

# Pedestal Stairs in Eighteenth-Century Britain

by

RICHARD HEWLINGS

*It is a crude but allowable generalisation to propose that, whereas seventeenth-century joinery staircases are weighty, those of the eighteenth century are delicate. The classic form of the latter has an open string, with three thin (and often differing) balusters per tread, newels whose proportions are those of a Corinthian column, and springily spiral curtains. This article draws attention to a small number of stairs of the same period which are, by contrast, more like seventeenth-century stairs. Their strings are closed, their balusters do not differ but are identical plump vase-shapes, their newels are massive, styled as pedestals rather than columns, with deep plinths in due proportion, and their handrails are broad and deep, modelled on a cornice. Abraham Swan named them 'Pedestal Stairs' and those with open strings 'Bracket-Stairs'.<sup>1</sup>*

There must be several hundred bracket stairs, but no more than twenty-eight pedestal stairs are known to me, although doubtless there are or were a few others. The earliest was apparently at Burlington House, almost certainly part of Colen Campbell's alterations for Lord Burlington between 1717 and 1719; it was removed in 1815 (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The second, rather plainer, has also gone; it was in the Burlington School for Girls, Boyle Street, on Lord Burlington's Mayfair estate, also designed by Colen Campbell on Lord Burlington's instructions, built in 1719-21 (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> There is a richly carved one at No. 9 Clifford Street, London, built by Benjamin Timbrell in 1719-21 (Fig. 3), but, as discussed below, the stair may be an alteration of 1721 or, more plausibly, 1736.<sup>4</sup> If it was installed in 1721 it may be the earliest to survive. If not, the earliest survivor may be that at Houghton, designed by Campbell and begun in 1722 (Fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> It was followed by that at Marble Hill, designed by Roger Morris, and built between 1724 and 1729 (Fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the latter may have been just preceded by the stair in the Duchess of Kendal's apartment at Kensington Palace, begun in 1725, by an unknown architect (Fig. 6).<sup>7</sup> This was followed by the stair at Compton Place, Eastbourne, built between 1728 and 1730 (Fig. 7); Campbell was the architect of the alterations to Compton Place, but Roger Morris succeeded him there on his death in September 1729.<sup>8</sup> The staircase leading to the Court Room at St Bartholomew's Hospital, of which Gibbs was the architect, is a simpler example (Fig. 8); the building was designed in 1728, but not built until 1730-2, and details such as the stair balustrade may not have been finalised until then.<sup>9</sup> There is a more modest example at Fox Hall, Charlton, probably designed by Roger

---

Richard Hewlings is a historian in the Properties Presentation Department of English Heritage and the editor of *The Georgian Group Journal* and *English Heritage Historical Review*.

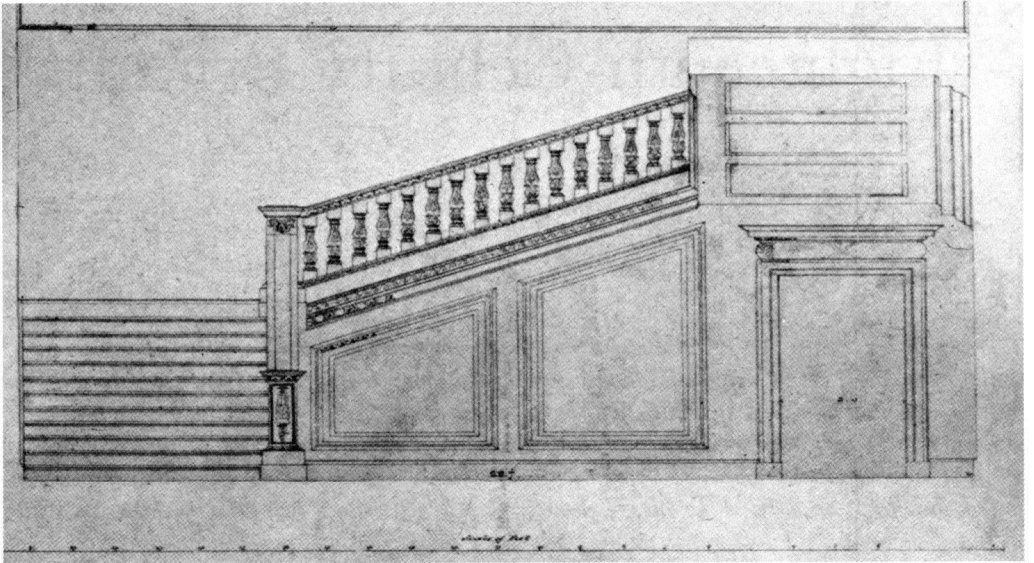


Fig. 1

Burlington House, Piccadilly, London. Joiners: John Lane and William Bavarstock

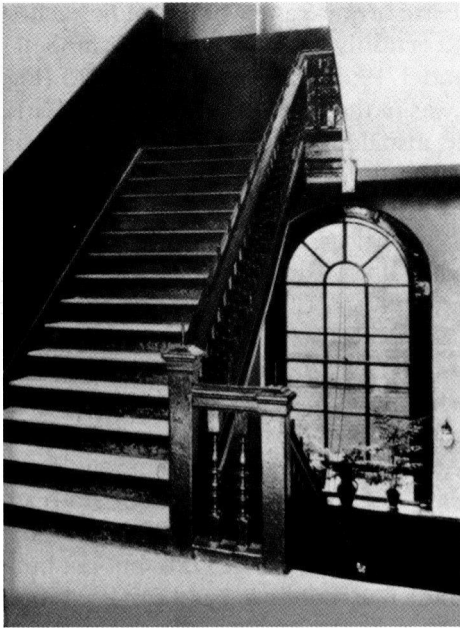


Fig. 2

Burlington School for Girls,  
Boyle Street, London

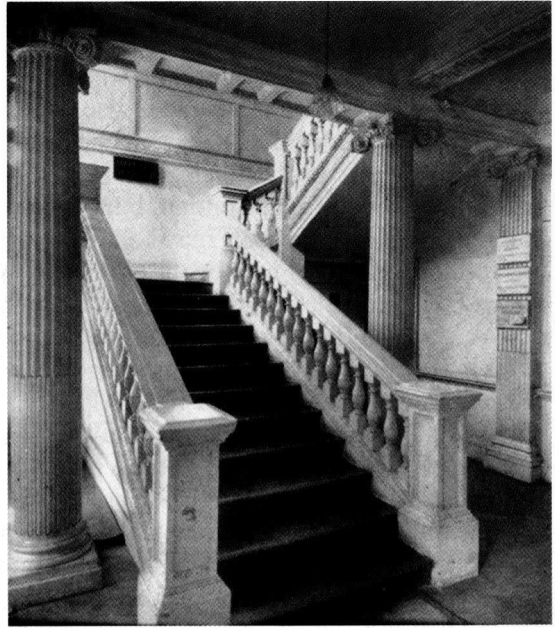


Fig. 3

No. 9 Clifford Street, London

Fig. 4  
Houghton Hall, Norfolk.  
Joiner: James Fisher



Fig. 5  
Marble Hill House, Middlesex



Fig. 6  
Duchess of Kendal's apartment,  
Kensington Palace, Middlesex

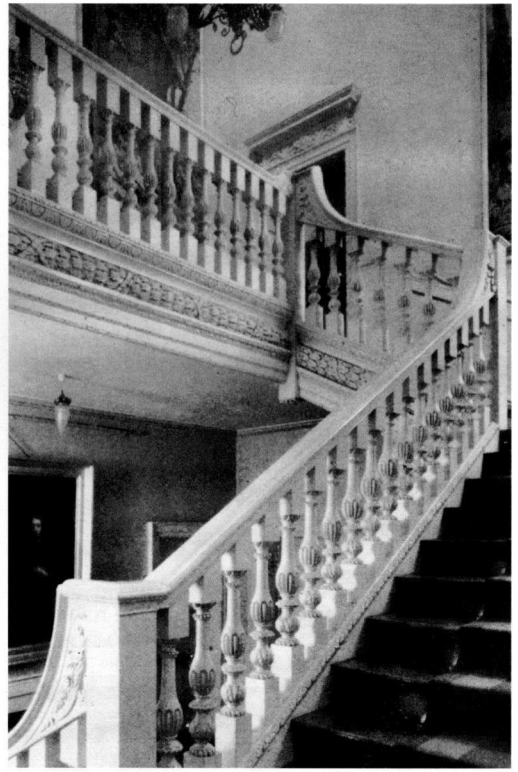


Fig. 7  
Compton Place, Eastbourne, Sussex

Morris, and built in 1730-1.<sup>10</sup> Far from modest was the stair at No. 30 Old Burlington Street, London, also designed by Roger Morris, and built in 1731-2 (Fig. 9).<sup>11</sup> The stair at Clandon is not closely documented, but was presumably designed by Leoni, and built perhaps *c.*1730-3 (Fig. 10).<sup>12</sup> The very grand stair at Lyme Park was certainly designed by Leoni, and built in 1734-5 (Fig. 11).<sup>13</sup> There was another stair of the simpler type at No. 36 Whitehall, built and apparently designed by John Lane in 1732-3 (Fig. 12).<sup>14</sup> Nos 9 and 10 St James's Square, both have stairs of the type; they were built by Benjamin Timbrell under the supervision of Flitcroft in 1735-6 (Figs 13 and 14).<sup>15</sup> There is a stair similar to the one at Marble Hill, at Radburne Hall, Derbyshire (Fig. 15), designed by William Smith and begun in 1739.<sup>16</sup> There is a stair similar to that at No. 36 Whitehall at Catton Hall, Derbyshire (Fig. 16), also designed by Smith, and begun in 1742.<sup>17</sup> There was at least one at the Foundling Hospital, designed by Theodore Jacobsen; this was the stair in the west wing, made in 1744 (Fig. 17).<sup>18</sup> There is another simple example at Haslar Hospital, Gosport, also designed by Jacobsen and built in 1745 (Fig. 18).<sup>19</sup> There is one at Kirtlington, probably designed by William Smith, and made before 1747, although in that year John Sanderson received a payment as architect in succession to Smith (Fig.



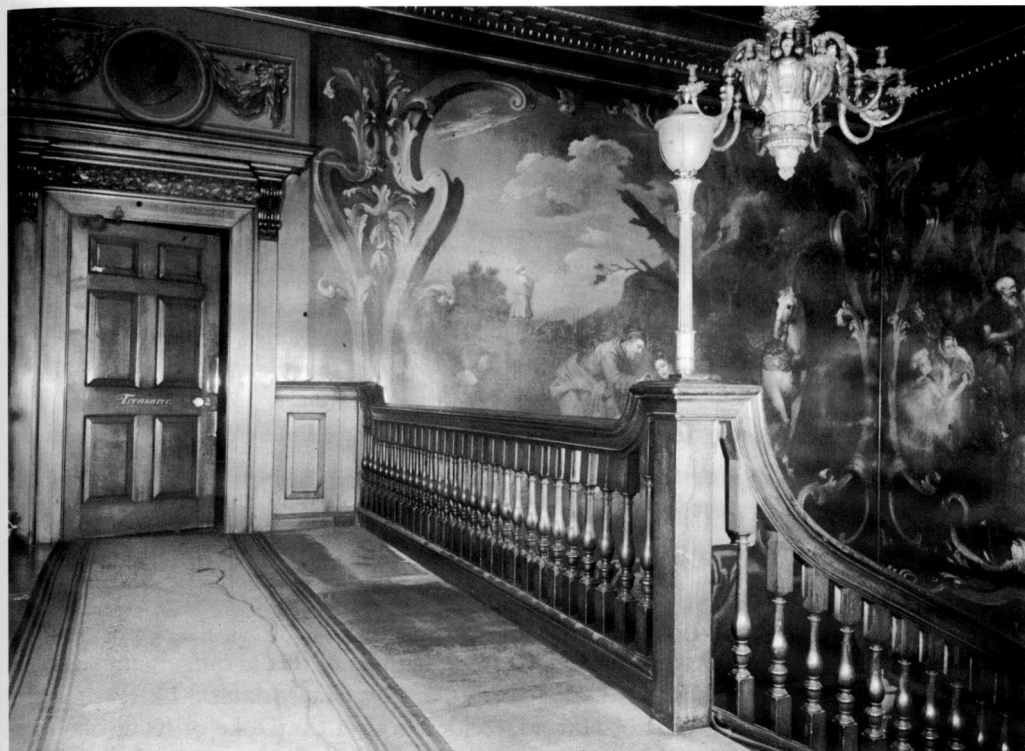


Fig. 8  
St Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Joiner: Tobias Priest



Fig. 9  
No. 30 Old Burlington Street, London



Fig. 10  
Clandon Park, Surrey

19).<sup>20</sup> There is another at Edgcote (Fig. 20), which may have been designed by William Smith, although it was not made until 1747-52, by which time the building of Edgcote was being supervised by William Jones.<sup>21</sup> There is another designed by Flitcroft at Wentworth Woodhouse (Fig. 21); although Flitcroft's work there began c.1735 the stair may only have been made a short time before 1748.<sup>22</sup> There are two at the Mansion House, London, designed by George Dance, and built in 1748 (Fig. 22).<sup>23</sup> There is one at Hagley, basically designed by Sanderson Miller, but revised by John Sanderson, and built in 1758 (Fig. 24).<sup>24</sup> There is one at Blair Castle, built and designed by Abraham Swan in 1758, although it has horizontally symmetrical balusters, rather than vase-shaped ones (Fig. 25). Like those at Houghton and Marble Hill it is made of mahogany.<sup>25</sup> Swan published his designs for it in *Collections of Designs in Architecture* in 1757 (Fig. 23).<sup>26</sup> The latest seems to be that at The Vyne, designed by John Chute, and built in 1770 (Fig. 26).<sup>27</sup> There is one fine, but undated example, probably contemporary with work which appears to have been done between 1720 and 1750, at Firle Place (Fig. 27).<sup>28</sup> The date range of this group is thus 1717-70.

The stairs may be presumed to have been designed by the architects of these buildings, although there is some ambiguity about the third example. No. 9 Clifford Street was certainly built by Timbrell in 1719, probably to his design, but the stair occupies more space than is available in the room which houses it, obliging its architect to site its four lowest steps in the adjacent hall, and to run the lower flight up through the Ionic screen which separates the two rooms. The awkwardness of this arrangement suggests that the stair may be a later insertion. If so, there are two likely dates – 1721, when the house was acquired by the Earl of Harold,<sup>29</sup> eldest son of the Duke of Kent of Wrest Park, patron of Leoni,<sup>30</sup> and 1736, when it was acquired by Sir Jacob des Bouveries,<sup>31</sup> owner of Longford Castle, Wiltshire, where he employed Roger Morris.<sup>32</sup> As well as possessing the ornamental features which class it with the rest of the group, the stair at Clifford Street is of the imperial plan-type.<sup>33</sup> It would be surprising if Benjamin Timbrell were responsible for both of these ambitious characteristics, but less surprising if Leoni or Morris were. Timbrell built two of the other stairs in this group, at No. 9 and No. 10 St James's Square, but he probably did so to Flitcroft's design. As Leoni designed two (possibly three) and Morris designed three (possibly four) of the others in the group, it may well be that one or other of them also designed the Clifford Street stair.

Colen Campbell designed four staircases in the group, including the first two. Morris, who designed three (possibly four), and Leoni, who designed two (possibly three), were both followers of Colen Campbell.<sup>34</sup> Flitcroft, who designed three, was originally Lord Burlington's draughtsman and would have been influenced by the stair at Burlington House.<sup>35</sup> John Lane, who built No. 36 Whitehall, had been the joiner at Burlington House under Campbell, and at Compton Place, Eastbourne, under both Campbell and Morris, and he succeeded Campbell as architect of Hackney House;<sup>36</sup> therefore he may also be regarded as Campbell's follower. It was he who executed the first staircase in the group. Lane may have collaborated at Hackney House with John Sanderson,<sup>37</sup> who designed two more stairs in the group. Sanderson worked under Theodore Jacobsen at the Foundling Hospital in 1742-52,<sup>38</sup> and at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1752-9;<sup>39</sup> Jacobsen designed another two. Jacobsen also designed East India House for the East



Fig. 11  
Lyme Park, Cheshire. Joiner: John Moore

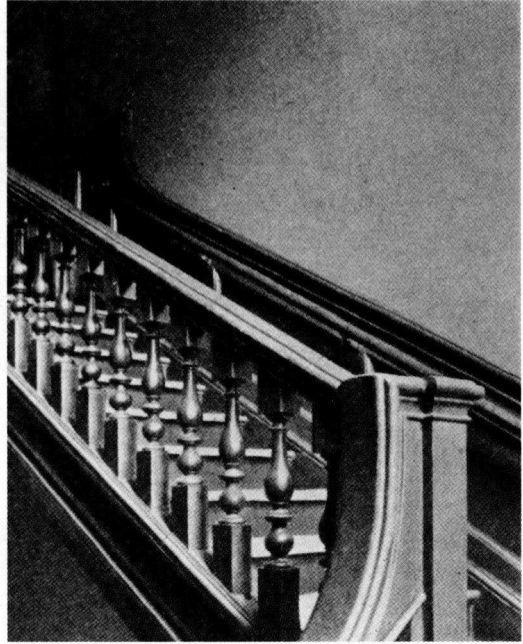


Fig. 12  
No. 36 Whitehall, London. Joiners: John Packer and co.



Fig. 13  
No. 9 St James's Square,  
London. Joiner:  
Benjamin Timbrell

Fig. 14 (*above*)

No. 10 St James's Square, London.  
Joiner: Benjamin Timbrell

Fig. 15 (*top right*)

Radburne Hall, Derbyshire  
*Photograph Andor Gomme*

Fig. 16 (*right*)

Catton Hall, Derbyshire  
*Photograph Andor Gomme*





Fig. 17 (*top left*)

The Foundling Hospital, London.  
Joiners: Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spier

Fig. 18 (*top right*)

Haslar Hospital, Gosport, Hampshire

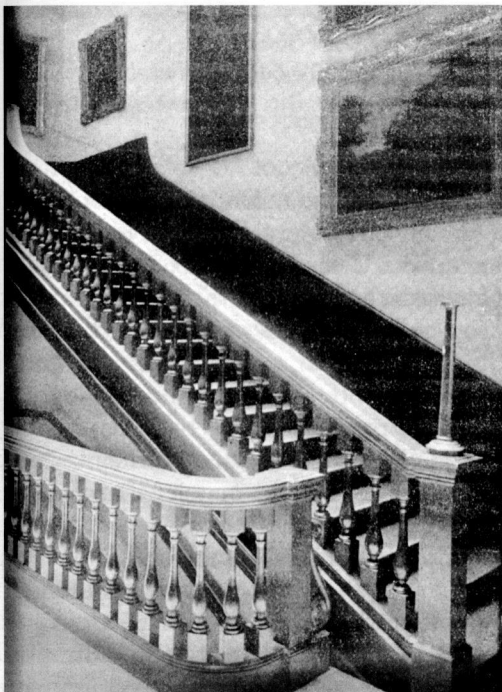


Fig. 19 (*left*)

Kirtlington Hall, Oxfordshire.  
Joiner: George Eborall

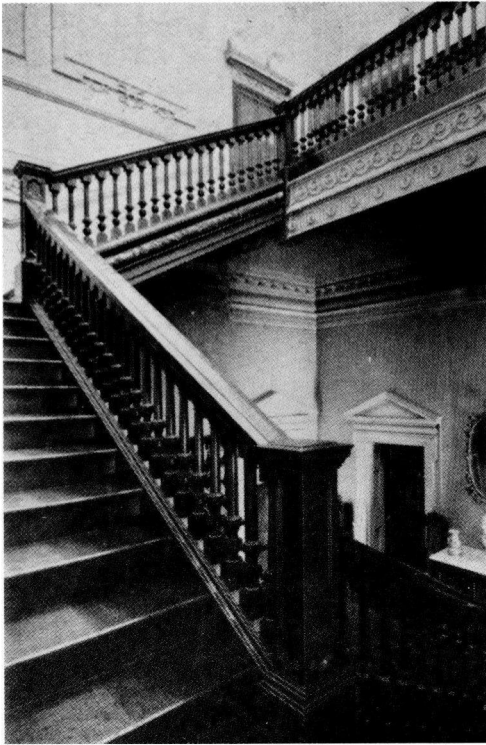


Fig. 20  
Edgcote Park, Northamptonshire.  
Joiner: Abraham Swan



Fig. 21  
Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire.  
Joiner: Richard Dalton

India Company,<sup>40</sup> whose surveyor was William Jones, architect of Edgcote.<sup>41</sup> Abraham Swan, a joiner, worked under Jones at Edgcote, and made the stair there.<sup>42</sup> John Chute had participated with John Sanderson in the design of Hagley Hall, and was a close friend of Horace Walpole, for whose father Houghton had been built to Colen Campbell's design.<sup>43</sup> Campbell's influence may therefore have reached to these five architects also. Burlington, as Campbell's employer, and Flitcroft, as Burlington's employee, would also have been susceptible to his innovations.

Of the designers of these staircases, only Gibbs, Smith and Dance had no known connections with this group. Smith preceded Sanderson as architect of Kirtlington and Jones as architect of Edgcote, and is thus unlikely to have been influenced by them, whereas his indebtedness to Gibbs is well attested.<sup>44</sup> Gibbs may have arrived at the balustrade design independently of Campbell's direct or indirect influence, but he probably did not. Dance, Clerk of Works to the City of London, would have known St Bartholomew's Hospital and probably been influenced by it, so he may have adopted the balustrade type under Gibbs's influence.<sup>45</sup> Most of the realisations of the balustrade type are therefore indicative of a discrete Campbell school, and all may be an indication of his influence.

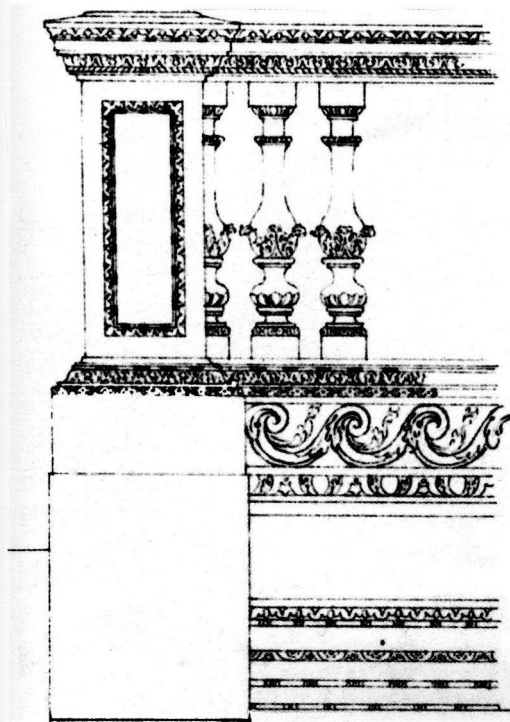


Fig. 22

The Mansion House, London.

Joiners: Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spier  
By courtesy of the trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum

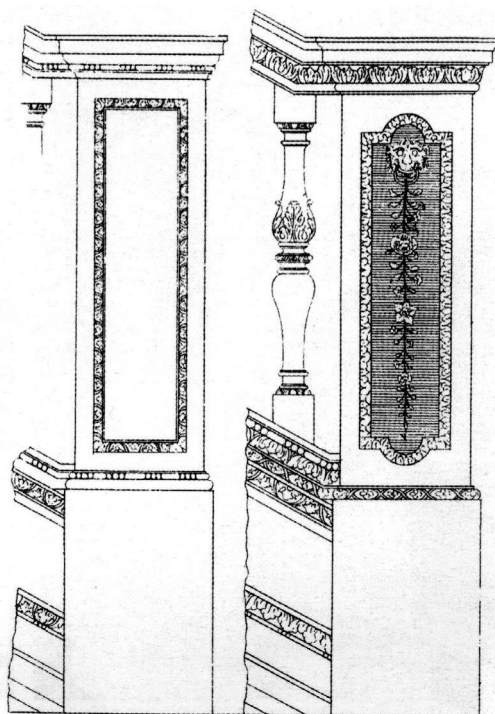


Fig. 23

Abraham Swan, design for a Pedestal Stair  
in *The British Architect*, 1745

Unsurprisingly, Campbell did not arrive at it from first principles, but revived it. The balustrade was unknown in antiquity, and seems to have been first used by Florentine architects of the 1460s, and most conspicuously used by Antonio da Sangallo the younger in the 1530s.<sup>46</sup> However, some Renaissance architects evidently believed the balustrade to be an antique form, notably Palladio, who illustrated balustrades both in his *Quattro Libri* and in Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius.<sup>47</sup> It was presumably these sources that Inigo Jones used as models for the balustrades of the balconies both inside and outside the Queen's House and the Banqueting House.<sup>48</sup> Jones did not use it as an internal stair balustrade at the Queen's House, where he designed a less ceremonial stair with stone treads and an iron balustrade (which became equally influential), but he used it in stone on the north front of the Queen's House, from which a very long line of external stone balustrades trace their descent.<sup>49</sup> Whatever other internal stairs he may have designed (at Whitehall or Somerset House, for instance) have been lost. Coleshill, built c.1650-62, had what may be the first known example in wood of what Swan was later to call the pedestal stair.<sup>50</sup> Campbell's contemporaries (and doubtless Campbell also) believed Coleshill to have been designed by Jones,<sup>51</sup> and Webb certainly worked there.<sup>52</sup> Webb also designed stairs of this type at Amesbury before 1660,<sup>53</sup> and at Ashburnham House,



Fig. 24  
Hagley Hall, Worcestershire.  
Joiner: Robert Bromfield

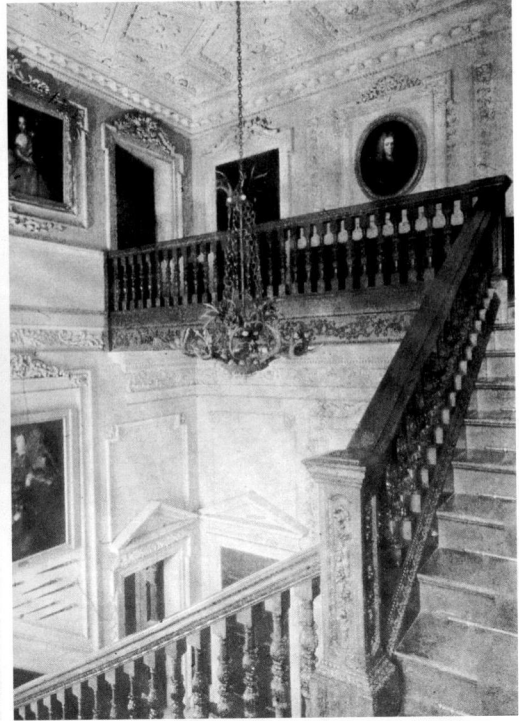


Fig. 25  
Blair Castle, Perthshire

Westminster, *c.* 1662.<sup>54</sup> Slightly earlier, there were stairs of this type at Haslingfield Hall, Cambridgeshire of *c.* 1650,<sup>55</sup> and Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, designed by Peter Mills and built in 1654-6.<sup>56</sup> There is another in the Skinners' Company Hall, designed by John Oliver and built in 1668-71,<sup>57</sup> and others at Ashdown House, Berkshire,<sup>58</sup> Powis Castle, Montgomeryshire,<sup>59</sup> and Longnor Hall, Shropshire,<sup>60</sup> designed by unknown architects *c.* 1670. The fact that the earliest of these were designed by Webb suggests that its first introduction may be regarded as his or Inigo Jones's innovation, and its realisations indicative of a discrete Jones-Webb school; indeed it focuses attention on those of these last buildings whose architect is not presently known. Nor are any pedestal stairs known (at least to me) to have been built after 1680 until their revival by Campbell. Campbell's admiration for Jones is attested by his own words and it is hardly surprising that he revived Jones's architectural details.<sup>61</sup> His followers presumably shared that admiration, and John Chute may have illustrated a variant form of it, for the stair at The Vyne has columns placed on the newels, as at Ashburnham House; Chute's homage is thus paid to Webb, an earlier architect of his house.<sup>62</sup>

But what the use of this balustrade type by both Webb and Campbell alluded to can only be guessed. A clue may lie in the fact that its weighty appearance is contrived; the





Fig. 26  
The Vyne, Hampshire

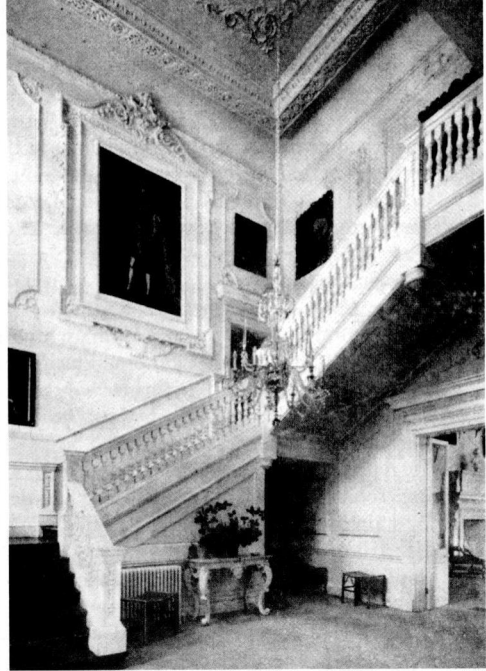


Fig. 27  
Firle Place, Sussex

massive newels are not carpentered from single timbers, but joined from many smaller bits of wood. Such artifice suggests that the material was being used to replicate another, presumably stone. An architecture known in the eighteenth century only in its stone form was that of ancient Rome, and it is likely that, like Palladio, architects of pedestal stairs thought that they were using an ancient Roman form. The significance of the type may therefore be its evidence as part of the attempt to Romanise modern British culture.

#### NOTES

1. Abraham Swan, *The British Architect*, London, 1745, 6, 7.
2. F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London*, XXXII, London, 1963, 409, and plate 63A. This stair is only documented by survey drawings made before its removal in 1815 [London, Royal Academy of Arts, Library]. It was not the stair built at the time of Burlington House's construction in 1665-8, whose plan, recorded in an earlier survey drawing [Sheppard, *op. cit.*, plates 40a and 41b], was different. It could have been inserted with other alterations, attributed to Gibbs, in 1713 [*ibid.*, 405]; but as Campbell designed three other similar stairs within the next twelve years, and Gibbs designed only one other, at least eleven (and perhaps as many as fifteen) years later, it is more likely that Campbell designed it. The joiners were John Lane and William Baverstock [*ibid.*, 400].
3. Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 539-42, and plate 101c.
4. *Ibid.*, 478, figs 85 and 87, and plate 100.
5. Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Early Georgian*, London, 1955, plate 106. In 1732-4 the joiner at Houghton was James Fisher [Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS CH(H) 33];

the accounts for the 1722-32 period are missing, but there is no reason to believe that Fisher replaced another man.

6. Marie P. G. Draper and W. A. Eden, *Marble Hill House*, London, 1970, 30, and plates 11, 12, 17, 28 and 29.
7. Christopher Hussey, 'Kensington Palace: The Apartments of Countess Granville', *Country Life*, LXIV, September 1, 1928, 297, fig. 2. Hussey attributed this to William Kent, on the grounds that Kent was simultaneously working elsewhere in the Palace. But Kent (who is not known to have been an architect at that date) was then employed at Kensington as a painter. In 1928 Kent's contemporaries were less well-known; Campbell and Leoni were not fully appraised, Flitcroft was hardly known, Burlington was not believed to be an architect, and Morris had not been heard of. This stair is more likely to have been designed by one of these architects than by Kent, who designed none of the other stairs in the group.
8. Hussey, *Early Georgian, cit.*, 92, and plate 128. The joiner was John Lane [*ibid.*, 92]. Letters to Lord Wilmington from his steward, William Stuart, distinguish 'Mr. Morris ye Survaioir' from 'Mr. Morris ye mason' [Chatsworth, Compton Place papers, Box P, Folder 2, *e.g.*, no. 18, 17 November 1729, and no. 27, 9 May 1730]. The former was presumably Roger Morris, and the latter Arthur Morris of Lewes [Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 664].
9. Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 214-5, 308, and plate 242. The joiner was Tobias Priest [*ibid.*, 308]. Gibbs had designed four balustrades of the type earlier, although not for staircases. His earliest was for the balcony in the chapel at Cannons, made some time between his earliest payment in 1716 and the opening of the chapel in 1720 [*ibid.*, 52, 315, and plate 26]. It was followed by the balustrade of the balcony in the Senate House, Cambridge, which was designed in 1721, although the internal joinery was executed by James Essex between 1726 and 1730 [*ibid.*, 230-1, 294-5, and plates 254-6; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS Caius Coll. 621/457, fols. 203-5]. There are two internal window balconies with similar balustrades at St Martin-in-the-Fields, designed in 1720-1, but probably not made (by Charles Griffiths) until 1726 [*ibid.*, 271, 311, and plate 304]. There are similar balustrades to the balconies overlooking the Reading Room of the Radcliffe Library, designed in 1735, redesigned in 1737 and later, but made, probably by the carpenters Jeremiah Franklin and Thomas Philips since a joiner is not so distinguished, in 1744 [*ibid.*, 247-50, 320, and plates 272 and 277].
10. Rosemary Baird, 'Fox Hall West Sussex', *Country Life*, CXCVI, January 17, 2002, 54-7, Rosemary Baird, 'Foxed by Fox Hall', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXLIII, 2005, 220, 232-3; Charlotte Haslam, *Fox Hall, Charlton*, Landmark Trust pamphlet, 1994, 12. None of these articles illustrate the stair, however.
11. Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 507, and plate 86.
12. Hussey, *Early Georgian, cit.*, plate 145.
13. John Cornforth, 'Lyme Park, Cheshire - IV', *Country Life*, CLVI, December 26, 1974, 2000, fig. 6; Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni', in Roderick Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders*, London, 1985, plate V. The joiner was John Moore, paid on 22 April 1736 [Cornforth, *op. cit.*, 1931 and 1998].
14. London County Council, *Survey of London*, XVI, London, 1935, 18, and plate 43. The joiners were John Packer and company [London, The National Archives, PRO, T52/38].
15. Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXIX, London, 1960, 122-3; *ibid.*, XXX, London, 1960, plates 142, 145c and d, and 146.
16. Andor Gomme, *Smith of Warwick*, Stamford, 2000, 480 (fig. 304). I am grateful to Prof. Gomme for bringing this to my attention.
17. *Ibid.*, 475-7. I am grateful to Prof. Gomme for bringing this to my attention.
18. Richard Hewlings, 'The Builders of the Foundling Hospital', *Georgian Group Journal*, XIII, 2003, 37. The joiners were Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spier [*idem*].
19. Jonathan G. Coad, *The Royal Dockyards 1690-1850*, London, 1989, plate 239.
20. 'Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire', *Country Life*, XXXI, April 13, 1912, 549; Gomme, *op. cit.*, 483-92. The joiner was George Eborall, one of Smith's team [*ibid.*, 490, note 91].
21. Hussey, *Early Georgian, cit.*, plate 373. The joiner was Abraham Swan [Gomme, *op. cit.*, 494-5].
22. H. Avray Tipping, 'Wentworth Woodhouse - III', *Country Life*, LVI, October 4, 1924, 518 (fig. 12).

- The plasterer was paid for plastering the stair hall in November 1748; presumably the stair was built before this, but not necessarily long before. The joiner was Richard Dalton [Sheffield Archives, WWM Add. Accession 1986/25, Box 110 – Drawer C, Bundle 36].
23. Sally Jeffery, *The Mansion House*, Chichester, 1993, figs 79 (Great Stair) and 77 (north east stair, somewhat simpler). The north-west and south-west stairs were similar to the latter. The Mansion House was begun in 1737, but these stairs were only built in 1748. The Great Stair (in the south-east) was destroyed in 1795, and the south-west stair in 1931 [*ibid.*, 112-13]. The joiners were Lancelot Dowbiggin and William Spier [*ibid.*, 300 and 303].
  24. Gordon Nares, 'Hagley Hall, Worcestershire – II', *Country Life*, CXXII, September 26, 1957, 611, fig. 10; Michael McCarthy, 'The Building of Hagley Hall', *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, April 1976, 223. The joiner was Robert Bromfield of Stourbridge [William Hawkes (ed.), 'The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway', *The Dugdale Society*, XLI, 2005, 191 (note 1), 229 (notes 7 and 15), 253 and 255 (note 7), where Bromfield is described as a carpenter. I am, however, indebted to Mr Hawkes for the further information that in 1749 Bromfield was paid by Lord Jersey 'for joiner's work' at Middleton Stoney (Oxford, Oxford Record Office, Jersey MSS, JVIa5, fol. 51), and that a letter of 1758 reveals that Bromfield sought directions for 'railing the Stairs' at Hagley (Warwickshire County Record Office, CR125B/338)].
  25. Arthur Oswald, 'Blair Castle, Perthshire—II', *Country Life*, CVI, November 11, 1949, 1437 (fig.7), 1438.
  26. Abraham Swan, *Collections of Designs in Architecture*, London, 1757, plates 29-32.
  27. Michael McCarthy, 'John Chute's Drawings for The Vyne', *The National Trust Yearbook 1975-76*, London, 1976, 75-7.
  28. Arthur Oswald, 'Firle Place, Sussex—II', *Country Life*, CXVII, February 24, 1955, 565 (figs 3, 4 and 5).
  29. Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 477.
  30. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 610.
  31. Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 477.
  32. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 668.
  33. The earliest imperial stairs in England seem to be at Danvers House, Chelsea (c.1623) [John Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle*, London, 1990, 37, fig. 20], Belvoir Castle (between 1655 and 1668) [John Bold, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, 78; Belvoir Archives, Map 131 and MS 67, kindly communicated by Dr John Bold], Gunnersbury House (c.1658-63) [Bold, *op. cit.*, 92-3, 160-61, and fig. 62], Tring Manor (c.1670) [Howard Colvin and John Newman, *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, Oxford, 1981, 62, 73-4], The Grange, Hants (c.1670) [Eric Mercer, 'William Samwell and The Grange', in Howard Colvin and John Harris (eds), *The Country Seat*, Harmondsworth, 1970, 48-54], The Palace, Salisbury (1672-8) [Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Salisbury: The Houses of the Close*, London, 1993, 67, plate 36 and figs 21 and 24], Burghley House (proposed in 1678, but not executed until 1788) [Eric Till, 'Capability Brown at Burghley', *Country Life*, CLVIII, October 16, 1975, 984-5], Ingestre Hall (proposed in 1688, but not carried out) [Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor*, London 1969, 24 and fig. 10], and Wallington Hall (c.1735) [John Cornforth, 'Wallington, Northumberland—I', *Country Life*, CXLVII, April 16, 1970, 856, fig. 7].
  34. For Morris, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 666. For Leoni, see Hewlings, 'James Leoni', *cit.*, 36-41.
  35. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 366.
  36. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 212, 595; Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd, *British Drawings and Watercolours including Architectural Drawings, 19 December 1989*, London, 1989, 30-1; The Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Middlesex*, X, Oxford, 1995, 44-5.
  37. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 595; Christie, *loc. cit.*
  38. Richard Hewlings, 'The Builders of the Foundling Hospital', *Georgian Group Journal*, XIII, 2003, 36, 39, 43, 45.
  39. Edward McParland, 'Trinity College, Dublin—II', *Country Life*, CLIX, May 13, 1976, 1244-5; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 534, 846.
  40. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 533-4.

41. *Ibid.*, 564-5.
42. *Ibid.*, 944.
43. *Ibid.*, 247; McCarthy, 'Hagley Hall', *cit.*, 214-25.
44. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 902-3.
45. *Ibid.*, 287.
46. Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, 'Renaissance balusters and the antique', *Architectural History*, XXVI, 1983, 2, 6 and 7.
47. *Ibid.*, 12.
48. George H. Chettle, *The Queen's House, Greenwich*, London, 1937, plates 39, 40 and 50 (hall balustrade), and fig. 6, plates 34 and 68 (loggia balustrade); London County Council, *Survey of London*, XIII, London, 1930, plate 35.
49. Chettle, *op. cit.*, plates 30-2 and 85.
50. Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses Caroline*, London, 1966, plate 131.
51. These included Sir Mark Pleydell, the owner of the house [John Bold, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, 157-59], Sanderson Miller [Hawkes, *op. cit.*, 319 ('Sr. Mark Pleydell's—an Excellent Hse built by In Jones')], John Vardy [John Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. Wm. Kent*, London, 1744, plate 8], and Woolfe and Gandon [John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, V, London, 1771, plates 86-7].
52. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 1030; Bold, *op. cit.*, 157-9.
53. John Bold with John Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, London, 1988, 102, fig. 142.
54. John Bold, *John Webb*, Oxford, 1989, 151-2.
55. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *County of Cambridge*, I, London, 1968, 141: the stair is now at Bourne Hall, Cambs. [*ibid.*, 22-3].
56. Hill and Cornforth, *op. cit.*, plates 162 and 163; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 657.
57. John Foster Wadmore, *An Account of the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Skinners*, London, 1902, 129-30; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 714.
58. Hill and Cornforth, *op. cit.*, plate 221.
59. Christopher Hussey, 'Powis Castle—IV, Montgomeryshire', *Country Life*, LXXIX, June 20, 1936, 653, plate 2.
60. John Cornforth, 'Longnor Hall, Shropshire—II', *Country Life*, CXXXV, February 20, 1964, 394, fig. 7.
61. Campbell, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 'our architect is esteemed to have out-done all that went before'.
62. Bold, Webb, *cit.*, 170-4.