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BELSAY HALL AND THE PERSONALITY OF SIR CHARLES MONCK

Richard Hewlings

To his face Sir Charles Monck was called ‘able, active and upright’.¹ Behind his back he was called ‘an original . . . no-one paid much attention to anything he said’.² The cheerful insensitivity of traditional county society (so sensitively mourned today) portrays him only as a figure of fun. Yet, however entertaining his habits and opinions were to his Northumbrian neighbours, the interest the Georgian Group takes in him is as the architect of a minor masterpiece. So let me start with that building (Fig. 1). What distinguishes it? Was it effective? And then let me ask how it acquired such distinction and such effectiveness. Was Belsay Hall the creature of the *Zeitgeist*’s blind and impulsive workings, or was it determined by the particularity of a single agent? If the latter, by what was that agent motivated? For Sir Charles Monck was certainly a motivated man; in some respects he was a man driven.

Belsay is not the earliest Greek Doric building, so it has no claims either to originality or influence on that account. On Dr Watkin’s list, which begins in 1758, it takes the 37th place.³ In a regional context however, Belsay looks more impressive. It was begun in 1807, when



FIG. 1. Belsay Hall, Northumberland: exterior (photo: Roger White)

Newcastle was far from classical, and Edinburgh had earned the epithet Athens of the North only for its legal and philosophical achievements. North of Chester Belsay's few Greek Doric predecessors are David Stephenson's All Saints' Church, Newcastle (1786), James Playfair's Cairness House, Aberdeenshire (1791), and Peter Nicholson's curiously named Yorkshire Ho!, at Partick, Lanarkshire (1806). And these buildings use Greek Doric only for detail. Stephenson's church is brilliant, but its ornament is Rococo-classical, like Robert Adam's, and used largely as surface covering. Playfair's more original Romantic-classical ornament kits out an essentially late Palladian villa. Belsay, by contrast, is a Dorian giant from its very bowels.

Nevertheless all the foregoing amounts to is the claim that Belsay is a provincial building of some consequence, specifically the first fully Greek Doric building in the northern two thirds of Britain. That claim is not quite enough for the house to enjoy its maintenance at public expense, as it does now. However, Belsay is more interesting than that. It is more interesting than most of its Doric predecessors, which were usually Palladian villas with attached temple porticos, like Dance's Stratton Park. Far from being designed to a formula, Belsay combines quite catholic elements in an original manner.

The most apparent of these elements are of classical Greek origin. Their prototypes were reproduced in two ways. The first and rarest method was by the measurements Sir Charles himself made in Greece during the summer of 1805.⁴ He and his new wife arrived at Patras on 19th April by boat from Trieste, having spent a month in Corfu and Zante, then part of the Ionian Republic and garrisoned by a Russian fleet with largely English officers. On 26th April they set out by land for Athens, which they reached on 3rd May. They spent the summer there, where their son Charles Atticus was born, and Sir Charles made expeditions with a party of male friends to Aegina and Sounion. On 6th October they began their return journey, on horseback, accompanied by their English servants, Turner (perhaps a lady's maid) and Jack, their Danish servant Hagen, their two Turkish servants, and four luggage horses. Sir Charles himself 'carried the little boy upon a pillow upon my knees, riding upon a Samorro'. On the return journey they visited Eleusis and Corinth, accompanied by Sir William Gell and an artist called Gropius who was in the service of Lord Aberdeen. Sir Charles and Gropius alone made a diversionary expedition to Nemea, whence Sir Charles, apparently only accompanied by a servant, rode on to Mycenae. They reached Patras on 20th October, embarking on the 24th for Zante (where they stayed until 9th January 1806) and Cephalonia, whence they eventually set sail (for Plymouth) on the 22nd.

During these ten months Sir Charles recorded inscriptions, made archaeological observations, visited caves, searched Salamis for the victory monument, commissioned Gropius to take a cast of a sculptured well-head in Corinth, and set a gang to work robbing a grave in Piraeus. He recorded thirty-one excursions to draw in his Journal, of which the majority were view-taking (Fig. 2). He recorded measurements only seven times, although he may have measured on a total of twelve occasions. The first time, on 19th August, he formed part of a party consisting of Gell, Gropius, and the French consul, Fauvelle. They measured the columns of the first Parthenon, destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C., and re-used in the north wall of the Acropolis. On 19th September he and Gell measured the surviving evidence of the Parthenon doors. On 7th and 8th October they measured what he called cheeses (presumably either Doric capitals or column drums) at Eleusis. He did not begin taking measurements until he had been in Greece for five months (by which time he had taken many views). Only three times did he measure bereft of the company of his archaeologically-minded friends, and then not long after he had left them. These were on 15th October, when he measured some columns at Vasilico (Sicyon), on 30th November, when he measured a Doric triglyph at Zante, and on 14th January 1806 when he measured cyclopean masonry at Cephalonia.



FIG. 2. Sir Charles Monck: sketch of a marble statue on an island in the harbour of Port Rapti, Greece, 4th September 1805

In addition, when not actually measuring he made dimensioned guesses (with Gell, at Corinth, on 11th October), or accurate observations (by himself, at Mycenae, on 12th October). Of another three places his observations are precise enough to suggest that he may have measured. These are two columns of what he calls the Temple of Venus at Aegina town (8th July), the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (which he called the Temple of Minerva Sounias) (6th September), and the Theseion.

Only the last was used as a model for Belsay, and his comments on it are recorded on a drawing made in Northumberland, so it is possible that he was commenting from the published drawing in Stuart and Revett.

The drawing is of the entrance elevation at Belsay, annotated thus:

... these columns are Παρθενισκ to make them Θησειαν 9 inches may be added to their height. They will then be 28.1.417 make the columns 28ft. high which is something under Θησειαν.⁵

The order at Belsay is therefore that of the Theseion, reduced by 1.417 inches.

The second method he used for reproducing Greek prototypes was by published source. With the possible exception of the Theseian order it seems to have accounted for all the Greek ornament at Belsay. The lower order of Ionic columns in the Pillar Hall (Fig. 3), and the bookcases in the library are taken from the Erechtheion. Sir Charles visited the Erechtheion a number of times, and spent at least half a day drawing on the Acropolis (13th July). But we have it on his grandson's word that he used Stuart and Revett, Vol. 2, for both these features.⁶ Indeed the library was not fitted up until 1828,⁷ so he could have supplemented Stuart and Revett with H. W. Inwood's *The Erechtheion at Athens* which came out the previous year, and which he owned.⁸ From the same source we know that the Library frieze came from the Temple of Nemeisis at Rhamnos,⁹ a building he never saw.¹⁰ His medium was Gell's *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, 1817.¹¹ He did not follow his models

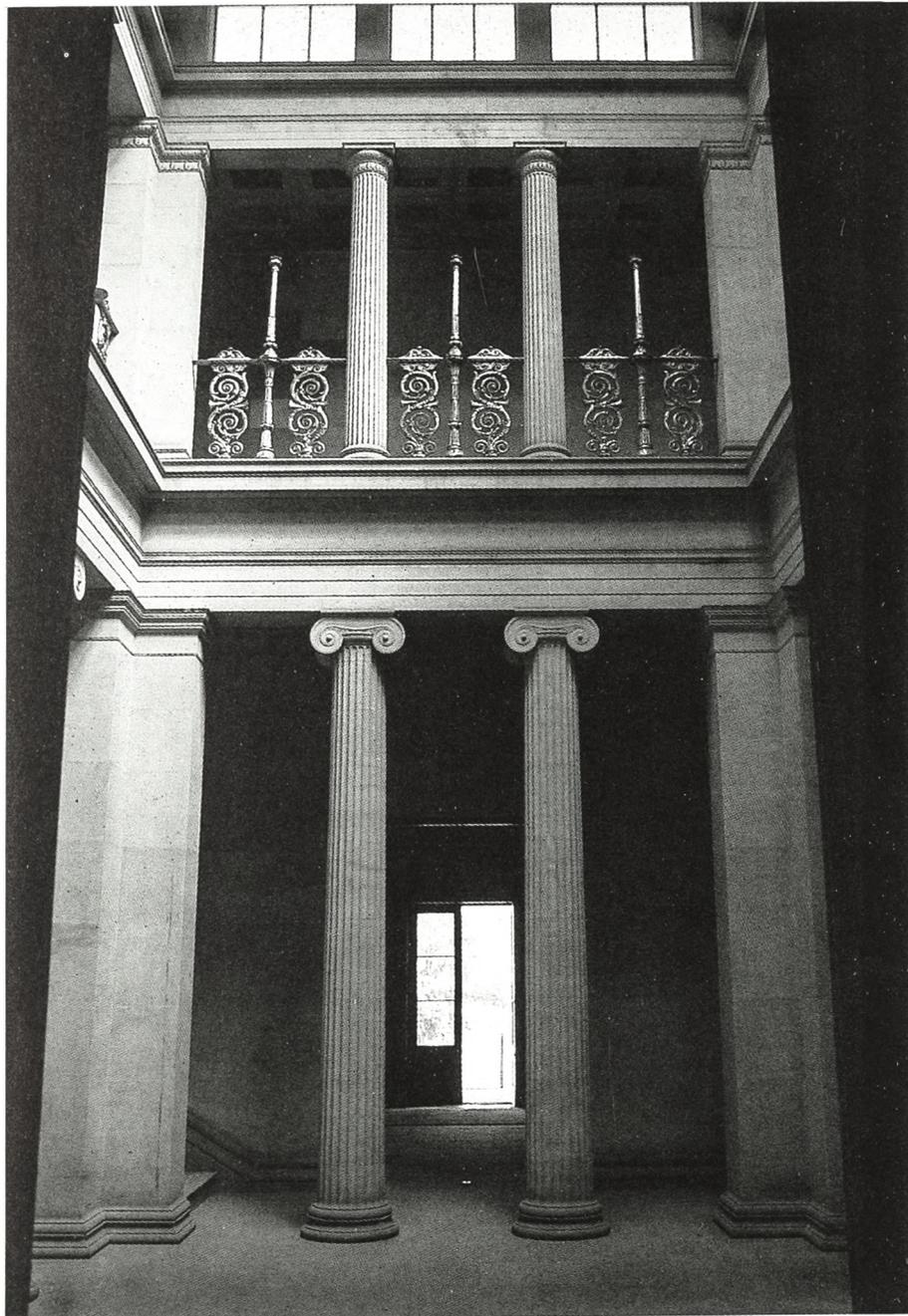


FIG. 3. Belsay Hall: the Pillar Hall (photo: Roger White)

uncritically. He drew up, but rejected, the frieze of the Theseion, because he disapproved of its lower line of *anthemia*, upside down.¹² For the upper columns of the Pillar Hall he drew capitals of his own invention, with assistance in setting out the helical curves of the volutes from John Dobson, then just over 20 and not yet an architect.¹³ In fact Belsay could have been designed without the benefit of his visit to Greece.

Its plan is not that of a Greek house, since there was no model to follow. It is, however, not unusual in the context of modern villas. Despite its sacred order it is not a temple, like The Grange. First, its plan is a square of exactly 100 feet, which is neither hieratic, nor particularly predictable; ideal geometry was not a characteristic pre-occupation of Romantic classicism.

Secondly it has a giant portico *in antis*. *Antae* are common enough in Greek architecture, and are the norm in temples above a certain size, but they are not two-storey, they flank porches, not porticos, and are usually found behind prostylar or peristylar porticos. The Theseion has such an arrangement, so does the temple at Aphaia on Aegina, which Sir Charles saw,¹⁴ so do the Temple of Neptune and the so-called Basilica at Paestum, reproduced in Wilkins' *Magna Graecia*, which came out in 1807, and which he owned.¹⁵ Set as it is at Belsay, however, in the centre of a long astylar elevation, the motif is not so much Greek as Anglo-Baroque. Webb designed one, Hawksmoor one, Thornhill one, Galilei one, Archer two, Leoni two, and Gibbs six.¹⁶ They were out of favour in the Palladian years, but were re-introduced by Chambers, at Somerset House, presumably under the influence of Gabriel.¹⁷ It was Soane who popularised them. Sir Charles could not have known the nearest version to Belsay, at St Peter's Church, Walworth, which post-dates it, nor Butterton Farm House, which does likewise, nor need he have known the primitivist version at Betchworth; for Soane used giant porticos *in antis* on a building he must have known, the Bank of England, in three forms towards Threadneedle Street, once towards Bartholomew Lane, and twice bent round corners.¹⁸

Thirdly, Belsay has a top-lit central hall, known as the Pillar Hall, which is surrounded by two levels of colonnade, masking a stair. The ornament is Greek. Sir William Gell's proposal,¹⁹ which can be dated August/September 1807,²⁰ envisaged caryatids on the upper floor. Sir Charles instead designed the colonnades to resemble the two-storey *cellas* of all the standing temples he had seen, the Parthenon, Theseion, Poseidon at Sounion, and Aphaia at Aegina. But however sacred and Greek its ornament, the room's function is secular and Roman. It is in most respects the *atrium* of a Roman house, glazed overhead to withstand the Boreal climate. Nor was such an adaptation unprecedented. The *atrium* concept was first aired by John Webb.²¹ As a practical proposition it was revived by Colen Campbell, who called it a tribune.²² At Stourhead in 1720 he combined it with a stair, in an arrangement subsequently much used by Paine,²³ and once, with more carefully Roman detail, by Taylor.²⁴ Campbell's Stourhead is thus the progenitor of Belsay's Pillar Hall, and Taylor's Purbrook (Fig. 4) its most immediate precedent.

The most distinctive feature of the Pillar Hall, and of the Entrance Hall which the visitor crosses to reach it, is that it is finished in ashlar, including even the ceilings of the colonnades. The presumed intention was to resemble the temple interiors as Sir Charles had seen them. But, like the portico *in antis*, it also resembles another native product, also Anglo-Baroque in origin, also revived by Soane. Blenheim, Castle Howard, Grimsthorpe, Seaton Delaval, Bramham and Hamilton Palace all have ashlar-clad halls. Thereafter they were not used until Soane revived them at Tyringham, Aynho, Buckingham House, Bentley Priory and Pitzhanger.²⁵ Economy often compelled Soane to simulate ashlar in stucco, and, in any case, Sir Charles cannot have seen all these, and we have no knowledge that he saw any of them. However, it is quite possible that he saw the stone interior of Packington Church (Fig. 5) as it was rising in 1789–90.²⁶ For, between midsummer 1787 and midsummer 1794, he was a



FIG. 4. Sir Robert Taylor: Purbrook House, Hampshire, 1770, view of the hall

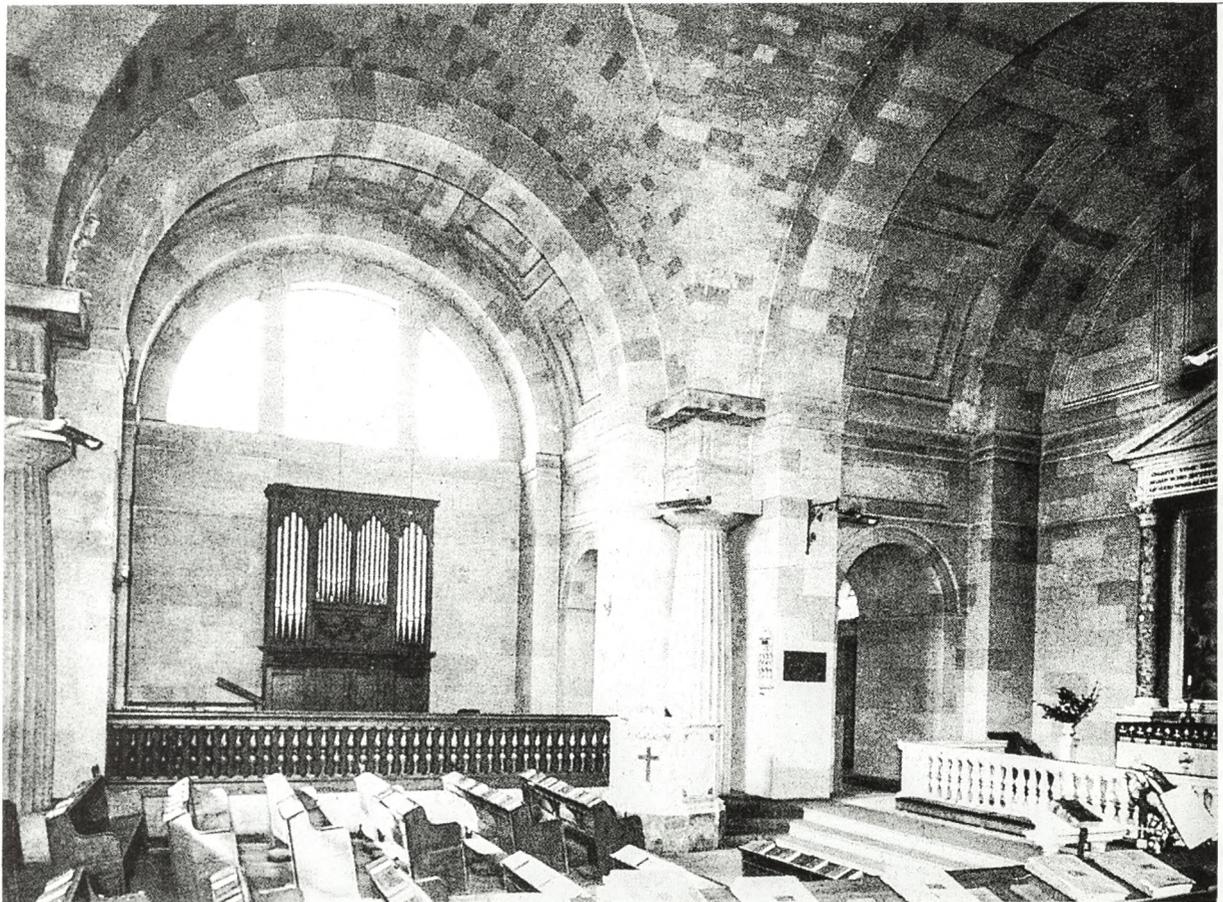


FIG. 5. Joseph Bonomi: Great Packington Church, Warwickshire, 1789–90, interior

pupil at Rugby School, less than ten miles away, with more time on his hands than most boys, since those who came from as far away as Northumberland did not usually return home in the holidays.²⁷ It is in any case possible that his family knew the patron of Packington, the 4th Earl of Aylesford. Lord Aylesford was an artist of considerable ability, and had visited Sicily in 1771–73. In 1790 he contributed two etchings to the 2nd edition of Henry Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies*.²⁸ Swinburne (1743–1803) was the younger brother of Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton, the Belsay family's nearest neighbour and closest friend. Henry Swinburne had an estate at Hamsterley, Co. Durham, fourteen miles from Belsay, where he lived when in England.²⁹ It is possible that he could have introduced the future Sir Charles to Lord Aylesford, and even that this experienced Mediterranean traveller may have inspired Sir Charles to visit Greece.

It is therefore my contention that modern English architecture contributed as much to the distinctive design of Belsay as did classical Greece. So, perhaps, did modern continental architecture. From 1792, when Sir Charles was thirteen, to 1815, when Belsay was nearly complete, France and Italy were made inaccessible to him by war. He did not see a French classical building until 1831, when Belsay was finished. When he went to Greece in 1804, he travelled through Denmark, Mecklenburg–Schwerin, Prussia, Saxony, the Hapsburg domains (including Venice) and the Ionian Republic.³⁰ He found little architecture to please him in any of these places save Berlin, where he spent three days, admiring Knobelsdorff's Palladian Opera House and Langhans' Brandenburg Gate (Fig. 6), which he sketched in his Journal.³¹ A few paces further into the Tiergarten he would have seen Friedrich Gilly's Landhaus Mölter (Fig. 7), just five years old, whose outline and portico *in antis* is not unlike Belsay's, although the latter has an arch over it, probably derived from Ledoux.³² It may be that those three days of exposure to the first phase of north German neo-classicism also

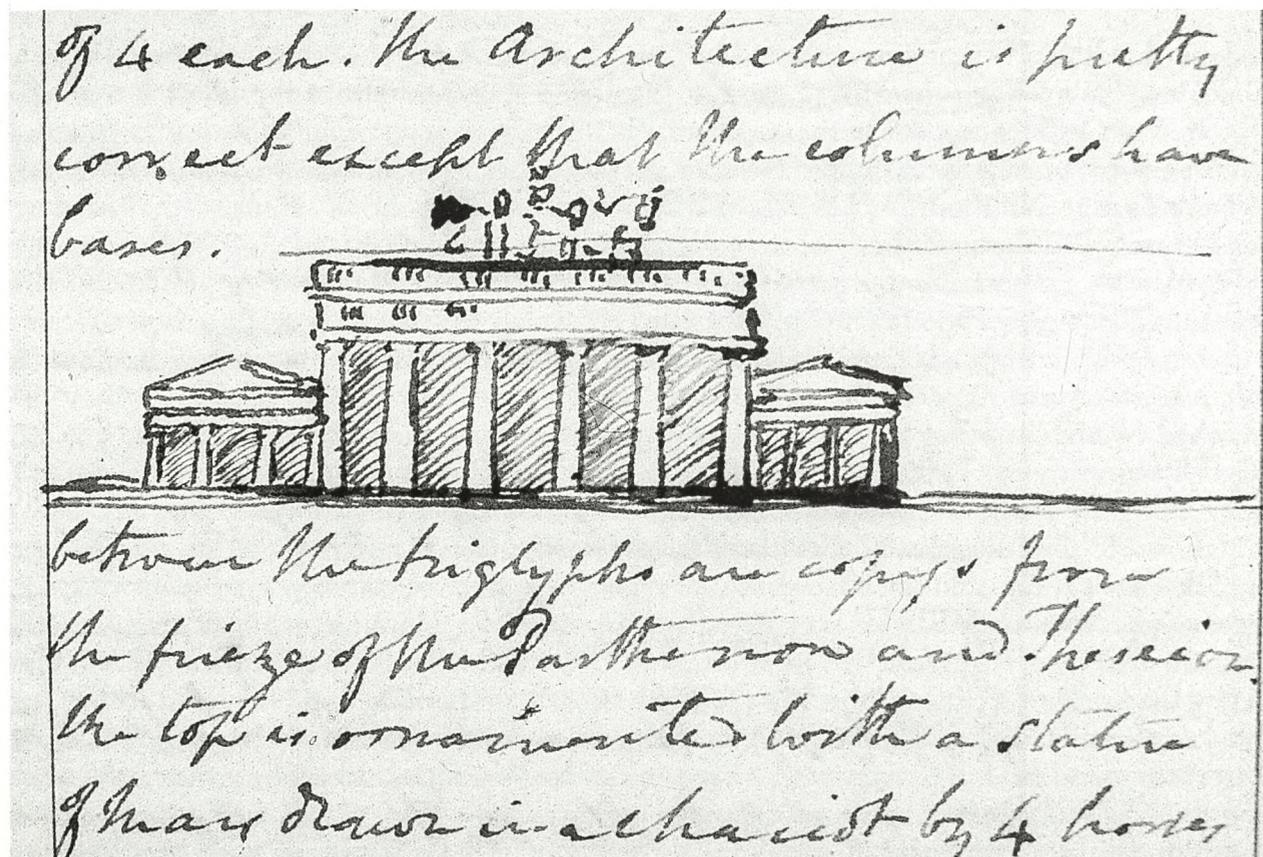


FIG. 6. Sir Charles Monck: sketch of the Brandenburg Gate, Berlin, 19th October 1804



FIG. 7. Friedrich Gilly: Landhaus Mötter, Tiergartenstrasse 30/31, Berlin, 1799

account for Belsay's similarity to a building which he never saw, but may have heard about, C. F. Hanson's villa in the Hirsch Park at Hamburg (Fig. 8), built in the 1790s.³³

Belsay's influence outside the north-east is difficult to judge. The *atrium* idea found a small number of takers, but it is difficult to say whether these later *atria* were inspired by Belsay. That at Whitbourne Hall, Herefordshire, designed by H. W. Elmslie in 1860, may have been.³⁴ But three continental examples, Schinkel's Schloss Orianda (1838),³⁵ Gärtner's Pompejanum at Aschaffenburg (1842–46),³⁶ and Normand's Maison Pompéienne in the Avenue Montaigne, Paris (1854–9),³⁷ are unlikely to have been.

However, within the north-east, Belsay's influence is quite specific, and of two kinds. First, it is the prototype of the villa plan which Dobson built so prolifically, for patrons enriched by the immense commercial expansion of early 19th century Newcastle (Figs. 9, 10).³⁸ Dobson's villas have central top-lit halls with the stairs opening off them on the north side. Along the south side of his houses lie a sequence of large living rooms, taking advantage of the view. On the north side, flanking the stairs, are the upper service rooms (the housekeeper's room, and the business room). The lower service rooms are in lower wings, at right angles, to the north. This is exactly the plan of Belsay. Mark Girouard, identifying the Dobson plan type, suggested that its source was Creswell Hall, Northumberland (1820) (Fig. 11) by the London architect John Shaw (chiefly famous for remodelling Newstead Abbey for Byron's friend Colonel Wildman). A building more like Belsay than Creswell we could scarcely hope to find. But even with a head full of metropolitan ideas, Shaw may have been able to learn from Belsay, since he visited it under construction. On 30th November 1811 Lady Monck recorded in her diary a visit to Belsay by 'Sir J. Swinburne with Mr Shaw the architect who came from town to examine the roof at Capheaton'.³⁹



FIG. 8. C. F. Hanson: Villa in the Hirsch Park, Hamburg, c. 1790

The second kind of influence Belsay had was constructional. The constructional standard at Belsay, in all the trades, is unusually high. In 1845 Dobson gave a lecture to the Institute of British Architects, reprinted in *Building News*, in which he said that the dispersal of the masons who had worked at Belsay 'much raised the standard of good mason work in the north of England'.⁴⁰ It is certainly true that Northumbrian ashlar in the 18th century is that of a poor and backward county and in the 19th century that of an opulent one. Indeed Newcastle, before Grainger and Dobson in the 1830s, was a brick and timber city. The curiosity is that the tradesmen were probably not experienced before they worked at Belsay. A small number were established London firms, the upholsterer Edward Bailey, the brazier W. Collins of 227 Strand, the locksmith Bramah.⁴¹ The scagliola chimney piece in the Library and the alabaster vases on the bookshelves came from Micali & Co. of Leghorn.⁴² The chief suppliers came from Newcastle and Edinburgh.⁴³ But the chief carpenters, Chisholm and Sample, and the chief mason, Robson, came from families who had been working on the estate when Sir Charles inherited in 1795.⁴⁴ The blacksmith Trewick, the plasterer Charlton, and the slater Kirkley all bore local — even village — names.⁴⁵ These facts suggest that the skilled craftsmen whose diaspora so benefited the north-east were actually trained by Sir Charles.

I have suggested that Belsay was not designed by a simple formula which translated something seen on holiday inflexibly into an eccentric country house, but that it developed ideas from modern and even Baroque country houses to create an imaginative and powerful impression. I have suggested also that it was an influential building, at least within a limited area. In these circumstances it is strange that its architect was not a professional. In some



FIG. 9. John Dobson: Longhirst House, Northumberland, 1824–8, hall

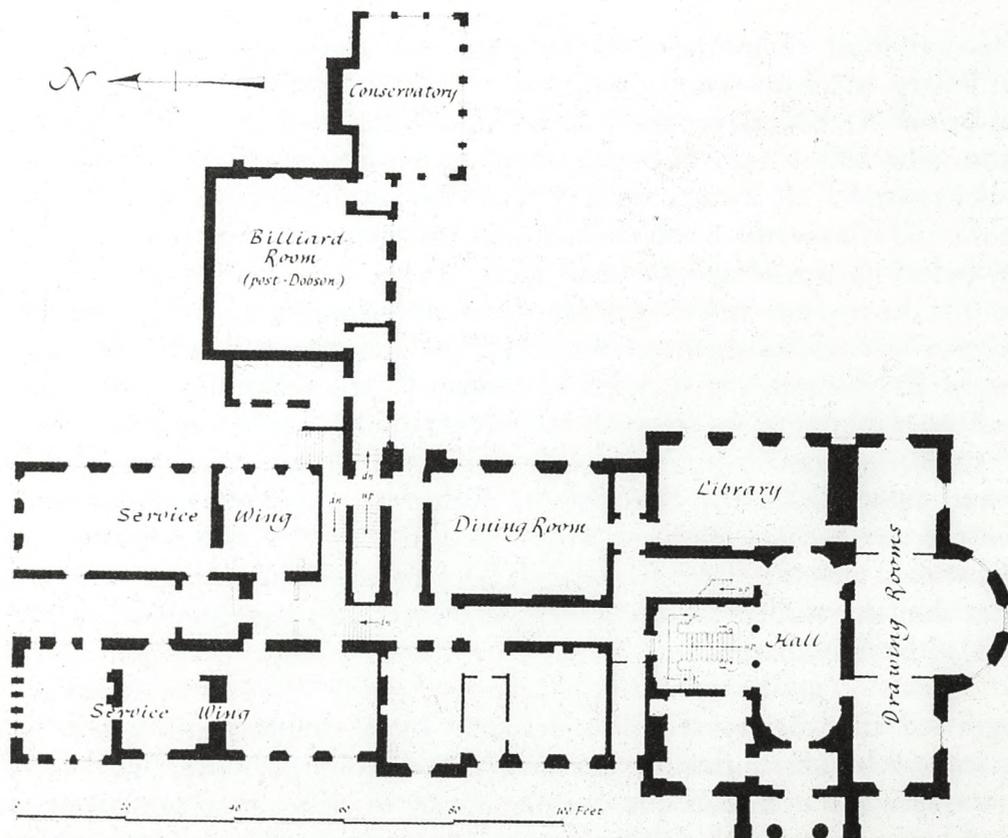


FIG. 10. John Dobson: Longhirst House, Northumberland, 1824–8, plan



FIG. 11. John Shaw: Cresswell Hall, Northumberland, 1820–4

senses he was. The one epithet which most ill accords Sir Charles Monck is ‘amateur architect’. He was neither an amateur in the modern sense, of something less than professional, nor in its original sense, of someone pre-occupied by a calling which was not his own.

As a professional, Sir Charles Monck poses a problem for historians of the profession. On the one hand his architectural activities conform easily with the Image of the Architect. He was a designer. He produced his own exquisite drawings: he did not need a ghost (Fig. 12).⁴⁶ He designed one remarkable country house, one unremarkable one,⁴⁷ and numerous functional small buildings on his estates.⁴⁸ He supervised the execution of all his designs. He was his own clerk of works.⁴⁹ He located his own tradesmen, and placed his own contracts with suppliers.⁵⁰ Nor were his accomplishments confined either to the aesthetic, or to the managerial. He was endlessly interested in technical improvements, and attempted some essays of his own in those fields.⁵¹ He imposed higher standards of performance on his tradesmen than they had thought possible, without having been a building tradesman himself. His buildings’ style, their plans and their execution had an immediate influence. In these matters he achieved the standards of the professional.

And yet he was not dependent on architecture as a source of income, rather the reverse. He designed only what he had to. It is possible that he was not greatly interested in architecture. Why, in these circumstances, was he so successful at a task which appears to have played so small a part in his life? It might be explained if he moved in a particular circle of virtuosos and connoisseurs, the sort of circle delineated by Dr Watkin as the Cambridge Hellenists,⁵² two of whom, Gell and Dodwell, Sir Charles spent most days with during the summer of 1805. But he never went to Cambridge, and was, those few months apart, not a member of that group. Gell stayed with him at Belsay in 1807, and evidently asked Sir Charles to press his suit with his sister Netty. Sir Charles wrote to him ‘at Morritts Esq Rokeby Hall, Greta Bridge, Yorkshire’, declining, as, in his opinion, they were both too

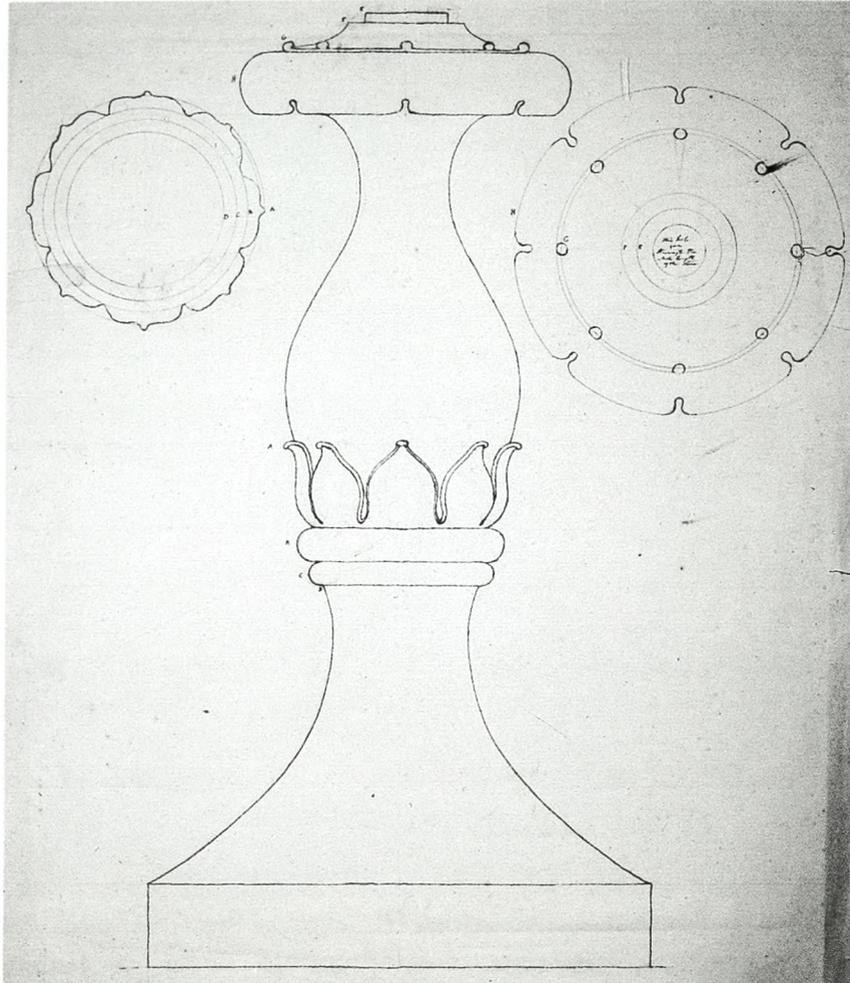


FIG. 12. Sir Charles Monck: proposal drawing for a finial on the stable clock tower, Belsay Hall, Northumberland, undated

poor.⁵³ (His ability to remedy this situation, at least in respect of his sister, seemed not to occur to him.) J. B. S. Morrill was a friend of Sir Walter Scott, and his house was the inspiration of Scott's *Rokeby*. Scott was also a friend of Gell, and when, at the end of his life, he ventured abroad, it was to stay at the Villa Gellia in Naples.⁵⁴ But there is no indication that Monck knew either Morrill or Scott, although he lived equidistant from both. And this occasion appears to have been the last time he saw or corresponded with Gell. Nor does he appear to have seen more of their other companion in Athens, Edward Dodwell. Nor the fourth member of the group, whom he referred to laconically as 'Baker', but whom I take to be William Baker, owner of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire, which, like Sir Charles, he transformed into a Doric palace on his return from Athens.⁵⁵ The same appears true of his regular companions from the winter of 1804–05 spent in Venice. They met one of them, a Mr Rowley, at the Opera in 1811, and Lady Monck recorded in her diary that they had not seen him since leaving Venice.⁵⁶

His circle of acquaintances did not seem to include any architects. Shaw's visit to Belsay and Dobson's help with volutes seem to be unique occasions. There are no further references to Dobson even after he became famous, and acted for several of Sir Charles's friends. Sir Charles's grandson and heir recorded that he had written for advice to Cubitt on the best method of stone-vaulting the stable clock, but that exchange of correspondence does not survive.⁵⁷ Thomas Hope married the daughter of Sir Charles's neighbour, Lord Decies, but

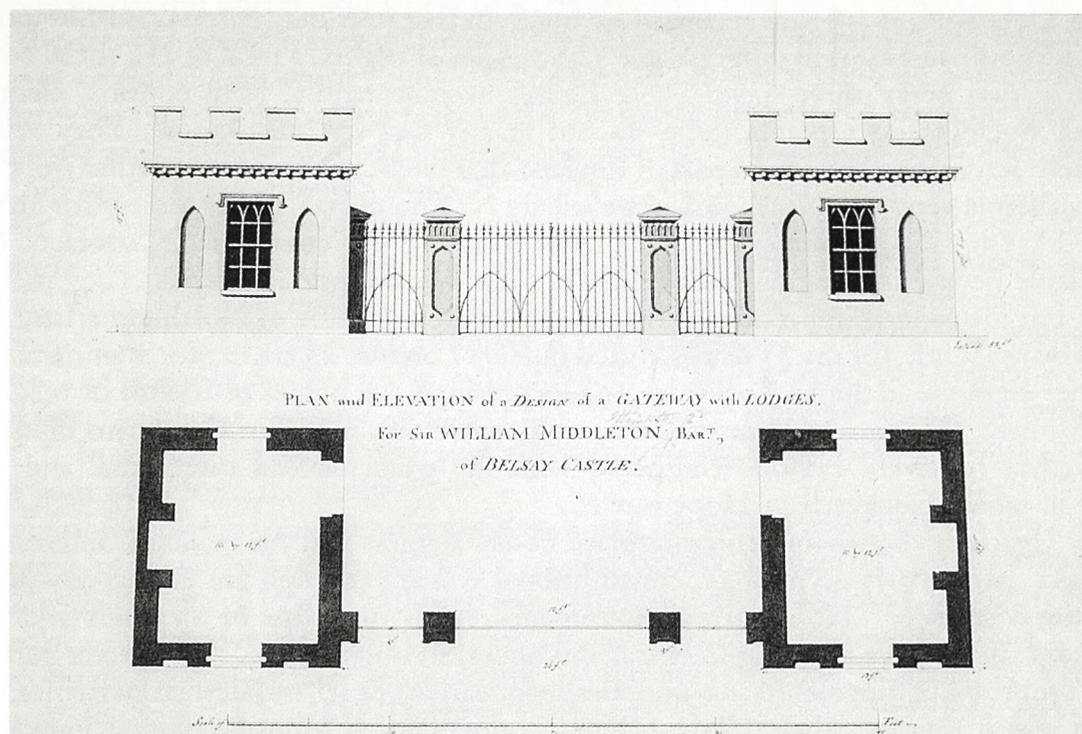


FIG. 13. George Richardson: proposal drawing for gates and lodges, Belsay Hall, Northumberland, 1794

is not mentioned in any of the frequent diary references to Bolam and the Beresfords, Lord Decies' family.⁵⁸ In 1831, five months after Hope's death, Sir Charles married for the second time, this time to a sister-in-law of the Beresfords of Bolam, and thus only just missed being a connection of Hope's.⁵⁹ It is possible, however, that he knew Cockerell. His best friend in the 1830s was Lord Wallace of Featherstone Castle, Northumberland. Wallace left his papers to Sir Charles and among them are some pencil sketches for rebuilding Featherstone Castle in a Jacobethan manner, initialled C.R.C., and sent from an address in Savile Row, where Cockerell had his office.⁶⁰ Cockerell also possessed a plan of Belsay showing the Drawing Room as it was intended to be, but never was, suggesting that he made it from another plan, not by visiting.⁶¹ Presumably that plan was supplied by Sir Charles.

Among artists, Lusieri, Lord Elgin's artist, was a regular member of their group in Athens and formed part of the expedition to Sounion.⁶² But when the Moncks saw Lord Elgin's marbles on display in London in 1811, it was in a party of fellow Northumbrians, and there was no suggestion that they knew Lord Elgin or his entourage.⁶³ Gropius, Lord Aberdeen's artist, was another member of the Athens group who is never mentioned after leaving Greece.⁶⁴ At the Elgin Marbles they met 'Mr Mulredi the Artist', and on 17th October of the same year a man of the same oddly-spelled name visited the rising new house at Belsay in company with the Swinburnes from Capheaton.⁶⁵ In the same London season they met Mr Flaxman ('a remarkably pleasant, intelligent, benevolent . . . little deformed ugly man with black hair and a bald head') who showed them a sketch for the Shield of Achilles which Lady Monck called 'very beautiful indeed'.⁶⁶

As he makes no mention of Cockerell, whom he may have known, it is possible that he knew other architects and artists. But the surviving diaries allow us to chart a fairly complete picture of the Moncks' acquaintanceship, and the social group it reveals is almost wholly homogeneous. The most complete sample, covering the three months in London, the month at Newbiggin on the coast in summer, and the visits to Lady Monck's family at Wheatley

Park in Doncaster, is 1811, as recorded by her.⁶⁷ In that year they entertained 126 times, ate 49 dinners out, and slept in other people's houses on 37 nights, a total of 212 social contacts, or nearly two every three days. These figures exclude family, even cousins, clergymen, lawyers, doctors and servants (who do not in any case get mentioned). They reveal an extremely active social life, for a part of England that might be regarded as rather isolated. Of the identifiable people in Northumberland all are Northumbrian gentry, except for Shaw and 'Mulredi'. They did not appear to make more than two out-county social contacts. Of the identifiable people in London a majority are their Northumbrian friends. They met a few others, but the general impression is that in March the social life of Northumberland simply moved down south. Of the 33 places visited outside London, 25 are in Northumberland, and the other eight are in South Yorkshire or Lincolnshire, the homes of friends or relations of Lady Monck. This pattern of acquaintanceship, therefore, is exclusive in terms of class and county, but relatively catholic compared with the particularised intellectual and artistic coterie in which Cockerell or Hope moved.

Sir Charles's diaries and commonplace books suggest that his principal interests were linguistics, particularly etymology, constitutional systems (though not day-to-day politics), and natural science.⁶⁸ He reported experiments, notes on crops of all kinds and animal husbandry, but, above all, ornithological and botanical observations. The greater part of his notes comprise nightingales heard, hoopoes seen, earliest peaches, latest strawberries, which trees in which London squares have broken, conifers noted from the road at Biggleswade, *platanus* from a ship in the Gulf of Corinth. Architecture was far from being his exclusive pre-occupation.

Nor were such architectural observations as he made of the type which are exclusive to architects. Rather they were the practical concerns of a landowner and man of business, although an unusually curious one. A large part of his observations was structural or technical. At Yarmouth he noted that the houses have 'spouts supported by very neat cornices with a dentil'.⁶⁹ In Holstein and Saxony he noted the framing of alehouses and farmhouses.⁷⁰ In Berlin and Prague he was interested to see that even the greatest houses were built of brick 'handsomely plaistered over'.⁷¹ 'The houses of Prague', he noted, 'have double windows'.⁷² He observed a church in Bohemia (Zwayen) which was roofed with sheet copper.⁷³ In Vienna he was surprised to find houses eight storeys high.⁷⁴ He observed the eaves of houses in Venezia Giulia projecting two and a half or three feet beyond the wall, and, on this occasion, appended an aesthetic preference — 'which has a good appearance'.⁷⁵

Cleanliness and tidiness formed a large part of his taste. In Schleswig he regretted that they had not seen a gentleman's country house.⁷⁶ In Carinthia, however, 'some few Gentlemen's seats are seen. They are slovenly kept, nothing neat like the small country houses of England, nor magnificent like the large ones, No taste but bad displayed'.⁷⁷ The neighbourhood of Trieste 'would be a comfortable place if Englishmen inhabited it. Then the naked villas which now are scattered so thickly over the adjacent hills, would be luxuriantly shaded with beautiful groves of cypress, laurel, olive and cedar, with platanes and tulip trees and the great magnolia instead of standing as now in the midst of little slovenly wine gardens'.⁷⁸ He hated Venice partly because its buildings 'are equally as black as ours, though not a bushel of pit coal enters the port'.⁷⁹ Every town is judged by its paving. Trieste does best: 'very singularly paved with large blocks of stone of different shapes so as to look like the natural flat surface of a shaken rock'.⁸⁰

His taste in colours was evidently symphonic. Green and grey were apparently the greatest contrasts he could suffer. At Aegina he wrote 'Time has given the stone a most harmonious Grey tint. Cedar and Mastic grow up through [the ruins] enriching the scene by contrasting their lively green with the sober grey of the stone temple'.⁸¹ But at the Opera in Prague: 'The Bohemians . . . have no eyes for colours. A box ornamented with light Blue

curtains is placed not uncommonly next to a crimson one'.⁸² And at Vienna 'they have fitted up this theatre with bluish french grey and silver which form the worst possible contrast with the orange coloured light of the candles'.⁸³ He owned Hittorff's book on polychromy, but presumably more for its information about the Temple of Empedocles, since his own efforts at chromatic variation overlooked Hittorff's conclusions.⁸⁴ Apart from the friezes, Belsay is almost uniformly stone coloured inside.⁸⁵

It is evident that he was familiar with fashionable architectural ideology. His only criticism of the Brandenburg Gate was that the columns had bases.⁸⁶ In Athens what he called the Temple of Minerva Palias 'has had the columns only of half substance, with wall and windows between them which certainly is not handsome'.⁸⁷ He was contemptuous of Baroque. The palace of Schwerin was 'very uncooth'.⁸⁸ The churches in Dresden were 'Bad architecture, columnar without any flutings'.⁸⁹ Vienna had 'no buildings worthy of remark'.⁹⁰ In Venice the Salute was 'scarcely worth seeing at the risk of almost catching a cold in your head from the damp'.⁹¹

Yet fashionable mythologies did not detain him for long. He was always impressed by picturesque sites and fine prospects, whatever was correct or incorrect by the standards of the moment. The site of Prague enthused him sufficiently to lift his blockade of the Baroque ('fine palace . . . some magnificent churches'),⁹² just as the site of Venice did not ('I would not recommend building any more towns in the sea after the example of Venice').⁹³ Returning to England in 1831 Durham Cathedral exercised its inevitable powers: 'its superiority over anything which I have seen on the continent is immeasurable'.⁹⁴ It is interesting that his prodigious writings do not include the name of a single architect, either living or dead, even Palladio's, even when standing in Palladio's churches. The conclusion I am bound to draw is that architecture was the least of his interests, and that his taste in it, apart from a few predictably fashionable deformities, was rather catholic.

The picture I have drawn, of relative catholicity in acquaintance and in taste, is untrue in certain critical particulars. For instance, his architectural preferences, insofar as he had any, quite vanished in Greece. I have quoted the only critical comment he passed on a Greek building. In Greece he was almost permanently enthralled by the beauty of the mountains, sea and flora. He described buildings far more than he had done elsewhere — on almost every day — but without comment of any kind. His delight is evident. It appears that he suspended criticism because Greek architecture is above criticism. So he merely recorded.

It is clear that he held this belief to a greater degree than was normal even at that philhellene moment. It reveals a feature of his mentality which might be described as obsessional, and contrasts with his relative liberality in other particulars. His Library catalogues illustrate this. In 1799 he owned no books on architecture.⁹⁵ Just after his death his library contained Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. 1 (1762), Vol. 2 (1789), Vol. 3 (1795) and the supplement by C. R. Cockerell and T. L. Donaldson (1830), the Society of Dilettanti's four-volume *Ionian Antiquities* (1769–1855), Robert and James Adam's *Works in Architecture*, Vol. 1 (1773), Vol. 2 (1779) and Vol. 3 (1822), Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture* (1807), Wilkins' *Antiquities of Magna Graecia* (1807), the Gwilt edition of Chambers' *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1825), H. W. Inwood's *The Erechtheion at Athens* (1827), Hittorff's *Architecture Polychrome chez les Grecs* (1830), and C. R. Cockerell's *The Temples . . . at Aegina . . . and . . . Bassae* (1860). He also owned Edmund Burke's *On the Sublime and Beautiful*, and Uvedale Price's *Picturesque*. He owned four volumes of Flaxman's *Compositions*, and Canova's *Works* engraved by Henry Moses. He owned Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, *The Stones of Venice*, *Modern Painters*, and *Elements of Drawing*, and Sir Arthur (his grandson and heir) must presumably have added *Lectures on Art* (1870).

He owned the 1851 Exhibition's *Illustrated Catalogue*. He subscribed to *The Builder* from the first volume. He owned two volumes of Jones' *Views of Seats*, many books on Gothic architecture, many more on travel in Greece (including five of Gell's), and still more on construction and technique.⁹⁶ This list covers literally *every* book of measured drawings of Greek architecture published in his lifetime, or before. It also excludes all books on Roman architecture.

He also used, apparently only in connection with architecture, the English language written in the Greek cursive. It caused him some problems with 'coach house' (κοτξάσ) and 'brew house' (μπρεω house [sic]), as well as being generally useless.⁹⁷

He was MP for the county in the parliaments of 1812 and 1818.⁹⁸ His family were traditionally Whig and proud of their descent from the regicide, General Lambert, from whom Sir Charles took his middle name. He presided over the second dinner held to commemorate the anniversary of Charles James Fox's first election to Westminster, and among the 43 toasts drunk, most of which hailed Whig totems of almost meaningless conventionality, were some that were genuinely radical ('The Pure Representation of the People', 'The Cause of Ireland', 'The Abolition of the Slave Trade', 'The Memory of Parliamentary Reform, and may there be a speedy Resurrection'). But his Whiggery was the old-fashioned ideology of interest and connection. The leader of the party, Lord Grey, was his friend and near neighbour. The leader of the party in the county was his closest neighbour, Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton. The leader of the party in Newcastle was another friend, Sir Matthew White Ridley, whose daughter Laura later married his son Charles Atticus. Radical Jack Lambton was among those the Moncks entertained.⁹⁹ They met 'the famous Mr Brougham', but never entertained him.¹⁰⁰ Sir Charles appears, however, to have been a natural conservative. He attended a public execution in Venice because he thought it was his duty ('the Captain nor I have ever seen a man hanged'), and he made critical notes on technique:

'as soon as he was turned off from the ladder, the hangman slid down the rope upon his neck and by stamping with his feet upon the neck insured an immediate death, which seems to be a better way than ours of pulling the sufferer's legs.'¹⁰¹

Punishment in the Ottoman Empire seemed to him to be an intractable problem:

'how can you punish a malefactor here? . . . if you imprison one, it is no hardship to him, because the delight of their lives here is to sit still and have nothing to do, nor [is] the different [sic] between the generality of houses here and a prison sufficient to be anything worse than slightly disagreeable. If you give one no more food than will barely sustain him, and of the coarsest sort, it is little or nothing worse than his ordinary diet. You cannot levy pecuniary fines upon one who has neither money, goods nor a house which empty will scarcely sell for anything.'¹⁰²

It is not surprising to discover that, when Lord Grey espoused Reform, he resigned his seat rather than oppose it. His Parliamentary career was unremarkable, save for an eloquent though ineffective speech opposing the proposed cession of the Greek town of Parga to Ali Pasha. His opposition to Ali Pasha was probably not championship of the Greeks, since his *Journal* recorded that of the three nations who inhabited Greece, the Turks were the least roguish, the Albanians more so, and the Greeks most.¹⁰³ Ali Pasha was Albanian. But Monck acquired a reputation, apparently rare among the rackets Whigs of the Fox to Palmerston era, for regular attendance. Creevy wrote 'Ridley and Monck never miss'.¹⁰⁴ He also acquired a reputation as a nuisance by his habit of addressing the House for lengthy periods in Greek.¹⁰⁵

Indeed in public life generally he was rather a menace. As a magistrate he was an inflexible insister on the proper procedures (Fig. 14). In 1850 occurred 'an unseemly episode'



FIG. 14. W. and D. Downey of South Shields: photograph of Sir Charles Monck, taken for his fellow members of the Northumberland County Bench, January 1861

at the Moot Hall, Newcastle.¹⁰⁶ Sir Charles was *custos rotularum* for Northumberland. The visiting Assize Judge ignored the right of the county magistrates to the use of a particular room, so that Sir Charles Monck had him publicly locked out of it, and an undignified altercation followed.

Now these are signs of an obsessional neurosis, in particular the specificity of the obsession or obsessions, and its (or their) practical uselessness to the subject's real interests.¹⁰⁷ Obsessions arise by a process of displacement; anxiety about a real cause (such as childhood trauma) which cannot be eliminated, can be displaced by anxiety about something quite unimportant, and appears less as anxiety than as ceremonial or ritual precision. You may have noticed some of these phenomena in my account so far.

The specific obsession is, for our purposes, Greek architecture; and there were certainly others. The ritual is perhaps provided by the Greek script and Greek speeches. It remains to demonstrate the real cause of anxiety, and to elaborate on the practical uselessness of the obsession. His early biography furnishes such material, and, in addition, some of the complementary characteristics — intelligence, energy, unusual self-will and over-conscientiousness.

He was born in 1779, the third son of Sir William Middleton, the 5th Baronet of an ancient Northumbrian family, which had recently been much enriched by the inheritance of coal-bearing estates in Durham and south Northumberland, an estate in Essex, and business interests in London and Edinburgh.¹⁰⁸ His mother was the daughter of a London merchant called Lawrence Monck, apparently self-made, and probably a draper trading to Spain and Portugal.¹⁰⁹ His parents had a house in Golden Square, where he was born,¹¹⁰ and took an interest in the embellishment of the family's ancient seat. Their architect was not a local man, but George Richardson, formerly Adam's assistant, and author of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. V.¹¹¹ Richardson was paid for drawings of gates (Fig. 13), and probably for a new quadrangular stable, all to be set in a proposed new landscape park, dated 1792.¹¹² Some work was executed inside the house, as payments to a gilder are recorded,¹¹³ and Lawrence Monck provided a set of French furniture,¹¹⁴ with two portraits of himself and Mrs Monck by Wright of Derby,¹¹⁵ but the landscaping proposals were inherited, unexecuted, by Sir Charles.¹¹⁶ Family tradition has it that Sir William Middleton also proposed to do what was eventually done by his son — to build a new Hall.

When he was nearly five his elder brother Thomas died.¹¹⁷ When he was ten his eldest brother William died, leaving him the heir.¹¹⁸ By now he was at Rugby School, which he entered at the age of eight.¹¹⁹ In June 1794, when he was fifteen, his mother died, and almost simultaneously the Headmaster of Rugby School became insane.¹²⁰ Sir William Middleton removed Charles from the school, and the family from Belsay. For unknown reasons Sir William went to live with his father-in-law, Lawrence Monck.¹²¹ Old Monck's letter-book survives and (although it may be unfair to look for humane characteristics in a merchant's business letters) portray him as rapacious and hectoring.¹²² He had bought an estate at Caenby, on Lincoln Cliff, and engaged the Lincoln architect Thomas Lumby to build him a house there in 1763–64.¹²³ It stood on the Roman road and one day a coach full of local gentlemen's sons drove past thumbing their noses and shouting at him.¹²⁴ Earlier the neighbouring villages had assembled outside his house intending to burn it down, on the grounds that he had said poor people were good for nothing except to be shot at.¹²⁵ Within a year of moving there Sir William Middleton died, leaving Charles a baronet at the age of sixteen, his only relations being his two younger sisters and his eighty-two year old grandfather.¹²⁶ That these events may be the trauma for which we search is suggested by his habit of seeking solace from this cheerless life with his cousins, the Cookes of Wheatley Park, near Doncaster, a large and cosy family who continued to provide this service for the next two generations of Moncks.¹²⁷ It was his first cousin Louisa Cooke whom he married in 1804.¹²⁸

In 1796 his grandfather died, leaving him the Caenby estate and the obligation to change his name to Monck.¹²⁹ That it was duty rather than preference which obliged him to do so is endorsed by an observation he made in 1863 'I have borne the name of Monck for 65 years and I think that is long enough'.¹³⁰ But there is ample evidence of his dutifulness, as well as intelligence and diligence, for instance that he had by then acquired fluent colloquial Latin from a tutor since leaving Rugby.¹³¹ He returned to Belsay and lodged with an old game keeper called Johnson.¹³² Being a ward in chancery he was called before the Lord Chancellor and appointed receiver of his own property, considered to be an unusual 'compliment and acknowledgement of his character'.¹³³ He was nineteen, yet was regarded as 'unusually

punctilious in running the estate'.¹³⁴ He always attended the cropping of each of his tenant farms, mounted on a quiet hack and taking careful notes.

He came of age in 1800 and dutifully implemented the proposals which his father had abandoned. He began with the park, constructing a lake which had in turn to be abandoned for reasons of safety.¹³⁵ It was 1807 before he started to build a house on comfortable modern lines to replace the pele of his ancestors.¹³⁶ He moved in after ten years,¹³⁷ long enough, you may think, to get every detail right, but in practice the last details were being adjusted as late as 1831.¹³⁸

I suggest that he believed his life's real purpose to be to implement his father's desires. Architecture, although not his first interest, was part of his duty. Its practical implementation was the modern villa which, as I suggested first, Belsay is. But the anxiety produced by the traumas of his adolescence was displaced by an obsession with classical Greece, which is, in the sense which Freud first described obsessional neurosis, practically useless, but which visits his house with imagery both compelling and tenacious.

NOTES

1. Elizabeth M. Halcrow, *The Election Campaign of Sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck*, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 36 (4th series), 1958, 101.

2. L. E. O. Charton (ed.), *Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady, 1815 to 1866, . . .*, 1949, 200.

3. David Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, 1968, 246.

4. The information in the following three paragraphs comes from Northumberland County Record Office (henceforward NCRO), ZM1/B52/1, (Sir Charles Monck's Journal, 12th September 1804 to 5th April 1806).

5. NCRO, ZM1/S72/222.

6. NCRO, ZM1/S52, ('notes on Belsay written 1931', probably by C. A. Middleton, from the verbal observations of his father, Sir Arthur, the 7th Baronet, who was Sir Charles's grandson and heir), p. 10. The reference to 'Stuart's Athens' comes from NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie (Sir Arthur's MS Life of Sir Charles Monck), f. 36.

7. NCRO, ZM1/S53, ('Memoranda about Belsay', chiefly notes of bills paid, '... 1828. May 30 ... Bramah and Sons ... 23.13.6. Note. to pay bill for books for new library at Belsay', and 'May 20th ... to Mr Edwd. Bailey ... 285.0.0 Note. bill for Library curtains, wardrobe & c. at Belsay').

8. NCRO, ZM1/B56/2 (Library catalogue, 1886).

9. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 36.

10. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, records no expedition to Rhamnos.

11. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 36.

12. *Idem*.

13. *Ibid*, ff. 32–33.

14. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, ff. 154–57 (his trip to Aegina was on 5th July 1805).

15. NCRO, ZM1/B56/2 (Library catalogue, 1886).

16. A list is published in Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni', in R. Brown (ed.) *The Architectural Outsiders*, 1985, 33–34.

17. John Harris, *Sir William Chambers*, 1970, 96–106, and pls. 161, 163, and 166.

18. The dating of these examples is taken from Dorothy Stroud, *The Architecture of Sir John Soane*, 1961, *passim*.

19. NCRO, ZM1/S72/58, 'Sir William Gell's design for Hall at Belsay'.

20. NCRO, ZM1/B48/2 ('Letter Book 1799–1814'), letter of 4th September 1807 reveals that Gell had recently visited Belsay. There are no indications of another visit.

21. Esther Eissenthal, 'John Webb's Reconstruction of the Ancient House', *Architectural History* 28, 1985, 7.

22. Sandra Millikin, 'The Tribune in English Architecture', *Burlington Magazine* 112, 1970, 442.

23. P. Leach, *The Life and Work of James Paine*, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1975, *passim*. It was Dr Leach who drew my attention to the arrangement at Stourhead.

24. Marcus Binney, *Sir Robert Taylor*, 1984, 52.

25. Stroud, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

26. Marcus Binney, 'A Pioneer Work of Neo-Classicism', *Country Life*, July 8, 1971.

27. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie (Sir Arthur's MS Life of Sir Charles Monck), f. 2, supplemented by a letter from Mrs P. J. Macrory, Librarian, Rugby School, 7 May 1981.

28. Binney, in *Country Life*, *cit.*

29. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

30. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, *passim*.

31. *Ibid*, f. 22, 19th October 1804.

32. The Landhaus Mölter stood (in 1820) at Tiergartenstrasse 15 (since re-numbered as 30/31). It was built in 1799, and pulled down in 1857. [Hartwig Schmidt, *Das Tiergartenviertel: Baugeschichtes . . .*, I, 1981].

33. Tilman Mellinghoff and David Watkin, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal: 1740–1840*, 1987, 131. Sir Charles did not visit Hamburg, so he cannot have seen this particular building.

34. Simon Jervis, 'Whitbourne Hall, Herefordshire', *Country Life*, 20 and 27 March 1975.

35. Schloss Orianda was designed as a summer villa on the Black Sea for the Empress of Russia, but was never built [Mellinghoff and Watkin, *op. cit.*, 114].
36. The Pompejanum is a pavilion in the garden of the Schloss at Aschaffenburg and was built for King Ludwig I of Bavaria [Mellinghoff and Watkin, *op. cit.* 193–94].
37. The Maison Pompéienne was built for Prince Napoleon, Napoleon III's cousin, and was demolished in 1891 [Louis Hautecoeur, *L'Architecture Classique en France*, vol. vii, 1957, 125]. The best illustration of its *atrium* is a painting by G. R. Boulanger, *Répétition du 'Joueur de Flute' d'Emile Augier*, reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, December 1979.
38. Mark Girouard, 'Dobson's Northumbrian Houses', *Country Life*, 17 and 24 February, 1966.
39. NCRO, ZM1/B52/2 (Lady Monck's Journal 1811 to 1816).
40. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 34.
41. NCRO, ZM1/S.53, *passim*.
42. *Ibid.*, '1831 London, July 1st . . . to Bingham Richards and Co: 41.3.0. Note. to pay bill of Messrs Micali of Livorn for alabaster vases, freight + duty'.
43. The prospective slate supplier on March 12th 1812 was Archbold of Newcastle [NCRO, ZM1/B53/2, f. 263]. Archbold and Son were paid on May 4th 1815 [NCRO, ZM1/B36/20]. The prospective cast-iron pipe supplier on February 16th 1814 was Cookson's foundry in Newcastle [NCRO, ZM1/B53/2, f. 309]. The prospective cabinet-maker on February 20th 1814 was William Fife, of Portern, Newcastle [*ibid.*, f. 310]. Colmar deals up to 20 inches square were ordered from 'Birnie Brown Esq^r.' of Leith Walk, Leith, Scotland, on 25 January 1811 [NCRO, ZM1/B48/2].
44. NCRO, ZM1/B36/15–20 (Estate Cash Books), *passim*.
45. *Idem*.
46. NCRO, ZM1/S72/1–229 (Sir Charles Monck's architectural drawings).
47. Linden Hall, Northumberland, 1811–12, for his friend C. W. Bigge. The drawings for it are NCRO, ZM1/S72/224–25.
48. Belsay Dean House, shortly after 1800 [NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 4]. Hall Field Lodge, date unknown [NCRO, ZM1/S72/122–23, 211]. North Lodge, date unknown [NCRO, ZM1/S72/120–21, 151–52]. Garden House, 1837 [NCRO, ZM1/S72/11]. Belsay Village [Colvin, p. 554]. Belsay School, 1842 [Colvin, p. 554].
49. According to his grandson, Sir Arthur Middleton [NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 34].
50. See note 43.
51. For instance, in improved chimney design [NCRO, ZM1/S72/170], and sootless gas lamps [NCRO, ZM1/B53/3, f. 124].
52. Watkin, *op. cit.*, 64.
53. NCRO, ZM1/B48/2, letter dated 4th September 1807.
54. J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival*, 1972, 35.
55. Baker is mentioned in the Journal [NCRO, ZM1/B52/1] on May 22nd, May 24th, June 9th (when he had been digging at Megara), June 21st and June 25th 1805. Bayfordbury is described in *Country Life*, 17th and 23rd January 1925.
56. NCRO, ZM1/B52/2, 30th March 1811.*
57. NCRO.
58. *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 1975, 746.
59. *Ibid.*, 1809 and 2612.
60. David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell*, 1974, 39. For Featherstone Castle, see John Cornforth 'Featherstone Castle, Northumberland', *Country Life*, October 25th 1973.
61. Sotheby's, London, Catalogue of sale of architectural drawings, 22, 1986, p. 82, No. 246.
62. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, *passim*.
63. NCRO, ZM1/B52/2, 16th April 1811.
64. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, *passim*.
65. NCRO, ZM1/B52/2, 16th April and 17th October 1811.
66. *Ibid.*, 15th April 1811.
67. The analysis which follows is taken from information in NCRO, ZM1/B52/2.
68. The following observations are based on NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, (Sir Charles's Journal, 1804–06), NCRO, ZM1/B53/1 ('Sir Charles Monck's Diary', 1815–36), NCRO, ZM1/B53/2, ('Sir Charles Monck's Green Notebook', c.1796–1815), NCRO, ZM1/B53/3, (Sir Charles's Commonplace Book), and NCRO, ZM1/S30 (Miscellaneous family matters, including especially Sir Charles's letters to his younger grandson, Harry, c.1860–67).
69. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, f. 6.
70. *Ibid.*, f. 15.
71. *Ibid.*, ff. 21 and 32.
72. *Ibid.*, f. 33.
73. *Ibid.*, f. 37.
74. *Ibid.*, f. 43.
75. *Ibid.*, f. 61.
76. *Ibid.*, f. 16.
77. *Ibid.*, f. 46.
78. *Ibid.*, ff. 99–100.
79. *Ibid.*, f. 65.
80. *Ibid.*, f. 55.
81. *Ibid.*, f. 155.
82. *Ibid.*, f. 32.
83. *Ibid.*, f. 44.
84. NCRO, ZM1/B56/2 (Library Catalogue, 1886) includes Hittorff's book. But NCRO, ZM1/S72/70, 180 and 183, which are coloured drawings for friezes, owe little to Hittorff.
85. Pamela Lewis and Helen Hughes, *Belsay Hall, Northumberland, Report on the investigation of paint samples . . .*, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1986, *passim*.
86. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, f. 22.
87. *Ibid.*, f. 146.
88. *Ibid.*, f. 18.
89. *Ibid.*, f. 26.
90. *Ibid.*, f. 42.
91. *Ibid.*, f. 91.
92. *Ibid.*, f. 32.
93. *Ibid.*, ff. 71–72.
94. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 42.
95. NCRO, ZM1/B56/1 (Library Catalogue, 1799).
96. NCRO, ZM1/B56/2 (Library Catalogue, 1886).
97. NCRO, ZM1/S72/68.
98. Halcrow, *op. cit.*

99. NCRO, ZM1/B52/2, 3rd December 1811.
100. Ibid.
101. NCRO, ZM1/B52/1, ff. 69–71.
102. Ibid, f. 178.
103. Ibid, f.
104. J. Gore, *Creevy*, 1948, 129.
105. Richard Welford, *Men of Mark 'Twiixt Tyne and Tweed*, III (L–Y), 1895, 206.
106. Ibid, p. 210.
107. Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, particularly Lecture 17 (The Sense of Symptoms).
108. John Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Vol. 1, pt. 2, 1827, 356.
109. Hodgson, loc. cit., supplemented by NCRO, ZM1/B32/XIII/Ia, reveal that Lawrence Monck's mother-in-law was a member of an ancient family called Tournay of Caenby, Lincs, and that Lawrence Monck bought Caenby from the last male Tournay. NCRO, ZM1/B32/XIII/Ia also shows that the Moncks were merchants in Clitheroe, Lancashire, in the 17th century.
110. Hodgson, loc. cit. Sir William occupied No. 36 Golden Square from 1778 to 1788, and may have partly rebuilt it [*Survey of London*, Vol. 31, Part II, 164].
111. Colvin, p. 687.
112. NCRO, ZM1/S72/230 and 231 are alternative proposals for park gates and lodges; 230 is signed 'G. Richardson, Arch^o., and dated 1791. Richardson had been making drawings for Sir William Middleton for at least three years, either for use at Belsay or Golden Square, since Sir William's Account Book records a payment of 10s. 6d. on June 2nd 1788 for 'Richardsons 1st. No. of his Plans' [NCRO, ZM1/B15/27/2, f. 9]. NCRO, ZM1/S69/1 is a proposal for landscaping Belsay Park, signed by J. Robson and dated 1792. It includes, as a block plan only, a quadrangular stable; if the latter was ever visualised in more detail George Richardson may have been the architect to whom Sir William turned.
113. NCRO, ZM1/B15/27/2 (Account Book of Sir William Middleton, 5th Baronet), f. 11, '1788, June 7. Paid Mr Pennington for Gilding 78 yards and 2 inches of Moulding. 3.10.6'.
114. NCRO, ZM1/S52, f. 3. According to this source, this furniture was sent down to Sir Charles's London house, 20 Duke Street, Westminster, and sold with that house in 1857.
115. Benedict Nicholson, *Joseph Wright of Derby*. The paintings are in the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.
116. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, ff. 4 and 43.
117. Hodgson, loc. cit.
118. Idem.
119. Letter from Mrs P. J. Macrory, cit. (see note 27).
120. Hodgson, loc. cit., for the death of Lady Middleton, and NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 2, for the insanity of Dr James.
121. Ibid, f. 3.
122. NCRO, ZM1/B48/1, passim.
123. NCRO, ZM1/B27/XXIII (Caenby estate accounts, 1758 to 1797), and ZM1/B48/1, letters of 28th April and 27th August 1763.
124. NCRO, ZM1/B48/1.
125. Sir Francis Hill, *Georgian Lincoln*, 1966, 106, supplemented by NCRO, ZM1/B48/1, letter of 9th September 1757.
126. Hodgson, loc. cit., confirmed in NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 3.
127. The 5th Baronet's sister married Sir George Cooke and was the mother of Louisa, Sir Charles's wife, and of Sir George Bryan Cooke, who married Sir Charles's sister Isabella [Hodgson, loc. cit.]. Lady Monck's Journal 1811 to 1816 [NCRO, ZM1/B52/2] reveals how much time they spent at Wheatley Park each year, and Sir Charles's Diary, 1815 to 1836 [NCRO, ZM1/B53/1], illustrates the two families' intimacy. When Charles Atticus Monck ran away from Westminster School in 1816 it was to Wheatley Park that he fled [NCRO, ZM1/S30]. The letters of his son, William, from Rugby School in the 1840s, show that the bond had not been weakened [idem].
128. Hodgson, loc. cit.
129. Idem.
130. NCRO, ZM1/S30 (a letter from J. C. Middleton to Sir Arthur Middleton, 1876, relates this story).
131. NCRO, ZM1/B63/Ie, f. 2.
132. Ibid, f. 3.
133. Idem.
134. Ibid, f. 4.
135. Ibid, addendum.
136. Ibid, f. 34.
137. NCRO, ZM1/B53/1, f. 15.
138. NCRO, ZM1/S53 ('Memoranda about Belsay', chiefly notes of bills paid).