

**The Creation of No.10 Downing Street by Sir Robert Walpole as his London home while
First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of
Commons in 1732:
Did Walpole fashion his identity through Material Culture and Architectural Legacy?**

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I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Abstract

One of the most recognisable and iconic buildings in the world, No.10 Downing Street has occupied a central position in British history for almost three hundred years.

Although much has been written about the building's esteemed occupants, from Sir Robert Walpole to Boris Johnson, little has been written about the building itself.

Using existing and newly discovered archival material from the Metropolitan Museum and Pierpont Morgan Library in New York alongside the Walpole family papers in the UK, this thesis addresses the historic creation of the home of Sir Robert Walpole, the first de facto Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Created between 1732 and 1736, what is now known as No10 Downing Street was created from three existing buildings dating from the 17th century. Recently discovered detail about the internal decoration of key state rooms in the house when Sir Robert and his family took up residence in 1736 gives a rare insight into how it became the home of over one hundred and forty artworks from his outstanding personal art collection. A collection that later became the property of Empress Catherine the Great of Russia and now resides at the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

The thesis explores how artworks by artists including Da Vinci, Rubens, Van Dyck, Poussin, Canaletto and Le Brun were displayed throughout the newly configured and decorated seat of early democratic power in the United Kingdom, influencing societal convention which governed the cultural and social standing of political figures during the eighteenth century and shaped the power and influence of key leaders through tumultuous political events.

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Introduction

London Daily Post

23 September 1735:

'Yesterday the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole with his Lady and Family, removed from their House in St James's Square, to his new House adjoining to the Treasury in St James's Park ' .¹

Number 10 Downing Street is not just the home of the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Its facade is known throughout the world as the centre of democratic governance, representing the power of the people of the United Kingdom through the framework of a parliamentary constitution. From its creation in 1732 as the home of the First Lord of the Treasury, it has become the representative building which denotes British government and power in direct opposition to the palaces of the monarchy in the UK. Many factors culminated in its creation including location, patronage, eighteenth century ideas of taste, Regicide, the consequent Republic, and Parliamentary sovereignty.² As a physical representation of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, 10 Downing Street has become iconic in its own right. As Sir Anthony Seldon writes in the preface to the British government's own history of the building, it vies only with the White House as the most important political building anywhere in the world and has been at the heart of democratic governance and decision making for the last 275 years.³ The building itself is one of the most recognisable in the world, and during its tenure, has never left the national consciousness. During the world wars of the twentieth century, the image of the front door became synonymous with the strength of the nation and the battle against the Third Reich. This image, which each of us can conjure in our minds at the mere

¹ Minney, R.J. *No. 10 Downing Street: A House in History*. (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1963) p50

² An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown. (Bill of Rights 1689). (HL/PO/PU/1/1688/1W&Ms2n2)

³ www.gov.uk/government/history/10-downing-street

mention of the address, has become part of the national consciousness, cementing its position as possibly the most important Georgian building of the early eighteenth century.

The ambiguous history of the building, and lack of primary source material has meant that much that is written about 10 Downing Street is focused on the inhabitants rather than the building itself. The unearthing of two new pieces of archival material located during my research for this thesis, combined with existing scholarship may offer a new understanding of the architecture and material culture used by the eighteenth-century ruling classes, providing an insight into the importance of early townhouses, their decoration and utilisation.

In *Georgian London* (first published in 1945), John Summerson argued that 'members of the aristocracy were not that interested in their town houses to anything like the same extent that they were in their country dwellings' and that 'for the most part, [they] were content with the standard product of the time, the terrace-house'.⁴ Summerson supported this argument by quoting the writing of John Stewart's *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London* (1771), where he discussed how the aristocratic classes had created sumptuous country estates within the Baroque and Palladian style at vast expense, while accepting the much more modest surroundings of a London terraced house as their town base.⁵ These observations are reinforced by subsequent authors who present the premise of the country estate as the principal residence and the town house as the relatively functional and unprepossessing home during parliamentary sessions.⁶ Retford, Avery-Quash and Stewart have started to advance an alternative narrative. Stewart in particular argues that this is a

⁴ Summerson, J. *Georgian London*, 3rd Ed. (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1978) p.111

⁵ Stewart, J. *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London* (London: J. Dodsley, 1771) p.27-8

⁶ Summerson, J. *Georgian London*. 3rd Ed. (London; Barrie & Jenkins, 1978) p24

misconception.⁷ Contemporary records of the period show it was not unusual for the aristocracy to take leaseholds on property, whether in the country or in London, particularly from the Crown Estate, which held vast swathes of the London boroughs alongside other members of the aristocracy during the eighteenth century.⁸ Property did not have the same financial 'worth' in the eyes of the law as we have become accustomed to presently. Wealth was deemed as being held mostly within the chattels of a house, moveable items such as carpets, linens, furniture and artworks which were portable and therefore saleable. This concept was ingrained into the psychology of the population and goes some way to explaining the reality of the situation.⁹ As the leasehold property didn't come with land, it consequently held little to no value in terms of political, financial or social power. The country house estate epitomised the owner's national political power and the estate's transfer of ownership was intrinsically linked to that of primogeniture.¹⁰ Although Stewart's discussion on the elements of property ownership in the eighteenth century is extensive, it leans towards the latter part of the century where evidence is more forthcoming.¹¹ The Georgian London Townhouse collection of essays edited by Avery-Quash and Retford also relies heavily on the later part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century as examples of the influence of the townhouse within the social settlement.¹² This is due to the lack of primary evidence for buildings, their collections and display from the earlier period. Most likely due to the notion of purchasing or building a property in London, particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century as very uncommon and unnecessary. Walpole's

⁷ Stewart, R. *The Town House of Georgian London* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) p3

⁸ Ibid p54-55

⁹ Ibid p136-138

¹⁰ Habakkuk, J.H. 'England', in *European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A Goodwin (1953), quoted in James Raven, 'Defending Conduct and Property', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. John Brewer and Susan Staves, p306.

¹¹ Stewart, R. *The Townhouse in Georgian London* (London & Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2009) p3

¹² Avery-Quash, S and K Retford. *The Georgian Townhouse; Building, Collecting and Display*. (London & New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc, 2021) p1-19

acceptance of the Downing Street properties as part of his remittance in the early part of the eighteenth-century was perfectly acceptable in light of the normalisation of leasehold value within societal norms for properties of this type. The transient nature of the transaction would not have been seen as unusual.¹³

Ownership

There are several key factors that could be assumed to have facilitated the establishment of 10 Downing Street as the home of the First Lord of the Treasury in 1732. These are coincidental but may help us understand why it was chosen. The first to consider is ownership. The land and buildings in which 10 Downing Street is situated has been part of the Crown Estate (now the Parliament Estate) since c.710.¹⁴ The Downing Street terrace we recognise today with house and gardens (Bothmar House) overlooking St James' Park at the rear, constituted the skeleton of the final house occupied by the present Prime Minister.¹⁵ The third section which is less well known is 'the corner house'. This was introduced to the scheme not long after George II offered the 'front and back' houses to Walpole. This property was leased at the time of the alterations to a Mr Chicken with stabling alongside. Due to the perceived need for greater space in the final configuration, George II purchased the lease back from the incumbent and the buildings were incorporated into the final plan.¹⁶

The close proximity of these properties to both St James' Palace, the Palace of Westminster and Whitehall proved a convenient location for Walpole. The rear property, Bothmar House

¹³ Shepard, A. *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order of Early Modern England*. (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2015) p35-52

¹⁴ <http://www.thecrownestate.co.uk/about-us/our-history> accessed 14.01.22

¹⁵ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. *London County Council Survey of London, Vol. XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol. II)* (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p109

¹⁶ *Plan of Downing Street (1732-35)*. Survey of London vol. XIV St Margaret Westminster Part III. Plate 147

was also located adjacent to Kent's Treasury Building, under construction on what we now know as Horse Guards Parade, but at the time on land cleared from the destruction by fire in 1698, of the Palace of Whitehall on the Strand. Its central position was perfect for easy access to both St James's and Parliament, particularly relevant when taking into consideration the infrastructure of the City of Westminster at the time. Roads were basic and coach travel was the only real means of transportation for the upper classes. St James' Palace was 0.9 miles away while it was 0.3 miles to the Palace of Westminster and what was left of Whitehall Palace and the Banqueting Hall, 0.2 miles. (fig.1)

Political

It is clear that the political and social establishment at the time had an influence on the creation of the property at 10 Downing Street. The Hanoverian throne was still in its infancy and although George II had taken office in 1727, both he and Walpole were still considered outsiders to the British Establishment. It is therefore understandable that their status and perception within society were of paramount importance. In Kemp's biography, the period in which Walpole receives the property in Downing Street is controversial. Walpole's administrative reforms, particularly tightening the links between the Commons and the Treasury were controversial, enshrining a dialectic for means and supply of revenue for the government. Walpole orchestrated these specifically as part of the House of Commons programme rather than parliamentary programme, to ensure control would be enshrined within the Commons remit for fiscal accountability, and prevent an elite few dominating governance to their own ends.¹⁷ Walpole's most fundamental innovation was that of his own position. As the Prime Minister, he held the King's confidence, but by remaining in the Commons as a Member of Parliament, with neither peerage or noble birth, he offered a

¹⁷ Kemp, B. *Sir Robert Walpole*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976). p64-66

change to politicians who had gone before him, strengthening the House of Commons within government and establishing the power base of a Minister. He himself said: 'A seat in this House is equal to any Dignity derived from Posts or Titles, and the Approbation of the House is preferable to all that Power, or even Majesty itself, can bestow; therefore when I speak here as a Minister, I speak as possessing my Powers from his Majesty, but as being answerable to this House for the Exercise of those Powers.'

Walpole supported George I and later George II by establishing a cohesive and effective working relationship between the monarchy and parliament. Although Walpole rejected the title of Prime Minister, his control of the Treasury, management of the House of Commons and the confidence he enjoyed from George I and II demonstrated the leadership required to give stability and order within eighteenth-century politics. By using his power to support the Whig Party, his prime concern was to thwart Jacobite plots and secure the Hanoverian succession. Walpole believed this could be achieved by the prosperity of the nation through low taxation and trade. This in turn depended on peace and freedom from foreign entanglements. In order to facilitate this, Walpole used his influence and allegiances within the political elite.¹⁸

Patronage networks during the eighteenth-century were at the heart of political culture and were an 'expression of how individuals within [a] hierarchical society related to one another; not on the basis of mutual equality but on the basis of mutual dependence'.¹⁹ This was a societal construct, ensuring that eighteenth-century politics was 'influence-based,' wielded in all manner of forms including personal appeal, consultation, inspirational appeal, ingratiation and rational persuasion. Frank O'Gorman describes Walpole's leadership in parliament as,

¹⁸ Black, J. *Walpole in Power*. (Stroud: Trupp Publishing, 2001) p25-38

¹⁹ Lewis, Schneid Judith. *Sacred to Female Patriotism* (London: Routledge, 2003) p67

'his ability to move both the emotions as well as the minds of men, and above all, his extraordinary self-confidence'.²⁰ Walpole is often described in present day terms as corrupt, using public money to proffer favour; however, it could be more accurate to describe his working practices as those of calculated patronage in an age that was already corrupt. Convinced that his policies were in the best interests of the nation, he used all means available to him to secure the most advantageous result. This required a home in London that allowed him to pursue the business of governing while providing a space for formal entertainment.

In understanding why Walpole accepted Downing Street as a property linked to his position and not personally, it is important to look at how property and in particular buildings, were 'valued' in the eighteenth-century. The concept of 'value' was based on a 'rationale' that was established in the ecclesiastical courts of the sixteenth century.²¹ Social identity was rooted in early English law through the perceived value of an individual's moveable possessions within an estate, and their scrutiny through the eyes of the public.²² This statute of law gives some explanation as to the perception of townhouses in the eighteenth-century. Stewart discusses that there is a failure to examine 'the inter-relations between architectural, cultural and societal dimensions of history, or does so only on the basis of assumptions about the house's insignificance to its owners'.²³ It is this interrelationship between its significance as a public private property and the needs of the occupants that seem to have been ignored. This is evident in the writing of Stillman and Summerson, utilising the eighteenth-century source,

²⁰ O'Gorman, F. *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688–1832* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997), p71

²¹ Shepard, A. *Accounting For Oneself; Worth, Status and the Social order of Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p37

²² Ibid p38

²³ Stewart, R. *The Townhouse in Georgian London* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009) p4

John Stewart. The concentration of literature on atypical individualistic houses, particularly country houses, has meant that the significance of townhouses is only now being addressed.

Taste

When considering the interiors of Downing Street, it is important to understand that the Long Eighteenth Century defined itself as the 'century of taste' with the perception of what constituted taste as crucially important.²⁴ The concept first gained prominence during the seventeenth century in France where '*Le Gout*' encompassed more than just a physical sense of taste.²⁵ As Dickie notes, the first basic theory of taste began with Hutcheson's Argument (1725) in which he discussed both the visual and emotional impact of the human assessment of 'Beauty, Order, Harmony and Design'.²⁶ David Solkin argues it was pervasive, 'for a ruling class who depended more on culture as a means of social control, taste and appearance became a matter of inescapable importance'.²⁷ This is probably the truer statement. As Henry Hardcastle noted in *The Universal Spectator*, first published in 1736, 'of all our favourite words lately, none has been more in vogue, nor so held in esteem, as that of TASTE'.²⁸

Adam Smith explained in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759): 'Fashion is rather different from custom.... [it] is not the fashion which everybody wears, but those wear who are of a high rank or character, 'As long as they continue to use this form,' he further explained, 'it is connected in our imaginations with the idea of something that is genteel and magnificent.... As soon as they drop it, it loses all of the grace which it appeared to possess before.'²⁹ What was apparent was that fashion was, in essence, aligned with status. The quintessential element

²⁴ Dickie, G. *The Century of Taste; The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p6

²⁵ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) p24-25

²⁶ Dickie, G. *The Century of Taste; The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p6

²⁷ Solkin, D. *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, Paul Mellon Centre, 2009) p82-83

²⁸ *The Universal Spectator* by Henry Hardcastle, published in 1736

²⁹ Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1st Ed. 1759, 1774) p92-3

of being fashionable was knowledge, the ability to understand the niceties of polite society and exhibit the luxuries of your position. Walpole ingratiated himself by utilising his understanding of aristocratic culture and his ability to mimic the aristocratic form, both socially and materially, that reflected their own privileged position within society. But that did not detract from the fundamental eighteenth-century political convention of aristocratic right to govern. Although, as Hannah Grieg points out, their legitimacy of rule was beginning to be questioned, and Walpole was at the vanguard of the movement.³⁰ The creation of Walpole's art collection is paramount to this concept. The collection on its disposal amounted to 279 artworks including many old masters. This collection seems to have been one of Walpole's great passions, however it is clear that Walpole was fully aware of its potency. As Moore wrote in his seminal work on the collection, the pictures played a significant part in the creation of his image.³¹ This is particularly important when considering how important image was during this period.³²

The concept known as *beau monde* was prevalent in the political class. Greig discusses that the culture of politics was inherently ingrained in the daily routines of the *beau monde*. The concentration of elite society during parliamentary sessions predicted a corresponding societal encounter. This natural intersection of political and societal activity was captured in diaries of the period. The strict codes of behaviour dictated by societal ritual were integral to both the political and social interactions of the upper classes, with little distinction between what constituted a political or social encounter within polite society.³³ This was particularly evident in Downing Street where Walpole was a master in the art of politics and at the height

³⁰ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p232-233

³¹ Dukelskaya, L and A. Moore. *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage*. (London & Newhaven, Yale University Press, 2002) p6

³² Shepard, A. *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order of Early Modern England*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p35

³³ Langford, P. *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) p53

of his political power. Exercising the breadth of his skills, he cajoled the Cabinet to his will and enjoyed the full confidence of both the King, Queen, and the Commons. Hannah Grieg confronts this directly when she discusses how the Georgian London elite demonstrated their fashionability through their clothes and possessions, but created their own type of elite status, a world in which status was no longer determined by title and country estate, but by 'fashion'.³⁴ This is clearly demonstrated by notes in Horace Walpole's writing which outline the extent to which Walpole exercised his respective influence. He wrote 'that silly parade was extended even to the most private moments of business with my father'.³⁵ Downing Street became the centre of the social and political scene where the delineation between public and private space was tenuous at best.

By examining the physical embodiment of this legacy in the archival material relating to its creation, Walpole's identity is indelibly apparent and integral to the building we know today. His use of material culture to signify societal hierarchy was pivotal to the establishment of eighteenth-century society. The importance of patronage networks at the heart of political culture was not on the basis of mutual equality, but on the basis of mutual dependence.³⁶ The predominance of patronage was a societal construct and ensured that eighteenth-century politics was 'influence-based'. If that meant utilising the aesthetics of his London residence to court favour with his cabinet, then so be it. This is evident as the first guests Walpole greeted on their arrival were Queen Caroline and her Ladies in Waiting, arriving just two days after the Walpole family moved into the property in 1735.³⁷

³⁴ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p131

³⁵ Walpole, Horace. *Reminiscences, written in 1788, for the amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes B****y* (London, 1818) p71

³⁶ Lewis, Schneid Judith. *Sacred to Female Patriotism* (London: Routledge, 2003) p67

³⁷ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History*. (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1963) p50

For Nicolas Cooper, the concept of the house of taste, reflected 'a willingness to use the interior of the house as the public expression of one's mind [rather] than the personal indulgence of his taste'.³⁸ When considering this statement in the case of 10 Downing Street, it is important to take into consideration the political machinations of the Crown and government performed within the building alongside its use as a private family home. The house represented the 'theatre' of the individual and in the case of Walpole, the theatre of government. Therefore, the perception of the building and its interior on both the public domestically, internationally, and with political rivals, had a demonstrative consequence to Walpole and by inference, the United Kingdom as a whole. This perception is particularly interesting to research when taking into consideration Walpole's outstanding art collection and its curation.

Interiors

The use of material culture during the early eighteenth-century to elicit patronage is clearly documented within academic research.³⁹ However, finding evidence that corroborates the inter-relations between architectural, cultural and societal dimensions in relation to 10 Downing Street for this thesis was much harder to find. Much of the Walpole Archive was lost after his death before its significance could be identified. Due to the nature of Downing Street and its history, the building and constituent parts are shrouded in mystery. Putting the two together to form the basis of a thesis on its original reconfiguration and interior design has been almost impossible. Yet, the few snippets of information available have given a glimpse into the workings of the building and an idea of the grandeur of the interiors. Utilising this information, it has been possible to corroborate theories as to the configuration

³⁸ Cooper, Nicholas. *English Politeness: conduct, social rank and moral virtue, c. 1400-1900*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). p263-472

³⁹ Fowler, J and John Cornforth. *English Decoration in the 18th Century* (London: Barrie & Jenkins Limited, 1974) p29-35

and utilisation, helped in particular by the wealth of information available in photographs of the current building.

Key societal and aesthetic considerations in regards to the interiors of 10 Downing Street are apparent. Although visiting the homes of the aristocracy as part of a social and political ritual pre-dated the importance of material culture as a form of influence, during the eighteenth-century these rituals of visitation became more about the public act of enactment, than the more formalised ritual of the past.⁴⁰ With the opening up of society this produced an awareness of personal development and 'the individual' developed. Throughout the eighteenth-century this blossoming of personal individuality also made possible a public display of an often different and convergent fashion in material taste. This idea of 'the individual' led to a new form of social competitiveness. The refinement of eighteenth-century English houses into Palladian mansions filled with Italianate art and artefacts demonstrated how the English elite needed to constantly compete with their fellow citizens to outdo each other. Amplified by the huge development in merchant trade with the advent of safe passage throughout the globe, cultural treasures were becoming more accessible with luxurious fabrics and artworks regularly transported to Britain. The broadening of both educational and aesthetic experiences, including the rites of passage during the Grand Tour massively contributed to the development of a new form of social standing based on cultural education.⁴¹ This elitist nature is demonstrated within the satirical artworks produced at the time, Boitard's *Taste a la Mode* from 1735 is a perfect satirical illustration of this phenomenon. (fig. 2)

⁴⁰ Avery-Quash, S and K. Retford. *The Georgian Townhouse; Building, Collecting and Display*. (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc. 2021) p214

⁴¹ Pears, I. *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*. (London & Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1988) p144

Daniel Defoe remarked in 1735, 'Wealth however so got, in England makes Lords of mechanics, Gentlemen of rakes: Antiquity and birth are needless here; 'Tis impudence and money makes a Peer'.⁴² The financial revolution of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century blurred the lines between the merchant classes, landed gentry and aristocracy. This phenomenon percolated throughout society, where capital from trade, traditionally spent by noblemen on conspicuous consumption, benefited the gentry and merchant classes.⁴³ In the case of Walpole, his position within society and government was perceived by the upper echelons of the aristocracy to comply with this assertion. Walpole's social mobility was promoted by the new wealth afforded to him by his position as Prime Minister. His meteoric rise, from landed gentry to Prime Minister and confidante of the King was indicative of this idea of wealth and educated consumerism providing social mobility, for which Walpole was lorded as being transformative of his position within society.⁴⁴

The mobility between the middle classes, gentry and aristocracy gave rise to a change in social norms and domestic rituals. Families were expected to entertain inside their home with a series of ritualised entertainments in which the interior decoration of their homes would reflect their learning and culture, a display of their understanding of societal taste which was visualised within the decorative platform of their property, thus assisting in their rise. This perceived knowledge of what was acceptable within the sphere of consumerism concluded in a 'new way of understanding culture'.⁴⁵ The practice of visually demonstrating the social niceties within decorative practices of personal space has not diminished over the centuries. This is particularly apparent when considering Walpole and his interiors at Downing Street.

⁴² Defoe, Daniel. *The True-Born Englishman*, [electronic Resource]: a Satyr. London?, 1750. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30159/30159-h/30159-h.htm> accessed 09.02.2023

⁴³ Bucholz, R and Joseph P Ward. *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p91

⁴⁴ Black, J. *Walpole in Power*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2001) p18-19

⁴⁵ Avery-Quash, S and Retford, K. *The Georgian Townhouse; Building, Collecting and Display*. (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc. 2021) p214

By assessing his use of interior decoration and curation of his art collection within the space, it will be possible to demonstrate the importance of his aesthetic to influence the decorum in relation to his socio-political intentions.

Interiors

The artist and designer, William Kent was starting to make his name within the aristocratic circles Walpole wished to inhabit.⁴⁶ Wealthy aristocrats looked to Italy's art and architecture to establish a new English style and it was Kent's knowledge of Italian culture that made him perfectly placed to launch his career in Britain.⁴⁷ Kent was perfectly placed to establish a new style dissociated from France which was intrinsically linked to the Stuarts, and establish a new look as part of the movement towards the new Hanoverian monarchy. Kent's exposure to the great palaces and properties of Italy between 1709 and 1719, revealed to him a wealth of design and culture which became the inspiration for his later work. Utilising the British aristocrats' nostalgia for their travels in Europe, Kent secured commissions in which he reproduced interiors they recognised from their experiences overseas. In securing the commission for the interiors of Houghton Hall, Kent secured his position as the doyen of interior decoration. His heavily gilded furniture and interiors took his name 'Kentian' and were largely inspired by the richly decorated interiors of the Italian Baroque palaces that Kent's patrons had been taught to understand and appreciate.

Walpole's stunning Palladian country house was already in construction when Kent came into Walpole's group of acquaintances. Houghton Hall is particularly important to consider in relation to Downing Street as key interiors from the original schemes have not been altered

⁴⁶ Weber, S. William Kent; *Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013) p195-202

⁴⁷ Pears, I. *The discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680 - 1768*. (London & Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1988) p144

since their creation by Kent in 1725. This primary source of collaborative decorative style of Walpole and Kent working in partnership is a pivotal source and provides an unique example. By 1725 when Kent was engaged to create the interiors of Houghton Hall, Walpole's art collection was already substantial and displayed within several properties the family were occupying both in Norfolk and London. (fig.3) Much of the interior furnishings for the property were supplied by a merchant named Thomas Roberts. His significant contribution to the interiors of Downing Street will be addressed later in the thesis. With his new country house built, it established Walpole's position within the New Order.⁴⁸ It is important to understand that Houghton Hall was not only a country retreat for Walpole from the rigours of Westminster, but also afforded him an entertainment space in which to host his peers.

Examining the relationship between Walpole and William Kent could be viewed as a meeting of minds. Both Kent and Walpole were 'pretenders,' talented men who utilised their intelligence and knowledge of aristocratic refinements to ingratiate themselves with the nobility. Together they formed a powerful team which secured their positions in polite society. The commission at Houghton secured Kent exposure to the ruling classes which would have taken years to establish had he not made these early connections, and Walpole used Kent's knowledge and understanding of Italian culture to establish his credibility as a member of the aristocracy.

In Walpole's case, this was particularly evident during his tenure as Prime Minister. He utilised his knowledge of the practices of the aristocracy to facilitate his agenda. Much has been written about the splendour of his house in Norfolk, and use of his Palladian mansion surrounded by magnificent gardens and parkland as the embodiment of his aspiration to be

⁴⁸Black, J. *Walpole in Power*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2001) p20

seen as an aristocratic gentleman.⁴⁹ Walpole was known to invite political intimates to his country house for a combination of feasting, drinking and political talk. These 'house parties' were known as the Norfolk Congress and were a relatively new phenomenon during the early part of the eighteenth-century, though in Walpole's case they were regarded as a vital aspect of his power-holding strategy.⁵⁰ Country outings such as these, where members of the Whig party could gather outside the more restrictive confines of the Royal Court, gave the opportunity, particularly for members of his Cabinet, to hold their meetings each Spring in private seclusion. Walpole built Houghton specifically to be able to accommodate a significant number of staying guests, and as one visitor noted 'capable of the greatest reception for company'.⁵¹

When the buildings on Downing Street were offered to Walpole as an official residence of the First Lord of the Treasury, William Kent was on hand to reconfigure them into the structure we now recognise. Having secured the commission for a new Treasury Building on the site of the Cockpit Theatre, William Kent was on hand to facilitate the reconfiguration of the buildings offered to Walpole.⁵² Once transformed, the small terrace house on Downing Street became the official front door to the new residence. The Entrance Hall and Inner Hallway led to a larger, formal house situated at the rear that incorporated an official dining room and drawing room. With the completion of the reconfiguration, its purpose was symbolised by the construction of additional passageways connecting No.10 with the new Treasury Chambers situated adjacent to the Downing Street gardens, with the windows of the Board Room at the Treasury overlooking the Downing Street lawn.

⁴⁹ Moore, A. *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, The Empress and the Heritage* (London: Wilson Publishers Limited, 1996) p6

⁵⁰ Yaxley, D. *Robert Walpole: First 'Prime Minister'* (Dereham: Norfolk Press, 1995) p17

⁵¹ *Ibid* p1

⁵² Weber, S. *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*. (London & Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2013) p318-324

The new building on Downing Street became the centre of political and societal convention. The interiors at Downing Street have changed multiple times over the nearly three hundred years since Walpole and William Kent first envisioned them. Much of the original detail created by Kent has been superseded by subsequent designers, however there are a few clues still left in the building and within the limited archival material that give us an indication of how these rooms may have looked to the contemporary visitor. Utilising both the newly discovered materials and existing research on the building at No.10 Downing Street will offer a greater understanding of the configuration of the interior space, its decoration and utilisation as a conduit to elicit both Walpole's social and political aims during his tenure.

Reconfiguration and Interior

The creation of 10 Downing Street came about during a period when there was a material change in domestic and social activity performed inside elite residences in both rural and urban environments. A multitude of interwoven and convoluted social rituals encompassing entertainment, cultural and domestic activities became part of a public display of clique which allowed practitioners a rite of passage into a privileged and exclusive club.⁵³ In the case of 10 Downing Street, the juxtaposition of the building's utility as both a public and private space, functioning not only as an aristocratic town house but also as the home of the de facto Prime Minister of Great Britain makes this particularly fascinating.

Using the primary source material available it may be possible to interpret how the original buildings were reconfigured. This may demonstrate how the space reflected a new emphasis upon polite etiquette, alongside the flourishing social and cultural behaviour exhibited by the English elite during this period.⁵⁴ Importantly, the property may give a clue as to how the enactment of these cultural and social rituals illustrated the taste, wealth and educated learning of the inhabitant and how that was interpreted by the viewer.

Scholarly interest has traditionally focused on the aristocratic country house at the expense of the townhouse.⁵⁵ However, as discussed previously, the disregard of the homes of the aristocracy in London and other provincial towns has meant that key knowledge of the period has been missed. Recent scholarship by Rachel Stewart and others has explored new

⁵³ Pears, I. *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for the Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1988) p3

⁵⁴ John Trusler. *Principles of Politeness, and of Knowing the World*; by the late Lord Chesterfield with additions, by the Rev. Dr John Trusler. (Portsmouth: Melcher and Osbourne, 1775).

⁵⁵ Summerson, J. *Architecture in Britain 1530 - 1830*. 9th ed.(London & Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1993) intro

possibilities in the field.⁵⁶ While arguing that the 'traditional narrative' of the townhouse and its use as a utilitarian and hastily constructed base for the landed gentry have been adopted over the years, it is clear from current research that this is not the complete picture. The existing focus of scholarship has restricted understanding of how important these properties were, not just as part of people's lives when in town, but as part of their lives in general. Their dismissal as a property, unworthy of consideration unless restricted to entertainment or show, has limited understanding of how they were an essential part of the working lives of the occupants. In particular, by looking at 10 Downing Street, it is evident that this assumption does not reflect reality. As an example of the eighteenth-century townhouse, 10 Downing Street throws many academic perceptions of Georgian London into disarray. This townhouse and its reception are integral to a new understanding of how political and societal pursuits were combined in one building. By adding this research to existing scholarship, it may be possible to inform future research into the role townhouses played in the political identity of their occupants.

An image of the entrance of 10 Downing Street is recognisable around the world as the home of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and one of the most iconic buildings in the UK alongside Parliament. (fig.4) It is therefore fascinating to look into its creation between 1732-1735 when the country, after some years of financial and political upheaval, found some relative stability. The background surrounding the construction of 10 Downing Street has a history almost as florid as some of its inhabitants. The site has been occupied as the home of the First Lord of the Treasury since 1735, when the buildings which now constitute the aforementioned landmark, were gifted to Walpole in thanks for his support to King

⁵⁶ Stewart, Rachel. *The Town House in Georgian London*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009) p3

George II and the Hanoverian dynasty.⁵⁷ The house consists of three previously constructed buildings. The first is what we see on the news, a modest terrace of classical proportions in a style which we would now equate with Georgian architecture. This building, originally at the end of a row of domestic buildings erected by Sir George Downing, was built on the site of a previous dwelling leased to Sir Thomas Knyvet by Elizabeth I on what was then known as King Street. Knyvet's part in the history of Downing Street is short. His property is thought to have been constructed of timber and brick with contemporary drawings showing its footprint as being an L-shape adjacent to Henry VIII's Cockpit (later converted to a theatre for Charles I in approximately 1630 by Inigo Jones).⁵⁸

On Kynvet's death in 1622, the house passed to his wife and then later to her niece, Mrs Hampden. Mrs Hampden occupied the site throughout the Commonwealth while her nephew, Oliver Cromwell was Lord Protector. She was still living in the house when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, and on her death in 1662 the property returned to the crown interest. This was fortuitous for Downing, who had taken a lease on the land in 1654 while he was Cromwell's Scout-Master General, but had yet to profit from it.⁵⁹ His close association with Cromwell and the Republic made it difficult for him to take possession until he was able to ingratiate himself into Charles' II Court. The demolition of the Cockpit Theatre in 1680 allowed for the redevelopment of the site and demolition of the house. Downing's Will dated 24 August 1683 mentions 'my houses in or near King Street..... Lately called Hampden House, which I hold by a longe lease from the Crowne, and Peacock Court there neare adjoining which I hold by lease from the Collegiate Church of St Peter,

⁵⁷ Gentleman's Magazine 'Thursday, 20th July, 1732. 'Sir Robert Walpole being become an Inhabitant of the parish of St Margaret's at Westminster, by having obtain'd a Grant of Count Bothmar's house in St James' Park.....;chosen of the Select Vestry.'

⁵⁸ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p114.

⁵⁹ Minney, RJ. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p21

Westminster, all which are now demolished and rebuilt, or rebuilt and called Downing Street'.⁶⁰ The terraces were built with speed and for profit. Downing, who died in 1684 gained little financially from his enterprise but future generations of his family were able to profit from his speculation.⁶¹

Although research of the archive of the Downing papers at the city of Lincoln Archive, Downing College, Cambridge and the National Archive at Kew has been undertaken, relevant drawings that could be deemed specific to the creation of the terrace under Downing's commission have not been located. Sir Anthony Seldon in his preface to the history of Downing Street on the UK government website attributes the design to Sir Christopher Wren.⁶² There may be relevant papers within the family probate to collaborate with this, however the last family member with any link to the properties at Downing Street, Mary Forester Downing died in 1734. Any papers relating to her are held within the probate papers for her estate currently residing at the Brighton and Hove Archive, which has not been accessed for this research.

Drawings of Downing Street dating from around 1749 show a cul-de-sac of houses with numbers 2, 3, 4, 5 standing where 10, 11 and 12 stand today.⁶³ This reflects the renumbering that occurred in 1779 when the configuration of the street was altered. Through research, the identification of the buildings that are constituent to the final house in their last or current manifestation may be possible. These are Number 10, Mr Chicken and Bothmar House. This thesis will concentrate on the creation of the extended property which we now identify as 10

⁶⁰ Bolitho, H. *No.10 Downing Street, 1660 -1900*. (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, 1957) p20

⁶¹ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p34

⁶² <https://www.gov.uk/government/history/10-downing-street> accessed 23.06.2022

⁶³ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) Plate106

Downing Street, created between 1732-35. It incorporates the building erected by Downing but also an earlier house which sits behind, a much larger property with a walled garden that overlooked St James' Park and Horse Guards Parade. This house was known during the early eighteenth-century as Bothmar House. There is also evidence that a further building at the side of both Downing and Bothmar was incorporated into the final house. Its inclusion into the property was facilitated by the purchase of its lease from the holder, a Mr Chicken, to allow for additional domestic rooms to be incorporated into the design. These buildings show as workshops and stables on contemporary drawings, but to facilitate the Kent configuration these ancillary buildings seem to have been mobilised into the final design. In total, the offer from King George II to Walpole in gratitude for his loyalty to both himself and his father George I, included the Bothmar property overlooking Horse Guards Parade and St James' Park, the Downing Street Terrace plus two adjacent properties described 'as on Downing Street with stables alongside'.⁶⁴ The following works to reconfigure the buildings into one cohesive property were extensive. The resultant house offered accommodation for the Walpole family and by connecting the buildings ancillary rooms on the Whitehall side with corresponding rooms above, space for the accompanying servants that would be required for a household of this size.

Bothmar House, lying to the rear of Downing Street was first referenced as the home of George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and noted in *The History of the Kings' Works* by Thomas Hicks, bricklayer.⁶⁵ This building or its foundations are the central component of the rear property that was remodelled around 1670 and finally became the home of Count Bothmar during Queen Anne's reign.⁶⁶ Colvin includes work on this building as part of Inigo

⁶⁴ Minney, RJ. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p34

⁶⁵ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. *London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II)* (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p115

⁶⁶ Minney, RJ. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p33

Jones' surveyorship under Charles I during the period of 1619-20 under the heading Whitehall, Marquis of Buckingham's Lodgings and again in 1620-21.⁶⁷ Although there is little evidence that Jones designed this building, it is clear from Colvin's research that he was involved in its construction. This same building is documented as having structural alterations in the 1670s documented by the then Surveyor of Works, Sir Christopher Wren when it became the home occupied by Charles II's illegitimate daughter, the Countess of Lichfield.⁶⁸ There is no way of confirming if Jones had any hand in creating the house for Buckingham other than a ceiling design, but this same property is noted as being part of the Crown Estate in 1640 and it is also a contemporary of Jones' masterpiece for Charles I, the Banqueting House at Whitehall located very close by.

Bothmar House was described by contemporaries as well built on firm foundations. Contemporary accounts place the building by 1677, into the hands of the Crown Estate as mentioned, having been gifted by Charles II to his daughter Charlotte Fitzroy, on her marriage to the 1st Earl of Lichfield.⁶⁹ At this point the house was renamed Lichfield House. It is also noted that the house is 'scitunate in Kinge Street' and 'set in a Large garden.... Fitted with a variety of Walle fruit and diverse fruit trees, Plants, Roots and flowers, very pleasant to the eye and profitable for use.'⁷⁰ A plan dated 10th April 1677 accompanied by a grant made out to the Trustees for the Earl and Countess of Lichfield includes the site of the house marked in blue lines. It is also confirmed that by a petition from Thomas Duppa,

⁶⁷ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p138

⁶⁸ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p115

⁶⁹ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p31

⁷⁰ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p115

payment was made in respect of 'orders & Commands about ye Duchesse of Buckinghams Lodgings at ye Cockpitt for ye Lady Lichfields use'.⁷¹

The home consisted of several grand rooms and was well built, on slightly higher ground than that of the Downing Street properties. As Surveyor to the King, Sir Christopher Wren made drawings of the interior layout at some point between 1674-75, when the site was occupied by the Duke of Buckingham. (fig.5) It can be assumed that any structural building alterations were fairly minor when the Countess of Lichfield took up residency in the house in 1677, as the plans correspond almost directly to those of Isaac Ware for William Kent from 1732.⁷² Once the Downing Street properties were constructed in 1683, the Countess was decidedly put out by the overshadowing of her home. She wrote to her father to complain and received the following reply: 'I think it is very reasonable that other houses should not look into your house without your permission, and this note will be sufficient For Mr Surveyor (Christopher Wren) to build up your walls as high as you please'.⁷³ Although the walls were built, it seems the Countess had become disenchanted with her townhouse and stopped living there in 1690. The house then became the home of Lord Overkirk, Master of the Horse to William III (1690 - 1720) followed by Count Bothmar during his tenure as Emissary to the court of Queen Anne for the House of Hanover. Bothmar occupied the house until his death in 1732.⁷⁴

Each time a new resident arrived, the house adopted the new owner's name, Lichfield House, Overkirk House, Bothmar House. Downing Street was described in the year that Bothmar moved in as 'a pretty open place especially at the upper end where four or five very large and

⁷¹ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p114

⁷² Ibid plate 147

⁷³ Minney, RJ. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p31

⁷⁴ Ibid p33

well-built houses fit for persons of Honour and Quality having a pleasant Prospect into St James' Park'.⁷⁵ On the death of Count Bothmar, the house and corresponding land reverted back to the crown interest. It was at this point that George II entered into the story alongside his First Lord of the Treasury and de facto Prime Minister. Walpole was already well established as a great Parliamentarian and supporter of the new Hanoverian Monarchy. As a seasoned politician, it had been his judicious leadership that had saved the country from financial ruin over the South Sea Bubble stock market crisis in 1720.⁷⁶ Originally Walpole was offered just the Bothmar property but it was quickly established that this residence was far too small for him and his family and so the second property of No.10 Downing Street was added to the gift. This Walpole also refused, but offered the compromise that the combined houses should become the official residence for himself as the First Lord of the Treasury and thereafter, for his successors in the post. The brass letterbox on the black front door declares 'First Lord of the Treasury' to this day.⁷⁷

As Crown Property it was within the King's favour to offer the house to Walpole, and by adding to the plot when building works had begun, acquiring the leases of properties on Downing Street, the buildings were the foundation of the final residence.⁷⁸ A Letters patent was issued by the Lords of the Treasury on the 16th April 1736 stating that 'a piece of garden ground scituate in his Majesty's park of St James's, and belonging and adjoining to the house now inhabited by the Right Honourable the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, hath been lately made and fitted up in the Charge..... Of the Crown', and that the said house and garden

⁷⁵ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931), (London County Council 1931) p118

⁷⁶ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p42

⁷⁷ Horace Walpole. Horace Walpole's copy with his marginal annotations and corrections; 2nd edn. *Aedes Walpolianae or, A description of the collection of the pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford.* (London: John Hughes, 1742. Held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

⁷⁸ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p46

were 'meant to be annexed and untied to the Office of his Majesty's Treasury and to be and to remain for the Use and Habitation of the first Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being'.⁷⁹ The gift of the Downing Street property which acted as both Walpole's London home and office was in effect, a gift of patronage.

Until this point in history, the daily political business of the government was undertaken either in the cramped rooms of the old Parliament building, or within the private London houses of the elite. Their homes were utilised not only as a familial base but as a public space for entertaining, business and politics. In the case of Walpole, his home in Chelsea until 1735 was the base for his political machinations when in London.

The creation of 10 Downing Street as the home of the First Lord of the Treasury was groundbreaking. By refusing the building as a personal gift from George II and instead agreeing that the house should be the official residence of the First Lord and his successors, Walpole created a patronage from which Prime Ministers still benefit today. The layout of the original interiors created by William Kent and augmented by the collections of Walpole have not been studied in any depth. This is particularly intriguing considering their influence as a demonstration of the learning and taste of one of the most influential members of British society in the eighteenth-century and the building being a physical manifestation of the British State to this day. The juxtaposition of both public and private space is fundamental to Walpole's creation of a house that was not only a family home, but a working office for the Prime Minister, establishing it as the focal point for all political discussion. This building represented at infancy, the stable political supremacy of the Whig party for which Walpole was leader. It is a primary example of the blurring of the role of function and performance

⁷⁹Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p47

within an elite eighteenth-century townhouse. By investigating the reconfiguration of the space and its internal decoration under Walpole's direction, it may give a clue as to how and why Walpole used the space in a particular fashion and glean an insight into Walpole's interpretation of the space.

The design and layout of No. 10 Downing Street does not appear to be accidental. Indications suggest Walpole was fully aware of the potency of his image both within his peer group and the wider population. The choice of Downing Street as the location for the establishment of the home of the first de facto Prime Minister of the British Empire may have had some coincidental elements, but Walpole's understanding of the visual impact of this building cannot be overestimated. By examining the reconfiguration of the buildings and how they were transformed into one cohesive property, it may be possible to demonstrate that the design was not accidental.

In today's society, property is commonly attributed to economic or exchange value, alongside its sentimental or symbolic value to the occupant. As Stewart discusses, this did not always reflect the expectations associated with the eighteenth-century. The townhouse was not part of a portfolio of property, but a stable and convenient location in which to work and play.⁸⁰ This was particularly the case for Walpole and Downing Street where the location of the property, between the Palace of Westminster and St James' Palace was perfectly positioned for him to undertake the daily routines of governing. As a vehicle for simplifying Walpole's daily life, 10 Downing Street not only provided him with a perfect location within the context of his constitutional duties but also fulfilled, as A.A Tait characterises 'essentially a place of show, often temporary but always dazzling'.⁸¹ The property facilitated both the ritual and

⁸⁰ Stewart, R. *The Townhouse in Georgian London*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009) p8-9

⁸¹ A.A Tait. 'Home House', *Apollo* 126 (1987), p80

performative elements required for him to enact his position within the social elite of the United Kingdom, and as a representative of the Crown in matters of State.

Considerable alterations have been made to the building since its creation in 1732-35. 10 Downing Street over the centuries has undergone several redevelopments, however the bones of the original reconfigured design are still evident. Bothmar House overlooking Horse Guards Parade now forms the foundation of the properties that constitute Downing Street. (fig.6) This house could be an example of an attempt to create a classical London Townhouse in the Palladian style during the early seventeenth-century. It is formed from two equal floors over a cellar, pedimented dormer windows and a Roman-style block eaves cornice with windows set against a bare wall with the basement, string course, sash windows, decorative eaves, and square topped chimney stacks all corresponding to the design elements. Although there are no drawings specifically of Bothmar House, looking at photographs of the building even today after much interior alteration, the bones of the building are still evident and bear a marked similarity to an Inigo Jones' drawing of 1638.⁸² As there are no specific records relating to the design of the original house for the construction stage, the conclusion is hypothetical. The square topped chimneys, which were a typical feature of Jones' designs, can also be seen in images of Coleshill House, Berkshire.⁸³

The history of the Downing Street terrace and its building by Downing dates back to 1682, when Downing was able to re-secure the leases to several properties owned by the Crown on what was then known as King Street.⁸⁴ These he demolished and had a cul-de-sac of

⁸² Harris, J and Gordon Higgott. *Inigo Jones; Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York, The Drawing Center, 1989) p257

⁸³ Ibid p256-258

⁸⁴ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) p113-120

approximately 20 terraced properties erected to maximise his investment. It is the few remaining of this group of terrace properties that are recognised today as the entrance to 10 Downing Street.(fig.7) The United Kingdom's most famous terrace house was remodelled by the Office of Works under the direction of William Kent for Walpole and his family to occupy while in office as Prime Minister. The works began in 1732 and Walpole, along with his family, took up residence on the 23rd September 1735. Using primary source material it is possible to demonstrate Walpole's intentions in relation to established value concepts in his reimagining of the final building as it stood in 1735.

Unlike at Houghton, Walpole chose to refashion rather than rebuild his new London home. Walpole's decision to accept 10 Downing Street on behalf of the position as First Lord of the Treasury and not as a personal asset established the building bequeathed by default, to all subsequent First Lords, a fact recognised by all later inhabitants. This choice is fundamental in understanding key elements of its creation and the resulting legacy with which it is intrinsically linked to the office of Prime Minister.

There is no surviving documentation that addresses the reasons why the properties that constituted the newly designed Downing Street were reconstructed in the way that they were. It can be hypothesised that the reasons behind the reconfiguration, rather than a complete rebuild, could have been due to a covenant or financial constraints, but this is only conjecture. What we do know is that by not taking personal ownership of the properties, the building stayed as part of the Crown Estate, and therefore any reconstruction costs would have been borne by the Crown. This would have had its own financial constraints, but may have allowed more flexibility with regards to oversight. Walpole was notoriously short of money

and therefore may have thought it more prudent to have the Crown pay for the works, particularly as he held the purse strings at the time as First Lord of the Treasury.

Looking at primary sources pertaining to the redesign and expenditure of the alterations, the cost of the works have, as yet not been identified within the financial papers of the Walpole estate. A review of the financial documentation relating to the site at Kew does not reveal any links to Downing Street. There is also no reference within the papers pertaining to the building of the Treasury by Kent which occurred at the same time. It is clear by the Letters Patent that the alterations were charged to the Crown.⁸⁵ The costs of the building of the Treasury seemed to rocket during the same period, with the final bills totalling more than twenty thousand pounds from an estimated original budget of eight thousand pounds. Even allowing for unforeseen expenses, this increase is more than double the original estimate.

Although Walpole is named on the rate book for the property from 1732 at Bothmar's death, he didn't take up formal residence until the renovations were complete in 1735. By virtue of its well built nature, Bothmar House escaped the developers axe to the extent that it underwent minor alterations in order to incorporate it into the final reconfiguration. Bothmar House was described in a Survey of London in the year Bothmar moved in (1720) as 'of quality design and construction, a pretty open place, especially at the upper end.[] fit for persons of Honour and Quality, each House having a pleasant Prospect in to St James's Park'.⁸⁶ Walpole and Kent may have recognised and appreciated the Palladian aspects of its design. While Kent was working on the Treasury Building next door, it would have been convenient for him to utilise the resources and materials at his disposal to make the alterations required at Downing Street, rather than completely rebuild. It is clear that

⁸⁵ Minney, R.J. *No.10 Downing Street: A House in History* (London: Cassell & Co. Limited, 1963) p47

⁸⁶ Stow, J. Survey of London, (Stypre's edition, 1720) p117

Walpole's imminent residence at the property and corresponding works had not gone unnoticed in the press of the time with the Grub Street Journal stating: 'The Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole has purchas'd several houses in Downing Street, Westminster in order to their being pull'd down to make the way more commodius for coaches to come to his levee at his house adjoining to the Treasury in St James's-park'.⁸⁷

As previously mentioned, the original parcel of buildings including Bothmar House and No.10 Downing Street quickly enlarged to include a further property occupied by a Mr Chicken whose lease was purchased back by the Crown to facilitate the larger layout required by Walpole and his family. This property stood along the east facing facade of the plot and in essence became the foundation of the ancillary rooms of the household staff. These included the porter's room, kitchen and associated pantries, staff accommodation and scullery. The incorporation of these into the main elements of Bothmar and Downing Street allowed for a larger cohort of servants to be accommodated within the property without compromising the integrity of the original buildings. It also isolated the 'working' areas of the house in a separate 'wing', providing a below-stairs facility and removing the direct threat of kitchen fire which was an ever-present hazard in the eighteenth-century. This is corroborated by entries in the rate book for 1731, where the property was occupied by Mr Chicken. His name disappeared four years later and it can be concluded that both it and the Cornwall Stabling mentioned have merged into the extended Downing Street property.

Between Kent's redesign and the next major stage of reconstruction in 1781, there were some repairs undertaken by the Surveyor of Works, Kenton Course in 1766-7. This work consisted of remedial structural work to the 'east flank wall of the Hall 'facing Downing Street, to build

⁸⁷ Grub Street Journal, 7 August 1735.
http://archive.org/details/sim_grub-street-journal_1735-08-07_293 accessed 16.07.2024

a party wall on the west side to prevent the danger of fire, repair the main parts of the old building and to erect an additional building adjoining thereto'. This may refer to the creation of a second story over the Kitchen which was in a later incarnation to become a dining room under further alterations in the 1820's by Sir John Soane. Many aspects of these designs are in situ today.

With the added space, Kent began to reconfigure the properties into one which would incorporate the living and working spaces Walpole required to house his wife and family and conduct official government business. Two significant structural alterations can be seen in the earliest drawings by Isaac Ware for William Kent, and both relate to combining the properties into one cohesive space. The first relates to the retention of the Downing Street entrance as the primary doorway to the house. This is an interesting first move on what can only be thought of as Walpole's behest. The entrance in Downing Street and the overall facade of the property is a relatively modest terrace, very unlike the Palladian splendour of his country house in Houghton, Norfolk and also far less auspicious than his existing properties in London.⁸⁸

The Downing Street house consisted of a three-storey brick facade of handmade yellow London bricks with string courses denoting the first floor (*piano nobile*). The property has a three bay construction over three floors with an additional attic above the blocking course with basement below street level. Sash windows have a classic twelve light construction in what would have been at the time, hand blown panes. The classically proportioned front door sits within an architrave that includes a seven petal fanlight and hood moulded porch with scrolled pediment and scroll supports. The overall look of the building is classically

⁸⁸ Walter H Godfrey."Paradise Row, south side: Walpole House" in *Survey of London: Vol.2* Chelsea, Pt I (London: London County Council, 1909) p3-7

proportioned and understated in its construction. This originally may have been to keep the costs as low as possible during construction by Downing. Walpole adopted this facade as the physical representation of his newfound position and of everything he wanted the Prime Minister to represent during the period. By designating the house home to the office incumbent of First Lord of the Treasury, it appears he was deliberately creating the impression of a prudent and disciplined facade which Walpole understood would represent the face of both the government and his position in perpetuity. (fig.8) Note: The dark colour of the exterior of 10 Downing Street is artificial. The bricks in Walpole's time would have been a yellow colour but through pollution during the nineteenth/twentieth century became black. On cleaning in the 1960's it was thought too drastic to leave them yellow, so they were painted. This was part of a full restoration of the Downing Street properties under the supervision of Harold McMillan which included a complete rebuild of No.12, gutting No.s 10 & 11 and underpinning the totality of the structures comprising the property.⁸⁹

From references to the building being 'rebuilt' or 'rebuilt and repaired' it can be accepted that the work undertaken by William Kent at the behest of Walpole was extensive. This is borne out by observing the reconfiguration of the interior spaces undertaken by Kent to reimagine the interior space as both a home and workspace for the Walpoles. Primary evidence for the creation is limited. There are a handful of drawings by Isaac Ware showing the redesign envisaged by William Kent, dated 1732, showing plans for key rooms within the proposed property along with two floor plans also purporting to be by Ware, which show two considered proposals of the complex.⁹⁰ (Appendix 1) Alongside these, there are drawings by Sir Christopher Wren from 1675 which illustrate the layout of Bothmar House (Duke of

⁸⁹<https://www.gov.uk/government/history/10-downing-street#:~:text=it%20was%20also%20discovered%20that,to%20match%20their%20previous%20colour> accessed 10.08.2022

⁹⁰ Walter H Godfrey. *Survey of London: Vol.3 Parish of St Margaret, Pt I* (London: London County Council, 1909) p30

Buckingham's lodging) when as King's Clerk of Works, Wren drew plans of all the key buildings held within the Crown Property portfolio. (fig.5) Bothmar House is found in the Parish of St Margaret Whitehall, adjacent to the Cockpit Playhouse, Whitehall Palace and granted to the Duke of Buckingham in 1670 where it is described as '*ye outer lodgings next ye parke*'.⁹¹

The study of these drawings gives a good indication of the physical alterations made to the constituent buildings to create the final property. The most important drawings show the reincarnation of the three constituent buildings as they morph into the one house. From the plan drawings by Ware, one held in the Metropolitan Museum New York, dated 1732, and another also purporting to be by Ware and attributed to the collection at the MET but found in the Survey of London of 1951, it is apparent that the footprint of the constituent buildings changed very little from their creation during the 17C. By comparing these drawings with the plan made by Wren in 1677, it is possible to piece together the configuration and layout of the rooms and understand the alterations made to the buildings to create the final property. This has also pinpointed specific rooms of the greatest importance to the workings of the building in its capacity as both a public and private space within the overall house floor plan.

The floor plan drawings within the Survey of London attributed to Ware seem to show the layout of the buildings before significant alterations were undertaken.⁹² Particularly informative, when comparing the two floor plans, are the changes made to the Downing Street entrance and the adjacent building (referred to as Mr Chicken for ease). The addition of Mr Chicken into the reconfiguration of the house is unclear. There is a reference in Minney

⁹¹ Walter H Godfrey. *Survey of London*: Vol.3 Parish of St Margaret, Pt I (London: London County Council, 1909) p30

⁹² Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. *London County Council Survey of London*, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) plate 147

which brings to light the purchase by George II of the leases to two buildings on Downing Street, when only one is usually referenced (Mr Chicken). The reference also describes the amalgamation of Cornwall Stables adjacent to No.10. These buildings from the earliest plans of the area are accessed via a gate to one side of No.10. It is these that were utilised to create the eastern block of the building. From the plan it is clear that the eastern block is set back from the main thoroughfare and this could be attributed to its previous utilisation as the entrance to the stable yard. It is difficult to ascertain at this point how or if the buildings already had these openings connecting into the spaces to the side of No.10 or incorporated the larger and grander building at the rear of Downing Street known as Bothmar House.

It is also clear from the drawings that it is the Downing Street property which underwent the most structural internal rearrangement. As shown, the original layout at No.10 consisted of a central doorway with a sash window to each side. On entering the building, a large room can be seen with a corner chimney breast to the right. A partition wall on the left with a doorway leads through to a small anteroom and then another doorway straight ahead leads further into the building, later known as the inner hall. Within an anteroom is a switchback staircase ascending on the right and a small room or cupboard occupying the space to the left. Passing through a central door at the rear of the anteroom you enter the back room of No.10 which utilises the total width of the building (inner hall). Two sash windows on the north wall look out onto an open area at the rear of the property. The right wall has a large fireplace centrally positioned with a door on the right leading through to another room to the right. The room to the right seems to have a chimney piece backing onto the fireplace in the back room. This may be part of Mr Chicken's house or a room that is not seen in later photographs or drawings, but is set back from the main thoroughfare. The Ware drawing of the floor plan from the Survey of London shows the layout of rooms in Mr Chicken's and the physical

connection between No.10 and Bothmar, including the warren of rooms which had windows facing onto the rear of No.10 and out into Bothmar House gardens. There are several fireplaces and staircases indicated on the plan but no reference in this drawing as to the rooms' usage.

When comparing the Ware drawing of Bothmar House to the drawing by Wren from 1677, very little has changed to the layout. The sketch shows the outline of the building with three function rooms along the south facade with windows facing onto what is now Horse Guards Parade. The second drawing by Wren has a layout almost identical to the floor plan by Ware from 1732. Room sizes are comparable and the only major alteration seems to be the relocation of the staircase from a position to the east of the building to a central position overlooking the rear of No.10. With the repositioning of the staircase, it appears that there was an opportunity to open up this area to the garden by introducing additional windows along this facade, creating two small reception rooms in the process. These then open up to the garden surrounding Bothmar and create additional rooms which have greater status through their access to the outdoor space. From the outside of Bothmar, very little seems to have changed in the configuration of windows and doors since the house was surveyed by Wren in 1677, with the exception of the central room overlooking Horse Guards. This was originally the location of the front entrance to the building accessed via a staircase to the first floor, but was closed and redesigned as part of William Kent's reconstruction of the property as seen on the drawings by Ware.

Comparing the floor plan located at the Metropolitan Museum in New York with the Wren plan and the Survey of London plan, many of the constituent features marry up. They each clearly show the outline boundary walls and much of the key structural walls are unaltered.

The MET plans also clearly show alterations and additions to the floor plan alongside notations indicating utility of use. (Appendix I, Plate 111). From these drawings it can be seen that a connecting passageway was envisaged to link No.10 to Bothmar. This linked the rear reception room at No.10 to the lobby of Bothmar, thus creating an inner light well providing natural light to all rooms facing the newly formed courtyard. The front rooms at the entrance to No.10 were stripped back, including the removal of the anteroom, staircase and cupboard, opening up the whole frontage to create a large formal hall with a single access to the rear of the house. The fireplace was repositioned along the right wall. The following room was renamed the Inner Hall with dimensions seemingly identical to the original layout. The room's original doorway into the side room was blocked up and an additional doorway at the south end of the room added through to a new switchback staircase and passageway. This passageway also leads through to the additional domestic servant spaces which have been reconfigured along the eastern boundary and as discussed previously, may have been utilised from existing service buildings.

Returning to the inner hall on the plan, a further change removes the left hand window looking north and extends it into a doorway to which the connecting passage to Bothmar was built behind. Interestingly, the door alignments from the front door at No.10 all the way through to the lobby at Bothmar seem to be set so that visitors might be able to glimpse the inner spaces of Bothmar as through an enfilade. (Appendix I, plate 111) This intriguing feature will be discussed later in the paper.

From the MET drawing, it is indicated that what had been Mr Chicken's house and stables were altered to provide servants quarters and accommodation for the domestic service rooms needed to run the household. These rooms were entered through openings in the inner hall

through the newly positioned doorway. The front two rooms looking onto Downing Street become the laundry and the staircase removed to become a Maid's bedroom. To the rear of this portion of the house, a large reception room is altered to create a kitchen. The plan then shows only the second floor rooms of this connecting section to Bothmar which from the notations, are allocated to be Walpole's Gentleman's Room (private space). The small closet to the side could be interpreted to be his Valet's sleeping quarters with a small back staircase leading down to the domestic servants rooms. Any rooms below these and on a level with the kitchen and would conjecture are part of the domestic rooms of the kitchen i.e pantry, cold store or buttery. It is unlikely they would have had access to much natural light but some would be provided by the central lightwell.

Entering Bothmar through the newly created passageway, very little structural change seems to have occurred. A wall on the right in the first room was removed to open up the space creating a lobby and the staircase on the east wall is repurposed as a small back staircase, probably utilised by servants. A small circular staircase on the west side of the building was replaced from Wren's drawing in 1677 to a switchback staircase in the MET drawing. The original staircase shown in the Wren drawing on the left of this lobby had already been removed previous to Count Bothmar's occupation and the space given over to two small rooms running the length of the west wall overlooking the garden. These were accessed directly from the lobby but sit alongside the study, forming part of the private space Walpole utilised. The most significant alteration to this area is the repositioning of the main staircase into a centralised position in the house and adjacent to the lobby backing onto the inner courtyard. This staircase is one of Kent's most noted achievements, a cantilevered Grand Staircase that still is recognised as one of the great designs of the period. (fig.9) Made from stone rises cantilevered with a wrought iron balustrade and mahogany handrail, the staircase

was completely restored in the 1960's. The cantilevered staircase is known as the 'Stone Triple' due to each staircase turning through three rises between floors. Detailed drawings of the original balustrade feature in the 1931 Survey of London.⁹³ The MET plan also lays out the utility of these more public rooms. Along the north facade is noted a formal dining room, waiting room and My Lord's Study. The two rooms which have been created by the removal of the original staircase in Wren's depiction have become a secretary's room and at the far end, a library. None of these rooms would be visible from the hall entrance at No10 but the inner lobby could be glimpsed if all the connecting passageway doors were left open. (fig.10)

The main entrance to Bothmar House originally was on the north facing wall, accessed from Horse Guards Parade. (fig.11) The central doorway, which would have been approached using a number of stairs rising from the garden, was altered to provide three equally spaced windows opposite the inner wall. The left hand wall which originally housed the chimneys for both the central and left hand room was reconfigured to create a single door opening. The back wall was altered to accommodate a new chimney piece and symmetrical door openings either side. To each end facing east and west, original openings that can be observed in the 1677 drawing allow access into the adjacent rooms. A single door to the right of the chimney breast opens into the lobby. The drawing by Ware is hand annotated with the description '*Sir Robt. Walpole Levee Room*'. (Appendix I, plate 150) This indicates that this room was used as a formal reception room for visitors and guests.

The drawings by both Wren and Ware offer an insight into the thinking of the architects and their patrons. The Wren drawing shows an elegant, well configured town house with vistas over St James' Park and a range of rooms reflecting the influences of the time. The original

⁹³ Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Cox, Montagu H and Philip Norman. London County Council Survey of London, Vol.XIV The Parish of St Margaret, Westminster - Part III (neighbourhood of Whitehall, Vol.II) (London: BT Batsford Limited, 1931) Plate 125

entrance which was central to the north face overlooking Horse Guards was removed by Kent however, a trace of the three bay astylar facade which signified the formal entrance to the house, still remains. (fig.12)

Comparing the drawings created by Sir Christopher Wren with those of Ware, it is clear that the reconfiguration of the houses into one incorporated significant alterations relating to the movement of people around the buildings and less to the layout of the rooms. Both Bothmar House and Downing Street needed to be connected as one free flowing property, and Kent did this by constructing a corridor extension spanning the small yard at the back of the domestic looking Downing Street, linking into the grander rooms of Bothmar. Some staircases in both Bothmar and Downing Street were removed. Bothmar's were replaced with the sweeping three-sided grand staircase by Kent that allowed access to all floors which is still in situ today. The additional area of works by Kent incorporated or superseded the house that Mr Chicken and the stables etc. had occupied. This created the service areas for the house, particularly important considering that the house would be required to perform extensively in entertaining guests.

By taking each room in turn it is possible to reimagine the progress of a visitor to Downing Street as they passed through the house toward a meeting with Walpole. On entering through the door at Downing Street, the caller arrived directly into the first room of William Kent's redesign, an elegant hall. The first thing to be noticed directly in front is an opening leading the eye from the front door along a vista towards the back of the house, thus presenting a 'ritualistic processional avenue' into the inner space. There are no indications of decoration or artworks in the floor plan by Ware except the outline of a chimney sitting against the east wall. The two windows looking south to Downing Street sit equidistant either side of the

dominant front door (the black and white chequerboard marble floor tiles which are intrinsically linked with the hallway today, were added later in the mid 1770's alongside the addition of the associated black door with lion knocker). Passing from the hall through into the inner hall and a further opening to the corridor that Kent created leads through to the lobby of Bothmar House.

The impression given by the new layout is interesting. From the moment the visitor enters, he is offered a glimpse of the inner sanctum, although it is clear that access is restricted. The reconfiguration acts as an enfilade, allowing the controlled movement of visitors through a number of chambers before entering the inner rooms situated within the Bothmar portion of the house. This is particularly interesting as it clearly gives an underlying nod to the theatrical. Creating a processional route from the entrance of the house into the bowels of the building recreates, as Langford discusses, a phenomenon directly linked to Italianate culture. He states 'Italy's particular combination of inherited glory and political feebleness made it highly suitable for a form of colonisation' for members of the English elite who desired ritualistic performances conducted on the most accessible level of their residences'.⁹⁴

The creation of the new link between the Downing Street entrance and Bothmar House throws into consideration whether this 'processional route' was created as a natural solution to a specific problem, or alternatively designed to introduce the idea of a processional and visual ritual into the house. Like in earlier sixteenth and seventeenth century ground floor rooms, the design of an enfilade created a processional path for visitors to process through the Great Chamber, Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Withdrawing Room and finally, the

⁹⁴ Langford, P. *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) p111

Bedchamber (if the status of the guest was deemed sufficiently important enough) to facilitate their access to the innermost rooms. It could be argued that this reconfiguration at Downing Street was part of an ongoing modification of elite houses during the early part of the eighteenth-century to accommodate this ritualised processional movement. The new corridor led to the heart of Bothmar and into the most important rooms in which Ware's drawings and Horace's notations have provided key information regarding the interior design and curation of the spaces. It is difficult to ascertain if this was a deliberate choice to allow for the modified use of the internal spaces for greeting and socialising, educating and displaying cultural acquisitions or to deliberately create a processional pathway embodying the origins of the enfilade in its original manifestation.

It is clear that later in the century, newly built and reconfigured townhouses such as Leicester House, Devonshire House and Chesterfield House were designed specifically to display the collections amassed through their owners' consumerism. The ritualised formal openings of these houses confirms this derivation from the original ritualised procession and is addressed by Jeremy Howard.⁹⁵ Howard studied the refurbishment of Norfolk House as it metamorphosed into the consummate party house, looking at the reaction to its reopening in 1756. In particular it is interesting to note the reaction of the visitors to the 'processional path' that allowed them to walk through the First Floor 'Rooms of taste, expense, state and parade' as described by Lord Hervey.⁹⁶ It was deliberately laid out to allow a visitor to circulate through the house much in the same way as at Holkham, with a centralised staircase leading visitors into the state rooms on the first floor and then back to the staircase to exit. This provided, as at Downing Street, a hierarchical procession of rooms as in the Baroque enfilade, enabling the visitor to process to the most intimate spaces.

⁹⁵ Howard, J. You never saw such a scene of magnificence and taste: Norfolk House after its Grand Reopening in 1756. Avery-Quash, S & K. Retford. *The Georgian London TownHouse* () p49

⁹⁶ Ibid p54

At Downing Street, this processional movement through the house also allowed the visitor's access to the private space occupied by the family. Once personal visitors arrived, they too would have moved through the house to the inner lobby at the foot of the new cantilevered staircase. Those with intimate knowledge of the family would have passed up the stairs to the private rooms, the Great Room, Lady Walpole's Withdrawing Room and the private apartments of Walpole. Those on official business would remain on the first floor and travel through to the Levee and onto Walpole's Study or Dining Room.

On the second floor of what had been Bothmar, Lady Walpole held sway. Lady Catherine on entering the centrally located Great Room (situated above the Levee below) would then have access to her personal space including her Withdrawing Room overlooking the garden and then further into her private bedroom and closet. On the right side of the Great Room was access into Kent's newly created Bedchamber suite for Walpole which he designed by utilising the existing room overlooking Horse Guards and reconfiguring rooms on the second floor over the new kitchen and ancillary rooms, into a gentleman's room or closet and a wardrobe. This area of the house was also accessible by a small back staircase shown on the plan of which would have offered direct access for any manservant of Walpole's to the kitchen and service rooms while unobserved. (Appendix I, plate 111)

Utilising the detail from the Ware drawings, it has been possible to ascertain the positions of key rooms in relation to the footprint of the house by the configuration of door openings and window apertures. It can be concluded that Walpole's bedchamber occupied the back north east corner of Bothmar which would correspond to the back staircase positioning and link with the later drawing showing the valet and wardrobe space. Along the north side therefore,

lie on the first floor the Dining Room with Walpole's Bedroom above, the Waiting Room/Levee with the Great Room above and Walpole's Study with Lady Walpole's Withdrawing Room above. On the first floor, leading from Walpole's study along the west face of the building, a small Secretary's room and Library with Lady Walpole's Bedchamber and dressing room above accordingly overlooking the garden.

These rooms are the key to understanding how the house functioned as both a public and private space. The ground floor held the business rooms of the building, a levee or waiting room with access to a lavish dining room for entertaining dignitaries, alongside the study and ancillary rooms required for daily business with access to the kitchen and domestic rooms sited along the Treasury Passage. Climbing Kent's new staircase gave access to the private family spaces and some separation for the family between public and private access. Despite this, the lines between the public and private space were blurred to such an extent at this time that only closets and wardrobes would have been truly private spaces in which the Walpole family could retreat. This is qualified by Queen Caroline's visit to the house in September 1735 when she and her Ladies in Waiting were accommodated by Lady Walpole in her Withdrawing Room. Hence the party had traversed through the building and up Kent's staircase to the second floor, giving them ample opportunity to appreciate the new surroundings at Downing Street.

The crucial rooms for government business occupied the elevations located within the Bothmar portion of the property facing the garden and park. The sketches by Ware at the Metropolitan Museum indicate positioning of marble fireplaces, architrave decoration and doorways. There are also indications of artworks to be hung together with names of the artists. The only information available regarding interior decoration for the house on these

documents is a reference to the use of Red Damask to line the walls of Walpole's bedchamber. It can be assumed that furnishings of a similar nature were used in the other key rooms, as they are found at Houghton Hall, Norfolk which Kent had designed and installed for Walpole, but no physical evidence has been unearthed. Houghton Hall as mentioned, still retains much of its original interiors created by Kent in collaboration with Walpole. Based on the assumption that Kent and Walpole would have used similar design details and materials for Downing Street, it follows that each of the rooms at Downing Street was decorated in a similar manner with wainscoting or brocade and damask textiles utilised in a variety of hues lining the walls, and relating to the utility of the room. This hypothesis will be addressed later in section three.

Once a visitor entered the property through the Downing Street entrance, they would have moved towards the inner sanctum of the building and Walpole's space. On entering the lobby, they would have then passed into the levee until access to Walpole's study was permitted. This is now known as the Cabinet Room at Downing Street, but when fashioned by Kent for Walpole, was in fact his personal study. Although today we may think of a study as a private space, it is clear that this room in Walpole's time, was a working office where Ministers would meet to discuss issues of the day. The derivation of its use as a study, cabinet or closet is demonstrated by the use of the name Cabinet today.⁹⁷ The term "cabinet" comes from the Italian word "cabinetto," meaning "a small, private room," a good place to discuss important business without being interrupted. This room in particular has a prime position with a dual aspect overlooking the gardens. Many of Kent's original features are still visible even after the building has undergone extensive alteration in the intervening years. In some way this may reflect the quality of the interior, or the room's position as the pivotal location for the

⁹⁷ <https://members.parliament.uk/government/cabinet> accessed 10.08.2022

business of the government. However it has survived, it is important to our understanding of the environment Walpole wished to create.

Although only limited documentation survives of the reconfiguration and interior design for the building, there are tantalising remnants of workmanship still in existence. From these snippets of evidence we can conclude that the reconfiguration of the houses into one residence created a sumptuous home incorporating the latest fashions in interior decoration, stucco work, marble fireplaces and ironwork some of which are still in situ and argue to the excellence of craftsmanship utilised. Key features are discernible as Kent's work such as the door positionings, fireplaces, wainscoting, cornice and architrave. This assessment of the quality of the refurbishment is qualified in a letter by Walpole's son, Horace who describes the house as 'the palace in Downing-street'.⁹⁸ The quality of the workmanship and materials mirrors those used within Houghton and the Treasury Building next door. A small terrace was created during Bothmar's residency which could be accessed through a window from the study, with a double flight of stairs leading down into the garden which although altered, is still in existence today. When Walpole took up residence, the prime location of this room and its easy access to the gardens would have allowed Walpole the private utility of the space. The amount of time Walpole spent here conducting the business of government may have been conducive to his need for the pertinent positioning of this public/private space, allowing him unfettered access to the garden for relaxation or contemplation.

An examination of the ritualistic movement instigated within the layout of the house infers that the space was adapted specifically to create a functionality between public and private space that promoted the blurring of traditional boundaries.⁹⁹ This facilitated the shift between

⁹⁸ Cunningham, P. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford* vol.I (London: Henry G Bohn, 1906) p71

⁹⁹ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) p139-142

public social rituals, semi-private and completely private family engagements. Historian Hannah Smith has demonstrated that the courts of the early eighteenth-century relied less on the veneration of divine right and more on the ideals of modesty, patriotism and humanity to which Walpole was complicit.¹⁰⁰ The opening and closing of vistas through the building allowed for a flexibility of use that Walpole and his family required. The adaptability of the space also needed to accommodate the demands of government and political engagements. Hannah Grieg confirms that 'social politics and being 'politically sociable' were an essential part of the London political scene.¹⁰¹ While the layout of the building was imperative to its function, the addition of Walpole's art collection was also a huge factor in the success of the property. The curation of a significant part of Walpole's extensive art collection within the walls of Downing Street adds a new dimension to the property and its reception. Documents within the family archive place 148 of Walpole's finest paintings on display in the splendour of the newly configured property, and their impact within each room will be addressed later in this thesis.

Although evidence of the reconstruction of the buildings into one cohesive property is limited, enough information has been found to hypothesise a feasible layout and rationale for the design, incorporating all the elements of both physical and metaphorical space. Due to the limited referencing to the interior decoration and Walpole's art collection, it was initially unclear as to how the building would look decoratively. This was a major impediment to understanding the impact the interior would have had on the varied callers at the property. However, with the discovery of two further documents from the Walpole archive, a much fuller understanding of the visual impact of the interiors can be achieved. This will be addressed more fully in section three.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, H. *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006) p236-66

¹⁰¹ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) p139

Paintings and Decoration

To. General Charles Churchill

From. Sir Robert Walpole, Houghton 1743

'Within doors we come a little nearer..... to the almost speaking Canvas, all the airs and graces....., with these I am satisfied as they gratify me with all I wish and all I want, and expect nothing in return which I am not able to give. I heartily invite you to come and partake of them!'¹⁰²

The book *Aedes Walpolianae*, published by Horace Walpole in 1747, lists his father's collection of artworks when sold to Catherine the Great in 1779. The 2nd Edition copy held at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York was a personal copy with an annotated list at the rear of the book believed to be in Horace's own handwriting. This list outlines a description of each and every artwork known to have been within the Walpole Collection, allocated to each of Walpole's properties, by room, at the date 1736.

This list is a revealing piece of evidence of not only the artworks that made up this defining collection, but more importantly to this research, how and where they were displayed. The year 1736 was a definitive time in Walpole's political career. He had secured the financial and political stability of Great Britain and had taken possession of the newly reconfigured house on Downing Street to be used as the official residence of the First Lord of the Treasury in perpetuum et unum diem. Although this list has been acknowledged as an Appendix by Dr Andrew Moore in his seminal work on the Walpole Collection at the Hermitage, the significance of the artworks and their display, when examined within the setting of Downing Street has until now, not been explored.¹⁰³

¹⁰²Coxe, W. *Memoirs of the life and administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford with original correspondence and authentic papers never before published by William Coxe in three volumes*. Vol. 1,2 & 3. Reproduction from British Library. [Luke Hansard] for T Cadell and W Davies. (London: James Easton, Salisbury, 1798).

¹⁰³Dukelskaya, L and A. Moore. *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage*. (London & Newhaven, Yale University Press, 2002).

One of the most significant art collections of the last five hundred years, the collection of old masters amassed by Walpole over his lifetime has been described as one of the most important in British history.¹⁰⁴ Walpole's avid collecting was the passion of his lifetime, and as early as 1730 his collection was held in international regard. This is confirmed by an inscription within a French publication that was part of the Houghton Library, containing a dedication to Walpole that mentions his collection in glowing terms.¹⁰⁵ When the collection was first mooted to be sold to Catherine the Great in 1774, there was a public outcry, with John Wilkes MP, demanding that a National Gallery be formed to house them as a national collection.¹⁰⁶ The breadth and wealth of the collection was significant and it is still noted as one of the seminal collections of art treasures. This was most recently demonstrated in the exhibition *Painting, Passion and Politics: Masterpieces from the Walpole Collection* in 2003 which contained 34 masterpieces that demonstrated his wide-ranging taste.¹⁰⁷

As previously discussed, the creation of Downing Street as the home of the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer was a seminal moment in British history. Never before had a building been so intrinsically linked to a position of Office within the British government, on par with the White House in terms of being the most recognisable government building in the world. The reconfiguration of the property as discussed in section two, gave a physicality to the role of Prime Minister which had not been seen before. The novelty of this building to society meant that all aspects became a legitimate topic of conversation. Sir Thomas Robinson was so impressed with Walpole's use of wax candles that he took the time to count all 130.¹⁰⁸ Hannah Grieg discusses in her seminal research on the

¹⁰⁴ Moore, A. *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, The Empress and The Heritage* (London: Wilson Publishers Limited, 1996) p48

¹⁰⁵ Le Blon, J.C. *Coloritto; or the Harmony of Colouring in Painting* (1730) British Library

¹⁰⁶ Pointon, M. *Hanging the Head*. (London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.21.

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.studiointernational.com/painting-passion-and-politics-masterpieces-from-the-walpole-collection> accessed 17.06.2024

¹⁰⁸ Greig, H. *The Beau Monde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p42

niceties of eighteenth-century etiquette, how small details were of the utmost importance when fitting into society. There are many examples of 'tittle tattle' written between confidantes during this period, where the discussion revolved around who had not quite made the grade. This could include literally living on the wrong side of the street.¹⁰⁹ The property on Downing Street therefore was open directly to the scrutiny of society and each and every detail of its design and running would have been under careful examination. Walpole's use of interior decoration and the curation of his art collection is fundamental to our understanding. The direct link between etiquette, cultural understanding and position established during the early part of the century meant this house in particular can be seen as indicative.

The Second Edition copy of *Aedes Walpolianae* is unique in that it places a large proportion of Walpole's art collection at Downing Street from 1736 until 1742 including many paintings which had previously been thought to have only been on display at Houghton Hall. In total, the annotated book provides a list of one hundred and forty eight artworks housed during this period. (Appendix II) This constitutes more than half of the artworks sold to Catherine the Great. These artworks include some of the finest examples of old masters in existence and are not only a representation of Walpole's wealth at the time, but his cultural understanding and appreciation. Examining the document closely it is also interesting to see that he was not only collecting the old masters as would have been expected of the collections of the aristocracy during this period, but also both English and European contemporary artists at the beginning of their careers.

Although Walpole did not get the opportunity to explore Europe himself, his sons were all provided with the opportunity to travel extensively throughout the continent, and brought

¹⁰⁹ British Library, Wentworth papers, Add. MS22226, fo. 135, Countess of Strafford to the earl, 8 April 1712.

back paintings and sculptures which they knew their father would approve. This was particularly apparent with Horace who was massively influenced by his encounters of art and literature on the continent and became an avid collector of paintings in his own right. Horace, alongside his brothers, frequently provided information while abroad regarding artworks that Walpole was interested in purchasing. An example of this is found in one of Horace's letters to Sir Horace Mann, regarding a painting by Dominichini which Walpole wished to add to his collection. He writes 'I forgot to mention the Dominichin last post, as I suppose I had before, for I always was for your buying it; it is one of the most engaging pictures I ever saw. I have no qualms about its originality; even if Sir Robert should not like it when it comes, which is impossible, I think I would live upon a flitch of bacon and a bottle of ink, rather than not spare the money to buy it myself: so my dear Sir, buy it'.¹¹⁰ The intimacy Horace established within the diplomatic service during Walpole's premiership was integral to the acquisitions of many of the artworks within the collection and further examination of this patronage would be interesting to investigate further.

Although in no way was Walpole a 'leisured' gentleman, his substantial income from various sources during his tenure as Prime Minister facilitated his passion for collecting art.¹¹¹ This propensity for collecting, particularly of artworks of renowned provenance, was extremely important during the period as it was a signifier of the owners' education, cultural understanding and recognition of their material worth.¹¹² As Barrell noted, those with substantial means were the true 'Lovers of Art and Ingenuity, and most likely to promote great public art'.¹¹³ Walpole's position allowed him to be the consummate patron. As his son

¹¹⁰ Walpole, Horace. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford* Ed. Peter Cunningham. Vol.1 (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906).

¹¹¹ Black, J. *Walpole in Power*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2001) p22

¹¹² Pears, I. *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for the Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1988) p3-9

¹¹³ Barrell, J. *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt*. (London: Yale University Press, 1986), p14-15.

Horace stated after his death, 'private curiosity and good sense..., and taste of a polished nation' were more effective than 'the command of Louis Quartorze or the expense of a Cardinal's nephew.'¹¹⁴

It is clear from Horace's correspondence that he was implicit in helping his father create the collection which was housed at Downing Street while Prime Minister. A letter dated 8th October 1741 sent from Downing Street to Sir Horace Mann, qualifies this; 'two particularly, if they can be got, would make him delight in you beyond measure. They are, a Madonna and Child by Domenichino, in the Palace of Zambeccari, at Bologna, or Caliambec as they call it; Mr Chute knows the picture. The other is by Correggio, in a convent in Parma, and reckoned the second best of that hand in the world. There are the Madonna and Child, St Catherine, St Matthew and other figures: it is a most known picture, and has been engraved by Augustin Carracci. If you can employ anybody privately to enquire about these pictures, be so good as to let me know: Sir R. would not scruple almost at any price, for he has of neither hand: the convent is poor: the Zambeccari collection is to be sold, though, when I enquired after this picture, they would not set a price.'¹¹⁵

This letter demonstrates Walpole's quest to own, as Horace put it, 'one of every hand,' is evident within the breath of the collection. In the case of the paintings mentioned, the Domenichino, (later attributed to Sassoferrato), entered the collection between 1741-42 with the assistance of Edward Penny, an English painter in Bologna. It remained part of the collection until it was sold to Catherine the Great in 1779 and is now part of the collection at the Hermitage, St Petersburg. (fig.13) Walpole's quest for the Correggio was thwarted by

¹¹⁴ Walpole, H. *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists* (London, Forgotten Books, 2018), p113.

¹¹⁵ Walpole, H.. *Letters of Horace Walpole fourth Earl of Orford* Ed. Peter Cunningham. Vol.1 (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906).Downing Street, October 8th 1741.

Giacomo Zambecari's intention to display the collection for public use.¹¹⁶ The painting officially became part of the collection at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna in 1884.

The list of artworks found in Horace's edition gives title, dimensions and a description of the room each artwork was displayed. This significantly increases the number of artworks known to have been curated in eight significant rooms at Downing Street compared to other sources.¹¹⁷ Such a large and distinguished collection of European paintings by the old masters would have had a profound effect on visitors to the building. As each room in the Aedes list is acknowledged, so the totality of the visual impact of the artworks in the setting can be scrutinised. These rooms can be subdivided into those that are predominantly private family spaces and those which are utilised as both a public and private space. The intention is to establish the utility and use of Walpole's art collection within these dual-purpose rooms. By concentrating on the rooms which he used both as a private and civic space while undertaking his position, it will be possible to demonstrate his use of art in fashioning his own identity as *de facto* Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.pinacotecabologna.beniculturali.it/en/visit/collections/the-zambecari-collection> accessed 28/06/2024

¹¹⁷ Walpole, H. Horace Walpole's copy with his marginal annotations and corrections; 2nd edn. *Aedes Walpolianae or, A description of the collection of the pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*. (London: John Hughes, 1742). Held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York USA

Public Rooms

Described by Ware as the 'Middle Room, First Floor', this room in Bothmar House sits directly in the middle of the north wall overlooking Horse Guards Parade. The room is described on the Ware drawing in a hand annotated note as the levee or reception room.

There are fourteen pictures indicated as hanging in this room by Horace in 1736. (Appendix II p1) These first artworks are significant in many ways. Their position in the levee allied with the concept that they were displayed for the visitor (much as we are being introduced to the collection here), while they waited for an audience with Walpole in his study. Just within this room is an indication of the wealth of understanding and considered knowledge of classical and Christian history that you would expect from a member of the aristocracy. Artists include Synder, Rubens, Van Dyck, Procacino, Cantarino, Rosalba, Poussin, Borgognone, Wootton and Scott. Rubens and Van Dyck were favourites of Charles I and the inclusion of works by these artists both for their subject matter but also as a narrative, the visitor would be reminded of Walpole's links with loyalty, position and fidelity to the protestant crown. Rubens and Synder together with deVos and Anthony Van Dyck all worked together to create a dynasty of artworks of which Walpole was a great admirer and collector. In this room both Snyder, Van Dyck and Rubens are celebrated in their specialist form. Synder's proficiency as an animalier is demonstrated in the depiction of *the lion and lioness* (originally attributed to Rubens, Synder and Rubens worked closely together for many years and deVos was Synder's son-in-law). (fig.14) His visual richness and brush technique to depict fur can be clearly seen in this picture which also shows the lioness, fiercely defending her position on all sides from the encroaching lions. This could be interpreted as a close analogy to Walpole's own position as leader of the House of Commons and de facto Prime Minister for the Hanoverian monarchy.

Rubens' depiction of *Christ in the House of Pharisee* is from the Gospel of Luke vii: 36-50. (fig.15) In Ruben's composition, Mary Magdalen is depicted as the embodiment of repentance. Pressing her cheek to Christ's feet, she washes his foot with her tears, while drying them away with her hair. In Christian iconography, the human foot is symbolically linked to humility and subjection and thus this image shows Mary Magdalen's contrition. Through her actions her sins were forgiven. Lots of other details in the picture allude to symbolic meaning. A platter of peacock pate is carried over the heads of the Pharisees and this can be interpreted as symbolic of the sin of pride to which the peacock identifies. The plate of bread and flat-bottomed carafe (symbols of the Eucharist) stand at the bottom of the table near the Pharisees and are shown in dark shade. The spectacles worn by the Pharisee behind Simon suggest the Pharisee's shortsightedness. Spectacles are a common symbol of blindness and could be representative in this depiction of the lack of faith and untruth 'the blind leading the blind'. Rubens depiction of the Pharisees' rejection of true faith in contrast to Christ's calm and unshakeable demeanour can be interpreted as an analogy of the true faith victorious over heresy.

Two classical images of Apollo (fig.16) and Diana (fig.17) by Rosalba Carriera sit alongside these biblical figures. One of the most important and complex Greek gods, Apollo is recognised as the god of truth and prophecy, healing and the sun. It's companion piece of Diana, Goddess of the Hunt and Apollo's twin depicts her with her greyhound with the crescent moon ornamenting her hair. The portraits of these Greek gods indicate Walpole's knowledge of classical literature, with his choice of subject matter indicative of his education and knowledge of democracy and the classical rules of rationality. These gods are symbolic of war and peace, the arts and literature, music and dancing. They offer a playful side to Walpole's character alongside a reminder that he is also a statesman and commander of a

nation. The inclusion of Rosalba, a contemporary artist is intriguing and alludes to Walpole's confidence in sponsoring new artists which it could be argued, benefitted hugely from his patronage to launch their careers.

Rubens' image of Christian faith sits alongside further images of the Holy Family by Carracci (fig.18) and Procaccini.(fig.19) The Carracci painting's current whereabouts is unknown. It was last catalogued in the Hermitage collection in 1773-85 but was missing from the 1797 catalogue. The painting was described 'this beautiful piece represents the seated virgin holding the sleeping child in her arms. She is wearing a linen that covers both the collar and the chest'. The Procaccini is now known as The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine. The Rubenesque figures cradle a Christ child in their arms while John the Baptist looks on. You can see the baby Christ placing a ring on Catherine's finger as she symbolically betrothed her soul to God.

The other paintings in the room are depictions of landscapes and seascapes showing idealistic imagery of countryside and nautical scenes, buildings and ruins. There are eight landscapes by Poussin, Borgognone, Wootton and Scott which evoke the classical past and the natural world that surpass a specific time or place. Landscape paintings of this type became particularly fashionable in the eighteenth-century as the young British aristocracy broadened their education by travelling through continental Europe. As there is little to no description of these paintings other than landscape or seascape, it is difficult to identify them specifically, however by utilising the remnants of the collection housed at the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg it is possible to piece together the semblance of the impact of these paintings within the room. Walpole was particularly fond of landscape paintings which followed the conventions of picturesque. (fig.20-23)

The paintings displayed in this room allude to Walpole's devotion to the protestant faith, his King and country and of the strength and resilience of the British nation. The combination of landscapes, classical imagery and religious narratives can seem quite random at first glance, but Walpole was particularly adept at creating a visual narrative within his curation to reflect a specific theme. When we consider the utility of this room as the Levee or reception room to an audience with Walpole within the sanctum of his study, we can deduce that the elements of symbolism represented in these few paintings has a demonstrative effect on the viewer to whom in most parts, was at Downing Street to court favour either with government or Walpole himself. By representing himself through the narrative of these paintings, Walpole sets himself apart and gives the impression of a man who is cultured, educated, refined, what we might call a Renaissance man, demonstrably fashioning his identity and that of his position within the breadth and depth of connoisseurship in his collection.

There are several rooms which Walpole would have monopolised on a daily basis and which were integral to the running of government. One such room would have been Walpole's study and is described within the Aedes as the End Room Below. This then led directly into his dressing room and library creating a sequestered suite of rooms for his own use. The study is integral to understanding Walpole. Not only was it his private space within government to which his closest allies and council members would meet, but in this private space, Walpole would have surrounded himself with his most precious and significant items both in a spiritual and holistic sense. The room is situated on the north west corner of Bothmar House and overlooks the gardens on the north and west side. This room was accessed either directly from the levee, via Walpole's dressing room, or directly from the lobby on the first floor. The study and the two consecutive rooms along the west face of the building created a private space for Walpole to display his artworks, manuscripts and library. The layout of the rooms

and access changed very little from the original design shown in Wren's drawing of 1677, however it is possible that Kent moved the fireplace into the corner of the dressing room to back onto the fireplace central to the south wall of the study.

The drawing by Ware outlining the design for Walpole's study shows a limited number of artworks, yet Horace lists many more both classical and contemporary in their subject matter. The artworks listed include Annibal Caracci's Virgin and Christ asleep in her arms (fig.24) and Ludovico Caracci's A Dead Christ, with the Virgin, St John, St Joseph and Mary Magdalen with Angel, displayed above the chimney breast.(fig.25) Other biblical imagery included Simeon and the Child by Guido Reni (fig.26) and Moses striking the Rock with several figures grouped together by Nicolas Poussin.(fig.27) These artworks, of the finest Baroque style, form a monumental group of works depicting key moments in Christian theology and reinforce Walpole's devotion not only to his Protestant faith, but his Protestant King.

The Aedes includes several that reflect a softer side to Walpole including romantic subject matter such as Leonardo di Vinci's Smith's Wife of Antwerp, Mistress to Francis the First of France (fig.28), School of Caracci (now attributed to Sirani) Divine Love burning the Arrows of Impure Love (fig.29), alongside the newer fashion for landscapes such as Romano's A Large picture of Architecture, with some small figures. (fig.30). Viviano Codazzi's A Picture of Ruins, (fig.31) and its companion Architectural Fantasy with Feasting follow on from this theme. (fig.32) There are several more landscape pieces, Winter (fig.33) and Summer (fig.34) by Giacomo and Leonardo Bassan respectively, plus two landscapes by Poussin (fig.35 & 36), both substantial artworks that would have been prominent in the room scheme. In all, the *Aedes* notes eleven artworks curated in the space. (Appendix II p2)

The most fascinating in the curation is described in *Aedes* as An Usurer and his Wife: highly unfinished attributed to Matzi (Quintin Matsys) which currently resides in the Louvre, Abu Dhabi. (fig.37) The painting depicts a money lender weighing jewels and gold coins while his wife sitting next to him, reads a book depicting an illustration of the Virgin and Child. The couple are dressed simply in the fashion of the burghers of Antwerp of the period. This painting resonates as a depiction of Walpole's own abilities and position. It had great significance hanging in what could be viewed as the most important room in the house and is very different in style and context to the other artworks curated in the room. This illustration of financial prudence and commercial knowhow was a reminder to all that entered, of Walpole's skill in disentangling the finances of the nation during the South Sea Bubble collapse of 1720.¹¹⁸ Many versions of this painting were created by Matsys and his school, one of which is held in the Hermitage collection (fig.38), however the provenance does not include Walpole and the image differs to the description provided by Horace which more accurately matches the Louvre painting. Although Moore includes this version of the painting in his curation of the collection, but due to the vagaries of the records relating to this image, there is some ambiguity as to which of these paintings was owned by Walpole.

There is no specific reference to a Closet within the drawings held at the MET, hence the room described in Horace's *Aedes* as the Closet could be assumed a private space accessible to Walpole solely. This room could be part of Walpole's suite of rooms on the first floor, described as the library and dressing room (Secretary's room on the 1775 drawing). Horace's description traditionally indicates a small room as an offshoot of the bedchamber. However, due to the known layout of the first floor, particularly the layout of the three rooms facing

¹¹⁸ Black, J. *Walpole in Power*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001) p19-20

onto the west gardens, the Closet Horace refers to may be the third room on this side elevation of Bothmar House. This would allow Walpole to have access directly via his study and dressing room, but create a sequestered room for contemplation. Walpole's Closet, library or repository, whether located off his bedchamber or accessed through his study and dressing room, would have provided a private space for his collections. In the eighteenth-century these could include rock samples, shells, coinage, sculpture and other curiosities. This was also a place for precious books and, as shown in Horace's description of his father's Closet, forty seven paintings. There is very little reference to the design from 1736 but the broad mix of artworks gives some indication of Walpole's extensive interest in the medium. (Appendix II p2-4)

The collection of paintings and artworks collated within Walpole's study and private rooms is wide-ranging. There is very little association between them other than that these pictures were chosen by Walpole to surround him in his private working space. The authors of the artworks are at the heart of the collection and include the great Dutch old masters Teniers (fig.39), Breughel (fig.40) and Polenburgh (fig.41), Rubens (fig.42) and Italian old masters Titian (fig.43) and Leonardo (fig.26) intertwined with contemporary artists such as Kneller (fig.44) and Wootton (fig.45). These rooms specifically reflect Walpole's passion for art. His love of landscape both classical and contemporary, highlighting a breadth of virtuosity which Walpole was able to appreciate. He also included several portraits depicting individualistic characterisation of the sitters including two portraits attributed to Titian but now thought to be by Frans Hals. One of these now hangs in the National Museum of Art in Washington, displaying a realism and photographic quality that are typical of his work. (fig.46) All these artworks show a knowledge and understanding indicative of a man with extensive connoisseurship of the arts, an insightful comprehension of curatorship and considered

insight into the visual impact his artworks would have on the viewer. It is this understanding that implies that the curation of his collection at Downing Street during his tenure as Prime Minister was not accidental but a deliberate attempt to utilise the building and its contents as a source of authority and supremacy when dealing with the daily toil of governance.

The other main room established on the first floor of the building and which would have played a significant part in the public sphere is described as the North East Corner Room in Ware's drawings at the MET and inscribed the dining room. This room has a fascinating mix of large-scale artworks which dominate the wall space. The largest measuring 7' 2" by 5'6" by Solimenti, (Francesco Solimena) described by Horace as Young Christ, God, the Virgin and Angels and its partner, Christ after the resurrection, with Virgin. Both these paintings are listed as missing from Moore's catalogue of artworks in the Hermitage.¹¹⁹ Many of the pictures sold to Catherine the Great have had attributions altered or been lost from the collection, however The Risen Christ Appearing to the Virgin, by Solimena presently held in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art bares a marked resemblance to the description provided by Horace (fig.47) and alongside it's contemporary painting by Solimena would have had a dominating effect on the room as they sat side by side. Solimena's use of dramatic light and dark shadows to emphasise muscularity and dramatic effects, utilised an individualistic technique employing variations of bright colour and shade. This is particularly evident in the Solimena painting The Birth of the Virgin which also is of a similar size and description to Horace's which has light pouring from above, highlighting both the Virgin and Child, focusing attention on the child and his adoring mother, now housed at the MET. (fig.48)

¹¹⁹ Dukelskaya, L and A. Moore. *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage*. (London & Newhaven, Yale University Press, 2002).

Teniers Cookshop (fig.49) and Marten deVos Cook and Greyhound (fig.50) follow the dining theme for the room and are exemplary examples of the Flemish School. In Horace's description of the Cookshop or Kitchen as it is now known, Teniers was thought to be depicting his own kitchen, using the setting as an allegory for the four elements of Greek Cosmology, earth, air, fire and water. This setting offered a simple way to unite them within a common situation, in this case, earth and air represented by the falconer, surrounded by dogs and game embodying the role of hunter. Fire sits in the hearth and on the table in the form of the brazier. Water is shown as the fisherman and his catch on the left side of the painting, completing the set. Representational paintings of the elements in this form was not unusual during this period. Synder also created a set of paintings which also joined together the elements, one painting for each in his case, which also became part of the Walpole collection but were destined for display at Houghton only. DeVos' painting of the Cook with table groaning under the weight of game, greyhound in attendance in Aedes is attributed to Marten deVos but is now displayed at the Hermitage as by Paul deVos. Like his contemporaries, deVos was a master of still life, and this painting is exquisite in its depiction of the variety of food piled high upon the table. Again visible in the depiction are the elements earth, air, fire and water indicated by the foodstuffs displayed, the game birds, venison, boar and lobster alongside a cauldron of artichokes, marrows and melon. The cauldron alludes to the upcoming cooking of the feast within the domesticity of the surroundings indicated by the attention of the cat and the greyhound in the composition.

Several further paintings described by Horace within this room are unidentified. Two by the painter Castiglioni, the compositions are described as Exposition of Cyrus and its companion, Man with Cattle. There is listed in the collection at the V&A an engraving by Castiglione of the Exposition of Cyrus dated 1781 by J&J Boydell (fig.51) who also made engravings of

the artworks sold to Catherine the Great, it has been impossible to locate these paintings in the sale ledgers of 1748 and 1751. There is also a reference of a picture with no attribution but described as 'Picture of Boy with Fruit'. This may be a description of a painting in the 1751 sale called 'Cupid with Still Life' sold to a Mr Lane but no further information has come to light. The final painting described in this room is by Swainvett (Swanevelt) A Landscape with Figures. There are several paintings which could fit this attribution and description within the Hermitage collection, but with the vagaries of the reference it is difficult to identify it specifically.

Two Canalettos which were not on the Ware plans but are referenced in the Aedes have been traced. Their inclusion in the inventory for 1736 is the earliest record of a Canaletto painting hanging in an English house.¹²⁰ Canaletto was only just establishing himself as a landscape painter in 1736 and the purchase of the two Canaletto paintings displayed within the dining room not only showed that Walpole was at the forefront of collecting, but that he had an interest in including emerging artists. His curation of the artworks introduced society to artists who would later gain worldwide recognition. Many of the artists he championed, such as Canaletto and Rosalba Carriera were at the time based in Venice and he therefore was reliant on his sons or agents to secure the commissions.

With regard to the Canalettos, there was evidence that these paintings were divested from the collection after Walpole's death. They are not listed in either of the 1748 or 1751 sale documents. One of the paintings was sold through Sothebys in 2005 and the other is referenced in a sale in 2008. The first painting is described by Horace as A View of Venice

¹²⁰ Walpole, H. Horace Walpole's copy with his marginal annotations and corrections; 2nd edn. *Aedes Walpolianae or, A description of the collection of the pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*. (London: John Hughes, 1742). Held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York USA

but is latterly known as Venice, the Grand Canal, looking North-East from Palazzo Balbi to the Rialto Bridge (fig.52) and is now part of a private collection. The other painting was mentioned in the provenance of a sale document supplied by Sotherbys which indicated that the original composition it had been based on was owned by Walpole. The painting was described by Horace as Doge in Barge with Gondolas but now is known as Venice, the return of the Bucintoro on Ascension Day. (fig.53) The original painting is now housed in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, and is on long term loan to the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

When scrutinising the influence Walpole had on society, it is important to address the significance of these Canaletto paintings and their curation in Downing Street in 1736. During the 1720s Canaletto built up his patronage based on his ability to produce *vedutismo*, the detailed cityscape or vista which saw the familiar views of Venice and Rome turned into moments of significance, as shown in the painting of the Ascension in Walpole's collection. Canaletto's use of poetic creativity alongside an adherence to perspective and architectural detail produced some of the most distinctive artworks of the period. The introduction of the pieces into the Walpole collection may be connected to Joseph Smith, the British Banker and then Diplomat who became Canaletto's sole agent for the English market in 1729. He was a collector and connoisseur of Canaletto's paintings and during the Grand Tour, many young English aristocrats were invited to see his collection. He is seen as key to the creation of the market for vedute and was instrumental in championing Canaletto, among others to the British aristocracy.¹²¹ Walpole's inclusion of these paintings provides evidence that links directly with his position within fashionable society and his desire to orchestrate rather than be a follower of societal norms. In 1736, Canaletto was a newly discovered artist and his

¹²¹ Vivian, Frances. *The Consul Smith Collection: Masterpieces of Italian Drawing from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Raphael to Canaletto*. (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1990) p124-125

vedute differed to the customary practice of the picturesque and more classically created artworks of the old masters. This style of painting was radical in its departure from landscapes produced in England at the time. Due to these paintings leaving the collection long before it was sold to Catherine the Great, very little research has been done regarding their inclusion into the curation at Downing Street during Walpole's tenure.

Parlour

The Great Room Above as it is described by Ware is dominated by two paintings by Mola that now reside in the Research Academy of the Academy of Arts, St Petersburg. These paintings, both measuring approximately 2m x 3.5m must have dominated the room. The first, Horatio Cocles Holding the Sublimous Bridge (fig.54) and its partner, Marcus Curtius Leaping into the Gulf (fig. 55), are large and dramatic Roman historical dramas. Both are based on the writing of Titus Livius (History of Rome, VII, 6; also Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, Venice, 1471, V,6,2). Very little is known of these paintings as they were not included in the seminal work on Mola written in 1972 by Richard Cocke.¹²² The third significant artwork is by Jacob Joedeans dated around 1615 with later additions. Horace's description is 'A Family Piece and merry making' but its Hermitage description now reads, Self Portrait with Parents, Brothers and Sisters. (fig.56) When sold to Catherine the Great, the painting was attributed to Rubens as a portrait of Isabella Brant and her family, however this was later challenged and the current attribution was made in 1940. Many art historians have tried to ascertain the identity of the group however the feeling is that the painting may depict Jacob alongside his parents, brothers and sisters as a celebration. The latest x-ray research shows that the original painting was overpainted with additional details at least 15 years after the original, with the addition of clothing for the children at the

¹²² Cocke, Richard. *Pier Francesco Mola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

forefront of the painting, the basket of bread and cheese on the table and the raised glass in his father's hand, changes made at the later date, probably between 1630s-40s. It is thought that the piece was inspired by an altarpiece painted by Rubens around 1605 housed in the Church of Sant'Ambrogio, Genoa. (fig.57)

Further paintings included in the inventory are *An old woman Reading* by Ferdinand Bol (fig.58), currently displayed in the Hermitage. The quality of the image is reminiscent of Rembrandt's portraiture. The elderly lady sits with an open book on her lap, a broad heavy cloak with a velvet lushness around her head and shoulders falling to the ground, a beautifully painted pearl sitting below the jewel-encrusted clasp. A column is visible in the background symbolising steadfastness, piety and spiritual force. The sitter is unknown however this image could be a representation of a prophetess or Sibyl. It also has a close affinity to a portrait of Rembrandt's Mother within the Royal Collection.¹²³ A complimentary image described by Horace as *An Old Man writing* attributed to Gerard Dow, measuring 4' 2 1/2" by 3' 3 1/2" is not identifiable within the Hermitage and has not been located within the family collection.

Other artworks in the room include the Rubens' *King James the First, ascending into Heaven* (sketch for the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall) (fig.59). This is a relatively small drawing measuring 89.7cm x 55.3cm, now known as *The Apotheosis of James I*. The sketch for the central oval of the ceiling depicts James I ascending into the heavens surrounded by cherubin and angels. Justice with her scales is supporting James as he transcends upon a globe, lifted high on the wings of an eagle. Victory and Minerva jointly crown him with a laurel wreath, while cherubs blow trumpets to herald his ascension to heaven. The

¹²³ Rembrandt's Mother. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/922105> accessed 24.04.2023

composition depicts scenes reminiscent of Roman Emperors. It is an unfinished sketch, rectangular but bears a clear resemblance to the finished painting in the Banqueting House.

A Raphael da Reggio painting depicting The Virgin, Child, St John, St Catherine, Two Fryers and Angels identified as hanging in this room by Horace is now at the Kudan Art Museum in Krasnodar. (fig.60) This painting of the Holy Family with Saint Catherine, Saint Francis and John the Baptist was part of the collection sold to Catherine the Great in 1779 and is mentioned in the Hermitage until 1861 when it disappeared. It reappeared at the Gatchina where it was attributed as a copy by Raffaello Motta but now it is described as by an unknown sixteenth-century Italian artist.

There are four paintings of still life described as fruit. All are situated over the doorways in the room. Their attribution in Horace's inventory is Michael Angelo Campidoglio (Michele Pace del Campidoglio) Still life with Grapes [two pieces] (fig.61) and Still life with Melon [two fruit peices] (fig.62). Two of these paintings are currently in the Hermitage, although they have moved around quite a bit since their purchase. Both pictures are approximately 98cm x 134cm. These paintings are mentioned in the letters of Alexey Musin-Puskin in regard to the sale of the collection to the Empress.¹²⁴ The two paintings by Campidoglio are beautifully executed, in particular in the areas of flesh shown bursting open offering a glimpse of the succulent interior. What is unclear from the Hermitage is the whereabouts of the corresponding pieces mentioned in the Aedes. This pair was for many years displayed at the Gatchina with no reference to their inclusion in the Walpole collection, and it was thought that all four were lost. The other two may be within the Russian collections having lost their links to Walpole, but currently unlocated.

¹²⁴ Musin-Puskin Collection (1772-1774). Aleksei Semenovich Musin-Puskin, Russian Ambassador to Empress Catherine II, 25th Sept/6 Oct 1772. <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/ssees-archives/mus2.htm>

Withdrawing Room

The contrast in detail between the Ware drawings and the annotated Aedes in relation to the description of the artworks displayed in each room is stark. This is clearly demonstrated when comparing the Ware plan of Lady Catherine Walpole's drawing room with the Aedes annotated list. The drawing lists just six artworks displayed on the walls of the room, however Horace's annotated list consists of twenty-four artworks. Although attributions to some of the artworks have changed, it is still possible to identify nineteen of these artworks within the Hermitage and family collection including family portraits, landscapes, pastels by Rosalba and pictorial images of peasant life. Andrew Moore's assessment of Lady Walpole's taste in artwork and curation was that it was not designed as a way of identifying her status in town but created to indulge her pleasure in experiencing the artworks in her private apartments.¹²⁵ A catalogue list by Vertue produced for the sale of her possessions after her death, describes it as an eclectic mix of old masters, family portraits, landscapes and what are described as 'limnings' - probably of Lady Walpole herself - which give no indication of size, description or provenance.¹²⁶ The word limning was the contemporary term for miniatures in the Tudor and Stuart period so these pictures were probably tiny images small enough to be held in the hand. The sale catalogue includes artworks to be sold from several of her homes and gives a tentative glimpse into her personal taste and eclectic choices. These possessions, which show little to no regard to social standing, seem to predominantly focus on creativity and family ties. (Appendix II p5).

¹²⁵ Moore, A. *'The Collection as Edifice'* A Capital Collection Houghton and the Hermitage (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 21

¹²⁶ *A Catalogue of the late dwelling house, in Dover-Street, St James' late in the possession of the Right Honourable 'The Lady Walpole', deceased... at the said House in Dover-Street, St James', on Tuesday the 28th, and Wednesday the 29th April 1741, ... Catalogues may have had Gratis at the place of sale, and at Mr Cock's, in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden, Saffron Waldon Museum, Essex.* Other properties were involved in this sale and Mr Cock may have been eliding collections together. The sale was advertised in the Daily Advertiser, no. 3192 (14th April 1741) Joseph Friedman.

The catalogue of her artworks is interesting as it shows Lady Walpole seems to have been more interested in the aesthetic qualities of the artworks displayed within her apartments rather than a strict adherence to the perceived quality of fashionability. This is not to say that she was not aware of the impact that her collection had on visitors and their quality, but she seems less inclined to 'curate' her collection thematically as Walpole may have done, and relied more on an eclectic mix of hanging. This is interesting to see as an example of the male/female space. The rooms occupied by Walpole, particularly those deemed to be public rooms, look to have been curated to enhance Walpole's position both as a collector but more importantly as a sign of his cultural and social education. Lady Walpole's private/public rooms, particularly her withdrawing room, were principally female spaces and therefore adhered to a different, though maybe not subservient codification with a predominance of family portraiture.

Bedchamber

The final room in the enfilade is Walpole's bedchamber. This is the only room in which both the paintings and colour are referenced in handwritten notation on Isaac Ware's drawing circa.1735, describing the bed chamber as having walls 'hung with red damask.' The design specification is significant as it is the only one that offers a complete match of artworks with *Aedes*, and a partial indication of the internal look of the room in Downing Street determined by the conventions of architectural drawing. Ware indicates that the room was to be dressed in Red Damask, and from Horace's account of 1736, we know that there were just four paintings adorning the walls in this room.¹²⁷ The main feature would likely have been the bed but no further details of its design or position in the room are firm (there is a small dotted line

¹²⁷ Walpole, H. Horace Walpole's copy with his marginal annotations and corrections; 2nd edn. *Aedes Walpolianae* or, *A description of the collection of the pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*. (London: John Hughes, 1742). Held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

on the Ware drawing which may indicate the placement of a bed but this does not appear to be in the same hand as the other features in the drawing although it is a fairly convincing indication of the bed's position). The fabric design and quality would closely equate to that supplied for Houghton. This is borne out by the evidence of a paid invoice from Thomas Roberts to Walpole dated the 24th April 1729, which includes entries for caffoy silk used in several of the main rooms of the house at Houghton, and includes lengths of red caffoy for the Saloon which are still in situ. It is therefore possible to extrapolate and visualise the fabrics that may have been used at Downing Street for the bedchamber.¹²⁸ Manufactured in northern Italy, Caffoy, a cut velvet fabric made of a hard wearing base thread such as wool or cotton was cross woven with silk to create dramatically patterned damask cut pile velvets, utilised in wall hangings, drapery and furnishings.¹²⁹ (fig.63)

From this limited information, the design of Walpole's bedchamber can be interpreted as being closely associated with those of Houghton Hall. The success of the interior design at Houghton could be viewed as inspiration for Downing Street. The scheme utilises the use of stretched fabric hung directly onto the wall as a foil for artworks which had been used in Italy for many years but was a relatively new concept in interior design in Britain. Kent may have observed this style of decoration while living in Italy. On Kent's return to England he was able to secure several small commissions which allowed him to use this new style. Notably working with the patronage of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, he secured the commissions for several interior redesigns of 'power houses' - the London residencies of

¹²⁸ Houghton RB.1.G4

¹²⁹ Rosati, Maria Ludovica. *The language of Silk, Types, Patterns and Colours*. English edition of the exhibition catalogue: Textiles and the Wealth in 14th century Florence. Wool, Silk, Painting (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze, 5 December 2017 - 18 March 2018), Florence 2019, p81

leading politicians and court figures. His designs encompassed all aspects of the room including picture frames, door surrounds, fireplaces and furnishings.¹³⁰

The concept of decoration and artworks to be displayed as one integrated decorative scheme is an interesting point discussed by Timothy Mowl in his autobiography of Kent. He states when visiting Burlington House after its restoration in 1999 that; "it is the 'gusto-italiano' that Kent was brought over to create; [] but that the effect is cold, expensive, tasteful and unmoving, like Campbell's architecture, but the strangest features are the empty frames. They cry out for paintings, lively and readily accessible."¹³¹ This observation suggests that Kent imagined the scheme with artworks specifically envisaged within the design. Kent's drawings for the interiors of Chiswick include artworks as part of the decorative scheme.¹³² This is also demonstrated by the inclusion of key works of art as his preferred choices within the schematic diagrams he produced for the rooms both at Houghton, and also for Downing Street. The drawings provide evidence of the linking of utility and artworks intrinsic to the conceived final design and essential to how Walpole and Kent's vision for the building is perceived.

Walpole's choice of interior decoration for his bedchamber used the colour red which had, until this point, been exclusively a colour for the State Bedchamber. As can be observed within other aristocratic houses, the use of red was strictly limited to use in rooms designed for the monarch's occupation. Although these rooms over time have been redecorated, state beds from the period still survive with their original hangings. Examples of these can be found in Temple Newsam, Leeds, the Queen Anne State Bed from Hinton House, Somerset

¹³⁰ Weber, S. *William Kent, Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014) p1-9

¹³¹ Mowl, T. *William Kent, Architect, Designer, Opportunist* (London: Pimlico, 2007) p85-86

¹³² Kent, William. *Designs of Inigo Jones 1727*

<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77341/the-designs-of-inigo-jones-print-boyle-richard-3rd/>

dating from c.1710, and at Dunham Massey where the State Bed dates from 1685.¹³³ As a symbol of power it was used as part of a ritualised performance. Designed to emphasise the privilege of those courtiers, statesmen and guests who had the fortune to be allowed into the presence of the monarch, its use underpinned the power of the monarch through the intimate personal access allowed. Like a throne, the state bed became an emblem symbolising where the monarch actually ruled. The creation of a State Bedchamber within the English country house setting became a prerequisite in the design for a visual climax to an enfilade or Great Apartment.¹³⁴ The origins of the enfilade and state bedchamber at its culmination stemmed from the re-establishment of the monarchy in 1666 and its need to reassert personal power.¹³⁵ It is therefore fascinating to note that Walpole created, to all intents and purposes, his own 'State Bedchamber' within the walls of Downing Street. There is no evidence in the papers linked to Downing Street to indicate that this room was to be used for anything other than for Walpole's person, and therefore his design and choice of colour scheme for the room is significant in what it demonstrates to the viewer. Positioned back from the sightline of the doorway to maintain its privileged status, the bedchamber was the culmination of the processional route. Taking into consideration the design Kent produced for Houghton Hall, which included four bedchambers on the piano nobile, the bed in Downing Street would have been similar. (fig.64) The design is likely to have been a standing bed with red damask hangings and the matching windows drapes. Sitting alongside would have been a set of matching moveable chairs, footstools and tables, mirrors and candle stands. Unfortunately there is no evidence that anything was designed specifically for Downing Street but further information was unearthed concerning the interior furnishings which will be addressed later in the section.

¹³³ Pastoreau, M. *Red: The History of a Colour*. (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017) p70-79

¹³⁴ Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979) p115-118

¹³⁵ Ibid p121-122

Walpole's use of the colour red within his bedchamber is of great significance when considered within the ritualised protocols of the period. Pastoureau states that the display of wealth through objects is a 'self-fashioning of identity'.¹³⁶ Alexandra Shepard argues that the publicly perceived value of a man's chattels was integral to the perception of that individual in terms of all aspects pertaining to social position, integrity and credit worthiness.¹³⁷ Land and buildings were seen as desirable but in the context of wealth and credit eligibility, the assessment was principally derived with reference to the capital value of moveable possessions. This is demonstrated in the records of the Church Courts of the period, where the evaluation of wealth is described.¹³⁸ Both these concepts can be seen in the economic factors implicit within the furnishings of Downing Street which are representative and can be directly attributed to Walpole's wealth and position. Combined with his choice of the colour red, the ambience of the finished room can be linked directly to its association with precedence and power and by inference, his desire to elicit influence.¹³⁹ How much access was granted by Walpole as Prime Minister to the bedchamber is unknown, but the fact that this room was created so sumptuously is compelling in the argument that it was designed with the idea of an audience at its centre.

The paintings that Walpole chose to hang in his bedchamber are also of significance, particularly when only four paintings are listed within the drawing by Isaac Ware and the annotation made by Horace in his copy of Aedes. The largest picture within the scheme is a portrait of Walpole in full hunting dress with hounds, situated within parkland with a

¹³⁶ Pastoureau, M. *Red: The History of a Color* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016) p66-80

¹³⁷ Shepard, A. *Accounting For Oneself, Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).p37

¹³⁸ Ibid p38-39

¹³⁹ Kwallek, Nancy, Carol M. Lewis, and Ann S. Robbins. "Effects of Office Interior Color on Workers' Mood and Productivity." *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 66, no. 1 (February 1988): 123–28. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pms.1988.66.1.123>.

collection of riders in the background by John Wootton c.1725. (fig.65) The other three paintings in the room are all of animal scenes. In Horace's notation he attributes them as Fowls and Dog by Craddock, Fowls by Bagdan and a 'du Porte' Cats and Fowls which may indicate that this was a charcoal or pencil drawing but there is no reference to an artist's name. Although extensive research has been done to locate these paintings within the Hermitage collection and with the family, they cannot be specifically identified within the collections. However, examples by Craddock (fig.66) and Bagdani (fig.67) give an insight into the quality and subject matter in relation to the original artworks curated for the room.

The hunting portrait has many visual vocabularies which demonstrate Walpole's status and wealth. It could also be interpreted as a display of service to the Crown. Although his outfit is practical, it also displays gold frogging, lace cuffs and collar. The picture shows him as Ranger of Richmond Park, an honour bestowed by the King. While the role encompassed management of the park and provision of deer for hunting, Walpole also had unfettered access to the park and was allowed to reside at White Lodge, which had been built by George II as a hunting lodge and later, official Ranger residence. By commissioning a portrait of himself within a hunting portrait, Walpole associated himself with masculine virtue, loyalty to the crown and political power, a juxtaposition of man versus beast, animal instinct against intentional human violence.

Amy Freund discusses that the commissioning of male portraiture within this conception is a testament to the sitter's and the artists' aspirations.¹⁴⁰ Freund asserts that the hunting portrait is a form of elite selfhood which emphasised virility, personal sovereignty and animal instincts. It is clear that Walpole was displaying himself as the country landed gentleman.¹⁴¹ However,

¹⁴⁰ Freund, A. *Sexy Beasts: The Politics of Hunting Portraiture in Eighteenth Century France* <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.12413> published 2019 Accessed doi:10.1111/1467-8365.12413.

¹⁴¹ Freund, Amy. 'Sexy Beasts: The Politics of Hunting Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century France'. *Art History* 42, no. 1 (2019): 40–67. Accessed doi:10.1111/1467-8365.12413.

unlike his contemporaries, there is no hint of Houghton in the background scene or any allusion to his famous art collection. The painting does however show his dominance over the figures and the landscape which could signify his own desire to dominate man and country. Hunting was a privilege of the nobility, and with Walpole's recent successes in his political life, the portrait could be seen as a symbol of his steady hand in the face of a national crisis.¹⁴² The portrait can also be read as a fresh interpretation of the military portrait, expressing a new way of formulating male authority. The cowering dogs, the whip, foliage and the country estate are analogies to the bookcases, drapery and chattels of the established portrait style, and it can therefore also be interpreted as a portrayal of Walpole's career intentions and ambitions. The visual interpretation of this painting alongside its deliberate inclusion and dominance within the bedchamber again re-emphasising how Walpole used visual signifiers to fashion his narrative to the audience. The other three paintings described by Horace are a 'du porte' or crayon drawing of Cat & Fowls, an oil painting by Caddock called Dog & Fowls, and a final painting by Jacob Bogdani called Birds. There is no evidence of these paintings' whereabouts at present. Further research into the private sales in 1748 and 1751 may provide some further insight into their current locations. Currently there is no archivist at Houghton Hall so access to the family papers is impossible, but for further research, this would offer a route to see if any additional sale papers exist.

When considering Walpole's choice of colour in this room, it is particularly relevant to address his understanding of its relevance within society. The use of red, crimson and scarlet had a long history within the Church as a signifier through its association with fire, blood, fertility and life force. It also had direct links to majesty and honorific status through Sumptuary laws. For many cultures, red was the only colour of worth and was used socially

¹⁴² Kemp, B. *Sir Robert Walpole*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976) p47

to distinguish societal position.¹⁴³ Sumptuary laws throughout Europe dictated the colour, quality and type of cloth an individual was allowed to wear. By inference this was indicative of status and identity within the hierarchy of society.¹⁴⁴ Red was restricted to those only of the highest birth and nobility and this elevated the colour's status to the most highly prized colour within world cultures.¹⁴⁵ With links with religious sacrifice,¹⁴⁶ sumptuary laws and monarchy,¹⁴⁷ the inclusion of red into interior decoration takes on huge significance. The appearance of cochineal based pigments in large quantities during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century to the weavers of Europe caused an explosion in the production of luxury crimson fabrics that developed a new style of Italian interior decoration. Walpole's decision to replicate this in his decoration would not have been possible only a few years previously. It would have been seen as dissension and an assault on the crown from someone of his status without his ambitious assent through society and intimacy with the Hanoverian monarchs.

Alison Wright's argument explains the placing of a venerated painting on a wall hanging is not incidental, but in direct relation to its reverence.¹⁴⁸ The more luxurious the hanging, the more highly prized the artwork. This honorific concept of framing a prized painting or object is addressed by Wright in her discussion of the 'cloth of honour'.¹⁴⁹ Wright argues that textile hangings hung behind prized paintings for honorific purposes became apparent at the end of the sixteenth-century in Italy, as an extension of its use as a backdrop within honorific depictions in religious artworks. Wall furnishings of silk or gilded tinted leather were being used in Italian villas to provide an opulent backdrop to their owners' finest collections. Wright

¹⁴³ Pastoureau, M. *Red: The History of a Color* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016) p12

¹⁴⁴ Ibid p94

¹⁴⁵ Ibid p58-62

¹⁴⁶ Ibid p63

¹⁴⁷ Bucklow, S. *Red, The Art and Science of a Colour*. (London: Reaktion Books Limited, 2016) 49-50

¹⁴⁸ Wright, A. *Frame Work; Honour and Ornament in Italian Renaissance Art* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019) p151-171

¹⁴⁹ Ibid p154

discusses a report of the villa at Mantua of Francesco Gonzaga where he describes recently setting “his gilded frame by Andrea Montegna against a wall covering of crimson satin that was itself surrounded by golden borders”.¹⁵⁰ With the advent of the Grand Tour, British aristocracy became fascinated with the art, architecture and culture of Italy. Aristocratic young men of wealthy families used the trip as an educational closure and exposure to this classical style which was seen as part of their rite of passage to adulthood. Many spent their time collecting art, sculpture and commissioning portraits of themselves to take home. The portrait of Andrew Fountaine and friends within the Tribuna at the Uffizi as background shows how important Italian architecture and interiors influenced them. (fig.68)

This is particularly interesting when taking into consideration Walpole's choice of artworks displayed in his bedchamber. Although they have some material value, it is their intrinsic value that can be concluded is the most significant in their curation. By placing the paintings on the red damask canopy, Walpole followed the ritualised activity introduced to him through Kent of the European practice of displaying artworks on a background of luxurious fabric. None of the artists holds an especially high position within the art world, particularly when taking into account the wealth of old masters Walpole had within his collection, and yet they obviously held significance to him. Both the concept drawings and Horace's notation in the Aedes identify the same artworks, showing that Walpole intended these artworks to hang in this room from the outset. The design of the furnishings, the ritualistic concepts and meaning evident in the decoration of the room would point to the curation of other more illustrious artworks being displayed. It can only be concluded that there is another reason why these particular scenes appealed to Walpole and that they are part of an ongoing narrative which alludes to his character, intent and ambition.

¹⁵⁰ Wright, A. *Frame Work, Honour and Ornament in Italian Renaissance Art*. (London: Yale University Press, 2019) p152

Thomas Roberts Esq.

The Houghton archive contains a nineteen-page document outlining expenditure on fabrics, furniture and soft furnishings billed to Walpole covering a period from 1728 to 1729, and refers to items to be produced and delivered to several of Walpole's residences. This includes fabrics for Houghton Hall, which at this point was in partial construction under the direction of William Kent, alongside several other London properties which Walpole was renting or owned (Appendix II). The document makes it apparent that items listed for the Grosvenor Street property matched almost perfectly the description in Ware's drawings for Walpole's bedchamber in Downing Street. The inventory included an extensive set of drapes, valances, bed curtains, upholstered furniture, bed coverings and quilts in red damask for 'my Lord's Bedchamber at Grosvenor' which correspond to the noted description. Previous reading of the Ware drawings assumed that they referred to new commissions for soft furnishings to be hung in Downing Street. But what if this was not the case? These items were newly commissioned for the Grosvenor Street property in 1729, but there is no reason to believe that these same items could not have been moved to Downing Street at a later date when it became Walpole's primary residence.

It is clear from much of the correspondence that the practice of removing possessions from one property to another was widely conducted. The contents of the bill from Thomas Roberts also collaborates with this practice. Most of the items listed are for the removal and rehanging or reupholstering of existing items to facilitate their use in a different location. Horace himself, in a letter to his friend in 1742, discussed how every item was removed and transported from 10 Downing Street to Houghton on Walpole's resignation. What if the furnishings at 10 Downing Street were part of the order placed with Thomas Roberts in 1729 and transferred when he took up residence in 1735? If this is the case, the document would

include details of much of the furnishings and furniture temporarily housed at 10 Downing Street during his tenure as Prime Minister, giving a clearer picture of the interior furnishings of the house during his residency.

On taking this stance, there are several entries in the bill which fulfil the criteria for the descriptions and configuration of 10 Downing Street. The bill refers to furnishings ordered and supplied for several London properties which include: Bartholomew Close, Arlington Street, Pell Mell (Pall Mall), Chelsea and Grosvenor Street. There are also references to fabric purchases and furnishings for Houghton. Several entries correspond directly to elements that fit the description for 10 Downing Street. Page 16 of the document outlines the following for Grosvenor Street:

Page 16 For My Lord's Bedchamber

For 135 yards ½ of Fine Crimson Genoa Damask used in a Bed, two pair of window Curtains and Chairs *108 pounds 8 shillings*

For a Strong Wainscot Bedstead with double sacking bottom wainscot slope laths with hinges and counterpane laths and two short twisted feet posts *2 pounds 8 shillings*

For a large Pedement Cornich and a wooden Vallien with fringes and also a set of base mouldings with pedestal feet *2 pounds 17 shillings*

For Silk thred, glew and work making Crimson Damask Bed with a Counterpane Compleat *5 pounds 5 shillings*

For Fine Duck linen to line the Head Cloth and Buckram to the Bases *8 Shillings*

For a Fine Flanders Bed tick board'd and bound and Bolster filled with fine sweet Swan Downe *9 pounds 15 shillings*

For a Pair of Vermillion pillow Cases filled with Sweet Swan Downe *1 pound 10 shillings*

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| <i>For a fine large Dimothy Mattress tufted with Sleeve Silk</i> | <i>2 pounds 10 shillings</i> |
| <i>For a Fine Holland Quilte neatly Tufted</i> | <i>1 pound 14 shillings</i> |
| <i>For a pair of the largest softest blankets</i> | <i>2 pounds</i> |
| <i>For a large under Blanket</i> | <i>14 shillings</i> |
| <i>For a fine large white callico Quilt neatly quilted</i> | <i>3 pounds 10 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Large Bright Rings tapes and silk thread and work making two pairs of Crimson Damask window curtians being lined</i> | <i>1 pound 4 shillings</i> |
| <i>For 35 yds of fine Crimson Tammy used to line two pair curtains of the backside of the Valliens</i> | <i>3 pounds 10 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Buckram silk thred and work making two large window Valliens with returns</i> | <i>12 shillings</i> |
| <i>For two paths and holdfasts to fix the Valliens</i> | <i>3 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Two bright polished window rods with pulleys and 4 large spring hooks</i> | <i>12 shillings</i> |
| <i>For 20 yds of Crimson silk line used to the window Curtains</i> | <i>16 shillings 8d</i> |
| <i>For 14 yds of small Crimson silk line for the Bed</i> | <i>5 shillings 10d</i> |
| <i>For two large brass pulleys for the window line</i> | <i>1 shilling</i> |
| <i>For two pair of fine bright lacquered brass window hooks with joints</i> | <i>8 shillings</i> |
| <i>For small brass Rings and hooks to hang the Curtains</i> | <i>8d</i> |
| <i>For a large Tassel and two brass hooks to receive the waste line</i> | <i>7 shillings 6d</i> |
| <i>For Silk loopings and 4 small Tassels to hook back the Bed Curtains</i> | <i>15 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Six Walnuttee Chair Frames stuffed back and seat with a carved shell on the feet and beed around the seat, girls bottoms curl'd hair, linnen to line, work stuffing and covering with Crimson Damask, Corded and Laced</i> | <i>9 pounds 12 shillings</i> |

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>For a Walnuttee Easy Chair frame, girls bottoms curl'd hair, linnen to line, work stuffing and covering with Crimson Damask, Corded and Laced</i> | <i>3 pounds 15 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Ticken to line, fine Feather to fill the cushion</i> | <i>15 shillings</i> |
| <i>For Silk thred and work making the Cases for the Six Chairs lined with linnen</i> | <i>1 pound 1 shilling</i> |
| <i>For Silk thred and working making the Easy Chair and Cushion Cases lined with Linnen</i> | <i>10 shillings 6d</i> |
| <i>For 15 yds ½ of linen used to line the chair cases</i> | <i>11 shillings 7 ½ d</i> |
| <i>For 4 yds of Crimson Mantua used to the back of the Chairs and to the Bed</i> | <i>1 pound 6 shillings</i> |
| Total | 166 pounds 17 shillings 9d |

(Retail price index equivalent to this is approximately 330,000 pounds today)

The description of the bedchamber furnishings corresponds to the detail offered in the notes of Isaac Ware's drawing for Downing Street. It seems logical rather than going to the expense of ordering new furnishings to assume that Walpole utilised these same furnishings ordered in 1729 for his London home at Grosvenor Street, and transferred them to Downing Street when he took up residence in 1735. It is clear that Walpole was regularly utilising existing furnishings and adapting them to fit other properties. This is demonstrated by many of the entries, not just taking furnishings down, but cleaning and rehangng and adapting existing items to fit different buildings. The entry on page 12 of the bill dated 1st November 1728 indicates this:

'For work unzipping a pair of curtains, adding half a breadth of Mohair to each and lining, new binding and dying them and Ringing them again
10 Shillings'

Walpole utilised money from the Treasury to create a spectacular home decorated with taste and decorum for the King's First Minister. His existing furnishings were of excellent quality and therefore there was no reason not to re-utilise them when moving to Downing Street. As is documented, both he and Lady Walpole had purchased exquisite furnishings for their residences in London. The bill outlines furnishings including yellow Caffoy curtains in the drawing room at Bartholomew Close, a large Persian carpet at Arlington Street, flowered lace curtains for lady Walpole's dressing room in Arlington Street, green coloured linen window curtains for her bedchamber, other printed linen bedchamber curtains at Chelsea. Further to this there were several sets of matching furniture including settees, chairs, beds, valances and bed curtains, quilts, bedlinen of multiple sets and all the additional items of porcelain, crockery and household items that the family would have amassed. The list of furnishings contained in Thomas Roberts' bill only amounted to a fraction of the furniture and furnishings held within the properties occupied by the Walpoles', and it seems only natural to assume that they would have moved their most desirable and fashionable furnishings to their new home in Downing Street. The bill dated April 24th 1729 from Thomas Roberts to Walpole is one of the key pieces of evidence of the interior schemes that not only was Walpole employing at Houghton Hall, but throughout many of his residences and offers evidence of interior decorative schemes for similar townhouses of this period.

From this document there is evidence to confirm several hypotheses. It is clear that there is an attitude to interior decoration that indicates a policy of reuse and re-purpose rather than a disposable culture. There is the creation of new furniture and soft furnishings, but predominantly, the document lists comprehensive evidence of a culture where existing furniture is recovered, curtains are re-purposed, rehung and reconfigured. Furniture is predominantly stripped back, reupholstered and re-covered with new fabrics, including

scatter cushions and removable covers. In particular, it is clear that there are marked similarities between a set of newly commissioned furnishings ordered for Walpole's bedchamber in 'finest Crimson Genoa Damask to be used in a Bed, two pairs of window curtains and chairs' at Grosvenor which correspond with the design scheme noted for Downing Street. This scheme does not follow any design evident for Houghton Hall.

The breadth of detail within the description of the furnishings gives an unparalleled insight into the luxury afforded to this scheme. It also makes it very clear that the overall design fits directly with the use of Italian caffoy as is seen at Houghton Hall under the direction of William Kent, and that the scheme utilises the exclusive use of one fabric, the crimson silk damask as the encompassing aesthetic. This is a new common practice adopted by the 1720's.¹⁵¹ It is also interesting to note the re-use of the suite of chairs which are clearly described as having carved shells on the feet. This is a recurring design motif seen exclusively in the furniture at Houghton Hall, Norfolk but the description does not match the design for the chairs and settees in the Houghton Saloon, nor any of the other furnishings that are accessible. (fig.69) The furniture for the Saloon at Houghton has the shell motif carved within the centre of the seat rail, and not on the feet as described for the furniture on Thomas Roberts' invoice. The central element of the Green State Bed designed by Kent for Walpole at Houghton also consists of a 'Venus Shell' and although now part of the V&A's collection, is on long term loan and on view in the Green State Bedchamber at Houghton, alongside a suite of furniture made by Thomas Roberts dated 1732. (fig.64)

¹⁵¹ Thornton, P. *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920*. (London: Cassell & Co, 2000) p100-103

Colour schemes for several properties that are included in the document recur in unrelenting frequency. Four dominant colours, red, yellow, green and blue are noted in Thomas Roberts' descriptions. This use of colour, and in particular its association with utility, is demonstrated repeatedly throughout. Yellow predominantly features in rooms associated with female occupation. Yellow drawing room curtains and yellow mohair curtains and upholstery are associated with the Parlour at 'Pell Mell' and are complemented with '112 yards of all silk flower'd lace'. Also at this residence there are two sets of window curtains made of yellow camblet alongside flower'd lace for my Lady's Dressing Room.¹⁵² The scheme also includes the use of yellow camlet to cover six chair cushions. Yellow is also referenced for use in mohair bed curtains, both the creation of new but also more enlightening, the removal, unzipping and wet cleaning of existing curtains, turning linings, adding embroidery and rehanging. Reference is also provided to 10 yards of green cover'd lace used to make cushions and two pairs of linen window curtains: 'for my Lady's Bed Chamber at Pell Mell. Work unzipping your Valliens and Cornishes with Glew, making and binding Valliens, making of chair cases of linnen. 17 ½ yards of green Shalloon used to line the curtains, putting them up at Chelsea and wateridge'. This passage in the bill references the moving and reupholstery of a suite of chairs and settees, all to be recovered in linen and transported from Pell Mell to Chelsea. Yellow mohair also features in the design for the bedchamber at Grosvenor Street, where furniture and some beds are 'put up'. A further reference to my Lady's bedchamber notes 288 yards of yellow cover'd lace used to the chairs, hangings and window curtains. In many cases throughout the document there is a reference to lace. Evidence leads to this referring to what we would now recognise as frogging or fringing.

¹⁵² Lebeau, Caroline. *Fabrics: the Decorative Art of Textiles*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994) p97

From the Thomas Roberts Bill for the items purchased by Walpole, it is clear that these furnishings were predominantly destined for use in his London homes, although other items in the summary are clearly destined for Houghton. (It does include a bill for 64 days work by 2 men at Houghton and going and coming at 2s 6d per day, unfortunately with no clue as to what these days work entailed). This list of items was not solely for one property but destined for multiple houses, some occupied, some still under construction with no coherent structure to order other than date. There also seemed to be little or no preference of supply allocated. Thomas Roberts was offering a comprehensive range of services including retail supply, manufacture, cleaning, re-conditioning and portage for properties both in London and Norfolk. The document provides an unparalleled insight into mercantile trade during the early eighteenth-century, including fabrication practices and a detailed insight into the fashions and fabrics being utilised within the fashionable homes of the aristocracy.¹⁵³ It is also a wonderful insight into the belongings of the Walpole family. The great wealth of furnishings listed in this inventory gives a new insight into the early eighteenth-century home. Not only is there a huge material value to the items but it is clear that furnishings were viewed as part of a gentleman's wealth.

Many of the inventories that we have access to in historical research, such as the Ham House Inventory, were created at the end of a person's life for probate purposes, and give us a snapshot only of the ownership at the end of their lives. What is so special about the Thomas Roberts inventory is that it is current, describing in minute detail the particulars of domestic trade and an understanding of how these chattels were utilised and then re-utilised within the fashionable eighteenth-century townhouse. The grand interiors at Houghton were the first in which Kent used the technique of dressing the walls with Caffoy, a departure from the

¹⁵³ Thornton, P. *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920*. (London: Cassell & Co, 2000) p104-105

previous design technique of wainscoting which was widely used by Vanbrugh alongside other architects of the period. The interior decoration advanced by Kent under the patronage of Lord Burlington and Walpole is concurrent with the building of Chiswick House between 1726 -1729 and Houghton Hall 1722-32. Both houses show a clear use of damask, velvet and caffoy to cover the walls as a foil for art collections. There is also an indication of a correlation between the colours associated with each room linked to their utility, which is something that has been in evidence within the homes of the British aristocracy for many years, but has not been addressed academically until recently. This association of decorative colour and utility could be explored within further research.

In 1742 Walpole resigned as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although he still had the support of the Monarch, Walpole had lost the confidence of the Commons. He took his place in the Lords as the newly confirmed Earl of Orford and so began a transformative phase in the history of the art collection and his occupation of 10 Downing Street. A new gallery was created at Houghton for the extensive collection that would be leaving London, and his energies were poured into creating this fitting home for the Walpole Collection. The efforts involved in the packing up of their London lives was extensive and is summed up appropriately by Horace's letter to Sir Horace Mann on the 14th July 1742. 'I am writing to you up to the ears in packing: Lord Wilmington has lent this house to Sandys, and he has given us an instant warning - We are moving as fast as possible to Siberia, Sir Robert has a house there within a few miles of the Duke of Courland - In short, child, we are all going to Norfolk, till we can get a house ready in town: all the furniture is taken down, and lying about in confusion: I look like St John in the Isle of Patmos writing revelations, and prophesying 'Woe! Woe! Woe! The Kingdom of desolation is at hand!'¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ The Duke of Courland was briefly Regent of Russia before being seized and banished to Pelym in Siberia in 1740.

The art collection was at last safely moved to its new home at Houghton Hall where a new curation of the artworks was devised and implemented to both Walpole and Horace's satisfaction. Walpole's health was also starting to fail significantly and the financial security of the family needed to be addressed. On Walpole's death in 1745, Horace was in discussion with his brother, the 2nd Earl of Orford, who too was ill. Horace found it difficult to stand by and 'see the family torn to pieces, and falling into such ruin, as I foresee; for should my brother die too soon, leaving so great a debt, so small an estate to pay it off, two great places sinking, and in a wild boy of nineteen to succeed, there would soon be an end of the glory of Houghton, which had my father proportioned more to his fortune, would probably have a longer duration.'¹⁵⁵

The significance of the art collection's removal from Downing Street to Houghton when Walpole left office at the end of his tenure was profound. In a speech given to Parliament at the prospect of its sale in 1777, John Wilkes MP on the 28th April addressed the imminent loss of the collection. He stated, 'The British Museum, Sir, has few valuable paintings, yet we are anxious to have an English school of painters. If we expect to rival the Italian, Flemish or even the French school, our artists must have before their eyes the finished works of the greatest masters. Such an opportunity, if I am rightly informed, will soon present itself. I understand that an application intended to parliament, that one of the first collections in Europe, that at Houghton, made by Walpole, of an acknowledged superiority to most in Italy, and scarcely inferior even to the duke of Orleans' in the Palais Royal at Paris, may be sold by the family. I hope it will not be dispersed but purchased by the parliament, and added to the British Museum. Such an important acquisition, the Houghton collection, would in some degree alleviate the concern, which every man of taste now feels, at being deprived of

¹⁵⁵Dukelskaya, L. *The Houghton Sale and the Fate of a Great Collection*. A Capital Collection, Houghton Hall and The Hermitage. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 60

viewing those prodigies of art, the Cartoons of the divine Raphael'. (The Raphael cartoons had been removed from display at Hampton Court in December 1763 to Buckingham Palace).¹⁵⁶

The Walpole art collection can be interpreted as a visual vocabulary of Walpole's social status and political power. Therefore, when considering his display of the artworks at 10 Downing Street, it can be considered an unspoken evocation of his worth, status and social position. This appraisal of worth in terms of goods, with reference to a person's material assets measured through a series of state-sponsored benchmarks, was implicit in the configuration of a person's social positioning. Therefore Walpole's art collection was a visible demonstration of his social status both in terms of intellectual, cultural, and more importantly, financial prosperity.

At a time when art collections of this magnitude were only viewed by a select number of invited guests, it is important to look at how and why Walpole decided to display 148 paintings from his collection at Downing Street rather than his country residence at Houghton Hall. Downing Street was not just his private sanctuary in town but a public space visited by both friend and foe. Until the discovery of the Second Edition of *Aedes*, the only source of information regarding the curation at Downing Street consisted of the depiction of works listed on the drawings by Isaac Ware, housed at the MET. (Appendix I) These drawings indicated key artworks within the Walpole collection in relation to the new design and floor plans and indicated a small number of key paintings, totalling fifty three. This information, although significant, limited our understanding but with the discovery of the more complete

¹⁵⁶ <http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/146765/1/warticle.doc> accessed 18.06.2022

list found in Horace's Aedes, it is now possible to comprehend the full significance of the curation of the collection within the house during this period.

Combining this information with the inventory supplied by Thomas Roberts of the furnishings for the Walpole family, the remarkable images produced by the document elicit a visual understanding of the creation of the interiors of their home. This primary source provides information regarding the customs of eighteenth-century decorative schemes, particularly elements of the document that detail the refurbishments undertaken to re-utilise existing items including the finer details of the reusing of curtain fabric remodelled to fit new windows. The fabric therefore must have been of particular quality that Walpole was happy to outlay further expense to re-utilise it. This is understandable within modern day practices if considered with regard to reupholstering furniture however, going to such trouble for curtain fabric is almost impossible to comprehend nowadays. The document demonstrates in the absence of physical evidence, the possible concept for schemes for the interiors of the key rooms within the building at Downing Street. It gives a glimpse into the utilisation of fabrics, furniture and particularly colour for the reimagining of Downing Street as it would have looked in 1736 when Walpole and his family first moved in. Combining this with the curation of the Walpole art collection adds to the richness of the interiors, and provides an informed reproduction of the building. It is the reception of this sumptuous interior Walpole understood and appreciated, using the display of his artworks to great effect in an authored dialogue between the curator and the viewer of the house.

Conclusion

Utilising the documents available it has been possible to recreate much of the original layout of the house recognisable to Walpole and his family. The reconfigured layout, from the front door on Downing Street along the newly installed inner passageway created to link the buildings into one cohesive structure, allowed for a processional movement that elicited a mood of sequestration, intimacy and security. At the rear, Walpole and Kent opened up the inner space to create a sumptuous lobby with Kent's stunning cantilevered staircase rising to the second floor. The working first floor with levee, dining room and study had access to the garden and allowed for formal entertaining of political and diplomatic envoys. The cantilevered staircase acted as conduit to access the second floor, allowing for more privacy for family and guests of intimate or higher social status. This in effect created two piano nobile in one house, one for political business and one for society. Walpole could happily entertain emissaries or political associates in his levee and study while Lady Walpole entertained the Ladies of the Court on the second floor. This is demonstrated by the visit of Queen Caroline shortly after the Walpoles took up residence, sitting with Lady Walpole in her withdrawing room while Walpole carried on the business of State with the Cabinet in his study.

Although much of the interior decoration of Downing Street is hypothetical, it is clear that the family routinely utilised their furnishings effectively, moving them periodically from house to house. There is no reason to believe that this was not the case at Downing Street. It is important to remember that Walpole was aware that this was a temporary occupation (although to date Walpole is still our longest serving Prime Minister), and that much of their furnishings would be removed at a later date. This seems to have been a widely adopted practice and could be seen as a hangover from the previous royal court progress. It is clear

from Horace Walpole's letter of 1742 that he was engaged in packing up boxes and carts for the long journey to Houghton. On this basis, it is reasonable to assume that the Walpoles did the same with their house in Chelsea in 1735 and packed up their belongings to move to Downing Street. This would then give a justifiable assumption that the interior decoration of the rooms at Chelsea and their other London properties can be viewed as primary sources, and give a clear indication of the probable schemes for Downing Street.

The only colour definitely identified in the MET drawings of Downing Street by Ware indicates that Walpole's bedchamber was to be decorated in red damask. This corresponds directly to the room scheme indicated in the documentation from the Walpole archive, describing the new acquisition of red damask drapes, bedlinen and reupholstered furniture destined for his bedchamber ordered on the 24th December and paid for in 1729 from Thomas Roberts. The choice made by Walpole to decorate his bedroom in red damask was a calculated one, only very close friends and family would have had the privilege of viewing this room but the inference was one of status and majesty. This was also a very costly choice as shown in the bill of sale. It therefore is reasonable to theorise that it was very likely that these same furnishings were re-utilised at Downing Street. So few of Kent's London townhouses of this period have survived, with little or no reference to their interiors or collections, that the bill of sale from Thomas Roberts is a crucial source providing evidence of the interiors of early eighteenth-century London. There are also many other indications that the design for rooms at Chelsea would be further utilised when they moved to Downing Street. Lady Walpole's bedchamber, as is traditional, was decorated in green with green covered lace (fringing or frogging) making up the curtains and cushions. Her ladyship also had silk damask yellow curtains for her saloon which also correspond directly with the colour choices made for Houghton Hall.

The rooms at Downing Street represent an important eighteenth-century prototype of functionality and design. Key spaces offer the opportunity to study how the interior design of the room and the material culture displayed within each, defined the space relative to its utility and influence on the ritualised theatre of government. The bill from Thomas Roberts reveals that in Walpole's case, and there is evidence that this is not an isolated example, the furnishing of an interior space did not rely on the excessive consumerism that seems so apparent when looking at the eighteenth-century as a whole. It offers an insight into a world where utilising existing materials and recycling was the mainstay of domestic reality, even with the rise in prosperity through colonialism and trade within the British Empire. Conspicuous consumerism and greater purchasing power seems to have been directed, in Walpole's case, to expanding his art collection and it is to this end that his efforts and money predominantly seem to have been directed. His ability to intellectually and materially compete with his political peers appealed to the masses, particularly those who had aspirations themselves. It must be remembered that many of the old aristocratic families were themselves, the beau monde of the sixteenth-century. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Walpole's use of societal ritual and material culture in the creation of the interior space at Downing Street was not an accident, but a clearly thought-out strategy to provide a visual narrative which directly spoke to the establishment. Each carefully chosen element was influence-based and adhered to an established code of behaviour that was well recognised. Both the ritualised procession through the house from entrance to inner sanctum, choice of paintings and overall ambience created for each and every audience was developed to elicit the patronage Walpole required to govern the United Kingdom. His web of influence, through fashion, education and political knowhow culminated in the relative security his premiership provided for the country during his tenure.

The material wealth demonstrated within the building argues with existing scholarship that during the eighteenth-century, the material worth of a man was fundamental to his social position and integral to his evaluation in terms of both ethical and financial standing. This argument is integral to Walpole's identity and that of the de facto Prime Minister of Great Britain. He created a particular narrative within each space in which to demonstrate his acumen and perspicacity using layers of symbolism and visual signifiers to elicit a singular narrative, critical to his desire to control parliamentary business and facilitate his political and financial aims.

During this research project it is apparent Walpole's artwork collection became his obsession and it is evident he was not averse to going into debt to finance his purchases. Once he had acquired examples of the old masters, it is interesting to see that he began to add contemporary artists to the mix. Many of these were in the form of fashionable portraits of himself and his family by Van Loo and Lely, but he was also adding female artists such as Rosalba Carriera and newly established artists such as Canaletto, all of whom were only just emerging onto the market at the latter stages of his life. By patronising these artists, not only was he exploring his newfound knowledge of connoisseurship, but also establishing himself as a doyen, influencing societal convention which governed the cultural and social standing of political figures during the eighteenth-century. The assemblage of the Prime Minister's collection at Downing Street solidified his position within the establishment and by its codifying in *Aedes Walpolianae*, Horace established his father's collection as the benchmark to which all others were compared. The modes of polite societal entertaining enacted within the property played a crucial role in shaping Walpole's public and private persona and alluded to the importance of chattels to denote status and 'majesty' through his art and architecture, but it is Walpole's art collection that would have had the biggest impact on visitors.

The house at No.10 Downing Street owes much of its success to Walpole in that he established it as the centre of British government and made it recognisable around the world. The quality of his art collection is still celebrated today, with recent exhibitions in 2003, 2013, and the most recent 'Robert Walpole and His Collection' at the Hermitage Museum from 2018 - 2019. Although much of the grandeur of the interiors that Kent and Walpole created at Downing Street have long since gone, the bones of their creation remain and can still be glimpsed in the publicity shots of today. The art collection which was held in such esteem that John Wilkes tried to persuade the government to purchase it on Walpole's death, still hangs in the Hermitage where 99 paintings of the original 279 sold to Catherine the Great in 1779 still reside.

Walpole's decision to employ the Downing Street entrance as the face of his administration conforms directly with the Vitruvian ideals of order, symmetry, propriety and economy. The facade mirrors the prosperity and stability of the State under Walpole's leadership, while the interiors reflect the wealth and cultural scholarship of the British Empire. This in turn mirrors Walpole's own passions. His administration established a stable political supremacy for the Whig party and created a successful and effective working relationship between Crown and government, while his personal passions were reflected in the sumptuous interiors. Horace wrote of Downing Street at the end of his father's administration: 'Trust me, if we fall, all the grandeur, all the envied grandeur of our house, will not cost me a sigh; it has given me no pleasure while we have it, and will give me no pain when we part with it. My liberty, my ease, and choice of my own friends and company, will sufficiently counterbalance the crowds at Downing Street. I am so sick of it all, that if we are victorious or not, I propose leaving England in the Spring....'¹⁵⁷ If Walpole's art collection can be seen as a powerful instrument

¹⁵⁷ Walpole, Horace. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Peter Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906) p103

of government, then its positioning at the heart of Westminster was not only an act of astute understanding of its potency, but established a keen awareness of its potential. By generating a mutually beneficial diplomacy through friendship, patronage and a shared passion for collecting within the British establishment, Walpole provided a means to acquire favourable appointments abroad. These positions would be used as a mechanism by which the beneficiary could assist in acquiring art treasures for the expansion of the Walpole collection. This informal arrangement of service provided continued benefit to both parties.

Walpole's legacy at 10 Downing Street has overshadowed both the physical architectural and constitutional position of the Prime Minister in Great Britain for over 280 years. By agreeing that the house should be the official residence of the First Lord and his successors at the Treasury, Walpole created a patronage to which Prime Ministers still benefit today. Although the interiors may not now reflect the vast splendour of Walpole and Kent's conception, the building still occupies the same function, that of a private home for the Prime Ministers of the UK, the formal reception and entertainment venue for visiting Heads of State and political figures, alongside its day to day functioning as the office of the Prime Minister, supporting and delivering the government's overall strategy and policy priorities. It is clear from the limited primary sources available that the creation of the interiors of No.10 Downing Street were of integral importance to the perceived status of Walpole both politically, societally and economically. The explicit display of art, culture and ritualised performance integral to visiting the property, were an imperceptible extension of the man. By understanding the requirements of society and setting the benchmarks, Walpole was embodying the characteristics of the establishment and using all his artifice to secure his position. Downing Street was both a public and private space in which both his personal and public persona would be intrinsically linked. This is something that is still evident today. The refurbishment

of the Prime Minister's flat during Boris Johnson's tenure is a case in point. The headline offence was the report that his wife had described the decor at No.10 as a 'John Lewis furniture nightmare' and that they wished to transform it into a 'high society haven' according to the society magazine, Tatler. Even today, the building and its visual impact are intrinsically linked to the private and public image of the Prime Minister. In the case of Walpole, the evidence disclosed clearly demonstrates he was fully aware of the potency of image, utilising the nuances of cultural and social rectitude to facilitate and secure his position within the British establishment.

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Images

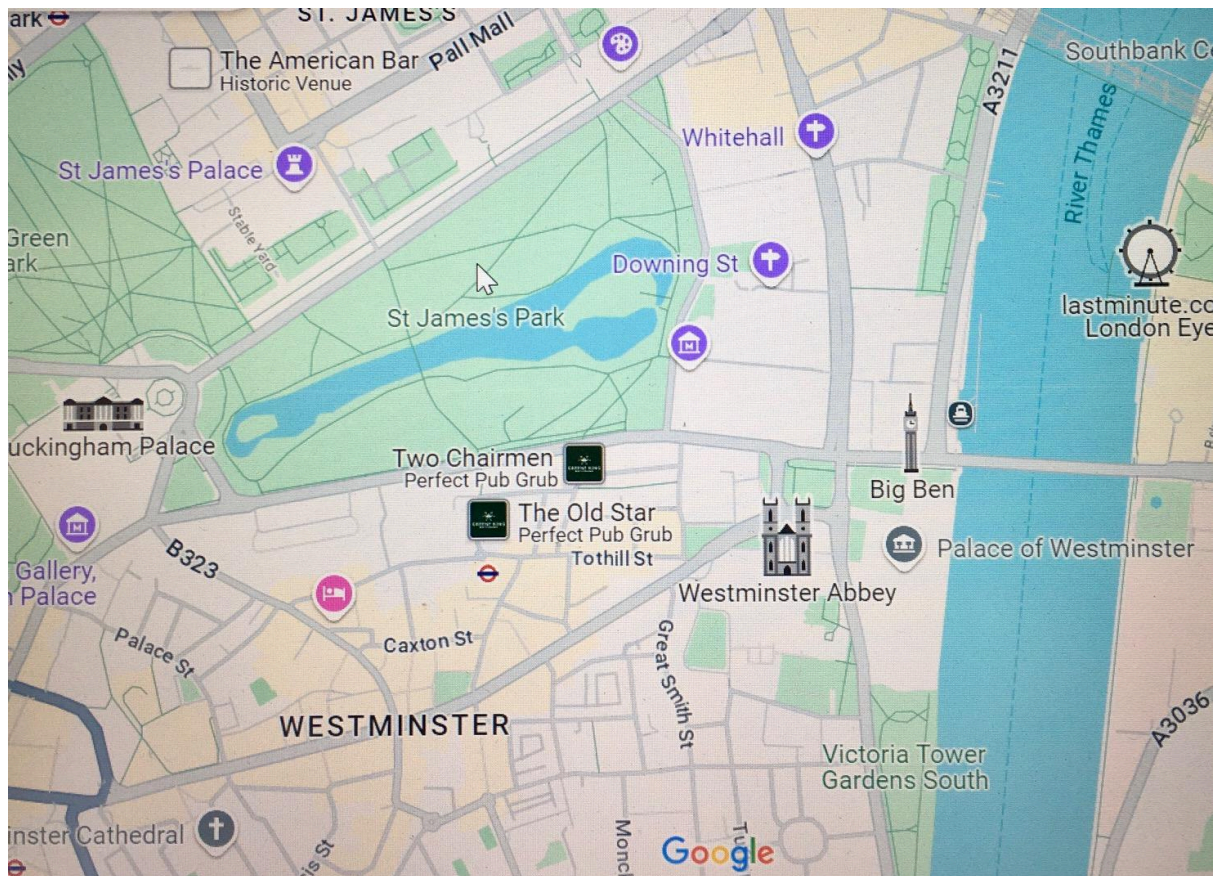


Fig. 1 London Map <https://www.google.com/maps/@51.5018281,-0.1431523,15z?entry=ttu>
accessed 14.02.2022



Fig. 2 Boitard *Taste a la Mode in the year 1735*. Engraving sheet: 11 11/16 x 17 3/16 in. (29.7 x 43.6 cm) Evan Davis (1773) Engraver after Louis-Philippe Boitard (active UK, 1734 - 1763) <https://collection.kam.illinois.edu/objects-1/info/1748> accessed 14.02.2023



Fig.3 Kent, William, 1685-1748. 1745 *Norfolk: Houghton Hall, designs for the saloon.*
https://library-artstor-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822003815493.
 Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.4 No.10 Downing Street front door. By Photo: Sergeant Tom Robinson RLC/MOD, OGL v1.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=28014902>

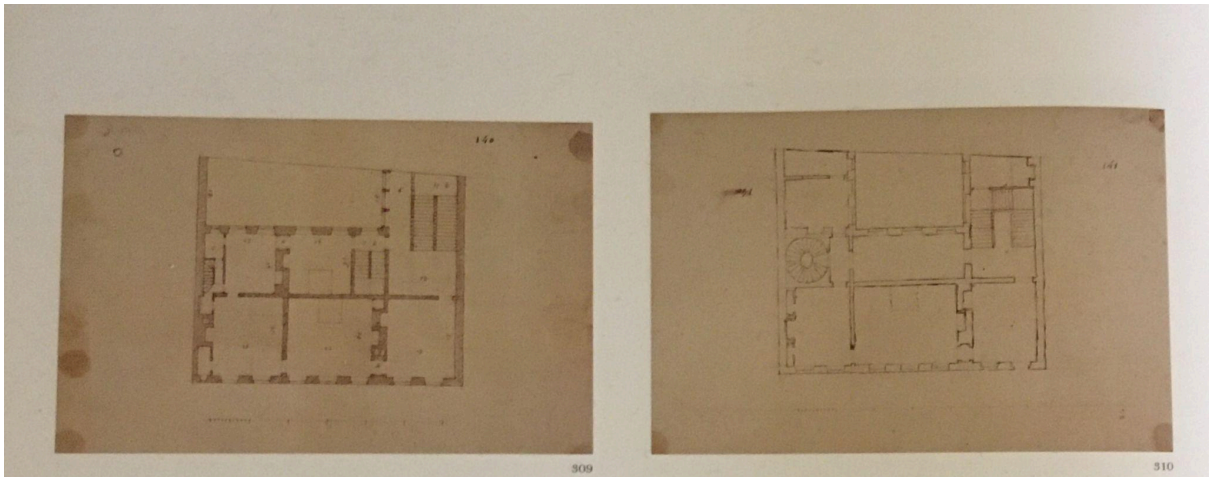


Fig.5 Sir Christopher Wren. *The Duke of Buckingham's lodgings, Whitehall, c.1674-75* College, Oxford. Geraghty, A. *Architectural Drawings of Sir Christopher Wren at All Souls College, Oxford. A Complete Collection*, Great Britain: Lund Humphries 2007



Fig.6 Bothmar House present day. Photograph courtesy of 10 Downing Street.



Fig.7 Downing Street front facade pre 1960's redevelopment.

<https://www.alamy.com/no-10-downing-street-and-the-foreign-office-london-20th-century-art-ist-image60228290.html?imageid=0F4FAED3-512F-4B3C-9EF3-46A8979347FD&p=854931&pn=1&searchId=b1cfd1735bb9ed95d48661fac970a6a4&searchtype=0>
Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.8 Rear of No.10 Downing Street showing architectural details of the original building courtesy of 10 Downing Street.



Fig.9 William Kent. Cantilever staircase with scroll Balustrade and mahogany handrail. Photograph courtesy of 10 Downing Street.



Fig.10 Hall of No. 10 Downing Street showing the inner Hallway and passage through to the lobby at the rear of the building courtesy of 10 Downing Street.



Fig.12 Rear aspect of Bothmar House showing remnant details of the Astylar indicating the original entrance to the house courtesy of 10 Downing Street..

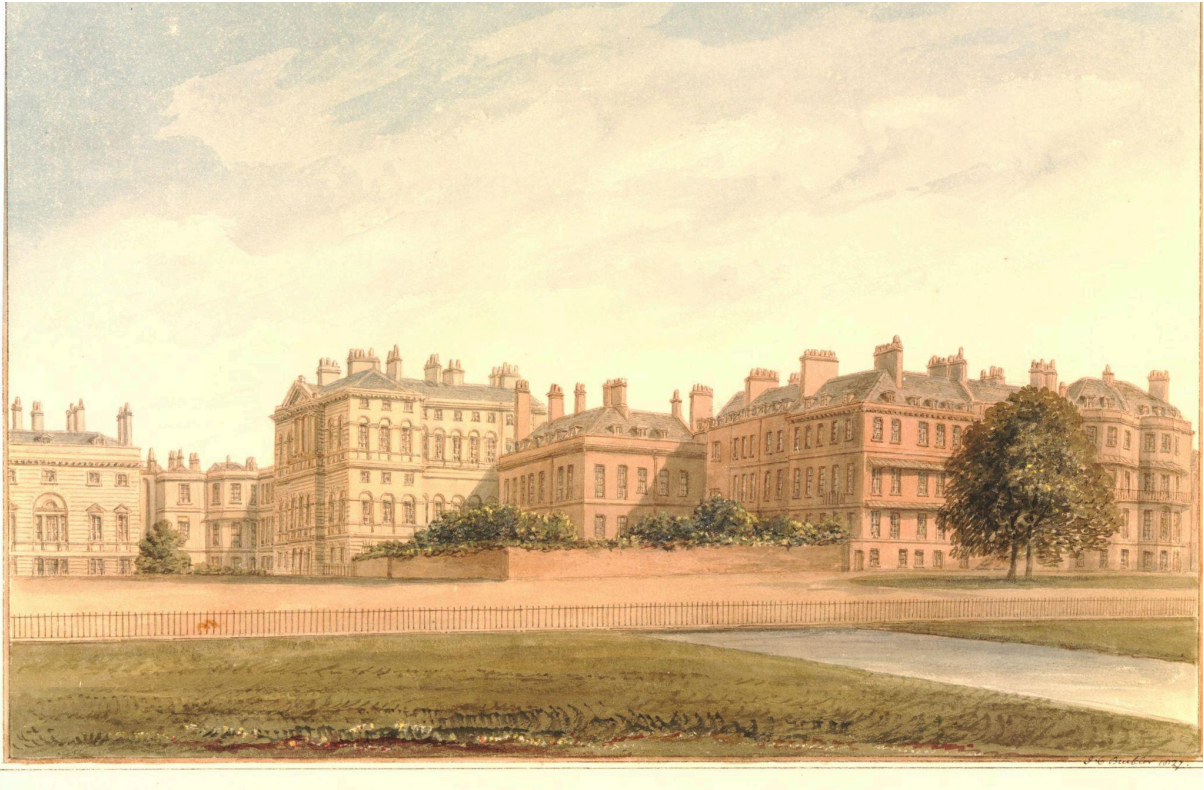


Fig.12 John Chessell Buckler. *The Treasury Building and Houses in Downing Street from St James's Park*, 1827. Watercolour on paper, 24.6cm x 36.5cm. Trustees of the British Museum. Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig. 13. Sassoferatto (Giovanni Battista Salvi) (1609-1685). *Madonna and Child* c.1650. Oil on canvas, 73cm x 60cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.14 Frans Synders (1579-1657). School of. *A Lioness and two Lions*. Oil on canvas, 171cm x 248.5cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.15 Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and workshop including Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641). *Christ House of Simon the Pharisee*. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel in 1821, 189cm x 284.55cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.16 Rosalba Carreria (1675-1757). *Apollo*. Pastel on blue paper, attached to canvas along its edges, 67cm x 2.5cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.17 Rosalda Carrieri (1675-1757). *Diana*. Pastel on blue paper, attached to canvas along its edges, 67cm x 52cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.18 Carracci, Annibale (1560-1609). *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Italy, circa 1604 Oil on canvas, diameter 82,5cm

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.19 Giulio Cesare Poccaccini (1574-1625). *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*. Oil on panel, 56 x 73cm. Hermitage
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.20 Poussin, Nicolas (1594-1665), copy after. *Landscape with Three Wayfarers* (copy). Oil on canvas, 122cm x 189cm

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.21 Jacques Courtois (Borgognone) *Landscape with Rider and view of Seashore*. Etching Published by John & Josiah Boydell, Jany. 1st. MDCCLXXXVIII. 2 vols.; 679 mm. Author's own photograph 2023.



Fig.22 John Wootton. *A Hunting Scene*. London: Published by John & Josiah Boydell, Jany. 1st. MDCCLXXXVIII. 2 vols.; 679 mm. (Broadsheet.)
Eighteenth Century Collections Online (accessed July 7, 2022).
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0106295552/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=2fd15471&pg=53>



Fig.23 Samuel Scott. (1702-1772) (Example of a Scott Landscape, current whereabouts of Walpole painting unknown). *A View of Windsor Castle*. Oil on canvas, 85 x 114 cm. Government Art Collection since 1959.



Fig.24 Circle of Annibale Carracci (1560-1609). *Sleeping Venus*, Oil on panel, 23 x 35.5cm oval. (Originally octagonal but later additions and reshaping to present day configuration). <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings> accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.25 Agostino Carracci (1557 - 1602). *Pieta with Saints*. Oil on canvas, 191 x 156cm.
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.26 Guido Reni (1575 - 1642). *St Joseph holding the Christ Child*. Oil on canvas, 98 x 82cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. USA
<https://emuseum.mfah.org/objects/36092/saint-joseph-and-the-christ-child?ctx=d939ce22328f64ff75aca5379ce0fc3b614007b3&idx=3#> accessed 20.02.2021



Fig.27 Nicolas Poussin (1594 - 1665). *Moses striking the Rock*. Oil on canvas, 122.5 x 191cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.28 Leonardo di Vinci (follower of). *Female Nude*. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 86.5 x 66.5cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.29 Elisabetta Sirani (1638 - 1665). *Cupid burning the weapons of Mars*. Oil on canvas, 67 x 84.5cm

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.30 Julio Romano, A large Picture of Architecture, with some small figures 5' 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6' 11 (attributed to Paris Bordone, Apparition of Sibyl to Emperor Augustus, Oil on canvas. Pushkin Museum, Russia) Accessed 14.01.2024

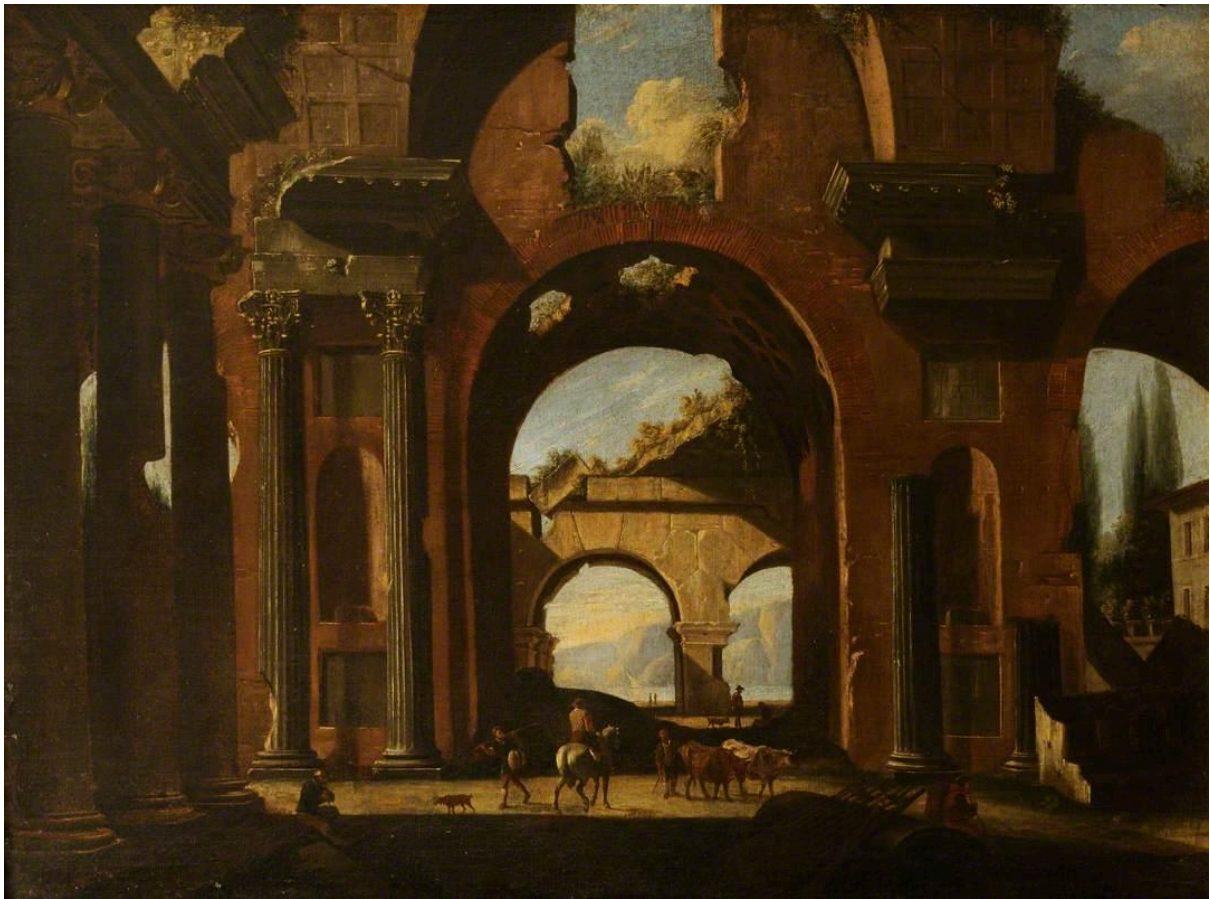


Fig.31 Viviano Codazzi (c.1604–1670) or Niccolò Codazzi (1642–1693). A Capriccio of Classical Ruins with Figures.oil on canvas, 122 x 132 cm. National Trust (Example of a Codazzi Landscape, current whereabouts of Walpole painting unknown). Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.32 Viviano Codazzi (c.1604–1670) Arch of Constantine, Rome mid 1650s. Oil on canvas, 118 x 172 cm. Government Art Collection (Example of a Codazzi Architectural Fantasy, current whereabouts of Walpole painting unknown). Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.33 Francesco Bassano (1549 - 1592). *Winter*, Oil on canvas, 115 x 184cm.
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.34 Francesco Bassano (1549 - 1592). *Summer*, oil on canvas, 115 x 184cm.
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.35 Poussin, Nicolas (1594-1665), *Landscape with Three Wayfarers* (copy). France, 17th century, oil on canvas, 122x189 cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.36 Dughet, Gaspard, dit Gaspard Poussin (1615-1675).Landscape with Thunderstorm (Landscape with Snowy Mountains),1638-1640. Oil on canvas, 74.5x127.5cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
Accessed 20.02.2024



Fig.37 Quentin Matsys (1466-1530). *The Usurer and his wife*. Oil on panel, 70.5 x 67cm
Louvre, Abu Dhabi. Accessed 20.03.2023



Fig.38 Reymerswaele (Roemerswaele), Marinus van (ca. 1490-ca. 1567). *Tax-Collectors (?)*
The Netherlands, between 1490 and 1567. Oil on canvas, 84.3 x 59.6cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.39 Teniers, David II (1610-1690). Landscape with Herdsmen and Herd, mid-1640s. Oil on canvas, 51x80cm

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>

Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.40 Brueghel I, Jan (de Fluweelen Brueghel) (1568-1625). *Adoration of the Magi*, between 1598 and 1600. Oil on copperplate, 26.5x35.2 cm
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>.
Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.41 Cornelius van. Poelenburgh (1594/95-1667) Landscape with Diana and Callisto. Oil on panel, 31.9 x41 cm. Private Collection



Fig.42 Rubens, Pieter Paul. Bacchanalia, 1615. Oil on panel (transferred to canvas in 1892), 91 x 107cm. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Accessed 01.04.2024



Fig.43 Amberger, Christoph (ca. 1505-1562). (was originally attributed to Titian) Portrait of a Woman after 1548. Oil on canvas, 51 x 43.5 cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>

Accessed 14.01.2024



Fig.44 Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723). Portrait of a Boy, c.1711. Oil on canvas, 46.4x 35.6cm. Private Collection



Fig.45 John Wootton (1686-1764). *Portrait of Hounds*. Etching Published by John & Josiah Boydell, Jany. 1st. MDCCLXXXVIII. 2 vols.; 679 mm. Author's own photograph 2023.



Fig.46 Frans Hal (1582-1666). *Portrait of a young man*. Oil on canvas, 68 x 55.4 cm Andrew W Mellon Collection, National Museum of Art, Washington DC.



Fig.47 Francesco Solimena (1657- 1747). *The Risen Christ appearing to the Virgin*. C1708, oil on canvas, 222.5 x 169.5 cm The Cleveland Museum of Art, USA.



Fig.48 Francesco Solimena (1657-1747). *The Birth of the Virgin*, 1690. Oil on canvas, 204.5 x 170.8cm The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig.49 David Teniers II (1610-1690). *Kitchen*. Oil on canvas, 171 x 237cm.
<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.50 Paul de Vos (1596-1678). *Cook at the Kitchen Table with Dead Game*. Oil on canvas, 176 x 245cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.51 Giovanni Benedette Castiglione (1609-64).*The Finding of Cyrus* c. 1655-60
Red-brown, coloured and white oil paint on paper, 34.5 x 24.0 cm Royal Collection Trust



Fig.52 Canaletto. *Venice, the Grand Canal, looking North-East from Palazzo Balbi to the Rialto Bridge*. c1730-1750. Oil on canvas, 87cm x 139cm. Private Collection



Fig.53 Canaletto. *Venice, the return of the Bucintoro on Ascension Day*. c1730-1750. Oil on canvas, 59.5cm x 93.8cm. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, long term loan to the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona



Fig.54 Pier Francesco Mola (1612-1666). *Horatio Cocles holding the Sublicius Bridge*. Oil on canvas, 198 x 348cm. Research Museum of the Academy of Arts, St Petersburg. Accessed 14.06.2023



Fig.55 Pier Francesco Mola (1612-1666). *Marcus Curtius leaping into the Gulf*. Etching Published by John & Josiah Boydell, Jany. 1st. MDCCLXXXVIII. 2 vols.; 679 mm. (Broadsheet.) Original Oil on canvas, 196 x 350cm. Research Museum of the Academy of Arts, St Petersburg. Accessed 14.06.2023



Fig.56 Jacob Jordaens (1593 -1678). *Self-portrait with parents, brothers and sisters*. Oil on canvas, 175 x 137.5cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
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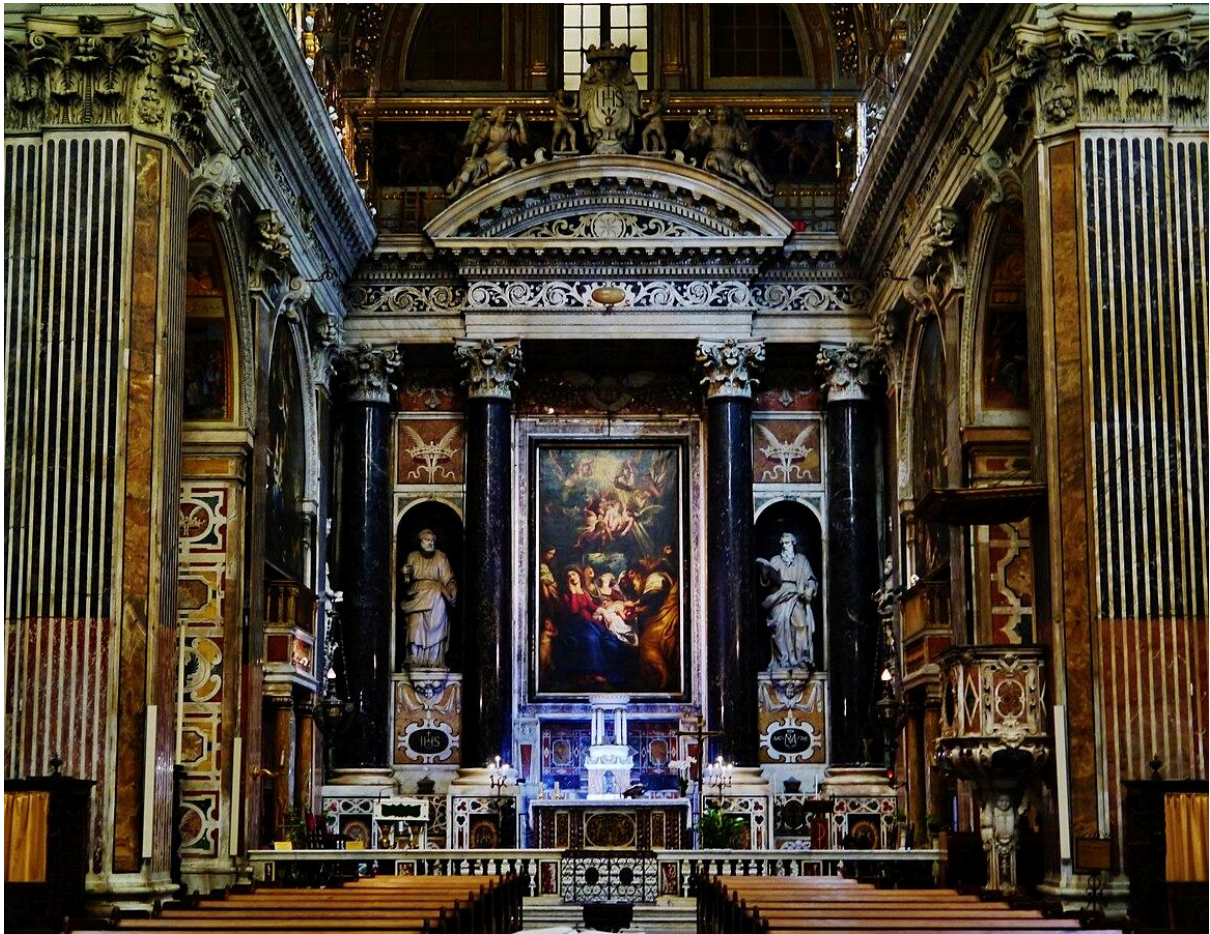


Fig.57 Author's own photograph, 2023. Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Main Altar of the Jesuit Church of Sts. Ambrose & Andrew, Genoa, Province of Genoa, Region of Liguria, Italy.



Fig.58 Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680). *Portrait of an Old Woman with a book*. Oil on canvas, 129 x 100cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.59 Pieter Paul Rubens(1577-1640). *The Apotheosis of James I.* Oil on canvas, 89.7 x 55.3cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.60 Raffaele Motta (Raphael da Reggio) 1550 -1578. *Preparatory drawing*. Red-brown, coloured and white oil paint on paper, 13.5 x 10.3 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Fig.61 Michele Pace del Campidoglio (1610-1670). *Still Life with Melon*. Oil on canvas, 98 x 134cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.62 Michele Pace del Campidoglio (1610-1670). *Still Life with Grapes*. Oil on canvas, 98 x 134cm.

<https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings>
accessed 20/01/2024



Fig.63 Author's own photograph, 2019.Detail of woven caffoy fabric showing repeat of pattern incorporating pomegranate and acanthas leaves.



Fig.64 Author's own photograph, 2019. Houghton State Bed, Houghton Hall, Norfolk. V&A Collections



Fig.65 Wootton, J. *Ranger of Richmond*, 1721. Oil on canvas Reproduction courtesy of The Marquess of Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall



Fig.66 Cradock, M (1660 -1716). *Baiting the Fox*. Oil on canvas. 78.5 x W 100.5 cm.
National Trust Collection, Middlethorpe Hall, York. Accessed 19.08.2022



Fig.67 Bogdani, J (1658 - 1724). *A Macaw, Ducks, Parrots and Other Birds in a Landscape* (1708–1710). Oil on canvas. 142.2 x W 208.3 cm. Paul Mellon Collection



Fig.68 Pignatta, G. *Sir Andrew Fountaine and Friends in the Tribune Gallery of the Uffizi, Florence*, 1715. Oil on canvas. 145.5 x W 119 cm. Norfolk Museums Service (on loan from a private collection, 2008)

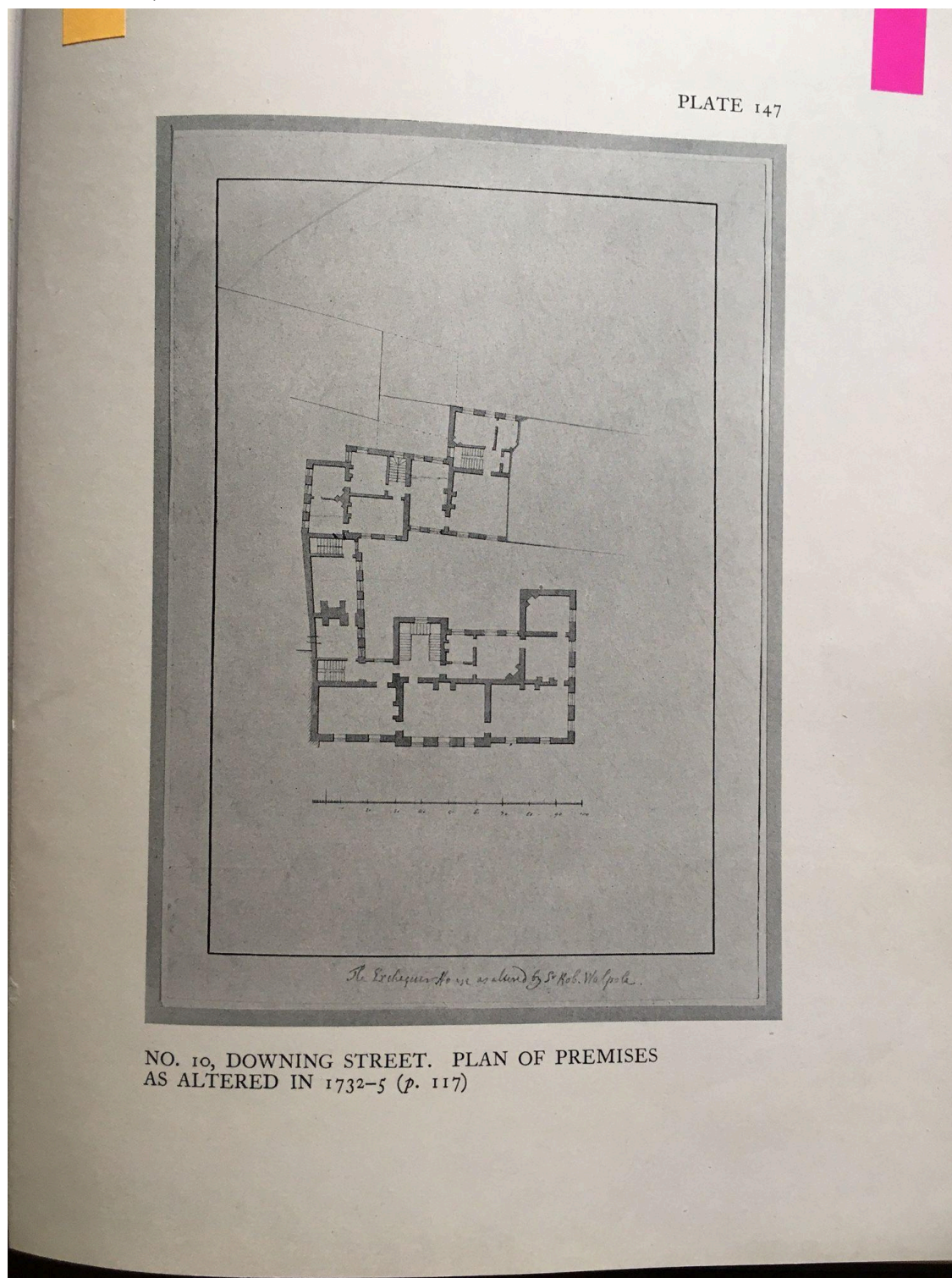


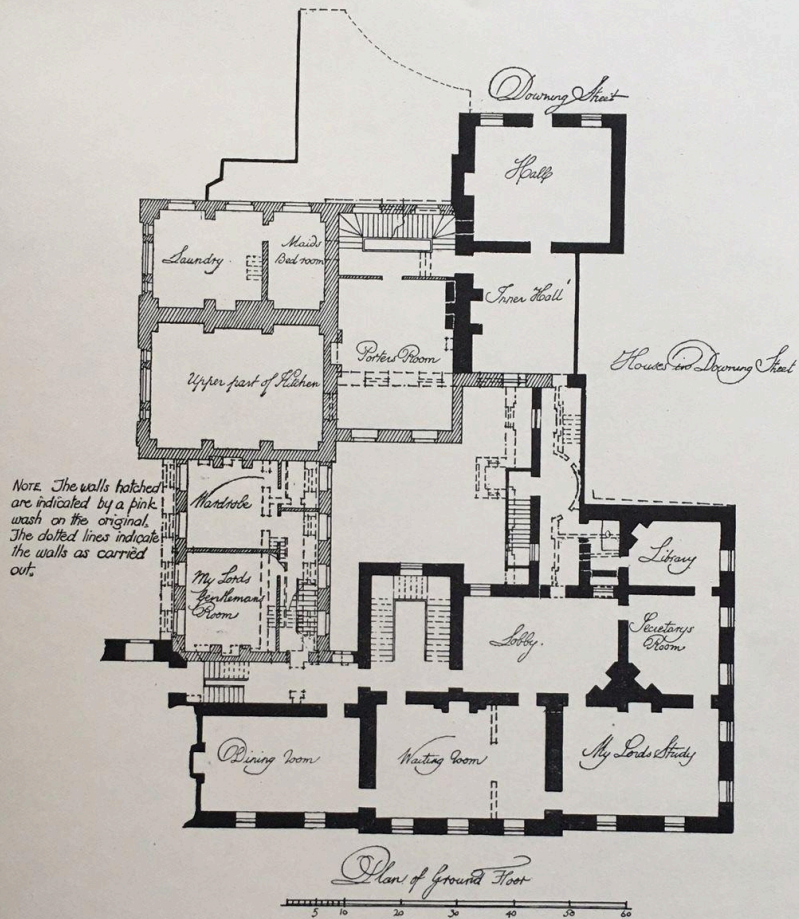
Fig.69 Author's own photograph, 2019. Thomas Roberts Chairs c.1729. Houghton Hall, Norfolk

Appendix I

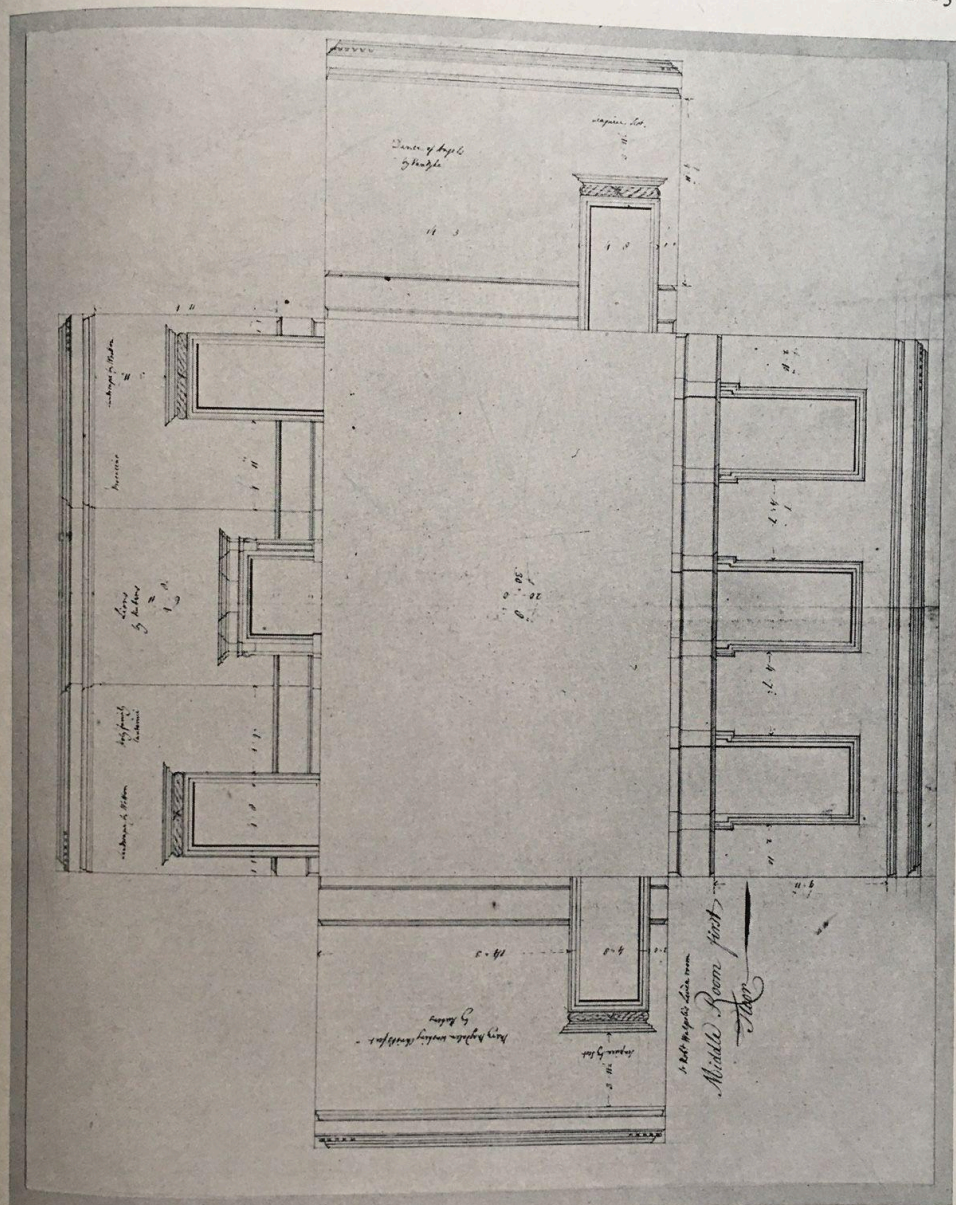
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(Plates 107, 108, 111, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154)

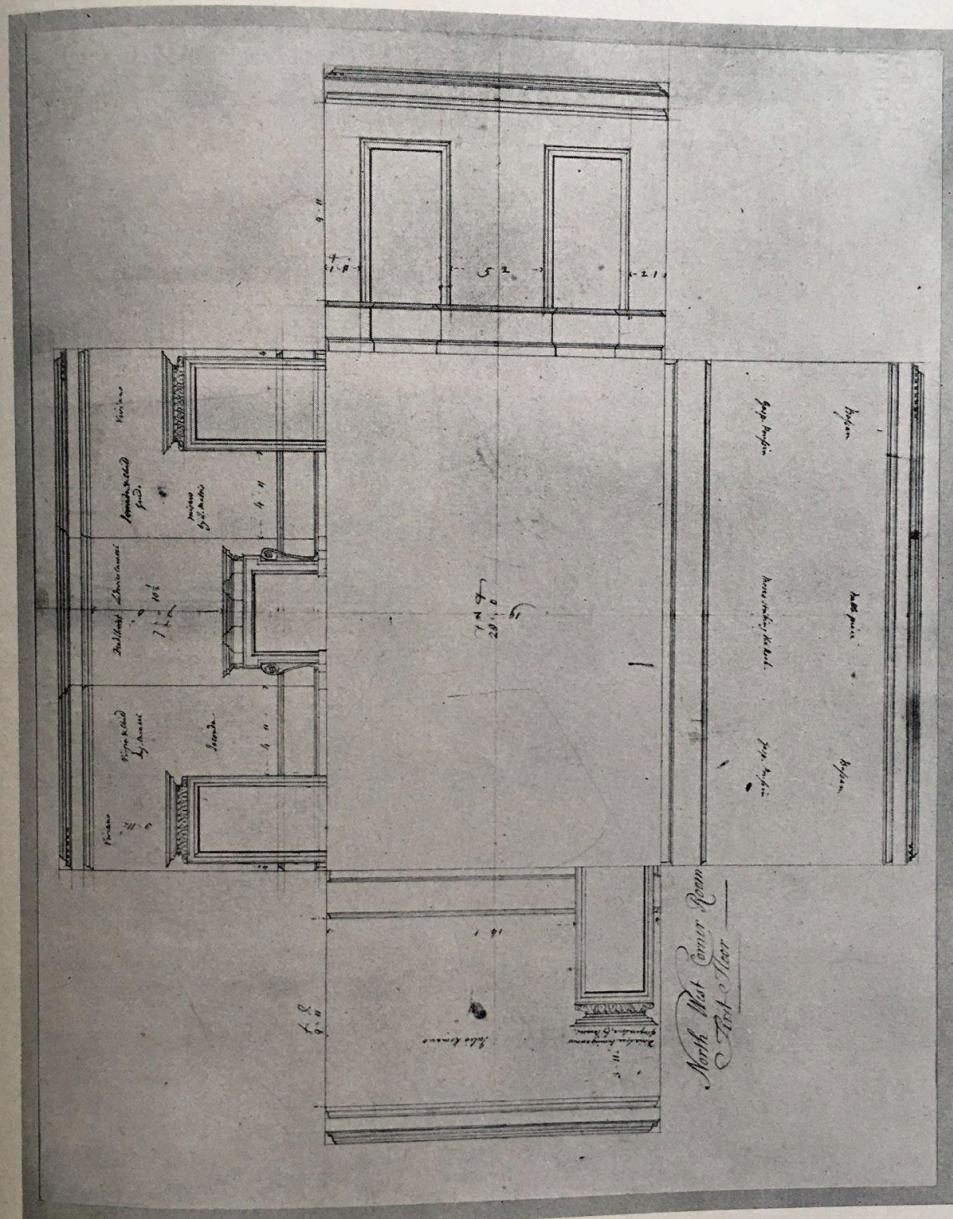




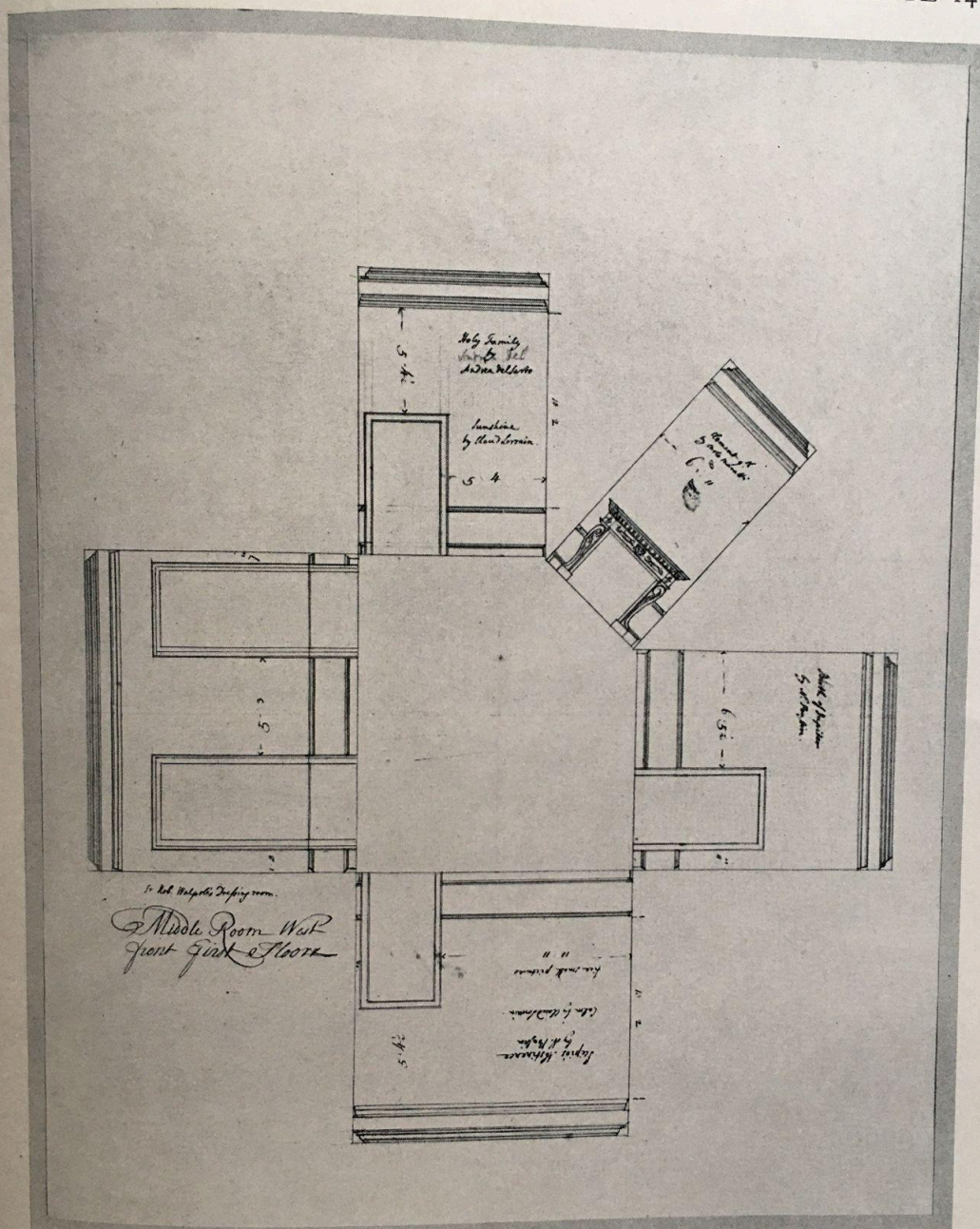
NO. 10, DOWNING STREET. PLAN OF ALTERATIONS
IN 1781 (pp. 121-2)



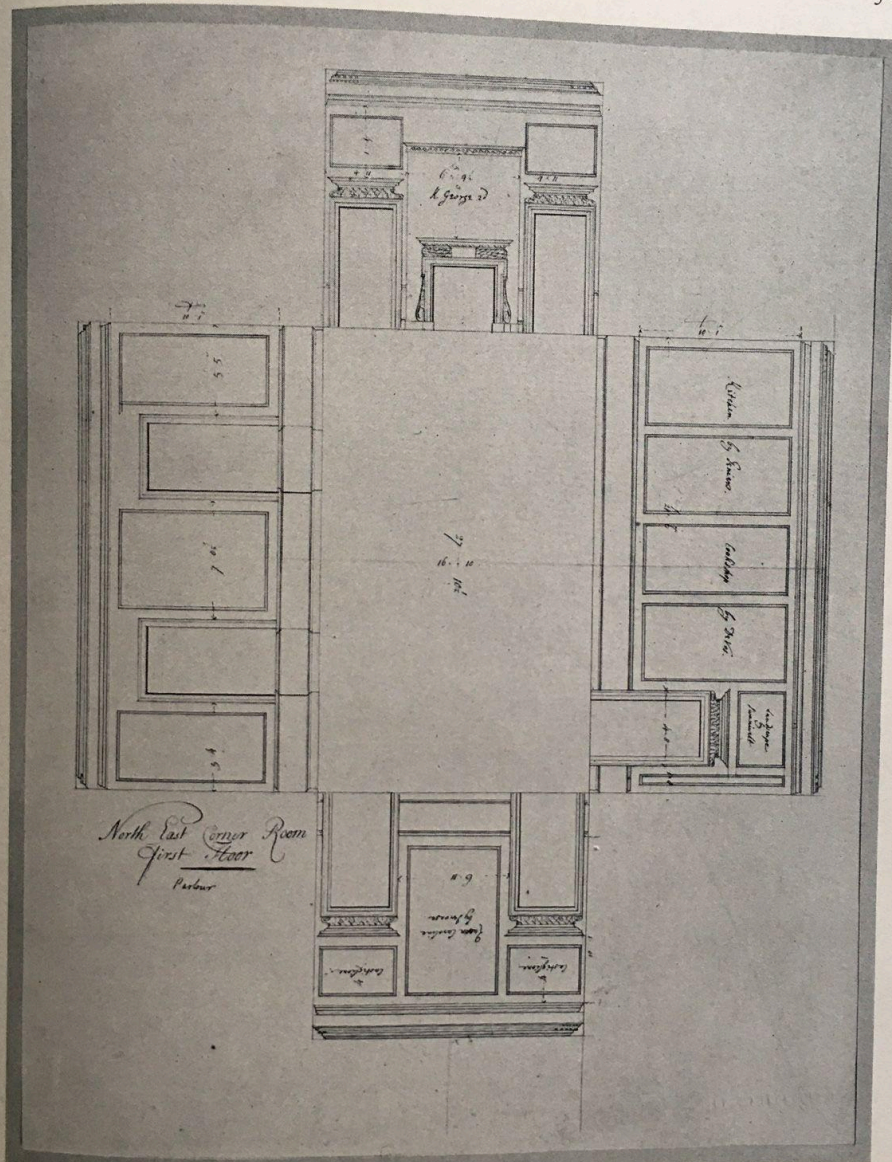
NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *cir.* 1735. "MIDDLE ROOM, FIRST FLOOR" (p. 117)



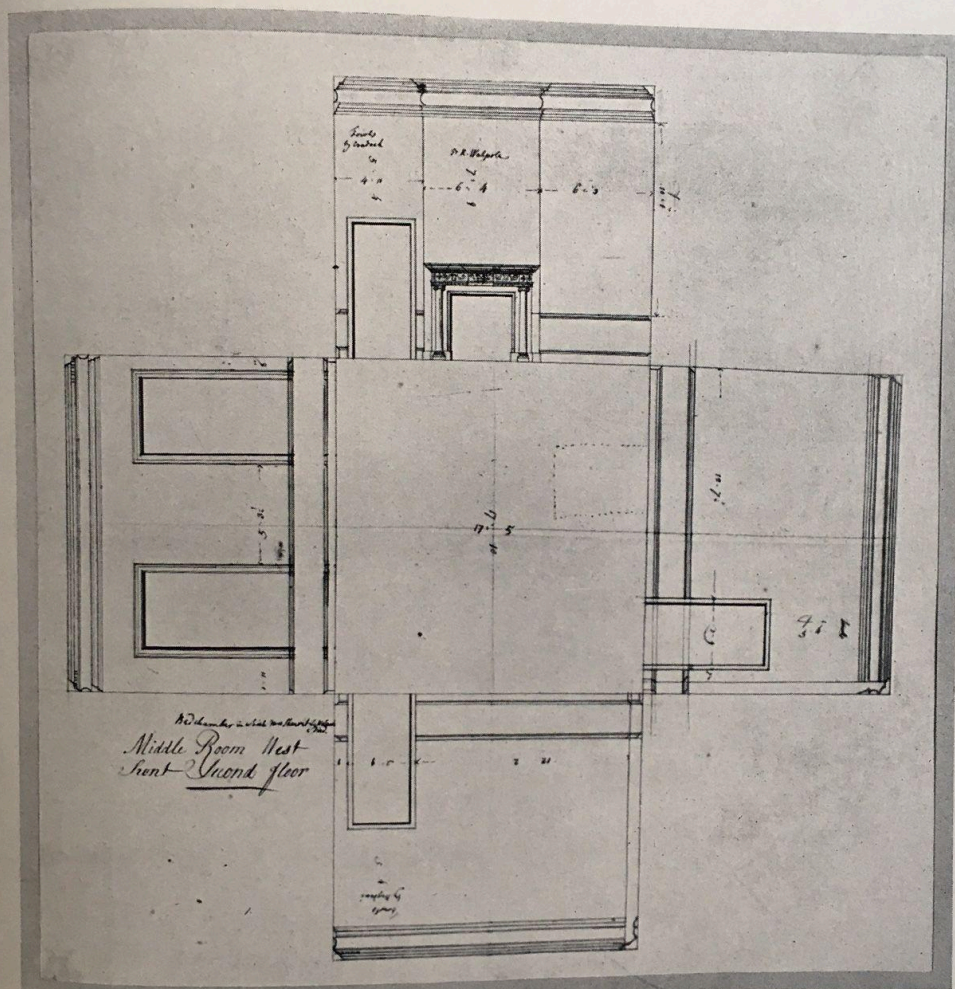
NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *circ.* 1735. "NORTH-WEST
CORNER ROOM, FIRST FLOOR" (p. 117)



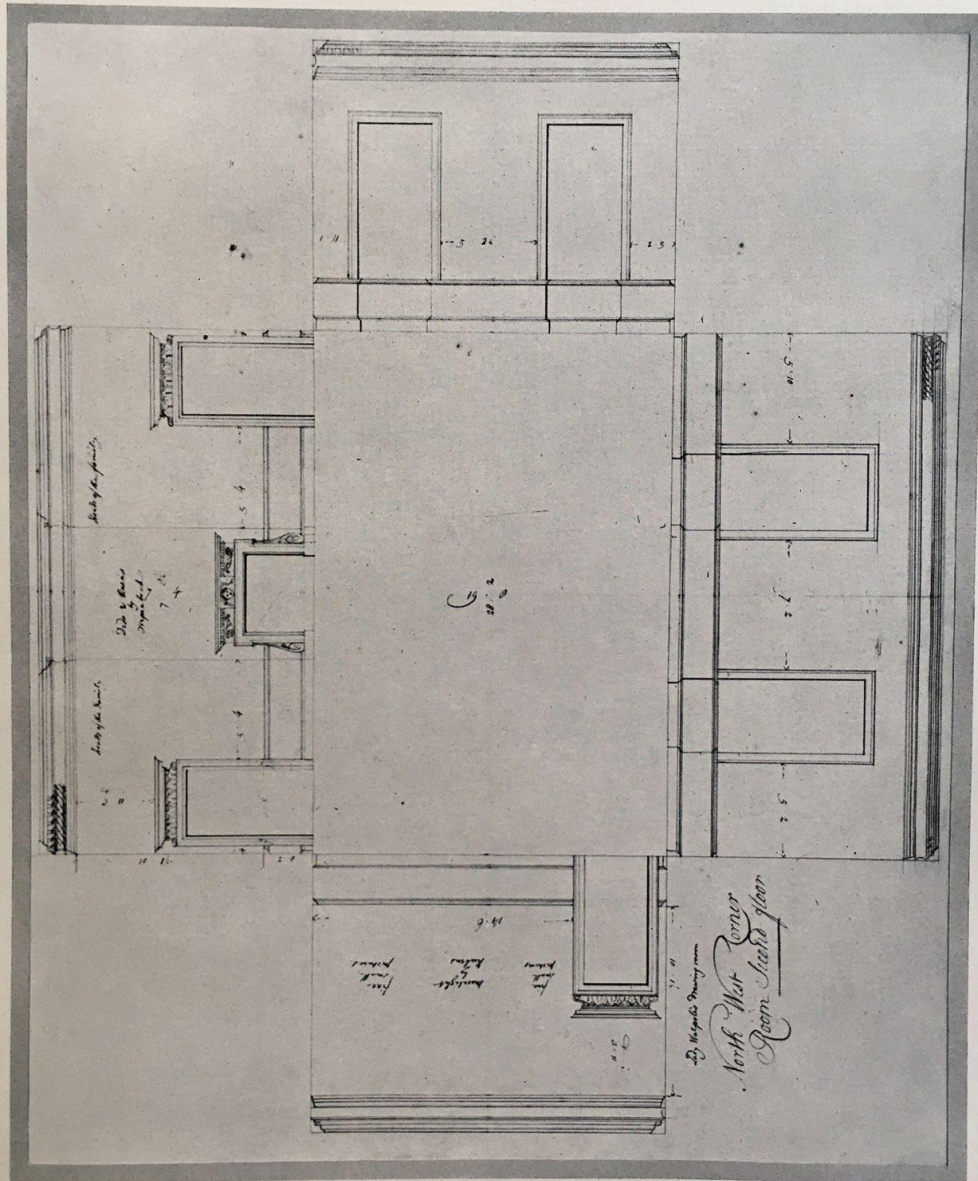
NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *circa*. 1751. "MIDDLE ROOM,
WEST FRONT, FIRST FLOOR" (p. 117)



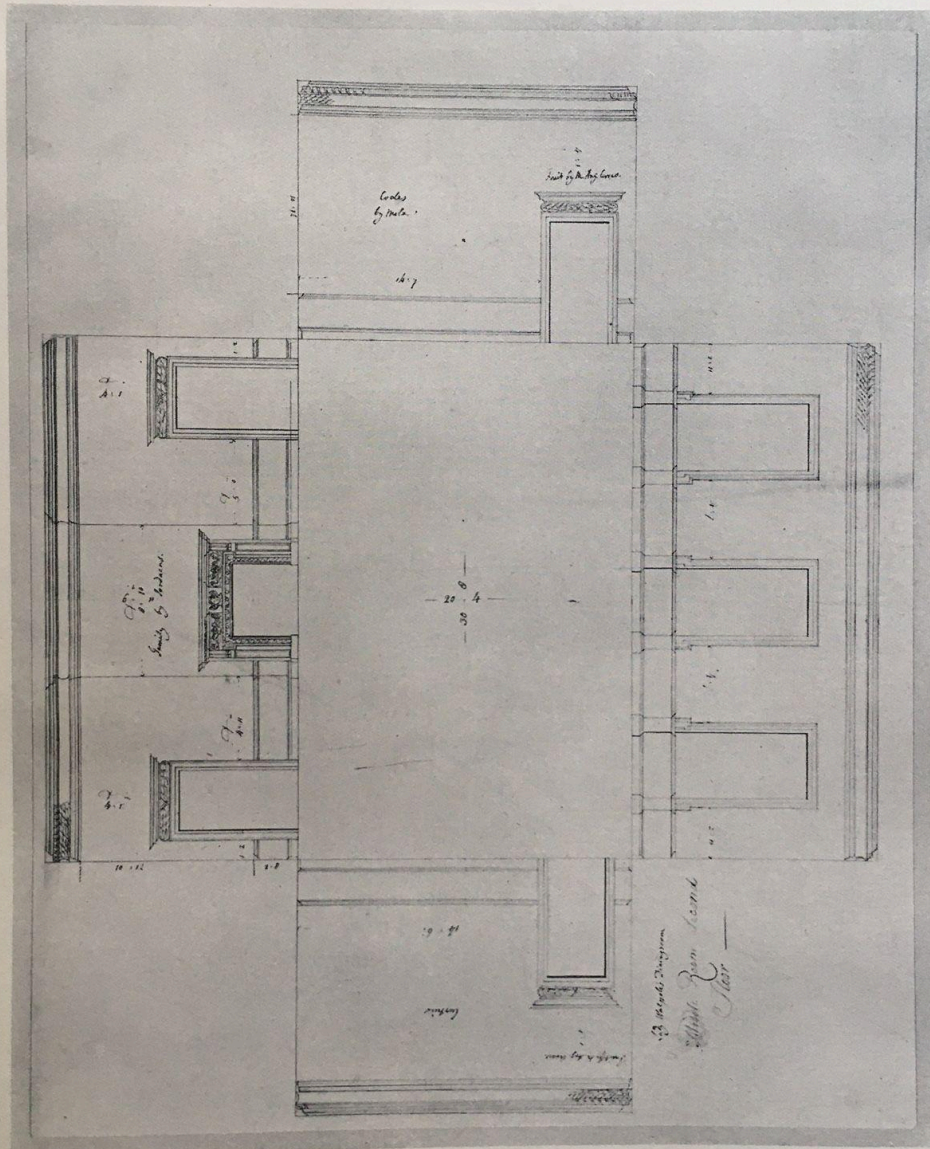
NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *cir.* 1735. "NORTH-EAST
CORNER ROOM, FIRST FLOOR" (p. 117)



NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *circ.* 1735. "MIDDLE ROOM,
WEST FRONT, SECOND FLOOR" (p. 117)



NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, circ. 1735. "NORTH-WEST CORNER ROOM, SECOND FLOOR" (p. 117)



NO. 10, DOWNING STREET, *cir.* 1735. "MIDDLE ROOM, SECOND FLOOR" (p. 117)

Appendix II Paintings by Room

Parlour (Dining Room, North-East Corner First Floor)

Solimeni, A young Christ , with God the Father, the Virgin, and Angels 7' 1 by 5' 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Solimeni, Christ after his Resurrection with the Virgin 7' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5' 5 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Teniers, A Cook's shop with several figures, Teniers himself in the like of a Falconer 5' 7 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Martin de Vos, A Cook as large as life with a Greyhound, cats and dead fowl 5' 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7' 10 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Canaletto, The Doge of Venice with Barge, with Gondolas and masquerades 2' 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4' 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (Sotheby's 2008)

Canaletto, A View of Venice 2' 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4' 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (Sotheby's 2005)

Anon, Two pictures of Boys with Fruit 2' 4 by 3' 2

Castiglioni, The Expulsion of Cyrus 2' 8 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Castiglioni, It's companion, a man with cattle 2' 8 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Swannvelt, A Landscape (no dimensions) (Could be image 155 A Landscape with figures dancing, location unknown)

Great Middle Room Below (Levee Room)

Rubens, Lion and Lioness 5' 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 8' and $\frac{1}{4}$ (Later attributed to school of Frans Synders)

Vandyke, The Virgin, Child and Joseph with a Dance of Angels 7' 5 by 9' 5 (Virgin with Partridges)

Rubens, Christ at the House of Simeon with the Pharisee; Mary Magdalene is anointing his feet; several figures as large as life 6' 5 by 8' 2

Camillo Procaccino, The Child lying along with the Virgin's and two more Heads 5' 9 by 2' 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$

Cantarine, The Holy Family in a round, the child stands in the Virgin's lap, learning to read 3' 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (attribution Simone Cantarini, The Holy Family with the infant John the Baptist and St Elizabeth, Pushkin)

Rosalba, Apollo, half length in crayon 2' 2 by 1' 8

Rosalba, Diana with a Greyhound in crayon 2' 2 by 1' 8

Gaspar Poussin, A Landscape 1' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1' 6 (Attributed to Gaspard Dughet Landscape with a Road)

Gaspar Poussin, it's companion 1' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1' 6 (attributed to Gaspard Dughet, A small Town in Latium) (Pushkin)

Borgognone, Two landscapes with several little figures 1' 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1' 4 and $\frac{3}{4}$

Wootton, Two landscapes over two of the Doors 3' 5 by 4' 3 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Scott, Two Sea Pieces over the other Doors 3' 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4' 1 (attributed to Courtois, Landscape with a Rider and View of the Seashore (missing)

End Room Below (Study, North-West Corner First Floor)

Caracci, Annibal A dead Christ with the Virgin St John St Joseph Mary Magdalene and an Angel the figures are rather smaller than life - over the chimney 6' 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5' and $\frac{1}{2}$

Caracci, Ludovico The Virgin and Child asleep in her arms 3' 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 9 and $\frac{3}{4}$
(missing)

Guido Reni, Simeon and the Child 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 8 (Houston Museum of Fine Arts)

Leonardo di Vinci, Half length naked Lady (A Smith's wife of Antwerp, Mistress to Francis the First of France; reckoned the handsomest Woman of her time) 2' 9 by 2' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Quintin Matzi, An Unsurer and his Wife; highly finished 2' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$
(attributed to Reymerswaele, The Annuity Sellers)

Nicolas Poussin, Moses striking a Rock, several figures 3' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6' 3 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Gaspar Poussin, A Landscape 3' 3 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 5 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (attributed to Gaspard Dughet, Wooded landscape)

Gaspar Poussin, It's companion 3' 3 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (attributed to Gaspard Dughet, Landscape with Fisherman)

Giacomo Balsan, (attributed to Francesco Balsano) A Winter Piece 3' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$

Giacomo Balsan, (attributed to Francesco Balsano) A Summer Piece 3' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$

Borgognone, A Battle 2' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6'

Julio Romano, A large Picture of Architecture, with some small figures 5' 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6' 11
(attributed to Paris Borgdone, Augustus and Sibyl, Pushkin)

Viviano, A Picture of Ruins 2' 6 by 3' 2 (attributed to Viviano Codazzi, Architectural fantasy with a scene of Christ Healing the Man possessed of Devils, last known location - Russian Embassy, Rome 1911)

Viviano, It's companion 2' 6 by 3' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (attributed to Viviano Codazzi, Architectural Fantasy with a scene of Feasting, last known location - Russian Embassy, Rome 1911)

Of the School of Caracci, Divine Love Burning the Arrows of Impure Love 2' 4 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (attributed to Elisabetta Sirani, Cupid Burning the weapons of Mars)

Sir Robert's Dressing Room

Salvador Rosa, The Fable of the Old Man, and his sons trying to break the Bundle of Sticks 6' by 4' 2 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (Democritus and Protagoras)

Andrea del Sarto, The Holy Family on Board 4' 7 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 3' 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (missing)

Paul Veronese, The Rich Man of Lazarus 2' 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 5 (attributed to Benedetto Caliari, Dives and Lazarus, Pushkin)

Claude Lorrain, A Sea Peace with the Sun playing on the Water 3' 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Claude Lorrain, A Calm Sea with Ruins, Apollo and the Sibyl on the Strand 3' 3 by 4' 1

Nicolas Poussin, Scipio's Abstinence, he is sitting crowned by Chastity Indibilis and bowing, his Mistrels is in blue, roman soldiers 3' 8 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5' 2 (Pushkin)

Nicolas Poussin, The Education of Jupiter 3' 9 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$

Rubens, A Bacchanal 2' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3' 6 (Bacchanalia) (Pushkin)

Castiglioni, Cyrus found suckling by a Wolf 2' 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 6 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (attributed to Vasallo, The Exposition of Cyrus)

Castiglioni, It's companion. The subject is to be taken from the 19th Ode of the Second book of Horace 2' 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 6 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (attributed to Vasallo, Orpheus) (Pushkin)
 Dobson, An Old Man's Head 1' 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 1' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (Portrait of Abraham van Doort)
 Velasco, Innocent X 1' 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1' 3 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (National Gallery of Art, Washington)
 Solimene, Diana and Endymion 1' 7 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 2' and $\frac{1}{4}$
 Albano, The Salutation of the Virgin Mary God and Angels above 2' and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1' 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Parmigianino, The Entombment 1' by 0' 10 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Williberts, The Holy Family 1' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 0' 9 and $\frac{1}{4}$ (attributed to Thomas Willeboirts
 Bosschaert, The Virgin with Child, St Elizabeth and John the Baptist)
 Albano, The Holy Family 1' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 0' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$
 Baroccio, The Virgin Reading with the Child 1' 4 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1' and $\frac{1}{4}$
 Corregio, A Naked Venus Sleeping 0' 9 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1' 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$

In the Closet (Library First Floor, attached to Dressing Room)

Richardson, Mr Horace Walpole 4' and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3' 3 (Horatio, 1st Baron Walpole of Wolterton, Houghton)
 Feti, A Hawk and Fowls 3' 4 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 2 (attributed to Frans Snyder. A Concert of Birds)
 Michael de Serre, The Parting of Hector and Andromache, drawn with a Pen 1' 7 by 2' 4
 Sebastian Burdon, Samson and the Lion 1' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$
 Solimene, The Judgement of Solomon 1' 8 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 2' 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$
 Teniers, A Landscape with Figures 1' 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2' 4 and $\frac{3}{4}$
 Artois, The Holy Family with Little Angels 1' 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2' 3
 Gobbo Caracci, A landscape 1' 6 by 2' 3
 Raphael, The Last Supper 1' 8 by 2' 8 and $\frac{3}{4}$
 Anon, Two Battle Pieces 1' 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2' 4 and $\frac{1}{4}$
 Palamedes, Two Dutch Entertainments 1' 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2' 4 and $\frac{1}{4}$
 A Battle on a Bridge
 Three Men, two sitting
 Wootton, Two Dogs, over the Door
 (All these that follow are very small)
 Quintin Matzi, A Man with a Book
 Rosalba, A Woman in crayons
 Rosalba, A Girl and Cat
 Roland Savary, Christ healing the Blind, on copper
 Roland Savary, The Good Samaritan it's companion
 Corn. Polenburgh, Polenburgh and His Wife in Ovals
 Corn. Polenburgh, Two Landscapes with figures
 Filippo Laura, Boys - a piece for a ceiling
 Brower, Boors reading
 Andrea Schiavoni, Two Long Dark Landscapes with Cattle (missing)
 Andrea Schiavoni, The Judgement of Paris (missing)
 Francesco Melli, Two Round Landscapes
 Filippo Laura, Pan and Syrinx
 Filippo Laura, Jupiter Jo and Juno

Breughel, A Landscape with a great many small figures
 Teniers, A Farm Yard (Cows and Sheep)
 Philipppo Laura, Christ in the garden with Mary Magdalene
 Titian, The Virgin and Child, heads as big as life
 Teniers (after Veronese), The Ascension
 Teniers (after Veronese), The Holy Family
 Titian, A Woman's head
 Titian, A Man's Head
 Breughel, The Blind leading the Blind into a Ditch
 Breughel, A Country Surgeon dressing a peasants leg
 Michael Koche, A Dead Christ
 Michael Koche, A Madonna with Angels, it's companion
 Michael Koche, A Piece of Rocks
 Michael Koche, Thomas putting his finger into Christ's side
 Michael Koche, A Man and Woman Half lengths
 Ritzi, Twelve Watercolours all Landscapes
 Sir Godfrey Kneller, Sir Godfrey Kneller when young - very small

Great Room Above Stairs (Central Reception Second Floor)

Jordan of Antwerp, A Family Piece and Merry Making 5' 9 by 4' 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (Jacob Jordaens, Self-portrait with Parents, Brothers and Sisters)
 Mola, Luccius Curtius jumping into the Gulf with many figures 6' 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 11' 4 (last known location - Research Museum of the Academy of Arts, St Petersburg inv. No. 63)
 Mola, Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge against Porsena 6' 4 by 11' 4 (last known location - Research Museum of the Academy of Arts, St Petersburg inv. No. 62)
 Boll, An Old Woman Reading (the top of the picture is arched) 4' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Gerard Dow, An Old Man Writing (Ditto) 4' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Rubens, King James the First, ascending into the Heaven: the sketch of the ceiling for the Banqueting House at Whitehall 2' 11 by 1' 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Raphael Reggio, The Virgin, the Child, St John, St Catherine, two Fryors and Angels 1' 1 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 2' 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (attribution Anon. Kuban Art Museum inv. No. 2544)
 Michael Angelo Compidaglio, Two Pieces; Fruits over the Doors 3' and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$

Lady Walpole's Drawing Room (North-West Corner Second Floor)

Diepenbeck, Dido and Ares in the Storm 4' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5' 5
 Rosalba, A head of Lord Walpole in crayons 1' 9 by 1' 5 (Houghton Robert Walpole)
 Rosalba, Mr Edward Walpole in crayons 1' 10 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 1' 5 (Houghton Edward Walpole)
 Knapton, Mr Horace Walpole in crayons 1' 10 by 1' 5 (could be another Rosalba portrait for Horace Walpole at Houghton 212)
 Jervase, Lady Malpas in crayons 1' 10 by 1' 5 (Houghton Mary Walpole, Viscountess Malpas)
 John Meale, Fryars giving Broth to the Poor 1' 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (attributed to Jan Miel, The Charity of St Anthony) (Peterhof State Museum inv.no.664)

John Meale, It's companion 1' 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (attributed to Jan Miel, Bivouac)
 (Gatchina State Museum inv.no.1600-III)
 Watteau, A Dream of Watthau's Himself asleep by a rock while several dancers and
 Grotesque figures in the Clouds 1'7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 2
 Stella, Solomon's Idolatry, painted on black marble which is left as the ground in several
 places 1' 10 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 5 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Giovachino Axaretta, Christ at Emmaus with his two Disciples 3' 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4' 9
 Romanelli, Hercules and Omphale 3' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4' 3
 Velasco, An Old Man Dying 3' 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4' 9 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (attributed to Alonso Cano, The Death
 of St Joseph)
 Rubens, A Landscape by Moonlight with a Cart overturning 2' 10 by 4' 1
 Rembrandt, An Old Man's Head 1' 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 1' 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$
 Rembrandt, A Fryar's Head 1' 8 by 1' 5 (attributed to Rubens, Head of a Franciscan Monk)
 Borgognone, Two Battle Pieces 1' 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 2' 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (attributed to Jacques Courtois
 Cavalry Battle and Battlefield)
 Teniers, Boars at Cards 1' 4 by 1' 10
 Ostade, Boars Drinking 1' 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 1' 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 (These six last are very small)
 Teniers, A Small one of Boars at Cards
 Teniers, Ditto Boars Drinking
 Alexander Veronese, The Virgin and Child on Marble
 Rottenhamer, The Holy Family
 Salvator Rosa, Two Soldiers with a Captive
 Sebastian Conelia, The Virgin with the Child asleep in her arms (attributed to Sebastiano
 Conca)
 Sir Peter Lely, Sir Harry Vane, The Younger 2' 5 and $\frac{1}{4}$ by 2' and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Rubens, A Woman's Head 2' 1 by 1' 8 and $\frac{1}{2}$ (head of a girl)
 Fuller, Fuller The Painter in a Storm 2' 8 and $\frac{3}{4}$ by 2' 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$

In Sir Robert's Bedchamber (North-East Corner Second Floor)

Richardson, Sir Robert Walpole in a Hunting Dress 5' by 4' 9 and $\frac{3}{4}$ (Houghton Hall,
 Norfolk)
 Du Porte, A Cat and Fowls 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 10 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Craddock, A Dog and Fowls 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 10 and $\frac{1}{2}$
 Bugdan, A Picture of Birds 3' 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3' 10 and $\frac{1}{4}$

Appendix III

The Records of the Office of Works 1660 - 1780

A complete list of Works records in the National Archives, Kew. Principle sources for the History of the Royal Works during the period covered.

Calendar of treasury papers, 1556-[1728], preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office / prepared by Joseph Redington. - London : Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868-1889. - 6 v. ; 28 cm. (hbk)

Calendar of Treasury books, 1660-[1718], preserved in the Public Record Office

Calendar of Treasury books and papers, 1729-[1745] : preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office / prepared by Wm. A. Shaw. - London : H.M.S.O., 1897-1903. - 5 v. ; 28 cm. (hbk)

| | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------|
| Minutes of the Board Correspondence with the Treasury | 1715 onwards | Works 4/1-16 |
| | 1685 - 1702 | Works 6/2 |
| | 1702 - 09 | Works 6/14 |
| | 1709 - 14 | Works 6/5 |
| | 1714 - 17 | Works 6/6 |
| | 1717 - 23 | Works 6/7 |
| | 1723 onwards | Works 6/15 - 20 |
| Letters - Books | 1730 onwards | Works 1/1-5 |
| Lord Chamberlain Warrants | 1701 - 09 | Works 6/3 |
| Surveyor General's appointments | 1733 - 80 | Works 6/9 |
| Treasury Instructions | 1662 onwards | Works 6/368 |

| Painted Names. | High. | Dimensions Wide. |
|--------------------|----------|------------------|
| Michael Coracci. | 6:2 3/4 | = 5:0 1/2 |
| Lucas Coracci. | 9:6 1/4 | = 2:9 3/4 |
| Giulio Rini. | 3:2 1/2 | = 2:0. |
| Leonardo Vinci | 2:9 | = 2:1 1/2 |
| Quintin Matsy. | 2:0 1/2 | = 1:11 3/4 |
| Nicholas Poussin. | 9:11 3/4 | = 6:3 1/4 |
| Gasper Poussin. | 3:3 1/4 | = 4:5 1/4 |
| Gasper Poussin. | 3:3 1/4 | = 4:1 1/2 |
| Guercino Poussin. | 3:0 1/2 | = 5:11 3/4 |
| Rembrandt Poussin. | 3:0 1/2 | = 5:11 3/4 |
| Porgoghera. | 2:9 1/2 | = 6:0. |
| Luca Romano. | 5:6 3/4 | = 6:11. |
| Vincenzo. | 2:3 1/2 | = 3:2. |
| Alfred Lancia. | 2:6 | = 3:3 1/2 |
| 2:4 3/4 | | = 3:2 1/2 |
| Leonor Ace. | 6:0 | = 4:2 1/4 |
| Adriano del Sarto. | 4:7 1/4 | = 3:4 1/2 |
| Paul Veronese. | 2:7 1/2 | = 3:5 |
| Cloud Torrain. | 3:1 1/2 | = 4:2 1/2 |
| Cloud & Orain. | 3:3 | = 4:1. |

| A Catalogue of Sir Robert Walpole's Pictures in Downing Street, Westminster. | | Dimensions. |
|---|--|------------------------|
| Painted Names. | High. | Wide. |
| Young Christ, with God the Father, the Virgin, Joseph, St. Cooks Shop with several figures, Servants kneeling before him, St. Cook as large as life with a greyhound cat, St. Peter & St. Paul, The Doge of Venice in the barge with gondals & many others, A View of Venice. | 7 feet 1 inch = 55.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. | 55.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. |
| Salomoni. | 7 = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5 = 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Salomoni. | 5 = 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 7 = 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Salomoni. | 5 = 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 7 = 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 = 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 = 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 4 | 3 = 2. |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 9 = 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 = 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 5 = 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 8 = 0 $\frac{1}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 7 = 1 | 9 = 5. |
| Salomoni. | 6 = 1 | 8 = 2. |
| Salomoni. | 1 = 9 | 2 = 3 $\frac{3}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 9 = 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3 = 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 2 | 1 = 8. |
| Salomoni. | 2 = 2 | 1 = 8. |
| Salomoni. | 1 = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 = 6. |
| Salomoni. | 1 = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 = 6. |
| Salomoni. | 3 = 5 | 1 = 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 3 = 5 | 7 = 3 $\frac{1}{4}$. |
| Salomoni. | 3 = 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 = 1. |

A Catalogue of Sir Robert Walpole's Pictures in Downing Street, Westminster.
 Christ after his Resurrection, with the Virgin, Joseph, St. Cooks Shop with several figures, Servants kneeling before him, St. Cook as large as life with a greyhound cat, St. Peter & St. Paul, The Doge of Venice in the barge with gondals & many others, A View of Venice.
 The Pictures of Boys with Fruit.
 The Separation of Lys.
 The Companion. a man with cattle.
 A Landscape.
 In the great Middle Room below:
 A Lioness & two Lions.
 The Virgin Child, & Joseph, with a Dance of Angels.
 Christ at the House of Simon the Pharisee, Mary Magdalen is anointing his feet, several figures looking at it.
 The Child lying alone, with the Virgin & two men, the Child's family in a room, the Child's family in a room, the Child's family in a room.
 Apollo, half length in Gray.
 Diana with a greyhound, ditto.
 A Landscape.
 The Companion.
 Two Landscapes with several little figures.
 Two Landscapes, over two of the Goss.
 Two Landscapes, over the other Goss.
 Two Sea Views, over the other Goss.

17. In Lady Walpole's Drawing Room.
 of Head of St. George in the Form.
 Mr Edward Walpole, in Crayons.
 Mr Horace Walpole, ditto.
 Lady Walpole, ditto.
 Bryan giving Birth to the Son.
 His Companion.
 A Dream of William's Demise, by his back, head, & arms
 & grotesque figures in the clouds.
 Solomon's Palace; painted on black & gold marble, which is left
 for the ground in several places.
 Christ at Emmaus with his two Disciples.
 Hercules & Omphale.
 An Old Man Dying.
 A Landscape by Moonlight with a Cart overturning.
 An Old Man's Head.
 A Boy's Head.
 Two Battle Pieces.
 Boons at Cards.
 Boons drinking.
 A small one of Boons at cards.
 One Ditto, drinking.
 The Virgin & Child on Marble.
 The Holy Family.
 Two Soldiers with a Captive.
 The Virgin with the Child asleep in her arms.
 113. These lie flat are very small.

7586

| Painters Names. | Height. | Dimensions. |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Deputack. | 4 = 3 1/2. | 5 = 5. |
| Rowland. | 1 = 9. | 1 = 5. |
| Rowland. | 1 = 10 1/4. | 1 = 5. |
| Rowland. | 1 = 10. | 1 = 5. |
| Rowland. | 1 = 10. | 1 = 5. |
| Rowland. | 1 = 10. | 2 = 1 1/2. |
| John Mole. | 1 = 7 1/2. | 2 = 2. |
| John. | 1 = 7 1/2. | 2 = 2. |
| William. | 2 = 1. | 2 = 7 1/2. |
| John. | 1 = 10 1/2. | 2 = 5 1/2. |
| Guillaume de la Roche. | 3 = 11 1/2. | 4 = 9. |
| Romanelli. | 3 = 1 1/2. | 4 = 3. |
| Velasco. | 3 = 2 1/2. | 4 = 9 1/2. |
| Robert. | 2 = 10. | 4 = 1. |
| Rembrandt. | 1 = 11 1/2. | 1 = 6 3/4. |
| Borgognone. | 1 = 8. | 1 = 5. |
| Guerrini. | 1 = 6 1/2. | 2 = 1 1/2. |
| Blade. | 1 = 4. | 1 = 10. |
| Amis. | 1 = 3 1/2. | 1 = 9 1/2. |
| Alexander Veronese. | - | - |
| Kostenhamer. | - | - |
| Salvator Rosa. | - | - |
| Christian Gucke. | - | - |

Christ healing the Blind, on Copper -
 The Good Samaritan, its companion -
 Pilsburgh & his Wife, Oval -
 Two Landscapes with Figures -
 Boys - a peice for a ceiling -
 Boors reading -
 Two long dark Landscapes, with cattle -
 Apollo, Pan & Narcissus -
 The Segment of Paris -
 Two round Landscapes -
 Pan & Syrinx -
 Jupiter, So & Juno -
 of Landscapes with a great many small figures -
 A Farm yard -
 Christ in the garden with Mary Magdalen -
 The Virgin & Child, Heads as big as life -
 The Ascension -
 The Holy Family -
 A Woman's Head -
 A Man's Ditto -
 The Blind leading the Blind into a ditch -
 A Country, very good, resembling a Parantidey -
 A Dead Christ -
 A Madonna with Angels, its companion -
 A Peice of Rocks, two fingers into Christ's life -
 Thomas putting his finger into Christ's -
 A Man & Woman, half length -
 Twelve. Water Colours of Landscapes - very small -
 St. George & the Dragon

Dimensions
 High = 11 in.

Painted Panels -
 Ireland, Swazey -
 Ditto -
 Com. Pilsburgh -
 Ditto -
 Philipps & Laura -
 Bowyer -
 Adam & Schavani -
 Ditto -
 Francis Melli -
 Philipps & Laura -
 Ditto -
 Brughell -
 Sincere -
 Philipps & Laura -
 Sincere -
 Sincere of the Roman -
 Sincere -
 Ditto -
 Brughell -
 Michel Koch -
 Ditto -
 Kitz -
 St. George & the Dragon

Appendix V

Yaxley, D. Catalogue of the documents brought up from the cellars and now in the Muniment Rooms at Houghton Hall, the property of the Marquess of Cholmondeley. Norfolk: I, February 2008; II, March 2009
Reference: RB.1.G4

| | | |
|--|--|-------------|
| To the Hon ^{ble} Robert Walpole | | |
| By Thomas Roberts | | £ 3 |
| To which Belongs of | | 616 10 |
| For a new work by a man taking down the | | |
| yellow Hangings in the Drawing Room | | 2 6 |
| paid Postage with the Coffey Curtains to | | |
| Batholomew (Cox) | | 1 |
| For King tape with thread and work making three | | |
| pair of blue Coffey window Curtains lined w th Thatch | | 1 10 |
| For Buckram used in them window Curtains with | | |
| thread and work making and binding them | | 15 |
| For 12 yds of worsted lace | | 1 8 |
| Paid the Smith new burnishing the Rods and | | |
| putting in 2 new pulleys to each of 27 yds of blue | | |
| third line | | 7 6 |
| For nails and work by a man fixing up the blue Coffey | | |
| window Curtains and 12 yds of 1/2 hanks used | | 4 6 |
| For King tape with thread and work making two pair | | |
| of yellow Coffey window Curtains | | 1 |
| For Buckram used to two Curtains with thread & work | | |
| making and binding them | | 10 |
| For 12 yds of worsted lace and to bind them | | 2 11 |
| Paid the Smith new burnishing two pulley Rods | | |
| three new pulleys to each and 18 yds of third line | | 5 6 |
| For silk thread and work making the yellow large | | |
| Hangings and piecing them out longer | | 10 6 |
| For Nails and work putting up the Hangings and | | |
| two pair of window Curtains & postings with | | |
| the things | | 7 6 |
| For 61 yds of fine broad yellow allahair used in | | |
| three pair of window Curtains in the Dining Room | | 22 5 10 |
| at 10/10 lb and covering the Frains at 1/2 | | |
| For 112 yds of all silk flowered lace at 7/2 | | 3 5 4 |
| For 41 yds of Jammy used to line the window | | |
| Curtains and Vallies | | 2 8 5 |
| Carried Forward | | £ 650 7 9 6 |

Houghton RB.1.G4

| | | |
|--|--------|----------|
| Brought Forward | | 680 7 9 |
| For silk three large Rings & Taps and work making three pairs of ellaham window Curtains being lined with Tansmy | 1 10 | |
| For Buckram to make three window valvins & Cranibus with three and work making & binding the three window Curtains & Cranibus | 18 | |
| For 3 bright polluk's window beds with 3 pullies each | 18 | |
| For 2 yds of silk Linc | 18 | |
| For eight wallnutten Chairs with stuff Seates and Dress Back lined with wallnutten quilt bottoms Cord hair linnen to line and work stuffing and covering with ellaham Cord & Linc at 60 | 12 | |
| For silk and work making six yds to 4 Chairs | 12 | |
| For strong waistcoat four yds. Basted with a double Sacking bottom head board & locks and strong set of filie Ribs | 1 12 | |
| For 21 yds of blue Flammation used in helping to make out your ower for all that Bed at 11 | 1 11 6 | |
| For 82 yds of blue covered Linc to the Bed at 24 | 17 1 | |
| For add of base laths and turned Ralls | 3 6 | |
| For Buckram Rings Taps with three and work making the Bed Ramps with Ralls on the top | 2 2 | |
| For 6 yds of Canvas to line the Head Ralls & Taps | 4 10 6 | |
| For a fine Flammation Bed tick of Ralls filled with fine Swiss Feathers | 6 10 | |
| For a pair of Flammation pillow fine filled with Down | 18 | |
| For a pair of large Blankets and one under one | 1 8 | |
| For strong Waistcoat Basted with double sacking bottom head board & locks & strong set of Ribs | 1 12 | |
| For 28 yds of printed stuff made into Curtains head Cloth & Taps | 1 12 | |
| For a Feather Bed and Bolster | 4 | |
| For a pair of Blankets and one under Blanket | 1 1 | |
| For a printed stuff Quilt | 1 | |
| | | 691 15 9 |

| Brought Forward | | 691.15 |
|--|---------|--------|
| For minding a large Persian Carpet removing in the pieces brushing it & patching to and from Arlington Street | 12 | |
| For 28 yds of yellow Camblet used in two sets of window Curtains valvins & Corniches | 2 10 | |
| For 41 yds of flower'd Lace to ditto at 2 | 13 8 | |
| For large fringe tape three yds and work making up 2 sets of window Curtains for my Lady's dressing Room at Bell Mells | 14 | |
| For Buckram silk and three to 2 Valvins & two Corniches and work making and binding them | 10 | |
| For 2 Buckramed window Rods with pulleys two brass pulleys 18 yds of three line & 4 spring hooks | 12 | |
| For two large brass hooks with points to keep back the Curtains | 3 | |
| For 2 yds of Tawny to line the window Valvins | 2 4 | |
| For work by a man putting up the chohain and Camblet window Curtains | 3 6 | |
| For 21 yds of printed Tawny used in one pair of window Curtains and a quilt for Mr. Maltby | 1 12 3 | |
| For 4 yds of blue Linnen to line the Quilt | 9 | |
| For Quilting the Quilt | 7 6 | |
| For fringe tape silk and work making a pair of window Curtains to a large window at Mr. Maltby's | 7 6 | |
| For 16 yds of cover'd Lace to ditto at 2 | 3 4 | |
| For a large plain Rod and hooks | 2 | |
| For 2 yds of green printed stuff and now covering the Tector of the porters Bed & minding the Gilt | 3 | |
| Nov: 17 For a pair of large Blankets at | 13 | |
| For nails and work by a man removing two Beds at Bell Mells | 4 | |
| For 6 yds of yellow Camblet used in six Chair Cushions at 2 | 12 6 | |
| For 29 yds of flower'd cover'd Lace at 2 | 7 8 | |
| | 703. 8. | |

| Brought forward | | 703. 8. |
|---|---|----------|
| For 2 lbs of tickin to line the Cushens at 2 | - | 11 - |
| For 12 pounds of worst Leathers to fill them at 10 | - | 12 - |
| For silk thread and work making the sea Cushens | - | 13 - |
| For 17 lbs of printed Damask used in two pair of window Curtains for the 1 st Room at 10 | 1 | 9 0 |
| For 32 lbs of blue cord used in the same at 2 1/2 | - | 6 8 |
| For large King tape silk thread and work making two pair of window Curtains rather with a head | - | 16 - |
| For two plain bright Red and four black | - | 4 - |
| For work by a man putting up the window Curtains | - | 2 6 |
| For a Gold & Silver Tassel to fasten with with | 1 | 8 - |
| For a pair of Taner's tick pillow Case filled with Down | - | 18 - |
| June 26 th For mail and two days work taking down furniture at Westminster Street and Expenses | - | 7 6 |
| 19 th For work by two men taking down hangings in the Nursery | - | 2 6 |
| July 19 th For work by 2 men one day each removing three window seats and making a Case to another at 10 | - | 7 - |
| For 10 lbs of green cord used for use to the Cushens | - | 2 6 |
| For King tape with thread and work making two pair of Linen window Curtains for my Lady's Chamber at Chelsea | - | 12 - |
| For work unripping four Vallies and Corniches, new covering and lacing the Corniches with Glue making and binding the Vallies | - | 12 - |
| For 56 lbs of ingrain covered Lase to 4 Curtains at 4 | - | 18 8 |
| For Wateridge and portridge with the Curtains at 3 | - | 3 - |
| For work putting them up | - | - |
| For three and work making six pair Cases of Linen | - | 18 - |
| For King tape silk and work making the Buck window Curtains fitt for the windowed Damask Room | - | 6 - |
| For glue and work covering two Corniches and binding the Vallies | - | 8 - |
| Carried forward | - | 715 18 7 |

| | | |
|---|--|----------|
| Brought Forward | | 715.13.7 |
| For 21 lbs of Persian window-lace used at 12 | | 2 7 |
| Paid Wateridge with 2 Chair and work by amian putting up two pair of window Curtains | | 2 6 |
| For work by 2 men three days each taking down furniture at Delftshelle and putting up same in Brainer, Cook | | 18 |
| For 2 pieces for three days & 2 Cart from Brainer to | | 7 |
| For taking down the printed Linen window Curtains in my Lady's Bed Chamber & Wateridge from Chelsea | | 1 6 |
| For 17 lbs of green Shalloon used to line the Curtains | | 1 15 |
| For silk thread and work lining the two pair of window Curtains putting them up at Chelsea & Wateridge | | 12 |
| Aug 15 For 17 lbs of yellow Shalloon to line two pair of yellow Damask window Curtains | | 1 14 6 |
| For work unripping the window Curtains securing the linings Laying them, mending & taping them | | 12 |
| For work by amian taking them down at Chelsea and putting them up again | | 2 6 |
| 23 For work by 2 men pulling out Linen Case for four Delftshelle 2 Couch, square & Cushions & twelve Chair Seats at Chelsea | | 6 |
| For three and work making four Sella & Cushion Cases | | 1 10 |
| For three and work making the Case to the Couch square and pillows | | 10 |
| For three and work making three 12 Chair Cases | | 12 |
| For 7 lbs of Linen used for the back of the Sella | | 14 |
| For 4 pieces of Holland Tape | | 4 |
| For work by 2 men fixing on the Cases and mending the Umbrells | | 2 |
| For 12 pair of high Curtains hooks with forger at 2.6 | | 2 2 |
| Sept 10 For work unripping the Chamber Bed window Curtains and Hangings and dry Cleaning all the furniture with Soda Crute 221 lbs at 2 | | 2 15 4 |
| Carried Forward | | 726.16.7 |

| | | |
|--|------|----------|
| Brouche Toward | | 730.16.7 |
| For securing all the Linens living of the Hangings | | 7.7 |
| Conte 30 lbs at 10 | | |
| For silk and work enclosing several pieces in the Hanging both of the Mahoe & (green) lining them in to the Linings, sewing on Stitches and Lacing 3 pieces of Hangings for the Bed Chamber and Dressing Room making them to take up & down | 6 6 | |
| For 12 lbs of white Hetchie & 12 lbs of fine Nails | 13 | |
| For 12 lbs of strong stone mantling (bricks) a piece mantling to the head board & piece the foyers allowing the Master & Mrs (both) | 1 13 | |
| For work new joining all the wood work of the yellow Mahoe Bed and Lacing it with glass, turning the lining of the Curtains new lining them in binding tapes and hanging them, taking the Wallers Shadowes, lining them again & mending 2 bars | 3.5 | |
| For wet & banishing and new watering the Mahoe belonging to the Counterpane and Pillows 18 lbs at 6 | 9 | |
| For sewing and pressing the Dags belonging to the Counterpane and Pillows | 4 | |
| For cleaning the Duvet to a fluff & new making it up again & lapping it with Flax Silk | 10.6 | |
| For 12 pounds of Flax added at 8 | 8 | |
| For cleaning the Holland new quilting it again and lapping it with Flax Silk | 7 6 | |
| For mending and new polishing the Bed quilted | 2 6 | |
| For sewing and pressing the stuff lining to the third pair of window Curtains Conte 48 lbs at 2 | 8 | |
| For 12 lbs of new Flax added to line one pair of window Curtains at 14 | 15 3 | |
| For silk thread and work making four pairs of yellow Mahoe window Curtains 100 lbs at 12 | 1 12 | |
| For work and lining the two window Curtains for the Bed Chamber & Mrs Ruckers and mending the ends making out Netices & new binding them | 10 | |
| | | 750.12.2 |

| Brought Forward | | 750.12 |
|---|-------|------------|
| For work and making the two dressing room windows Pallies and others facing & painting them | 10 | |
| For four large stone chiselling windows (cracks with) oil and covering and facing them with glass | 2 2 | |
| For the Smith altering the window bars and mending | 5 | |
| polishing them | | |
| For with three and work and joining, cording and | 10 6 | |
| lacering the Totten | | |
| For with three and work making the case for 4 little | 5 | |
| beds of lace used to make good the furniture | 1 2 4 | |
| For 2 of blue silk | 3 4 | |
| For work by 2 men four days each putting up the | | |
| Yellow Mohair furniture was done Beds in the barrell | 1 10 | |
| at Gravesend Street & Expenses | | |
| For large hooks to the four windows, long pine tacks | 5 | |
| brads and curtain hooks used | | |
| For 2 days work by 2 men putting up furniture at | 7 | |
| Gravesend Street and Expenses | | |
| For tacks brads &c and | 1 | |
| For 2 days work by 2 men at Gravesend Street & Expenses | 7 | |
| For nails and three used | 1 6 | |
| For 12 pounds of Down put into my 4 beds at 3 | 1 16 | |
| For work by two men four days each putting up | | |
| Furniture at Arlington Street & Expenses | 1 8 | |
| For Nails three and a brass pulley used | 6 | |
| For two lbs of Blue Linen used | 2 | |
| For 2 of hundred of Large Kumps | 1 6 | |
| For work covering and lacering 4 chairs with your | | |
| own Camblet for my 2 day Bed Chamber | 15 | |
| For eight Yards of Camblet to make the Case to | | |
| an Easy Chair | 1 | |
| For three silk and work making the Case to the | 7 6 | |
| Easy Chair | | |
| For 24 lbs of Blue Cover used to the Chair at 3 | 7 | |
| | | 764. 4. 10 |

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|---------|
| Brought Forward | | 7 | Ch. 4th |
| For 16 lbs of white Linen used to line the walling | | 4 | 7 |
| Flanings | at 9 | | |
| For 28 lbs of yellow canvas used to line the Place | | 6 | |
| Flanings & window Curtains | at 5 | | |
| For 36 lbs of Dutch Coffey working | at 20 | 14 | 12 |
| For silk thread and work sewing the Coffey and lining | | | |
| work lining them in fitting them to the places and | | 6 | 6 |
| sewing them | | | |
| For large bright Rings with three tapes & work | | 1 | 10 |
| making two pair of Coffey windows Curtains being lined | | | |
| For Buckram silk three and work making two | | | 13 |
| windows Vallins 8 foot long | | | |
| For large trimmings to the two window Vallins | | 1 | 8 |
| work covering and sewing them with Glass | | | |
| For 2 lbs of large silk line to the window Curtains | | | 10 |
| For 4 large spring locks to the window Curtains | | | |
| and two brass pulleys | | | 2 6 |
| For 7 pair of brass window hooks with jagged and | | | |
| wood screws at 2.6 | | 1 | 4 6 |
| For 18 lbs of yellow Flannel used to line a Curtains | | 4 | |
| For 8 lbs of purple stuff to line the Vallins | | | 3 |
| For silk three and large tapes & work making two | | | |
| pair of green serge window Curtains | | | 16 |
| For Buckram three with and work making three | | | |
| large window Vallins with returns | | | 12 |
| For six dozen of green worsted Lin at 2 | | | 12 |
| For three lbs of green serge used to strengthen 2 | | | 7 |
| For a Duck Cap and a blanket to secure the Bedstead | | | 18 |
| For silk three and work cutting the window Curtains | | | |
| in my Lords Bed Chamber. Redden new Ringing | | | 5 |
| and tapping them again | | | |
| For Buckram and work making two Vallins and | | | 10 |
| Cornishes with Returns | | | |
| 807. 8. 10 | | | |

| Brought forward | | 809 | 810 |
|---|--|-----|-------|
| For all my last pair of Curtains for the Bedchamber | | 3 | |
| For 24 yds of blue worsted Linn. used to tick the window Curtains at 3s | | 7 | 7 |
| For picking out the window holes | | 1 | |
| For a strong wainscot Bedstead with a cruller washing bottom and head board and feet of castles | | 1 | 8 |
| For a strong tick and bolster filled with warm feathers | | 3 | 15 |
| For a pair of Blankets and one under Blanket | | 1 | 1 |
| For a strong large footstool | | 11 | |
| For a strong Curtain Rod and hooks for the Bedchamber | | 2 | 6 |
| For a strong tape and work making the Curtain of your own design | | 2 | |
| For a strong Easy Chair frame, girls cottons (with hair) Linnen to line, work, stuffing and covering the Easy Chair with your own cloth, strong Linnen to line the Cushion and four seatstuffs to fill it | | 4 | |
| For with thread and work making the Case to the Easy Chair and Cushion | | 7 | 6 |
| For with thread and work making the Case to twelve Chairs and two stools of yellow Linn. for my Lords Bed Chamber and Dressing Room | | 2 | |
| For work unrigging the 12 Chair Chairs & two stools | | 5 | |
| For for washing and watering the cloth of the Chairs and stools | | 12 | |
| For with thread and work covering the 12 Chairs of the 12 Chairs & two stools nauts and work covering, binding and sewing them | | 2 | 2 |
| For a large Rich Mattress tufted with silver Linn | | 2 | 10 |
| For a fine large Holland Quilt neatly tufted with Silver Linn. sent to Westminster Street | | 1 | 15 |
| For 97 yds of fine Dutch Linnen used to the Hangings of the great Drawing Room at Grosvenor Street | | 3 | 12 |
| For with thread & work sewing the Damask Hangings & Linings & work laying them on & sewing them fitting them all round the Room & over the Doors | | 6 | 6 |
| | | 848 | 10. 2 |

| Brought forward | | 840. 10. 2 |
|--|---------|------------|
| For silk thread and work making two Damask windows (drains to draw up & down) small rings &c. | 1. 10. | |
| For white Be and Plumet | 2. 6. | |
| For 30 yds of crimson with line at 3. at 10. | 1. 10. | |
| For 60 yds of crimson with 2. of silk & two finings for 4 line | 1. 10. | |
| For 4 crop hooks to take up the white line | 1. 8. | |
| For Buckram silk thread and work making two window Vallies with returns | 12. | |
| For 3 yds of crimson Damask to line of Vallies at 20 | 3. | |
| For 4 stings wainscot bats and bolsters 15 crop padding in ven. frames for the Draw up curtains | 1. 10. | |
| For 12 fine wallnuttree (has frame stuff back & seat with a Quilt shell on each foot and a small bar near the seat gets bottom will have linen to line and work stuffing and covering them with your own crimson Damask being sides and ends at 32 | 19. 4. | |
| For acanthus tree (has frame stuff back & seat and small elbow gets bottom will have linen to line work stuffing and covering it with your own crimson Damask strong tickers to line and feathers to fill the (has 4 sides and lining it) (single) | 6. 6. | |
| For a large and strong wallnuttree (has frame stuff back & seat fin horse back bottoming will have linen to line work stuffing and covering with your own Damask | 4. 10. | |
| For a large Bed for the Couch of fine Handers tick fill with fine worst feathers covering with your own Damask silk thread and work bedding it | 4. 10. | |
| For two square Cushions lined with Ticken fine feathers to fill with thread and work making them | 1. 55. | |
| For tickers to line fine Down to fill with thread and work making it | 1. 10. | |
| For 60 yds of fine crimson silk flowered lace to the window curtains (has 4 sides & bottom for the Draw up Rooms at 3 | 20. 16. | |
| | | 904. 1. 2 |

| | | |
|---|------|---------------|
| Brought forward | | 904. 1. 2 |
| For silk thread and work making the Case to the | | |
| Case for the Drawing Room being lined at 2. 2. - | | 2. 2. - |
| For silk thread and work making the Case to the | | |
| Stair and Kitchen being lined with Linen | | 10. 6 |
| For silk thread and work making the Case | | |
| to the Coach square and Carriage being lined with Linen | | 15. - |
| For 30 lbs of Linen used to line the Case of the | | |
| Coach, Stair and Kitchen at 9. - | 1 | 2 6 |
| For 20 lbs of Linen used for the Case of the | | |
| Coach and Stair at 6. 6. - | 2 | 8 9 |
| For work to remove all the Furniture of | | |
| in the Drawing Room and Kitchen | 1 | 1 - |
| For three Thousand of Nails used | | 3. - |
| For partridge backboards and footboards with yellow | | |
| leather Case | | 5. - |
| And for Sewing and Damasking 60 lbs of yellow printed | | |
| Stuff at 2. - | | 12. - |
| For Quiring 72 lbs of yellow Linen | | 1 6 |
| For Buckram rings tape thread and work making up | | |
| a printed Stuff furniture | 1 | 1 - |
| For King tape thread and work making two pair of | | |
| small window Curtains gathered with a head | 3 | 5 - |
| For two straight Rods and Hooks | | 4. - |
| For putting up the Curtains | | 2. 6 |
| For nail and Cord used | | 1. - |
| For a pair of Japanned Hooks to the garnet Curtains | | 4. - |
| For 66 lbs of fine Chinese stuff Damask used in | | |
| three pair of window Curtains at 3. 6. - | 14 | 18. 1 1/2 |
| For 96 lbs of Chinese worsted silk binding at 3. - | 2. - | - |
| For large bright polished Brass rings Alth thread and | | |
| work making three pair of window Curtains at | 1 | 10. - |
| For Buckram to line with thread and work making three | | |
| window Curtains being flat laid and bound | 13 | - |
| For three Lacks for the Curtains | | 5. 6 |
| | | 934. 8. 6 1/2 |

| Brought forward | | 904. 8 68 |
|--|--------|----------------|
| For three large bright painted window beds with brass pullies | 18 | |
| For 6 large spring hooks | 3 | |
| For 20 lbs of large three line at 20 | 4 6 | |
| For three brass pullies for the line | 1 6 | |
| For a pair of fine painted brass window hooks at 12 | 12 | |
| For small brass rings and hooks to hang up the curtains | 1 | |
| For 20 lbs of fine yellow cloth used in curtains | 14 2 9 | |
| For 10 lbs of same used to line the windows | 1 2 2 | |
| For 2 lbs of white cloth used to line the windows | 12 3 | |
| For large painted rings tape with three and work making a pair of yellow cloth windows curtains bound line | 10 | |
| For backram with three and work making a window curtain being flat lined (under & back) | 10 | |
| For work wrapping a pair of curtains adding half a breadth of cloth to each and lining also tapping them and running them again | 10 | |
| For two large bright painted window beds with brass pullies | 12 | |
| For 4 large spring hooks | 2 | |
| For 2 brass pullies for the line | 1 | |
| For 2 lbs of white line to the new curtain at 8 | 6 4 | |
| For two laths for the curtains supported by a hole fast | 3 | |
| For two pair of fine lacquered brass window hooks | 8 | |
| For small brass rings and hooks to hang up the curtains | 8 | |
| For work by a man fixing the 2 pair of window curtains | 5 | |
| For a large and strong wallnut tree back frame with a whole head and fine horse cloth bottoming Cord hair linen to line work stuffing & covering it with yellow cloth being lined & lined | 4 10 | |
| For a large bed for the back of fine flowers tick filled with fine sweet feathers covering it with cloth with three and work binding it | 4 10 | |
| | | 964. 15. 8 1/2 |

| Brought forward | | 1764. 15. 8d |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| For taken to buy fine threads to fill and work | 1. 15. - | |
| making one hundred Cushions and one pillow Cushion | - 10. - | |
| For taken to buy silk thread and work making the | | |
| small pillow Cushion filled with small Savona | | |
| For two hundred and two pairs of small Savona | 3. - - | |
| has been to buy work making of covering with | | |
| Chahar being (Cord and Lace) | | |
| For silk and work making the Case to the Couch | - 10. - | |
| and three Cushions | | |
| For silk thread and work making the two Case | - 3. - | |
| For work making two pair of Chahar window Curtains | | |
| joining them together and hanging them and making | - 12. - | |
| them into two single Curtains for my Bed Room | | |
| For Cushions with three and work making two | - 10. - | |
| small Cushions being embroidered Cord and Savona | | |
| For two large bright burnish window Rides with | - 12. - | |
| Crash pillow | | |
| For a large spring back | - 2. - | |
| For two brass beds and a strong half foot | - 3. - | |
| For two pillows in brass frames | - 1. - | |
| For two ft of brass window backs | - 4. - | |
| For small beds and rings to hang up the Curtains | - 8. - | |
| For a pair of brass window backs for my Lady's Bed | - 16. - | |
| Chamber and Dressing Room | | |
| For small Rings and hooks to hang up the four pair | - 1. 4. - | |
| of Chahar window Curtains | | |
| For work and nails putting up the Curtains in the | - 2. 6. - | |
| Dressing Room and in all Chambers Room | | |
| For large Gilted with Lime to hang the Lanthorn | 2. 12. - | |
| weighing 26 Ounces at 2 p lb | | |
| For a large silk Taffeta and Shroud with faggots | 1. 10. - | |
| finger weighing 11 Ounces | | |

978. 2. 2d

| Brought Forward | | 1041 59 |
|---|------|----------|
| For a large set of long wall curtains (each room available) with dothins of fine cotton (both sets) four lines to line and work making and sewing it with green and Damask (each & lining it) | 4 10 | |
| For a large bed for the Couch of fine Damask with and fills with three and work making & binding it Damask with three and work making & binding it | 4 10 | |
| For two square Cushions lined with Turkey silk feathers to fill with three and work making them | 1 15 | |
| For two small Cushions lined with Turkey and fills with three and work making & binding it | 1 10 | |
| For with three and work making four Damask window Curtains to draw up in Festoons | 3 - | |
| For white small rings and plummetts to the Curtains | 5 - | |
| For 100 yds of small (green) silk line at 3 | 2 18 | |
| For 12 yds of large ditto at 10 | 10 - | |
| For 4 (green) silk Tassels & finishings for the lines | 1 6 | |
| For 8 brass hooks to take up the window line | 3 4 | |
| For a window with three and work making four window valances with valours | 1 4 | |
| For 6 yds of green Tawny to line the 2 valances for | 10 - | |
| For a large Damask saddle and hold fasts with 28 brass pullies in iron frames for the draw up Curtains | 3 - | |
| For with three and work making the Letter caps | 10 6 | |
| For with three and work making the Cases to the Couch Squab and Cushions lined with Linnen | 15 - | |
| For with three and work making the Cases to the twelve Chairs being lined with Linnen | 1 10 | |
| For 25 yds of Linnen to line the Cases at 3 | 17 3 | |
| For 1 yd of Pellantua for the back of the Letter 6 | 9 9 | |
| For a four post Walnut bedstead with a double Lacking bottom set of brass latches & turned Balls and a Campas Bed | 1 16 | |
| | | 1070 153 |

| | | |
|---|------------|-------------|
| Brought forward | | 1070. 15. 3 |
| For Buchanan's large tape with steel & wood painting | 2. 10. - | |
| for blue & green & red (up & down) | - 6. - | |
| For canvas to line the floor (both of upstairs) | - 6. 10. - | |
| For a fine & slender bed tick & bolster filled with fine sweet grass feathers | 1. - - | |
| For a pair of flannels tick pillow (also filled with feathers) | - 1. 8. 6 | |
| For a pair of large Blankets & one under blanket | 1. 12. - | |
| For a large striped linen Duvet & large back | - 1. 15. - | |
| For a 12 ounce field Boastard with lined postern and brass buttons & iron back and double working bottom, two small rings and one turned ball | 1. 1. - | |
| For silk, three and work making the field bed curtain | - 2. - | |
| For canvas to line the floor (both) | - 10. - | |
| For silk three and work making two pair of window curtains | - 12. - | |
| For Buchanan with three and work making the two window Duvets and cushions | - 7. - | |
| For two plain window beds and spring hooks | - 1. 11. - | |
| For 100 yds of fine worsted lace used to all the furniture in this Nursery | - 3. 10. - | |
| For a strong English Bed tick and bolster filled with fine sweet grass feathers | - 7. 6 | |
| For an English tick pillow (also filled with sweet grass feathers) | - 18. - | |
| For a pair of Blankets and one under blanket | 1. 1. - | |
| For a printed linen Duvet & stuff back | 6. 6. - | |
| For 12 strong Chairs with Rushy Leather Seats & nailed with brass nails for the Staircase Room | - 15. - | |
| For 135 yds of fine Crimson Genoa Damask used in a Red two pair of window curtains and Chairs - at 16. | 108. 8. - | |
| | | 1211. 12. 3 |

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| For adding crimson Ruffles with a double working to the curtain, also laces with rings and Quilt upons laces and two short round feet parts | 2 8 - |
| For a large Damask Cushion and a wooden Cushion with rings and set of lace mending with pointed felt | 2. 17. - |
| For with these also and work making the crimson Damask Bed with a Counterpane Quilted | 5. 5. - |
| For fine Duck Linen to line the Bed (Bolt and Buckram to the Bed) | 1. 8. - |
| For a fine slender Bed tick bordered and bound and a bolster filled with fine sweet Swans Down | 9. 15. - |
| For a pair of Vermilion pillow Cases filled with sweet sweet Down | 1. 2. - |
| For a fine large Timothy Mattress stuffed with Three with | 2. 10. - |
| For a fine Holland Quilted Mattress stuffed | 1. 14. - |
| For a pair of the largest finest Blankets | 2. - - |
| For a large under Blanket | 14. - - |
| For a fine large white Cotton Quilt neatly quilted | 3. 10. - |
| For large bright Rings tops with thread and work making two pair of crimson Damask window Curtains being lined | 1. 4. - |
| For 25 yds of fine crimson Linen used to line two pair of Curtains & the backings of the Pallies at 2 | 3. 10. - |
| For Buckram with thread and work making two large window Pallies with returns | 12. - - |
| For two laces and holdfasts to fix the Pallies | 3. - - |
| For two large bright polished window Rods with brass pullies & 6 large spring hooks | 12. - - |
| For 20 yds of crimson with line used to the window Curtains at 10 | 16. 8. - |
| For 14 yds of small crimson with line for the Bed | 5. 10. - |
| For two large brass pullies for the window line | 1. - - |
| For two pair of fine bright Lacquered brass windows Hooked with Hooks | 8. - - |

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| For small leaf Bury and back to hang up the | - 9 |
| For a large Tophet and two half heads to run in the | - 7.6 |
| With line | |
| For with leggings and a small Tophet to back | - 15. |
| the Red Chetons | |
| For six wallnutts (two frame stuff back & seat) | |
| with a frame shell on the feet and a frame the seat | 9 12. |
| with bottom (all have lining to line work stuffing) | |
| and covering with crimson Damask corded and tape | |
| For a wallnutts (two frame stuff back & seat) | |
| with a frame lining to line work stuffing and covering | 3.13. |
| with crimson Damask corded and tape | |
| For taken to line four frames to fit the Chetons | - 13. |
| For with three work making the Case to the six | 1.1. |
| Chairs lined with Linen | |
| For with three and work making the Easy Chair and | - 10.6 |
| Chetons Case lined with Linen | |
| For 15 lbs of Linen used to line the Chair Case | - 11.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For 8 lbs of crimson Mantua used to the back of | 1.6. |
| the Chairs and to the Red | at 6.5 |
| For 49 lbs of fine Latch (Canvas used to line | 1.16.9 |
| the pieces of Latch at 9 | |
| For work and three sewing the linings laying | |
| them in rows on the Hitches making them | 3. - |
| to take up and down, of Hitches & Latch used | |
| For Two large wallnutts Elbow Chairs with | |
| arched feet and canvas wallnutts Elbows stuff | 9 - |
| back and seat and stuff Elbows covered with black | |
| leather and nailed with fine double varnished | |
| brass nails at | 24.10 |
| For a four posts to nearest Reestars with a | |
| double Latching bottom hard board and laths and | 1.12. |
| set of smooth felt Rose | |

1285.10.92

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| Brought forward | | 1205. 10. 7½ |
| For 41 lbs of Blue Flannel used in the Bed | 20 | 0 8 4 |
| For 24 lbs of worsted Linn. to sitte at | | 10 6 |
| For Rings Tape Buckram silk thread and work making the Bed Compleat | 2 | — — |
| For Canvas to line the Head both and Footers | | 6 — |
| For sort of base mouldings to the Bed | | 3 6 |
| For a strong English Bedtick and bolster filled with fine soft Feathers | 3 | — — |
| For a pair of Tichen pillows Case filled with sweet Feathers | | 16 — |
| For a pair of Blankets and one under Blanket | | 1 8 6 |
| For a printed linnen Quilt with a stuff back | | 1 6 — |
| For Scouring and painting 26 lbs of Lysine for the Beds Bed at 8 | | 6 6 |
| For third and work making the Lysine furniture | | 5 — |
| For Scouring three Blankets to sitte | | 4 6 |
| For portenidge and work putting up the two Beds over the Kitchen | | 5 — |
| Jan: 29 For 16½ lbs of fine Crimson Coffey for the Salloon att Houghton at 14. 8 ½ | | 118. 18. = |
| By Cash Apr: 24 th 1729 | | 200 — |
| Le 1420. 8 7½ | | |
| Le 1220. 8. 7½ | | |