for a dining room, though the helmeted face or



Fig. 2. One of two pairs of painted doors from Carlton House reinstalled in the Sitting-Room, Tor Royal.



Fig. 3. Sitting-Room middle door panel, reinstalled from Carlton House.



Fig. 4. Detail of bottom fielding.

mask looks as if it is meant to represent Mars (Fig. 4). Details of the painted doors bear some resemblance to designs in Holland's two Carlton House sketchbooks, but nothing is precisely identical. The pattern in the door middle panel (Fig. 3) is similar to the 'Entablature for the new Eating room in Basement Story' design of January 1789 for Carlton House, with a honeysuckle or anthemion pattern.¹² This motif was repeated elsewhere within the house.

Tantalizingly, Richardson wrote in 1924 that Tyrwhitt 'secured [...] at least two of the marble fireplaces to reuse at Tor Royal.' The most likely extant contender for this is the white marble chimney-piece in the Dining Room (Fig. 5). Its central motif resembles Ceres, suggesting an original dining room location. The design is typical of the Regency period and may have come from Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt's suite at Carlton House, though it could equally have been made by a Plymouth mason. The character of this room is quite different from that of the Sitting-Room, being Grecian in style and probably dating a little later than its immediate neighbour.¹³ Tor Royal was put up for auction in



Fig. 5. Dining Room, Tor Royal: one of at least two marble chimney-pieces said to have come from Carlton House.

1828 and Tyrwhitt died in 1833 at Calais, perhaps suggesting that he had fled to escape his creditors.¹⁴

In 1912 Albert Richardson recorded two further remnants of Carlton House, in the garden (Fig. 7): ‘No 2 old terra Cotta ornaments very much damaged one of these has five of the leaves broken one of these has three of the leaves broken’; and ‘Steps + Vases at South West Corner of House.’ They are in fact made of Coade Stone and are dated 1797, as inscribed along the rim of the base. With plumes emanating from a crown with *fleur-de-lis* detail (‘about half of this Band is broken away’), they depict Prince of Wales’ heraldic motifs and were presumably purpose-made for the garden at Carlton House (Fig. 8).¹⁵ They are emphatic heraldic statements, presumably originally intended as garden urns, hence the damage noted by Richardson in 1912.¹⁶ Although they might prove Holland’s involvement in designing the gardens at Carlton House, 1797 was a brief phase when there was no architect working there, so they might have been commissioned directly by the Prince of Wales himself. David Oakey has drawn a parallel between these and Holland’s use of feathers above the main

archway in the Grand Staircase inside Carlton House on the principal floor.¹⁷

Richardson was clearly intrigued by the incongruity of random fittings from Carlton House ending up in wildest Devon, so far removed from the urbane context of Carlton House. And in 1920 he acquired his own cut-down-to-size remnant of Carlton House in the form of the old Throne Room crimson and gold Imperial Brussels carpet (1808) for a first floor sitting-room at his own Georgian home, Avenue House (built 1780s-1819) at Ampthill, Bedfordshire. Here he lived from 1919 until his death in 1964.¹⁸

After Tor Royal was sold in 1828 it passed through various hands, and the future Edward VII could well have used it when Prince of Wales. The earliest property plans, without elevations, date from 20 April 1893 (Fig. 12) and were prepared by Samuel Hooper of Hatherleigh, surveyor to the Duchy of Cornwall, and responsible for many Victorian church rebuildings in Devon. The plans, made when the occupant was Charles Barrington, High Bailiff of Dartmoor, show ‘proposed alterations & improvements, at Tor-Royal Farm House, & out-



Fig. 6. Prince of Wales’s plumes on the cornice in the Sitting-Room, Tor Royal.

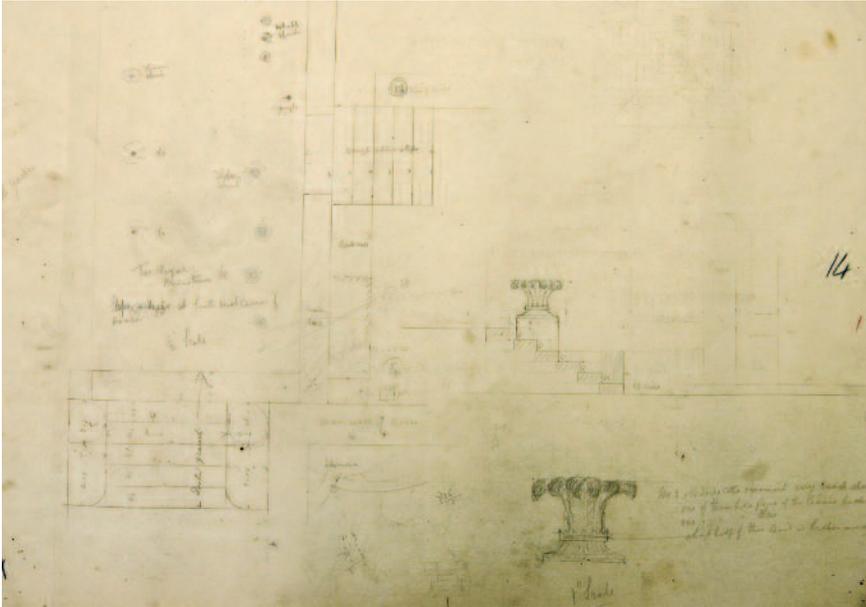


Fig. 7. Richardson's 1912 survey of Coade Stone urns, and steps.
(*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

buildings at Prince-Town', and depict an L-shaped house with three yards behind it.¹⁹ Early twentieth century photographs depict a very modest farmhouse, sleepy in outlook and in considerable decline, looking the same as it did in 1828. Richardson was sent in to arrest this decline.

THE ALBERT RICHARDSON CAMPAIGN

Tor Royal was aggrandized by Albert Richardson in 1912 for Prince Edward (later Edward VIII and subsequently Duke of Windsor) (Figs. 9, 10), and it is reputed that he and Wallis (Mrs) Simpson stayed here. 108 drawings for the house survive in the Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, but most are undated and there is no supporting office correspondence.²⁰ Prince Edward became Prince of Wales on 13 June 1911, and it would be reasonable to speculate that Richardson's first campaign of proposals ('Scheme A') date from the

latter half of that year,²¹ or early 1912; any rebuilding work would have come out of Duchy revenues (then some £90,000 a year).²² Here, for the first time, Richardson's grandiose plans for a West Country royal retreat, to keep an eye on Duchy affairs, can be unveiled. It was a rather incongruous choice, bearing in mind the nearby prison and austere wilderness of Baskervillian Dartmoor. But although Princetown is 'unquestionably the bleakest place of Devon – not only because of the gaol' and 'exposed from all sides'²³, Tor Royal is actually in a bucolic verdant dell and somewhat sheltered by woodland.

The main front of Richardson's Scheme A shows a massive 433 feet-long elevation, substantially broader than the front of Buckingham Palace (354 feet).²⁴ Richardson proposed demolishing the north-east corner of the old farm house, and changing the axis of the house from east to south. The side of the old house would have then become the centre of a new main façade with a pedimented frontispiece,



Fig. 8. Prince of Wales heraldic garden urn from Carlton House, dated 1797.

perhaps alluding to the columned portico of Carlton House. The new front was also designed to take advantage of a stretch of parkland known as ‘The Lawn’ in 1841 to the south, rather than a closed view facing east. The plan was to keep the earlier house as core of something much larger, but to retain the existing yards on axis with a new orientation. Although retaining the 1827–28 wing, it was proposed to demolish the original 1790s house and replace it with a new wing. The 1820s wing was to be buried within the long south-facing main block.

The seven bays to the left of the pedimented main block in Richardson’s ‘Front Elevation’ drawing are the 1827–28 wing of the original house. Within, it was proposed to retain the ‘Old Hall’ with its dome and domed lobby next to it but also to add a wing to the remaining core to form one side of a ‘Paved Courtyard’ (Fig. 13). The 1827–28 Dining Room was to be retained as a dining room; the original Sitting-Room would then become an Ante Room and the

Small bedroom the Secretary’s Room. Although retaining parts of the old house, the idea was to take advantage of an existing front garden plateau to expand outwards in an easterly direction; there was to be a little less building in a westerly direction for this is uphill and presented difficulties. On Richardson’s proposed floor plan, the new house is depicted in red added to old in black and there is a central axis corridor, aligned with the old hall, of about 147 feet long. The character of the architecture is Classical, with a curved staircase next to the Entrance Hall, which has curved ends and flanked by staircases. There was to be a large Paved Courtyard entered by a comparatively diminutive New Drive and New Gates, and a large carriage sweep. The north elevation was the rear of the property and therefore the house was always to be approached from the rear access road. The garden front has a terrace and next to the water tower is the site of a former enclosed garden.

A palace would not be complete without lodges,



Fig. 9. The building above would have sat at the core of the massively expanded house, going uphill (west) and downhill (east), proposed by Richardson for the Prince of Wales. This can be matched to the 'Front Elevation' in the c.1912 drawing below.



Fig. 10. 'Front Elevation' and 'Back Elevation' by Richardson, c.1912. (*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)



Fig. 11. Explorative sketch by Richardson of unicorns and a lion to top a chamfered post.
(*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

so Richardson proposed two entrance lodges and lion and unicorn-topped entrance piers. Here he proposed a unicorn with coronet on a gothic style column – explored in a series of red pencil sketches, though these may relate to a drawing for entrance lodges to Princetown itself, with a freestanding column standing in front and between the lodges (Fig. 11). Granite being the indigenous building material for Dartmoor, and a difficult one to work, Richardson’s proposals would have been expensive to implement; and sums jotted down on an early rough sketch estimate:

‘Say £4000
1,000 alterations to existing
2,000 New Home for Mr Barrington
7600’

Modesty prevailed instead, and Richardson’s grandiose Carlton House-scale proposals were abandoned. The existing house was restored instead, and altered by Richardson and his partner C. Lovett Gill in 1912. They added a gambrel roof with four dormers to the centre block in 1912, inspired by the nearby late eighteenth-century lodge windows but with Gothic glazing bars.²⁵ ‘Jalousies to First Floor Windows’ and an additional window to the original front core were installed and there was a new porch – perhaps the back storm porch – using old granite columns and bases but requiring ‘new caps & lintels & pilasters’. The builder was John Halfyard of Princetown.

Within, a New Entrance Hall was created out of two rooms, with a new chimney-piece and cornice. A new chimney-piece was also installed in the 1827–28 Lobby (now Hall), described in *Country*

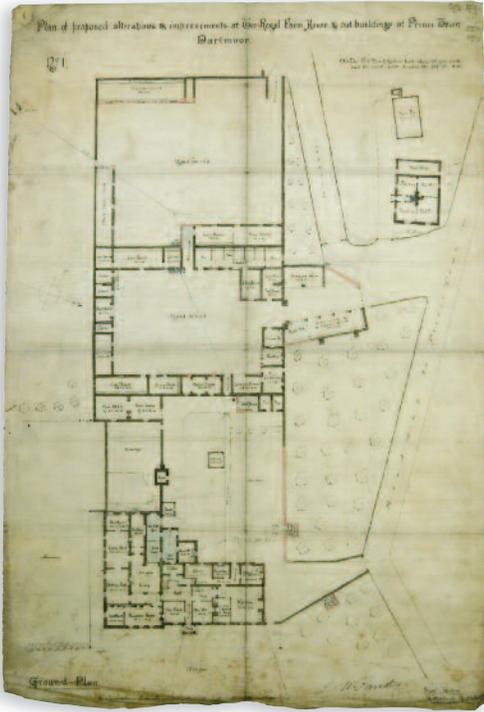


Fig. 12. 1893 survey of Tor Royal.
(*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

Life in 1921 as ‘the central dome-lighted hall, with arched openings giving access to the principal rooms.’²⁶ A new radiator and a ‘China Cupboard in Entrance Hall’ were installed (since removed), along with an oak floor and a new bedroom at the back.

Richardson’s most personal intervention was perhaps the stair in the New Entrance Hall, with ‘Full size details of New Newels, Balusters Handrail and string to Best Staircase in Pine. Staircase Newel & treads detailing.’ This was installed with joinery carried out to a very high standard, and Richardson would no doubt have been delighted that an 82-page report commissioned for the house as recently as 2010 mistook his post-Edwardian stair for the genuine article: ‘Arguably, the most important survival from the 18th century is the fine open-well staircase in a stair hall in the south-west corner of the

house. This staircase has a closed string and moulded handrail over turned balusters and moulded newel caps over square newel posts.’²⁷ Richardson may also have been responsible for a number of service doors lined in red baize cloth with brass studded decoration, presumably to dampen all noise from service quarters.

It seems that Richardson was somewhat haunted by the singular 1795–96 Water and Clock Tower and could not bear to do away with it, so much so he incorporated it into the 1911–12 proposals as a slightly Chinese or Brighton Pavilion-style lantern over a rear entrance door. Later proposals of 1916 show it as once again free-standing; he had already restored it to its original appearance in 1912, as it had lost its roof by c.1910. Full-scale drawings survive for the turret weather vane with a hollow copper ball and for ‘Setting out of Bell in Cupola’.

Alterations to the stables were designed in 1916, including a new entrance, and building work was scheduled for 1917 (Figs. 14, 15). Then in December 1916 Richardson developed what might be termed a ‘Scheme B’ for the house itself, keeping the entire original building but putting the emphasis on the north front and developing the two yards nearest to the house. The yard next to the house was fully enclosed with a grand north front featuring an arch surmounted by a pediment on axis with the tower, an oval carriage sweep and a double courtyard with flanking sheds in front of the arch (Fig. 16). Richardson explored various axial approaches before settling for a grand north approach to the house centred on an oval-shaped yard.

The culmination of this second set of proposals was a grand bird’s-eye perspective (Fig. 16), undated but probably of 1916, expressing grandeur inspired by Carlton House, and with a massive rusticated archway to the stable yard that we have seen before (Fig. 15). The scheme stayed on paper and inspection of the current modest farmyards reveals the thwarted planner in Richardson.

With Richardson’s ‘Scheme A’ proposing to take

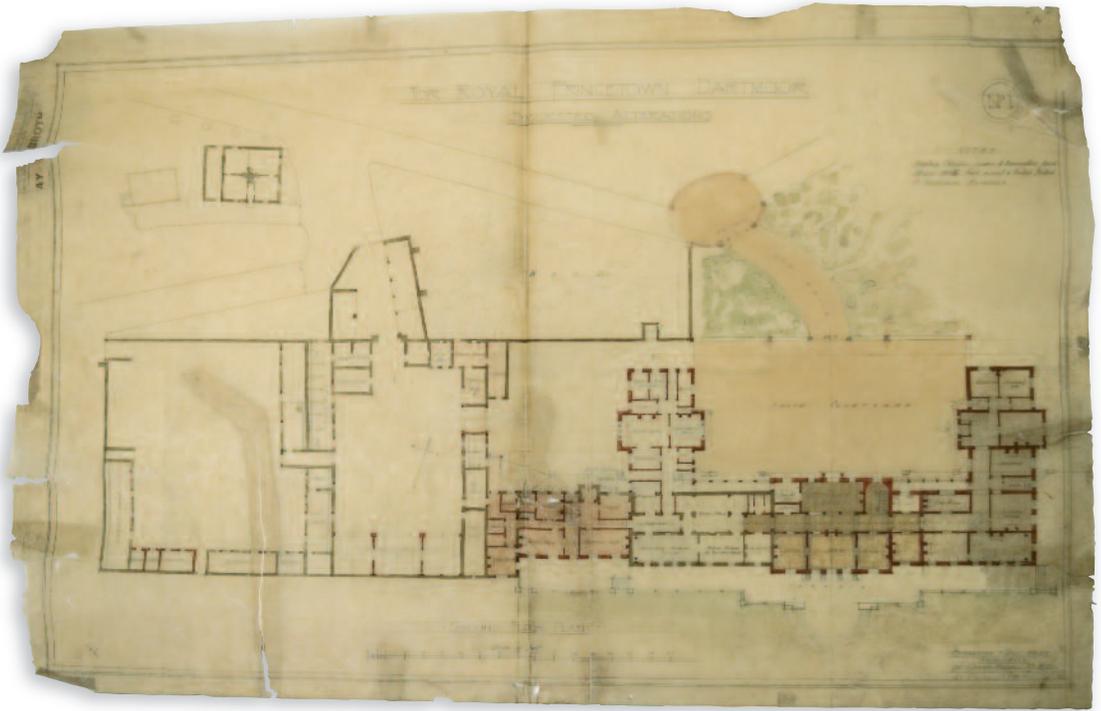


Fig. 13. Richardson's 1911 or 1912 proposals for expanding (shaded) Tor Royal. (*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

up the whole of the existing front garden, there could be no room for a formal garden in front of the new house. But the pragmatist in Richardson proposed reusing what appears to have been a former 'large Walled Garden' (1828 particulars) further down the east slope and separated from the existing garden by a man-made waterway called the Leat, constructed to channel water to the then booming docks of Devonport in Plymouth. Beyond the Leat, Richardson proposed a layered or tiered Formal Garden around a pond, recalling Edwin Lutyens's sunken garden pond designs (Fig. 17). Between the Leat and formal garden, by way of axial approach, a Classical garden rotunda was proposed. Alas, the site of this incongruous proposed formal garden on the edge of the moors is now a farm shed with machinery strewn about, though it once cultivated a good fruit crop.



Fig. 14. Keystone detail for new stables designed in 1916 and scheduled to have been built in 1917. (*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

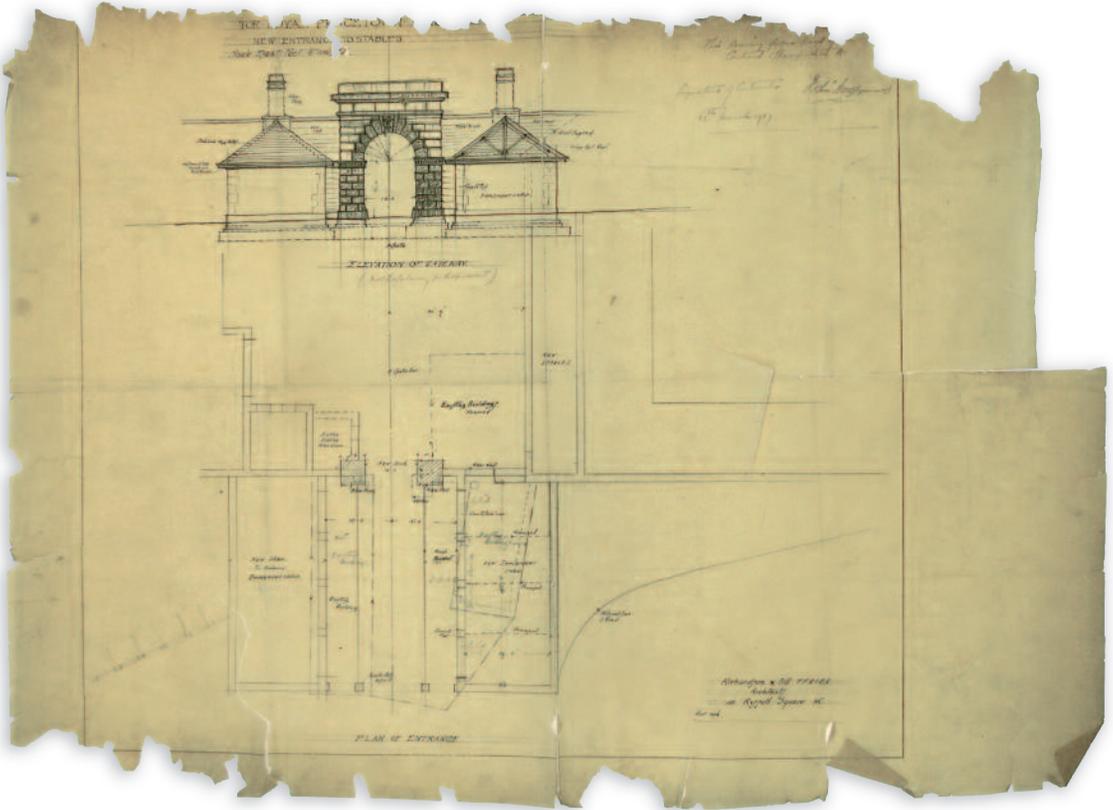


Fig. 15. Proposed archway to the stables, 1916. (*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

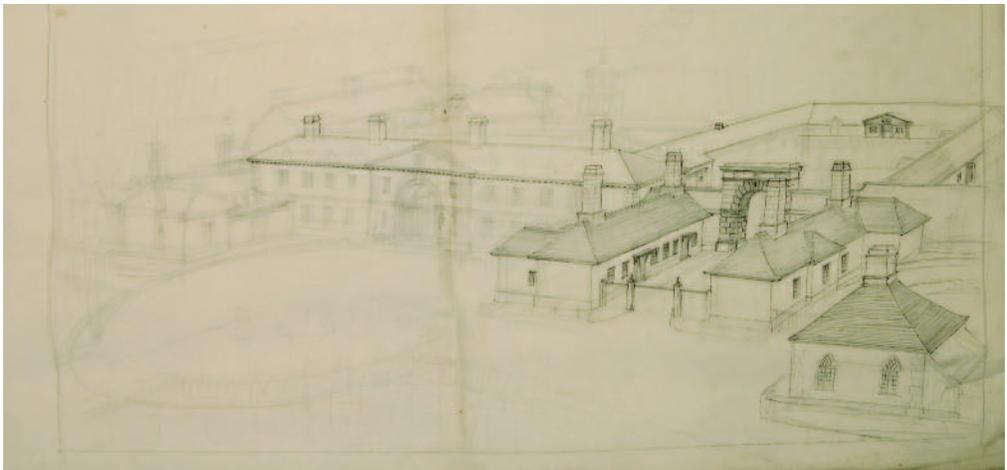


Fig. 16. Bird's-eye perspective of Tor Royal building proposals, c.1916. (*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104*)

If Richardson's 1911–12 proposals had been Néo-Grec, the 1916–17 proposals were in the Neo-Georgian idiom. These were not carried out either, and a more modest proposal of 6 May 1925 for a new entrance to the stables, with a French-style roof, was also abandoned.

With Tor Royal there is something of the ambitious, or frustrated – having been in independent practice since 1906 – young architect impatient to build on a grand scale as demonstrated by these proposals. Richardson had previously built only one building with his partner C. Lovett Gill and in conjunction with Horace Farquharson: His Majesty's Theatre, Quay Street, Manchester of 1911–12, though he also claimed authorship of an elevation for Regent Street Polytechnic, designed whilst he was in Frank Verity's office in 1910. Both of these designs were created during the height of Richardson's Néo-Grec phase that was in vogue between 1908 and 1912. During the latter half of 1911 he was preoccupied with 'The Style Néo-Grec' and 'The Empire Style in England', as seen in his three articles on these subject matters for *The Architectural Review*. If his grandiose plans for Tor Royal had been fulfilled, the exterior

would have been Néo-Grec, the interior Empire with either original Empire-period furniture or first-rate reproductions characteristic of Edwardian sybaritic quality. In the end, the only sign of Richardson's Néo-Grec ambitions at Tor Royal are two of originally four finely cast brass sconces in the Lobby flanking his chimney-piece in the style of Holland (Fig. 18).²⁸

Working against a fast-fading primacy of Edwardian neo-Baroque were a minority of architects and clients favouring a stricter Classicism, which would eventually flower into Neo-Georgian at about the time of the First World War.²⁹ Such a movement was already in gestation with the formation of the short-lived Classical Society in 1908. A circle of architects led by Stanley D. Adshead and including Charles Reilly, Edwin Cooper, Vincent Harris, Albert Richardson and Lutyens 'saw Classicism as offering a coherent and challenging system of design principles. By reacting against the romanticism and individualism of [Norman] Shaw's generation, they sought to return to the historic tradition of western architecture which Britain was thought to have discarded with the 19th-century Gothic revival.'³⁰ With a gradual return to Classicism

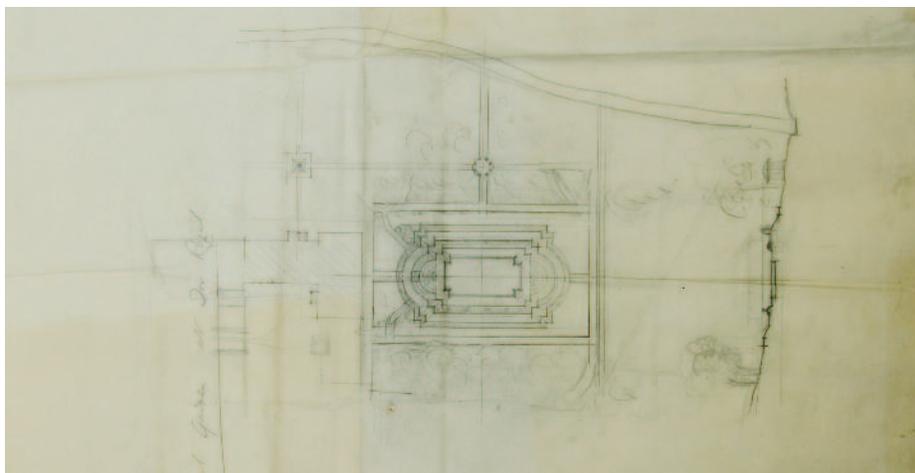


Fig. 17. Proposed Formal Garden.
(Bedfordshire and Luton Archives Service RGH 2/104)



Fig. 18. One of formerly four Néo-Grec brass sconces perhaps designed by Albert Richardson in 1912.

since 1880, by 1912 this was fast peaking, before settling into a more English Neo-Georgian idiom that would continue uninterrupted until WWII.

The proposed rebuilding of Tor Royal has never been mentioned in secondary literature, and there is no known correspondence or dialogue between Prince Edward (then only a 16-year-old) and Richardson. And yet these proposed drawings have been carefully surveyed and measured to the site, so matters must have progressed well beyond merely a pencil on the back of an envelope exploratory stage. With lucrative revenue streams from the Duchy of Cornwall estates, there was clearly funding for such a lavish rebuild, so money was not an issue. But there is another determinant consideration here. Two of the first set of drawings describe Richardson's proposal as a 'New Home for Mr Barrington', the High Bailiff of Dartmoor.³¹ In 1893 Tor Royal

became the home of Charles Barrington, and this was to be until 1914. By then the Duchy of Cornwall had been looking to re-appropriate the house for quite some time, thus explaining why the drawings for Barrington's house depict Prince of Wales insignia. This might suggest that the house was intended for occasional occupation by the Prince of Wales but normally lived in by the sitting tenant.

If Richardson's palace had been built, it would have been the first for the Prince of Wales since Regency Brighton Pavilion and more recently Sandringham: retreats intended to avoid the pressures of London. Alas, none of this grandeur came to pass and in the end the Prince of Wales had to make do with a comparatively modest farmhouse. According to Richardson's grandson, Simon Houfe:

'In the autumn of 1947, my grandfather received a telephone call at Ampthill which greatly surprised him. It was from the Duke of Windsor with whom he had no contact since leaving the Duchy of Cornwall Office seventeen years before. When working for the Duchy he had completely altered and restored Tor Royal, the Tyrwitt [*sic*] mansion on Dartmoor, as a West Country residence for the Prince of Wales. A fine marble chimney-piece had been installed along these lines and he had been well pleased with the result. The Prince, however, had shown very little interest in the house, only spending one night there, but my grandfather was noticeably nettled a few years later to learn that the marble surround had been taken from Tor Royal and set up in the Prince's favourite home, Fort Belvedere. The sourness engendered by this had never subsided.'³²

Although there might have been renewed proposals for a purpose-built palace for the heir apparent in the hundred years since Richardson's, like those for Tor Royal, none have come to fruition since Victorian Sandringham. With the recent final auction of the contents of Richardson's Avenue House, a closer look at his obscure royal outpost in deepest Dartmoor therefore seems timely.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

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ENDNOTES

1. (Ernest Benn Ltd., London), p. 116.
2. It was then described as being 'on a moderate scale'. Sale particulars and conditions of sale, Tor Royal Estate (1828).
3. There is some conflict between contemporary description of the extent of the works done by Richardson and that of his grandson Simon Houfe in his 1980 biography. According to Houfe, Richardson 'had taken great pains with the interior, introducing beautiful but severe ornaments and details like those in the houses of Sir John Soane': Simon Houfe, *Sir Albert Richardson: The Professor* (White Crescent Press Ltd., Luton, 1980), p. 137.
4. A. E. Richardson, 'The Architect of Dartmoor', *Architectural Review*, 43 (April 1918), p. 78. Richardson speculated that Tyrwhitt himself might have designed the original house, lodges, tower and farm buildings, with joinery obtained from Plymouth.
5. See *Carlton House The Past Glories of George IV's Palace* (The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, 1991).
6. See for instance 'Work done by Benjamin Lewis Vulliamy' on 2 October 1826 in 'removing [clocks etc] on a Chairmans Horse from Carlton Palace to Saint James's Palace preparatory to Carlton Palace being taken down [...]': Records of the Lord Chamberlain and other officers of the Royal Household (1 July-31 October 1826), The National Archives, LC11/53. Fittings of an architectural nature had been removed by 26 September 1826 and there is a list of these in the Royal Archives (1114760 and volume B of the Carlton House inventory). Other than the odd note saying 'sent to Windsor Castle' no individual recipients are singled out.
7. 'Of the internal fittings removed from Carlton House, most of the state room doors and a large number of chimney-pieces and parquet floors were sent to Windsor to be incorporated in the remodelling of the Private Apartments by Jeffry Wyattville in 1826': Dorothy Stroud, *Henry Holland His Life and Architecture* (Country Life, London, 1966), p. 85.
8. Put forward by the anonymous reader for this paper.
9. Another dating indicator is surely the depiction of a small locomotive towing a train with alternate ore and general-purpose wagons in the Lobby frieze. Bearing in mind that the locomotive is almost identical to George and Robert Stephenson's *Locomotion No. 1* (1825) and the *Lancashire Witch* (1828), this would infer that the suite of four rooms at Tor Royal date from 1827-28 and not earlier (1815, 1820) and later (1841) dates that have been posited. By 26 September 1826 fittings from Carlton House had been removed and Tor Royal was put up for auction on 26 September 1828, providing an exactly two year window for fittings from London to have been incorporated into the new suite of rooms.
10. Randal Phillips, 'Tor Royal, Princetown, Dartmoor', *Country Life*, 49 (11 June 1921), pp. 743-44.
11. Principally Guillaume Gaubert, interior decorator, working here c.1783-87, and Dominique Daguerre, interior decorator, here c.1786-1795.
12. Carlton House Sketchbook II, Royal Institute of British Architects drawings collection, SK B122/3.
13. This room and two others physically adjacent appear quite different to the Sitting-Room campaign. This is borne out too by separate hipped roofs and different style fenestration/door architraves to the Sitting-Room extension. Nevertheless, these two structures are depicted in a perspective of the house on the 1828 sale particulars (Map of Tor Royal Estate, 1828, at Devon Record Office, Exeter). Since c.1910 a sash window has been added to the south-west Bedroom corner, not there in 1893. The 1828 particulars are the earliest non-cartographical depiction of the house and prove that the so-called 'Royal Suite' was built during Tyrwhitt's time and not post-1841.
14. Devon Record Office, Particulars of Tor Royal Estate (1828). These describe 'The Villa Residence' as being 'capacious, and handsomely fitted up, is pleasantly situate, and sheltered by Plantations communicating with the Lawn and Grounds.'
15. The Tor Royal urns are mentioned in Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone* (1990, p. 342) but no connection is made with various Coade statuary ordered for Carlton House. *Coade's Gallery, or, Exhibition in*

- Artificial Stone, Westminster-Bridge-Road*, located in Lambeth and published as a brochure in 1799 mentions in passing 'different works in the gardens and on the Screen of Carlton-House' on p. vi. An account for £555 to be settled with Mrs. Eleanor Coade by 5 January 1798 and listing items going back to 1787 does not mention the urns. See four sheets of invoices within Home Office: Commission for the Settlement of the Prince of Wales' Debts; Accounts (creditors) C-D: The National Archives, HO 73/18.
16. It has been alternatively suggested that the urns might have been for within Carlton House and not necessarily the garden.
 17. Suggestion made by David Oakey to author; see also David Oakey, 'The most perfect palace in Europe': Henry Holland, The Prince of Wales and the early Carlton House', *The Georgian Group Journal*, XXI, 2013.
 18. Houfe, *Sir Albert Richardson*, p. 131.
 19. The three yards can be seen on the Map of Tor Royal Estate (1828).
 20. Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, RGH2/104. I have retained Richardson's upper case capitalisation of words in this account.
 21. Or before in that in about early March 1911 'He retreated to Newquay to convalesce and to pay a few perfunctory visits to his recently acquired estates in the vicinity': Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII* (Sutton Publishing, 2001), p. 28.
 22. Although not dated, these drawings are often addressed and so this helps to narrow the 'Scheme A' date range down to between 1909 and 1912; since 1909 Richardson and C. Lovett Gill had been at No. 46 Great Russell Street, but by 1913 they were also at No. 41 Russell Square. The 1912 date comes from the date that work was actually carried out to Tor Royal, though there were to be later, post-1912 proposals. All drawings are pre-1930 when Richardson left the Duchy of Cornwall Office. Tor Royal was his first work on the Duchy, other work dates from 1913 onwards.
 23. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South Devon* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1952), p. 249.
 24. This figure does not include the one-storey screens that flank the main Buckingham Palace block.
 25. The dormer detailing elevation drawing is dated 10 August 1912.
 26. Phillips, 'Tor Royal, Princetown, Dartmoor', p. 744.
 27. Eric Berry and Nigel Thomas, 'Tor Royal farmhouse, Princetown' (Devon Historic building record, April 2010), p. 21.
 28. As in the Greek key lintel used for 'Dukes Dressing Room' chimney-piece design for the 5th Duke of Bedford at Oakley House, Bedfordshire (1789–1792). See 'East India House, & Woburn' drawings in Henry Holland's sketchbook, RIBA, VOS/78.
 29. Of a stricter Classicism, interest in Thomas Hope's Grecian furniture never quite died out after his death in 1831 and had certainly regained strength by the 1880s, but this would not translate into actual neo-Greek Revival architecture until the Edwardian era (i.e. Charles Reilly's English neo-Grecian Students' Union, Liverpool of 1910), though the Waldorf Hotel, New York City, 'had Empire-style rooms as early as 1895.' See 'The Afterlife of Hope: Designers, Collectors, Historians', Frances Collard and David Watkin, ed. by David Watkin and Philip Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope Regency Designer* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 249–63. Ten years earlier in 1884–86 Lawrence Alma-Tadema had designed a Greek Revival armchair for a 'Greek parlour'. Before Reilly's Students' Union and easy to overlook (perhaps because it so successfully segues into Smirke's earlier work) is Sir John Burnet's Greek Revival King Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum of 1904–14, described by Gavin Stamp as 'London's first executed expression of the new Grand Manner.' Gavin Stamp, 'London 1900', *Architectural Design*, 1978, vol. 48, nos. 5–6, p. 329.
 30. Alan Powers, ed., 'A Vindication of Classical Principles', *Sir Albert Richardson 1880–1964* (RIBA Heinz Gallery, London, 1999), p. 10.
 31. See drawing annotated 'Suggested Alterations' No. 1; 'Barrington's House.' This was an early proposal for a courtyard house.
 32. Houfe, *Sir Albert Richardson*, p. 137.