



THE GEORGIAN GROUP

Frances Sands, 'Robert Adam's female patrons', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol: XXX, 2022, pp. 91–124

ROBERT ADAM'S FEMALE PATRONS

FRAN SANDS

Within the Adam drawings collection at Sir John Soane's Museum there is evidence that Robert Adam made designs for at least 29 female patrons. Some of these women were financially independent, while others worked with, or on behalf of, a male counterpart. Some commissioned designs for themselves, others for their families, and some commemorated the dead. This article introduces these 29 women, considering their circumstances in order to better understand the context of their patronage. A very few of Adam's prominent female patrons have previously received scholarly attention, but this significant portion of Adam's work has never before been considered in toto.

Robert Adam (1728–92) was responsible for numerous buildings and interiors commissioned by male patrons, but intended mainly for female use. Good examples are the Lord Chief Justice William Murray (later first Earl of Mansfield), who commissioned an additional storey at Kenwood, Hampstead, in order to accommodate three nieces; and the eccentric Richard Barry, seventh Earl of Barrymore, who commissioned a town house on Piccadilly in which rooms were designated for a wife who did not exist.¹ However, the women who enjoyed Adam's work were not always so passive in its creation. Here we will consider the women who undertook commissions either independently or collaboratively alongside a male counterpart. Evidence for this can be found

within the 9,000-strong Adam drawings collection at Sir John Soane's Museum, among which 29 female patrons have been identified. This is around seven per cent of the individuals or organisations for whom Adam worked and that are represented within the collection. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had seen female architectural patronage, perhaps most notable in the work of Bess of Hardwick and Lady Anne Clifford, but we must remember that only half a century before Adam, Sir John Vanbrugh had famously been reluctant to obey Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace.²

The subject of Adam's female patronage is a complex one. That he worked for so many women has been noted before, and has been attributed to the 'feminine' characteristics of his style.³ However, the dense ornamentation and pastel palette of Adam's interiors was not considered innately feminine by his contemporaries. Alternatively, the number of Adam's female patrons might simply be a statistical side-effect of his prolific career. With over 500 projects represented among the Soane Museum's drawings, it is perhaps unsurprising that a portion were undertaken by female patrons. Adam's prolific career has been variously attributed to his innovations in Neoclassicism, his social connections, and his antiquarian credentials. The reasons for his employment by various female patrons, or any prior connection with him, are typically not known, but where such information survives it is provided here.

Although he never married, it appears that

Adam held a good opinion of women. This is mere speculation, but is supported by his inclusion of female-led commissions in his three-volume publication, *Works in architecture ...* (1773–78). Examples are Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales's screen for Carlton House in London, and Queen Charlotte's illumination for King George III's 25th birthday party. There is no evidence that Adam supported the Bluestocking Circle, although it is notable that two of his patrons – Elizabeth Montagu and Fanny Boscawen – were members of that group. Furthermore, it is relevant that Adam collaborated with the painter Angelica Kauffman – a founder-member of the Royal Academy – on at least three occasions.⁴ This precedent suggests that there may have been other female artisans working with Adam, but whose names have been lost.

ROBERT ADAM AND THE ADAM OFFICE DRAWINGS

Robert Adam was the second child of the architect William Adam. He was raised in comfort in Edinburgh and at Blair Adam, Fife. Following a period working in the family practice, focusing on the Hanoverian Highland forts, he undertook a Grand Tour in 1755–58.⁵ He was principally in Italy, but he also ventured to Spalatro, Dalmatia (Split, Croatia) to produce an architectural survey published in 1764.⁶ The drawing style that Adam cultivated in Italy under the tutelage of Charles-Louis Clérissieu conveyed a realistic, albeit often sketch-like result.⁷ This, combined with a new-found knowledge of antique motifs, enabled Adam to establish his own practice in 1758. However, instead of returning to Edinburgh, Adam settled in London, within reach of more potential patrons, and became one of the greatest architects of his generation.

Adam's office was joined in 1763 by his younger brother James following his own Grand Tour. Together the brothers recruited a band of skilled

draughtsmen from across Europe. Robert, and less regularly James, took creative responsibility, generating preliminary designs. These were dutifully copied to scale by the draughtsmen, often being beautifully colour-washed for presentation to clients, or carefully drawn to include the technical details required for a working drawing or an office record drawing.⁸ Around 9,000 Adam drawings – thought to be over eight per cent of the Adam drawings in the world – survive at the Soane Museum. Most were purchased by Soane in 1833 for £200 from Adam's niece, Susannah Clerk.⁹

FEMALE PATRONAGE

The subject of early modern female patronage in Britain has blossomed since the publication of Amanda Vickery's, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998) and *Behind Closed Doors* (2009), and of Rosemary Baird's *The Mistress of the House* (2003). More exciting work on the subject is underway, including Amy Boyington's forthcoming book on eighteenth-century women and architecture. We have always known that eighteenth-century women were involved with interior decoration: selecting wallpapers, textiles, porcelain and furniture.¹⁰ Why should they not, when country house touring was encouraged for genteel ladies?¹¹ However, some women also took a more active role and are defined here as patrons. Some were financially independent, making commissions in their own name; others maintained control of a project, albeit under their husband's name; and some enjoyed a collaborative relationship with their spouse, sharing responsibility for their building works.

This period saw the rise of female intellectuals such as the Shakespeare Ladies Club and the Bluestocking Circle, but women usually remained subject to coverture, whereby once married their legal status ceased to exist separately from their husband, meaning they could not file a lawsuit or own property

independently.¹² It was therefore difficult to recover debts from women, and commercial transactions were usually listed under a male name. Female financial autonomy was relatively rare. In order to achieve this, a woman could remain unmarried and hope to inherit, to await widowhood, or to encourage a marriage settlement whereby a portion of her wealth would be placed under her own control.¹³ More common was the protection of a married woman's estate, kept separate from entailment or primogeniture, and often bequeathed to a younger child, but rarely providing the woman herself with unfettered access to these funds during marriage.¹⁴ However, marriage portions increased throughout the early modern period, inevitably bringing greater wealth to widows.¹⁵ It is widely acknowledged that independent women usually settled in London, amid the comparably fast-paced property market afforded by the leasehold system, and with country estates tending to pass to a male heir.

If not financially autonomous, a woman might benefit from marriage to a man who was collaborative, or just otherwise engaged. It was not uncommon for a wife to control architectural projects – along with wider household and estate matters – if her husband was busy. An excellent example of this is Adam's work at Hatchlands, Surrey. All fifteen of the surviving drawings for alterations to Hatchlands (Surrey) are inscribed with the name of Admiral Edward Boscawen, and none with the name of his Bluestocking wife Fanny. But the project was directed by Fanny, who also managed the family's estate.¹⁶ Her husband was typically unavailable, particularly during Adam's work on Hatchlands, on account of his naval career during the Seven Years' War. Indeed, his actions at the Battle of Lagos made him a national hero.¹⁷ Vickery notes Fanny's letters, describing 'adding some little ornaments and directing the furniture etc', seemingly to trivialise her input 'so as not to trespass on masculine dignity'.¹⁸ Here we have unsupervised female patronage of Adam, obscured by her

husband's name. For this reason, the Admiral was the *de facto* patron at Hatchlands, but in name alone.

While tangential to this subject, female patronage also calls into question the traditional assumptions about feminine space. The withdrawing room and dairy remained enclaves of female activity, but if a woman commissioned her own eating room or library – more typically considered to be preserves of male activity – must not these too be redefined as feminine? This is a larger subject, but certainly worthy of note in this context.

Some of Adam's female patrons are well-known and have received scholarly attention, for example Elizabeth Monatgu; Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Home; and Elizabeth Seymour Percy, first Duchess of Northumberland. Their work will be considered alongside Adam's lesser-known or architecturally uncredited female patrons. These women did not confine themselves to commissioning delicate interior items, but a variety of architecture ranging from monuments to farmhouses. Also worthy of note is one female recipient of Adam's work – and there were doubtless many others – who tempered her husband's architectural excesses. In 1785, following a half-century-long programme of improvements at Nostell Priory – the last twenty years under Adam – the patron, Sir Rowland Winn, died when his carriage overturned. On hearing this news, the newly widowed Lady Sabine Winn, rushed around the house ordering craftsmen to stop their work.¹⁹ She knew that such protracted building had left her family in financial difficulty and, on the event of her autonomy, she halted expenditure immediately. Moreover, to gather funds, within weeks she had sold the family's townhouse at No. 11 St James's Square for £6,930. Despite this, her difficulties continued and Adam's 1785 account for £247. 15s. 5d. remained unpaid, as he was obliged to remind her in 1788.²⁰

This article provides an introduction to each of Adam's known female patrons from among the Soane Museum drawings, and considering their personal circumstances – where known – in order

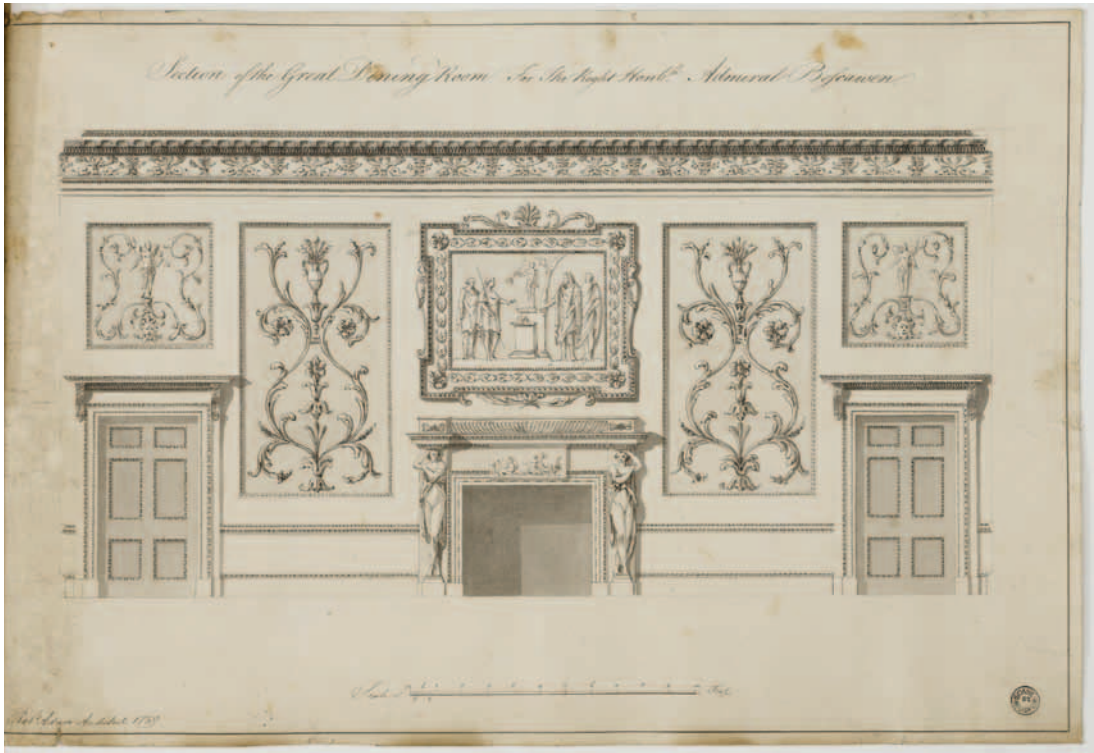


Fig. 1. Adam office hand, north wall elevation for the great dining room, Hatchlands, Surrey, 1759, pen and wash on laid paper. (Adam volume 35/82 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

to better understand the context of their patronage; further details can be found in the Soane Museum online drawings catalogues. It is not intended as a comprehensive listing of Adam's female patrons. Such an aspiration is impossible because there must be numerous unrecorded women who collaborated with male counterparts. Also there are surely other female patrons obscured by their work falling under the umbrella of a male name, with drawings and accounts inscribed as being for the male party, rather than their spouse, irrespective of personal connoisseurship or involvement. The Boscawens and the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland are examples of this, but there are presumably many more.

FRANCES BOSCAWEN: INTERIOR DECORATION AT HATCHLANDS, SURREY, 1758–61

In 1742 Edward Boscawen (1711–61) married Frances (Fanny) Glanville (1719–1805). She was an heiress and a founding member of the Bluestocking Circle, being a noted literary hostess, diarist and correspondent. He was a naval officer, becoming a Lord of the Admiralty in 1751. The couple's letters illustrate that they enjoyed a happy marriage and had five children.²¹

Edward and Fanny bought Hatchlands in 1750. Originally a grange of Chertsey Abbey, sold at the Dissolution, the house was rebuilt for the Boscawens in 1756–57 to designs by Stiff Leadbetter (d. 1766),

and using prize money from Edward's naval victories over the French. It is a brick Palladian house with little ornament to the exterior beyond three canted bays on the south and east fronts. The house is unusual in appearance because the fenestration changes from two to three storeys on the west front, due to an internal mezzanine.²² In the winter of 1758–59, just weeks after his return from the Grand Tour, Edward and Fanny hired Adam to decorate the interiors of their new house. There are fifteen drawings for Hatchlands within the Adam drawings collection, including a survey ground plan, dated 1757, in Leadbetter's hand.²³

Adam was probably acquainted with the Boscawens through another Lord of the Admiralty, his family friend Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, third Baronet, who shortly thereafter assisted Adam to the commission for building the Admiralty Screen on Whitehall.²⁴ Edward was engaged with his naval duties during Adam's work, and it was Fanny who supervised the project. The Hatchlands interiors are an interesting example of Adam's early work, resembling that from the family's Edinburgh office, but it is infused with the ornamental vigour of what he had seen abroad. The well-known heaviness of the early Adam style, evident at Hatchlands, is clear from his drawings, but may also be partly attributed to untested English craftsmen (Fig. 1). Adam had not yet gathered his regular group of artificers such as the plasterer Joseph Rose, and wrote in frustration to his brother James during his work on Hatchlands of his inability to find 'English workmen who will leave their angly [sic] Stiff Sharp manner'.²⁵ His work for Fanny was curtailed in 1761 by Edward's death from typhoid. She sold Hatchlands in 1770 to William Brightwell Sumner who employed Joseph Bonomi – formerly of the Adam office – in 1797 to update the interior.²⁶

**ETHELDREDA, VISCOUNTESS TOWNSHEND:
MONUMENT TO ROGER TOWNSHEND,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY, 1760**

Audrey Etheldreda Harrison (c.1708–88), known as Etheldreda, was the only surviving child and heiress of Edward and Frances [née Bray] Harrison of Balls Park, Hertfordshire. In 1723 she married Charles Townshend, later third Viscount Townshend, of Raynham Hall, Norfolk. Although they had five children, it was an unhappy marriage, doubtless owing to Charles's preoccupation with his mistress, who had been a servant at Raynham. The couple separated in 1740–41, whereupon Etheldreda moved to London and established a vigorous social life. Criticised by some, her activities are documented in the letters of Horace Walpole and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. She had the funds to maintain her standing as a society hostess, since on their separation Charles settled £2,000 per annum on her, but nothing further followed on his death in 1764. After her mother's death in 1758, Etheldreda received a further £1,000 per annum, and in 1759 she inherited her childhood home of Balls Park from her uncle George Harrison.²⁷

In London, Etheldreda formed relationships with numerous influential people, including Lord Frederick Campbell, for whom Adam worked throughout the 1760s and 1770. Etheldreda may have met Adam through this intermediary, or vice versa. In any event, in 1760 she commissioned Adam to design a funerary monument to her son, Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Townshend (1731–59), who had been hit by a canon-ball at Ticonderoga, New York, while fighting the French in 1759.²⁸ The monument was placed in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey (one of six monuments in the Abbey designed by Adam).

Thirteen Adam drawings for the monument survive.²⁹ The monument itself survives *in situ* at Westminster Abbey. Various elements of the design are borrowed from Adam's 1759 competition design for a monument to Major-General James Wolfe, a public commission, also for Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 2. Adam office hand, Townshend monument elevation for Westminster Abbey, 1760, pen, pencil and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 19/10*
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London)



Adam was doubtless lured into the Wolfe monument competition by the fame that such a public commission would impart. It was his first attempt at designing a funerary monument, and there are an incredible six variant designs. Despite this, Adam's design was rejected, and the commission was awarded to Joseph Wilton. However, all was not lost, as Adam recycled parts of the design for Etheldreda.

Adam's inspiration from the Townshend monument probably came from various sources,

including his Wolfe monument design, and from Italian precedents. It is composed of a rectangular inscription panel, flanked by atlantes supporting a scroll-topped sarcophagus which is ornamented with a relief panel depicting Townshend's death scene. The sarcophagus is surmounted by military trophies, and the whole composition is set against a pyramid in relief. Adam's design for the Wolfe monument similarly utilised the pyramid in relief and the military trophies. The sarcophagus,



Fig. 3. Adam office hand, Wolfe monument competition design elevation for Westminster Abbey, 1759, pen and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 28/50* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

figurative sculpture and inscription panel are also included, but arranged differently. The most notable similarity between the two designs is the use of a death-scene relief (Fig. 2–3). In the 1960s John Fleming highlighted a connection between Adam's Wolfe death scene and the Townshend family: Wolfe is seen gesturing to his second-in-command, George Townshend, Roger Townshend's older brother. Fleming suggested that the composition of sarcophagus and atlantes was inspired by Italian

Renaissance monuments, such as that for Pietro Lombardo at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.³⁰ However, also relevant is a drawing from Adam's Grand Tour collection by Clérisseau, depicting various Roman tombs, two of which are strigillated caskets supported by terms, being reminiscent of Adam's Townshend monument.³¹ The atlantes are unique, depicting Native American men (cultural group unknown), presumably referring to the location of Townshend's death. They provide a

fascinating, almost avant-garde stylistic contrast with the wider monument, which is Neoclassical. Although the monument is signed by Benjamin Carter, it is thought that Joseph Eckstein was responsible for much of the work, including the atlantes and the death-scene relief.³²

Within the archive at Raynham Hall there is very little pertaining to Ethedreda, presumably because of her separation from Charles. However, there is a record of the monument's inscription, appended to Adam's account: 'An Account of the Expenses in erecting a Monument for / the Honorable Colonel Roger Townshend in Westminster / Abbey. 8th July 1763 [...] 615.19.'.³³ Why Adam's account is preserved at Raynham, when Etheldreda had not been resident there for over twenty years, is not known. There is little at Raynham from her life in London, although perhaps this was removed to Norfolk following her death. As the account postdates construction of the monument by three years, it is possible that Etheldreda had not paid Adam, and a copy of the account was sent to Charles. This, however, is pure speculation, and, if true, it is unlikely that Charles would have acquiesced, considering the state of his marriage and the fact that Ethedreda alone is lauded as the monument's patron within its inscription. No drawings for the monument survive within the Raynham archive, suggesting that Adam sent them to Etheldreda in London for her sole approval.

In July 1760 Adam wrote to his brother James that he intended to have the Townshend monument design engraved.³⁴ In the infancy of Adam's London practice, he sought to advertise with publications illustrating his work. Another example of this is an engraved view of Adam's 1759 Admiralty Screen on Whitehall, after a drawing by Agostino Brunias. This was published in February 1761 for sale at Andrew Millar's bookshop on the Strand for 2s.6d. along with an accompanying elevation and plan.³⁵ An engraving of the Townshend monument was made, but there is no evidence that it was ever published for sale.³⁶

**FRANCES BOSCAWEN: MONUMENT TO
EDWARD BOSCAWEN, ST MICHAEL PENKEVIL
CHURCH, CORNWALL, 1761**

When Edward Boscawen died of typhoid in 1761 his Bluestocking widow, Fanny Boscawen, had been making improvements to their home at Hatchlands to designs by Adam. She then commissioned Adam to design a funerary monument to her late husband. He was the third son of Hugh Boscawen, first Viscount Falmouth, and he was buried at St Michael Penkevil Church on the family's estate of Tregothnan. He was joined by Fanny on her death in 1805. There are fifteen drawings, comprising five variant designs for the Boscawen monument within the Adam collection.³⁷ The executed design is composed of a bow-fronted pedestal ornamented with an inscription panel and *corona navalis* within wreaths – symbols of naval decoration. The pedestal is surmounted by a portrait bust on a high, strigillated socle, surrounded by naval trophies, and these are set against a pyramid in relief ornamented with a wreath and swags (Fig. 4). The monument is signed *Robert Adam Archit. Michael Rysbrack Sculpt* and is dated 1763.³⁸ It remains *in situ* at St Michael Penkevil Church.

**MARY FITZMAURICE, COUNTESS OF
SHELBURNE: MAUSOLEUM AND MONUMENT
TO JOHN FITZMAURICE, FIRST EARL OF
SHELBURNE, BOWOOD WILTSHIRE, 1761**

Mary Fitzmaurice (d. 1780) was the daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel William Fitzmaurice of Gallane, Co. Kerry. In 1734 she married her cousin, John Fitzmaurice (1706–61), a younger son of the first Earl of Kerry. In 1751, Fitzmaurice succeeded to the estates of his maternal uncle and assumed the Petty surname. He was created Earl of Shelburne in the Irish peerage in 1753, and Baron Wycombe, a British title, in 1760.³⁹ The couple's principal seat was Bowood, Wiltshire, which they purchased in 1754,

Fig. 4. Robert Adam, Boscawen monument elevation for St Michael Penkevil Church, Cornwall, 1761, pen and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 19/1* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)



and undertook a series of improvements to designs by Henry Keene.⁴⁰

On the Earl's death in 1761, Mary approached Adam to design a mausoleum and monument for the park at Bowood. There are 22 surviving drawings for four variant mausoleum designs, ranging from a diminutive single-storey, three-bay temple-like structure, to a four-storey, monopteral tower reminiscent of the Howard mausoleum.⁴¹ The executed scheme occupies a middle ground, being a cruciform single-storey domed temple, with a three-

bay façade, a pedimented entrance, and subterranean catacombs (Fig. 5). It was erected by a local mason, John Button, on a wooded ridge to the south-west of Bowood House. Temple-fronted mausolea were rare in eighteenth-century Britain and this is the most celebrated example of the form.⁴² Inside, Adam designed a monument ornamented with a portrait medallion depicting Mary.⁴³ This was carved from white marble by Agostino Carlini.⁴⁴

Shortly after she had commissioned the mausoleum from Adam, Mary sold Bowood to

Fig. 5. Adam office hand, Shelburne mausoleum section, Bowood, Wiltshire, 1761, pen, pencil, wash and coloured washes on laid paper. (*Adam volume 39/77* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)



her son, the second Earl of Shelburne (later 1st Marquis of Lansdowne) for £15,000. She then returned to Ireland, leaving the construction to her son's direction. It was completed in 1763 and survives *in situ*.⁴⁵ Clearly Adam's designs were deemed successful, as the second Earl immediately commissioned him to alter Bowood House, beginning a decade-long project.

**QUEEN CHARLOTTE: ILLUMINATION AND
PIANOFORTE CASE FOR BUCKINGHAM HOUSE,
LONDON, 1763, 1780**

Built in the early eighteenth century, Buckingham House was purchased by King George III in 1762 for £28,000, intended as a dowry house for Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744–1818), whom he had married the year before. However, it became the family's principal London residence, providing a more private, domestic atmosphere than St James's

Palace. Accordingly, the building was adapted in the 1760s-1780s, principally by Sir William Chambers, but with minor additions by Adam, who served as joint Architect to the King in 1761-68.⁴⁶ In this capacity Adam also received patronage directly from Queen Charlotte.

In 1763 Charlotte secretly commissioned Adam to design an illumination for the garden at Buckingham House for George's surprise 25th birthday party. There is one drawing for the illumination at the Soane Museum and this is for the first, unexecuted scheme, comprising a nineteen-bay arcaded structure (Fig. 6).⁴⁷ The executed illumination was on a smaller scale. It was constructed with a timber frame and painted linen panels, lit from behind by 4,000 gas lamps, and served as scenery for a musical entertainment.⁴⁸ However, it was the grandiose original scheme that Adam included in his *Works in Architecture*⁴⁹

Much later, in 1780, Adam made working drawings for a pianoforte case for Charlotte.⁵⁰ The scheme is reminiscent of that made for Catherine the Great in 1774, but is richer in its ornamentation. It is not known if these designs were speculative, or if Charlotte commissioned them, but either way, there is no evidence that they were executed.⁵¹

LADY BETTY MACFARLANE: MIRROR FRAME FOR AN UNKNOWN LOCATION, 1765

There is one Adam design for Lady Betty – presumably Elizabeth – Macfarlane, who is otherwise unknown. Dated 1765, the design is for an ornamental oval mirror frame, fitted with two candle branches.⁵² The location for which this design was commissioned is not recorded, and moreover, it is not known to have been executed.⁵³

SOPHIA PETTY, COUNTESS OF SHELBURNE: WATCH CHAIN, c.1765-71

Lady Sophia Carteret (1745-71) was the daughter of John Carteret, second Earl Granville. In 1765 she married William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne and subsequently first Marquis of Lansdowne. Upon their marriage, William – who had already employed Adam at Bowood, Wiltshire – purchased Shelburne House (later Lansdowne House) on Berkeley Square, the shell of which had been built by Adam for the third Earl of Bute. Adam was retained as the architect at Lansdowne House and set about the interior decoration. Sophia is not credited with involvement in these works, but it is telling that they



Fig. 6. Adam office hand, Illumination elevation for Buckingham House, London 1763, pen, wash and coloured washes on laid paper. (Adam volume 49/1 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)



Fig. 7. Adam office hand, watch chain design for Lady Shelburne, c.1765–71, pen and coloured washes. (Adam volume 25/37 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

were abandoned unfinished upon her death.⁵⁴ She was, at the least, responsible for selecting various furnishings. Her diary records on 22 August 1768 that she consulted Adam about 'the furniture for our painted anti-chamber, and determined that it should be pea green and satin spotted with white and trimmed with pink and white fringe, it was originally my own thought and met with his entire approbation'.⁵⁵

In addition, there is one undated drawing for a

bejewelled watch chain, inscribed *Lady Shelburne*, and therefore suggesting Sophia's direct patronage (Fig. 7).⁵⁶ However, the executed status of this design is unknown. Sophia had no direct access to the estate accounts, so this commission was presumably funded by her pin money which was intended for clothing and personal items.⁵⁷

ANNE PITT: INTERIOR DECORATION AT GROVE HOUSE, LONDON, 1766–70

Anne Pitt (1712–80) was the sister of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, with whom she quarrelled. However, Anne too had an impressive public career. In 1732–37 she was maid of honour to Queen Caroline; in 1742–44 she lived in France with Lady Bolingbroke; in 1751–71 she was keeper of the Privy Purse to the Princess of Wales; and in 1765 she purchased Grove House, Kensington Gore (dem. 1857) – on the site of the Royal Albert Hall – from Sir Caesar Hawkins. Anne was resident at Grove House, throwing weekly balls, until she travelled to Italy in 1774. On her return in 1778 she was declared insane and confined until her death in 1780.⁵⁸

When Anne purchased Grove House it was criticised by Horace Walpole, and, wanting to make improvements, she approached Adam in 1766. Four drawings survive for the walls, ceiling and chimneypiece of an unknown room.⁵⁹ Alterations were certainly made, as Mrs Delany wrote: 'out of a very ugly house [...] she has made an uncommonly pretty place'.⁶⁰ It is not known if this was Adam's work, as an alternative French-style ceiling design was provided by Walpole on 1 March 1766.⁶¹ However, a later, fifth Adam drawing of 1770, for an overmantel mirror frame, seemingly for the same room, suggests that Adam's 1766 scheme had come to fruition.⁶²

**PRINCESS AUGUSTA: SCREEN WALL TO
CARLTON HOUSE, LONDON, 1767**

Carlton House on Pall Mall was built from 1709 for Henry Boyle, first Lord Carlton. In 1732 it was purchased by Frederick, Prince of Wales in preparation for his marriage to Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (1719–72). Alterations to the building began in 1735 to designs by William Kent. Augusta retained Carlton House in her widowhood, and commissioned Sir William Chambers to make improvements in 1763–69, incorporating the neighbouring house, which had belonged to George Bubb Doddington.⁶³ Simultaneously, in 1767, James Adam designed an unexecuted entrance screen to mask the building's irregular façade. Whether this was commissioned by Augusta, or it was a speculation by James, is unknown. According to *Works in Architecture*, James's designs 'were so much approved of by her Royal Highness, that she

had determined to have carried them into execution, if the declining state of her health had not prevented any steps from being taken towards the completion of this favourite plan'.⁶⁴

Only one drawing survives for James's screen wall design.⁶⁵ It shows a three-bay central block akin to the Arch of Constantine in Rome, articulated by fluted Corinthian columns. This is flanked by five-bay links, articulated by lotus capital pilasters with *rinceaux* in the shafts, and each bay containing a sculpture-filled niche. Beyond are single-bay pedimented pavilions containing arched carriage doors, flanked by fluted Corinthian columns. It is ornamented with portrait medallions illustrating past sovereigns, a frieze of *rinceaux* or rosettes and festoons, military trophies and figurative roof-line sculpture, and the royal coat of arms (Fig. 8).

Following Augusta's death, George III gave his mother's house to the Prince of Wales (later Prince

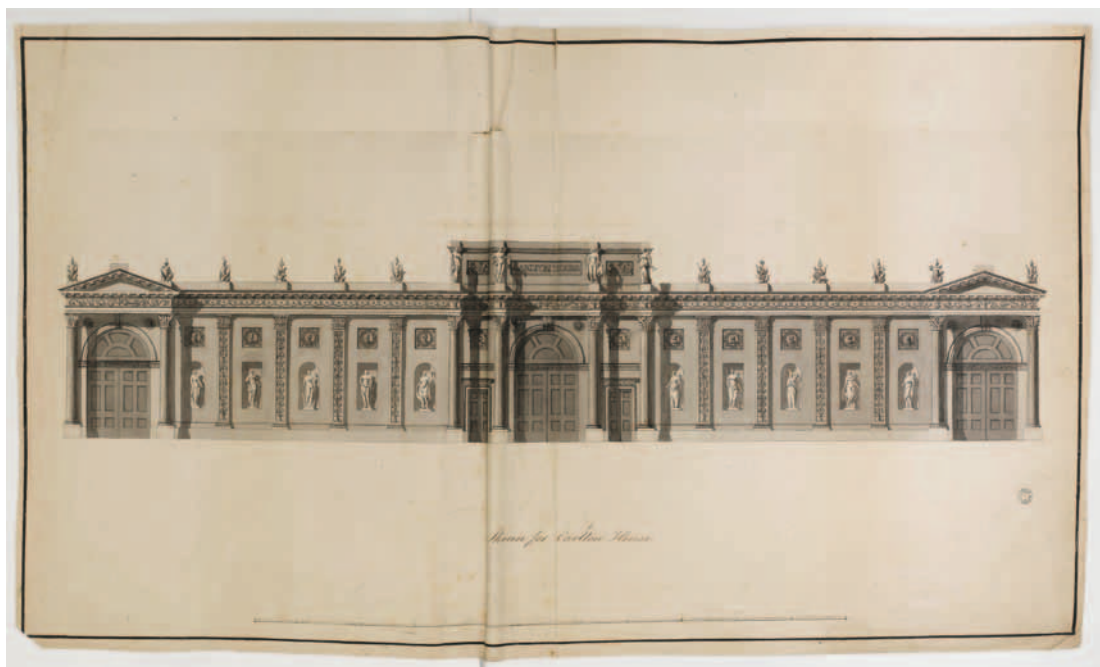


Fig. 8. Adam office hand, entrance screen elevation for Carlton House, London, 1767, pen and wash on laid paper. (Adam volume 29/1 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

Regent) when he came of age in 1783, precipitating famously expensive alterations. However, when the Prince became King George IV in 1820, Carlton House was no longer needed. It was demolished in 1827 and Carlton House Terrace occupies the site.⁶⁶

**MRS STEVENSON: DRAWING ROOM
CEILING FOR A HOUSE ON HERTFORD STREET,
LONDON, c.1768–72**

Hertford Street was largely laid out in the 1760s. One of the few houses to survive World War II is No. 10, originally home to Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne and his wife Lady Charlotte Stanley, who commissioned interiors from Adam c.1768–71.⁶⁷ Another, unknown house on Hertford Street was home to a Mrs Stevenson, who commissioned Adam to design her drawing room ceiling. There is one surviving drawing, which is undated, but is probably contemporary with the works at 10 Hertford Street, as the houses were newly built and in need of decoration.⁶⁸

In 1783, Adam made two designs for an unidentified castellated house for a Mr Stevenson, possibly Nathaniel Stevenson of Braidwood, Lanarkshire.⁶⁹ It is not known if this Mr Stevenson was connected to Mrs Stevenson of Hertford Street.

**CATHERINE THE GREAT,
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA: PIANO & HARPSICHORD
CASES, 1774**

Under the aegis of the architect Charles Cameron, neo-classicism had spread to Russia following his arrival in 1779. However, Catherine the Great (1729–96) was ahead of the curve, having admired and collected British art for decades. How Adam became acquainted with Catherine is unknown, but in 1774 she commissioned designs for two instrument cases – a harpsichord and a pianoforte



Fig. 9. Adam office hand, harpsichord case plan, elevation and profile elevation for Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia, 1774, pen, pencil, wash and coloured washes on laid paper. (*Adam volume 25/8*
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

– for which there are nine beautiful drawings (Fig. 9).⁷⁰ Catherine was not a musician, but she encouraged her daughter-in-law, Natalia Alekseevna, Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt to play, and Adam's designs may have been a gift following her marriage to Catherine's son, Grand Duke Paul, the year before.⁷¹ Neither of Adam's designs was executed, but the harpsichord case is illustrated in his *Works in Architecture*.⁷² A loose variant of Adam's scheme was made in London for an instrument by Johann Zumpe, and this survives at the Palace of Pavlovsk.⁷³

**ATTRIBUTED TO ELIZABETH BOYLE, COUNTESS
OF GLASGOW: MONUMENT TO JOHN BOYLE,
3RD EARL OF GLASGOW, KELBURN CASTLE,
AYRSHIRE, 1775**

In 1755 Elizabeth Ross, sister and heir to the thirteenth Lord Ross of Halkhead, married John Boyle, third Earl of Glasgow (1715–75).⁷⁴ On the Earl's death in 1775, Adam made designs for his funerary monument for the park at Kelburn Castle, where it survives *in situ*. There is no evidence who commissioned the designs. One candidate is George Boyle, fourth Earl of Glasgow, but why then is his name not inscribed on the drawings, as was customary?⁷⁵ Another candidate, perhaps more likely considering the apparent secrecy, was the widowed Elizabeth. Among the fourteen extant drawings, there are five alternative schemes for the monument.⁷⁵ The executed version, carved by an unknown sculptor, has a pedestal supporting a pedimented Doric portico containing a sculpture-filled niche, with a female figure leaning on an urn. This is set against a pyramid in relief, ornamented with the Boyle coat of arms (Fig. 10).

**ELIZABETH, LADY MILLS: FURNITURE FOR AN
UNKNOWN LOCATION, 1775–78**

Thomas Mills (d. 1793) served in the army, but little else is known of his origins. In 1766 he was appointed Receiver General of Quebec, but refusing to submit his accounts, he earned the nickname 'Corrupt Boy Mills', and return to England the following year. However, this did not prevent his knighthood in 1772, or his being appointed Receiver General of Quebec again in 1777. On returning to Canada, he lived extravagantly, embezzling £3,000 to satisfy his creditors. On discovery of this theft in 1789, he was disgraced. He returned to London and died insolvent. Almost nothing is known of his wife, Elizabeth (*née* Moffat) (b.1756), but that she bore at least one child, a daughter named Catherine.⁷⁶



Fig. 10. Adam office hand, Glasgow monument plan and elevation for the park at Kelburn Castle, Ayrshire, 1775, pen, pencil and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 19/17* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

It is possible the Mills were introduced to Adam by Lord Chief Justice William Murray, Adam's patron at Kenwood, but the nature of their connection is unclear.⁷⁷ There are three Adam drawings for the Mills: one of 1775 for a drawing-room girandole, inscribed as being for Sir Thomas. The other two of 1778, are for a fire screen and pole, and inscribed as being for Lady Mills.⁷⁸ It is a mystery if these items were part of a collaborative project between Thomas and Elizabeth, or two separate commissions. Moreover, the intended location and executed status of these designs is not known.⁷⁹ Considering their dates, if they were

executed, the girandole of 1775 would have been taken to Quebec in 1777, and the fire screen of 1778 would have been commissioned from afar and sent to furnish a Canadian residence.

Fortunately for the Mills, they acquired a house in the Adelphi, London, following the Adam brothers' famous lottery. Alongside his three brothers, Robert Adam undertook a speculative urban development here from 1769, including over sixty town houses. The scheme was nearing completion in 1772, when a run on the Scottish banks caused difficulty for the Adam brothers, who had taken loans of £124,000 to build the Adelphi. They avoided bankruptcy through a private Act of Parliament, establishing a lottery of the Adelphi properties: 4,370 tickets, costing £50 each resulted in 108 prizes. The Mills won No.7 Royal Terrace, overlooking the River Thames, committing to a ground rent of £34 13s per annum, but they relinquished the house in 1781 during their second residence in Canada.⁸⁰

MARY ST JOHN: ST JOHN'S LODGE, WELWYN, HERTFORDSHIRE AND A MIRROR FRAME, 1775

St John's Lodge, Hertfordshire, was commissioned by Mary St John (née Schuyler), formerly of Albany, New York. During the American War of Independence she married a British Naval Captain, Henry St John (d. 1780), the son of John, eleventh Baron St John of Bletso. They lived on Park Street, London, and in 1775 also purchased land at Welwyn, commissioning Adam to design a villa.⁸¹ There are eight drawings for this project. Seven show a two-storey, three-bay villa with projecting end bays, and the eighth drawing, presumably later, is for a tripartite mirror frame for the drawing room.⁸² Interestingly, the drawings are inscribed as being for Mrs St John with no mention of her husband, who did not die until five years later. There is evidence of an unpaid Adam account in 1780, suggesting

that Adam's work for Mary continued well after the designs were made in 1775. The villa was sold in 1824, with the sale particulars indicating that it had been constructed to an enlarged version of Adam's design. It was demolished in 1993.⁸³

MISS LOWTHER: FIRE SCREEN FOR AN UNKNOWN LOCATION, 1776

There is one Adam drawing of 1776 for a simple square fire screen, which is inscribed 'Screen for Miss Lowther'.⁸⁴ Miss Lowther is unknown, but was possibly connected to Sir James Lowther, later first Earl of Lonsdale, who was Adam's patron at Lowther Hall (Westmorland) and Whitehaven Castle, Cumberland. However, if the inscription on this screen design was merely a note of its intended location within one of Sir James's properties, it would have been customary for the Adam office to instead inscribe it with 'Screen for Miss Lowther's room'. In 1755, Sir James had married Lady Mary Stuart, but the marriage was unhappy and they had no children. Miss Lowther might have been another relative, or a recognised, illegitimate daughter by one of Sir James's many mistresses.⁸⁵

MRS BANISTER: OVERMANTEL MIRROR FRAME FOR AN UNKNOWN LOCATION, 1777

A single Adam drawing, dated 8 February 1777, was made for Mrs Banister, who is otherwise unknown.⁸⁶ Despite being inscribed 'Girandole for Mrs Banister', the design shows a circular overmantel mirror frame with seven candle branches in the form of terms (Fig. 11). It was doubtless described as a girandole because of the candle branches, and Adam often incorporated mirror glass into his girandoles. The intended location for this mirror frame – or girandole – is not known, nor is its executed status.⁸⁷

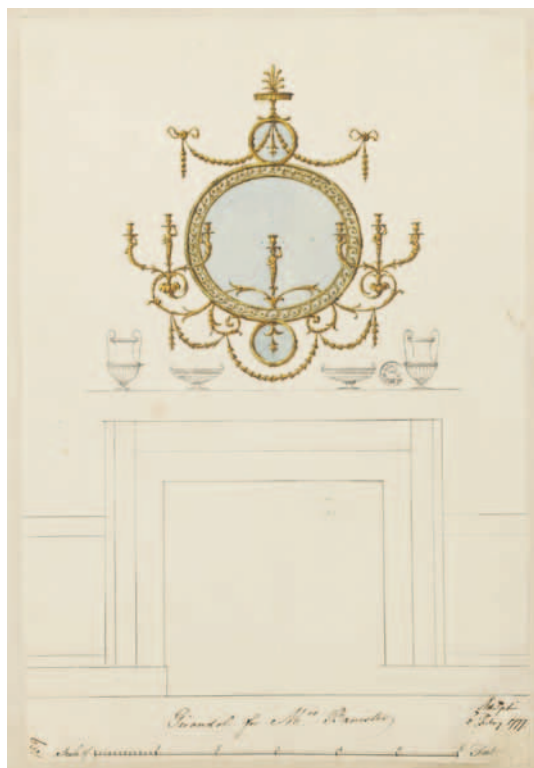


Fig. 11. Adam office hand, overmantel mirror frame elevation for Mrs Banister, 1777, pen and coloured washes on laid paper. (*Adam volume 20/159*
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

**SARAH JOHNSON: MONUMENTS TO
JAMES JOHNSON, WORCESTER CATHEDRAL
AND ST CYRIAC'S CHURCH, LACOCK,
WILTSHIRE, 1778**

James Johnson (1705–74) was a clergyman. He was elevated to the bishopric of Gloucester in 1752, and of Worcester in 1759, remaining at Worcester until his death in 1774, caused by a fall from his horse.⁸⁸ He was buried at St Cyriac's parish church in Lacock, Wiltshire, and four years later his unmarried sister, Sarah Johnson, commissioned Adam to design monuments both there and at Worcester Cathedral. There are two variant designs for the Lacock

monument, and the executed scheme comprises a rectangular wall-mounted tablet, with an inscription panel and ornamental frame which incorporates the Johnson coat of arms and a bishop's mitre.⁸⁹ There are four drawings for the monument at Worcester Cathedral, which in execution is a free-standing monument featuring a fluted sarcophagus, ornamented with the Johnson coat of arms, a bishop's mitre, crozier and inverted torch, and is surmounted by a portrait bust.⁹⁰ This monument was carved by Joseph Nollekens for the west end of the Cathedral.⁹¹ Both monuments survive *in situ*.

**THERESA PARKER: IMPROVEMENTS TO
SALTRAM PARK, DEVON AND 29 SACKVILLE
STREET, LONDON, 1768–82**

Theresa Parker (née Robinson) (1745–75) is an unusual inclusion here, since the commencement of Adam's work for her family predated her arrival. She was the daughter of Thomas Robinson, Baron Grantham and his wife Frances Worsley. At her birth, the family was resident in Vienna as her father was serving as Ambassador to the Habsburg court of the Empress Maria Theresa; Theresa was named for the Empress, who was her godmother.⁹² In 1769 she married John Parker of Saltram, Devon: which Theresa found pleasing in its external appearance, thanks to improvements by her mother-in-law, Lady Catherine Poulett.⁹³ Originally a sixteenth-century house, Saltram had been purchased by the Parker family, neighbouring landowners at North Molton and Bordingdon, in 1712.⁹⁴

John inherited Saltram and other West Country estates the year before he married Theresa, and immediately commissioned Adam to design new interiors for a library (later an eating room) and a saloon. This was presumably through the auspices of John's friend, the second Earl of Shelburne, Adam's patron at Bowood and Lansdowne House.⁹⁵ Adam later designed furniture for the velvet drawing



Fig. 12. Adam office hand, ceiling plan for the drawing room, 29 Sackville Street, London, 1770, pen, pencil, wash and coloured washes on laid paper. (*Adam volume 11/257* ©Sir John Soane's Museum, London).

room at Saltram, for park buildings and alterations to the fabric of the house, and in 1770 he designed a new drawing room ceiling for the couple's town house at No. 29 Sackville Street (Fig. 12). There are three surviving Adam drawings for Sackville Street and 31 for Saltram, ranging from 1769–81; including ceilings, friezes, chimneypieces, furniture and park buildings.⁹⁶ Theresa is credited with directing proceedings, albeit in collaboration with her husband. Their marriage was happy. He was wealthy and she was cultured, and, while he

enjoyed politics and country pursuits, she focused on improvements to their home. Her activities are recorded in correspondence with her sister and two brothers.⁹⁷ A noted arbiter of taste among this group was Theresa's brother, Thomas Robinson, later Baron Grantham.

Adam did not have free rein at Saltram: a chimneypiece by Thomas Carter the younger was retained; Adam's ceiling design for the saloon was modified; and his proposed inset paintings were rejected in favour of old masters. Theresa selected

most of the decorative objects and particularly liked Etruscan-style Wedgwood wares. She also designed various pieces of silver herself. And she oversaw the landscaping of the park and the creation of hothouses, kitchen gardens, lodges and a greenhouse, although very little of this was designed by Adam.⁹⁸ She died in 1775, after which John undertook works at Saltram without her, prompted by a fire. He was heavily involved in the interior decoration both before and after Theresa's residence, but this does not detract from their collaboration while she was alive, and it is significant that much of their art collection was selected by her, including her portrait by the family friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, which is larger and grander than that depicting her husband.⁹⁹

**ELIZABETH PERCY, DUCHESS OF
NORTHUMBERLAND: IMPROVEMENTS TO
SYON HOUSE, BRENTFORD, ALNWICK CASTLE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AND NORTHUMBERLAND
HOUSE, LONDON, 1760–83**

A great deal is known about the connoisseurship and patronage of the Duchess of Northumberland thanks to the research of Adriano Aymonino,¹⁰⁰ who describes her 'as one of the great independent women of her age and, in the context of the couple's achievements, the true collector'.¹⁰¹ Lady Elizabeth Seymour (1716–76) was the daughter and heiress of Algernon Seymour, seventh Duke of Somerset and his wife, the bluestocking, Frances Seymour (née Thynne). In 1740 she married the dazzlingly handsome and capable Sir Hugh Smithson, fourth Baronet (1712–86). On her father's death, she became *suo jure* Baroness Percy, and Hugh succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland, and adopted the Percy name. He was elevated to the Dukedom of Northumberland in 1766, following years of public and royal service by both husband and wife.¹⁰² Hugh was a shrewd land manager,

exploiting coal reserves and increasing the yields of the couple's estates. This enabled large-scale improvements, first at Stanwick Hall in Yorkshire, the Smithsons' estate, and then at the Percy estates of Syon, Alnwick Castle and Northumberland House on The Strand in London. By these means, the couple became some of the greatest eighteenth-century patrons of the arts. Hugh was an educated man with an understanding of architecture, ornament and collecting. Elizabeth was well educated too, but her husband additionally instructed her in the architecture of Vitruvius, Palladio and Inigo Jones. She developed a keen understanding of art, becoming a renowned connoisseur and collector, and undertook numerous tours to the Continent and of other English country houses.¹⁰³

The Duke and Duchess of Northumberland were some of Adam's most prolific patrons, working together for 22 years at Syon, Alnwick and Northumberland House, all of which are well documented elsewhere, and for which there are 129 Adam drawings at the Soane Museum.¹⁰⁴ Adam remodelled Syon with Neoclassical interiors, invoking a Roman villa. His work at Alnwick was Gothic – stipulated by Elizabeth – both to complement that ancient structure and to evoke the ancient lineage of the family.¹⁰⁵ And at Northumberland House, where Elizabeth hosted fashionable gatherings, Adam provided two innovative and modish interiors, most notably the Glass Drawing Room, partially reconstructed in the Victoria and Albert Museum following the demolition of the house. It was lined with mirrors, presumably intended to popularise glazed interiors in anticipation of the Duke's and David Garrick's forthcoming British Cast-Plate Glass manufactory.¹⁰⁶ Further to this, in 1778, Adam designed Elizabeth's funerary monument for Westminster Abbey.¹⁰⁷

Like those for Fanny Boscawen, Adam's designs for Elizabeth are inscribed with her husband's name alone, irrespective of whether she was the *de facto*

patron, as with much of the work at Alnwick Castle. This apparent division of labour is vindicated by Elizabeth's dynastic inheritance at a time when the country house, not the town house, was considered the ancestral seat. Alnwick was purchased by the Percy family in 1309 and enlarged using a stipend from King Edward II to repel the Scots. However, when Hugh and Elizabeth first visited Alnwick in 1750, most of the castle was a ruin. He was keen to reassert Percy power in the region, while she sought to restore her family seat. Elizabeth's diaries, notebooks and letters belie the fact that until her death, she directed the works at Alnwick and then reported back to her husband. Works began immediately in 1750, resulting in the couple's most extensive architectural programme at a vast cost of £200,000. The first designs were probably by Henry Keene, followed by James Paine, and in 1769 Adam was commissioned to provide interior decoration and park buildings.¹⁰⁸ Adam's work encompassed the saloon, drawing room, dining room, breakfast room, library, chapel, circular banqueting room, the Lion Bridge, Brizlee Tower and an unexecuted gateway and screen or gazebo. Notable among Adam's drawings is a *c.*1770 design for the walls

of the circular banqueting room (Fig. 13). This illustrates his slightly eclectic take on the Gothic, and the impressive density or ornament that was provided for the Alnwick interiors.¹⁰⁹

Adam's works at Alnwick conform with Elizabeth's beloved Gothic style, as opposed to Hugh's preferred Neoclassicism. Adam's work at Alnwick does not comfortably fall within his 'castle-style' *oeuvre*, prevalent in his later Scottish work, but should more accurately be described as 'Adam Gothic' or 'proto-Gothic Revival'.¹¹⁰ It is closer to his work in the circular drawing room at Strawberry Hill for Horace Walpole of 1766–67, but utilises a greater freedom of creativity – resulting in an oddly eclectic Neoclassical tinge to the Adam Gothic at Alnwick – as opposed to the more strictly antiquarian work requested by Walpole.

Later works at Alnwick, including many for the park, were commissioned by Hugh alone, following Elizabeth's death. The chapel in particular was conceived as a tribute to her.¹¹¹ The Lion Bridge and Brizlee Tower are all that survive of Adam's work at Alnwick, the interiors having been remodelled by the fourth Duke in 1854–65 to designs by Anthony Salvin.

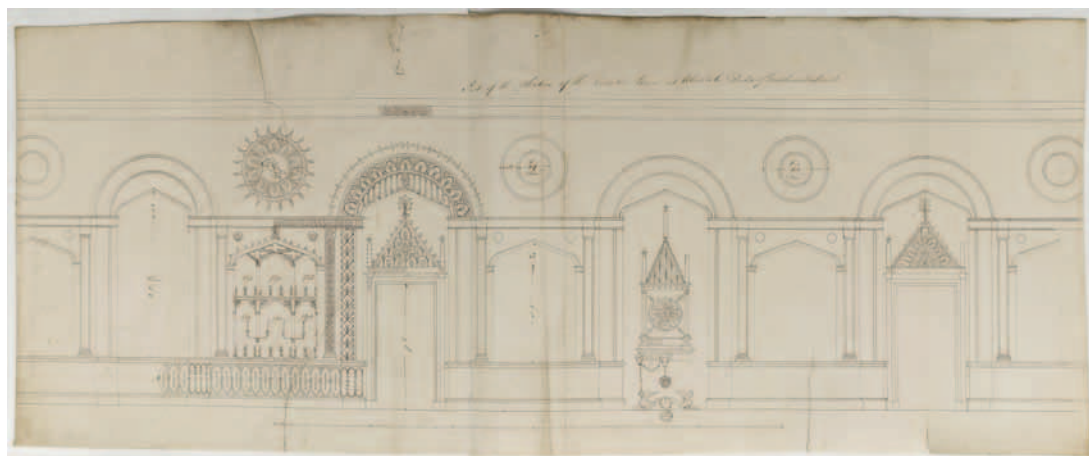


Fig. 13. Adam office hand, wall elevation for the circular banqueting room, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, *c.*1770, pen and pencil on laid paper. (Adam volume 39/10 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)



Fig. 14. Adam office hand, ceiling plan for the silver room, 23 (now 31) Hill Street, London, 1766, pen, pencil and coloured washes on laid paper. (*Adam volume 11/200* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

**ELIZABETH MONTAGU: SILVER ROOM
AT 23 (NOW 31) HILL STREET,
LONDON, 1766**

Elizabeth Montagu (*née* Robinson) (1718–1800) was the eldest daughter of Matthew Robinson and Elizabeth Drake of Edgeley and West Layton, Yorkshire and Mount Morris, Kent. They were a genteel but not a wealthy family. Her parents encouraged intellectual pursuits and she became a favourite of her step-grandfather, Dr Conyers Middleton, the Cambridge University librarian.

Through her childhood friend, Lady Margaret Harley (later third Duchess of Portland) Elizabeth was introduced to London society. In a letter to Margaret of 1738, she expressed her intention of forming a marriage which would facilitate an elevated metropolitan lifestyle. Four years later she married Edward Montagu (1692–1775). Much older than her, he was a grandson of the first Earl of Sandwich, who was in possession of country estates including Sandleford Priory in Berkshire and valuable coal mines in Yorkshire and Northumberland.

Furthermore, Edward shared Elizabeth's scholarly interests and was himself a mathematician.¹¹²

Sadly, the Montagu's infant son died in 1744, and Elizabeth threw herself into intellectual and architectural improvements, as well as estate management. The couple spent much of their time in London, at No. 23 Hill Street, and it was there that Elizabeth established a reputation as a literary hostess, earning the title 'queen of the bluestockings'. Both Edward and Elizabeth took responsibility for managing their coal mines; increasing their income to facilitate patronage of the arts.¹¹³ Elizabeth oversaw the construction of No. 23 Hill Street from 1744. Most of the interiors were designed by James 'Athenian' Stuart in 1760–72, but with contributions by Adam in at least one room, the silver room, Elizabeth's dressing room. Elizabeth may have met Adam through her fellow bluestocking, Fanny Boscawen, Adam's patron at Hatchlands. Furthermore, it is possible that Elizabeth and Adam were distantly related.¹¹⁴ Upon construction of the house, Elizabeth designed the silver room interior herself in the Chinoiserie style, including Chinese wallpaper, and black and gold japanned furniture by John Linnell.¹¹⁵ She then commissioned Adam in 1766 to make improvements, albeit maintaining the Chinoiserie theme.¹¹⁶ He was an unusual choice of architect for the project, with limited experience in this style, and the result was a neo-classical ceiling with painted Chinoiserie motifs and medallions.

There are five surviving Adam drawings for the silver room, plus one anomalous Stuart chimneypiece design at the Soane Museum.¹¹⁷ Adam's ceiling design has a circle of eight medallions (Fig. 14). The arrangement was inspired by copies after the antique, such as Francesco Bartoli's illustrations of ceilings at the Baths of Augustus in the Topham Collection, or Bernard de Montfaucon's *Supplément au livre de l'antiquité expliquée*, which were both familiar to Adam.¹¹⁸ Adam utilised this arrangement in designs for at least four other ceilings. It has been suggested that Adam's silver room ceiling was later modified by

Stuart, with the eight surviving medallions, depicting the signs of the Zodiac, inserted into Adam's earlier plasterwork.¹¹⁹ There are also three drawings for a carpet and another for a chair cover, but their executed status is unknown.

On Edward's death in 1775, Elizabeth became a wealthy widow with £7,000 per annum. She acquired a plot at No. 22 Portman Square, rebuilding the house in 1777–81 to designs by Stuart, and left Hill Street in 1781.¹²⁰ Adam's silver room was altered in the nineteenth century but survives in that altered state, and is currently used as offices.¹²¹

SARAH CHILD: MONUMENT TO ROBERT CHILD, ST LEONARD'S CHURCH, HESTON, MIDDLESEX, 1782

Just two weeks after succeeding his brother Francis, as head of the Child banking dynasty in 1763, Robert Child (1739–82) married Sarah Jodrell (1741–93), the daughter of Gilbert Jodrell of Ankerwyke House, Buckinghamshire.¹²² During their marriage, Robert and Sarah made alterations to Osterley Park at Hounslow, No. 38 Berkeley Square in London and Upton House in Warwickshire, all to designs by Adam. The extent of Sarah's role in these works is not documented, but she was a renowned needlewoman, and Adam made designs for her embroidery in 1776–79. These were for two pole fire screens, one of which was executed by Sarah, embroidered onto silk for the famous Etruscan Dressing Room at Osterley (Fig. 15).¹²³

Together, Robert and Sarah had one daughter, also Sarah, who eloped with John Fane, tenth Earl of Westmorland in 1782. Robert did not approve, and when he died two months later his fortune passed first to the widowed Sarah, who then married Francis Reynolds, third Baron Ducie in 1791. On Sarah's death the Child fortune passed into a trust for their eldest granddaughter, Lady Sarah Sophia Fane (1785–1867). This arrangement had been



Fig. 15. Adam office hand, fire screen embroidery design for the Etruscan dressing room, Osterley Park, Hounslow, 1777, pen and coloured washes on laid paper.
(Adam volume 17/145 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

devised by Robert Child himself – presumably to keep his fortune away from his son-in-law – but it was a gamble, since Sarah Sophia was not born until three years after he died. In 1804 she came of age, inherited the Child fortune and married George Bussy Villiers, fifth Earl of Jersey.¹²⁴

On Robert's death in 1782, Adam made designs for his funerary monument for St Leonard's Church, Heston. It was presumably his widow, Sarah, who commissioned the monument, as his closest relative and keeper of the family fortune. There are ten Adam drawings for the monument, which was carved

by Peter Matthias Van Gelder, and comprises an inscribed sarcophagus supported by a tall pedestal ornamented with oval medallions and flaming urns. The sarcophagus is surmounted by an urn with a portrait medallion, and two winged putti, in front of a pyramid in relief which is topped by another flaming urn.¹²⁵

**MRS CORNWALL: CHIMNEYPiece AND
OVERMANTEL MIRROR FRAME FOR
66 PORTLAND PLACE, LONDON, 1783**

In the 1770s Adam intended Portland Place to be a broad piazza-style space populated by detached urban mansions, but prospective patrons were discouraged by the financial downturn caused by the impending American War of Independence. Towards the end of the decade Adam was either occupied elsewhere or exasperated with the project, and his brother James then became responsible for the familiar but less grandiose sixty-eight terraced houses divided into blocks.¹²⁶ In 1783, No.66 Portland Place – now the site of the Royal Institute of British Architects – was home to a Mrs Cornwall, who is otherwise unknown. There are no extant drawings for the fabric of the house, but there is one design for a chimneypiece and overmantel mirror frame, inscribed ‘Chimney Piece & Glass for Mrs Cornwall Portland Place.’¹²⁷ It is not known if the design was executed as the house does not survive.

**MARIA FITZHERBERT: ALTERATIONS TO
A HOUSE ON THE STEINE, BRIGHTON,
SUSSEX, c.1787**

Maria Smythe, better known as Maria Fitzherbert (1756–1837) was the unlawful wife of King George IV. The daughter of a Catholic, Walter Smythe of Branbridge, Hampshire, she had a convent education in Paris and developed an interest in botany. In

1775 she married Edward Weld of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, who died later that year, and in 1778 she married again, Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, Staffordshire, who died three years later. Maria met George, Prince of Wales, the future King George IV, in 1780 and again in 1784, following which George pursued her. As a Catholic, she was prohibited from marrying Royalty by the 1701 Act of Settlement and the 1707 Act of Union. Moreover, the 1772 Royal Marriages Act demanded that descendants of George II should seek consent from the monarch to marry legally. Despite this, the couple were married privately in 1785 by the Prince’s chaplain in ordinary. Their marriage was tumultuous, particularly during George’s legal marriage to Caroline of Brunswick from 1794. However, George’s 1796 Will left his property to Maria and named her his wife. The couple were reconciled in 1800–10, and despite their separating again, when George died in 1830, he is thought to have been buried with Maria’s portrait.¹²⁸

Much of Maria’s life was spent in Brighton, which had grown in popularity thanks to its sea bathing. In 1786 George retired to Brighton on account of his mounting debts. He purchased land for his Marine Pavilion, and adjoining properties for himself and Maria. Simultaneously, Maria commissioned Adam to improve a house on The Steine.¹²⁹ It was not uncommon to enlarge properties in Brighton to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. The surviving drawings show a modest two-storey, three-bay villa, with large drawing and dining rooms, and smaller rear rooms arranged around an elliptical light well (Fig. 16). There is some debate as to the exact location of the house.¹³⁰

Adam may have met Maria through George’s uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, for whom Adam designed improvements to Cumberland House, Pall Mall in 1780, or perhaps through George’s advisor, William ‘single-speech’ Hamilton, for whom Adam was concurrently improving Marlborough House in Brighton. Despite the existence of seven working

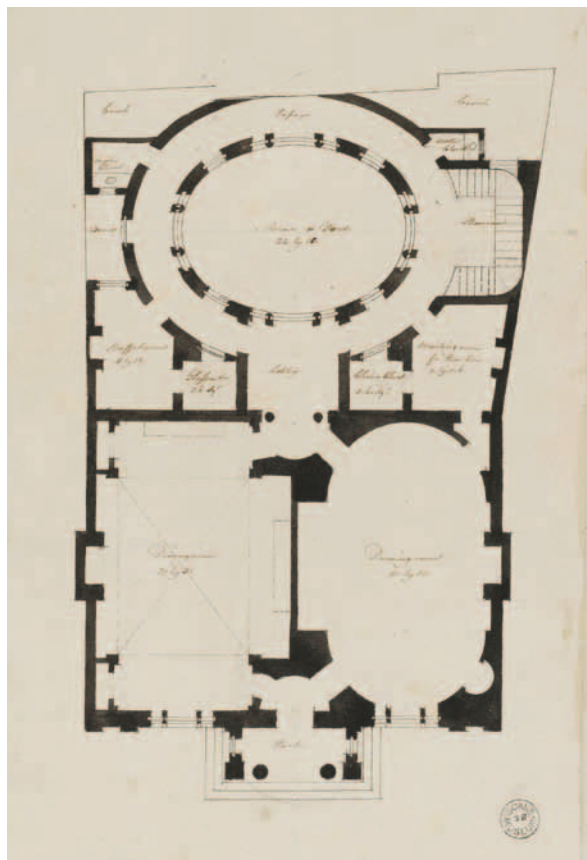


Fig. 16. Adam office hand, ground plan for a house on The Steine, Brighton, c.1787, pen, pencil and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 30/28* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

drawings, made to inform construction, there is no evidence that Adam's designs for Maria were executed.¹³¹ Perhaps she lacked the necessary funds, especially as it was a time of financial difficulty for George. Maria died in 1837 at her home in Brighton at No. 55 The Steine.

**ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HOME:
INTERIOR DECORATION AT HOME HOUSE,
17 (NOW 20) PORTMAN SQUARE,
LONDON, 1775-78**

Elizabeth, Countess of Home (née Gibbons) (1704-84) was the only child and heir of William and Deborah Gibbons of Vere, Jamaica. The

family owned plantations across Jamaica, inhabited and worked by enslaved people. At the age of 16, Elizabeth married James Lawes, the son of Sir Nicholas Lawes, then Governor of Jamaica, whose family had cultivated the Jamaican coffee trade. James died in 1733 and Elizabeth became an extremely wealthy widow; the Quit Rent books for 1754 record her ownership of 5,287 acres and co-ownership of a further 3,370 acres on the island. Thereafter, little is known of Elizabeth until Christmas Day 1742, when she made a marriage of convenience to William, eighth Earl of Home, a notorious spendthrift. Elizabeth settled William's debts upon their marriage, and despite his abandonment of her in February 1744, she did so again in 1747. It is apparent that she retained financial

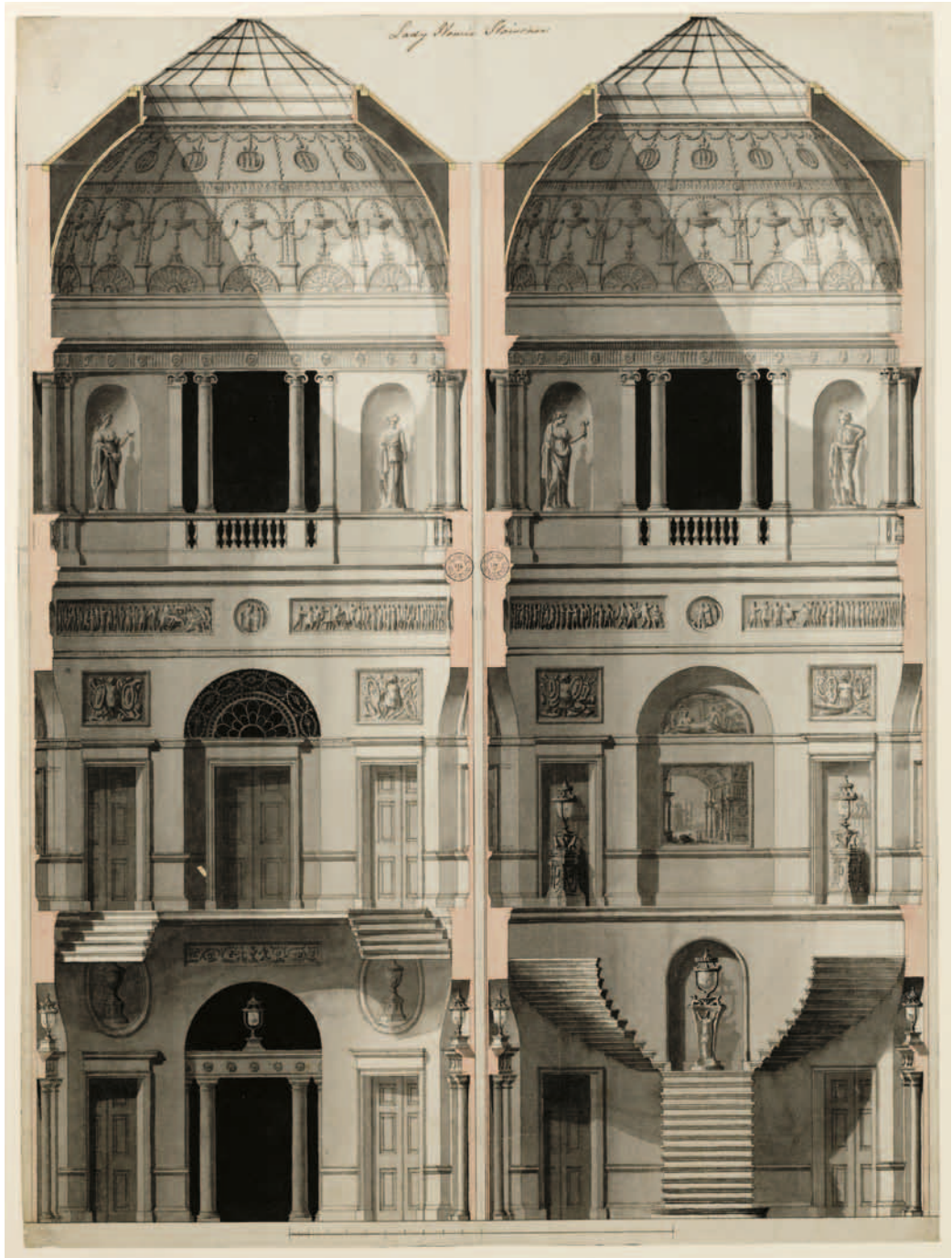


Fig. 17. Adam office hand, stairwell sections for Home House, 20 Portman Square, London, c.1775, pen, pencil, wash and pink wash on laid paper. (Adam volume 14/116 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

autonomy despite the marriage: William clearly had no independent access to her money as when he died in 1761, he was £3,780 in debt.¹³²

In London Elizabeth had a reputation as a strong-minded and unusual lady. William Beckford reported that she was known amongst 'the riffraff of the Metropolis by the name, style, and title of Queen of Hell'.¹³³ However, this may simply have been a derogatory response to her financial independence and to her West Indian – rather than British – connections. In 1772, at the age of 68, Elizabeth began building a magnificent house at No. 17 (now 20) Portman Square, later known as Home House. The decision to build late in her life has been questioned, but is generally attributed to her niece Anne Luttrell, the daughter of James Lawes's sister, Judith. In 1771 Anne married the Duke of Cumberland, the youngest brother of King George III. The King disapproved; banished

the couple from Court, and introduced the Royal Marriages Act. It seems that with Home House, Elizabeth sought to create an ante-Court, intended to receive Anna and Cumberland amid splendour befitting royalty. Clearly the Cumberlands approved, and presented Elizabeth with Gainsborough's portraits of themselves, for which Adam designed throne-like frames. The portraits survive in the Royal Collection.¹³⁴

Elizabeth's house was designed by James Wyatt, but his slow pace infuriated her, and he was replaced by Adam in 1775. Elizabeth had probably observed Adam's recent work for the art collector William Locke, her neighbour at 21 Portman Square. For Elizabeth, Adam designed a porch, furniture and various interiors, including his most successful urban stairwell (Fig. 17). This is a top-lit, oval space with an Imperial staircase and dense plaster ornamentation. The design is comparable with the

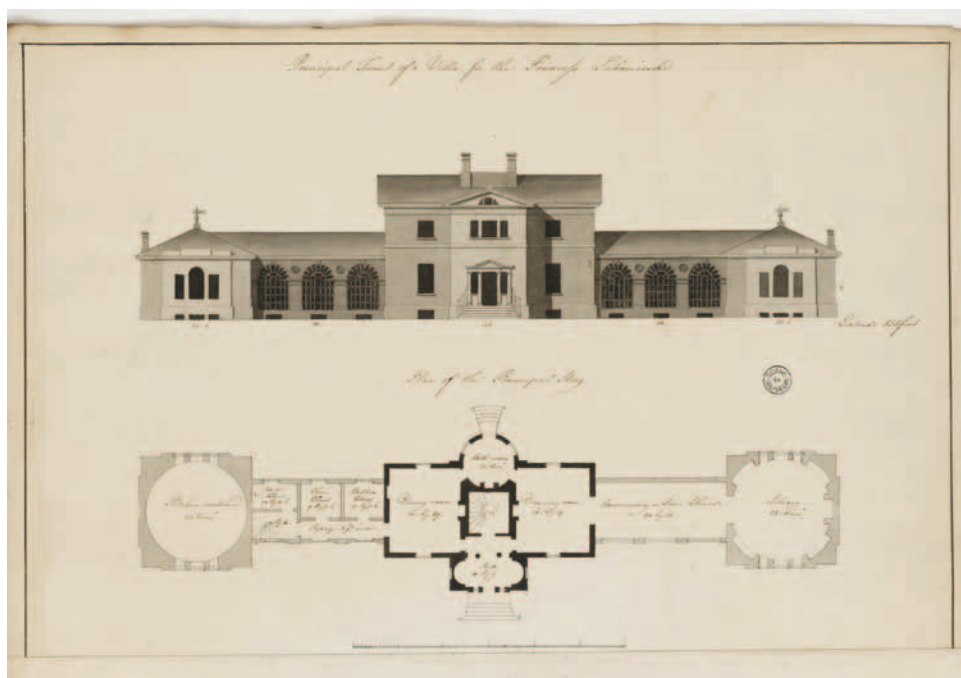


Fig. 18. Adam office hand, ground plan and elevation of a villa for Princess Lubomirska, c.1787, pen and wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 36/90* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

staircase at Cumberland House, Pall Mall, designed in 1759 by Sir William Chambers.¹³⁵ As Adam famously disliked Chambers, this emulation suggests flattery of Cumberland instead. It was an apparently successful ploy, as Adam was later commissioned to designed improvements for Cumberland House from 1780. Adam's 73 surviving drawings for Home House record designs for many rooms, including the reception rooms – the *raison d'être* for the project – comprising drawing rooms, an Etruscan dressing room and a music room.¹³⁶

In 1927–32, Adam's Home House interiors were restored for Samuel Courtauld, who then passed the lease to the University of London for use by the Courtauld Institute until 1989. From 1996 an eight-year restoration programme began to convert the house and its flanking neighbours into a private members' club.

**PRINCESS ISABELLA LUBOMIRSKA:
UNKNOWN VILLA, c.1787**

Isabella Czartoriska (1736–1816) was part of a prominent family from Vienna. In 1753 she married Stanislas, Prince Lubomirski, Grand Marshal of Poland. Later in life, she visited Lady Pembroke in London, and breakfasted at Strawberry Hill with Horace Walpole on 25 July 1787.¹³⁷ It was presumably during this visit to London that she commissioned Adam to design a villa. There are nine surviving drawings for the project, including three sketches in Adam's own hand, comprising designs for a two-and-a-half-storey, three-bay central block, flanked by one-and-a-half-storey, three-bay links and single-bay pavilions (Fig. 18).¹³⁸ It was not executed, but was probably intended as a trianon for Stanislas' estate at Łańcut, Rzeszów, Poland, where Isabella had made improvements to the house in 1780. The scheme is a miniature version of Milburn House, Claremont, Surrey, designed by Adam in 1786 for the first Lord Delaval.¹³⁹

**ANNE CALDERWOOD DURHAM:
ADDITIONS TO POLTON, LASSWADE,
MIDLOTHIAN, 1788**

Anne Calderwood was the daughter of Thomas Calderwood of Polton at Lasswade, Midlothian and his wife, the noted diarist Margaret Calderwood (*née* Steuart). Thomas had subscribed to Adam's *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian* (1764) and it is therefore likely that the family was familiar with Adam's work. On Thomas's death in 1773, the Polton estate passed first to Anne's brother, Lieutenant-Colonel William Calderwood, and then to Anne in 1787, whereupon she commissioned Adam to enlarge and Georgianise the house. One drawing for Adam's design survives, giving plans of the ground and first storeys and an elevation of the principal front of a three-storey, five-bay original house, onto which Adam proposed the addition of two-storey, single-bay pavilions (Fig. 19).¹⁴⁰ From the drawing, it appears that the original house was a seventeenth-century block, with a portico, a hipped roof, and a central staircase in the hall, reminiscent of the work of Sir Roger Pratt. Adam's proposal to enlarge the house by the application of pavilions would have created greater 'movement' to the façade, and doubled the interior space. However, it is not known if Adam's designs were executed. It is not even clear if Polton was Anne's principal residence. She had married James Durham and in 1763 gave birth in Largo, Fife, to a son named Philip Charles, who inherited Polton from his mother.¹⁴¹

Adam also designed a funerary monument in 1774 for an unknown location to Anne's mother Margaret. There is one Adam drawing for the monument which – uncharacteristically for Adam – shows a simple and impersonal rectangular wall-mounted inscription panel with only a little ornamentation at its top edge.¹⁴² The monument was probably commissioned by Margaret's son, Anne's brother, Lieutenant-Colonel William Calderwood, then in possession of Polton. The design is not known to have been executed until 1992, when it was

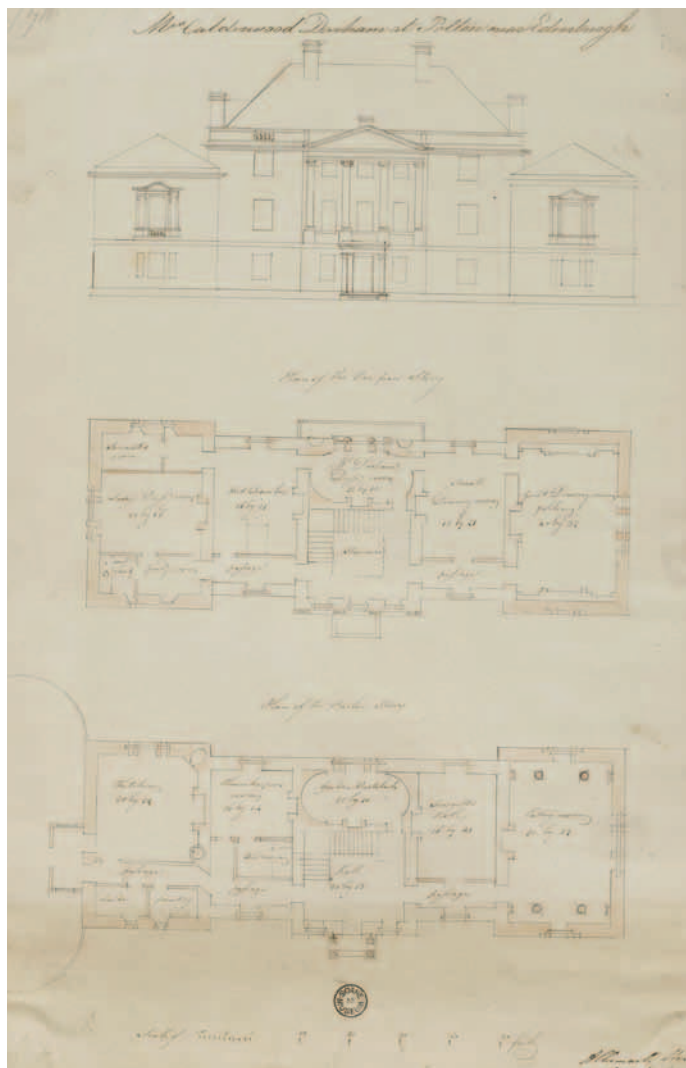


Fig. 19. Adam office hand, ground and first storey plans and elevation showing additions to Polton, Midlothian, 1788, pen, pencil and pink wash on laid paper. (*Adam volume 46/55* © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

used at Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh – where many of the Adam family are buried – to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Adam's death.¹⁴³

MRS BARR: DAIRY FARM BUILDING (N.D.)

There are two sketches in Adam's hand, for a dairy farm building, inscribed as being for Mrs Barr.¹⁴⁴

Both Mrs Barr and the location of her farm are

unknown. However, Adam's proposed dairy would have been magnificent. The drawings show a central circular cattle shed, made grandiose by a three-bay pedimented portico. This is flanked by three-bay links containing a threshing barn and calf house, and beyond are five – by one-bay pedimented wings, connected to the links at a right angle, forming an H-shaped building. One of the wings contains a dairy (Fig. 20).

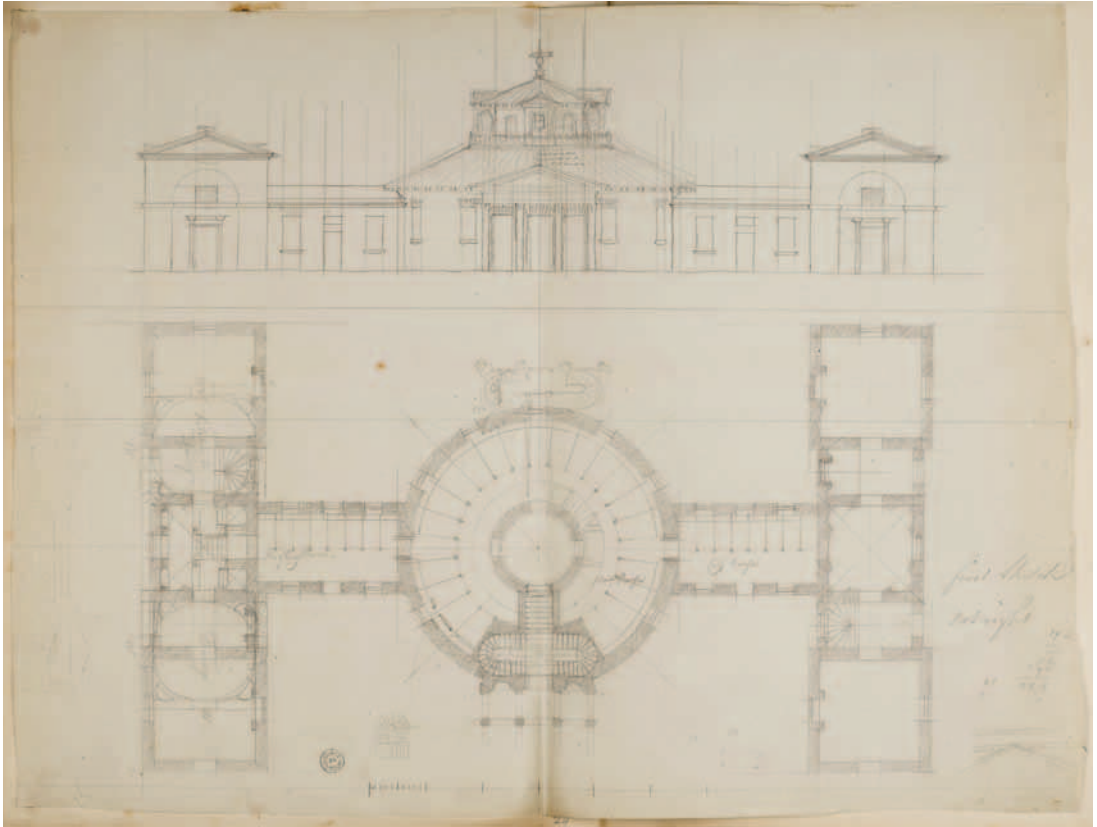


Fig. 20. Robert Adam, plan and elevation for a dairy farm building for Mrs Barr, ND, pencil on laid paper.
(Adam volume 10/24 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

LADY INNES: UNKNOWN HOUSE (N.D.)

The identity of Lady Innes has not been firmly established. One suggestion is Lady Sarah Innes (*née* Hodges), the sister-in-law of Sir Ludovic Grant, Adam's patron at Moy House, Moray.¹⁴⁵ A plausible alternative is Mary Wray (d.1807), who in 1769 married Sir James Innes-Ker, later the fifth Duke of Roxburghe, a distant cousin of the third Duke, Adam's patron at Floors Castle, Kelso, and Roxburghe House in Hanover Square, London. A Mr William Innes subscribed to Adam's *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian* (1764) but there is no known connection. In any event, there are six

Adam drawings for Lady Innes. These illustrate an unknown and presumably unexecuted house.¹⁴⁶ The house was to comprise a two-storey, three-bay central block, with single-storey, three-bay quadrant links, and single-storey, three-bay pavilions.

MRS LYON: FARMHOUSE, N.D.

Mrs Lyon is unknown, but may have been Lady Catherine Lyon, or Mary Elizabeth Wren, the wife of Thomas Lyon, son of the sixth Earl of Strathmore.¹⁴⁷ There are two drawings inscribed as

being for the 'Hon^{ble} Mrs Lyon', one being a ground plan and the other an elevation for a farmhouse in an unknown location.¹⁴⁸ The drawings show a two-storey, three-bay house, containing a kitchen and parlour, and with a hipped pantile roof, flanked by single-storey, single-bay links containing a larder, pantry and dairy, and beyond are single-storey, single-bay pavilions containing stables and a cow house. To the rear of the house there is an enclosed yard.

MRS STEWART: CEILING AND CHIMNEYPIECES FOR UNKNOWN LOCATION, N.D

It is possible that Mrs Stewart was Christian Stewart (*née* Heron) who married John Coltrane (b.1703). John took the surname Stewart, for his uncle and unmarried aunt, from whom he inherited Physgill, Dumfries and Galloway, in 1732. However, John was killed in 1745 at the Battle of Prestonpans, leaving Christian a widow.¹⁴⁹ There are three Adam drawings for Mrs Stewart. One is for a square ceiling and the other two are for a chimneypiece.¹⁵⁰ It is not known if these were intended for Physgill, nor if they were executed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I owe thanks to Adriano Aymonino, Iain Gordon Brown, Anna McAlaney, Sue Palmer and Charles Townshend, eighth Marquess Townshend for their support and assistance in composing this article.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Adam Volume [hereafter SM Adam] 32/110, 43/1.
- 2 R. Baird, *Mistress of the House: great ladies and grand houses*, (London, 2003), p. 48.
- 3 *Ibid*, p. 19.
- 4 E. Eger and L. Peltz, *Brilliant women: 18th-century Bluestockings*, (New Haven and London, 2008), p. 83.
- 5 H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600–1840*, 4th edition (New Haven and London, 2008), p. 44.
- 6 R. Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, (London, 1764).
- 7 A.A. Tait, *The Adam Brothers in Rome: Drawings from the Grand Tour* (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2008), pp. 63–65.
- 8 F. Sands, 'Adam at work', *Country Life* (2 April 2014).
- 9 A.A. Tait, 'The Sale of Robert Adam's Drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, no. 904 (July 1978); I. Gordon Brown, 'Robert Adam's Drawings: Edinburgh's Loss, London's Gain', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series 2 (1992).
- 10 A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, (New Haven & London, 2009), p. 130.
- 11 *Ibid*, p. 144.
- 12 T. Stretton and K.J. Kesslering, *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World*, (Montreal and Kingston, London, Ithaca, 2013), pp. 3–23.
- 13 A.L. Erickson, *Women and Property: In Early Modern England* (London, 1993), chapter 6–8.
- 14 Vickery, 2009, p. 161.
- 15 I.H. Tague, 'Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies* 40 (January 2001).
- 16 A. Boyington, 'Fanny Boscawen and Hatchlands', *The magazine of the Georgian Group: The Georgian* (January 2019).
- 17 C. Wilkinson, 'Boscawen, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter ODNB] [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 18 Vickery, 2009, p. 162.
- 19 C. Todd, 'A Swiss Milady in Yorkshire: Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 77, (2005).

- 20 West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, WYL1352(1)A1/5A/10 and WYL1352(1)A4/1551/1.
- 21 E. Cruickshanks, 'Boscawen, Hon. Edward', *History of Parliament* [accessed 5 February 2021]. Wilkinson, *ODNB*.
- 22 G. Jackson-Stops, 'Hatchlands, Surrey', *Country Life*, (20 April 1989).
- 23 SM Adam 11/3, 6–11; 22/11–14; 35/80–83; G. Worsley, 'Stiff Leadbetter', *Ancient Monuments Society Transactions* 53, (2009).
- 24 A. Rowan, 'Bob the Roman', *Heroic antiquity & the architecture of Robert Adam*, (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2003), pp. 28, 30.
- 25 E. Harris, *The country houses of Robert Adam: from the archives of Country Life*, (London, 2007), pp. 25–27.
- 26 I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Surrey*, 2nd edition, (New Haven and London, 1971), pp. 309–11.
- 27 J. Martin, 'Townshend [née Harrison], Etheldreda', *ODNB* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 28 D. King, *The complete works of Robert and James Adam and unbuilt Adam*, 2nd edition (London, 2001), Volume II, p. 364.
- 29 SM Adam 19/9–10, 66, 68–72, 85; 54/2/8–9, 27; 54/7/17.
- 30 J. Fleming, 'Robert Adam, Luc-François Breton and the Townshend monument in Westminster Abbey', *Connoisseur*, (April 1962).
- 31 S.M. Adam 57/20.
- 32 Fleming, 1962.
- 33 Raynham Hall, Norfolk, Townshend collection, 116–117.
- 34 Fleming, 1962.
- 35 SM Adam 35/4; A. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert Adam* (London, 1922), Volume II, p. 34.
- 36 E. Harris and N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers: 1556–1785*, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 91.
- 37 SM Adam 19/1–5; 54/2/17–18, 20, 23–25, 28–29, 31–32.
- 38 K. Eustace, 'Robert Adam, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Michael Rysbrack and the Hopetoun Chimneypiece', *Burlington Magazine* 139, (November 1997).
- 39 L. Namier, 'Petty, John, 1st Earl of Shelburne', *History of Parliament* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 40 N. Pevsner and D. Simpson, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire*, (London, 1963), p. 110.
- 41 SM Adam 4/92; 9/160; 21/75, 77, 157; 28/52–55; 39/75–85; 54/7/203.
- 42 T. Russell, 'Shades of russet and brown', *Country Life*, (8 October 2008); H. Colvin, *Architecture and the afterlife*, (New Haven and London, 1991), p. 349.
- 43 SM Adam 19/65.
- 44 I. Roscoe, *A biographical dictionary of sculptors in Britain: 1660–1851* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 202–3.
- 45 King, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 325, 364.
- 46 H. Colvin, *The history of the King's works, Volume V: 1660–1782*, (London, 1976), pp. 133–37.
- 47 SM Adam 49/1.
- 48 *Gentleman's Magazine*, (June 1763), p. 300.
- 49 R. and J. Adam, *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1773–78), Vol. I, part v, pl. v.
- 50 SM Adam 49/2–5.
- 51 E. Harris, *The furniture of Robert Adam*, (Berkshire, 1963), p. 54.
- 52 SM Adam 20/7.
- 53 Harris, 1963, p. 59.
- 54 King, 2001, Vol. II, p. 128; E. Harris, 'The Lansdowne House drawing room: reconstructing Adam – properly', *Apollo*, (August 1992).
- 55 J. Lees-Milne, *The Age of Adam*, (London, 1947), p. 113.
- 56 SM Adam 25/37.
- 57 Vickery, 2009, p. 153.
- 58 Bolton, 1922, Vol. II, p. 84.
- 59 SM Adam 11/186–187; 22/208; 50/39.
- 60 A. Hall Llanover (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, (London, 1862), p. 150.
- 61 'To Anne Pitt, Saturday 1 March 1766', *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, The Lewis Walpole Library [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 62 King, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 380, 383; Vol. II, p. 180.
- 63 Colvin, 1976, p. 138.
- 64 Adam, 1773–78, Vol. I, part v, introduction to pl. i.
- 65 SM Adam 29/1.
- 66 Colvin, 1976, p. 138; S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6: Westminster*, (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 439.
- 67 SM Adam 8/51; 12/5–6; 13/143–145; 20/87–90; 22/265–268; 53/15.
- 68 SM Adam 13/140; King, 2001, Volume II, p. 179.

- 69 SM Adam 10/76–77, 33/73–78, 37/117–119, 46/141–142; A. Rowan, *Designs for castles and country villas by Robert and James Adam*, (New York, 1985), pp. 122, 150.
- 70 SM Adam 6/127; 25/7–13; 52/7.
- 71 L. Libin, 'Robert Adam's instruments for Catherine the Great', *Early Music Journal*, (August 2001).
- 72 Adam, 1773–78, Volume I, part v, pl. viii.
- 73 King, 2001, Volume II, pp. 273–75.
- 74 C. Mosley (ed.), *Burke's peerage, baronetage & knighthood*, 107th edition (London, 2003), p. 1564.
- 75 SM Adam 2/10, 12; 19/15–18, 20–22; 21/153–154, 176, 178, 200.
- 76 F.M. Greenwood, 'Mills, Sir Thomas', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 SM Adam 6/30; 17/147; 25/216.
- 79 Harris, 1963, p. 59.
- 80 A. Rowan, *Vaulting ambition: the Adam brothers, contractors to the metropolis in the reign of George III*, (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2007), pp. 12–24, 41–65; G.H. Gater and E.P. Wheeler (eds.), *'Survey of London*, Vol. XVIII: Adelphi Terrace', British History Online [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 81 Rowan, 1985, p. 74.
- 82 SM Adam 3/45; 21/85, 222; 45/17–21.
- 83 King, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 381, 389; Vol. II, p. 133.
- 84 SM Adam 17/146.
- 85 J.V. Beckett, 'Lowther, James, Earl of Lonsdale', *ODNB* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 86 SM Adam 20/159.
- 87 Harris, 1963, p. 59.
- 88 C. Haydon, 'Johnson, James', *ODNB* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 89 SM Adam 19/48–49.
- 90 SM Adam 1/248; 21/174; 19/13, 36.
- 91 King, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 363, 367.
- 92 A. Burnette, 'Parker [née Robinson], Theresa', *ODNB* [accessed 18 February 2021].
- 93 Baird, 2003, p. 220.
- 94 E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors*, (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 233.
- 95 *Ibid.*
- 96 SM Adam 8/99; 10/104; 11/253–55, 257, 265; 13/90; 14/84; 17/178; 20/69–70, 235, 237; 22/247–50; 25/158–59; 44/77–79; 46/171; 49/62; 50/66–68; 51/90–91; 53/28–29; 54/1/77; 54/7/246.
- 97 Baird, 2003, pp. 220–36.
- 98 *Ibid.*, pp. 223–24; J. Cornforth, 'Saltram, Devon I, II, III' and 'The Making of the Saltram Landscape', *Country Life*, 27 April, 4 May, 11 May, 14 September 1967.
- 99 Baird, 2003, pp. 226–29.
- 100 A. Aymonino, 'The *Musaeum* of the first Duchess of Northumberland (1716–1776) at Northumberland House in London' in S. Bracken, A.M. Gáldy and A. Turpin (eds.), *Women Patrons and Collectors*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2021); A. Aymonino and M. Guerri, 'The architectural transformation of Northumberland House under the 7th Duke of Somerset and the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, 1748–86', *The Antiquaries Journal* 96, (2016); A. Aymonino, *Enlightened Eclecticism – The Grand design of the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland*, (London, 2021).
- 101 Aymonino, 2001, p. 5.
- 102 H. Blodgett, 'Percy, Elizabeth [née Lady Elizabeth Seymour], duchess of Northumberland...', *ODNB* [accessed 15 April 2021].
- 103 Baird, 2003, pp. 164–87; Aymonino, 2001, pp. 29–34.
- 104 Harris, 2001, chapters 4–6; SM Adam 1/159, 160–63; 5/69, 74; 6/139; 8/89, 102; 10/48, 92, 135; 11/5, 12–14, 16–33; 17/1–4, 52, 171–73, 201–2; 18/21–22, 53, 60; 19/156–58; 20/14–18; 21/29; 22/36–55; 24/214, 239; 25/49, 133–36; 27/34–35, 37–40, 64, 74–75; 39/1–19, 20–22; 49/47–49, 54; 51/10–11, 35, 94; 52/62, 172; 53/36; 54/1/50; 54/3/55.
- 105 Baird, 2003, p. 171.
- 106 Harris, 2001, pp. 97–98.
- 107 SM Adam 19/19.
- 108 N. Pevsner et al., *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 135–39; Baird, 2003, p. 178; Aymonino, 2001, pp. 200–2; Harris, 2001, pp. 85–86.
- 109 SM Adam 39/10.
- 110 J. Fleming, 'Adam Gothic', *Connoisseur* 142, (1958); G. Worsley, 'Alnwick Castle, Northumberland II', *Country Life*, (8 December 1988).
- 111 Harris, 2001, p. 93.
- 112 Baird, 2003, p. 190. B. Brandon Schnorrenberg, 'Montagu [née Robinson] Elizabeth', *DNB* [accessed 17 February 2021].
- 113 Baird, 2003, p. 17; Eger, 2008, pp. 24–27.

- 114 Baird, 2003, pp. 198, 315.
- 115 H. Hayward and P. Kirkham, *William and John Linnell: eighteenth-century London furniture makers*, (London, 1980), p. 75.
- 116 R. Baird, 'The queen of the bluestockings: Mrs Montagu's house at 23 Hill Street rediscovered', *Apollo*, (August 2003).
- 117 SM Adam 11/200, 17/166–167, 22/218, 49/51, 54/1/12.
- 118 A. Aymonino, L. Gwynn and M. Modolo, *Paper palaces: the Topham collection as a source for British neo-Classicism*, (Eton College, Windsor, 2013), pp. 22–39.
- 119 D. Pullins, 'Reassessing Elizabeth Montagu's architectural patronage at 23 Hill Street, London', *Burlington Magazine*, (June 2008).
- 120 Baird, 2003, pp. 203–14.
- 121 F. Sands, *Robert Adam's London* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 70–72.
- 122 I.R. Christie, 'Child, Robert', History of Parliament [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 123 SM Adam 5/36; 17/133–136, 141–143, 145; 52/152, 154.
- 124 Christie, *History of Parliament*, cit..
- 125 SM Adam 2/11 13, 15; 19/79–82; 21/179, 190, 192.
- 126 King, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 86–94.
- 127 SM Adam 23/161.
- 128 M.J. Levy, 'Fitzherbert [née Smythe; other married name Weld], Maria', *ODNB* [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 129 SM Adam 30/27–29.
- 130 C. Miele, 'The First Architect of the World' in Brighton: Robert Adam, Marlborough House and Mrs Fitzherbert', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Volume 136, (1998); S. Berry, 'A House for Mrs Fitzherbert? Robert Adam and Grove House, Brighton', *Georgian Group Journal*, 26 (2018).
- 131 SM Adam 10/124; 30/21–26.
- 132 'Elizabeth Home, Countess of Home, formerly Lawes (née Gibbons)'; 'William Home, 8th Earl of Home', UCL *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database [accessed 18 February 2021].
- 133 J.W. Oliver, *The Life of William Beckford*, (Oxford, 1932), pp. 106–7.
- 134 Sands, 2016, pp. 59–62.
- 135 E. Harris, 'Home House: Adam versus Wyatt', *Burlington Magazine*, (May 1997); A.A. Tait, 'Home House', *Apollo*, (August 1987).
- 136 SM Adam 3/106; 5/1–6, 8–19; 6/63, 67, 110; 8/41, 48; 12/160–168; 14/116–117, 119, 132, 134; 17/63, 129, 195–196; 18/67, 69, 80; 20/163–167; 23/63–69; 25/15, 26–27, 217; 50/33–38; 52/3, 68, 74; 53/7–8; 54/7/165.
- 137 'To the Hon. Mrs Boyle Walsingham, Thursday 26 July 1787', *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, The Lewis Walpole Library [accessed 5 February 2021].
- 138 SM Adam 1/114–116; 36/90–93; 46/100–101.
- 139 SM Adam 46/1–4; Rowan, 1985, p. 32.
- 140 SM Adam 46/55.
- 141 Bolton, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 26, 65.
- 142 SM Adam 19/40.
- 143 King, 2001, Vol. II, pp. 261, 263.
- 144 SM Adam 10/24, 192.
- 145 Bolton, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 73, 76.
- 146 SM Adam 10/137; 46/27–31.
- 147 Bolton, 1922, Vol. II, p. 79.
- 148 SM Adam 46/34–35.
- 149 G.N. Stewart, *Galloway Records*, (1914). p. 103.
- 150 SM Adam 5/77; 23/1–2.