

# **John Carr of York and Hidden Architectural Histories**

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

**Christopher Warleigh-Lack, B.A., M.A.**

Art and Design Research Institute

Middlesex University

**October 2013**

## **Abstract**

The purpose of my study is to explore previously overlooked and therefore hidden eighteenth-century architectural histories using the lens of John Carr of York (1723-1807). This can help elucidate our understanding of, and challenge accepted ideas around, architectural histories that traditionally have a London based, stylistic, gendered or elitist class bias, coupled with an exclusive view of the practice of architecture based on the great drawing offices of premier architects such as Carr's peers Robert Adam and Sir John Soane. By using John Carr of York in this way we can see that there are alternative architectural histories that exist in conjunction with and not in opposition to, these established ideas. In particular, the hidden architectural histories I focus on include the role of women as architectural practitioners and patrons, the accuracy of the previously held view of who eighteenth-century architectural patrons were and subsequently the influences upon them, and the role of the architect within the professional function.

## **Acknowledgements**

- Professor Dana Arnold, Middlesex University
- Professor Anne Massey, Middlesex University
- Staff of Nottingham University Library
- Staff of the Records Offices used, but in particular those of Sheffield, Northampton and Leeds.
- Staff of the Soane Museum, RIBA, and V&A
- Ali, Clare, Harry and Karen, with whom many carafes of red wine were consumed, and great ideas were formulated.
- Clifford Newbold, Giles Newbold and David Allott at Wentworth Woodhouse
- Ivan Hall, John Goodchild and Alison Sinclair

## **Dedication**

To Alex

## **Contents**

Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1 - Carr's History .....	33
Chapter 2 – Carr's Place .....	75
Chapter 3 – Carr's Patrons .....	110
Chapter 4 – Carr's Women .....	155
Chapter 5 – Carr's Role .....	190
Chapter 6 – Carr's Country House Setting .....	217
Conclusion .....	266
Bibliography.....	277
Illustrations.....	283
Appendices.....	286

## Introduction

The purpose of my study is to explore previously overlooked and therefore hidden eighteenth-century architectural histories using the lens of John Carr of York (1723-1807). This can help elucidate our understanding of, and challenge accepted ideas around, architectural histories that traditionally have a London based, stylistic, gendered or elitist class bias, coupled with an exclusive view of the practice of architecture based on the great drawing offices of premier architects such as Carr's peers Robert Adam and Sir John Soane.<sup>1</sup> By using John Carr in this way we can see that there are alternative architectural histories that exist in conjunction with and not in opposition to, these established ideas. In particular, the hidden architectural histories I focus on include the role of women as architectural practitioners and patrons, the accuracy of the previously held view of who eighteenth-century architectural patrons were and subsequently the influences upon them, and the role of the architect within the professional function. This chapter introduces Carr and my reasons for embarking on this project, before discussing aspects of the quantitative and qualitative methods used, the theoretical framework adopted, and ends with an outline of the successive chapters.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, among others: John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, Fifth (London: Yale, 1993); Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 1995); Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2001); Mark Girouard, *Life In The English Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Arthur T Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758-1794)* (London: Country Life, 1922); John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England*, Second (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Howard Colvin, *History of the King's Works* (London: Department of the Environment, 1963); James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation: Five Patrons of Eighteenth Century Art* (London: Hamish, 1962); David Littlejohn, *The Role of the English Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Albert E. Richardson, *Monumental Classic Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Norton, 1914); Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880: Creating Paradise* (London: Hambledon, 2007); Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Sutton, 1998).

Carr was born on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1723 to a family who for two generations had owned and worked stone quarries around Wakefield, West Yorkshire. As a result, Carr received a very solid, practical education in building matters and both his father and brother continued in the family business, often working on projects with Carr as Clerk of Works or as a supplier of building materials. According to Wragg, Carr's first architectural commission was Huthwaite Hall for John Cockshutt in 1748.<sup>2</sup> Within the year, Stephen Thompson was writing 'I have got a clever young fellow of a Mason at the Head of My Works'.<sup>3</sup> Here Carr was exposed to the work of Lord Burlington and Roger Morris, who had designed the new house at Kirby for Thompson.

After his marriage in 1750 to Sarah Hinchliffe, the couple moved to York, where Carr was required to become a Freeman of the City in order to establish a business there. His extensive architectural career based in Skelmersgate, York, focused on Yorkshire and surrounding counties, but also extended to London, Edinburgh, Ireland, and as far away as Portugal. During his career, Carr was also active in local politics as an Alderman of the City of York, twice becoming its Lord Mayor. However, how devoted to that role Carr was is questionable; he wrote to Samuel Shore in 1771 'to[ ]day I quit the troublesome office [of Lord Mayor of York] which has impeded my business exceedingly.'<sup>4</sup> Carr was also an active member of the Whig Rockingham Club, his letters indicating his avowed

---

<sup>2</sup> Brian Wragg, 'The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect' (unpublished PhD Thesis, York Institute of Architectural Studies, 1975), vol. 2, Pg. 14.

<sup>3</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DD GR 41/5/13, Stephen Thompson to Thomas Grimston, 1748

<sup>4</sup> Sheffield Archives, Hollis Hospital Papers, LD 1164/52, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1771, Carr to Samuel Shore

Whig views. Wragg discussed in detail Carr's political associations with his patrons, many of whom were also Whig.<sup>5</sup>

Within the prevailing view of architectural history, stylistic leadership may traditionally be associated with an elite, aristocratic group whose needs were catered for by what are perceived to be the great architects. This view has more recently been replaced with that of the rising mercantile class becoming the dominant patrons of architecture during the eighteenth-century.<sup>6</sup> Within and between these strata, however, existed a larger group of less wealthy people more normally overlooked in architectural histories, who, although they could not spend £50,000 on a house, could spend £5000. Members of this group aspired to a country seat in a grand manner, and in the case of Carr's patronage and as part of the gentry, many were already established owners of the land upon which they were building. The gentry is more representative of Carr's patronage, so much so that Professor Albert Richardson wrote that Carr's 'halls for the Yorkshire squirearchy can be likened to a number of English Petits Trianons.'<sup>7</sup> The present study is not necessarily a study of the country house; however, Carr designed 67 new houses – approximately one-fifth of his total output – and carried out alterations on a further 101 houses, with a further 61 projects focussing on the country house estate. The country house as a building type, therefore, is a major part of Carr's oeuvre and discussions around it will feature throughout this thesis, but it does in its totality represent only half his work. Cultural and architectural

---

<sup>5</sup> Brian Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, ed. by Giles Worsley (York: Oblong, 2000), pp. 39–48.

<sup>6</sup> I have chosen to use the word *patron* throughout, rather than *client*; patron – a more positive term – implies a two way discourse, whereas client implies a one-way relationship from the person commissioning the work. Neither is evident in the case of Carr's work, where in the most part he appears to be presenting the patron with his ideas.

<sup>7</sup> Richardson.

histories more recently have grown uncomfortable with this elitist perspective and instead focus on vernacular and ecclesiastical buildings and middle class consumption.<sup>8</sup> Art and architectural histories are also traditionally more comfortable with the end result of the relationship between architect and patron and therefore overlook the many aspects of interest found on the journey to that point.<sup>9</sup>

The focus of architectural histories on the great London based drawing offices of renowned architects can lead to the danger of distancing academic thought from those actually creating the designs and running a practice. Adam and Soane both ran large, prolific, architectural businesses employing many draftsmen. Subsequently, how aware were these practitioners of what was being produced in their name? Both Adam and Soane may merely have signed the work of others. A risk of confusion or blurring of intent is inherent in claiming that Carr's contribution to histories of architecture is more legitimate based on the assumption of his proximity to architectural production. However, Carr's letters show his active involvement and we know he undertook the work for which he signed his name with the assistance of never more than two clerks. Analysis of architectural histories using the lens of Carr could, therefore, be considered as being closer to the truth than that of the larger architectural practitioners. One must also consider the concept that 'by' can be a lie; the architect, client, builder

---

<sup>8</sup> See for instance the work of Helen Clifford and Amanda Vickery on middle-class consumption; articles published in *Architectural History* during the last five years show a keen interest in modern Catholic Church architecture, medieval cathedral architecture and university architecture. One country house from the 1930s featured in 2007, and an article discussing the Mason's marks at Apethorpe Hall in 2008. 2011 saw an article on the visitor route of country house visitors in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>9</sup> See, again, among others: Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London: Yale University Press, 1995); Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*.



and end user are often different people. This is evident in Carr's work for the Hollis Hospital Trust, Sheffield.

Carr is now no longer seen in the same favourable light that he was during his lifetime, but is merely regarded as a practical builder of provincial country houses. However, his practice was prolific, in particular in the country house arena, and while he may be described by Bolton as the 'strongly traditional and practical architect of the county' his work clearly met the wide ranging needs of his patrons.<sup>10</sup> A study such as this can, therefore, reveal many previously overlooked aspects of architectural history, including a deeper and more complex impression of the role of the late eighteenth-century professional architect. These hidden architectural histories are not, in fact hidden, but in existing are overlooked in favour of more traditional themes. This thesis does not propose to replace one hierarchy of architectural histories with another, but rather, in turn, provides a richer and more nuanced understanding of those histories. Shifting our viewpoint, then, can reveal alternative perspectives.

Peter Collins wrote in his article 'Parallax' of the concept of shifting one's view, in which he also added a fourth dimension – time – to the existing three based on the writing of Siegfried Gideon.<sup>11</sup> Time is necessary in order to experience the constructed space, or even to examine and experience it from an alternative viewpoint. It is important to consider that the buildings themselves are important primary sources. Has the modern writer of Carr explored those spaces created by him? As we see in the next chapter, 'Carr's History' reviewing the current literature, Thoresby was one of the few buildings by Carr to be

---

<sup>10</sup> Bolton, p. 159.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Collins, 'Parallax', *Architectural Review*, 132 (1962), 387–390 (p. 387). The term Parallax is derived from the Greek *parallaxis*, or 'alteration'.

considered, briefly, within the canonical literature. At Thoresby, Carr created the first British country seat in the form of a ‘Palladian Villa’ for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Kingston. In focusing on such a building as this, a hierarchy becomes evident, both stylistically and within a modern class construct. The building no longer survives, so cannot be explored by the modern writer as its view, other than Carr’s plans published in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, is no longer available to us.<sup>12</sup> A different approach to this particular commission, however, can reveal further aspects, as Chapter 3 ‘Carr’s Patrons’ will show.

The concept of Parallax can be considered in two ways: how the original user of the space created by Carr moved through it and perceived it; and how Carr’s work is viewed by the modern writer. Mark Girouard in his *Life In The English Country House* considered the use of the space within the building: the seventeenth century *enfilade*, the eighteenth-century circular and interconnecting reception space; the Victorian mania for restricting movement on gender and class ideals, and how, during the twentieth century, domestic country house space was again opened up. Carr’s success is evident through the large number of people who commissioned him to create such spaces, of which the classical, grand and elitist space was only a small part, and Girouard *was* innovative in his examination of the social use of space within the country house.

To appreciate the work of Carr, his use of drama as one moves through space created by him, one should spend time at Basildon Park, in Berkshire. Designed by Carr in the 1770s for Sir Frances Sykes, the younger son of a minor

---

<sup>12</sup> James Woolfe and John Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, 1771* (London: Dover, 2009), fig. 11–13.

gentry family from Yorkshire who had made his fortune in India and retired to the Thames Valley.



Illustration 1 - Basildon Park, South Front, By John Carr, 1776

Here the space can be read following Girouard's concept of circulatory and interconnected reception space located on the *piano-nobile* and accessed via the *peron* set behind the recessed portico. My first encounter with Carr, which ultimately led many years later to this research project, was at this house as a volunteer for the National Trust while an undergraduate. As a student of History of Art and Architecture, I was surprised that such an example of eighteenth-century 'Palladian Revival' architecture fitting so neatly within Sir John Summerson's chronological narrative of history of architecture was unknown, as was to me at that point, its architect.

One can appreciate the proportions of this Palladian villa constructed in golden Bath stone transplanted to the home counties; the beauty of the space and

its place within its setting as one ascends – following the National Trust route as original guests of the Sykes family did – the recessed *peron* behind the portico topped with a classical pediment, into the symmetrical Entrance Hall, across the Staircase Hall, with its cantilevered floating staircase lit from above by a lantern, and through to the Octagon Drawing Room, a space type favoured by Carr with a large bay window overlooking the Thames Valley.



Illustration 2 - Basildon Park, by John Carr, 1776. Staircase Hall and Octagon Drawing Room From the Entrance Hall

Ideals of the eighteenth-century concept of man's dominion over nature can be clearly read when experiencing this building which is planted firmly within its landscape. Peter Collins himself quoted Siegfried Giedon who stated that one can enjoy both the inside and outside of a space, which initially sounds contradictory, but one must consider that for Giedon, living during the Modernist era, buildings contemporary to him were sheathed in glass allowing a view through and out.<sup>13</sup>



**Illustration 3 - Basildon Park, by John Carr, 1776, View From Octagon Drawing Room Bay Window Across The Thames Valley**

Carr regularly made use of the canted bay window to create an octagonal shaped room within, as he did here at Basildon Park, which itself becomes a feature of the room. In the case of Basildon Park, this canted bay window takes the form of a dramatic Serliana several metres in height. Views of the country house setting nearly always include the house at the centre of the estate, in the

---

<sup>13</sup> Collins, p. 388.

centre of the image, as seen in paintings of Wentworth Woodhouse hanging in the Smoking Room at Milton Hall. Rarely are views painted of the landscape from the house, which in this case is spectacular.

Carr was, and is still, considered one of the dominant second generation Palladian builders of the latter half of the eighteenth-century as seen here at Basildon Park. Palladianism in all its complexity is an architectural style that is interwoven within centuries of British architecture. Rudolf Wittkower outlined our current understanding of Palladianism in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, and as published in the collected essays and lectures that form his posthumous book *Palladio and English Palladianism*.<sup>14</sup> At its purest it describes the architectural style based on the work of Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), working in the Veneto in northern Italy. Palladio created a sense of balance, proportion and harmony from a deceptively simple play of elements derived from his own experience of ancient Roman architecture and his interpretation of classicism. Palladianism is taken to combine several elements: careful attention to planning, which was with rooms composed of pure geometrical forms such as cubes, creating sequences of space which were usually symmetrical across a central axis; a *piano nobile*, or noble floor, on which were placed the main reception rooms, often with a basement beneath and an attic above, sometimes approached by an external staircase; and use of the classical orders, using columns rather than pilasters to create rich, sculptural effects. These last were often utilised in the creation of a portico topped with a pediment, applied to churches, palaces and villas, which echoed the grandeur of Ancient Rome, and all of these can be seen at

---

<sup>14</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles In The Age Of Humanism* (New Haven: Norton, 1949); Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio And English Palladianism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

Basildon Park. Further motifs used by Palladio included a Venetian window, or Serliana, so called after Sebastiano Serlio, who is perhaps the first person to have utilised this device which consisted of a central arched opening flanked on either side by a shorter, flat topped opening. The Diocletian, or thermal, window, could also be used, in which we see a semi-circular window usually divided into three equal parts, often used within the vaulted roofs of the bath buildings of Ancient Rome and seen at the baths of Emperor Diocletian's palace at Split.

The elegant simplicity of Palladio's work became influential, helped by the publication of his treatise *Quattro Libri dell Architettura* (Four Books of Architecture) in Italian in 1570. Translated into many European languages in the following centuries, the English translation of 1715 by Giacomo Leoni in particular, helped make popular Palladianism to the English builder.

In a purer form, however, Palladianism had already emerged within England. Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the King's Works to James I and Charles I, had travelled to Italy as part of the Earl of Arundel's Grand Tour party in 1613-1614, annotating his own copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* while examining in person the buildings illustrated. Jones subsequently introduced Palladian ideas, with subtle practical differences, to England through his design of the Queen's House, Greenwich, and the Banqueting House at Whitehall, which informed the creation of a number of later seventeenth-century Palladian buildings, including Wilton House. With the outbreak of the Civil War in the 1640s, the use of Palladianism became less obvious until the early decades of the eighteenth-century but elements can be seen later in the seventeenth-century in the work of, among others, Sir Christopher Wren, James Gibbs, Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas

Hawksmoor.<sup>15</sup> Contemporary with Leoni's translation of *Quattro Libri* in 1715 were other publications including Colen Campbell's first edition of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and later, Isaac Ware's *The Designs of Inigo Jones*, of 1744.

The popularity of what is often referred to as Neo-Palladianism is partially down to the energy and vision of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), who drew on Palladio's ideas of villa and palace architecture. In the former, Palladio drew together and harmonised the rustic buildings of the villa in which he placed centrally a domestic space, often between arcades. These arcades could terminate in a pavilion housing such a function as a dovecote, granary or barn. Within the British Isles, this form easily met the needs of the country house function which varied slightly. These Neo-Palladian ideas could be seen in the rising number of buildings being constructed in the expanding British towns and cities, and across its countryside, and in the architecture of John Carr.

Carr is regarded as a second generation Palladian; and yet we can quickly see his oeuvre, though, was more dynamic and diverse, presenting an architectural practice fitting the needs of its patrons. It is possibly for this reason that Wragg struggled to categorise Carr as Palladian stylistically and others assumed the Palladian sobriquet without investigating its accuracy. Wragg made assumptions about how Carr 'should' have been designing, hence his confusion over whether his architecture was Palladian. A set of beliefs or assumptions have been applied to Carr governing how he 'should' have worked. Subconsciously, Wragg inadvertently applied the concept of Foucault's author function. An approach such as that taken by this thesis considers and reflects on the difficulties previous

---

<sup>15</sup> See: Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* in which Worsley discusses this.



writers had in adopting a stylistic and biographical approach, and instead considers thematic issues around Carr's architectural work.



**Illustration 4 - John Carr, by Sir William Beechey**

Those rare writers discussing Carr have always used the official portrait by Sir William Beechey, of 1791. Giles Worsley's edited book based on Brian Wragg's unpublished PhD thesis on Carr reproduced this image on the front

cover, and Ivan Hall in his 2013 pictorial survey of Carr's work included it on page 3.<sup>16</sup> In Beechey's portrait we see a traditional eighteenth-century presentation of a busy working gentleman, set in a classical pose emphasised by the fluted column complete with billowing red drapes behind him. It appears we have burst in on Carr who has thus turned his attention to us, but not in an unwelcome way. In the background we see the spire of St Peter's Church, Horbury, designed and funded by Carr for the village of his birth but not completed at the time of this portrait. In contrast, on his knee we see the design project upon which Carr was working when we interrupted him, quill in hand and ready to make some minor alteration. In reality the design was created 12 years earlier, and represents the Crescent at Buxton, commissioned by the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire. This is a classical three storey crescent, a project to rival that at Bath, and intended as such by the patron. Innovatively, it contained two of the first purpose built hotels in the British Isles, as well as the expected Pump Room, and the more usual houses and shops. The whole is set on a rusticated and arcaded basement storey, with *piano-nobile* and attic storey above fronted with a fluted Doric giant order. Beechey's portrait was purchased in 1958 through Christies by the National Portrait Gallery from the estate of Robert Parker of Browsholme Hall, whose family had inherited it through the last surviving Carr, Mary, in 1862.

However, a much more interesting image of Carr was created by George Dance five years later, in June 1796.

---

<sup>16</sup> Ivan Hall, *John Carr of York, Architect, 1723-1807* (Horbury: Rickaro Books, 2013).



**Illustration 5 - John Carr, by William Daniell, After George Dance**

A simple image, showing Carr in half-length profile facing right, it is one of a series of nearly 200 drawings of friends and associates created by Dance and ‘sketched from life’ between 1793 and 1810. Dance had been a founding member of the Royal Academy in 1768 and was to go on and become Professor of

Architecture two years after creating Carr's sketch. Other contemporaries of both men sketched by Dance include Sir William Chambers, Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Sir Robert Smirke, Nicholas Revett, Thomas Sandby and Robert Mylne and John Mylne. Other artists Dance included were George Stubbs, Benjamin West, Joseph Turner, Joseph Nollekens and Johann Zoffany; society figures included Lords Charlemont, Camden and Castlereagh, and Horace Walpole and Mary Robinson.<sup>17</sup> Robert Adam was already dead at this time, but Sir John Soane, who had trained with Dance, *is* missing.

From an art historical perspective, Dance's image draws on elements of the Romantic Movement then in vogue, in contrast to the more traditional and classical Beechey image. In both, however, Carr himself is dressed identically. The traditional – albeit very impressive – image of Carr is that usually chosen to represent him, appropriately for an architect working in what is perceived by modern writers of architectural history as a traditional, sedentary way. However, reflecting on Dance's image which is rarely used, for a moment, other aspects of Carr's history are revealed.

Dance and Carr were both founding members of the Architects' Club, inaugurated in 1792 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Some of those founding members with Dance and Carr also feature in Dance's collection of sketches, as mentioned above. Intriguingly, artist and engraver William Daniell reproduced a number of Dance's original sketches as soft-ground etchings, and published them between 1802 and 1827, one of which was that of Carr in 1814. Dance's original of Carr no longer survives, but Daniell's version after it does. What is intriguing is why Carr was chosen, not only by Dance in 1796, but also by

---

<sup>17</sup> In no particular order!

Daniell 18 years later. Carr was highly regarded during his lifetime as a practitioner in architecture, evidenced by his being invited to become a founding member of the Architects' Club; this repute clearly survived after his death in 1807. Is it then that a later, narrower and imposed viewpoint may have blinded us to what a study of Carr's work can reveal? Answers to these questions can help us shift our perspective on architectural histories revealing previously omitted or hidden themes, as I do here.

In order to undertake this project I have adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to unpick and reveal these hidden architectural histories; both methods are based on the archival evidence available to us. A concise Carr archive is no longer available; following his death in 1807 his country estate at Askham Richard and his town house in York were left to his nephew William with various legacies and properties to other nephews and nieces.<sup>18</sup> Upon the death of William Carr in 1822 it would appear that Carr's library and other collections were broken up. Sir John Soane purchased a number of architectural publications that had belonged to Carr shortly after William's death; and in 1825 several folios of Carr's drawings, primarily ceiling and chimney-piece designs with some plans and elevations, appeared in the catalogue of the Bloomsbury book dealer Priestley and Weale, *Bibliotheca Architectonica*.<sup>19</sup> Their current location is unknown. Leon Edel in *Writing Lives: Principia Biographica* wrote that the concept of the archive belongs to modern times, and that as central heating replaced open fires in which people tended to throw papers,

---

<sup>18</sup> National Archives, prob 11/1459

<sup>19</sup> *Bibliotheca Architectonica*, Priestley and Weale (Bloomsbury, May 1825), lots 342-45 and 1540

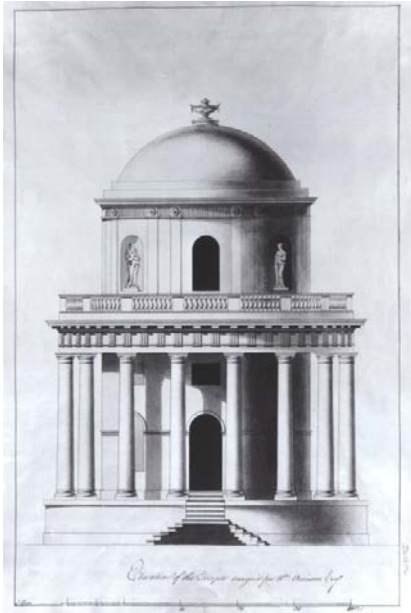
documents began to be treated differently.<sup>20</sup> A further problem when understanding Carr's work is the difficulty in accessing his country houses: because they are modest in size, many have survived as private residences.

In order to place Carr we must instead make use of the extensive archives available to us of his patrons. Elements of these archives have been published, principally by Wragg who focused solely on Carr's work from a stylistic viewpoint, but a return to these records can elucidate further aspects of Carr's work and reveal alternative, hidden, histories of architecture. Further un-published archives examined as part of this thesis include those of the Fitzwilliam family at Northampton Public Records Office, the Henry Holland papers in the RIBA collection, the Dundas family papers at the North Yorkshire Public Records Office in Northallerton and the Portland of Welbeck family papers relating to their London estates at Nottingham University Library. This new knowledge is important because it can help contextualise Carr firmly within his own social milieu. This in turn allows us confidently to examine overlooked and hidden architectural histories through the work of Carr. Wragg, and before him William A Eden in his 1928 B.Arch thesis, proceeded to set Carr within the society of eighteenth-century England, but on a national level, having discussed the same historical events shaped by the same national heroes including Clive of India, General Wolfe in Canada and Captain Cook in Australia. Exploration of the career of Carr can also help us reinforce the shift in the current bias not only away from London to the provinces but also from the traditional histories of architecture and their emphasis on class and style alone.

---

<sup>20</sup> Leon Edel, *Writing Lives: Principia Biographica*, Second (New York: Penguin, 1984), p. 93; 101.

The archives studied include - but are not limited to - those of the patrons whose commissions are set out here to illustrate both the range of background and commissions and the primary source availability:



- Mausoleum at Ossington Hall of 1782 for merchant William Denison. The design was not executed and only this and some other plans survive.



- Constable Burton Hall from 1767 for Sir Marmaduke Wyvil, a member of the gentry. The building survives but only one design by Carr of the stable block survives.



- York Law Courts from 1776 for the committee of York Magistrates. The building survives, and the building accounts survive.

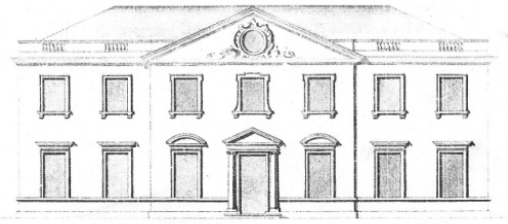


- Bootham Park Lunatic Asylum from 1777, for Archbishop Drummond of York. The building survives but no archives survive.



- Fireplace design of the 1770s intended for Wentworth Woodhouse, for the Marquis of Rockingham, but part of the Fitzwilliam of Milton collection. Rockingham twice held the post of Prime Minister, and Edmund Burke held the post of his private secretary for many years. Many letters, drawings and diaries from family members therefore survive and are well catalogued. This factor helps create architectural historiography in which we traditionally see a masculine aristocratic focus supporting classical ideals.





- Busby Hall design of 1757 for Jane Turner, a gentry widow. This commission was not executed and only the drawings survive.



- St James Church, Ravenfield, from 1764 for Elizabeth Parkin, a merchant. The building survives as does this drawing and diocesan papers relating to the building's ordination.



- Castlegate House, York, from 1765 for Peter Johnson, a legal professional. The building survives but no records survive.

**Illustration 6 - Various Examples of Work, Patrons and their archives**

Surviving archives are varied where they do exist but are in the main fragmentary. Papers relating to the whole process of commissioning, designing and constructing an architectural project rarely survive for the work of any architect. However, the strength of this wide and varied evidence reveals a broader answer to the questions we may have. In expanding my search of the archives beyond those relating to architectural designs commissioned from Carr, I

discovered many answers to questions I had not realised existed at the start of the project. Accounts can confirm work was undertaken; letters and diaries can reveal the attitudes and opinions of patrons and all can be referenced against the letters of others. Some drawings survive, although it was Carr's practice once the design was approved to pass them on to the builders who would then use them as construction drawings, although some copies were made. This therefore means many of Carr's designs for those buildings constructed are lost.

When working with archives, the following points must be considered, all discussed in detail by Edel: the researcher can become too focused on the trivial, viewing all historic documents as sacrosanct. This is evident in the study of Carr, for whom building accounts and lists of supplies survive in the collections of some of his patrons, which are of interest to researchers working on other aspects of Carr's work. For Edel, this can represent the failure to differentiate between the important and the trivial.<sup>21</sup> A third pitfall when working with archives is that one can often adhere rigidly to chronology, particularly if adopting a biographical approach, therefore obscuring other points of interest, as we find with those previous writers on Carr.

The buildings themselves remain as a primary source, as well as images produced at the time for a variety of purposes. This includes such architectural publications as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The 1771 edition contained 11 designs by Carr, more than any other architect in that edition and included three plates of Thoresby House, six of Harewood House, two of Constable Burton, and a further two of Kirby Hall, constructed by Carr as Clerk of Works to the design of Lord Burlington. Woolfe and Gandon's previous edition published only four years

---

<sup>21</sup> Edel, p. 103.

earlier, did not present any designs by Carr. In this earlier edition, Carr appears in the list of subscribers as ‘Mr John Carr, of York, architect’; in the latter he is elevated by the authors to ‘John Carr, Esq. of York’. This is consistent as those seminal architects appearing in both editions, such as Robert Adam, William Chambers and George Dance, are all listed as *Esquire*; while those of lesser status, such as Richard Jupp and William Hiorn are only ‘Mr’. Carr is thus viewed in a more positive way even within his own lifetime, presenting an interesting historiographic perspective. Carr, clearly not complying with modern views on architectural history based on style and class, has been sidelined by modern writers of architectural histories.

The analysis, then, of these archives, follows both a quantitative and qualitative approach. In Chapter 2, in which I explore the accuracy of the assumption that an aristocratic elite was replaced by a rising mercantile class as the premier architectural patronage group, I use quantitative analysis to understand who Carr’s patrons were and what they were commissioning. This method is based on the Catalogue of Carr’s work created by Wragg in his PhD thesis. However, this information has been updated and corrected where necessary, and tabulated using excel spreadsheets (Appendix: Table 1), which are then analysed in that chapter, enabling further discussion in Chapter 3. Quantitative analysis as an historical method emerged during the 1970s with advances in Information Technology.<sup>22</sup> By 2000 it was used in many areas, including social, family and economic histories, but rarely in the way that it is here. However, in its use in this case to analyse the patronage background and

---

<sup>22</sup> The Association For History And Computers, established in 1986, aims to promote and develop interest in the use of computers in all types of historical study at every level, in both teaching and research.

commissions of Carr we can gain a much greater understanding of who these patrons were, and what they were commissioning. Databases can offer systematic analysis of large pieces of data. Historians can focus solely on the primary source text, the discourse and the narrative, and quantitative analysis does push the historian towards a narrative dominated by groups or regularities and away from the individual or unique. However, for my purpose here that is what is necessary. That said, in this thesis, quantitative analysis forms a small part of understanding the patronage background of Carr, and is complemented with qualitative analysis.

Paula Backscheider, in *Reflections on Biography*, considers the issue of inadequate material when studying a historic figure.<sup>23</sup> As with this study of Carr, Backscheider suggests that the biographer is required to expand the scope of their search. In the case of this thesis, I have expanded the scope of my search to include the family papers of Carr's patrons.

The underpinning thematic of this thesis considers ideas of biography. I have not set out to write a biography of Carr, but rather a biographical study of Carr's work. Freud stated a biography is justified under two conditions: first, if the subject has had a share in important, 'generally interesting, events'; second, as a psychological study.<sup>24</sup> Without doubt Carr had been involved in 'generally interesting events', but previous writers have struggled in their attempt to categorise stylistically Carr and as part of this, their traditional biographical approach has proven problematic. Wragg, in his thesis on Carr, followed a chronological approach, basing his discussion around the 'early', 'middle' and 'late' sections of his architectural career. This study addresses thematic questions

---

<sup>23</sup> Paula Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Edel, p. 142.

rather than adopting a traditional chronological biographical narrative or stylistic foci. Biography remains fearful and often disrespectful of psychology,<sup>25</sup> but neither danger is applicable here as we are not interested in the private man Carr, but on what his work can reveal about alternative and hidden architectural histories.

Life writing research uses life story in its many forms as a primary source, and can include oral history, personal narrative, autobiography, and in this case, biography. What it can contribute to knowledge, as it does in this thesis, is to create a link between the individual and wider society. I am, therefore, using the work of John Carr as a primary source.

Lois W Banner noted the many similarities between social and cultural histories and biography.<sup>26</sup> Biography, like history, is based on archival research, interwoven with historical categories (are architectural histories a historical category?) and methodologies. These of course reflect current political and theoretical concerns and raise complex issues of truth and proof. In contradiction therefore with Barthes's ideas as set out in 'Death of The Author', we cannot understand his buildings by knowing his life, but we could, although I don't attempt to undertake such a task here, understand more about his life from exploring the production of his buildings.<sup>27</sup>

Michel Foucault claimed Barthes urged us to 'do away' with the author and study the work itself.<sup>28</sup> However, we need the concept of the role of the

---

<sup>25</sup> Edel, p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Lois W Banner, 'Biography As History', *American Historical Research*, 114 (2009), 578–586 (p. 580).

<sup>27</sup> Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1990), pp. 142–148.

<sup>28</sup> Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author', in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin, 1984), pp. 104–120 (p. 104).

author (Carr as architect) in the case of this study in order to understand that role more (Carr as architectural professional). Once again, this conforms with canonical art and architectural histories that focus on the end product, but as we have seen above, can be taken one stage further in understanding the journey to that completed building project. The removal of the author (Carr), according to Barthes, transforms the text (his buildings).<sup>29</sup> However, in removing Carr as the author, it transforms them from a primary source in revealing alternative and previously hidden architectural histories into a succession of grand buildings across the central counties of northern England, independently and individually, with little to contribute to architectural histories perhaps other than their individual stylistic merit, which previous writers have struggled to consider, or their importance within a local building tradition. Concepts of authorship are important in understanding and recognising buildings believed to be designed by Carr based on his common stylistic motifs, but are not appropriate here when considering further aspects of Carr's work and its use to interrogate alternative and hidden architectural histories as we are attempting to look beyond the stylistic – authored – approach.

In contrast to those ideas around authorship which do not quite sit comfortably here, Barbara Caine, in *Biography and History* reminded us that biography is coming to occupy more of the writings of human and social sciences as it is seen to offer ways of elucidating new themes of study.<sup>30</sup> Biographical histories based on traditional concepts of chronology can present a one-dimensional image of an architect, often inflating one part of their existence.

---

<sup>29</sup> Barthes, p. 145.

<sup>30</sup> Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010), p. 1.

Wragg's biographical approach was limited in chronological terms by the life of Carr, and his method was to consider his buildings in relation to his career: early, middle or late. Nearly thirty years ago Leon Edel was writing that a biography need no longer be strictly chronological, as lives are rarely lived that way.<sup>31</sup> In *Writing Lives: Principia Biographica*, Edel established his personal manifesto for historic life-writing, which are as applicable today as they were when Edel started writing. One of Edel's statements insisted the biographer must remain objective to their subject, and not 'fall in love with them'.<sup>32</sup> While this thesis does not attempt to insert Carr within the pantheon of 'great' eighteenth-century architects such as Chambers, Adam or Soane, I am attempting to claim that Carr is worthy of examination. Empathy may be allowed, but subjectivity, or hero worship, is not. Edel felt it was important to consider Freud's concern about the tendency of a biographer to identify with, or hero worship, his or her subject and then to fail to maintain a critical balance. Publishing between the 1950s and 1980s, Edel was writing at a time, however, when biographical studies of historic people generally focussed on great men and were therefore gendered and elitist. It was into this period that Wragg was placing his study of Carr, which had become his life's work.

What biographers can struggle against, however, is their own resistance to discovering unpleasant truths about their subject. While this was less of a concern for me with the archival evidence relating to Carr directly, it did occur when examining the archives relating to one of Carr's female patrons. Elizabeth Parkin, 'spinster of the parish' and 'Lord of the Manor' of Ravenfield, was a very

---

<sup>31</sup> Edel, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> Edel, p. 29.

successful business woman. While examining the records relating to her business I was anxious to avoid finding archives relating to her merchant fleet's involvement in the slave trade. I was relieved, and impressed, to find that Parkin's ships transported cutlery and gunpowder from her factories in Sheffield and Bristol, to the Baltic states, and returned with wood for building in Yorkshire via Hull.

Carr was much more than an architect. He was a political activist, member of both the Whig party and the Rockingham Club of which he acted as President on occasion, Alderman and twice Lord Mayor of York, member of York Assembly Rooms, quarry owner, extensive traveller within England, builder, husband, son, uncle and benefactor. Archival evidence in his patrons' papers relating to Carr also exists for the writer of histories around politics and the practical building profession, which the scope of this thesis does not cover. Michael Rustin writing in 'Reflections on the Biographical Turn in Social Science' discussed the change within the humanities and social sciences which lead to the new preoccupation with individual lives and stories as a way of understanding both contemporary societies and the whole process of social and historical change in place of the grand, national events.<sup>33</sup> This can be seen here in our study of Carr which can contribute to our understanding of aspects of his society. Commenting on *Orlando*, her spoof of the genre of biography based loosely on her friend Vita Sackville-West, Virginia Woolf wrote that 'a biography

---

<sup>33</sup> Michael Rustin, 'Reflections on the Biographical Turn In Social Science', in *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*, by Pru Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraff (London: Verso, 2000), pp. 33–52.



is considered complete if it merely accounts for six or seven lives, whereas a person may well have as many as a thousand.’<sup>34</sup>

Barbra Arciszewska proposed the idea that attempts at a stylistically neutral biographical approach often fail because of the classical origin of the concept of the biography.<sup>35</sup> Arciszewska enforced her claim with reference to Pliny’s *Natural History* which included chapters on sculptors and painters and Suetonius’s *Lives of the Caesars* which embodied the classicist idea of objects and their makers as the structuring principle of historiography; this of course was later adopted by Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*.

This classical approach, of course, also influences the buildings studied, which include the great and the grand, as with Howard Colvin’s *History of the King’s Works* and Mark Girouard’s *Life in the English Country House*. Both considerations fit comfortably when considering the historiography of Carr who was never considered a pure classicist, but as Wragg wrote, was merely ‘classically aware’.<sup>36</sup>

All writers of biography seem to quote Virginia Woolf’s lament while working on her biography of Roger Fry ‘how can one make a life out of six cardboard boxes full of tailors’ bills, love letters and old picture postcards?’<sup>37</sup> It is, however, apt in the case of Carr for the reasons outlined above. Edel actually asks ‘are biographies a form of fiction?’<sup>38</sup> This is a belief many critics of biography hold. However, in a novel, the author knows everything about their hero or

---

<sup>34</sup> Banner, p. 581.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Architecture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. XXIII.

<sup>36</sup> Wragg, ‘The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect’, p. 192.

<sup>37</sup> Edel, p. 19.

<sup>38</sup> Edel, p. 15.

heroine. The author's characters are their own invention, novelists are omniscient; biographers are not.

As a thematic biography of a historic character involved in 'generally interesting events', this study of Carr, then, draws on concepts of new biography, with a polite nod towards meta-biography. Meta-biography goes beyond writing about the strengths and weaknesses of preceding biographical studies in interpreting a life in order to present a 'truer' version, but instead is more concerned with their relational nature. A meta-biography tells the story of a life by recounting how groups of biographers have previously represented that life. However, in this case, very little has been written on Carr, with only one monograph based on the PhD thesis of Dr Brian Wragg and a more recent pictorial survey of his work by Hall, and other writers of architectural histories tend to omit Carr as he does not contribute to their stylistic, elitist or London-centric narrative.

Dana Arnold pointed out that histories based on traditional biography can present a one-dimensional image of the subject, often inflating one part of their existence.<sup>39</sup> A good example of these alternative, 'new' biographical histories can be seen in the study of Wren, in which Adrian Tinniswood's biography provided a valuable examination of Wren's 'other' histories, coupled with an introduction into the social and cultural milieu in which he operated. Carr, as we know, had a many-faceted life, worthy of further study by biographers, but in this thesis I focus on one aspect – his architectural career. However, using this tool can reveal a much wider aspect of that focus, those alternative or previously hidden architectural histories. At present, biography features highly in popular culture,

---

<sup>39</sup> Dana Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 35.

and is an important theoretical framework within histories as it is here, although this is not a biography of Carr, but a biographical study. Through using one aspect of the life of Carr, we can understand better elements of architectural histories.

The presentation then of these alternative and hidden architectural histories follows the review of existing literature in Chapter 1, 'Carr's Histories'. Using, correcting and updating but not replacing, the catalogue created by Brian Wragg in his seminal work on Carr, an analysis of the commissions undertaken by him has been established and is discussed in 'Chapter 2: Carr's Place'. This Chapter firmly establishes Carr within his social milieu. The result of the analysis challenges the accepted norms governing our understanding of architectural patronage from a class perspective. This analysis shows that the largest class group in Carr's practice was the gentry, commissioning the largest amount of work from Carr; the second largest group consisted of newly established and successful merchants, previously perceived by writers of architectural histories as the dominant group of architectural consumers; and the third were members of the aristocracy. These last two, however, commissioned the same amount of work from Carr at just less than a quarter each of his total output.

'Chapter 3: Carr's Patrons' goes on to explore the possible influences on these patrons. In doing so, I challenge the perceived importance of the influence of the Grand Tour on architectural consumption, but instead consider the importance of financial ambition and family history as an influence on *why* people were building and the architectural domestic publication and domestic travel as an influence on *what* people were building.

'Chapter 4: Carr's Women' explores the role of women within architectural practice generally, and the female architectural patronage of Carr in

particular. This reveals the complex nature of the relationship of women to architecture, and the inaccuracy of previously assumed gender roles. Architectural consumption during the eighteenth-century was rather more complex than previously thought, and in the case of married patrons, often included both partners. Traditional, masculine histories tended to obscure the contribution of women to architectural patronage and this thesis does not seek to replace one gender with an alternative, but to establish a duality.

The final two chapters of this thesis look in detail at two particular roles undertaken by an eighteenth-century architect which have been overlooked because of the focus on the grand and classical buildings created in the great London based drawing offices of those architects that history has raised to the premier league. The first, 'Chapter 5: Carr's Role', explores surveying within the professional role of the architect which was overtly criticised and ignored by Sir John Summerson, focusing in particular on Carr's function on behalf of the Portland Estates in Soho, London; the second, 'Chapter 6: Carr's Country House Setting' considers the role of the professional architect in the creation and maintenance of the country house and its landscape. Histories of the country house clearly still retain their original aristocratic focus and generally concentrate solely on the large house at the centre of the country estate, ignoring the wider setting in which it was placed and upon which it relied in a symbiotic relationship. The Conclusion draws together the ideas I present, while acknowledging the continued gaps for future research.

But first, as outlined above, we consider how Carr has been presented in architectural history.

## Chapter 1 - Carr's History

The prevailing view of the history of British architecture is still identified as that presented by Sir John Summerson in his seminal work *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*.<sup>1</sup> Drawing on the art historical methodology created by Aby Warburg (1866-1929) and established by historians of architecture such as Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983), Summerson's work essentially established the 'standard text' on British architecture from the last five hundred years, and in it, Summerson followed a chronological methodology focusing on a classical stylistic bias. The classical view of post-war eighteenth-century British architecture is clear and, as Barbara Arciszewska points out, the importance of Summerson's survey is evident in the fact most revisionists take it as their starting point.<sup>2</sup> No other survey was attempted until Giles Worsley's *Classical Architecture in the Heroic Age* of 1995.<sup>3</sup> This too reinforced style based approaches using the concept of Palladianism to argue for an 'identifiable' and consistent British style. These two works, and in particular that by Summerson, have become the canonical texts when considering early-modern British architectural histories. No other survey writing has been attempted in this area, and those works that have appeared, tend to be biographical monographs focused on the 'great' architects of the time, which focus I challenge in this thesis.

The first section of this chapter presents a general reading of eighteenth-century architectural history, focusing on these two seminal texts. In exploring how these two authors used Carr in their work, focusing on a stylistic narrative, it

---

<sup>1</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*.

<sup>2</sup> Arciszewska and McKellar, p. XX.

<sup>3</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*.

becomes clear why an architect such as Carr became sidelined, therefore obscuring elements of eighteenth-century architecture that an examination of Carr's work can elucidate. The second part of this chapter, still addressing our two authors but introducing others, then explores the particular themes I examine in this thesis including the importance of the Grand Tour on British architectural consumption, the role of women as producers and consumers, the concept of the country house and the backgrounds of those commissioning work. A hierarchy of gender and class becomes apparent in the literature examining architectural patronage in the late eighteenth-century. While Carr's client background was diverse, few were of the class focused on by Summerson; most of Carr's patrons were of lesser status and these classes of people have thus traditionally been overlooked as architectural consumers. This equally brings women to the fore.

Giles Worsley proposed a substantial revision of the prevailing view of British architecture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that had been presented in the standard text of Summerson. Worsley argued against the presentation of architectural change as a succession of progressive – classical – styles and maintained instead that styles actually co-existed, providing different options for architects, writing ‘...instead of seeing styles develop sequentially, one from another, they should be seen as approaches, which can exist at the same time’.<sup>4</sup> However, despite Worsley's challenge, stylistic plurality is still viewed as eclecticism and those working within plural styles such as John Carr and James Gibbs, are seen as outsiders.

Style remains a principal concern for the history of architecture at the expense of other architectural histories which then become ignored or overlooked

---

<sup>4</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. XI.

or at best hidden through omission. Brian Wragg in his PhD Thesis *The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect* struggled in his conclusion to show that Carr was in fact a Palladian architect, having to admit that he was perhaps merely classically aware if not classically educated.<sup>5</sup> Wragg went so far as to damn Carr with faint praise, writing “...his success meant he had little time to seek erudition in the complications of classicism.”<sup>6</sup>

This of course means the histories around John Carr’s architectural work are still open to (re-)interpretation: his patronage, backgrounds and influences on his patrons, the role of women as both producers and consumers of architecture, and what his work can reveal about the practice of an eighteenth-century architect, all of which are subsumed by the traditional stylistic histories of architecture. These aspects of one particular architect’s work can reveal a great deal about formerly omitted or hidden architectural histories.

Dana Arnold had discussed ideas around the creation of a national style or school of architecture.<sup>7</sup> In doing this, Arnold asked whether we eulogise some figures at the expense of others in order to present a cohesive, presentable façade based on stylistic leaders. In creating the ‘genius’ of Robert Adam, Arthur T Bolton helped create the image of John Carr as nothing more than a county stone mason, stating the “...son of a hereditary family of masons, would naturally be regarded as the man of experience and weight in all building questions of a practical nature.”<sup>8</sup> While this is borne out by the excellent condition of Carr’s surviving buildings, his innovative use of damp-proof coursing and double

---

<sup>5</sup> Wragg, ‘The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect’, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Wragg, ‘The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect’, p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 8 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Bolton.

glazing, it buys into the prevailing emphasis on stylistic leadership and obscures other architectural histories that study of Carr can elucidate particularly.

In examining the two works by Summerson and Worsley, we can consider how both writers viewed architectural patronage and practice during the eighteenth-century, as viewed through the lens of the career of John Carr, and how they used him in a very similar way within their own narratives. As the seminal text presenting the prevailing view of history of architecture Summerson's work is important; Worsley's is so because he attempted to refute Summerson's chronological narrative and challenge our understanding of British architectural history. Worsley also played an important role in our understanding of Carr having edited Wragg's *The Life and Works of John Carr of York* (2000), based almost word for word and repeating the same mistakes, on Wragg's PhD thesis, submitted in 1975.

Summerson's book is broken down into five Parts: English Renaissance; Inigo Jones and His Times; Wren and The Baroque; The Palladian Phase; and Neo-Classicism and the Picturesque. Once Summerson had established his narrative he relied heavily on biography. It is interesting that two of the Parts are based on architects, and another Part on a style of architecture created by a third. Two Chapters, in different parts of the book, attempt to deal with the oddity of the Gothic. Tellingly, the length of time each section covers is: 80 years; 50 years; 50 years; 40 years and 80 years. The briefest period of time covered what Summerson called the 'Palladian Phase' perhaps indicating it as one he viewed as most important and worthy of the greatest attention to detail, the sections all being of similar length.



By the early 1750s, Kent, Burlington, Pembroke, Morris, Campbell and Leoni were all dead, so a new generation came to the fore. According to Summerson ‘to this generation belongs a group of men who, for a time (say 1753 to 1768), dominated the profession, building very many houses for private patrons in town and country and a few, not very important, public buildings.’<sup>9</sup> To this group, according to Summerson, belong Sir Robert Taylor and James Paine practising in London, and John Carr practising in York. Summerson went on to say that one important fact about this group was that some members of it were among the first English architects to take articulated pupils into their offices, thus inaugurating a practice which was to continue for two centuries. The significance of this for Summerson is that from this period we can date the real existence of an architectural profession, and with further examination of the ‘assistants’ and ‘clerks’ involved with Carr, such as Charles Mason and William Lindley, we can see his importance in this aspect of architectural practice, which in the prevailing view had formerly been overlooked.

An oft quoted text when considering the limited historiography of Carr is Gwilt’s preface in *A Treatise of the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, by Sir William Chambers* (1825), in which in a footnote he states that to the Italian Palladio ‘...this country is especially indebted for its progress in architecture, and for the formation of a school which has done it honour.’<sup>10</sup> Among the list of architects enrolled are Wren, Hawksmoor, Lord Burlington, and immediately after Burlington, Carr. This again is indicative of the shifting view of Carr’s historiography: to his contemporaries he was viewed differently to the way in

---

<sup>9</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 342.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Gwilt, *A Treatise of the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, by Sir William Chambers, with Illustrations, Notes and an Examination of Grecian Architecture* (London, 1825), p. Pg. 161, n.2.

which modern writers of architectural history view him. Wragg, in applying Summerson's stylistic, chronological view, struggles not only to believe Wren and Hawksmoor could be members, but also that Carr could be too.<sup>11</sup> Worsley of course discussed the Palladian influences on architects such as Wren and Hawksmoor which earlier writers had not focused on.

Summerson referred to the same publication, agreeing with Gwilt's assertion that Taylor and Paine divided the practice of the profession between them due to lack of competition until Adam's arrival. Summerson claimed the one to rival them was Carr. Our author continued that 'Strangely enough, Carr rivalled Paine in his own particular field, as a builder of great houses in the Midlands and North.'<sup>12</sup> Summerson made this assertion on the grounds of style alone; Carr, who was responsible for work of some kind on over 200 country houses, was running a successful practice providing a satisfactory service to his patrons, leading to Wragg's assertion that Carr had no time to seek classical accuracy. Wragg's focus on style as a methodological approach to architectural histories overlooks the fact Carr was popular, productive and sought out by clients, clearly satisfying their requirements.

Summerson outlined Carr's biography, with his practical stone-mason background, noting that in that role he built Kirby Hall to the design of Lord Burlington and Roger Morris. The prevailing view of Carr, taken from Summerson's supposition and confirmed by Wragg's thesis, is that after this experience he built a long series of houses all of which are securely within the

---

<sup>11</sup> Brian Wragg, 'John Carr: Gothic Revivalist', in *Studies in Architectural History* (York Institute of Archaeology, 1956), pp. 9–34 (p. 9).

<sup>12</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 344.

Palladian tradition of Burlington.<sup>13</sup> Wragg, however, as we will see, struggled to show Carr was a purely Palladian architect. When applying a prevailing, classical history to architecture, it becomes easier to omit such an architect than to try and place him within the genre.

At this point in Summerson's narrative on Carr, our author considered what he had formerly described as an unimportant public building: the County Court House in York. Summerson claimed that on this design Carr suddenly figured as a pioneer neo-classicist '...producing a building which it is hard, indeed, to accept as the work of a provincial Palladian and might almost be the work of Sir William Chambers.'<sup>14</sup> This raises questions around London-centric bias and provincialism, and why one architect is seen as better on stylistic grounds alone. It also ensures other issues which Carr's work could elucidate, are ignored or hidden.

Much has been written of the styles of architecture in which Carr worked. He has been described as conservative and provincial, generally with the sobriquet 'Palladian'. The sub-title of Wragg's thesis, *Palladian Architect*, is initially the only indication given that Wragg set out to discuss this aspect of Carr's work, omitting to establish what he was attempting to achieve. In his Preface, which introduced a chronological epistemology which continued throughout, Wragg set out the introduction and rise of the style of architecture in England based on the ideas of Andrea Palladio. For Wragg, and following in the footsteps of Summerson, this was primarily through Inigo Jones, via what Summerson called the "English quirkiness" of Wren, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, until we reach the

---

<sup>13</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 345.

<sup>14</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 345.

second decade of the eighteenth-century and the birth of John Carr in 1723. As Wragg pointed out, this is the same year as Wren's death, a detail also mentioned in W A Eden's B.Arch thesis of 1928 entitled *John Carr, Architect of York*. Both academic authors proceeded to set Carr within the society of eighteenth-century England having discussed the same historical events shaped by the same national heroes. Wragg was clearly influenced by Eden in this and other issues. This places Carr nationally, but does not contextualise him within his own milieu.

According to Wragg these social, economic and political events caused the rise of a wealthy merchant class, and a boom in the industrial cities of the Midlands and north, establishing the need for a strong building industry. Wragg wrote that Carr's practice ranged over a period covering the single-mindedness of the Palladians to the eclecticism of the early Regency, and stated that the question of where Carr's stylistic allegiance lay was a matter for judgement. It is this need to apply stylistic singularity to the work of Carr following the prevailing view of architectural history which caused Wragg such intellectual problems.

Wragg confirms the consensus that Carr's first major commission as a stone-mason at Kirby Hall to the designs of Burlington and Roger Morris proved a seminal moment in the development of Carr's style. He felt Carr's early work was:

indicative of a largely untutored architect relying on a practical background and York craftsmen to produce comfortable though ungainly buildings. With side glances at Burlington and his cronies, Carr acquired some Palladian mannerisms.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Wragg Thesis – Vol II, Pg 73

There is no evidence that Carr derived his inspiration directly from Italian or Greek sources. The Burlington influence, primarily introduced during the time Carr acted as Clerk of Works at Kirby House, and whether perceived or actual, is thought by Wragg to have continued until Carr's exposure to the work of Robert Adam at Harewood House in the 1760s. Wragg does not consider other possible influences such as those in print. The connection with Adam went on for approximately four years, during which not only Carr but also his plasterers and craftsmen came into constant contact with Adam. This was long enough, according to Wragg, for the most traditional to have become disciples of the 'Adamesque'. Carr never attempted to emulate Adam's interior design but he quickly accepted the new style for the architectural parts of his buildings, so much so that confusion over authorship between the two men has arisen.<sup>16</sup>

To conclude the examination of each house, and to provide a fragile link to the title of his thesis, Wragg established to what extent Carr did, or more usually did not, fully comply with established Palladian ideals: the architect was fully prepared to provide a symmetrical façade; a portico, either applied, recessed or very occasionally free-standing; a peron if necessary; a *piano-nobile* in the middle years of his career; a rare Serliana and even more rare thermal window. Inside, Carr would often go to the trouble of creating symmetry in a room by balancing doors and chimneys, but the architect rarely felt the need to go beyond this and sacrifice practical planning. The practical needs of his patrons overcame his desire to conform to Palladian theories of proportion and planning, to the extent his plans were never symmetrical. Carr would block a central axis with a staircase, he often

---

<sup>16</sup> See Ivan Hall, 'Adam and Carr', in *Adam in Context* (Georgian Group, 1993), pp. 29–33; Bolton, chap. II – Harewood House.

only incorporated one service wing, and his interior spaces and elevations did not conform to Palladian theories of proportion. A closer connection is more usually established by Wragg with the work of Robert Adam, drawing on the bias of other writers such as Arthur Bolton that continues to influence academic attitudes, as seen in the work of Eileen Harris.<sup>17</sup>

As a result of Wragg's attempt to categorise Carr as a Palladian – a sobriquet he then continuously refutes – it is necessary to present a small separate section on his Gothic buildings sandwiched between a section exploring Carr's Churches and another exploring his bridges. This section draws heavily on an article published by Wragg nearly 20 years earlier.<sup>18</sup>

Wragg discussed and dismissed the idea put forward by Howard Colvin of a gothic survival.<sup>19</sup> Wragg claimed Carr was in no way archaeological in his approach to gothic architecture, but rather his work was more akin to the 'carpenters gothic' of Batty Langley, referring to it as 'Carr-penters gothic'. A collection of drawings showing the five gothic orders survives in the Soane Collection copied from Batty Langley's *Ancient Architect*. Wragg claims Carr may have set the exercise in drawing to one of his trainees.

Carr had a modern approach to existing buildings when commissioned to update or extend, only demolishing whenever absolutely necessary. These commissions were small in number, representing approximately ten percent of his total output, and usually consisted of an extension to, or rarely a replacement of, an existing older building. Wragg wrote 'Carr resorted to the Gothic so many times that we might be inclined, with some justification, to delete forthwith the

---

<sup>17</sup> Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*.

<sup>18</sup> Wragg, 'John Carr: Gothic Revivalist', pp. 9–34.

<sup>19</sup> Howard Colvin, 'Gothic Survival or Gothic Revival', in *Architectural Review*, 1948, pp. 91–98.

Palladian connection.’ However, he refutes this noting that Carr merely applied gothic detail to a classical plan. This, of course, indicates a dichotomy between gothic architecture and neo-classical interior design, only formalised with Richard Payne Knight’s work in the 1790s at Downton.

Summerson and Worsley merely contented themselves with the view that Carr was pedestrian and provincial, using him as an example of how Palladianism spread from London. Like Wragg, Summerson’s attention to his own chronological narrative was diverted away from the Palladian by the Gothic in its many forms. Summerson claimed Wren used it when necessary, such as at the Tom Tower at Christ Church, Oxford, but that it had no emotional significance to the architect who despised ‘the Flutter of arch-buttresses.’<sup>20</sup> Summerson followed this with a cursory glance at the romantic and medievalist work of Vanbrugh, and William Kent. This work could not fit comfortably in earlier chapters devoted to the classical work of both men and therefore needed its own place, confirming the stylistic bias of our author, and his focus on the Classical. However, Summerson’s classical bias was saved as both William Kent and Batty Langley worked in what Summerson referred to as variations of classical forms, as seen in Langley’s *Ancient Architecture*.

By the 1750s, however, some archaeological correctness was introduced following what Summerson called the intrusion of the amateur.<sup>21</sup> This attitude can again be seen to influence Wragg, who also believed the gothic was initially an amateur fad. This of course included Horace Walpole, and his contribution to architecture is the story of his house, which Summerson set forth to tell. As

---

<sup>20</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 366.

<sup>21</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 371.

Summerson explained Walpole despised Kent's gothic, and Strawberry Hill itself was not influential. Walpole was trying to create an air of evolution over time and omit classical symmetry. According to Summerson 'Both Adam and Chambers, when they designed in Gothic, did so in a spirit nearer to Kent than to Walpole.'<sup>22</sup> By this he meant they followed a symmetrical form with gothic detailing, much the same as Carr did.

Worsley concurred with Summerson, claiming that however accurate its use of detail, Gothic architecture in eighteenth-century England was an associational and decorative movement.<sup>23</sup> Such research as there was into medieval architecture went into the accurate reproduction of detail and not into the structural qualities of Gothic buildings. Worsley disagreed with both Summerson and Wragg's view and supported the now common opinion that stylistically gothic should be seen as a survival, rather than a revival.

This survival took in the chivalry and pageantry popular under Elizabeth I, and the building work of the great dynastic families such as the Percys at Alnwick. Worsley, like Summerson, discussed the designs of Wren who was always sympathetic when working on existing Gothic buildings. As part of this narrative, Worsley focused on the Dowager Countess of Oxford, who, after becoming a widow in 1742, returned to her childhood home of Welbeck Abbey. Finding it ruinous, the Countess dedicated the rest of her life to restoring it in the Gothic manner. The Great Hall, now recognised as a *tour-de-force*, was completed in 1751. Other writers have struggled to explain this diversion away from the classical, particularly Lucy Worsley, who had to conclude that Lady

---

<sup>22</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 375.

<sup>23</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 195.



Oxford was building in an historic style merely to emphasise her lineage.<sup>24</sup> The Countess's grandson, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland, was a major client of Carr's who arrived ten years later to carry out further work at Welbeck. This connection and its possible influence on both Carr and his client the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke has not previously been explored, and will be so in this thesis.

This detour into the gothic from Summerson's narrative returned to its course with the final Part of his *Architecture in Britain* covering the neo-Classical and Picturesque. Robert Adam dominated the first part of this section. Our author started by setting out his meaning of the term neo-Classical, in that it was separate from the Middle and Dark Ages, and from the Renaissance interpretation of the Classical era. Summerson was a Modernist, and finally he set out his theoretical framework: the chronological story of how architecture reached its epitome in his own era and his own Modernist style. With neo-Classicism, the journey is one very large step nearer its destination.

Summerson acknowledged that at certain points earlier architects may have followed a neo-Classical approach, such as that of Burlington at the York Assembly Rooms. However, this approach was 'blurred in the conservative and consolidating work of architects like Taylor, Paine and Carr.'<sup>25</sup> The main thrust of Summerson's argument was that neo-Classicism was based on the knowledge of ancient ruins gained by travellers on the Grand Tour. Worsley too elucidated the term, but developed it differently from Summerson. He cited a conscious return to the Antique as a source for architectural example, ignoring the traditions of architectural style and theory that had grown up since the Renaissance. Worsley's

---

<sup>24</sup> Lucy Worsley, 'Female Architectural Patronage in the Eighteenth Century and the Case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley', in *Architectural History* (Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2005), XLVIII, 139–162.

<sup>25</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 377.

first chapter on the subject – ‘Neo-Classicism from Jones to Hawksmoor’ – takes us nicely from the established introduction of Palladianism under Jones to its resurgence. Worsley claimed that neo-Classicism was not merely a style popular at the end of the eighteenth-century, starting with Stuart and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens* financially assisted by Lord Rockingham, but, Worsley argued, it had a much longer history and can be traced at least as far back as Jones and St Paul’s, Covent Garden.

Virtually all names in Worsley’s Chapter on neo-Classicism are scholars, amateur architects or dominant patrons, with the exception of William Kent. There is a clear difference in the attitude of amateurs and professional architects to antique architecture. Many amateurs, or dominant patrons, were bred on the Classics, and wanted to re-create the Ancient world in eighteenth-century England. Architects saw antique architecture as a source from which to create a new architecture, as set out in Summerson’s work, and needed to be practical in order to win new clients. According to Worsley, amateurs and dominant patrons were either paying, or playing, and could build what they wished. A marked shift in attitude did not occur until the end of the eighteenth-century.

Summerson then turned to Adam, noting a ‘clash of two not wholly dissimilar temperaments.’<sup>26</sup> Before Adam travelled to Italy, he was sketching freely in a Palladian manner, similar to Kent. According to Worsley, if Adam could be defined as Palladian, it was not through a direct influence from Palladio. There is no evidence in Adam’s buildings of a considered study of Palladio. Instead, Worsley claimed the link was at one remove. The Palladian tenor of his work derives from the English neo-Palladians who constituted the dominant

---

<sup>26</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 393.

school during his formative years and on his return to England and this of course included Carr, whom Adam met at Harewood House soon after his return.<sup>27</sup> Worsley's claim then, is that Adam was influenced stylistically by Carr, among others, and not the verso.

Unlike Chambers, however, who never denied his fundamental neo-Palladianism, Adam declared vociferously that he was completely uninfluenced by those who had come before him. He had no doubt about having personally revolutionised architecture, and commentators have generally taken him at his word. He declared this in the introduction to *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1773). But the more Adam's work is compared with that of his contemporaries the less accurate his claims become. There is no explanation for this contradiction, and Adam never credited his sources. Of Palladio, Adam wrote he was 'one of those fortunate geniuses who have purchased reputation at an easy rate.'<sup>28</sup>

For Summerson then, the source of the Adam style was a personal revision of the antique creating essentially a style of decoration.<sup>29</sup> Adam felt that in the sixteenth century, many more Roman originals survived than they did in the eighteenth-century therefore influencing earlier architects. To an architect of the Palladian school, a Corinthian entablature was inflexible. To Adam, however, it could be expanded or reduced to fit the occasion.<sup>30</sup>

Later authors, including Wragg as we have seen, claimed Carr's interior designs were influenced by Adam after their collaboration at Harewood House. In

---

<sup>27</sup> Giles Worsley, 'Adam as Palladian', in *Adam in Context* (Georgian Group, 1993), pp. 6–13 (pp. 6–13).

<sup>28</sup> John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle* (London: John Murray, 1962), p. 258.

<sup>29</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 395.

<sup>30</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 395.

this instance, interior design refers to the ceiling and wall plasterwork, and the doorcases. Ivan Hall explored very briefly the relationship between Adam and Carr, comparing and contrasting their methods and style.<sup>31</sup> Hall claimed that the joint collaboration between both men at Harewood House was a perfect symbiosis for both: Hall stated that for Adam it was doubtful ‘whether this concentration on internal brilliance of effect would have been possible if Adam had been required to build a great house as well as decorate it.’<sup>32</sup>

Summerson wrote, however, that within 15 years Adam’s career descended until ‘finally, there is Robert Adam the romantic landscapist and builder of Gothic castles.’<sup>33</sup> The use of towers and massing imply a castle, but the form pretends to be nothing other than a large Georgian house. This ‘underlies how inescapably Adam was a mid-century Palladian at heart, even in his attitude to the medieval.’<sup>34</sup>

Summerson draws to a conclusion his narrative with a discussion of the Picturesque Movement. He claimed the beginning of the real Picturesque period fixes itself conveniently at 1794, when it was inaugurated by the appearance of the first of three books: Richard Payne Knight’s *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem*, Uvedale Price’s *Essay on the Picturesque*, and the third in 1795, Humphrey Repton’s *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*. The result of this dating by Summerson which has become the prevailing view is the discarding of anything following picturesque principles commissioned previously. This does include designs by Carr, and the end of Summerson’s narrative coincides almost with the death in 1807 of Carr.

---

<sup>31</sup> Hall, ‘Adam and Carr’.

<sup>32</sup> Hall, ‘Adam and Carr’, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 407.

<sup>34</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 408.

When discussing architectural style, it is worth considering briefly architectural motifs because of the narrative they themselves can elucidate. Worsley, while discussing the evolution of the villa type, touched on the use of the bay window. The canted bay became a marked feature of English architecture in the 1750s and 1760s, although Isaac Ware described it in *Complete Body of Architecture* as an ‘absurdity that reigns at present.’ As Jones and Palladio are not the source, Worsley discussed possible continental sources, following its thread through the work of Vanbrugh to the middle decades of the eighteenth-century. Worsley again touched on the influence of fashion and the patron on the work of the architect, but did not develop it: ‘John Carr of York, ever conscious of metropolitan fashion, perhaps acts as a weathercock: three of the examples of canted bays in Woolfe and Gandon are his.’<sup>35</sup>

Within the section on Carr’s domestic work, Wragg examined a large number of case studies, drawing on architectural elements that become recognisable as Carr motifs. Two of the most common were the balustrade beneath windows, and the continuing sill at floor level on upper floors. Carr’s use of the bay window allowed greater variation in the shapes of interior spaces and he was first exposed to it at Kirby Hall in 1748, designed by Burlington and Morris; we have seen a further example at Basildon Park. The typical straight sided Palladian box did not lend itself to shaped rooms around its perimeter; the bay window allowed this, and at Tabley, Carr used six.

Both Summerson and Worsley explored Palladianism outside of England using architectural motifs as a gauge. Focussing on the twentieth century authors Maurice Craig and the Knight of Glin, Summerson discussed briefly the research

---

<sup>35</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 240.

of both authors exploring the work of eighteenth-century Irish architects including Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle. However, Summerson stated that:

Apart from occasional decorative phenomena...the absence of local variations in Ireland is astonishing. Irish Palladianism is as intimately joined to the London school as if the Irish Sea were no greater an affair than a couple of English counties.<sup>36</sup>

More recent scholarly work has refuted this, showing a very independent form of Palladianism in Ireland.<sup>37</sup> What is interesting, however, are the very many similarities between the Palladian motifs of Carr and their use by architects in Ireland, neither of which resemble those of London based architects. This can be seen, for instance in Carr's designs for Leeds Infirmary and Norton Place, in which we see a Serliana above a tripartite opening, and in the case of Bootham Hospital, a Diocletian window above that. The use of these three forms was recognised by Craig as being typically Irish, and yet we see Carr using the same format; and both are different from that of London. This can lead us to the premise that architectural style disseminated from London, but in concentric rings rather than in a linear fashion, as both Dublin and York could be regarded as premier cities within the same nation secondary to that nation's capital.

---

<sup>36</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 353.

<sup>37</sup> Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish House of the Middle Size* (London: Architectural Press, 1976).



Illustration 7 - Bootham Park Lunatic Asylum, South Elevation, by John Carr, 1774

Of course, Wragg's desire to impose a stylistic straightjacket on Carr, be it Palladian or other, and his attempt to insert the architect into an established chronological stream established by Summerson, may blind us – as it did him – to many other interesting strands of study in the work of Carr.

Frank Jenkins, writing on patronage, claimed it was unnecessary to remark that in the eighteenth-century an architect's career depended in the first instance

on his skill or luck in attracting the notice of some wealthy patron.<sup>38</sup> This is certainly the case with Carr, whose career received a considerable boost after he won the commission for the Knavesmire Grandstand in 1754 under the direction of his future life-long patron 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Rockingham.

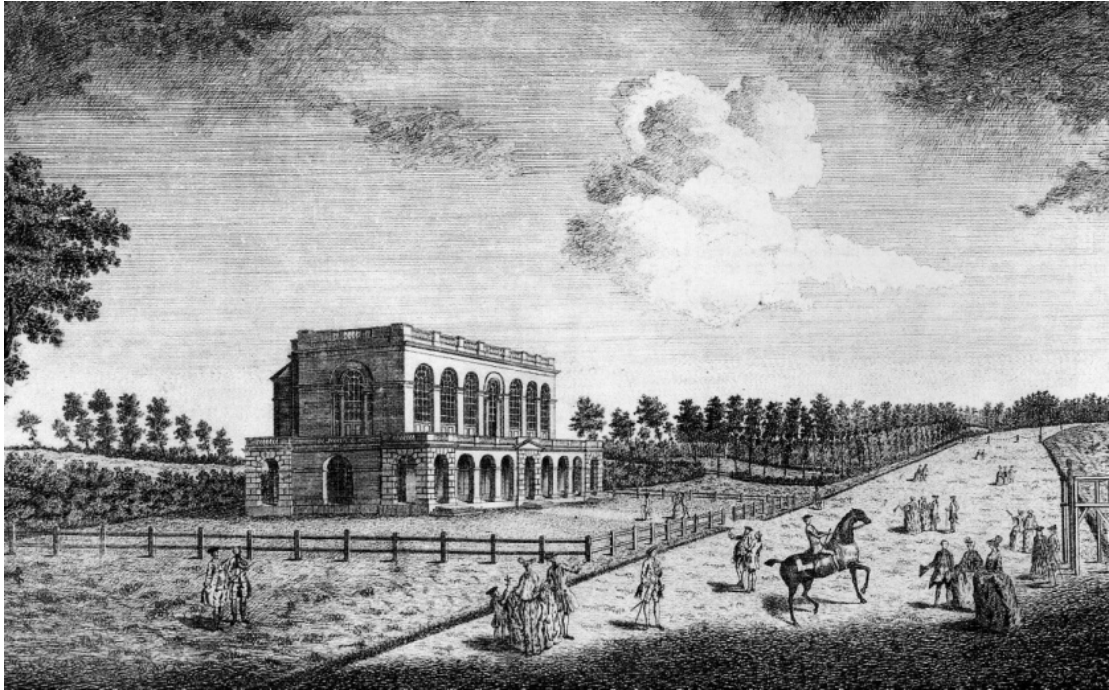


Illustration 8 - Knavesmire Grandstand, York, by John Carr, 1754. Engraving by William Lindley

Rockingham was young, wealthy, influential and had already embarked on his political career that would see him twice hold office as Prime Minister. The Knavesmire Grandstand survives – in a way. The ground floor arcade is the only part of the building in existence today, and is hidden behind boarding to the rear of the corporate hospitality area of the modern York Racecourse Grandstand.

---

<sup>38</sup> Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).





Illustration 9 - Knavesmire Grandstand, York, by John Carr, 1754. Photographed in 2009

Carr never advertised his practice, but, through the familial and social connections of Rockingham, benefited from a very successful career. Wragg recognised the importance of the Knavesmire Grandstand commission and in his thesis focused half a chapter on it, the other half focusing on Harewood House. Carr's Knavesmire design was sophisticated in comparison to those submitted by James Paine, Sir Thomas Robinson and Robert Dingley.<sup>39</sup> Paine was at the time the premier architect of the north, but it was felt his design was too redolent of, as Wragg described it, 'a garden loggia'.<sup>40</sup> Under the direction of Lord Rockingham, the Yorkshire gentry chose Carr's design.

In his chapter 'Patronage and Taste in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Jenkins established who architectural patrons were during this period, exploring the influences on them, and how patronage changed from being led by

---

<sup>39</sup> For further discussion on this see: Tessa Gibson, 'The Designs for the Knavesmire Grandstand, York', *Georgian Group Journal*, viii (1998), pp. 76–87. The design itself does not survive; the closest image we have is that shown by William Lindley.

<sup>40</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 16.

an aristocratic elite to one led by a new rising mercantile elite. Wragg also included a small section on patronage, which focused on the political affiliations of many of Carr's Whig clients, naturally gained through the relationship he had with Rockingham. The inclusion of this is possibly influenced by Summerson, who enforced the prevailing view that Palladianism was supported by a group that had strong beliefs, which included a dislike of the Roman church, Stuart dynasty, things foreign, and the work of Wren.<sup>41</sup>

England's natural resources were being exploited and their owners were growing rich quickly. Rather than being indicative of the accepted view that this benefited a new, arriviste class, an examination of Carr's clients indicates that the existing landowners benefited most, finding natural resources under their estates, or with factories and urban sprawl appearing around the edges. Jenkins wrote that architectural books started to reflect a new industrial class: James Paine's first folio and John Soane's *Plans, Elevation and Section of Buildings* (1788) both illustrate works commissioned by merchants and bankers. This included the builder of the seminal Palladian house of Wanstead upon which Rockingham's father and his architect Henry Flitcroft based the design of his family home Wentworth Woodhouse. It is also claimed that it was easier in England for people to move through the class groups: Robert Walpole, Sir Francis Child, William Beckford, and Samuel Whitbread were all new men who were great patrons of the arts.<sup>42</sup> However, John Cannon in *Aristocratic Century* suggested that rather than being an open society in which the able were welcome, the English peerage was more closed and elitist than its continental counterparts and that this openness was

---

<sup>41</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 295.

<sup>42</sup> Jenkins, p. 80.

a myth which itself served a potent political purpose.<sup>43</sup> This assertion is representative of Carr's client groups, which remained relatively static throughout his career.

Summerson focused heavily on the role of monarch as patron, exploring in great detail the work of the Office of King's Works at various stages through his narrative. Summerson claimed the need for this focus because 'the classical movement was associated in the first place with the Court and in the second with great houses usually built with a view to reception of the Court.'<sup>44</sup> The great palaces of Henry VIII, the influential designs for Greenwich, and the Whitehall proposals are all examined by Summerson in detail. This ensures not only a hierarchy of building type and style, but also of patronage. While Carr's client background was diverse, few were of the class focused on by Summerson; most of Carr's patrons were of lesser status and these classes of people have thus traditionally been overlooked as architectural consumers.

Jenkins wrote of how Burlington came to be regarded as the model eighteenth-century patron; indeed, Walpole referred to him as the Apollo of the Arts. Jenkins discussed the role of Burlington as patron, and how through his protégés he succeeded in establishing the 'cool, rational style of Palladio' which has since come to be so strongly associated with the work of Carr.<sup>45</sup> This reflects, of course, the wide ranging influence of one man as patron on others in contrast to the influences upon the individual, which this thesis explores in a later chapter.

Jenkins also noted that Burlington was a member of the Society of Dilettanti. Among those listed as subscribers to the Society are a number of Carr's

---

<sup>43</sup> Cannon, p. VIII.

<sup>44</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 164.

<sup>45</sup> Jenkins, p. 73.

aristocratic patrons, including 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Rockingham, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam and 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, as well as gentry members such as Walter Spencer-Stanhope.<sup>46</sup>

Summerson valued the importance of the Grand Tour, particularly on the education of the architect. As we know, Carr is not believed to have undertaken a Grand Tour, but Summerson related the importance of travel to Robert Adam, as a man of ‘middle class background who enjoyed the benefits of foreign travel.’<sup>47</sup> Summerson tantalisingly mentions that while in Rome, Stuart and Revett’s plans to travel to Athens were supported by Robert Wood and Wood’s companions, the Earls of Malton and Charlemont.<sup>48</sup> The latter of course went on to become a major patron of Sir William Chambers. However, the former is Carr’s patron Lord Rockingham, prior to inheriting his Marquisate, and previous writers have failed to make the link.<sup>49</sup> An examination of the Wentworth Woodhouse archives not only reveals correspondence between Rockingham and Stuart, but also, manuscript copies of Stuart’s later publications. Unfortunately, for the purpose of exploring architectural histories, the letters between the two men discuss their political thoughts and not architecture.

When discussing the relationship between the patron and architect, Jenkins quoted John Gwynn, who wrote in *London and Westminster Improved*, (1766), that the artist should make himself master of the art he professes in order to make his works worthy, but also questioned whether it was necessary that the patron – who is superior in every respect – should also possess an equal knowledge to enable him to form a judgement of the degree of excellence with which it is to be

---

<sup>46</sup> Sidney Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: Macmillan, 1898), p. 239 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 385.

<sup>48</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 381.

<sup>49</sup> See Ross Hoffman, *The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham* (New York: Fordham, 1973).

executed.<sup>50</sup> Gwynn accepted the patron as the final judge on matters aesthetic, but recognised changes were occurring. This is borne out by the patronage of Carr, which would appear in the main to have consisted of a one sided artistic relationship on the part of the architect. Some, but very little, of his correspondence included design ideas from which his patrons are asked to choose.

Returning to Summerson's narrative, one example of the very few examples of patronage he gave centred on St Paul's, Covent Garden. As an early essay in the Tuscan, this, according to Summerson, perhaps appealed to the budget of the Earl of Bedford, as patron, and more importantly, to his Protestantism, as Palladio associated the Tuscan with agricultural buildings and not religious structures. While discussing the wider Piazza in which St Paul's was placed, Summerson drew possible links with the Place des Vosges in Paris, laid out by Henrietta Maria's father Henry IV, and to the Market at Leghorn, laid out by her great uncle Ferdinando Medici, Duke of Tuscany. Summerson talked of Jones's work as being less of an isolated creation of Charles I, but a Tuscan creation percolating throughout Europe. This of course relies on an influence from Henrietta Maria over her husband and his architect working on a project for somebody else, but it does, however, show an early attempt to insert English classicism within a wider geographical narrative, and briefly alludes to ideas of female patronage which this thesis will explore further, but which Summerson glossed over.

Wragg, and Worsley in his edited book based on Wragg's thesis, briefly touched on elements of patronage. Our authors concluded that the background of Carr's patrons was made up mainly of Whig landowners. While accurate, this

---

<sup>50</sup> Jenkins, p. 76.

complies with the prevailing view established by Summerson, but a focus on this knowledge can also obscure other interpretations. We have also seen how the argument put forward by Jenkins concerning the background of the eighteenth-century architectural patron does not fit with an examination of Carr's clients. Our knowledge of the relationship between Carr and his patrons is limited to a few paragraphs authored by Wragg in his thesis; and considerable archival evidence unfortunately does not contribute further knowledge to Wragg's work.

Martin Briggs in 1927 was the first author to explore the evolution of the profession of architect, elucidating a process which seems obvious and simplistic now but was a great foundation for writers following such as Barrington Kaye, Frank Jenkins and Spiro Kostoff.<sup>51</sup> Briggs's book is a chronological study of the profession of architect within the British Isles, and his chapter entitled 'Renaissance in England' covered the period from the Tudor monarch to the close of the long eighteenth-century. Here, as elsewhere, Briggs adopted the method of collating biographies and set out to 'attempt some generalisation as to type, though the individuals are as various in type as could well be imagined.'<sup>52</sup> This indicates the difficulties for all writers of architectural histories in attempting to generalise. Following a chronological epistemology and focusing on authorship, Briggs briefly compared 30 well known architects of the period examining their backgrounds, training, ages, publications and patronage. Throughout Briggs omitted to examine in detail the formation of the professional body: only one sentence in the book refers to the Architect's Club. 'Carr of York' was included in

---

<sup>51</sup> Martin Briggs, *The Architect in History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927); Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Study* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960); Jenkins; Spiro Kostoff, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

<sup>52</sup> Briggs, p. 297.

his biographical study, but, with a focus on class, education and the importance of the Grand Tour, it was easy for Briggs to relegate Carr to the parochial and practical that became his sobriquet in the decades following. Such was its importance, Brigg's book was re-issued as late as 1973. Spiro Kostoff's book followed in 1977 and while it focussed primarily on the profession in North America, it included a chapter authored by John Wilton-Ely exploring the rise of the profession in England.

Wilton-Ely claimed the formation of the architectural profession resulted from two shifts: the intellectual change from the medieval to the modern, and the change from an agrarian to a capital-based society.<sup>53</sup> Wilton-Ely claimed the character of the modern architect is the result of the first, and the professional organisation is a result of the second. Wilton-Ely sees an inherent conflict between the two that became more prominent during the latter half of the eighteenth-century with the emergence of the large drawing offices such as those run by Robert Adam and Sir John Soane, which a re-reading shows was perhaps more concerned with business than style. It must be considered that perhaps Carr's work is more representative of the architectural profession during the latter part of the eighteenth-century.

To develop Wilton-Ely's idea further, the intellectual change from medieval to early modern resulting in the Renaissance man for whom the arts of *disegno* and the classics were a major element of education, was already firmly established prior to the birth of Carr. However, Carr did not receive a traditional classical education, and did not undertake a Grand Tour from which, as we have

---

<sup>53</sup> John Wilton-Ely, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, by Spiro Kostoff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 180–208.

seen, traditional histories claim designers gained first-hand experience.<sup>54</sup> And Carr did not run a large drawing office in the way that Adam and Soane did. As early as 1773, architectural writers were establishing the importance of the Grand Tour in the education of the architect, such as the unknown author of *Essays on the Qualifications of an Architect* who wrote:

He is then taken, or sent abroad, making a tour of France and Italy, and inspects all the ancient remains of architecture, measures, and draws them. Then he examines the work of the moderns, marks their differences, and then improves on them.<sup>55</sup>

Wilton-Ely's ideas concerning the classical education of the architect is evident in the writing of others on the subject, and all outline the evolution of the profession in a similar way: from medieval mason acting as part of a larger team to professional artist in control of an established office, and this is borne out by our knowledge of Carr and his contemporaries. While correct, the grand and classical is given strength with Wilton-Ely's argument, but can obscure other aspects of the profession such as surveying, maintenance, and the design of the mundane such as workers' cottages, melon houses, kitchens and summer houses, all of which Carr undertook.

By the accession of George III there existed the nucleus of a profession undertaking architectural practice, but the concept of an established profession had not yet made itself prominent, and many architects supplemented their income

---

<sup>54</sup> The frontispiece of Carr's family bible is, however, annotated in Latin, indicating an awareness of the language during his father's life; Carr's design for the Knavesmire Grandstand also included a *Miranda*, traditionally seen as a mistake by Carr of the word Verandah, but now recognised as possibly being a derivative of the Latin word *mirandus* meaning wonderful, to indicate the view from the space.

<sup>55</sup> Unknown Author, *Essay on Qualifications of an Architect* (London, 1773), p. 15.



from speculative development. We know Carr left a fortune of £120,000 when he died, far more than his architectural commissions should have provided. Most, and again this includes Carr, contracted themselves for the erection of the buildings they designed, but this would only be possible if the designer had a craft background and access to materials, as Carr did.

Unlike Briggs, Wilton-Ely did discuss in more detail the evolution of the Architects Club, established in 1791 ‘...by George Dance, James Wyatt, Henry Holland and S P Cockerell, later joined by Chambers, Adam and a dozen others.’<sup>56</sup> Wilton-Ely was exclusive in his list and does not mention Carr. The club ran for over 30 years and a derivative of it eventually became the Royal Institute of British Architects. In Johnson’s *Dictionary* of 1755 ‘surveyor’ and ‘architect’ were almost synonymous. By the last decades of the eighteenth-century a divergence of roles occurred and in 1792 the Surveyors’ club was established. This divergence is now seen in a hierarchical nature by historians of architecture who see the role of surveyor as something lesser. As this thesis shows, the role of surveyor was an important element within architectural practice, both for Carr and his others in his peer group.

According to Wilton-Ely, toward the end of the eighteenth-century new intellectual and economic factors began to threaten the autocratic and agrarian world of Palladian taste, contributing towards the emergence of the professional architect around 1800. Wilton-Ely proposed that aristocratic patrons may have still supported the classical idiom, but the rising middle classes favoured the picturesque.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, urban commissions became the subject of collective

---

<sup>56</sup> Wilton-Ely, p. 192.

<sup>57</sup> John Wilton-Ely uses the term bourgeoisie, perhaps indicative of his own class view. Wilton-Ely.

decisions, such as the Mansion House in 1739, the Bank of England in 1766, and the Dublin Exchange in 1769. The architect was now required to play a more particular role, selling his designs in open rivalry with his colleagues.<sup>58</sup> An examination of the work of Carr confirms the latter point, in which we see Carr working in a far more professional role with the Hollis Hospital committee, but it certainly does not comply with the former standard view.

Wilton-Ely chose as his examples of leaders of the new profession Robert Adam and Sir William Chambers. He believed they shared high standards and business acumen, running well organised offices and negotiating with patrons over fees. In compliance with the accepted norm promulgated by Summerson, Wilton-Ely stated that foreign travel continued to be regarded as essential training.<sup>59</sup>

Crimson and Lubbock, in their 1994 examination of the architectural education in Britain during our period, claimed education was an important aspect in the training of the professional architect. They too complied with Wilton-Ely and Brigg's view that from the 1780s the large scale building contractors and developers with their unified organisations and competitive tendering processes turned the architect into a cog within a larger machine as a result of industrial capitalism.<sup>60</sup> While Crimson and Lubbock stated it was wrong to look back at this period and single out those aspects of it that best conform to our modern sense of the architect, that is precisely what has happened.<sup>61</sup> It is precisely for that reason that a lone professional such as Carr working from a small office, is sidelined.

---

<sup>58</sup> Wilton-Ely, p. 190.

<sup>59</sup> Wilton-Ely, p. 191.

<sup>60</sup> Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 7.

Crimson and Lubbock did acknowledge that for every Wren, Hawksmoor or Vanbrugh, there were hundreds of others, calling themselves surveyors, masons or carpenters.

In the eighteenth-century the proliferating manuals and pattern-books on classical and Gothic architecture were largely bought by these craftsmen-architects, a category that also included surveyors, house agents and building merchants, who formed by far the majority of the 'profession', especially at the lower end of the market and outside London. They could not afford to travel abroad, nor did they have a grasp of the higher reaches of theory that Dee advocated as a bridge between architects and builders. They may have had access to the tangible products of theory and they could mimic its effects, such as Wragg claimed Carr did following his collaboration with Lord Burlington at Kirby and Robert Adam at Harewood.

The greatest part of Carr's work lay in domestic architecture. As his work was so prolific, Wragg chose in Chapter IV of his thesis 'The Works of John Carr', to focus only on work which was complete, therefore overlooking alterations to existing buildings, which are, however, included in his catalogue. Carr undertook many alterations to existing buildings, including Burlington House, Chatsworth House and Welbeck Abbey; this omission in the body of his text ensures Wragg overlooked much that could reveal hidden architectural histories.

It is possible Wragg was a little unclear about the purpose of his thesis, and given the events surrounding its submission, this is entirely understandable. Following extensive research, he very clearly and methodically set out in catalogue form all the buildings attributed to Carr. This has proven to be an

invaluable resource for the very few scholars and many more keen amateur researchers to follow him. Wragg very loosely adopted W A Eden's proposal of stylistic influence via Burlington and Adam, but does not expand or explore it in any greater detail, or examine further his suggestion that Carr was influenced by pattern books, some of which he is known to have owned. Wragg merely accepted the stylistic label attached to Carr and then struggled to comply with it.

Our two main authors, Worsley and Summerson, both included Carr in their narratives when discussing the form of the country house, the main building type of these second generation Palladians. Summerson's argument confirmed Carr as the provincial, conservative builder, while Worsley attempted to challenge this. No other writer on Carr has examined this, the most prolific, of Carr's building type.

In his PhD thesis within the chapter entitled Domestic Buildings, Wragg further divided Carr's *oeuvre* into town and country houses, which were placed in three sections in chronological order: the early work; the middle years; and the later work. This section opened with the assertion that the difference between a house and a mansion is largely one of size, and in a footnote Wragg stated that he would avoid a discussion as to when a house becomes a villa. This, of course was left to James Ackerman to elucidate for us in his 1990 work *The Villa*, but this difference could be an important one in understanding and examining Carr's rural domestic architecture. How accurate is our modern reading of Carr's house of parade at Harewood, and as a construct, does it differ to his *villa rustica* at Constable Burton?



**Illustration 10 - Harewood House, South Front, by John Carr, 1759. Engraving by George Milton**



**Illustration 11 - Constable Burton, West Front, by John Carr, 1762**

David Littlejohn included Carr in his monograph on the role of the English country house.<sup>62</sup> In it, Littlejohn corroborated other writers on the meaning of the term ‘country house’ but goes on to establish how many exist. He claims it would appear to add up to 2000, with only 400 open to the public. Unfortunately many of Carr’s surviving houses fall into the remaining 1600, which include, and are discussed by Littlejohn, Allerton Park, Aske Hall, Bramham Park, Burton Agnes and Duncombe Park. Littlejohn mentions Carr first in his list of provincial architects, after he has named the ‘national’ figures including Adam, Brown, and Chippendale, all involved in a stylistic history.<sup>63</sup>

Campbell, within the decade 1715-25, created two distinct types of house: the great ‘house of parade’ seen at Houghton and Wanstead; and the ‘villa’ after Palladio, exemplified in Stourhead, Mereworth and Newby. The first, the house of parade, had the most success initially, producing a series of grand country houses in the 1730s and 1740s. These huge structures were superseded by the villa.<sup>64</sup> The second generation Palladians created what Summerson tentatively called a ‘villa revival’ from the 1750s, using the designs of Campbell, Burlington and Morris. Carr too was a prolific builder in this form, contributing to Summerson’s ‘revival’, and Richardson’s likening the profusion of country houses to a number of English *Petits Trianons*.

For Worsley, the supply of this villa revival was met with the increase in architects post the Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748. This followed nearly 20 years of war, high interest rates and a decline in the economy. Worsley, unlike Summerson, does allude to outside influences on building history such as political

---

<sup>62</sup> Littlejohn.

<sup>63</sup> Littlejohn, p. 29.

<sup>64</sup> See James Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

and economic events. From 1749 James Paine was continuously busy; William Hiorn, born in about 1712, suddenly became active in 1748 and produced a string of houses over the next decade; James Gibbs was prolific during the 1720s, but built practically nothing after 1736 until 1749; Kent remodelled Badminton in 1745, but built no country houses after finishing Holkham in 1734. John Carr built his first house in 1748 – to the designs of Lord Burlington and Roger Morris at Kirby Hall – and thereafter was never short of work. For Isaac Ware, at age 26 in 1733 and a Burlington protégé, it was not until the 1750s that he became prolific with country houses. Throughout this list, which continues to include Matthew Brettingham and John Vardy, Worsley noted their relationship, whenever it existed, with Burlington. Worsley intended to show the importance of Burlington within his narrative, while pointing out that even the aristocratic architect's men struggled during difficult times.

Summerson discussed the evolution of the villa revival in the work of two architects: Isaac Ware and John Carr. Ware's 1754 design for Wrotham Park consisted of a central block based on the villa type showing strong influences from Chiswick, to which wings were added terminating in pavilions. Summerson compared this to Harewood House (work started in 1759) by Carr, in which he claimed the house of parade had been truncated. According to Summerson Carr therefore reduced an old fashioned house of parade and Ware expanded a more fashionable villa. Both houses show very similar form and function, but quite different style and we quickly see a hidden agenda based on stylistic terms

showing one as the fashionable ascendant and one the un-fashionable descendent.<sup>65</sup>

Worsley touched on the same point, observing that it was more a case of the difficulty in adapting the villa form to the needs of a great house. Compromise designs show the house compressed so that they have the appearance but not the plan of a villa. Burlington and Roger Morris did this at Kirby Hall, where a central 1-3-1 bay villa is extended each side with lower wings. This is the same Kirby Hall constructed under the supervision of John Carr, who was not mentioned in Worsley's discussion of the house. Worsley showed that Isaac Ware did the same at Wrotham Park, where he claimed Ware stretched the *piano-nobile* across a central villa, two 3-bay link buildings and the pavilions. 'John Carr did the same on a grander scale, and to a more considered design, at Harewood House'.<sup>66</sup> Summerson claimed Carr adapted an out dated model, and Worsley that he adapted a new and unused model.

Worsley affirmed the idea that the villa was different, and served a separate function to the country seat, in the same way Summerson did. However, as Worsley wrote, 'there could be no further doubts when even a duke was prepared to build a villa for his seat.'<sup>67</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Kingston in 1767 turned to Carr to build him a new seat at Thoresby. Accompanied by Kent's Horse Guards and Adam's Shelburne House, Thoresby appears in the fifth volume of

---

<sup>65</sup> Of interest is the Harewood House website that states that Edwin Lascelles 'employed the finest craftsmen of the time: York-born architect Robert Carr, fashionable interior designer Robert Adam...' Of course they may mean Wakefield born architect John Carr; Carr's father Robert Carr of Wakefield was the Clerk of Works at Harewood, building to the designs of his son. (<http://www.harewood.org/house/state-rooms>, 27<sup>th</sup> Sep 2009)

<sup>66</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 232.

<sup>67</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 229.



*Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1771, by which time the idea of the villa as a country seat had become well established.

In shifting our focus gaps appear in these narratives that can be explored through the lens of John Carr. Wragg, and Worsley in his edited book based on Wragg's thesis, briefly touched on elements of patronage as discussed here: that of the background of patrons and the influences upon them. Of the first, our authors concluded that the background of Carr's patrons was made up primarily of Whig landowners. While accurate, this complies with the prevailing view established by Summerson, but a focus on this viewpoint can also obscure other interpretations. We have also seen how the argument put forward by Jenkins concerning the background of the eighteenth-century architectural patron does not fit with an examination of Carr's clients. Of the second element, our knowledge of the relationship between Carr and his patrons is limited to a few paragraphs authored by Wragg in his thesis, stating that relations were good; considerable archival evidence will elucidate for us different themes impacting on the differing and alternate influences affecting architectural consumption.

Summerson focused heavily on the role of monarch as patron, exploring in great detail the work of the Office of King's Works at various stages through his narrative. This ensures not only a hierarchy of building type, but of patronage. The great palaces of Henry VIII, the influential designs for Greenwich, and the Whitehall proposals are all examined in detail. While this pertains to the periods prior to our own in the eighteenth century, we see a continuation of the classical stylistic and class bias. In the eighteenth century, beneath this stratum existed a huge group of less wealthy people who all aspired to, and were capable of, architectural patronage. This usually took the form of the country house or estate

improvements, and this group as viewed through the work of Carr, is more representative of society in general.

Neither Summerson nor Worsley discussed the importance of the patron, who after all had commissioned the architect and must have had some idea about what they hoped to gain aesthetically from the relationship other than simply a building design. Summerson did, however, allude to the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria over Charles I and Inigo Jones, which itself could prove interesting if developed further, but is indicative of Summerson's focus on royal patronage. In recent years, authors such as Rosemary Baird, Alice Friedman and Lucy Worsley, have discussed the role of woman as patrons of the arts and architecture.<sup>68</sup> However, in each of these cases, the woman concerned was a member of the ruling elite; Carr is known to have worked for at least eight independent women of less grand means, traditionally ignored because of their gender and more latterly their class. This thesis will address the patronage of these women.

Our two main authors, Worsley and Summerson, both included Carr in their narratives when discussing the form of the country house, the main building type of what they term the second generation Palladians. As seen when thinking of Harewood House, Summerson's argument confirmed Carr as the provincial, conservative builder, while Worsley attempted to challenge this, presenting an innovative architect working with a new building form.

The choice of building examples made by Summerson as a set of stepping stones through his narrative has become the benchmark of greatness. In his

---

<sup>68</sup> Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses* (London: Phoenix, 2004); Alice T. Friedman, 'Wife in the English Country House', in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, by Cynthia Lawrence (Pennsylvania State University, 1997); Worsley, XLVIII.

Chapter on the Palladian Movement Summerson was concerned with classicism and it is the classical country house which dominates. Further, both he and Worsley focused on the evolution of the villa, a form of building that featured heavily in Carr's repertoire. Very few of Carr's 'villas' comply with our modern understanding of the term as espoused by these writers and reinforced by Ackerman.

At the close of the section on Carr's gothic work, Wragg attempted to resolve the issue of whether Carr was a Palladian by stating that Carr merely followed Palladio, in which case, many other architects should be "bundled" into the same category; but, continued Wragg, "if we consider he also worked with gothic, does that mean we must remove Carr from his Palladian bundle?" This question, coupled with how closely Carr was influenced by the work of Adam, caused great consternation to Wragg, who wrote, regarding the title of his thesis 'from this title John Carr, poor man, will always have the greatest difficulty in escaping.' And yet, it appears that Wragg was doggedly trying to keep him there. However, with a shift in academic approach, and by casting aside for a moment the idea of stylistic evolution and authorship, Wragg's work provides a very solid foundation on which to explore ideas around patronage and the practice of eighteenth-century architecture. Indeed, the strength of Wragg's work is evidenced in the publication at the same time as the completion of this thesis of a pictorial survey by Ivan Hall of Carr's work which, as its chapter headings follows the format of Wragg's PhD thesis. Hall's recent publication also shows the growing interest in Carr.

John Bold in 1989 wrote that the idea of the modern architect was a development not from within the ranks of the building trades, with their stress on

quotidian practicalities, but from within the realms of theory, supported by artistically enlightened patronage.<sup>69</sup> This drew on Wilton-Ely's concept of the classically educated man interested in *disegno*. Histories of architecture focusing on such luminaries as Robert Adam, Lord Burlington and Sir John Soane can find comfortable compliance with these theories; Crinson and Lubbock, however, dispute Bold and Wilton-Ely, and claim the idea of the modern architect is practically based as seen under Wren, as opposed to theoretical and classical, as under John Bold's example of Inigo Jones.<sup>70</sup> Into this practically based aspect of the profession, sits those architects, including Carr, traditionally overlooked.

To enforce their argument, Crinson and Lubbock quote Dee's Preface to *Euclid* of 1570 as the text that first disseminated Renaissance principles of design, publishing in English and aiming it at the artisanal classes.<sup>71</sup> The importance of a crafts background was seminal in the time of Wren, who saw the value of practical training within the Office of Works: indeed, Hawksmoor spent many years in various roles with a practical focus.<sup>72</sup> And yet, with this comprehensive argument, the importance of the practical is still overlooked in favour of the classical and theoretical. Nowhere in Sir John Soane's Articles of Agreement does it mention craft training, nor was there evidence of familiarity with the crafts within Soane's pupillage system.<sup>73</sup> Sir William Chambers, however, shared Soane's desire for a higher status for architects, but wanted his position to be based on a comprehensive and sensitive understanding of all aspects of building work. Arthur T Bolton, writing on Adam in the 1920s while Curator of the Sir

---

<sup>69</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 17.

<sup>73</sup> Crinson and Lubbock, p. 26.

John Soane Museum with its collection of 6000 Adam drawings, is clearly influenced by these issues on his opinion of Carr as the strongly traditional and practical architect of the county and therefore a lesser architect.<sup>74</sup>

The extent to which Summerson's narrative has become conventional wisdom is evidenced by its continued acceptance. While authors have challenged this view, including Worsley, the strength of Summerson's argument prevails. Summerson was right to impose some form of order on the architecture of previous centuries, for without order it is impossible to comprehend the significance of what we see. Even Summerson, however, admitted facing difficulties with his taxonomy. What is problematic is Summerson's linear chronology, with which he also experienced difficulties and it is this that Worsley challenged, proposing different, but parallel lines of style. Worsley did not, however, challenge Summerson's ideas around stylistic classification; instead he confirmed them. For that reason, we could consider Worsley a Revisionist rather than the Post-modernist he perhaps thought he was.

This can prove beneficial when examining the work of Carr. As we have seen, Wragg had to conclude that Carr was perhaps merely 'classically aware', rather than a Palladian architect. It is difficult to apply a stylistic label to the work of one architect whose work varied, and consisted of many different building types and many different patrons; one should then not attempt to, and consider other themes that his work could elucidate. This thesis, therefore, will examine ideas around the patronage and practice of eighteenth-century architecture through the work of this architect. The former theme, that of patronage, tended as we have seen to traditionally focus on the great political or cultural leaders with sufficient

---

<sup>74</sup> Bolton, p. 162.

finances to build in a grand manner; the latter focused on the great drawing offices of canonical architects such as Adam and Soane. By examining a 'lesser' architect, whose career focused primarily on provincial patronage, alternative and hidden architectural histories may become apparent.

Having explored Carr's History, or rather, his limited place within architectural histories, the following chapter sets out to contextualise him within his social milieu in order to establish his role within architectural patronage in the British Isles within the late eighteenth-century. Undertaking this can help confirm the validity of using a figure such as Carr to unpick traditional architectural histories.

## Chapter 2 – Carr’s Place

By contextualising Carr in this chapter and confirming him within his social milieu we can then with confidence use him as a lens to answer questions in succeeding chapters revealing the hidden and overlooked architectural histories that I set out to explore in this thesis. By considering the social identity of those with whom Carr worked and the basis of their patronage, this chapter and the next map the social background of Carr’s patrons, challenging accepted ideas regarding class and architectural patronage during our period. By using a number of contextualising archives and updating and correcting Wragg’s original catalogue of Carr’s works, I analyse and discuss Carr’s commissions as shown in Table 1 of the Appendices.

By exploring the background of those involved in eighteenth-century architectural patronage, this chapter will show that current thinking proposed by such authors on the subject as Frank Jenkins, Spiro Kostoff and Sir John Summerson, who suggested that the traditional aristocratic patron of architecture during the eighteenth-century was replaced by one from the rising mercantile class, is not wholly correct, but that in fact, architectural patronage during this period was much more complex. This chapter will then go on to consider how these groups related with Carr as a provider of architectural services and how that compared with their relationships with other architects. Archival evidence would indicate that Carr had a very personable relationship with his patrons, which differed from that of his peers. However, with this difference in mind, we can still with confidence explore Carr’s architectural work in order to reveal those hidden and overlooked architectural histories addressed here.

As we saw in ‘Chapter 1 – Carr’s History’, Frank Jenkins in ‘Patronage and Taste in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-century’ established who architectural patrons were during our period, the influences on them, and how this changed from an aristocratic set to a more widely spread mercantile one.<sup>1</sup> Traditional histories of architecture focus on the cultural and social elite, thereby giving us a particular impression of architectural consumption in the British Isles. Recent revisionist writers have worked hard at re-evaluating this and have explored ideas around artisanal and regional architecture as well as buildings with less elite purposes such as prisons, hospitals and industrial buildings.<sup>2</sup> In adopting this viewpoint, however, we can overlook those who would traditionally be perceived to fall into the former category: the consumer of ‘polite’ architecture, from which we can actually learn much about eighteenth-century architecture. Peter Borsay, in his article ‘Landed Elite and Provincial Towns in Britain 1660-1800’, concurred with other writers in giving central place to the increasingly numerous wealthy and confident middling order of merchants.<sup>3</sup> An examination of Carr’s work does not comply with this proposal. However, Borsay *was* right to question the fact that in highlighting the perceived contribution of this newly wealthy mercantile class, one can overlook that of the traditional land owner. A cursory glance at the patronage background of Carr would corroborate this assumption. As a group, the gentry among Carr’s patrons were over three times in number those of a mercantile background.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jenkins, pp. 67–89.

<sup>2</sup> See: Anthony Quiney, ‘Benevolent Vernacular: Cottages and Workers’ Housing’, in *Georgian Vernacular*, ed. by Neil Burton (Georgian Group, 1996), pp. 45–50; Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence: The British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815* (Yale University Press, 2000); Dana Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital: Spatiality and Urban Change in London 1680-1820* (London: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Peter Borsay, ‘Landed Elite and Provincial Towns in Britain 1660-1800’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 13 (2003), 281–294.



It was necessary to consider the class groups to which Carr's patrons belonged in order to gain some understanding of both their background and the influences on them as individuals and to show that traditional architectural histories pertaining to class and patronage may not be wholly accurate. As set out in the Introduction, this quantitative analysis was achieved through the interpretation of data presented and processed with the use of an Excel spreadsheet, which forms Table 1 in Appendices. It was also necessary to order the wide ranging scope of the archives into some manageable form. As with John Cannon in *Aristocratic Century*, the classification used is based on the idea of the patron being of the same class as his or her parent and grandparent.<sup>4</sup> This draws on earlier commentators such as Francis Markham in his *Booke of Honour* of 1625 stating that only the third generation after gaining honour can a person claim to be a 'Gentleman of the Blood.'<sup>5</sup> This of course means that one of two grandfathers could be chosen depending on the result desired, and is also patriarchal. It also hampers social mobility, but, in the case of Carr's patrons only four were elevated to the peerage – two each from the gentry and the mercantile class. Such an approach to defining class also fails to account for those descending the class system. My quantitative method also relies on the accuracy of such publications detailing the British peerage and gentry class as that produced by Debretts and Burkes to ascertain an individual's heritage. Mistakes in these could skew results.

Table 1 in the Appendices presents a breakdown by class and commission of Carr's work throughout his career. The results draw on the succeeding tables,

---

<sup>4</sup> Cannon.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Markham, *Booke of Honour. Or Five Decades of Epistles of Honour* (London: Mathewes and Norton, 1625), p. 48.

showing each patron and details of their commission. I present each category here in this analysis in order of the size of each group: gentry; mercantile; aristocrat; committee; church, and professional.

Examination of Carr's patrons reveal that half (50.9%) were members of the gentry; the second largest group (16.4%) came from a mercantile background, and the third (12.3%) were members of the aristocracy. While our initial assumptions may have been correct in stating that the aristocracy were replaced by a rising mercantile class, this new class in the case of Carr's patronage did not in fact become the leading group, which remained the gentry.

The landed gentry, established as those without hereditary titles of the peerage who owned estates from which their main income was derived, was the largest group of Carr's patrons.<sup>6</sup> Represented by 87 families this group equated to half of Carr's known total patronage base. At 140 individual commissions, however, this was less at 36.6%. Thus, although the largest group, each person commissioned on average 1.6 projects from Carr. Each individual, therefore, on average, commissioned less per person than any other patronage group and less than the overall average at 1.9. So while the largest group, it is evident that those patrons from the gentry were perhaps more careful and considered in what they commissioned from Carr.

Carr created 29 complete new houses for the gentry, the third largest commission type sought by them, and, as the largest group, the third largest type overall. These houses included Lytham Hall (1757) for Thomas Clifton, Grimston

---

<sup>6</sup> Those possessing the title 'Baronet', are included within the gentry, as their titles are not from the peerage.

Garth (1781) for John Grimston and Constable Burton (1762) for Sir Marmaduke Wyvil.

Towards the end of the eighteenth-century industrialisation and urban sprawl meant many of the old, established gentry families found themselves with new sources of wealth, enabling them to commission new homes. While these houses, such as Constable Burton Hall, and Basildon Park<sup>7</sup>, may not rank as examples of cultural leadership in architectural histories, they do, nonetheless, represent critical examples of architectural patronage involving the professional architect and could be considered good examples of the Palladian construct in that they consist of a central block villa with a pedimented portico, peron, and service wing or wings.

However, the greatest number of commissions made by members of the gentry consisted of alterations to existing houses, perhaps in order to maintain their place in society and to confirm their longevity. This included alterations to Staunton Hall (1778) for Anne Charlton, Campsall Hall (1762) for Bacon Frank and Kilnwick Hall (1769) first for John Grimston, and then again for his son Thomas (1781).

The second largest work sought by the gentry from Carr was for estate buildings, and includes Castle Farm (1778) and various other gothic buildings (1780s) at Sledmere for Christopher Sykes, stables and farms at Campsmount (1774) for Anne and Elizabeth Yarborough and farmhouses and estate houses at Escrick Park (1770s) for Beilby Thompson.

---

<sup>7</sup> Sir Frances Sykes is usually referred to as an Indian Nabob, creating his fortune in the services of the British East India Company with which he built Basildon Park; however, it is as the younger son of a minor landowning family from Yorkshire that he went to India.

All these commissions show the importance of the estate from which the gentry gained their power and influence; 82% of the gentry's patronage was concerned with either the country house or buildings on the estate surrounding it and this represents Carr's largest genre of work. Including the building of stables, that increases the figure to 94%. This shows the importance of the landed estate to the gentry, from which their wealth and local political power was generated.

Almost the same number of houses was designed by Carr for members of the mercantile class as for the gentry, at 27 compared to 29. Yet the number of merchants, at 29 representing 16.4% of Carr's total patrons, was more than three times smaller than the gentry group. This group commissioned 69 projects in total, or 21% of his work representing higher than average at 2.3 commissions per person. As stated, a third, 27, was houses. It is fair to say then that the supposition of writers such as Jenkins, Kostof and Summerson claiming the newly rich mercantile class were the largest commissioners of houses is representative of the work of Carr; however, it is not an accurate idea of architectural patronage in general.

Architectural books started to reflect the new mercantile class: James Paine's *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen's Houses* of 1767 and John Soane's *Plans, Elevation and Section of Buildings* of 1788 both illustrate works commissioned by merchants and bankers. However, while architectural histories may focus on the supposed architectural leadership of such families as the Childs at Wanstead House and Osterley House or the Whitbreads at Southill because of such publications, this is not representative of more general architectural patronage as evidenced by the work of Carr, but could explain why later writers of architectural histories made this assumption. The large number of contemporary

publications focusing on such patronage has influenced later ideas on architectural consumption.

Jenkins claimed it was easy to pass from one class to another; however this does not seem to bear with Carr's patronage where, from the mercantile class, we see only Henry Ibbetson granted a Baronetcy in 1748 for his contribution to the government when fighting against the 1745 rebellion, and Edwin Lascelles become an Earl in 1812. Both men were third generation merchants although Lascelles, as the younger son, had been educated as a gentleman while his older brother Daniel was trained to take over the family businesses.

Carr worked for 21 members of the aristocracy, or those holding a hereditary title, representing 12.3% of his patrons. This group commissioned a total of 69 individual projects representing a total of 17.8% of his total output. As the third largest group, the aristocracy were the largest per person commissioners of work from Carr, at more than three commissions per person.

Almost half of these commissions were alterations to existing houses showing they were still prolific architectural consumers if not leaders, keen to be seen as arbiters of taste. While alterations may have been undertaken for reasons of practicality, aesthetics played a part. Estate buildings were the next largest section of work, followed by the design and construction of stables. The latter two show the importance of the country house landscape and of horseracing and riding in particular to this group. As alterations or maintenance of existing buildings and the creation of estate buildings, however, this prolific contribution to the construct of eighteenth-century architectural practice is traditionally overlooked in favour of the new, grand and classical project, as evidenced by the traditional focus on the new country house of the rising mercantile elite. This aspect of Carr's practice

will be explored in greater detail in ‘Chapter 6: Carr’s Landscape’, focusing on the alterations, maintenance and construction of estate buildings for Whig statesman and twice Prime Minister Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Rockingham and his wife Mary Bright at their estates centred on Wentworth Woodhouse and Malton, and his heir William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam and his wife Lady Charlotte Ponsonby, again at Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton House, Peterborough.

Others of Carr’s aristocratic patrons included William Cavendish-Bentinck 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland and his wife Dorothy Cavendish at Welbeck (1763-77), at both Burlington House (1771-87) and Soho in London (1794), and other government office holders such as Frederick Howard, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard (1771) and William Cavendish, 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire and his wife Lady Georgiana Spencer at Chatsworth House (1774-84) and Buxton Crescent (1780-90). Further aristocratic patrons of Carr who did not hold political office included: Evelyn Pierrepont, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Kingston at Thoresby House (1767-71); Henry Vane, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Darlington at Raby Castle (1768-88), who was, however, MP for Downton, and Lords Holderness, Harcourt and Bruce, at Aston Hall (1767-72), Nuneham Park (1778) and Tanfield Hall (1765).<sup>8</sup>

As we saw in the previous chapter, John Cannon suggested that the English peerage was more closed and elitist than its continental counterparts. In this he opposed Frank Jenkins who wrote that trade was acceptable to the English aristocracy, as opposed to the French. However, Jenkins proposed that the aristocracy appeared to mix freely with the gentry, but neither group with the

---

<sup>8</sup> See: Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York* See: ; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*.

mercantile class.<sup>9</sup> This is borne out by the patronage of Carr, although we see a glimpse of a differing attitude in the Duchess of Portland writing to her husband regarding the family estates in Cumberland ‘I am sorry to hear that the Gentry there are so absurd.’<sup>10</sup> The Duchess does not mention the mercantile class, and clearly has a poor opinion of the provincial gentry.

In his Preface, Cannon acknowledged that in maintaining the existing hegemony, the aristocracy enabled political stability.<sup>11</sup> This can be seen in the careers of Rockingham and Portland who both held office of Prime Minister twice. Portland even went so far as to create financial insecurity for his family in fighting the legal claim of James Lowther over part of the Portland estates in Cumberland which affected Lowther’s parliamentary constituency. This legal battle helped contribute to the need to sell parts of the Portland estates in Hampshire and London by the 1790s. Cannon wrote that a number of aristocrats experienced money problems as a result of trying to maintain this hegemony and indeed in many cases, minor gentry families were far richer than some aristocratic families.<sup>12</sup>

Jeremy Black as recently as 2005 claimed the most striking cultural legacy of the eighteenth-century for many was its stately homes and gardens. This was imbued with a sense of landownership and according to Black, there still existed anxiety about new money and the resulting social mobility that went with it. We have seen how the traditional gentry were maintaining their hegemony through the upkeep and maintenance of their country estates, whereas the rising mercantile

---

<sup>9</sup> Jenkins, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 10651, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1774

<sup>11</sup> Cannon, p. VIII.

<sup>12</sup> Ideas around wealth and class are discussed in the following chapter.

classes were attempting to create the impression of that same construct. Throughout the century this new money often proved a target for satirists who associated it, then as now, with personal vulgarity and a lack of taste, style and sensitivity.<sup>13</sup> This of course draws on Cannon's work of two decades previously, discussing the closed ranks of the higher orders. Indeed, some of Carr's recently wealthy clients were commissioning the larger country houses – almost one per client in the case of his mercantile patrons.

Carr worked for 20 committees, representing 20% of his total work and 12.3% of patrons. Over three-quarters of the commissions undertaken by committee were for public buildings as we would expect. These included York Magistrates Court (1772), Newark Town Hall (1773), Bootham Lunatic Asylum (1774), and York Female Prison (1779).

These figures do include the alterations or construction of 54 bridges undertaken by Carr in his role of Surveyor of Bridges for the committees of the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The majority of those sitting on Committees for whom Carr worked were those who naturally fell into the category of gentry, with some aristocrats, and one merchant. With income from landed estates and therefore no need of income through other means, the gentry could devote time to other causes. Paul Longford wrote of a Hanoverian society 'governing the Kingdom by committee', which seemed at the time a novel feature of George III's reign.<sup>14</sup> Frank Jenkins also discussed this issue and both authors agree that by the nineteenth century and the full swing of industrialisation, the rule of committee intensified.

---

<sup>13</sup> See: Jeremy Black, *Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Hambledon, 2005), p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Longford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), p. 592.



However, an examination of the make-up of those committees for whom Carr worked is illuminating. His role as Surveyor of Bridges for the North Riding of Yorkshire saw Carr reporting to a committee peopled by gentry, minor aristocrats and one professional, including Sir Robert D'Arcy Hildyard, Sir Thomas Dundas and Samuel Shore. Shore was lawyer to the Lascelles family and builder of Norton Hall and held the role of Secretary to the Hollis Hospital committee;<sup>15</sup> and the Duke of Norfolk led Carr's work on the building committee of St Peters Church, Sheffield.<sup>16</sup>

This, therefore, also disproves Jenkins's assertion that the rising middle class had influence over public building projects, which he believed would go on to grow to a zenith during the Victorian period.<sup>17</sup> Jenkins also claimed that from the 1750s, the foundations were being laid for the middle-class cultural leadership of nineteenth century England and that the new building committees of middle-class laymen needed to be persuaded and instructed by a designer, who almost amounted to a purveyor of styles. As noted, the assumption of the committee composition is not quite accurate, and nor is their relationship with the architect. It is more accurate to state that the architect was now required to play a more particular role, selling his designs in open rivalry with his colleagues, or guiding those less sure through the process. The first can be seen, for example, in the correspondence between Samuel Shore, Secretary of the Hollis Hospital Trust, and Timothy Hollis over Carr's proposals for the new hospital buildings in Sheffield, in which Shore writes 'If you intend to proceed upon that or any other

---

<sup>15</sup> North Yorkshire Archives, Quarter Sessions Papers, QSM 2/27 Sessions Order Book 1782-87, Pg 109

<sup>16</sup> Sheffield Archives, Church Burgesses Records, CB 598/2, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1774

<sup>17</sup> Jenkins, p. 86.

plan this summer no time should be lost.’<sup>18</sup> There is no mention in the correspondence from Shore of other architects, although at the time Shore was using Carr to undertake alterations to his own home at Norton Hall so it is likely he had approached an architect known to him; the Hollis Hospital trustees were all based in London so may have approached their own architects. Having decided on Carr’s design, Carr then led Shore gently through the process, in a way that is not apparent in correspondence with other patrons:

As you will not build the whole of this design at once, I have calculated from my estimate the expense of building one square of it, or 100 feet, and find that every 100 feet will cost about £22:3:0, so that if you multiply the length by the breadth of any part you think proper to build at one time, divide the product by 100. You will readily know the expense of erecting a part of the building.<sup>19</sup>

This approach is a markedly different scenario to Carr’s winning design for the Knavesmire Grandstand, in competition against James Paine, Sir Thomas Robinson and Robert Dingley in 1754 in which the committee of local gentry and aristocrats was headed by Lord Rockingham. While in this case Shore was a middle class professional acting as Secretary on behalf of gentry and mercantile Trustees, the viewpoint that the patronage of a ‘rising middle class’ became more dominant requiring a more professional relationship with their architect does not hold out under an examination of the work of Carr. It is more accurate to state that the rising profession of architect evolved with the middle class committee, as seen here, in which case the minutiae of the commission is handled professionally by

---

<sup>18</sup> Sheffield Archives, Hollis Hospital Papers, LD 1164/36, Samuel Shore to Timothy Hollis, 24<sup>th</sup> May, 1769

<sup>19</sup> Sheffield Archives, Hollis Hospital Papers, LD 1164/29, Carr to Samuel Shore, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1769

the middle class committee member and the architect as consultant, the two roles evolving together.

Church patronage saw church building practically stop after the completion of those created under the auspices of the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches of 1711, and further Acts of Parliament stopped the creation of new parishes until 1818. Usually the local landowner paid for construction of a new church building to replace an existing structure, such as Carr's design for Elizabeth Parkin at St James, Ravenfield (1756), or his own church of St Peter's at Horbury (1794), seen in the distance in Beechey's portrait of Carr. A review of Carr's commissions undertaken on behalf of the church concur with Jenkins's statement that during the eighteenth-century, the Established Church did not rank as a major patron of architecture.<sup>20</sup>

Carr worked for nine church patrons, on 11 projects, the lowest number of commissions per patron. This work included surveys and alterations at York Minster (1770) alterations to existing church buildings at St Peter's, Leeds (1761) and at All Saints, Dewsbury (1764). This group does not include those private patrons from other groups who built churches on their estates such as Elizabeth Parkin and Carr himself, or those members of the aristocracy and gentry who held church positions and rebuilt church property to their own advantage, such as Bishop Shute Barrington at Durham Castle (1791) or Bishop Egerton at Auckland Castle (1771). Only one church was built by Carr on behalf of parishioners, at St Everilda's in Everingham, Yorkshire (1763); two further churches, the Farnley Chapel of Rest, Leeds (1761) and St John the Evangelist at Bierley, Yorkshire (1766), were commissioned by the local Vicar.

---

<sup>20</sup> Jenkins, p. 89.

Discounting the commissions for himself at St Peter's Horbury, or on his own country estate at Askham Richard, Carr worked for only five other professionals. The professions represented were: law by James Collins, who acted on behalf of the Lascelles family and built Knaresborough House (1768) for himself; Daniel Mitford, a Chemist, for whom Carr built a townhouse in the centre of Northallerton (1755); and William Mellish, builder of Blyth Hall (1773), who was His Majesty's Receiver of Customs. Each professional commissioned a house from Carr, the largest number within any group, although the type of house – ranging from the country house at Blyth Hall to the modest town house in Northallerton, varied. Estate buildings and alterations were the second largest number of commissions undertaken by Carr on behalf of professional patrons which is reflected also in the gentry and aristocratic groups. William Mellish clearly saw himself as separate from the aristocracy and gentry, writing to his son Charles in 1778 while in post as Receiver General of Customs 'I shall therefore make my rule in future to stay till I am applied to, and then assist such of the nobility and gentry as assist me.'<sup>21</sup> Mellish, as a landowner and architectural patron, perhaps does not identify with either but is aware of the benefits of knowing such people.

According to Jenkins, the rising mercantile class was merely an echo of the voice of the aristocratic patron whom they were trying to emulate.<sup>22</sup> This assumes stylistic similarities in the patronage of one group with that of another, which is not accurate and overly simplistic. Examining three examples of 'polite'

---

<sup>21</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mellish of Blyth Papers, Me 2 C 40, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1778

<sup>22</sup> Jenkins, p. 86.

architecture from each of the three leading patronage groups of Carr can elucidate these differences and similarities.

An initial survey of these nine projects shows that indeed there are similarities between them within each of the two leading groups. We can quickly see that those designs commissioned by members of the mercantile group all comply with what we would expect following a Summersonian chronological stylistic singularity; Palladian concepts can be seen at Harewood House and Thorp Arch Hall, in which we see a central block with attached pavilions within a symmetrical setting. Similar forms can also be seen at Denton Park, although the central block is more prominent and does not feature a raised *piano nobile* above a basement. In this we can see either the evolution of neo-Classicism to follow towards the end of the century, or earlier Renaissance concepts.



Illustration 12 - Harewood House, South Front, by John Carr, 1759. From Thomas Allen's *Complete History of the County of York*



Illustration 13 - Thorpe Arch Hall, Garden Front, by John Carr, 1756



Illustration 14 - Denton Park, South Front, by John Carr, 1776. From Harry Speight's *Upper Wharfedale*

Contrary to what Jenkins and Summerson claim, these designs do not appear to reflect stylistic innovation by the supposed leading group – the aristocracy. In the case of our examples here, it would appear the aristocracy were leading stylistic influence following traditional views, where we see a Palladian design from 1770, a gothic in 1770, and a neo-Classic in 1800.

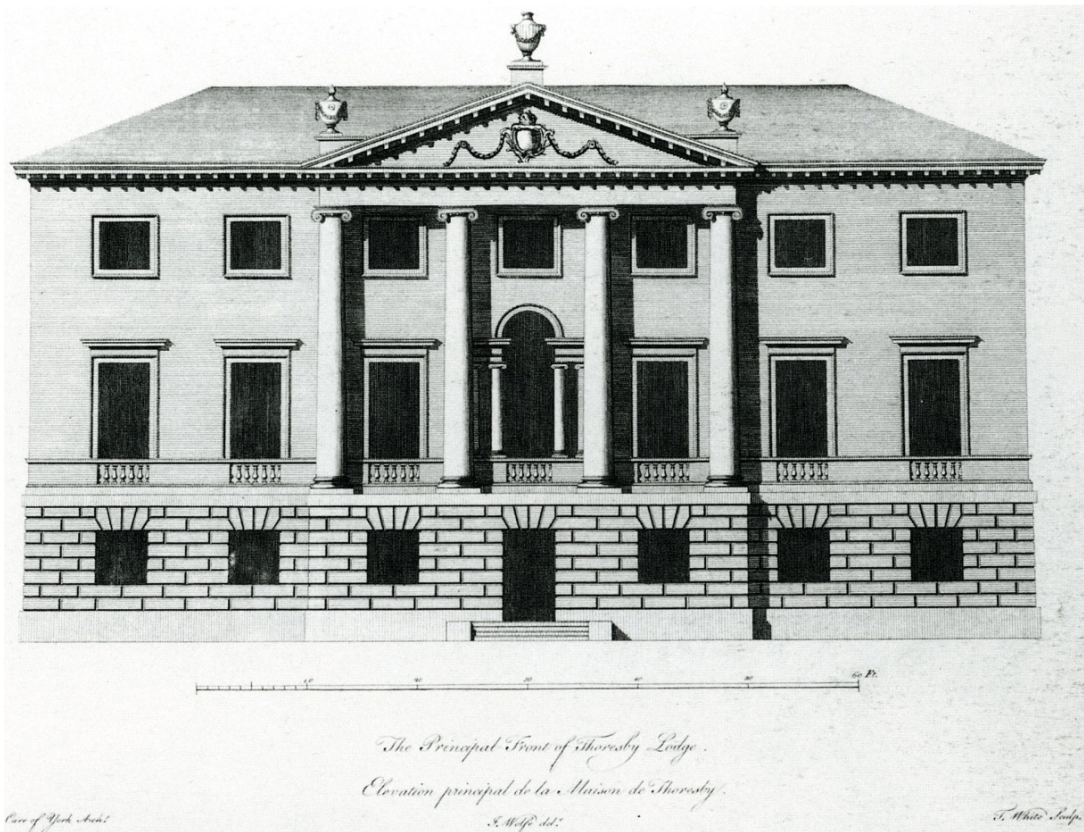


Illustration 15 - Thoresby, by John Carr, 1767. From Woolfe and Gandon's *Vitruvius Britannicus*



Illustration 16 - Raby Hall, Great Hall, by John Carr, 1768. From *Country Life*



Illustration 17 - Malton House (now Coolattin House), by John Carr, 1799

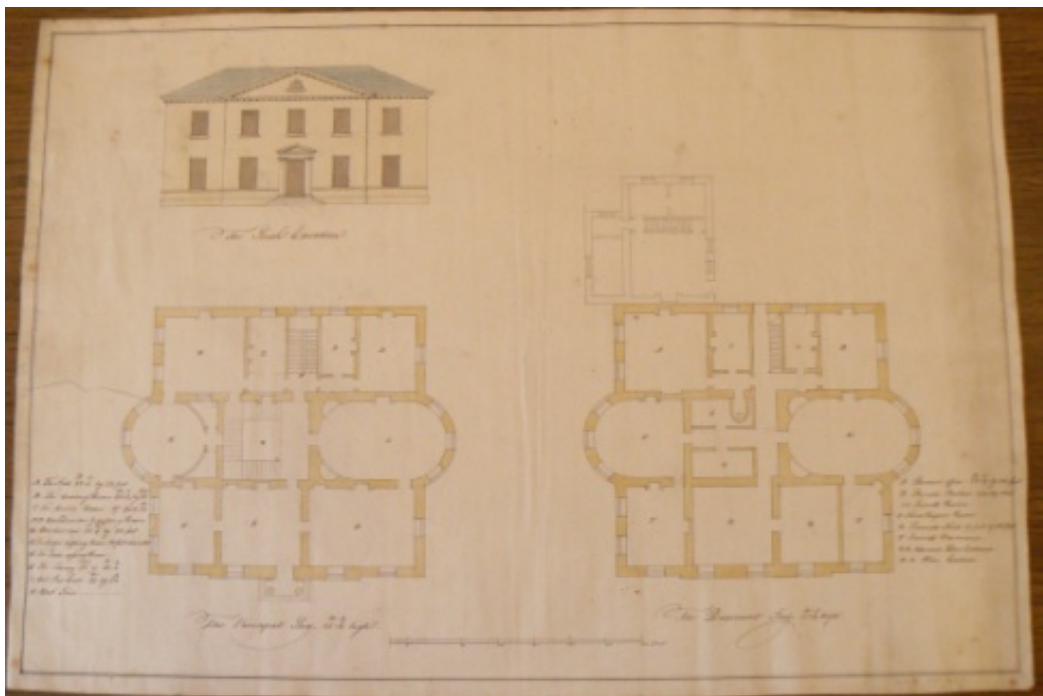


Illustration 18 - Design for Malton House (now Coolattin House), by John Carr, 1799

However, as we have found with this study, we could claim that the mercantile patrons have been influenced by the gentry and not by the aristocracy. The three examples from the gentry show, again, two designs drawing very strongly on Palladian principles, as we saw with the mercantile group. However,



the third, Grimston Garth, does not, and although following the villa form and function, is very different stylistically, built as a three sided triangular castellated block with a tower on each point.



**Illustration 19 - Constable Burton, West Front, by John Carr, 1762**



Illustration 20 - Basildon Park, North Front, by John Carr, 1776



Illustration 21 - Grimston Garth, by John Carr, 1781

It becomes clear in the case of Carr that the designs created for the mercantile class have similarities with those created for the gentry, as opposed to the

aristocracy. This may be an attempt by them to comply with a recognisable stereotype and to match expected forms, or to create a personal heritage.

However, once we take a closer look, unpicking these influences becomes more complex. Having considered the date of each of these designs commissioned by members of the mercantile class, we see that Harewood House and Grimston Garth were built by members of the merchant class in the previous decades to Constable Burton and Basildon Park, built by members of the gentry. Indeed, Thoresby, that iconic Palladian villa construct commissioned in 1768 by the Duke of Kingston and the only Palladian design for an aristocrat created by Carr, is also much later than those created on behalf of his mercantile patrons. Carr is considered a leading ‘second generation Palladian’, a sobriquet easily assumed with a cursory view of the styles of his building in the third quarter of the eighteenth-century. However, as we see here, architectural consumption is much more complex, and more personal to the patron.

Jenkins’s argument also assumes the prior hegemony of the aristocracy, which an examination of the patronage background of Carr dispels at this point during the eighteenth-century. Examining Carr’s work through the archives of his patrons shows that much more and detailed papers were kept by aristocratic families, with less by the gentry and mercantile families. This can explain why traditional histories focused on and elevated the importance of these titled families over others. Carr’s work also shows the mercantile class was not the dominant patronage group; an examination of the Committees for whom Carr worked disproves this traditional held view, in which we see Carr’s committees not dominated by the rising mercantile class but by the established gentry.

While the aristocracy were commissioning many more projects per person, these tended to be alterations and additions to existing buildings, whereas the gentry commissioned wholly new buildings. The assumption that this is because members of the aristocracy were established enough to not require a new house cannot hold true, as the same could be said of the gentry. As Giles Worsley discussed, during the second quarter of the eighteenth-century agricultural prices fell sharply, not to pick up again until the 1740s, as Carr and many other architects were embarking on their careers.<sup>23</sup> Again, this would affect all prospective builders and not just the gentry.

The mechanism the gentry used to establish themselves and their heirs is mirrored in that of the aristocracy and involved the strengthening of landownership. Many of Carr's patrons were involved in estate consolidation and even, in the case of Christopher Sykes at Sledmere and Sir John Ramsden at Byram Park, enclosure, discussed in the following chapter. For both the top two groups – the gentry and the aristocracy – their largest genre of work was alterations to existing houses, followed by estate buildings; this is in contrast to the third largest group, the aspirant merchants, for whom Carr's largest works focused on the creation of new houses, and then estate buildings. The third largest group of projects for the aristocracy focused on new stables, representative of the interest of such a group, while for both the gentry and the mercantile classes, a focus on new stables was of lower priority.

To the ambitious architect, a high-titled patron was still important and Carr and his contemporaries sought to catch the attention of just such a client. The patronage extended by these men was valuable not only for the work itself but

---

<sup>23</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 224.

also for the official posts it could lead to. While Lord Chamberlain, Carr's patron the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland received several letters from architect Robert Mylne soliciting for the post of Surveyor of the Works for Scotland, writing of his family's long standing service to the crown, and '...that your Lordships would be so good to take the same into consideration, and recommend him to his Majesty as a fit person to fill the said trust.'<sup>24</sup> The post was not forthcoming and two years later Mylne again lobbied the Duke for the post of Surveyor to St Paul's Cathedral after the death of Stiff Leadbetter. Mylne was aware the Duke was acquainted with Dr Hume, Dean of St Paul's and his brother, the Archbishop of York '...having an intimacy with that family, [you] may have the goodness to recommend me to his Lordship on this occasion.'<sup>25</sup> The Duke of Portland ceased to hold the position of Lord Chamberlain at the end of 1766 following Lord Rockingham losing his post as Prime Minister in July of that year, and Mylne's lobbying of Portland immediately ceased. Similar solicitation appears in the Rockingham papers, to whom Lord Harcourt wrote in 1758 on behalf of James Stuart, seeking employment as Clerk of the Works at Hampton Court Palace.<sup>26</sup>

Evidently the Duke of Portland was seen as a man of patronage, as Lancelot Brown also lobbied him during 1770 while working at Hampton Court Palace for the opportunity to:

attend your Grace on Thursday next or any other Thursday that may prove agreeable to your Grace, I wish it had so happened that I could have had the honour of attending your

---

<sup>24</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland Papers, PwF 7095, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1764

<sup>25</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland Papers, PwF 7100, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1766

<sup>26</sup> Sheffield Archives, Rockingham Papers, WWM/R/1/116, Lord Harcourt to Lord Rockingham, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1758

Grace as I shall ever be happy if any opportunity of shewing  
my respects to your Grace...<sup>27</sup>

Carr was successful in catching the eye of an influential and aristocratic patron. Wragg noted that Carr's career was given a considerable boost following his work on the Knavesmire Grandstand in York in 1754 for Lord Rockingham. Indeed, the Subscription List for this project includes many of Carr's future clients. Carr's relationship with Rockingham continued with his heir, Lord Fitzwilliam, who grew to become friends with Carr. While he certainly knew his place, Carr's letters to them both show a quiet but respectful assurance and are discussed in greater detail in "Chapter 6: Carr's Landscape". His correspondence with the Duke of Portland, while consisting mainly of business matters, was intimate enough to discuss illness; in 1775 Carr wrote 'I am tortured with the most excruciating pain in my Back and Thighs, which has reduced me into so weak a state, that I fear it will be a long time before I can be recovered.'<sup>28</sup> Or later 'I have got so severe a cold in my last journey to Buxton and Chatsworth, that I can hardly hold up my head to write.'<sup>29</sup>

When staying in London, usually for four weeks or so during the late Spring of each year, Carr stayed with his friend and patron William Mellish at his house at 21 Albemarle Street. This of course was a few doors down from Robert Adam at number 11. Carr and Adam had worked together as early as 1754 and if they were not friends, similarities can be seen in their work and there is some

---

<sup>27</sup> Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF1836, Lancelot Brown to Duke of Portland, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1771

<sup>28</sup> Nottingham University Manuscript, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 2542, Carr to Portland, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1775

<sup>29</sup> Nottingham University Manuscript, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 2550, Carr to Portland, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1786

question over who influenced whom.<sup>30</sup> Recent research by Frank James has shown that Carr undertook considerable alterations to Mellish's London house, including the surviving grand cantilevered staircase.<sup>31</sup>

The social milieu in which Carr was undertaking his professional practice meant he was not unchallenged although he was regarded highly by his own peer group, who together with Carr, formed the Architects' Club in 1794. Wragg quoted James Paine as saying 'I am bound to say I have never met with [clumsiness] in any of Mr Carr's designs.'<sup>32</sup> Paine and Carr first faced each other professionally when they each submitted plans for the new Knavesmire Grandstand in York, to the committee headed by Lord Rockingham in 1754. Established amateur architect Sir Thomas Robinson, author of his own Palladian country seat at Rokeby Park, also submitted plans.

William Gossip, who purchased Thorp Arch in August 1748, received designs from James Paine, who wrote:

Herewith be pleased to receive a Plan of a House and Offices, in which I have endeavoured to keep as near as possible to your instructions. As you omitted [to] favour me with any hint of your situation I was constrained to get the best Accounts I could here ...<sup>33</sup>

Within five weeks of Paine submitting his designs, Carr, accompanied by his father, was calling on Gossip in order to 'settle' his own designs.<sup>34</sup> It would appear Paine's perceived lack of attention after submitting his initial design and

---

<sup>30</sup> See: Hall, 'Adam and Carr'.

<sup>31</sup> Frank James, 'Constructing Space for Science at the Royal Institute of Great Britain', *Physics in Perspective*, 2007, 130–185.

<sup>32</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 3/2, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1749

<sup>34</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 21/10, Gossip's Diary, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1749

his location in London lost him the commission. Richard Frank commissioned designs for alterations at Campsall from Paine in 1752 which were not carried out, although Carr's ceiling design of two years later 'which I think is neat enough, as the moldings are small it will be very light...' was.<sup>35</sup> Eight years later, having proven himself both to Frank and to his wider social milieu, Carr was again commissioned to undertake the alterations in Paine's place, writing 'Yesterday I sent your plans and elevations by the Pontefract carrier to W[illia]m Moxon the Mason.'<sup>36</sup> At Campsmount, Paine also lost out to Carr, whose design Thomas Yarborough favoured.<sup>37</sup>

It would appear that Carr and Paine were involved in collaborative projects too: at Forcess Park for John Shuttleworth, Paine designed the Banqueting House while Carr designed the stables; 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Galway built Serlby Hall to the design of Paine in 1754, with further additions to Paine's design in 1771 for which Carr received payment of £42.<sup>38</sup> Lord Galway in a small account book listed the prices of various building works by Carr and Paine, including plastering quotes from Carr.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that Carr earned his £42 for decorating the new wing added by Paine in 1771. At Raby Castle, Paine again provided plans prior to those of Carr's dating to 1768, for which Paine, in his role as a consultant, found favour.<sup>40</sup> By the 1760s Paine focused his attentions on gaining work from London and discreetly stepped aside in the north in Carr's favour.

---

<sup>35</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Muniments, BFM 1316/26, Carr to Frank, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1754

<sup>36</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Muniments, BFM 1314/67, Carr to Frank, 13<sup>th</sup> November 1762

<sup>37</sup> Timothy Connor, 'The Building of Campsmount', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 47 (1975), 121–32.

<sup>38</sup> Barclays Bank Archives, Gosling Accounts, 140.46.482b, 21<sup>st</sup> January 1772

<sup>39</sup> Nottingham University Library, Monkton-Arundell Papers, Ga 12,415, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1770, Account Book

<sup>40</sup> See Alistair Rowan, 'Gothic Restoration at Raby Castle', *Architectural History*, 15 (1972), 23–50.



The arrival of Adam into the architectural profession as described by Gwilt, at least for Carr, occurred at Harewood House. Completed to the design of Carr with the interiors fitted out by Adam, it is seen as an Adam construct, perhaps indicating Adam's shadow into which Carr was cast.<sup>41</sup> Adam was also to follow Carr at Newby Hall, where Carr created a gallery space for William Weddell that was then later altered by Adam. Ivan Hall wrote that 'There is no doubt that while Adam's genius was as master of decoration, Carr's lay in adaptable planning and sound and meticulous building construction.'<sup>42</sup>

The two architects were employed simultaneously by Lawrence Dundas: Carr in Yorkshire at the family's new seat at Aske Hall, and to create a design for Dundas's Edinburgh townhouse, and Adam at the family's London house in Arlington Street and their newly acquired property of Moor Park in Hertfordshire.

Adam presented his bill of £2092 4s. 0d. for works carried out at Moor Park.<sup>43</sup> For a supposed stylistic leader, the minutiae of the works carried out by Adam is of interest: farm buildings, workers cottages, gateways (although Adam granted these designs free of charge, along with designs for Hall lamp-stands), sheds, garden walls, hot houses, patterns for a bedroom carpet, a new Gallery ceiling design, as well as surveys of the house as existing.<sup>44</sup> A further bill of £203 3s. 0d. for designs for a dog kennel, a stove for the lobby of the London house and a salon carpet was paid by Lady Dundas in 1765.<sup>45</sup>

While Adam was attending to these myriad issues, Carr had created a suite of family rooms at Aske Hall, and was in the process of creating designs for a

---

<sup>41</sup> See for example: Bolton; Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*.

<sup>42</sup> Hall, 'Adam and Carr', p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> North Yorkshire Records Office, Zetland of Aske, ZNK X1/7/20, 1765

<sup>44</sup> North Yorkshire Records Office, Zetland of Aske, ZNK X1/7/21, Adam's Accounts, 1763-5

<sup>45</sup> North Yorkshire Records Office, Zetland of Aske, ZNK X1/7/23, 1766

grand new classical front to the Jacobean house as well as designs for Dundas's Edinburgh town house, which ultimately went to Chambers in 1771.

It would appear Adam was viewed less favourably by others among Carr's patrons. Lady Rockingham wrote to her husband, rather facetiously:

I got here on Thursday evening after dining at Foulston in my way, & that nights post brought me another letter from you full of descriptions of Audley End in the same state as mine from Newby, & no wonder since the great Mr Adams was the common father of the elegance of both those houses/I say seal up your lips, totally upon all this I have said/Always truly yours...<sup>46</sup>

A very different attitude is evident between the Rockinghams and Carr, with Lord Rockingham writing:

I much wish your letter had brought me a satisfactory account of the state of your health. If it was not time of war – I should almost recommend to you a sea voyage to a warm climate/I don't know whether the grand plan, you sent to Lisbon has been carried into execution. It might do you good to go and look/I am glad to find by your letter, that your spirits are tolerably good...<sup>47</sup>

No apparent links can be found between Adam and the Duke of Portland either. The archives show only one letter, from Adam to Portland in 1772 concerning their joint involvement with the Adelphi project. In this Adam forwarded to Portland a design for a new gate lodge on the boundary between the Adelphi scheme and Portland's property 'the appearance of it being well inhabited, from the Earl of Sussex and Lord Scarsdale having taken houses there... every[ ]thing that should be necessary to finish the end of the street towards your Grace's

---

<sup>46</sup> Sheffield Archives, WWM/R/168/44, 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1774, Lady Rockingham to Lord Rockingham,

<sup>47</sup> Sheffield Archives, WWM/R/ WWM R136-49, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1780, Lord Rockingham to Carr

house...'<sup>48</sup> Adam's whole tone in this letter is reverential. Portland, while loyal to Carr, did avail himself of Henry Holland's practical experience, paying Holland's bill in 1776 of £49 13s. 1d. at Burlington House for 'Moving walls, building foundations, opening up walls for access, chimney pots, etc.'<sup>49</sup>

It appears Carr's patrons had their favourites: Lord Rockingham initially favoured Chambers then transferred his allegiance to the up-and-coming new architect Carr in the 1750s; Lord Fitzwilliam inherited great estates upon the death of his uncle Rockingham in 1782, which came with their own architect, Carr, whom he used, ceasing to use his existing architects; Dundas favoured Adam with a nod to Chambers in Scotland and Carr in the 'provinces'; the Dukes of Portland and Devonshire both turned immediately to the firmly established Carr upon inheriting their estates in 1762, and 1764.

The paths of Chambers and Carr were to cross many times during their professional life. In his Foreword to Chamber's *Civil Architecture*, Gwilt described how it was Carr who suggested Chambers to the Earl of Bute as a tutor in architecture to the Prince of Wales, later George III.<sup>50</sup> It is difficult to see why Lord Bute would have recourse to ask Carr for such a recommendation.

Chambers was commissioned by 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard to produce designs for a new stable block. After building commenced and the foundations had been dug, Carlisle ran out of money, and instead '...made Mr Carr of York give him a plan for stables of a very different kind of expense from that of Mr Chambers.'<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, PwF 35, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1774, Robert Adam to Lord Rockingham

<sup>49</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pl F5/4/232/8, 1776

<sup>50</sup> Gwilt, p. XI.

<sup>51</sup> Castle Howard Muniments, Steward's Correspondence, Carlisle to George Selwyn, J 14/18/12,

No correspondence survives between Chambers and Lord Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse, although a series of letters between the architect and Rockingham's Private Secretary, Edmund Burke (author of *A Philosophical Enquiry Into The Origin Of Our Ideas Of The Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757) do survive, in which Chambers sets out his proposals for a restructuring of the Office of Works, and thanks Burke (presumably on behalf of Rockingham who was at that time Prime Minister) for his contribution to the resolution of problems at Somerset House.<sup>52</sup>

As early as the 1750s Chambers and Carr professional paths crossed. Edwin Lascelles, having inherited the Gawthorpe estate in 1753 resolved to build an elegant new house on the estate while using Carr to improve the Gawthorpe Old Hall. Chambers presented a design in 1755, as did Carr, and Adam in 1758. Lascelles wrote to Chambers about his designs:

...the plans are at Lord Leicester's who had not time to look them over when they were delivered to him. I shall call for them tomorrow morning and have them at your house and hope you will perfect them and send them to my brothers in Park Lane... The ground floor, the end fronts and the attics are what is left unfinished. Be pleased to acknowledge receipt.<sup>53</sup>

As we know, Lascelles chose Carr's design, using Adam for the interiors.

At Wentworth Woodhouse, Lord Rockingham inherited not only his father's estates and titles in 1750, but also his father's architect, Henry Flitcroft. Having come to the attention of Rockingham in 1754 as a result of his Knavesmire Grandstand competition design, it was not until the early 1760s that

---

<sup>52</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth-Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/Bk P/1/1683, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1782; WWM/Bk P/1/1635, 5<sup>th</sup> May 1782; WWM/Bk P/1/1842, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1783; WWM/Bk P/1/802, 1775.

<sup>53</sup> RIBA Collection, Cha 2/4, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1756, Edwin Lascelles to Sir William Chambers

Carr was involved professionally at Wentworth Woodhouse on a regular basis. Flitcroft meanwhile, was receiving personal payments from Lord Rockingham as late as February 1762, along with Joseph Rose the plasterer, scagliolist Domenico Bartoli and artist George Stubbs.<sup>54</sup>

As we have seen, James Stuart was supported financially during his Grand Tour by Lord Rockingham and received some financial assistance with the publication of *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece* in 1762. Upon his return to England in 1755, Stuart was immediately set to work by Rockingham on alterations to the Dining Room and Saloon at Wentworth Woodhouse, the scheme of which was to include views of the Thames and other 'sketches'.<sup>55</sup> Rockingham and Carr having met some months previously during the Knavesmire Grandstand project, Stuart was not commissioned to undertake any further work at Wentworth Woodhouse after this.

Rockingham's heir and nephew, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, had used both Chambers and Flitcroft at his own home of Milton, Peterborough, in the 1750s and 1770s prior to inheriting Wentworth Woodhouse in 1782. Flitcroft received a year's salary of £70 for surveying Milton in 1750,<sup>56</sup> and Fitzwilliam settled his final account with Chambers of £234 14s. 8¼d. in 1775,<sup>57</sup> having repeatedly written to Chambers 'I wish you would let me have the Milton bills'.<sup>58</sup> A small, one-off payment was recorded in Fitzwilliam's personal notebook in 1779 for

---

<sup>54</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/A/1000, Rockingham's Notebook, 1760-64

<sup>55</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/1-70, James Stuart to Lord Rockingham, 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1755

<sup>56</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton, F (M) Misc Vol 156, 1751

<sup>57</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton, F (M) Vouchers 112, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1774

<sup>58</sup> RIBA Collections, Cha 2/46m 31<sup>st</sup> August 1773, Lord Fitzwilliam to Sir William Chambers

£6.<sup>59</sup> From 1782 Carr was the only architect employed at Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton, writing to the estate steward Hall ‘my Lord wished me to come last week to Milton to plan him some alterations which he wants to make there in his absence.’<sup>60</sup>

The Chambers papers at RIBA also contain an interesting letter from Fitzwilliam to Chambers:

I enclose Mr Bingham’s bill for your examination – upon no account shew it to Lord Bessborough for there are two articles of the marble frieze and the cleaning the columns which I intend, should not appear in his bill – as the whole estimate amounted but to £314 I am afraid, their bill is larger than it should be...<sup>61</sup>

William Ponsonby, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bessborough, was Fitzwilliam’s father in law, who built Parkstead House, Roehampton, to the design of Chambers in the 1760s. It is possible Fitzwilliam was paying for work at this property on behalf of his less solvent father-in-law.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire appointed James Wyatt as Surveyor at Chatsworth House the year he inherited, 1774. Carr was already working with the Duke’s brother-in-law, the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey and Burlington House, and for his uncle Lord George Cavendish at Holker Hall, Lancashire and his great-uncle Lord John Cavendish at Billing Hall, Northamptonshire. Therefore it was easy for Carr, who was also more conveniently placed, to undertake the major alterations to the family apartments at Chatsworth. Within a few years, Devonshire had entrusted the major project of creating Buxton Crescent to Carr,

---

<sup>59</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton, F (M) Misc Vol 776, Personal Account Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam 1779-1789, June 1779

<sup>60</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 259, Carr to Hall, Undated between 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1793 and 6<sup>th</sup> February 1795

<sup>61</sup> RIBA Collections, Cha 2/47, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1776, Lord Fitzwilliam to Sir William Chambers

upon which people were discussing. An acquaintance in London wrote to John Grimston:

...they are making great alterations at Buxton under the direction of your Countryman Carr – the whole plan is upon a very large scale, & extends to all the conveniences and recommendations of Bath & other public places. It is said to be in the estimate of £120,000 & upwards and is to be executed gradually....<sup>62</sup>

Carr clearly viewed this as a professional triumph as he chose to have Beechey portray the plans of it in his portrait.

John Grimston, whose father was friends with Stephen Thompson of Kirby Hall and with whom he discussed building, commissioned Carr to carry out alterations at his family home of Kilnwick.

I am very sorry I was from home when you was at York and I should have been extremely glad to have seen you, and I should have great pleasure in waiting of you at Kilnwick if it was in my power, but I have so many considerable buildings committed to my care and of such consequence to the owners thereof, that I cannot avoid paying a proper attention to them at the same time I am really sorry to be deprived of the pleasure of visiting so kind a friend as Mr Grimston with whom I have ten times the pleasure that I have with many of the great folks...be assured that if I can possibly step to you for a day I will...<sup>63</sup>

This again shows the easy familiarity Carr had with many of his patrons, and perhaps his adroitness in dealing with them. We can also see here the breadth of Carr's business. A few days later, Grimston received a letter from his friend Robert Hildyard, whose son Robert Darcy Hildyard had commissioned Carr to

---

<sup>62</sup> East Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/28/54, Mr S Mills of Norbury to John Grimston, undated

<sup>63</sup> East Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/21/127, Carr to John Grimston, 8<sup>th</sup> October 1771

carry out alterations at Sedbury, in which he wrote – on the third page after more important news, that:

Carr has indeed shown great skill in the alterations of the old house at Sedbury... My son has six good bed chambers, besides one of the most convenient Apartments for himself and Mrs Hildyard that I know of in an old house. Must build new Stables and a kitchen garden but as he is now well lodged, I hope he will go on with the other improvements gently'.<sup>64</sup>

Carr was adept at adapting existing buildings, in this case a medieval house with seventeenth century additions.

John Soane, younger but still a possible professional rival to Carr, appears only once, at Ossington Hall, where he submitted a design for a new house to Robert Dennison in 1786.<sup>65</sup> Alternative designs by William Lindley were also submitted, which are very similar, showing a central nine bay block of two storeys over a basement. Lindley's designs are slightly different in that they have extra detailing, including a Tuscan order with banding and cubed pavilions.

To conclude an examination of the patronage background of Carr's architectural practice, we can see the inaccuracy of previous architectural histories in which it was believed the aristocracy were replaced by a rising and newly wealthy mercantile class. The belief that this class also dominated the growing and emerging committees is also inaccurate. In both cases, through the work of Carr, we can see that the existing gentry class remained the dominant group. This group made up 50.9% of individual patrons of Carr and 36.6% of commissions. However, they did not necessarily influence the mercantile group who were the

---

<sup>64</sup> East Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/21/134, Robert Hildyard to John Grimston, 13<sup>th</sup> 1771

<sup>65</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Dennison Papers, De 2p/17 – 19, 1786



second largest group at 16.4%. The aristocracy, the group believed to have been superseded by the mercantile class, represented less than a quarter of Carr's patrons; however, this group commissioned the largest number of projects at 3.2 per person. Future research may, or may not, show the same findings with the work of other architects working outside London, such as James Paine, although Howard Colvin's work would indicate a similarity with the findings of Carr's work.<sup>66</sup> However, using Carr as a lens only gives us a snapshot of architectural consumption for the latter half of the eighteenth-century, and does not show how these groups may or may not have changed precedence in earlier periods.

Jenkins's claim that the rising mercantile class was merely an echo of the aristocratic class which he believed it was superseding in the area of architectural patronage is also inaccurate in the case of Carr's work. As we can see here, the stylistic influences are much more complex. Carr is considered a leading 'second generation Palladian', a sobriquet easily assumed with a cursory view of the styles of his building in the third quarter of the eighteenth-century. However, as we see here, architectural consumption is much more complex, with very different personal influences on each commission, and more individual to the patron. Having established who Carr's clients were and how he interacted with them, the following chapter will explore those influences.

---

<sup>66</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*.

## Chapter 3 – Carr’s Patrons

Having established in the previous chapter who Carr’s patrons were, the extent of that patronage, and his relationships with them, using the evidence presented in the archives relating to those patrons this chapter considers the factors influencing them when they commissioned Carr. I first explore and dismiss the supposed influence of the Grand Tour before considering other influences such as architectural prints and publications, domestic tourism, finances and familial relationships. The perceived importance of the Grand Tour on English architectural history is in part explained by the survival of many archive collections relating to aristocratic travellers. As readers of architectural histories, we must be aware that the same archival evidence, or lack of it, or scant sources relating to other class groups, must not be used to present a singular alternative in the same way. Instead, we must consider that there are many alternative influences on architectural patronage and that their inter-relationship was much more complex. This included: financial incentive; the need to create an established family ‘heritage’; travel; and the architectural print and pattern book. Further enquiries into the patronage of other eighteenth-century architects may show similar findings.

In the preface to their book *Creating Paradise* Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley establish the narrative that they explore ‘...from the young Grand Tourist’s thrill at first viewing Palladio’s sunlit villas in the Veneto to the time, often decades later, when he moved his family into a big, somewhat chilly home in the English countryside.’<sup>1</sup> In establishing the idea of the influence of the Grand

---

<sup>1</sup> Wilson and Mackley, p. XVII.

Tour on architectural patronage, along with membership of such groups as the Society of Dilettanti, it is clear that a form of gendered cultural elitism has become established in architectural histories. The strength of the archival evidence naturally leans towards archives in which male aristocratic travellers feature more prominently because these collections tended to survive.

An exploration of Carr's patrons, still an elite group but perhaps spending £5000 and not £50,000 on a new house, and thus less cultural leaders if more consumers, can show that the importance of the influence of the Grand Tour is less relevant to both them and him. It is more accurate to state that the Grand Tour *may* have influenced cultural leaders, but its influence was more likely to have trickled through to others via alternative means. As well as the survival of aristocratic archives, the perceived importance of this experience is possibly based on contemporary views, such as that of Ben Johnson who claimed 'A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see.'<sup>2</sup> Summerson valued the importance of the Grand Tour, particularly on the education of the architect, and he related the importance of it upon Robert Adam as a man of 'middle class background who enjoyed the benefits of travel.'<sup>3</sup> This of course further compounded the elitist view.

It is not known whether Carr undertook a Grand Tour: a letter to John Grimston, Carr's patron at Kilwick and Grimston Garth, states 'Mr Carr is gone, I believe, to France but his people say the mouldings for the chimney piece are not

---

<sup>2</sup> George Birkbeck Hill, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934), III, p. 36 (11th April 1776).

<sup>3</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 385.

come...'.<sup>4</sup> A gap of eight months exists in the archives between Carr's letter to Samuel Shore regarding the Hollis Hospital on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1771, and his letter to John Grimston on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1771, in which he apologises for his lack of attendance on Grimston because 'I have so many considerable buildings in my care.'<sup>5</sup> No other mention of a possible trip by Carr to France is made.

**Table 3 – Carr's Patrons And The Grand Tour**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>		<b>Total</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>
Gentry	86	8	10	68	50%	9%	12%	79%	
Mercantile	32	2	0	30	18%	6%	0%	94%	
Aristocrat	20	9	0	11	12%	45%	0%	55%	
Committee	20	3	0	17	12%	15%	0%	85%	
Church	9	0	0	9	5%	0%	0%	100%	
Professional	6	0	1	5	3%	0%	17%	83%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>81%</b>	

Table 3 breaks down those of Carr's patrons who are known to have undertaken a Grand Tour, those who are known to have not, and those for whom evidence does not exist. Archival evidence shows that in total, only 13% of Carr's patrons are known to have travelled, while no archival evidence exists for 81%. The largest group to undertake a Grand Tour are from the aristocracy: nearly half of them. This is what we would come to expect from traditional architectural histories and reflects the social group upon which the importance of the Grand Tour has been claimed by modern writers.

<sup>4</sup> North Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/21/38, John Graves to John Grimston, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1771

<sup>5</sup> LD1/64/52, Carr to Samuel Shore, Carr to Samuel Shore, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1771; DDGR 42/21/127, Carr to John Grimston, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1771

Of the mercantile group, seen by revisionist writers of architectural history to have replaced the aristocracy as architectural leaders, only two patrons of Carr are known to have travelled, or 6%. A much larger percentage of the mercantile group at 94%, have no archival evidence. Three leaders of the 20 committees who commissioned work from Carr are known to have undertaken a Grand Tour, but in each case were members of the aristocracy, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, as leaders of these committees we do not know the extent of their involvement. As Table 3 shows, only 22 of Carr's total patronage group undertook a Grand Tour, and of that 9 – almost half – were members of the aristocracy.

In exploring concepts of architectural history, one must consider what it is that a grand tourist was expected to see. Edward Gibbon added to Ben Johnson's traditional perspective when he wrote 'according to the law of custom, and perhaps reason, foreign travel completes the education of an English gentleman.'<sup>6</sup> A letter written by a family friend to Charles, son of Carr's client William Mellish at Blyth Hall stated:

You might satiate yourself as advantageously by a visit to the continent as by a constant residence in London. I am so delighted with my expedition that I cannot avoid recommending it to others and a person that has your knowledge will enjoy travelling.<sup>7</sup>

Here, however, Holroyd is stating that a Grand Tour experience is equivalent to time spent in London and is not superior to it.

---

<sup>6</sup> Dana Arnold, 'Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House', in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. by Dana Arnold (London: Sutton, 1998), pp. 100–116 (p. 103).

<sup>7</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mellish Papers, Me C 25/4/3, A Holroyd to Charles Mellish, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1763

Charles Mellish did undertake a Grand Tour in the company of the Earl of Exeter and a Dr Patoun, leaving at the end of 1763. His notebooks describe his journey and experiences, with descriptions of artworks viewed. Little of architecture is mentioned, except comments about the palaces of Naples being ‘peculiar & awkward a mixture of Spanish and Greek, the apartments being very large and ill designed.’<sup>8</sup> However, no archival evidence of his father, Carr’s patron William, survive, but this lack of evidence is common, and where it does survive, it does not indicate the fascination with architecture traditional histories would suggest.

John Grimston, for whom Carr undertook alterations at Kilnwick during the 1760s, travelled to the Low Countries. While in Amsterdam Grimston was ‘upon the point of thinking on an Italian and French tour’ as early as 1751.<sup>9</sup> This excursion was possibly funded by the recent sale by his father of South Sea stock valued at £1200, with letters of credit then being arranged through agents in Ostend, and indicates the investment required for many wishing to travel.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, Grimston’s Grand Tour experience was cut short before he travelled on to Italy after being called home because of his father’s last illness. While nothing of Grimston’s own experiences survive, a friend undertook his own journey to Italy a decade later, writing to him from Florence that he was ‘highly

---

<sup>8</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mellish Papers, ME 2L 4/2/2, Grand Tour Notebook, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1763,

<sup>9</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/1/15, John Bagnall to John Grimston, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1751

<sup>10</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 41/7/47, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1750; DDGR 42/1/8, John Anthony Crop and Company to John Grimston, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1751

pleased with the antiquities, pictures, palaces &c, the Apollo seems [my] favourite statue, and applause of St Peters is no greater than what the church deserves.’<sup>11</sup>

For those returning from a Grand Tour, the acquired aesthetic ideals as a set of distinct social and cultural values could be expressed via the country house, often requiring the addition of a space in which to display artefacts.<sup>12</sup> Such spaces were created by Carr at Newby Hall for William Weddel and at Wentworth Woodhouse for Lord Rockingham. Weddel’s extensive sculpture collection is still in-situ at Newby Hall, set within the space initially designed by Carr and later altered by Robert Adam. But rather than being acquired for the sake of it, these social and cultural values appear to be merely required status symbols or images of wealth.

Rockingham wrote little of his Grand Tour experience either at the time or later in life, but the case of these two examples of Carr’s patronage is the exception showing the rarity of the adventure. As well as his art purchases, which included four folio volumes of the works of Piranesi and two large drawings by Salvator Rosa, Rockingham’s Grand Tour notebooks discuss such things, in code, as where he dined, with whom and whose house he visited. His descriptions of Venice discuss shipbuilding and the location of the city with a brief sentence on St Mark’s Square as ‘...very beautiful [and] tolerably regularly built[.] the Great Dome is at one end of it but don’t stand quite in the middle...’.<sup>13</sup> His notes on Florence contain more comment about the paintings and sculpture he saw, with a tantalising comment on his personal aesthetic viewpoint ‘...the other modern by

---

<sup>11</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/16/96, Robert Hildyard to John Grimston, 26<sup>th</sup> December 1766

<sup>12</sup> Arnold, ‘Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House’, pp. 100–101.

<sup>13</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/170/17, Rockingham’s Grand Tour Notebook, Venice 1774

John d’Bologna of Hercules and the Centaur I think much preferable to that which is in the Gallery tho antique.’<sup>14</sup> It appears he favours one but recognises the importance of the other.

Carr’s client at Escrick Park and Wetherby Grange, Beilby Thompson, shared his Grand Tour experience with his brother during the mid 1760s. Beilby Thompson’s bank book with Messrs Martins, Jones and Blackwell survives, showing the length of time at each destination and the route followed.<sup>15</sup> The brothers journeyed through Lyon, Geneva and into Italy where most time was spent in Turin, Venice and Rome. Milan, Florence and Naples received cursory and brief visits, before the brothers returned home via Vienna, Berlin and Hannover. Other than the cashing of drafts for both men to cover living expenses, the only large payments were of £160 to Hamilton for paintings, £100 for four busts and a month later, £34 for two further marble slabs and freight for all from Leghorn.

Almost no archival evidence examined in the course of this study corroborates the established view of the importance of the Grand Tour on architectural patronage. What little there is, including a few notes in Rockingham’s Grand Tour notebook and some comments among the prolific correspondence of Fitzwilliam to his mother during his four year Grand Tour, is illuminating in its apparent *lack* of influence. In one of Fitzwilliam’s early letters from Nîmes after visiting the Amphitheatre and the Temple of Diana, he wrote:

As I am not *tout au fait* in the art of Architecture, I cannot pretend to give the opinion of a virtuoso. Mr Crofts

---

<sup>14</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/170/18, Rockingham’s Grand Tour Notebook, Florence 1774

<sup>15</sup> Hull History Centre, Thompson (Forbes Adam of Skipwith Hall) Papers, U DDFA 37/9, Beilby Thompson’s Bank, Book, 1767



instructed me in a number of hard names yesterday, which I endeavoured to remember, but all in vain. I forgot everything in ten minutes.<sup>16</sup>

Nîmes was an early stop on Fitzwilliam's Grand Tour and in the same letter he commented that '...though I must not pretend to talk learnedly upon antiquities, I may give my opinion upon modernities.'<sup>17</sup> Two years later from Rome Fitzwilliam was confident enough to write 'Even the unknowing, such as myself can not help seeing the deformity of most of the modern buildings...'<sup>18</sup> This may indicate a growing awareness of architectural style, but is a lone and tantalising statement showing favour in the classical and Renaissance, in contrast to what we have come to understand as the Baroque.

Fitzwilliam spent the year of 1767 in those destinations usually associated with architectural education during the Grand Tour: the Veneto, Florence and Rome. His only comment about Venice, in May 1767 was that 'Venice itself at a distance does not appear so very extraordinary as it is generally represented to do, for it has much the appearance of a common maritime town.'<sup>19</sup> Little over a month later, from Padua, Fitzwilliam discussed his plans to travel on through Greece to Constantinople, as many of his peers were doing. Fitzwilliam had met an acquaintance in Venice who was greatly satisfied with his own experience of travelling further east.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1765

<sup>17</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1765

<sup>18</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1767

<sup>19</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1767

<sup>20</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1767

Having travelled from Venice through the Veneto to Padua and then across northern Italy to Florence, Fitzwilliam made no comment on the architecture he would have seen including the number of Palladian villas in the Veneto. Florence he described as 'very dull.' Fitzwilliam arrived in Rome in the third week of November 1767 and 'began what we call our business, that is to say all modern and ancient curiosities'.<sup>21</sup> Of Saint Peters, Fitzwilliam wrote:

...but [I] cannot say I was so much astonished as I expected; however I comfort myself that one learns to admire it by seeing it. The proportions are so perfectly true, that the immensity of it does not strike so much at first; tis by degrees, and by considering it, that one comes to know its greatness.<sup>22</sup>

This could perhaps indicate disappointment in viewing the actual building, having built up an image in his mind from readings and published prints.

Further hints of interest in architecture while on the Grand Tour can be seen in Rockingham's notebook, where we see that in August 1754 he purchased two drawings of two of Palladio's villas near Vicenza '...ano2 of ye Rotonda, ano of ye Bridge at Florenze, all cost 2 Lsg. The three drawings had from Blanchot. Prints of Wilton and Chiswick.'<sup>23</sup> It is interesting that Rockingham was able to purchase prints of Wilton and Chiswick while in Rome, indicating a demand from the English tourist while abroad of images of domestic architecture.

Rockingham supported Robert Wood and James Stuart financially, enabling Stuart to publish his essay *De Obelisco Caesaris Augusti e Campi Martii* in Rome in 1750, and with their expedition further east toward Greece. Robert

---

<sup>21</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1767

<sup>22</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1767

<sup>23</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, F (M) Misc Vol 314, Lord Rockingham's Grand Tour Art Notebook

Wood wrote to Rockingham in September 1753 reminding him of his promise to advance some funds if required and enclosing a letter dated May 1753 from Stuart to Wood explaining how, following the death of the Rislar Aga, Stuart had been ordered to withdraw to Smyrna.<sup>24</sup> This financial assistance continued and a copy of Stuart and Revett's 1755 proposal for printing by subscription *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece*, finally published seven years later, remains in the Wentworth Woodhouse archives.<sup>25</sup> While Rockingham is clearly supporting architectural research, his experience of it and interest in it appears relatively limited, emphasising perhaps his role as an aristocratic benefactor, but not that he truly belonged to the cognoscenti. Considering the relationship between Rockingham and Stuart after their meeting in 1748 in Rome, coupled with the work Stuart undertook altering the Dining Room and Marble Saloon at Wentworth Woodhouse between 1756 and 1768, only three letters from Stuart to Rockingham survive.

Charles Mellish, perhaps encouraged to undertake a Grand Tour by his father's friend after all, kept a notebook of his experience. The entries are little more than lists, with little opinion expressed:

Sta Maria Maggiore – built over ancient temple of Juno. The pillars down each side of ye Ionic order...  
Sixtus 5th's Chapel, statue of him...  
Came immediately to Belvedere the Villa Aldobrandini now in dispute between two heirs.  
Monte Gragone – an immense house built round a large square court, 365 rooms...Came into a very long Gallery at one end hanged with a variety of pictures of fruit, game an[d] still life, busts of Caesars by Bernini, 2 large globes at each end, 2 excellent pictures by Caravaggio one of a cook and other of a

---

<sup>24</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/141 26<sup>th</sup> September 1753 and WWM/R/1/142 30<sup>th</sup> May 1753

<sup>25</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/H/87

draper, bust of Anthors in ye character of Bacchus most worthy  
and finely done.  
Villa at Tivoli.  
Villa Conti  
Villa Braciano  
The obelisks. There were 50 in old Rome of which not above ten  
or 11 have been yet dug out of ye rubbish.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, those who did not visit a site may still have had knowledge of it, and we can assume this from Fitzwilliam's attitude upon finally seeing St Peter's in Rome. Robert Dingley wrote to Carr's client John Grimston in 1753 of how he had received a letter the previous day from Herculaneum 'but no new discoveries have been made.'<sup>27</sup> The documentary evidence relating to Carr's patrons suggests the influence of the Grand Tour sites through a stronger, secondary means: architectural publication and print. These would have been more accessible to the vast majority of Carr's patrons including many of the gentry constructing their smaller country houses. We have seen how Rockingham sent home from Rome prints which included those of the Villa Rotonda and the Ponto Santa Trinita in Florenze. This second print survives in the Rockingham papers in the Sheffield Archives, with a design by Carr for a bridge for the Wentworth Woodhouse estate upon which it was based and will be discussed in 'Chapter 6: Carr's Landscape'.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Nottingham University, Me 2L 4/2/3, Charles Mellish Grand Tour Notebook

<sup>27</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/3/76, Robert Dingley to John Grimston, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1753

<sup>28</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/8/11,12

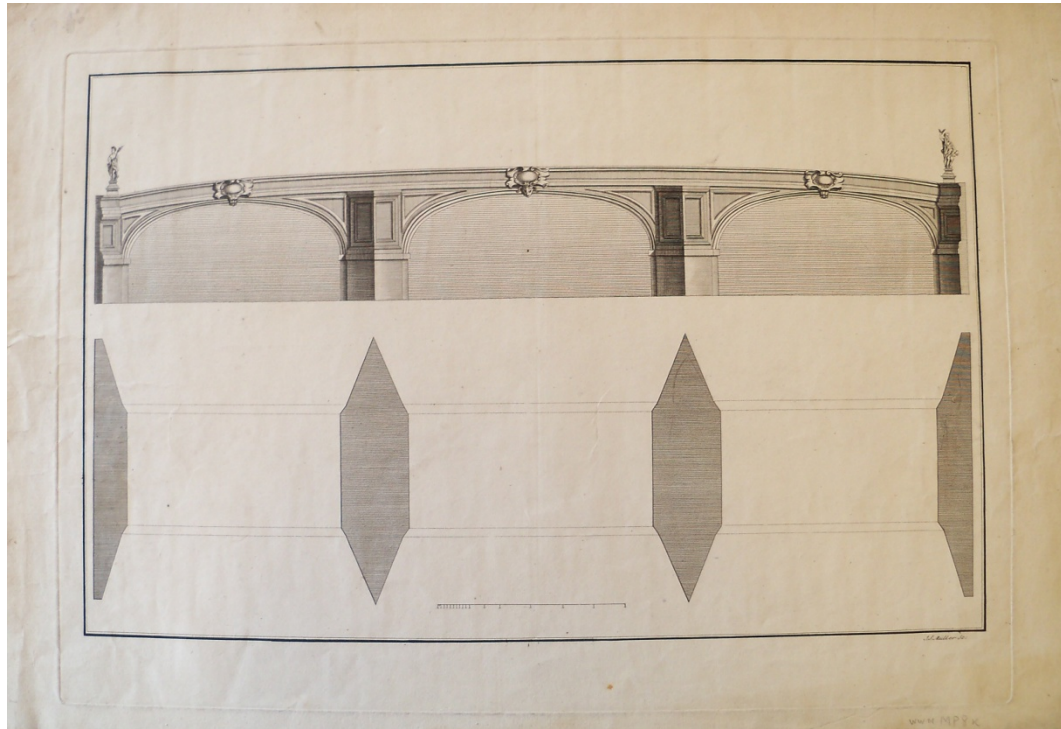


Illustration 22 - Ponto Santa Trinita, Florence, by J S Muller, c. 1760

John Hildyard wrote to John Grimston of Kilnwick in 1754 that he had ‘lately received the Ruins of Palmyra it is a noble performance the prints exquisitely well done its price 3s, 15d.’<sup>29</sup> This would refer to Robert Wood’s *Ruins of Palmyra, Otherwise Tedma* published the year before in London. Grimston received a letter from Robert Dingley the previous year in which Dingley wrote that he had heard the previous day that no new discoveries had been made in Herculaneum recently. This would indicate, certainly in the case of one of Carr’s patrons, an archaeological interest in the classical world. This is confirmed in further correspondence to Grimston ‘you may have heard that the ruins of Baalbec can now be engraved? And will be finished by next winter a fine work indeed exceeding *Ruins of Palmyra*. I have seen the drawings.’<sup>30</sup> Wood’s

<sup>29</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/4/33, John Hildyard to John Grimston, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1754

<sup>30</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/4/17, Frances Best to John Grimston, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1754

publication of the same name did not appear for a further three years, but evidently interest in the images existed earlier. While John Grimston did undertake a Grand Tour, it was cut short during his time in the Low Countries due to his father's last illness. Grimston's father was recorded as a member of the Society of Dilettante in 1736. Grimston perhaps relied more than on architectural images for inspiration and clearly followed events in Herculaneum. Carr carried out a remodelling of Grimston's house at Kilnwick Hall between 1769 and 1772, commissioning Joseph Cortese for the plasterwork and Edward Elwick for furniture and internal decorations.<sup>31</sup> Copies of Robert Wood's publications on the ruins of Palmyra and Balbeck known to John Grimston feature in the Library collection of the Ibbetson's at Denton Park,<sup>32</sup> and we have seen how Lord Rockingham possessed a manuscript original of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*.

Within the archives relating to Carr, only two library catalogues exist. The first, commissioned by Lord Fitzwilliam was taken in 1782 upon inheriting his uncle's estates, and lists the contents of the libraries at Wentworth Woodhouse and the family's London house in Grosvenor Square.<sup>33</sup> The second dates to 1834 and relates to the Ibbetson's Library at Denton Park, in which we find the two publications mentioned above. The Rockingham/Fitzwilliam inventory ran to 226 pages listing several thousand books, and those relating to architecture can be seen in Appendix 1. This included original editions of Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, and Palladio, contemporary authors such as Gibbs, Stuart, Chambers and Adam. This would be expected within an aristocratic library built up over many generations, but does not indicate an active interest in them. In 1834, the Library

---

<sup>31</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DDGR 42/3/19-22

<sup>32</sup> John Goodchild Papers, Wakefield Library

<sup>33</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments WWM A 1212, 1782

of Denton Park built by Sir James Ibbetson in the 1770s contained approximately 250 books. Among them were represented books on theology, moral miscellany, philosophy, those by Voltaire, Defoe and Pope, and as a Whig Non-conformist family, writings on the rights of Woman. Architecture was represented by Chambers's *Civil Architecture* and Palladio. The importance of the written word on architecture is, therefore evident, but is minimal. Elaine Harris presented in a format following that of Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, a catalogue of British architectural books but did not discuss their possible influence on architectural consumption.<sup>34</sup> As with the Grand Tour, the evidence of appearance of architectural publications – both as images and written descriptions – is minimal and must be considered as only a possible influence on architectural patronage on Carr. This is based on only two known collections from nearly 200 patrons of Carr, and statistically, would appear less influential than a Grand Tour experience, but would be more readily available to a larger group of architectural consumers.

As an influence on the architect himself however, Carr is known to have possessed a number of architectural publications. John Harris, in *The Palladians* talks of how Georgian Palladianism was a style very distant from the true Palladio, 'washed over the provinces' between second generation neo-Palladians in metropolitan centres and the country executants via a pattern book.<sup>35</sup> Ivan Hall in his article 'Buxton: The Crescent' mentions similarities between the ceiling of the Assembly Room at the Crescent and George Richardson's *Book of Ceilings* of

---

<sup>34</sup> Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> John Harris, *The Palladians* (London: Trefoil, 1981), p. 22.

1774.<sup>36</sup> Hall based his claim on the fact Carr appeared on Richardson's subscribers list but Carr's copy is not known to have survived. Sir John Soane purchased three books previously owned by Carr all inscribed on their title pages by him: Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones* of 1731, Robert Morris' *Select Architecture* of 1755, and John Wood's *The drawings of the Hot Bath at Bath* of 1777. Drawings copied by an unknown hand annotated by Carr from his edition of Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture*, probably of 1747, also survive.

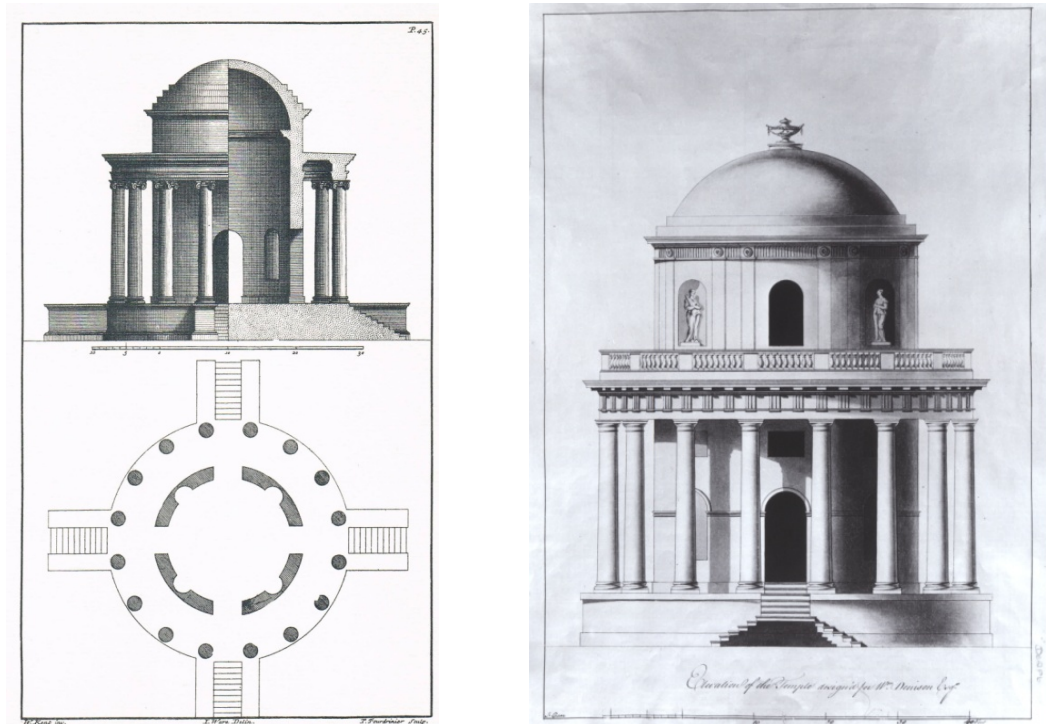
Drawn by Carr on the reverse of the title page of Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones* is a classical building with a three bay breakfront, two bay wing to one side, a pediment broken and pierced with a gothic arch above a central doorway. Plate 1, showing an Elevation and Profile of Chimney Piece at Chiswick has been marked and measured in pencil, including the modillions and friezes. Throughout the book, dimensions are marked, and from this we can assume Carr visited each place and carefully measured the buildings. Plate 24, a 'Plan and Elevation of a Seat' shows a striking similarity to a Carr design for a Summer House at Wentworth Woodhouse. Other designs in Ware's book show similarities to Carr's later designs, such as Plate 45, below, which reappears at Ossington Park, or many of the fireplace designs for Wentworth Woodhouse.

---

John Harris, *The Palladians* (London: Trefoil, 1981), p. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Ivan Hall, 'Buxton: The Crescent', *Georgian Group Journal*, 2 (1992), 40–55 (p. 51).





**Illustration 23 - Left: Plan and Elevation of a Round Temple from Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones*; Right: Ossington Park, Mausoleum Design, by John Carr, 1782**

Hints of other published influences appear elsewhere in Carr's work, such as the portico of Bootham Park Hospital, York of 1770s, resembling that of Philibert de L'Orme in *Livre de l'Architecture* of 1648, modified by Chambers's in his *Civil Architecture* of 1759. We may never know for sure, but further hints indicate that Carr probably possessed a copy of Chambers' book, as many of his architectural motifs can be recognised as coming from this publication. These can be seen in, among others, his fireplace designs within the Wentworth Woodhouse archives and his use of the balustrade beneath windows.

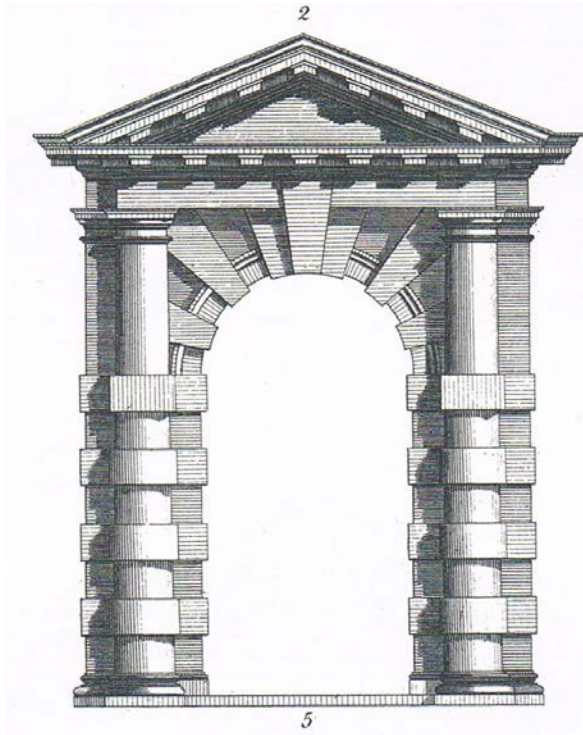


Illustration 24 - Left: Door Design from Sir William Chambers's *Civil Architecture*: Right: Bootham Park, Entrance Door, by John Carr, 1777

The focus of this thesis is not on style, but here we can see the importance of architectural publications, certainly on Carr, at least.

Robert Morris's *Select Architecture* of 1755 was purchased by Carr in 1758, nearly ten years after his first architectural commission. Overt references to issues of style appear very rarely in any archives relating to Carr's work so it is very difficult to establish how stylistic choices were made. Did Carr provide what the patron asked, or were questions of style left to the architect? Where there are indications, it appears to be Carr making the suggestions. Marmaduke Wyvil visited Campsall Hall to see the Dining Room as a model for his own at Constable Burton.<sup>37</sup> Carr remodelled and extended Campsall for Bacon Frank, whose letters survive. Now demolished, Carr doubled the length of the main elevation, and added canted bays to the projecting wings. Of the Drawing Room, Carr wrote

<sup>37</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Papers, BFM 1317/11, Carr to Frank, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1764

‘The Capital upon the term or Pilaster must be a Corinthian Capital.’<sup>38</sup> Among the enclosed drawings which included various friezes for the reception rooms and staircase, there were no illustrations of this capital, indicating it was a commonly understood term.

The importance of touring less grandly must also be considered, and evidence of this as an influence appears more widely within the archives. Some writers, among them Dana Arnold, write of the importance of domestic travel within the British Isles offering an internal and reflective experience.<sup>39</sup> The importance of the influence on Carr of Stephen Thompson’s house at Kirby, designed by Lord Burlington and Roger Morris, is known. Summerson and Worsley both discussed its influence on Carr’s early architectural style, after he became responsible in 1748 for construction as Clerk of Works, and for the design of the interiors. This exposure to and absorption of the built environment as experienced by Carr is equally apparent among his patrons. Thompson himself wrote to his friend Thomas Grimston, Carr’s patron at Grimston Garth and son of John Grimston at Kilnwick ‘...My house will be a perfect model of Ld Orford’s at Houghton.’<sup>40</sup> At the same time as Carr was being exposed first hand to the ideas of Lord Burlington at Kirby House in 1748, Henrietta Holles, Countess of Oxford was writing to her grandson, the future 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland ‘I hope the weather has been so good as not to disappoint the agreeable jaunts your Pappa and

---

<sup>38</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Papers, BFM 1316/6, Carr to Bacon Frank, 6<sup>th</sup> February 1764  
Ivan Hall, ‘Buxton: The Crescent’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 2 (1992), 40–55 (p. 51).

<sup>39</sup> Arnold, ‘Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House’.

<sup>40</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Beverley, Grimston Papers, DDGR 41/3/17, Stephen Thompson to Thomas Grimston, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1746

Mamma designed you, seeing variety of country and fine places is a very pleasing amusement'.<sup>41</sup>

Aside from general comments concerning travel, more particular references to places of architectural interest are evident in the archives of Carr's patrons. As well as Carr's nieces, Sir Christopher Sykes also kept a brief, descriptive journal of his British travel experiences, writing while on a tour in 1797 and therefore after the completion of his own house:

8 miles took us to Croome Park the fine seat of Lord Coventry, the Hall is encased under an handsome Portico and pediment and at first view reminds you of Wilton House, but is by no means so large and handsome it wants movement... ..The view from the windows rich in wood, bad as house is faced in a hole.<sup>42</sup>

This would indicate for Sykes a previous and thorough knowledge of Wilton House. Thomas Robinson, heir to Carr's patron William Weddell of Newby Hall wrote to his father Lord Grantham of how '...we cannot see Holkham on any day but on Tuesday, which absolutely prevents our arrival in town time enough to be with you on Wednesday'.<sup>43</sup> Robinson therefore delayed his travel plans in order to visit a site of architectural interest to him. The previous year, John Spencer recorded in his diary that he 'went to see Chiswick'.<sup>44</sup> Spencer's remodelling of Cannon Hall to Carr's design was coming to its end at the time of this visit and included the creation of an enfilade of reception rooms with a Library, Dining Room, Music Room and Drawing Room and the addition of simple three bay, two

---

<sup>41</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pw F 4740, 21<sup>st</sup> September 1748

<sup>42</sup> Hull History Centre, Sykes of Sledmere Papers, U DDSY/102/26B

<sup>43</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Weddell of Newby Papers, WYL 5013/2840, 5<sup>th</sup> July 1766

<sup>44</sup> Sheffield Archives, Spencer-Stanhope of Cannon Hall Papers, SpSt/60633/20, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1767

storey wings to the house. While structural work was nearly complete, the interiors were yet to be finished, and interestingly, Carr's interiors for Spencer at Cannon Hall show a neo-Classical influence, and not the heavier Palladian style. A diary entry made three years earlier by Spencer shows how he had '...rec'd the plan, [and] elevation for wings for the house from Mr Carr...'<sup>45</sup>

Carr's client at Chatsworth House and Buxton Crescent, 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, wrote in 1765 to his sister Dorothy, Duchess of Portland who, with her husband, was Carr's client at Welbeck and Burlington House 'I forgot to tell you we saw Blenheim, but I shall not give my opinion on so weighty an affair. After this we came to Warwick and saw Warwick Castle which I think as fine a place as I have ever seen.'<sup>46</sup> This could indicate a closer affinity with the architecture of the medieval over the recently constructed Baroque. Margaret, Duchess of Portland, was the daughter of Henrietta Holles, Countess of Oxford who had remodelled medieval Welbeck Abbey only two decades before in several historic styles, with further alterations undertaken by her daughter-in-law, Dorothy, Duchess of Portland.

Beilby Thompson, a regular and consistent client of Carr, recorded in his diary for 1774 a number of visits to various houses: on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 'We went in the Phaeton to see Jordyce's house at Roehampton – old and very bad. Saw afterwards Lord Bessborough's – an exceeding good one.'<sup>47</sup> The previous month, on 23<sup>rd</sup> May, Thompson records how he '...went in the morning to Syke's – about 8 miles from Reading – found him alone without any company – he and I rode

---

<sup>45</sup> Sheffield Archives, Spencer-Stanhope of Cannon Hall Papers, SpSt/60633/17, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1764

<sup>46</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwG 107, 5<sup>th</sup> July 1765

<sup>47</sup> East Riding Archives, Beverley, Thompson Papers, DPX89, Beilby Thompson's Day Book, 1774

about his Park and Grounds till dinner – after which he took me in his phaeton to shew me the old house.’ The first record of Sykes’s new house, Basildon Park, designed by Carr, comes three years later in 1777. However, Thompson’s comment would indicate that Sykes did not actually inhabit the original seventeenth century house, which proved of interest to Thompson. Carr had completed alterations on behalf of Thompson at Escrick Park, also a seventeenth century house, in 1765. This took the form of re-fronting the house, raising it to three storeys and adding wings. At this time, Thompson was about to embark on the construction of an impressive, classical stable block to Carr’s design, along with other estate buildings including a farmhouse, as recorded on 27<sup>th</sup> April ‘Mr Carr breakfasted with me – settled some alterations for the new buildings.’

Having completed one journey in the company of his nieces, Carr described in a letter to Wentworth Woodhouse steward Benjamin Hall their route through the traditional picturesque areas of the Wye valley, taking in Longleat, Stourhead, Stonehenge, Wilton and Blenheim. Ten days were spent at Basildon Park as guests of his patrons Sir Francis and Lady Sykes. The return journey included three days staying with Lady Rockingham at Hillingdon House, west of London.<sup>48</sup> This of course represents the architect touring towards the end of his career, and not his patrons, or himself, as part of the absorption of ideas.

Sir William Chambers spent time examining these buildings in the 1750s; they had clearly become iconic and popular tourist destinations. For Chambers this was possibly as part of his research for *Civil Architecture* published in 1759, which would reinforce the iconographic value of these buildings in our own time.

---

<sup>48</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Papers, WWM StwP 6 (v) 85, Carr to Hall, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1796

A detailed study of Wilton survives, in which he wrote of the earlier pre-Jones buildings ‘...enriched with Gothic ornaments and painted and gilt in the Dutch way the new part which was built by Inigo Jones faces the garden and occupies one whole side of this quadrangle.’<sup>49</sup> With a stylistic focus Chambers continued ‘The windows of the principal floor are Palladian and handsome, but ill supported...’ and of the renowned double cube Saloon ‘the entablature is Corinthian and as well as the other ornaments of the room clumsily executed though richly gilt’. On a more positive note, of the bridge in the park he wrote ‘was executed by Roger Morris from one of Palladio’s designs for the Rialto at Venice it ever doth honour to the Great Palladio and equals anything of his I have seen.’ At this point, our unravelling of the influences on architectural patrons becomes more difficult; here we now read descriptions intended for publication of domestic buildings visited by domestic tourists, written by a professional architect who had himself had the opportunity of some international travel.

Carr’s description, and other descriptions written by domestic tourists of the British Isles, features those country houses that have become canonical within histories of architecture: not only Wilton, Stourhead, Blenheim and Longleat as seen by Carr, but others such as Holkham and Houghton, which Stephen Thompson hoped his own home at Kirby would resemble. A stylistic hierarchy is not evident in the archives when presenting these buildings to us.

One of the strongest influences on Carr’s patrons when deciding on what to commission from an architect was finance. This of course impacts on the decision to build, and not the style in which adopted. Some of Carr’s clients, such as Jane Turner at Busby Hall, Beilby Thompson at Wetherby Grange and

---

<sup>49</sup> RIBA Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, Sir William Chambers Papers, Cha 1/13

Lawrence Dundas at Dundas House merely commissioned house designs, but did not carry out construction of those particular designs; in the case of Thompson and Dundas, however, they did undertake building projects to Carr's design elsewhere.

For architectural patronage, finances were important in two ways: the means with which to undertake an architectural project; and, secondly, recognising the long-term investment ensuring future financial security by constructing estate buildings. Traditional histories of architecture propose that the recently elevated mercantile classes, in order to become established, purchased estates. As well as an attempt to integrate themselves within established landowning society, it was also a way of investing capital gained through commerce in a more traditional way. Carr's patrons the Ibbetsons at Denton Park, the Dennisons at Ossington, Lawrence Dundas at Aske Hall and Edinburgh and William Gossip at Thorp Arch all followed this pattern.<sup>50</sup>

Financing could be sought via annual income or capital investment. The financing of building projects by Carr's patrons through annual income can be seen in such examples as William Gossip at Thorp Arch,<sup>51</sup> Cholmley Turner at Kirkleatham during the 1760s,<sup>52</sup> and Lord Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>53</sup> In each case the building project lasted approximately four years, funded from annual income over the same period.

---

<sup>50</sup> See: Richard Wilson, 'Merchants and Land: The Ibbetsons of Leeds and Denton', *Northern History*, 24 (1988), 75–100; John Harris, 'The Dundas Empire', *Apollo*, 1967, 170–179; Brett Harrison, 'Thorp Arch Hall, 1749-1756: "dabbling a Little in Mortar"', *Miscellany*, Second, 4 (1994), 1–39.

<sup>51</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 7/7, Gossip's Cash Book 1750-1755

<sup>52</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZK 6565, Account Books 1761-1771

<sup>53</sup> Sheffield Archive Service, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A2 – A6, Agent's Annual Account Books 1768 to 1771, detailing construction of the new Stables



Alternatively, other sources of regular income can support building. This is seen in the extravagant work of Lawrence Dundas on various projects. Carr undertook alterations and the addition of a new stable block at Dundas's newly acquired Yorkshire seat of Aske Hall in 1763, along with an unexecuted design from Carr dated 1768 for his Edinburgh home of Dundas House. Dundas House was completed by 1771 to the design of Sir William Chambers and is now the head office of Royal Bank of Scotland. Robert Adam had also been sought to provide designs for alterations at Dundas's new acquisition, Moor Park, Hertfordshire, for which he presented a bill to Dundas for £2092 in 1765.<sup>54</sup> Adam also presented a bill the following year for drawing up designs for minor alterations at Aske Hall of £203 and for Dundas's London house in Arlington Street of £100.<sup>55</sup>

Archival evidence suggests that the huge sums of money required to undertake these major building schemes commissioned by Dundas was subsidised with profits from investments in the slave trade. As late as 1797, the Dundas family were receiving annual reports from their overseer in the West Indies, complete with statements of credit, which for that year, was £4931 13s. 3d.<sup>56</sup> Earlier records dating to the 1760s and 70s show the return on Dundas's investments in the Castle Bruce plantation which would have covered his ambitions building projects.<sup>57</sup>

As an alternative to financing sought through annual income, either from the estate on which the building work was undertaken or alternative investments, large injections of capital could also be sought to finance building. Upon his death

---

<sup>54</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland (Dundas) Papers, ZNK X1/7/20

<sup>55</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland (Dundas) Papers, ZNK X1/7/22

<sup>56</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland (Dundas) Papers, ZNK V6/1/3

<sup>57</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland (Dundas) Papers, ZNK V6/1/1

in 1783, Cholmley Turner owed £18,000 in mortgages which had financed further extensions and remodelling of Kirkleatham Hall the decade following his earlier work financed through income.<sup>58</sup> Mary Thompson commissioned Carr to design a new home for her in York within months of receiving an award of £5000 agreed upon by her husband's heir, Tindale Thompson.<sup>59</sup>

Beilby Thompson, for whom Carr provided unexecuted designs for a new house at Wetherby Grange, was simultaneously remodelling and building a new stable block and other estate buildings at Escrick Park. This required financing through means other than regular income. Writing to his Steward in the 1770s, he complained 'the Bankers have not absolutely refused to lend the money, but seem unwilling at 5%'. He went on 'Have you offered the Sykes of Millington or enquired of George concerning the farm at Lorton. I wish some of these detached things cd be disposed of, and also think now is the best time for selling.'<sup>60</sup> Thompson was keen to sell, expressing concern over what he referred to with war looming as the end of the 'Blessings of Peace'. John Grimston, whom we met earlier because of his friendship with Stephen Thompson at Kirby and his own shortened Grand Tour, took out a mortgage just prior to embarking on alterations to Kilnwick Hall.<sup>61</sup>

For both Lord Rockingham and Lord Fitzwilliam, it is evident that the extensive alterations and additions at Wentworth Woodhouse as well as the construction of many estate buildings surrounding it had been funded by annual

---

<sup>58</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZK 11,503, 1787

<sup>59</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, Thompson Papers, C505/1, 28<sup>th</sup> September 1748

<sup>60</sup> Hull History Centre, Thompson Papers (Forbes Adam of Skipwith Hall), U DDF A3/7/1, Beilby Thompson to John Neville, undated 1771

<sup>61</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDGR/14/7 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1765

estate income.<sup>62</sup> However, in late 1799 Carr presented Earl Fitzwilliam with the design for a new house at the family estate of Malton, in County Wicklow, Ireland. Carr was paid £400 in 1806 after completion of the new house.<sup>63</sup> The earlier house on the site had been destroyed in 1798 during the Irish Rebellion, leaving only the kitchens standing. From April to October 1800, four payments totalling Irish £24,124 were made by the Irish government to Lord Fitzwilliam via his Irish estate Steward, Wainwright.<sup>64</sup> It is possible this was compensatory payment made by the Irish government for the damage caused to the family's home at Malton.

The previous year the Irish government also requisitioned the Flannel Hall in Rathdrum. Built by Lord Fitzwilliam in 1793 at a cost of £3500, Fitzwilliam received 2d on every 120 yards of cloth sold within it.<sup>65</sup> Dublin Castle agreed an annual rent of £150 on the Flannel Hall, to be used as an Army Barracks, before finally agreeing to buy it from the family in 1803.<sup>66</sup> This sale would also have assisted in the building costs of the new Malton House.

The occurrence of the sale of assets in order to invest in building is evident for others among Carr's patrons. Sir Christopher Sykes was writing to Christies Auctioneers in 1789 towards the end of his building programme at Sledmere 'Sir If you know of any nobleman or Gent who will give a good price for a most excellent town house ready and completely furnished I will dispose of mine.'<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A2 – A6, Agent's Annual Account Books 1768 to 1771

<sup>63</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 778, Personal Account Book of Earl Fitzwilliam, 1803-1818, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1806

<sup>64</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 767, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 5<sup>th</sup> May, 23<sup>rd</sup> June and 11<sup>th</sup> October 1800

<sup>65</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM F89/298, 16<sup>th</sup> January 1800

<sup>66</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM F89/298, 17<sup>th</sup> June 1803

<sup>67</sup> Hull History Centre, Sykes of Sledmere Papers, DDSY (3) 10/8, Letter Book 1775-1790, 14<sup>th</sup> March 1789

This was Sykes's London house at 9 Weymouth Street, for which he claimed he had spent £5000. For the sake of propriety, Sykes claimed the house was 'so built round that I cannot breath in it.' Later in the year, he accepted an offer of £4000 on condition the purchaser paid that year's Window Tax.<sup>68</sup> Sykes required the release of capital in order to continue the extensive estate improvements he was undertaking at Sledmere. This raises interesting questions over the concept of the importance of the London townhouse over the landed estate from which a gentry family gain their influence.

Beilby Thompson, who was undertaking various building projects on his two estates at Wetherby Grange and Escrick Park between 1763 and 1783, wrote to his Steward at Escrick in 1774 'As I find I shall be a good deal distressed for cash this and the approaching year I wish you c[oul]d contrive to sell something or other for me immediately.'<sup>69</sup> Thompson had agreed in April of that year with Carr on designs for alterations to his home, construction of estate buildings, and the erection of a grand, classical stable block. Thompson suggested offering his Beverley estates to Sir James Strickland with the value of 3000 Guineas. In other correspondence to his Steward, Thompson urged caution, suggesting 'I think before you sell the little farm at Wibsey you had better get some one who is conversant in mining business to go over and see if he thinks there is any probability of there being coals there.'<sup>70</sup>

In Cheshire, Peter Leicester was organising his finances in order to build Tabley Hall to Carr's design. 'Mr Tatton agrees to give me £2300 for the Baguley estate and that he would be glad to see the settlement and recovery, that he may

---

<sup>68</sup> Hull History Centre, Sykes of Sledmere Papers, DDSY (3) 10/8, Letter Book 1775-1790, June 1789

<sup>69</sup> Hull History Centre, Thompson (Forbes Adams) Papers, U DDF A3/7/1, 1774, undated

<sup>70</sup> Hull History Centre, Thompson (Forbes Adams) Papers, U DDF A3/7/1, 1773, undated

have a clear title, and intends being with you tomorrow...'.<sup>71</sup> Having clearly shopped around for the best mortgage deal to supplement the sale of the Baguley estate, Leicester wrote the following November '...I am determined to take the other mortgage at all as I am clear I can be no worse of[f].'<sup>72</sup>

The value of an estate was a necessary aspect of improvement. Under the terms of his will, Cholmley Turner of Kirkleatham Hall left 'Jane, his loving wife' all her jewels and all the plate not listed elsewhere in his will and all her pictures, books and chattels in and around 'my' house of Little Busby.<sup>73</sup> Little Busby referred to her childhood home, inherited from her grandfather Sir Henry Marwood. Within a year of her return to Busby Hall after widowhood, Jane Turner had commissioned designs for a new house from Carr. Before construction started Turner commissioned in 1760 *A Field Book with Maps of Madam Turner's Estates*, leather bound and tooled in gold, enclosing a survey of over 113 pages of her estates drawn up by Richard Richardson.<sup>74</sup> Possibly as a result of the survey, Carr's designs for Turner were not carried out but a cheaper option presented by the Kirkleatham estate carpenter was constructed.

One of Carr's earliest commissions was for the new house at Thorp Arch for William Gossip. Gossip's offer of £4400 for the purchase of the estate made on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1747 was accepted by the Ladies Ann and Frances Hastings.<sup>75</sup> The sale, without mortgage, was completed in August of 1748.<sup>76</sup> Negotiations were

---

<sup>71</sup> Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Leicester-Warren Papers, DLT 4996/28/6, Peter Leicester to Gorst, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1765

<sup>72</sup> Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Leicester-Warren Papers, DLT 4996/28/6, Peter Leicester to Gorst, 19<sup>th</sup> November 1765

<sup>73</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZDU 48, May 1757

<sup>74</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZDU 82, 1760

<sup>75</sup> West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 2, Gossip's Memo Book, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1747

<sup>76</sup> West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 2, Gossip's Memo Book, 25<sup>th</sup> August 1748

extensive: Gossip queried the value of the estate's mills, suggesting that the number being set up on neighbouring estates would devalue those belonging to the Ladies Hastings. By June of 1750 a contract had been drawn up between Gossip and William Tait of Berwick to build to Carr's design the new house.<sup>77</sup> Ever the shrewd business man, Gossip in his personal cash book noted the transfer of £6 10s. 0d. to his Housekeeping account, representing the value of glass left over after glazing.<sup>78</sup>

Upon completion of the purchase of Aske Hall from Lord Holderness, Lawrence Dundas wrote to his wife Margaret Bruce in Scotland '...by the time you come to Aske Hall you may take possession as your own.'<sup>79</sup> Carr had visited Aske Hall before the purchase was complete and within the year was working on creating a suite of family rooms, offices and stables. Work on the London house, under the supervision of Robert Adam, was also underway. Dundas maintained control of both projects, writing to his wife 'Please to leave orders concerning furniture for Arlington Street house and let me know what Mr Adams says about the time he imagines that it will be finished.'<sup>80</sup>

Carr produced plans in 1767 to remodel the front of Aske Hall for the Dundas family, turning it from a Jacobean house into a classical mansion with hexastyle portico and an apsed Entrance Hall. These plans were not commissioned.

---

<sup>77</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Papers, WYL 1015 8/7, 12<sup>th</sup> June 1750

<sup>78</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Papers, WYL 1015 7/7, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1751

<sup>79</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Dundas (Zetland) Papers, ZNK X1/2/17, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1762

<sup>80</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Dundas (Zetland) Papers, ZNK X1/2/29, 4<sup>th</sup> August 1763

From the Parish records of St James, Ravenfield, where she is listed upon her death in 1766 as ‘A Spinster, Lady of the Manor’ it appears Elizabeth Parkin returned to the area of her birth a wealthy merchant and set about establishing herself as Lady of the Manor.<sup>81</sup> Not only did Parkin commission Carr to design the new church of St James, Ravenfield, but also in an agreement with the Bishop of Norwich and the Archdeacon of York, she financed the support of the Curate and church for the future, and continued the right of nomination.<sup>82</sup> As an unmarried, successful, business woman, Parkin ensured her name would live on even after the husband of her niece, Walter Osborne, inherited her estates and businesses.

It was necessary to improve an estate, whether as a newcomer keen to establish oneself, or as an inheritor and long-term owner of land. Both these financial motivations are represented in Carr’s patrons, as we have seen with both Dundas at Aske Hall and Gossip at Thorp Arch. As part of his improvements at Thorp Arch, Gossip embarked on a programme of enclosure, writing to William Simpson in 1752 of how Lord Downe had recently presented a petition to the House of Commons on his behalf.<sup>83</sup>

Tom Williamson in *Polite Landscapes* claimed it is probable that less than a quarter and possibly little more than a fifth of England was affected by enclosure between 1750 and 1840.<sup>84</sup> This may be the case: but a number of Carr’s patrons were involved. Perhaps the most prominent was Edwin Lascelles at Harewood, who wrote to his Steward, Popplewell, as early as 1753 ‘I wish you

---

<sup>81</sup> Ravenfield Parish Register of Burials, 1700-1799

<sup>82</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes (Ravenfield) Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1750

<sup>83</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Papers, WYL 1015 23/1, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1752

<sup>84</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 9.

coud survey Ridgleys Fields and Stables with Charles Thompson and those of my own that lye about the House, which I propose to enclose and make a Park of...'.<sup>85</sup>

William Mellish, Barrister, Collector of Customs and some-time Member of Parliament for York, made his first payment to Carr in November 1769. For a decade prior to this, however, Mellish had been working on consolidating his estates. Starting with an exchange of land between himself and his neighbour Mr Rawood, on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1758 and continuing with a further exchange with Miss Swinnerton on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1769, it was completed upon an exchange with John Howood on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1773.<sup>86</sup>

Within one month of inheriting their father's estate at Staunton Hall in 1778, sisters Emma and Anne Charlton set about improving their inheritance: the existing lease of Staunton Hall to a Mr Brougle was dissolved.<sup>87</sup> Carr undertook alterations to their home over the following two years, financed by a mortgage of £2400. This was finally paid off in 1794, in a document still referring to Emma and Ann Charlton 16 years after his death as 'Spinsters and Heiresses of their Father, Job.'<sup>88</sup>

More mundane improvements were necessary to maintain capital value in property. Lord Galway, in his personal Bank Book recorded on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1770 'Mr Carr for a marble hearth for the Drawing Room [of Allerton Park], a case for a man from York to lay it down, delivered in May 1768 as by receipt £3 19s.

---

<sup>85</sup> RIBA at V&A, Eden Papers, Edw/3/2, Edwin Lascelles to Popplewell, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1756

<sup>86</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mellish Papers, Me E 3/25, 26 and 29

<sup>87</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives, Staunton Papers, DD/S/9/31, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1778, and DD/S/51/1/8, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1778

<sup>88</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives, Staunton Papers, DD/S/9/34, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1794



6d.’<sup>89</sup> That same month, Lord Galway paid £181 18s. 3d. for the funeral expenses of his aunt, Lady Frances Arundell, from whom he inherited Allerton Park and for whom Carr carried out the minor alterations to the Drawing Room eighteen months prior. What is of interest is that the work was deemed necessary prior to Lord Galway inheriting the property, although it is unclear whether at his request or that of his aunt, but it was paid for after her death from his finances.

Elizabeth Parkin at Ravenfield Hall signed a lease agreement in 1752 with John Lambert. Lambert was to rent two farms from Parkin for 21 years at £220 per year. One clause stated that Lambert would not quarry stone from the land unless it was for the upkeep of the buildings owned by Parkin and rented to him. In addition, Parkin, at her own expense, was to erect a building to contain a stable, corn chamber and dovecote on the farm, with Lambert paying annually one shilling for every pound Parkin expended on the project.<sup>90</sup>

A third way in which finances proved influential on architectural patronage now emerges; regarding the milieu in which Carr undertook his professional duties: lack of money as a brake on architectural patronage. Two great noblemen, the class previously seen as the elite in architectural patronage for whom Carr worked were the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey and Burlington House and the Duke of Kingston at Thoresby Lodge. In both cases, severe financial difficulties impacted on their patronage, in two very different ways.

Carr undertook alterations at Portland’s home Welbeck Abbey between 1763 and 1765, constructed stables in 1774 and added the east wing between 1775 and 1777. He also undertook improvements at Burlington House for the Portlands

---

<sup>89</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Monkton-Arundell Papers, GA 12, 379

<sup>90</sup> Sheffield Archives, Osborne Business and Estate Records, OR 17, 1752

between 1771 and 1776 and again in 1786; a survey undertaken on Burlington House in 1782 described ‘the chimney shafts in a ruinous condition and the greatest part down.’<sup>91</sup> However, a major project Carr undertook for Portland was the surveying of the Portland estates centred on Soho in order to realise the capital tied up in them. This will be explored in greater detail in ‘Chapter 5: Carr’s Role’, but the project resulted in the gradual liquidation of prime real estate in central London, and a considerable task for Carr in a slightly different guise as architect.

For Kingston, Carr created what Wragg described as ‘his grandest new-built house’ at Thoresby.<sup>92</sup> As we saw in a previous chapter, Giles Worsley found Thoresby influential enough within the Palladian Revival villa movement to pass comment.<sup>93</sup> The previous house at Thoresby, designed by William Talmain and discussed at length by Summerson<sup>94</sup> burnt down in 1745. It was not until 1767 that its owner rebuilt the house to Carr’s design. Wragg claimed this delay only ended with ‘the Duke’s intended marriage to his notorious mistress, Elizabeth Chudleigh, which took place in 1769.’<sup>95</sup>

However, examination of archives not available to Wragg could provide a different explanation as to why Kingston put off rebuilding his ancestral seat for nearly two decades. In response to the threat of the Jacobite Uprising, Kingston established in his name a Regiment of Horse in Nottinghamshire. Documents in the Egerton archives list the pay of a Regiment of Horse, consisting of 40 men, totalling £20,000.<sup>96</sup> In a letter to an unknown recipient Kingston wrote:

---

<sup>91</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of London Papers, Pl F5/15/3/5/2, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1782

<sup>92</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 212.

<sup>93</sup> Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, p. 229 f.f.

<sup>94</sup> Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, pp. 242, 297, n.535.

<sup>95</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 212.

<sup>96</sup> British Library, Eg 3539, ff 195

I receivd a letter yesterday from the duke of Newcastle desiring me to consult with the Gentlemen in Nottinghamshire on proper measures to defeat the dangerous association of the Adherents to the Pretender now assembled in Scotland. This therefore is to beg the favour of your company to dinner tomorrow at Thoresby in order to appoint a day for the Gentleman of the County to have a general meeting on the occasion.<sup>97</sup>

The subsequent regiment was supported by subscription, as outlined in a document dated 1<sup>st</sup> October 1745.<sup>98</sup> This stated money raised would support ‘the immediate defence of the country in the late Rebellion’. Charges for the clothing of the Regiment under the command of the Duke of Kingston went to the Duke himself, at £1178 18s. 0d., and included 228 Troopers suits, 6 Trumpeter’s suits, and 247 cloaks. Kingston paid this within the year, and it continued to appear in the Regiment’s annual accounts for some years to come. The daily cost of wages for the Regiment was £42 4s. 0d. including a payment to the Duke of £1 11s. 0d.<sup>99</sup>

Within two years, however, Henry Fox, appointed Secretary of War in 1746 at the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession, wrote to Kingston pointing out that as he had not paid the clothing bill for that year the uniforms would not be provided and therefore the regiment could not benefit from the same advantages as other regiments.<sup>100</sup> It is during this two year period that the original house at Thoresby by Talmain was raised to the ground, not to be replaced for a further twenty years.

Lack of financing for Kingston is further evident in two ways: the Duke inherited along with his title huge debts which were paid off within several years,

---

<sup>97</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, Fitzherbert of Tissington Papers, D239M 17<sup>th</sup> September 1745

<sup>98</sup> British Library, Eg 3539, ff 190

<sup>99</sup> British Library, Egerton Papers, Eg 3539, ff 198

<sup>100</sup> Dorset History Centre, Ryder of Rempstone Archives, D/RWR/X3 31<sup>st</sup> March 1748

but his estates in Bath were being commented upon by John Wood the Younger, writing to the Duke's Steward Samuel Sherring in 1755 '...I assure you there is so much danger of the house falling that I have propped up the west wall opposite Mr Burke's, and believe before I can possibly receive an answer from you, must be obliged to begin to pull down the remainder of the house.'<sup>101</sup> This property was part of a series abutting the Abbey precincts, in which Wood himself rented his house from the Duke. As early as 1745, Kingston, who had inherited his Bath estates from his mother, Rachel Bayntun, had been selling property in Bath.<sup>102</sup> With the discovery of the eastern Roman Baths beneath Abbey House in 1755, Kingston demolished the modern buildings and instigated the construction of the Kingston Baths, again detracting from the rebuilding of his ancestral family seat in Yorkshire. It is likely that the building in Bath would prove a better capital investment than the construction of a house.

Long term financial problems also prohibited the Duke of Portland from embarking on any grand building schemes. However, as the inheritor from his mother and grandmother of Welbeck Abbey, there may have been little opportunity left him. Arthur Turberville in *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners* questioned the efficient management by Portland of his estates.<sup>103</sup> Certainly, Portland was focused on his political career, including his brief and expensive term as Lord Chamberlain in 1765 and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1782. Portland also twice held Prime Ministerial office. As a result of these terms of office, and the expensive lawsuit Portland undertook against a neighbouring

---

<sup>101</sup> British Library, Egerton Papers, Eg 3616, ff 126, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1755

<sup>102</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Manvers Papers, M4184,

<sup>103</sup> See Arthur Stanley Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939).

landlord in Cumberland, the family looked to sell their London estates centred on Soho, calling in Carr to undertake the valuation.

Thus it appears that finances have an impact on architectural patronage in both a negative way, as seen with Portland and Kingston, and a positive way. Building can be funded either via available capital, or through annual estate income. The reason for building can also be twofold – either as a means of spending recently accrued mercantile wealth and thereby establishing oneself, or as continued long-term investment and maintenance.

An examination of the archives also reveals the strength of family influence on those making up Carr's architectural patronage. The strength of family identity, heritage and lineage can be seen in the historic precedent set by forebears as seen in the work of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey and the Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse. Possible motivations can also be surmised regarding the insecurity of the arriviste, such as Elizabeth Parkin returning to her place of birth and commissioning a country house and church. Traditional histories make the assumption that stylistic choice is class based but examining the patronage of Carr, this appears simplistic and inaccurate.

Two of Carr's long-term patrons were the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke and Duchess of Portland for whom he worked at Welbeck Abbey and the family's rented London home of Burlington House. The Duke came from a long line of architectural patrons, including a maternal ancestor, Bess of Hardwick. His own grandmother, Henrietta, Dowager Countess of Oxford, had extensively remodelled Welbeck Abbey during the 1750s. Her apparent motivation to do so is discussed by Lucy

Worsley.<sup>104</sup> Worsley set out to examine through the work of Lady Oxford how restrictions imposed by eighteenth-century society helped or hindered the female patron of architecture, which of course still only considers an elite element of society. Worsley wrote that role models from Lady Oxford's family may have inspired and constrained her, giving her the confidence to take on the role of architectural patron, yet constraining her to choose the ancient styles associated with the family. Worsley claimed that this self-expression was limited by deference to the family as the source of their authority, rather than following current fashion or demonstrating an individual's knowledge. This attitude conforms with traditional views as proposed by Summerson relating to the chronological sequence of architectural style and here Lucy Worsley is attempting to explain stylistic plurality as an anomaly expressing itself as a throwback to family history.

While it cannot be said that Henrietta's work was 'limited', Lucy Worsley raises important questions about the concept of familial deference. Horace Walpole talked of Henrietta's homage to the '...great families...which centred in her'.<sup>105</sup> By rejecting those traditional views reinforced by Worsley of architectural style evolving chronologically, one can accept and develop more fully the idea of the influence that heritage, lineage and family can have on architecture.

In the Welbeck Abbey papers survive three of Henrietta's account books 'relating to the repairing, beautifying and ornamenting the ancient seat of the Cavendish family at Welbeck.'<sup>106</sup> With this, however, is also a previously overlooked and unpublished account book of Henrietta's daughter, Margaret

---

<sup>104</sup> Worsley, XLVIII.

<sup>105</sup> Mrs Paget Toynbee, *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), III, p. 448.

<sup>106</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives, Portland Papers, DD/5P/6/1-3, 14<sup>th</sup> November 1741 – 25<sup>th</sup> March 1747

Bentinck, widow of 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Portland and mother to Carr's patron. Recorded by her Steward Benjamin Wilcocks and presented to her for signature in September 1760, it too records the work carried out by Margaret Bentinck at Welbeck Abbey and is similarly titled 'Building and other improvements and repairs to beautify and ornament the ancient seat of the Cavendish family at Welbeck.'<sup>107</sup> These accounts continue where Henrietta's finish, continuing for a number of years after her death into her daughter's tenure of Welbeck Abbey and have been overlooked when considering histories of Welbeck Abbey.

These records clearly show the long-term work carried out at Welbeck and the family interest passing from mother to daughter. This is particularly pertinent given that the daughter lived elsewhere. Margaret Cavendish, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duchess of Portland, chose to live after the death of her husband at his ancestral home of Bulstrode and not at her own.

Margaret Cavendish's mother, Henrietta, Dowager Countess of Oxford, was very close to her son, the future 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland and kept him apprised of her improvement works at Welbeck Abbey writing in 1750 when he was 12 '...it will be agreeable to you to know how it proceeds...'.<sup>108</sup> Clearly receiving encouragement, Henrietta wrote 'Your father mother and your self, liking Welbeck and the improvements, I have made and going on with, as fast as the time and other circumstances will permit, is a just reason for an inducement to go on with them.'<sup>109</sup> This continued and three years later Henrietta wrote 'The encouragement you give me by liking my improvements makes me continue them

---

<sup>107</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives, Portland Papers, DD/5P/6/4, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1747 – 29<sup>th</sup> September 1760

<sup>108</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 4749, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1750

<sup>109</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 4749, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1750

with pleasure, but the Workmen are slow it vexes me.’<sup>110</sup> Written over several years, these letters detail to her grandson the work undertaken by Henrietta at Welbeck and at each turn seek encouragement. It is doubtful, however, whether a negative comment or an alternative suggestion would have been welcome: ‘I endeavour to hasten the Draft of the design for the Court and Stables. I hope to get it done before I go, to show your father and mother and your self, and if it is approved of by them I easily conclude it will meet with your approbation.’<sup>111</sup> Her daughter, Margaret, writing to her son in 1753 addressed her letter ‘From my Gothic Cells’, referring to her confinement at Welbeck Abbey during an illness.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps this was a more subtle opinion of her mother’s building works.

Other than the Account Book of Margaret Duchess of Portland, no other papers of her work at Welbeck survive. As the sole heiress and daughter of a sole heiress her strength of character and influence over her son are in no doubt. This appears in her letters in subtle, and less subtle, ways: ‘I never attempt to influence your opinions’ she wrote at the end of a very long letter setting out her views on the government business of the day in which her son was involved.<sup>113</sup> Two years later Margaret Duchess of Portland wrote ‘I cannot help troubling my dearest son with a few lines...’ concerning her younger son’s Grand Tour plans. She continued ‘I own none of these schemes appear to me at all advantageous... ..as I hope you have great influence over him I am sure I have none. Whatever coldness or indifference a child may have to a parent, a mother can never divert

---

<sup>110</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 4767, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1753

<sup>111</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 4747, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1750

<sup>112</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 752, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1753

<sup>113</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 767, 1763



herself...'<sup>114</sup> On succeeding to the Dukedom in 1762, Portland formally took up residence at his mother's ancestral home of Welbeck Abbey, his mother remaining at Bulstrode. Almost immediately Portland continued the improvement works at Welbeck Abbey, altering the Chapel and creating new Kitchen offices to the design of Carr and following the existing monastic style, which, at his hand seeks no comment by critics, but in his grandmother's, did. Portland's financial problems prevented major rebuilding, but Carr added stables in 1774 and a suite of Reception rooms on the east front in 1775.

Lord Rockingham, too, inherited an extensive building project at Wentworth Woodhouse along with his title when he came of age in 1751. Shortly before his death, his father wrote to his heir 'If you lay out your money in improving your seat, lands, gardens etc., you beautifye the country and do the work ordered by God himself.'<sup>115</sup>

For the rest of his life Lord Rockingham continued to undertake improvements at the magnificent house based on Campbell's designs for Wanstead his father had created. Rockingham employed Henry Flitcroft, James Stuart and John Carr to work on the house and estate buildings. Wragg in his thesis on Carr claimed the family paid him an annual salary until the end of his working life to be on hand when required. However, extensive examination of the family papers show that Carr was only paid an annual salary for four years between 1768 and 1771 while work was underway on the new stable-block built to his design.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 776, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1765

<sup>115</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/M/2, Correspondence Book II, 1734-1750

<sup>116</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A2-A5

These influences on architectural patronage in general, and style in particular, must be teased from the archival evidence, as little is discussed overtly. One rare example of an apparently aesthetic discussion between Lord and Lady Rockingham is often used, as by Bristol and Jill Low in their work on William Weddell at Newby Hall.<sup>117</sup> Weddell's wife Elizabeth was Lady Rockingham's step-sister. The quote, as used by Bristol and Low, appears in a letter in which Lady Rockingham wrote to Lord Rockingham 'The news of your purchase is as antique as your Venus; the two Weddells dined with me yesterday and told me.'<sup>118</sup> The entire letter previous to this, however, shows the intimacy of the relationship between Lord and Lady Rockingham 'I am not clear whether you might not digest both your dinner [author's emphasis], & thoughts of the evening, & tomorrow; ... ..I shall then, only arrive so as to catch a sight of you before your company come.'<sup>119</sup> The reference to the Venus is more in keeping with the intimate and passionate tone of what goes before it and is perhaps a self reference, rather than a discussion of high culture and the antique which it is usually used to emphasise.

While many familial links can be found between Carr's patrons spreading throughout the north, Midlands, London and the Home Counties, and assumptions made about the transference of architectural patronage in general and Carr's work specifically, very little archival evidence supports this. A hint of the discussions around country house designs is in a letter sent to Sir Peter Leicester, patron of Tabley Hall built to Carr's design, from his neighbour Lady Frances Littleton at Teddesley Park, recently completed for her husband to the design of Charles Cope

---

<sup>117</sup> Kerry Bristol and Jill Low, 'William Weddell – A Biographical Note', in *Drawing From the Past: William Weddell and the Transformation of Newby Hall* (Leeds Museums and Galleries, 2005), pp. 13–24 (p. 22).

<sup>118</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/168/153, undated

<sup>119</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/168/153, undated

Trubshaw. After discussing the recent birth of Leicester's daughter, and enquiring about the health of Lady Leicester, Lady Littleton continued '...we are up to the ears in brick and mortar[.] I believe if you encourage me as a correspondent I shall in my next send you a plan of our house, but don't depend on my petitioning for one of yours...'.<sup>120</sup> Tabley Hall is one of Carr's most substantial new houses, nine bays wide with a Doric portico, perron, rusticated basement, *piano nobile* and pavilions. Work started the year following Lady Littleton's letter, in which she is possibly hoping for approval of the designs for her new house

Similarly, Sir Christopher Sykes, who rejected Carr's design for Sledmere Hall and instead built to his own design, was lobbied by Sir Thomas Frankland of Thirkleby Park for a copy of Carr's designs. In responding, Sykes wrote 'Your front is uncommon and certainly handsome. I really have not time at present to copy me plans.'<sup>121</sup>

The archival evidence strongly indicates that family influence on the architectural patronage of Carr played a part within aristocratic families who were enforcing their lineage, as with the Duke of Portland and Marquess of Rockingham. However, as we have seen, history often focuses on the elite not because of their importance within the subject at hand, but because of the survival of their family records. Almost no documentary evidence has survived that elucidates for us the influence of family on the gentry or rising middle classes other than a subliminal influence on Sir Christopher Sykes's plans at Sledmere, on which he wrote to Mr Sealy, the stone manufacturer of the crest to be inserted within the pediment 'the whole designs allude to a kind of history of my family,

---

<sup>120</sup> Chester Archives, DLT 5524/28/2, I Littleton at Geddesley Park to Sir John Leicester, 12st September 1759

<sup>121</sup> Hull History Centre, Sykes of Sledmere Papers, DDSY (3) 10/8, Sir Christopher Sykes's Letter Book, copy of letter to Sir Thomas Frankland of Thirklesby

but if I should think them too expensive, I shall go upon a different plan.’<sup>122</sup> Sykes eventually went with Sealy’s design with the addition of two supporting figures: one representing architecture and the other agriculture. Sykes’s alterations to the estate, and construction of the new house, followed the building work of his uncle, Marmaduke Wyvil, who wrote in a letter to Bacon Frank nearly thirty years earlier ‘...[I] am going to build stables, garden walls plant trees &c &c &c so that I do not despair of being as much a country gentleman as yourself next year.’<sup>123</sup>

For the arriviste, according to an examination of the archives relating to Carr, architectural patronage could be a matter of personal statement, investment or the creation of emotional security. William Gossip, a successful West-Yorkshire Mercer, was clear about his plans for his new home at Thorp Arch and an interesting correspondence between him and his final architect Carr survives. Writing in 1753 during construction of the staircase, Gossip wrote ‘You take no notice of the question I put to you in my last’.<sup>124</sup> The Gossip letters reveal a determined, self-made person difficult to please with a strong opinion about his own place in society and how it should be perceived. This impression is also gained from the scant surviving papers relating to Elizabeth Parkin, as we have seen. These glimpses do, however, indicate the need of the newly wealthy to make their mark.

The previous chapter established those groups that made up the patronage group of Carr and this examined possible influences on those groups. An exploration of the archives created by Carr’s patrons has shown that the

---

<sup>122</sup> Hull History Centre, Sykes of Sledmere Papers, DDSY (3) 10/8, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1789

<sup>123</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Muniments, BFM 1314/42, Marmaduke Wyvil to Bacon Frank, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1761

<sup>124</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 7/6, Gossip’s Letter Book, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1753

importance to them of those influences generally seen as significant, such as the Grand Tour is less relevant than thought.

In establishing the idea of the influence of the Grand Tour on architectural consumption, along with membership of such groups as the Society of Dilettanti, it is clear that a form of cultural elitism has become established in architectural histories. As we have seen, it is not known whether John Carr undertook a Grand Tour, instead choosing to wait for his retirement before experiencing extensive travel for leisure within the British Isles. This may have influenced later writers who believed in the importance of foreign travel as part of the architectural education. Those few of his clients who did undertake a Grand Tour appear to have enjoyed the pleasures and delights of foreign travel while away from home and family rather than the completion of a classical education or an introduction to architectural design.

When unpicking provincial architectural patronage of the late eighteenth-century, it becomes clear that traditional histories, with their singular approach, are not wholly accurate. Influences on consumers of architecture during this period appear to be much more complex than imagined. The importance of the Grand Tour is very questionable; other influences, when using the lens of Carr, appear stronger, and include family history and the importance of lineage, as in the case of the Portlands of Welbeck and Sykes at Sledmere. Security of acceptance and a sense of belonging, as in the case of Elizabeth Parkin at Ravenfield Hall and William Gossip at Thorp Arch, appear more apparent in influencing their architectural patronage. In the case of the Duke of Portland, the former – family history and lineage – appears as particularly strong. Also for Portland, his financial problems impacted greatly on his ability to undertake major

architectural projects, but with what little income he did enjoy, he commissioned alteration works to existing buildings. While finances may not necessarily influence architectural style, it does impact on architectural consumption. Therefore, we can see how Carr's patrons built what they did, but not always why they built the way they did. The focus on the latter point of course, led previous writers down avenues of confusion. In the following chapter, discussing the role of women within architecture as practitioners and consumers, we explore some of these influences on Carr's female patrons.

## Chapter 4 – Carr’s Women

This chapter examines the role of women within the architectural practice of John Carr by exploring the differing roles they undertook. This can elucidate three issues when considering the history of architectural patronage during the eighteenth-century: firstly, it can show not only the range and type of buildings commissioned by women, but also the alternative works undertaken by a practising architect during this period, which, as discussed within this thesis, includes surveying, maintenance, alteration and renovation work; secondly, it can show the motivations behind women commissioning such work, which may not be led by concepts of fashion or the Grand Tour, but instead by comfort and personal statement; and thirdly, to establish that women were in fact more involved in architectural patronage than had previously been assumed by writers of architectural histories.

To explore these themes, this chapter will first consider current architectural and historical commentaries on female patronage. Previously, it was often assumed buildings were not commissioned by women unless strong evidence existed to show where they did. Using the methodology suggested by Tanis Hinchcliffe in her work on women and the practice of architecture in eighteenth-century France,<sup>1</sup> the evidence here will consider the three aspects in which women could be involved with architectural practice: as practitioners within a male profession; through involvement of family and female relatives in the progress of a male architect; and the designs of the architect for female

---

<sup>1</sup> Tanis Hinchcliffe, ‘Women and the Practice of Architecture in Eighteenth Century France’, in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, by Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 83–114 (p. 84).

patrons. The first, although impossible to consider when exploring the professional role of Carr, can contribute to our understanding of the construction of masculinity within the profession; the second and third points, which will in turn be explored here using the lens of Carr's architectural practice, provide insight into the active role women played in the practice and patronage of architecture generally, and in particular, can help us understand the professional practice of an architect who is not viewed as an innovative stylistic leader.

Women were for many years absent from accounts of architectural history, more so than other areas of art history. Anne Lawrence suggested that the lack of documentary sources led to the assumption that the work commissioned by or for women was undertaken by their husbands, because his name appeared on the bills.<sup>2</sup> Lawrence, discussing the paucity of sources elucidating the role of women in building during the century before Carr, emphasised this point in her examples of Anne Clifford, Dowager Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Betty Hastings. Both prolific builders, their work must however be examined through inventories, memorials and the buildings themselves, as construction accounts do not exist and neither patron discussed their building in diaries or letters.

Lawrence also suggests that many women in building did not commemorate their husband's family, but their father's. It is from their fathers that these women builders usually inherited wealth in the absence of a male heir. This is seen in the writing of Lucy Worsley on Henrietta Holles, Dowager Countess of Oxford at her family ancestral home of Welbeck Abbey, in which Worsley claimed Holles built in unfashionable, historic styles, in order to express

---

<sup>2</sup> See Anne Lawrence, 'Women Using Building in Seventeenth Century England: A Question of Sources', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), 293–303.



her character and pedigree. This is also seen in Elizabeth Chew's examination - again - of the patronage of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, and Alison Friedman's exploration of the architectural patronage of Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> These works are all innovative in their discussion of female architectural patronage in an arena traditionally seen as male. However, they do not consider those women who were *not* heirs to great wealth, such as Carr's patrons Elizabeth Parkin and Mary Thompson. Focusing only on known and prolific female builders, as outlined above, writers also overlook those women whose work has been obscured by history behind their male relatives.

Women architectural consumers are no more representative of the female population than male patrons are of men; in both cases they tend to be members of social or economic elites and as seen above, current histories of architecture and society reflect this. Merry Wiesner discussed the concept of these kinds of women as 'women worthies': those who were the great women of their time either as consumers, political players or cultural leaders.<sup>4</sup> A risk becomes apparent when interpreting architecture as the inspired product of one or two exceptional individuals through which we can fall into a trap of 'celebratory' feminist studies, as with Worsley, Chew and Friedman, rather than as participants in broader social and economic forces subject to specific historical circumstances.<sup>5</sup>

Further, it is clear that a form of cultural elitism has become established in architectural histories through the entrenched idea of the influence of the Grand

---

<sup>3</sup> Worsley, XLVIII; Elizabeth Chew, 'A Mockery of the Surveyor's Style?: Alternatives to Inigo Jones in Seventeenth Century Elite British Architecture', in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Architecture*, by Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Friedman; See also: Cynthia Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania State University, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Helen Hills, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 8.

Tour on architectural consumption. Of Carr's women patrons - of any class - none are known to have undertaken a Grand Tour. Neither, we believe, did Carr, who instead chose to wait for his retirement before experiencing extensive travel for leisure within the British Isles as discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>6</sup> Also in that chapter, we saw in the preface to their 2007 book *The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880: Creating Paradise* Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley establish the narrative that they were to explore, which focused on the concept of Palladian villas being recreated by the male grand tourist many years after his return.<sup>7</sup>

The work of Wilson and Mackley is representative of the established, traditional view, not only expressing the importance of the Grand Tour, but also of academic Palladianism and male hegemony. Recent work on the archival material of Carr's patrons as discussed previously in this thesis questioned the actuality of the influence of the Grand Tour on them. The archival material of Carr's female patrons further suggests that other influences, such as family and a sense of belonging, the creation of a personal history, domestic tourism within the British Isles and architectural publications as well as a financial motivation, have more impact on what they were building and why.

Merry Wiesner considers the idea put forward by Joan Kelly who asked 'did women have a Renaissance?'<sup>8</sup> Developing this idea further it is fair to say that women did not benefit equally with men from the cultural and economic changes occurring during the eighteenth-century. Gentlewoman Ann Charlton and

---

<sup>6</sup> On several tours he was accompanied by his Great-nieces. See Corita Myerscough, ed., *Uncle John Carr: The Diaries of His Great Nieces, Harriet and Amelia Clark* (York Georgian Society, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Wilson and Mackley, p. xvii.

<sup>8</sup> Wiesner, p. 3.

her sister Emma were only able to commission Carr to undertake a remodelling of their home within a month of their father's death and only after renegotiating existing leases;<sup>9</sup> Mary Thompson and Jane Turner were only able to commission designs from Carr after the deaths of their respective husbands, and Elizabeth Parkin never married.

Carr worked on architectural commissions directly with nine women, categorised by class as discussed in Chapter 2: six gentlewomen; two mercantile; and only one aristocrat. Study of the patronage of these women can help us refute the traditional elitist and gendered view of architectural histories as well as enable a wider understanding of the professional practice of an eighteenth-century architect.

In her book *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* Helen Hills opened with a quote from Wren's letter written during his visit to Paris in 1665 to an unnamed friend. In the letter Wren wrote 'the women, as they make here the language and fashions, so they sway in architecture.'<sup>10</sup> Exactly a hundred years after Wren's visit to Paris, Carr's patron Lord Fitzwilliam also wrote from France while on his Grand Tour to his mother in England:

Lady Holland, Ly Louisa Conolly and Ly Sarah Bunbury have taken a trip to Paris and left their husbands behind them. That is indeed quite a la mode; I thought our English Johns had been too jealous an animal to have permitted his wife to stir from his elbow.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives, Staunton Papers, DD/S/51/18, 11<sup>th</sup> November 1778

<sup>10</sup> Hills, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Northamptonshire Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) C, Earl Fitzwilliam to Dowager Countess Fitzwilliam, 29<sup>th</sup> August 1767

This comment can help confirm our ideas of cultural elitism, in that only a certain, usually male, sector of society had the ability to undertake a Grand Tour.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter will now consider the three aspects of female involvement in architecture propounded by Tanis Hinchcliffe. The prevalence, or not, of the first aspect - female practitioners of architecture - can be seen in the founding of the Architects Club of which Carr was a member. The Club proved a major advance in the organisation of the profession when formed in 1792, and through a complicated route developed eventually into the Royal Institute of British Architects. A practical organisation unconcerned with issues of style initially founded as a dining club, it quickly found itself concerned with the practical issues of building. Its founding members included canonical architects traditional histories have promoted and eulogised. A strict procedure, involving nomination and secret ballot, were required in order for new members to become eligible to join.<sup>13</sup> We can see a highly select composition and members had to be a Royal Academician, Associate or Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, or a member of the Academies of Rome, Parma, Florence or Paris. Carr was not eligible through any of these means, but was invited to become a member from the outset, again confirming the high regard in which his peer group held him.

Full membership to the Royal Academy was initially open to men and women who were painters, printmakers, sculptors, or architects actively working in Great Britain. Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807) and Mary Moser (1744-1819) were among the founding members. The organisation discouraged other women from joining and after Kauffman and Moser died, no other female artist was

---

<sup>12</sup> See: Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/1/2, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1791

accepted to full membership of the Royal Academy until 1922. It therefore proved very difficult for women to be eligible for membership of the Architects' Club and no women are listed in the initial documents relating to its founding.

Richard Hewlings undertook a survey of a sample of 7000 people engaged in building between 1600 and 1850 and found 69 women were represented.<sup>14</sup> These covered all roles, not just those associated with architecture, and were recorded while Hewlings was involved in research on buildings not businesses. However, this does show the very low proportion, at less than 1%, of women involved within the building industry more generally.

The second aspect of female involvement in architectural practice focuses on the support of male practitioners by female family members.

At the age of 23, Carr married Sarah Hinchcliffe, a domestic servant from a nearby village who was herself 33. Sarah died aged 74 in 1787, and as a couple John and Sarah Carr had no children. At his marriage in 1746, Carr established himself as an architect in his native town of Horbury, eventually moving to York five years later. Several times during the early years of Carr's architectural practice, Sarah's support was evident: in 1762, Sarah Carr wrote to the Lascelles Estate Stewart at Gawthorpe 'Mr Carr is in Cheshire and I this day received a letter from him wich tells me he intends being at Stapleton ye next weke but dose not say wat day I think by his letter Tusday or Wednesday next[.]'<sup>15</sup> Sarah Carr acted in a supporting administrative role to her husband, dealing with client correspondence. Clearly a good relationship built up between the Carrs and the Popplewells, as Sarah Carr closed the same letter 'I and my husband sincerely

---

<sup>14</sup> Richard Hewlings, 'Women in the Building Trades 1600-1850: A Preliminary List', *Georgian Group Journal*, 10 (2000), 70–83.

<sup>15</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Eden Papers, Edw/3/1, Sarah Carr to Popplewell, 5<sup>th</sup> December, 1762

rejoices to hear you are better by Mr Gollup, I beg my best comts to Mrs Popelwell please to accept ye same from her who will ever conclude your sincere friend and humble servt.’

Further correspondence with Popplewell at Gawthorpe shows Sarah Carr’s further administrative support within the Practice, and she is clearly aware of her husband’s current projects ‘Jacke has bene out of town ever since ye last Friday, but I expect him every our but if he shod not send ye estimat in ye time you was pleasd to mension may he shall be not at home...’<sup>16</sup> Again the closeness between the Carr and Popplewell families is shown in Sarah Carr’s parting comment in the same letter: ‘I have nothing more to ad but my best comps to you and Mrs Popll not forgetting ye young ones’.

The evident support Sarah Carr provided to her husband does not appear in later relationships with other clients; Carr worked for the Rockingham and Fitzwilliam family for over 45 years and Sarah Carr is neither mentioned nor seen to be involved in any administrative role. Having successfully established himself in York, it is likely Carr relied solely on his professional, male, assistants working in the office attached to his home.

After the death without children of his wife Sarah, Carr became very close to his nieces, and a nephew became his heir. A further example of female support in his architectural practice comes from his niece Amelia Clark in 1800, writing to Wentworth Woodhouse Estate Steward Benjamin Hall, because ‘My Uncle from an inflammation in his eyes, is not able either to read or write...’ (See Appendix

---

<sup>16</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Eden Papers, Edw/3/1, Sarah Carr to Popplewell, Undated, 1762

2).<sup>17</sup> It is likely Carr was dictating to his niece, as evident in such phrases as he ‘bids me say...’ and ‘my Uncle agreed...’.

A more personal viewpoint is also expressed by Amelia Clark, however, who must therefore have had some understanding of not only the project in hand, but also building more generally ‘tell Sykes he might as well order the Great Stones for the new stair case landing, at Baks quarry as I think they will never be got at their quarry but he must judge of that him self’.<sup>18</sup> The letter discusses technical issues, such as those concerning roof trusses and king posts, and even if Carr was dictating the letter while ill, it does show some understanding by Clark. Amelia Clark was one of the nieces who accompanied Carr on his tours of England.<sup>19</sup>

In considering the third aspect - the female patronage of Carr - nine women directly commissioned Carr to undertake work on their behalf. Four were two sets of sisters. An examination of the archives of Carr’s patrons indicates that others, as wives - but not as mothers - did have input in the work paid for by their husbands, as suggested by Anne Lawrence.<sup>20</sup> An extreme example of how, in this case, women can be hidden from history behind male relatives is that of the Yarborough sisters at Campsmount Hall. A standard new five bay classical house was completed to the design of Carr for Thomas Yarborough in 1761. Later estate and farm buildings were designed by Carr built to an essentially classical design but with gothic details. This change in style threw up a conundrum in which writers, including Wragg, could not understand the change in design choice of

---

<sup>17</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (vi) 110, Amelia Clark to Benjamin Hall, 9<sup>th</sup> December 1800

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Sykes was the Wentworth Woodhouse Estate Steward.

<sup>19</sup> See: Myerscough.

<sup>20</sup> See Anne Lawrence.

Thomas Yarborough, and for this reason it was hard to date the new buildings.<sup>21</sup> Tom Connor in his article on the building of Campsmount for the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* tried to unravel this puzzle, but at no point even considered that Yarborough's two daughters may have commissioned this work after their father's death.<sup>22</sup> Only one brief reference to the answer exists in an archive unconnected to the Yarborough family. Carr wrote to his client John Grimston at Kilnwick Hall:

It was a very great mortification to me to be disappointed of the pleasure which I intended myself by waiting of you on the Monday after I had the honour of Dining with you at the York Tavern, but I could not refuse the request of two maiden ladies, Misses Yarborough of Camps Mount, who are going to put in execution a considerable design of mine and they by letter desired I would not fail to be with them that day since which I have only been two days of York...<sup>23</sup>

The obscuring of female involvement in architectural patronage is usually less definite, and more easily revealed. Successive châtelaines of Wentworth Woodhouse were involved in alterations in some way, glimpses of which can be seen in correspondence with Carr. Carr wrote to Estate Steward Benjamin Hall in 1784 'I have had a deal of luck today with my Lord about various things, and he has ordered Elwick to make the Table[,] a drawing of which I have given my Lord which he will show to Lady F.'<sup>24</sup> Having inherited Wentworth Woodhouse from his uncle, Lord Rockingham, only eighteen months previously, Lord Fitzwilliam undertook a number of minor alterations and redecoration to his family's new

---

<sup>21</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 124.

<sup>22</sup> Connor.

<sup>23</sup> East Riding of Yorkshire Archives, Grimston Papers, DDX 738/28, Carr to Grimston, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1779

<sup>24</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (iii) 57, Carr to Benjamin Hall, 19<sup>th</sup> January 1784



home. Although he is Carr's point of contact, Fitzwilliam's wife, Lady Charlotte Ponsonby whom he married in 1770, was clearly involved in this and other projects. Four years later, we see at her own request 'Lady Fitzwilliam desires you will immediately get put up an iron railing on the outside of her [Carr's emphasis] dressing room windows, there are two in the room - she is afraid as the windows are low down towards the floor that Ld Milton should get out of there.'<sup>25</sup> Lord Milton was the two year old Fitzwilliam heir and this shows the more practical elements of architectural patronage, as discussed in 'Chapter 6: Carr's Country House Setting'. As an aside to enable viewing of the landscape, Carr wrote to Hall in 1793:

Lady Fitzwilliam will have the end window of the Gallery all made new...The glass must come down to the plinth in all the three windows... ...and they will slide over the plinth – so that when my lady sits at that end she can open the side window first and look into the park... ...you must send immediately to the Wakefield joyner Mr Drew to come over... ...her Ladyship will have them now...<sup>26</sup>

Later correspondence from Lady Fitzwilliam to her husband in August 1803 indicates a rather apathetic attitude to current architectural projects as she writes '...I expect Mr Carr will be here soon. I don't have time to turn my head to any improvements, but as he is appointed, I trust that Milton and him will do it together.'<sup>27</sup> The Fitzwilliam heir Lord Milton was by this time 17. As discussed in 'Chapter 6: Carr's Country House Setting', the family papers show that Carr had

---

<sup>25</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (iii) 219, Carr to Benjamin Hall, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1788

<sup>26</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 178, Carr to Benjamin Hall, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1793

<sup>27</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F/128/43, Lady Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1803

taken on the role of architectural tutor to Milton. What is interesting is Lady Fitzwilliam's comment that she is busy, and does not have time to deal with Carr.

The rather negative attitude of Lady Fitzwilliam, possibly to disruption at home caused by major building projects, was expressed also by Ann Gossip to her husband William during construction work at Thorp Arch, when she wrote '...there has been no Mr Carr yet & I hope he will not come awhile but if he should I will do as well as I can.'<sup>28</sup> This shows an active involvement by Ann Gossip, who is clearly leading a project meeting with the architect in the absence of William Gossip. Two years earlier, after building had commenced, Ann Gossip wrote to her husband while on a shopping trip to York 'I am sorry the Bricklayer is gone again. I think they are all bewitched but don't come my Dear to worry yourself to death...'<sup>29</sup> At the outset of building, Ann Gossip showed positivity in a supporting role to her husband, the primary decision maker and contact with Carr, but is actively involved in project managing. In a subsequent letter discussing the health of their children, Ann wrote to William 'I am sorry to hear your business gos on so slowly its likely they will spin it out as long as they can as they know they must be well payd.'<sup>30</sup> This clearly establishes the building of Thorp Arch to the designs of Carr as William Gossip's project, and not Ann's.

A similar, if not slightly more involved role, is reflected in the correspondence between Lawrence Dundas and his wife Margaret Bruce. Dundas purchased the Aske Hall estate in Yorkshire from Lord Holderness in 1762, commissioning alterations and new stables from Carr the following year. During the purchase, Dundas wrote from their London home in Hill Street to his wife

---

<sup>28</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 23/1/78, Ann Gossip to William Gossip, 1752

<sup>29</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 11/4, 1750

<sup>30</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 11/4, 1750

Margaret, at their recently purchased Scottish home of Kerse Hall ‘...all my affairs with Lord Holderness will be finished soon, so by the time you come to Aske Hall you may take possession as your own.’<sup>31</sup> Within a week, Dundas was again writing from London to Margaret at the newly acquired Aske Hall:

I beg you will take time and look minutely through every part of the house to see what is wanted; some of the furniture is old and should be changed, particularly the Yellow Silk Drawing room below stairs, but everything of this sort I leave to your taste which is the best I ever met with.<sup>32</sup>

Letters between Lawrence and Margaret Dundas indicate an active involvement by Margaret in all of the couple’s architectural projects. However, although involved, Margaret Dundas is still being advised and guided by her husband and as this quote shows, Margaret’s role is one primarily concerned with interior spaces and decoration.

These projects were considerable and involved a number of architects including Carr, Robert Adam and Sir William Chambers. Correspondence between Lawrence and Margaret Dundas does indicate that Margaret was actively involved in dealing with these architects: from Aske Hall Dundas wrote to his wife at their home in Hill Street, Berkley Square ‘Please to leave orders concerning furniture for Arlington Street house and let me know what Mr Adams [Robert Adam] says about the time he imagines that it will be finished.’<sup>33</sup> This letter does not contain Lawrence’s orders, so the assumption must be made that the orders were to be Margaret’s or had been discussed previously with the couple

---

<sup>31</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/17, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1762

<sup>32</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/18, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1762

<sup>33</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, ZNK X1/2/29, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 4<sup>th</sup> August 1763

but left in the hands of Margaret. An earlier letter (Appendix 3) from Lawrence Dundas to Margaret about the alteration work at Kerse Hall again shows her managing the contractors 'I am glad you have ordered a man from Edinburgh to cassway [causeway] the court and the Common Stable.'<sup>34</sup> Soon after the purchase of their Scottish estate of Kerse Hall, Dundas wrote from Germany to his wife in London:

...and pray when you get to Kerse let me know everything about the place and what you do about the house. I would wish to have the dining room lined with timber in place of paper for I think a room for eating should be wainscoted in place of paper.<sup>35</sup>

However, this involvement is not solely limited to interiors. Two months later, following now lost correspondence regarding their plans for their new home at Kerse Hall, Dundas wrote to his wife:

I have been considering the plan you sent me of the stables and farm, and I think if the rooms that are intended for the dairy and the Grieves room were turned into two coach houses which could easily be done by giving them two large doors, this alteration would make the whole complete. As to the dairy I am of your opinion not to have it there.<sup>36</sup>

Whether these are drawings produced by Margaret, commissioned by Margaret, or merely forwarded by Margaret, we do not know, although the last sentence would indicate the plan had been *devised* by Margaret if not executed by her. Evidence of gendered space appears here: Lawrence is concerned with matters

---

<sup>34</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/12, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1760

<sup>35</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/7a, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1760

<sup>36</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/9, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1760

equine, and he leaves feminine pursuits such as the creation of the Dairy to Margaret.

Carr was not involved in the Dundas's work at Kerse Hall. Clearly Margaret Dundas was involved in the alterations to this, their first substantial house, as further letters between husband and wife show, such as that sent on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1760, (Appendix 3) in which Dundas closed 'You cannot give too many orders about the drains for keeping everything as dry as possible'.<sup>37</sup> The relationship between husband and wife was clearly affectionate and the couple worked well as a team in creating their homes. Lawrence gently chided Margaret in a letter sent from Aske Hall to Hill Street, Berkeley Square:

I am glad my dear wife can amuse herself with fitting up the house or in any other way but I often wish you were here and I hope you will set out about the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month for I cannot think of being alone any longer.<sup>38</sup>

Like Ann Gossip, Margaret Dundas clearly played an active role in plans concerning her homes. In contrast, Peter Leicester, completing 'his' house at Tabley to Carr's design in 1766, even used his wife's role completing the interiors as an excuse not to attend to business, writing to a neighbour 'Happily – my wife not being very well, and having a great deal to do in my house, prevents me going to the Assizes and have wrote an excuse to Mr Brooke...'<sup>39</sup>

Lady Fitzwilliam's predecessor at Wentworth Woodhouse, Mary Bright, Marchioness of Rockingham (1736-1802), also played a role in alterations to her

---

<sup>37</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/12, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1760

<sup>38</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, KNK X1/2/28, Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1763

<sup>39</sup> Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Leicester-Warren Papers, DLT 4996/28/6, Peter Leicester to Thomas Gorst, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1766

marital home. Elaine Chalus discussed the role Lady Rockingham had in promoting her husband's political career, much of which was centred on Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>40</sup> The couple married in 1752 when Mary Bright was 16 years old, and their correspondence indicates a close relationship. During the tenure of Lord and Lady Rockingham, Carr undertook minor alterations to the house and constructed the Stables and various estate buildings.

In December 1779 Carr wrote to Estate Steward Benjamin Hall about 'my Ladys chimneys at the conservatory'.<sup>41</sup> This again, however, could be considered a female space. Lady Rockingham's attention to this area was first recorded in 1775, when Carr wrote to Hall 'My Lady Rockingham has shown me your letter and the joyners orders for the plate glass for the window intended in the room behind the Conservatory which I must insist I cannot comprehend...'<sup>42</sup> Carr in this letter asked for clarification in order to avoid any misunderstanding when ordering Tommy the Joyner to undertake the glazing work required. In short '...he should draw the whole side of the room to show the door and windows and their height from the floor and distance from the ceiling immediately as her Ladyship for she wishes to comprehend it and I shall be gone before your letter comes...'

Following Lord Rockingham's death in July 1782 at the couple's rented house in Wimbledon, Lady Rockingham gave up the lease and bought Hillingdon House in Uxbridge for £9,000. Carr was not commissioned to undertake any work

---

<sup>40</sup> Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life C.1754-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), p. 72.

<sup>41</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (ii) 49, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1779

<sup>42</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (i) 152, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1775

at Hillingdon House, but did become a regular visitor on his trips to London, writing to Benjamin Hall in 1792

...I am setting out for London on Tuesday morning, and wish to call at your house to see what the workmen are doing, that I may be able to acquaint his Lordship of our proceedings and take Mrs Crofts respects to Lady Rockingham...<sup>43</sup>

After Lady Rockingham's death at Hillingdon House in 1805, Carr wrote to Benjamin Hall 'Permit me my dear affectionate friend, to lament and drop a tear with you in memory of our dear departed and much honoured and respected Lady Rockingham.'<sup>44</sup> This may have had as much to do with his own mortality, being 82 years old himself, as his fondness for a client for whom he ceased working over twenty years previously. Lady Rockingham left Hillingdon House to her stepsister Elizabeth Weddel, who had to vacate Newby Hall in Yorkshire after the death of her husband William Weddel with no direct heir in 1792.

Like Ladies Fitzwilliam and Rockingham, a third female patron for whom Carr worked features in documentary evidence relating primarily to her husband: the Duchess of Portland.

Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of William, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, married William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland in 1766, when she was 16 and he was 28. Carr worked consistently for the couple at their home at Welbeck Abbey. Unable to move into the Portland London house in Whitehall as the newly widowed Dowager Duchess of Portland refused to vacate, the couple rented Burlington House from the Duchess's brother, the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire.

---

<sup>43</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (iv) 92, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1792

<sup>44</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/StwP 6 (vii) 235, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1805

Soon after taking on Burlington House, alterations and redecoration was undertaken as the house had been neglected for a number of years since the death in 1754 of Charlotte Boyle, daughter of Lord Burlington and wife of the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire. The Duchess of Portland's Dressing Room was the first space completed, by July 1774 at a cost of £25 16s. 6 ½d., and her Drawing Room, which required a new ceiling, cornice and shutters at a cost of £100 was the second space completed by August 1775.<sup>45</sup>

Records of course do not show an active involvement by the Duchess of Portland in the practical work being carried out on space used primarily by her, aiding the incorrect assumption women were not involved as they were not paying the bills or communicating with the architect. However, the fact alterations to these two spaces were completed first show their importance to the couple.

Correspondence from the Duchess to her husband updating him on works being carried out at Burlington House again hints at not only an awareness of building projects, but an active involvement in their management: '...I am sorry to tell you that the chimney pieces will not be finished at least these two months which is a melancholy story.'<sup>46</sup> The Duchess is not mentioned in any correspondence concerning Welbeck, or in any letters to or from Carr, but as Anne Lawrence warns us, her lack of involvement must not be assumed because of it.

Further examples within archives relating to Carr that show hints of female involvement include that of Sarah Sorby, signing the order for 56,000 bricks on behalf of her husband Jonathan, a Trustee of the Hollis Hospital in

---

<sup>45</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/4/232/10, 1776, Bill of Works from Solomon Hudson

<sup>46</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Portland of Welbeck Papers, PwF 10681, Duchess of Portland to Duke of Portland, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1777



Sheffield;<sup>47</sup> Mrs Gossip we have seen before, but a more overt reference to her involvement is seen in a letter from her husband to Carr ‘...Mrs Gossip desires to know whether you could contrive her a fireplace or a boiler to be put in one of the north cellars’;<sup>48</sup> and her involvement again ‘...I think one may contrive a fire out of the Cellar under the Servants Hall if Mrs Gossip thinks it convenient...’;<sup>49</sup> and again Margaret Dundas at Aske Hall who is recorded as paying Robert Adam’s bills for work there and at Arlington Street, London, of £203 3s. 0d.<sup>50</sup>

These references indicating involvement in architectural projects are tantalisingly brief and are indicative of the problem facing researchers of women’s histories in that little archival evidence survives, and that which does can be interpreted as male dominated. But as we see here, a consistent thread shows the active involvement of women in architecture, if not in the actual relationship with Carr. Coupled with this, and as can be seen in Carr’s patronage, most of that which does survive relates to the social elite. It is also indicative of the differing personalities involved and those with a more passive role should not be seen as representative of women’s patronage as a whole. What we can glean from this is that architectural patronage was not a gendered binary activity, but rather a much more complex one with dual engagement.

Carr’s only direct commission for an aristocratic woman was an interior alteration of one room consisting of a new fireplace at Allerton Park. This was for Lady Frances Manners, daughter of 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Rutland, who had married the

---

<sup>47</sup> Sheffield Archives, Hollis Hospital Trust Papers, LD 1160, John Stacy Accounts, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1776

<sup>48</sup> West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 19/4, Letter Book of William Gossip, Gossip to Carr, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1750

<sup>49</sup> West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 11/4, Letter Book of William Gossip, Gossip to Carr, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1750

<sup>50</sup> North Yorkshire Archives, Northallerton, Zetland of Aske Papers, ZNK X1/7/23, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1766

Honourable John Arundell in 1732. As a widow, Lady Frances Arundell remained in her marital home of Allerton Park and in 1768 the work was commissioned from Carr. The bill was paid by Lady Arundell's nephew, William Monkton-Arundell, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Galway, who inherited the property from his aunt late in 1769. Galway's Bank Book shows a payment of £3 19s. 6d. in January of 1770 to 'Mr Carr for a marble hearth for the Drawing Room, a case for a man from York to lay it down, delivered in May 1768.'<sup>51</sup> The previous listing was a payment of £181 to cover the costs of Lady Arundell's funeral, and bequests as instructed in her will of £130 to her 13 servants, now surplus to requirements. The cost of laying the fireplace, if over a year out of date, was therefore good value for money, but raises the question about who commissioned it.

More often overlooked, however, are those women who fall into other social classes. Carr worked directly for two women representative of the mercantile class: Elizabeth Parkin and Mary Thompson.

Elizabeth Parkin inherited a cutlery factory in Sheffield from her uncle, William Parkin, in 1746. By her death in May 1766 her business empire had been expanded to include gunpowder works in Bristol and a merchant fleet trading with St Petersburg in Russia, Amsterdam and the Baltic states.<sup>52</sup> Upon her death, these businesses were left to Walter Osborne, husband of her cousin Mary Laughton.<sup>53</sup> In her will Elizabeth Parkin stipulated that all her assets left to Walter Osborne should be shared upon his death equally between all his children, male and female. Walter Osborne is recorded as living in Parkin's town house in Sheffield, and is therefore likely to have been actively involved in Parkin's businesses

---

<sup>51</sup> Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Monkton-Arundell Papers, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Galway's Bank Book, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1770

<sup>52</sup> Sheffield Archives, Osborne Business Papers, OR 3, Trade Ledgers, 1760s

<sup>53</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/4/2, Will dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1766

during her lifetime, which continued to be centred in the city. Parkin left a life interest in the Sheffield town house to Osborne. A William Osborne appears in the Ravenfield Parish Register of Burials dated April 1758 indicating a possible link between the two families and active involvement in the area prior to Osborne inheriting the estate.<sup>54</sup> The same Parish Register records Elizabeth Parkin as ‘A Spinster, Lady of the Manor’.

Parkin’s estate at Ravenfield was purchased from George Westby in 1750 for £28,000 with a very small mortgage of only £1800.<sup>55</sup> Three months later, an Article of Agreement was signed confirming the patronage of the Chapel of St James, Ravenfield, on the new ‘Lord of the Manor of Ravenfield’, Elizabeth Parkin.<sup>56</sup> By the same document, Parkin not only agreed to support the Curate with the suggested annual stipend of £8, but offered to double it. Parkin also agreed to pay £200 for repairs to the building, forcing the diocese to match it. Contracts with leaseholders renting land around her home detail her rights to access the church; that of 1752 with John Lambert who rented two farms included the clause ‘that she can fence in the footway from her garden through the church yard to the chapel, and further have the right of a coach road at all times from the south park gate leading directly to the said chapel.’<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Ravenfield Parish Register of Burials 1700-1799

<sup>55</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/15, Conveyance Documents dated 19<sup>th</sup> May 1750

<sup>56</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Article of Agreement, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1750

<sup>57</sup> Sheffield Archives, Osborne Business Papers, OR 17, 1752

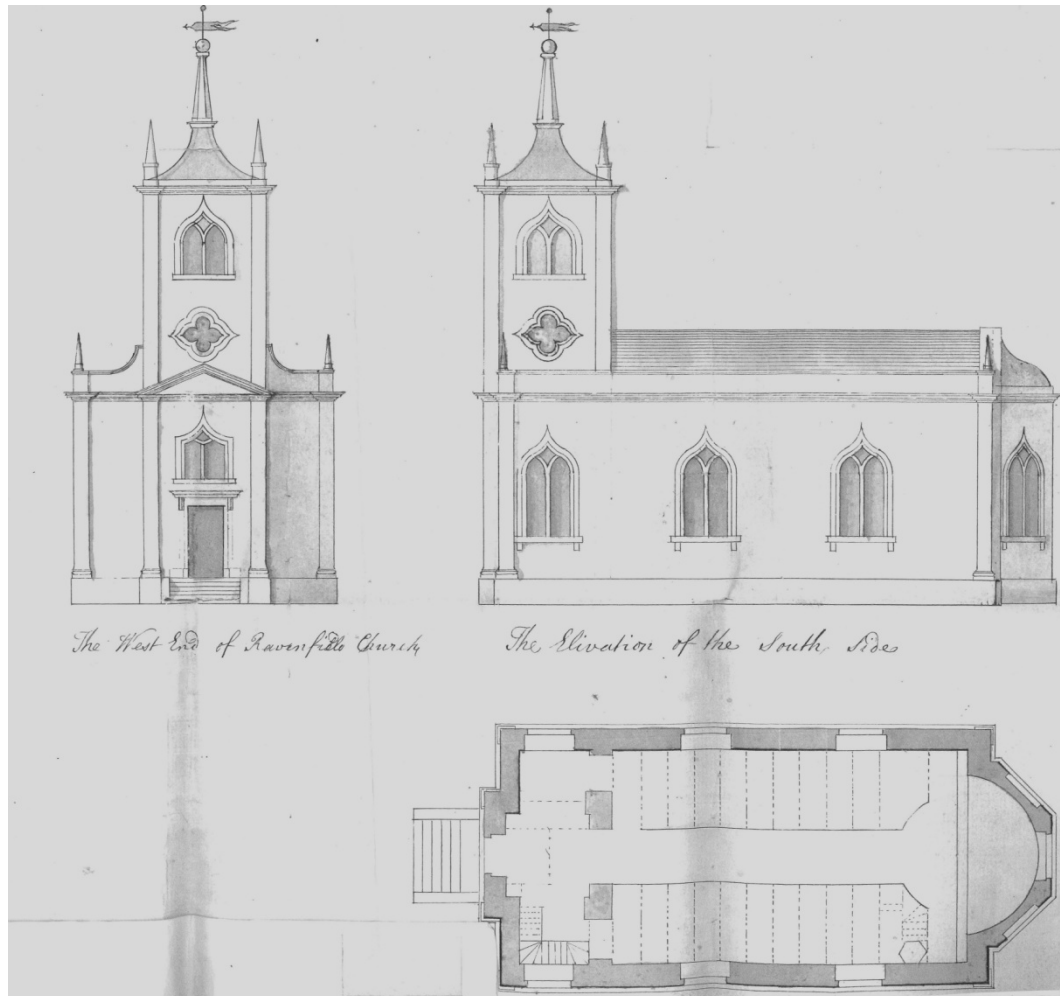


Illustration 25 - St James's Church, Ravenfield, by John Carr, 1756

Within five years, Parkin proposed to replace the existing church, that ‘through length of time became decayed and ruinous’ with a new building designed by Carr.<sup>58</sup> Carr’s design for the church was submitted along with Parkin’s Petition to the Diocese of York in April 1756 in her position as Lady of the Manor.<sup>59</sup> ‘Satisfied with her good and pious intentions and having taken the

<sup>58</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Articles of Agreement, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1756

<sup>59</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Articles of Agreement, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1756

premises into their consideration' wrote the officials of York, they agreed to Parkin's proposals and Carr's designs.<sup>60</sup>



Illustration 26 - St James's Church, Ravenfield, by John Carr, 1756

Not only an early ecclesiastical building of Carr's, but also an early commission of his generally, St James Ravenfield consists of three simple elements: a rectangular nave; a bay window similar to Carr's later domestic designs enclosing an apse containing the altar; and a simple square tower above the single, central entrance. The whole building sits upon a plinth, from which spring on each corner a Tuscan pilaster, supporting a cornice. These are also applied to the four corners of the tower, the front face of which protrudes from the centre of the end façade. An applied pediment rising from the cornice protects the ogee arched window below, and the square topped door beneath that. Each of the

---

<sup>60</sup> Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Articles of Agreement, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1756

Tuscan pilasters is topped with a finial, and the tower itself is capped with a Chinese effect spire. Beneath the bell openings on each side of the tower are blind quatrefoils. Each of the ground floor windows is supported on a cornice resting on two corbels.

Gothick motifs have been added to a classical design that clearly draws more on the gothic of such churches as Hartwell of three years earlier, or Lacock Abbey completed the previous year, rather than the classical idiom popular with Hawksmoor and Gibbs and practised by Carr elsewhere, such as his Church of the Holy Rood, Ossington (1782) or St Peter's, Horbury (1791). These neo-Classical designs, however, were created by Carr over thirty years later. When working on an existing building, such as St Peter's, Sheffield (1772), or York Minster (1770 and 1794); Carr was always sympathetic to the existing structure and blended his later additions with the existing structure.

This design, however, is an early essay in Batty Langley's gothick. Carr owned a copy of Langley's *Ancient Architecture* (1742) as indicated by surviving drawings in the Soane Museum, set as an exercise by Carr to one of his pupils. It is likely therefore that other Langley publications featured in Carr's library. Carr was not archaeological in his approach to gothick design, but merely applied various motifs in the same way that his peers did. It is unlikely the ideas of Horace Walpole influenced Carr. Walpole's first alterations at Strawberry Hill were completed three years prior, in 1753, and several people, such as William Mason, and Lords Holderness and Harcourt were mutual friends of both Walpole and Carr. Walpole commissioned work from two of York's artists, Fisher the sculptor and Peckett the stained glass artist, and must therefore have been aware of Carr, but never mentioned him.

We saw with Lucy Worsley's proposal concerning Lady Oxford at Welbeck a woman emphasising her lineage through architecture, drawing on several historical styles seen by Worsley as no longer fashionable during the 1740s. Similarly, Elizabeth Parkin, although an arriviste, is also creating and establishing a history for herself, while at the same time, re-enforcing her own religious beliefs. Financial support of the church through both an annual stipend and design and construction of a building implies a strong level of piety.

Beyond the realm of the private and familial, female patronage did exist in the context of the church. As a reflection of piety, therefore, it could also provide a public means of promotion for self and family. Cynthia Lawrence's authored book *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe* discussed this when considering the patronage of Jeanne d'Evreaux who commissioned effigies of herself and her husband that are of equal size; Margaret of Austria appropriated a Flemish Gothic style emphasising her own status as a Burgundian princess; Catherine de Medici adopted iconography for the tomb she shared with her husband that underscored her role as queen regent.<sup>61</sup> Jennifer Germann explored Anne of Austria's role in recreating the church of Val-de-Grace, celebrating both the Virgin Mary and her own role as mother to Louis XIV, when formerly believed to be infertile.<sup>62</sup>

This must be borne in mind when exploring Elizabeth Parkin's church of St James's in Ravenfield. As with these elite female architectural patrons, Parkin is perhaps following an established tradition of female patronage expressed

---

<sup>61</sup> See: Carla Lord, 'Jeanne D'Everaux as a Founder of Chapels', pp. 21-36; Alexandra Carpino, 'Margaret of Austria's Funerary Complex at Brou', pp. 37-52; and Sheila ffolliot, 'The Ideal Queenly Patron of the Renaissance', pp. 99-110, in Lawrence, Cynthia. *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania State University, 1991).

<sup>62</sup> See Jennifer G Germann, 'The Val-de-Grace as a Portrait of Anne of Austria: Queen, Queen Regent, Queen Mother', in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, by Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

through the safe and respectable medium of religion. Unlike those women discussed by Lawrence's authors and Germann, however, Parkin is not competing with the image of a spouse or son, but could however be emphasising her historic links with the area. Unlike our 'women worthies', Parkin is not eulogising her paternal line or its inherited wealth.

Seven Parkin relatives are buried from 1703 in the churchyard of St James. Elizabeth's place of birth is unknown, but it is possible that she returned to what we can assume is her home village of Ravenfield from Sheffield, bought the local estate and embarked on a building programme that included a new church.<sup>63</sup> Parkin built Ravenfield Church to a design by Carr and although unproven, it is believed locally that Carr also designed her new country house of Ravenfield Hall, later altered by him for Walter Osborne.<sup>64</sup> The location of the new church, although on the site of the existing building, is on the edge of the village of Ravenfield and the building itself sits upon a promontory, ensuring the building becomes a feature of the wider landscape. This is emphasised by Carr's use of the finials which add to the skyline of the building. As a landscape designer, Langley's early publications focused primarily on landscape structures, and it is possible Parkin's church is seen as part of this concept, rather than an attempt to create a non-existent history. Even in works concerned with spiritual or dynastic issues, there is often a personal agenda.

Carr also designed a town house at 47 Bootham, York, for Mrs Mary Thompson (née Moor) after the death in 1742 of her husband Edward Thompson. Very little evidence survives and Wragg based his assertion of Carr's involvement

---

<sup>63</sup> Ravenfield Parish Register of Burials 1700-1799

<sup>64</sup> Sheffield Archives, Osborne Business Papers, OR 11, Building Accounts, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1771



on the later writings of his assistant Richard Atkinson, although stylistically the house stands out in the row as being more accomplished in design. In his thesis, Wragg briefly noted the commission for a Mr Thompson, but added it ‘seemed probable’ it was actually for his wife Mary, as her initials appear on the rainwater head.<sup>65</sup> Edward Thompson was from a well established Yorkshire family of wine merchants, who held estates in Escrick. Edward represented York at Westminster from 1722 to his death and held office as Commissioner of Land Revenue in Ireland, possibly under the patronage of Lord Burlington, and as a Lord of the Admiralty. Less is known of Mary Moor of Oswaldkirk, who married Edward after the separation and eventual divorce of Edward and his first wife, Arabella, in 1734.<sup>66</sup>

Mary and Edward’s daughter, also Mary, died aged eight in 1747, five years after her father. In her father’s will, he had left everything to his daughter, and after their daughter’s death, Mrs Mary Thompson was forced to fight her husband’s relatives legally to benefit in any way from her husband’s wealth.<sup>67</sup> Edward’s relatives settled £5000 on his widow in 1748.<sup>68</sup> Tindale Thompson, a younger brother of Edward Thompson and sole surviving male relative, stood to gain most from the court case. Neither Mary Thompson nor her brother-in-law was present to sign the legal settlement in person, both relying on witnesses indicating an acrimonious relationship. This capital payment therefore funded the townhouse in York designed by Carr, which was started almost upon settlement in 1748 and was completed by 1752.

---

<sup>65</sup> Wragg, ‘The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect’, p. 2, Vol 2.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. (London: The Compiler, 1874), III, p. 372.

<sup>67</sup> Public Records Office, Prob 11/724, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1742

<sup>68</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, Thompson Papers, C505/1, 28<sup>th</sup> September 1748



Illustration 27 - 47 Bootham, York, by John Carr, 1752

The house is a simple three storey block above a deep semi-basement consisting of four bays, the whole topped with a pyramidal roof resting on a cornice. The front door, with a square light above, is topped with a cornice supported by two corbels. Unsupported cornices adorn the ground and first floor windows, with plain attic windows above. Carr often used stringcourses in urban facades, and has done so beneath the ground and first floors. The proportions are harmonious, creating an elegant façade superior to that of the later domestic buildings to each side.

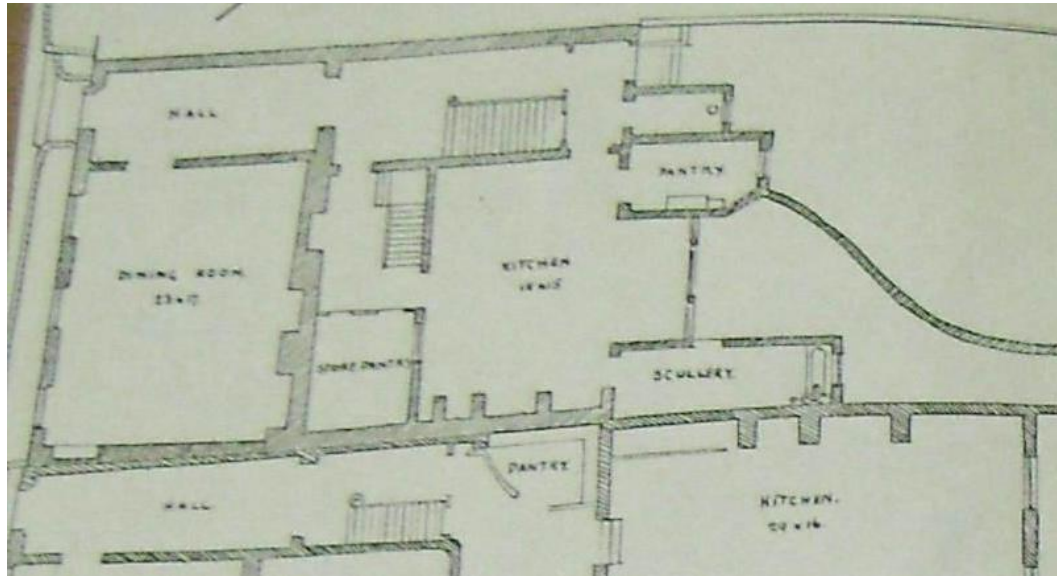


Illustration 28 - 47 Bootham, York, by John Carr, 1752. Floor Plan of 1840s

The layout of the house built for Thompson as a single woman after the death of her husband is that of a standard eighteenth-century townhouse. A simple hallway leads through to a stair hall at the rear climbing one floor. To the front of the ground floor facing the street is the dining room. Between this and the kitchen behind is a store room and service stair rising up two floors to the attic. A full width reception room faces the street on the first floor, as is usual, with a large bedroom behind facing the rear garden with a small closet off also accessed by the service stairs. Four further rooms on the top floor were accessed by the service stairs. As a widowed lady of independent means and with no surviving children, this house would have served the needs of Mary Thompson well.

Several gentlewomen are represented in Carr's patronage including the Charlton sisters at Staunton Hall and Jane Turner. Jane Turner, née Marwood, inherited Busby Hall from her Grandfather Sir Henry Marwood. After the death of her husband Chomley Turner in 1757, Jane returned to Busby Hall and commissioned Carr to provide designs for a new house after her marital home at Kirkleatham was inherited by her husband's nephew Sir Charles Turner. Carr

went on to considerably alter and extend Kirkleatham for Chomley's nephew during the 1760s and 1770s.

Estate papers show that while living Jane's husband paid for the maintenance of his wife's home at Busby Hall, including labour costs and Land Tax. He also received the income from his wife's estate.<sup>69</sup> A Statement of Documents held in the Turner papers show a Marriage Settlement of 25<sup>th</sup> May 1709 between Chomley Turner and Jane Marwood, although the settlement itself does not survive.<sup>70</sup> This could perhaps establish the terms under which Chomley took control of his wife's estate during his own lifetime, although his conduct regarding his wife's former assets was standard practice.

In his own will, dated 1752, Chomley left to 'Jane, his loving wife' all her jewels, and the household plate not allocated elsewhere, along with all her books, pictures and chattels 'in and around my house of Little Busby'.<sup>71</sup> Under the terms of the will, Jane was also eligible to choose any books and bedding from 'his' house at Kirkleatham, along with seven coach horses, five saddle horses, a coach and his chaise. Although passing the bulk of his estate on to his nephew, Chomley was ensuring the security and comfort of his wife Jane, although in referring to Busby Hall as 'my' he is forgetting that Jane brought it to the marriage.

Within months of the death of her husband, Jane commissioned Carr to undertake a survey of the existing Busby Hall, and to propose a new offices wing, alterations to the main block, and a new elevation to the main façade. The design is contemporary with the applied gothick of St James, Ravenfield, and yet the

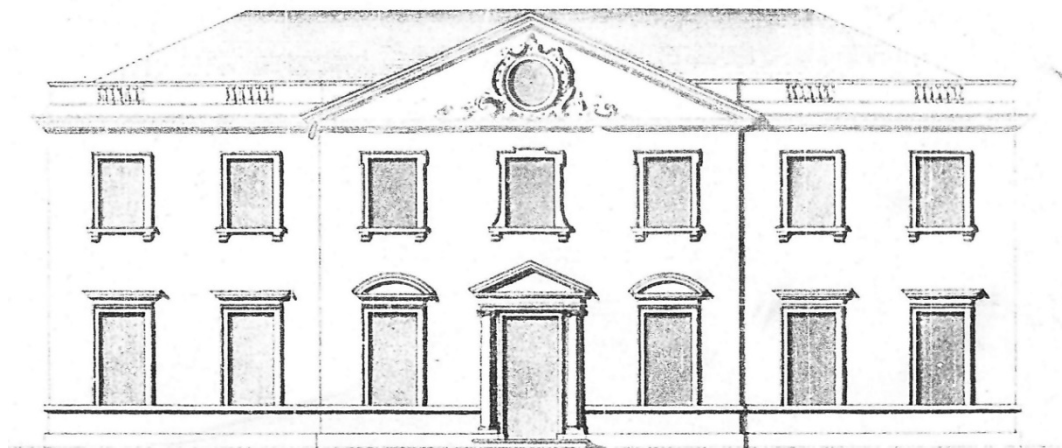
---

<sup>69</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Kirkleatham Papers, ZK 6564 (Mic 1252) 1739-1756 Account Books

<sup>70</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Kirkleatham Papers, ZK 11,492 (Mic 1341), Undated, Statement of Documents

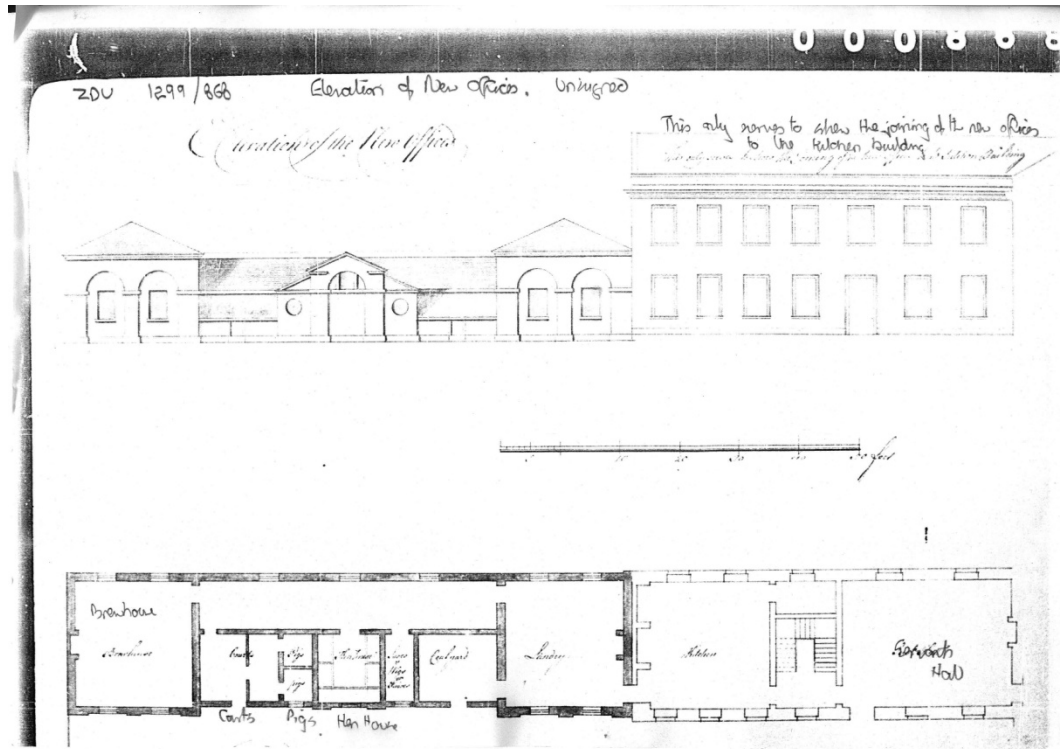
<sup>71</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner Papers, ZDU 48, (Mic1305)

architectural vocabulary is markedly different. The main façade as designed by Carr hints at more traditional classical elements, possibly drawing on Lord Burlington's influence. Carr's work at Kirby Hall to the design of Lord Burlington and Roger Morris for Stephen Thompson, had only been completed two years prior to Jane Turner's commission at Busby. The strongest Burlingtonian influence is the sweeping architrave to the central window above the front door. Used by Carr at Arncliffe Hall, Heath Hall and Kirkleatham Church, it contributes to the modern assumption that Carr was a second-generation Palladian. However, Carr ceased using the motif by the 1760s after using it only a few times.



**Illustration 29 - Busby Hall, by John Carr, 1757**

Carr, ever the practical and economic designer, retained the existing structure, merely infilling one corner at the junction of the kitchen wing, to create a 73 feet main façade.



**Illustration 30 - Busby Hall, Design for Domestic Offices, by John Carr, 1757**

This façade is of two storeys of seven bays, with a three bay pedimented breakfront in the centre. The pediment houses a Rococo cartouche adorning an oculus. The whole is topped with a parapet, punctuated with balusters on the roofline above the fenestration. The three ground floor breakfront openings are topped with alternating triangular and segmental pediments, popular with early Palladians and following in a Jonesian tradition.

Carr's proposal for the office wing is relatively artistic, adjoining and extending the existing but altered kitchen wing. The centre, topped with a broken pediment, comprises a hen house, with a Brewhouse and Laundry in the two bay pavilions at each end. The whole is redolent of Carr's later stable designs.

Unfortunately for Carr, his design was not accepted. Perhaps it was considered too extravagant by Turner, who instead commissioned the Turner family carpenter Robert Corney, who had worked on the church and hospital at

Kirkleatham. Corney's design however, bore a remarkable similarity to Carr's but was reduced to five bays with a central entrance door in the form of a Serliana. Matters of economy may have influenced Turner's decision, as in 1760 Turner was presented by Richard Richardson with a leather bound volume consisting of 113 pages of surveys of all her estates at Little Busby, listing rental income.<sup>72</sup>

The second gentry representatives are Emma and Anne Charlton. As we saw in the previous chapter, within one month of inheriting their father's estate at Staunton Hall, Emma and Anne set about improving their inheritance. Carr undertook alterations to their home over the following two years, financed by a mortgage of £2400 finally paid off in 1794, in a document still referring to Emma and Ann Charlton 16 years after his death as 'Spinsters and Heiresses of their Father, Job.'<sup>73</sup>

Anne Lawrence stated that women were more likely to choose to build in Gothic styles when classicism was the style of the moment.<sup>74</sup> Lawrence follows a traditional architectural historical view and defines these two styles as 'innovative' and 'conservative'. Lawrence states the reason for this stylistic choice may well be less to do with feminine taste, but more to do with why many women embarked on building projects: to commemorate their paternal line in particular but their heritage in general. This assumption can be borne out by the work of Lucy Worsley and Chew. However, in the case of Carr's examples here this is not the case: Jane Turner's Rococo design for her home, and Elizabeth Parkin's Batty Langley inspired gothick church paid for by new money, both contradict Lawrence's proposal.

---

<sup>72</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner Papers, ZDU 82, (Mic 1294/2014-2127), 1760, Survey of Estates

<sup>73</sup> DD/S/9/34, Indenture, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1794

<sup>74</sup> Anne Lawrence, p. 302.

Women's experience differed according to male imposed categories such as class and, according to Merry Wiesner, historians are now uncomfortable talking about the 'status of women'.<sup>75</sup> Within this study, masculine assumptions of class have been applied to women, which in and of itself is problematic. It is easy to view women only as victims of oppression, as Lucy Worsley did in her article exploring the architectural alterations at Welbeck Abbey by Lady Oxford and as does Jennifer Germann's discussion on Anne of Austria's building at Menschel.

This goes hand in hand with issues around class generally; as we have seen, existing women's histories of architecture focus on the elite, which is premised more on the availability of documentary evidence which tended to survive in the case of these families. This is certainly the case with Ladies Rockingham, Fitzwilliam and Portland. This documentary evidence also obscures the involvement of these elite women in architectural histories, as suggested by Anne Lawrence. However, closer examination of these surviving documents shows that these women were involved in architectural patronage at both inception and management but had been hidden behind the role of their husbands. This chapter shows that rather than a gendered binary activity, architectural consumption within a marriage was often a joint activity and is therefore much more complex than assumed by previous writers. The related cultural elitism also fails to elicit the positive and essential way in which other - non-aristocratic - women, such as Elizabeth Parkin, Mary Thompson and Jane Turner, have functioned in histories of architecture as architectural consumers.

---

<sup>75</sup> Wiesner, p. 5.



Thus, Carr's work for women can elucidate three elements when considering the development of the profession of architect during the eighteenth-century.

Firstly, it can show not only the range and type of building commissioned by women, including a church, a town house and a country house, but also the alternative works undertaken by a practising architect during this period, which included surveying, alteration and renovation of existing buildings.

Secondly, it can show the motivations behind women commissioning such work from an eighteenth-century architect which may not necessarily be led by concepts of fashion, or the Grand Tour, but by comfort and personal statement. Women, as did men, used architecture to make statements to a wider audience about their wealth, ancestry, social aspirations, taste and religious piety.

Thirdly, we can establish that women were more included in architectural patronage than previously assumed by writers of architectural histories, but that they had often been obscured by their husbands' histories. Indeed, as we have seen, as an activity architectural commissioning and overseeing was often undertaken by both, emphasising the complexity of architectural histories. The documentary evidence relating to Carr's female patronage shows the ability of women to direct builders, manage money and control the other practical details that go with architectural patronage.

In the next chapter, I examine a further aspect of the architectural profession also more usually overlooked - that of the architect as a surveyor.

## Chapter 5 – Carr’s Role

At a Georgian Group Symposium in 1990 exploring Georgian architectural practice, Giles Worsley opened his paper entitled ‘Architect As Surveyor’ with the statement ‘Surveying may not have a glamorous image...’, but concluded however that ‘...it was a key part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century architect’s life.’<sup>1</sup>

This is a bold and accurate statement regarding what Worsley described as ‘dull’ but very little research has been done since on this important feature of the eighteenth-century architect’s role. Indeed it is dismissed as secondary by modern writers of architectural histories, as I will outline. This chapter will explore the various aspects of surveying that were an integral part of the eighteenth-century architect’s role, therefore dispelling this established view. The Architects’ Club, founded in 1792 and of which Carr was a member, focused its attention shortly after its founding on the important aspect of surveying within the architect’s role, and this will be briefly reviewed before an exploration of Carr’s surveying work is undertaken.

In his paper, Worsley established the professional role of the surveyor as one who assists in the control of property, in particular overseeing the erection of new buildings and the maintenance of old constructions. A key part of this role was the working out of dimensions, whether of an undeveloped plot of land, an urban site or of an individual building.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for which these dimensions were required as part of the control and management of a property varied: regular maintenance; valuation for sale, purchase or fee payment; and development.

---

<sup>1</sup> Giles Worsley, ‘The Architect as Surveyor’, in *Georgian Architectural Practice*, by Giles Worsley (Georgian Group, 1991), pp. 39–44.

<sup>2</sup> Worsley, ‘The Architect as Surveyor’, p. 39.

Carr's work as an architect in each of these three aspects of surveying will be examined in detail, therefore establishing it as an important part of the role of an eighteenth-century architect.

To give focus on so large a subject, Worsley in his paper explored the work of two surveyors that he felt were typical and well documented: Stiff Leadbetter (c.1705-66), a builder based in London and Eton with an extensive country house practice in the Thames Valley and later Surveyor of St Paul's Cathedral; and John Johnson (1732-1814), County Surveyor of Essex also based in London, with a large country house practice in Essex. This was an innovative exploration by Worsley, but one in which he still maintained an established hierarchy. Worsley's paper may well have been served better under the title 'Surveyors as Architect' as the architectural practice of both men - itself focusing on the country house - was an aside to their main role as builder and surveyor respectively. Worsley's research did not focus on those architects considered canonical, such as George Dance, Sir William Chambers or Sir John Soane, all fellow members along with Carr of the Architects Club. Are we then to assume that such architects were not involved in surveying work? Or was Worsley avoiding 'tarnishing' their reputations with such a role? A brief examination of the archives disproves the former. If these architects were, in fact, involved in surveying, must continued exploration of the work of these great men focus solely on their grand architectural schemes and not the activities involved within the wider architectural profession?

John Summerson, himself Curator of the John Soane Museum and perhaps therefore influenced by the careers of both Soane and Adam, reinforced this attitude when he wrote in *Georgian London* that 'one of the chief single factors in

the descent [of taste and competence] was the loss of status on the part of the architect in his capacity as “surveyor”.<sup>3</sup> An examination of the archives relating to both the Architects Club and Carr is at odds with our modern interpretation of the status of the surveying architect as being of less value; this therefore would lead us to question the veracity of Summerson’s statement that the focus on surveying meant taste and competence were compromised. It is likely Summerson reached this conclusion as the practice of surveying had little impact on style, which was his focus as a historian. In discussing the role of surveyor to the great London estates, Summerson described this type of work as ‘bread and butter’, which, within fifty years of Carr’s death in 1807, had become in our author’s view separated from the ‘art’ of the Victorian gothicists.

John Wilton-Ely discussed this dichotomy and claimed the formation of the architectural profession was resultant on two points: the intellectual change from medieval to modern, and the change from an agrarian to a capital-based society.<sup>4</sup> Summerson’s suggestion that issues of style and taste only are concerned with the architectural profession; a re-reading of the documentary evidence shows that surveying was also an important aspect of this commercial role.

Wilton-Ely’s idea is evident in the writing of others on the subject, and all outline the evolution of the profession in a similar way: from medieval mason acting as part of a larger team to professional artist in control of an established office, and this is borne out by our knowledge of Carr and his contemporaries. While correct, this interpretation also privileges the grand and classical; it also obscures other aspects of the profession such as surveying, maintenance, and the

---

<sup>3</sup> John Summerson, *Georgian London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> Wilton-Ely, p. 181 ff.

construction of the mundane such as workers cottages, melon houses, kitchens and summer houses, and the installation of water closets, all of which Carr undertook.

Canonical architects such as Adam and Soane are seen to have contributed towards the construct of the profession of architect primarily through their large London based drawing offices producing commercially popular designs on a large scale. They also generated publications disseminating their own ideas, usually during lean times by way of self-promotion. This large scale production and self-publicity, much of which survives, influenced later researchers, all of whom came to see this as the norm.<sup>5</sup> Carr, with his small office in York, was equally prodigious, staffed only by one or two clerks possibly undergoing some kind of training, and sometimes assisted by his wife Sarah with correspondence. He offers an alternative to architectural training offered by the Office of the King's Works and the commercial production of 'taste'.

The unknown author of *An Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect* of 1773 set out to elucidate for the reader the difference between an architect and a surveyor. The anonymous author of this publication felt it was necessary following the public reaction to the Surveyor of Newgate Prison, George Dance the Younger, proposing the use of Portland stone for the prison's construction. The unknown author was highly critical, writing 'The words architect and surveyor are, with many persons, who do not consider the essential difference, synonymous terms.'<sup>6</sup> In the introduction, the author set out the aim of

---

<sup>5</sup> See the extensive material on Adam, including that by Arthur Bolton, Alistair Rowan, Elaine Harris, James Lees-Milne, Geoffrey Beard, Alan Tait, Stephen Astley, et. al., and on Soane by Tim Knox, Elaine Harris, Dorothy Stroud, Arthur Bolton, Alan Tait and Elaine Harris. Of note is that some authors appear in both lists.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown Author, p. 34.

the book to ‘...acquaint the public with what is to be expected from an architect (properly so called) as well as from Surveyors of Buildings in general and how improperly the term architect is frequently applied and assumed.’<sup>7</sup> When applied to histories of architecture, this confusion continues, enabling unnecessary elitism to be applied between the two roles. Practically, the author discussed the topography of the building site, access to road, water supplies and drainage. Aesthetically, according to the author, an architect, in the absolute sense of the word, means ‘...namely, one that professes the art of building in all its various branches, when thinking about the beauty of the building.’<sup>8</sup> To conclude his discussion, our unknown author wrote ‘he who does not come up to this standard, should rather style himself a Surveyor.’<sup>9</sup> Summerson, in forming his own view of the eighteenth-century architect, was able to draw on this; however, it is recognised that this anonymous author had set out to be highly critical of George Dance the Younger in his role of Surveyor.

Throughout *Essay on Qualifications of an Architect*, however, the discussion is, as with Giles Worsley’s examination of Leadbetter and Johnson, around the Surveyor who undertakes architecture and is generally found wanting in that secondary role. This is in contrast, however, to those such as Carr, Soane, Smirke and others, who as architects undertook the role of Surveyor.

The Architects Club proved a major advance in the organisation of the architectural profession when formed in 1792, and through a complicated route developed eventually into the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1834. Early

---

<sup>7</sup> Unknown Author, p. iii.

<sup>8</sup> Unknown Author, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Unknown Author, p. 23.

discussions within the newly formed professional body focused intently on surveying.

Henry Holland, James Wyatt and George Dance dined together on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1791 at the Thatched House Tavern in Great Queen Street and considered it expedient to establish a club, to come together at its inaugural meeting on the 28<sup>th</sup> October. Holland recorded a list of those architects they desired to include as members, including Sir William Chambers, Richard Norris, Robert Brettingham, Robert Adam, Richard Jupp, Thomas Sandby and John Soane.<sup>10</sup> Initially created as an informal dining club meeting once a month in the same venue, they met for ‘the better carrying on the enquiries referred to the committee’ which in the first instance concerned fireproofing: ‘The causes of the frequent fires within the limits of the Act of the 14<sup>th</sup> of George the Third, for the further and better regulating of buildings and party walls &c.’<sup>11</sup>

Members had to be a Royal Academician, Associate or Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, or a member of the Academies of Rome, Parma, Florence or Paris. A practical organisation unconcerned with issues of style, its founding members included canonical architects traditional histories have promulgated. John Carr became an Honorary Member as he did not reside in London, a requirement of membership. Nicholas Revett and James Gandon were also voted in the following year as honorary members for the same reason.<sup>12</sup> A strict procedure involving nomination and secret ballot was required in order for other members to become eligible to join.<sup>13</sup> As, initially, the only member not resident

---

<sup>10</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/1/1, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1791

<sup>11</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/2, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1792

<sup>12</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/1/2, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1791

<sup>13</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/1/2, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1791

in London this indicates the desire of the group to include Carr whose professional practices and design work would have been identified as meriting his membership.

Although primarily an informal dining club, very quickly members were meeting to define the profession and qualifications of an architect, and the Club's Secretary, Henry Holland, kept notes of the meetings in his diary. In his own diary, Soane wrote of having told a fellow member that the Architects Club would not last long as the members were too much in a state of rivalry.<sup>14</sup> Robert Mylne writing to Holland in 1795 disagreed with Soane's view, stating 'from the nature of our profession, we must have matters of dispute and contest, with one another in the wide world. And disputes whet spirits, as well as talents.'<sup>15</sup> In the same letter, Mylne bewailed the fact 'Time begins to thin our ranks, and it is really a pity, and to be sincerely lamented; the only meeting of Gentlemen of the art of building, which brought all of worth and merit together...' Carr was clearly then seen as a fellow gentleman of the art of building, of worth and merit, who lost status in the eyes of later writers of architectural histories primarily because he did not fit within their narratives.

The role of surveying is evident within the careers of other architectural practitioners, and indeed, even within the archives relating to Carr we can see hints and examples relating to other architects, including both Henry Flitcroft and Robert Mylne: 'Paid Mr Flitcroft a yrs salary for surveying the works at Milton, due Christmas 1750 £70 0s. 0d.'<sup>16</sup> Working for 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, father of Carr's patron, at Milton where he had rebuilt the south front and remodelled the

---

<sup>14</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/1/7/4, Mylne to Holland, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1795

<sup>16</sup> Northampton Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton, F (M) Misc Vol 156, 1751



interior, Flitcroft had also nearly completed his work for Fitzwilliam's brother-in-law, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Rockingham, at Wentworth Woodhouse.

Fellow Architects Club member Mylne appears in the Portland of Welbeck papers, although he only designed and built a bridge in the park at Welbeck for the Duke of Portland in 1767, perhaps based on the success of his Blackfriars Bridge design. Following the death of Stiff Leadbetter in 1766, Mylne wrote to the Duke concerning the now vacant post of Surveyor to St Paul's Cathedral

I have done myself the honour to write him, and to offer myself a candidate for the office. I have presumed that your Grace having an intimacy with that family, may have the goodness to recommend me to his Lordship on this occasion.<sup>17</sup>

The appointment was in the power of the Dean of St Paul's, Dr Hume, brother of the Archbishop of York and friend to Portland. Mylne's solicitous letter proved successful as he was appointed to the post.

Perhaps based on the success of this, Mylne again wrote from his office at Blackfriars Bridge to the Duke of Portland in his role as Lord Chamberlain to request the post of 'Surveyor of His Majesty's Palaces and Houses in Scotland', lately vacated by the death of the previous post-holder, for which Mylne

...humbly prays that your Lordship would be so good to take the same into consideration, and recommend him to his Majesty as a fit person to fill the said trust.<sup>18</sup>

Evidence of more practical surveying work undertaken by Mylne exists: in 1785 he received payment for examining the painting completed by Charles Schofield

---

<sup>17</sup> Nottingham, Portland Papers of Welbeck, PwF 7100, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1766, Robert Mylne to Duke of Portland,

<sup>18</sup> Nottingham, Portland Papers of Welbeck, PwF 7095, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1794, Robert Mylne to The Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury,

for the Royal College of Physicians,<sup>19</sup> and two years earlier he presented a report on the state of Newcastle Bridge, writing it was ‘sound, and advises a little repointing between high and low water mark’.<sup>20</sup>

While the function of surveyor may have been different to that of the title of Surveyor, held by Mylne, and in the case of the Office of Works by other architects such as Wren and Jones, others clearly viewed the two as similar. Again in another letter to the Duke of Portland, Mylne explained how he ‘was consulted in the way of his profession, by the Millers at Uxbridge, to survey for a canal from the River Colne, linking it with Marylebone [part of the Portland estates].’<sup>21</sup>

Even within the Architects Club, its members who had undertaken fireproofing experiments on a house in Hans Place purchased for the purpose, referred to themselves as ‘Gentlemen Surveyors’.<sup>22</sup>

Although no mention of surveying within the archives relating to Carr links this role with Robert Adam, a letter from him to Portland intimates the very close working relationship he had with ‘Mr Burrell, Surveyor General of the Crown Lands’ with whom he had been discussing in great confidence a piece of ground lying between Adam’s speculative development at the Adelphi and Portland property nearby.<sup>23</sup>

Carr, as an established architect held in high regard during his lifetime, as were both Mylne and Flitcroft, and a member of the Architect’s Club, may perhaps have fitted Worsley’s remit better, as an established architect who undertook a range of surveying roles. These, as established by Worsley, consider:

---

<sup>19</sup> Royal College of Physicians Archives, Premw/1097/20, 1785

<sup>20</sup> Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Ashridge Collection, AH 2287, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1783

<sup>21</sup> Portland Papers, PwF 7096, Undated, Robert Mylne to Duke of Portland

<sup>22</sup> RIBA, HoH/1/5/2 (i), July 1792, Memorandum of Experiments

<sup>23</sup> Portland Papers, PwF 35, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1772, Robert Adam to Duke of Portland

establishing dimensions for regular maintenance; establishing dimensions for valuation for sale, purchase or fee; and finally, to establish dimensions for development. Wragg, when creating his catalogue of Carr's work upon which most following studies of the architect have been based, only considered those surveying projects which stood alone representing the whole commission from Carr. As such, only four surveys are recorded on Table 1, one each for members of the gentry and aristocracy, and two for the church. Evidence indicates that Carr was commissioned for a fifth by Durham Cathedral, which sought Carr's advice on the condition of the building; however Carr did not respond and the work went instead to Robert Mylne.<sup>24</sup>

Further examination of the archives relating to Carr reveal that many of these aspects of surveying, as outlined by Wragg, were part of larger projects and have thus been overlooked.

For the purpose of establishing dimensions for regular maintenance, Carr held the position of Surveyor of Bridges for both the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. A role such as this was relatively common. We saw this with Leadbetter and Mylne at St Paul's Cathedral and Summerson's discussion of the great estates of London, in which a permanent official was tasked with the maintenance and improvement of one particular building or estate. For the Magistrates of the North Riding of Yorkshire Carr built 28 new bridges and altered a further 18; in the West Riding Carr built four bridges and altered four. As a major part of a Surveyor's role, maintaining property, Carr regularly surveyed the bridges under his control, recording in the Quarterly Session of September 1772 'Mr Billington will give you the Survey of the West Riding

---

<sup>24</sup> Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Ashridge Collection , AH 2263, 27<sup>th</sup> December 1775

Bridges which I have just now finished.’<sup>25</sup> It would appear this was the last survey submitted by Carr, as the following month, while still in his 40s, he resigned, writing:

I beg leave to acquaint you that I shall resign my Post of Bridge Surveyor at Christmas, I do not intend to make any more Surveys, having given in the Report at Leeds Sessions, a new Surveyor should be appointed at Christmas for the next Spring.<sup>26</sup>

Carr’s role as Surveyor of Bridges for the North Riding of Yorkshire continued for more than another decade, his annual salary of £50 appearing in the Quarter Sessions Order Books for October 1784 and 1785.<sup>27</sup> During the winter of 1786-7, the bridge at Whitby appeared at risk of collapse, and Carr was summoned to attend the Quarterly Sessions, to be held at Whitby, in order to examine the existing structure. Two weeks later, the magistrates resolved ‘...that John Carr Esq the Surveyor of the Bridges for this Riding be requested to deliver in a plan and estimate of the intended work.’<sup>28</sup> A design approved, ‘Mr Carr the Surveyor of Bridges to advertise immediately for such persons as are willing to give in proposals for rebuilding it according to the plan.’<sup>29</sup> One of the reasons Carr gave up his post of Surveyor for the West Riding Bridges was the large geographical area covered by the post and the responsibility, neither of which were beyond him, but at this point, his career was reaching its summit, with Denton Park, Parlington Hall and Ormsby Hall being completed that year, with Bootham Hospital and Leventhorpe Hall, Langford Hall and Escrick Park all under way.

---

<sup>25</sup> Quarterly Sessions, QS1/111/9, 30st September 1772

<sup>26</sup> Sheffield Archives, Bacon Frank Papers, BFM 1326/44, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1772, Carr to Bacon Frank

<sup>27</sup> Northallerton, QSM 2/27, pp 126, 154, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1787

<sup>28</sup> Northallerton, QSM 2/27, pg 283, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1787

<sup>29</sup> Northallerton, QSM 2/27, pg 289-90, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1787

Indeed, before the end of the decade, Carr was to write to John Grimston 'I must attend the sessions of Northallerton this week to report the state of the North Riding Bridges, and at my return must set out to survey my buildings in the south.'<sup>30</sup>

Three of the five stand alone surveying commissions undertaken by Carr and included by Wragg in his catalogue are concerned with Weston Park and York Minster. At Weston Park, inherited by Sir Henry Bridgeman in 1762 who then commissioned James Paine to undertake alterations and design garden buildings, Carr presented a 'report into the state of the buildings at Weston'.<sup>31</sup> It is not known what work Carr carried out, although his report does state that he had given directions to a stone mason to carry out immediate repairs to the chimneys, and that generally, parts of the house were in '...so ruinous a state, that they should ere long be properly repaired'..

For York Minster, Carr undertook a survey in 1770 and again in 1797. The former consisted of a 19 page report on the condition of the minster, which included the nave roof being 'exceeding bad' with evidence of poor repairs in the past, beams sinking under the weight of the roof above, holes in ceilings and rain entering the roof structure. Carr suggested repairs at the 'moderate valuation' of £4200.<sup>32</sup> The report was later annotated in February 1773 with details of those

---

<sup>30</sup> North Riding Archives, Grimston Papers, DDX 738/28, Carr to John Grimston, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1779

<sup>31</sup> Staffordshire County Record Office, Bridgeman Family Papers, D1287/2/1 (E/180), 8<sup>th</sup> November 1784

<sup>32</sup> York Minster Library, A4/1/a1 'A Report of the State of the Minster at York. Made by Jno Carr. 1770'

repairs carried out. Carr undertook a further survey in 1797 when taken on as consultant, paid a salary of £100 a year.<sup>33</sup>

In 1774, William Cavendish, 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire inherited his title and estates. Within the year he appointed James Wyatt as his surveyor at Chatsworth, a role similar to that of Carr, caring for, as Summerson discussed, an estate or series of structures. In the case of Chatsworth, however, it was Carr who undertook the architectural alterations, and not Devonshire's appointed Surveyor. Although both roles could be undertaken by the same person, and more usually were, as in the case of Devonshire, they could also be carried out by different practitioners.

Devonshire's sister Margaret Cavendish, and her husband, the Duke of Portland, rented the Devonshire London property of Burlington House from 1770 as their London base. Unpublished evidence of surveying as part of on-going maintenance work undertaken for the Portlands at their rented London home appears in the Portland archives. In a letter from Carr to an unknown recipient within the household, Carr outlined the findings of his survey of the property:

The plaistering to all the chimney shafts in a ruinous condition  
and the greatest part down.  
The lead flasht is in an indifferent state...  
Breakfasting Room. All in good state. Painting, papering and  
gilding is indifferent.  
Saloon three panes of glass broke.<sup>34</sup>

The result of Carr's survey must have galled Portland, who throughout his life suffered financial problems. This period in the history of an iconic building such

---

<sup>33</sup> York Minster Library, H 9/3 'Acts of Chapter Beginning 11<sup>th</sup> Nov 1784 and Ending 16<sup>th</sup> Sepr 1807 Inclusive'

<sup>34</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/15/3/5/2, Carr to Unknown Recipient, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1782

as Burlington House is usually overlooked in favour of periods introducing grand schemes of redesign. Much of Carr's work was simple repair and alteration, including to the Saloon main staircase, Ballroom, and the creation of an Ante-Room from several smaller rooms.

The establishment of dimensions for valuation, either for purchase, fee payment, or sale as part of the role of the surveyor is a large aspect of Carr's practice. In a letter to Benjamin Hall, estate steward for Lord Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse, Carr referred to his own clerk, Peter Atkinson, thus

The bearer hereof Mr Atkinson is one my Clerks who has never before been at Wentworth House, he is on his way to Buxton, and I have ordered him to measure of all the work of the new farm house either going or returning from hence, in order that my Lord may be informed as he desired of the whole expense of that building.<sup>35</sup>

This indicates the interchangeable nature of both roles within Carr's office and, more importantly, that Carr still saw the role of surveyor as part of the remit of architect, as evidenced by the fact he therefore trained his clerk in the function. Atkinson worked for and then with Carr for many years, eventually taking over Carr's practice. In 1774 Atkinson subscribed to Thomas Skaife's *The Universal British Builder* referring to himself as 'Surveyor of York'.<sup>36</sup> Upon his marriage the following year, however, he referred to himself as an architect.<sup>37</sup> This is perhaps more indicative of the interchangeability of both roles rather than Atkinson's change in status.

---

<sup>35</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (ii), Carr to Hall, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1779

<sup>36</sup> Wragg, 'The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect', p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> Wragg, 'The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect', p. 54.

An early example within Carr's practice of surveying for purchase appears in the Zetland papers, in which a fee of 50 guineas was paid to Carr from Lawrence Dundas for 'surveying buildings at Aske'.<sup>38</sup> This payment was made a short while after Dundas had purchased the Aske estate.

A second example appears more as a favour to a patron; Beilby Thompson records in his Day Book for 1774, of how on 20<sup>th</sup> June he 'Called on Mr Carr at Mr Mellishes in the business to go with me to look at some houses.'<sup>39</sup> Three days later interest had focused on a particular house in Mortimer Street, which both men viewed; a second viewing was made on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, at which Thompson and Carr were accompanied by Mr Grey, a builder. Two days later on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1774, Thompson signed a contract of purchase for six thousand guineas with Mr Lloyd. Thompson paid Carr a fee of £50 the previous week, which is likely to have been on account following the entry made by Thompson two months before, in which he recorded 'Mr Carr breakfasted with me – settled some alterations for the new buildings.'<sup>40</sup> It is more likely therefore, that Carr offered unofficial advice to his patron on the purchase of his new London townhouse, rather than provided a professional service.

One example of Carr undertaking a survey on behalf of a committee was that for the North Riding of Yorkshire Magistrates, who wished to purchase land and construct a House of Correction in Northallerton. The Quarter Sessions Records note that the committee had:

---

<sup>38</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland (Dundas Papers), ZNK X1/7/61, Account Book, 18<sup>th</sup> Oct 1764

<sup>39</sup> East Riding Archives, Thompson Papers, DPX89, Beilby Thompson's Day Book, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1774

<sup>40</sup> East Riding Archives, Thompson Papers, DPX89, Beilby Thompson's Day Book, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1774



Ordered that Mr Carr be desired to view the Grounds proposed to be sold by Mr Wailes for the purpose of building a new Court House and House of Correction upon and to review his plan for such Buildings.<sup>41</sup>

The second aspect of establishing dimensions is that undertaken in order to accurately set fees either for practical craftsmen or for the design itself, created by the architect. Many instances of this appear in the archives relating to Carr. The usual practice, as it is today, was a percentage payment after establishing the value of the construction. Having completed Thoresby for the Duke of Kingston in 1772, Carr ... 'paid him for his drawings attendance his clerk coming over twice to assist in measuring as it is always proper to have two persons in great measurements and settlings which was 5 per cent for the house £850 0s. 0d.'<sup>42</sup>

The earliest reference to the measuring of work in Carr's professional life appears in 1749 in a letter from William Gossip to Carr regarding Gossip's new house at Thorp Arch 'We have gone on pretty briskly since I saw you. Plows proposes to finish some time next week so should be glad to see you on Thursday to measure of his work.'<sup>43</sup> Work for the demanding Gossip was still on-going into 1756, but this surveying work relates to early construction. One of the last known references to Carr discussing, but not undertaking himself, surveying work for craftsmen fee assessment appears in the Wentworth Woodhouse papers, when Carr wrote to Estate Steward Benjamin Hall:

I shoud imagine by this time, the Masons must have almost built the gateway & lodges, which when done Sikes can measure off, keeping each sort of work separate, & for which

---

<sup>41</sup> North Yorkshire Records Office, QSM 2/27 Sessions Order Book 1782-87, Pg 105, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1784

<sup>42</sup> Nottingham University Archives, Manvers (Kingston) Papers, Ma 2 X 2 (i), Expenditure on Building of Thoresby Hall, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1772

<sup>43</sup> WYL 1015 21/10, Day Book of William Gossip, copy of letter to Carr, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1749

separate works, you have prices by you that will suit most of them, therefore Mr Byron will be able to make out the Bill for my inspection.<sup>44</sup>

These references refer to work undertaken by others to the design of Carr for both which he, and they, would receive payment. In this case, however, carpenter Thomas Sykes was entrusted to undertake the actual measuring work, with the fees being charged according to the standard already established by Carr.

Eight years previously, during construction of the Rockingham Mausoleum, Carr wrote 'I want to do nothing but justice to them, & the same too is proper to be done for my Lord...'<sup>45</sup> In this Carr referred to the bill to be paid to the bricklayers and carpenters engaged in building the mausoleum to Carr's design, the language and sentiment of the writer perhaps influenced by the gravity of the building's purpose. Wragg in his thesis always maintained that Carr had a very good relationship with workmen. Carr promised the bill would be made out as soon as possible after Atkinson returned home with the necessary measurements. A unique building, differing to the more usual gateways and lodges clearly required a more experienced surveyor, in Carr's assistant and trainee architect, Peter Atkinson.

Two decades earlier, Atkinson again appeared undertaking surveying work in order to establish fee payment, possibly as part of his training. This was a more involved project and Carr 'Received of Mr Popplewell two pounds fourteen

---

<sup>44</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (v) 17, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1795

<sup>45</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iii) 199, John Carr to Benjamin Hall, 24<sup>th</sup> Dec 1787

shillings in full for my Mans board during his 54 days measuring of the works at Gawthorp.’<sup>46</sup>

In order to maintain accuracy and perhaps fairness, on another project ‘Mr Carr had paid him for his drawings[,] attendances[, and] his clerk coming over twice to assist in measuring as it is always proper to have two persons...’<sup>47</sup> This refers to Carr’s design of Thoresby Lodge for the Duke of Kingston, for which Carr received a 5% fee of £850.

Twice during construction in the 1760s of Tabley Hall and its stables for Sir Peter Leicester, Carr received payment for ‘attending his buildings’ and ‘surveying his buildings’, relating to both his own payment and the accurate calculation of payment for the workmen.<sup>48</sup> A further example of this is seen in Carr’s work for the North Riding of Yorkshire Magistrates, for whom, as we have seen, he created a design for the Northallerton House of Correction. The Quarter Sessions recorded that John Peacock, stonemason, was to be paid the sum of £420 in four equal quarterly payments for the construction of Boroughbridge, the last of which when ‘Mr Carr the Surveyor certifies that the work is completed according to the Plan now approved of...’<sup>49</sup> Turning now to consider the final aspect of the need to establish dimensions for that of sale, Carr was involved in a major project in this aspect of surveying.

In 1804, Portland’s heir, the Marquis of Titchfield, set out a proposal to try and resolve his father’s financial problems that eventually saw the sale of much of the Portland estates centred on Soho, London. Titchfield proposed that all income

---

<sup>46</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, Eden Papers, Edw/3/2, Receipt from Carr, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1765

<sup>47</sup> University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Manvers Collection, Ma 2 X/2/1, Carr’s Expenditure on Thoresby, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1772

<sup>48</sup> Chester Archives, Liecester-Warren Papers, DLT 2173/109, Receipt from Carr of fifty guineas, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1762; DLT 2173/109, Receipt from Carr of fifty seven pounds, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1765

<sup>49</sup> Northallerton, Quarter Session, QSM 2/27 Sessions Order Book 1782-87, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1784

from all estates be paid to Drumond, the family's bankers, with a quarterly allowance from capital paid to his father.<sup>50</sup> As early as 1800 Titchfield had written expressing his concerns over his father's expenditure,<sup>51</sup> and in 1807 he noted it cost £17,305 to run Burlington House for one year in contrast to the annual cost of the Portland country seat at Bulstode for the same year of £8,612.<sup>52</sup>

Over a period of three years during the previous decade, tenants of the Portland estates around Soho Square had approached the family with a view to purchasing their freeholds.<sup>53</sup> The family responded to this by undertaking a full valuation survey of their property centred on Soho with a view to selling. It was not, however, until 1807 that the sales began to take place.

Portland's Steward, John Heaton, wrote to Carr on behalf of the Duke's trustees asking for Carr's 'assistance in a business of great imagination'.<sup>54</sup> Heaton asked Carr to head up a project to survey in order to bring to sale 27 acres of prime real estate. The estate was divided into seven lots and had previously been mortgaged for £80,000. Portland's own in-house Surveyors Norris and White embarked on the project two years earlier in 1790. However Norris died after completing only the survey of Soho Square itself and White felt the project was too great to undertake alone, even with the continued assistance of Mr Little, Surveyor to the Westminster Fire Office, as he was 'so overloaded with the business in his timber trade and building concerns that he really has not time/he

---

<sup>50</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/13/4/25

<sup>51</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/13/4/28

<sup>52</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/13/4/55

<sup>53</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/6/2/ 1 to 43, 1791-3

<sup>54</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/1, Heaton to Carr, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1792

has lately told/for this business of valuation, and has desired to give it up.’<sup>55</sup> With the letter, Heaton enclosed a plan and valuation of a building in Soho Square, and, by way of encouragement to Carr, went on to state that ‘...if we could bring it to market, at the present value of landed property, the Duke’s affairs would be in so comfortable a state, that he might build at Welbeck the new rooms you first designed.’<sup>56</sup> Clearly an incentive for Carr. In the same letter, Heaton claimed Carr could ‘employ any surveyor, builder or other clever man in or about this town without giving offence to any other person in the same line of life.’<sup>57</sup> This indicates the professional courtesy within their peer group, and more importantly, Heaton’s use of the word Surveyor and not architect.

Carr, who at this time was 69 years of age, responded to Heaton’s request nearly three weeks later from Parkes Coffee House in Scarborough where he was recuperating from a bowel affliction that had severely weakened him, by expressing gratitude in being approached. However, Carr stated that it was impossible for him to spare the time necessary and instead recommended Samuel Pepys Cockerell, writing to Heaton ‘I really think your opposite neighbour Mr Cockerell in Saville Row, who was brought up under Sir Rob[er]t Taylor is a good Chairman and I believe he is pretty well acquainted with that kind of business, and he is a Man of good character & reputation.’<sup>58</sup> The phrase ‘brought up’ refers to Cockerell’s Pupillage with Taylor.

---

<sup>55</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/1, Heaton to Carr, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1792

<sup>56</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/1, Heaton to Carr, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1792

<sup>57</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/1, Heaton to Carr, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1792

<sup>58</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/2, Carr to Heaton, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1792

Carr closed his letter with a brief report of a survey he had recently undertaken of the Duke of Portland's house at Welbeck, which required maintenance work for which Carr had already given instructions. Carr's nominee for the Soho surveying role, Cockerell, was certainly a man of experience in these matters. Cockerell's career to date had included the post of District Surveyor for the Parish of St George's Hannover Square, Surveyor of the Victualing Office and Surveyor to the Sees of Canterbury and London, and Surveyor of St Paul's Cathedral. As Surveyor to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, Cockerell had prepared a report for them in 1790 summarising the 'cardinal principles of town planning' and been responsible for the development of their Bloomsbury estate.<sup>59</sup> Evidently he was so well regarded in this particular field that Heaton had written to Carr a few days later stating that both he and Portland had considered approaching Cockerell; Cockerell himself had approached Heaton soliciting for work following the death of the Duke's surveyor Norris.<sup>60</sup> In the same letter to Carr, Heaton offered to write to Cockerell establishing that Carr had recommended Cockerell, and that when Carr was in town on other business, would 'consider with him, his reports and consult with him...' for the '...purpose of doing all in your [Cockerell's] power' to meet the wishes of the Duke and his trustees, with regard to the valuation and sale of the estate. Heaton also stated that Carr was at liberty to employ any surveyor, builder or 'clever man' to assist.

Cockerell did agree to undertake the survey, but queried how Carr and he were to work together. Heaton explained that all reports would be jointly given and that the two architects must settle the division of work between them as they

---

<sup>59</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, pp. 262–264.

<sup>60</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/1, Heaton to Carr, 25<sup>th</sup> August 1792

saw fit. Regarding payment, Cockerell stated that he generally charged one percent for valuing and selling property, which in this case, would be quite a considerable sum.<sup>61</sup>

Following communication with Cockerell, Carr set out in a letter to Heaton in September 1792 how they would go about the task. Carr suggested a map of the entire estate figured in feet and inches be drawn up, to include the ground floors of every house and the outside space belonging to it. Party walls were to be clearly indicated to avoid dispute during the sale between different purchasers. Carr explained that a number of people would be involved over several months, taking dimensions of each room in each house, making out the plans, and draughtsmen needed to then create fair drawings. Each house drawing would earn the draughtsman one guinea, the intention being this would be Cockerell. Carr offered to assist Cockerell for two months after Christmas 1792, and two months more the following spring.<sup>62</sup>

Carr did query a few months later the value of selling parts of the estate, rather than waiting until the whole estate had been valued.<sup>63</sup> However, the project continued and within the Portland papers at Nottingham University Library is a receipt, dated 1<sup>st</sup> July 1793 issued by Messrs Carr and Cockerell for the plans and reports following the survey.<sup>64</sup>

---

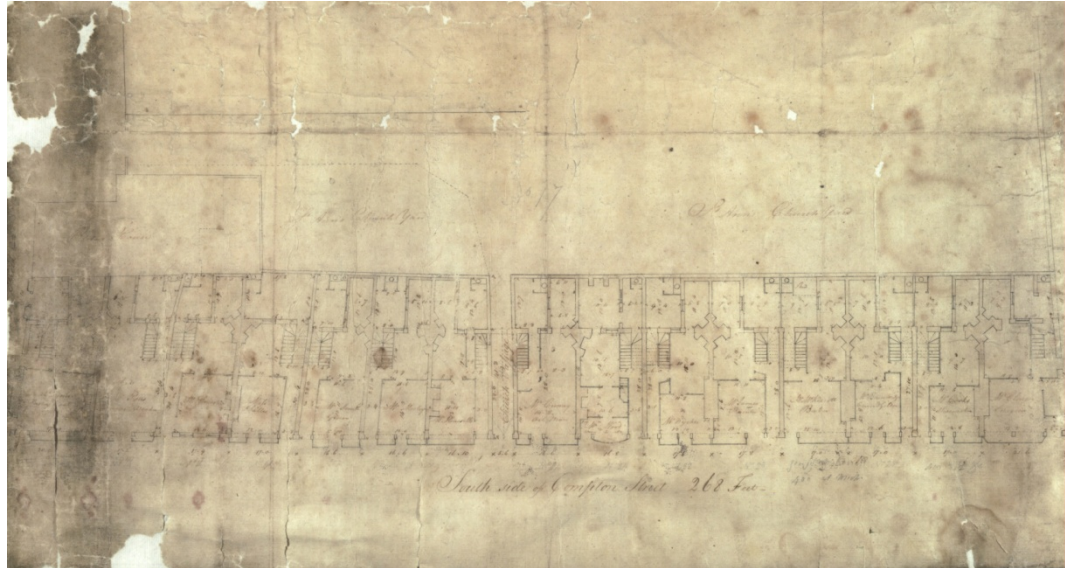
<sup>61</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/3, Heaton to Carr, 5<sup>th</sup> September 1792

<sup>62</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/4, Carr to Heaton, 11<sup>th</sup> September 1792

<sup>63</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/6, Carr to Heaton, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1792

<sup>64</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/7, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1793

Among the Portland papers also survive several ground plans produced during the survey. One ground plan, of the South Side of Compton Street, Soho, appears to be the only one annotated with Carr's handwriting.



**Illustration 31 - South Side of Compton Street, Soho, Ground Plan Survey by John Carr, 1795**

The letters in the archives indicate he was involved in a consultancy capacity with Cockerell, but this drawing, and the receipt issued to both men, indicate otherwise. The family papers also reveal a dispute about how much work Cockerell actually invested in the project. Carr wrote in a letter in May 1795 of how he was £30 out of pocket by coming to London in the month of February 1793 only to be obliged to return home again as Cockerell had done nothing.<sup>65</sup> Carr meanwhile recorded in his own Book of Memorandum how he in contrast had been diligently employed in the business.<sup>66</sup> This diligence also manifested

---

<sup>65</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/15, Carr to Unknown Recipient, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1795

<sup>66</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/15, Carr to Unknown Recipient, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1795



itself in the corrections made by Carr in his own handwriting to the final report, in the main to dimensions, and shows his attention to detail.<sup>67</sup>

With no established professional code, there was no set standard fee. Carr wrote in 1795 that the magnitude of the business should be reflected in the remuneration, and felt 1% of the valuation was fair. Carr stated he was happy to accept half of 1%, the other half to be paid to Cockerell. At £156 for Carr's half, this would place a value of £31,200 on Portland's 27 acres centred on Soho Square.<sup>68</sup> In December of that year, Carr actually presented his bill for £150, noting he had spent a total of nine weeks on the project.<sup>69</sup> Slightly less than his half of 1%, his bill was accompanied with various bills for other work undertaken at Welbeck Abbey for the Portland family.

Cockerell on the other hand queried his remuneration. Carr wrote to Heaton how he remembered at one of the Architect Club dinners at the Thatched Cottage two years prior, that the members had discussed fees to be charged for surveying. Sir Robert Taylor seemed to charge the most at 1½% of the total valuation; others charged less while some charged per building surveyed and still others a flat rate for the job. Carr could not recall whether Cockerell, as a fellow member of the Architects Club, was present at this particular meeting.<sup>70</sup>

Cockerell presented his bill for £555. This consisted of the sum of £341 5s. 0d. for drafting the floor plans of 650 houses at half a guinea each; £156 6s. 6d. for the survey itself, at ½ % of the total value; £31 10s. 0d. for the creation of

---

<sup>67</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/9, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1793

<sup>68</sup> A letter from Cockerell to Henry Holland included a copy of the bill stating the valuation at £31,265 1s. 6d. RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, Henry Holland Papers HoH/2/10/13

<sup>69</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/13, Carr to Heaton, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1795

<sup>70</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/15, Carr to Heaton, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1795

a map of the area, and £26 5s. 0d. for a second map showing the plots.<sup>71</sup> Cockerell's bill was refused by Heaton. Heaton offered £467.<sup>72</sup> In refusing, Heaton pointed out Carr's wasted journey, and the fact that on each occasion Heaton tried to gain access to Cockerell's office, he was refused.<sup>73</sup> Heaton also noted that much of Cockerell's work had in actuality been given to the Portland surveyor, Mr White, who had previously claimed he was too busy.

Cockerell called on his fellow architects and members of the Architects Club to assist him, and accompanied James Wyatt and Henry Holland to Heaton's office to examine the work he had undertaken. These two highly respected colleagues signed a statement claiming that the bill charged by Cockerell was not only fair, but was undervalued.<sup>74</sup> Before undertaking the last line of offence and threatening legal action, Cockerell wrote directly to the Duke of Portland to ask for his intervention.

The Duke of Portland responded in December 1796 stating that he had known all along of the situation that Cockerell was claiming to apprise him of, and that having read Cockerell's letter he had been unable to discover any reason which would induce him to alter his poor opinion of Cockerell's conduct, or pay the bill presented to him.<sup>75</sup>

As a possible response to the discussion at the Thatched House Tavern in 1793 regarding fees for surveying, the Architects Club did establish 'Rates of

---

<sup>71</sup> RIBA, HoH/2/10/3, copy of Cockerell's Bill, 1793

<sup>72</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/23, Cockerell to Lowther, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1796

<sup>73</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/26, Heaton to Cockerell, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1796

<sup>74</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10 1/7/5/37, Cockerell's Bill, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1796

<sup>75</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/38, Cockerell to Portland, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1796

Commission for Architecture, Surveying and Valuation'.<sup>76</sup> This document clearly sets out the rate of 5% on the cost of building to the design of the architect, among other items. Page two of the document devotes as much space and time to the charges an architect can make for surveying 'On valuation of Property As to Sale' at 1% of the total valuation. This document not only shows that Cockerell and Carr were charging according to the industry standard, and that an industry standard had been established, but that the Architects Club recognised the importance of Surveying as part of the role of the architect and had therefore done so. Carr referred to this document in a letter in the Portland papers to an unknown recipient, in which he confirmed Sir Robert Taylor frequently made valuations and charged 1½%, but Carr acknowledged that 'I remember it was considered as a difficult kind of business.'<sup>77</sup>

No archival evidence in support of Carr undertaking the final aspect of surveying, that of establishing dimensions for development, has yet come to light. Wragg did discuss the aspect of speculative property development and Carr's involvement in it, particularly in London, and likewise, no archival evidence indicates this aspect of the architect's professional practice.

For nearly two centuries nearly all the great names in English architecture can be found in various posts within the Office of the King's Works, and for early architectural historians this was seen as the main form of architectural training. However, this reinforces a cultural and stylistic elitism to studies of architectural histories that focus on the London-centric grand, classical public buildings commissioned by the country's ruling families. There was still no provision for

---

<sup>76</sup> RIBA, Henry Holland Papers, HoH/2/3/1 (i)

<sup>77</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/15, Carr to Unkown Recipient, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1795

academic study, exhibition of designs or models and no forum to discuss issues. The establishment of the Royal Academy in 1762 and the Architects Club in 1791 went some way toward resolving this.

In summation, Carr did not consider himself any less an architect because he was a surveyor, or designed and built more practical buildings, and neither did his contemporaries. Both Carr and Cockerell were members of the Architects Club who as an organisation established early on following its founding established ideas around fees for surveying. Traditional architectural histories obscure the role of surveying within the construct of the profession and yet these unpublished papers relating to the Portland family's Soho estates can provide a clear link with the establishment of the profession, and, in this case, discussions around the formulation of standard fee practices and what was considered part of the architectural profession during the eighteenth-century, contrary to the established hierarchy imposed by later historians. Turning now to the design and construction of more practical buildings, the next chapter explores those created as part of the country house setting.

## Chapter 6 – Carr’s Country House Setting

At a conference entitled ‘Consuming the Country House: From Acquisition to Presentation’ all the papers focused on the elites of a number of European countries and the creation of their country houses.<sup>1</sup> Cultural histories may be exploring wider class interests, but histories of the country house are regaining their original focus. The papers of April 2012 focused solely on the large house at the centre of the country estate and ignored the wider setting in which it was placed and upon which it relied in a symbiotic relationship. In answer to a question about the wider setting of the subject of their paper, one delegate replied ‘oh, we’re not interested in the land’.<sup>2</sup> Study of the country house setting, focusing on the immediate parkland, has been undertaken in recent years, but tends to focus on the culturally elite constructions such as follies, temples, grottoes, ornamental bridges and, more recently, stable blocks.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I show that while Carr was involved in such grand and classical schemes, the eighteenth-century architect was also involved in the much more practical aspects, and indeed, in the case of Carr, offered his services as a tutor to the heir to the country house estate. The archives relating to Carr show that the architect Robert Adam, whose grand, classical domestic buildings are of such sustained focus, was also involved in the mundane and rural. In his account presented to Lawrence Dundas in 1765, Adam listed two gateway designs, designs for cottages, farm

---

<sup>1</sup> University of Northampton, April 2012

<sup>2</sup> Dr Johanna Ilmakunnas, University of Helsinki, ‘Count Axel von Fersen’s house at Llung’

<sup>3</sup> For the former, see: Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England*; Tom Williamson, *Chatsworth: A Landscape History* (Oxford: Windgarth Press, 2005); Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Country House Garden: A Grand Tour* (London: Pavilion, 1991); for the latter, see: Giles Worsley, *The British Stable* (London: Yale, 2004).

buildings, hot-houses, garden walls and sheds for Moor Park.<sup>4</sup> This shows that Adam, like Carr, was involved in the more mundane, while attention has focused on the grander elements of architectural production.

We have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, exploring the background of Carr's patrons and the influences upon them, that the concept of land ownership was important. The gentry and aristocracy gained their power from land ownership, and the rising mercantile class attempted to emulate this and create their own heritage through the purchase of land. Here we will see the importance of the mundane to both the eighteenth-century architect and his client; the focus within the archives is as strong for such matters as estate maintenance and the design of workers cottages as it is for the production of temples, bridges and follies, but it has traditionally been overlooked.

Turning again to Tables 1 and 2 (in Appendix), we can see that for the gentry, Carr's largest group of patrons, he provided 36 separate designs for park buildings ranging from the classical gate-lodge design for Wetherby Grange, a gothic gate-lodge at Fillingham Castle, garden temples at Bretton Hall, and an obelisk at Somerby Hall; wider estate buildings included the gothic farm buildings for Anne and Elizabeth Yarborough at Campsmount, a farmhouse built to resemble a castle at Sledmere and other farmhouses at Somerby and Escrick. For the gentry, the total of park and wider estate buildings represents 26% of his total commissions for this group.

For both the aristocracy and the mercantile classes, Carr produced 15 designs each for both groups, representing 22% of their total work sought from

---

<sup>4</sup> North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland of Ask papers, ZNK X1/7/21, Adam's Account for 1763-5

Carr. For the former, which was the smaller group but who sought the highest number of commissions, Carr created lodges inside the park at Raby Castle for Lord Darlington, an ornamental bridge at Hardwick Hall for the Duke of Devonshire and another at Hornby Castle for Lord Holderness. Outside the park within the wider country house setting Carr created fewer farm buildings than for other groups, but does in this case again include Raby Castle.

For the mercantile class, Carr created an entire country house landscape at Plompton for Daniel Lascelles, including, as well as a remodelling of the existing house, lodges, gates, farms and other estate houses. For others Carr produced a number of classical mausolea and temples such as those at Ossington Hall and Harewood House. From this quantitative data we can see that the gentry are maintaining the landscape from which they traditionally gain their power, with a large number of practical estate buildings, the aristocracy are expressing their classical ideals with such things as ornamental bridges, and the mercantile class are commissioning a wider range of buildings with the intention of establishing themselves.

By focussing on this relationship and exploring the 'other' commissions undertaken by a professional architect on behalf of his landowning client, we can very quickly see the importance of outlying buildings and their function as part of a cohesive whole with the country house for which both architect and patron showed great and continued attention to detail. The house and estate were not separate entities but were mutually intertwined. Dana Arnold has suggested the country house was the centre of a self-sufficient, administrative and cultural

entity,<sup>5</sup> and this ties in nicely with our view of Palladio's *villa rustica* in the Veneto, in that it is function rather than ownership that is the key to understanding the term 'country house'. While the present study has attempted to present alternative and less elitist histories, it is interesting that the strength of the archive upon which this chapter is based is an aristocratic one. This may be a different 'hidden history', in that our research still relies on the archives from an aristocratic collection, but it does offer an additional view to existing ideas as an added strand, rather than an alternative.

In order to undertake my exploration of this subject, the next section of this chapter introduces the forty-five year relationship between Carr and the Rockingham/Fitzwilliam family in order to understand their relationship, and to place Carr firmly within their milieu. According to Wragg, Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham and his nephew and heir William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, were Carr's most important patrons.<sup>6</sup> Focusing primarily on their estates of Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire and Malton in Ireland, this chapter then discusses the various projects – both aesthetically and culturally elite and more practical – undertaken by Carr on behalf of the family. These commissions include landscape buildings such as bridges, temples and great stables, but also gate lodges, estate cottages, water closets, kitchen garden walls, and long-term building maintenance projects. These elements of the creation of our built environment traditionally overlooked by architectural histories provide the greater part of the professional practice of the country house architect as it evolved during the latter part of the eighteenth-

---

<sup>5</sup> Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Wragg, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, p. 220.



century. There then follows an examination of the relationship between Carr and Fitzwilliam's son and heir, Viscount Milton, which shows that architecture as part of an aristocratic education continued until the close of the eighteenth-century. Recently discovered archival evidence not only shows this mentoring relationship between Carr and Milton, but that the two men worked together on various country house projects.

Carr worked continuously for the family from about 1762 until his death in February 1807. As well as the longevity of the relationship, Wragg's opinion of the importance of the family's patronage is based on the extensive Wentworth Woodhouse papers on deposit at Sheffield Archives. We must consider that the extent and survival of an aristocratic archive, however, is not indicative of the importance of the creator of that archive.<sup>7</sup>

In the case of the Rockingham/Fitzwilliam papers, much of the early archive was cared for by Rockingham's Private Secretary, Edmund Burke, philosopher, MP and author of *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), and so had always been of interest to writers of philosophy and politics since Burke's letters are included in the collection. The majority of these records relating to the present study consist of several hundred letters from Carr to the two estate stewards Benjamin Hall and Joshua Biram.<sup>8</sup> Following the traditions of linear stylistic histories of architecture in which Wragg worked it proved difficult for him to place Carr architecturally,

---

<sup>7</sup> At the same conference in April 2012 focusing on the country house, Helen Clifford explained how the Director of the North Yorkshire County Records Office believed that country house archives had always been a strand of archive work, but the focus upon them had increased in the 1950s and 1960s in order to attempt to stop their destruction or dispersal at a time when the houses themselves were under threat. The effect was increased access, prompting the country house academic interest during the following decades.

<sup>8</sup> Hall was Steward from 1771 to 1805 and Biram from 1805 onwards. No correspondence has survived between Carr and Hall's predecessor, William Martin.

and Wragg also overlooked much that can be learnt from this forty-five year relationship, particularly regarding the importance of the country house setting.

Less than a year prior to his death in 1807, Carr, still involved in project work and working on the Great Stairs at Wentworth Woodhouse, wrote to the steward, Joshua Biram 'I cannot write but I can read[;] what are all the workmen doing – tell me is the hand rail done [on the] best stairs.'<sup>9</sup> The work undertaken by Carr during this relationship with the Rockingham/Fitzwilliam family consisted of the building of a new country house and market hall on their estates in Ireland, alterations to Fitzwilliam's ancestral home at Milton House near Peterborough and extensive maintenance work, additions and estate buildings at Wentworth Woodhouse, near Sheffield (Rockingham's ancestral home inherited by Fitzwilliam in 1782). Carr also worked for the family on their properties in and around London; in 1781 Carr wrote to the Wentworth Woodhouse steward 'I have just now been examining the whole house over in Grosvenor Square, where I found my Lord and Lady returned from Wimbledon.'<sup>10</sup>

The total spent by Fitzwilliam on the family's London house in Grosvenor Square up to July 1785 was £3907 13s. 4d.<sup>11</sup> This is comparable with the amount spent by his uncle on the Rockingham's more rural London retreat, a rented estate in Wimbledon, for which they spent £3219 13s. 15d. between July 1771 and March 1773.<sup>12</sup> This shows that no distinction was evident between owned and rented property in the mind-set of the resident.

---

<sup>9</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 7 (i) 64, Carr to Joshua Biram, 15th Mar 1806

<sup>10</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP (ii) 148, Carr to Hall, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1781

<sup>11</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 776, Personal Account Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam 1779-1789, July 1785

<sup>12</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A1309, Account Book

Wragg claimed Carr received an annual salary for the entirety of his relationship with the Rockingham and Fitzwilliam families.<sup>13</sup> However, the only salary payment recorded in the family papers made to Carr was for his part in the new Wentworth Woodhouse stable construction. This implies the relationship was more professional as opposed to that of family ‘retainer’ as inferred by Wragg. Other individual payments have come to light in the Fitzwilliam Papers to emphasise this, including £100 from Fitzwilliam to Carr in 1784 ensuring ‘this account settled’, possibly for his work on the new Dining Room at Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>14</sup> The private accounts of Lord Milton, Fitzwilliam’s son and heir, show a payment of £5 13s. 0d. to Carr on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1806 ‘for fresher’, possibly relating to their collaborative work on the Great Staircase at Wentworth Woodhouse.<sup>15</sup> A few months earlier, Lord Fitzwilliam paid Carr £400 ‘for plan of the house in Ireland’.<sup>16</sup> Fitzwilliam’s accounts are dotted with one off payments made to Carr – such as that for £50 in 1789.<sup>17</sup>

We know Carr and Rockingham first worked together in 1754 when Carr entered and won the competition to design the new Knavesmire Grandstand in York built on land leased to Rockingham by the Corporation of the city of York.<sup>18</sup> Completed for the races held in August 1756, Carr’s bill was settled on 27<sup>th</sup> August 1760.<sup>19</sup> Of the Knavesmire design, William Eden wrote that for Carr it

---

<sup>13</sup> Wragg, ‘The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect’ Vol II, Chapter IV, p 71.

<sup>14</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 768, Nesbets Bank Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1784

<sup>15</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 105, Private Accounts Book of Viscount Milton, 1806

<sup>16</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 778, Personal Accounts Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, 1803-1818, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1806

<sup>17</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, Nesbett’s Bank Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam, 1783-1789, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1789

<sup>18</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/R/1/1048, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1768

<sup>19</sup> See Gibson.

‘...cannot have been his first essay in architectural design. The style is too sure, and the general effect is one of maturity.’<sup>20</sup> This commission, for a committee of men from all classes chaired and sponsored by Rockingham, is recognised as a turning point for Carr’s architectural career when he was aged 29. The subscription list, headed by Rockingham whose contribution was £21, includes many of those who would go on to become clients of Carr.<sup>21</sup> Eden’s supposition is correct: by this time Carr had undertaken work on Sheffield Bridge for the West Riding Magistrates and various town planning commissions for the York city corporation, acted as Clerk of Works at Kirby Hall to the designs of Roger Morris and Lord Burlington for Stephen Thompson, provided designs for town houses for Mary Thompson in York, the Ibbetson family in Leeds and the Milnes family in Wakefield, and country houses for William Gossip at Thorp Arch, Thomas Mauleverer at Arncliffe Hall, Edmund Garforth at Askham Hall and Thomas Yarborough at Campsmount Hall. These commissions were all at a local level for patrons primarily of a mercantile background. The sobriquet of provincial and practical applied to Carr by many architectural writers following in the footsteps of Eden and focusing solely on style could still be applied at this stage.<sup>22</sup>

As well as a good relationship with his patrons who clearly have an active involvement in the work Carr carried out on their behalf, the Wentworth Woodhouse papers at Sheffield also show a particularly close working relationship between Carr and both stewards Hall and Biram. It was not uncommon for Carr to write to Hall asking him to entertain visitors on Carr’s behalf ‘The bearer hereof Mr Harvey and Mr Scofield of Golden Square London

---

<sup>20</sup> William Eden, ‘John Carr, Architect of York, 1723-1807’ (unpublished B.Arch (Hons) thesis, Liverpool, 1928).

<sup>21</sup> Copy supplied by York Racecourse Curator, Dede Scot-Brown

<sup>22</sup> See: Bolton, p. 157; Fleming, p. 257.

are my particular friends & wish to see Wentworth House & partake of your Civility to strangers.'<sup>23</sup> This was reciprocated by Carr, who, following Rockingham's funeral in 1782 at York, wrote to Hall 'As the town will be busy by the Assizes I wish you and Mr Hunter (to whom present my respects) would take a bed with me, I shall be very glad to see you.'<sup>24</sup> His health was a regular topic of discussion throughout Carr's working relationship with Hall, even discussing injuries of a personal nature: 'in mounting a young horse I was thrown by him upon the pommel of the saddle with my stick under me which has bruised my testicles in such a manner that I am with great difficulty to write.'<sup>25</sup>

Even upon his death, the closeness of the relationship between Carr and those with whom he worked at Wentworth Woodhouse can be seen in a letter from Carr's nephew William to Benjamin Hall in which he wrote:

I am sorry to be the messenger of bad news, my dear Uncle died yesterday morning... ..pray tell Mrs Croft that he desired the Medium chest might be sent to her after his death which I will do by the fish Cart very soon with compliments to her Mr Lowe, I am dear sir yours most truly.<sup>26</sup>

Tom Williamson, in *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-century England*, discussed the extent to which the study of gardens had remained divorced from that of architecture.<sup>27</sup> Under the influence of the Italian Renaissance, writers were accustomed to think of the design of the house

---

<sup>23</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iv) 72, Carr to Hall, 10<sup>th</sup> September 1790

<sup>24</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (ii) 237, Carr to Hall, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1782

<sup>25</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iii) 51, Carr to Hall, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1784

<sup>26</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 7 (i) 118, Carr's nephew to Hall, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1807

<sup>27</sup> Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 18.

in unity with its surrounding gardens and parkland, which is of course a separate entity to the wider estate beyond. A deer park was initially the ultimate status symbol before becoming more available to the wider gentry. A deer park had long been established at Wentworth Woodhouse; the Bean Seat folly had been constructed in the seventeenth century from which the family could feed deer in comfort. Taking advantage of this contact, Carr requested venison from the Wentworth Woodhouse steward Hall to feed the delegates of the Rockingham Club, of which Carr was at one time Vice President.<sup>28</sup>

Geoffrey Howse claimed that nine painted views extant at Bourne Park suggest that the Wentworth Woodhouse estate buildings and monuments were laid out in the form of the spokes of a wheel in a Baroque layout intended to be viewed along formal lines.<sup>29</sup> This may be so but was later changed in the 1790s by Humphrey Repton's work for Lord Fitzwilliam. A landscape painting currently hanging at Milton Hall shows the Wentworth Woodhouse landscape with all the salient landscape features in a rather contrived view, with the house at the centre. Other than the stables at Wentworth Woodhouse, Rockingham was not a great architectural patron in the established sense of the word and it is possible he was not interested in great landscape schemes, having inherited Flitcroft's great house of Wentworth Woodhouse from his father. The other great landscapist, Lancelot Brown, was not commissioned to work on the estate at Wentworth Woodhouse. This lack of development may be because the estate and its park was huge and did

---

<sup>28</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (ii) 2, 20<sup>th</sup> January 1779, Carr to Hall

<sup>29</sup> Geoffrey Howse, *The Wentworths of Wentworth: The Fitzwilliam (Wentworth) Estates and the Wentworth Monuments* (Wakefield: Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Wentworth Amenity Trust, 2000), p. 59.

not need the Brownian effect of creating vistas and views where none existed; Painshill and Stowe were both much smaller at less than 500 acres.

Regardless of Rockingham's apathy towards large-scale building and landscape projects, no large-scale landscaping occurred at Wentworth Woodhouse until Huphrey Repton's arrival at the invitation of Fitzwilliam. Repton found the estate bereft of trees, the house being surrounded by 'course grass and boulders'.<sup>30</sup> Repton produced a Red Book, and Fitzwilliam settled his account in 1795 to the value of £105.<sup>31</sup>

Into this bereft landscape Carr placed lodges, Rockingham's Mausoleum and Keppel's Stand, and was clearly proud enough to write to Hall in 1803:

The bearer hereof Mr Chivers is my next door & worthy neighbour, and his wife & daughter, who are come on purpose to see my Church and Wentworth House, the Monument, Pyramid, Gardens & Menagerie – if you think it will not be improper, they may wish to stay all night.<sup>32</sup>

'My church' refers to the design of St Peter's, Horbury, designed and built at his own cost for the parish of his birth and discussed in the Introduction.

---

<sup>30</sup> Howse, p. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Northampton Country Records, Fitzwilliam of Malton, F (M) Misc Vol 777, Personal Account Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam 1789 – 1803, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1795

<sup>32</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (vii) 125, Carr to Hall, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1803

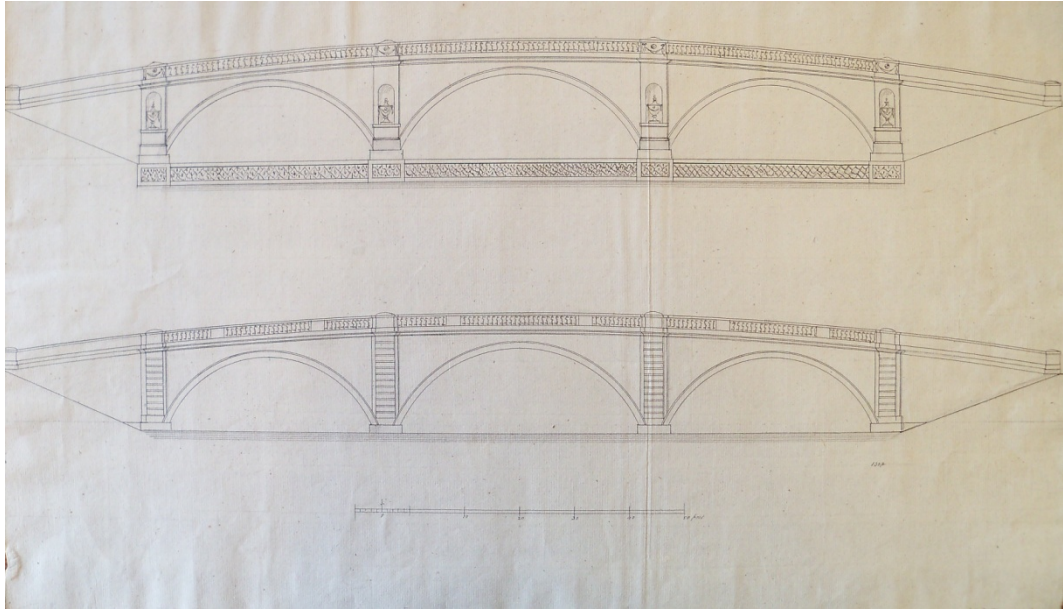


Illustration 32 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Bridge Design, by John Carr, 1760

One of the first designs submitted by Carr directly to Rockingham, in 1760, was of a three arched bridge (Illustration 32). It appears this was influenced heavily by Johann Sebastian Muller's engraving of the Ponte Santa Trinita in Florence, also published in 1760, which appears with it in the Rockingham papers (Illustration 22). Of course this raises questions to which the answers are unknown: was the engraving procured by Rockingham, in which case was the commission a direct request from the patron? Was the engraving known to both men independently? Was the engraving known to Carr first, and then Rockingham? Or was the design a collaborative project with contributions from both men? None of these questions can currently be answered, but if they could it would give us a glimpse into the design process of the late eighteenth-century country house landscape.

This was the first of a number of formal bridge designs submitted to Rockingham by Carr up to 1763, including a single arch bridge, a three arch bridge and seven rough sketches. None of these designs, intended for the park at



Wentworth Woodhouse as seen by an accompanying location map, were commissioned. However, the location map also indicates the site of Keppel's Column, a giant Tuscan order designed by Carr to commemorate the acquittal at court martial of Rockingham's friend Admiral Keppel. Construction of this did not start until 1776 which would bring into question the exact dating of the bridge designs. As an early commission in a newly formed private relationship between patron and architect, landscape designs provide a safe introduction to the new architect, while also contributing to the patron's public persona. It is acknowledged that Rockingham used his landscape as a political propaganda tool, and the large number of ornamental bridge designs could be a part of this.<sup>33</sup>

A further landscape project submitted by Carr to Rockingham two years later in 1765 was for a garden temple or summer house (Illustration 33). Three designs were drafted which all show a classical open fronted structure of the Ionic order on a raised dais of three steps. All have a pedimented roof above a tripartite opening, two of a more traditional serliana, centred beneath two paterae. These designs draw on the idea of the Vitruvian primitive hut, as illustrated by Marc-Antoine Laugier in the second edition of his *Essay on Architecture* but resemble much more closely Sir William Chambers' design for the same, produced for George III in 1759.

---

<sup>33</sup> See Howse.



Illustration 33 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Three Summer House Designs, by John Carr, 1765

Carr's designs, however, are clearly 'in' the landscape rather than 'of' the landscape. This construction could be inserted anywhere; the object itself is the important element, not the landscape in which it sits.



Illustration 34 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Rockingham Mausoleum, by John Carr, 1782

Carr's Wentworth Woodhouse estate buildings, which include these three summer house designs, entrance gates, a series of bridge designs and, beyond the park, a series of mine workers' cottages, were known to Wragg but were not discussed by him. Carr's design for Rockingham's Mausoleum (technically a cenotaph, as Rockingham is not interred here), is considered the most ambitious mausoleum design then attempted in the British Isles (Illustration 34).<sup>34</sup> The mausoleum is seen from the front door of the house at the head of the peron beneath the pedimented portico; and the statue of Rockingham placed within the chamber faces back towards the house, with his right hand pointing in the same direction. Fitzwilliam was aware of how he came to own such a country house setting, and with the situation of this building, could be reminded regularly.

The design, as built, takes the form of a three-stage tower inspired by the Roman tomb at Saint-Rémy in Provence, and along with the Great Stables and Keppel's Column, were discussed by Wragg and in turn by Worsley as they fit comfortably with traditional histories of architecture focusing on grand, classical projects. Drawings in the Rockingham papers at Sheffield Archives show the evolution of the design: Carr's first designs bear a striking resemblance to the image of the 'Obelisk at Col Tyrells' shown on Plate 42 in his copy of Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (Illustration 35).

---

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Hird, *The Wentworth Monuments* (Rotherham: Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, 1994), p. 12.



Illustration 35 - Left: Plate 42 from Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones*; Right: Wentworth Woodhouse, First Mausoleum Design, by John Carr, 1782

While the elevation of the original design was not chosen, the ground floor plan was. As well as Jones's obelisk design for Colonel Tyrell, Carr's original design also drew heavily on the four obelisks which now stand guard at each corner of the perimeter of the site. Focus on the importance of the Rockingham Mausoleum can obscure Carr's further contribution to the project involving the setting in which it is placed including these obelisks. They were moved under Carr's careful supervision, after he wrote 'I want to place the obelisks by the side of the Mausoleum at the 4 corners'.<sup>35</sup> In their original position on the parterre they were referred to by Horace Walpole in a letter to Richard Bentley as resembling a 'ninepin-alley'.<sup>36</sup> Confined to his bedroom by what he referred to as a bilious

<sup>35</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iv) 150, Carr to Hall, 1792 undated

<sup>36</sup> Howse, p. 74.

disorder causing pain in his bowels, Carr had to plan this project from afar, relying on Hall for accurate measurements of the existing structure:

Without saying any thing to my Lord I wish you would inform of the several particulars respecting the obelisks in the Garden behind the house, you cannot well get the height but by counting the Courses which run about a foot high at least, therefore if you guess at it will be quite sufficient.<sup>37</sup>

According to Howse, further work was undertaken by Carr to the site: the Octagon Tea Room, first mentioned by Rockingham's father in 1741 and shown on a map of 1778, was moved under Carr's direction to the gates of the Mausoleum to become the Octagon Lodge (Illustration 36). This shows an interesting aspect of Carr: not only did he offer value for money whenever possible, but it appears he was conservation minded. In utilising the existing obelisks and placing them within the Mausoleum site, Carr was improving both their new site and the site from which they came; the relocation of the Octagon Lodge also shows sensitivity as well as offering a practical solution to housing the keeper of the mausoleum, who still lives in the Lodge today.

---

<sup>37</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iv) 150, Carr to Hall, 1792 undated



Illustration 36 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Octagon Lodge, 1741. Alterations by John Carr, 1780s

Further examples of Carr's attitude towards conservation can be seen in his letters: twenty years earlier, Carr wrote to Hall regarding an estate farmhouse that was being altered to his plans 'As I have no elevation sent me of the house which is built at Swinton, I must inform Mr Moxon to suit that part which is to build, according to that which is already built.'<sup>38</sup> No other reference exists referring to this project and as a functional farmhouse commission on the edge of an estate, it is easy to see why such things are discarded by writers of architectural histories.

---

<sup>38</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (i) 81, Carr to Hall, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1775

More popular within architectural histories are stables. The first major building project Carr undertook for Rockingham at Wentworth Woodhouse was for the new stable-block. The importance of the stables to Rockingham is reflected in Horace Walpole's comment that 'this lord loves nothing but horses and the enclosures for them take place of everything'.<sup>39</sup> The location of the Stables within a country house setting is perhaps indicative of their importance to the owner: here at Wentworth Woodhouse, they are visible from the main gates as one approaches from Wentworth village, as they are at Castle Howard, designed by Carr in 1774. Today, the Stables at Wentworth Woodhouse are often mistaken by visitors to be the house (Illustration 37).<sup>40</sup> At Constable Burton Carr's stables of the 1760s form a single wing of the Palladian villa model, which he rarely repeated, and only once mirrored with a service wing as he did at Thornes House in 1779. Very few of Carr's Stables are hidden away, but their relationship to the house tended towards informality. Wragg in his thesis analysed Carr's Stable designs from a stylistic viewpoint.

---

<sup>39</sup> Mrs Paget Toynbee, ed., *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* (Walpole Society, 1928), pp. 35, 267.

<sup>40</sup> Dan Cruikshank, *The Country House Revealed: A Secret History of the British Ancestral Home* (London: BBC Books, 2011), p. 142.



Illustration 37 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Stable Block, by John Carr, from 1768

This commission is representative of the importance of projects equine to the aristocracy during the eighteenth-century, and as such, is considered a part of ‘polite’ architectural histories. Giles Worsley in his book *The British Stable* wrote that Wentworth Woodhouse stable was probably the largest country house stable of the eighteenth-century.<sup>41</sup>

Returning to our quantitative data for a moment, we can see the aristocracy, for whom horses were an important pastime, were the largest individual commissioners of stable designs from Carr, at 16% of their total projects. This equates to 20 aristocrats building 11 stables. Nine of the 32 mercantile patrons built stables, representing 13% of their total projects, and 17 of 86 members of the gentry built stables. These figures show the importance of the stables to the aristocrat.

---

<sup>41</sup> Worsley, *The British Stable*, p. 153.



Two alternative but undated elevations by Carr survive in the Sheffield Archives, for which he received on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1768 a year's salary.<sup>42</sup> This payment was for £84 and Carr received this sum annually for four years. The second, also undated, stable block elevation is referred to by Carr in a letter dated March 1774, in which he writes to Rockingham:

I herewith send your Lordship another sketch of part of the stable front, upon the center part of which I have designed another Cupola, which I think will be more proper for the situation than that which I before sent your Lordship, as it is more considerable and a bolder and better design.<sup>43</sup>

In closing the same letter Carr asked Rockingham to make a decision between the two in order that he could give directions for a 2ft 6in model made in wood.

For this, the penultimate year of construction, the stables had cost £892 10s. 2½d.<sup>44</sup> It appears the finishing touch, a cupola containing a bell tower, was still being considered at this late stage. Construction of the extended stable complex, which came to include a Riding School, continued into the 1780s under the patronage of Rockingham's nephew Fitzwilliam.

---

<sup>42</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A2, Agent William Martin's Annual Accounts for 1768, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1768. A2 to A6 cover the six years of stable construction.

<sup>43</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/10c, Carr to Rockingham, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1774

<sup>44</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A7, Steward Accounts for 1773

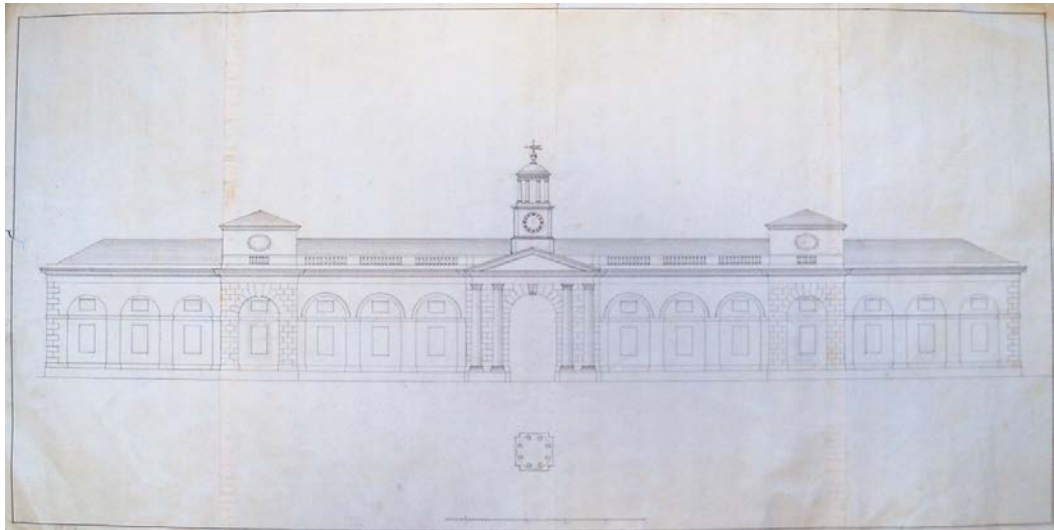


Illustration 38 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Alternative Stable Block Design, by John Carr, 1770s

This second design (Illustration 38), as built, with its alternative cupola is certainly more subtle and simple than the original cupola design which resembled Bramante's Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, as illustrated in Palladio's *Quattro Libri* (Illustration 39).

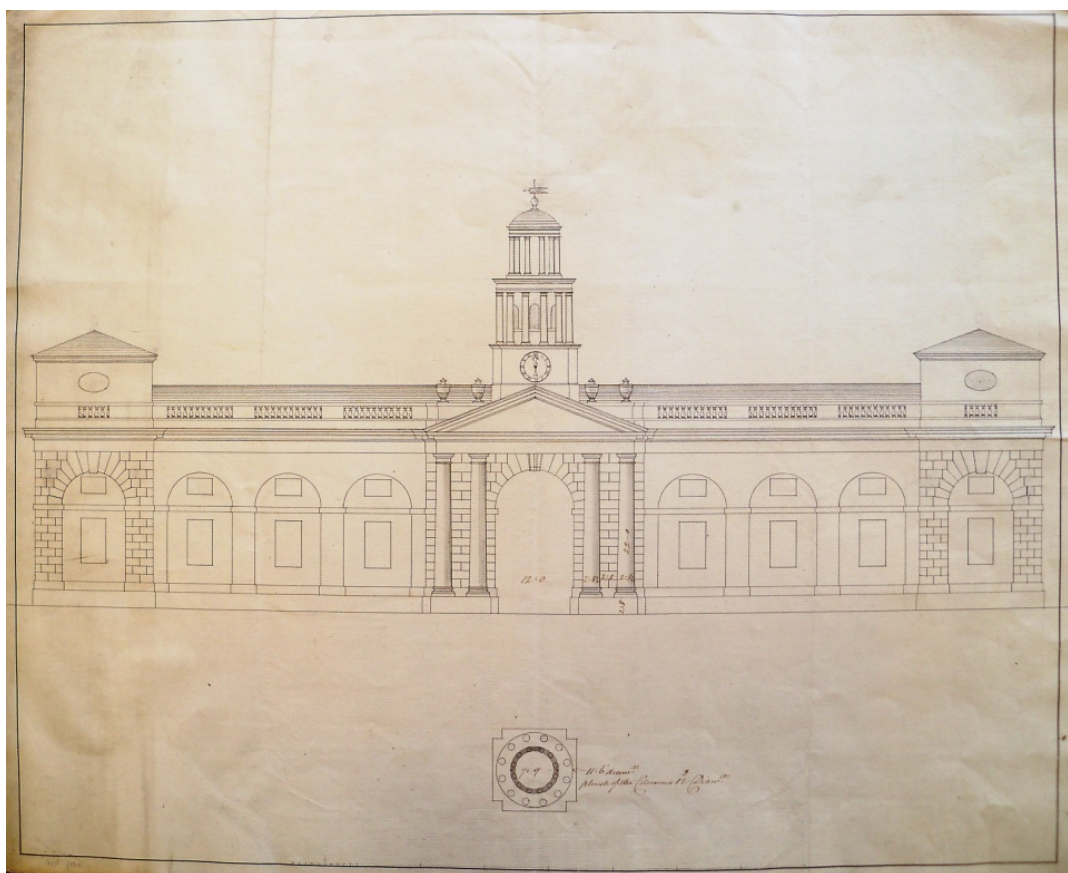


Illustration 39 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Stable Block Design, by John Carr, 1770s

Carr's design differed however in its use of 12 radiating columns as opposed to Bramante's 16 and with the omission of Bramante's first floor balustrade. Carr's second 'bolder and better' proposal complies with the neo-Classical idiom. Geoffrey Howse described the stables as Anglo-Palladian,<sup>45</sup> and Wragg's voice can be heard in Howse's narrative throughout his pamphlet discussing the park buildings of Wentworth Woodhouse.

The stable complex is a 15 bay, north facing façade, behind which is a great quadrangle entered from the park through a rusticated, arched and pedimented portico, supported by four Tuscan columns and topped with Carr's second proposed cupola clock tower. The complex houses a coach house and space for 84 horses, and Fitzwilliam's later Riding House. The whole covers a two acre site. Carr was proud enough of his design to write to Hall in 1781 'Mr Wm Robinson and his brother the Lord Primate of all Ireland who are come to see the house, but particularly the new stables menage, which they have hear of...'<sup>46</sup>

As with his later, larger, stable blocks, Carr's compositional ideas at Wentworth Woodhouse were simple: coupled with a central focal point of a cupola above a pedimented archway, secondary emphasis was placed on each façade midway between the centre point and the ends. This was usually established either with an engaged arch, or as here, with a projection of the façade. Economy then, but not compromise, was also an important element of Carr's design: 'I cannot consent to have the inside arches of the windows in the Ride turned with Brick, they must be turned with compleat[] wrought stone, the beds

---

<sup>45</sup> Howse, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (ii) 159, Carr to Hall, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1781

particularly.<sup>47</sup> The main façade was finished in ashlar; rubble with ashlar dressing for the quadrangle; and rubble for all other areas. Throughout his career, Carr was meticulous when spending the money of others. Within a lengthy correspondence with Hall regarding the construction of walls within the kitchen gardens, Carr wrote:

The prices which you have sent me are put down so much higher than I have ever known given for building Garden walls, that I have written to the man who built Ld Stourtons Garden walls, to know what they will do the business for ...<sup>48</sup>

Wragg considered Carr's Stable block at Wentworth Woodhouse to have been his most exceptional and a section of Wragg's PhD discussing this was published in *Country Life*.<sup>49</sup> Wragg repeated the myth that the funds for its construction came from the winnings of Rockingham's racehorse Whistlejacket, immortalised in George Stubbs' portrait of 1762, and a myth still shared by staff at the house today. However, Rockingham's win of 2000 guineas occurred ten years before construction started on the new stable-block, and the annual accounts of Wentworth Woodhouse Agent William Martin show that costs were met from estate income suggesting the more practical aspect of building as discussed in Chapter 3, as opposed to the whimsical aspect popular with traditional folklore.<sup>50</sup>

From 1770, Agent William Martin first recorded a section entitled 'Under the Surveyor of the Works' which listed all the trades and their work in other

---

<sup>47</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (ii) 65, Carr to steward Benjamin Hall, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1780

<sup>48</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 155, Carr to Hall, 13<sup>th</sup> June 1786

<sup>49</sup> Brian Wragg, 'Stables Worth of Stately Homes', *Country Life*, 21 November 1962, pp. 1072–1073.

<sup>50</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A2 to A6, Agent William Martin's Annual Accounts for 1768 to 1772.

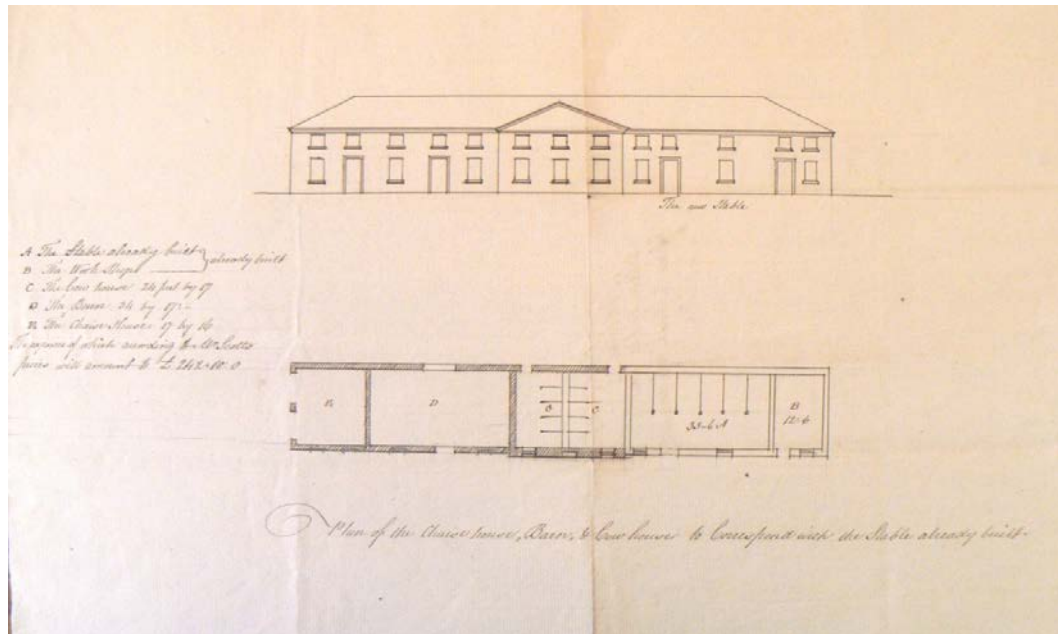
areas of the estate at £1867 7s. 0¾d.<sup>51</sup> Construction costs for the new stables, under the auspices of Carr for the same year totalled £808 6s. 1d. Clearly Carr is not holding the post of Surveyor of Works. We have also seen how Carr was presented with an annual salary of £84 for the four years of construction, and not a fee based on a percentage of costs as is usual.

Almost concurrent with Carr's stable designs for Wentworth Woodhouse appear in the Sheffield Archives a single design for an extension to the stables and offices at Rockingham's Irish estate at Malton House near Shillelagh, Co Wicklow (Illustration 40). Carr proposed a simple one and a half storey design incorporating the original three bay stables and two bay workshops into a new thirteen bay building with a three bay pedimented central breakfront. Carr's proposed building also housed a cowshed, barn and 'chaise house' with room for two coaches. On his submitted plan, Carr noted 'the expense of which according to Mr Scotts prices will amount to £242 10s. 0d.'<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM A4, Agent William Martin's Annual Accounts for 1770.

<sup>52</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/29c, 'Mr Carr's plan of the new offices proposed to be built at Malton'

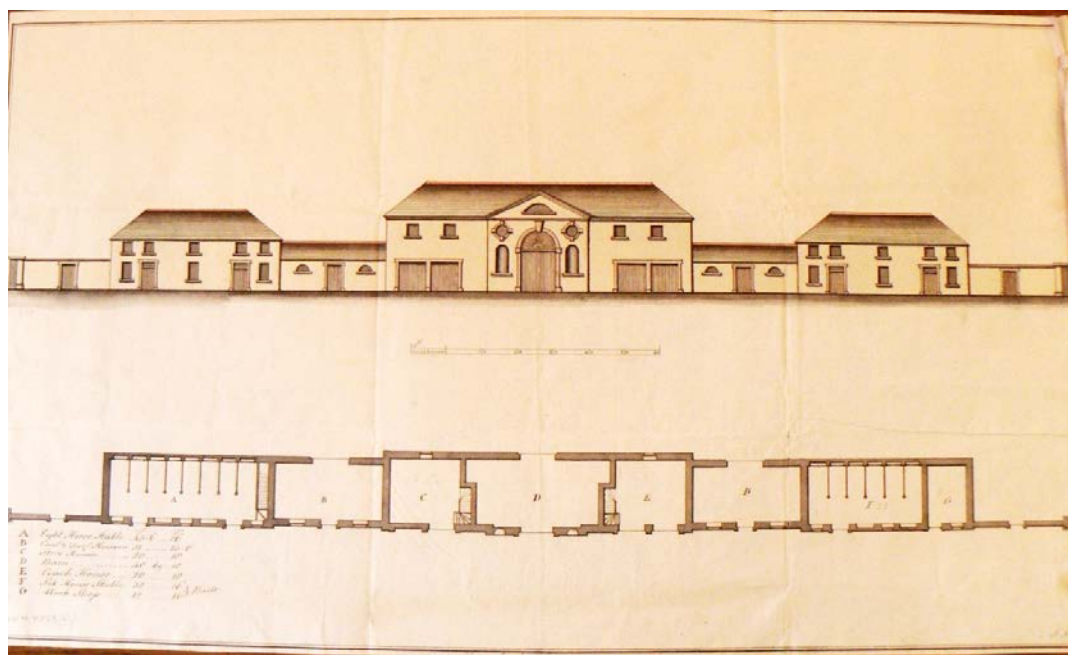


**Illustration 40 - Malton House (now Coolattin House), Stable Block, by John Carr, 1790s**

Solomon Scott was employed by Rockingham and Fitzwilliam from about 1772 until about 1792, initially to evaluate the family's Irish property. Of Malton, Scott wrote 'Your Lordship may see in what an irregular manner the present ill constructed and built house and offices now stand.'<sup>53</sup> With this letter, Scott also included his proposal for a new stable and offices (Illustration 41). Like Carr, Scott incorporated the original three bay stable and two bay workshop, but created this as a pavilion, linked with a three bay screen to a central seven bay block with three bay pedimented central breakfront, the whole matched symmetrically. Scott's estimate for his proposal was £449 0s. 7d. for an additional 2625 square feet.<sup>54</sup> This compares with Carr's estimate of £242 10s. 0d. for an additional 1258 square feet, cheaper per foot by approximately 10 shillings, more aesthetically pleasing and a more practical design.

<sup>53</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/29g, Scott to Rockingham, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1775.

<sup>54</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/29b,



**Illustration 41 - Malton House (now Coolattin House), Stable Block by Solomon Scott, 1790s**

By the 1790s, Fitzwilliam was in discussion with his Steward at Malton, William Wainwright, about upgrading the existing house. Architect John Lascelles was employed by Wainwright, who had written to Fitzwilliam in 1791 ‘Mr Lascelles being out of employment I have had him here ever since my return from Yorkshire’.<sup>55</sup> Both Lascelles and Irish architect Enoch Johnston submitted plans for alterations to Malton.

Fitzwilliam’s son and heir, Viscount Milton, forwarded these plans on to Carr for his comments, which Carr duly forwarded to Fitzwilliam in several letters during January 1796 ‘I have put down my ideas upon the plans which I received from Ld Milton...’<sup>56</sup> Viscount Milton was only eight years old at this point and one must wonder at his involvement. Also of note, is both the relationship between Carr and Milton, and the family’s reliance on the opinion of Carr.

<sup>55</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F/89/132, Wainwright to Fitzwilliam, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1792

<sup>56</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30d, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

Among other things, Carr suggested dividing the main staircase into two and therefore creating space for a bust, adding a third sash window to the Dining Room, removing a superfluous passageway and creating a new access to the water closet on the bedroom floor. More telling, however, is Carr's comment that 'Mr Lassels seems to be a bad Carpenter indeed.'<sup>57</sup> Carr refers here to Lascelles's proposed ceiling construction, noting that more beams would be necessary. With more time to study Lascelles's plans in greater detail, Carr wrote to Fitzwilliam two weeks later 'I am afraid Mr Lascells is but a stupid fellow as he had drawn the elevation as if the ground was as low as the area floor.'<sup>58</sup> Fitzwilliam decided to rely on Carr and commissioned him to undertake the alterations to Malton House. But before work was completed the house was burnt down during the 1798 Rebellion. Lascelles submitted a plan for rebuilding the house in 1799 but the project remained with Carr, even to the extent that his assistant based in York, Thomas Hobson, was sent to Ireland to take over the execution of Carr's design from Lascelles (Illustration 18). The personal account book of Fitzwilliam not seen by Wragg, shows Carr was paid £400 'for the plan of the house in Ireland' on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1806.<sup>59</sup> This again contradicts Wragg's supposition that Carr was on an annual retainer.

Returning our focus to Wentworth Woodhouse and turning to the estate gate-lodge, these can represent a hint of the architectural style and grandeur of the mansion behind and by their distance from it, a lodge could 'mark a command of

---

<sup>57</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30d, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

<sup>58</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30d, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1796

<sup>59</sup> Northamptonshire Records Office, F (M) Misc Vol 778, Personal Account Book of 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Fitzwilliam 1803-1818.



geography'.<sup>60</sup> A number of plans for entrance gates survive in the estate papers labelled in Fitzwilliam's hand 'six different plans for gateways at Wentworth 1805 by Mr Carr.'<sup>61</sup> Two further designs, initialled by Carr and dated September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1799, also survive.<sup>62</sup> This proliferation of designs could coincide with the completion of Humphrey Repton's work on the park landscape from 1791, again emphasising the external professional architectural role of Carr during a major project, rather than that of paid employee.



Illustration 42 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Rainborough Lodge, by John Carr, 1790s

One of the lodges constructed to Carr's design is Rainborough Lodge, now known locally as Lions Lodge as the piers are surmounted by statues of lions (Illustration 42). The lions were always intended, although they do not feature in Carr's design: 'Yesterday I went with my Lord about buying some Lions for the

<sup>60</sup> David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford, 1983), p. 113 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/17/2-7

<sup>62</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/17/1 and 8

two Corinth pillars of the new Gateway but as I was not certain of the breadth of the piers we did not buy any.’<sup>63</sup> The purpose of the letter quoted above from Carr to Hall was to ascertain accurate measurements, to be reported to Carr in York at Hall’s earliest opportunity. This letter also indicates the trade in ready-made architectural motifs. As discussed in an earlier chapter, Carr’s method of working meant client presentation drawings often became working drawings, with only one copy available to the workmen.

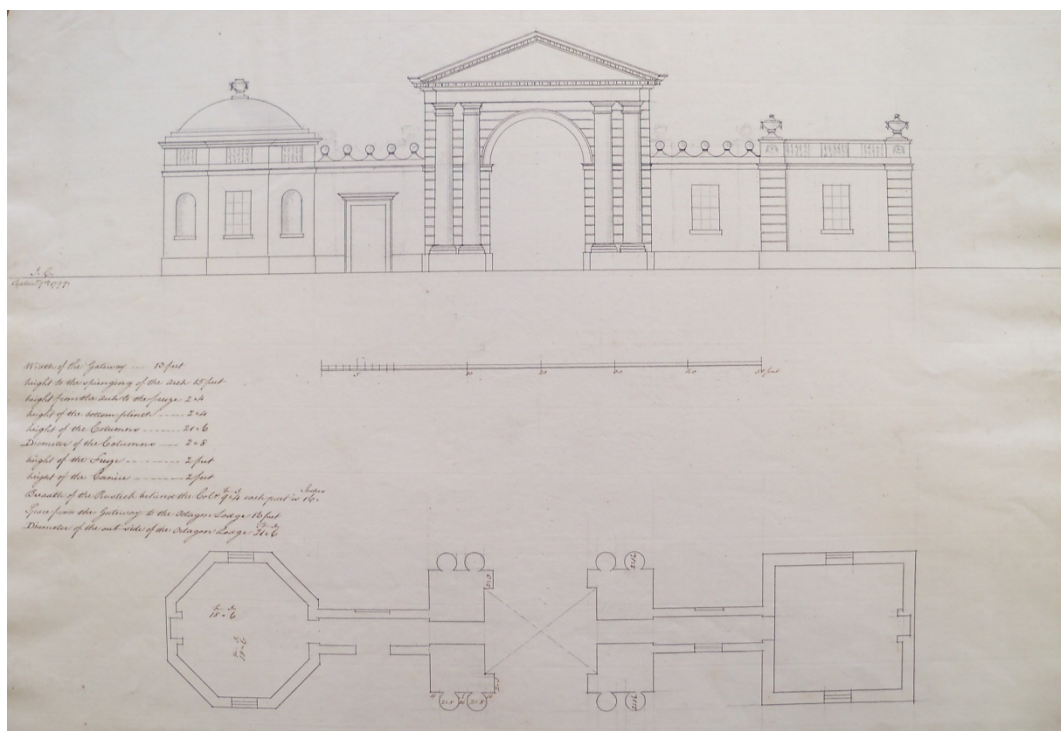
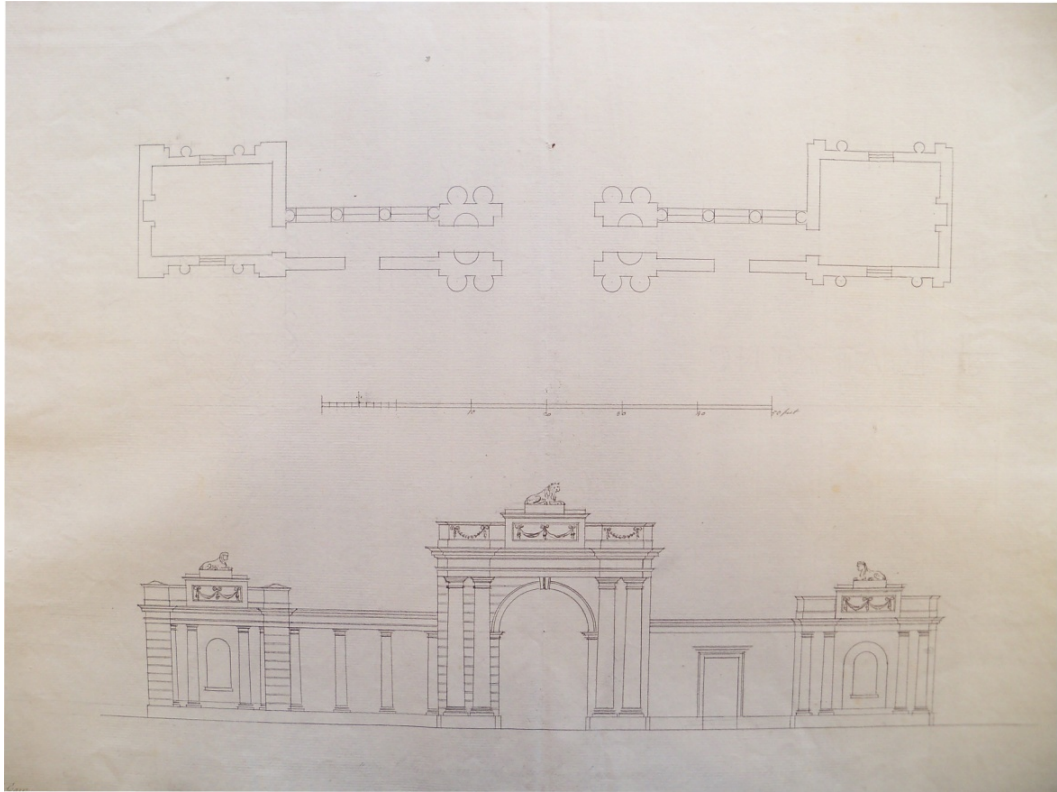


Illustration 43 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s

<sup>63</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (v) 61, Carr to Hall, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1796



**Illustration 44 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s**

Several of the six designs attributed by Fitzwilliam to Carr and dated 1805 include identical lions (Illustration 44), illustrating a ready-made option. We can see that Fitzwilliam's final choice was a *mélange* of elements from several designs.



Illustration 45 - Syon Park, London Road Gate, by Robert Adam, 1760s

Carr's gate lodge design (Illustration 44) incorporating the lions resembles very strongly Adam's design for the London Road gates at Syon Park, Middlesex, which Carr would have passed while travelling from London to Basildon Park in the 1760s (Illustration 45). The date of construction of Rainborough Lodge is unknown, but Carr was writing to Benjamin Hall in 1795 'I should imagine by this time, the Masons must have almost built the gateway & lodges, which when done... ..Sikes can measure off.'<sup>64</sup> After discussing their health and Pitt's behaviour towards Fitzwilliam resulting in Carr's wish that he 'tumble headlong over the Tarpeian rock', Carr returned to the subject of Gate Lodges, writing:

I think you have a plan, of the little Lodge & Gateway,  
which is to be built at the end of the field, towards  
Braunton Bull head, I made a plan of that little building,

---

<sup>64</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (v) 17, Carr to Hall, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1795

when I was last at Wentworth, which I hope you have ready for the Masons to begin off when they have finished the great gateway.<sup>65</sup>

The design bears the strongest resemblance to one of the two independent drawings signed by Carr and dated 7<sup>th</sup> September 1799 (Illustration 46). The design is the only one of the eight without an arched gateway, and is the simplest, alluding perhaps to neo-classical elements popular at the time, as opposed to the other designs which primarily make use of the Tuscan order. The Roman saucer dome also appears five times in the drawings, and by way of economy, Carr varied the two lodges of each design in order to increase the options available to Fitzwilliam, who clearly went for the cheapest and simplest. Carr's choice of the Tuscan order follows the triumphal column commemorating individuals or events, such as Trajan's column, but much closer is Keppel's Column by Carr himself less than two miles away.

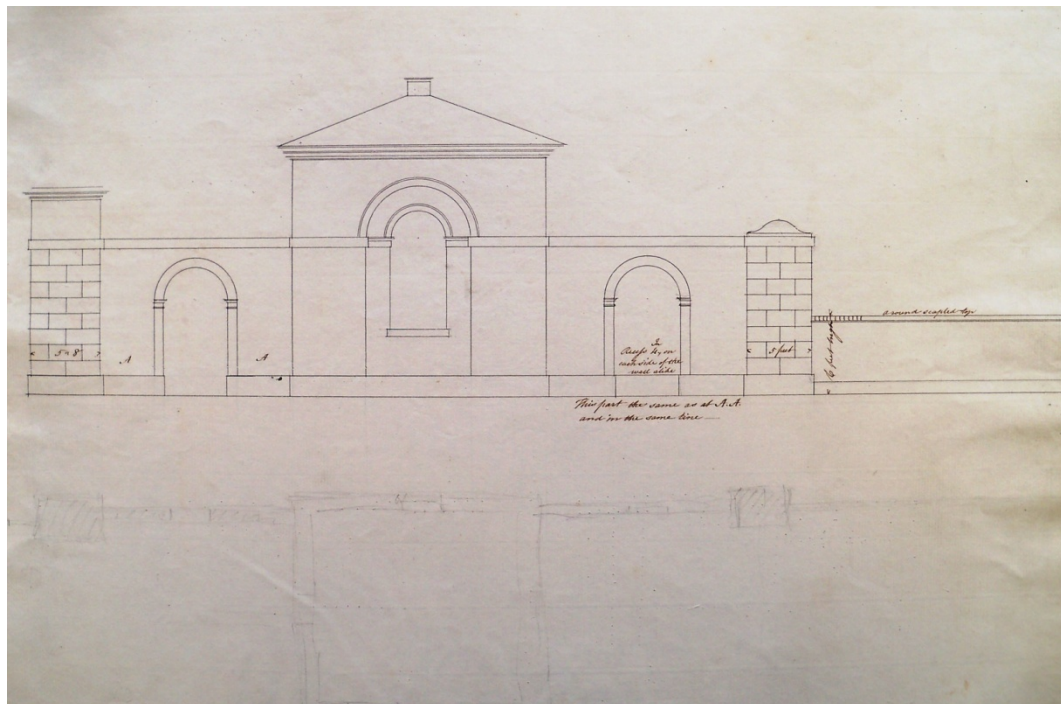


Illustration 46 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s

<sup>65</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (v) 17, Carr to Hall, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1795

The Gateway as constructed incorporates a number of neo-Classical motifs, such as the Greek-key impost band, the modillioned cornice and the single central roundheaded window and door opening to each façade. The implication of this is that neither Carr nor his patron are being academically rigorous in the application of their architecture, mixing their motifs and styles, and, particularly from Carr's perspective, creating a number of designs of differing style to present to Fitzwilliam. While a classical idiom is being used, its use is much more fluid than the academic classicism would dictate. Interestingly, this particular design of Carr's was drawn on the verso of a more elaborate Gateway consisting of a triumphal arch flanked by an octagonal lodge topped with a saucer dome to one side, and a simple flat roofed cube to the other, all heavily articulated and with rusticated applied orders, balustrades and urns. This design clearly represents a mail order catalogue of motifs.

Of a more practical nature, and one less popular for those studying traditional histories of architecture and hence their omission, is Carr's designs for a series of miners' cottages at Elsecar on the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. Initially a small mine employing nine men and boys, it had been purchased from a neighbour by Rockingham in 1752. Steam machinery was introduced by Fitzwilliam in 1795 who also opened up a new seam nearby. This expansion necessitated the construction of homes for the additional men required. Carr was clearly involved from the outset, and in early January 1796 after writing in a letter to Fitzwilliam about his work at Malton House in Ireland, added:

I have had the Elsecar cottages on my mind sometime, but my long absence from home has put me behind hand with all my affairs... .. but I will see about making some little

plans and elevations for the colliers in a day or two and send them to your Lordship.<sup>66</sup>

In a postscript to the same letter, Carr added four days later ‘I have drawn a number of cottages, consisting of one, two, and three families each building, the construction, and roofs of which are as little expensive as possible, having avoided lead gutters.’ Carr produced, in the intervening four days, six designs. These consisted of a single house for one family at £100, a house for two families living independently of each other, at £190, and a small terrace for three families at £270.<sup>67</sup> To ensure ease of construction, Carr suggested Fitzwilliam contract not only the building, but also the supply of materials to the workmen, offering to ‘endeavour to agree for them’ himself before Easter. Carr refers to them as a ‘house for two families’ or a ‘house for three families’ when, to our understanding, he means a semi-detached house, or a terrace of three houses.

---

<sup>66</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30/4, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

<sup>67</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30/4, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

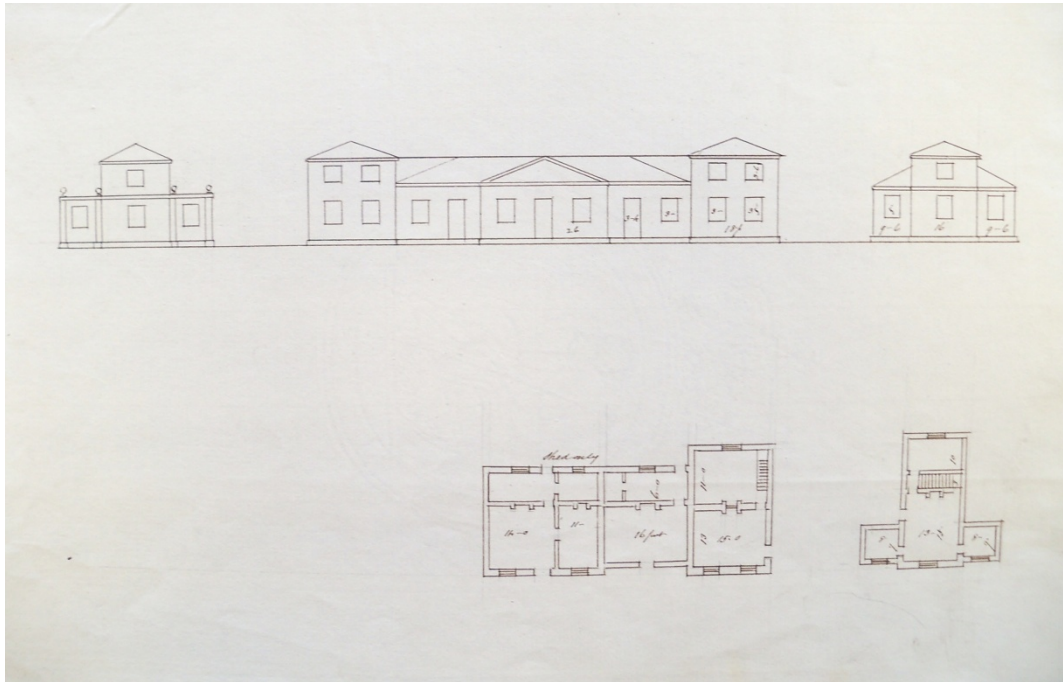


Illustration 47 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Design for Cottages, by John Carr, 1796



Illustration 48 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Elsecar Miners's Cottages, by John Carr, 1790s

The drawings, while detailed, are very different from those, for instance, of the gateways or summer houses. The drawings of the miner's houses are two tone; the



summer house drawings, in contrast, are works of art in themselves, with the use of colour wash to accentuate the horticultural growth surrounding the structure.

While of simple design, and clearly with a mind to economy with the omission of lead guttering, Carr's designs for the miners' cottages have an elegance to them. Classicism is implied in the very shape of the buildings: one design (to the right of Illustration 47) is redolent of an Italian Renaissance church facade, with a two storey central bay breakfront, between single storey, single bay wings roofed with a single sloping span; a further design of a three bay, three room home has a three bay two storey bow breakfront with apsidal roof, terminating with applied pilasters topped with a finial. The whole is redolent of Sir Robert Taylor's design of 1758 for Asgill House in Richmond, less than a mile south of Adam's Gateway at Syon Park.

Fitzwilliam approved Carr's designs, and in the early spring of 1796, Carr wrote to Hall '...have put my Lord six different kinds of Cottages for the Elsecar Colliers – he says he shall come down for a little while at Spring & I shall meet him.'<sup>68</sup> The houses were built although differently from the designs, perhaps with a mind to economy on the part of Fitzwilliam. The single occupancy houses designed by Carr were constructed as individual rented accommodation elsewhere on the estate, such as that on the left of Carr's design that is still seen on the estate today. Similarly, Carr also designed a small village of cottages on the approach to the Harewood estate near Leeds to house factory workers employed in Edwin

---

<sup>68</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (v) 55, Unknown between 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796 and late February, Carr to Hall

Lascelles's ribbon factory.<sup>69</sup> This pre-dates the concept of the model estate by several decades.

The earliest reference to general maintenance and upgrading work at Wentworth Woodhouse undertaken by Carr comes in a letter he sent to Rockingham on 24<sup>th</sup> January 1762. In it Carr agreed to Rockingham's urgent request for the work to be completed before his return from London to Wentworth Woodhouse in order to 'make use of the Gallery chimney'.<sup>70</sup> This required the removal of the existing wall, chimney stacks and re-direction of the flue from the maid's bedroom below and the bed-chamber above. Of interest is its practical subject matter, involving an accomplished architect and his aristocratic patron in response to a small case of upgrading work. Most of the correspondence in the Wentworth Woodhouse papers is from Carr to Hall and Biram; however, in this case we see the very practical nature of the relationship between Rockingham and Carr and the degree of detail of which Rockingham was clearly aware. Rockingham's attention to detail can also be seen in further correspondence to Hall from Carr, in which Carr writes 'In a late conversation I had with Lord Rockingham, he wished the gardiner[] would have a thought about the Peach House, as he has some doubts about the width of it...'<sup>71</sup> This attention to detail also extended to Lady Rockingham 'My Lady Rockingham has shown me your

---

<sup>69</sup> See W A Eden, 'Harewood Village: An Eighteenth Century Housing Scheme', *Town Planning Review*, XIII (1929), 181–186.

<sup>70</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, R/1/221, Carr to Rockingham, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1762

<sup>71</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (i) 152, Carr to Hall, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1777

letter and the joiners[] orders for the plate glass for the window intended in the room behind the Conservatory.’<sup>72</sup>

Very soon after inheriting his uncle’s estates, Fitzwilliam embarked on a programme of alterations at both Wentworth Woodhouse and the London house in Grosvenor Square, where Carr spent two days in May 1783 ‘settling the alterations and improvements necessary’.<sup>73</sup> One of Fitzwilliam’s first commissions at Wentworth Woodhouse was the creation of a new Dining Room to Carr’s design within the existing fabric of the Palladian enfilade in a former Drawing Room, as well as other more general improvements: ‘My Lord asked Mr Fenton today if the Great Dining room was painted, he said he thought it was not which surprised my Lord as well as me.’<sup>74</sup>

The level of involvement of Rockingham in the maintenance of his home clearly continued with Fitzwilliam; not only did Carr involve Fitzwilliam at every level of decision making, as seen in a letter to Hall:

I have this post sent my Lord to Milton 3 patterns for the Curtain Cornice along with the side of the dining room which I have told him ought to be made by the person who makes the Curtains...<sup>75</sup>

but Carr also corresponded directly with Fitzwilliam apprising him of progress ‘I was last week at Wentworth House to set the Gilders at work... ..and I also gave orders for the Masonry, Roof, floors &c for the proper execution of the

---

<sup>72</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (i) 152a, Carr to Hall, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1775

<sup>73</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 21, Carr to Hall, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1783

<sup>74</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 22, Carr to Hall, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1783

<sup>75</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 64, Carr to Hall, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1784.

Kitchen...<sup>76</sup> No detail appears too small for Fitzwilliam and in a letter to Hall, Carr wrote 'My Lord desires the sham Door in the Great upstairs Dining Room on one side of the chimney may be opened and shelves put into it for a chamber pot.'<sup>77</sup> And the following year, as alterations on his newly inherited home at Wentworth Woodhouse continued 'Pray what is the size of the glass which my Lord says is for the drawing room, but he does not like the Frame there is to it, but wishes I would design a more proper.'<sup>78</sup> After the general alterations to ensure the comfort of Fitzwilliam and his family completed by 1784, further work was required in 1789 when the Prince of Wales and his brother the Duke of York visited Wentworth Woodhouse during the York races. In a letter to Hall, Carr outlined the plans discussed by him and Fitzwilliam to convert the Hall into a space for dancing:

...he wishes the Hall floor can be made to dance upon – and before the face of the two chimneys a bunch of flowers are to be put to hide the chimneys... . The chimney should be wall'd up a brick in breath & plaistered over even to look more decent behind the flowers.<sup>79</sup>

The very functional requirement for water closets was also an aspect of the architectural profession traditionally overlooked. Carr was involved in designing them for a number of his clients, even recommending Allans Patent Water Closets to the Duke of Portland over a marble basin, as it is 'much easier kept sweet'.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM F/34/59, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1784

<sup>77</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 21, Carr to Hall, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1783

<sup>78</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 74, Carr to Hall, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1784

<sup>79</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 26, Carr to Hall, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1789

<sup>80</sup> Nottingham Country Archives, Portland Papers, PwF 2547, Carr to 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland, 13<sup>th</sup> September 1777

Carr was commissioned to provide a number of water closets at Wentworth Woodhouse during the 1770s and 1790s, and redesigned the first floor landing at Malton to provide better access to the water closet installed there.<sup>81</sup> By 1783 Carr was sending the workman of his acquaintance Mr Tothman to Wentworth Woodhouse to examine the garden water closet in order to replicate it elsewhere. Carr even requested that Hall ask the estate joiner to remove the seat in order for the workmen to examine the basin and pipes.<sup>82</sup> The need for a water closet within the Gardens at Wentworth Woodhouse is interesting: long-standing current arrangements were clearly adequate within the house, but not in the surrounding grounds in which long periods of time were spent by family and guests. A water closet was installed in 1792 for Lady Fitzwilliam by Carr, who ensured the cistern was placed 5ft 10 inches above the floor, thereby allowing for Lady Fitzwilliam's height of 5ft 6½ inches.<sup>83</sup>

From his practical building background and as a second generation quarry owner, chimney pieces are an important feature of Carr's work throughout his career. As early as 1754 Carr wrote to William Gossip at Thorp Arch Hall 'Your chimney pieces are all finished and securely packed up in Cases made on purpose for em.'<sup>84</sup>

Carr supplied 12 chimneypieces and their hearths for the first floor of Harewood House for Edwin Lascelles; Adam provided those of the *piano nobile*

---

<sup>81</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30d, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

<sup>82</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iii) 10, Carr to Hall, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1783

<sup>83</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 121, Carr to Hall, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1792

<sup>84</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Gossip of Thorp Arch Papers, WYL 1015 23/2, Carr to Gossip, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1754

below.<sup>85</sup> Carr supplied Walter Osborne at Ravenfield Hall with ‘sundry marble chimney pieces’ to the value of £129 18s. 0d., with further marble carvings valued at £7 11s. 0d.<sup>86</sup> The same year Carr received the sum of £63 from Sir Peter Leicester for three chimney pieces for Tabley House.<sup>87</sup> As part of 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland’s maintenance programme at Burlington House, Carr provided new chimney pieces, replaced damaged pieces such as that in the Drawing Room, but also removed existing ones when no longer needed to place in storage for future use.<sup>88</sup> Carr was also happy to recommend others to supply chimney pieces:

If your Grace have not given orders for them, you would do well to give Deval a line, and refer him to my drawing for the Model of the Dining Room chimney, and leave the Design of the Drawing Room to himself.<sup>89</sup>

Evidently Portland took Carr’s advice, as an account for Devall was settled some time after.<sup>90</sup> Work undertaken by Carr 12 years later at Burlington House again saw him suggest to Portland he view a variety of chimney piece designs at Mr Devalls, or Mr Mails at the end of Great Portland Street.<sup>91</sup> Awareness of his patrons’ budget may have also influenced to whom Carr suggest they approach: to George Donston, chemist, constructing a new town house in Worksop, Carr wrote:

---

<sup>85</sup> Eden Collection in RIBA at V&A, Edw 3/1, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1767

<sup>86</sup> Sheffield Archives, Parkin (Osborne) Papers, OR 11, Building Accounts, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1768 and 17<sup>th</sup> March 1769

<sup>87</sup> Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Leicester-Warren Papers, DLT 2173/109, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1769

<sup>88</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/4/232/5, Building Accounts, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1774

<sup>89</sup> Nottinghamshire County Archives, Portland Papers, PwF 2539, Carr to 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1771

<sup>90</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl F5/4/232/5, Building Accounts, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1774

<sup>91</sup> Nottinghamshire County Archives, Portland Papers, PwF 2550, Carr to 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1786

As you propose going to London I could wish you to buy a marble chimney for your best room. They are sometimes to be met with cheaper than having one made on purpose particularly at one Walsh's in South Street, Berkeley Square.<sup>92</sup>

Two fireplace designs by Carr survive in the Fitzwilliam papers at Northampton County Archives, and six in the Wentworth Woodhouse papers at Sheffield Archives. Malton House in Ireland was built to Carr's design, and a document survives in the Wentworth Woodhouse papers listing 'Open[ing]s for fireplaces for which chimney pieces are wanting'.<sup>93</sup> On the principal storey four were required for the Drawing and Dining Rooms, the circular room and the staircase. Nine smaller were required for the chamber storey above. In an accompanying letter, the Malton steward Wainwright wrote to Fitzwilliam 'and sho.[ul]d your Lordship wish to have copies of all Mr Carrs drawings for those fireplaces they shall be finished.'<sup>94</sup> The fireplace drawings in the Wentworth Woodhouse papers are addressed to 'Mr Fisher, Sculptor at the most honble the Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth House.'<sup>95</sup> This helps date the designs which are of a simple, neo-Classic nature, to prior to 1782. Mr Fisher would appear to have been engaged by Carr in the production of chimney pieces for many years, as in 1792, Carr wrote to Hall 'Mr Fisher is still in jail, and nothing has been done for the marble chimney piece for the new room at Milton.'<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Nottinghamshire County Archives, Huthwaite Papers, M 5936, Carr to Donston, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1769

<sup>93</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/33/7

<sup>94</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/32/7, Wainwright to Fitzwilliam, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1805

<sup>95</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/32b verso

<sup>96</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 116, Carr to Hall, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1792. Milton Hall was Fitzwilliam's father's ancestral home near Peterborough.

By the end of the year, Fisher was no longer in gaol and Carr was explaining to Hall that Fitzwilliam was requesting £20 be reduced from the cost of two chimneypieces 'I suppose with grumbling'.<sup>97</sup> Here Carr is acting as intermediary between his patron and the craftsman. It would appear that the services of John Fisher, sculptor of York, were inherited by Fitzwilliam from his uncle. A document dated August 1782 lists a debt owed to Fisher of £100 balance for the work on a marble chimneypiece for the Great Drawing Room at Wentworth.<sup>98</sup> It is not known if Carr supplied the marble and Carr does not appear as a debtor.

Value for money was consistently an important element of Carr's work, and whenever possible Carr recommended the estate mason, Samuel Sykes, carry out the work, the result of which meant 'much expense of a man coming down from London will be saved & I think he will set them up very well.'<sup>99</sup> Practical advice to Sykes from the experienced stone worker was forthcoming when Carr suggested he 'use Baked setting plaister every where about the marble & joints thereof & bury the Cramps in Cement to prevent their rust staining the marble.'<sup>100</sup>

This practical experience Carr gained through working for his father in the family stone quarries proved invaluable; in a letter within the Portland papers to an unknown recipient, Carr discusses the fact that chimneys, in his experience, are better placed against an outside wall as less brick and wood is required and as the

---

<sup>97</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (iv) 158. Carr to Hall, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1792

<sup>98</sup> Northamptonshire County Archives, Fitzwilliam of Malton Papers, F (M) Misc Vol 83, *An Account of Monies and Other Effects Part of the Personal Estate of the Late Charles Marquis of Rockingham, Which Have Come to the Hands of Earl Fitzwilliam*, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1782

<sup>99</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (vii) 14, Carr to Birram, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1801

<sup>100</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM WWM StwP 6 (vii) 14, Carr to Biram, 20<sup>th</sup> February 1801



joists of floors above can end further away from the flue than in a traditional back to back internal chimney, they prove safer from the risk of fire.<sup>101</sup>

Unpublished papers in the Fitzwilliam of Milton archive at Northampton County Records Office show that Carr was responsible for the architectural education of Lord Fitzwilliam's son Viscount Milton. Read in conjunction with those known to Wragg at Sheffield Archives, it would appear Milton was also responsible for overseeing work on Malton House, Ireland, to Carr's design. Milton paid £10 12s. 6d. passage between Milford Haven and Waterford on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1808, returning from Dublin to Holyhead two weeks later. Just prior to his return, Milton paid the labourers at Malton £8 18s. 6d.<sup>102</sup>

Carr's interest in Viscount Milton existed almost from Milton's birth in 1786. Writing to Hall, Carr noted 'I went up into Grosvenor Square last night, and was informed that they were just at that time christening the little Boy.'<sup>103</sup> Two years later, Carr again wrote to Hall 'I am very much obliged to you for the agreeable account you have given me of Ld Milton, I hope he will live to be the master of Wentworth House.'<sup>104</sup>

Milton did indeed become master of Wentworth in 1833, 26 years after Carr's own death. The first reference to Viscount Milton's involvement with Carr and his work occurs in the letter from Carr to Fitzwilliam in which he criticises Lascelles plans for Malton House 'I have put down my ideas upon the plans

---

<sup>101</sup> Nottingham University Library, Portland of Welbeck Papers, Pl E10/1/7/5/15, Carr to unknown recipient, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1795

<sup>102</sup> Northamptonshire County Records Office, Fitzwilliam of Milton, F (M) Misc Vol 105, Private Accounts of Lord Milton, 1808.

<sup>103</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iii) 158, Carr to Hall, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1786

<sup>104</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (iii) 207, Carr to Hall, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1788

which I received from Ld Milton.’<sup>105</sup> At the time of writing, Milton was a few months short of his ninth birthday and this raises questions about his involvement; for an architectural education it would appear young. In this same letter, indicating a personal relationship that does however involve architecture at some level, Carr goes on to discuss the miners’ cottages at Elsecar, writing ‘As Ld Milton let me know he should not call of me before today, I have drawn a number of cottages...’<sup>106</sup> Milton’s relationship with Carr becomes a little clearer, when at the age of 15 Carr referred to him in a letter to estate steward Hall:

I have just now received a grand design of a house 297 feet in front from Ld Milton with explanation to it which I am to examine & criticize upon & he has also sent me a Grand design of a Gateway & Lodges to lead up to his Grand Mansion, you will be pleased and astonished at his performance.<sup>107</sup>

These designs are now lost. From his own country house at Askham Richard, Carr wrote the following month to Hall ‘I have just now received a letter from Lord Milton who says he shall send one another design in a few days.’<sup>108</sup> There is no further reference to this design. A letter and drawing by Milton created just after his 18<sup>th</sup> birthday survives in the Fitzwilliam papers at Northamptonshire County Archives.<sup>109</sup> The intended recipient is possibly Carr, although this is unknown as only one page survives. Carr’s handwriting notes comments at the bottom of the sketch and also on the reverse, addressing the letter to Fitzwilliam in London as

---

<sup>105</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30/4, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1796

<sup>106</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/30/4, Carr to Fitzwilliam, 12<sup>th</sup> January 1796

<sup>107</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (vii) 3. Carr to Hall, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1801

<sup>108</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 6 (vii) 12. Carr to Hall, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1801

<sup>109</sup> Northamptonshire County Records Office, Fitzwilliam of Milton, F (M) Plans 152, sketch and notes by Viscount Milton, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1804

its final recipient. Milton writes in the first person to the initial recipient – Carr – and refers in the sketch to his ‘father’s closet’ while discussing the placing of an oval or circular staircase. A few months earlier, Lady Fitzwilliam wrote to her husband ‘I expect Mr Carr will be here soon. I don’t have time to turn my head to any improvements, but as he is appointed, I trust that Milton and him will do it together.’<sup>110</sup> At this time, Carr was working on his last major project for Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse, the creation of a grand semi-circular staircase from the Hall to the Saloon, which was completed by 1806 (Illustration 49). These papers indicate that perhaps it was a collaborative project between Carr and Viscount Milton. Only as recently as 2010 is the Grand Staircase at Wentworth Woodhouse attributed to Carr,<sup>111</sup> and here we see evidence to show that Viscount Milton was also involved. This shows that architecture is seen as relevant to an aristocratic education as late as the opening decade of the nineteenth century, and that aristocratic involvement in the practice of architecture is still evident.

A letter showing Milton is involved in Carr’s more practical maintenance and alteration work also appears the same year, 1806, when Carr wrote ‘I am very glad Ld Milton has given orders for the present Red plinth to be repaired.’<sup>112</sup> The last reference showing evidence of the relationship between Carr and Viscount

---

<sup>110</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F.128/43, Lady Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1803

<sup>111</sup> Richard Hewlings, ‘The Classical Leviathan: Wentworth Woodhouse’, *Country Life*, 17 February 2010, pp. 46–52.

<sup>112</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM StwP 7 (i) 84, Carr to Biram, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1806

Milton appears in July 1806, when Milton notes in his private account book ‘Paid Mr Carr’s bill £5 13s. 0d.’<sup>113</sup> It is unclear to what this refers.



Illustration 49 - Wentworth Woodhouse, Grand Staircase, by John Carr, 1806

Not only can we see therefore Carr’s role in educating the young aristocrat Milton, but the family papers indicate his education was put to practical use in the regular maintenance projects undertaken by Carr, but also in the more ambitious projects such as the grand staircase of Wentworth Woodhouse. This shows that the idea of the aristocratic education in architecture lessening in importance as the middle class profession of architect rose is not wholly accurate. However, Milton’s practical architectural education, which, judging by the drawings he produced as discussed by Carr, does seem to focus on the grand classical dream, could well be an anomaly. If so, one must ponder why Milton’s father insisted on

---

<sup>113</sup> Northamptonshire County Records Office, Fitzwilliam of Milton, F (M) Misc Vol 105, Private Accounts of Lord Milton, 5<sup>th</sup> July 1806

an architectural education for his son. As discussed in a previous chapter, Fitzwilliam felt his own education in architecture was lacking although the building projects undertaken during his tenure of Wentworth Woodhouse are quite considerable even if left to the care of a professional architect such as Carr.

Thus, having examined the papers relating to Carr's relationship with them held within the collection of the Rockingham and Fitzwilliam families and relating to their estates, we can see his involvement within the wider country house landscape construct. A natural disinclination away from buildings designed for this landscape is still evident, and yet the whole landscape setting involves a symbiotic relationship whereby the house at the centre is the focus, administrative centre and owner's home, and the landscape around provides the needs of the house. As well as the grander buildings such as ornamental bridges, follies, temples and to a lesser extent gate lodges, we can see that Carr, and Adam, so we could perhaps generalise and assume therefore others of their peers, were involved in the more mundane including workers cottages, garden walls, conservatories, and water closets. This shows not only the range of buildings, but also the importance of them within the wider country house setting, and the extent to which the landowner, certainly in this case, is aware of that work. This last point can be extended in the case of the Fitzwilliam family, in which we also see the involvement of the eighteenth-century architect in the tutoring of the nineteenth century landowner in all things architectural. These strands of additional hidden histories can be added to those relating to Carr's work as a surveyor, his female patronage, understanding who his patronage groups were and the accuracy of assumed influences on them, which will be reviewed in the Conclusion to follow.

## Conclusion

To conclude, this closing chapter will summarise my project's key findings while considering my research questions and supplying explicit answers to them, before evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of my research and outlining those new questions this thesis has revealed. The purpose of my study has been to explore previously overlooked, and therefore hidden, eighteenth-century architectural histories using the lens of York based architect John Carr. This can help elucidate our understanding of, and challenge accepted ideas around, architectural histories that traditionally have a London based, stylistic, gendered or elitist class bias, coupled with an exclusive view of the practice of architecture based on the great drawing offices of premier architects such as Carr's peers Sir William Chambers, Robert Adam and Sir John Soane. By using Carr in this way we can see that there are alternative architectural histories that exist in conjunction with, and not in opposition to, established ideas in the field; in particular, we can see how the profession of architect developed through a wider variety of commissions – and patrons – than has conventionally been understood.

These hidden architectural histories are not necessarily deliberately hidden; they are, however, at best, overlooked in favour of more traditional themes. Carr himself is under-studied. While hoping to fill this gap, I do not propose to replace one hierarchy of architectural histories with another, but rather, in turn, provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of those histories. This thesis was designed in the conviction that shifting our viewpoint can reveal alternative perspectives; at its closing, such a perspective appears to have been borne out.

A concise Carr archive is no longer available; following his death in 1807 his country estate at Askham Richard and his town house in York were left to his nephew William with various legacies and properties to other nephews and nieces. The archival material used in this thesis therefore required a wider search, and, in addition to surviving material of Carr's creation, involved searching through the papers and collections of his patrons.

The analysis draws on both quantitative and qualitative research methods. In Chapter 2, in which I explore the accuracy of the assumption that an aristocratic elite was replaced by a rising mercantile class as the premier architectural patronage group, I use quantitative analysis to understand who Carr's patrons were and what they were commissioning. This method is based on, and updates and corrects where necessary, the Catalogue of Carr's work created by Wragg in his PhD thesis. However, the information in the present thesis has been updated and tabulated using excel spreadsheets (Appendix 1), which are then analysed in that chapter, enabling further discussion in Chapter 3. Quantitative analysis as an historical method emerged during the 1970s with advances in Information Technology. By 2000 it was used in many areas, including social, family and economic histories, but it is still rarely found in historical studies as carried out in this thesis. However, in its use in this case to analyse the patronage background and commissions of Carr this method shows that it can be helpful as a means to generate a much greater understanding of who these patrons were, and what they were commissioning. Databases are not usually designed for historians, but they can offer systematic analysis of large pieces of data. It is recognised that spreadsheets created using Excel, as I have done here, are universal, offering open presentation of information and great flexibility for the user once the basics are

understood. Historians focus on the primary source text, the discourse and the narrative, and quantitative analysis can push the researcher towards a narrative dominated by groups or regularities and away from the individual or unique. However, for my purpose here that is precisely what was necessary, since it enabled a categorisation of Carr's patrons to be created, and enabled an ordering of the extensive data revealed. That said, in this thesis, quantitative analysis forms a limited part of the data generation and argument, and in the understanding of the patronage background of Carr that I generate, it is complemented with qualitative analysis.

The theoretical framework of this thesis considers ideas of biography. I have not set out to write a biography of Carr, but rather a biographical study of Carr's work. Freud stated that a biography is justified under two conditions: first, if the subject has had a share in important, generally interesting, events; second, as a psychological study.<sup>1</sup> Without doubt Carr had been involved in 'generally interesting events', but previous writers have struggled in their attempt to stylistically categorise Carr and as part of this, their traditional biographical approach has proven problematic. The present study addresses thematic questions rather than adopting a traditional chronological biographical narrative or stylistic foci. Biography remains fearful and often disrespectful of psychology,<sup>2</sup> but neither danger is applicable here as we are not interested in the private man Carr, but rather on what his work can reveal about alternative and hidden architectural histories.

---

<sup>1</sup> Edel, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Edel, p. 142.



Having explored Carr's History, or rather, his limited place within architectural histories, the following two chapters of this thesis established who Carr's patrons were and the architectural influences upon them. The quantitative analyses as presented in the Appendix in Tables 1 to 3 showed that the largest class group in Carr's practice was the gentry, commissioning the greatest amount of work from Carr; the second largest group consisted of newly established and successful merchants, previously perceived by writers of architectural histories as the dominant group of architectural consumers; and the third were members of the aristocracy. These last two, however, commissioned the same amount of work from Carr at just less than a quarter each of his total output, and as individuals, the aristocracy commissioned more per person than any other group. It becomes clear in the case of Carr that the designs created for the mercantile class have similarities with those created for the gentry, as opposed to imitating or being influenced by the aristocracy. This may be an attempt by them to comply with a recognisable stereotype and to match expected forms, or to create a personal heritage. However, the greatest number of commissions made by members of the gentry consisted of alterations to existing houses, perhaps in order to maintain their place in society and to confirm their longevity. The second most frequent commissioned work sought from Carr by the gentry was for estate buildings. All these commissions show the importance of the estate from which the gentry gained their power and influence: 81% of the gentry's patronage was concerned with either the country house or buildings on the estate surrounding it and this represents Carr's largest genre of work.

'Chapter 3: Carr's Patrons' explored the possible influences on these patrons as individuals. When unpicking provincial architectural patronage of the

late eighteenth-century, it becomes clear that traditional histories, with their singular approach, are not wholly accurate. Influences on consumers of architecture during this period appear to be much more complex than imagined. In exploring these influences, I set out to challenge the perceived importance of the influence of the Grand Tour on architectural consumption. While this experience of foreign travel may have influenced some architectural patrons, Table 3 shows that only 13% of Carr's patrons are known to have undertaken a Grand Tour, while no archival evidence of extensive travel exists for more than three-quarters of Carr's patrons. And yet, it is upon this small group of 13% that writers claim architectural influence is to be found. Of those known to have undertaken a Grand Tour within Carr's milieu, we have also seen, for example in the case of Lord Fitzwilliam, that the young tourist was not particularly interested or knowledgeable in things architectural, and to claim that, decades later, this experience percolated through to the construct of a Palladian country house, is rather fanciful.

The importance of the Grand Tour as an influencing factor is thus very questionable; other influences, when using the lens of Carr, appear stronger, and include family history and the importance of lineage, as in the case of the Portlands of Welbeck and Sykes at Sledmere. Security of acceptance and a sense of belonging, as in the case of Elizabeth Parkin at Ravenfield Hall and William Gossip at Thorp Arch, appear more apparent. In the case of the Duke of Portland, the former – family history and lineage – appears as particularly strong. Also for Portland, his financial problems impacted greatly on his ability to undertake major architectural projects, but with what little income he did enjoy, he commissioned alteration works to existing buildings, but was the third in a line of builders at

Welbeck to include his mother and grandmother. While finances may not necessarily influence architectural style, it does impact on architectural consumption. The former is explored via ideas around the architectural publication and print, which, in the case of the latter, is influenced directly from the source of the building – be it in Italy or Wiltshire. Therefore, we can see *how* Carr’s patrons built what they did, but not always *why* they built the way they did. The focus on the latter point of course, led previous writers such as Wragg down avenues of confusion.

Turning our attention to one particular patronage group, ‘Chapter 4: Carr’s Women’ explored the role of women within architectural practice generally, and the female architectural patronage of Carr in particular. This revealed the complex nature of the relationship of women to architecture, and the inaccuracy of previously assumed gender roles in this regard. Architectural consumption during the eighteenth-century was more complex than previously assumed, and in the case of married patrons, often included both partners. Traditional, masculine histories tended to obscure the contribution of women to architectural patronage, thereby reducing their panoramic potential; this thesis does not seek to replace the emphasis on one gender with an alternative focus on another, but rather to establish a duality of perspective and evidence, and thereby is likely to increase our understanding of key questions such as who architectural patrons were, what they commissioned, and, in at least some cases, why they did so.

The subsequent two chapters of this thesis looked in detail at two particular roles undertaken by an eighteenth-century architect which have been overlooked because of the focus selected by conventional architectural historians on the grand and classical buildings created in the great London based drawing

offices of those architects that history has raised to the premier league. The first, 'Chapter 5: Carr's Role', explored surveying within the professional life of the architect, an aspect of practice which was overtly criticised and subsequently ignored by Sir John Summerson, and focuses in particular on Carr's function on behalf of the Portland family on their estate in Soho, London. The second, 'Chapter 6: Carr's Country House Setting' considered the role of the professional architect in the creation and maintenance of the country house and its landscape. Histories of the country house clearly still retain their original aristocratic focus and generally concentrate on the large house at the centre of the country estate, ignoring the wider setting in which it was placed and upon which it relied in a symbiotic relationship. While the present study has attempted to present alternative and less elitist histories, it is interesting to recall that the strength of the archive upon which this chapter is based is an aristocratic one. While this does not reveal previously 'hidden histories' in terms of class as other chapters do, it does offer an additional view to existing ideas as an added strand, while also helping to understand the wider situation of the country house, both literally and figuratively.

As a result then, this thesis has successfully explored and established previously overlooked, and often hidden, eighteenth-century architectural histories. In sum, a number of elements contribute to our knowledge of architectural histories, particularly in regard to John Carr: the mercantile class did not replace the aristocracy as the leaders of architectural consumption, but in fact both groups commissioned a similar number of projects. In fact, the gentry were, and remained, the dominant group among Carr's patrons. The archival evidence pointing toward the influence of the Grand Tour is very limited, and yet, writers around the subject have laboured its importance. In the case of Carr, many other

interwoven and complex stands of influence are evident. Women were involved in both the practice and patronage of architecture, and the case of Carr shows us that by understanding this we can solve some of the puzzles that have perplexed previous writers, unable to explain why Carr built certain buildings, or modified them, in the way that he did. Finally, when considering the role of the professional architect, we see the importance of the previously dismissed-as-secondary aspect of surveying, which was a matter of such import that the Architects Club discussed it on their second meeting. We also see the role of the architect in the maintenance and creation of the mundane within the country house landscape, including melon houses, glasshouses and water closets, in conjunction with the grand and classical, such as temples, summer houses and bridges. In the case of Carr, this aspect of his profession also revealed to us the idea of the aristocratic architectural education at a time, 1800, when we could consider it as obsolete.

What this project was not able to explore, among other things, was whether Carr undertook a traditional Grand Tour; only one reference states that Carr travelled beyond these islands, to France. We also do not know emphatically what influenced him stylistically other than generalisations about his exposure to Lord Burlington in the 1740s, and Robert Adam in the 1750s. Carr was diverse in his style and as we know, the sobriquet 'Palladian' is not wholly accurate for him. As far as is known, Carr did not comment on his views about style, and the archives show that he rarely offered stylistic choice, but instead, presented a final design to his patrons. All these questions remain unanswered in the main because of the lack of a Carr archive. Should such a collection of papers become available at some point in the future, it could yield much useful information.

In evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of this project, we must thus consider the importance and originality of the archive work. The lack of an established Carr archive could perhaps have proven problematic, but in expanding the scope of the archives to be interrogated, other aspects of Carr's architectural histories are revealed. These strands contribute to knowledge in the ways outlined above, and, using the visual analogy expressed in the Introduction to this thesis, add colour and tone to what has already been published. In doing so, we have shed new light on such aspects as the role of women within architecture as practitioners and patrons, the multi-faceted role of the professional architect, and the make-up of patronage groups. Methodologically, this research project made use of quantitative analysis to support the qualitative approach more usual in humanities subjects. This helped reveal previously overlooked information about the patronage groups of Carr, and the accuracy around claims of the importance of the Grand Tour on eighteenth-century architectural leadership and consumption.

As well as representing a strength of this thesis through their ability to confer originality, these archives had not, in some cases, been consulted by previous scholars; the archives used for this thesis can also represent a less positive aspect, at least potentially. How certain can I be that I found and used all the relevant material? Much time was spent exploring the archives relating to the families of Carr's patrons in order to reveal glimpses of Carr himself, a process which did, in fact, throw up interesting cross references. As noted above, it is possible that a Carr archive may reveal itself at some point in the future, but in expanding the scope of the archive search, many other aspects of Carr's work have become apparent. Some properties, as private homes, were not available to me, while the owners of other homes were more than willing to share their time,

space and resources. Wentworth Woodhouse has only within the last year become available to public access, having remained a very private space for many years, and I was able to undertake a visit there towards the end of my studies; this access, metaphorically hot-off-the-presses, is a further aspect of the originality of the evidence I have been able to assemble for analysis.

As with all projects, time, scope and money have impacted on the execution of this thesis. In embarking on this project, decisions had to be made early on in order to focus on the themes to be explored in greater detail. With a project such as this, with a biographical approach and using the lens of one person to explore alternative and additional strands of architectural history, I must beware generalisations: how far can I state that the findings relating to one person are applicable to his peers? This conundrum of course offers opportunities for future work on other eighteenth-century architects, perhaps those fellow members of the Architects Club with Carr? However, such questions do not invalidate what I have found as far as John Carr is concerned; this thesis is original work based on archival evidence that has made a contribution to knowledge.

Future research may, or may not, show the same findings with the work of other architects working outside London, such as James Paine, and on a positive note it should be recalled that Howard Colvin's biographical dictionary would indicate a similarity with the findings of Carr's work. However, the archival evidence would also indicate that Carr had a very personable relationship with his patrons, which, as far as is known, was unusual; further work on the question of whether other architects had similar relationships with their patrons would be interesting, and could elucidate the accuracy of my tentative conclusion on this head. If such evidence is eventually forthcoming, it could in turn add layers to our

understanding of how and why the development of architecture as physical construction, and architecture as a profession, took the particular paths that they did.

While considering the work of Carr for the Dundas family at Aske Hall in Yorkshire, in conjunction with Robert Adam at the family's home of Moore Park near London, further exploration of this allocation of architectural commissions could elucidate issues around the presumption of artistic metropolitan leadership versus provincial architectural consumerism. Additionally, as we have seen, the importance of the role of women in architecture in France was evident to Wren; future research could perhaps compare and contrast the differing roles of contemporary women within the architectural patronage of each country and in the careers of other architects.

Carr was much more than an architect. He was a political activist, member of both the Whig party and the Rockingham Club, of which he acted as President on occasion, Alderman and twice Lord Mayor of York, member of York Assembly Rooms, quarry owner, extensive traveller within England, builder, husband, son, and uncle. In ending this thesis, I call to mind what Virginia Woolfe claimed when commenting on her work *Orlando*: 'a biography is considered complete if it merely accounts for six or seven lives, whereas a person may well have as many as a thousand.'<sup>3</sup> I hope that this thesis, albeit a biographical study rather than a biography as such, has shown how by taking these six or seven strands it is possible to weave a tapestry that is worth the onlooker's gaze, and that hidden histories are worth exploring.

---

<sup>3</sup> Banner, p. 581.



## Bibliography

- Ackerman, James, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990)
- Arciszewska, Barbara, and Elizabeth McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Architecture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Arnold, Dana, 'Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House', in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. by Dana Arnold (London: Sutton, 1998), pp. 100–116
- , *Reading Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2002)
- , *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998)
- , *The Spaces of the Hospital: Spatiality and Urban Change in London 1680-1820* (London: Routledge, 2013)
- Backscheider, Paula, *Reflections on Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Baird, Rosemary, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses* (London: Phoenix, 2004)
- Banner, Lois W, 'Biography As History', *American Historical Research*, 114 (2009), 578–586
- Barthes, Roland, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1990), pp. 142–148
- Black, Jeremy, *Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Hambledon, 2005)
- Bolton, Arthur T, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758-1794)* (London: Country Life, 1922)
- Borsay, Peter, 'Landed Elite and Provincial Towns in Britain 1660-1800', *Georgian Group Journal*, 13 (2003), 281–294
- Briggs, Martin, *The Architect in History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927)
- Bristol, Kerry, and Jill Low, 'William Weddell – A Biographical Note', in *Drawing From the Past: William Weddell and the Transformation of Newby Hall* (Leeds Museums and Galleries, 2005), pp. 13–24
- Caine, Barbara, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010)
- Cannon, John, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England*, Second (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

- Carpino, Alexandra, 'Margaret of Austria's Funerary Complex at Brou', in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, by Cynthia Lawrence (Pennsylvania State University, 1997), pp. 37–52
- Chalus, Elaine, *Elite Women in English Political Life C.1754-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005)
- Chew, Elizabeth, 'A Mockery of the Surveyor's Style?: Alternatives to Inigo Jones in Seventeenth Century Elite British Architecture', in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Architecture*, by Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Collins, Peter, 'Parallax', *Architectural Review*, 132 (1962), 387–390
- Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London: Yale University Press, 1995)
- , 'Gothic Survival or Gothic Revival', in *Architectural Review*, 1948, pp. 91–98
- , *History of the King's Works* (London: Department of the Environment, 1963)
- Colvin, Sidney, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: Macmillan, 1898)
- Connor, Timothy, 'The Building of Campsmount', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 47 (1975), 121–32
- Craig, Maurice, *Classic Irish House of the Middle Size* (London: Architectural Press, 1976)
- Crinson, Mark, and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)
- Cruikshank, Dan, *The Country House Revealed: A Secret History of the British Ancestral Home* (London: BBC Books, 2011)
- Dolan, Brian, *Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001)
- Edel, Leon, *Writing Lives: Principia Biographica*, Second (New York: Penguin, 1984)
- Eden, W A, 'Harewood Village: An Eighteenth Century Housing Scheme', *Town Planning Review*, XIII (1929), 181–186
- Eden, William, 'John Carr, Architect of York, 1723-1807' (unpublished B.Arch (Hons) thesis, Liverpool, 1928)

- ffolliot, Sheila, 'The Ideal Queenly Patron of the Renaissance', in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, by Cynthia Lawrence (Pennsylvania State University, 1991), pp. 99–110
- Fleming, John, *Robert Adam and His Circle* (London: John Murray, 1962)
- Foster, Joseph, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. (London: The Compiler, 1874), III
- Foucault, Michel, 'What Is an Author', in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin, 1984), pp. 104–120
- Friedman, Alice T., 'Wife in the English Country House', in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, by Cynthia Lawrence (Pennsylvania State University, 1997)
- Germann, Jennifer G, 'The Val-de-Grace as a Portrait of Anne of Austria: Queen, Queen Regent, Queen Mother', in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, by Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Gibson, Tessa, 'The Designs for the Knavesmire Grandstand, York', *Georgian Group Journal*, viii (1998), pp. 76–87
- Girouard, Mark, *Life In The English Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978)
- Gwilt, Joseph, *A Treatise of the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, by Sir William Chambers, with Illustrations, Notes and an Examination of Grecian Architecture* (London, 1825)
- Hall, Ivan, 'Adam and Carr', in *Adam in Context* (Georgian Group, 1993), pp. 29–33
- , 'Buxton: The Crescent', *Georgian Group Journal*, 2 (1992), 40–55
- , *John Carr of York, Architect, 1723-1807* (Horbury: Rickaro Books, 2013)
- Harris, Eileen, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- , *The Genius of Robert Adam* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2001)
- Harris, John, 'The Dundas Empire', *Apollo*, 1967, 170–179
- , *The Palladians* (London: Trefoil, 1981)
- Harrison, Brett, 'Thorp Arch Hall, 1749-1756: "dabbling a Little in Mortar"', *Miscellany*, Second, 4 (1994), 1–39
- Hewlings, Richard, 'The Classical Leviathan: Wentworth Woodhouse', *Country Life*, 17 February 2010, pp. 46–52

- , 'Women in the Building Trades 1600-1850: A Preliminary List', *Georgian Group Journal*, 10 (2000), 70–83
- Hill, George Birkbeck, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934), III
- Hills, Helen, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Hinchcliffe, Tanis, 'Women and the Practice of Architecture in Eighteenth Century France', in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, by Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 83–114
- Hird, Stephen, *The Wentworth Monuments* (Rotherham: Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, 1994)
- Hoffman, Ross, *The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham* (New York: Fordham, 1973)
- Howse, Geoffrey, *The Wentworths of Wentworth: The Fitzwilliam (Wentworth) Estates and the Wentworth Monuments* (Wakefield: Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Wentworth Amenity Trust, 2000)
- Jackson-Stops, Gervase, *Country House Garden: A Grand Tour* (London: Pavilion, 1991)
- Jacques, David, *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford, 1983)
- James, Frank, 'Constructing Space for Science at the Royal Institute of Great Britain', *Physics in Perspective*, 2007, 130–185
- Jenkins, Frank, *Architect and Patron* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961)
- Kaye, Barrington, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Study* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960)
- Kostoff, Spiro, *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Lawrence, Anne, 'Women Using Building in Seventeenth Century England: A Question of Sources', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2003), 293–303
- Lawrence, Cynthia, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania State University, 1997)
- Lees-Milne, James, *Earls of Creation: Five Patrons of Eighteenth Century Art* (London: Hamish, 1962)
- Littlejohn, David, *The Role of the English Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

- Longford, Paul, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994)
- Lord, Carla, 'Jeanne D'Everaux as a Founder of Chapels', in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, by Cynthia Lawrence (Pennsylvania State University, 1997), pp. 21–36
- Markham, Francis, *Booke of Honour. Or Five Decades of Epistles of Honour* (London: Mathewes and Norton, 1625)
- Myerscough, Corita, ed., *Uncle John Carr: The Diaries of His Great Nieces, Harriet and Amelia Clark* (York Georgian Society, 2000)
- Quiney, Anthony, 'Benevolent Vernacular: Cottages and Workers' Housing', in *Georgian Vernacular*, ed. by Neil Burton (Georgian Group, 1996), pp. 45–50
- Richardson, Albert E., *Monumental Classic Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Norton, 1914)
- Rowan, Alistair, 'Gothic Restoration at Raby Castle', *Architectural History*, 15 (1972), 23–50
- Rustin, Michael, 'Reflections on the Biographical Turn In Social Science', in *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*, by Pru Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraff (London: Verso, 2000), pp. 33–52
- Stevenson, Christine, *Medicine and Magnificence: The British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815* (Yale University Press, 2000)
- Summerson, John, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, Fifth (London: Yale, 1993)
- , *Georgian London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)
- Toynbee, Mrs Paget, ed., *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* (Walpole Society, 1928)
- , *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), III
- Turberville, Arthur Stanley, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939)
- Unknown Author, *Essay on Qualifications of an Architect* (London, 1773)
- Wiesner, Merry, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Williamson, Tom, *Chatsworth: A Landscape History* (Oxford: Windgarth Press, 2005)

- , *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Sutton, 1998)
- Wilson, Richard, 'Merchants and Land: The Ibbetsons of Leeds and Denton', *Northern History*, 24 (1988), 75–100
- Wilson, Richard, and Alan Mackley, *The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880: Creating Paradise* (London: Hambledon, 2007)
- Wilton-Ely, John, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, by Spiro Kostoff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 180–208
- Wittkower, Rudolf, *Architectural Principles In The Age Of Humanism* (New Haven: Norton, 1949)
- , *Palladio And English Palladianism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974)
- Woolfe, James, and John Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, 1771* (London: Dover, 2009)
- Worsley, Giles, 'Adam as Palladian', in *Adam in Context* (Georgian Group, 1993), pp. 6–13
- , *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 1995)
- , 'The Architect as Surveyor', in *Georgian Architectural Practice*, by Giles Worsley (Georgian Group, 1991), pp. 39–44
- , *The British Stable* (London: Yale, 2004)
- Worsley, Lucy, 'Female Architectural Patronage in the Eighteenth Century and the Case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley', in *Architectural History* (Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2005), XLVIII, 139–162
- Wragg, Brian, 'John Carr: Gothic Revivalist', in *Studies in Architectural History* (York Institute of Archaeology, 1956), pp. 9–34
- , 'Stables Worth of Stately Homes', *Country Life*, 21 November 1962, pp. 1072–1073
- , *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, ed. by Giles Worsley (York: Oblong, 2000)
- , 'The Life and Works of John Carr of York: Palladian Architect' (unpublished PhD Thesis, York Institute of Architectural Studies, 1975)

# Illustrations

## Introduction

1. Basildon Park, South Front, by John Carr, 1776. Author's Own
2. Basildon Park, Staircase Hall and Octagon Drawing Room From The Entrance Hall, by John Carr, 1776. Author's Own
3. Basildon Park, View From Octagon Drawing Room Bay Window Across The Thames Valley, by John Carr, 1776. Author's Own
4. *John Carr*, by Sir William Beechey. National Portrait Gallery, NPG4062
5. *John Carr*, by William Daniel (After George Dance). National Portrait Gallery, NPG D12178
- 6:
  - Ossington Hall, Design for Mausoleum by John Carr, 1782. Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Dennison of Ossington Papers, De2 P6
  - Constable Burton Hall, West Front, by John Carr, from 1767. Author's Own
  - York Law Courts, by John Carr, from 1776. Author's Own
  - Bootham Park Lunatic Asylum, by John Carr, from 1777. Author's Own
  - Wentworth Woodhouse, Design for Fireplace by John Carr. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-9/2
  - Busby Hall, Design of Elevation by John Carr, 1757. North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZDU Mic 1299/872
  - St James, Ravenfield, Design by John Carr, 1764. Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Articles of Agreement, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1756
  - Castlegate House, York, by John Carr, 1765. Author's Own

## Carr's History

7. Bootham Park Lunatic Asylum, South Elevation, by John Carr, 1774. Author's Own
8. Knavesmire Grandstand, York, by John Carr, 1754. Engraving by William Lindley, York City Art Gallery
9. Knavesmire Grandstand, York, by John Carr, 1754. Photographed in 2009. Author's Own
10. Harewood House, South Front, by John Carr, 1759. Engraving by George Milton
11. Constable Burton, West Front, by John Carr, 1762. Author's Own

## Carr's Place

12. Harewood House From The South, by John Carr, 1759. From *A Complete History of the County of York*, by Thomas Allen, 1828. (Free Use)
13. Thorpe Arch Hall, West Front, by John Carr, 1756.
14. Denton Park, South Front, by John Carr, 1776. From *Upper Wharfedale* by Harry Speight (Elliot Stock: 1900). (Free Use)
15. Thoresby, Elevation Design by John Carr, 1767. James Woolfe and John Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, (London, 1771), v, pl 11
16. Raby Castle, Hall in 1900, by John Carr, 1771. *Country Life* Image Library. With Permission
17. Malton House (Now Coolattin House), by John Carr, 1799. Author's Own

18. Malton House (Now Coolattin House), Design by John Carr, 1799. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-33/2
19. Constable Burton, West Front, by John Carr, 1767. Author's Own
20. Basildon Park, by John Carr, 1776, North Front. Author's Own
21. Grimston Garth, by John Carr, 1781. East Riding of Yorkshire Museum Service, ERYMS : 2002.28

### **Carr's Patrons**

22. Ponto Santa Trinita, Florence. Engraving by J S Muller, c. 1760. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/MP/8/11
23. Plan and Elevation of a Round Temple, from Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones*; and, Ossington Hall, Design for Mausoleum by John Carr, 1782. Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections, Dennison of Ossington Papers, De2 P6
24. Door Design, from *Civil Architecture*, by Sir William Chambers; and Bootham Park Lunatic Asylum, by John Carr, from 1777, Entrance Door. Author's Own

### **Carr's Women**

25. St James, Ravenfield, Design by John Carr, 1764. Rotherham Archives, Parker Rhodes Solicitors Papers, 63-B/8/1/5/37, Articles of Agreement, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1756
26. St James, Ravenfield, by John Carr, 1764. Author's Own
27. 47 Bootham, York, by John Carr, 1752. Author's Own
28. 47 Bootham, York, by John Carr, 1752, Floor Plan in 1840 Sale Catalogue, Bootham School Archivist
29. Busby Hall, Design of Elevation by John Carr, 1757. North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZDU Mic 1299/872
30. Busby Hall, Design of Offices, by John Carr, 1757. North Yorkshire County Records Office, Turner of Kirkleatham Papers, ZDU Mic 1299/868

### **Carr's Role**

31. South Side of Compton Street, Soho, London, Ground Plan Survey, by John Carr, 1795. Nottingham University Manuscripts and Special Collections PL E10-5-20

### **Carr's Landscape**

32. Wentworth Woodhouse, Bridge Design, by John Carr, 1760. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-08/14.
33. Wentworth Woodhouse, Three Summer House Designs, by John Carr, 1765. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-11-1,2 and 3
34. Wentworth Woodhouse, Rockingham Mausoleum, by John Carr, 1782. Author's Own
35. Plate 42 from *Designs of Inigo Jones*, by Isaac Ware (London, 1757); First Mausoleum Design, by John Carr, 1782. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-13-1
36. Wentworth Woodhouse, Octagon Lodge, 1741. Author's Own
37. Wentworth Woodhouse, Stable Block, by John Carr, 1770s. Author's Own
38. Wentworth Woodhouse, Stable Block Design, by John Carr, 1770s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-10/3



39. Wentworth Woodhouse, Alternative Stable Block Design, by John Carr, 1770s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-10/2
40. Malton House, Stable Block Design, by John Carr, 1790s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-29/3
41. Malton House, Stable Block Design, by Solomon Scott. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-29/2
42. Wentworth Woodhouse, Ranesborough Lodge, by John Carr, 1790s. Author's Own
43. Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-17-1
44. Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-17-
45. Syon Park, London Road Lodge, by Robert Adam, 1768. Author's Own
46. Wentworth Woodhouse, Gate Design, by John Carr, 1790s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-17-1 verso
47. Wentworth Woodhouse, Designs for Cottages, by John Carr, 1790s. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM-MP-16-4
48. Wentworth Woodhouse, Cottages, by John Carr, 1790s. Author's Own
49. Wentworth Woodhouse, Grand Staircase, by John Carr, 1806. Author's Own

## **Appendices**

Table 1

Table 2

Table 3

Appendix 1 – Library Catalogue

Appendix 2 – Letter From Amelia Hall to Benjamin Hall

Appendix 3 – Extract of Letter From Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas

Appendix 4 – Extract of Letter From Lord Rockingham to John Carr

**Table 1****Background of Patrons and Commission Types of John Carr,  
Summarising Following Pages' Charts**

	<b>Total No Persons</b>	<b>Total No Comms</b>	<b>Alterations</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Estate</b>	<b>House</b>	<b>Public Buildings</b>	<b>Stables</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Survey</b>	<b>Per person</b>
Gentry	86	140	50	5	36	29	1	17	1	1	1.6
Mercantile	32	69	10	4	15	27	3	9	1	0	2.2
Aristocrat	20	67	29	0	15	4	7	11	0	1	3.4
Committee	20	80	27	2	0	1	50	0	0	0	4.0
Church	9	11	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.2
Professional	6	14	3	1	3	6	0	1	0	0	2.3
Total Type	173	381	125	15	69	67	61	38	2	4	2.4

### John Carr's Gentry Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background		
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Kirklees Hall	Armytage, Sir George	1								1759-60	Yes	
Arthington Hall	Arthington, Thomas	1								1760-70	No Evidence	
Durham Castle	Barrington, Bishop Shute			1						1791	No Evidence	
Bretton Hall	Beaumont, Col T R	1		1						1793	No	
School, Thirsk	Bell, Ralph							1		1770	No	
The Hall		1								1771-74		
Belle Vue	Braithwaite, Revd William				1					1794	No	
Weston Park	Bridgeman, Sir Henry MP								1	1784	No Evidence	
Ormsby Hall	Burrell-Massingberd, William	1								n.d.	Yes	
Kirkland Hall	Butler, Alexander				1					1760	No	
<b>Staunton Hall</b>	<b>Charlton, Anne</b>	<b>1</b>								<b>1778-80</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>	
Howsham Hall	Cholmley, Nathaniel	1		1						1775	No Evidence	
Clifton Hall	Clifton, Sir Gervase	1								1778-90	No Evidence	
Lytham Hall	Clifton, Thomas				1					1757-64	No Evidence	
Burton Constable Hall	Constable, William	1								1760	Yes	
Everingham Hall	Constable, William Haggerston				1					1758-64	No Evidence	
Streetthorpe	Cooke, George				1					1769	No	
Workington Hall	Curwen, Henry	1								1778	No	
Bell Isle	Curwen, John Christian	1								1795	No	
Workington Hall		1								1783-95	No	

### John Carr's Gentry Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Swinton Park	Danby, William	1							1764-71	No Evidence	
Langford Hall	Duncombe, Henry				1		1		1774	No	
Upleatham Hall	Dundas, Sir Thomas MP (later Baron)	1							n.d.	No Evidence	
Monkwearmouth Rectory	Egerton, Archdeacon Henry	1							1788	No Evidence	
Auckland Castle	Egerton, Bishop of Durham	1							1771	No Evidence	
Rectory, Whitchurch	Egerton, Frances Henry				1				1789	No Evidence	
Kelso Grandstand	Elliot, Sir Gilbert (later Earl Minto)					1			1778	No Evidence	
Chesters	Errington, John				1				1771	No Evidence	
Grove Hall	Eyre, Anthony	1							1792	No Evidence	
Farnley Hall	Fawkes, Walter Hawksworth	1					1		1786-92	No Evidence	
Campsall Hall	Frank, Bacon	1		10					1762-70	No Evidence	
Alderton Rectory	Frank, Revd. Richard				1				1772	No Evidence	
Fawley Court	Freeman, Strickland	1							1797	Yes	1801
Grimston Park	Gascoigne, Sir Thomas				1				n.d.	No Evidence	
Parlington Hall			1	1	1				1772		
Ribston Hall	Goodricke, Sir John MP	1		1			1		1773	No Evidence	
Leventhorpe Hall	Green, Richard				1				1774-77	No Evidence	
Swarland Hall	Grieve, Davidson Richard				1				1765	No Evidence	
Kilnwick Hall	Grimston, John	1							1769-72	Yes	
Grimston Garth	Grimston, Thomas			1	1		1		1781-86	No	

### John Carr's Gentry Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Kilwick Hall	Grimston, Thomas	1							1781	No	
Norton Place	Harrison, John MP			3	1		1		1776	No Evidence	
Middleton Lodge	Hartley, George				1		1		1777-80	No Evidence	
Hawksworth Hall	Hawksworth, Walter	1							1774	No Evidence	
<b>Painthorpe House</b>	<b>Heaton, The Misses</b>	<b>1</b>							<b>1806</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>	
Sedbury Park	Hildyard, Robert Darcy	1							1771	No Evidence	
Winestead Hall	Hildyard, Sir Robert						1		1762	Yes	1749
Dalton Hall	Hotham, Sir Beaumont				1				1769	No Evidence	
Platt Hall	Lees (later Worsley), John				1				1761	No Evidence	
Tabley Hall	Leicester, Sir Peter Bt, MP				1		1		1760-67	No Evidence	
Aston Rectory	Mason, Revd William				1				1770	No Evidence	
Rokeby Park	Morrit, John Sawrey	1							1776	No Evidence	
St Mary's Church, Rokeby			1						1775-78		
Colwick Hall	Musters, John	1		1			1		1774-76	No Evidence	
Fangfoss Hall	Overend, George				1				1766	No	
Lairgate Hall	Pennyman, Sir James MP	1							1773	No Evidence	
Ormesby Hall		1		1			1		1772		
Byram Hall	Ramsden, Sir John	1					1		1762	No Evidence	
Sand Hutton Park	Read, William				1				1786	No Evidence	
Obelisk	Robinson, Richard, Archbishop			2					1782	No Evidence	

### John Carr's Gentry Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Gledstone Hall	Roundell, Richard				1		1		1770-72	No Evidence	
Methley Hall	Savile, Sir John (later Earl Mexborough)	1							1768	No Evidence	
Wood Hall	Scott, Fenton				1				1790	No Evidence	
Forcett Park	Shuttleworth, Robert						1		n.d.	No Evidence	
Heath Hall	Smyth, John MP	1							1754-1780	No Evidence	
Grove Hall	Sotherton, William	1							1783	No Evidence	
Cannon Hall	Spencer, John	1							1764-67	No Evidence	
Cannon Hall	Spencer-Stanhope, Walter	1		1			1		1778-1804	Yes	1776
Deer Park House	St Quintin, Sir William			1					1768	No Evidence	
Boynton Hall	Strickland, Sir George	1		1					1765-80	No Evidence	
St Andrew's Church, Boynton	Strickland, Sir George		1						1767-76	No Evidence	
Wortley Hall	Stuart-Wortley, James	1							1797	No Evidence	
Sledmere House	Sykes, Sir Christopher MP			3	1				1778-85	No Evidence	
Basildon Park	Sykes, Sir Frances			1	1				1776-83	No Evidence	
Wynyard Hall	Tempest, Sir John MP	1							1777-79	No Evidence	
Redbourne Hall	Thelwell, Revd Robert	1							1773	No Evidence	
Escrick Park	Thompson, Beilby	1		1			1		1763-1779	Yes	1776
Rectory					1				1781-83		
St Helen's Church			1						1781-83		
Wetherby Grange				1	1				1764		

### John Carr's Gentry Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Fixby Hall	Thornhill, Thomas						1		1780	No Evidence	
Towneley Hall	Towneley, Charles	1							1766	No Evidence	
Auckland Castle	Trever, Bishop of Durham	1							1771	No Evidence	
Clints Hall	Turner, Charles, MP	1							1762-63	No Evidence	
<b>Busby Hall</b>	<b>Turner, Jane</b>	<b>1</b>							<b>1757</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>	
Kirkleatham Hall	Turner, Sir Charles	1							1764-67	No Evidence	
St Cuthbert's Church	Turner, William MP		1						1759-63	No Evidence	
Panton Hall	Turnor, Edmund	1							1774-76	No Evidence	
Courteenhall	Wake, Sir William						1		1766	No Evidence	
Newby Hall	Weddel, William MP	1							1764	Yes	1766
Somerby Hall	Weston, Edward	1		1					1768	No Evidence	
Bolling Hall	Wood, Capt Charles	1							1777-79	No Evidence	
Fillingham Castle	Wray, Sir Cecil MP			1					1770	No Evidence	
Constable Burton Hall	Wyvil, Sir Marmaduke				1				1762-68	No Evidence	
Campsmount Hall	Yarborough, Thomas			1					1751-56	No Evidence	
<b>Campsmount Hall</b>	<b>Yarborough, Anne &amp; Eliza</b>			<b>1</b>					<b>1780s</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>	



### John Carr's Mercantile Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Huthwaite Hall	Cockshutt, John				1		1		1748	No Evidence	
Church of the Holy Rood	Denison, Robert		1	1					1782-84	No Evidence	
Ossington Hall				1					1782		
Ossington Hall	Denison, William			1					1780	No Evidence	
Gledhow Hall	Dixon, Jeremiah				1				1764-66	No Evidence	
House, Leeds	Dixon, Jeremiah				1				1750-53	No Evidence	
House, Worksop	Donston, George	1							1768-69	No Evidence	
Aske Hall	Dundas, Sir Lawrence	1					1		1763	Yes	1750
Dundas House					1				1768		
Pye Nest	Edwards, John				1				1771	No Evidence	
St Leanoards Landings, York	Garenciers, Theophilus						1		1774	No Evidence	
Askham Hall	Garforth, Revd Edmund	1							1750-51	No Evidence	
Garforth House					1				1753-57		
Wiganthorpe Hall	Garforth, William				1				1778	No Evidence	
House, York	Gossip, William				1				1757	No Evidence	
Thorp Arch Hall					1				1750-56		
House, Leeds	Green, George				1				1769	No Evidence	
House, Leeds	Ibbeston, Sir Henry	1							1752-54	No Evidence	
Denton Park	Ibbeston, Sir James			1	1		1		1772-78	No Evidence	
St Helen's Church	Ibbeston, Sir James		1						1776	No Evidence	

### John Carr's Mercantile Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
The Shay, Halifax					1				1787		
Holme Hall	Langdale, Marmaduke	1							1756-66	No Evidence	
Goldsborough Hall	Lascelles, Daniel	1							1762	No Evidence	
Plompton Hall		1		3	1		1		1755-65		
Stapleton Park	Lascelles, Edward, (later Earl)	1							1762	No Evidence	
Harewood Church	Lascelles, Edwin		1						1774	Yes	1742
Harewood Estate						3		1	1750-1807		
Harewood House		1		7	1		1		1754-1801		
Arncliffe Hall	Mauleverer, Thomas				1		1		1753	No Evidence	
House, Wakefield	Milnes, James				1				1750-53	No Evidence	
Thornes House					1				1779		
Petergate House, York	Mitchel, J				1				1755	No Evidence	
Ravenfield Hall	Oborne, Walter	1					1		1767-74	No Evidence	
Ravenfield Hall	Parkin, Elizabeth				1				1750	No Evidence	
St James's Church			1						1756		
White Windows	Priestley, John				1				1767-68	No Evidence	
House, Halifax	Rawson, Christopher				1				n.d	No Evidence	
Calder Abbey	Senhouse, Joseph Tiffin				1				1785	No Evidence	
Kirby Hall	Thompson, Stephen				1				1748	No Evidence	
Eastwood House	Walker, Joseph			1	1		1		1786-87	No Evidence	

### John Carr's Mercantile Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Clifton House	Walker, Joshua				1				1783	No Evidence	
Well Head House	Waterhouse, John				1				1767	No Evidence	
House, York	Thompson, Mary				1				1752	No Evidence	

### John Carr's Aristocratic Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Allerton Park	Arundell, Lady	1							1768	No evidence	
Bramham Park	Bingley, 1st Baron			1					1763-73	Yes	
Tanfield Hall	Bruce, 2nd Lord	1							1765	No evidence	
Castle Howard	Carlisle, 5th Earl						1		1771	Yes	1767
Compton Place	Cavendish, Lord George	1							1781	No evidence	
Holker Hall				1					1787		
Latimers House									1782		
Billing Hall	Cavendish, Lord John	1							1776	No evidence	
Cleveland House	Darlington, 2nd Earl	1							1774	No evidence	
Raby Castle				1			1		1768-88		
Staindrop Church									n.d.		
Buxton Crescent	Devonshire, 5th Duke				1	2	5		1780-90	Yes	1770
Chatsworth House									1774-84		
Hardwick Hall				2					1785-91		
Sessions House, Lissmore						1			1799		
Fairfax House	Fairfax, 9th Viscount	1							1761-65	No evidence	
Gilling Castle				1					1756-57		
Coolattin House	Fitzwilliam, 4th Earl	1			1				1799-1807	Yes	1769
Flannel Hall, Rathdrum						1			1789		
House, Grosvenor Sq									1781-83		

### John Carr's Aristocratic Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Milton House	Fitzwilliam, 4th Earl	1							1792	Yes	1769
Wentworth Estate		1		4					1782-1807		
Serlby Hall	Galway, 3rd Viscount	1		1					1774	Yes	1736
Nuneham Park	Harcourt, 2nd Earl	1							1778	No evidence	
Aston Hall	Holderness, 4th Earl				1		1		1767-72	Yes	1745
Hornby Castle		1		1					1760-70		
St Mary's Church, Whitkirk	Irwin, 9th Viscount	1							1772	No evidence	
Temple Newsom		1							1762-72		
Thoresby Lodge	Kingston, 2nd Duke			1	1		1		1767-71	Yes	1736
Methley Hall	Mexborough, 1st Earl	1							1768	No evidence	
Burlington House	Portland, 3rd Duke	1							1771-87	Yes	
Town Hall, Chesterfield						1			1787		
Soho, London								1	1794		
Welbeck Abbey		1					1		1763-77		
Badsworth Hall	Rockingham, 2nd Marquis	1							n.d	Yes	1755
Coolattin House		1							1776		
Doncaster Racecourse						1			1776-81		
Knivesmire Grandstand						1			1754-57		
Tankersley Park				1					1763		
Wentworth Woodhouse		1		1			1		1762-83		

### John Carr's Aristocratic Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour
Wentworth Castle	Strafford, 2nd Earl	1							1770	Yes	1740
Glamis Castle	Strathmore, 9th Earl	1							1765	No evidence	

### John Carr's Committee Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background			
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour	Soc Dil	
Lunatic Asylum	Archbishop Drummond of York					1				1774-77	Yes	1736	
Nottingham Grandstand	Bentinck, Lord Edward/Committee					1				1777			
Mickelgate	Corporation of York					1				1753-54			
Piking Well, York						1				1752-56			
St Saviour's Gate, York							1				1776		
Leeds Infirmary	Dixon, Jeremiah/Committee					1				1768-71			
County Gaol	Lincolnshire Magistrates					1				1775			
Town Hall, Newark	Mayor and Alderman					1				1773			
Hospital de Santo Antonio	Misericordia of the Santa Casa					1				1769-			
St John's Church	Murgatroyd, Rev John	1								1764-65			
County Hospital, Lincoln	Neville, Christopher					1				1776			
St Peter's, Sheffield	Norfolk, Duke of		1							1772-74	Yes	1765	
Appersett Bridge	North Riding of York Magistrates	1								1795			
Aysgarth Bridge		1								1788			
Ayton Bridge		1								1775			
Bainbridge		1								1785			
Bidford Bridge		1								1795			
Bow Bridge							1				1789		
Buttercrambe Bridge							1				n.d.		
Carlton Ferry Bridge							1				1774		

### John Carr's Committee Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background		
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Catterick Bridge	North Riding of York Magistrates	1								1792		
Court House, Northallerton						1				1784-92		
Crambeck Bridge						1				1785		
Croft Bridge		1								1795		
Danby Wiske Bridge						1				1782		
Deepdale Bridge		1								1781		
East Row Bridge						1				1777		
Eller Beck Bridge		1								1803		
Ellerbeck						1				1790		
Eskeleth		1								1802		
Gaol, Northallerton						1				1784-92		
Gilling East		1								1800		
Greta Bridge						1				1773		
Grinton		1								1797		
Hawnby						1				1800		
High Bourn		1								1796		
Horton Bridge		1								1765		
Howsham						1				n.d.		
Kilvington Bridge						1				1774-75		
Kirkham Bridge						1				1806		



### John Carr's Committee Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background		
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Low Bourn	North Riding of York Magistrates					1				1775		
Marske Bridge						1				1773		
Morton-on-Swale Bridge						1				1800-03		
Otterington Bridge						1				1776		
Reeth Bridge						1				1773		
Register House, Northallerton						1				1775-77		
Riccall Bridge						1				1803		
Rutherford Bridge						1				1773		
Sandbeck West Bridge						1				1796		
Seven Bridge			1							1783		
Sheffield Bridge			1							1760		
Skeeby Bridge			1							1782		
Skipton-on-Swale Bridge							1			1781		
Strensall Bridge							1			1798		
Tadcaster Bridge			1							1791		
Thirkleby Bridge							1			1799		
Thirsk Mill Bridge							1			1789		
Topcliffe Bridge			1							1786		
Ure Bridge			1							1785		
Whitby			1							1780		

### John Carr's Committee Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done								Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School	Survey		Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Yarm Bridge	North Riding of York Magistrates	1								1806-10		
Yearsley Bridge						1				1795		
Yore Bridge						1				1793		
Pavillion, Preston	Preston Guild					1				1760-62		
Hollis Hospital, Sheffield	Shore, Samuel/Committee					1				1769-76		
Chapelthorpe	Sir Lionel Pilkington/Committee		1							1771	Yes	1736
The Residence	Southwell Minster Chapter				1					1783		
Beverley Assembly Rooms	Subscription					1				1761-63		
Nottingham Assembly Rooms	Subscription	1				1				1776-78		
York Assembly Rooms	Subscription	1								1752-82		
Cold Coniston Bridge	West Riding Magistrates					1				1763		
County Gaol, Wakefield						1				1766-68		
Ferrybridge							2				1765	
Marle Bridge	West Riding Magistrates	1								1766		
Rotherham Bridge						1				1768		
Wentbridge			1							1764		
Assize Courts, York	Yorkshire Magistrates					1				1772-76		
Female Prison, York						1				1779-83		

### John Carr's Church Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done								Date of Work	Background	
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School	Survey		Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Vicarage	Bawden, William	1								1797		
Residence, Southwell	Churchwardens	1								1783		
St Peter's, Leeds	Churchwardens	1								1761-1772		
All Saints, Dewsbury	Community	1								1764-68		
St Everilda's	Community		1							1763-73		
York Minster	Dean and Chapter	1							2	1770-73		
Farnley Chapel	Kirshaw, Revd Samuel		1							1761		
St John the Evangelist	Richardson, Dr Richard		1							1766		
All Saints, Babworth	Simpson, Revd John (?)	1										

### JohnCarr's Professional Patronage

Building	Patron	Work Done							Date of Work	Background		
		Alterations	Church	Estate	House	Public Buildings	Stables	School		Survey	Grand Tour	Soc Dil
Ellenthorpe Hall	Carr, John				1					n.d.	?	
New Lodge				1	1					1795		
Skeldergate House, York					1					1765-66		
St Peter's Church		1								1791-94		
Knaresborough House	Collins, James				1					1768	No evidence	
Castlegate House	Johnson, Peter				1					1762-65	No evidence	
Blyth Hall	Melish, William	1		2			1			1773-76	No evidence	
21 Albemarle St, London		1								1780		
House, Northallerton	Mitford, Daniel				1					1755-58	No evidence	
Norton Hall	Shore, Samuel	1								1768-69	No evidence	

**Table 2**  
**% of Work Type For Each Background**

	<b>% of Persons</b>	<b>% of Comms.</b>	<b>Alterations</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Estate</b>	<b>House</b>	<b>Public Buildings</b>	<b>Stables</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Survey</b>
Gentry	50%	37%	36%	4%	26%	21%	1%	12%	1%	1%
Mercantile	18%	18%	14%	6%	22%	39%	4%	13%	1%	0%
Aristocrat	12%	18%	43%	0%	22%	6%	10%	16%	0%	1%
Committee	12%	21%	34%	3%	0%	1%	63%	0%	0%	0%
Church	5%	3%	55%	27%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	18%
Professional	3%	4%	21%	7%	21%	43%	0%	7%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	33%	4%	18%	18%	16%	10%	1%	1%

**Table 3****Grand Tourists**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>		<b>Total</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No Evidence</b>
Gentry	86	8	10	68	50%	9%	12%	79%	
Mercantile	32	2	0	30	18%	6%	0%	94%	
Aristocrat	20	9	0	11	12%	45%	0%	55%	
Committee	20	3	0	17	12%	15%	0%	85%	
Church	9	0	0	9	5%	0%	0%	100%	
Professional	6	0	1	5	3%	0%	17%	83%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>81%</b>	

## Appendix 1 - Library Catalogue

Extract from Library Catalogue of house in Grosvenor Square, taken in 1782 on the orders of Lord Fitzwilliam. Other books were listed separately in the Front Room, Drawing Room and other rooms.<sup>1</sup>

Chambers' *Civil Architecture*, 1759

*Inigo Jones's Designs* 1770

*Architectura di And. Palladio*, Venice 1570

*Ionian Antiquities* by Charles Revett, 1769

Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol 1, 1762

Adam's *Ruins of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatio*, 1764

*Fabrice Antiche di And. Palladio*, pub da Conte di Burlington, London, 1730

Lord Burlington's *Designs in Architecture*

Castell's *Villas of the Ancients*, 1728

*Antichita di Erentano*, 8 vols, Naples 1767;

*Antichita di Puzzuoli*;

Sir William Hamilton's *Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, in 2 Vols, 1766; *Description of the Vatican by Campose*;

*Italian Antiquities of the Louvre*;

*Palazzo de Cesari*, Verona, 1738;

*Collection of Antique Ceilings; Le Plus beaux monuments of Rome ancienne*, Rome 1761

Also, Walpole's *Histories*, Clarendon's *Histories*, two copies of Swift's work and Swift's *Letters*, Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, 1753 and Edmund Burke's *Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1756

---

<sup>1</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments WWM A 1212, 1782

Extract from Library Catalogue of Wentworth Woodhouse, taken in 1782 on the orders of Lord Fitzwilliam. A total of 220 pages listed the complete contents of the Library. Only those books pertaining to architecture are listed here. More popular fiction included that of Tom Thumb, Moll Flanders, Gulliver's Travels, Swift, Paradise Lost, Harlot's Progress, Rake's Progress, Don Quixote and Milton's Works.<sup>2</sup>

*Les Plans, Profils & Elevations des Ville and Chateau de Versailles*, 1766  
James Gibb's *Architecture*, London, 1726  
*The Grecian Orders of Architecture*  
Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*  
Mason's *Ruins of Paestum*  
*Plans of Holkham Hall*  
Chamber's *Civil Architecture*  
*Plans of the Palace of Caserta*, in Italian  
*Architecture de Ph de L'Orme*, Paris, 1626  
Seb Serly's *Architecture*, London 1655  
*L'Architettura di Pietro Cataneo*, Venice 1567  
Halfpenny's *Art of Sound Building*, London 1725  
*Vitruvii de Architectura*, Venet 1567  
*L'Architettura di Gio Antonio Rusconi*, Venet 1590  
*Architettura di Leonbatista Alberti*, Venet 1565  
*Les Antiquitez de la grandeur & majesté des R de France*, Chesne, 1609,  
Parts 1 and 2  
*Histoire de guerres entre les maisons de France, d'Espagne & de Savoye*  
Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients*, London 1728  
*Inigo Jones's Designs*, London 1727, and 2<sup>nd</sup> Volume  
Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, London 1717, and Volumes 2 and  
3  
*The Plans of Houghton, the Seat of Sir Robert Walpole*, London 1756  
*A Palladio's Architecture*, by Giacomo Leoni, London, 1725, and Second  
Volume  
James Gibb's *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture*, 1732  
*Les dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve*, Paris, 1673  
Batty Langley's *Pomona*, London, 1729  
Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture*  
*The Character of his Majesty and his House*, London, 1759  
*Leonardo da Vinci on Painting*, London 172?  
Batty Langley's *Method of Improving Estates by Planting Oak*  
Giacomo Barri's *Painters Voyage of Italy*, London, 1679  
Vignola's *Five Orders of Architecture*, London, 1655  
Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, and Volumes 2 and 3  
*Sir John Vanbrugh's Voyage to the S Sea*, London 1755  
*Le Vite degli Architettori, Pittori and Sculiori di Giorgio Vasari*  
*The Builder's Dictionary*, London, 1703  
*Palladio's Architecture* by Godfrey Richards, London, 1683

---

<sup>2</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments WWM A 1203, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1782



Shirley's *Descriptions of Stonehenge*  
Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, London, 1755  
*The Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, London, 1733  
John Smith's *Art of Painting in Oyl*, London, 1723  
*Architettura di Serlio*, Venet, 1563  
*Vitruvius* in Italian

## Appendix 2 – Letter from Amelia Clark to Benjamin Hall.

9th Dec 1800

Thorp Arch

My Uncle from an inflammation in his eyes, is not able either to read or write; therefore appoints me in his stead, and bids me say, that the Brew House should be roof'd in the same manner, and pitched as the old roof, and with the old Beams, if they be 13 inches deep and 10 thick, they will be quite strong enough, when fastend to the King post with an iron strap, if the king post has a good bolt then he thinks the Roof should be covered with common slates, the same want of slate as Sammy Sykes and my Uncle agreed the Gallery should be slated which Sykes must remember should be done early in the Spring.

The Brew House slating should not be pointed within it will not be proper to use Westmoreland slate either, for the Gallery as Brew House, has both the Roofs are very high pitched and they may be covered with common slate, at one half the expense, where the roofs are out of sight, my Uncle affirms very much of the mode of covering the Passage, under the Gallery Door way and he hopes that these windows at that end of the Gallery, which Sykes has lowered are exactly the same height, as these two in the Breakfast Room has.

Sykes has order'd the House Gallery sashes to be made the same height as those in the Breakfast Room, tell Sykes he might as well order the Great Stones for the new stair case landing, at Baks quarry as I think they will never be got at their quarry but he must judge of that him self, he should cut away the projections of the chimney breast in the Gallery as soon as possible, that the work may be got dry, to receive the new Chimneys.

The Gallery should be got slated as soon as possible. The old roof seems to be in good condition, my Uncle hopes Sykes will get the foundations raised of the new stairs passage with large stone this winter, the ground to be well rammed before he begins.

And know my Dear sir, I am not very something for my self, this snowy morning, I hope you and my Dear Mrs Crofts are well, for my self, I was once in hopes I should have paid my respects to you before this time, but I have been exceedingly indisposed, since, which my Uncle has been unwell, if I had come I should have made your tell me some funny old storys, that I could have sepafitulated over our fire side, during the Christmas holiday but since I cannot be with you, I desire you will take great care of your self until I have the pleasure of paying my respects to you again and my good friend Mrs Croft and to whom give my most respectful compliments and the same your self my very dear Sir and believe me your most humble servant  
Amelia Clark

Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, StwP 6 (vi) 110,  
Amelia Clark to Benjamin Hall

### **Appendix 3 - Extract from letter from Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas**

22nd October 1760

I wrote you everything I can recollect about the alterations of the plan of the new offices. The laying the principal stables may be delayed, but be sure to desire Charles Addison to order a good quantity of Clinkers from Campaere. You do well to trust as little to John Moir as possible for he can't avoid falling into blunders. I ordered him expressly to make the window in your dressing room that you are to put up the Prints in, half as much larger than it was and to put one of the large new Casements that are to be spare in it. You had best order this to be done yet for the room will be dark by that small window. Pray let me know how he has finished the Passage in the old part of the house where the Closet was to the Red Silk Room. I am glad you have ordered a man from Edinburgh to cassway [causeway] the court and the Common Stable. Tell him to leave a sort of drains for the water and rain running into the part where the dung hill is, and there should be a sort of slop that way for all water running to it. You cannot give too many orders about the drains for keeping everything as dry as possible.

North Yorkshire County Records Office, Zetland Papers, ZNK X1/2/12,  
Lawrence Dundas to Margaret Dundas, 22nd October 1760

Appendix 4 - Letter from Lord Rockingham to Carr

Dear Carr

[ I much wish your Letter had brought me a satisfactory Account of the State of your Health. If it was not Time of War - I should almost recommend to you - a Sea Voyage to a warm Climate.

I don't know whether the grand Plan, you sent to Lisbon has been carried into execution. It might do you good to go and look.

I am glad to find by your Letter, that your Spirits are tolerably good. I am sure, your Letter shows that your Mind is, as it always has been, very kind towards me and your Friends.

We live indeed in strange Times - Ruin and Destruction advances rapidly on this Country. Every thing has a gloomy aspect externally, and still more so, internally. Some months ago, I thought I saw a general Disposition to unite internally - in order to put a Stop to the gross Corruption and the gross Mismanagement in the Affairs of this Country. I saw with infinite Satisfaction the Lines which were laid down as the Objects of the Petition which originated in Yorkshire, and in which so many Counties afterwards concurred - and which was gradually making its way in almost every County in England and Wales. I had also the Satisfaction of seeing every day, Men of the first Families of the large Properties in England - desisting from y<sup>e</sup> Support which they had hitherto given to Court and the Court System of Measures, and hastening to give their Assistance to destroy the Ways and Means of Corrupt Government.

Præcipitation

Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWW-R-1-1897, page 1, from Rockingham to Carr, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1780.