

Paul Holden, 'Antiquaries, Archaeologists and Architects: the building of Bignor Park in Sussex', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, 2020, pp. 177–188

ANTIQUARIES, ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND ARCHITECTS: THE BUILDING OF BIGNOR PARK IN SUSSEX

PAUL HOLDEN

Henry Harrison (c.1785-c.1865) was an architect, builder and surveyor who developed a significant practice based from premises at 31 (now No. 54) Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London, a house he had built for himself between 1825 and 1826.¹ During his long career he worked on various projects ranging from speculative housing in and around Belgravia, to new rectories and alterations to country houses across the south of England. Between 1826 and 1832 he built a modest Greek revival style villa at Bignor Park, near Petworth in West Sussex, for the Truro-born antiquary, geologist and mine owner John Hawkins (1761-41) – a commission that opened-up a lucrative vein of work for the architect amongst the, often mineral-rich, Cornish gentry. This article will look first at the sequence of events that saw Robert Smirke, one of the most respected architects of the day, decline an offer to design a house for his friend and fellow antiquary, and, second, will consider Harrison's role in delivering Hawkins's architectural aspirations. In doing so some previously unrecognised commissions by the two architects will be revealed.

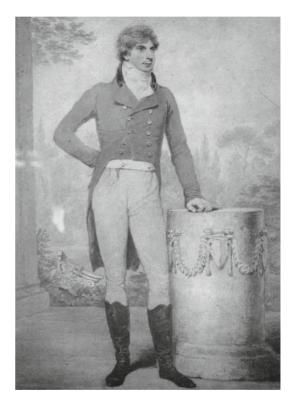


Fig. 1. John Hawkins (1761–1841). (With kind permission of Trewithen Estate Ltd.)

ANTIQUARIES AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS

In 1770 Samuel Hieronymus Grimm painted a watercolour of Bignor Park in Sussex, the ancestral home of the Dorset family.² The illustration, described by one commentator as a '1780s ... remodelling of the James Wyatt kind', showed an unpolished Gothick-inspired house with a towering fortified four-stage entrance range complete with portcullis, flanked by gabled wings and castellated drum towers, all set in a commanding landscape with expansive views across the South Downs.³ After the death of its last family resident, the Romantic poet

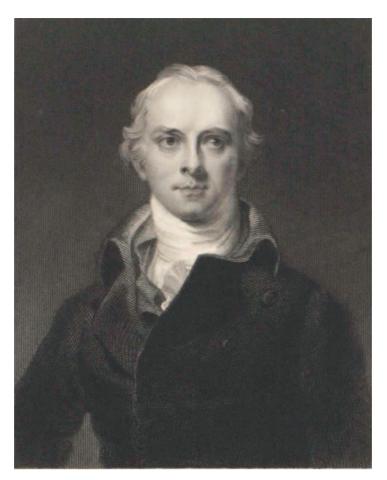


Fig. 2. Samuel Lysons, FSA (1763-1819). (Author's collection)

and novelist Charlotte Smith (1749–1806), the estate was purchased for £13,500 by John Hawkins (Fig. 1), the third surviving son of the mineral-rich Thomas Hawkins of Trewithen, near Truro in Cornwall (d.1766) and younger sibling to Sir Christopher Hawkins (1758–1829) of Trewithen and Trewinnard.⁴

Hawkins, a Fellow of both the Royal Society and the Geological Society, 'settled' at Bignor Park by 1808 and immediately focussed his attentions on collecting specimen trees and plants and, with James Edward Smith, laboured indefatigably on the posthumous publication of John Sibthrop's *Flora* *Greaca* (1758–1796).⁵ His acquisition brought other, unexpected benefits when in 1811 the 'respectable farmer' Mr George Tupper exposed part of a significant Roman villa in a field close to the boundary of the estate. Motivated by the interests of Samuel Lysons, FSA (1763–1819) (Fig. 2), an early pioneer of field archaeology, Hawkins's antiquarian and archaeological appetite was aroused and between 1811 and 1819 the two men led a detailed archaeological excavation of the site, opened the villa to the public in 1814 and produced a wealth a published material including its first guide book (Fig. 3).⁶

As Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London between 1798 and 1809 Lysons not only possessed a vast knowledge and wealth of experience but was also well-placed to draw on his network of learned colleagues to support the project, two of whom were the antiquarian sons of the painter and illustrator Robert Smirke RA (1753-1845). His associations with both predated the discovery of the Roman villa; indeed in 1800 Richard Smirke RA (1778-1815), a competent archaeological draughtsman in his own right, had been commissioned to complete drawings for the Society and by 1805 Lysons was corresponding with the future architect Robert Smirke FSA (1780-1867) (Fig. 4) on antiquarian and architectural matters.⁷ Moreover, in 1807 the architect was commissioned to submit plans for adding a gallery to the Society's library at Somerset House.8

When archaeological recording work was first anticipated for the parially executed Roman pavement, Lysons recommended the artistic services of fellow antiquary Richard Smirke. On 25 May 1812 Hawkins wrote to Lysons:

'I shall be happy to see your friend Mr Smirke and beg you present my compts to him & to say so. From the very high Idea I have of his fathers Excellence as a Painter I can readily conceive a very favourable opinion of Mr Rd Smirkes talents and shall be happy to make his acquaintance. You may inform him that there is a valuable set of Marbles at Petworth House.'⁹

Richard Smirke was a regular visitor to Bignor until his premature death in April 1815, as was another skilled draughtsman, Charles Stothard (1786–1821) who considered his time as Hawkins's guest at Bignor Park 'amongst the most agreeable social hours of his life'.¹⁰

By September 1815 Hawkins was corresponding with Richard's architect brother Robert. In a letter to Lysons he wrote: 'I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from your friend Mr Robert Smirke relating to the measure of an Obelisk at Constantinople which I answered as well as I could, but I fear not



Fig. 3. Mosaic pavement, Bignor Roman villa. (wikicommons UK)

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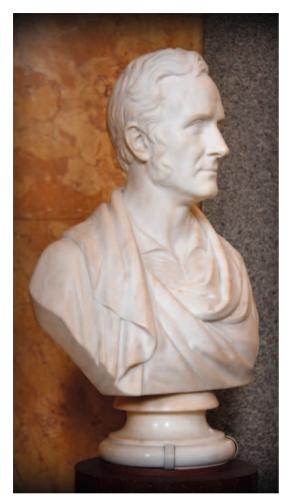


Fig. 4. Robert Smirke, FSA, (1780–1867). (Author's collection)

quite satisfactorily¹¹ The following year efforts were made to get Smirke more engaged with the archaeology; Hawkins wrote on 3 August 1816 that 'I shall conclude with assuring you how happy I shall be to see you and Mr Robert Smirke here at the time you propose¹² Smirke, however, was less than committed, a consequence of his rapidly improving reputation as an architect and resultant heavy workload which, at this time, included the British Museum (1816–17), Millbank Penitentiary (1816–19) and Inner Temple (1816–17), several private house commissions in London, a major commission at Eastnor castle in Herefordshire (1812–20) and his first commission in Scotland.

As there is no evidence to suggest that Hawkins either knew or corresponded with the elder Robert Smirke it must be assumed that all references in his letters to Robert or 'Mr R Smirke' referred to the architect and not his namesake father. Hence, correspondence held in the Cornwall Record Office (now Kresen Kernow) show that Hawkins, Lysons and Smirke dined together at the Albany in 1815,¹³ and it was the architect who wrote from the Albany in 1819 to inform Hawkins 'we have lost our most respected and estimable friend Mr Sam Lysons'.¹⁴

With both Richard Smirke and Samuel Lysons now lost to the ongoing archaeological works, Hawkins once again pursued Robert for assistance. On 2 August 1819 Smirke wrote to Hawkins partly to relay Daniel Lysons gratitude following the death of his brother but also to report on progress at Bignor:

'I have been a good deal engaged from home ... and have had no opportunity of writing to you conveniently before upon the subject of the dimensions which Mr Sam Lysons was about to take at Bignor: they were to ascertain the position of some wall of which you had discovered the traces. In a short description prepared for the press, there is a blank that I cannot very well fill up; speaking of the Cold Bath it is stated that "all traces of the terras floor had been destroyed except on the outside of the wall where [there] was an opening below the level of the Bath and opposite the middle of it [61/2] inches by [above one foot]" I have some recollection of a small opening there which we conceived to be a drain but I do not know whether it is this which is alluded to [Hawkins has pencilled in the details].'15

Smirke never found sufficient time to commit fully to the Bignor project, again a testimony to his rapidly expanding business commitments. By 1819 he had become Surveyor to the Inner Temple and was engaged on projects at Somerset house (1817–19), the United Services Club (1817–19), Lancaster Place and Duchy of Lancaster Office (*c*.1817–23) as well as managing his growing country house practice in the provinces and in Scotland. On 30 August 1819 Daniel Lysons wrote to Hawkins stating 'Mr Smirke has gone to Scotland and returns to London on 'about 15th [September]'.¹⁶

Nevertheless, despite his heavy workload, the architect did make time to uphold his antiquarian interests. After Samuel's death, Daniel Lysons took great pains to finish his brother's legacy. Writing to Hawkins, he mentioned '... his brother's "volume of [Devonshire] church notes" which may be "with Mr Smirke's assistance pretty well made out".¹⁷ In another letter to Hawkins, Lysons noted that '... your kind offer with respect to the geology & mineralogy is most acceptable. Mr R Smirke will assist me with the architecture'.¹⁸ Both contributors were duly acknowledged by Daniel Lysons in the 'advertisement' for the 1822 first edition of *Magna Britannia*:

'The articles which I have drawn up ... have been kindly revised by Robert Smirke Esq., jun., R.A., &c. For the geology of the county, its Mineralogy, &c, I have been so fortunate as to have been favoured with the very able assistance of John Hawkins, Esq ...¹⁹

Correspondence between Smirke and Hawkins waned in the 1820s although the Cornishman took a lively interest in the architect's career, writing to Lysons in August 1820 that 'the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln have rejected Mr Smirkes very Judicious plan for strengthening the falling towers at the western end, and have adopted the temporary expedient of Iron braces'.²⁰

ARCHITECTS AND BIGNOR PARK

In 1822 Hawkins's personal situation changed considerably when he received a legacy of \$8,000from his recently deceased maternal uncle John Heywood of Coventry Street, London. As a consequence of what he referred to as 'The great improvement which has taken place in my circumstances' he indulged in his bibliographic and scientific interests and purchased Berkeley House, a marine villa in Littlehampton, from Thomas Phillips Cox for £1,750.²¹ On the 16 August 1822 Hawkins moved into Berkeley House and turned his attention towards future architectural plans for Bignor Park. Not surprisingly his preferred choice of architect was Robert Smirke. On 27 November 1823 he wrote:

[•]I shall probably rebuild this house, although I have been disappointed by the assistance of Mr R Smirke, whose state of health & great engagements will not permit him to undertake private concerns. I shall however avail myself of his occasional advice, which he has kindly proffered. I feel disposed to have the house built by contract.²²²

The following week Daniel Lysons, who was well acquainted with Smirke's sister, wrote to Hawkins:

'I am confident that what you do, in the buildings ... you will do judiciously ... I am sorry you cannot get Mr Smirke as your architect I am quite sure he intends to give you assistance ... I have been waiting 12 months for the result of a trifling suggested alteration to the sketch of a tablet which I made for my brother'.²³ (Fig. 5)

The fact that Smirke rebuffed the commission goes some way to support the often-quoted proposition that 'At the height of his career he was rumoured to have declined commissions for work costing less than £10,000'.²⁴

Preparation work at Bignor Park was under way by April 1824, when Hawkins wrote: 'I have been much employed at Bignor Park, in making a new road of a mile & a quarter from the Arundel Turnpike to the East, to the house; and I have made great progress in removing my furniture & effects previous to the demolition of the old Mansion'.²⁵ His choice of landscape gardener was an ex-employee of the Gregor family at Trewarthenick near Truro in Cornwall who, despite being recommended by 'Mr Aiton, the King's



Fig. 5. Memorial tablet in the Greek style for Samuel Lysons in St Swithun's church, Hempsted, near Gloucester. (*Terry Stevenson*)

gardener' was described by Sarah Gregor as 'a most arrant Charlatan'. 26

In 1826 Articles of Agreement were drawn-up between Hawkins and Henry Harrison to 'take down [the] present House situate in Bignor Park and to erect a Mansion or Dwelling House with suitable offices upon the site ... agreeably to the Plan and Elevations already prepared by the said Henry Harrison'. The estimated cost was £8,900.²⁷ Harrison's appointment prompted a cautionary note of warning from Hawkins's friend Sir John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe (1735–1828) who wrote of the architect '[his] principal object seems to have been to pick your pockets'.²⁸ It is unclear how Harrison and Trevelyan were acquainted.

The old house was demolished in May 1826 and although Hawkins expected to complete the work by autumn 1828 it still remained unfinished. Suggestions of some difficulties in completion can be seen on 18 October 1828 when Harrison wrote to Hawkins:

⁴I am very glad to hear that Mr Smirke has reported favourably of the house at Bignor. It is a source of the greatest gratification to me, and it has relieved me from making a request before we closed the accounts, that you would get some experienced architect to examine and inspect the building. For myself I can truly say [that neither] diligence nor expense has been spared to accomplish the object you have had in view.²²⁹

By Christmas 1828 two paid servants were employed to occupy the house for security purposes.³⁰

Hawkins made no effort to move into his new house until 1830, when between March and December his large library was transferred and installed and he took delivery of newly commissioned furniture and carpets, supplied by Thomas Dowbiggen of London at a cost of £300.³¹ In addition fifty-four pictures were supplied by the artist and dealer John Seguier of Coventry Street, London.³² Hawkins himself was content to abide at Berkeley House until the end of 1830 - the marine villa was finally sold to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, on 12 January 1831 for £1,950.33 Two weeks later Harrison received an initial payment of £500.34 Harrison continued to correspond with Hawkins until 1832 when accounts, receipts, insurance and notices of payments to the contractor Henry Hoare and Co were paid (Figs. 6 and 7).³⁵

HARRISON AND SMIRKE

It is not clear from the surviving correspondence if Harrison took full design responsibility for Bignor Park or whether, as the early letters suggest, Smirke



Fig. 6. Bignor Park front elevation. (*With permission www.bignorpark.co.uk*)



Fig. 7. Bignor Park garden front. (With permission www.bignorpark.co.uk)

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had an input; nevertheless it is highly probable that Smirke recommended Harrison to Hawkins. By 1826 the two architects were well known to each other. In 1814 Smirke produced designs for Camelford House in London for Lord Grenville, but they were not executed and it was Harrison who later surveyed the house in 1822 when he suggested £13,000 worth of repairs.³⁶ Harrison was employed as Smirke's building contractor on alterations to Grange Park in Hampshire in c.1820 for the banker Alexander Baring, though it was reported that the builder 'proved a trial to everyone'.37 Despite this, Harrison (without Smirke) rebuilt Bath House in Piccadilly (later Ashburton House, dem. 1963) for Baring in 1821. Moreover, although Samuel Baker was the building contractor for the early phases of the British Museum it is suggestive that Harrison was involved as he later worked on a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury - a principal trustee for the new British Museum along with the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons - for a new chapel, library and apartments at Addington Palace (formerly Addington Place).³⁸

Harrison claimed to have been an architect in his own right from 1823 when he was engaged on a number of metropolitan improvements, such as speculative housing schemes around Belgravia and its environs, some with his building contractor brother George.³⁹ His reputation as a respected businessman and talented architect gathered momentum during the 1820s after being appointed surveyor of the Holland estate in 1823 (when speculative building began); he later secured elevated patronage from Viscount Hampton and the Earls of Kinnoul and Carysfort and others. As Harrison's private practice was gathering momentum the two architects would have regularly encountered each other in the cut-and-thrust of metropolitan life. Indeed, during the construction of Bignor Park, Smirke was invited to join the architectural competition to design a new Travellers Club in London; he declined but Harrison submitted a

design which was unsuccessful. Also, in 1828, Smirke and Harrison, together with John Nash, gave evidence on architects' fees to a House of Commons Select Committee, Harrison stating that five per cent was the 'usual commission'.⁴⁰

In 1828 Harrison wrote to Hawkins: 'It will, I am sure, be gratifying to you to learn that it [a reference] is likely in many ways to serve me in my professional pursuits'; Smirke later added that 'Harrison's hope that such a favourable reference came to some fruition as for the next five years a good proportion of his large output was in Cornwall'.41 Harrison succeeded in securing lucrative Cornish commissions which appear, at first sight, to have been driven, in part, by Hawkins's friends and correspondents. His first project was for the Earl of St Germans at Port Eliot near Saltash. In February 1827 Sarah Gregor of Trewarthenick wrote of her first encounter with Harrison and his Torpointbased builder Charles Hutchens (c.1781-1834), of whom she wrote '... he built Lady St G's house; but I think it was always understood that he had nothing whatever to do with the plan - and it is allowed by all that the workmanship is excellent'.42 Harrison went onto advise on the rebuilding of Hessenford Church and undertake alterations to Prideaux, near Luxulyan (n.d.), Carclew (1830), Heligan (c.1830), Pendarves (1832), Trewarthenick (1832), Enys (1833) and to build a new lodge for Penrose, near Helston (1834). Other speculative works exist such as a new ballroom built at Pelyn, near Lostwithiel, in 1836, suggesting that he might have worked in the county until his bankruptcy in 1840; drawings and specifications for a vicarage at Veryan in 1853 also suggest that he maintained interests in Cornwall late in his career.43

Like many architects of the period, Harrison learned to adapt to the wishes and needs of his patrons. This led him to experiment with various architectural styles, but with mixed success; Howard Colvin questioned his competence and described his output as 'tame' and 'poorly detailed'.⁴⁴ A similar sentiment was shared by Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, who described Bignor Park as a 'plain and decent white stuccoed box by Henry Harrison', a point repeated in the latest edition with the addition: 'On the entrance Harrison has contrived a curious and clever porch treatment, so what reads as a tall single-storey open loggia incorporates a porch with capitals with banded anthemion with sidelights'.⁴⁵ Beyond its 'plain' and 'decent' exterior it is a more-thancapable disciplined Greek Revival house, typical of many that appeared post-Waterloo. As such it is a skilful piece of historicist architecture that befitted the stature of a classical archaeologist and was in keeping with his rich and varied museological collection of fine art and scientific specimens. The house was later set in an ornamental landscape, designed from 1830 by William Sawrey Gilpin (1762– 1843), and captured on canvas by John Constable *c*.1834. Hawkins later noted: 'I have derived great assistance from my son [John Heywood Hawkins (1802–77)], who has a very uncommon knowledge of architecture and a great taste for picturesque gardening.'⁴⁶ The French windows on the garden front, a very typical feature of the period, maximised the views across the landscape.

On the death of his elder brother Sir Christopher Hawkins in 1829, the principal Cornish estates passed to John Hawkins, who died at Trewithen in 1841 (Fig. 8). John's son, another Christopher



Fig. 8. Trewithen near Truro, Cornwall. The south elevation façade. (Author)

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(1820–1903), seems never to have visited Trewithen and, like his father, preferred the indulgence of Bignor Park over the industrial wilderness of Cornwall. Dying childless the estate passed briefly to the son of his sister Mary Anne (1804–1890), John Heywood Johnstone (1850–1904), who died within a year of his inheritance. Bignor Park was sold in 1926 to Lord and Lady Mersey whose ancestors still run it as a wedding venue. Some of the library fittings and John Hawkins library were transferred to Trewithen.

POSTSCRIPT

This article has shown how important various networks and relationships were to nineteenthcentury architects. For lesser builder/architects like Harrison, a relationship with, and reference from, a senior more established figure was important in order to launch connections and win new architectural commissions. Two letters that have been uncovered during this research on Bignor Park show how these associations and relationships could divert an architect into areas of the country unfamiliar to them.

First, a letter to an unnamed recipient, from Francis Bassett (1757–1835) signing himself 'Dunstanville', shows that Smirke travelled to Cornwall in 1823, most likely in his role as Treasurer of the Royal Academy. The letter dated 2 April 1823 from Twickenham Meadows, referred to

'... Mr Lowe of Newman Street for a pointed window for Bodmin Church in Cornwall. Mr L was recommend by my late worthy friend Mr Parrington of your Academy; it was agreed that the work was to be carried out under the inspection of Mr P and Mr Smirke, that the price be 450 guineas, 150 to be paid in hand, 150 when messers Parrington and Smirke make report that the artist was entitled to it, and the remainder when the window was placed in the situation it was intended for.⁴⁷ As Lowe promised the window by summer 1821, legal proceedings against the stained-glass maker were underway as the work remained unfinished in February 1822, by which time Parrington was dead and Smirke had approved the second payment.⁴⁸

Second, on 18 October 1828 Harrison wrote to Hawkins expressing his regrets as he was 'travelling to Chester this evening ... on business with the new Bishop'.⁴⁹ On his return, Harrison said that he was 'happy to devote any time in assisting you and Mrs Hawkins in any way where my services can be useful'. John Sumner, consecrated Bishop of Chester in 1828, and later elevated to Archbishop of Canterbury in 1848, was particularly energetic in building new churches and schools; 49 new church buildings were erected in the first four years of his episcopacy, in 1834 he established the Chester Diocesan Church Building Society, and by 1847 he had consecrated more than two hundred new churches in the diocese. Despite such prolific output it would seem that Harrison only benefitted from a modest alteration to Winwick rectory, near Warrington, for the Reverend John James Hornby.

Smirke's visit to Cornwall was, it would seem, his only venture across the river Tamar. Likewise, from Harrison's rare appearance in the north-west of England – an area more synonymous with his namesake Thomas Harrison (1744–1829), but no apparent relation – we might wonder whether this was yet another endorsement by Smirke whose extensive workload covered the whole of the county.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Canon Nikki Arthy and Terry Stevenson (St Swithun's church, Gloucestershire), Nick Fry (Chester), Kim Cooper and Patrick Newberry (Cornwall) and Kathryn and Eleanor Holden.

ENDNOTES

- Harrison lived and worked at this address until his bankruptcy in 1840. By 1843 he was living in Hill Street but was recorded in the 1851 census as being resident at 29 Bedford Square and in 1861, 11 Bedford Place, Bloomsbury.
- 2 British Library, Add. MS 5674 f.47 (No.85).
- 3 Elizabeth Williamson, Tim Hudson, Jeremy Musson, Ian Nairn, *The Buildings of England Sussex: West* (New Haven & London, 2019), p. 133. 'Coade stone pinnacles from the previous house are recorded as being in the garden, and the exhibition catalogue *Coade's Gallery* (1799) lists Bignor as a place where Coade stone ornament was used.
- 4 Paul Holden, 'Trewithen and the "Brettingham Plans", *Georgian Group Journal*, 21 (2012), pp. 58–72; 'Bignor Park' *Country Life*, 26 April and 3 May 1956; Lorraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: a critical biography* (New York, 1998), p. 325. Smith affectionately described Bignor Park as 'my *ci devant* paternal house'.
- 5 Linnean Society of London GB-110/JES/ COR/5/36.
- 6 A full record of Hawkins's friendship with Samuel Lysons can be traced in Francis W. Steer (ed.), *The Letters of John Hawkins and Samuel and Daniel Lysons 1812–1830*, (Chichester, 1966). The most recent excavations are detailed in M. Russell and D. R. Rudling, 'Bignor Roman Villa', *British Archaeology* 144 (2015), pp. 38–43.
- 7 Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (London, 1956), p. 213, n.2; Archaeologia, 15, (1806), pp. 363–6.
- 8 Evans, *ibid.*, p. 216.
- 9 Steer, op. cit., p. 3.

- 10 Mrs Charles Stothard, Memoirs, including Original Journals, Letters, Papers and Antiquarian Tracts of the late Charles Alfred Stothard, FSA (London, 1825), p. 257.
- 11 Steer, op. cit., p. 30.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 33. The visit appears to have taken place in September 1816.
- 13 Kresen Kernow (hereafter KK), formerly the Cornwall Record Office, J/3/9/42. Letter not dated but watermarked 1815.
- 14 KK J/3/7/16a 1 July 1819.
- 15 KKJ/3/7/17.
- 16 KK J/3/7/18 Smirke was working on Cultoquhey House and Kinfauns Castle, both in Perthshire at this time.
- 17 West Sussex Record Office, 1733-4.
- 18 Steer, op. cit., p. 49.
- 19 Daniel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol.6 (London, 1822), advertisement, n.p.
- 20 Steer, op. cit., p. 55.
- 21 Steer, *op.cit.*, pp. 63–7.
- 22 Ibid., p. 68.
- 23 KK J/3/7/28, dated 3 December 1823. Smirke has also been credited with re-fronting the Lysons seat at Hempstead Court.
- 24 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 1600–1840 (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 876.
- 25 Steer, *op.cit.*, p. 69. Letter to Daniel Lysons dated 3 April 1824.
- 26 KK G/1920/5.
- 27 Francis W Steer (ed), 'I am my dear Sir'... a selection of letters written mainly to and by John Hawkins (Chichester, 1959) p. xii-xiii.
- 28 KK/J/3/2/636. It remains unclear what the relationship was between Harrison and Trevelyan.
- 29 KKJ/3/7/38.
- 30 Steer (1966) op.cit., p. 70. KK J/3/2/689.
- 31 KK J/3/2/712, 729, 754, 757–8. In a letter dated 20 November 1830 Thomas Dowbiggen asked for an advance of £300 as 'I am very poor at this time and it would be a great accommodation to me'. He apologised the following week and was eventually paid in December 1830. Dowbiggen (1788–1854) had a very successful cabinet making business working from Mount Street in London, counting the Royal family as patrons. Having worked at, amongst others, Burton Constable, Apsley House, Drummond Castle, Audley End and Stafford

House, his work at Bignor Park for Hawkins has hitherto been unrecognised. It is of note that he writes as an impoverished creditor when it would, at first sight, appear that his business was flourishing.

- 32 KKJ/3/2/748.
- 33 Letters between Harrison and Hawkins relevant to the building of Bignor Park between November 1825 and 1832 survive at J3/12/1-12, 13-31, 32-73. Also see Steer (1956), p. xiv and Steer (1966), p. 75.
- 34 KKJ/3/2/768.
- 35 Francis Steer (ed.), *The Hawkins Papers, a catalogue* (Chichester, 1962), pp. 19, 2525–93, 2595–8, 2514–24. Copies at KK J/3/12.
- 36 F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), Survey of London: the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair (London, 1980), p. 280. Lord Grenville also owned Boconnoc House in Cornwall.
- 37 David Watkin, *The Life and Work of* C.R. Cockerell (London, 1974), p. 171.
- 38 In his memoirs Herbert Baker's recalls 'my great-grandfather Samuel Baker was a builder, with an extensive business beyond his locality; he built the British Museum and was related to the Smirkes, the architects'; Lambeth Palace Library, TG47. Works appear to run from March 1829 to September 1830.

- 39 London Metropolitan Archives, Metropolitan Board of Works 213, 1 February 1856; Steven Brindle, 'Henry Harrison', *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.25 (Oxford, 2004), p. 502.
- 40 James Noble, The Professional Practice of Architects, and that of Measuring Surveyors, and reference to Builders (London, 1836), p. 33.
- 41 Steer (1959) op.cit,. p.66. KK J/3/7/38.
- 42 KK/1909/325; Paul Holden, 'Trewarthenick and Enys: two Cornish houses by Henry Harrison?', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 64 (2020), pp. 56–72. Charles Hutchens (c.1781–1834) was already employed on several Cornish Commissioner churches at Chasewater (1826–8), St Day (1826–8) and St Mary, Redruth (1827–8).
- 43 Peter Beacham and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings* of England: Cornwall (New Haven and London, 2014), p. 278.
- 44 Colvin, op. cit., p. 463.
- 45 Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (London, 1965), p. 102; Elizabeth Williamson, Tim Hudson, Jeremy Musson, Ian Nairn, *op.cit.*, p. 133.
- 46 Steer (1966) op. cit., p. 71. Dated 4 February 1828
- 47 KK AD225/5.
- 48 It is unlikely the letter refers to Edward Smirke who was called the bar at the Middle Temple in 1824 and later worked a great deal in Cornwall.
- 49 KKJ/3/7/38.