

**The Architect and the Metropolis:
The work of James and Decimus Burton
in London and Dublin, c.1800-1840**

by

Dana Rebecca Arnold

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Abstract

No history of a city or career of an architect is complete. This is a study of the interaction of both. The careers of James Burton (1761-1837) and his son Decimus (1800-1881) are used as a fulcrum for exploring the emergence of London as a metropolis c. 1800-1840. This sets up a dialectic between the independent processes of a city and the emergence of the professional architect. It is argued that the interaction of these two distinct, but mutually dependent, architectural phenomena produces the urban form. In turn the way in which the design of a city shapes the responses of its inhabitants to it is explored. Moreover as evidence of any kind of biographical details about the life of either James or Decimus Burton is extremely limited the idea of the architect as 'auteur' is challenged as the importance of their work can be determined by its role in the city rather than in the personal development of the Burtons.

Both Burtons made a substantial contribution to the urban planning of London and later Dublin. James built considerable amounts of Bloomsbury, Regent Street and the Regent's Park. Decimus was involved with many major building projects in London including the Regent's Park, the Royal Parks and the Phoenix Park, Dublin.

Their careers raise important methodological issues of how to discuss architects of national importance in the face of the absence of an archive? Here contexts for the Burtons' activities are created using a range of material set against the contemporary social and political map. This approach places emphasis on the works themselves which have their own identity as part of the emerging metropolis. In this way the architect can be defined by the metropolis rather than the traditional approach of the metropolis being defined by the architects who constructed it.

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For Prudence

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Abbreviations used in the text

Abbreviations used to refer to parliamentary reports

- 1812 Report, Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1812.
- 1826 Report, Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1826.
- 1828 Report, Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works, 1828.(446) iv.
- 1831 Report, Report from the Select Committee on Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, 1831. (329) iv.
- 1833 Report, Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks, 1833. (448) xv
- 1835 Report, Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1835.
- 1845 Report, Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1845.

Abbreviations used to refer to the public records

- PRO Public Record Office
- Cres Crown Estate Commissioners
- Work Office of Works
- T Treasury

Other Abbreviations

- BUD Decimus Burton/JW Croker Correspondence held in the Royal Institute of British Architects Library
- OPW Papers relating to the Phoenix Park held in The National Archives of Ireland
- HKW J M Crook and M H Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol VI, London, 1973

Introduction

No history of a city or career of an architect is complete. This is a study of the interaction of both. The careers of James Burton (1761-1837) and his son Decimus (1800-1881) are used as a fulcrum for exploring the emergence of London as a metropolis in the first half of the nineteenth century. This sets up a dialectic between the independent processes of a city and the emergence of the professional architect. It is argued that the interaction of these two distinct, but mutually dependent, architectural phenomena produces the urban form. This is set against the social and political forces which impacted on it. In turn the way in which the design of a city shapes responses to it and influences its inhabitants is also explored. Moreover as the evidence for any kind of biographical details about the life of either James or Decimus Burton is extremely limited the idea of the architect as 'auteur' is challenged as the importance of their work can be determined by its role in the city rather than in the personal development of the Burtons.

The Known Archive of Material on the Burtons

The known archive of material on the Burtons is very limited. It comprises only James Burton's diary¹ and a family scrapbook which covers several generations of the Burton family. This contains a few unsigned, undated watercolour drawings probably

¹ James's fragmentary diary and notebook is held in the Hastings Museum. It is discussed in chapter 1.

by Decimus Burton some of which are of buildings known to be by him.² There is also an undated list³, in Decimus's hand, of his building activities which reveals no previously unknown or unattributed works. Three further watercolour drawings by Decimus Burton are held in the Yale Centre for British Art and watercolours and designs for by Decimus are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Royal Institute of British Architects drawings collection and at the Architectural Association.⁴ The Public Record Office holds further designs and drawings by Decimus and material relating to the role both James and Decimus played in the crown projects in London.⁵ This includes copies of autograph letters. The most substantial collections of Decimus's original letters are held at the National Archives of Ireland concerning his work in the Phoenix Park and his letters to his friend J W Croker held in the Royal Institute of British Architects Library. Alongside this there are contemporary comments in journals and books. But the fact remains that there is no serious corpus of drawings or letters, no kind of architectural treatise

² These include images of the Parliamentary Mews at Westminster (1825-26), Charing Cross Hospital (1831-34). The purpose of the drawings is unclear. They mostly correspond to Burton's drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy but they are quite small for this purpose- typically they are 24 inches in width and 18 inches in height.

³ The watermark of the paper is 1879 indicating that Burton made the list in the final years of his life.

⁴ Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.1068; B1975.2.768; and B1975.2.767; Victoria and Albert Museum D 1310-1907, E 2334-1910, D 1299-1907; Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection X05/D/5.

⁵ These are to be found in the records of the Offices of Woods and Works and the Treasury.

Moreover, his name is linked with many of the major building projects in London in the 1820s either as a designer in the case of Regent's Park (chapter 4) and the Royal Parks (chapters 5 and 6) or as an arbiter - his opinion was sought by parliamentary select committees on subjects as diverse as the advantages and disadvantages of payment by piece or day rate⁷ on the development of Trafalgar Square in 1840 (discussed in chapter 1). Burton also designed several significant buildings including the Colosseum in Regent's Park (1823-7), the Athenaeum (1827-30) and Charing Cross Hospital (1831-34). But these are not the focus of this study which concentrates instead on the development of London. Decimus, like his father, made a substantial contribution to the urban planning of London and later Dublin. And it is here that the relationship between the architect and the metropolis can be brought to the fore. Moreover, it is possible to discuss individual buildings such as these without any kind of context by concentrating on their stylistic qualities.⁸ This would move attention away from the subject area and methodological interest of this thesis.

Decimus Burton's career raises interesting issues concerning the nature of architectural training, the status of the architect and Burton's own approach to design. But alongside this it also raises important methodological issues which centre around the

⁷ 1828 Report

⁸ The complete works of James and Decimus Burton is discussed with reference to its stylistic relationship to architectural trends in England in J Bohan, *James and Decimus Burton: Architectural Trends in England Exemplified by their Work 1760-1860*, PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1961.

nor substantive statements about architecture relating to either of the Burtons.

The Methodology of this Study

At first glance the paucity of the archive might appear to stifle any kind of historical enquiry as career development is usually pegged to biographical details. But the Burtons cannot be ignored because of an absence of an archive or indeed biographical details. The relationship between biography and monographic subjects is something which this thesis challenges as a viable methodology. Moreover, the empirical evidence indicates that both James and Decimus were very important figures in the London building world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. James was responsible for building a considerable amount of Bloomsbury and Regent Street (discussed in chapters 2 and 3) and was an important player in the Regent's Park project (discussed in chapter 4). Of greater significance to the canon of early nineteenth-century architecture is the work of Decimus. He merits several pages in H Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* ⁶ where large scale and important building projects are attributed to him. Decimus also exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy from his entry into the schools in 1817 to 1838. (Appendix 1) His regular appearances in the shows is more significant as he never became a Royal Academician. These factors together with references in contemporary journals corroborate the importance of Decimus.

⁶ H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed, New Haven and London, 1995, pp 194-199.

question of how can we discuss an architect of obvious national importance in the face of the absence of an archive? One answer to this is to create, wherever possible, contexts for the Burtons' activities. These contexts can be formed partly by any evidence which might exist in documentary form. But this approach places emphasis on the works themselves which have their own identity as part of the emerging metropolis. In this way the architect can be defined by the metropolis rather than the traditional approach of the metropolis being defined by the architects who constructed it.

The establishing of contexts for the study of both Burtons is an important part of the methodological thrust of this thesis. One of the principal methods employed is to use relevant archives as sounding boards or bench marks. It is possible to consider the Burtons in terms of their inter-relation with other architects, surveyors and builders. Here Sir John Soane is a useful example. His house and museum gives a comprehensive account of the life, work and theories of an architect practising in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The time span is ideal for both Burtons and there is evidence that Soane knew them. Soane is especially useful for the exploration of the kind of training Decimus received at the Royal Academy Schools where Soane was Professor of Architecture. Parallels can also be drawn between Soane's office and the offices of James and Decimus and the latter's attitudes towards professionalism and architectural practice. It is possible to map what is known of the Burtons against Soane. But, this study is concerned with the Burtons as part of the process of the growth of London. And to this end John

Nash's career provides a relevant context for both James and Decimus as all three made a significant contribution to the urban development of London in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The Burtons' work on Regent Street and the Regent's Park is charted against what is known of Nash's involvement in these projects. This provides a very different consideration of these important elements in the evolution of the metropolis at this time.

The second line of enquiry regarding the creation of contexts for the work of James and Decimus Burton is the social and political background to the development of London and later, in the career of Decimus, Dublin. These factors are considered in terms of their influence on the urban layout. In turn the impact these forces had on the activities of James and Decimus Burton is examined. The social and political context becomes increasingly significant as previously unknown work by Decimus in the Royal Parks and the Phoenix Park, Dublin is discussed together with his work at Hyde Park Corner. (chapters 5, 6 and 7). Moreover, framing the work of both Burtons within this context enables some evaluation of the way in which a city shapes the responses of its inhabitants to it.

The Historiography of James and Decimus Burton

This methodology proposed in this study can be evaluated when considered against the main body of literature concerning the Burtons and the period in which they worked. The principal texts are Sir John Summerson's *Georgian London* and *John Nash Architect to George IV* and his later, revised volume *The Life and*

Work of John Nash, Architect,⁹ Donald Olsen's *Town Planning in London*,¹⁰ and J M Crook and M H Port's *History of the King's Works*, volume VI¹¹ and Ann Saunders' *History of Regent's Park from 1086 to the present*¹². In all of these the role of the Burtons is subsidiary.

Olsen's interest focuses on the great estates in Bloomsbury whereas this study places emphasis on the architect/builder who worked across the areas: James Burton. Saunders' study is more concerned with the Regent's Park as an entity rather than the important role both Burtons played in development of the park. The most important studies as regards the historiography of the Burtons are Summerson's work on John Nash and *The History of the King's Works*. The latter is a significant text in this context as it focuses solely on the Office of Works. This has slanted the view of major architectural projects and practitioners at this time. Although Decimus appears in relation to his works for the Office of Works especially the Parliamentary Mews at Westminster and other projects this does not give the whole picture. The Office of Works made an equally significant contribution to the shaping of the metropolis in the early nineteenth century and Decimus

⁹ J Summerson, *Georgian London*, Harmondsworth, 1978,; John Nash *Architect to King George IV*, London, 1949 and *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980.

¹⁰ D Olsen, *Town Planning in London*, New Haven and London, 2nd ed, 1982

¹¹ HKW

¹² A Saunders, *A History of Regent's Park from 1086 to the present day*, 2nd ed, London 1981.

Burton was their principal architect. Moreover the records of the Office of Woods provide perhaps the most substantial archive of Burton's professional activities in this sphere, although little remains of his personal ideas or approach to his work.

Summerson's task in constructing a history of John Nash had some similar problems to the ones faced in this study. Nash's office books and many of his private papers are lost and he left no treatise or substantial statements about architecture. But there is more biographical material on Nash and letters and drawings do survive in sufficient quantity to shed useful light on Nash's building activities. Summerson frames his study within a biographical context ensuring that Nash is the central figure in all projects. At no point does Nash's work become contextualised within the larger workings of the development of the metropolis. As such 'Regency London' is defined by Nash's endeavours on behalf of himself and the Prince Regent, later George IV. This approach denies the city has the independent life force that Summerson recognizes in Georgian London.¹³ Part of this study revisits the subject matter of these key texts and together with significant new material offers a new way of presenting the work of an architect and the history of the urban development of a city.

There is no doubt that, understandably, an historian's interests can be shaped by the presence of a biographical archive - or indeed any substantial body of material relating to an architect's work. To this end it is understandable why the Burtons have been

¹³ J Summerson, *Georgian London*, Harmondsworth, 1978, p 24.

sidelined in histories of London and the weight of historical interpretation has gone in favour of other architects. The methodology of this thesis demonstrates that an approach to urban history which is less reliant on personalities and complete archives is possible. And this kind of historical method is necessary for a fuller understanding of the relationship between the architect and the metropolis.

Chapter 1

James and Decimus Burton

This chapter introduces James and Decimus Burton and outlines what little is known about their training and architectural practice.¹ It covers two principal areas: James's training and rise in social status through the practice of his profession; and Decimus's Royal Academy training and his role in and ideas about the training and function of architects. It is important to review the scanty evidence that is available as the limited picture of both father and son which emerges in this chapter is a valuable touchstone for the discussion in subsequent chapters. Moreover, the sketchy nature of the information available serves to highlight that a more traditional biographical approach to the work of James and Decimus Burton in London and Dublin would not be possible.

The Known Archive

The paucity of the known archive of Burton material seems to be the result of two main factors. First, any possessions passed on through inheritance were quickly dispersed. James had twelve children and although not all of them survived infancy there was no obvious heir to any family papers or office books. Decimus was unmarried and on his death his possessions and estate passed mainly to his two spinster nieces Helen and Emily Jane Wood. Their estates were split up on

¹ For a brief biography of both James and Decimus Burton and a complete list of their works see H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 3rd ed. New Haven and London, 1995, pp 194-200.

their deaths.² Second, neither James nor Decimus published an architectural treatise or left a substantive body of written material about architecture. James left a retrospective diary³ and the date when it was written is unclear. There are yearly entries from 1782 until 1811 relating to James's building activities, frequent change of residence, family matters and ever-rising social status. These are prefaced by a family biography and details of each of his twelve children. Some of this information refers to 1830s although this might have been added later as the bulk of the family information stops at about 1825. Decimus was a more public figure and more closely involved with the architectural world. Consequently there is more circumstantial and actual documentary evidence although this exists in fragmentary form and is not necessarily written by Burton although it is about him. This does, however, allow an exploration of the nature of his architectural training and the significance of elements such as cast collections and competitions and professional associations.

Most of the primary evidence in this thesis comes from the papers of estates on which James worked, and in the case of Decimus letters which have been copied into government committee minute and correspondence books. The only substantial quantity of Decimus's autograph letters to have come to light relate to the Phoenix Park

² James Burton's (1837) will is held at the Public Record Office. The wills of Decimus Burton (1881) and Helen (1892) and Emily Jane Wood (1903) are held at Somerset House.

³ This is held in the Hastings Museum. It is a fragmentary diary with additional notes. It is inscribed with the affidavit from a Mr Gates a commissioner for oaths 'This is the manuscript book marked A referred to in the statutory declaration of Alfred Henry Burton. Made before me the tenth day of December 1901'. It is referred to henceforth as Diary followed by year the entry was made.

and his correspondence with John Wilson Croker. It is important, nevertheless, to review and outline the direct evidence. The shortage and limitation of this serves to highlight the significance of the material considered in the rest of this thesis.

James Burton's early Career and Training

James Burton's retrospective diary provides vital clues necessary to establish his social and career development. The brief document covers only a few pages in which Burton lists his relatives, traces his family's origins and describes his twelve children, including brief biographies of each. This builds up a picture of a father who encouraged the male children to enter into the professions. For instance, Septimus (the seventh child!) trained as a solicitor and had his offices along with his brother Decimus in Carlton Chambers on Regent Street which was built by their father.

The biographical prelude and diary entries clearly map out James's own sense of status and shifting values and ideas as to his own role in society. In a section entitled 'As to myself' which comes directly before the first diary entry for the year 1783 he describes himself:

'Partly educated at a day school in Hart Street Covent Garden in the first common branch of education to the age of eleven and afterwards in the mathematics to the age of fourteen by Mr HJ Steel an excellent but rather violent man.

In June 1776 was placed with Mr Dalton, Surveyor and articulated the 29th of July following for six years.

In 1778 was at Upton upon Severn - and in 1781 at Bury St Edmunds met with a severe fall from a Horse. In 1782 at Sudbury and at the expiration of my articles entered into partnership with Mr Dalton.

At the Mich. [Michaelmas] of 1782 became first acquainted

with Miss Westley [later Mrs Burton].'

The diary then continues with entries for each year up until 1811 but often without precise details of dates. There is no indication that these entries are drawn from another more detailed diary or that James Burton had remarkable powers of memory. The entries raise three main questions: first that of the training received by those pupilled to James⁴ and by his sons James and Decimus; second the discussion of his building projects and account of his working practice; and thirdly the substantial elevation of social status enjoyed by Burton and thereby his family in the 1810s.

It appears James soon dissolved his partnership with his own tutor James Dalton.⁵ By 1786 he was established enough in his own right to take on pupils of his own. The first was Samuel Elliott Atkins articed for six years followed in April 1789 by Mr Hoffman at a premium of 150 guineas.⁶ Burton makes no further mention of pupils but it is difficult to believe he ceased to take them on at such an early stage in his career. This becomes a more enigmatic question when related to the architectural education of his sons. In 1805 James junior, despite his father's newly found social status, was sent to Sir John Soane's office as an assistant which meant he was employed by

⁴ It is unclear whether those articed to James Burton were apprentice surveyors or architects. However, given James's own training and beginnings it is perhaps more likely they trained as surveyors.

⁵ Diary, 1783.

⁶ Diary, 27th April 1789. Neither of these pupils is mentioned in H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 3rd ed., New Haven and London 1995.

Soane unlike his pupils who paid a premium.⁷ This status may imply that James had already had some architectural grounding probably from his father's office. The union with Soane was not a happy one despite Soane's generous concession to allow James to keep terms at Cambridge. The assistantship had been arranged personally by James senior in a letter to Soane dated 26 July 1805.⁸ By May the following year James junior resigned his post in favour of a career either in divinity or law. He wrote to Soane on 6th May 1806 from Trinity College, Cambridge expressing his feelings thus:

'I was received in your office with particularly favourable circumstances and such I think as few would have granted, for you allowed me at the same time that I was studying architecture under you to keep my terms at Cambridge.'

James felt this arrangement was distracting him from his studies

'I have been unable to open the pages of a Palladio, or a Vitruvius, or even to examine a Chambers, and from that very inability, I am sorry to say, my mind has almost conceived a disinclination for the profession of an architect'.⁹

Despite his father's best efforts James remained a problem. James noted in his diary after a visit to his son in Cambridge in May 1808 that there was 'no favourable report from his tutor'.¹⁰

The architectural training of Decimus perhaps reveals something of James's own rise in social status. Unlike most of James's other

⁷ For a full discussion of Soane's system of pupillage see M Richardson, 'Learning in the Soane Office' in N Bingham (ed) *The Education of the Architect*, Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 1993, pp15-21.

⁸ Soane Museum A13 Division XV.

⁹ Soane Museum A13 Division XV.

¹⁰ Diary, 1 May 1808.

children¹¹ Decimus was not articulated to a professional person outside of the family. But Decimus was a successful entrant to the Royal Academy Schools which is curiously not mentioned by his father in his diary who sums up his most famous son - even in his lifetime - thus:

'born 30 Sept. 1800 left School Sept 1816 - & became my assistant in the Office -

Commenced his Career as an Architect in Carlton Chambers April 1823. Then built his and adj [adjacent] house in Spring Garden-'.¹²

The only other child not to be placed in full professional training outside the family was Alfred the youngest son who went as a clerk to Mr Thomas Wood and then to his brother Decimus and finally to St Leonards in 1833.¹³

One possible explanation for this treatment of the younger members of the family could be James's own rise in both social and professional status. He was a member of the Whig club and had become an important figure in the London building world. James was conscious of this and it is reflected in his diary. The early entries chart the family tree and demonstrate his preoccupation with the Burton's distant connection to Sir Walter Scott.¹⁴ The

¹¹ Diary, 1810. James Burton's general remarks refer to the pupillage of his sons James and Septimus as architect and lawyer respectively.

¹² Diary, preliminary page no. 10.

¹³ Diary, preliminary page no. 11.

¹⁴ Fragmentary family papers held in a private collection contain several elaborate and extensive family trees showing the connection with Sir Walter Scott. This appears to have been a particular pre-occupation with James Burton jnr and a Canadian uncle, Revd Haliburton, who returned briefly to Britain to pursue this connection. James Jnr later changed his surname to Haliburton - the original family

entries up until about 1804 concentrate principally on business matters and how much money James was worth. Slowly, however, the diary becomes more of a social record noting such events as at Septimus's christening in September 1794 'Mrs B wore powder' (underlined) and in July 1806 a ball was held for his daughter Eliza at Quarry Hill [Burton's house in Kent]. An entry on 9th March 1807 discusses a party at Bedford Place (one of the many London houses occupied by the Burtons) where a musical evening was held with guests including signor Bartolozzi and signor Ferrari (an opera singer).

It would be misleading to assume it was only James's rise in social status and wealth that encouraged him to train Decimus. There is also room for a re-evaluation of his own career especially as regards his building activities pre c1810. His substantial contribution to the town planning and urban development of London is discussed in the next two chapters. But his diary also mentioned several country houses where he appears to have been involved in the design and improvement of them. In 1791 he travelled to Cirencester for a Mr Tyndale to make designs for a new mansion. His diary also notes that he made alterations to Moor Park, Surrey 1794-7 and enlarged Leiston Old Abbey Suffolk ~~for~~ and Streatham Manor House in 1795. In 1806 he worked on Stonewall Park, Chiddleston Kent and a diary note of 1 November 1810 states 'set out with Mr Repton the site of Mr Childrens' house - The Mount'. Moreover, James's handling of Decimus's training may have been influenced by Soane's practice in his office as the two men knew each other and met socially in the

name which had been shortened by his father.

1810s.¹⁵ Soane felt draftsmanship was an essential part of architectural training and practice and even sent his less gifted pupils for special tuition. James Burton may have been following Soane's example here by employing George Maddox (1760-1843) as Decimus's tutor.¹⁶ Maddox was acting as an assistant in S P Cockerell's office in Savile Row in 1796 but made his living principally through the tuition of draftsmanship and drawing to architects. It is impossible to gauge if Decimus showed precocious or little talent for drawing. Few of his drawings survive and many are unsigned and/or undated. And the number of assistants or draftsman in Decimus's office is also unknown. But the fact Maddox was used by James in Decimus's training indicates James's recognition of the importance of draftsmanship in architectural practice. It is probably through Cockerell that Maddox met James Burton and became tutor to his son Decimus. Maddox was responsible for a number of shop front designs in London in the 1820s. He exhibited principally at the Royal Academy and the Society of British Artists working in both oil and watercolour. His fame as an architectural drawing master far exceeded his design talents and his most famous pupils alongside Burton included George Gilbert Scott who praised Maddox's ability as a draftsman. This fact was also recognized by Decimus as he presented an album of sketches of classical compositions by Maddox to the Royal Institute of British Architects

¹⁵ Soane's diaries refer to meetings and suppers with James Burton.

¹⁶ H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 3rd ed. New Haven and London, 1995, p 634, cites Maddox as having trained with Soane but there is no evidence for this so the connection between Maddox and Burton is not through Soane. ex info Margaret Richardson, Curator, Sir John Soane's Museum.

in 1869. Despite this high quality training very few of Burton's drawings survive. Yet he was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy although he never became an academician. A list of drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy by Burton appears in Appendix 1.

Decimus Burton's Royal Academy Training

Burton entered in the Royal Academy Schools in November 1817 with a design for a national museum.¹⁷ This was just after a period of change in the training of architecture students as a revolt earlier in the year had gained a few more privileges. The most important of these was access to the library on two evenings per week. Details of the architectural training are scant and it appears that it comprised mainly attending the lectures delivered by the Professor of Architecture - Sir John Soane - and being able to attend the perspective lectures given by JMW Turner then Professor of Perspective. It is possible to determine what Burton would have heard from Soane during his time at the Royal Academy Schools 1817-1823 when he set up on his own.¹⁸ By the time Burton arrived in 1817 the lecture series had finished and there were no lectures the following year. In 1819 the first series ie Lectures I-VI were repeated and in 1820 the second series were delivered although only Lectures VII, VIII and IX were delivered. After this until Burton's departure there were no further lectures. A list of Soane's lectures

¹⁷ SC Hutchinson, 'The Royal Academy Schools, 1768-1830', *The Walpole Society*, XXXVIII, 1962, pp 123-191.

¹⁸ These are fully discussed in D Watkin, *Sir John Soane and Enlightenment Thought: The Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge, 1995.

heard by Decimus Burton at the Royal Academy Schools appears in Appendix 2. Not only would Burton have benefited from a masterly digest of past and present architectural thinking in Britain and the continent presented by Soane but also from the superb illustrations to the lectures produced by Soane's pupils.

The other main element of the Royal Academy training alongside the lectures was the use of casts as models from which to draw and learn.¹⁹ Soane certainly encouraged this practice as his own house and office was used by his own pupils as a kind of museum where they would draw details of antique architecture to improve their own architectural vocabulary and understanding of the principles of design. (plate 1) Moreover, for those students who had not yet had the benefit of the Grand Tour it gave some kind of three dimensional experience of the monuments they would be likely to visit.

The use of casts in the Royal Academy Schools is less specifically documented especially with reference to architecture. It is certain that the collection was frequently damaged and painted and repainted and the casts needed repair or replacement on a regular basis. In 1815, shortly before Burton's arrival in the Schools, the situation was so bad that the Academy called on the Prince Regent for help and between the years 1815-24 the prince, later George IV, made substantial donations which greatly augmented and improved the collection which precipitated the appointment of a cast repairer to the Academy on 23rd December 1823. But it appears that these were mostly figurative sculptures rather than architectural casts.

¹⁹ For a general discussion of this point see HC Morgan, 'A History of the Organization of the Royal Academy Schools from the beginning of the Academy to 1836, with Special Reference to Academic Teaching and Conditions of Study', PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1964.

There is perhaps further evidence for the secondary role of architectural casts in the treatment of the bequest by Sir Thomas Lawrence who died in 1830. The artist's will stated that his architectural casts should be offered to the Academy for £250 that was half the price he paid for them seven years earlier. Although the Academy took up the option to purchase the casts they were given to the British Museum.

The Royal Academy cast collection included some architectural details, most notably the decorative friezes from the Parthenon and the Temple of Apollo at Bassae probably made by Westmacott in 1816 in the British Museum as part of one of the Prince Regent's gifts. Soane certainly underlined the importance of the study of these casts in his lectures in his Lecture VI first delivered in 1812 he stated that he

'never lost any opportunity in collecting casts from the ruins of ancient structures, marble fragments, vases or cinerary urns as well as every book and print that came within reach of the subject of architecture.'

And he saw his office as his own private academy offering his pupils opportunities the Royal Academy Schools could not. This certainly influenced Burton when he came to set up his own office in 1823 in Carlton Chambers a multi-purpose block built by his father as part of the Regent Street development. Correspondence between Soane to Burton dated July 1824²⁰ reveals that the two had been in contact and Soane had recommended a Mr Grant (capacity unstated) for Burton's new offices and that Burton would make use of his services as soon as he had settled in. Not long after setting himself up in practice

²⁰ Soane Museum case 7/22/32.

Burton designed and built two houses on Spring Gardens where from 1827 he lived and had his office. Little is known of these buildings or Burton's office practice.²¹ It is known that the house had a 'Grecian Room'.²² But it is puzzling that no contemporary comments have yet come to light about the enormous collection of casts Burton purchased en bloc for his new house and office.²³ Burton's own inventory of the casts, which appears in Appendix 3, reveals that they were purchased at his behest by a Mr Brown (unknown) in Rome and delivered to Spring Gardens in November 1827. The inventory (Appendix 3) shows that the range of casts and the buildings from which architectural details were taken conform to the standard pattern of study after antique and other Roman buildings undertaken by Grand Tourists. It comprised 226 items plus a table and the later purchases which were very large.²⁴ It was a very large collection requiring a substantial space to show it. Its arrival must have created a stir but no mention has been found in contemporary accounts of London. But two principal questions arise.

²¹ H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 3rd ed., New Haven and London, 1995, p 195, lists only six pupils: John Crake, Henry Currey, George Mair, AW Hakewill, George Williams and EJ May who joined Burton's office shortly before his retirement. Decimus's practice was continued by his nephew Henry Marley Burton (1813-80).

²² *Survey of London*, vol XX, Trafalgar Square and the Parish of St Martin in the Fields, part III, 1940, p 68.

²³ These were donated by Decimus Burton to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1879. The casts are now held in storage in the sculpture archive and numbered V&A 1879-19 to 1879-266.

²⁴ The dimensions of the pieces are given in a subsequent Victoria and Albert Museum catalogue where the significance and coherence of the collection is diluted as it is listed in random order instead of Burton's system of listing individual buildings.

First, what was the collection used for and who saw it - in other words the motivation for purchase? Second, how was it displayed?

Soane was very likely an influence in the motivation for Burton's purchase. His own house must have been known to Burton and his collection of casts were used as a source book for architectural details and part of the training of his pupils. (plate 1) Moreover, bearing in mind Soane's advice and comments about the use of casts in his Royal Academy lectures it is possible that Burton might have been inspired to want his own. As Burton did not go on a Grand Tour he must have seen it as part of his continuing training. Burton's collection was a complete and cogent purchase as it contained several details of many key buildings (see Appendix 3). It was added to with larger and more decorative pieces the size of which may imply some kind of extended exhibition space. By contrast Soane's collection was amassed on a more piecemeal basis - it included the architect James Playfair's collection purchased in 1795, Willey Revely's collection was acquired in 1801, Henry Holland's arrived in 1816 and Soane made extensive purchases from the Adam sales in the early years of the nineteenth century.

John Nash also had a substantial collection of casts but they were displayed in a completely different fashion to that used by Soane. The casts were part of a large collection of art objects including copies of old master paintings and fine furniture which were displayed in 'showroom style', rather than in any didactic fashion, in Nash's London house.²⁵ Of particular note is the seventy foot long

²⁵ Nash built two houses nos 14 and 16 Regent Street 1819-23 for himself and his cousin Mr Edwards. The layout of the houses interlocked as they had no party wall, Nash's accommodation was mostly on the principal floor. This allowed him to build an elegant

gallery which was luxuriously decorated and presented an array of casts of classical sculptures, paintings and architectural details.²⁶ (plate 2)

It appears that Burton was a keen collector. Some kind of idea of the nature of his taste and collections can be gleaned from his will²⁷ and the sale inventory of his library which appears in Appendix 4 as well as the inventory of his cast collection. Burton's will mentions his collection of paintings, marbles and casts as well as books. There is little detail of individual pieces.²⁸

The question of how Decimus Burton's cast collection was displayed and who saw it is not an easy one to answer. No contemporary commentaries have so far come to light. But by establishing a context for this kind of collection it is possible to frame some kind of hypothesis as to the wider impact of this important collection and the kind of visitors to it.

The only visual evidence of the interior of Spring Gardens is a small

suite of rooms. The house is discussed in Sir John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp 132-133 and T Davis, *John Nash, the Prince Regent's Architect*, London and South Brunswick and New York, 1967, pp 77-79.

²⁶ This was illustrated in A Pugin and J Britton, *Public Buildings of London*, 1827. It was a popular attraction in the metropolis although Nash only granted admittance to upper class visitors including Prince Puckler-Muskau. See Davis, op cit, pp 77-79. Davis also mentions a separate Gallery of Architecture in the house but no further details about this have come to light.

²⁷ Held in the Probate Office, Somerset House.

²⁸ A painting by Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man in his 30's* c 1633 was bequeathed to the National Gallery, London by Decimus's niece Emily in 1888. *National Gallery Illustrated General Catalogue*, London 1973, p 303, accession number 1251. Burton's will also mentions a sculpture by Thorwaldsen and a copy of a work by Raphael.

undated watercolour.²⁹ (plate 3) It is identified on the reverse, in Burton's hand, as 'Spring Gardens lobby at the top of the stairs looking from dining room'. This shows the huge capital of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli (surrounded by smaller pieces which are difficult to identify) greeting the visitor as s/he ascends the stairs. Was this the entrance to the Grecian Room which the *Survey of London* identifies as a kind of annexe to the house where Burton displayed his collection? Or was it hung, presumably in some kind of catalogue order, throughout the house and office?

Private houses were used as sites of display as seen in the dwellings of Soane, Nash and, although slightly earlier, Charles Townley and Thomas Hope. However, Burton, at some point in the late 1830s or early 1840s, vacated his house in Spring Gardens and moved north of Hyde Park to Gloucester Gardens but retained his office there. His will states that his collection was held at home and office but the majority, if not all, of the casts remained at 14 Spring Gardens. This ties the collection to his office and architectural practice. Perhaps like Soane Burton used it as a way of discussing architectural details with clients.³⁰ But Burton's collection had resonance with the didactic methods of display seen in other collections housed in a domestic setting. Charles Townley's (1737-1805) collection of marbles was probably the best known private collection in London in the late eighteenth century and it provides some context for Burton's collection. This comprised mostly originals rather than casts and was displayed in Townley's London house, 7 Park Street, (now Queen

²⁹ Held in a private collection.

³⁰ I am grateful to Susan Palmer, Archivist at Sir John Soane's Museum, for this information about Soane's use of his collection.

Anne's Gate) where visitors of the right social class and of genuine interest were allowed to visit and study it. There was a printed catalogue and watercolour images of the interior show how the collection was displayed. (plates 4 and 5) The most important sculptures were in the dining room.³¹ There are significant differences between Townley's and Burton's collection is that Burton's comprised only casts. Moreover, there is no evidence of a printed catalogue. But the fragments of evidence which do remain about Burton's collection imply that there was some kind of didactic display, possibly throughout his house and office. This perhaps appears more likely when it is remembered that Burton bought the majority of his cast collection as a coherent single purchase covering most of the major ancient buildings in Rome. The idea of using one's house or office as a display site went beyond the showing of cast collections. Here Thomas Hope's Duchess Street mansion is a prime example where each of the rooms followed a distinct order of layout and display.³² The ordered nature of Burton's catalogue would imply some sympathy with Hope's system.

The other essential tool of the architect in the early nineteenth century was his library. Here paper records of important ancient and modern buildings provided useful references for design theory and practice. There is no complete catalogue of Burton's library. But according to Decimus's will he did intend to leave it to the Royal Institute of British Architects - or at least copies of all books not

³¹ Townley's Collection is discussed in C Fox (ed), *London World City 1800-1840*, New Haven and London, 1992, pp 432-436.

³² For a full discussion of Hope's Duchess Street Mansion see D Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-classical Idea*, London, 1968.

already in their possession. But this was revoked in a later codicil and his collection passed to his nieces who sold at least part of it at auction (see Appendix 4). This sale catalogue is for only a portion of Burton's library. Even so this lists 347 separate lots some of which ran into many volumes. For instance the *Proceedings of the Camden Society* complete in 135 volumes and transactions of many learned societies including the Royal Society of Arts, The Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society. Despite being incomplete it shows he had varied and educated taste as it included many works of a religious nature which perhaps reveals Catholic or High Church sympathies as well as a complete set of Buffon and Lacepède's *Histoire Naturelle* (70 volumes). The architectural texts comprise mostly standard works on classical architecture such as the 5 volumes of Campbell, Woolfe and Gandon's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, Kent's *The Designs of Inigo Jones*. Alongside this topographical views and surveys of cities and counties pepper the collection. These include works by Britton and Neale. There were also some foreign language texts including volumes by Percier and Fontaine and Rondelet and a complete set of Piranesi's works. There is no evidence Burton spoke any languages other than English but there are several dictionaries.

Decimus Burton's Architectural Theory and Practice

There is little evidence for Burton's architectural theory or practice except the buildings themselves. However he was widely feted as a significant exponent of the Greek Revival style in the contemporary press and his individual works were praised including the Arch at Constitution Hill, the Athenaeum, and the Colosseum. This praise soon

turned to scorn in the late 1830s as the taste for the Gothic Revival gathered pace. The absence of any kind of treatise or coherent collections of architectural drawings has made these fundamental parts of Decimus's architectural practice enigmatic. Some conclusions can be drawn from what little is known especially if these glimpses of Burton's life are placed in the broader context of architectural theory and practice in early nineteenth-century London. Evidence given by Burton to two parliamentary select committees is important as it shows the diversity of his experience and by virtue of his being asked the esteem in which his opinion was held by contemporaries. The 1828 Report from the Select Committee on the Office of Works³³ included an enquiry into payment to tradesmen by measure and value or payment in gross.³⁴ Here Burton's rather traditional views on the organization of work are revealed as he favoured payment by measure. This was potentially more risky as the client had no firm fixed price for commissioned work but it was felt this scheme ensured quality. This perhaps reflected Burton's reputation for working professionally and to estimate, skills which might have been developed in his father's office. Payment in gross necessitated coherent and complete project drawings and specifications to allow craftsmen to give total estimates. Decimus's reputation for quality was built on his professional handling of the old system of contracting.

Burton's evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons which discussed the plans to develop Trafalgar Square gave a more

³³ 1828 Report, pp 4-5.

³⁴ On this point see HKW, p 162.

public platform for his views on urban planning.³⁵ This was especially the case as the proceedings were reported in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*.³⁶ That an enquiry of this kind be launched at all is worthy of note as it is one of the first examples of a public urban space with acknowledged national and political significance being discussed in the public domain. Moreover, Burton's involvement shows that he was recognised along with the other expert witnesses as able to contribute to such a debate. Alongside Burton those called to give evidence included Edward Blore, Francis Chantrey, TL Donaldson, Joseph Gwilt, Philip Hardwick, Sidney Smirke, R Westmacott, CR Cockerell and John Deering.

The document is interesting in its own right as it brings the question of urban planning and vista into the realm of public debate showing a new and important self consciousness about the cityscape. And with this in mind it is significant that Burton was included in the advisory team. The following extract, published in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* outlines Burton's responses and those of some of his fellow witnesses:

Question I. What effect, in your opinion, will a column, of which the pedestal including the steps is 43 feet high, and the height altogether 170, have on upon the National Gallery? TL Donaldson replied:

³⁵ Report from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the plan sanctioned by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for the laying out of the vacant space in Trafalgar Square in front of the National Gallery, 1840, (548) XII, 387.

³⁶ *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, vol VII, September 1840.

'It will render the inadequacy of the National Gallery for the important position which it occupies still more apparent: the want of altitude in the National Gallery, the littleness of all the features, the number of parts into which the elevation is divided, are so many circumstances which give an insignificance to the building. If any other ornamental erections are to be placed in Trafalgar-square, and restricted to being subordinate in scale to the National Gallery, the area will consist of a vast space occupied by insignificant objects. The only way to restore to it that importance which it deserves, and which it has lost through the National Gallery, is to place within it a lofty towering edifice, to which all the buildings around will be subordinate, and form the background. I conceive, therefore, the size of the proposed column to be no objection.'

By contrast Burton's response comprised the sentence:

'The column will apparently diminish the size of the Gallery.'

Question II. What effect, in your opinion, will the said column have as an ornamental object, in combination with the surrounding buildings?

Here Chantrey's answer may have struck a cord with Burton:

'This question involves all the difficulties contained in the first. As an ornamental object, the beauty and proportions of a Corinthian column, as forming part of a building, are matters settled 2,000 years ago; what its effect may be standing alone must depend much on the base, and the object which crowns the summit. An injudicious association of modern things with ancient may put the column out of the pale of classic beauty. Of the statue which is to be made I can give no opinion, but if it be only to measure 17 feet, its bird-like size will not be much in the way, and if formed of Portland stone, will not be long in the way. The Trajan, the Antonine, and the Napoleon columns, are the only monumental objects of this class that I have ever looked upon with entire satisfaction; I read the history of the man on the shaft of a column, and the mind is thus reconciled

to see the statue thus elevated. I may be told we have not money enough for a work of this character, that naval exploits furnish bad materials for sculpture, or that the arts of this country are in too low a state to accomplish so noble a work; then I say abandon the impossibility at once, and try something more in keeping with our means and genius'

Burton was more succinct:

'To render those buildings less important.'

Here Burton had some resonance with Donaldson whose lengthy polemic culminated in the argument that the column would be a good thing as 'The National Gallery is so insignificant as to require some other object to redeem the opportunity which has been lost'.

Burton's answer to the remaining two questions were equally succinct and pointed:

Question III. What effect will the column have on the National Gallery, as you approach it from Whitehall?

Burton: 'Its pedestal will obscure a portion.'

Question IV. How far do you consider that position a favourable position for the column itself

Burton: 'For the column itself, a favourable position.'

Although brief, Decimus's comments were not completely out of keeping with the observations made by some of his fellow expert witnesses. But these comments do not give much away about Burton's architectural theory or his views on practice. There is little evidence regarding Burton's ideas on the purpose and function of architecture or architectural drawings but he appears to have interested in raising the status of the profession as he was a founder member of the Institute of British Architects in 1834. Although he does not appear to have played a very active role in the life of the

Institute.³⁷

There is, however, some suggestion that early in his career Burton was in tune with mainstream architectural thinking. His involvement in 1823 with a competition for designs for the completion of King's College, Cambridge and subsequent exhibition of some of the entries in the Great Room of the Western Exchange might give some clues to Burton's thinking and at least provides a context for his ideas.

The scheme was extensive involving the design of several buildings requiring many drawings. These were not returned in time for submission to the Royal Academy and in any case a series of this sort was too large for the kind of architectural drawings usually exhibited there. The decision to hold an exhibition dedicated to these competition drawings is significant as it shows a recognition of the importance of these series of designs and the need for them to be fully explained. Although it cannot be determined how far Burton was in agreement, the statement of intent which appeared in the exhibition catalogue³⁸ reads rather like a manifesto and has resonance with the way in which many architects were thinking about the nature and status of architectural drawing at this time.³⁹

'The object of architecture as we all know, is the building and not the drawing which represents it, the latter is quite the secondary object.'

³⁷ Minutes of the committee and members' meetings are held at the Royal Institute of British Architects.

³⁸ Soane Museum PC/55.

³⁹ I am grateful to Margaret Richardson, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum, for pointing this out to me.

Visitors to the show were asked to imagine the designs as built as 'without this act of mind, architectural drawings can communicate comparatively little pleasure.'

The organisers went on to point out that some are incapable of this feat of imagination but for those who can it is a delightful mental exercise. And in order to do this successfully the viewer needs a full complement of plans elevations and perspective views.

They continued:

'The contributing architects hope this will be the beginning of a succession of exhibitions, particularly of designs made for competitions, which by fixing public attention on the true objective of architectural drawings will give them increased interest and purify and exalt this favourite art.'

The contributors to the exhibition and fellow contestants alongside Burton included: Lewis Vulliamy, TL Donaldson, JL Wolfe, Charles Barry, Ambrose Poynter, Thomas Rickman and Henry Hutchinson, the latter three furnishing gothic designs.

This is a significant step in the move away from architectural drawings as pictures which was the principal method of representing architecture in the drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined what little direct evidence there is about James and Decimus Burton. It can be used to show how James Burton's successful architectural practice brought him increased social status and wealth. This impacted on the aspirations and career potential of the male members of his family. James's involvement with the increasingly prestigious projects which enabled his social

and architectural development is charted in the next two chapters.

Decimus benefited greatly from his father's success and wealth which cushioned his own professional life. He began his career further up the social ladder and enjoyed several years in the Royal Academy Schools. However, the fact he was not articled to an architect, possibly because of James's own rise in status, nor went on the Grand Tour early in life are anomalies in the training of an architect, such as it was, at this time. But Decimus must have learnt much about efficient working practices from his father's productive career and their work together is discussed in chapter four. These qualities of efficiency, professionalism and an educated sensitivity to the wider implications of design for the creation of distinct urban environments rather than any kind of 'architectural genius' are the hallmarks of Decimus's subsequent architectural works in London and Dublin as discussed in the later chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter 2

James Burton's building activities in Bloomsbury

James Burton's involvement in the development of four neighbouring, adjoining estates in Bloomsbury heralded an important change in the nature and scope of speculative building in London. His systematic production of a substantial number of terrace houses and creation of a distinctive urban infrastructure was a preface to Burton's later work in London and demonstrated his developing response to the problems of town planning and to the creation of the urban landscape. This kind of large-scale development was taken up by other architect/builders and it helped underpin the city's expansion during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the consideration of these Bloomsbury estates in terms of the architect/builder who was principally responsible for their development allows the exploration of the role such an individual played in the evolution of a specific geographical area of London. This approach breaks from the tradition of examining each estate's development in isolation so allowing a re-evaluation of the relationship between landowner, architect/builder and the emerging metropolis.

The area referred to as Bloomsbury in this chapter is spread across the parishes of St Giles in the Fields, St George Bloomsbury and St Pancras. (plate 1) The whole area was bound on the west by Bedford Square, to the east by Tonbridge Street, Hastings Street and Leigh

Street. The southern edge was bordered by Bloomsbury Square whilst the northernmost extremity was Torrington Square and Mabledon Street. The land was owned by four very different kinds of owner. The Foundling Estate, where Burton began his work in the area, was owned by the Coram Foundation and situated to the west of Southampton Row. This was the central piece in Burton's whole design as all other estates were joined to it. The Bedford Estate was owned by the 5th Duke of Bedford and was situated to the south west of the Foundling Estate. These two estates comprised the western half of the whole area worked in by Burton. Burton's later work on the Skinners Company Estate which was to the north of the Foundling Estate and that of Mr Edward Lucas a private landowner which was also to the north.

Previous studies have tended to focus on individual estates rather than the area as a whole. This approach is typified by Donald Olsen

'The building histories of the Bedford and Foundling Hospital estates illustrate how difficult it was to impose a coherent plan on the expanding metropolis. The transformation of the Bedford lands from a collection of fields and market gardens to a residential suburb lasted from 1630s to 1850s. The building of the smaller Foundling estate came between 1790 and 1826. On neither estate was building steady or gradual, but took place in a number of separate developments.'¹

This statement implies that there was a wish to impose a coherent plan on the metropolis but does not identify who wished to impose it. It does, by default give the city a life force of its own as it expanded and formed itself despite the best efforts of others. This is recognised, to some extent, by Sir John Summerson in *Georgian London* where

¹ Donald J.Olsen, *Town Planning in London* , New Haven and London, 2nd ed. 1982, p 37.

he identifies a problem in the public perception of urban spaces 'that a city is a living creature which must be controlled and which, to be controlled, must be understood.'²

This chapter considers the impact the speculative building activities of James Burton had on the architectural and demographic make-up of Bloomsbury and in turn on the 'life force' of the city. This area provides an interesting case study as Burton worked across estates owned by four different land owners of distinctly different types. Moreover, the land was in one of the less fashionable areas of London as the thrust of the city's growth was now westwards. Not only was Bloomsbury an isolated pocket to the northeast of the city centre but counter to popular trends Burton built in an west east direction pushing the edge of Bloomsbury toward the unfashionable east end.

This analysis of Bloomsbury establishes Burton as an important figure in the push to develop this area as he built a large proportion of it and actively encouraged two estate owners - the Skinners Company and Mr Lucas - to develop their land. Two main points emerge from this study of James Burton's work. First his clarity of vision of the urban plan he wished to impose on an area owned by different estates is evident which may well demonstrate knowledge of contemporary ideas about town planning. Second, Burton tried to maintain a balance between buildings and landscaped areas and his successful integration of the two and use of a variety of forms of open space are hallmarks of his approach to planning. The idea of community in terms of the social mix of the area and inclusion of

² Sir John Summerson, *Georgian London*, Harmondsworth, revised ed., 1978 p 24.

commercial premises (mostly shops) and uniformity of design is also present in Burton's work here. The former was dictated to some extent by the number of houses of each rate built on the estates which was a form of social segregation. The latter is evident in Burton's level of control of the whole project. He planned long runs of terraces with the houses having more stylistic homogeneity. More importantly there is a distinct logic to the street pattern Burton imposed across the estates which shows a knowledge of contemporary approaches to town planning. This is complemented by the variety of forms of open space Burton introduced to the area. Alongside traditional garden squares Burton used the relatively new forms to London such as long thin spaces and the crescent in his urban layouts. The sources for these are probably the ideas on town planning discussed by eighteenth-century French theorists such as Jacques-Francois Blondel and Pierre Patte. But there is no direct connection with Burton. The inventory of James's library at his death lists only Patte's volume on the Louvre of his *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*.³ But the ideas of both Patte and Blondel were current⁴ and Burton may have picked up on these from other sources. Both Frenchmen stressed the importance of good connections and rationality in town planning. Patte's concerns as expressed in his *Memoires sur les objets les plus importants de l'architecture* where he argues for good connections in terms of

³ The inventory of James Burton's books sold on his death in 1837 is in the British Library S.C.W.33 (6). There are very few architecture books in the collection.

⁴ For a fuller discussion of both Blondel and Patte's contribution to town planning see A Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, Cambridge, 1992, chs 4 & 8 esp.

roads and vistas between the various parts of a city but warns against the uniform monotony which might follow from such planning principles. But there were important difference between these ideas and the design issues faced by James Burton in laying out the Bloomsbury estates. The French theorists were concerned mostly with improvements to existing cities - most notably Paris - whereas Burton's projects were all new build with the added advantage that once completed the New Road was to give improved access from other parts of the city.

Continental town planning theory had already been influential in Britain especially outside of London in cities like Edinburgh and Bath. John Wood's (1704-1754) work in Bath which was continued by his son John Wood (1728-1781) is of particular interest here. Wood drew on Bath's Roman origins for some of his ideas for the development of the city.⁵ But it was also a highly successful marriage of the town planning ideas expressed by theorists like Blondel and Patte and a speculative development. The variety of forms used by Wood to punctuate this new urban environment: Queen's Square, the Circus and the Royal Crescent were connected by a coherent road system and gave variety and interest to the urban plan.⁶ Even without their nomenclature the various shapes and associations of these open spaces added cachet to Wood's development. It is interesting to note the similarity between Wood's use of the crescent form and Burton's (see below). In both cases the lie of the land is

⁵ The full range of possibilities of sources for Wood's designs are discussed in T Mowl and B Earnshaw, *John Wood: Architect of Obsession*, London, 1988.

⁶ A full account of the development of Bath is given in W Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bath*, Bath, 1980 pp 22-25 and 111-180 esp.

exploited through the use of an unusual curved layout of a terrace which gives a sense of grandeur to the composition. Notably whilst Wood called on associations with the monarchy to enhance his scheme further with then name Royal Crescent, Burton used his own name for his scheme.

Wood's exploitation of the town planning elements of his designs to enhance the profitability of his speculation may well have appealed to Burton. And James's overall vision for Bloomsbury has resonance with the French town planning theories but how far these were picked up in distilled form from the work of men like Wood is open to question.

The Extent of Burton's Work in Bloomsbury

Between 1792 and 1814 Burton helped create Southampton Row (extending into Woburn Place) which acted as the spine of his building work. (plate 1) To the east of the southern end Burton helped develop the parallel streets which formed the western edge of the Foundling Estate. Whilst further to the south and west of Southampton Row he laid out Russell Square. This development is perhaps the most traditional in terms of London's planning as the houses were ranged around a landscaped 'square' square. Further to the south Burton part used the former gardens of Bedford House (demolished 1800) to create the gardens and mews of Montague Street, Bedford Place and Southampton Row which run parallel from the south end of Russell Square. These 'rectangular' spaces created subsidiary spaces to Russell Square. Burton had most freedom in terms of planning to the east of the north end of Southampton Row. Here, on the Skinner's and Lucas Estates Burton was the sole

developer and he was able to explore different spatial possibilities and uses of enclosed landscape. Burton Crescent curved away from Southampton Row to form the head of a distinct, hierarchical unit which stands out in the urban plan of London. The arms of Burton Crescent extend into Hastings and Leigh Streets with Sandwich, and Judd Streets running parallel between them. The crescent shaped lawn enclosed by Burton Crescent is an unusual landscape feature that displays Burton's flexible and informed approach to planning. Burton's work in Bloomsbury firmly establishes the nature of his approach to planning and the role he played in the creation of the urban fabric of London. The models of analysis used by historians like Summerson and Olsen are also re-examined. This allows an exploration of the dynamic between individual and city which helps to identify the city's own life force.

Established Methods of Analysis.

The history of the area known as Bloomsbury has been principally charted by three historians: Sir John Summerson in *Georgian London*, Donald Olsen in *Town Planning in London* and S E Rasmussen in *London the Unique City*.⁷ In contrast to the latter the former two concentrate very much on the individual estates. Summerson devotes chapters to the development of the 'Great Estates' which are considered in isolation from each other.⁸ This places

⁷ Summerson, op cit, Olsen, op cit and S E Rasmussen, *London the Unique City*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2nd ed, 1982.

⁸ Summerson, op cit, ch 12 and ch 14, although in ch 12 Summerson does discuss Burton's work on individual estates as well as that of other builders.

emphasis on the role of the aristocratic landowner but reduces the important role of the speculator/builder as the enabler of the projects and the demographic impact of these developments. Moreover, the isolationist analysis of each of the great estates draws attention away from any developments in town planning nascent in the building boom of the Regency period. Olsen's approach is to some extent similar to that of Summerson. Olsen confines his attention to the Foundling and Bloomsbury Estates looking at them separately rather than in any kind of interrelated fashion or chronological sequence.

'This study will concern itself not with the historical development of different estates but with determining how they dealt with certain recurring situations'⁹

Summerson argues for a strong economic motivation to the building booms of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

'London's growth has not been a matter of gradual and even incrementation, but of distinct waves of activity at intervals roughly of about fifty years. It is not a coincidence that this interval corresponds with the cycle which economic historians have detected in eighteenth-century trade. More closely studied, it bears an obvious relation to the alternation of periods of peace and war, and a less obvious relation to the increase of London's population. Each burst of house-building had a character of its own - a different social character, representing a different stratum of the national wealth and bringing into prominence a different kind of taste.'¹⁰

This 'taste', according to Summerson, manifested itself in different interpretations of classicism.

⁹ Olsen, op cit, p xxiii.

¹⁰ Summerson, op cit, p 24.

By contrast Olsen feels more emphasis should be placed on planning (ie the physical layout of the area)

‘[the great estates] did fulfil admirably the requirement of their own times.....Nobody would suggest that this came about by accident. But it is too easy to attribute the virtues of Georgian London to bloodless abstractions, such as the Spirit of the Age, Eighteenth-Century Taste, or the Dominance of the Classical Tradition. Even to agree with Rasmussen’s thesis that the system of building leases in itself was in large measure responsible for the spaciousness.....of London’s layout, is not to deny the importance of conscious planning in achieving the form and outline which such spacious development took.’¹¹

Summerson, Olsen and Rasmussen place more emphasis on the landowner and his economic interests than on the role of the builder. Yet it is the builder who realised the developments. Landowners were unlikely to be directly involved in speculative development as it was beneath their social class and they could distance themselves from financial risk by leasing the land to others and they even lent money to builders. Some landowners employed architects to advise on the overall development of their estate. The Foundling Hospital employed S P Cockerell and Henry Holland was engaged as a surveyor on the Duke of Bedford’s estate. But if the history of Bloomsbury is approached from the point of view of the speculative builder a different picture emerges showing the area as a whole. This approach to the building of Bloomsbury through the activities of James Burton distinguishes this chapter from the analyses of the area made by previous historians.

¹¹ Olsen, op cit, p xxiii.

The Builder

James Burton's first speculative venture was in Southwark where there had been considerable building activity since the construction of Blackfriars Bridge in 1769. Between 1785-1792 Burton built seventy houses of all four ratings near the southern end of the bridge and carried out developments at other locations in east and north London. (Table 1) As his assets and confidence grew so he decided to tackle greater projects. The next twenty two years of his life were spent on his work in Bloomsbury. Between 1792-1814 he built or enabled the building of 1756 houses - nearly two per week. (Table 2) This startling increase in activity is due partly to Burton's ability and partly to changes in his working practice. Following the example of other large scale speculative builders such as John Wood in Bath Burton sublet plots. By 1814 when Burton left Bloomsbury to begin work on the Regent's Park and Regent Street his wealth and social status had increased substantially as had his reputation as an architect/builder.

Although not unique in London's building history Burton's sustained and substantial building activities in Bloomsbury show his commitment to the area. The unity of his work implies some kind of overall vision for the area which was a necessary part of a successful speculative development. A near contemporary account of Burton's work, Rowland Dobie's *The History of the United Parishes of St Giles in the Fields and St George's Bloomsbury*, (1829) presents a broad sweeping history of the area from the earliest known records to the then present day. Dobie identifies James Burton as a prime mover in the development of the area having had a fundamental impact from his initial involvement in 1792. This is quantified in a

list compiled by Dobie of 'Houses and Tenements built on the Foundling Hospital Estate since 1792 and on that of his Grace the Duke of Bedford since 1798, within the Parish of St George Bloomsbury'. (Table 3) Burton's significant role is corroborated, in the case of the Foundling Estate, by S P Cockerell in his *Report to the Governors of 1807*

'Mr Burton is the one individual (under the attention of the five gentlemen who composed the original building committee, and I hope I may add my own labours and exertions) to whom your excellent charity is indebted for the improvement which has taken place on the estate. All that has been done by the other builders is comparatively trifling and insignificant. Without such a man, possessed of very considerable talents, unwearied industry, and a capital of his own, the extraordinary success of the improvement of the Foundling Estate could not have taken place.

Mr Burton has expended above £400,000 for the permanent benefit of the property of the Hospital. Great part of this he has done personally; the other part he has done by builders engaged under him, whom he has supplied with money and materials, secured by mortgage, or receiving his compensation in what are called carcass or profit rents, and has still heavy mortgages subsisting on unfinished buildings.

By his own peculiar resources of mind, he has succeeded in disposing of his buildings and rents, under all the disadvantages of the war, and of an unjust clamour which has been repeatedly raised against him; and at the same time those gentlemen who have speculated in purchases upon the estate with any degree of prudence, as many have done, have not had cause to repeat their speculations.

The measure of letting a large portion of land to such a man as Mr Burton was, I conceive, founded in prudence, and is justified by the event. Where several builders are all original contractors, the delay or insolvency of one thwarts the efforts of the whole; and builders with small capital never proceed

with the same confidence and spirit as where they act under the guidance, and with the aid of such a man as Mr Burton, who while he watched over and was interested in the success of the whole, was ready to come forward (and he has done it in a great variety of instances, and in some with considerable inconvenience and loss) with money and personal assistance, to relieve and help forward those builders who were unable to proceed in their contracts; and in some instances he has been obliged to resume the undertaking, and to complete himself what had been weakly and imperfectly proceeded in.

Weighing these circumstances liberally and candidly, if gentlemen will now reflect how impossible it is that all the parts of the buildings which cover the Foundling Estate should have been equally free from defects, and if they will consider the magnitude and extent of what Mr Burton has done, and appreciate correctly its deficiencies, and then examine the variety and situation of the persons he has been obliged to employ, they will rather be surprised that the whole has been completed so perfectly and unexceptionably as it now is, than complain of a few trifling imperfections'¹²

Furthermore, the revised plan for improvements on the Bedford Estate drawn up in 1800 cites Burton as the person from whom further particulars may be obtained. (Plate 2) This surely indicates Burton's rise in status and influence on the development of the Bedford Estate. A contemporary history of London identified Burton as the 'eminent' builder responsible for most of the speculative building in the north of the metropolis.¹³

¹² This was a pamphlet written by S P Cockerell addressed *To the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children: Assembled in General Court*, London 1807. Henceforth *Report 1807*.

¹³ James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 1802, I, p 5.

Bloomsbury

In the early eighteenth century the area was considered one of the healthiest in London. Situated on the northern rim of the city it afforded fine prospects of the hills of Highgate and Hampstead. There were three noble houses in the area: Southampton House - sometimes referred to as Bedford House, Montague House - later to house the first British Museum, and Thanet House - home of the Earl of Thanet which was situated opposite Dyot Street (now George Street). The focal point of the area was the emergent Bloomsbury Square which was first called Southampton Square. Southampton House formed the northern portion of this square and Montague House was situated slightly to the west of it. The residents of Bloomsbury Square were from the higher classes demonstrating that in the earlier part of the century this was an extremely fashionable area of town. The added kudos of an aristocratic townhouse forming part of the layout only enhanced the square's desirability - residents included the likes of the Earl of Chesterfield. According to Dobie, Southampton House occupied 'one of the finest situations in Europe for a palace!....[its] great situation and approach and gardens and view to the country at the back making a country retreat almost unnecessary'.¹⁴

Motivation for the Developments

The motivation for each tranche of the building project was different on the part of each of the landowners. The late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century schemes were part of an on going dynamic of the development of the area which had begun in the

¹⁴ R Dobie, *The History of the United parishes of St Giles in the Fields and St George's Bloomsbury*, London, 1829, p 138.

early seventeenth century. The development of Bloomsbury was quite patchy, one of the main problems being access to the estates without which they were not viable residential or commercial areas. This is demonstrated by Dobie who identifies the trend in development in the area by listing the number of houses sited there over a period of two hundred years. (Table 4) These figures indicate a stagnation in building during the last three quarters of the eighteenth century and the boost at the end of this period.

The development of the Bedford, Skinner^{vs} and Lucas Estates can be seen as part of a major trend in the London estates where long term investment and return was the main objective. The groundrents were small beer compared to the bounty at the end of the term of the lease (usually 30 or 60 years) when the property would revert to the landowner for resale or redevelopment. This microcosm of the economic climate of the building industry in eighteenth-century London did not represent the motives of the Foundling Hospital. This institution was run by Governors who faced day to day problems of funding as well as trying to secure the long-term financial future of the charity.

In 1740 the patrons of the Foundling Hospital purchased 56 acres of land in Bloomsbury from the Earl of Salisbury. The patrons had originally wanted to purchase a smaller plot of some 34 acres but it was deemed that the amount they did not wish to buy was the least attractive and would be made less so once unattached from the rest of the estate. The aim was to create two great fields of 34 acres with the hospital situated in the middle. This breathing space was considered essential for the children's well being and was part of the attraction of the plot. The Earl of Salisbury was sympathetic to the cause and

donated £500 of the £7000 sale price to the hospital - much to the anger of other prospective purchasers who would have paid more for the land. The condition of purchase was that the land should not be developed but used solely as a site for the hospital. The hospital's motives for wanting to develop the land were financial but a quick profit was needed rather than long term financial investment. There was a financial crisis in the 1780s and the rampant speculative building trade was seen as a solution to the problems. Many considered this a shortsighted, if not erroneous assumption. These views were expressed in two pamphlets: *An Appeal to Governors of the Foundling Hospital and the probable consequences of covering hospital lands with buildings*, London 1787 and *A Further Appeal to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and justification of their conduct in not having covered the hospital lands with buildings since the institution of the charity*, by John Holliday Esq, London, 1788.¹⁵ It was argued that internal financial reforms would relieve the institution's problems¹⁶ and the likely returns on the proposed speculative venture were called into question as rents were not much higher on lands given over to building rather than farming:

'Within a few hundred yards of the Hospital on the margin of the New Road, I have been well informed that the builder has contracted for three or four acres (to be extended to many more acres, if sub-contractors can be found) at a price which produces to the land-owner the *immense* sum of *twenty shillings per acre* annually,'¹⁷

¹⁵ Henceforth *An Appeal* and *A Further Appeal* respectively.

¹⁶ *An Appeal* p 24.

¹⁷ *ibid*, p 23.

This was in fact little more than would be received from land used for agricultural purposes.¹⁸ But objectors to the scheme felt that the land surrounding the Hospital would, if developed, produce a better market than this, perhaps partly because of the attraction of being sited near such an institution.¹⁹

Moreover, it was felt that the turning over of the fields to housing would severely impinge on the health of the children

‘that by building round the Hospital, it will *by degrees*, bring it into the town, and thus render it much less healthy for the purposes for which it was erected.²⁰

More children, it was argued - might die from the effects of living in a polluted atmosphere than from any financial stringency during any period when administrative reforms were implemented.²¹ It must be remembered that one of the motives for building the hospital in the middle of fields was the benefit of the fresh air to the occupants.

The Bedford Estate was developed under different circumstances. A rapid change took place in the Duke’s view as to how the land should be developed in the period 1787-1800. The change was probably motivated by the fact that London’s fashionable quarters were moving ever westward so making Bloomsbury and in particular the Duke’s residence Bedford or Southampton House increasingly unfashionable. In 1787 the Duke was adamant that no building work

¹⁸ *A Further Appeal* p 12.

¹⁹ *An Appeal*, p 24.

²⁰ *An Appeal* p 32.

²¹ *ibid*, pp 22-23.

should take place to the north of Bloomsbury House as this would spoil the views to the north unbroken to the Hampstead and Highgate hills.²² The Duke's attitude had changed by 1795 as the Foundling Estate needed to make roads opening into the Duke's private road. At the same time the Duke decided to begin to develop the area north of Bloomsbury House known as the Long Fields. (plate 3) The fields were to be landscaped and turned into an ornamental pleasure ground and the roads bordering the fields to east and west be developed. These became Southampton and Bedford Terraces respectively. A covenant was added to the agreement with the developers of this land.

'the area or lawn extending northwards from the garden belonging to Bedford House to the estate of Lord Southampton, and also extending from the said intended [Southampton Terrace] westward to another intended terrace to be called Bedford terrace shall not be let or granted for building, nor shall the said Duke of Bedford...permit any buildings to be erected thereon, except ornamental or other buildings for use of the ground, during the said term of ninety-nine years'.²³

The 5th Duke wished to develop land to the north of Bedford House. He entered into an agreement with Burton whilst he was still working on the Foundling Estate for the development of this estate in 1798. Burton produced a plan in 1800 'for the intended improvements on the estate of his Grace the Duke of Bedford'.

In the same year the Duke obtained two acts of parliament to allow him to develop his estate. Burton's plan was engraved for the benefit of prospective speculators in 1800 (plate 2) and again in 1806 when

²² Olsen, op cit, p 48.

²³ Building contract between the Bedford Estate and James Burton and Henry Scrimshaw for Southampton Terrace 6 July 1795 as quoted in Olsen, op cit, p 50.

Burton included Woburn and Torrington Squares. Some of the plots were let to sub-contracting masons, joiners and ironworkers acting as small scale speculative developers. But Burton ensured stylistic uniformity even more rigorously than he had during the work on the Foundling Estate. Indeed Burton's design for one of the terraces on the Bedford Estate was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800.²⁴ The Bedford Estate was a riskier venture as over half of the houses were first rate. By this time fashionable London was further west and the better class of tenant wanted to live there. Even the Duke of Bedford vacated Bedford House in 1800 giving it over to demolition and went to live on another estate in a leasehold house in the west end. This raises the questions of whether the Bloomsbury estates met public demand for housing stock or whether market forces were ignored in favour of an imposed, ideal demographic make-up which ran counter to actual trends.

The Skinners and Lucas Estates were developed at Burton's instigation. During the years 1803-7 he negotiated with both parties and convinced them that such a venture would be profitable for all concerned. Of all of Bloomsbury this has Burton's most personal stamp. Many of the place names have significance. For instance Burton Street and Crescent on the Skinner's Estate and Mabledon and Tonbridge Street referring to Burton's house in Kent on the Lucas Estate. The architecture was similar to that on the Bedford Estate but the bulk of the housing stock was of third and fourth rate.

It is already clear that Bloomsbury was not a homogeneous area ripe

²⁴ This was exhibited as No 1066 *West view of the houses erecting at the back of Bedford House on the south side of Russell Square*, J Burton, Architect, Southampton Terrace.

for development and both the motivation and resistance to the building of houses were complex and considerable forces. The interaction of these and Burton's own ideas shaped the urban fabric.

The Urban Fabric

In his creation of the urban fabric Burton had least overall control in his work on the Foundling Estate. Their architect S P Cockerell prepared a plan which placed the mid eighteenth-century hospital in the centre of the new development flanked by open spaces; these later became Mecklenburgh Square and Brunswick Square with Guilford Street on the southern boundary of the estate. This isolated the Hospital in the centre of an otherwise simple grid pattern which connected with the existing streets beyond the perimeter of the estate. The plan may have been influenced by the rationalist plans prevalent in other major European cities - most notably Paris - which made the principal building the focal point of the design. Burton became the executant architect and he planted out or fenced in most of the area. During the building process his relationship with the governors and Cockerell developed as he gained their trust and demonstrated his competence and ability to handle such large scale projects. Many of the design ideas can be attributed to Burton as Cockerell operated a 'hands off' policy on matters of style and layout. Burton constructed nearly six hundred houses and imposed a stylistic uniformity on the buildings which made an important contribution to the development of the terrace as a tool for shaping and codifying the urban landscape. The uniform terraces helped counter the domestic appearance of the London streetscape. In this way Burton was carrying on the method begun by Robert Adam in the Fitzroy

Square where he used classical detailing to create a more uniform and grand palace-like facade. Moreover, the practice of sub-contracting to small-scale builders by a principal leaseholder was frowned on by some landowners as it was claimed this adversely affected the quality of the buildings and the overall development. Burton's strict control over his sub-contractors and imposition of uniform designs must have helped to overcome this anxiety.

Burton also bought land to develop which bordered the Foundling Estate. On 4th March 1794 he purchased Mr Newenham's land on the north of Queen's Square just south of Guilford Street.²⁵ This helped the general development of the area, although it ensured the Hospital was further hemmed in by buildings, and contributed to the street-plan of the area.

Burton enjoyed greater freedom in the Bedford Estate. This was a rectangular plot with a north south axis bounded to the south by Bloomsbury Square to the west by Bedford Square and the east by Southampton Row. Burton used a grid pattern and created a new square in the centre of the plot on a line with Bloomsbury Square, this was called Russell Square.

In 1800 there was new impetus as Southampton House was demolished and three streets of terrace housing were built on its site: Southampton Row, Bedford Place and Montague Street. (plate 2) Southampton Row and Montague Street were already laid out as roads but with different names (Southampton Terrace and Bedford Terrace respectively) (plate 3) This layout made it impossible to create a square. However Burton placed long private lawns at the back of

²⁵ Diary, 1794.

these houses using garden features from the grounds of the old Southampton House. The plan of the estate must have appeared exceptionally rational with an interesting balance between architecture and landscape. The long rectangular areas of garden here and in Montague and Woburn Squares make a very different kind of urban environment. These houses were constructed later by Cubitt and Sim.²⁶

Burton's commitment to the landscape and recognition of its importance in the shaping of urban space is seen further in his use of Humphry Repton to landscape Russell Square along picturesque lines using meandering paths and variety to play on the senses.

On the Skinners' Estate Burton's planning became increasingly ambitious. Burton Street ran across the opening of Burton Crescent which faced eastwards to follow the lie of the land. (plates 4 and 5) The choice of a crescent shape was unusual in terms of London town planning. George Dance had recently constructed a circus on the south side of Southwark Bridge where Burton had begun his London building career. Perhaps more relevantly there is again a connection with the building of Bath as John Wood jnr had recently completed his father's design for the Royal Crescent. Moreover, the unusual shape provided a focus for the whole plan. In terms of the landscape the crescent like the long rectangle set up a very different relationship between open space and architecture. The traditional squares were insular discreet entities as described by Rasmussen

'The English square..... is a restricted whole as complete as the courtyard of a convent. They form fine geometrical figures in

²⁶ Olsen, op cit, p 57.

the town plan, they are regular and completely uniform on all sides.....It is as if the traditions of the Middle Ages had been handed down to the present day in the squares in these domestic quarters. But the narrow courts of the old town have been transformed into the open squares of the newer quarters'.²⁷

Here Burton's spaces interlocked and he created vistas so generating a feeling of continuity and openness.

The Lucas Estate fitted in neatly with the Skinners and presents some of the best evidence of Burton's overall vision. (plate 5) It comprises three parallel streets running north south with two cross streets running into the ends of Burton Crescent - Hastings Street and Leigh Street. Burton clearly demonstrated an appreciation of the necessity to maintain a balance between buildings and landscape and vista as well as a judicious use of symmetry and geometry in his laying out of terraces and gardens. He took the established formula of the garden square and developed it. First he introduced architectural uniformity in the homogeneous runs of terraces he built on the Foundling Estate. Perhaps he was following the example of nearby Bedford Square? Secondly, Burton used a symmetrical and hierarchical plan which implies his vision across Bloomsbury was a significant step forward in urban design.

Burton's contribution to the urban fabric of Bloomsbury went far beyond the regular facades and street patterns he designed and built. He maintained a residence in the area for most of the time he was working there and during this time he contributed to the social life of the area. The principal way in which Burton did this was through his Russell Rooms situated on Great Coram Street just off Woburn

²⁷ Rasmussen, op cit, pp 198-200.

Place. This was a descendant of the assembly rooms of the previous century. Like its predecessors, the Russell Institution, as it became known, provided a place for social interaction. No record has so far come to light as to how the building was funded. All Burton notes in his diary is that he began work on the building on June 12th 1802 and that on September 27th in the same year it burnt to the ground and he had to rebuild it. Despite moving his primary residence to Mabledon, Kent, in 1805 Burton remained actively involved in the Russell Rooms. He remarked in his diary that the first Russell Ball took place on May 17 1807 and on June 17th that year he attended a concert given by Mr Ferrari. The more serious intention of the Institution became clear early in 1808 when Burton attended a meeting to establish a library there.²⁸

Burton was concerned with the spiritual as well as in the intellectual well being of the inhabitants of his newly created urban environment. The first brick of the Woburn Chapel, designed by TL Donaldson, was laid on June 3rd 1801²⁹ and it opened with a service attended by Burton on July 18th 1802.

There is no doubt that these two important contributions to the urban fabric of Bloomsbury helped to improve the environment and assisted Burton to create the right kind of atmosphere to ensure the best possible return on his investment.

This area of Bloomsbury has an autonomy where the functions of commerce and residence are separated and the demographic make-up of the area carefully controlled. The social composition of the

²⁸ Diary, 1808. Burton remarked over 80 people attended.

²⁹ Diary, 1801.

area can be determined through an analysis of the different rates of houses (see below).

One of the principal reasons why the development of Bloomsbury was so sporadic was the poor access to the site. This adversely affected the area's residential and commercial viability. Burton recognised this and seized the opportunity to benefit from the emerging road system as well as contributing to its development.

Infrastructures

The poor access to Bloomsbury appears to have been a powerful force in holding back the development of this area earlier in the century. Burton worked hard to establish good communications to his developments and it is possible to see how the overall road pattern in Bloomsbury was established at least in part through his endeavours. He concentrated his efforts on the Foundling/Bedford Estates's borders. (plate 4) The development of Southampton Terrace was the backbone of Burton's plan. It was anchored by Russell Square which Burton developed almost completely and landscaped the gardens using Repton as the designer. A near finished square made access east easier and the whole area more desirable. From Russell Square Burton pushed north developing land on both the Foundling and Bedford Estates. This push north might appear curious at first but perhaps Burton had his eye on the Skinners' Company's fields which lay to the east of the north end of Southampton Terrace and, of course, the New Road. (plate 3) The whole area worked on by Burton in Bloomsbury was quite compact. Perhaps this was one way in which Burton kept a grip on his huge enterprise and ensured the success of his ventures by bringing them to completion.

The lack of infrastructure was not necessarily seen as negative by landowners. The Duke of Bedford actively discouraged the building of new access roads to his estate and the objectors to the development of the Foundling Estate admitted that although there were buildings to the east, west and south at some distance to the hospital these could encroach very easily

‘Have we all not observed, that building about this metropolis is like wildfire; it catches from field to field, and goes on *ad infinitum*?’³⁰

This isolation is confirmed in *A Further Appeal*, 1788

‘[There is] No road or way to west or north out of the land into the Metropolis or to the New Road. The late noble owner had no carriageway into it except from the Great North Road.’³⁰

Although the author does concede that access to the area from Lamb’s Conduit Street is currently under consideration.³¹

Speculative development was risky at the best of times, so it is hard to imagine why Burton, still at an early stage in his career would be attracted to such an isolated site. The answer lies in part in the construction of the New Road which ran east west across the northern edge of the city.

Indeed the author of *A Further Appeal* identifies this as having greatly enhanced the rents on the Portland and Bedford Estates to the west of the hospital. There rent of between £50-£100 per acre was charged as the estates could be accessed from the east, west and south and in many cases the New Road which was still under construction. The positive effect of the New Road on the development of the

³⁰ *A Further Appeal*, p 6.

³¹ *ibid*, p 7.

Bloomsbury estates is recognised by Dobie who also acknowledged that access was a vital element for a successful speculative venture.³² The situation was more complicated than just one of being able to reach the Bloomsbury estates. Firstly, access should be from and to the fashionable end of town. Roads serving the unfashionable east end were not as useful or attractive to prospective purchasers as those leading westwards. Secondly, the road system was interdependent. The successful development of the Foundling Estate required the construction of roads across the Bedford Estate. Moreover, the later development of the Skinner^Ws and Lucas Estates would have been less viable without the important new road building of the major estates in the area.

The Foundling Estate needed new roads to be built across the Bedford Estate to allow access from the west. This clashed, however, with the wishes of the Duke of Bedford who in 1787 stated that he wanted to keep the area to the north of Bedford House perfectly clear with an uninterrupted view to the hills beyond. But by 1795 this had changed as two parallel roads were built running north from the house on either side of the gardens. The gardens were to become ornamental pleasure grounds serving the houses to be constructed on each of the roads. The easternmost of these two roads was to be known as Southampton Terrace and James Burton and Henry Scrimshaw took up a building contract with the Bedford Estate on 6th July 1795 with the covenant that the fields were not to be built on. The Duke changed his mind in 1800, the year he vacated Bedford House and moved further west, and Burton and Scrimshaw released him from

³² Dobie, op cit, p 149.

the covenant. It was in their interests to do so as the prospects for and profitability of Southampton Terrace improved considerably. Previously the ornamental fields had served only to isolate the terrace from fashionable west London as there was no direct route across them. This change impacted on the neighbouring Foundling Estate as the lands which abutted the eastern edge of the Bedford Estate became more attractive and Burton took up building leases on them.³³

Access was not always granted free of charge. In 1795 the Foundling Hospital had granted land worth £1,800 to the Duke of Bedford in return for the four openings into his estate. Twelve years later the Skinners' Company (sic Burton) negotiated two openings into the Foundling Estate on 15th November 1807 at a cost of £1,500. These openings were continuations of Hunter and Marchmont Streets. An agreement was also made that neither landowner would build houses of less than second rate for at least two hundred feet north and south of the boundary.³⁴ Burton had contracted with the Skinners' Company for land at Sandhills³⁵, the name given to the estate he developed, (plate 3) on 28th July of that year at £2,500 per annum.³⁶

³³ Olsen, op cit, p 52, states that these were originally third and fourth rate houses perhaps because access was poor.

³⁴ Foundling Hospital Building Committee Minutes 3, pp 84-85.

³⁵ This reference is ambiguous. It could either refer to the land owned by the Skinners' Company in London which was known as Sandhills (see plate 3) which was developed by Burton or the company also owned land in Kent known by the same name. Burton also purchased this to build Mabledon (see chapter one). Both transactions were going through at about the same time.

³⁶ Diary, 1807.

Access was essential for the success of the project but it is likely that Burton was confident of a successful outcome ^{such} as he had worked with the Foundling Hospital. The agreement of what rate of house could be built is perhaps the result of previous experience where houses of lower rates usually fringed the edges of estates having a detrimental effect on neighbouring areas. Although sums paid for access rights might seem large good connections greatly enhanced land values and the saleability of property.

Finance

Table 5 indicates the volume and value of Burton's building activities. Even if the speed with which houses were built and the concession of peppercorn groundrents during the building period (these were sometimes extended until the building was let) are taken into account, speculative development required substantial financial outlay and was risky. How then did Burton afford to take on so much, so soon after his modest beginnings in London?

Speculative development was not always successful and this was warned against in *An Appeal* ³⁷ and *A Further Appeal* which imply the figures and profitability of the proposed development of the Foundling Hospital lands were falsely inflated. The author goes on to identify a practice which explains how ordinary speculative developers could perhaps afford to work on estates.

'But builders are supplied with large savings during long minorities witness the many hundreds of leases granted by the Dowager Duchess of Portland, the Honourable Mr Harley, and the other Trustees, before the present Duke of Portland

³⁷ *An Appeal*, p 34.

came of age...witness the immense sums lent by the late Mr Palmer to those who built Bedford Sq, and Gower Street without which (as he frequently owned) the Buildings would never have been finished',³⁸

The author goes on to suggest, rather facetiously, that all the 70,000 assets of the Foundation should be lent directly to the builders.

The willingness on the part of landowners to help developers build on their land can be viewed as shrewd long term financial planning. There would be income from groundrents during the term of the lease. But the real money came once the leases expired the property reverted to the landowner so ensuring assets and an income from the re-sale of leases and ground rent for future generations. Moreover, despite the sweeteners the financial risk was the builder's own. The only loss the landowner faced was rent on the land whilst it was being developed. Perhaps most importantly, the landowner did not become directly involved with the building work which was too much like trade. His or her wishes were passed on by the estate office or included in contractual agreements.

Burton's success was not wholly due to the willingness of landowners to support him financially. His own astute business practice was an essential ingredient. This is seen in his ability to think about the area as a whole instead of the estates of individual land owners which enabled the creation of a coherent infrastructure. Furthermore, Burton made the most of financial incentives from landowners and kept a close watch on the activities of those to whom he subcontracted. This interaction of landowner and developer is an important part of the building history of Bloomsbury.

³⁸ *A Further Appeal*, p 17.

This is evident early on in Burton's work in Bloomsbury. The impressive pace of acquiring land and building and the dexterous handling of financial matters is charted by Burton in a diary. In December 1791 Burton commenced the foundations for the building to the east of the Foundling Hospital.³⁹ Yet less than two years later in October 1793 he sold this estate to Charles Connolly esq for 3000 guineas.⁴⁰ In February of the same year Burton had commenced the foundations of the buildings to the west of the Foundling Hospital. The impetus of the proposed speculative development had made the land more desirable but Burton realised the paucity of access to the eastern part of the Foundling Estate would be problematical. This was also the opinion of S P Cockerell who in 1802 stated that the Foundling lands to the west had been developed rapidly and successfully partly because of the good access and connections between roads whereas those on the eastern portion

'is manifestly owing to the want of general communications extending from respectable quarters to that side, and nothing can so strongly point out the necessity of opening the intended communication north of the hospital'.⁴¹

In March 1793 Burton made more of his capital available for speculative development as he quit the distillery business he had entered into with a Mr Howell. This provided a further £8000 in capital which would be paid to Burton by Howell over a period of

³⁹ Diary, 1791.

⁴⁰ Diary, 1793.

⁴¹ Foundling Hospital Building Committee minutes, 2 pp 31-35, 27th March 1802.

seven years.⁴² On May 10th Burton began to build at the corner of Lansdown Place and Guilford Street and made a further agreement to take on more land on Guilford Street itself. In December of the same year he took all the remainder of the ground north of Guilford Street which was 210 ft deep @ 17/ [per foot] and the vacant ground at the north end of Queen Square - this was at a peppercorn but the land had to be enclosed at Burton's own expense. In the following year Burton consolidated his development of this specific area. On March 4th 1794 he purchased Mr Newenham's estate on Queen Square for £4000 and only weeks later on March 26th took up leases on ground to the north of this estate to the line of Guilford street at a cost of £25 a year [?per foot]. Work began soon after. On June 30 Burton commenced the houses opposite Queen's Square. His plans were hampered by the problem of access or rather Burton's proposed solution to it. Mr Stephenson (presumably a local resident) obtained an injunction from Chancery to prevent Burton making a way from Queen Square to Guilford Street.⁴³

In 1795 Burton began working a little further north. In April he commenced work on the south side of Brunswick Square. The following year he contracted for the remaining ground of Brunswick Square and land north of Bernard Street @ £500 per annum.⁴⁴ In 1798 Burton remarked that work on the Foundling and Bedford Estates was in full flow.

The fluctuations in the London speculative building trade do not

⁴² Diary, 1793.

⁴³ Diary, 1794.

⁴⁴ Diary, 1796.

appear to have affected Burton as badly as other builders. Burton's diary entry for 1799 gives a summary of his achievements in Bloomsbury. He remarked that at this time all the houses in Guilford Street, Southampton Terrace (now Russell Square east side) were disposed of and all on the south side of Brunswick Square were all occupied. Fifteen of eighteen houses on the west side of Brunswick Square were still being built. All of Burton's nine houses in Guilford Square were occupied. In nearby Bernard Street Burton had disposed of five houses and was in the process of finishing a further six on the south side. Whilst on the north side of street Burton was building a further twenty houses. Burton's keenness to consolidate his land holding is demonstrated here as he remarks that Mr Scrimshaw was building two houses on the south side of Bernard Street. Burton however, had purchased the improved groundrents from his fellow builder. He was also building seven houses on the east side of Little Guilford Street.⁴⁵

There was certainly financial help from the Duke of Bedford who lent Burton £7000 on mortgage (stated in the building agreement for the east side of Tavistock Square and Woburn Place 21 November 1800) and paid him £5000 for demolishing Bedford House and allowed him to sell the materials. Only two years later the Bedford Estate 'was lending sums of £150-£600 for three years, to such persons as chose to accept them'.⁴⁶ In January 1802 Burton received £7000 in return

⁴⁵ Diary, 1799.

⁴⁶ Malcolm, *op cit*, I, p 7.

for security of seven houses on the south side of Russell Square.⁴⁷ Burton's diary entry for 1800 includes a table showing an 'arrangement of leases issued early in 1800 and was endeavoured to be acted upon'. (Table 5) Burton explains that the leases ran for between 93-98 years with the period of peppercorn rent determined according to quantity. The funds to carry out the work were advanced progressively, except where security was given, or a mortgage raised. Burton also noted that mortgages ran for a term of three years unless the building was completed within that time period. Burton went on to discuss the cost of sewers at 7s 6d per foot on the frontage of the house (these were usually installed at the developer's expense) and the cost of vaults - if built - at £10 per rod. The table gives a clear picture of the different kinds of costing and rents charged.

Demographic trends

The 1774 Building Act codified housing into rates. The criteria used to determine rate included square footage, number of floors and quality of materials. The Act did, in effect, enable the identification of housing stock for different classes of society. This identification is not foolproof - larger houses could provide lodgings for several families and the desirability of areas could change. But, the rate system did facilitate the creation of areas with distinctive social aspirations. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century Bloomsbury is an interesting case study in this context. Much of the building work was carried out during a time when the relationship

⁴⁷ Bedford Estate papers mentioned in a letter dated 20th January 1802.

of the area to the centre of London was going through changes - the area was now on to the east of the centre but had the benefit of the new road.

Between 1792-1814 Burton built 1756 houses in Bloomsbury (Table 2). No figures have yet come to light quantifying the whole building process in Bloomsbury during this time. Some assumptions can be made. Dobie's chart of Houses and Tenements built on the Foundling Hospital Estate since 1792 and on that of his Grace the Duke of Bedford since 1798 within the Parish of St George Bloomsbury (Table 3) identifies 663 of the 1198 houses constructed between 1792-1803 as being the work of James Burton. Dobie cites a further 259 as being by Burton in the neighbouring Parish of St Pancras.⁴⁸ These figures correspond to the totals given for Burton's work on the Foundling and Bedford Estates in Table 2. If it is assumed that the proportion of work by Burton was the same in each of these parishes for both estates it is clear Burton was responsible for building over half the housing stock. As Burton negotiated solely to develop the Skinners' and Lucas Estates it is likely that the rating of the houses built over the whole of Bloomsbury was heavily influenced by him. Landowners sometimes specified that houses should be of either first or second rate but final decision lay with the builder. Moreover, houses of lower rates were sometimes squeezed into estates to increase the developer's revenue although the presence of near 'slum' dwellings detracted from the general quality of the area. It is perhaps surprising that landowners did not always actively engage in decisions concerning the precise rates of houses to be

⁴⁸ Dobie, op cit, p 147.

built on their land even though this would influence their short and long-term level of income. Burton did have restrictions imposed on him by landlords of the Foundling and Bedford estates. For instance, on the Foundling Estate Cockerell's plan intended

'That there shall be such principal features of attraction in the Plan as shall not be too great for a ^{due} proportion of the whole but yet sufficient to draw Adventurers to the Subordinate parts.'

^{re} There were a considerable number of houses of lower rates but it was clear that these should not interfere with or diminish the character of the houses of higher rates. The hierarchical plan made the Hospital the focal point. The square to the east was to be made up of only first rate houses and enclosed gardens, the square to the west should have first and second rate houses on the principal streets. The areas to the north and south of the hospital should contain third rate housing whereas the eastern most edge of the estate (Grays Inn Road) should be fourth rate with a view to converting them to shops once the area became more frequented. The Bedford Estate also had restrictions. The houses on Montague and Southampton Row had to be first or second rate. Those in Bedford Place and Russell Square were all to be capital first rate houses. But the remainder of the estate was unspecified and Burton built nearly as many fourth rate houses on the eastern edge as he did first and second rate on the rest. The area east of Southampton Row bordered the ^lFoundling Estate and the class of housing created an undesirable 'slum' barrier between the two. This lesson had been learnt by the Foundling Hospital when it granted access to the ^lSkinner's Estate through the extension of Marchmont and Hunter Streets. In this instance both parties agreed to build houses of not less than second rate for 200 feet on either side

of the boundary. This still gave Burton plenty of scope to develop the Skinners and Lucas Estates with mostly third and fourth rate housing. Despite the sophisticated plan he imposed on this area Burton must have realised the fashionable London was further west. Instead he aimed for the growing numbers of middle class city dwellers who would benefit from and appreciate the landscaped surroundings and convenient access provided by the New Road.

Southampton Row acted as a kind of north south axis through Bloomsbury dividing the two principal estates and indicating the difference in demographic make-up of the two halves. This phenomenon reappeared slightly further west in a very different context with the development of the New Street: Regent Street. Here Burton interacted with and made a significant contribution to the infrastructure and housing of this huge building project which had a distinctly political subtext.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that James Burton made a significant impact on the building history of Bloomsbury. An examination of the development of the four estates carried out by Burton reveals the important role he played in unifying the urban plan of the area. His vision transcended the boundaries of individual landowners. Burton's holistic view together with his business ability helped ensure commercial success and established him as a pivotal figure in the evolution of the metropolis.

Chapter 3

James Burton and the development of Regent Street

James Burton's work on the Bloomsbury estates established him as a well-off speculative builder with a proven track record. His involvement with the area came to an end as a far more prestigious and potentially profitable project was set in motion: the construction of Regent Street.¹ The street forged a line north-south through the centre of London and carved through the existing urban plan to redefine access, circulation and vista through the metropolis. The street was the vision of George IV² and his officers - most notably his principal architect John Nash. It was designed to provide an essential link between the new development of Marylebone Park on the northern edge of London (see chapter four) and the city centre and to add majesty and grandeur to the urban landscape. But Regent Street had its origins as much in the existing urban fabric as the drawing boards of the Office of Works. Previous studies have shown how the possibilities for social segregation, the need for access and a spirit of competition with France were essential components in the

¹ This name was not given to the street until 1819. Up until this time it was referred to as the New Street. Both names are used in this chapter.

² George IV's interest in the New Street and other architectural projects in London began when he was Prince Regent 1812-20. For simplicity he is referred to as George IV throughout this thesis. His reign ended in 1830.

evolution and instigation of the Regent Street project.³ This chapter explores different aspects of the building history of Regent Street which centre on two main issues. First, the contribution made to its development by the team of James Burton and S P Cockerell. This essential ingredient in the execution of the project was formed during Burton's work in Bloomsbury and it underlines Regent Street's genesis in the established pattern of building in London. Second the significance of the construction of a street rather than an area - especially as this new thoroughfare was laid over the existing urban fabric. In the light of these aspects it is possible to consider why such a different kind of speculative development might have appealed to James Burton. After all Regent Street would not have been possible without those willing to speculate on its success.

The complicated building history of Regent Street has been told elsewhere. But this has been treated principally as part of the biography of John Nash.⁴ The need to ascribe to an individual architect the tribute of such a scheme has coloured the way in which the Regent Street project has been viewed, understood and interpreted. Other studies have presented the street as an isolated but homogeneous development in London.⁵ But these approaches give less attention to the social and cultural significance of the first major urban planning project undertaken by the state but carried

³ Sir John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*, London, 1980, chs 6 and 10 and T Davis, *John Nash: The Prince Regent's Architect*, London, 1966, ch 5.

⁴ Summerson, op cit, and Davis, op cit.

⁵ H. Hobhouse, *A History of Regent Street*, London, 1975.

out by private individuals. If the sights are realigned and Regent Street is considered in terms of the impact on the planning and demography of London its role in the shaping of the metropolis can be more easily assessed. Moreover, these factors can be mapped against established patterns of urban development - particularly the great estates and the interaction between housing and infrastructure. The role James Burton played in the development of the street reveals that rather than being the grand vision of Nash the project was more the interaction of an active and experienced team of architects, surveyors and builders and the crown as landlord. Most important is that the same team of James Burton as architect/builder and S P Cockerell as surveyor emerges as a driving force in the project - doubtless benefiting from the experience of Bloomsbury. But the purpose here is not to re-attribute or ascribe authorship to other architect/builders than Nash. Instead, the street is presented as partly the result of the interaction between a team which had successfully worked in Bloomsbury and new ideas about town planning in London and the creation of a distinctive urban environment. The crown's involvement is also important as it is the beginnings of significant state intervention in the cityscape which had a social and political subtext. Regent Street can also be seen as the start of the deliberate creation of urban environments to shape residents' and visitors' experience of the metropolis. These emerge as important themes in the later chapters of this study.

The vision of a new plan for London held by George IV and his officers was to be realised in the same way as the landed aristocracy had developed their lands through the use of speculative builders.

And there are similarities between the Regent Street and Bloomsbury developments. First, the notion of social segregation, discussed in chapter two as an element of James Burton's work in Bloomsbury, is an explicit part of the new plan for the area outlined by Nash. John Nash's plan for the development of London was presented under three main headings: *Utility to the Public*, *Beauty of the Metropolis* and *Practicability*.⁶

The New Street was to create for the first time a strong north south axis through the city and with it came a division of the classes. In cruder terms the upper echelons lived to the west of the new street in the smart new squares. Shopkeepers, craftsmen and the very poor lived to the east. Nash made no secret of his objective to :

'provide a boundary and complete separation between the Streets and Squares occupied by the nobility and gentry, and the narrow streets and meaner Houses occupied by the mechanics and the trading parts of the community.'⁷

On completion of the new street Nash wrote:

'my purpose was that the new street should cross the eastern entrance to all the streets occupied by the higher classes and to leave out to the east all the bad streets, and as a sailor would express himself, to hug all the avenues that went to good streets.'⁸

Second, there is the importance of the infrastructure. The question of access in the development of Regent Street is also similar the that in Bloomsbury. The New Road enhanced the desirability and viability of Bloomsbury and the New Street helped to do the same for the area

⁶ 1812 Report.

⁷ 1828 Report, p 74.

⁸ 1828 Report.

between Marylebone and St James and the Regent's Park. In the early 1810s the leases on land to the north of London known as Marybone Park reverted to the crown. The land had been used for market gardens and small holdings. The significance of this area had changed as a result of the city's westward growth. John Nash's plan of 1811/12 for the development of what became known as the Regent's Park included terraces of houses with facades in the mode of grand palaces⁹ which encircled the parkland. The park was to be landscaped and 56 villas were to be built in the parkland together with a church, a new barracks, a royal pavilion and national valhalla.

John Fordyce, the Surveyor General of Land Revenues made an essential contribution without which the plan would either have languished or had a much reduced impact on the urban plan of London. Fordyce saw the chief obstacle to the development of Regent's Park as its isolation. He argued a road linking it to the Houses of Parliament was essential. This was recognized as early as 1809 when he remarked:

'Distance is best computed by time; and if means could be found to lessen the time of going from Marybone to the Houses of Parliament, the value of the ground for building would be thereby proportionately increased.

The best and probably upon the whole, the most advantageous way of doing that, would be by opening a great street from Charing-Cross towards a central part of Marylebone Park.'¹⁰

The new road from the park to Charing Cross would reduce

⁹ Nash drew his inspiration from France especially the facades of the Louvre and Versailles.

¹⁰ The Surveyor General's Triennial Report no. 4, 1809.

travelling time by one third. Fordyce's understanding of the need to rationalize the street plan and his recognition of the significance of the area known as Charing Cross is important here. His fusion of the two as part of a new vision for London is a cathartic moment in the history of the city which created a distinct caesura on the urban map.

These ideas were taken up by John Nash¹¹ and became in June 1813 'An act for a more convenient communication from Mary le Bone Park and the Northernmost Parts of the Metropolis...to Charing Cross...and for the making of a more convenient sewage for the same'.¹²

Regent Street was not constructed on new land ripe for development. Instead, the compulsory purchase and demolition of property ruptured the existing urban pattern. Nor did the street follow, as the New Road had, an obvious line across the shape of London. (plate 1) Rather it was a response to this movement in the growth of the city and an attempt by the state to impose a uniform plan on it. (plate 2) It was a critical moment in the evolution of the city. Here the renewal of the metropolis as a response to changing social and cultural circumstance comes to the fore.

The New Street changed the map of London and the city's social and demographic make-up. The area between Regent's Park and St James's posed problems if the crown wanted to take part in any speculative developments as many low class and therefore low rent dwellings already existed on these crown lands. The crown stood to

¹¹ 1812 Report.

¹² 53 Geo.III, c.121.

gain a great deal from the street's construction in terms of increased land values and rents as well as the enhancement of Carlton House through its position as a focal point in the design. The aristocratic landowners whose lands covered or adjoined the line of the New Street were not wholly enthusiastic and their objection to the scheme was quite considerable. The system of compulsory purchase of land on which to build the street affected the landowners in two ways. First it deprived them of one of their prime assets - land and at least an interest in the property on it. Second, the landowners were denied the chance to participate in the newly created environment ripe for potentially profitable speculative development. Moreover, well to do occupants of houses bordering the new street also objected to the scheme. This is exemplified in the attitude of the well to do residents of the east side of Cavendish Square. They objected in the strongest terms to the New Street as it would drastically reduce the amount of land and outbuildings to the rear of their properties. Nash had to re-route the new street about 100 yards to the east. As a consequence the street had to make a sharp turn to the north-west to meet up with Portland Place. (plate 2) But this did not diminish its role as an effective route through the centre of London.

It is important to consider the attractions of the Regent Street project to the speculative builders who it was envisaged would realize the plan. The street offered accessibility to the new development and Burton had already recognised the potential of this in Bloomsbury. Moreover, like Bloomsbury, Regent Street offered the potential for mixed development of commercial and residential premises. But most importantly Regent Street made available land for development in a prime location. The westward shift of the city's

growth increased the status of the area and its re-development through the new street enabled a re-definition of its demographic make-up. These elements were distilled from the pattern of development of London's squares. Here the aristocratic landowner was cut out of the sequence. The urban form was produced through the interaction of crown and speculative builder.

Regent Street and Traditions of Town Planning

An important factor behind George IV's wish to elevate the status of London's architecture and urban planning was the example set by other cities. Alongside other European capitals there were also towns and cities within the British Isles with which George IV felt the need to compete. Describing his grand scheme for London Nash stated:

'Every length of street would be terminated by a facade of beautiful architecture... and to add to the beauty of approach from Westminster to Charing Cross, a Square or Crescent, open to and looking down Parliament Street might be built around the Equestrian Statue at Charing Cross, which at the same time that it would enlarge that space, from whence, as before observed, the greatest part of the population of the Metropolis meet and diverge, it could afford a magnificent and beautiful termination of the street from Westminster. The lofty situation of Charing Cross and gradual ascent to it are peculiarly calculated to produce a grand and striking effect. Such a building might be appropriated to additional Offices for the Government, or Royal Academy, or Antiquarian Society might be placed there.'¹³

Paris was seen as the immediate competition and George IV is reported as declaring that 'the splendours of Napoleon's Paris would

¹³ 1812 Report, p 90.

be eclipsed by what he planned for London.’¹⁴ On his visits to Paris in 1814 and 1815 John Nash was certainly impressed by Napoleon I’s creation of the straight rue du Rivoli with its classical arcades and mixture of shops and housing. This must only have confirmed the decision he had made only a few years earlier to base the Regent Street development on the continental model of a mixture of housing and shops.¹⁵

The domestic character of London comes into sharp focus when comparisons are made to other capital cities in the British Isles. The aesthetic attractions of Edinburgh New Town provided a more than adequate spur to George IV’s ambition but in many ways Dublin was a more relevant precedent. The Wide Street Commission of 1756 sought to improve the circulation of traffic through Dublin by creating straight wide streets lined with substantial middle and upper class terrace housing. Also Dublin was the second city of Empire and it was beginning to outshine London through its streets and public buildings most notably Gandon’s Custom House and the Four Courts (1776-96) and Pearce’s Parliament House (Bank of Ireland) (1728-39).

John Wood’s work in Bath must also have set an example of rational town planning and design. This is seen, for instance, in the articulation of the facades of the houses on the Circus which draws its inspiration from the Colosseum in Rome. The aesthetic attraction of Bath is seen in Nash’s insistence on the use of Bath stone coloured

¹⁴ Letter from T. Moore to J. Corry, 24 October 1811 as quoted in J. Summerson, *John Nash Architect to King George IV*, London 1949, p 107.

¹⁵ This is clear from Nash’s 1812 plan which is annotated ‘the New Street with colonnades on the Shops’ (plate 1).

stucco on all the buildings erected as part of the Regent's Park and Regent Street project.¹⁶ Indeed, Burton's efforts in Bloomsbury must have had a striking effect on the London cityscape. Certainly the Russell Square was frequently mentioned in guidebooks to London. *The Ambulator* (1811) describes Russell Square as '...remarkable for the elegance of its houses, its ornamental area and the very fine bronze statue of the late Duke of Bedford.'¹⁷ Burton's uniformly facaded terraces ranged around his rational plan which included elements like crescents, rectangles as well as square open spaces must have provided a distinctive discrete environment within London and the whole area of Bloomsbury was sometimes commented upon. *The Picture of London* (1815) describes Bloomsbury beginning with Russell Square thus:¹⁸

'Russell Square on a side of Bloomsbury is one of the largest and finest squares in London. Broad streets intersect it at the corner and middle which add to its beauty and remove general objection to squares by ventilation the air...the extensive enclosure is a square containing oval shrubberies, a square lawn in the centre intersected with gravel walks.....'

The commentary continues noting that although Tavistock and Euston Squares are not finished Tavistock Square 'is in the best style of modern building' and praising James Burton's work in the whole area. This recognition of the contribution Bloomsbury made to the metropolis is followed by the eager anticipation of the construction

¹⁶ This is mentioned in a lease taken out by James Burton on a plot of land in Regent's Park, Cres 6/131 f 47. The conditions laid down by Nash were typical for those of the whole Regent's Park and Regent Street project.

¹⁷ *The Ambulator*, London, 1811, p 23.

¹⁸ *The Picture of London*, 3rd ed, London, 1815, pp 159-160.

of Regent Street and its 'ornamental' effect on London.

The Building Procedure

Both the building procedure and related to this the method of funding the construction of the buildings on Regent Street ~~were~~ similar to those used on the great estates. But the road, pavement and sewers were paid for out of public funds. Also, in many cases the land had to be acquired as it was not owned by the crown. (plate 2) The ground at the southern end of the New Street mostly belonged to the crown but the rest had to be compulsorily purchased. Not surprisingly shortly after Nash's report passed into statute receiving the Royal Assent in 1813¹⁹ the recently appointed New Street Commissioners met to discuss finance. They were Lord Glenbervie, W Dacres Adams and Henry Dawkins, all Commissioners of the Office of Woods and Forests - the department overseeing the Regent's Park project. (see chapter four) The act had empowered them to borrow £500,00 for the construction of the New Street and a further £100,000 for the sewers and tributaries.²⁰ Nash felt private speculators would be unwilling to invest such sums and a loan of £300,000 was secured from the Royal Exchange ^{at} 5% per annum.²¹ The building plots were initially put out to tender in 1815 when work was ready to begin. But this practice was soon abandoned as even Nash realised that some disreputable builders were offering the cheapest price but for the shoddiest work. One of the few sites to be

¹⁹ Cres 26/1 f 6.

²⁰ Summerson, op cit, 1980, p 80.

²¹ Cres 26/1 f 119.

offered by tender was 106-54 Regent Street which James Burton won. After this Nash fixed the price of the plot according to the footage onto the New Street and builders then made informal enquiries. This procedure became more of a bargaining process as the project progressed into the 1820s (see below).²² James Burton was the principal builder. Mr Samuel Baxter was the other main developer who built most of Oxford Circus. The only part of the plan executed by Nash was the Quadrant, as no one would take it on, which he subcontracted to small builders.

The street was built in a south-north direction. This was expedient for several reasons. It gave instant relief to George IV from his tradesman neighbours at Carlton House - and the bang and clatter of the workmen outside his door could have been no worse than those almost permanently employed within. Also at the other end of the street ~~was~~ the Regent's Park was under construction and Adam's majestic Portland Place already enhanced this area. Although the New Street was intended as a link for the new park to the city the first villa was not inhabited until 1818 (Burton's own). Meanwhile the street could get off to a prestigious start at the southern end. And, not least, the crown already owned this land. The ground for the whole street required a great deal of compulsory purchasing. A total of 741 houses needed demolishing of which 386 belonged to the crown. This task was huge and S P Cockerell, now relieved of his duties in Bloomsbury, was brought in to help Nash to make the valuations required for compulsory purchase.²³

²² 1829 *Report*, pp 12-13.

²³ Cres 26/1 f 22.

James Burton's Role

James Burton's role in the building of Regent Street was far smaller than in Bloomsbury. This is especially the case in decisions about the overall layout of the project. But perhaps the planning elements of accessibility and rationality which Burton did much to develop in Bloomsbury were already assured in the Regent Street project. In Bloomsbury Burton had had to persuade landowners to develop their land to enable his vision of the area to be realised. Here, the crown owned or was compulsorily purchasing the land necessary for the street. Burton built fewer houses but the scheme was far more prestigious and the returns were higher. (Table 1) Moreover, without Burton the project would have got off the ground far more slowly and would probably not have been brought so near to completion. Yet Summerson gives only cursory attention to Burton's role in the development of the street.²⁴

It is usually assumed that Burton was introduced to Nash through their mutual acquaintance Humphry Repton. Repton had landscaped Russell Square for Burton and stayed at Mabledon, Burton's house in Kent, but this did not necessarily imply he would have any influence over the recommendation of builders for such an important project. Moreover, the assumption that Burton was brought in as 'Nash's man' helps to subjugate his role in the realization of the project. However, if it is remembered that S P Cockerell was employed as Nash's assistant valuer²⁵ a different view is possible. Cockerell was ideally qualified for his role in the New Street as ^{he} had acted as

²⁴ Summerson, 1980, op cit, p85.

²⁵ Cres 26/1 f 22.

Surveyor to the Foundling Estate. Here he had worked with James Burton of whom he had spoken most highly. Cockerell must have recognised that Burton had the skills, experience and means necessary for the successful execution of the project. Moreover, it is important not to discount Burton's own ability to recognize a good opportunity and capitalize on it - as he had in Bloomsbury. Here the ingredients were right - a new street providing access and a unified architectural vision of the whole scheme. These had been the hallmarks of Burton's success in Bloomsbury. Surely also the cachet of working on a crown project must have appealed to Burton. His Diary makes frequent reference to his rising social status (see chapter one) and this scheme was outside the usual activities of a speculative developer. The combination of Cockerell as surveyor and Burton as architect/builder which had proved so successful in Bloomsbury was here an essential element in terms of their experience and expertise for this important development in London's urban plan.

Burton built the first portion of the New Street: Waterloo Place 1815-16. The Place was the ultimate speculative development and given Burton's experience in Bloomsbury he was the ideal developer. It comprised a square of private houses whose facades decorated with the orders echoed the Place Vendome. (plate 3) At the southern end of the square was the screen of Carlton House. Against this the kudos of Bedford House or the Foundling Hospital as a focal point for a speculative development paled considerably. The houses flanked the east and west sides of the square and its north end was open to the beginning of Regent Street.

The next portion of the street was built between 1817-1820. Already

the homogeneity of the plan was beginning to disintegrate. The building stock was a mixture of private dwellings and public/commercial buildings. Moreover, the plots of land were let either singly or in twos or threes - unlike Waterloo Place. Burton made a significant contribution to this part of the street. The five house plots - numbers 4-12 Regent Street - were designated to be for residential or commercial use. Burton constructed a huge multi-use block called Carlton Chambers where Decimus set up his first office. This decision about the type of edifice to be constructed is indicative of the impact developers had on the building stock of the new street. The surrounding buildings were Nash's Warren Hotel (no 1) and Smirke's United Service Club (No 2), G S Repton's Hopkinson's Bank and three houses²⁶ and St Philip's Church. The latter's site was granted by the Crown as part of the 1818 Church Building Act. Nash positioned ^{the} church directly opposite Carlton Street, ~~so it closed the vista from Haymarket.~~ Burton also built 17-25 of this end of the street now known as Lower Regent Street. From 1820 Burton took up leases on four blocks of land above the quadrant which made up 106-128 and 132-154 on the east side and 133-167 and 171-195 on the west. He also built numbers 295-319 near the north end of the street. (plate 4) Burton's rental agreements were made on a regular basis. They show a steady approach to the building procedure of the New Street which it was certainly in his interests to see completed to safeguard his investment in it and that in the Regent's Park. A favourable interim ground rent was set for one or two years during the construction period. The full leases were granted once the building was nearing

²⁶ Probably also by G S Repton according to Summerson, 1980, op cit, p 131.

completion. These were backdated to the beginning of the lease agreement. This retrospective system of leases helped shorten the overall life of the lease. And the finite period of reduced rent was an incentive to build.

By November 1820 Burton had completed building on the ground between Leicester Street and 129 Swallow Street.²⁷ In March of the following year he took up leases on three plots of ground on the east side of the new street.²⁸ Work progressed steadily and in April 1822 when he erected houses on several parts of the ground in the west side of the New Street between the Quadrant and Oxford Street and was now entitled to leases. In September Burton was granted a 99 year lease for the erection of houses north of Burlington Street.²⁹ Only a month later he took up a lease on land to build a house and premises on the east side of the street between Chapel Court and the entrance to the King Street Chapel.

The designs for these buildings were supplied by Nash and were adhered to more or less by Burton. This is in contrast to the terraces in the Park (discussed in chapter four) where Decimus's talents were exploited by his father. But father and son did not appear to work together on the New Street. There is, however, some slight evidence that Decimus did become involved as in December 1822 the New Street Commissioners purchased 31 Mortimer Street for 'the purposes of the New Street'. Decimus Burton is noted as taking up a repairing

²⁷ T29/191

²⁸ T29/195

²⁹ T29/213

lease on the building³⁰ and the Commissioners wished to grant a lease to James Burton or his nominees on the building. But this is not certain as father and son are occasionally confused in such documentation which was usually transcribed several times. Decimus was still working under his father's wing at this time and was fully employed in the Regent's Park (see chapter four). It was only in the following year that he established himself as an independent architect in Carlton Chambers. An even more curious twist in the Burtons' involvement with the Regent Street project appears in a Treasury minute of July 1824 regarding superannuated officers where James Burton is noted as receiving £200 per annum.³¹

Burton built fewer houses in Regent Street than in Bloomsbury - 191 in 8 years as compared to 1756 in 22. (Table 1) If the houses built by Burton which comprised the Regent's Park terraces are included the number is almost doubled to 380 in the same 8 year period. But the returns were better than Bloomsbury. (Table 1) The annual rents were higher and the estimated gross value of the property greater than Bloomsbury. As with Bloomsbury Burton was actively involved in the whole project which helped ensure its success. This time was part of a much larger and more ambitious plan. The break down of the rates of houses he built shows again how his work influenced the demographic make-up of London. The majority of houses were second rate with nearly equal numbers of first and third rate houses. The first rate houses were more than likely those closest to Carlton House. As Regent Street progressed it was not unusual for builders to

³⁰ T29/216

³¹ T29/235

squeeze in extra houses behind Nash's facades. By reducing the houses to second rate enough space could be gained to insert an additional dwelling in the run of the terrace. The third and fourth rate houses mentioned in the table were probably on subsidiary streets.

Social Segregation through Streets and Housing Types

It is tempting to see these improvements solely as a move on the part of George IV and his officers to make London more impressive architecturally - to appear like a capital instead of, according to Summerson, 'a huddle of bricks with a steeped skyline'. But the new street enhanced the value of the development of Marylebone Park and Burton undoubtedly recognised this. Indeed he played an important part in the development of the park as discussed in chapter four.

Burton's appreciation of the potential of the New Street can be seen in other aspects of the project. The Metropolitan Improvements in which the New Street played a key role also included the renovation of Charing Cross which had traditionally been the site of sparring matches between the state and the people.³² Directly to the north west were some of the city's poorest areas including rookeries such as Porridge Island, Seven Dials and St Giles's. Their growing presence on the edge of St James's was seen as potentially troublesome and a threat to the king, government and the aristocracy. These fears were heightened by the recent 'Gordon

³² For a full discussion of the social and political significance of the area now known as Trafalgar Square see R Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*. London, 1976.

Riots' of 1780 which had caused widespread anxiety across London's upper classes. Mob violence, the proximity of poor to government and the existence of a geographical focal point for the people's protest in Charing Cross was not a happy mix - especially in the wake of the French Revolution.

The Metropolitan Improvements and associated developments sought to deal with this perceived threat in three main ways. Firstly, in the imposition of physical barriers between the different classes. Secondly, in the building of new barracks and the strategic placing of troops in the capital. Thirdly, and most importantly, the assertion of the power of the state and through the urban planning and the careful placing of monuments and public buildings whose purpose was to underline the military and intellectual achievements of the nation. Decimus Burton's involvement with this aspect of London's development is discussed in chapters five and six.

The New Street certainly did create a physical barrier between the classes, displacing many tradespeople around Haymarket and completely ruining many businesses.³³ It also halted the spread of the rookeries which were impossible to police. Nash also tried to ensure that the lower classes should not penetrate these new developments. The new street and park it was decreed

'shall be open at all times to all his Majesties Subjects to pass and repass along the same (except...Waggons, Carts, Drays or the vehicles for the carriage of goods, merchandise, manure soil or other articles, or Oxen Cows Horses or Sheep in any

³³ As a result of complaints from the residents of Piccadilly and St James's that it was a nuisance Haymarket was moved to Cumberland Market, Regent's Park.

drove or droves.)'³⁴

This measure could be interpreted simply as a wish to improve the traffic flow through the west end of London and it certainly gives a flavour of the diversity of traffic in London. His real motive is betrayed in his response when traders in St James's market petitioned for the right of access to the new street. Nash replied

'No - it would spoil the beauty of the plan entirely - for people riding up and down might see offal or something of that kind.'³⁵

These comments underline the fundamentally different nature of a street and a square in the urban fabric. Squares were discrete environments with the service and trade elements tucked away from view and they could be more exclusive. A street was a more fundamental part of the city's infrastructure from which exclusion was more difficult or openly prejudicial. The role of Regent Street as an up market development, access route and its mix of commercial and residential buildings perhaps appeared to James Burton as an amalgam of the planning elements essential for success. But these elements were not necessarily harmonious and did cause conflict. Moreover, as the street was laid over the existing urban fabric the contrasting nature of the old city and the new metropolis is highlighted.

Attempts to exclude certain sections of the population from areas of London went beyond Regent Street. In 1822 inhabitants of the parishes of St Martin's and St Anne's Soho also petitioned against the closure of 'the passage through the Royal Mews recently shut in the

³⁴ 53 Geo.III, c.121.

³⁵ Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Tradesmen and Inhabitants of Norris Street and Market Terrace. 1817 (79) iii.83.

interests of public service'.³⁶ The closure is significant here as it had provided a convenient link for traders between Soho and Westminster - two areas of very different social makeup. But this is more than another example of the wish to segregate the classes as the passage went through the Royal Mews at Charing Cross. Charing Cross had been the site of a temporary barracks. These were adjacent to William Kent's Royal Stable (1732). As part of the general improvements of the area many of the near derelict buildings which made up the area known as 'The Royal Mews' were demolished to leave the Royal Stables standing as a suitable terminus at the top of Whitehall.³⁷ The barracks were rebuilt in 1825 providing accommodation for 800 troops on the site of the old Green Mews situated further to the north behind the Royal Mews as the Master of Fortification stated 'it gave free access from the back of the barracks to all the North Parts of the town.'³⁸ Concern with the movement of troops in the city and the building of new and the repositioning of old barracks was an essential part of the Metropolitan Improvements³⁹ which continued with the inclusion of new barracks in the plan for Regent's Park. This attempt to make London

³⁶ Cres 26/188

³⁷ New royal stables in Pimlico were planned as early as 1820. This prompted George IV to permit the demolition of the east and west parts of the old mews to allow the construction of a road to link Pall Mall to St Martin's which effectively created the area later called Trafalgar Square.

³⁸ Cres 26/178

³⁹ From 1796 there had been great developments in the building of barracks in London. Prompted partly by the 'Gordon Riots' in June 1780 and the situation in France a magazine was built in Hyde Park and a new barracks constructed on Knightsbridge.

safer underlined the need for good communications across the metropolis.⁴⁰

The Metropolitan Improvements were also intended to engender a sense of nationalism in the population. This is nascent in the original plan for Regent's Park and was partly achieved in the work in the Royal Parks. (see chapters five and six) And this was complemented by a new road leading from this area to link with Robert Smirke's British Museum, a symbol of the nation's prestige through its collection of antiquities, begun in 1823. In 1825 Nash was required by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to develop this area into a square at the junction of Whitehall, St Martin's Lane, the Strand and Pall Mall East and to improve the communications through the west of the metropolis which included the widening of the western end of the Strand. Nash was also asked to devise a

'more commodious access from the Houses of Parliament.. to the British Museum and the numerous respectably occupied new buildings in the part of the Metropolis, in which that Great National Repository is now being permanently established.'⁴¹

This road would also have connected Burton's Bloomsbury with Charing Cross and Regent Street.

Conclusion

Regent Street was not a complete success. The plan was too ambitious and costly. And the rug was pulled from under the scheme when

⁴⁰ On this point see D Arnold, 'Rationality, Safety and Power: The Street planning of later Georgian London.' *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1995, pp 37-50 and 132-133.

⁴¹ Fifth Report to His Majesty's Commissioners of Woods Forests and Land Revenues, London, 1826.

George IV vacated Carlton House, consigning it to demolition⁴², so moving the royal focal point of the city to Buckingham Palace. The remains of the project are now piecemeal and fragmented having never been completed or subsequently altered or demolished. But this is not to say the project was reduced to a kind of *folie de grandeur*. London did emerge as a world class city. Indeed Napoleon III was so impressed with the Metropolitan Improvements on his stay in London during his exile that on his return to Paris he encouraged Philippe, later baron, Haussman to develop the city using similar planning principles.⁴³ The significance of George IV's vision was recognized by the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson^{who} delivered his verdict on Regent's Park and Regent's Street:

'This enclosure, with the New Street leading to it from Carlton House, will give a sort of glory to the Regent's government, which will be more felt by remote posterity than the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, glorious as these are'⁴⁴

Moreover, historians have concentrated on the sham building

⁴² Decimus Burton later constructed the Athenaeum (1827-30) on part of this site. The design was meant to follow Nash's for the United Service Club on the opposite side of Waterloo Place. Burton was constantly frustrated by Nash's tardiness in producing designs and responding to queries. Although this episode tells little about the urban planning of London which is the main thrust of this study; it does reinforce the notion that the working relationship between Nash and the Burtons was not as harmonious as might previously have been suggested. Documentation concerning the quarrels between Burton and Nash and the design of the Athenaeum can be found at the Athenaeum, The Burton/Croker papers in The Royal Institute of British Architects Library (Croker was the founder of the club) and Cres 2/710. A history of the Athenaeum by the club, *The Athenaeum club and social life in London 1824-1974*, London, 1974.

⁴³ See D. Arnold, 'Paris Haussman: Le Pari d'Haussman', *The Architects' Journal*, 13th November 1991, pp 58-60.

⁴⁴ T. Sadler (ed), *Henry Crabb Robinson, Diary*, vol 1, 1872, p 310.

techniques and subsequent demolition of much of the work carried out principally by Nash. But James Burton played an essential role in the work and his involvement with this and the Regent's Park ensured the realization of at least some of the scheme. If Nash's excesses and failings are taken out of the equation Burton emerges as a key player who was able to recognize a good business opportunity. His enabling of Regent Street made a fundamental contribution to the urban planning and orientation of London and subsequent demographic trends. This determining role in the evolution of the metropolis and its social and political significance continued in both Burtons' involvement in the Regent's Park and in Decimus's work at Hyde Park Corner and in the Royal Parks.

Chapter 4

James and Decimus Burtons' work in the Regent's Park

This chapter considers several aspects of the Regent's Park and its relationship to the Regent Street project. Of particular interest is the Burtons' role in the evolution of the speculatively built villa as a new form of building development in London with distinctive and different characteristics to the existing building stock. Such a study allows an exploration of James and Decimus Burton's ongoing working relationship with John Nash which reveals their developing architectural independence and the enduring legacy of the effective working practices James developed during the time when he worked on the Bloomsbury estates. Previous studies have looked at the Regent's Park in isolation.¹ But although originally conceived as an adjunct to the city it only became feasible with the extension of the plan to include an umbilical link with the centre of London in the form of Regent Street. This created a new dynamic in the development of London and the evolution of its infrastructure. The development of Marylebone Park on the edge of the city created

¹ For a full discussion of the Regent's Park project see J Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash*, London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp 114-29, and A Saunders, *Regent's Park from 1086 to the present day*, London, 2nd ed., 1981, chs. 4 & 5.

a satellite environment half in the country half in the city which was purposefully linked with London.

Previous histories of this area have concentrated on some of the personalities involved - in particular John Nash. There is no doubt that he was an important figure in the project. But if the sights are shifted and attention is focused on the place and the architect builders rather than just the 'overseer' a different picture emerges. Contrary to Summerson's view of the Burtons as mere executants of Nash's plan they emerge as a dominant force in the construction of this distinctive urban space. The point here is not to replace one 'personality' with another to enable the telling of a city's history. Rather, it is to demonstrate that if less attention is placed on the necessity of leading figures or 'auteurs' in the construction of urban histories the evolution of cities can be shown to be more of an interactive process between architect/builders, patrons and broader social and cultural forces.

This line of enquiry continues on from the consideration of James's role in the production of Regent Street. Here the roles of both Burtons are considered in the shaping of a discrete semi-urban environment: Regent's Park. This includes the housing types and through these the landscaping and creation of social space. Additionally Decimus emerges as an independent practitioner responsible for a great deal of the work in the park. Consequently he did much to shape visitors' and residents' experience of the area. Decimus not only worked with his father but also for other developers and organizations. Of particular note are the design and construction of the Colosseum for Thomas

Hornor and the design and layout of the Zoological and later the Botanical gardens. In this way the distinctive form of the park evolves from the resonance between the speculative ventures of the builders of the park and the projects of other venturers many of which were realised by the Burtons as well as the driving imperative of the ever-growing city. In this way the architect's response to the changing nature of the metropolis can be traced.

The emergence of the urban villa also raises questions about the changing nature of architectural practice at this time which focus on the designs of the villas themselves. Could James Burton, even as a master builder, produce or be accepted as being able to produce designs suitable for a gentleman's villa?² The designs of his Bloomsbury terraces are, after all, based on the many builders' books available to speculative developers at that time. Although the layout of the area showed evidence of a more sophisticated approach to urban planning. The design process was different in the case of the New Street as Nash provided the elevations of the buildings. It was however up to the builder to determine the layout of the houses or offices and it was possible to build houses of rates other than those specified in the contract. (see chapter 3) The Regent's Park terraces can be seen as a transition between the New Street and the park. They were designed in consultation with Nash but the Burtons did have some input into the designs. The villas were the most

² James Burton had built to his own designs. Most notable is his Russell Institution (1802) in Bloomsbury. It is discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

independent part of the project. Although the designs were subject to Nash's approval they were drawn up by the architect in consultation with the client. There were many precedents for villa designs but not in an urban setting. This begs the question did James rely on his son to use his architectural education to provide the correct stylistic dressing for this kind of housing?³ The references to Greek and Roman antiquity and the work of established architects such as Robert Adam and Sir John Soane certainly gave these speculatively built villas the gloss and authority of a secondary residence designed by an enthusiastic gentleman amateur.⁴

The Project

The Regent's Park was the crowning glory of the north end of the New Street. It is significant in the context of the development of urban planning as it imposed ~~for the~~ an open space, to which the public had some access, on the cityscape. This shows a significant shift in attitudes towards the production of the urban environment. First it contrasts markedly with the garden squares and terraces which were the established pattern of urban development. The fields and market gardens which

³ For a discussion of the working relationship between James and Decimus Burton in the Regent's Park see D Arnold, 'A Family Affair: Decimus Burton's designs for the Regent's Park villas', in D Arnold (ed) *The Georgian Villa*, Stroud, 1996, ch 10 pp 105-117 & notes pp 169-171.

⁴ For a discussion of Adam and Soane's villa designs see A Rowan, 'Villa Variants' and D Watkin, 'Soane's Concept of the Villa' in D Arnold (ed), *op cit*, 1996, ch 8 pp 75-93 and ch 9 94 -105 and P Ruffiniere du Prey, *Sir John Soane, the making of an architect*, Chicago, 1982, ch 13, pp 265-295 esp.

comprised Marybone Park would have lent themselves well to such an intensive form of land development seen elsewhere in London. Second the self conscious making of parkland within the city demonstrates an awareness of the potential to use landscape to shape the urban environment and the individual's response to it.

John Nash provided the original plan of 1811 (plate 1) which included a decorative lake an inner and outer circle which were laid out almost immediately. A peripheral ring of terraces, a small royal palace facing a formal basin of water, a magnificent church to serve as a valhalla to the nation's heroes, a barracks, a service area and 56 villas each sited so as to be invisible to its neighbours and thus to appear to be in sole enjoyment of the whole estate. Like the Regent Street project the venture was to be principally financed by private individuals taking leases from the crown and building under the watchful eye of Nash who had the right of veto on all plans. But in practice Nash seems to have been involved with discussion about design at only sporadic intervals as revealed below.

The Napoleonic Wars hampered the development of the park as speculators were unwilling to risk their capital. Things picked up by 1818 and the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Woods in 1826 pronounced the work almost complete.(plate 2) There had, however, been sacrifices. The inner double ring of terraces, the two northernmost terraces, the royal palace and the handsome church had all been abandoned. The barracks resited and the number of villas drastically reduced first by over one half to 26 and then to a meagre 8. The impact and attraction of this scheme

was damaged further when George IV decided to move to more distinguished accommodation at Buckingham Palace so changing the orientation of London towards a new royal focal point.⁵ This made the project unrealisable according to its original plan. There are two main points here. First the nature of Nash's original plan and the ideology behind it. Second, linked to this, is the rejection of the earlier plan by Thomas Leverton and Thomas Chawner, surveyors in the Office of Woods and Land Revenues, (plate 3) to develop the park along the established lines of garden squares and terraces of housing in favour of a less dense development which included a variety of buildings laid out using picturesque principles.

The importance of the parkland and the relationship between the country and the city in Nash's plan were also commented upon by contemporaries. In many ways this is reminiscent of the attitudes towards open spaces discussed in the preceding chapter on Bloomsbury.

Mr Nash is a better layer out of grounds than architect, and the public have reason to thank him for what he has done for Regent's Park. Our gratitude on that point induces us to say as little as we can of the houses there, with their topolling statues, and other ornamental efforts to escape from the barrack style.....

We have reason to be thankful that the Regent's Park has saved us from worse places in the same quarter; for it is at all events a park, and has trees and grass, and is breathtaking space between town and country. It has prevented Harley and Wimpole Streets from going further; has checked, in the last quarter at least, the monstrous

⁵ see D Arnold, 'The Arch at Constitution Hill : A new axis for London', *Apollo*, CXXXVIII number 379, pp. 129-133, September 1993.

brick cancer that was extending its arms in every direction.’⁶

James Elmes in his *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827) rebuked some of the architectural impurities but made the observation that

‘Trim gardens, lawns and shrubs; towering spires, ample domes, banks clothed with flowers, all elegancies of the town, and all the beauties of the country are co-mingled with happy art and blissful union. They surely must all be the abodes of nobles and princes! No, the majority are the retreats of the happy, free-born sons of commerce, of the wealthy commonality who thus enrich and bedeck the heart of their great empire.’

Regent’s Park and Regent Street gave a symmetrical, if curved, axis to the planning of London. This drew on the hierarchical planning of other European cities, for example Paris and gave architectural expression to the developing relationship between monarch, populace and state. Regent Street linked the city and the park the importance of this role was underlined by the impressive architectural terminations at each end. The street culminated at the south in Carlton House - the residence of the Prince Regent. This ending was prefaced by the square, built by James Burton, immediately to the north of the palace. The use of Adam’s majestic Portland Place at the north end of the street has already been noted in the previous chapter. But the grand vision continued with the crescent, originally planned as a circus, and a ring of palace-like facaded terraces which defined the outer perimeters of the park. The symmetrical nature of Regent Street

⁶ Leigh Hunt *The Townsman* nos 2,3 &4 reprinted in L and C Houchans (eds) *Political and Occasional Essays*, London,1963 pp 289-290.

and its terminations is amplified if the original plan for the park is recalled. Here a small royal palace or pavilion was to face the northern end of the street echoing the royal palace at the other end.

The creation of a landscaped site at the edge of the city provided up-market housing of a variety of categories was an important development in London's urban plan. Moreover, the way essential parts of the plan were laid over the existing infrastructure and the dominant role royal foci had in the planning indicate a developing attitude towards the relationship between the monarch and the populace. As the whole composition of park, street and palace provided a possible processional route through to Westminster it re-defined the relationship of the monarch, city and state. But Regent's Park like Regent Street was made possible by speculative developers - public funds could not have covered all the costs. It is important to consider who lived in the park and the building history of the villas to evaluate the significance of this new type of urban development for London and the influence this had on the relationship between architect/builders and London.

The Terraces

The Regent's Park terraces embellished the pattern of terrace house building common in London since the beginning of the eighteenth century. They provided a visual transition from the street to the park expressing social status through the architectural vocabulary that articulated their grand, stuccoed facades. This enrichment and unifying of the London terrace

had been seen in the work of Adam and indeed James Burton in Bloomsbury but the effect in the Regent's Park was far more palatial. Unlike their pendant pieces in Regent Street the terraces were exclusively domestic. Each terrace was distinctive on the exterior but the layout of the interior of each, and implicit social use of space, differed little from their predecessors. Their building histories have been covered elsewhere.⁷ Here it is the role played by the Burtons which is of interest.

The construction of the terraces was slow to get going. Indeed building did not begin until 1821 - three years after the first villa in the park. As with Regent Street and the villas in the Regent's Park James was the first developer to take up a lease. Perhaps this was part of an overall strategy to protect his considerable investment in the entire Regent Street and Park project. This also has resonance with James's holistic view of the development of Bloomsbury. His role was such that the Commissioners of Woods described James as 'the architect of Regent's Park'.⁸ Indeed when James led the way others certainly followed. In the case of the terraces these included William Mountford Nurse - the most significant contributor after Burton - J M Aitkins, William Smith and Richard Mott.

The building procedure was a development from the final stages of Regent Street where it has already been shown architect/builders enjoyed more freedom as the street progressed northward. There were no predetermined sites for the terraces -

⁷ See Summerson, 1980, op cit and Saunders, op cit.

⁸ Cres 2/774

it was up to the individual developers to approach the Commissioners of Woods. They in turn consulted Nash who approved, if he did not supply, the design comprising an outline plan and main elevation. The Treasury then granted a warrant for a three year lease at a peppercorn rent to cover the building period. Stipulations about the building quality and maintenance were outlined in the leases including the use of the uniform Bath stone coloured stucco common to both the terraces and the villas. The Burton terraces exemplify the general building procedure and show the independence enjoyed by the pair from Nash. This emphasises their significant contribution to the part of the park. Moreover the Burtons' working practice has interesting connections with those employed in Bloomsbury and Regent Street. This demonstrates how the template of effective management of speculative developments stood them in good stead for increasingly prestigious enterprises which were just as risky financially.

Cornwall Terrace (plate 4) in the south-west corner of the park was the first to be built 1821-3. The facade was designed by Decimus, and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1822, with at least some of the layout of the houses by James.⁹ The ground rent was set at £100 per acre but Nash intervened, claiming the sum was insufficient, resulting in it being doubled. Undeterred, the following year James took up a lease on Clarence Terrace and

⁹ Cres 2/767

Mews 1822-4,¹⁰ (plate 5) Once again Decimus provided the design for the principal facade which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1823. Here the methods for increasing profitability learnt by James from his earlier building ventures came to the fore. Two extra houses were squeezed in behind the ionic screen, a practice also seen in the Regent Street terraces (see previous chapter) In the same year James also built the western half of York Terrace. W M Nurse constructed the eastern portion. Both builders agreed to adhere strictly to Nash's design in the interests of uniformity and to create an impressive entranceway into the park via York Gate which was situated between the two terraces. This ability to follow instructions when expedient contrasts with the Burtons' treatment of Chester Terrace 1824-5 (plate 6) where James's almost charmed ability to make money on speculations ~~came~~ to the fore. Here again the plan was Nash's - comprising the longest terrace in the park at 925 feet screened by 52 columns over which were to be statues on the theme of the British Worthies. The ends of the block were to be brought towards the park. Burton deviated from this monumental design which would rival Paris, (as Nash commented the terrace 'was nearly as long as the Tuileries') as he saw a way to make the development more profitable. Burton built additional houses behind the forward blocks. ~~This~~ meant these had to be detached from the main run to allow access to these dwellings. An acrimonious dispute ensued and the removal of the forward ~~wings~~ ^{elements} was called for by the Commissioners. The situation was

¹⁰ Cres 2/772 and a groundplan of the proposed development is held at the PRO, MPI 583 (1-6) 1823. 118

made more complicated by the fact James Burton had quickly sold on the leases to Mr James Landsdown who now also required compensation for any demolition deemed necessary. William Wilkins was brought in to settle any compensation payable by the crown. In a private letter to Alexander Milne dated 6th May 1826¹¹ Nash stated his opinion about the dispute:

‘It is very painful circumstance to oppose or appear to oppose Mr Burton for whom I entertain considerable regard - but I feel that I ought not to stand by and see the Commissioners enter into a partial enquiry in which loss is assumed on one side without taking into consideration advantages which that side desire from a departure from their engagement, or from disposing of the ground in a manner unauthorized by that engagement - I feel this sentiment still more strongly from entertaining a different opinion as to the necessity of taking down the Houses, convinced that the removal of them will produce a worse effect than by altering the screen so as to obscure the buildings which are behind.’

Nash had supplied a sketch plan showing how the extra houses could be hidden from view and a visual link made between the end blocks and the main terrace by means of a screen. He was convinced the forward standing end blocks were essential for the ‘beauty’ of the facade and should not be demolished. The Commissioners differed in opinion from Nash but remained chiefly concerned with the overall attractive appearance of the terrace. Moreover, he realised Burton had already gained financially by increasing the volume of building on the plot and stood to gain again from the compensation he would receive if the extra buildings were demolished. The deciding factor for the

retention of the blocks and houses was introduced by Nash as he continued:

‘I tremble too for the amount of compensation which Mr Wilkins will be bound to award, if he is to consider only the question as put to him in the Queries - I enclose Queries which would lead to an investigation of the whole concern - I hope I have done my duty and no more than my duty in stating the whole of my opinion on the subjects which I do not wish to do as an official document, but to induce you against the measure about to be adopted.’

Nash got his way but James and Decimus’s attention now turned to other projects within and without the Regent’s Park.

The Villas

The villas were detached residences standing in compact private grounds which in turn comprised part of the larger public park. The Burtons were involved in the design and/or construction of all but one. The Regent’s Park villas, like the terraces, were crown leasehold but their design was not prescribed or supplied by Nash although, in principle, he had the final veto over plans. There is no evidence, however, of Nash having had any influence over the designs. It was the individual occupants and architects who gave architectural expression to this new kind of urban building type. This raises the important question of who lived in the Regent’s Park? And what, if anything, did they have in common which made Regent’s Park an attractive proposition for a house?¹²

The first resident in the park was James Burton who moved into

¹² For a fuller discussion see E C Samuel, *The Villas in Regent’s Park and their Residents*, London, 1959.

The Holme in 1818 (plate 7) continuing his tradition of living on his own building developments (see chapters one and two). If the fact that a speculative developer, although by now rich and socially established, was the first to occupy one of the villas caused no controversy, the design of the residence he built certainly did. The Commissioners of Woods remarked to Nash:

‘In your observation that “it is to be lamented, for the beauty of the Park, that Mr Burton was allowed to build the sort of House he has built”, the Board (having recently inspected the Park and the Villa in question) command me to state to you that they entirely concur; but they cannot record this concurrence, without unequivocally stating to you, at the same time, that in their judgment the whole blame of having suffered such a building to be erected, as well as the considerable expense to which it is their further mortification to find, by your Letter, the Crown has been put in planting out the deformities of this building, rest entirely with yourself; The Board consider it to be your special Duty to take care that any Building to be erected in Marylebone Park should be so constructed as not only ^{nor} to deform but to constitute a real ornament and a substantial and profitable improvement... of the Crown’s Estate.’¹³

It is noteworthy that Nash took much of the blame for The Holme and that James Burton continued to work in the Regent’s Park. The concern over the stylistic appearance of the Holme perhaps indicates the integral relationship between the park and newly emerging cityscape. Moreover, their outrage did not stop the commissioners employing Decimus Burton only few years later to carry out improvements in Hyde, St James’s and Green Park.

¹³ Letter from Alexander Milne, Secretary to the Commissioners of the Office of Woods and Forests to John Nash quoted in Ann Saunders, op cit, p 94.

Indeed their reason for choosing him to carry out work in the Royal Parks was the standard of his work in the Regent's Park.¹⁴ The Burtons stayed in the park until 1831 when they moved to a villa in their own speculative development of a small town in Sussex - St Leonards.¹⁵ Little is known except the names of the subsequent residents of The Holme.

The lease on one of the few villas not to be designed by Decimus Burton was taken up by Charles Augustus Tulk MP a philosopher and philanthropist of independent means. He moved into St John's Lodge designed for him by John Raffield, also on the inner circle, shortly after the Burtons took up residence in the Park. Tulk stayed only three years and his villa stood empty for a further five until 1826 when it was taken by John Maberley MP. In 1829 Maberley let it to an aristocratic tenant, the Marquis of Wellesley, the brother of the Duke of Wellington, who employed Decimus Burton to enlarge the villa. In 1833 when Wellesley began his second term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Isaac Lyon Goldsmid moved in who also enlarged the villa.¹⁶

The remaining villas were all designed by Decimus Burton and some were built by James. South Villa was under construction by 1819 (plate 8). The lease was bought by David Lance of 40

¹⁴ In 1823 Charles Arbuthnot, the Chief Commissioner of Woods recommended Decimus Burton for the work in the Royal Parks on the basis that his 'plans for the other improvements of the parks [ie Regent's] had met with so much approbation'. Cres 8/16 f 3.

¹⁵ see J Manwaring Baines, *Burton's St Leonards*, Hastings, 1990.

¹⁶ See J Mordaunt Crook, 'The Villas in Regent's Park' (1) & (2), *Country Life*, vol. 143, 1968, pp 22-5 & 84-7.

Nottingham Place, only a short distance from the park, Within one year Lance had sold his lease to William Henry Cooper who remained there until 1836 when he moved to Painshill, Surrey - where Decimus Burton carried out alterations. Albany Cottage, later known as North Villa (plate 9) had been occupied by 1824 by the diarist Thomas Raikes. This was designed by C R Cockerell with some participation on the part of Decimus Burton.¹⁷ Hanover Lodge designed by Decimus Burton for the Napoleonic veteran Sir Robert Arbuthnot (plate 10) was occupied in 1827.

Three of the villas stand out through their design and occupants. Grove House (plate 11 a, b & c) was one of the most specular and well positioned villas designed and built between 1822-4 by Decimus Burton for George Bellas Greenough, an eminent natural scientist who lived there until his death in 1856.

St Dunstan's (plate 12 a & b) was designed by Burton in 1825 for the Marquess of Hertford, one of George IV's closest associates, who held onto to the villa until his death in 1842. Holford House, the last of the eight, was owned by the wealthy city merchant James Holford who applied to the commissioners for land for a house in the northwest of the park in 1833 where he lived until his death in 1854. This too was designed by Burton. The two latter villas were much larger and more flamboyant than the others and used for lavish entertaining. The more personal nature of the planning of these villas perhaps partly explains why these were occupied by single tenants for substantial periods of time.

¹⁷ There appears to have been an unhappy collaboration between C R Cockerell and Decimus Burton. This is outlined in A Saunders, *The Regent's Park Villas*, London, 1981, pp 23-24.

The leasehold nature of the villas, the rapid turnaround and variety of occupants, and their semi-urban location show the departure the Regent Park dwellings made from the established villa tradition and the urban terraced house. They offered the idea of a landscaped villa through the fusion of private and common grounds: a kind of English Picturesque in miniature. The intention had always been that each villa would be sited so that it appeared to stand alone in the whole park. The villas were not necessarily seen as long term residences or any kind of permanent base, instead they were sold on for profit or convenience. In many ways they served as a glorified townhouse on the edge of the city with a link via the new Regent's Street to the centre. Perhaps most importantly the building history of the villas establishes the Burtons as independent practitioners rather than mere executants of Nash's plans.

The Relationship between James and Decimus

The role played by the Burtons in the whole project is undoubtedly significant. And there is no doubt that the villas played an important part in Decimus's development as an architect. Just as Decimus Burton made an important stylistic contribution to the park, James was an important enabler of the whole Regent's Park and Regent's Street project. But it was not always clear cut who had designed what as there appears to have been some interaction in the design process. The Holme is a case in point: perhaps in the light of the criticism of the design doubt has been shed on Decimus's authorship. But it is very likely that James gave his son a test run^{to} explore his ideas - with some

parental guidance. Furthermore a letter from Nash to the Commissioners of Woods dated 16 March 1821 clearly states that James Burton intended to build two further villas in the park and had furnished the designs himself.¹⁸ The portico added to the original design of South Villa at the behest of the leaseholder David Lance was designed by James Burton.¹⁹ This would have made it more impressive and may have been prompted by the opposition to Burton's design for the Holme. The inclusion of more grandiose elements in South Villa may have been to avoid the criticism made of the Holme by Nash and the Office of Woods that it was unsuitable for the architectural aspirations of the park (see above).²⁰ James's designs surface again in December 1822 when he requested a lease on a villa plot next to Mr Lennard's. His design was sent to the Commissioners of Woods by Nash with his comments the following January.²¹

James's involvement in the design process does not detract from the skill Decimus displayed as an architect. But it does demonstrate the blurred line between architect and builder and the father and son partnership at this early stage of Decimus's career. By the time Decimus came to design The Grove there appears to have been a clearer demarcation between father and

¹⁸ Cres 2/768

¹⁹ Cres 2/797 and drawing signed and dated 1818 Cres 2/797.

²⁰ It is unclear whether Lance was speculating on the Burtons' speculations, did not like life in the Regent's Park or if he simply ran out of money but he did move out very quickly.

²¹ Cres 2/768

son. James took up the lease and carried out the building work but Decimus produced the design.²² Indeed these drawings were exhibited by Decimus at the Royal Academy in contrast to the earlier villa designs although Decimus had been enrolled at the Royal Academy schools since 1817.

Financial Matters

James Burton was one of the first to take up leases on the villas. These give us some idea of the mechanics of the building procedure and the way in which it was financed. Nash's grand scheme had languished after the initial landscaping works until Burton took up his first lease on 23rd November 1816 for a plot of land, on which he built The Holme, of just over two acres including the ditch on the outside of the sunken fence around the premises.²³ The lease was for 99 years; the first year's rent was £14 13s 6d, the second year £64 13s 9d; rising to £129 7s 6d from the third year onward and was backdated to 10th October 1815. The staggering of ground rent was not unusual and shows that the villas were to be built as rapidly as the terraces which were springing up all over London. The building had to be kept the colour of Bath stone - this effect being achieved by painted stucco. Burton agreed to spend £5000 on the construction of the villa and design was, as all buildings in the Park and Regent's

²² Cres 2/769

²³ Cres 6/122 ff 90-91

Street were, subject to the approval of John Nash.²⁴ These covenants were a means of quality assurance employed in several of the villa leases. In some ways this is reminiscent of the rate system of terrace house building where some standards could be assured through the specification of a certain rate of house. This sum appears in several of the villa leases regardless of the lessee. The Marquis of Hertford faced the same stipulations when he took up his lease in 1825.²⁵

Burton's second lease was taken out two years later in 1818 on 30th December; this was backdated to 1 October 1817.²⁶ The rent payable for the first and second years was £15 13s from the third year onwards £107 10s per annum. The site was smaller- just over one acre in the south west corner of the park the same building conditions applied. The Burtons built South Villa (demolished in 1930) on this plot.²⁷ It is interesting to note the discrepancy between the different plots in the park in terms of their final ground rents. The larger plots were not necessarily more expensive in real terms. This was perhaps due to their location. But even so the larger the plot the more substantial the

²⁴ Cres 6/131 f 47

²⁵ Cres 19/5 f 111, 13 September 1825, £5000 at least was to be spent on the villa and the design had been approved and layout of the ground was to be approved by the commissioners.

²⁶ Cres 6/122 f 170

²⁷ Ann Saunders, *The Villas of Regent's Park*, op cit, p 16, states that this villa can only be attributed to the Burtons but the Cres papers cited above clearly state that James Burton took up the lease in 1818. Moreover, the application by Decimus Burton to add an ionic portico so soon after the start of the project infers he was the architect.

contribution of the building and the gardens around it to the overall landscaping of the park.

The Relationship between James Burton and John Nash
Despite their mutually beneficial relationship things did not always run smoothly between Burton the elder and Nash. In fact there is little evidence to support the argument of the good relations enjoyed between Nash and James Burton. This is especially the case if it is remembered that it might well have been S P Cockerell rather than Nash via Repton who introduced Burton to the work on the New Street and Regent's Park. (see chapter 3) Alongside the villas and terraces in the park, James Burton constructed desirable residences on the periphery. Here, as at Chester Terrace, he clashed with Nash. In 1817 Burton tried to claim compensation of £700 from Nash for a villa he had been forced to demolish sited opposite the opening of Harley Street.²⁸ Burton was undeterred by this. As late as January 1827 he proposed to build a double villa at the northernmost end of Hanover Terrace alongside that being built by George Birnie.²⁹ The following year James Burton sold the leases on the houses known as Gloucester Villas he had been building since 1826 on the north east edge of the park to Mr J Penning and Mr Thomas Hornor (the proprietor of the Colosseum see below).³⁰

²⁸ Cres 24 f 3

²⁹ Cres 2/784

³⁰ Cres 2/783 and drawings of villas PRO, MPI 588 (1,3-10).

The Design Procedure

Even at this early stage in the development of the villas James Burton expressed concern about the distance between the villas and the consequent restricted views. Burton even goes as far to request the crown not to build any more houses than those specified.³¹ But his attitude to landscape is however contradictory as he originally proposed the building of two villas on the site of the Grove in the western part of the park.

James Burton's involvement continued with the purchase of leases on two villas by Burton and Mr Lennard in the north west angle of Marylebone Park - the most remote part. A letter from the Office of Woods dated April 11th 1822 grants a lease from midsummer 1823 to James Burton for a villa. Burton was to build one villa and if appropriate a second with the rents conditions &tc (design) to be approved of by Nash. Burton had already sold the most southerly of the two houses, known as Albany Cottage or North Villa, to Mr Lennard of Park Lane.³²

The houses were to be finished according to an approved plan. A letter from John Nash to the Commissioners of Woods reveals much:

'The Drawing of the appearance of the villa accompanying your said letter I return and having seen Mr Burton on the subject I have annexed elevations of the lawn front and entrance front fitted to the plan he shewed me and which I hope he will consent faithfully to execute, as in the two villas already executed by him, he has made

³¹ Cres 6/131 f 66

³² Cres 6/137 f 248

several deviations injurious to the effect of those buildings and it will be necessary also to stipulate the precise spots on which the buildings are to stand and a strict covenant entered into that no other should be erected it will now be necessary that Mr B should send a plan of the detached offices he proposes to erect and a Design of the entrance with or without lodges that those may be approved of and also a map of the proposed plantations.’³³

These conditions were also to apply to the second villa if built. Nash’s extreme caution may result in part from the criticism and blame he received for the design of The Holme. Moreover, the building procedure of this villa shows the influence the Burtons had on the development of Regent’s Park, for good or bad, despite Nash’s position. The design of Albany Cottage had been produced by C R Cockerell who noted in his diary on 10th November 1821 ‘[I] went to see Mr Leonard [sic], found that Ker & Burton had arranged and managed the plan & considerably altered it for the worse, suggested various improvements: to young Burton’.³⁴ Cockerell noted in March 1826 ‘Mr Lennard sends me a kind note enclosing £100 for past services done at his house in 1821. acknowledged telling him my regret that I could not control Burtons proceedings.’³⁵

These comments imply that James Burton was used as the contractor even if he did not design ^{the} villa. The fact he was able to deviate from Cockerell’s design without any come back from

³³ Cres 6/137 ff 248-255

³⁴ Saunders, *The Regent’s Park Villas*, op cit, p 23.

³⁵ idem

architect or client perhaps implies Burton enjoyed considerable autonomy but certainly shows his customers were not always happy.

Decimus's Villas

The leasehold nature of the villas and the building controls imposed on their designers and builders are new elements in the history of the villa. The mechanics of the leasehold and building process are distinct from the design problems faced by Decimus Burton. The variety and scope of the designs produced by Decimus demonstrate a keen understanding of the work of his immediate predecessors. They show him to be able to harness his Royal Academy training into the service of the family's building activities in producing this new kind of urban dwelling. The architectural language of the country gentry was brought into the city.

The first question to be raised with reference to Regent's Park is the use of the term villa as Burton's houses were distinct from their eighteenth-century predecessors.³⁶ Decimus Burton certainly drew on the neo-classical adaptations of Palladian formulae seen in the work of Adam, Holland and Soane. Also Robert Adam's studies of the Pantheon, Roman Tholoi and Thermae introduced planning ideas which was readily adapted to small villa design giving the grandeur of antiquity to an otherwise modest dwelling in a way which was different to that

³⁶ For a discussion of the term 'villa' see Pierre Ruffiniere du Prey, *Sir John Soane the Making of an Architect*, Chicago, 1982, ch 13 pp 265-295 and D Arnold, 1996, op cit, pp ix -xii.

used by Palladio. This is seen chiefly in the imaginative treatment of space as well as the applied antiquity of elements like the Palladian temple portico entrance. But Burton's villas are not merely derivative as he introduced into the designs many new and influential ideas which responded to the changing social climate and the urban context of these buildings. Burton commented on his work when providing material for J Britton and A Pugin's *Public Buildings of London* (1825-8) '[I have] aimed only at imbibing the spirit of [my] great models, and have fearlessly deviated from them when rigid adherence would have been incompatible with [my] design'.

The description of Albany Cottage in James Elmes's *Metropolitan Improvements* demonstrates some contemporary problems with architectural terminology:

'As a specimen [Albany Cottage] of the English cottage ornee, it is scarcely to be surpassed, even in this region of architectural and picturesque beauty'.

But the design is as dignified as the others in Regent's Park - despite the Burtons' interference with Cockerell's plans. A single storey three bay central block punctuated by four Doric pilasters was flanked by a pair of slightly higher two-storey wings. A terrace with a metal awning fronted the central block with curved steps leading to the grounds. One possible suggestion for this terminology is simply that Elmes 'was simply desperate to use a different word'.³⁷ But it must be remembered that architectural vocabulary and criticism was not necessarily as precise at this time as it is today.

³⁷ This is suggested by A Saunders, *The Regent's Park Villas*, op cit, p 24.

Decimus Burton's villas in the Regent's Park differ from each other considerably in form and function. The larger houses, usually with a flamboyant owner, used principally for entertaining, contrast with the small compact, but prestigious, residence which perhaps had more in common with the casinos which had proved so popular at the end of the eighteenth century. The Holme, The Grove and St Dunstan's provide ideal case studies through which to explore the differences in approach to design of father and son. And to compare the way in which both Burton's produced architecture to meet specific social needs.

The Holme (plate 7) shows the influence of Decimus's training at the Royal Academy schools. It also contains many features that were to recur throughout Burton's work in the Park. Geometry is the overriding design principle. The house is a rectangular block surmounted by a triangular roof intersected on the garden side by a semi-cylindrical bay topped by a dome part of which is a sphere. The transverse axis is established further by the portico on the entrance front. This type of small scale house had been popular in England and France since about 1750. Well known precedents of which Burton was well aware include: Robert Adam's Ranger's Lodge 1768 in Green Park and the river front of Rousseau's Hotel de Salm, Paris 1782-6. Sir John Soane, Burton's mentor at the Royal Academy Schools had occasionally used the semi-cylindrical form of the bay as seen at his Letton Hall plans dating from 1785-8. Nash had also used these ideas in his Casino at Dulwich Kent for R Shawe in 1797 and at Rockingham Co Roscommon c 1810.

A spinal corridor ran through the house creating an enfilade effect terminating with a polygonal conservatory on the eating room side of the house. This transition between interior space, conservatory and landscape was frequently used by Burton in many of his country house and villa designs. The loggia or portico was not well suited for the English climate. The conservatory, of which Burton was a pioneer designer, offered landscape views with the option of central heating!

The Grove (plates 11 a,b&c) was one of Decimus Burton's first major buildings and the occupant George Bellas Greenough, became a close associate who did much to further Burton's career. The designs were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1822 along with his view of Cornwall Terrace.³⁸ The plan and exterior are derived from Greek architecture, The influence of the Erechtheum is seen in the subtle variation of different elevations of The Grove. The south elevation, based on the north porch of the Erechtheum, is the principal feature of the house. This terminates in the library block. The east facade is a semi-circular bay defined by Greek Doric columns, the order being appropriate for a male occupant.

This was the height of Greek Revival fashion and the variations of level and elevation allowed more freedom in the use of a Greek model than William Wilkins had experienced at The Grange 1812. This demonstrates Decimus's successful grafting of Greek religious architecture onto a building whose sources are essentially Roman, Italianate and domestic.

³⁸ Drawings for The Grove, 1822-24, are held in the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, ~~1871~~ 1871-1907.

Greenough was a natural scientist and his collection was already housed in mahogany cabinets which were built into the library. Over the bookcases was a plaster frieze cast of the Panathenaic procession from the Parthenon, which appears on several of Burton's buildings.³⁹ As in the Holme these three rooms on the garden front were enfilade. The offices were situated in the basement. The arrangement of the chamber [first] floor shows a marked departure from the Holme. The floor area is smaller and the chambers in a cruciform arrangement affording terraces on each of the flat roof areas of the rooms beneath giving a delightful sense of privacy and attractive vistas.

The grounds were some of the most splendid not only in terms of their location within the park but also through Greenough's enthusiasm for gardening. A screen brick wall cut off the view to the north of the house [away from the park] so directing the viewers gaze towards the villa's grounds and the park itself. Towards the end of the run of the screen wall facing south was a small glass and iron conservatory semi elliptical in plan and elevation and 1/4 elliptical in section. This is an early style of Burton conservatory which used a brick wall as part of its structure rather than being free standing and made entirely of iron and glass.

The Grove became one of the most famous of the Regent's Park villas and images of it were widely published in Europe and America. The American architect Itheil Town built a close copy

³⁹ This was executed by J Henning a member of Decimus Burton's regular workforce. Henning had made casts of the Elgin Marbles when they were housed in the courtyard of the Royal Academy on their arrival in London.

of the villa in New Haven in 1830. In common with many architects he had seen the Grove on a visit to Europe which had included a visit to Regent's Park. And it was soon re-interpreted outside London near to the Burton's adopted home territory of Tonbridge. Holwood House 1823-25 at Keston, Kent was designed by Decimus for John Ward MP.⁴⁰ Ward had been involved with some minor speculative developments on the New Street and had bought the estate which had once belonged to Pitt. The old house was demolished and the design of the new villa had to fit into an established Repton landscape.

Designs for the Marquis of Hertford's Villa were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1823 (plates 12&13) and the villa completed by 1825.⁴¹ Known as St Dunstan's villa as the clock of Old St Dunstan's in the West was purchased by the Marquis and sat in the grounds from 1832 onwards. The villa was situated in the north west corner of the park with the garden facade overlooking the serpentine lake rather like the Grove and the Holme. The occupant was a colourful figure who was the basis of the Marquis of Steyne in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* and Disraeli's Marquis of Monmouth in *Coningsby*.

The design is more complicated than Burton's previous villas but still shows a synthesis of his favourite elements. The entrance is through a single storey porch with two rows of columns one

⁴⁰ Drawings for Holwood House are held at the Victoria and Albert Museum D 1894-1907. Ward also employed Decimus Burton to design the Calverley Estate in Tunbridge Wells, Kent 1828 onwards.

⁴¹ A folio volume containing the ten drawings Burton exhibited at the Royal Academy are in the collection of the Architectural Association.

behind the ~~order~~^{other} in the same order as the Tower of the Winds. This leads into the elliptical saloon. There are three rooms on the garden front which are enfilade; the centre room has a semi-cylindrical bay. Externally on the entrance side the main two storey block is interrupted by another at right angles to it. The interior of the building was expensively decorated and presents a procession of rooms suitable for the whole purpose of the villa: the lavish entertaining of the Marquis's friends.

The villas can be seen as the beginning of a trend in speculative suburban middle class housing that still exists today. Indeed, the Burtons learnt much from their work in the Regent's Park. They went on to produce designs for large scale developments of small villas and terraces set in landscaped grounds at St Leonards,⁴² Calverley⁴³ and Cobh⁴⁴. The villa designs for these were microcosms of their larger predecessors in Regent's Park. The layout of the estates made them saleable offering the middle class a sense of grandeur and the all important feeling of communality with the landscape.

The production of town housing by speculative developers was not new. The terraces of West London, Bath and Edinburgh were a common feature of the eighteenth-century city and had done much to form the urban streetscape but the Regent's Park

⁴² See Manwaring Baines, op cit.

⁴³ This estate in Tunbridge Wells was designed by Decimus for John Maberley MP. Burton also designed a splendid villa for Maberley, Holwood House, Keston, Kent in 1825.

⁴⁴ This work was carried out for Lord Midleton. Papers and designs relating to the project are held at the Surrey County Record Office.

project introduced a new type of housing into London: the urban villa. This is quite distinctive both from the free standing usually aristocratic townhouse of which there were many scattered across London and its rural namesake. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the villa had provided a balanced contrast between the city and retreat. Here the villa was brought into the city, albeit on the perimeter providing retreat, fresh air and a barrier between the Georgian streetplan and the fields beyond. What is more these villas were not aristocratic playthings which remained in the family even long after the novelty had worn off. They were instead saleable commodities which frequently changed hands. Unlike their predecessors the villas were leasehold. Like their predecessors the Regent's Park villas were set in landscape but this was part private garden and part public park.⁴⁵ These buildings helped to establish Decimus Burton's career as an architect. The landscaping of the villas' grounds and approaches was also his responsibility. Decimus's designs had an important effect on the overall appearance of the park as the villas and their gardens were integrated into the whole rather than being defined as separate precincts through the use of walls or tall hedges and fences. This skill in relating buildings to landscape and subtly defining their distinctiveness whilst they appear part of the whole became one of Decimus's most significant talents. It is perhaps appropriate that, partly on the

⁴⁵ For a fuller discussion of the notion of the Picturesque in the creation of the royal parks in London during the early part of the nineteenth century see: D Arnold, 'Decimus Burton and the Urban Picturesque', in D Arnold (ed) *The Picturesque in late Georgian England*, London, 1995. pp 51-56.

basis of his work in Regent's Park, Decimus went on to remodel the Royal Parks which were to form another important phase in the shaping of London and his landscape abilities were used to the full.

Decimus's other Work in the Regent's Park

Decimus continued to work in the Regent's Park for several decades. He produced two distinct landscaped spaces: the Zoological Society Gardens 1826-41 and the Royal Botanical Society Gardens 1840-59. Alongside this he designed the Colosseum 1823-7, a novel building for public entertainment. All three enterprises made a substantial contribution to the social environment of the park for residents and visitors. The purpose here is not to re-tell their development and building procedure - this has been done elsewhere.⁴⁶ Rather it is to underline the varied and enduring contribution made by Decimus to the park. The choice of Decimus Burton as architect to the Zoological Society and the Royal Botanical Society might seem surprising at first in the context of his other work in the Regent's Park. But by the mid 1820s Decimus was working in other royal parks in London (see chapters 5 and 6) and in the early 1830s was entrusted with the complete remodelling of the Phoenix Park in Dublin (see chapter 7). Decimus was by this time an established practitioner whose skill at laying out grounds and landscaping

⁴⁶ For the Zoological Gardens see P Chalmers Mitchell, *Centenary History*, London 1929 and H Scherren, *The Zoological Society of London*, London 1905. For the Royal Botanic Society see Guy Meynell, 'The Royal Botanic Society's gardens, Regent's Park', *The London Journal*, vol 6, no 2, 1980. For the Colosseum see Hugh Honour, 'The Regent's Park Colosseum', *Country Life*, 2 Jan 1953.

was recognised by the Commissioners of Woods as he was their principal executant architect - although no such formal position existed unlike the attached architects of the Office of Works.

The Royal Zoological Society was founded by Sir Stanford Raffles in July 1824. It comprised 151 members including residents of the Regent's Park - of whom the Marquess of Hertford was amongst their number. Although the Society had premises in Bruton Street an open air menagerie was required. The park was the obvious spot but the preferred site of the inner circle had been let to the nursery man Mr Jenkins. Instead Burton was engaged to landscape an irregular, triangular shaped site of five acres in the north-east corner of the park. The society lease stated a ground rent of £18 per annum for the first three years which would rise to £400 per annum thereafter. Burton's plans were only partly realised but demonstrate an interesting landscape arrangement.⁴⁷ He faced the additional problem of the plot being bisected by the Outer Circle. Burton's clever use of a tunnel to link the two features is still in use today. And his innovative designs for animal houses including a clock tower which was part of the camel house and the giraffe house show an imaginative approach to these design problems. Burton's design success was such that he was asked to design the Zoological Society Gardens in the Phoenix Park, Dublin.

The Royal Botanical Society was founded in 1838 with J D C Sowerbey as Secretary. It took over the grounds in the inner circle of the park, originally let to Mr Jenkins, at a rent of £102

⁴⁷ The original plan is held in the PRO, MPE 906.

per annum until 1899 and ⁴⁵⁰ £~~285~~ per annum thereafter. Burton was appointed architect in 1840 and with the help of Mr Marnock, the Curator of the plant collection laid out the grounds on a Linnaean arrangement, including medical, agricultural and manufacturing gardens, at the considerable cost of £12,000.⁴⁸ Burton's final design including high turfed mounds along the paths with appropriate breaks to allow views through the whole layout.⁴⁹ The high banks were to be made possible in part by the materials removed in the excavation of a lake. Both these elements were 'to render the Inner Circle more pleasing to the Public who are likely in consequence of the alterations in the Park to be more frequent visitors to the Inner Circle'.⁵⁰ The gardens did prove a popular attraction as unlike ~~the~~ Zoological Gardens they were freely open to the general public ^{on payment of an admission fee.} The Colosseum (1823-27) was designed and built by Decimus Burton for Thomas Hornor on the eastern edge of the park.⁵¹ The building was to house a panoramic view of London based on drawings by Hornor from the cupola of St Paul's Cathedral. Decimus based his design on the Pantheon but made the shape

⁴⁸ Correspondence regarding the design of the society's buildings and grounds in the Regent's Park can be found in Cres 2/754. Burton's report on the laying out of the grounds was printed in the *Gardener's Magazine*, XVI, 1840 pp 514-16.

⁴⁹ Thomas Chawner and James Pennethorne of the Office of Woods had made several objections to Burton's original scheme of 1840. Cres 2/754.

⁵⁰ Letter from J D C Sowerby to the Commissioners of Woods transmitting Burton's plans 13 December 1841, Cres 2/754. Plans at PRO, MPI 574 (2).

⁵¹ Cres 2/777

polygonal rather than circular. The structure was 130 feet in diameter with a giant portico and large cupola. Although Burton's design gained him much praise as a precocious practitioner in the classical tradition it had been modified by Nash who first reduced the scale so that it was in keeping with the rest of the park and insisted pilasters were placed around the outside and the roof made visible so giving the exterior elevations a more interesting articulation.⁵² The attraction opened in January 1829 and was changed into a concert hall in 1831. It was demolished in 1875.

Conclusion

The Regent's Park was an important turning point in the development of London and in the careers of James and Decimus Burton. The Burtons' ongoing, if not entirely harmonious, relationship with John Nash and their increasing independence as architectural practitioners and builders emerges during their work in the park. This squarely challenges Summerson's view that the Burtons were merely executants of Nash's schemes. After all, Nash designed very few of the terraces in the park and not one villa. By contrast the Burtons furnished designs or were involved with the production of the variety of buildings and landscaped areas contained in the park. Moreover, the Burtons' successful adaption of the mechanics of the speculative building process and the production of a new domestic building type made a distinct mark on the urban landscape. However, it is not the

⁵² Cres 2/771

volume of the Burtons' work but their response to the various demands of patrons and the changing social and cultural climate which is important here. This demonstrates how the cityscape is a response to these collective forces and the architect/builder is their agent. And it is in this way that the Burtons' contribution to the park can be seen as more significant than has previously been recognized.

During the Burtons' work in the park Decimus emerges as a revered and successful architect gaining commissions and independence from his father who largely drops out of the London building world after Regent's Park to concentrate on his own scheme at St Leonards.⁵³ Decimus's contribution to the development of the metropolis continued in his work in the Royal Parks and the creation of a monumental new entrance into London at Hyde Park Corner.

⁵³ This is fully discussed in Manwaring Baines, *op cit.*

Chapter 5

Decimus Burton's work at Hyde Park Corner

This chapter concentrates on how Decimus Burton's work at the conjunction of Hyde, St James's and Green Park at the area known as Hyde Park Corner shows him to be one of the main executants of George IV's and his ministers' vision of London as a royal city fit to rival its European counterparts. Moreover, in collaboration with the monarch and his chief officials, Burton planned to create an urban space dedicated to the celebration of the Hanoverian dynasty, national pride, and the nation's heroes. The project, which evolved during the early 1820s, comprised the creation of two entranceways, one into Green Park,¹ then the back garden of Buckingham Palace, and one into Hyde Park² which was becoming an increasingly significant public open space. This required the removal of the toll gate which defined Hyde Park Corner as the traditional entrance into London from the west and the levelling of the approach road to it to make the site more amenable to development. (plate 1) This chapter charts the development of Hyde Park Corner in the 1820s and shows how

¹ This was known as the Green Park Arch and later the Arch at Constitution Hill. There was not always a clear distinction made between Green Park and St James's Park at this time. Moreover, part of Green Park made up the 'back garden' of Buckingham House (later Buckingham Palace). The Royal Parks are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

² This was known as the Hyde Park Screen or sometime The Facade.

it was developed to fit in with George IV vision for aggrandising London and through this his own image.

The Chain of Command

It is important to establish who controlled the improvements in the Royal Parks as it sheds light on the nature of the works themselves and the ideology behind them. Burton was never officially attached to the Office of Works, the main executor of the Metropolitan Improvements, or indeed the Office of Woods for whom he acted as architect and arbiter for many of the works and improvements carried out around Knightsbridge, Park Lane and the Royal Parks (discussed in chapters four and six). Burton's level of involvement and authority increased rapidly once the projects were begun. He was subject to two chains of command both of which involved the monarch but one with substantially greater powers of veto and amendment. This latter side was headed by Parliament which granted the funds which were then held by the Treasury who in turn granted monies on request to the Office of Woods (or Office of Works when work which would usually have been executed by them was carried out by the Office of Woods). Charles Arbuthnot was the Chief Commissioner of Woods who liaised with the Commissioners and the Treasury. This chain of command took care of and controlled the financial elements of the projects. The other side was mostly concerned with the nature of the projects themselves and their style. This was headed by the Monarch who had ultimate power of veto on the designs. Beneath him was the Fife House Committee which consisted of representatives of the Treasury, Office of Woods and

Forests and 'several noblemen and gentlemen interested in the improvements'.³ Arbuthnot sat on this committee and he dealt with Burton. Arbuthnot was then Burton's immediate superior and it was Arbuthnot who had first brought in Burton to work on the Royal Parks. But Burton had to please two masters - the Monarch with the nature and scope of his designs and the Treasury and through them Parliament with the costing and accurate execution of the works.

The Scheme's Place in the Overall Plan for London and the Absence of John Nash

It is perhaps surprising that Nash was not in control here or at least involved with the project in some way especially as he was carrying out substantial work on Buckingham Palace itself and the adjoining grounds which abutted Hyde Park Corner. However, Nash claimed that he knew nothing of the relationship of Burton's work at Hyde Park Corner to the gardens at Buckingham Palace which were being designed by him.⁴ The veracity of this statement is not the question here. It does suggest, however, that the overall scheme for Buckingham Palace and its environs was not solely Nash's. Nash's work was instead part of a larger and evolving plan. This would reinforce the idea that George IV was the driving force behind the works

³ Cres 8/17 f 30 In his evidence to the 1828 Enquiry Burton named the members of the Fife House Committee as 'Lord Liverpool, Lord Farnborough, Lord Goderich, Mr Peel, Mr Herries and Mr Arbuthnot' of whom five or six always attended meetings. 1828 Parliamentary Enquiry, 20th May. pp 444-5

⁴ 1828 Report

in south west London.⁵ Burton seems to have dealt directly with leading figures in both chains of command. This contrasts with this work in Regent's Park where everything was channelled through Nash or referred to Nash by the Commissioners of Woods. In the final accounts presented by the Office of Woods Burton claimed travel expenses to both Stratfield Saye and Windsor 'to consult with Mr Arbuthnot (who lived at Stratfield Saye) and Sir William Knighton the king's Private Secretary.⁶

Burton's work at Hyde Park Corner is also important as it demonstrates that a substantial public project was carried out at this time without Nash's involvement. This reinforces the alternative reading of the role played by Nash in the projects discussed in chapters three and four. The point here is not to replace Nash with Burton. Rather it is to show that the work at Hyde Park Corner was a response to a variety of social and political forces. Burton was the agent through which these found expression in appropriate planning and design.

The Financial Framework of Burton's Payments

Payments to Burton do not appear to have followed the system in operation at the Office of Works of a commission of usually 3% or 5% as seen in Burton's construction of a new Parliamentary

⁵ This is argued throughout the chapters on George IV's building projects in HKW.

⁶ Burton was paid a total of £10:10s in travelling expenses in the year 1825. Cres 8/17 f 206.

Mews.⁷ Instead a more complicated system was in operation as outlined in a letter to the Treasury from Lowther, Dacres Adams and Dawkins in the Office of Woods on 25th July 1829 which states the total expenditure for the work in Hyde, St James' and Green Parks and a letter to the Treasury from Lowther and Dawkins on 26th November of that year stating the sundry payments made in 1828. The payments to Burton are as follows:

Roads

1825

'Plan for laying out Roads in Hyde Park - a Plan of the whole Park shewing the Improvements - 4 drawings of the line of the Road between Grosvenor Street, and Hyde Park Corner, and other explanatory Drawings &tc-----
£100'

'Travelling Expenses to Windsor and Strathfieldsay to consult with Mr Arbuthnot and Sir William Knighton on the same-----£10:10s'

Fencing

1826

'Commission-----£3:6s:6d'⁸

Lodges and Gates at Cumberland, Grosvenor and Stanhope Streets

1825

'Commission for Designing and Superintending the erection of the above Lodges and Gates-----
£366:10s 10d'

⁷ Cres 8/15 f 390 cites Burton as architect receiving a commission of 3%.

⁸ This was on the repair work carried out that year which amounted to nearly £464 Cres 8/17 f 209. This level of commission is derisory. But the ledger is ambiguous and the sum may only refer to commission on painting work carried out on the fences by Messrs Bennett and Hunt, Burton's usual firm of builders, which amounted to £66:7s:6d which would imply the usual 5% commission for work overseen by an architect.

1826

Two separate payments of £61:6s:2d, and £118:10:6d were made for 'Professional Services'

Burton was also paid commission of 6s:6d on work carried out by Messrs Bennet and Hunt amounting to £6:12s:8d

1828

'Professional Services-----7s:10d'

Facade and Lodge at Hyde Park Corner, with Ornamental Gates, Iron Railing &c

1826

'Professional Services-----£280:16s'

1828

'Professional Services-----£24:17s'

Lighting

1826

Burton was paid commission of £3:5s:6d on James Deirle's work on the lighting at Cumberland Gate amounting to £65:10s:10d

Lodges and Gateways at the Entrance into the Green Park, at the top of Constitution Hill

1826

'for professional Services relating to these Lodges and Gateways, and the Facade Entrance into Hyde Park (part of £1078:6s:8d)-----£515:18s

1827

'for professional Services relating to these [works cited as paid for that year] and other Works-----£1,185:2s:7d'

1828

'for professional Services-----£215:14s:2d'

The statement of accounts is concluded by

'Architects Commission on Bills remaining unpaid.....£319:7s:4d'.⁹

Burton is the only architect mentioned in the accounts and

⁹ Cres 8/17 ff 200-217 and ff 324-327.

correspondence concerning the works in the parks.¹⁰ Through the nature of the payments he can be attributed with overall responsibility for the designs and overseeing the construction of the new gates and lodges and for the changes in the layout of the parks and their alignment at Hyde Park corner. Burton benefited from two separate methods of payment. ^{One was} ~~The~~ method established in the Office of Works of an architect charging commission for works carried out by workmen under his supervision. Here Burton charged the higher rate of 5%. The payments for 'Professional Services' are less conventional and considerably higher in value than the usual architect's commission. The payments to Burton in 1826 for the lodges and gateway (ie Green Park Arch) into Green Park and the Facade Entrance into Hyde Park (ie Hyde Park Screen) were around 10% of the cost of works executed (ie £5011:15s). In the following year payments made for the same were of a similar proportion (ie the total sum of works executed was £12615:1s:31/4d). These are substantial sums of money which underline the importance of Burton's role in the whole of the works on the Royal Parks. More significantly, these large payments in relation to the development of Hyde Park Corner show Burton to be a very important contributor to the king's overall development of a royal London and enjoying a level of privilege in his remuneration and status which at least equalled that experienced by John Nash. Moreover, the autonomy enjoyed by Burton in the

¹⁰ The only exception to this is Mr Rennie who received the commission to build the bridge over the Serpentine. He was selected by the Treasury as he was 'a very competent person for the undertaking', 1828 Report, p 25.

design and execution of his project was greater than that of Nash in the work at Regent's Park and Regent Street which relied on private money and the ability or willingness of the builders and speculative developers to invest in and adhere to his approved designs. In contrast to Nash, Burton had a steady flow of funding and was out of the scrutinizing gaze of the Treasury and responsible only to the Fife House Committee and ultimately to the monarch for his designs.

The Impetus for the Work

George IV's architectural ambitions were evident even during his time as Prince Regent. The extravagant redecoration of Carlton House and the Brighton Pavilion are testimony to his eclectic and expensive taste. Carlton House had been lavishly renovated and was the focal point of Regent Street but he tired of each of the many new decorative schemes very quickly and felt that the building was not suitable particularly in terms of its size as the residence of the future monarch. On his accession to the throne parliament took the opportunity to tighten further the purse strings on royal spending - particularly on building projects - but George IV still had considerable latitude and private sums of money and revenues which could be channelled into projects of his choosing.

Since the death of Queen Charlotte in 1818 George IV had had his eye on her former residence Buckingham House (also called the Queen's Palace). The furore surrounding the funding of the work he wished to carry out on this rather modest house is significant

here.¹¹ As far back as 1818 Lord Liverpool had made it clear that public money would not be forthcoming for any work he undertook on Buckingham House. One year later Parliament granted £150,000 over three years towards the building costs which presented a stark choice between seeking Parliamentary authority to sell Crown property to meet any expenditure above £150,000 and 'to complete the whole arrangements (internally and externally) for that sum, without the interference of Parliament'.¹² George IV demanded at least £400,000 and there was stalemate for two years. In the summer of 1821 George IV took Buckingham House out of the control of John Soane (who was overseeing repairs as part of his duties as one of the Attached Architects to the Office of Works) and gave the job to John Nash. By 1822 the king had made the decision to abandon Carlton House, demolish it and lease the land and in August of that year John Nash submitted plans to the Surveyor General of Works for the conversion of Buckingham House into a Royal Palace. Work began on 6th June 1825 before either a bill or estimate had been put before Parliament. Moreover, the area around the new palace was uncluttered so avoiding many of the problems of land acquisition which blighted the Regent Street project and made grander landscaping schemes more feasible. The parks were ready for an overhaul and it may have been brought to the king's attention that the lease of the turnpike trust at Hyde Park Corner was due to expire so facilitating development in that area.

¹¹ For a full discussion of Nash's work at Buckingham Palace see HKW pp 263 ff.

¹² Work 19/3 f 15

Even so the monarch had rejected a proposal of building a new palace in Hyde Park on the basis that he was too old to see the project through.¹³ These developments coincided with Burton's involvement with the Office of Woods and his work in the parks surrounding Buckingham Palace. This work was an important part of the overall scheme and Burton was the architect and overseer of these projects. By placing the work on the garden side of the Palace in different hands the king increased the scope of his project and made more funds available (see below).

A New Axis for London

Previous chapters have discussed how the orientation of the city was determined by a variety of factors. The east - west growth of London had helped to define fashionable areas. To the north the New Road enabled the development of the northern edge of the city and provided an essential cross link. The New Street ran contrary to these trends and carved a north-south divide through the city. George IV's move westwards to Buckingham House created a new axis for London.¹⁴ (plates 2 & 3) The north-south line of Regent Street no longer culminated in its intended focal point of a royal residence. The royal residence was now Buckingham Palace which was situated at the end of The Mall. In

¹³ 1831 Report, p. 271. But Mrs Arbuthnot recorded on October 1825 that the king was 'madly eager' for a plan of Col. Frederick Trench's for a vast palace in Hyde Park, but supposed that his 'd-d Ministers' would not allow it. F. Bamford and the Duke of Wellington eds. *Journal of Mrs Arbuthnot*, 1820-32, 1950 i, p 420.

¹⁴ see D Arnold, 'The Arch at Constitution Hill: A new axis for London', *Apollo*, CXXXVIII, number 379, September 1993, pp 129-133.

the context of Burton's involvement with the scheme it is the work at Hyde Park Corner which changed an important axis of London. The long held hope of a monumental entranceway into the city at this point from the west was abandoned. This redefined the meaning of the area from city entrance to a monumental piazza or square dedicated to the Hanoverian monarchy and the nation's military and intellectual prowess.

The Importance of Hyde Park Corner

The move westwards put the new royal residence on the outer limit of the city and introduced another axial route through London. The Mall ran from Trafalgar Square along St James's Park to the main entrance of Buckingham Palace which was to be defined by Nash's Marble Arch. The palace was situated in the middle of open land comprised of two parks: St James's to the front and Green Park at the back. Hyde Park, just to the north of Green Park, also formed part of the large expanse of parkland in this area of London. The place where Hyde and Green Park met was known as Hyde Park Corner. It had traditionally been the main and prestigious entrance into London from the west. And there had already been plans to develop it along similar lines to those finally carried out by Decimus Burton. A monumental gateway had originally been planned by George III.¹⁵ The idea may have developed out of John Gwynn's proposal in his *London and Westminster Improved*, 1766 for a *Place* at Hyde Park Corner from which main avenues radiated. Gwynn felt the area needed

¹⁵ George III's set of drawings are held at the British Museum, King's maps xxvii 26 a-c.

improvement as it was so close to the royal residences. His idea was developed further in 1778 by Robert Adam who designed a monumental gateway. This plan may well have evolved during the time Adam was designing and building the terrace of brick townhouses at Hyde Park Corner 1771-8. (Apsley House was the most westward of these and had the address No 1 London.) It comprised an archway flanked on either side by entrances into the two royal parks. The nationalistic overtones of such a monument rendered the plan impractical on financial and ideological grounds - Britain had lost a valuable colony in the expensive American War of Independence. The idea was revived by Jeffery Wyatt who exhibited a scheme at the Royal Academy in 1791. Four years later Soane, on his appointment as architect to the Office of Woods, provided plans for improvements in the parks including, at the behest of George III, a monumental entranceway to Hyde Park from Piccadilly and an entrance into Green Park. Soane's plans also included a new royal palace in the northwest corner of Green Park. Other architects presented plans for the site including William Kinnaird who in 1813 published 'View of a Triumphal Arch, Proposed To Be Erected at Hyde Park Corner, commemorative of the victories achieved by British Arms during the Reign of His Majesty King George the Third'¹⁶ None of these plans was executed.¹⁷ So Hyde Park Corner already had great significance for the capital and was seen as the

¹⁶ Copies of this engraving exist in the British Museum, Kings Maps xxvii i and the Bodleian Library (Douce Prints N. 8).

¹⁷ See D. Stroud, 'Hyde Park Corner', *Architectural Review* vol. 106, 1949, pp 397-379.

gateway into London. The added ingredient for Burton was the recent victories over the French at Trafalgar and Waterloo which created the need for adequate commemoration of the nation's war heroes. A fund of £300,000 had been set up by Parliament in 1816 for the erection of commemorative monuments. Perhaps in response to this in 1817 Soane presented another scheme for Hyde Park Corner which he exhibited at the Royal Academy which followed Adam's design of an archway running across Piccadilly with decorative sculpture commemorating the two battles.¹⁸ But once again no action was taken.

Two important themes emerge from this: national pride as seen in the plans for a royal London and the importance placed upon recent military victories and national heroes in the decoration of the monuments in this area. The revival and revision of this long-standing plan was a defining moment in London's history. Burton's plans for the monumental entranceways into the Hyde and Green Parks were designed not only to evoke nationalist feeling through the celebration of victory over the French and British cultural achievements. But this triumphalistic iconography was dovetailed into significant changes in the urban plan of London.

The Growth of the Project and Burton's Level of Involvement

The project began on quite an innocuous note with a request

¹⁸ These plans are illustrated in John Soane, *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, 1828.

from The Treasury on 22 April 1823 to the Office of Woods to report on the state of Hyde Park and St James's and supply some proposals for improvement.¹⁹ The fact that this request went to the Office of Woods might indicate that initially the concern was to carry out basic improvements to the parks such as new drains, improved walkways rides and fencing perhaps as a response to the newness and attractive layout and landscaping of Regent's Park. The first written response came from the Office of Woods to the Lords of the Treasury on 28 July 1823.²⁰ This report on the improvements to be executed in St James's and Hyde Parks concentrated on the current state of the roads and fences and walks and was written by Charles Arbuthnot, W D Adams and J G Dawkins who had made wide consultations

'and others [measures] had been suggested by different individuals well qualified to offer their opinions upon such matters for the improvement and embellishment of the parks, but not being prepared at present to lay before your Lordships those opinions and suggestions so matured, as to recommend them to be adopted, we propose to limit this report ~~to~~ those objects which appear to us to claim the earliest attention.'

It can only be assumed that on the basis of the scale of his involvement with the project that Burton was one of the individuals well qualified to offer an opinion. Moreover, Burton had been involved with the decision one year earlier as to the siting of the Achilles statue in Hyde Park (discussed below).²¹

¹⁹ Cres 8/14 f 111

²⁰ Cres 8/14 ff 150-6.

²¹ Work 35/2

This report was not delivered until 28th September 1825 which included designs and estimates for all the major work. But how did the plan develop and what was Burton's level of involvement in its evolution?

It is important, first of all, to establish how all the work came to be under aegis of the Office of Woods and how this secured and strengthened Burton's position. The level of repair, renewal and development required in the parks was very high and straggled the lines of responsibility drawn between the Office of Woods and the Office^{of} Works. But for the most effective method of executing this work it seemed obvious from an early stage that it should all come under the aegis of one authority. This suggestion was made at the beginning of the scheme by Arbuthnot, Adams and Dawkins in their report of 28 July 1823 they stated '...[they had] no wish to undertake duties which belong to other public offices but feel all the works should be under the control and direction of one department subject to the constraint and authority of the Treasury'.²²

This was reinforced in a letter from Arbuthnot and Adams to the Treasury on 3 August 1824 concerning the proposed gates and lodges. It said 'we have not required working drawings or estimates for the new lodge and gates as according to the established arrangements for works of this description they would be executed in the Department of the Board of Works....'.²³

In his response to the report and perhaps the above letter J C

²² Cres 8/14 f 150

²³ Cres 8/14 f 454

Herries of the Treasury writing on 17 September 1823.²⁴ ‘[I] take the point about the single management’ and appointed the Office of Woods as most of the work was under their aegis. Consent was officially given by the Treasury on 13 September 1824.²⁵

This question of single authority had also been a lever to ensure Burton’s involvement with the project. Arbuthnot had presented the argument that Burton had been chosen on the basis that ‘his plans for the other improvements of the parks [Regent’s] have met with so much approbation’²⁶ Arbuthnot’s thinking was explained in full in his evidence to the Parliamentary Enquiry 1828:

‘having seen in the Regent’s Park, and elsewhere, works which pleased my eye, from their architectural beauty and correctness, I made inquiries as to the name of their architect, and I was informed that it was Mr Decimus Burton. Feeling that it was open for my office to employ any architect who, in our opinion, would be likely to perform the work entrusted to him satisfactorily for the public, I sent for Mr Burton, and desired that he would prepare designs for the erection of Lodges at the different entrances into Hyde Park...Mr Burton showed great anxiety to meet the wishes of the Government, and most readily undertook to make such alterations as the noblemen and gentlemen, to whom they were shown, thought desirable.’²⁷

Arbuthnot went on to state that he had recommended Burton as

²⁴ Cres 8/14 f 192

²⁵ Cres 8/14 f 472

²⁶ Cres 8/16 f 3

²⁷ 1828 Report, p 123.

he

‘was not one of the established architects of that department [the Office of Woods] there were official difficulties against his being employed except under our own immediate direction.’²⁸

This was not strictly true as Burton was employed to build the Parliamentary Mews at Storey’s Gate in 1825 which fell under the aegis of the Office of Works.²⁹

There are several explanations as to why Arbuthnot was so keen to use Burton. Firstly, his statements to the 1828 Enquiry can be taken at face value. The Regent’s Park project was certainly a model from which to draw experience for much of the work carried out in the parks as discussed below. And there is no doubt that there was genuine concern as to the state of Hyde, St James’s and Green Parks. Moreover, George IV may well have been drawn to Burton for the same reasons as Arbuthnot. But it is important to view Burton’s appointment within the larger context of all of George IV’s architectural projects. The plans for Hyde Park Corner were an essential part of the creation of a royal London. John Nash was to be fully occupied with the work on Buckingham Palace as well as the ongoing work at Regent’s Park and Regent Street. By appointing Burton there was a greater chance for both architects to concentrate on their work. Burton had experience of the successful completion of large projects

²⁸ Ibid. p 130.

²⁹ The Treasury directed that Burton be appointed architect as he had been employed by the Office of Woods to prepare the original plans. Work 12/63/7 f. 5, 7 October 1825.

through his work in the Regent's Park. Also the estimated cost of the work on Buckingham Palace was enormous estimated at around £200,000. Untapped sources of funding would be available through the Office of Woods for the work at Hyde Park Corner. The division of the work between the two Offices would break up the total amount of money granted by parliament as it went to two recipients and appeared to be for different types of projects.

Funding

The sources for the funding of the work were manyfold. In the report of 28 July 1823 the Office of Woods supplied an estimate of £10,000 for the initial works they outline and proposed that this should be paid for by the Treasury and suggest this could be repaid to the Treasury by a grant from parliament.

‘ [a parliamentary grant] for which we would suggest that an application should be permitted to be made in the ensuing session, before which time we hope to be able to lay before your Lordships in detail the plan and estimates which have been suggested or occurred to us for the further improvement or embellishment of these parks, and for promoting their enjoyment to the Public’.³⁰

Writing with reference to this report on 2 September 1823 the Office of Woods requested from the Treasury the sum of £5000 on account for the repairs they had instructed Mr McAdam to commence on the roads, drives and walkways.³¹

This was responded to in a letter by George Harrison at the Treasury on 6 October 1823 granting the Office of Woods £5000 to

³⁰ Cres 8/14 f 150

³¹ Cres 8/14 f 184

be repaid out of the money which may be granted by parliament for work and improvements in the parks.³² This bill was in passage through parliament early the following year. ³³

Payment was made by the Office of Works to the Office of Woods for any work which would usually have come under their aegis.

A further, more detailed design and estimate was supplied on 28 September 1825 which was just in excess of £20 000.³⁴ Just under one month later on 24 October 1825 authority was granted to proceed with the works.³⁵ Amended estimates for new alterations and developments were submitted on 30 March 1826.³⁶ This increased the expenditure and was approved by the first Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Commissioner of the Board of Woods. Of special interest within these new, extended proposals was the estimated cost of the entrance into Green Park which was increased nearly threefold from £6,858 to £19,291. Despite the huge increase in projected spending permission was granted for these alterations to the original plan on 5 May 1826.³⁷ Perhaps parliament and/or the

³² As the grant for civil contingencies could not be used for advance funds the Treasury paid £5000 out of French Indemnity funds to be repaid by the Commissioners of Woods when the first monies from the parliamentary grant for works and improvements to the parks were received. T29/225 f 225 16th September 1823.

³³ Cres 8/14 f 193

³⁴ Cres 8/15 f 200. This is discussed in greater depth later on.

³⁵ Cres 8/15 f 211

³⁶ Cres 8/15 f 281

³⁷ Cres 8/15 f 331

Treasury had not quite taken on board the magnitude of George IV's vision for the scale of the restructuring and aggrandising of London. Extra funds were found from the Land Revenues Accounts - the crown's income from its estates. These accounts were submitted to the Commissioners of Woods from 1824.³⁸ The funds were channelled towards the construction of the gateways.³⁹ In 1828 on the order of the House of Commons the Office of Woods was asked to give details of the expenses relating to Hyde Park, St James's and the bridge over the Serpentine. By early 1830 despite the fact that Burton's work had not gone excessively beyond his estimates the Treasury decreed that no further work would be paid for until Buckingham Palace was finished.⁴⁰

The Idea of Alignment and the Duke of Wellington

There are several factors which influenced the laying out of Hyde Park Corner. Axiality, alignment, and arches were the dominant planning themes. How were these decided upon and implemented and what was Burton's role?

The area around Hyde Park Corner was relatively unencumbered

³⁸ T29/231 f 349, March 1825.

³⁹ This is stated quite clearly in a letter from the Treasury to the Commissioners of Woods dated 19th January 1830, Cres 8/17 f 377 'no further works at the archway at Constitution Hill can be sanctioned...[no more charge] for building of this description on the Land Revenues of the crown until the charge upon the revenues for the building of Buckingham Palace shall have ceased.' (In 1828 Wellington, who was then Prime Minister, had ordered the annual diversion of £100,000 of the funds of the Office of Woods the help complete Buckingham Palace)

⁴⁰ Cres 8/17 f 377

by buildings and most of the land belonged to the crown. Even so there were constraints on the plans. The most practical and pressing problem was the toll gate situated at Hyde Park Corner. (plate 2) Its removal was crucial to any development of the area - especially on the scale which was being planned. The bill for £10 000 of funding which was put through parliament in late 1823 also requested the eradication of the toll gate.⁴¹ The original reason behind this request from George Harrison at the Treasury is stated as being that those living west of the toll gates should no longer have to pay to come into London and that the Office of Woods should speak to the parties promoting the bill so this clause could be included. This was agreed by the Trustees of the roads on 27 March 1824.⁴² A letter from G Harrison at the Treasury agreed to the moving of the gate 31 March 1824.⁴³

It is possible to assume from this that the crown was aware of the imminent expiry of the lease to the Pimlico Turnpike Trust. And that as since 1818 George IV had been contemplating a move to Buckingham House he would be aware of the possibilities for developing the whole area.

A second factor in the development of the design of this area was the Achilles statue dedicated to the Duke of Wellington which had been paid for by women in gratitude for his victory at Waterloo. Burton had already been involved with the siting of the

⁴¹ Cres 8/14 f 334, not dated but between January and March 1824.

⁴² Cres 8/14 f 348

⁴³ Cres 8/14 f 351

Wellington statue on its completion in 1821/2.⁴⁴ However, within a short space of time the poor condition of and vandalism to the fence surrounding the Achilles statue was cause for concern. Mr Edward William Fauquier, the park ranger resident at Hyde Park Lodge, brought this to the attention of George Harrison at the Treasury in a letter of 28 May 1824.⁴⁵ Fauquier states that the original intention was to have an iron railing around a stone pedestal and he suggests the design should be completed to guard the statue against mischief. The task was taken in hand in a letter from the Office of Woods 6 July 1824 stating they had solicited railing designs from Mr Westmacott.⁴⁶

The significance of the siting of the Achilles statue for the layout of Hyde Park Corner is twofold. Firstly, Burton's involvement with the placing of the statue shows that he was involved with the Royal Parks in south west London just prior to the proposals for the improvements. Secondly, the statue played an influential role in the laying out of the axis between the entrances to Hyde and Green Parks, (plate 4), the proposed axis being dependant upon the removal of the toll gate. The idea of linking the statue with the general scheme of improvements was fixed firmly in Arbuthnot's mind by August 1824 as both he and Adams wrote to the Treasury:

'...with respect to the gates and lodges it has often been suggested to us since the public monument was placed in

⁴⁴ Work 35/2

⁴⁵ Cres 8/14 f 414

⁴⁶ Cres 8/14 f 414

Hyde Park that it would be a great improvement if the gates of that park and those of Green Park opposite were to be so altered as to make this the principal entrance into Hyde Park directly in front of that monument but as this improvement cannot be effected without removing the turnpike gates to the west of Grosvenor Place which is intended on the renewal of the Trust, now about to expire we defer layout before your Lordships of plans and estimates for this improvement.⁴⁷

It appears that the axis for the Hyde Park Screen and the Green Park Arch (this became known as the Arch at Constitution Hill) was determined by Arbuthnot on the basis of the Achilles Statue. Burton must have been an advisor. He had been involved with the original siting of the statue and was then being retained by the Office of Woods to produce designs for the whole of the improvements to the parks. The alignment of the entrances is such a fundamental part of the project that Burton's non participation would be surprising. Moreover, the final solution demonstrates the tact and pragmatism which are the hallmarks of Burton's practice. There had been much talk of a monument to Wellington including an arch at Hyde Park Corner but no firm plans had been made. The Wellington statue was included in the plan as the view of it from Hyde Park Corner was framed by the aligned screen and triumphal arch. It also enhanced the iconography of the intended sculptural decoration of the screen and arch at Hyde Park Corner and the new palace (discussed below) which celebrated the nation's military might, so providing in part a commemoration of the Duke of Wellington. The Achilles statue was one end of a line which could be drawn

⁴⁷ Cres 8/14 f 454

from Hyde Park to the rear facade of George IV's new palace. As such it was drawn into the iconographical composition through the realignment of the roads and entranceways between the palace and Hyde Park.

The third factor which influenced the siting of the entrance gates to the two parks is the king's decision to move to Buckingham Palace to which Green Park was the back garden. The original proposals for the transformation of Buckingham House into a royal palace were made by Nash in 1822 and work began in 1825. Between that time the work on the Royal Parks was initiated and the king must have been aware of the need for processional routes to his new palace. The Mall was to culminate in Nash's Marble Arch at the main entrance to the palace. On the garden side George IV had the Green Park Arch through which he could proceed into Hyde Park, the site of military exercises and mock battles, through the Hyde Park Screen. One of the early designs produced by Burton for the Green Park Arch dated 20th July 1825 (plate 5) is annotated by Burton

'.....and that the centre shall be the Royal Entrance'⁴⁸

But these plans robbed London of the long awaited monumental entrance way into the city from the west. The new alignment meant that neither archway was to be placed astride Piccadilly. Thus the longstanding east-west axis of London was now subjugated to the new north-south axis leading from Hyde Park to Buckingham Palace. Those entering London from the west would pass between the two gateways instead of proceeding through at

⁴⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum E 2334-1910 A 149 a.

least one of them. This is shown in photograph of a painting by James Holland showing Hyde Park Corner in 1827 in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴⁹ (plate 3 a) This view includes some of the sculptural decoration which was never completed. The missed opportunity of a gateway into London is picked up by the *Mechanics Magazine* in 1827 which stated the reorientation of the area had robbed London of its best opportunity for a monumental entrance to the city. Moreover as London was extending at a substantial rate there was now a deficiency in the grandeur of the approaches to the British Metropolis. The Magazine commented at length on the Hyde Park Screen:

‘When the present peace left the English at leisure to turn their attention to internal improvements the erection of a grand triumphal entrance to the metropolis, similar to the Propylaea of Athens, was among the first things contemplated. Several designs were offered to the Government for the purpose; and an understanding came generally to prevail, that such a structure would certainly be erected at Hyde Park Corner. According to the idea which most people formed of the projected building it was to be erected at the summit of the ascent from Knightsbridge, and to embrace the whole width of the road, having side entrances to Hyde Park and Green Park, nor can there be a question, that a structure like the Propylaea, erected in such a situation, would have had a most magnificent and imposing effect. To the everlasting discredit, however, of the spirit amid taste which preside over like architectural improvements of this auspicious era, our long talked of “triumphal entrance” has divided into a mere Park entrance, which, like the Palace leaves us

⁴⁹ Victoria and Albert Museum not accessioned in box no. A149a. A version of the photograph is also in a private collection. (plates 3 & 3a)

where we were before without that important addition to the metropolis so fondly anticipated and so much wanted.

..... May I venture to hope that, since Hyde Park Corner has lost the honour designed for it, and since a triumphal entrance into London is a thing still to be accomplished, the claims of Waterloo Bridge to the distinction will yet receive the consideration they merit?'⁵⁰

It is interesting to note the elevation of the area to a royal entranceway which celebrated the nation, albeit on a turned axis, was viewed as inferior to the original plans. This criticism did not jaundice the view of the quality of the architecture:

'The Park Entrance, however, considered as an entrance into the Park, must be allowed to reflect great honour on the designer and builder, Mr Decimus Burton....~~It~~ It will, no doubt, be a source of general regret, that the architect of this gateway (showing, as he has done, a taste decidedly superior to most others) had not the opportunity afforded him of perpetuating his fame by an edifice of a more extended character. Every praise is due to the present structure; it exhibits what we rarely meet with - variety in the midst of uniformity, and a general combination of great chasteness and elegance. The defects complained of in the late beautiful screen before Carlton House have been judiciously avoided; the columns are not raised so high as to exclude a view of the objects beyond them.'⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Mechanics Magazine* , Vol. VIII, No. 208, 18th August 1827, p 65 ff.

⁵¹ *ibid*

The *Mechanics Magazine* also picked up of the intended alignment of the arches and the Palace:

‘When the triumphal arch on the opposite side of the road * is complete (the place, in fact, from where the present screen should be viewed), the grouping of the architecture will be altogether extremely novel and striking.

* [footnote] The arch alluded to is a gateway or sort of lodge to the New Palace which is in the course of erection. We shall give a view of it also, in an early number - editor.’⁵²

George IV and the Adventus Augusti

There is another factor which may have influenced the proliferation of arches and axes. There is little doubt that George IV was exceptionally fond of triumphal arches. Three existed in his plans for London - the central portion of Hyde Park Screen, the Arch at Constitution Hill (as the Green Park Arch became to be known), and the Marble Arch designed by John Nash as the main entrance into the front of Buckingham Palace. He even had a stage set style triumphal arch built for his entrance into Dublin! ⁵³ But it would underestimate the ambition of Burton and his patron to see this scheme only as a series of archways through which the king could process into Hyde Park to watch the military manoeuvres which took place there. It was surely part of the larger plan, of which Hyde Park Corner is one of the most splendid elements, to create a series of monumental spaces, squares, and axes in London. The arch had become a monument

⁵² *ibid*

⁵³ Mentioned in Constantia Maxwell, *Ireland Under the Georges*, London, 1940.

in its own right during the reign of the Emperor Augustus but the best known examples are later: the Arch of Septimⁱus Severus AD 203 and the Arch of Constantine AD 312-315. The public ceremony which accompanied the inauguration of a triumphal arch was know as the 'Adventus Augusti' when the emperor was led in triumph through the city on a chariot wearing a laurel wreath. There may have been an element of competition between Britain and France in the use of the triumphal arch. Roman triumphal arches were used widely in the Napoleonic building programmes as they lent themselves well to the promotion of the cult of the personality. In Roman times public buildings and monuments were seen as a manifestation of providentia and the heavenly authority of the divine sovereign and triumphal arches were used in Napoleonic ceremonies. The tradition of the Adventus Augusti was revived by Napoleon in Venice on 15th August 1806 (his name day) on the inauguration of a bust of the emperor by Eugene Beauharnais in the Venetian Arsenal. Temporary architectural constructions were erected for this event including a triumphal arch by Guisseppe Borsato decorated with ionic columns and statues.⁵⁴ (Although the doric orderⁱ is seen^h as more appropriate for heroes according to Vitruvius)

In Paris the Arc du Carrousel 1806-10 by Charles Percier (1764-1858) and Pierre Fontaine (1762-1853) was constructed as the entrance to the Tuileries Palace. It was based on the arch of Septimⁱus Severus and dedicated to the military heroism of the

⁵⁴ This is discussed by A Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*, New York and London, 1988, p 35, note 1.

Grand Armée.

The meaning of these monuments was further enhanced by the use of decorative sculpture. Of particular interest here is the Quadriga - a chariot drawn by four horses. This dates back to ancient Roman times; for example ~~Augustus~~ the reverse of the Augustan denarius shows a Parthian arch of Augustus in the Forum Romanum (19 BC) in which a Quadriga with two figures of victory are clearly visible.⁵⁵ Francois Lemot's (1772-1827) design for the Arc du Carrousel had only one figure of victory (at Napoleon's request) and provided the model for John Nash's Marble Arch.

Monuments to the nation's military prowess played an equally important part in the assertion of the power of the state. The victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo afforded ample opportunity for celebration and there were many proposals for commemorative archways, columns and even mausolea to Nelson and Wellington to be placed at strategic points across the city. These would combat the domestic scale of the small garden squares surrounded by townhouses and help to augment the status of the city. George IV harnessed the nation's enthusiasm for these into his own service. This can be clearly seen by a consideration of two monuments - the Marble Arch (plate 6) and the Green Park Arch (plates 5 & 9) (later known as the Arch at Constitution Hill). The triumphal gateways are significant as they are part of the new projected iconography of London created by the king and his architects. Moreover, they show how the desire

⁵⁵ *ibid* p 36 and note 2.

for a rational street plan was closely connected with the desire of the monarchy to underline its own status and authority.⁵⁶ The New Street has been intended to terminate at Carlton House. As already discussed, the king's decision in the early 1820s to demolish it and to develop Buckingham House into a new royal palace changed the shape and orientation of the plan for a new London. It created two new axes, one running east - west the other north-south. The Mall ran westwards along St James's Park and terminated at Buckingham Palace. The Arch at Constitution Hill provided an entrance to the garden of the new royal residence. It was also aligned with the Hyde Park Screen to provide a fitting, monumental entrance way for the king into Hyde Park, the scene of military parades and mock battles. This meant that the traditional gateway into London from the west at the end of Piccadilly was turned 90 degrees to align with Buckingham Palace. Both arches were to be decorated with sculptural celebrations of Britain's military victories, intellectual prowess and the Hanoverian dynasty.

This was indeed a grand vision. The new system of roads, punctuated with monuments, impressive public buildings and culminating in a new royal residence offered the well to do residents of London a feeling of safety. And, every Londoner was invited to celebrate the nation's security, thanks to the king,

⁵⁶ The use of ritual and display by monarchs and their governments as a means of asserting authority is recognised in D Cannadine, 'The Context. Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c 1820-1977' in E Hobsbawn and T Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983 pp 101-164. This aspect of the work in the Royal Parks is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

through the memorials and triumphal archways strategically placed in the royal parks to which there was public access.

The Evolution of the Design of a Royal Square and Processional Route

Although the chosen area for the new gateways was free of most restrictions such as other buildings or obstinate landowners there was one significant problem: the site was not level. The wish to create a homogeneous urban space is evident in the feats of civil engineering undertaken to level off the area of Hyde Park Corner and Knightsbridge. These were expensive engineering works designed to even out the ground and presumably also to increase the visual impact of the work at Hyde Park Corner. They cannot have been made any easier by the fact that as soon as work began on the Hyde Park Screen it was discovered that underground water tanks which had previously been used to water Piccadilly, were directly beneath the site. The decision was made to strengthen the foundations of the Screen, which was very costly.⁵⁷ Moreover, a sub-plinth had to be added to the design because the original plan to lower the road to level off the site completely was modified.⁵⁸ An undated drawing in the

⁵⁷ The work exceeded Burton's original estimate. The main reason given for this by the Office of Woods to the Treasury in a letter of 31 October 1828 is 'at the outset [it was] necessary to lay additional foundations of considerable substance and to some extent, over a tank which had been used some years since for the watering of Piccadilly. The remains of which were discovered in the immediate line of the intended facade.' Cres 8/16 ff 423-5.

⁵⁸ Cres 8/16 ff 423-425. This was modified as the lowering of the road to the extent originally planned would have greatly inconvenienced local residents.

Public Record Office (plate 7) shows the alignment of the two arches and the calculations used to alter the road heights.⁵⁹ Grosvenor Place was to be raised to the level of the plinth of the entrance to Buckingham Palace Gardens and the pavement down Knightsbridge was also to be raised. The original acceptance that expensive engineering works would be necessary to prepare the site and the persistence of Burton in adhering to the intended line and location are significant. They demonstrate the importance of the geographical location and the nature of the project itself.

The engineering works necessary to prepare the site developed alongside the designs for the gateways themselves. The evolution of these designs can be traced through the estimates submitted by the Office of Woods and some surviving drawings.

The Office of Woods submitted Burton's first designs and estimates for lodges and gates on 28 September 1825 for consideration by the Fife House Committee. The estimates were:

New lodge at Cumberland Gate according to design and estimate No. 1

£2006 3s:2d

New Entrance gates at Hyde Park Corner according to design and Estimate No. 2

£9342 14s:6d

New Lodge at Hyde Park Corner according to Design and Estimate No 3

£2151 1s3d

New entrance gates and lodge into Green Park according to Design No 4

£6858 3s:0d

⁵⁹ PRO, MPE 796, undated, pen and ink by E.J. Wards, 16 Upper Eaton Street, Pimlico.

Total £20,358 1s:11d⁶⁰

The drawings for the Hyde Park Screen and the entrance to Green Park (later the Arch at Constitution Hill) in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum give some idea of the evolution of the project.

A plan and elevation for the Entrance into Green Park at Hyde Park Corner dated 20 July 1825 exists in Burton's hand.⁶¹ (plate 5) But this is dated before the presentation of the designs and estimates to the Fife House Committee. It shows an elevation and groundplan of an ionic triumphal archway. The frieze which, although not detailed, appears to be based on a classical theme (perhaps even at this stage the Parthenon frieze appealed?) stands forward of the rest of the entrance way and is supported by free standing ionic columns, two on either side of the arch. There appears to be a plinth over the centre of the arch but no sculptural decoration is indicated. The central arch is flanked by two blind niches and then small lodges with Egyptian style windows flanked by doric pilasters surmounted by a doric frieze of triglyphs and plain metopes. Although the windows give the impression of there being an interior and logic presumes there would be a lodge here the shading on the groundplan suggests that this space would have been solid. Gateways are attached on the pilaster on the outer side of the lodge and a free standing pier. The groundplan indicates that the entrance was to be the same on both facades. The drawing is annotated in pencil on the

⁶⁰ Cres 8/15 f 200

⁶¹ Victoria and Albert Museum E 2334-1910 A 149 a.

Green Park side of the entrance

'It is here Proposed to place the Gates to Constitution Hill - if the King's commands are that the centre shall be the Royal Entrance.'

There is an indication of two piers matching those of the lodge on the Green Park side of the entrance.

The design received royal approval on August 15th and is annotated

'Aug 15th Received back from the Rt. Hon. Sir Chas. Long & approved by his Majesty, to be put into execution with the exception, that the windows shall not be diminished at the top'

It was noted as 'apprvd' and initialed G R

This design is paired with a drawing also in the Victoria and Albert Museum by Burton of the same date showing the plan and elevation of the entrance to Hyde Park (the Hyde Park Screen), but notably this is not titled.⁶² (plate 8) The central archway matches that of the Green Park entrance in form and arrangement but there are no lodges behind it, instead the arch flanked by two blind niches form the central elements of a run of five ionic columns with a blank entablature which culminate on either side with an arch which protrudes slightly less and is flanked by a free standing ionic column in antis and a doric pier. Attached to these is a smaller square gateway following the line of the run of ionic columns framed by doric pilasters. This scheme was fully approved by the King also on 15th August. The sources for these initial designs are complex. Just as Nash's Marble Arch was based on the Arch of Constantine, Burton's

⁶² Victoria and Albert Museum, D 1299-1907.

Green Park Arch was modelled on the Arch of Titus - both of these were well known through engravings and veduta paintings and architecture books. The Arch of Titus had also been the basis of Soane's 1817 design. The source for the Hyde Park Screen, it was sometimes referred to as the Facade, is less obvious although Soane's plan of 1817 did include an ionic screen running across Piccadilly. Screens had also been placed across the facades of Old Montague House (which was in the process of being transformed into the British Museum) and Carlton House. It can be assumed that Burton was in contact, though probably indirectly, with the king and that some kind of dialogue between them was carried on during the time in which the designs for the entrances and the laying out of the parks and the realignment of the roads &c went on. These drawings are probably the penultimate designs before the final designs - already with royal approval - and estimates were submitted to the Fife House Committee for official Royal, Committee and Treasury approval. The king's high level of involvement shows that George IV was using Burton as his executive architect and designer for a project which took on increasing significance during the first half of the 1820s. In August 1822 John Nash submitted plans to the Surveyor General of Works for the conversion of Buckingham House - this was quickly followed in April of the next year by the request for the review of Hyde and Green Parks. Work did not begin on Buckingham House until June 1825 - the same time as these drawings. There is no doubt that the king was aware of the relationship of both projects. It is also significant that at this early stage in his career Burton was viewed by George IV as

qualified to undertake such a task.

The Office of Woods requested authority to proceed and to defray the costs out of the applicable departmental funds. This permission was granted by the Treasury on 24 October 1825.⁶³

Within six months of receiving approval on 30 March 1826 the Office of Woods submitted an amended estimate to the Treasury for carrying out the proposed improvement. Some alterations had been made to the original design and estimates of 28th September 1824 approved on 24 October which were already in progress.

These were:

New entrance gate and lodge into Green Park

£192916s:0d

Interior post and chain fence by sides of road leading from Cumberland Gate to Hyde Park Corner

£4000-00

Bridge over the Serpentine River

£3650-00

Total £59,791 6s:0d⁶⁴

The new alterations and increased expenditure were approved by the first Lord of the Treasury, The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Commissioner of the Board of Woods.

But a further drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows that this aggrandizement of the scheme may have been in the King's and Burton's minds almost as soon as approval was given for the first scheme.⁶⁵ (plate 9) It shows a front and side elevation of the revised design for the Green Park Arch and a

⁶³ Cres 8/15 f 211

⁶⁴ Cres 8/15 f 281

⁶⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum, E 2334-1910.

groundplan. It is signed and dated by Burton 5th November 1825. The scale of this arch is much larger so disrupting the harmony of the original design where the two central arches of the gateways into Hyde Park and Green Park would have been the mirror image of each other. Instead the Green Park Arch dominated the composition through its increased scale and decoration. (It was now also on a larger ^{scale} than Marble Arch.) The basic form of the new design for the arch remains the same but it is far more decorative and monumental. The order of the new design is corinthian, including the end pilasters, instead of the ionic order of the earlier scheme. The design for the continuous frieze which surmounts the free standing corinthian columns in the centre of the composition relates to classical relief sculpture and may allude to the Panathenaic procession. There is a plinth but no design for any freestanding sculpture that might surmount the arch. But free standing figures have been added above the architrave standing directly above each of the free standing corinthian columns. The groundplan shows two separate porter's lodges with doors in the plinth. The drawing bears an initialled note by Burton

'This design was returned from the Comm. of Woods with their letter dated January 14th 1826 - containing the communication of its being approved by H. Majesty to be executed instead of the original Design I submitted'.

In his evidence to the 1828 Enquiry Burton refers to this drawing and the note he made on it. When asked if the king had approved his designs for the Green Park arch as an entrance to his gardens Burton responded:

‘Certainly I acted with the understanding on making the first design which is set aside. It having been suggested (at one of the meetings before alluded to) by several of the noblemen and gentlemen present it would be more respectful to his Majesty to have this Archway upon a scale of a character more splendid than that of the Facade Entrance on the North side of Piccadilly. I was then directed to prepare a second design which should embrace these objects. This second design received His Majesty’s approval and it is in fact the one now acted upon’⁶⁶

Burton was then asked if this had been communicated to him in writing. He referred to the memorandum he made at the bottom of the design he was now presenting to the committee (as quoted above).

It is very likely that the king proposed the enlarged scheme himself, especially given the date of the design. It is in keeping with his increasing ambitions for Buckingham Palace where certainly by the end of 1826 he had planned to move the court.⁶⁷ But the important question here is why when funds had been so strictly limited for the work on Buckingham Palace was the Treasury content to sanction the tripling of the expenditure on the entrance into the king’s garden and the Royal Parks? The answer may lie in the fact that little had been achieved in terms of the plans to construct monuments to the victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo and the nation’s war heroes. The grander scale of the second design afforded more opportunities for sculptural embellishments. Moreover, the nature of the sculptural

⁶⁶ Burton’s evidence to the 1828 Parliamentary Enquiry, 1828 Report, 20th May, pp 444-5.

⁶⁷ HKW p 267

decoration did change as discussed below. The significance of the site and the fact that designs had been submitted for war memorials to be erected there makes the case even stronger.

The Iconography of the Scheme

The work at Hyde Park Corner can be compared to the designs for the Marble Arch, which originally stood at the top of The Mall as an entrance into the main front of Buckingham Palace, as they were both for the same patron, George IV. Both the Marble Arch and the Green Park Arch were based on Roman triumphal arches. The Arch of Constantine, the source for Marble Arch, presented an image of a triumphant, Christian monarchy. The Arch of Titus, the source for the design of the Green Park Arch (later the Arch at Constitution Hill) carried on this theme as it referred to the conquest of Jerusalem.⁶⁸ The stylistic and iconographical nature of the proposed sculptural decoration of the Green Park Arch also related to that of Marble Arch in its reference to military and naval victories. Nash had originally approached a leading neo-classical sculptor John Flaxman for designs for the Marble Arch and the sculptural decoration of the new palace. These were ready by August 1826 as Nash wrote to Flaxman: 'I shall lay before the King the labours of your pencil and shall be happy to convey to you HM approbation'.⁶⁹

Nash also mentions a model which included imagery of 'Lord Wellington'. This may be the plaster model of the Marble Arch

⁶⁸ My thanks to Professor M.H. Port for drawing my attention to this.

⁶⁹ B.M. Add. MS. 39781 f 254-5

which shows Nash and Flaxman's fusion of architecture and sculpture as a celebration of monarch and state.⁷⁰ The artist died in December 1826 shortly after presenting his account for his completed work.⁷¹ Although Flaxman's designs were executed much of the detail of the work was changed by the executant sculptor Richard Westmacott.⁷²

The executed sculptural decoration on the Hyde Park Screen and Green Park Arch was carved by John Henning Jnr - one of Burton's regular workforce. The frieze of the Hyde Park Screen was based on the Panathenaic procession. Henning's father, also called John, had made a cast of this on the Elgin Marble's arrival to London when they were kept in the forecourt of the Royal Academy.⁷³ John Henning Jnr was also working on the Athenaeum where he used the same frieze. In the Victoria and Albert Museum drawing of the first design for the Green Park Arch (plate 5) the frieze appears to have a Grecian theme - though it is not a replica of the Panathenaic procession. These suggest that the original intention was to create a scheme which was classical in essence underlining the culture and

⁷⁰ This is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum; it is considered by H Clifford Smith in *Country Life*, 4th July 1952.

⁷¹ Flaxman presented his account on November 20th 1826. This was re-presented by his executrices in July 1828 as Nash had not settled the account. B.M. Add. MS. 39783, f..11

⁷² A full discussion of the sculptural decoration of Marble Arch appears in HKW pp. 293-297

⁷³ The career of John Henning Snr and some of John Henning Jnr's work is discussed in J Malden, *John Henning (1771-1851)*, Paisley, 1977, see esp the section 'John Henning (1771-1851) '....a very ingenious modeller,,,' (there is no pagination in this booklet).

sophistication of London and/or the monarch.

The compositional relationship between the enlarged Green Park Arch (as revised in 1826 and discussed above (plate 9)) and Hyde Park Screen (plate 8) is shown in a perspective drawing in the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection.⁷⁴ (plate 10) This gives a more detailed view of the proposed sculptural embellishments, although they were never executed.

The revised plan of 1826 aggrandised the decorative scheme of the original to include military trophies as well which made reference to the battles of Waterloo and Trafalgar. The Green Park Arch was now to be surmounted by a Quadriga⁷⁵ with a figure of Britannia Triumphant and was to include military and naval trophies and free standing figures.⁷⁶ (plate 10) But the 1828 moratorium on spending due to Nash's excesses at Buckingham Palace put a stop to all work and in 1830 Burton was ordered to take down the scaffolding.⁷⁷ The watercolour gives some indication of the nature of these sculptural embellishments. The scheme for the arch and screen at Hyde Park Corner was to be a celebration of Britain: her military and naval might, the

⁷⁴ RIBA Drawings Collection XOS/D/5. unsigned, undated watercolour, 24 x 40.5 cm.

⁷⁵ Yarrington, *op cit* pp 244-5 suggests Burton was thinking of using a design by M C Wyatt for a such sculptural group dedicated to George III and cites various efforts by Wyatt to draw attention to his design. There is no evidence for this. Moreover, the perspective shows that both screen and arch were to be surmounted by a car drawn by horses and accompanying figures.

⁷⁶ E H Baily had agreed to make the statues for £1,600. Work 4/113.

⁷⁷ Work 4/1 f 16

monarchy and the nation's intellectual prowess. The Quadriga with Britannia Triumphant and a free standing figure surmounts the Green Park Arch. The frieze around the plinth of the statue is Grecian in essence - most notably the inclusion of horsemen in profile wearing Grecian style helmets. But in the centre, beneath the figure of Britannia and above the centre of the arch sits a figure wearing British military uniform. The free standing figures around the plinth are both military- could these relate to Nelson and Wellington? Two designs also exist in the Victoria and Albert Museum by John Henning Jnr for free standing female figures representing History and Astronomy.⁷⁸ The watercolour also shows some of the sculptural embellishments of the Hyde Park Screen. The central archway was to be surmounted by an equestrian figure of George III with military insignia above each of the flanking arches.

The grand scheme for the Hyde Park Screen and Green Park Arch was never completed. Nash's mismanagement of the work at Buckingham Palace led to a moratorium on all building in 1828 and a Parliamentary Enquiry. Burton's project suffered as a consequence. Despite carrying out his commissions to schedule and to estimate his designs were never finished.⁷⁹ Even so, it is clear Burton's relationship with George IV was significant and that he was treated by the king as one of the executive architects of his nationalistic and imperialistic vision. Burton's own vision of how this area of London might have appeared is enigmatic.

⁷⁸ Victoria and Albert Museum, E 2334-E 2340-1910.

⁷⁹ Some of the work did go over estimate but this was due to Burton's insistence on high quality workmanship.

Indeed, had Burton won the competition for the design of the new St George's Hospital which he entered in 1826 he would have had an opportunity to create a new monumental urban space in the first city of Empire.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Burton's entry for the competition is discussed in R W Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778-1839*, Cambridge, 1980, p 155. *But Liscombe does not identify the design.* 186

Chapter 6

Decimus Burton's work in the Royal Parks

This chapter focuses on the improvements Decimus Burton carried out in the Royal Parks in west London: Hyde, St James's and Green Parks. These were not new parks but the spread of the city westwards and increasing awareness of the social and political importance of landscape raised new design questions and addressed significant ideological issues concerning these urban spaces. The shaping and codifying of the London landscape had begun almost unconsciously with the formation of garden squares as part of the eighteenth-century building boom. Chapter two has already demonstrated the contribution James Burton made to this kind of development. Moreover, the positive reactions to Regent's Park as a public open space, to which both Burtons made a substantial contribution (seen in chapter 4), show the general appreciation of this caesura in the terraces of houses which were spreading all over London. This was a new park created out of crown land formerly used for market gardening. Like the Royal Parks the geographical significance and potential value of this land had improved considerably due to the city's growth. The Regent's Park project was in many ways an attempt to fully realize and capitalize on this potential. The Royal Parks follow on from this. Hyde Park and Green Park bordered, and halted, the development of fashionable west London but they were not part

of any speculative development. They were in a poor state and repair and much remedial work and replanting was necessary before any other improvements could be made. Burton began work on these parks in 1825. St James's Park was included in Nash's plans for the development of the area around the site of Carlton House after its demolition in 1826.¹ Nash proposed the construction of Carlton House Terrace (divided by the way leading up to Waterloo Place) and this was realised. He also produced two unexecuted designs for a further terrace on the north side of the park on the site of Marlborough House and a crescent of houses on the south side near Buckingham Gate.² St James's Park was to serve as a kind of landscaped garden with a royal focus - Buckingham Palace. This was similar to the Regent's Park plan. Burton's work in St James's Park did not begin until after 1830.

Hyde, St James's and Green Park surrounded the new royal palace and formed part of its grounds. As such they collectively constituted the kind of landscape similar to those which surrounded country houses. The landscape of country houses had already been identified as containing a variety of meanings.³ And

¹ George IV had decided to vacate Carlton House in favour of Buckingham Palace in 1825. The Act of Parliament authorising the demolition of Carlton House and placing the redevelopment of the site and surrounding area in the hands of the Commissioners of Woods was passed in 1826. 3. Geo. IV. cap. 7.

² This is discussed in J Summeron, 1980, op cit, pp 166-169.

³ At the end of the eighteenth century the interpretation and meaning of landscape was discussed at length by the Rev William Gilpin, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. Some of their works are considered later in this chapter.

although these parks were in an urban setting the landscaping issues surrounding their improvement had resonance with the wider debates about landscape in the early nineteenth century. The use of landscape design principles to shape urban space offered a subtler reading of the cityscape than that presented by the abrupt class consciousness of developments like Regent Street.

This chapter concentrates on how Decimus Burton made appropriate landscapes for a city setting and the aims and ideology behind his designs. These lands were owned by the crown and were designed and laid out to enhance the image of the monarch and the state and to provide effective communication between important public buildings. There were also philanthropic undertones in the concern to provide city dwellers with open spaces with fresh air. The role Decimus Burton played in the shaping of this sensory experience of the city is charted by a parallel study of the improvements he carried out in the parks. Together these form the basis of what is termed here the urban picturesque. The theme of the urban picturesque may appear to be a contradiction in terms. Urbanism and urban planning do not at first appear to marry well together with landscape garden design with its bucolic and arcadian associations. But the term is a valid one when referring to the landscaped parks of the early nineteenth century which were a new kind of urban space.

The eighteenth-century country house and its garden were symbols of the new society - aristocratic, leisured, landed and rich. But this did not continue into the nineteenth century without distinct amendments. The city became increasingly

important and money was generated by industry creating a new and significant middle class. But the powerful influence of the landscape still had resonance in the nineteenth-century metropolis. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the wars in Europe and the consequent difficulties for foreign travel had encouraged home tourism.⁴ This activity had developed to include the appreciation of the landscape in general rather than just landscape gardens and here advice was on hand as to how to view it.⁵ The political significance of the landscape and its ability to engender a sense of nationalism, pleasure and/or well being in the visitor did not go unnoticed by theorists and enlightenment thinkers. These principles were used in the urban plan of London to influence the subjective response of the individual to the new urban landscape. The theorists had established the symbolic function of landscape and architecture here it was used in the service of monarch, state and nation instead of an individual landowner. The educated population were already accustomed to reading the landscape. The appreciation of the 'lower orders' of these discrete urban spaces was also part of the overall plan. In positioning the landscaping of the Royal Parks within the framework of the picturesque it is important to establish how they featured on the urban map and how they determined the reading of it. Leading on from this is the question of how the

⁴ This phenomenon is discussed in L Colley, *Britons, the forging of a nation*, New Haven and London, 1992.

⁵ For a fuller discussion of the ways in which the middle and upper classes were taught to view the landscape see M Andrews, 'A Picturesque Template: The Tourists and their Guidebooks' in D Arnold (ed) *The Picturesque in late Georgian England*, London 1995

concepts of the picturesque and its correlative the beautiful helped galvanize monarch, state and nation into an appreciation of this urban plan. The works by Burton can be positioned between two events which signify the changes which took place in the attitudes towards urban landscape during this period - the beginnings of the Regent's Park project and the 1833 Committee on Public Walks.⁶

Nash's plan for the for the Regent's Park and Regent Street was passed in 1813 as 'An act for a more convenient communication from Mary-le-bone Park and the northernmost parts of the metropolis to Charing Cross and for the making of a more convenient sewage for the same'. Nash identified three main objectives: Utility to the Public, Beauty of the Metropolis and Practicability. The public here were the upper and middle class residents of the west end and the beauty of the city comprised its architecture and the picturesque landscaping of the Regent's Park. But this signals an important development in the idea of the beautification of a city through an overall concern with a city's appearance and the zoning of different classes of residents. There was an important shift in attitude within twenty years when in 1833 the Committee on Public Walks was set up. Here it is the inequalities caused by the development of all the Royal Parks which causes concern. The west and north west of London is well endowed with public open spaces for the enjoyment of the lower orders whereas elsewhere the intensive building development of the previous fifty years had covered most of the land. These two

⁶ Report from the Select Committee on Public Walks, 1833, (448) xv

events frame the bulk of Burton's work in the Royal Parks. His work reflects the changing attitudes towards urban landscapes in this twenty year span. Moreover, the important role Burton played in the emergence of the metropolitan landscape comes to the fore.

The Term 'Picturesque'

It is important first of all to clarify the meaning of the term picturesque as used here⁷ and examine how it can be useful in the discussion of the Royal Parks. Although the writings of Rev William Gilpin, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight drew together disparate strands of eighteenth-century picturesque theory they were by no means unified or indeed without their own internal contradictions.⁸ But key themes emerge in the work of Gilpin, Price and Knight which shed important light on the definition of the picturesque and its political and/or moral significance. Two strands are important here. First the definitions of beauty and the picturesque as seen in the works of Gilpin and Price and second the impact Price and Payne Knight had on political readings of the landscape which featured in debates about the picturesque in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Both these areas are relevant to the concerns to improve the Royal Parks in London.

⁷ A discussion of changing attitudes towards the meaning of the term picturesque can be found in S Copley and P Garside (eds), *The Politics of the Picturesque*, Cambridge, 1994, pp 1-12.

⁸ On this point see W Hipple, *The Beautiful, The Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-century British Aesthetic Theory*, Illinois, 1957, Section II, pp 185-284 esp.

William Gilpin's essay *On Picturesque Beauty* (1792)⁹ makes a fundamental distinction between beautiful and picturesque objects and scenes. His version of the picturesque encompasses notions of roughness and ruggedness in an uncultivated landscape where hovels, peasants and ruins have replaced temples and classical gods and goddesses as foci of the picturesque gaze which was now principally concerned with the aesthetic qualities of the landscape. By contrast beauty is defined by Gilpin - in 'real objects' (as opposed to pictures) as being smooth and neat. Significantly, his examples are elegant architecture and improved pleasure grounds. The preference for the rugged in Gilpin's discourse moves the picturesque away from the moral aesthetic prevalent in many earlier writers. This aesthetic allied the use of classical buildings and ruins in a landscape to the 'augustan' virtues of antiquity. But the notion of the landscape as having meaning survived.

Gilpin's ideas opened up the debate on defining the picturesque. This theme was taken up by Uvedale Price in his *An Essay on the Picturesque* (1794) where he aimed to distinguish the picturesque from the beautiful and the sublime. He argued that it had a separate character 'and [was] not a mere reference to painting'. Price's preferences for ruggedness did, as had been the case with Gilpin, distance the picturesque from the moral qualities of landscape identified by preceding generations. These concerns were replaced by a more direct emotional response akin to

⁹ W Gilpin, *Three Essays:- on Picturesque Beauty;- on Picturesque travel; and, on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a Poem on Landscape Paining*, London, 1792.

Edmund Burke's sensationist aesthetic¹⁰ which was based on the formal qualities of the landscape. Leading on from this Price also argued for greater freedom in garden design and spoke out against the formality of designers like Capability Brown. Price's criticism of Brown brings out one of the contradictions of picturesque discourse at this time which centred on the denial and recognition of the intrinsic message in the landscape. Although debates about the differentiation between the beautiful and the picturesque might have, on the one hand, moved attention away from reading moral meaning in the landscape, they did not, on the other hand, focus attention on the aesthetic quality of the landscape purely for its own sake. Here, paradoxically, the theorists identified distinct political associations. In his *Essay* Price attacks Brown's 'smoothing and levelling' which he despises in both gardening and political contexts. Indeed Price identifies despotism 'as the most complete leveller'. But the political signals given by Price are not always straight forward. Despite his outburst against despotism Price was not sympathetic to the French Revolution. As a landowner he felt threatened by the political sentiments of the new regime in France. This found expression in his *Thoughts on the Defence of Property* (1797). In his *Essays on the Picturesque* (1794) Price aligns good government with naturalism in landscape:¹¹

¹⁰ See E Burke, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, London, 1757. Parts II and III esp.

¹¹ Price published follow on volumes to his *Essay on the Picturesque*, 1792 as *Essays on the Picturesque*, London, 1794. This quotation appears in Volume I p 39.

‘A good landscape is that in which all the parts are free and unconstrained, but in which, though some are prominent and highly illuminated, and others in shade and retirement; some rough, and others more smooth and polished, yet they are all necessary to the beauty, energy, effect and harmony of the whole. I do not see how good government can be more exactly defined.’

In Price’s eyes Brown’s control of nature in his landscape design and denial of its essential rough and rugged qualities embodied the kind of political principles he despised.

Price’s sentiments about Brown were echoed by Richard Payne Knight who although sympathetic ^{to} the French and American revolutions saw no place for such political change in England. But Brown was defended by Humphry Repton¹² who identified the qualities of the government as being represented in Brown’s designs:

‘I cannot help seeing great affinity betwixt deducing gardening from the painter’s studies of nature, and deducing government from the opinions of man in a savage state. The neatness, simplicity, and elegance of English gardening, have acquired the approbation of the present century, as the happy medium betwixt the wildness of nature and the stiffness of art; in the same manner as the English constitution is the happy medium betwixt the liberty of savages, and the restraint of despotic government; and so long as we enjoy the benefits of these middle degrees betwixt extremes of each, let the experiments of the untried, theoretical improvement be

¹² The controversy between Price, Payne Knight and Repton over Capability Brown and other issues concerning the picturesque is discussed in W Hipple, *The Beautiful, The Sublime and The Picturesque in Eighteenth-century British Aesthetic Theory*, Illinois, 1957 , chs 15, 16 and 17 esp.

made in some other country.’¹³

The implications of these attitudes for the reading of urban landscapes come to the fore when the monarch and his government set about improving the Royal Parks. The intensity of the debates underscored the sensitivity to the meaning of landscape - its location whether urban or rural must surely have been a secondary issue. Indeed the direct association between landscape and politics made by protagonists of both sides of the argument may well have been intensified by the metropolitan context of the Royal Parks.

Not only did Burton’s work have resonance with debates about reading the landscape but it also corresponded to contemporary landscape design theorists. Most notable is J C Loudon who was a stout defender of Repton.¹⁴ The emphasis on vista and axiality in Burton’s work is reminiscent of some of Loudon’s comments in his *Encyclopedia of Gardening*, (1822).¹⁵ In this text Loudon is critical of too much irregularity which may be mistaken for nature and he praises regularity and geometric garden design.

‘but forms perfectly regular, and division completely uniform, immediately excite the belief in design, and with this belief, all the admiration which follows the

¹³ From a letter from Repton to Uvedale Price Esq London 1794 in J C Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton Esq. being his entire works on these subjects*, London, 1840, p 106.

¹⁴ This is evident in J C Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton Esq. being his entire works on these subjects*, London, 1840.

¹⁵ J C Loudon, *Encyclopedia of Gardening*, 1822, Book IV chs 1-5 ‘On the Principles of Landscape Gardening’, pp 1150-1198.

employment of skill and expence'.¹⁶

Loudon recognises that regular forms are found satisfactory as according to Leibnitz regularity appeals to reason which acknowledges the cognitive processes involved in reading a landscape.

There is no evidence to suggest Burton was directly influenced by Loudon but there is a connection to be made between Burton's designs and Loudon's advice that

'water in architectural basins, regular canals, or fountains, walks, and woods, of uniform width and perfectly straight, straight walls and hedges, are easily distinguishable from nature's management of these materials, and are highly expressive of the hand of man'.¹⁷

Burton's work is parallel to the rejection of the pure imitation of nature and the move towards a more obviously constructed landscape with a clear directional force. As such it has resonance with the ideological approach to landscape seen in the work of Repton and before him Brown. This template for the representation of political authority is also connected with the work in the Royal Parks if landscape design is considered in the context of reactions to the French Revolution. Price and Payne Knight vigorously reacted to the political upheavals across the channel. But their defence of natural landscape and, in the opposing camp, that of Repton for Brown was that the qualities of the English system of government were embodied within the principles of the design. And there had already been responses to the French situation in the planning of early nineteenth-

¹⁶ Loudon, op cit, p 1151.

¹⁷ Loudon, op cit, p 1151.

century London. This is seen in the added security afforded to Londoners in the development of what became Trafalgar and the construction of Regent Street as discussed in chapter three.¹⁸ The works in the Royal Parks were part of this continuing response of king and government to the political climate in Britain which found expression in the urban plan of London. Here, the apparent extent of royal lands was re-defined and used to underline political authority through its landscaping and relationship to government buildings.

Decimus Burton's Work in the Royal Parks

Burton's work in the Royal Parks including the monumental entranceways, modest lodges for the park keepers as well as the idea of a public open space can be examined in the light of the above. His involvement with the Royal Parks in the western corner of London drew on and developed his skills as a landscape designer and urban planner. Moreover, his role in the metropolitan improvement of London is clearly established through this work. But, Burton remained on the outside of both the Offices of Woods and Works - payments were made to him on an architect's commission basis only. He also acted as an arbiter in disputes concerning residents and developers.

Before Burton's intervention the parks were in a rather run down state with ramshackle buildings for gatekeepers and the housing of farm animals which grazed on the land. The roads and

¹⁸ For a fuller discussion see also D Arnold, 'Rationality, Safety and Power: The Street planning of later Georgian London' *The Georgian Group Journal*, London, 1995, pp 37-50 & 132-133.

fences were in a poor condition and the largely untended landscape required draining and re-planting. Burton's work included the tidying up of the parks by the creation of new roads, fences, plantations and redesigned layouts and the creation of monumental entrance ways and the re-orientation of roads. Each might seem to be a minor adjustment or improvement but the cumulative effect was substantial. Improvement of the perimeters and entrances to the parks helped to give them definition as discrete and distinctive spaces. New roads, rides and pathways through the parks directed the public through them so ordering their experience of the space and directing them to monuments planned for the parks or buildings at their perimeters.

Burton was involved at all levels of the planning and execution of these important changes. All work was subject to the king's approval and Treasury scrutiny. The full plans for the improvements to the parks were presented to the king in an audience granted to the First Commissioner of the Board of the Office of Woods on 16 February 1825.¹⁹ The king even made the suggestion that the land at the back of Piccadilly should be enclosed by an ornamental pleasure ground for which permission was granted by the Treasury on 10 May the same year.²⁰ The move to renovate and develop the parks came on 22 April 1823²¹ when the Treasury asked the Commissioners of Woods for a report on the state of the parks and proposals for

¹⁹ Cres 8/15

²⁰ Cres 8/15

²¹ Cres 8/14 f 111

improvements. The report was submitted on 28 July that year.²² This was written by Arbuthnot, Dacres Adams and Dawkins and concerned itself principally with the state of the roads walks and fences.²³ The majority of the work was overseen by Burton but John McAdam began repairs on the roads in September 1823 at an initial cost of £5000²⁴ paid out of parliamentary grant.²⁵ John Rennie was responsible for the Bridge across the Serpentine.²⁶ Burton's contribution to the whole can be assessed by examining the constituent parts.

The Significance and History of the Area

The whole area of these three Royal Parks was bound to the north by the Uxbridge Road, the west by Kensington Palace and garden, the east by Park Lane (in the case of Hyde Park) and St James's Palace and Westminster and to the south by Buckingham Palace and Pimlico. The meeting point of all three parks was Hyde Park Corner. This was already established as a significant gateway into London and is fully discussed in chapter five. Here it is important as it was the junction of the three parks. Moreover, the geographical scope of these parks shows the essential role they began to play in connecting the vital parts of the metropolis as

²² Cres 8/14 f 150-156

²³ Cres 8/14 f 150-156

²⁴ Cres 8/14 f 184

²⁵ Cres 8/14 f 193

²⁶ Cres 8/14 f 150

London moved westwards and more public buildings were constructed. One of Burton's tasks was to connect the Royal Parks with the city's existing infrastructure and provide appropriate access to these entranceways through the parks themselves.

A brief history of the parks reveals how a largely private royal precinct was transformed into a public open space. Of the parks St James's was the most centrally located and in early times included Green Park, sometimes called Upper St James's. The land had been acquired by Henry VIII to extend the grounds of York Place where he moved from Westminster in 1530. The site was originally part ^{of} St James's leper hospital; and part marshy fields watered by the Tyburn stream. The hospital was replaced by a hunting lodge and the parkland drained. James I initiated some minor developments including clearing the undergrowth. His daughter in law Queen Henrietta Maria brought the French royal gardener Andre Mollet to work at St James's²⁷ when she ~~was~~ ^{moved} ~~consigned~~ to the palace in 1637. Hunting still continued in the park, but it was becoming a place for courtly walks. Even so, it was still a private, royal demesne. During the Commonwealth 'James's Park' was exempted from the sale of crown lands. At the Restoration great works started in the royal parks. Mollet was appointed gardener in chief at St James's Palace.

After the Interregnum St James's Park was embellished with the construction of a canal 100 feet wide and 2,800 feet long aligned to the Whitehall stairs. The canal formed the middle toe of a patte d'oie. St James's remained Charles II's favourite park where he

²⁷ Later Mollet wrote *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, Paris, 1651.

paraded French fashion and swam in the canal. There are still reminders of this time as Bird Cage Walk was so called as exotic birds were kept in gilded cages; Pall Mall where he played a French game similar to croquet; Constitution Hill was made for and named after the king's long constitutional walks - not any democratic process!

In the eighteenth century royal interest in the park dwindled. Apart from some odd tinkering by Capability Brown by George III's time it was only a meadow with the canal providing water for grazing cows. But the public area was still confined to a fenced off perimeter walk. The park was still seen as a private royal land and had been a significant part of court life. In 1814 the Prince Regent (George IV) decided to open St James's Park to the public, on payment of an admission fee, as part of the celebrations for the National Jubilee.²⁸ This was the premature celebration of victory over the French²⁹. It is an important turning point in the history of the park and the relationship between city dweller and crown land. The message was clear: the invitation of the public to share in the royal gardens at a time of national celebration.³⁰ It was a

²⁸ Reference is made to the opening of the park to the public to celebrate the national jubilee in 1814 in T29/222.

²⁹ The Treaty of Paris was signed on 30th May 1814 and it was believed Napoleon had been defeated.

³⁰ There were many lavish events, some organised by George IV, to celebrate the National Jubilee. Nash was involved in the arrangements for the very extravagant private celebrations at Carlton House and he designed a Chinese bridge and pagoda for St James's Park which stood until the 1820s. Nash's work is discussed in J Summerson, 1980, *op cit*, pp 97-99. The celebrations for the National Jubilee are outlined in C Fox, (ed), *London - World City 1800-1840*, New Haven and London, 1992, pp 247-248.

clever message. St James's Park had no ceremonial function and gave the public a feeling of communality with royal land. Despite the attention given to St James's Park in 1814 it remained in a poor state of repair. Nash's re-landscaping of the park after the demolition of Carlton House in 1826 was based, in part, on a plan drawn up by Capability Brown whilst he was Royal Gardener in 1764.³¹ It comprised ornamental water, shrubberies, mounds and walks. But the role the park played in the urban fabric changed in the late 1820s and early 1830s and Burton was brought in to do further work. This is discussed below.

The history of Hyde Park is closely linked to St James's. It was called after the manor of Hyde Park became crown land, a deer park, during the reign of Henry VIII. Hunts regularly took place there and it was only in 1637 that it was first opened to the public. It was sold off during the interregnum but was recovered by the restored monarchy. Landscaping began in the early eighteenth century with the laying out of Kensington Palace garden and later the Serpentine. Rotten Row, the only remaining impressive part of the park in the early nineteenth century, like Pall Mall and Constitution Hill took its name from royal use. It is derived from route du roi, the king's road through the park. By the 1810s it was used for mock battles and military exercises and so had become a site of spectacle and display with distinctly nationalistic overtones.

³¹ J Summerson, 1980, op cit, p 169.

The Landscape Issues

The opening years of the work in the Royal Parks shows that the plans evolved slowly and were subject to amendment and change. Burton is the dominant and constant figure in these works from their inception into the 1830s. Burton's taste was distinctive. His preference appeared to be for wide allees, vistas, tree lined roads and monumental entranceways. Against the background of previous political readings of the landscape the anti-naturalistic landscape of the Royal Parks with its rational order echoed a particular view of the governmental structure of post Napoleonic Britain. The clear simple lines of his designs for the park were enhanced by screen planting to conceal any anomalies in the landscape and surrounding areas. Burton also created public pleasure grounds with ornamental planting and waters to enhance the public's experience of these urban spaces. In the case of the Chelsea Water Company which supplied water to this area of London and had a reservoir in Green Park Burton combined necessity with beauty in his designs to ameliorate the appearance of the pump and water tank. Burton received some assistance from the Buckingham Palace garden landscapers W A Nesfield, Sir William Hooker and William Aiton.³²

The most significant building in the vicinity of the parks was Buckingham Palace, remodelled by John Nash, to which the Royal Parks acted as a kind of landscape garden setting. The pivotal role the palace had in the design of the parks is not always straight

³² Cres 8/20 and Cres 8/24. Burton worked with all three later in his career: Nesfield at Grimstone, Hooker at Kew 1843/4 and Aiton at the Botanic Gardens.

forward. Nash in his evidence to the 1828 Parliamentary Enquiry claimed to know nothing of the Green Park Arch and was unaware that it was intended as an entrance into the back garden of Buckingham Palace. It must have been hard to miss!

Park Lane was one of the most significant borders of the parks. It ran along the eastern edge of Hyde Park and marked a stopping place for the spread of the fashionable west end. Moreover, it was a wide straight road with distinct possibilities for enhancement. In August 1824 Arbuthnot and Adams wrote to the Treasury suggesting the new lodges and gates should be built opposite Stanhope and Chesterfield Streets and that a new lodge and gates should be constructed at the Grosvenor Gate.³³ Not everyone saw this as an improvement as the tenants of the Earl of Grosvenor living at 345 Park Lane, Lt General W Thornton, Captain Brenton and Mr Fitzgerald objected to the siting of gates opposite the house stating instead that they should be directly at the end of Grosvenor Street with carriage gates at either side of the lodge. Moreover, they stated part of their rent included a contribution to the upkeep of the park.³⁴ The connection between the park and the city was reinforced by a request from Arbuthnot and Dawkins in June 1826 to alter the line of the road from Hyde Park to Grosvenor Square to create a neater entrance and improved

³³ Cres 8/14 f 454-5

³⁴ Cres 8/15 f 44 30th December 1824. This was agreed on 16th February the following year.

alignment between park and city.³⁵ Although Burton had produced the designs and estimates for the Stanhope and Grosvenor lodges in September 1824 it was not until January 1829 that he was instructed to produce working drawings. By then the costs were calculated at Lodges £6366 10s 4d, Architect £366 10s 10d, Clerk of Works £88 1s 6d, giving a total of £6821 2s 8d. Cottam and Williams were the contractors for erecting the gates. On 29 January 1829 the Treasury asked Burton to account for the overspend³⁶ as Arbuthnot and Adams had originally suggested a figure of around £2000.³⁷

Burton's involvement continued in Park Lane as in May of the same year he was requested to estimate the cost of raising the road at the north entrance into Grosvenor Place and determine how much of this should be paid for by the crown.³⁸ This was to ensure that the developments at Hyde Park Corner married well into the rest of the road layout at this juncture.

In a letter to the Treasury Arbuthnot and Adams remarked³⁹ that the fences on the east side of Park Lane had been maintained by the owners of the houses at their own cost. They had replaced brick walls with iron fences and this work should be continued and the design kept consistent. On the east side the line between

³⁵ Cres 8/15 f 343. The estimated cost was £1082 12s 10 1/2d.

³⁶ Cres 8/17 f 7

³⁷ Cres 8/14 f 454-5

³⁸ Cres 8/17 f 19

³⁹ Cres 8/14 f 454-5

park and city should be defined by a continuous post and chain fence running from Cumberland Gate to Hyde Park Corner.⁴⁰

Hyde Park

The initial Report ^{signed} ~~written~~ by Arbuthnot, Dacres Adams and Dawkins in 1823 concerned itself principally with the state of the roads walks and fences in Hyde Park.⁴¹ This stressed that the Commissioners had sought many opinions but the most urgent work required was drainage. They also stated that the roads needed to be repaired and resurfaced and they had commissioned a report from Mr McAdam concerning this. Their suggestions regarding the roads included the widening of the roads leading from Hyde Park Corner to Cumberland Gate, too narrow at 30 feet wide, and ~~the~~ ^{near} the Magazine, this was only 24 feet. Conversely Rotten Row was too wide and needed narrowing to a width of 70 feet. The following year Arbuthnot and Adams suggested the improvement of the road and footpath from Cumberland Gate to Kensington Gardens and the extension of the east wall of Kensington Gardens to communicate with and extension of the ride in Rotten Row via a stone bridge over the Serpentine.⁴² A drawing also exists dated 23 May 1823⁴³ (see chapter 5, plate 4) showing the plans for widened carriageways, a section of the road

⁴⁰ Cres 8/17 f 30

⁴¹ Cres 8/14 f 150-156

⁴² Cres 8/14 f 150, 26th July 1824 estimate from McAdam, £3412 7s.

⁴³ Cres 2/637

on the north side of the park, a section of the roof plan for a lodge for Hyde Park and the position of the Hyde Park Screen and Arch. It is unclear at what stage Burton was brought in but final plans and proposals were submitted on 28 September 1825. Burton had been asked to produce them by Charles Arbuthnot.⁴⁴ Hyde Park was in need of many basic repairs to its fabric and perimeter fences but the improvements went well beyond this. A letter from Arbuthnot and Adams to the Treasury dated 3 August 1824 gives an idea of the improvements the Commissioners and Burton had in mind:⁴⁵

‘With respect to the Gates and lodges it has often been suggested to us since the Public monument was placed in Hyde Park, [the Achilles statue] that it would be a great improvement if the gates of that park and those of Green park opposite were to be altered as to make this the principal entrance into Hyde Park...’

Burton responded to this with his designs for the Hyde Park Screen and the Green Park Arch (discussed in chapter five). At the same time he also produced designs for a new lodge at Cumberland Gate.⁴⁶ (plate 1)

The patchy nature of the documentary evidence gives little scope for establishing Burton’s overall vision for the park. Moreover, the various chains of command and the lively interest in the works taken by local residents clearly influenced the direction of

⁴⁴ Cres 8/15 f 200

⁴⁵ Cres 8/14 f 454-5

⁴⁶ PRO, MPE 754,. The designs for the Hyde Park Screen and Green Park Arch are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, D1299-1907 and E2334-1910 149a respectively. All three designs are dated 20th July 1825.

the improvements. But the unrealised designs for the Bayswater Road lodge (1827) give some further idea of the way in which Burton intended to punctuate the perimeter of the park with monumental entranceways.⁴⁷ (plate 2 a,b &c) The circular structure with a colonnaded facade and imposing entrance gates would have greatly enhanced the park and complemented the work at Hyde Park Corner. This together with Burton's design for the Bath Gate and Chelsea Water Co Fountain, also of 1827, (see below) indicates that Burton's vision for the parks was ambitious and that work was still in full flow in the year preceding the 1828 moratorium.

Shortly after work was halted a further entrance to Hyde Park was proposed^o by local residents to the north of the park wanting better access to the area to the south of it. In 1829 an entrance from the Uxbridge Road was proposed by Messers Capps and Oldfield.⁴⁸ They also wished to replace the wall outside their house with an iron railing. The Office of Woods reported to the Treasury on this application⁴⁹ and permission was granted to take down the wall 'subject to our architect's [Burton's] approval' and to put up an iron fence. The application for a road into the park could not yet be recommended.

⁴⁷ PRO, MPE 794, July 1827 comprises a book of designs and specifications for the Bayswater Road entrance lodge.

⁴⁸ Cres 8/17 f 52, 16th February 1829

⁴⁹ Cres 8/17 f 63, 27th February 1829

The Green Park

The Commissioners' report on the improvements to the Royal Parks says little about the intentions for the Green Park. This is perhaps because the park formed part of the back garden to Buckingham Palace and plans for this area were ongoing. The area was sometimes also included in the discussion of the plans for St James's Park. Burton's efforts focussed principally on the entrance to the park from Hyde Park Corner, (see chapter 5) although the local residents exerted some influence on the development of the landscape.

The water works in this area of London had already caused problems with the foundations of Hyde Park Screen. (see chapter 5) The Chelsea Water Company, which supplied the area, had a basin and pump situated ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ the north of Green Park near the Bath Gate entrance which fronted Piccadilly. In 1827 complaints from the residents of Piccadilly and Arlington Street, directly opposite the entrance, about the unsightly nature of the gate and pump and of the ugly appearance of the present iron main or waste pipe at the west end of the basin prompted a review of the landscaping of this area.⁵⁰

In August of the same year the Commissioners of Woods passed on the residents' complaints to the Treasury with the suggestion that the area could be made ornamental. Burton 'whose plans for the other improvements of the park have met with much approbation' had been asked to supply designs and estimates for improved entrance at Bath Gate and to render the basin and the

⁵⁰ Cres 8/16 f 69

flow of water from the iron main as ornamental as possible in unison with what had already been executed by him in part of the general plans of improvement.⁵¹

Burton had prepared a drawing for a new monumental entranceway and an appropriate lodge in lieu of the present ^{existing} unsightly building.⁵² (plate 3 a,b,c & d) He remarked that the site was conspicuous as it was in view not only of Piccadilly but also the new palace; therefore it should be of superior character.⁵³ Decimus's concern with how the design would appear from both inside and outside the park is seen in plate 3d. He planned a handsome new balustrade fence around the basin. He also proposed to remove the present stand pipe from its position in the centre of the basin and construct a fountain of marble and artificial stone upon a base of granite and Yorkshire stone. The drawing implies a loose reference to the Four Rivers Fountain in Rome. According to Burton the design would be 'practical and functional and ornamental'⁵⁴ - the hallmark of much of Burton's work in the Royal Parks and indeed the Phoenix Park, Dublin. (see chapter seven) It provided another entranceway into the Royal Parks - this time from Piccadilly. Burton's presentation drawing (plate 3 a,b,c,& d) shows the impressive view of the entrance gate from Piccadilly. Like the other entrances to the

⁵¹ Cres 8/16 f 69

⁵² PRO, MPE 1250 Design for a Fountain in Green Park, March 1827.

⁵³ Cres 8/16 f 71

⁵⁴ Cres 8/16 f 71

parks this was based on classical prototypes; here a Greek Doric temple facade. The view from the park is also shown, but this is of the fountain and water basin which was to be aligned to the entranceway. This axiality strengthened the composition. To increase the public's enjoyment the surrounding area was intended to be landscaped into a pleasure ground. It is also possible that another symbolic monument was considered as part of this scheme. A letter from Burton to his friend J W Croker⁵⁵

'I have consulted Mr Simpson the Engineer of the Chelsea Water Works Company respecting the substitution of the Pillar for the Obelisk in the Reservoir and the correct sum he estimates as the extra which would be occasioned by this, and the Square Pedestal Tank, in lieu of the circular one, would be £300.....

Unless, therefore, you are of the opinion of the Obelisk will be an unhandsome object I would be inclined to request that the endeavour to obtain favour to the Treasury the additional grant should not be made, as I understand much difficulty would be made - but on this point I beg your opinion'.

It is not clear what, if anything, Croker had to do with the scheme.⁵⁶ He was certainly interested in monuments and he had an active interest in Burton's career. It is likely that Burton was either following up an idea of Croker's or using him as a sounding board for his own thoughts. The design was approved and Burton was asked to supply an estimate for the fountain. The

⁵⁵ BUD/1/1/1

⁵⁶ Croker was MP for Yarmouth and a close friend of Burton who did much to promote his career. He had been involved with the erection of monuments to Nelson in Yarmouth and Dublin. He was part of the George IV - Marquess of Hertford set and may have secured Burton commissions through these connections. He was one of the founders of the Athenaeum club designed by Burton 1827-1830.

materials and cost underline Burton's view that this was a significant part of the landscaping and general improvements of this area.⁵⁷

Fountain constructed in marble and artificial stone or terracotta	£2,100
Base of steps and lower basin of granite including brickwork and foundation of Yorkshire stone landings	£2,800
For removal and refixing of cast iron stand pipe - including every expense in removing and relaying main pipes &tc	£350
	£5250
Incidentals 10%	£525
Total	£5775

These plans were put on hold until more funds were available. The cost of the works in the Royal Parks, especially the entranceways at Hyde Park Corner (see chapter 5) had escalated considerably, but were totally eclipsed by the expenditure on the new palace.⁵⁸ A letter from the Treasury to the Office of Woods in August of the same year⁵⁹ states that ~~although~~ the improvements are desirable but deferred the detailed consideration of the proposal until the state of funds in the department of Woods and the work already in hand are in a fit state to allow the work to be undertaken.

⁵⁷ Cres 8/16 f 71

⁵⁸ This is outlined in HKW pp 268-271 and 273-5

⁵⁹ Cres 8/16 f 73, 28th August 1827

The 1828 moratorium on all works in the parks left much unfinished. Some projects were taken up again as seen in the Stanhope and Grosvenor lodges and entrances above. But perhaps the most curious element in the evolution of the design of Green Park comes after the death of George IV. Chapter five outlines the disputed role the Green Park Arch played in the landscaping of Buckingham Palace. But the documentation concerning the design of the arch and the evidence given to the 1828 Enquiry make no mention of the construction of a road leading through the arch away from Hyde Park Corner. It appears a road was intended to ^aled_h from the arch to the garden facade of the palace but this was blocked by Nash's reservoir in the gardens. So when work was halted in 1828 the arch led nowhere. A survey by Burton of the road patterns, drains and cesspools of the park dated 1829 shows the dislocated position of the arch.⁶⁰ (plate 4) This must have appeared like a rather destitute symbol of George IV's extravagance. But the importance of the geographical location and of the park itself remained. Shortly after his accession to the throne William IV recognised this and in a second phase of work in the parks, with Burton still as the leading figure, began. This involved making better connections between Green and St James's Park and the surrounding buildings - in particular the new State Paper Office and the Palace of Westminster. In some of the documentation the two parks are elided and this reinforces the approach to these parks in the early 1830s as a homogeneous entity. In April 1831 Duncannon and Dacres Adams wrote to the

⁶⁰ PRO, MPE 769

Treasury with a report on making an entrance to Green Park through the archway at Constitution Hill. They stated the king (now William IV) had signified that the archway should be made available as an entrance into the park and was willing to give up a small portion of the ground from the new palace in St James's Park (sic Green Park) to enable the construction of a road.⁶¹ Decimus Burton had been asked to provide a plan and estimate to carry out the king's intention.⁶² Burton produced three alternatives and estimates which the commissioners included with their report.

His proposals were⁶³

Design and estimate marked A

for alteration of the road near the archway only as is necessary to form the intended entrance at the top of Constitution Hill, including the expense of altering the iron railing and so much of the king's garden wall as must be taken down and replaced amounting to

£1394 3s 1d

Design and Estimate B

including the whole of the works comprized in the plan A and extension of that design - removing the present road which is very close to the intended private apartments of the palace, to give more space to premises on that side and avoid noise, dust &c

£1993 15s 4d

Design and Estimate C

A & B and the formation of an entire new line of road from the archway to the Mall by which Mr Burton is of the

⁶¹ Cres 8/18 f 271

⁶² BUD/1/1/5

⁶³ Cres 8/18 f 271

opinion the handsomest effect would be produced

£26817s10d

Burton discussed his plans in a reported conversation with the First Commissioner regarding the adaptation of the archway according to the king's wishes which he appended to his plans. Burton had been hopeful that the reservoir would be removed. In another letter to Croker in January 1831 he stated⁶⁴ 'a report I hear has been made by an Engineer I think it is likely the reservoir there will be declared to be unnecessary'. But in all of the three alternatives the line of the road was to be south rather than north of the reservoir in the palace grounds. (plate 5)

This would give better space for the turn in the road and the approach to the arch would be less abrupt. This was to replace the present line of Constitution Hill which according to Burton formed an acute and unsightly angle ^bat its junction with the arch. The commissioners recommended A as it was not so much different from the rest but was the cheapest and quickest to execute to fulfil the king's wishes and it did not preclude the adoption of the more expensive plans b&c at a later date.

In October 1831 Burton's design A for an archway as a public entrance into Green Park was approved by the King with some of his alterations which increased the expenditure from £1394 3s 1d to £2037 13s 1d and the work was authorised on 25 October 1831.⁶⁵ In December that year Burton requested iron railings on the south side of Constitution ^{hill} and the enclosed ground and around the

⁶⁴ BUD/1/1/15, 13th January 1831

⁶⁵ Cres 8/18 f 271

reservoir 'late in Buckingham Palace Garden' at a cost of £1027⁶⁶. He argued better fencing would improve the look of the area and prevent nuisances (unspecified) taking place there. The cost of improving the fence could be mitigated to some extent by retaining the reservoir in Green Park which used to be in the gardens of Buckingham Palace to water those gardens and the roads in St James's Park when necessary. This would save money then being paid to the Chelsea Water Company.

Burton's preference for a new straight road from the reservoir to The Mall indicates his enduring vision for the landscape of the Royal Parks. They should provide areas for public recreation, convenient connections between important areas of the city and strong directional axes along which the visitor could experience this new urban landscape. The turning over of the king's private land for public enjoyment was politically symbolic and signified a new relationship between the monarch and the city.

St James's Park

It is perhaps surprising that after the attention paid to St James's Park by Nash that Burton was brought in to carry out further improvements during the reign of William IV. Like his previous works these ranged from improvements for greater public convenience to the redevelopment of landscape features and the creation of new entrances and lodges. The park connected the governmental buildings of Westminster - especially Sir John

⁶⁶ Cres 8/18 f 443

Soane's New State Paper Office⁶⁷ - with Buckingham Palace and The Mall. Burton's work enhanced these connections. This is especially significant as Buckingham Palace was an unpopular, expensive white elephant at this time being hurriedly finished by Edward Blore (1787-1879).⁶⁸ William IV did not want to live in but, probably because of its excessive cost, a new significant use was being sought for it, (including the idea that it serve as the new Palace of Westminster after the fire of 1834).

Burton's work in St James's Park began after his laying out of the road to connect the park to the Arch at Constitution Hill. Despite the extensive works carried out by Nash many areas of the park were still quite run down. This was particularly the case with the perimeter and entrances on the south side of the park which was hardly appropriate for an area of increasing national significance. Moreover, the landscaping of St James's Park did not lend itself to providing good communications across the park. As the role of the Royal Parks in the infrastructure of London developed so they were required to give appropriate access to significant sites and buildings in the urban landscape. This had not always been wanted by the local residents. In 1830 strong objections were made to Nash's plan to form an opening from Waterloo Place to St James's Park between ^{the two wings of} Carlton House

⁶⁷ Soane's New State Paper Office was constructed on Duke Street 1830-34. See HKW pp 567-570.

⁶⁸ According to H Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects*, 3rd ed, London and New Haven, 1995 pp 130 Blore's reputation as 'the cheap architect' secured him the commission to finish off Nash's work between 1832-7.

Terrace.⁶⁹

By March 1832 Burton was involved with constructing a new lodge and gates into the park at Pimlico, also referred to as the Buckingham Gate.⁷⁰ The new buildings were to create a more impressive gateway into the park adjacent to the palace itself.⁷¹ (plate. 5) The lodge was to be constructed of Portland Stone and Bath Ashlar facing.⁷² Alongside replacing the ramshackle existing entrance Burton also remodelled the general approach to the park. He realigned the railings of the park and widened and improved the adjoining parts of St James's Street.⁷³ Burton also recommended that the old enclosure walls of the yard used by soldiers south of the guardhouse should be removed and the space levelled and paved to complete the approach to the new gates.⁷⁴ These works are important in their own right as they create a prestigious entrance into this developing precinct with royal and state significance. Nash had concentrated on creating a public pleasure ground and reworking the interior of the park. Conversely Burton was involved with re-defining the perimeter

⁶⁹ Cres 2/534

⁷⁰ Cres 8/19 f 92

⁷¹ BUD/1/1/5, 13 January 1831, Burton stated that he had already been called upon to provide a design for the new entrance with one gate to Bird Cage Walk and one to the park.

⁷² Cres 8/19 f 92

⁷³ Cres 8/19 f 92

⁷⁴ Cres 8/19 f 92. The old gates and lodge should be taken down and the materials sold to help fund the work.

of the park to create a grander context; the creation of better and more impressive communication across and around the park; and the construction of fewer but more imposing entranceways. This gave clearer definition to the park and guided the visitor's experience of the park through the new roads and walkways which gave directional force to the overall plan of the area. The work became more significant when in December 1832 Burton drew up plans to connect Buckingham Gate with The Mall and ultimately the Arch at Constitution Hill. (plate 5) The line of the fence to the east of the new entrance was altered and the old gates from Constitution Hill were to be used to provide access for foot passengers, and occasionally carriages, between The Mall and Bird Cage Walk. These minor, but significant, works also included the improvement of the approach to the Arch at Constitution Hill.⁷⁵

The re-defining of the perimeter of St James's Park continued with the presentation of a memorial from the occupiers of houses fronting Bird Cage Walk between Storey's Gate and the new barracks in March 1834.⁷⁶ This had been a private road but in the summer of 1833 the king had granted permission for a new road passing through the park on the south side leading from Great George Street to Pimlico which was open till late at night during parliamentary sessions.⁷⁷ It had been necessary to extend the railings enclosing the pleasure grounds on the north side of

⁷⁵ Cres 8/19 f 319-320

⁷⁶ Cres 8/20 f 259-261

⁷⁷ Cres 8/20 f 35

Bird Cage Walk and make foot and carriage gates. This had meant the construction of new railings from Storey's Gate to the enclosure in July of that year.⁷⁸

The impetus to improve the area came from the memorialists' complaints and that the roads and walkways connected Storey's Gate to the New State Paper Office. Burton was reminded of the significance of the area when the designs were requested from him. Not only was Bird Cage Walk now open to the public but its importance was increased as it provided a link between the new palace and the splendid buildings in Grosvenor Place and the Houses of Parliament. His designs should be 'ornamental as well as useful' and he was to bear in mind the embellishments recently carried out north of the park and in the other parks in the metropolis.⁷⁹ Burton also wished to improve the general appearance of the area. The irregular step of ground had become an annoyance and the broken line of wall belonging to houses abutting the park needed to be concealed by planting and the provision of a small area in front of the houses towards the park. He submitted his plans and estimates for embellishment and improvement of the area in early 1834⁸⁰ and general design was submitted to the king by the First Commissioner and approved by March. Burton's designs were in accordance with the other improvements carried out under the Crown Estate but the whole

⁷⁸ Cres 8/20 f 35

⁷⁹ Cres 8/20 f 259-260

⁸⁰ Cres 8/20 f 259-260

work was considered too expensive to be done at once. Therefore only certain portions were to be executed immediately. Like the work on the road connecting The Mall to the Arch at Constitution Hill this was part of a larger scheme. These plans and estimates give a clear indication of the nature of the works and the costs.⁸¹

Estimates according to plan No 1

New railing foot gates and foundation on south side of Bird Cage Walk from Storey's Gate to barrack ground 1300 linear feet 8s 0d	£1390, <i>8s 0d</i>
--	---------------------

Taking up and setting back present railing and foundations on north side of Bird Cage Walk to new line from Buckingham Gate to proposed new building 2316 linear feet 6s 6d	£853, <i>6s 6d</i>
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New footpath and altering line of road lamps &c 13s	£794, <i>13s</i>
7s 6d	£3,038, <i>7s 6d</i>

New lodge according to design No 2 £900	<i>£900</i>
Piers, iron gates to garden &c	£370
	£1270 7s 6d

Total £4,308,

The Commissioners were delighted with Burton's scheme as the most essential parts of the design would meet the requirements of the memorialists⁸². Moreover it would provide 'a most handsome line of approach and communication' between the new palace

⁸¹ Cres 8/20 f 261

⁸² Cres 8/20 f 263 Burton was to act as arbiter in deciding how the respective parties should contribute to the works.

and the splendid buildings before alluded to and Hyde Park and the Public Departments in Westminster, [~~ie the New State Paper Office~~].⁸³

The significance of the Royal Parks within the city and the connections they provided is underlined by a letter from Burton to Alexander Milne in November 1834. This letter give a clear idea of the architect's aims and how the scheme had developed during the course of 1834.⁸⁴

'I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 21st September. communicating the commands of the Commissioners of HM's Woods &c that I should consider and report to them my opinion on the best mode of laying out and improving so much of the Bird Cage Walk in St James's Park, as extends from the Barracks to Storey's Gate, and so much of the Malls immediately connected therewith as extend from Storey's Gate to the new State Paper Office, and explaining that a principal object of the Board in suggesting any improvements on the Southern side of the Park would be to exclude from view the broken and unsightly line of wall belonging to the houses in that quarter, and that the Board conceive this might be effected by the erection of an iron railing at such a distance from those houses ~~as~~ would give the respective occupiers the use and all the advantages of a small planted area in front of the same and in the event of such a plan being adopted, the Board wish one to state the regulations under which these inclosures should be occupied, and the proportion in which the respective parties should contribute to the expense, and whether such contribution should be by an annual acknowledgement, or by payment in ~~one~~ sum'.

Burton had given these matters careful consideration and was

⁸³ Cres 8/20 f 261

⁸⁴ Cres 8/20 f 263-266

submitting two alternative plans.

'In preparing these Plans I have borne in mind the increasing importance of the Bird Cage Walk as a Road of great traffic since it has been thrown open to the Public for most descriptions of Carriages, and being a line of communication constantly thronged with foot passengers. This circumstance induces me to recommend that a footpath should be added on the north side of the Road, and that the present railing should be set back for that purpose.

This line of Road must continue to rise in importance as forming the direct communication between the new Palace as well as ^{the} numerous and splendid buildings near Grosvenor Place, and the Houses of Parliament - Attention therefore should be paid to the ornamental as well as the useful, so as to accord with the other sides of the Park and particularly the Mall Road and Facade on the north side:- As well as widening the Road by the addition ^{of} a footpath, means should be adopted for concealing the deformities referred to in your Letter. The line of ~~the~~ Road should be altered at the East end so as to blend better with that of Great George Street; and it will be observed, that by the latter line being thus continued into the Park, a space will be obtained for a Shrubbery or Lawn with a low facade wall to screen the back yard walls of the unsightly projecting Houses ~~of~~ Princes Court, the only course perhaps under the circumstances to be adopted in regard to the houses, whilst however the most desirable one would be to remove them altogether, or, if this cannot be effected to stucco and embellish them - the shabby Lodge and Cowhouses near Princes Court should be entirely removed, and a lodge erected in a more convenient situation for the Public.'

Burton went on to discuss both plans pointing out that the railing already erected in front of the Barracks should be continued to Storey's Gate. The two landscape alternatives supplied by Burton show different appropriations of land between the park and the

backyards of the houses. The two plans by Burton (plates 6 & 7) relate to this project but are dated after the other documentary evidence. plan No 1⁸⁵ (plate 6) shows the widening and straightening of the road and enclosure of the land in front of the houses on the south side of Bird Cage Walk. Plan No 2⁸⁶ (plate 7) shows the land to be laid out as gardens for the houses in Duke Street. Plan No 1 showed the whole of the space given over to the householders but this would leave an important corner of the park in the hands of private owners who might not all upkeep their new gardens adequately. Moreover, Burton was concerned that the unsightly backs of these houses would not be properly concealed by shrubbery. Plan No 2 was that a new wall should run parallel with and form a handsome facade towards the road leaving a 15 foot border or shrubbery to be maintained by the Commissioners' gardeners. The 8 foot high wall and the space behind could be sold to the house owners on the proviso that no structure was to be built over this height. In this way the same plantations and facade could be continued in front of the barrack yard. Burton remarked that

'The continuity of such a line of plantation and facade from Storey's Gate to Buckingham Gate would have a striking effect and with these on one side and the beautiful gardens of St James's Park on the other, the Bird Cage walk would become a handsome and convenient Avenue worthy of the use for which it is destined.'

This straight road is seen in plate 6.

Burton's plans for restructuring and redefining the park

⁸⁵ PRO, MPE 958, 6th June 1838

⁸⁶ PRO, MPE 809, 12th February, 1839

continue in his letter with a proposal for a royal entrance.

'The Piers and railings of Storeys Gate should be removed ~~and~~ a handsome Gateway of an appropriate character ~~made~~ ^{placed} there forming a Royal Entrance to the Park ~~and~~ a Buckingham Palace from the Houses of Parliament, Westminster - the Brighton Palace &c the effect of this would, exclusive of its general utility, be extremely good, viewed from the Park, but ^{none} especially on entering Town from Westminster Bridge. I beg to submit herewith a Design for a Gateway in this situation.'

Burton remarked that the foot entrances to the park were too numerous. The plan was to reduce the number of these entrances from the south and widen improve the remaining ones. The proposed work at Storey's Gate, according to Burton, rendered the entrance from Princes Court superfluous, whereas the entrance by Dartmouth House was unsatisfactory and needed improvement. Burton suggested taking down part of the Irish Office or using the vacant ground belonging ~~to~~ Christ's Hospital on the west of Dartmouth House. Burton was also involved with the improvements to The Mall and he went on to discuss these:

~~In~~ regard to the improvement of the Mall, ^{up} extended thence towards the State Paper Office. I beg to observe the Plan now submitted agrees in principle with that which I had the honor ^{to} to lay before the Commissioners in August last year, ~~and~~ which obtained the approval of His Majesty.

In both instances it is proposed to enclose a space of ^Ground for Shrubberies ~~and~~ lawns against the back yard ~~W~~alls of the Duke Street ~~H~~ouses. But my late ^Surveys made in consequence of the wider field which I am called on to take in my present ^Report have led me to suggest the propriety of altering the line of ^Railing which encloses the interior of St James's Park, extending from the Bird Cage Walk to a point opposite the Horse Guards, ^{By} which means

the approach to Storey's Gate from the northward will be opened ^{and} improved. The new State Paper Office will be exposed to ^{now} ~~now~~ advantage, the fence in question will take an easier line, ^{oppositely} and opposite will be given for planting or turfing ~~the~~ border between the ^G Garden ^{Walls} and the public Mall where at present the space only allowed ^s of their being parted by the Iron railing.⁸⁷

Burton's plans and estimates were:

Plan No 1

new railing, foot gates and foundations to south side of Bird Cage Walk from Storeys Gate to the Barrack Grounds

£1390 8s 0d

1300 linear feet

Taking and setting back present railing foundations on the north side of Bird cage Walk to the new line from Buckingham Gate to proposed new lodge

£855 6s 6d

12316 linear feet

£2245 14s 6d

Trenching and planting border 15 feet wide

£165

new footpath and altering the line of the road lamps

£794 13s

Improving the Dartmouth Steps or obtaining and forming new entrance west of Dartmouth house

£330

£3533 7s 6d

Estimate according to plan No 2

Amount from No 1

£3533 7s 6d

Facade wall with Bath Stone cornice, blocking and pier caps

£14855

if above formed with stucco and not stone (ie details) price reduced by

£350

£5018 7s 6d

New Lodge according to the design submitted August 1833

£1200

for piers and iron gates &c to garden

£350

⁸⁷ Cres 8/20 f 266

	£1570
or	
lodge according to second design gates as before	£ 900
	£370
	£1270
 New lamps gates railings across the avenue to horseguards	 £250
Refixing present railing of park garden to the new line from opposite Horse guards to the new lodge	£396 11s
Altering road, making good turf &tc	£100
	£746 11s
 500 feet of railing (some new) to enclose shrubbery at the back of Duke Street houses	 £497 4s
New gateway at Storeys Gate according to enclosed design including ornamental iron gate railings and lamps	£750

This exceptionally complicated estimate, even by Burton's finicky standards, was to allow easy apportionment of the costs of the works. All the sums quoted included architects' commission and clerk of works' salary, and could be reduced if competition amongst tradesmen 'be resorted to'. Both estimates assume that the division and railing of the land given over to the householders would be paid for by them and that they would agree to pay reasonable rents. The whole space of ground enclosed by the facade wall was around 25000 feet, a rent of 1.5 d per foot would yield £150 5s per house, up to 5% of the cost of the facade wall and railing required to enclose the ground proposed granted to the householders. The same arrangement could be made with the land behind the Duke Street houses but the irregular shape of some of the plots would vary the rents between 6d and 2d per foot. Burton's vision was certainly ambitious but the

Treasury could not sanction such an expense. Burton was to preserve the present line of the road from Storey's¹ to Pimlico Gate and the present fence around the park.⁸⁸

The matter was taken up again by the Office of Woods in August 1836 who wrote to the Treasury enclosing Burton's 1834 plan for enclosing with an iron railing and laying out in ornamental pleasure gardens the ground to the passage leading to Queen Square and from the east side of the passage to the passage leading to the Dartmouth Steps and from this passage to the lodge near Princes Court.⁸⁹ Alongside the estimate of £3195 18s Burton also proposed an arrangement which would help to fund the works. Treasury approval was sought for Burton to enter into agreements with the owners of property in Queen Square, Park Street and Great Queen Street Westminster to secure to the crown in respect of the improvements and to occupy plots of ground in front of their houses a rent of 0.5d per foot approximately £75 per annum which would yield 5% on the cost of the railings garden or other works connected with the improvements.

The principal elements of the estimate for the proposed enclosure of Bird Cage Walk dated 12 August 1836 was as follows:⁹⁰ 1346 feet wrought iron railing 6 feet high at a cost of £874 18s; 1400 feet of stone curb at £350; and a Division fence including a stone plinth at a cost of £514 10s. On top of this Burton envisaged spending £480 on laying out and planting a pleasure ground and forming new

⁸⁸ Cres 8/20 f 364

⁸⁹ Cres 8/20 f 358

⁹⁰ Cres 8/21 f 360

paths and drains. The total cost of the works including labour and architect's fees (5%) was £3195 18s. Burton had already approached the residents with the plan and all were satisfied with it and wished the Commissioners and the Treasury to know this. The Treasury granted permission for the work provided the estimate was not exceeded on 6 October 1836.⁹¹

In February of the following year Burton produced a design for a gatekeeper's lodge at Storey's Gate at the request of the Commissioners of Woods. They argued in a letter to the Treasury that the present lodge was ill placed and was not in keeping with the improved state of the park.⁹² As usual Burton provided alternatives of varying cost and complexity. Design No 3 was chosen.

Lodge of brick with stone dressing	£595
Drain to connect with sewer in Great George Street	£50
Stone piers iron gates and railings	£175
Architect's commission @ 5%	£41
	Total £861

The Treasury authorised the construction of the lodge in May of the same year and Burton's work on this part of the park drew to a close.⁹³

The decision in the early 1820s to improve the Royal Parks grew

⁹¹ Cres 8/21 f 383

⁹² Cres 8/21 f 423

⁹³ Cres 8/22 f 12

out of the desire to underline the authority of monarch and government through the improvement of the urban fabric of London. Previous chapters have demonstrated how this was achieved, or at least attempted, in other parts of the metropolis through the construction of new roads across and entrances into the city. In the Royal Parks the principles of design used elsewhere in London were applied to these landscapes. The political message encoded in the rational order of the layouts could be read by a public already sensitive to the symbolic nature of landscape as discussed by the picturesque theorists.

The question remains why these works were undertaken as in comparison to Regent Street or Hyde Park Corner they made a less obvious physical intervention in the city scape. But if it is remembered that great attention had been paid to the creation of a ceremonial entranceway at Hyde Park Corner two points emerge.

First, the question of circulation must be considered. The plans for the Royal Parks included a road leading from entrance Hyde Park Corner towards Westminster. And the plans for St James's Park included the embellishment of Bird Cage Walk, the creation of a Royal Entrance at Storey's Gate and better communication between the Mall and other routes through the park. The ^{aim} was to create a new network of connections between monuments to the monarch and nation which comprised the entrances at Hyde Park Corner and Buckingham Palace to the important governmental buildings which fringed the parks. The effect of this plan was to underline the importance to the general public of these elements of the cityscape through the landscaping. The public's enjoyment

of these spaces was enhanced further by improved access and the creation of pleasure grounds.

Second, this network of roads and rides created a possible processional route for the king to travel in a dignified way through the city. This aspect of the works in London has already been noted in the discussion of Hyde Park Corner in chapter five. The improvement of the Royal Parks is a continuation of this aim. The dislocation of this newly developed area of London from the rest of the city may offer some explanation for this aim. But there is a deeper symbolism in this kind of road network. George IV was a highly unpopular monarch and his successor William IV did not enjoy the public's admiration for long. The establishing of ritual and the appearance of tradition and the underlining of authority have been identified as ways in which the British monarchy defended its position.⁹⁴ A processional route contextualised within a landscape which underscored the nature of the government and the presence of traditional institutions can be viewed as an attempt to emphasize the king's authority. These ideas were also expressed by architects other than Burton. For instance Sir John Soane presented numerous plans at the Royal Academy exhibitions and in his *Designs for Public and Private Buildings* which relate to the improvement of this area of London and the establishing of a route from Buckingham Palace to Whitehall via a planned monument to the Duke of York.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ On this point see D Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c 1820-1977' in E Hobsbawn and T Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, pp 101-164.

⁹⁵ See J Soane, *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, London, 1828.

Burton's interventions in the landscape were more subtle than Soane's paper architecture. He gave directional focus to the parks through the realigning of the roads and walkways. The re-defining of perimeters emphasised the parks' place in the urban fabric. The monumental entranceways made them appear to be special precincts through which the visitor's experience was shaped by Burton's re-structuring of the roads and walks. The parks were also a complement to the new buildings - especially the state offices and the new royal palace which stood in or around them.

Although the Royal Parks did little to enhance the image of George IV or his successor the advantages they gave to the general population was noted. The improved public open spaces of the Royal Parks had succeeded in providing enjoyment and pleasure to visitors of all classes. The importance of public open spaces was investigated by the select Committee on Public Walks of 1833. The report summarized many of the changes which had taken place in the London landscape in the previous fifty years. Firstly, the population of the city had increased dramatically: in 1750, 676,250; in 1800, 900,000 and in 1833, 1,500,000 - this figure included the ever-expanding suburbs. Secondly, the report confirmed that over the preceding fifty years there had been a building boom and increase in property values that had led to many open spaces being enclosed. It also summarized the aims and achievements of the development of the Royal Parks and their status within the urban fabric.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ 1833 Committee on Public Walks, p 5.

‘St James’s Park, Green Park and Hyde Park...afford to the inhabitants of this Western portion of the Metropolis inestimable advantages as Public Walks. The two latter Parks are open to all classes. St James’s Park has lately been planted and improved with great taste, and the interior is now opened, as well Kensington gardens, to all persons well-behaved and properly dressed. Your Committee remark with pleasure the advantage they afford to the Public, as also the great facility of approach to this beautiful Park, caused by opening a handsome stone footway from the bottom of Regent-street: for this accommodation it is understood the Public are indebted to His present Majesty.’

But the emphasis on the significance of urban landscapes has subtly changed. Public access to these open spaces remained of paramount importance. The links between open land, fresh air and health came to the fore whilst the ‘royal emphasis’ diminished.

The beneficial effects and feeling of well being experienced by the populace though the parks should, according to the Committee, be spread more evenly across London. Land owned either by the crown or the Duchy of Cornwall was sought for public open spaces across London and other large cities. The benefits of these landscapes and the feeling of state generosity and national pride they engendered in the populace ~~were~~ considered a useful tool.⁹⁷ Alongside public walks the committee recommended places for exercise and recreation for the humbler classes. Without this ‘facility for regulated amusement...great mischief must arise’. Open places reserved for amusement would wean the humbler classes from drink, dog fights and boxing.

⁹⁷ 1833 Committee on Public Walks, p 8.

Relaxation in rich and poor must be a spring to industry. A small admission charge to such areas was even suggested to defray costs in contrast to the huge amount of public funds used in the works in the Royal Parks.

Conclusion

In many ways the debates around public open spaces in the metropolis have come full circle to the views expressed about the Foundling Hospital in chapter two. The Royal Parks demonstrate Decimus Burton's subtle fine tuning of the urban landscape to connect with or emphasize buildings or monuments of national significance. This episode also underlines the Burtons' continuing involvement with the shaping of the metropolis. The self conscious way in which this was achieved here through dialogue between the architect, the Office of Woods and the public indicates a growing awareness of the potency of the urban landscape which was perhaps crystallised in the 1833 Committee on Public Walks.

Decimus's achievement in the Royal Parks brought him one further high profile commission from the state: the remodelling and embellishment of the Phoenix Park in Dublin. Here the images of government and authority encoded in the London landscapes were adapted to make a subtle but important statement of colonial rule.

Chapter 7

Decimus Burton's Work in the Phoenix Park, Dublin

The Phoenix Park lies to the northwest of the centre of Dublin standing, in the nineteenth century, between the city and the countryside beyond. The picture which emerges of the Phoenix Park prior to its improvement is of an area with hilly aspects, boggy land, ramshackle buildings, uncontrolled grazing and subject to frequent trespass through the inadequate provision of a perimeter wall and insecure gateways. (plate 1) Despite these somewhat inhospitable surroundings the Vice Regal Lodge - the official residence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland - the Chief Secretary's and the Under Secretary's Lodge were all situated in the park each within its own private demesne concealed by overgrown planting from public view. Alongside these the Mountjoy Barracks, Hibernian Military School and the Magazine and Star Forts were all to be found within the Phoenix Park - and the Phoenix Pillar the symbol of the park itself. By the mid century the park had been transformed into an attractive landscaped space with public areas and private but now visible official residences. (plate 2) Most of the work was carried out by Decimus Burton. This included a clear definition of the perimeter of the park which was punctuated with new entrance gates and lodges. The landscape was drained, remodelled and replanted and public pleasure grounds created. New directional axes through

the park were established in the form of the Straight Avenue and other new roads, rides and walkways. The remodelling or construction of new official residences and military buildings lay outside Burton's remit.

The scale and significance of the works in the Phoenix Park carried out between 1832-49 is comparable to those carried out in the Royal Parks in London earlier in the century. There is no doubt that the public open space of these urban parks took on a new significance in the nineteenth century as cities grew in size and political importance. The work in the Royal Parks in London has been shown to be one way in which the state tried to shape this urban environment. This can also be identified as one of the motives behind the works in Dublin which have remained virtually uncharted.¹ This chapter constructs a chronological framework for the improvement of the park. It establishes Burton's role in the works and his relationship to the other figures involved in their implementation and execution, many of whom were key figures in contemporary politics and had been involved in the works in the Royal Parks in London.² And the

¹ The work in the Phoenix Park was discussed in an exhibition about Burton at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham in 1988. A booklet accompanied the exhibition John McCullen and Brian Arnold Decimus Burton Exhibition, (Dublin 1988). The main textual source for this was the Twenty-Second Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesties Woods, Forests and Land Revenues 1845. (Hereafter 1845 Report)

² Recently a substantial amount of documentary material has become available in the National Archives of Ireland in the Office of Public Works Collection. The collection of letters, plans and designs for the works carried out in the park between 1832-49 shed new light on the nature of the improvements and the role played by Decimus Burton and his relationship to other parties also employed in the improvements to the Park. The material comprises six boxes of letters and six folders of drawings. The

redesigning of the Phoenix Park is positioned within the context of Anglo-Irish relations at that time.

It is important first of all to establish the context for the move to carry out improvements in the Phoenix Park and who was responsible for them. It might at first appear curious that after an expensive decade of work in London the British government would wish to embark on a series of improvements to the urban fabric of Dublin. But George IV's vision for London had succeeded to some extent in turning London from a 'huddle of bricks with a steeped skyline' into a world city. The Royal Parks were part of this scheme and their appearance and commodity were improved to make them accessible to the public for their enjoyment and recreation. The parks also helped to underline the state's authority through their landscaping which drew attention to monuments and public buildings (see chapters 5 and 6). This chapter explores the role played by the Phoenix Park in the political and geographical map of a colonial city and explores how this was achieved partly through the reform of the Irish Board of Works and the bringing in of a tried and tested landscape designer and architect: Decimus Burton.

letters are as yet uncatalogued. A temporary reference of OPW5/Decimus Burton/Phoenix Park has been given to these. (Hereafter OPW). A statement of my preliminary findings appeared as D Arnold, 'Decimus Burton's Work in the Phoenix Park, 1832-49', *The Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol XXXVII, 1995, Dublin, pp 57-75.

The Phoenix Park as a Symbol of British Greatness and Colonial Rule

Few of the projects to celebrate the victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo planned for London were successfully completed. In Dublin, however, monuments were erected to both Nelson and Wellington. William Wilkins's Nelson Column had been constructed in the centre of Dublin in 1808³ and in 1814 the Wellington Fund had been opened with the idea that there should also be a monument to the Duke in the city. Wellington had long standing connections with Ireland. He was born there but perhaps more significantly he was made the country's Chief Secretary ~~a post he relinquished in 1808 when he was appointed~~ ^{Army} ~~Commander of the Peninsula~~ ^{up temporarily}. The position was taken by a close friend of both the Duke and Decimus Burton, John Wilson Croker (1780-1857) ^{JUNE-NOVEMBER 1808.} Croker did much to promote the idea of a Wellington monument in Dublin and had already been involved with the erection of Wilkins's Nelson Column in the city.⁴

The debates around the kind of monument that should be erected to the Duke shed light on the notion of national celebration and the 'adventus augusti' discussed in chapter five. Moreover, the enduring feeling of competition with France also comes to the fore. Croker's views on the subject of monuments are clearly set out in a letter to the Secretary of the Dublin Wellington Fund dated 7 October 1814.

³ R W Liscombe, *William Wilkins*, Cambridge, 1980, pp 57-58.

⁴ Croker's passion for monuments is also evident in his involvement with the Nelson column in Great Yarmouth, 1815. Croker was MP for Yarmouth. ^{low} William Wilkins was the architect. See Liscombe, op cit, pp 114-117.

I quite agree with the Committee in its predilection for a pillar. I was one of the pillarists in the Nelson case and my only wish ~~for~~ our column, ^{had been} ~~to be~~ one of more magnificent dimensions. Great height is the cheapest way and one of the most certain of obtaining sublimity. Ten thousand pounds will ^{build} ~~bring~~ you the highest column in the world, and will produce an astonishing effect; fifty thousand pounds would ^{not} serve to erect an arch, and when it was erected you would have it ^{doubt} ~~dated~~..... therefore, I exhort you to keep ^{to} the column ^{or} form. Whatever you do be at least sure to make it stupendously high; let it be of all the columns in the world the most lofty.

Nelson's is ^h202, Trajan's about 150, Antonius' ^h122 or, as some have it 180, Buonaparte's in the Place Vendôme is, I think, near 200. I wish therefore that you should not fall short of 250, and I should prefer to have it exactly from the first layer ^{of} the base ^{to the} ~~of~~ crown of the statue ^{feet} 300.⁵

The plans for the Wellington monument in Dublin were given fresh impetus by the victory at Waterloo. James Gandon offered two designs for triumphal arches in 1815-16. The site chosen for the monument was the Phoenix Park. Appropriately the ^{Chief} Secretary of ~~State~~ and his chief officers lived there and like Hyde Park in London it was the scene of military exercises. However, the Dublin Committee decided on a pillar to be designed by Robert Smirke (1781-1867) which was erected in the Phoenix Park. There are formal and ideological similarities in placing such a monument in the Royal Parks in London and Dublin. But the meaning of the Wellington column in the Phoenix Park is subtly different. It is a statement of national pride but it is made within a colonial context.

⁵ B Pool (ed), *The Croker Papers 1808-1857*, London, 1967, pp 21-22.

ppure, about
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The Political Backdrop to the Phoenix Park as a Symbol of Colonial Rule

The works in the Phoenix Park can be set in the context of the turbulent Anglo-Irish relations during the opening years of the nineteenth century.⁶ The principal area of interest here can be identified as the 1798 Act of Union and its impact on the governmental structure of the province as well as the political and religious climate. The 1798 rebellion precipitated the abolition of the Irish Parliament, or College Green Assembly, and the transfer of the government to London, although the Irish Exchequer was not amalgamated with the rest of Britain until 1816.⁷ The dissolution of the College Green Assembly meant that Ireland was now subsumed into British political and cultural identity. The nature of Ireland's colonial dependency changed as a metropolitan system of government was established. Although this was nominally run from Dublin it was clearly rooted in London. The consequences for the government and urban culture in Ireland were manifold and sometimes interlinked. Moreover, a distinctly Protestant culture emerged in the decades after the Union which became a driving force in urban politics. The governmental structure in Ireland retained some facets of pre-Union times. The Viceroy, also known[^] as the Lord Lieutenant, and his 'court' remained in place in Dublin despite the transfer of power to London. The Chief Secretary maintained a powerful

⁶ For a detailed discussion of Anglo-Irish politics at this time see WE Vaughan (ed) *A New History of Ireland*, Vol V, 'Ireland Under the Union I 1801-1870'. Oxford 1989.

⁷ For a fuller discussion see R F Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, Harmondsworth, 1988, p 282 ff.

role - often augmented by good connections with the British cabinet.⁸ The two posts did not always work well together. The Chief Secretary and his Under Secretary were more politically pro-active and often used patronage of various kinds for their own political ends. Part of the development of a tighter governmental structure in Ireland in the post-Union period was state involvement with improvements in education, public health and public works.⁹ Here there was more decisive and extensive intervention than in mainland Britain which helped ensure the implementation of a metropolitan system of rule. The Phoenix Park was a site of both geographical and political importance in Dublin and can be seen as a focal point of the interaction between colonial rule and urban planning.

By 1828 the political and religious tensions in Ireland had escalated considerably. The Catholic question was becoming more of an issue as Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) their leader had been elected to Parliament in 1828 in a by-election in County Clare. Roman Catholics were not allowed to sit in the House of Commons but any attempt to bar O'Connell from doing so would be likely to strike up rebellion in Ireland. The alternative solution of calling a general election would only intensify the problem as it was likely all of Ireland except Ulster would return Roman Catholic members of parliament.

The Duke of Wellington, by now Prime Minister, decided to admit Catholics to parliament on a temporary basis on condition of

⁸ Foster, op cit, p 289.

⁹ Foster, op cit, p 290.

them taking an oath of loyalty. Further, the Catholic priesthood was to be licensed and paid for by the government in an attempt to control their behaviour. Opinion had been moving towards Catholic emancipation. The House of Commons had voted in favour of it in 1821 and 1825. But the House of Lords had rejected it each time. The problem in 1828 focussed on Robert Peel the leader of the House of Commons and Home Secretary who was responsible for Ireland. He was known as Orange Peel and therefore hardly likely to be in favour of any tolerance of the Catholics. But Wellington decided in the summer of 1828 that emancipation must be granted by the autumn and he worked out proposals for this.

The terms offered by Wellington were that Catholic priests should operate under royal licence. 40 shilling freeholders (ie most of the Catholic peasantry) should be disenfranchised and only more substantial freeholders should be allowed to vote. Certain high offices - the Lord Chancellor, First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland all controlled a high degree of patronage in the Anglican church. These offices should remain in Protestant and therefore crown hands. Finally, the Catholic Association - O'Connell's political machine in Ireland should be forbidden.

In 1829 the Act of Catholic Emancipation was passed. Charles Arbuthnot had played an important role in ensuring the necessary support of the Whig opposition especially Duncannon and Earl ^{de Talley} Grey. This was quickly followed by the enfranchisement of the middle classes in the 1832 Reform Act. The residency qualification of voters in this act made the

Protestant bourgeoisie a significant force in Irish urban politics. These social, religious and political changes highlighted the need for a tight metropolitan government in Ireland. It needed to be both effective and have an appropriate symbolic presence in the cityscape. And it is against this background that the work in the Phoenix Park should be considered.

The Reform of the Irish Board of Works

The escalating troubles in Ireland in the 1820s coincided with attempts to tighten control in the ^{island} ~~province~~ - in particular the Irish Board of Works. Attention to the activities of the Board coincided with the 1828 moratorium which had halted most of the major work being carried out in London by the Offices of Woods and Works. In the same year Lord Lowther was made First Commissioner of the Office of Woods and Forests. Up until this point little attention had been paid to crown lands in Ireland. But Lowther made enquiries into the Phoenix Park wishing to be informed on 'the extent, the income; the pasturage; number and names of lodges; whether any other ground is attached to the office of Lord Lieutenant; what extent of ground is attached to [the residences of] the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary'.¹⁰ The enquiry was carried out by Lord Palmerston's agents in Leinster Street and sent back to Lowther via Mr Robinson, Secretary to the Board of Works in Ireland which was then responsible for the Phoenix Park. This enquiry may not have been totally innocent as there were strong suspicions of mismanagement and financial

¹⁰ OPW Letter from the Mr Philipps, Office of Woods to Mr James Neale 19th September 1828.

irregularities on the part of the Irish Board of Works. And in 1829 the Duke of Wellington launched an enquiry into the Irish Board of Works's activities which led to significant changes in the management of the Phoenix Park. Given the political situation, the symbolic function of the park and the nature of its residents the attention paid to the Phoenix Park can at least be termed timely. The death of George IV in 1830 facilitated this reorganisation and financial restructuring which affected all aspects of public works in Britain as well as Ireland. The English Offices of Woods and Works were merged in 1832.¹¹ In Ireland the Board of Public Works was established even earlier in 1831 to replace the Board of Works and the Phoenix Park was placed in its care. But the government changed its mind quite quickly about who should have responsibility for the park. A report of the Commissioners of Woods of 1835 explains that the care of the park was divided between the Office of Public Works and the Office of Woods.¹² This division took place on midsummer's eve 1834. The new arrangement placed the care of the enclosed grounds and buildings associated with the Lord Lieutenant and others officers of state in the care of the Board of Public Works. All remaining areas of the park, to which the general public were admitted, were under the care of the Office of Woods. It is these latter areas where the greatest number of improvements

¹¹ On this point see M.H. Port, 'Retrenchment and Reform: the Office of Woods and Works' in HKW pp 179-207.

¹² Report of the Commissioners of Woods, &c., to the Lords of the Treasury, suggesting Improvements in the Phoenix Park, Dublin; and requesting Authority to expend £.15,000 in carrying the same into execution. (Hereafter 1835 *Report*.)

were planned. One of the main reasons for this shift in policy appears to be funding. The improvements of the parks were to be paid for out of the Land Revenues Account for Ireland which was increasing at a fair rate at this time and not out of a parliamentary grant. This pattern of funding and management followed that of the Royal Parks in London and obviated the problem of using public funds for such work. Moreover, the reform of the Irish Board of Works was part of the policy of economic development in Ireland. The Board's remit was wide ranging including government funded improvements to roads and railways which would strengthen economic activity and growth.¹³ The division of the care of the Phoenix Park was symbolic of the governmental structure of Ireland. On the one hand there was a system administered, albeit nominally, from Dublin castle by offices and bodies established in pre-Union days - in this case the Chief and Under Secretaries and the newly reformed Board of Public Works. On the other hand there were London based authorities - here the Office of Woods whose concern was to improve the quality of the urban fabric.

The 1832 and 1834 Reports

It is against this background of social and political upheaval and reorganisation of the administration of crown lands in Ireland that a report on the state of the Phoenix Park and recommendations for improvements was commissioned from

¹³ For instance in 1835 a Commission on Railways was set up for Ireland. Decimus Burton was also involved with the construction of the Dublin to Howth road as mentioned later in this chapter.

Decimus Burton in August 1832. This indicates a strong commitment to the works and a sense that they should be implemented as quickly as possible. There are also distinct similarities to the works in the Royal Parks in London. Burton quickly followed up his initial report with a further survey of the state of the Phoenix Park in September 1834. Here he outlined the work that had already been carried out and further recommendations including those made in his 1832 report.¹⁴ Burton's remarks written after a visit to Dublin in August 1834 give a clear idea of his overall vision for the park. Work had progressed quite quickly as he stated that since August 1832 the appearance of the park had been greatly improved by the removal of a large part of the stone wall on the south east side of the Under Secretary's demesne and replacement with a sunk wall and turfed slope. The thinning out of the trees in this area had also been beneficial. The enclosure wall of the former garden belonging to the Hibernian School had also been removed. This again had helped to open up the views across the park. A new road had been made between the Avenue and Knockmaroon Gate which was proving very convenient for the public. Two new dwellings had been constructed between the Ashtown and Castleknock Gates for the park keeper and foreman.¹⁵ The lodge of the Island Bridge Gates improved in the cottage ornée style and

¹⁴ This report dated 27th September 1834 was printed as an appendix to the Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1845. Henceforth Burton's 1834 report.

¹⁵ In June 1833 Gosset had written to the Board of Works asking for a Bailiff's House. (National Archives of Ireland, Chief Secretary's Office Letter Books. Hereafter CSOLB) ex info. Dr F. O'Dwyer.

the landscaping of that area improved as well as the road leading to the Phoenix from that entrance.

Burton continued with a list of which works he considered would provide most employment for labourers during the ensuing winter and provide most immediate benefit for the public. These works were mostly to do with levelling ground and removal of overgrown planting throughout the park. Also, the high walls around the barracks and entrenchments around the Star Fort should be replaced with sunken walls. And the road leading to the zoological gardens should be widened and improved.

Burton's attention then turned to the architectural features of the park which he found very dismal. He stated

‘The lodges and gates throughout the park are of a mean character, and for the most part, the former are far larger than is necessary, either for the purpose they are intended for, or for appearance. They should be gradually rebuilt in an appropriate style of architecture, and no walled gardens, cowhouses or outbuildings allowed to be attached to them.’¹⁶

He suggested the moving of the Chapelizod Gate lodge to align with the Hibernian Military School. He singled out Knockmaroon, Ashtown and Castleknock Gates as being particularly ugly and wanted the Cabragh Gate to be moved to a spot opposite the Avenue leading to the Phoenix. Burton's advice was to produce buildings of

‘solid yet handsome character, and even if required to be simple and void of embellishment, yet good proportions should be studied. The materials of which they are composed should be durable in their nature, and the sites

¹⁶ Burton's 1834 report.

for them, therefore should be selected with more than usual care, with a view both to the purposes for which the buildings are intended, and the effect they will have on the general landscape'.¹⁷

Burton also observed that the boundary wall of the park needed to be repaired to prevent trespassers. He also remarked

'...as a means of preventing trespass and at the same time of increasing the beauty of the park, an irregular belt of plantation should by degrees, be formed, having a deep ditch next [to] the wall, and another next [to] the park. These ditches would, at the same time, be extremely serviceable in draining the land, which is in the most parts of a damp and spongy nature.'¹⁸

There was general concern about the roads and providing convenient access through the park for the public. Several new roads were proposed along with the widening of existing ones taking, where necessary small tranches of land from the grounds of the official residences. The most impressive proposal for the road system was the new Straight Avenue which Burton suggested should be formed gradually as work in the park progressed. Burton was also concerned that the Vice Regal, Chief and Under Secretaries' demesnes should be visible. He suggested that the high fences surrounding them be removed.

Burton was also aware that the unfinished Wellington monument was situated in the park near the Dublin Gate. Although he lamented that the monument was unfinished Burton suggested that the whole area be replanted and the Dublin Gates redesigned so that 'the *tout ensemble* would have a spacious and noble

¹⁷ Burton's 1834 report.

¹⁸ Burton's 1834 report.

effect.’¹⁹

Burton’s vision was in accord with the Office of Woods’s aim was to ‘render the park more attractive and better suited to those objects [lodges, gates, drives &tc] than it was represented to be;’. This it was stated followed the wishes of Charles II who had purchased the Phoenix Park ‘expressly with the view of consulting the taste, and promoting the health and enjoyment of the people.’²⁰

But this went beyond a simple desire to beautify the only park in Dublin. Perhaps as might be expected there was a strong political motivation behind the instigation of such works. The recent works in the Royal Parks in London were intended to underline governmental authority and be of benefit to the public. (see chapter 6) Likewise, the government felt this should be extended to ‘the inhabitants of Dublin [who] are justified in their expectation they entertain that the favour and liberality of the Government will not be withheld of the only park attached to their capital’.²¹ This ‘liberality’ is evident in the careful use of improved landscape and increased public access. Moreover, the relationship between the London parks and the Phoenix Park went beyond the uniformity of their landscaping and architectural improvements and their architect. The outfits worn by the gatekeepers which it was decided early on in the works should be the same as those worn in St James’s Park and the

¹⁹ Burton’s 1834 report.

²⁰ 1835 *Report*

²¹ 1835 *Report*

Regent's Park, demonstrating the importance of the image of the parks and the strong connection between the work in the two cities. In this way the use of the design principles of the London parks can be seen as one way in which authority was exported to a colonial capital.

The work in the Phoenix Park also offered much needed employment to the working classes. It was the Office of Woods' intention 'to distribute [the work] over a space of four or five years, so that they may be made to afford the most seasonal and beneficial relief to the labouring populace of Dublin without affecting the ordinary rate of wages.'²² But in comparison to the works in London the overall sums spent were modest so the impact of this 'generosity' on the working classes cannot have been widespread. The Commissioners of Woods asked for yearly instalments from the Irish Land Revenues of not more than £4000 each year and a total estimate of £15000 for the works. But the Commissioners were successful in their wish to encourage use of the park causing, Burton to remark 'since the improvements in the appearance and police in the park have been effected the public generally are accustomed to frequent it in far greater numbers than formerly - and that the difference in this respect is more particularly observable in regard to the upper classes.'²³

²² 1835 Report

²³ OPW Burton to the Commissioners of Woods 15th June 1842.

Decimus Burton's Appointment

The choice of Decimus Burton as executant architect and overseer of these works does with the benefit of hindsight seem an obvious and logical one. Charles Arbuthnot, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, on recommending Burton as architect and overseer of the works in the Hyde, St James's and Green Parks stated his reason for doing so was 'his [Burton's] work had been met with so much general approbation'. Arbuthnot was a close friend of the Duke of Wellington who moved him to the Duchy of Lancaster when he became prime minister in 1828. Lord Lowther replaced Arbuthnot at the Office of Woods. Alongside Arbuthnot, many of the key figures involved with the work in the Phoenix Park - including Croker, Duncannon and later Earl de Grey - had played important roles in the political developments in Ireland discussed earlier in this chapter.

Burton's friend J W Croker remained keenly interested in Irish affairs and was on good terms with the Duke of Wellington. Croker was also on good terms with Lord Lowther and had already shown his willingness to recommend Burton by the role he played in Burton's appointment as architect of the Athenaeum Club in London. Moreover, Burton was no stranger to the city. He was already engaged in laying out the grounds of the Dublin Zoological Society²⁴ and some elements of the landscaping of the

²⁴ Burton had been first approached by the Dublin Zoological Society in August 1830 about a suitable layout for their gardens. Burton submitted his plan and report on 27th October 1832. A transcript of his report exists in Trinity College Library (Zoological Society Minute Book May 1830 - July 1840 10608/2/1 TCD). I am most grateful to Dr F. O'Dwyer for this reference and to Dr S. O'Reilly for transcribing the document for me.

park did overlap with his work for the zoo.²⁵ The commissioners found Burton to be the obvious choice and

‘official instructions to that effect [ie the improvements] were issued to Mr Decimus Burton, who had previously been employed on a similar service in the Parks of the Metropolis, and who had designed and superintended the execution of the new lodges and other recent improvements there.’²⁶

The early stages of Burton’s involvement in the park are not however clear cut as the decision to improve the Phoenix Park coincided with the establishing of the Board of Public Works. The three year gap between the formation of the latter and the decision to divide the care of the Phoenix Park between it and the Office of Woods led to an overlap of works instigated and personnel involved

²⁵ Burton envisaged that the boundary line between the zoological gardens and the Phoenix Park could be redrawn around the ornamental water to allow a more picturesque effect (Zoological Society Minute Book May 1830 - July 1840 10608/2/1 TCD). The usefulness of Burton’s connection with the Zoological Society ~~was~~ manifested itself early on in the project. In a letter to Burton dated 7th November 1834 (OPW) James Neale asked for a plan of the way in which Burton planned to widen the causeway leading to the Zoological Gardens and estimates for executing the plan. On 22nd August of the following year Burton wrote to the Commissioners of Woods from the Quit Rents Office in Dublin (OPW) explaining that he had arranged with the Zoological Society for the removal of a small cottage on the corner of the Society’s plot and arranged a pension of £10 per annum from the society for the occupant Mrs Rourke, the underkeeper’s widow. This had been done in order that the improvements of this area of the park could be carried out more effectively as the enclosure wall entrance to the zoo could be removed and the line set back and an iron railing substituted for a certain distance and a sunk fence for the remainder. Mr Hamilton of the Zoological Society agreed to the proposal. He stated however that the society could not pay anything towards the work as they had only recently erected the wall and the Widow’s pension was to be met by them..The work was estimated to cost £175. On 6 November 1835 Alexander Milne of the Office of Woods wrote to Burton (OPW) enclosing a letter from the Dublin Zoological Society proposing that the plan for the improvements in the park should include a new iron railing and other alterations to the society’s lodge asking Burton for his opinion on the proposals.

²⁶ 1835 Report

in the project. The documentary evidence is not conclusive but it is likely that Burton was gradually drawn into the project in the years 1832-4. During this period the plans were drawn up, the financial structure established and the need for a superintendent architect became obvious. This does not mean to say that the imperative for the works in the park languished at this time. A grant of £1500 was made for immediate works to be carried out on 13th May 1833 in response to Burton's report of the previous year. This was made to the Board of Public Works for works 'it was then judged expedient to execute forthwith'.

The make-up and remit of the Board of Public Works is also relevant here. Sir John Fox Burgoyne was the first chairman of the Board. He had formerly commanded the engineering works at Portsmouth. With him came his assistant at Portsmouth - Jacob Owen. Owen was an engineer and had carried out some architectural works. His title was Engineer and architect to the Board of Public Works. Owen replaced William Johnstone Murray but Murray retained work on lunatic asylums and prisons so Owen's role was not clear. The 1831 act gave the Board responsibility for inland navigation, and management of funds and loans for public works which was part of the plan to improve the infrastructure of Ireland and its economy. The Phoenix Park also came within the Board's remit and Owen's engineering experience must have stood him in good stead for much of the drainage and irrigation works which needed to be carried out. More questionable is Owen's ability to design lodges and produce a restructured landscape in keeping with those seen in the London parks. It seems, on the surface a very simple case. Murray on handing over his responsibilities to Owen wrote to Sir William

Gosset, Under Secretary for Ireland and Keeper of the Phoenix Park, stating that the Board would face difficulties appointing an engineer to do an architect's job. There may be an air of jealousy here, especially as the division between the different elements of the building profession were very blurred at this time. Nevertheless, Burton, at the behest of the Commissioners of Woods, was brought in to produce a report on the improvement of the Phoenix Park and Gosset supplied the Office of Woods with accounts and other details of the Phoenix Park as requested.²⁷ Burton presented his report on 31st January 1833 which had been commissioned the previous August.

In July 1834 Gosset wrote to James Neale of the Office of Woods:

'I am quite sure that Mr Wilkie [the park bailiff] with a little of my aid, will be able to manage the work in the Park very creditably: but I think it very desirable that Mr Decimus Burton should come over, not only for the purpose of reconsidering some of the suggested improvements but also for marking out on the ground lines of the new roads, plantations &c which appears highly necessary for you applying those plans to the ground, objections present themselves which had not before been perceived.'²⁸

It is likely that Burton's role was formalized alongside the rearrangement of the finances and responsibility for the different areas of the park in mid 1834. The arrangement gave Burton a great deal of financial autonomy and control over the design of new buildings and landscaping of the park. He was

²⁷ OPW Gosset to the Commissioners of Woods 17th December 1832.

²⁸ OPW 2 July 1834 William Gosset to James Neale, Office of Woods.

answerable to the Office of Woods on both counts. Burton's financial autonomy proved worrisome to the Commissioners. Two years later in an attempt to remedy this Alexander Milne made further adjustments in the way the work was paid for. From 1834-6 Burton was paid on account for works carried out under his direction. He in turn had accounts with Mr Wilkie the Bailiff of the park and Burton's own Clerk of Works. Milne stated that he found it 'objectionable in principle that an architect in charge of public works should also be an accountant to the Public in respect thereof'. To remedy this Milne ordered that except for small advances made to the Clerk of Works to enable him to pay the daily workers Burton must now limit future applications for advances. Instead certified bills must be sent to the Office of Woods for direct payment to the creditor and Burton should close his accounts with Mr Wilkie and the Clerk of Works.²⁹ As a consequence of this the accounts were subject to rigorous scrutiny throughout the works. Burton frequently received letters from the Office of Woods pointing out the minutest errors. The instigation of some of Burton's plans required tact and diplomacy to ensure their execution. These focused principally on the opening of the park for public enjoyment at some cost to the accommodation of the Lord Lieutenant and the re-landscaping of the areas around the official residences. This added a note of urgency to the proposed improvements. Concern had been expressed by the House of Commons that the lodge and barrack demesne in the north of the park ^{was} used by the Lord

²⁹ OPW 2 May 1836 Alexander Milne, Office of Woods to Burton.

Lieutenant as a farm. It was remarked that this use denied the public access to parts of the park and revenue from the pasturage available there desirable to fund the upkeep of the park. James Neale wrote to William Gosset stating

‘I am directed by the Board to signify to you with the view of obviating the complaints made in the House of Commons on the part of the public resorting to the parks for recreation as well as carrying into effect the improvements suggested by Mr Decimus Burton in his report dated 31 January last [1833]. The commons feel themselves required to resume possession of all the land comprised within the above mentioned enclosures [lodge and barracks] and to lay the same open again to the other parts of the park - but considering that the immediate execution of this measure may materially interfere with the comfort of his Excellency, the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whose domestic arrangements may have been formed upon an understanding that the farm was an authorized and permanent appendage to the Office the Commissioner’s trust that they shall be justified in consulting His Excellency’s convenience by appointment of the measure during his administration of the Government of Ireland.’³⁰

But once the term of office is over the arrangement would no longer continue

‘and therefore referring to Mr Burton’s suggestions relating to this section of the park for your guidance, I am to communicate to you the Board’s desire that whenever the Office of the Lord Lieutenant shall next become vacant you will remove walls and fences enclosing the farm preliminary to the execution of further improvements

³⁰ OPW 29th April 1833 James Neale, Office of Woods to William Gosset.

there recommended by Mr Decimus Burton.’³¹

By the autumn things had moved on as Duncannon, the First Commissioner of Woods, urged instructions be issued that the Mountjoy Barrack demesne be opened to the public as quickly as possible as a new Lord Lieutenant might postpone it. Duncannon was confident that Gosset wanted the improvements to go ahead and was prepared to act quickly as he wished the improvements to go ahead.³²

The delicate political negotiations over access, occupation and landscape did not concentrate solely on the governmental demesnes within the park. There was also a problem with grazing rights. In 1833 Lord Palmerston complained to the Commissioners of Woods about the removal of his grazing rights in the Phoenix Park which might be of use to his tenant farmer.³³ This could however, be dealt with quite quickly. Alexander Milne, on behalf of the Commissioners replied that his grazing rights had expired and that Palmerston had even offered to sell his rights to the government in 1826 for £2400. Unless Palmerston could prove his rights still stood the matter was closed.³⁴

31 OPW 29th April 1833 James Neale, Office of Woods to William Gosset.

32 OPW 7th September 1833 Lord Duncannon, Office of Woods to Mr Adams.

33 OPW 2nd May 1833 Lord Palmerston to the Commissioners of Woods.

34 OPW 6th June 1833 Alexander Milne, Office of Woods to Lord Palmerston.

Decimus Burton and Jacob Owen

The relationship between Burton and Jacob Owen of the newly formed Board of Public Works was a curious one. Their paths crossed frequently from 1833 onwards. In that year plans had been made by both Burton and Owen for some of the works suggested in Burton's 1832 report - before financial matters had been settled. Burton produced a design for Chapelizod Gate lodge dated 31st January 1833.³⁵ But a letter from Gosset in the same year to the Board of Works complains of the expense of Burton's design for the Chapelizod Lodge (discussed below).³⁶(plate 3) The cost of resiting and rebuilding the lodge and laying out a new road would doubtless have seemed worrisome when no overall budget had been set for the works. Gosset, perhaps as a result of this, appears to have turned to Jacob Owen, engineer and architect of the Board of Public Works. Four drawings, (plates 4, 5, 6, & 7) possibly from a larger series, three of which are dated from 21st March 1834 by Owen related directly to Burton's schemes for the Park. They show Owen's designs for Castleknock Lodge (No I), Knockmaroon (No II), and a Keeper's Lodge and Storehouse (No IV).³⁷ The fourth design for Chapelizod Gate lodge is undated and unnumbered but clearly relates to Burton's scheme as Gosset annotated it in pencil in the top right hand corner 'In front of the Military School WG'. It is not surprising

³⁵ National Archives of Ireland OPW 5 drawings collection temporary folder no. 13170/03

³⁶ CSOLB ex info. Dr F. O'Dwyer

³⁷ National Archives of Ireland OPW 5 drawings collection temporary folder no. 13170/03

that Owen in his role at the Board of Public Works was involved at this time. The Board were still responsible for the Park and even after the division of responsibilities for the park Gosset still saw no reason why he and the park Bailiff could not manage the work.³⁸ Although he did welcome Burton's return to reconsider some of the improvements and mark out the ground for some of his alterations.

But it is most unlikely that Owen was ever a serious contender as architect and overseer of the improvements given the standard of Burton's work in the London Parks and the wish to equal it in Dublin. Burton's vision of the Phoenix Park was very clear. The entrance lodges defined the park as a discrete entity in which key buildings of the colonial government were encountered. Greatly improved landscaping would increase accessibility and public enjoyment of the area and the visibility of the buildings. This vision matched the requirements of the Commissioners and the government. By contrast the Owen designs meet few of these criteria. They are stylistically diverse and are in any case a response to Burton's observations rather than being original ideas about how to improve the park.

The relationship between Burton and Owen is still confusing when work began on the Ashtown and Dublin Gates. In early January 1838 Owen had produced plans and estimates for the work on the Ashtown Gates.³⁹ Yet less than a month later the Commissioners wrote again enclosing details of three tenders for

³⁸ OPW 2 July 1834 William Gosset to James Neale, Office of Woods.

³⁹ OPW 15th January 1838 Office of Woods to Burton.

work to these gates asking Burton to report on which contractor should be chosen.⁴⁰ Drawings survive by Burton in the National Library of Ireland for the Ashtown Gate which were sent with Burton's report dated 27th February 1839.⁴¹ Work progressed quickly as in June of the same year Burton forwarded an account from Arthur McKenna and sons of Thomas Street Dublin for £720 in respect of work at the Ashtown Gate to the designs of Mr Decimus Burton.⁴²

The relationship between Burton and Owen remained a curious one throughout the duration of much of the work. Owen was used by the Board of Public Works to design buildings which came within their area of responsibility in the park. In 1840 Owen produced designs for a constabulary barracks which were sent to Burton by the Office of Woods in October of that year. It seems likely that Burton was sent the design as it impacted on his plans for the landscaping of the park. To this end he recommended that the outer offices be concealed by planting and a curved sunk fence should serve as a front boundary as the wings projected into the park. Burton was also critical of the design. He felt the protruding wings of the barracks were the most conspicuous part of the design and should be of as good quality as the recessed central portion of the building. Burton suggested Owen conceal the roof line of the wings and the back offices

⁴⁰ OPW 13th February 1838 Commissioners of Woods to Burton

⁴¹ National Library of Ireland Drawings Collection 2121 and 2122

⁴² OPW 18th June 1839 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

behind a parapet to achieve a better effect.⁴³

This curious dynamic continued throughout Burton's 'Extraordinary Service' in the parks. For instance in 1842 Burton produced designs for the entrance gates and lodge to the Vice Regal Demesne⁴⁴ (plate 8) whilst Owen worked on the lodge itself. In his report to the Office of Woods on 10th January 1842 Burton reported that Lord de Grey, the Lord Lieutenant, was very pleased with the work and with his proposals for an entrance to the Vice Regal Demesne from the Phoenix Pillar. Burton's hands were tied as he was obliged to wait until the Board of Public Works were ready to build the new lodge and gates. He had received de Grey's assurance that he would urge the Board to proceed with the work. By May the following year this work was nearly complete and the old approach road to the Vice Regal Demesne had been broken up and turned into a pleasure ground. The Lord Lieutenant and Lady de Grey were extremely pleased with the Straight Avenue and the new entrance to the Vice Regal Demesne.⁴⁵

Burton's workforce

Burton was part of a complicated structure with various chains of command. As the architect in charge of the 'Extraordinary

⁴³ OPW 14 Oct 1840 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

⁴⁴ OPW. A design by Burton for the gates and lodges to the Vice Regal demesne dated 20th June 1842 is held in the National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder number 13170/03.

⁴⁵ OPW 30th May 1843 report by Burton to Commissioners of Woods

Services' the financial matters went through him to the Commissioners of Woods for approval. Not all the works were carried out directly under Burton. The planting and fencing was overseen by the Bailiff but estimates were presented to Burton either directly or via the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for the selection of the contractor.⁴⁶ Burton had a Clerk of Works resident in the Park who lived in the old Chapelizod Gate lodge until his duties were complete and the lodge demolished. The first of these was Mr James Souter appointed in mid August 1835. Souter was also involved with Burton's engineering and surveying work at Howth and along the line of the road from Howth to Dublin. In order to execute his duties in October of that year Souter requested an extra one guinea per week in addition to his salary of £166 3s per annum in order that he may keep a horse. The following month Souter was dismissed and replaced by Mr Nixon who in turn was replaced by Mr Fellows. The post holder was Mr Fish who saw the works through to their conclusion in 1849. Two contractors carried out most of the building work, Messrs Charles Carolin and Co and Mr Butler. There were a whole range of smaller contractors who were engaged by the Clerk of Works and listed in Burton's report to the Office of Woods on completion of the works.⁴⁷ A number of

⁴⁶ This is exemplified by the certificates given by Burton from 31st March 1842 to 31st March 1843 for works done under the superintendence of the Bailiff, Mr Wilkie. This included the plantation of the promenades inside the Dublin entrance gates, plantings in the Under Secretary's Demesne and the plantations and walks to and in the vicinity of the Vice Regal Demesne. OPW

⁴⁷ OPW 4th June 1849 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods. These included Mr McCullen for earthworks, Courtney Stephens for iron fencing, P. Dowley and P. Dillon for fencing, Mr McCormack,

day labourers were employed and mention is made of the concern to provide employment for them especially in the hard winter months.⁴⁸

Burton's Designs for the Phoenix Park

Burton's designs and plans for the park, not all of which were realized, can be considered under the following headings: The entrance gate lodges, the landscaping and drainage, the creation of the Straight Avenue and realignment of other roads in the park, and the commercial development of the park. All these designs have distinct resonance with his work in London.

The Entrance Gate Lodges

One of the hallmarks of Burton's work in the London parks had been the new entrances. These compact, classically inspired lodges helped shape the character of the parks. This was also the case in Dublin. The Chapelizod, Castleknock and Knockmaroon Gates and lodges amply demonstrate what Burton had in mind.⁴⁹ One of his chief preoccupations in redesigning the lodges was to produce compact designs with no outbuildings, instead a sunk court usually provided storage and small gardens laid to turf

mason and Mr Lestrangle, carpenter.

⁴⁸ Numerous names appear on the minutely detailed accounts returned by Burton to the Office of Woods as well as firms such as Messers R. Cane & Co of Dawson Street who received £200 for day work in 1836.

⁴⁹ Burton also produced designs for the Cabragh Gate and Colonel White's Gate with his report of 27th February 1839. Drawings for these submitted with Burton's report are held in the National Library of Ireland (NLI 2123, 2124, 2126 and 2127).

replaced plots suitable for cultivation. The new lodges were to be screened from view from the park by evergreen planting.

Chapelizod Lodge (plate 3) was the first to be re-sited by Burton. As a result of his 1832 report he produced designs which realigned the lodge with the Hibernian Military School⁵⁰ (plate 9), decreased its size and created a more impressive and secure entrance as a turnstile gate would replace the old entrance which would be locked each night by the Chapelizod gatekeeper. The alignment of Chapelizod gate and the military school is important here as it is a recurrent feature of Burton's plan for the park. The materials specified by Burton were expensive: limestone and Killiney granite. (plate 10) These are in keeping with Burton's ideas about the nature of the materials to be used for the works.⁵¹ In 1836, when the financial structure was settled Burton recommended the works go ahead.

This lodge resembles Cumberland Lodge (1825) designed for the Hyde Park in London. (see chapter 6, plate 1) The 1833 design for Chapelizod included an 'Egyptian style' window splayed at the bottom with a heavy frame and lugs. This style of window was also a feature of the design for the Arch at Constitution Hill (1825-8), the entrance to Green Park, but George IV vetoed it. (see chapter 5, plate 5) The idea of aligning the new entrance to the Hibernian Military School was ambitious. It involved moving the farm situated at the front of the school to the side and to conceal it by planting. A sloping lawn was also created to take account of

⁵⁰ A drawing by Burton dated January 1836 showing this is held in the National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder HC/2/65.

⁵¹ see Burton's 1834 report, discussed above.

the steep terrain at the front of the school and so affording an axial view of the building from the new entrance gate. This line continued through an ornamental garden laid out at the rear of the school and a small church. The whole arrangement was screened by planting. The design of the lodge itself was typically compact, symmetrical with little exterior space and a sunk court. Work on the Castleknock Lodge (plate 11) and gates began either at the same time or shortly after Chapelizod. The lodge was built by Butler and Co. of the same materials as Chapelizod Lodge and was near completion by December 1836.⁵² The gates were finished a year later.⁵³ The designs for Castleknock Lodge are lost and there are some stylistic traits which link it to the design produced by Owen in 1834. Most notably the first floor tripartite window which pierces the string course below the eaves. This motif is included in the built design in a widened form. The distance between Owen's glazing bars is shortened and these elements become a screen of miniature doric pilasters across the window aperture of what is a mezzanine rather than an additional storey. The only other element which links the two designs is the arched doorway in the built lodge which corresponds to an arcade like arrangement forming a tripartite

⁵² OPW 13th Dec 1836 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods

⁵³ OPW 29th April 1837 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods. He requested on behalf of Butler an advance of £500. Burton pointed out that the contract stated that no more instalments could be made until the work was finished and recommended an advance of £400. On 15th January of the following year (OPW) Burton wrote to the Commissioners of Woods informing them that the new lodge and gates were now finished at a total cost of £832 6s 7d and recommended that the balance of the account of £182 6s 7d should now be paid to Mr Butler.

loggia in front of the entrance door in Owen's design. In the Burton lodge the arch motif is recessed behind a single width porch flanked by doric pilasters.

These points of contact in the designs are puzzling but Owen (plate 4) could have been drawing on elements from Burton's designs. The designs for Chapelizod were fixed in 1833, perhaps those for the Castleknock entrance were also. Despite the similarities of the elevation Owen's plan lacks the tightness and symmetry of Burton's. In terms of the massing, spatial arrangement, subdued roof line and chimney and distinct similarity of these designs to Burton's others it is hard not to attribute the design to Burton on stylistic grounds. This does not mean to say that Burton's design was practical or convenient for the occupant. Mr Bryan, the gatekeeper of Castleknock Lodge, found his accommodation inconvenient and in 1838 erected an 'unsightly' wooden shed in his sunk court. Burton was most annoyed and insisted this be removed and that all gatekeepers should receive notices not to make any alteration without permission.⁵⁴ Burton also demanded that Bryan should take down during the day the shutter of the entrance sash door which he had previously refused to do. He did consider Bryan's problems and conceded that the sunk court could be turned into a pantry and an iron wicket gate be placed at the front door.⁵⁵

Of the eight builders asked to tender for the contract for the Knockmaroon Gate Lodge (plates 12 & 13) Mr John Butler was the

⁵⁴ OPW 15th January 1838 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods

⁵⁵ A drawing relating to these alterations exists in the National Library of Ireland No 2125

only one to tender at the high price of £1700 to take account of the time needed to work the limestone and Killiney granite. In order to reduce the costs Burton recommended the use of lime stucco for the facings and Golden Hill granite for the ^{work} facings reducing the cost to £1050.⁵⁶ Burton was in Dublin at this time and was clearly concerned about the quality of the materials. He made enquiries after the relative merits of Golden Hill granite and Killiney granite discovering that Golden Hill granite was used widely by the Board of Works especially the Board of Ordnance and the Killiney granite quarries were owned by one person except the portion worked by the Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour.⁵⁷ Although Killiney granite is a harder stone and so more expensive Burton was able to assure the Commissioners of Woods that Golden Hill granite was a good material for building.⁵⁸

Unlike the Chapelizod and Castleknock gates the Knockmaroon lodge was not tucked away immediately inside the park but placed between two roads. There were two sets of gates and the lodge provided a useful stopping block between them. (plate 13) The plan of the lodge, although still compact, is well adapted to the site. The polygonal shape affords satisfactory views both from the approach road to the gate and from the two roads on either

⁵⁶ OPW 9th March 1838 John Butler to Burton.

⁵⁷ The previous year Burton had made of working drawing of the Drum Machine used by the Board of Works to quarry at Kingstown Harbour. National Archives of Ireland OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03

⁵⁸ OPW 15th March 1838 Burton (staying at 16 Montpelier Hill, Dublin) to the Commissioners of Woods.

side of it leading into the park. Work proceeded very quickly as the first instalment of Butler's fee was requested by Burton on 9th August that year. The lodge was virtually complete and the railings and piers in place.

The Landscaping of the Park

The landscaping of the Phoenix Park was perhaps of even greater importance than the new gate lodges. The work falls into three main categories: the drainage and general tidying and replanting of the park; the creation of pleasure grounds for the enjoyment of the public - especially women and children; and the re-landscaping of the area around the Vice Regal, Chief and Under Secretaries' Demesnes. Burton's scheme shows sympathy for the natural landscape of the area. He created vistas through to the countryside and hills beyond and a feeling of openness and space within the park. This was to be achieved by vistas stretching across the enclosed grounds of the official residences created through the use of sunk fences rather than high walls, the felling of tall trees and careful planting. In other, more remote areas of the park Burton followed the ^{lie} ~~lay~~ of the land. His recommendations for the planting around Knockmaroon Glen in 1846 included thorns, furze and broom 'to accord with the wild and natural scenery of that district of the park'.⁵⁹

Burton produced a great many drawings explaining his plans to alter levels and improve drainage in the park. This work was carried out throughout Burton's involvement with the project.

⁵⁹ OPW 6th January 1846 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods

But the park was also working land and early on in the works the Office of Woods requested plans and estimates for the enclosure of 10 acres around the Mountjoy barracks which should be appropriated for the driving of deer and cattle and the growth of hay.⁶⁰ But the main emphasis was on the public's enjoyment of the area and how they might use it. A letter to the Office of Woods towards the end of the work in March 1847 is indicative of his view:

'A fence is desirable along the footpath from the Promenade ground near the Dublin gate west to the Phoenix with occasional gaps for horsemen to stop them crossing and recrossing the path. But the enclosure of such a large piece of ground would yet be viewed with much jealousy by the public but might be appreciated in a few years.'

He also stated that he felt sure

'the public would approve the enclosure of the plantation between the promenade ground and the zoo through which a direct footpath leads to the gardens from the city. If these groves were thus defended from incursions by horsemen it would become a favourite resort particularly in summer for promenades especially by women and children.'⁶¹

This feeling of good for the general public influenced the landscaping around the official demesnes within the park. Previously these had been fenced, in hidden from view and stopping views across the park. Burton recommended the felling of trees and high fences were replaced with sunk fences provide

⁶⁰ OPW November 7th 1834 James Neale, Land Revenues Dept of Office of Woods to Burton

⁶¹ OPW March 11th 1847 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods

vistas across the demesnes.⁶² This allowed the official residences to be seen by the general public.

The Straight Avenue

The Straight Avenue through the park constituted a major part of Burton's vision. This was achieved only gradually, being pieced together as work on various areas of the park ~~were~~^{was} completed. It was necessary to alter the line of the existing road through the park and sow over it with grass where necessary and to carry out substantial tree felling and replanting to create the desired effect. It was the essential backbone of the park giving a directional logic to the flow of traffic through it. (plate 2) Burton also improved other avenues and roads in the park which met with the straight avenue at its virtual centre point. Here Burton resited the Phoenix Pillar, surrounded by four iron standard lamps with burners, to align with the new line of the road.⁶³ By 1846 the Straight Avenue was completed between Dublin Gate and the Phoenix.⁶⁴ But the remaining portion of the road leading to

⁶² For instance OPW 5th June 1838 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods outlining his plans for the felling of trees and new planting around the Chief Secretary's Demesne. This was agreed to as the First Commissioner felt the vistas were for 'the general good of the public'.

⁶³ He received permission to resite the Pillar on 11th March 1843 in a letter from Alexander Milne (OPW). Mr Hayden provided the standard lamps and burners OPW 31 October 1843 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods. Mr John Butler was responsible for taking down the pillar and re-erecting. OPW 20th December 1843 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

⁶⁴ OPW 29th May 1846 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

the Castleknock Gate still awaited completion a year later.⁶⁵

The works discussed so far were all funded by the state. The only revenue yielded from the park was from the pasturage and toll gates.⁶⁶ Yet like the royal parks in London there was room for private speculation. In 1837 Burton recommended that an area between the Castleknock and Colonel White's Gates ~~and~~ (some twelve acres) should be appropriated for villa building.⁶⁷ (plate 14) In another curious twist in the relationship between Burton and Owen on 30th April 1840 Owen wrote to Burton stating that he would be prepared to take a lease on 3 or 6 acres and that Messers Carolin of Dublin (friends and business associates of Owen and contractors used by Burton) would take the remainder. They proposed a rent of £8 per statute acre with the first three years at a peppercorn. Burton had originally proposed a rent of £10.⁶⁸ Nevertheless he approved their application as he felt it was only the first of many to come:

‘As these variations involve only a question of A small diminution of rent on a very limited portion of the whole extent of land which can be appropriated for Villa Building, without interference with the views across the

⁶⁵ OPW 15th March 1847 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

⁶⁶ Little mention is made of the toll gates but there were problems with avoidance of payment. Burton intended to speak to Jacob Owen on the matter. OPW 12th February 1838 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

⁶⁷ OPW 9th June 1840 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods. Burton refers to his original suggestion for villas in his report of 1837. A drawing by Burton dated 10th September 1840 showing the proposed villa plots is held in the National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder HC/2/84.

⁶⁸ OPW 30th April 1840 Jacob Owen to Burton.

park, and as parties who first commenced an undertaking of this kind encounter greater risk and expense than those who follow I beg to recommend that the reduced rent in this case be assented to.'

Burton's experience of villa building in the Regent's Park came into play here as he continued:

'Should your Honourable Board authorize this disposal of the ground I further recommend that your solicitors be directed to prepare and send Mr Owen a form of Agreement in order that the clauses and covenants, by which the tenants are to be bound, may be clearly understood.'⁶⁹

Moreover, like the Regent's Park the Commissioners would be responsible for the construction of a road leading to the plots. Despite the Commissioners of Woods being in favour of this scheme no further correspondence has so far come to light about the proposed villas.

The End of the Work

Burton's 'Extraordinary Service' in the Phoenix Park drew to a close in 1849. Financial restrictions, especially towards the end of the work, meant not all his plans were realised. Burton had handled the budget with meticulous efficiency and correctness but £15000 was not enough to achieve all his aims.

Burton's commitment to his work in the Phoenix Park is evident in his frequent visits to the site. He dealt with endless and often niggling correspondence promptly and oversaw the execution of his designs and improvements for the financial reward of little more than £200 per annum. His letters and reports express a feeling for the diverse landscape of the park and the countryside

⁶⁹ OPW 30th June 1840 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods.

beyond and great pleasure at the increased enjoyment the public now had of the area. Burton's final report to the Commissioners of Woods does not end on a triumphalistic or self congratulatory note. Instead on pronouncing the 'Extraordinary Service' complete Burton quotes a letter written to him by his Clerk of Works Mr Fish which outlines the poor state of the working classes in Dublin as he stated that the improvement has been 'of the greatest use to a distressed community....cessation [of the works] in the present state of the neighbourhood will be seen as a calamity..'.⁷⁰

Conclusion

The points of contact between Burton's work in the Phoenix Park and the Royal Parks in London are many fold. The emphasis in this study has been on the landscape as an expression of colonial authority exercised through a metropolitan system of government. The newly remodelled park made the official demesnes of the protestant officers of the British government more visible. And these residences were placed in an improved landscape setting designed for the convenience and pleasure of the public - especially the protestant bourgeoisie. The park and its intended public are important statements when seen against the backdrop of the religious and political situation in Ireland. The landscape design principles used to achieve the desired effects correspond to those Burton employed in the Royal Parks. The plans for villas and the development of the zoological

⁷⁰ OPW 30th March 1849 Burton to the Commissioners of Woods. The potato famine in Ireland had begun in the mid 1840s.

gardens tie the Phoenix Park more closely to London - in particular the distinctive social environment created in the Regent's Park. But the Phoenix Park remains a distinct urban landscape with its own identity. Perhaps here more than anywhere else Burton's work is the physical expression of the political metaphors of landscape design used by the critics of Capability Brown and Humphry Repton (see chapter 6). The attempts by the British government to impose its political will on Ireland could not be better represented than by Burton's 'smoothing and levelling' of the rugged Irish terrain.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the work of James and Decimus Burton made a significant contribution to the urban planning of London and Dublin. This study has demonstrated that it is possible to map these achievements against the development of the metropolis despite the absence of any substantial archive of material about either of the Burtons.

Each chapter has presented a distinct methodology contextualising the work of James and Decimus within the framework of known archives and differing approaches to urban history relevant to this period. The emphasis has been to move away from presenting the architect as ‘auteur’ - the prime mover in the development of the metropolis. Instead the architect is represented as only part of the larger forces which govern the evolution of urban space. In this way the tendencies in urban and architectural histories to follow biographical structures could be avoided. Instead of the architect shaping the metropolis, the architect was defined by it.

The opening chapters revisited key texts which have mapped out histories of the development of London dependant on personalities and, in the case of Bloomsbury especially, patterns of land ownership. These elements were not forgotten in this study. But by re-positioning the development of Bloomsbury, Regent Street and the Regent’s Park within the methodological framework of this thesis it was possible firstly to reexamine the role of James and Decimus Burton in the projects discussed which

revealed a more substantive contribution by both of them than had previously been recognised. But, more importantly, essential elements in the evolution of the cityscape were identified. These themes played an important part in the analysis of Decimus Burton's work at Hyde Park Corner, and in the Royal and Phoenix Parks where there has been little other research carried out. The most apparent of these themes is infrastructure. The role of this in determining the nature of urban space - whether street planning in the case of Bloomsbury or Regent Street or parkland in the Royal and Phoenix Parks is crucial to an understanding of the evolution of the metropolis at this time. Leading on from this are the roles played by rational planning and demographic forces which are often closely linked. This is especially the case in Bloomsbury and Regent Street and Regent's Park. The later chapters continue to underline the importance of rational planning - but this is now a tool for shaping the experience of different social classes of public open spaces rather than determining the class of inhabitants of parts of London. Moreover, the interaction between the evolution of the metropolis and the crown and state comes to the fore as the cityscape emerges as a register of their social and political values with the architect as an instrument of its creation. These elements of a city - its infrastructure, planning and social and political landscape help define its 'life force'. It is this 'life force' which plays an essential role in the defining moments of the evolution of the metropolis.

The reevaluation of the role of the architect in the creation of the metropolis has positioned the Burtons within the context of

early nineteenth-century architectural practice without attributing either with the role of unrecognised genius. Instead their competence in the business of architecture and ability to act as effective conduits for the social, political and cultural forces which help shape the metropolis are identified and used to create a history of their work in London and Dublin c 1800-1840.

Appendix 1

A List of drawings exhibited by Decimus Burton at the Royal Academy 1817 -1838 with the exhibition numbers from A Graves, *The Royal Academy - a complete dictionary of contributors 1769-1904*, London, 1970.

1817

Design for a National Museum (962)

1818

Design for a country court house (924)

1819

Design for a public mausoleum (1055)

1820

Design for a country mansion in the Gothic style (972)

View in Regent Street looking northward (993)

1821

Design for an intended church in Regent Street with the idea of assimilating it to the neighbouring architecture (976)

A marine pavilion building at Brighton (1003)

1822

Cornwall Terrace as built in the Regent's Park (867)

Design for a villa erecting for a gentleman in the Regent's Park (900)

1823

Design for a group of residences to be erected in the Regent's Park (962)

1824

A public building now erecting in the Regent's Park (866)

The mansion erecting for John Ward, Esq., at Holwood, Kent, the residence of the late Rt. Hon. William Pitt (874)

Holwood, Kent, etc (951)

1826

The new Mews erecting at Westminster (921)

The Panorama in the Regent's Park (982)

1827

Tunbridge Wells church now being erected (902)

Hyde Park corner with the entrances to the Parks etc (917)

1829

Quarry Hill, near Tunbridge, etc (990)

Calverley Parade, the new church, etc., at Tunbridge Wells (1127)
Calverley Park at Tunbridge Wells, etc (1129)

1831
Queen Adelaide's Crescent at Brighton (1017)

1832
Charing Cross Hospital (980)

1833
View of Bury Hill in Surrey (1017)
Furze Hill near Brighton, the property of I.S. Goldsmid, Esq (1029)

1835 A mansion, etc., now erecting at Coghurst Place, Sussex, for
Musgrave Briscoe, Esq. (951)

1838 A church erecting at Goring, near Worthing (1175)
do do (1245)

Appendix 2

A List of Lectures delivered by Sir John Soane at the Royal Academy Schools and heard by Decimus Burton

Burton entered the Schools in November 1817 missing that year's lectures. There is no recorded date for his leaving the schools but studentships ran for between 7-10 years.

1818 No lectures

1819 First series (revised) I-IV February to March

1820 Second series (revised) VII-IX February to March
[series curtailed due to Mr West's death]

1821 No lectures

1822 No lectures

1823 No lectures

1824 No lectures

1825 No lectures

1826 No lectures

1827 No lectures

1828 No lectures

Condensed versions of the lectures were published in the press so Burton might have been able to catch up on those he missed (ie X-XII).

Appendix 3

An Inventory of Casts owned by Decimus Burton taken from a handwritten inventory delivered with the casts on their being donated by Burton to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1879.

An inventory of casts collected by Mr Brown in Italy, delivered at Mr Dec Burton's office 14 Spring Gardens November 1827

Temple of Mars Ultor

- 1 Helice of the Capital with returning angle
- 2 Flower in centre of Abacus
- 3 Lower leaf of Capital
- 4 Flower in centre of Coffe
- 5 Two parts of second leaf Capital

Pantheon

- 6 Capital in the Portico
- 7 Part of Cornice
- 8 Modillion Coffe and Flower in do
- 9 Ornamental panel with Candelabrum
- 10 do do do
- 11 Attic capital

12

- 13] Roman Eagle and Wreath from a Marble in the atrium of the Church of St
- 14 Apostoli

15 Part of the Tomb of Scipio

- 16 do
- 17 do
- 18 do

Temple of Jupiter Tonans

- 19 Soffit Panel
- 20 Part of Cornice
- 21 Modillion
- 22 Part of Architrave
- 23 Flower in centre of Coffe
- 24

Temple of Vesta at Tivoli

- 25 Part of the frieze
- 26
- 27 Part of the capital
- 28

Trajan's Forum

- 29 large Ovolo Moulding
- 30 do Ogee do enriched
- 31 do

32
Church of St Gregory
33 Small Corinthian capital
34 } Part of a base enriched
35

Villa Medici
36 Festoons of Fruit Flowers & Ox's Head
37 do
38 do
39 A Pilaster from the Garden
40 do
41 do
42

Temple of Jupiter Stator
43 Modillion
44 Lower Leaf of Capital
45 Stem and Part of Helice of do
46 Part of Abacus of do
47 Part of cornice with Lion's head
48 Another part of do
49 The Coffin Panel with Flower
50 Part of Architrave Moulding
51 Another part of do
52 Another part of do
53

Trajan's Column
54 Base Moulding of Pedestal
55 Cap do
56 Part of festoon of do
57 Part of the Torus of column
58

Temple of Antoninus and Faustina
59 part of frieze
60 do
61 do
62 do
63 do
64 do
65 Part of the Cornice
66 Lower Part of the capital
67 Another do
68

Temple of Vesta at Rome
69 A fragment now in the Vatican
70 do
71

Villa Adrian
72 part of Column Capital
73 A Pilaster [capital]

74 A Fragment
75

Villa Poniatonski [Burton's spelling]

76 Part of a frieze
77 do
78 do and Architrave
79 A Golochi
80 part of an ornamental panel
81 do

Villa Albani

83 Bust of a Cariatide
84 A Mask
85 A do
86 A Fragment
87
88 Part of a large Vase from the Campadonia
89 The Hand of Flora from do

The Vatican

90
91
92
93 Part of a Candelabrum
94 do
95 do
97 do
98 do
99 do
100 do
101 A Candelabrum in basso Relievo of the Cinque Centoage
[sixteenth century]
102 A Chimera and Ornament
103 A do
104 A do
105 A do
106 A do
107 A do
108 A do Leg and Ornamental
109 A do Head (very spirited)
110 Part Of A Base With Plinth Enriched
111 do enriched
112 A Pilaster capital
114 A do
115 A do
116 A do
117 Part of the Cornice of a Tomb
118 Part of a Vase
119 do
120 do
121 do
122 do
123 Part of a Vase
124 A Pilaster and capital

125 A do of the Cinque Cento age
 126do
 127 Part of a frieze (Griffin and Foliage)
 128do
 129do
 130 An Antefix
 131 A Chimera Leg
 132 A Standard with terminal Figures and ornament
 133 A Modillion
 134 A do
 125 Part of a Truss
 136do
 137 A panel ornamented with Cornucopia
 138 Part of a Pilaster
 139do
 140do
 141do
 142do
 143 Front of a sarcophagus (Griffin and Foliage)
 144 A Basso Relievo (the Provinces)
 145 Part of a Frieze (Griffin Candelabrum and foliage)
 146 A Small Corinthian Column
 147 a do
 148 An Angle of a Square Tazza
 149 Front of a Cippus
 150 Part of a Panel
 151 Top end of a Pilaster
 152 A Panel (Boy and Foliage)
 153 A do
 154 Half the body of a car
 155 A Sphinx
 156 A griffin in Basso Relievo
 157 A Statue of Ceres
 158 One face of the Tripod of a Candelabrum
 159do
 160 A Fragment
 161 A do
 162 A do
 163 A do
 164 A do
 165 A do
 166 A do
 167 A do
 168 A do
 169 A do
 170 A Frieze, ornamented with Cornucopia and Foliage (very rich)
 171 A frieze (Boy and Festoons of Fruit) from a Terra Cotta
 172 A do
 173 A do
 174 A do
 175 A do
 176 A Fragment (Villa Pamphili added in a different hand look like
 an aged Burton's)

177 A do
 178 A do
 179 A do
 180 A do
 181 A do
 182 A do
 183 A do (Villa Poniatowski added in a different hand look like an aged Burton's)
 184 A Basso Relievo (Greek)
 185 A do
 186 A do
 187 A Lions Head
 188 Part of the Cornice of the Arch of Septimus Severus
 189
 190 A Patera from Pazzolo
 191 A do
 192 A do
 194 A do
 195 Front of an Ionic Capital (very rich) from the Church of St Mary in Trastvere
 196 Flank of do
 197 do
 198 A Fragment from the Church of St Pietro in Vincoli
 199 A Piece of Ornament from the Villa Pamp[h]ili
 200 A do
 201 A do Church of the Peace
 202 A do
 203 A Basso Relievo (Romulus and Remus)
 204
 205 Part of an Ionic Capital from the Temple of Erectheus
 206 The Antai from do
 207 Part of a Corinthian capital from the Temple of the Winds
 208 Part of a Cippus
 209 do

List of Casts Ordered From Rome, Novr 1838

- 1 One Quarter of a Candelabrum in the Museum of the Vatican
 - 2 One Quarter of another Candelabrum from the Vatican
 - 3 One Candelabrum entire
 - 4 Portion of Frieze from the Forum of Trajan
 - 5 do
 - 6 do
 - 7 A Boy and Vase (from the Vatican)
 - 8 One half of an Antefix from the Collection of the Villa Pamphili
 - 9 A Coffin and Rosette
 - 10 Enriched Ovolo Moulding
 - 11 Ornamental Pilaster
 - 12
 - 13
 - 14 } Six Figures forming sides of the Tripod Candelabrum
 - 15
 - 17
- A Table, on moveable stand 5 x 3 1/2

Appendix 4

A Sale Inventory of Decimus Burton's Library Sold
after his Death*

* Kindly supplied by Mr Philip Miller

SECOND DAY'S SALE.

PORTION OF THE LIBRARY
OF THE LATE
DECIMUS BURTON, ESQ.

OCTAVO ET INFRA.

LOT			
408	Smith (W.) Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 vol. numerous engravings on wood 1853-56	2	1 Bull ✓
409	SOCIETY OF ARTS. Transactions of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, &c. vol. XLVI to LV, 1828-45—Journal of the Society of Arts, and of the Institutions in union, vol. I to XXIX, 1853-81 40 vol.	7	1 Layster ✓
410	Falconet (Etienne) Œuvres, 5 vol. Lausanne, 1781; and others 10 vol.	1	1 Riddle ✓
411	Tournefort (M.) Voyage into the Levant, 3 vol. plates 1741—Eustace (J. C.) Classical Tour through Italy, 6 vol. 1817; and others 16 vol.	2	2 Allen ✓
412	Jones (J. F.) Account of the War in Spain, Portugal, &c. 2 vol. maps, half calf, 1821; and others 13 vol.	2	2 " ✓
413	Plutarch's Lives, translated with Notes by J. and W. Langhorne, 3 vol. 1812; and others 12 vol.	3	3 " ✓
414	Grandville (M.) Scènes de la Vie Privée et Publique des Animaux, 2 vol. numerous clever plates and cuts, half calf, n. e. Paris, 1842	13	13 " ✓
415	Sterne (L.) Works, 8 vol. frontispieces by Hogarth, calf 1790	6	6 Riddle ✓
416	Eschenburg (J. J.) Beispielsammlung zur Theorie und Literatur der Schönen Wissenschaften, 9 vol. Berlin, 1788-95	6	6 Allen ✓
417	Gell (Sir W.) Pompeiana, 2 vol. portrait and plates, 1882	2	2 Parson E ✓
418	Oliver (Lt. S. P.) Madagascar and the Malagasy, plates, n. d.—Haudebourt (L. P.) Le Laurentin Maison de Campagne de Pline le jeune, plates, Paris, 1838; and others 8 vol.	1	1 Allen ✓
419	Vyse (Col. H.) Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizen, in 1837, with an Account of a Voyage into Upper Egypt, 2 vol. plates and cuts 1840	1	1 Harrison ✓

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419

420	Brayley (E. W.) and J. Britton, History of the Ancien Palace and late Houses of Parliament at Westminster, engravings 1836	3	3 Riddle ✓
421	Britton (J.) Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages, plates by J. Le Keux, half calf 1833	3	3 Nash ✓
422	Boswell (J.) Life of S. Johnson, 4 vol. portrait, gilt russia 1824	6	6 Prose ✓
423	Redding (Cyrus) Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall, plates and cuts, half calf 1842	6	6 Young ✓
424	Pitt (Rt. Hon. W.) Speeches in the House of Commons, 4 vol. calf 1806	2	2 Parson E ✓
425	Fuseli (H.) Life and Writings, Edited by J. Knowles, 3 vol. portrait, half calf 1831	3	3 " ✓
426	Estienne (R.) Causes Amusantes et Connues, 2 vol. Berlin, 1869-71; and others 26 vol.	1	1 Riddle ✓
427	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. I to VIII, and a few nos. of the First Series, plates and cuts 1859-79	5	5 " ✓
428	Thomson (R.) Chronicles of London Bridge, cuts, uncut 1827	8	8 Harrison ✓
429	Noble (M.) Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell, 2 vol. portrait, 1787—Musical Biography, 2 vol. 1814 4 vol.	3	3 Riddle ✓
430	Britton (J.) and A. Pugin, Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London, 2 vol. plates, 1825—Godwin (G.) and J. Britton, Churches of London, vol. I, plates by Le Keux, 1838—Aldrich (H.) Elements of Civil Architecture, plates, morocco, g. e. Ozonii, 1789 4 vol.	7	7 Prose ✓
431	Spiers (A.) General French and English Dictionary, 2 vol. 1856	5	5 Riddle ✓
432	Flügel (G. J.) German and English Dictionary, 2 vol. 1857	5	5 " ✓
433	Neuman and Baret's Spanish and English Dictionary, 2 vol. 1854	7	7 " ✓
434	Smith (W.) Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, numerous woodcuts 1856	16	16 Red Riddle ✓
435	Hope (T.) Historical Essay on Architecture, 2 vol. 97 plates, 1835—Analytical Index, woodcuts, 1835 3 vol.	6	6 Prose ✓
436	North (Hon. R.) Lives of the Norths, 3 vol. portraits 1826	1	1 2 Layster ✓
437	CANINA (L.) ARCHITETTURA ANTICA, 3 vol. Roma, 1843-44—Greca. 3 vol. ib. 1834-41—Romana. 3 vol. ib. 1834-42, Three Series, 9 vol. 8ro. numerous fine plates, in 4 vol. folio and 1 4to. Roma, 1834-44, 14 vol. uniform, half morocco	11	11 5 The hand ✓

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16

- 217
- 438 Nibby (A.) *Analisi Storico-Topografico-Antiquaria della Carta de Dintorni di Roma*, 3 vol. with separate map, Roma, 1837—Descrizione della Villa Adriana, map, ib. 1827 (5)
- 439 Nibby (A.) *Elementi di Archeologia, Roma*, 1828; and others a parcel
- 440 *Monthly Magazine from 1803 to 1828. half calf* 52 vol.
- 441 *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, vol. VII to XXII, and the 3 first numbers of vol. XXIII (wanting No. 177), 10 vol. in cloth, remainder in nos. 1856-82 1 10
- 442 Burge (W.) *Temple Church, an Account of its Restoration, &c. Pickering*, 1842—White (J.) *On Cementitious Architecture*, 1832—Wordsworth (C.) *Pompeian Inscriptions, cuts*, 1838; and many others. in 2 solidander boxes 3
- 443 Wilkinson (Sir G.) *Architecture of Ancient Egypt, with series of 18 plates in folio* 1850 1
- QUARTO.
- 444 Newham (R. O.) *Picturesque Views from the Antiquities of Ireland*, 2 vol. in 1, numerous plates mostly india proof, half morocco 1830 9
- 445 Wren (Sir C.) *Memoirs of his Life and Works*, by J. Elmes, portrait, half calf 1823 1
- 446 Tenniel (J.) *Cartoons from Punch, Second Series*, 116 plates n. d. 3
- 447 *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie, from the MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Edited by W. B. D. D. Turnbull, uncut *Abbotsford Club*, 1842 5
- 448 Cardonnel (A. de) *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, 4 parts in 1 vol. upwards of 100 plates, half morocco, 1802 12
- 449 Robinson (P. F.) *Illustrations of Mickleham Church*, 12 plates, 1824—*Domestic Architecture in the Tudor Style*, 17 plates, 1837—Billings (R. W.) *Architectural Illustrations of Kettering Church*, 20 plates, 1843, half morocco in 1 vol. 6
- 450 Liddell (H. G.) and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon, russin, m. e.* Oxford, 1855 9
- 451 Brockedon (W.) *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps*, 2 vol. maps and plates, half russin, m. e. 1828-29 12
- 452 Britton (J.) *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* 1830 10
- 453 Britton (J.) *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. I to IV, numerous views, half russin 1807-14 7
- 454 Storer (J. and H. S.) *Views of the Cambridge Colleges*, 24 plates in a vol.—Greenwood (C.) *History of the County of Kent*, vol. I, no plates, 1838 2 vol. 7
- Allen ✓
do ✓
Weddell ✓
do ✓
do ✓
Russin ✓
Russin ✓
Walford ✓
Ridley ✓
Ridley ✓
Russin ✓
Wortell ✓
Bennett ✓
Hach ✓
do ✓
Killer ✓

50 16 6

- 3076 6
- 455 Britton (J.) *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches*, Salisbury, 1814—Gloucester, 1829—Canterbury, 1821—Hereford, 1831—Peterborough, 1828—Worcester, 1835—Bath, 1825—Bristol, 1830—Exeter, 1826—Wells, 1824, engravings, half morocco, t. e. g. n. 3 vol. 4 7
- 456 Billings (R. W.) *Architectural Illustrations, History and Antiquities of Carlisle Cathedral*, 1840—Durham Cathedral, 1843, engravings, half calf, m. e. 2 vol. 1 8
- 457 Batty (Lt. Col.) *Hanoverian and Saxon Scenery*, LARGE PAPER, proof plates, uncut 1829 3 6
- 458 Batty (Lt. Col.) *Scenery of the Rhine, Belgium and Holland*, LARGE PAPER, proof plates (some faded), half russin 1826 2
- 459 Smith (J. T.) *Antiquities of Westminster, engravings, some coloured, half calf* 1807 18
- 460 Neale (J. P.) *History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, with Descriptions by E. W. Brayley, 2 vol. plates, bindings broken 1818-23 1 3
- 461 GROSE (F.) *WORKS*. Antiquities of England and Wales, with Supplement, 8 vol.—Antiquities of Scotland, 2 vol.—Antiquities of Ireland, 2 vol.—Military Antiquities, 2 vol. together 14 vol. large paper copies of the re-issue, numerous plates, purple morocco extra, g. e. 1812, &c. 8 10
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630	Tennyson (A.) Poems, 2 vol. in 1, morocco, g. e. Boston, 1846—Beattie (J.) Postical Works, portrait, uncut, Pickering, 1831—Hemans (F.) Songs of the Affections, &c. 1840; and others	8 vol.	9	anyone
631	[Stephen (Sir G.)] Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse, by Caveat Emptor, woodcuts, 1837—Howitt (W.) Book of the Seasons, engravings, 1835—New Sporting Almanack, engravings, 1844; and others	5 vol.	9	Bennett
632	White (G.) Natural History of Seiborne, Edited by E. Jesse, engravings, 1851—Jesse (E.) Anecdotes of Dogs, plates, 1858; and another	3 vol.	3	D'Arny
633	Wilson (A.) and C. L. Bonaparte, American Ornithology, 4 vol. in 2, half calf, Edinb. 1831—History of the Mammalia, 5 vol. woodcuts, 1849; and 2 others	9 vol.	4	Salkeld
634	Margaret, Queen of Navarre, Heptameron, portrait, 1855—Rabelais (F.) Works, 2 vol. portrait, 1851, Bohn, 3 vol.		1 1	Salkeld
635	London Theatre, a collection of the most celebrated Dramatic Pieces, Edited by T. Dibdin, 12 vol. woodcuts half calf	1815	12	Bennett
636	Arabian Nights, translated by E. Forster, 5 vol. LARGE PAPER, proof plates by R. Smirke, russia	1802	2 7	Lupton
637	Rossetti (C. G.) Sing-Song, 120 illustrations by Hughes, 1872—Gamosagammon; or, Hints on Hymen, illustrated, n. d.	2 vol.	7	anyone
638	Celtic Society's Publications: Book of Rights, Edited by J. O'Donovan—Cambrensis Eversus, Edited by M. Kelly, 3 vol. in 4—Miscellany of the Celtic Society, Dublin, 1847-49	(6)	1 4	Salkeld
639	Gilbert (J. T.) History of the Viceroy of Ireland	Dublin, 1865	7	Salkeld

213 16 6

- 640 Gibbon (E.) Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12 vol. portrait and map, calf gilt 1791
- 641 Dickens (C.) Dombey and Son, FIRST EDITION, plates by Phiz, in 2 vol. half calf 1848
- 642 Dickens (C.) Master Humphrey's Clock, 3 vol. illustrations by G. Cattermole and H. Browne, half calf gilt 1840-41
- 643 Dickens (C.) Oliver Twist, 24 illustrations by G. Cruikshank, half calf 1846
- 644 Analysis of the Hunting Field, FIRST EDITION, numerous coloured plates and woodcuts by H. Alken, original green cloth, j. e. Ackermann, 1846
- 645 Vyner (R. T.) Notitia Venatica: a Treatise on Fox-Hunting, plates by H. Alken, slightly foxed, gilt morocco, g. e. Ackermann, 1842
- 646 Egan (Pierce) Boxiana, vol. III, IV, and V, portraits, with all joints n. d.
- 647 Apperley (C.) The Chace, the Turf, and the Road, by Nimrod, FIRST EDITION, portraits, and plates by H. Alken 1837
- 648 Apperley. Another copy, uncut 1837
- 649 Northcote (J.) Life of Sir J. Reynolds, 2 vol. portraits, title of col. II mended 1818
- 650 Woods (J.) History of London and its Environs, plates, n. d.—Murray (J. F.) Environs of London, Western Division, numerous illustrations, 1842 2 vol.
- 651 Combe (W.) Dance of Life, coloured engravings by T. Rowlandson, uncut Ackermann, 1817
- 652 Combe (W.) Second Tour of Doctor Syntax, 24 coloured plates by T. Rowlandson 1855
- 653 Beckett (G. A. à) Comic History of England, 2 vol. FIRST EDITION, coloured plates, and woodcuts by J. Leech 1847-48
- 654 Beckett (G. A. à) Comic History of Rome, coloured plates, and woodcuts by J. Leech, half calf gilt, m. e. n. d.
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- 656 Lever (C.) Our Mess (vol. II and III)—Tom Burke of "Ours," 2 vol. illustrations by Phiz, half calf Dublin, 1844
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- 658 Sunday in London, 14 illustrations by G. Cruikshank, calf gilt 1833

12 Sage
5 Scott
8 De Gray
1 7
2 21 Robson
1 12 Lathum
2 10 Welford
1 Leighton
19 Jarvis
10 Scott
6 4 Sabine
3 5 Roberts
19 7 Sabine
1 11 Gray
11 Piddler
12 Hunt
7 Langster
10 Jarvis
1 1 Bennett

24 3 6

- 659 Smith (H.) Rejected Addresses, illustrated by G. Cruikshank, 1833—Points of Misery, illustrations by R. Cruikshank, imperfect 2 vol.
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- 667 Dagley (R.) Death's Doings, vol. II, etchings, uncut 1827
- 668 [Mouchet (M.)] Dictionnaire contenant les Anecdotes Historiques de l'Amour, 5 vol. Troyes, 1811
- 669 Motteville (Mm. de) Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche, 6 vol. Maestricht, 1782
- 670 Ballantine (Serjeant) Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life, 2 vol. portrait, 1882—Sala (G. A.) Paris herself again, 2 vol. 400 illustrations, 1880 4 vol.
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20 Kiddle
4 Scott
7 Bennett
3
3 Piddler
1 6 Scott
1 3
1 6 Jarvis
8 Scott
1 Westall
6 Welford
12 Hunt
16 Sage
15 Gray
1 2 Thomas
1 14 Gray
1 6 Buddard
9 Jarvis
5 free

24 5 15

2-2

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TK

245 72

- 677 Disraeli (B.) Lord Beaconsfield, Novels and Tales, 11 vol. portrait 1879-81 18
680 Edwards (H. S.) The Lyrical Drama, 2 vol. 1881 6
Lamb (C.) Essays of Elia and Eliaana, portrait, n. d.; and 2 others 5 vol. 8
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685 Corneille (P.) Œuvres, avec Vie, etc. par Fontanella, portrait and plates, French mottled calf extra, g. e. ib. n. d. 10
686 Burns (R.) Poems, with Account of his Life, and Poems and Letters not printed in Dr. Currie's Edition, 2 vol. portrait, and plates by J. Burnet, red morocco gilt, g. e. Edinb. 1811 10
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690 Voltaire (M.) La Pucelle d'Orleans, fine plates by Moreau, half morocco gilt, uncut, t. e. g. Paris, Renouard, 1819 113
691 Milton (J.) Poetical Works, portrait and plates, red morocco extra, g. e. Arundel Poets, sq. 8vo. n. d. 7
692 Crankshank (G.) Fairy Library. Puss in Boots, sketches by G. C. n. d. 4
693 Tegetmeier (W. B.) Pigeons; their Structure, Varieties, Habits and Management, coloured plates from drawings by H. War n. d. 4
694 Bryan (M.) Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, with Additions by G. Stanley, plates of monograms 1873 15
695 Josephus (F.) Works, translated by W. Whiston, plates and cuts, morocco gilt, g. e. 1841 6
696 Dickens (C.) Martin Chuzzlewit, FIRST EDITION, illustrations by Phiz, calf extra, g. e. 1844 17
697 Dickens. Another copy, used copy, cloth 1844 5
698 Dickens (C.) American Notes, 2 vol. FIRST EDITION, uncut 1842 17

245 76

25

260 76

- 699 Dickens (C.) Story of Little Dombey, FIRST EDITION, original paper covers, scarce 1858 18
700 Epistres et Evangiles avec aucunes Prieres, black letter, numerous woodcuts (the same as subsequently used in the "Missale ad Usum Sarum, Paris, 1555," wants Sig. A I, II and VIII, and several leaves mended, extremely rare, half calf gilt, sold with all faults Antvers, M. Crome, 1540 12
701 Holbein (Hans) L'Alphabet de la Mort, woodcut borders and initial letters representing the "Dance of Death" Paris, 1856 3

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703 Garter (B.) A new Year's Gifts, dedicated to the Pope's Holiness, and all Catholices addicted to the Sea of Rome, title backed, with all faults, morocco 1579 7
704 Fairfax (Sir T.) Humble Remonstrances upon the State of Affairs, uncut, 1647—Harris (B.) Two Letters in Vindication of Himself, 1648; and others, half morocco, &c. 6 vol. 9
705 PUNCH, vol. 1 to 25 and 59 to 68, ORIGINAL ISSUE, many hundred illustrations, half bound, 1841-75 35 vol. 410
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707 Gibbon (E.) Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 6 vol. portrait; binding of vol. I broken, 1782-88—Gillies (J.) History of Ancient Greece, 2 vol. 1786 21
708 Seymour (R.) Sketches, Book of Cockney Sports, Whims, and Oddities, 180 humorous designs, half morocco n. d. 9
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710 Wilson (J. M.) Tales of the Borders, 6 vol. portrait, not uniform Edinb. 1835-40 5
711 Bigsby (J. K.) Flora and Fauna of the Silurian Period, with Addenda, plan Van Voorst, 1868 5
712 Scott (Sir W.) Lay of the Last Minstrel, first edition, 1805—Rokeby, first edition. Edinb. 1813; and others 5 vol. 1
713 Choimondeley-Pennell (H.) Puck on Pegasus, illustrations by Leech, Tenniel, &c. 1869; and another 2 vol. 26
714 Tomblinson, The Thames, with Descriptions by W. G. Fearnside, plates, half calf n. d. 4
715 Bartlett (W. B.) Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, plates, wants printed title, half morocco n. d. 6

271 2

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- 721 Discipulus de Eruditione Christiſidelium, woodcut on title and last leaf Colonia, 1506
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- 723 Reginaldetti (P.) Speculum finalis Retributionis, slightly worn Basilea, 1499
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- 726 Capito (W. F.) von der Spaltung zwischen M. Luther und A. Carolstadt, black letter Straszburg, 1524
- 727 Erasmus (D.) Von Wolfart, black letter s. l. 1522
- 728 Mohr (G.) Ermannung wider Schrecknus des Todes, black letter, woodcut border s. l. 1525
- 729 Hengbaldi Elogia, woodcut title Basilea, 1519
* Every line commences with the letter C.
- 730 ALPHABETS. A collection of 206 woodcut Initials mounted in an album
- 731 Davidson (B.) Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon Bagster, n. d.—Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book, 1846 2 vol.
- 732 Pick (Aaron) The Bible Student's Concordance 1845
- 733 Javenalis Satyre, Lutet. 1603—Chronology of the Hebrew Bible, by the Bp. of Clogher, 1747—Harris (J.) Lexicon Technicum, folio, 1704 2 vol.

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1 1 Lopez ✓
6 6 Riddle ✓
2 2 Casanova ✓
15 15 Raltrop ✓
8 8 Westcott ✓
3 3 Lomthou ✓
17 17 Faran ✓
2 6 — — ✓
4 4 — — ✓
7 7 — — ✓
7 7 — — ✓
8 8 — — ✓
5 5 — — ✓
3 3 — — ✓
11 11 — — ✓
4 4 — — ✓
7 7 — — ✓
1 1 — — ✓

279 14 6

FOLIO.

- 734 Chrysostomi (S. Joannis) Opera Graece, fine impression of the engraved title by Gaultier, 2 vol. old vellum folio. Etona, 1613
- 735 Chambers (W. and R.) Edinburgh Journal, 12 vol. folio, Edinb. 1833-44—New (Second) Series, 20 vol. imp. 8vo. 1844-54—Chambers' Journal (Third Series), 20 vol. imp. 8vo. 1854-64—Fourth Series, 11 vol. imp. 8vo. 1864-74 63 vol.
- 736 Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, 18 engravings after Prout, Cattermole, &c. half morocco gilt 1833
- 737 Harding (J. D.) Sketches at Home and Abroad, 69 large lithographic plates, title and dedication leaf cut short, and some plates foxed, half morocco 1845
- 738 Turner Gallery, with a Memoir and Illustrative Text by R. N. Wornum, 60 engraved plates from the principal works of J. M. W. Turner, half morocco extra, g. s. 1875
- 739 Oriental Portfolio, No. 1 and 2, 11 large lithographic plates 1838
- 740 Jerung (Henrici) Elucidarius Scripturarum, painted capitals, Nurnberg per F. Creuzner, 1476—Gregorii Papae (B.) Liber Epistolarum, with 14 large woodcut initials and devices of the printer printed in colours on the first page s. l. & a. sed Aug. Vind. G. Zainer, circa 1472, very fine copy, with many rough leaves, in stamped pigskin, with ornamented brass clasps. in 1 vol.
* From the Monastic Library at Buxheim.
- 741 PETRI COMESTORIS HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA, numerous woodcut initials, with printer's device printed in colours at bottom of first page, very large copy, with rough leaves, in stamped pigskin, with clasps, very scarce.
(Aug. Vind.) G. Zainer, 1473
* From the Monastic Library at Buxheim.
- 742 Johannis Friburgensis Summa Confessorum, numerous small and 25 large woodcut initials, forming a complete alphabet, very large copy, with rough leaves, in stamped pigskin, with clasp (Aug. Vind. per G. Zainer), 1476
* From the Monastic Library at Buxheim.
- 743 Johannis Friburgensis. Another copy, wanting the Index, sold with all faults ib. 1476
- 744 Durer (A.) Vie de la Sainte Vierge Marie en vingt Gravures sur Bois decrite en Vers Latins par Chelidonius. Réproduction, Procédé de P. W. Van de Weijer avec une Introduction par Ch. Ruelens.
Facsimile reprint, Utrecht, s. d.

279 14 6

19 19 Bucer ✓
2 2 Lupton ✓
3 3 Riddle ✓
10 10 Riddle ✓
3 2 6 Riddle ✓
1 1 Salfield ✓
2 4 Riddle ✓
2 4 Roughton ✓
1 19 Lowles ✓
3 3 Salfield ✓
11 11 Riddle ✓

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- 743 Berchorii (Petri) Liber Biblicae moralis, woodcut border and initials by B. Zeiblum, very large copy, with rough leaves, very slightly wormed, in the original wooden boards, with pigskin back, sold with all faults
Cimae, J. Zeiner de Reutlingen, 1474
1 14 Sancti Petri ✓
- * * With numerous contemporary MS. Notes, probably by John Waitther, Priest of St. Mary at Memmingen, by whom the copy was presented to the Monastery at Buxheim.
746 Ambrosii (Sancti) Opera, 3 vol. FIRST COMPLETE EDITION, woodcut portrait of the Saint, initial letter and border to vol. II. illuminated in gold and colours, fine large copy stamped pigskin, with clasps
Basilea, J. de Amerbach, 1492
1 17 B. C. ✓
- * * From the Monastic Library at Buxheim.
747 Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiae cum Editione commentaria B. Thomae de Aquino, very slightly wormed else fine copy, with borders and initial letters finely illuminated in gold and colours, contemporary wooden boards, covered with stamped leather, from the Carthusian Monastery at Buxheim
Nuremberg, A. Koberger, 1486
2 11 K. B. ✓
- 748 Apiani (P.) Folium Populi Instrumentum recens inventum Latine et Germanice descriptum, woodcut on title by J. Bink, with Loudeberg coat of Arms on reverse
Ingolstadtii, 1533
3 Sancti Petri ✓
- 749 Foresti de Bergamo (Fray Diego) Libro llamado Suplemento de todas las Cronicas del Mundo traducido por N. Viñoles, black letter, woodcuts, wants title, a ii. and folio ccccxxvi, but has the tabla, sold with all faults
Valencia, 1510
7 S. Petri ✓
- * * Excessively rare. According to Salva no well preserved or perfect copy is known.
750 Monstrelet (E. de) Chronique, Tiers Volume, black letter, woodcuts, ruled
Paris, 1512
7 H. W. ✓
- 751 Petrarca (F.) Rime numerous MS. Notes, scarce
Venetia, per Philippum Venetum, 1482
16 A. R. ✓
- 752 Bacon (T.) Dialogus betweene chancell and the Shepherdes (in Verse), portion of Works, black letter
1563
5 H. W. ✓
- 753 Ornamental Designs by Tyroff, Weigel, Marot, La Potre, Van Merien, Caillouet, Delafosse, &c. 54 plates containing 25 designs
4 A. R. ✓
- 754 Woodcuts of Military Orders from the Tesoro Militar de Cavalleria and various fragments of imperfect Books, with woodcut capitals
a parcel
26 S. Petri ✓
- 755 Decker (P.) Ornamental Designs 20 plates
6 A. R. ✓

202.156

ESTATE	1st rate houses	2nd rate houses	3rd rate houses	4th rate houses	total	esti- mated rental includ- ing ground rent £	esti- mated gross value £
Stanford, Bennett and Brunswick Street, Albion Street, Newgate and Giltspur Streets, Eastcheap, Tyndale Place, Crescent Place, New Bridge Street, Water Lane, Old Broad Street, and Clapham Common. 1785-1792	17	24	15	14	70	7,420	90,300
Foundling Estate 1792-1802	29	159	172	226	586	36,240	296,700
Bedford Estate 1798-1803	132	43	8	153	336	32,240	299,400
Skinners Estate 1807-1816	4	146	284	189	623	21,190	309,600
Lucas Estate 1808-1814	1	0	143	67	211	10,120	78,800
Kent 1803-1807	3	0	4	20	27	1,500	25,000
Regent Street &c 1815-1823	39	104	38	10	191	29,170	338,400
Regent's Park 1815-1823	76	21	14	78	189	25,060	317,100
Colonel Eyre's Estate 1818-1823	10	3	116	4	133	9,060	93,600
TOTALS					2366	172,300	1,848,900

Table 1 Townhouses of all rates constructed by James Burton 1785-1823

Taken from: R Dobie, *The History of the United Parishes of St Giles in the Field and St George Bloomsbury*, London 1829. 'Abstract Statement of Buildings erected by or for a Individual, from 1785 to 1823, both inclusive; exclusively of Buildings erected for others under his superintendence.'

Name of estate and dates between which work carried out	1st Rate Houses	2nd Rate Houses	3rd Rate Houses	4th Rate Houses	Total number of houses
The Foundling Estate 1792-1802	29	159	172	226	586
The Bedford Estate 1798-1803	132	43	8	153	336
The Skinners Company Estate 1807-1816	4	146	284	189	623
The Lucas Estate 1808-1814	1	0	143	67	211
Total number of houses	166	348	607	635	1756

Table 2 James Burton's Building Activities in Bloomsbury

Based on the figures in Table 1

Table 3 A complete list of the Houses and Tenements built on the Foundling Hospital Estate since 1792, and on that of his Grace the Duke of Bedford since 1798, within the Parish of St George, Bloomsbury.

From R Dobie, *The History of the United Parishes of St Giles in the Field and St George's Bloomsbury*, London 1829.

Name of Street	Number of houses	Name of Street	Number of houses
Abbey Place	17	Keppel Mews, South	35
Bloomsbury Square	10	Keppel Mews, North	42
Brunswick Square	12	Montague Place	35
Bedford Place	40	Montague Street	36
Bedford Place Upper	50	Montague Mews	13
Bernard Street	40	Marchmont Street	40
Brunswick Mews	21	Marchmont Place	20
Coram Street, Great	59	Rhodes Mews	9
Compton Street	9	Torrington Square	70
Coram Street, Little	33	Torrington Street	5
Coram Place	16	Torrington Street, Little	6
Chapel Place	16	Tavistock Mews	21
Colonnade	26	Russell Square	65
Everett Street	29	Russell Place	16
Guilford Street	14	Wilmot Street	27
Guilford Street, Little	33	Russell Mews	7
Hunter Street	37	Woburn Place	51
Hunter Mews	7	Woburn Mews	21
Henrietta Street	29	Woburn Mews, West	13
Henrietta Mews	23	Southampton Row, West	20
Kenton Street	41	Southampton Mews, D ^o	39
Keppel Street	40		

Total number of houses and tenements built 1198
number built by James Burton between 1792-1803 663
number built by James Burton in St Pancras parish 259

Table 4 Number of houses in Bloomsbury in the years 1623, 1732, 1734, 1799 & 1829

R Dobie's calculations for the total number of houses built in Bloomsbury over a two hundred year period. From R Dobie, *The History of the United Parishes of St Giles in the Field and St George's Bloomsbury*, London 1829.

Year	Number of houses
1623	136
1732	900
1739	954
1799	916*
1829	1976

* Dobie contests this figure stating that there are no records of houses being demolished. He does not claim that there was any significant increase over the 1739 figure.

Situations	rent per foot	D ^o . for redemption of land tax	average fronts	D ^o . depths of houses	whole depth	?sewer may be added on mortgage £
Bloomsbury Sq N	21/.	6/.	21.6	36	80	400
Montague St W	20/.	5/6	25	40	110	350
D ^o ----- -E	16/.	4/6	21	35	65	
Bedford Pl	21/.	6/.	25	40	110	450
South(ampton) row W	16/.	4/6	21	36	65	300
Russell Sq S	21/.	6/.	27	40	90	450
D ^o -----W	25/.	6/.	27	40	110	350
Bernard St N	15/6	4/.	21	33	70	350
D ^o ----- S	12/9	3/6	20	30	53	300
Wilmot St E	12/6	2/6	17	28	60	150
D ^o ----- W	12/6	2/6	17	28	60	150
Brunswick Sq W	21/.	3/6	19	45	100	400
Grt Coram St N	12/6		20	30	65	250
D ^o ----- W	8/6		15	24	40	100
Tavistock Sq E	21/.	3/6	24	38	60	350
Mews	5/.	1/.	25	25		
South[ampton] Terr E	15/.		22	37	65	300

Table 5 Excerpt from James Burton's notebook and diary. Entry for year 1800 showing the arrangement of leases.

Manuscript Sources

Complete references given in the text.

The principal sources were:

Records of the Crown Estate Office held at the Public Record Office in London indicated by the prefix Cres

Records of the Office of Public Works held at the Public Record Office in London indicated by the prefix Work

Drawings relating to the Records of the Offices of Woods and Works held at the Public Record Office in London indicated by the prefixes MPE and MPI

Records of the Office of Public Works in Ireland held at the National Archives of Ireland in Dublin indicated by the prefix OPW

Treasury Minutes held at the Public Record Office in London indicated by the prefix T29

Other sources in London are held at

The Bedford Estate Office

The British Museum

The Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection and Library

Sir John Soane's Museum

The Victoria and Albert Museum

Westminster Library

The private collection of the Burtons' descendants

Other sources outside London are held at

The Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin

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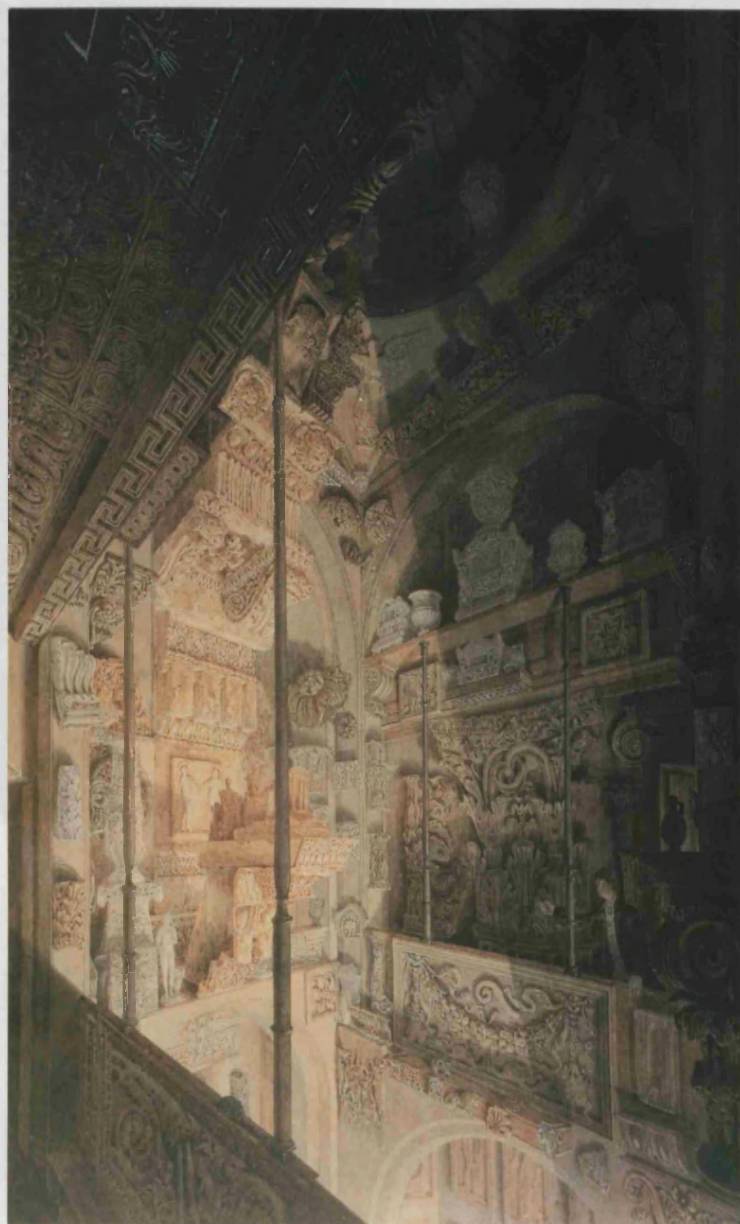
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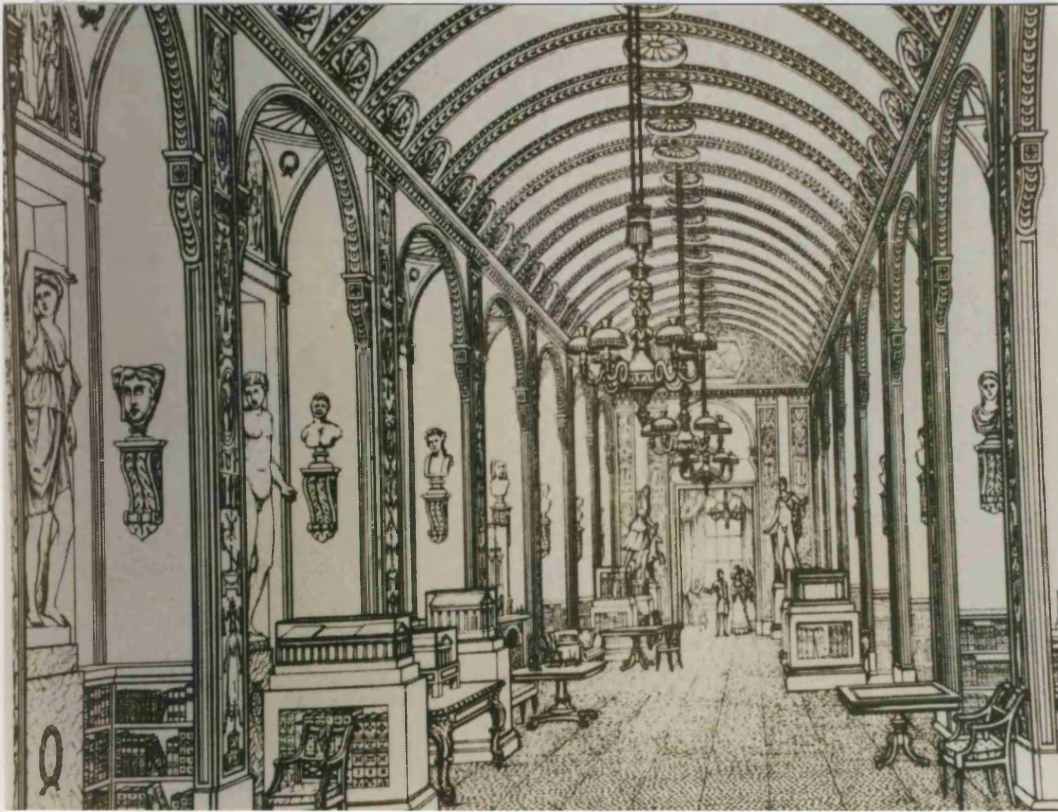
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Illustrations

Chapter 1 plate 1, *A view of the Dome area of Sir John Soane's Museum by lamplight*, J M Gandy, c1812, watercolour, Sir John Soane's Museum.



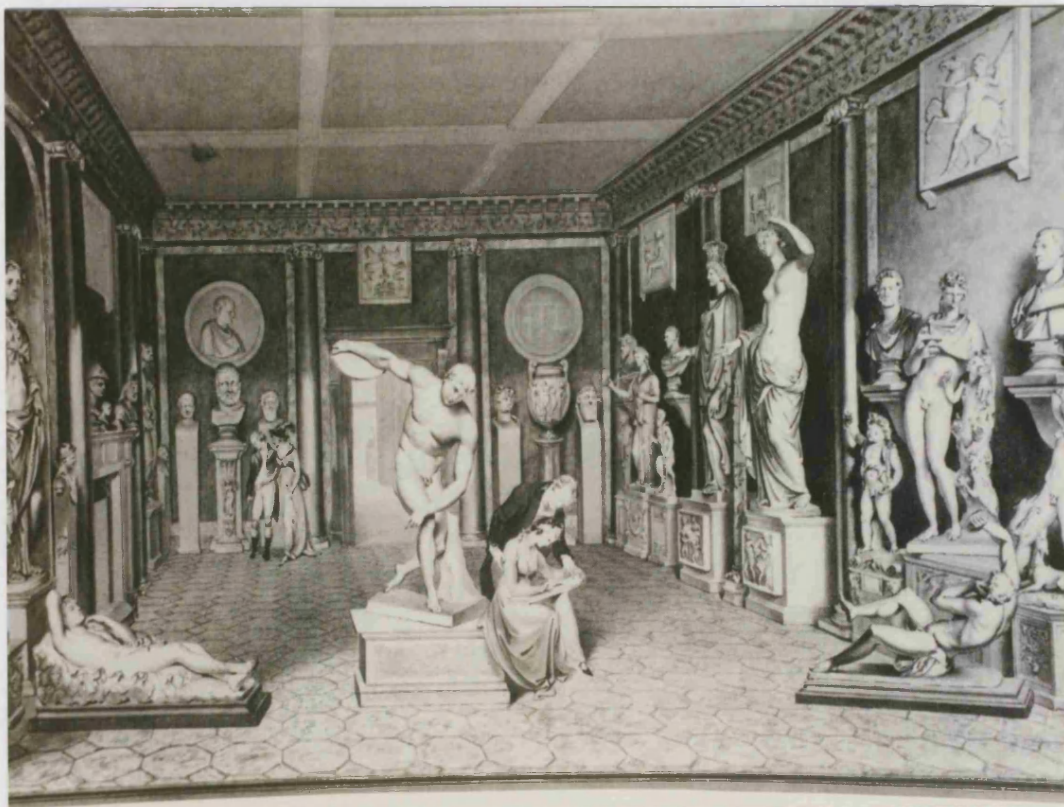
Chapter 1 plate 2, *The Gallery at John Nash's House,, Regent Street*, from Pugin and Britton, *Public Buildings of London*, 1827.



Chapter 1 plate 3, *A view of the lobby at the top of the stairs from the dining room, Spring Gardens*, Decimus Burton, undated, watercolour, private collection.



Chapter 1 plate 4, *The Dining Room of Charles Townley's residence, 7 Park Street*, unsigned, undated, watercolour, private collection.



Chapter 1 plate 5, *The Entrance Hall of Charles Townley's residence, 7 Park Street*, unsigned, undated, watercolour, private collection.



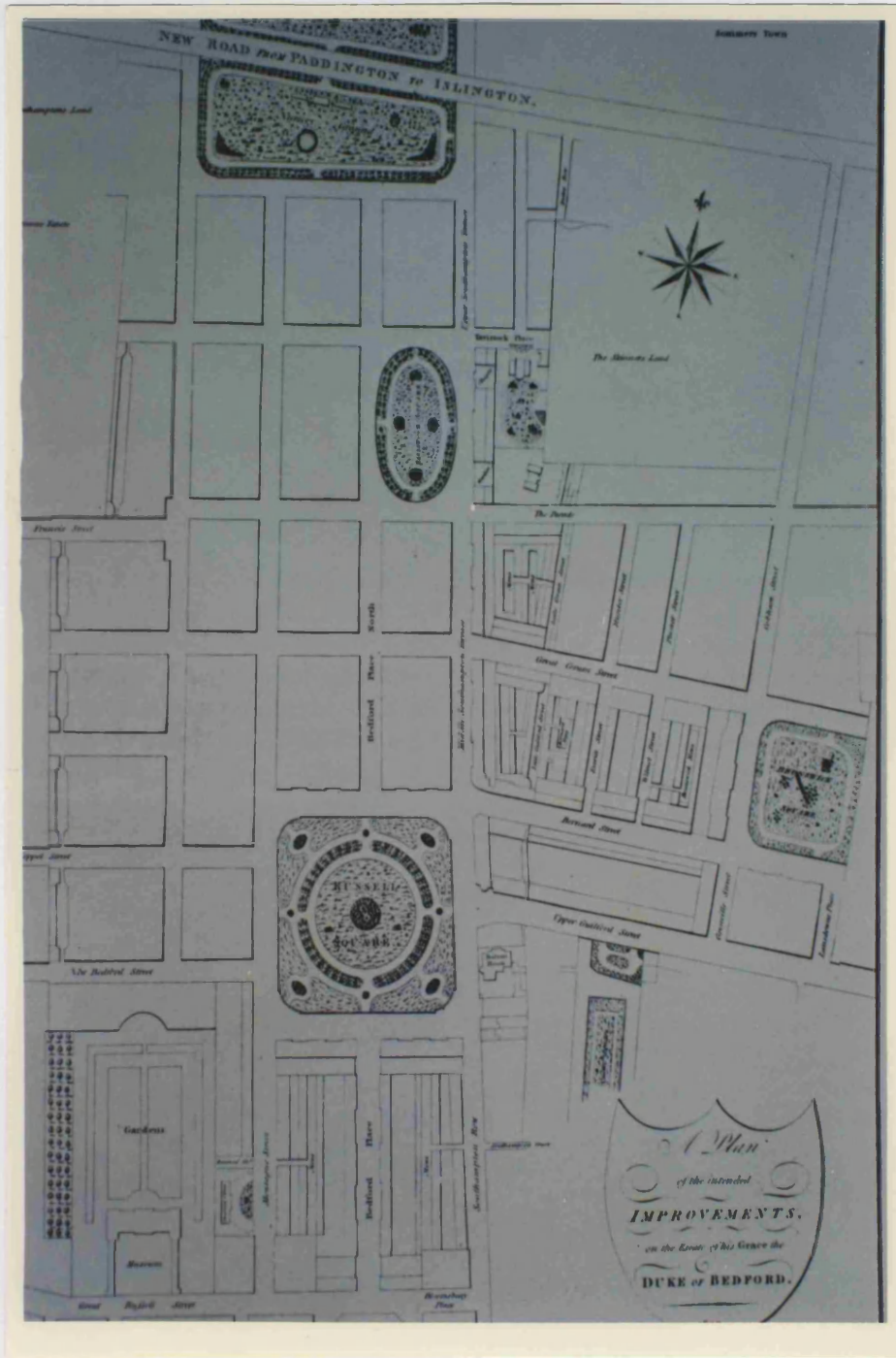
Chapter 2 plate 1, James Burton's work in Bloomsbury, indicated on W Faden, *New Pocket Plan of London*, 1812, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



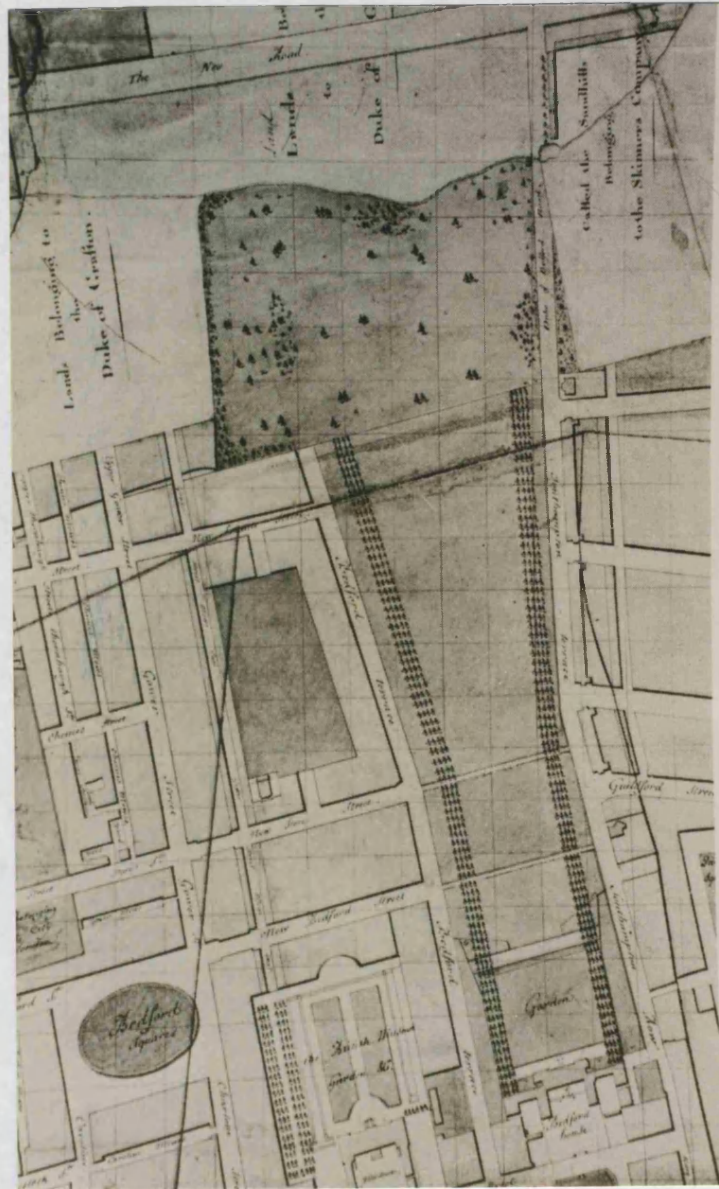
Chapter 2 plate 1, James Burton's work in Bloomsbury, indicated on W Faden, *New Pocket Plan of London*, 1812, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



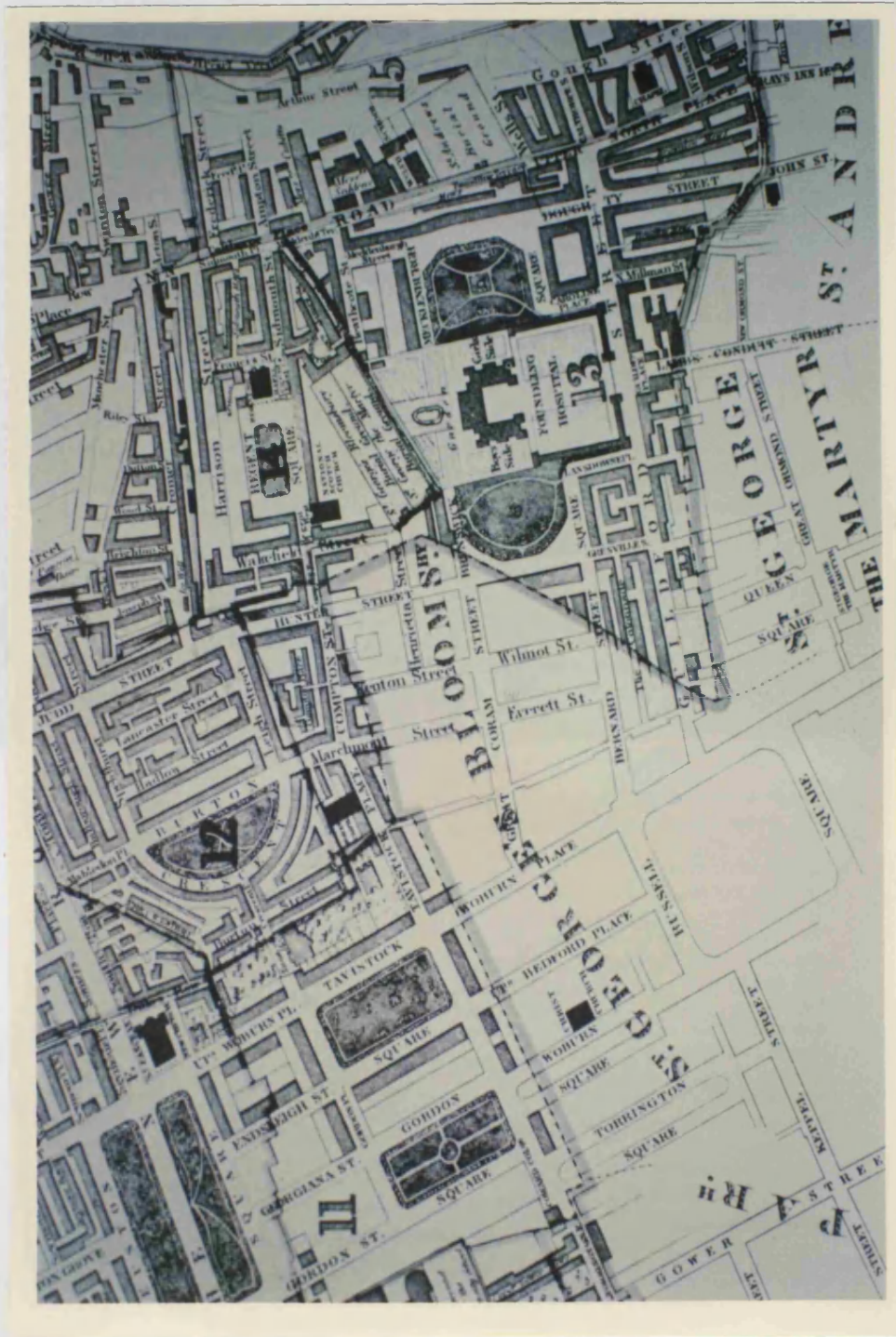
Chapter 2 plate 2, Detail of a plan of the Bloomsbury estate, 1800. The plan states that further particulars may be known from Mr Burton, Southampton Terrace, Bloomsbury.



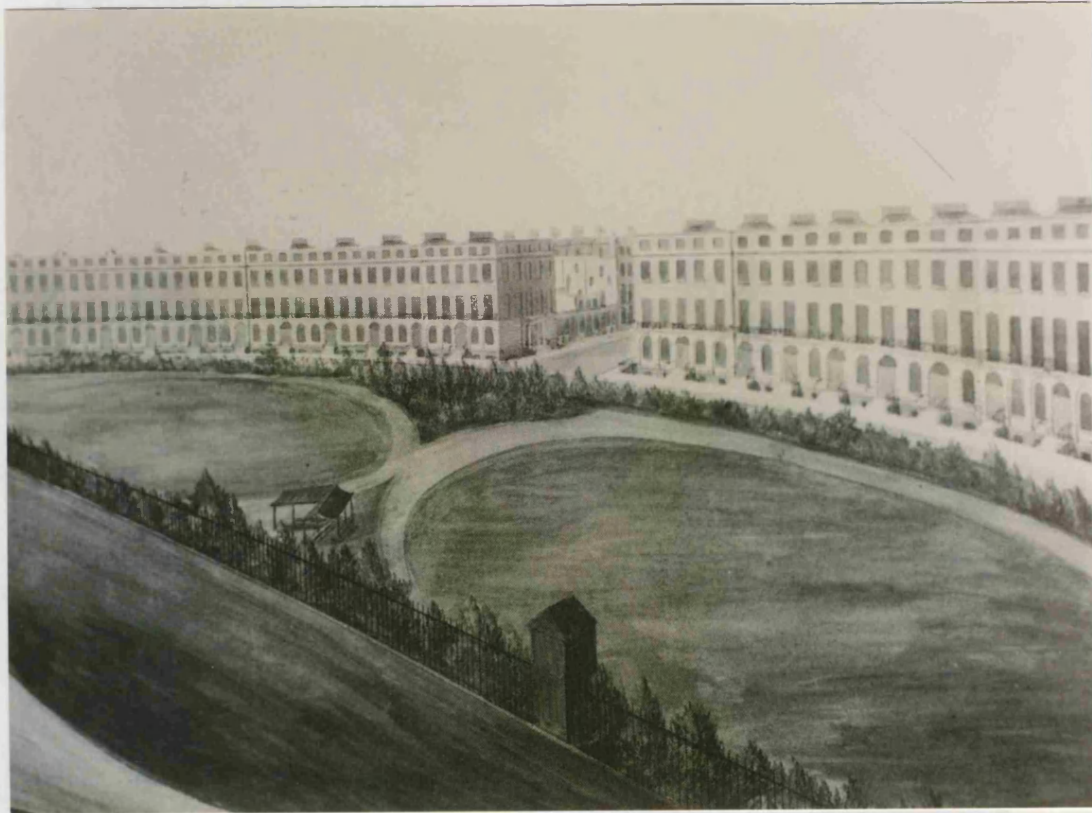
Chapter 2 plate 3, Detail of a plan showing the area north of Bedford House before its demolition in 1800. This shows how the gardens of Bedford House divided Bloomsbury inhibiting the east-west flow of traffic, the land referred to as Sandhills to the north-east was owned by the Skinner's Company and developed by James Burton.



Chapter 2 plate 4, Detail of Horwood's map of London showing the layout of Burton Crescent, 1816, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



Chapter 2 plate 5, *Perspective view of Burton Crescent*, Robert Chantrell, 1813, watercolour, Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 3 plate 1, The area of London between Carlton House and the Mary le bone Park before the construction of Regent Street. W Faden, *New Pocket Plan of London*, 1812, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



Chapter 3 plate 1, The area of London between Carlton House and the Mary le bone Park before the construction of Regent Street. W Faden, *New Pocket Plan of London*, 1812, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



Chapter 3 plate 3, Waterloo Place (looking towards Piccadilly Circus), constructed by James Burton 1815-16, engraving after T H Shepherd.

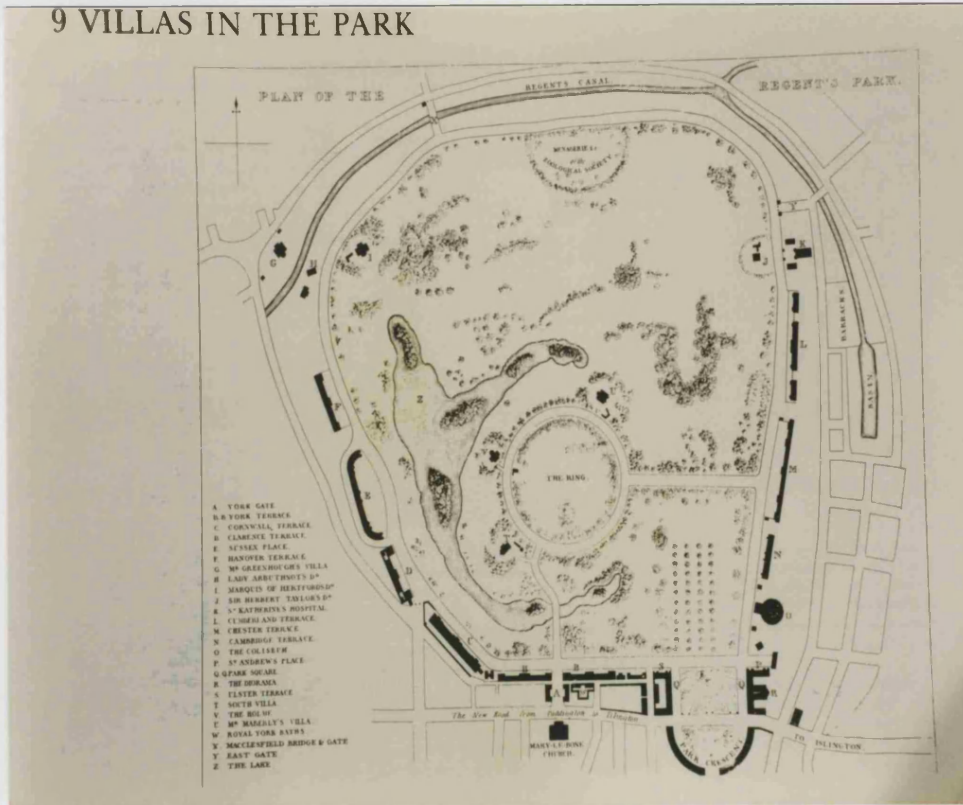


Chapter 3 plate 4, Nos 133-167 and 171-95 Regent Street, built by James Burton 1820-1822. From R Sandeman and G Leighton, *Grand Architectural Panorama of London*, 1849. Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.

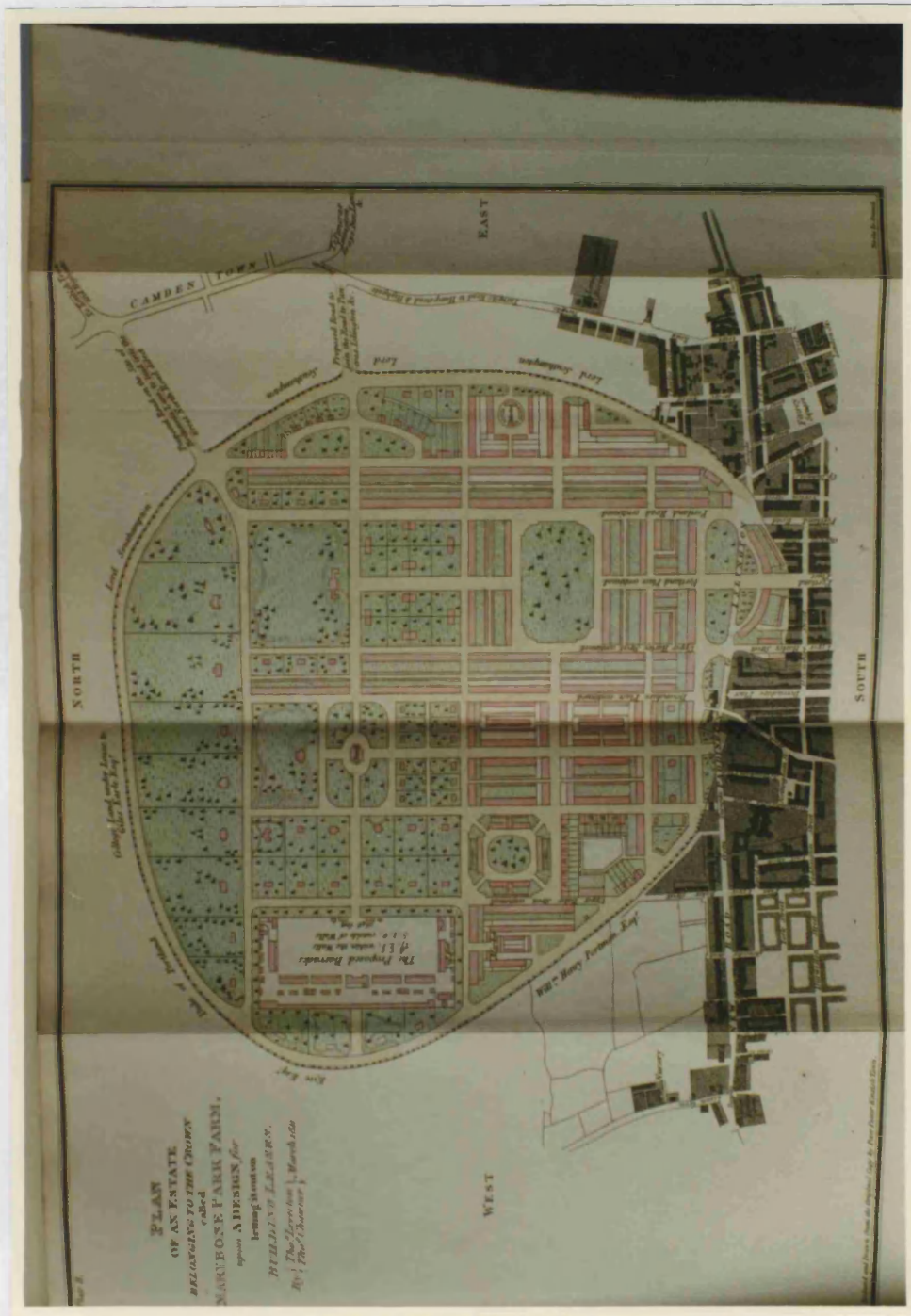


Chapter 4 plate 2, Plan of Regent's Park showing the eight villas and other elements of the original plan which were constructed. From P Miller, *Decimus Burton 1800-1881*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1981.

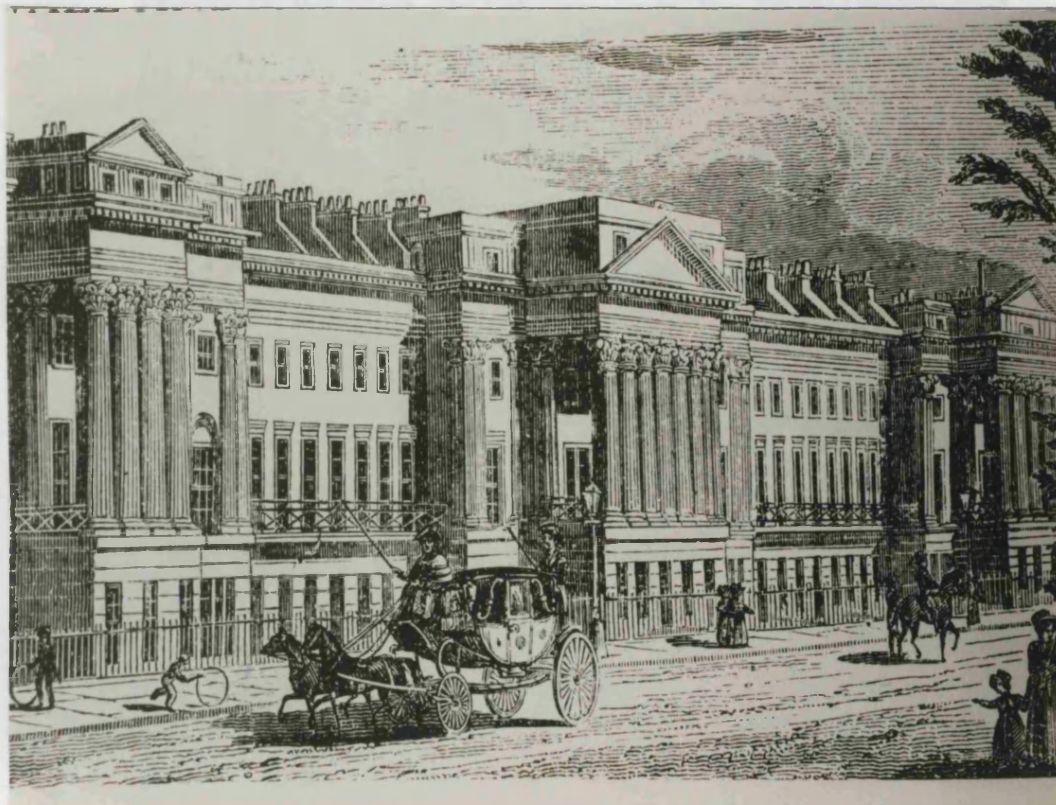
9 VILLAS IN THE PARK



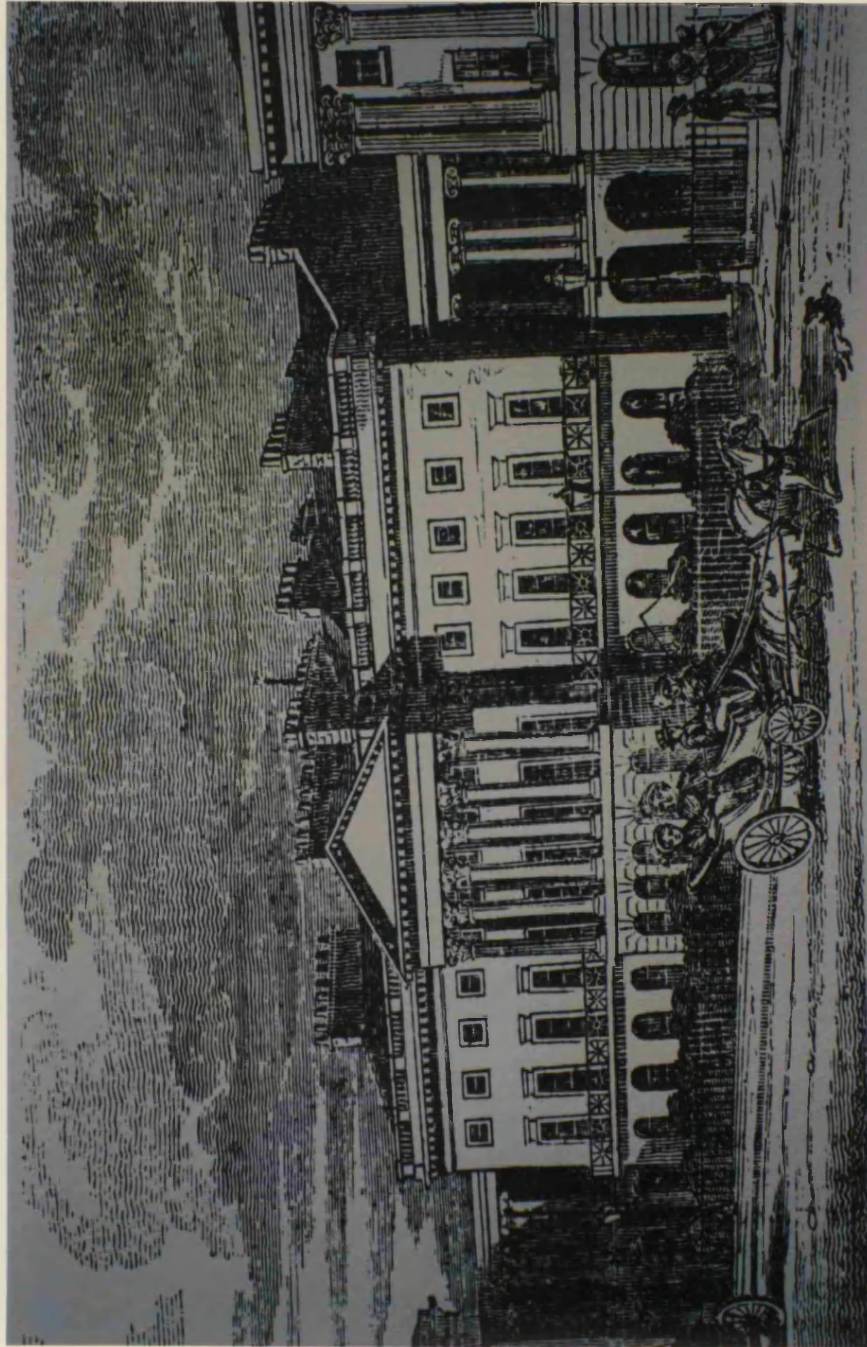
Chapter 4 plate 3, T Leverton and T Chawner's plan for the development of Regent's Park, 1811 as illustrated in J White, *Proposed Improvements in the Western part of London*, 2nd ed, 1815. Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection. This plan contains many of the same elements as Nash's including a barracks, terraces of houses, free standing houses/villas, a church and ?perhaps a royal pavilion facing the end of the continuation of Portland Place.



Chapter 4 plate 4, Cornwall Terrace, 1821-3, designed by Decimus Burton as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, 1827.



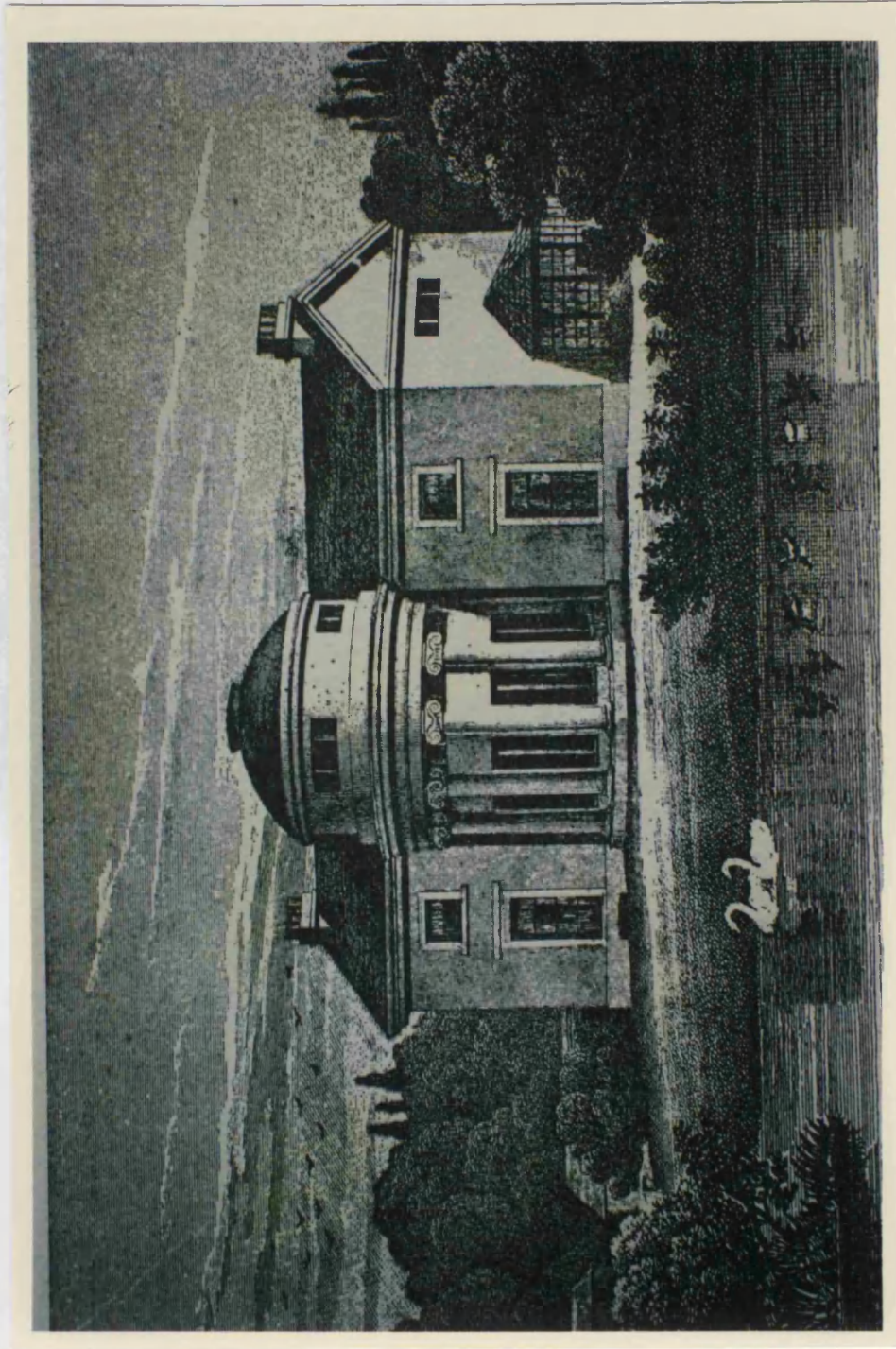
Chapter 4 plate 5, Clarence Terrace, 1822-4, designed by Decimus Burton as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, 1827.



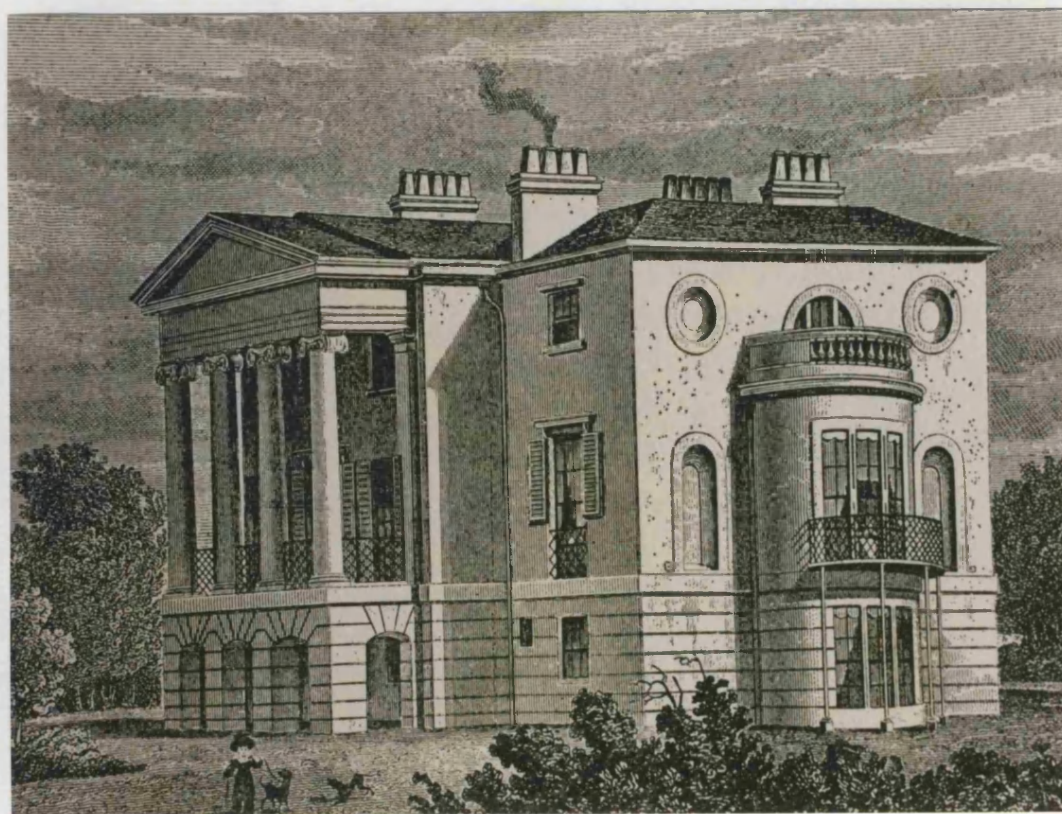
Chapter 4 plate 6, Chester Terrace, 1824-5, designed by John Nash and built by James Burton with some alterations, as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, 1827.



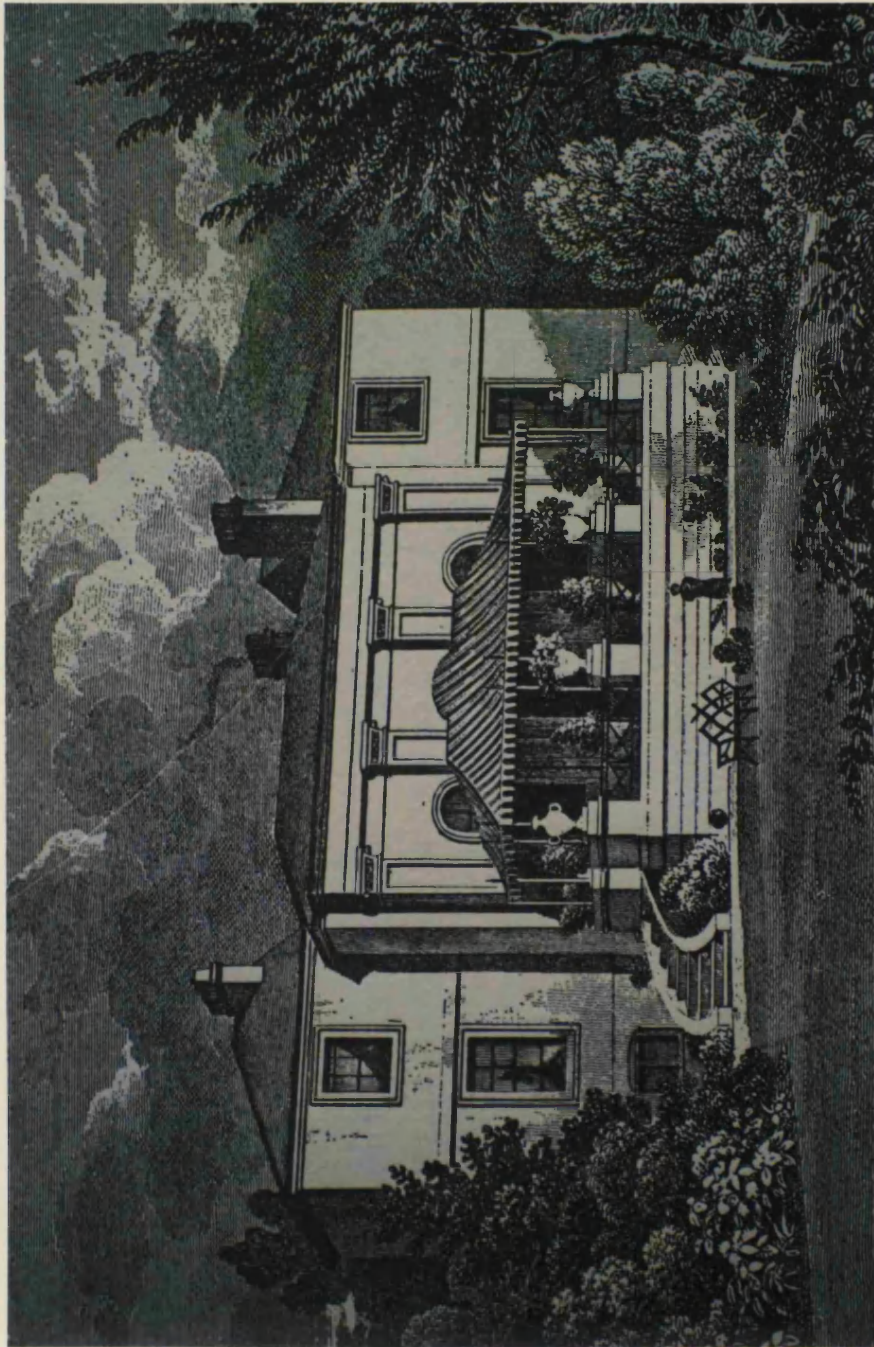
Chapter 4 plate 7, The Holme, Regent's Park, 1818, designed by Decimus Burton and built by James Burton, as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, 1827.



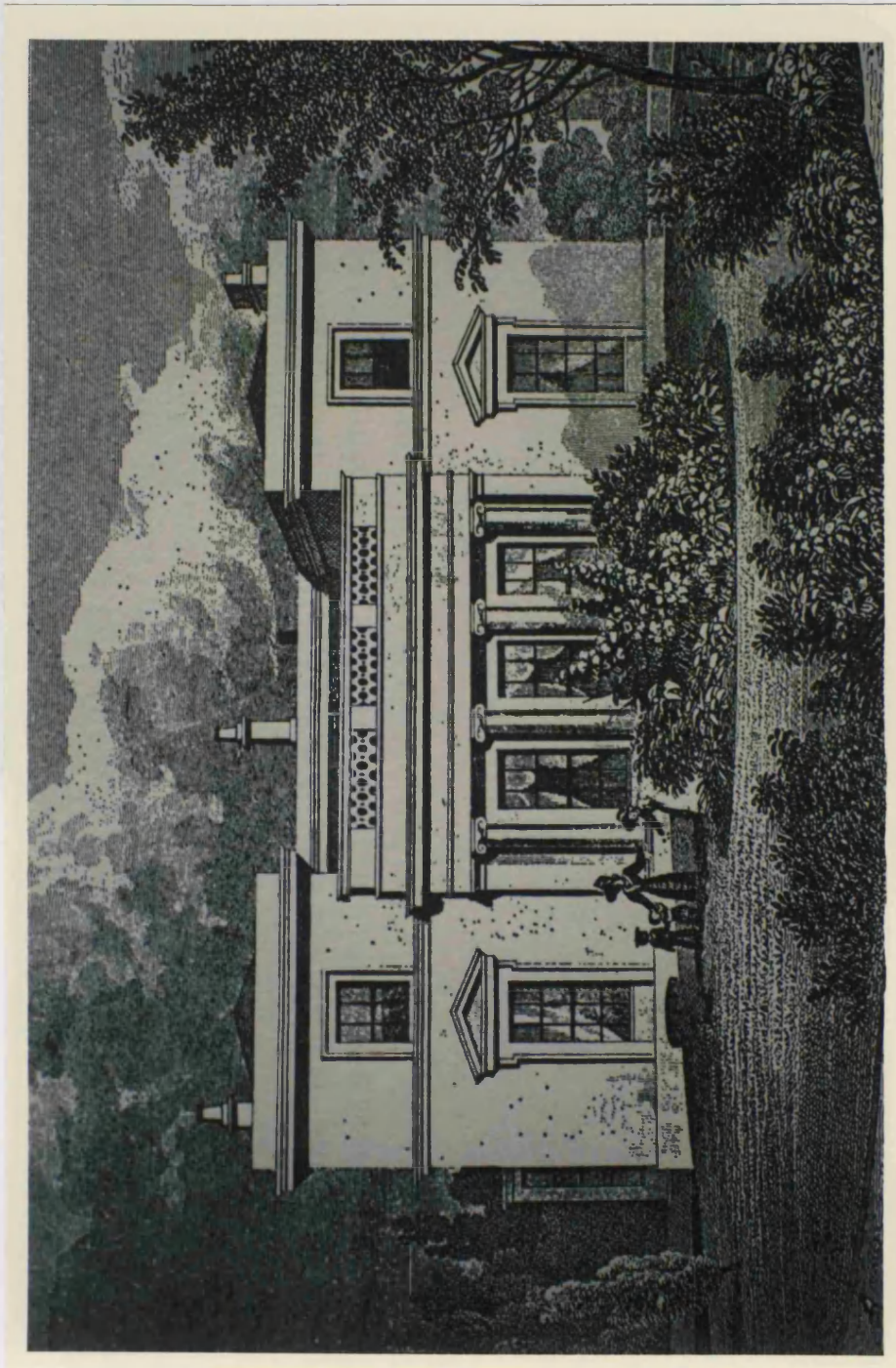
Chapter 4 plate 8, South Villa, Regent's Park, 1819, designed by Decimus Burton and built by James Burton, as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, 1827.



Chapter 4 plate 9, Albany Cottage, Regent's Park, c 1824
designed by C R Cockerell, as illustrated in J Elmes, *Metropolitan
Improvements*, 1827.



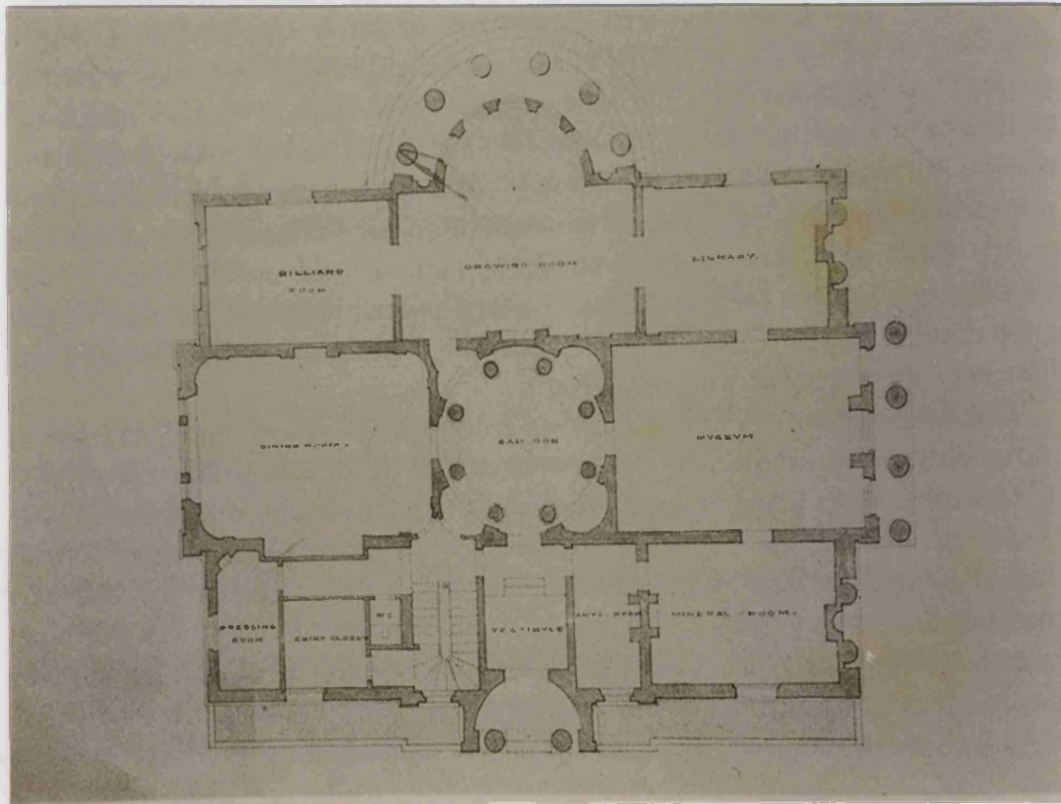
Chapter 4 plate 10, Hanover Lodge, Regent's Park, c 1827
designed by Decimus Burton, as illustrated in J Elmes,
Metropolitan Improvements, 1827.



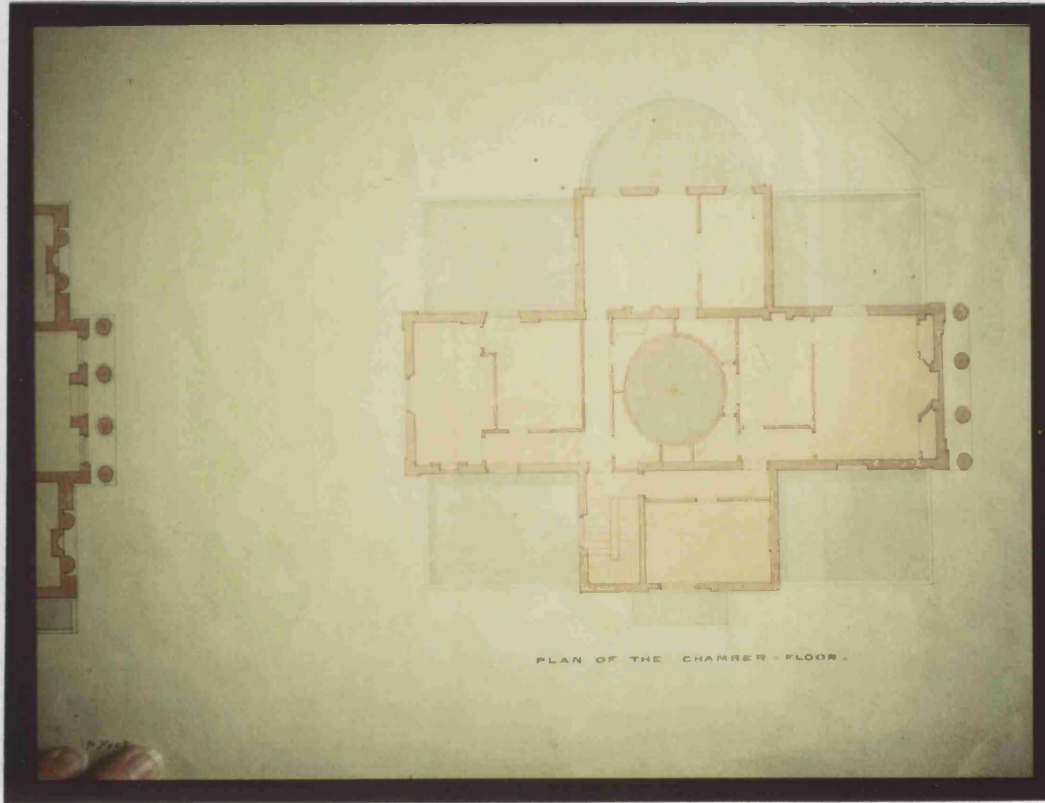
Chapter 4 plate 11a, The Garden Facade of The Grove, Regent's Park by Decimus Burton, 1822-4. Detail of a sheet of designs, watercolour, Victoria and Albert Museum, D 1310-1907.



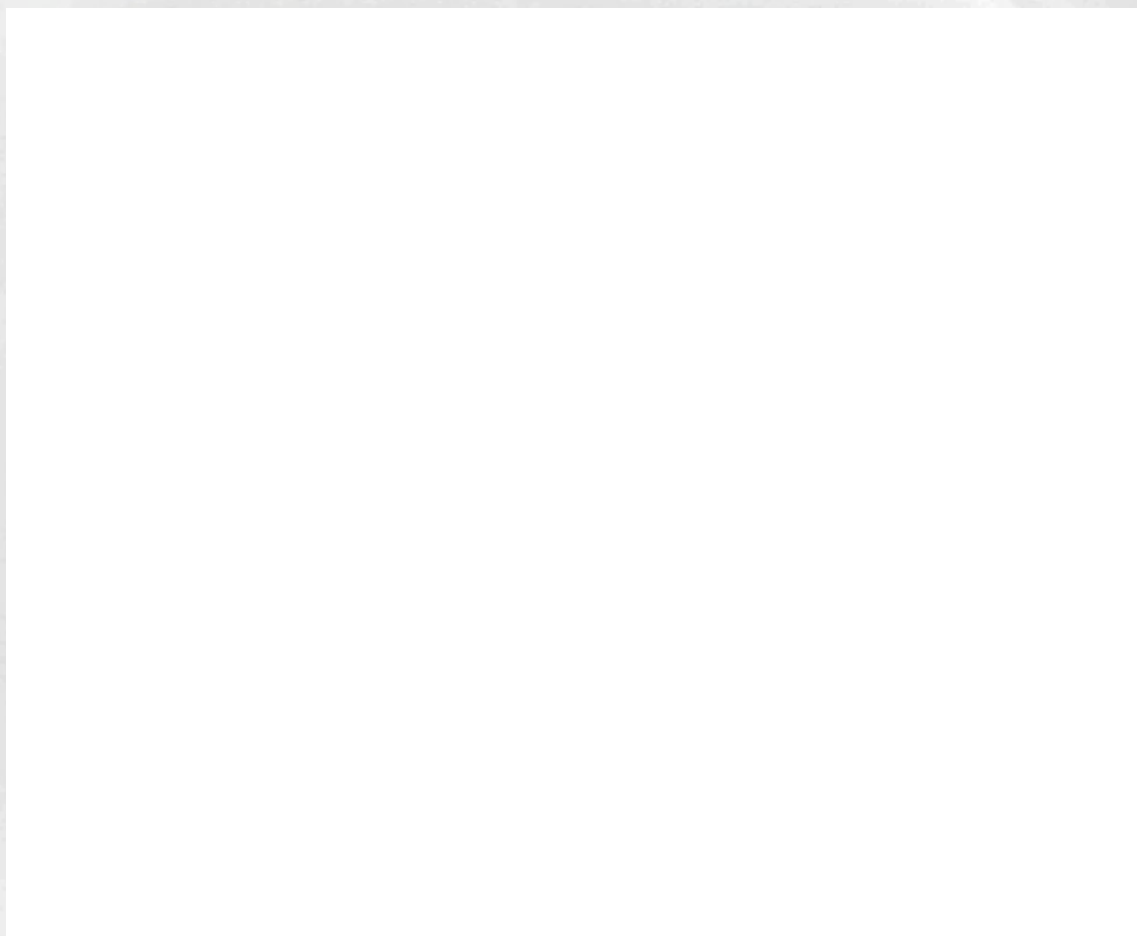
Chapter 4 plate 11b, Plan of the ground floor of The Grove, Regent's Park by Decimus Burton, 1822-4. Detail of a sheet of designs, watercolour Victoria and Albert Museum, D 1310-1907.



Chapter 4 plate 11c, Plan of the chamber floor The Grove, Regent's Park by Decimus Burton, 1822-4. Detail of a sheet of designs , watercolour, Victoria and Albert Museum, D 1310-1907.



Chapter 4 plate 12, South Facade of St Dunstan's Villa, Regent's
Park by Decimus Burton, 1825-6, The Architectural Association.



Chapter 4 plate 13, Plan of the ground floor of St Dunstan's
Villa, Regent's Park by Decimus Burton, 1825-6, The
Architectural Association.



Chapter 5 plate 1, The position of Hyde Park Corner and the turnpike gates as shown in W Faden, *New Pocket Plan of London*, 1812, Yale Centre for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection.



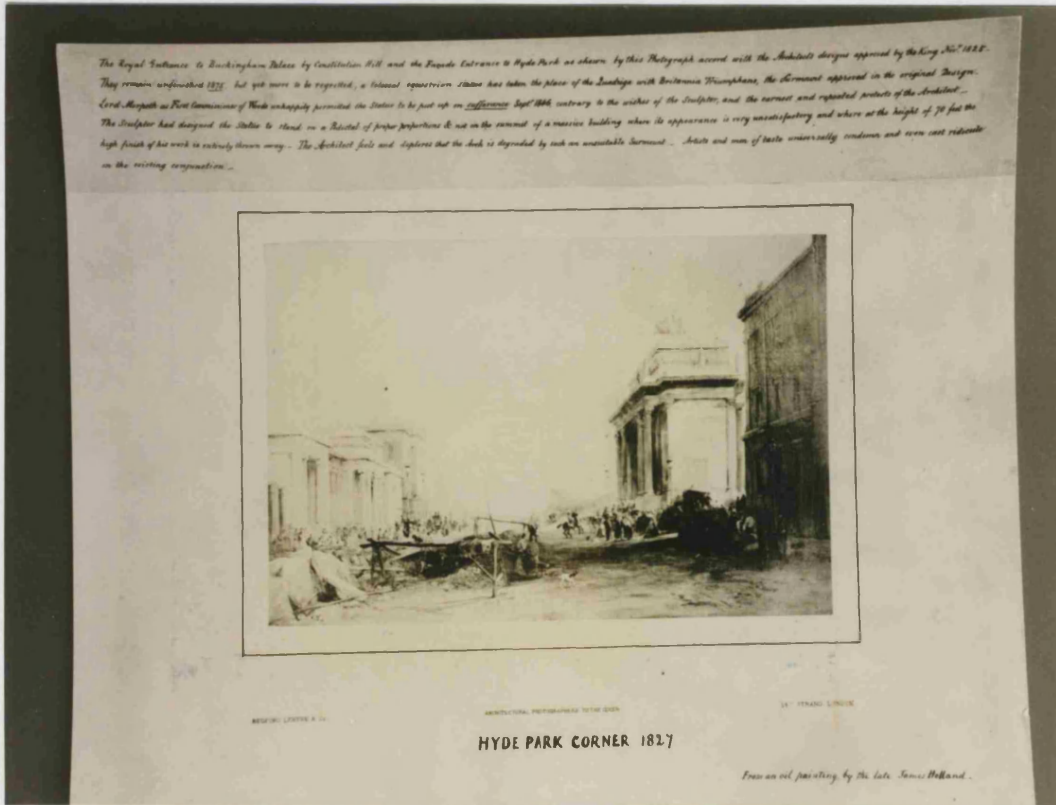
Chapter 5 plate 2, A view of Hyde Park Corner before Burton's work began. Private Collection



Chapter 5 plate 3a, A view of Hyde Park Corner showing
Burton's improvements possible based on a photograph (plate
3b). Private Collection.



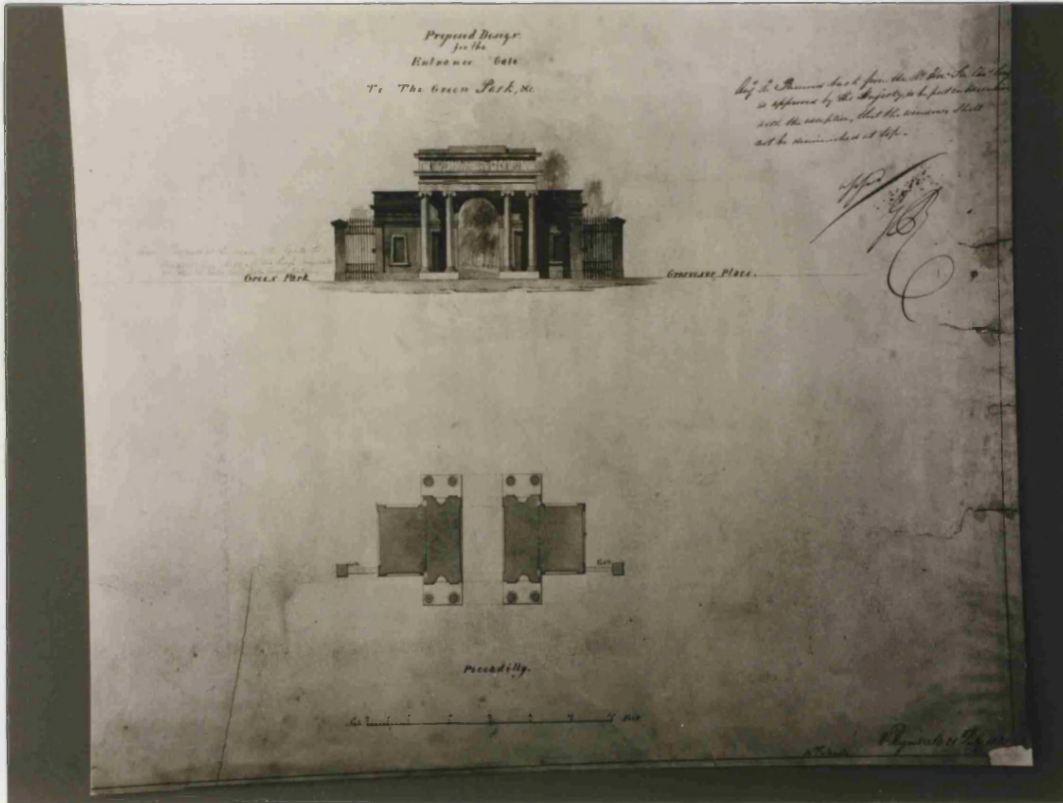
Chapter 5 plate 3b, A photograph showing Hyde Park Corner after Burton's work. Victoria and Albert Museum, uncatalogued, in box 149 a.



Chapter 5 plate 4, The new layout at Hyde Park Corner showing the Achilles Statue aligned to the Hyde Park Screen and the Green Park Arch. Burton's improvements to the Grosvenor and Stanhope Gates and the widening of the carriage drive running parallel to Park Lane (discussed in chapter 6) are also indicated. Unsigned, dated 23 May 1823, Cres 2 /637.



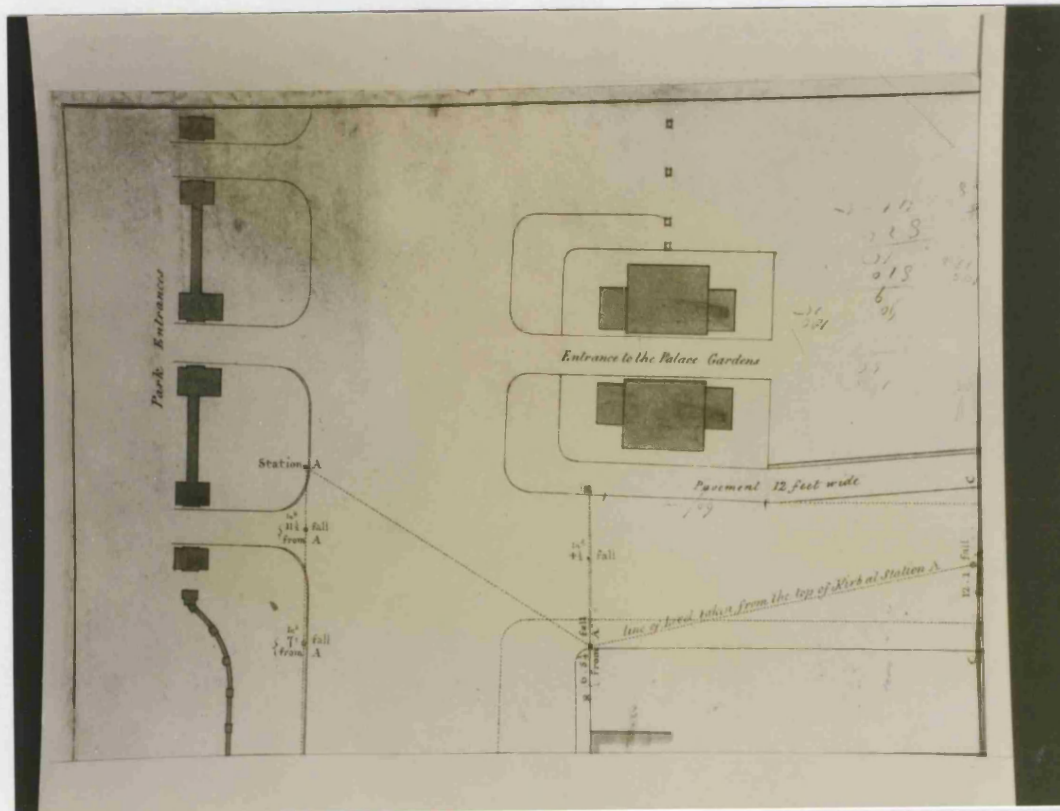
Chapter 5 plate 5, Design for the Green Park Arch, by Decimus Burton 20th July 1825 and approved by George IV. Victoria and Albert Museum E 2334-1910 A 149a.



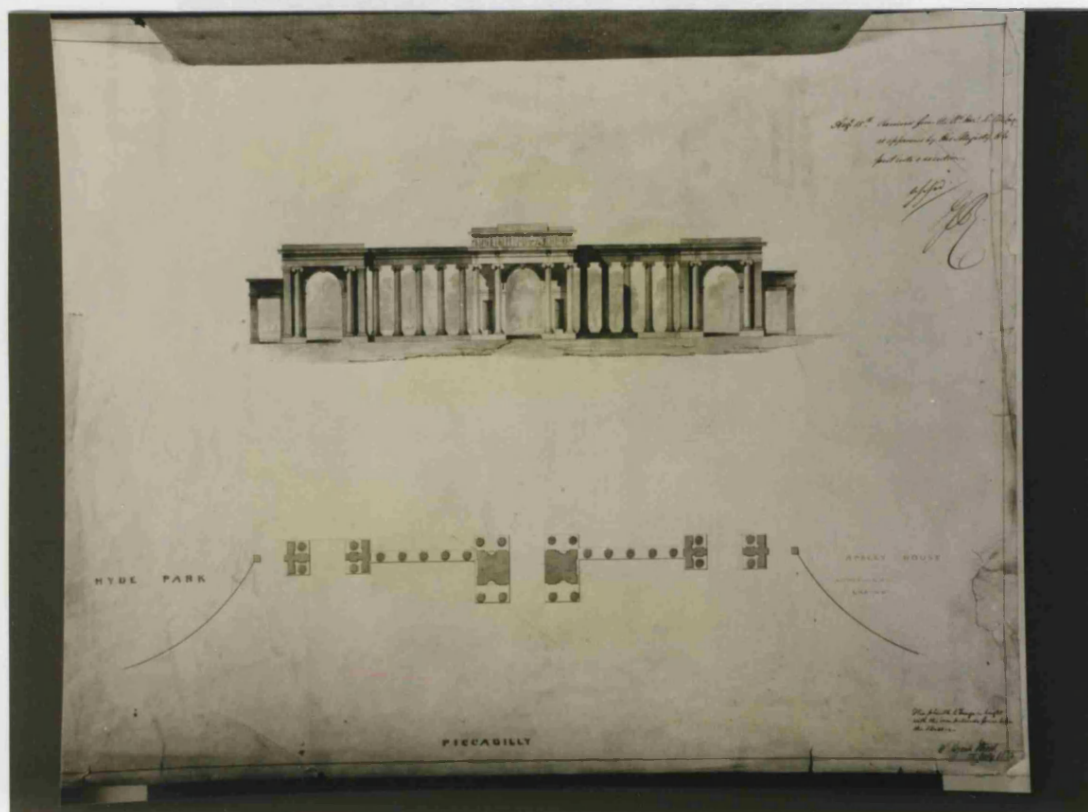
Chapter 5 plate 6, The Marble Arch, by John Nash, 1825 as it is today.



Chapter 5 plate 7, Plan showing the alignment of the Hyde Park Screen and Green Park Arch and the altering of the road levels. PRO, MPE 796, undated, by EJ Ward, Upper Eaton Street, Pimlico.



Chapter 5 plate 8, Design for the Hyde Park Screen, by Decimus Burton, 20th July 1825 and approved by George IV. Victoria and Albert Museum D 1299-1907



Chapter 5 plate 9 Revised design for the Green Park Arch, by Decimus Burton, 5th November 1825. Victoria and Albert Museum E2334-1910



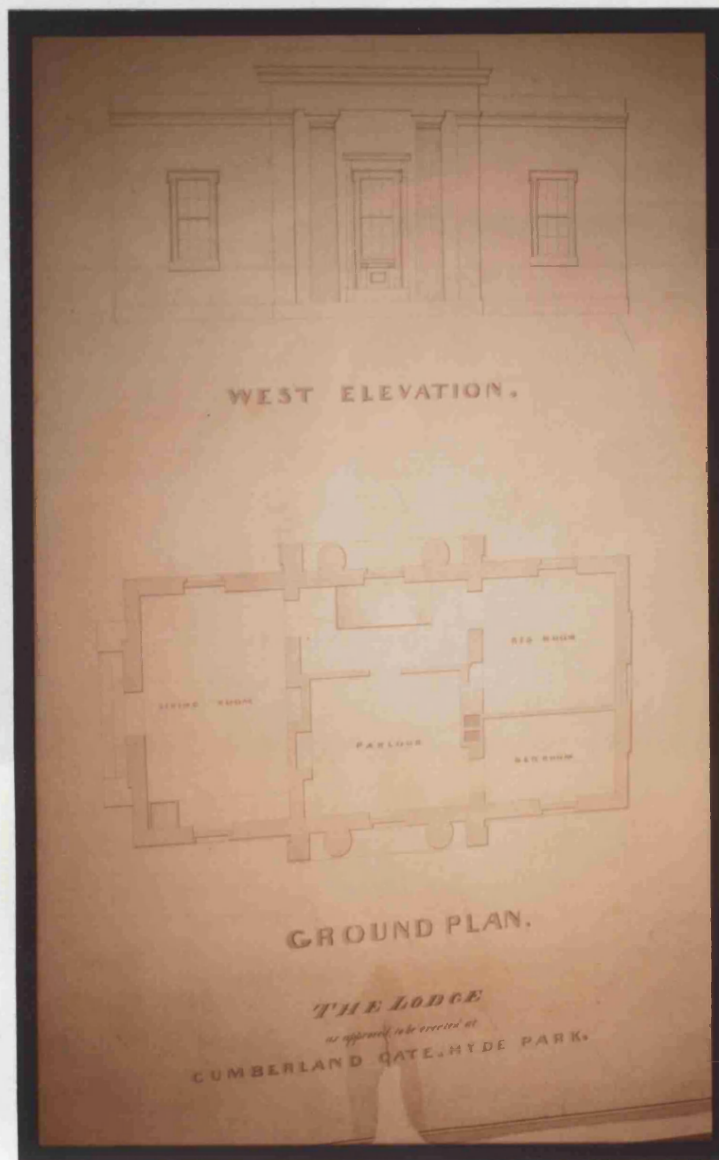
Chapter 5 plate 10, Perspective of Hyde Park Screen and the Green Park Arch, unsigned and undated, watercolour. Royal Institute of British Architects drawings collection, X05/D/5.



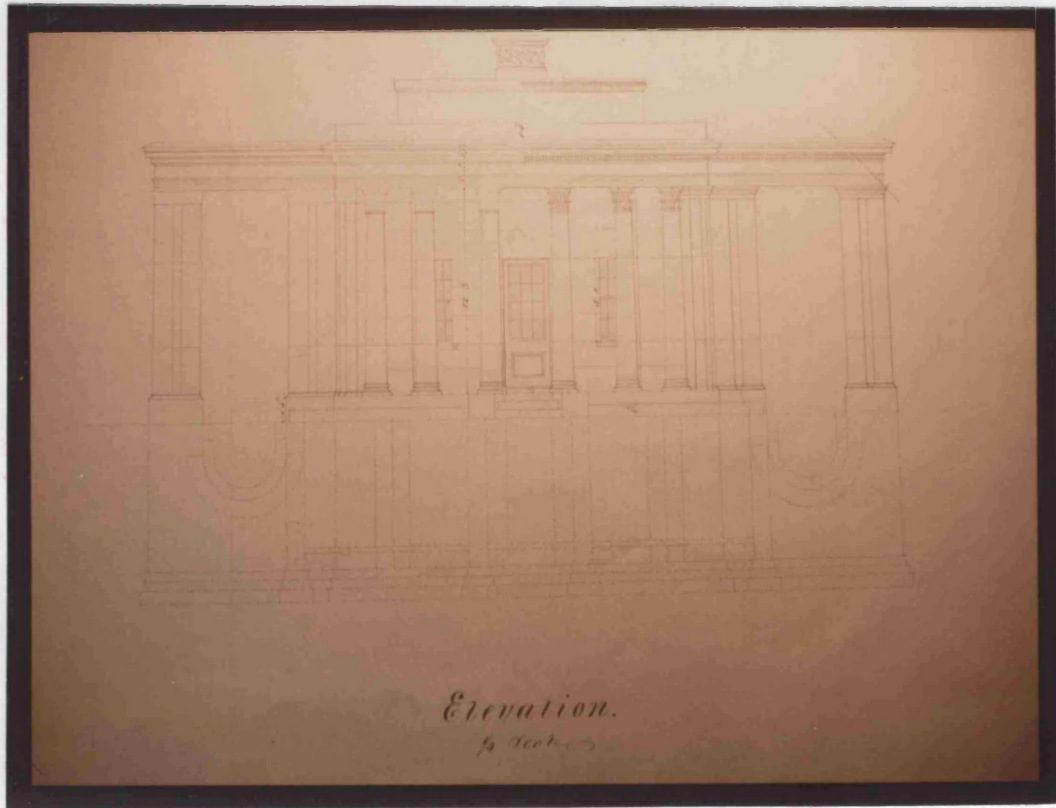
Chapter 5 plate 10a Detail of Perspective of Hyde Park Screen
and the Green Park Arch, unsigned and undated, watercolour.
Royal Institute of British Architects drawings collection, X05/D/5



Chapter 6 plate 1, Design for Cumberland Lodge, by Decimus
Burton, 20th July, 1825, PRO, MPE 754



Chapter 6 plate 2a, Elevation of the Bayswater Road Lodge, by
Decimus Burton, July 1827, PRO, MPE 794

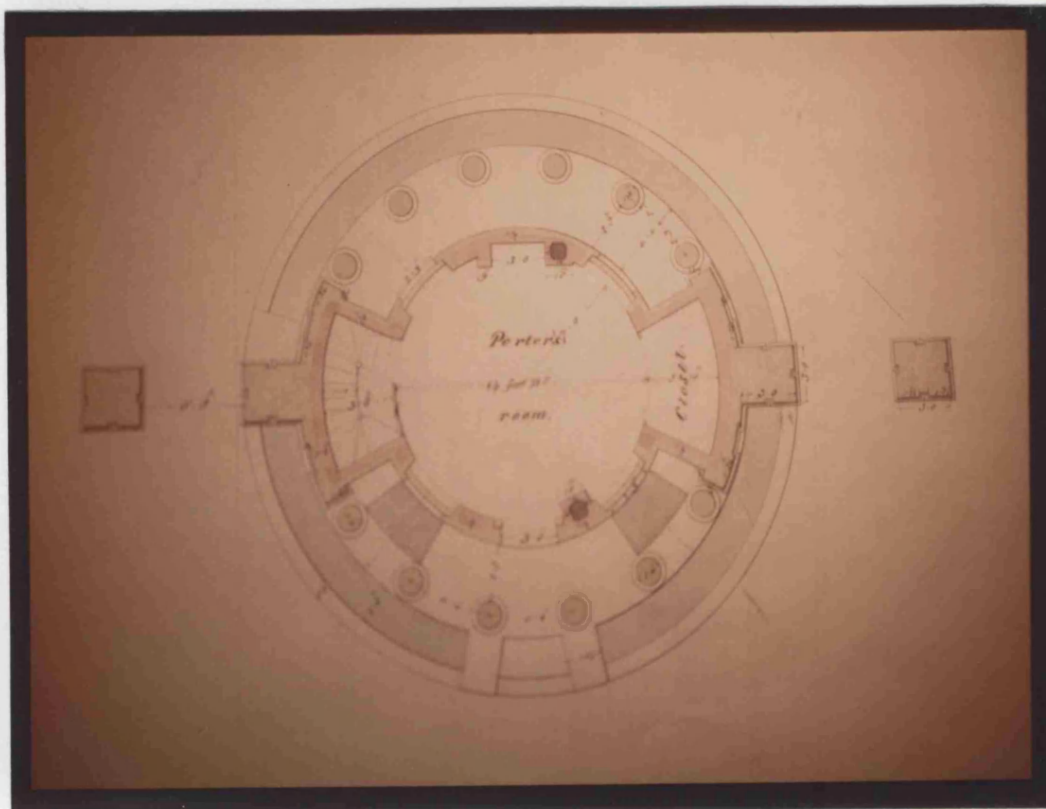


Chapter 6 plate 2, Section of the Bayswater Road Lodge, by
Decimus Burton, July 1827, PRO, MPE 794

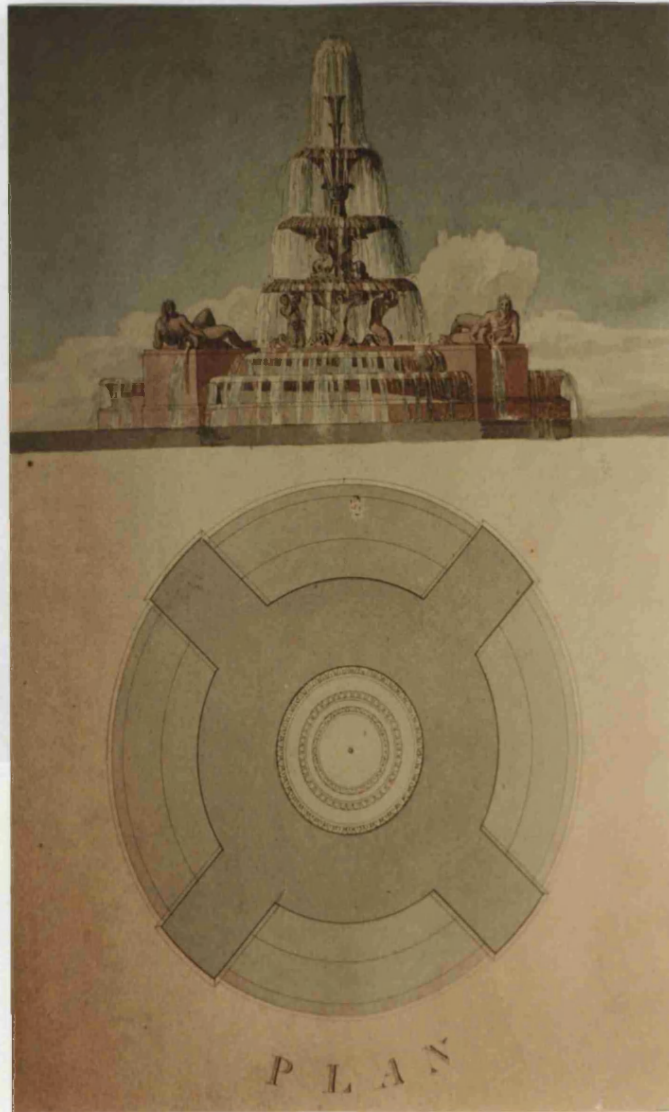


Transverse Section.
to scale.

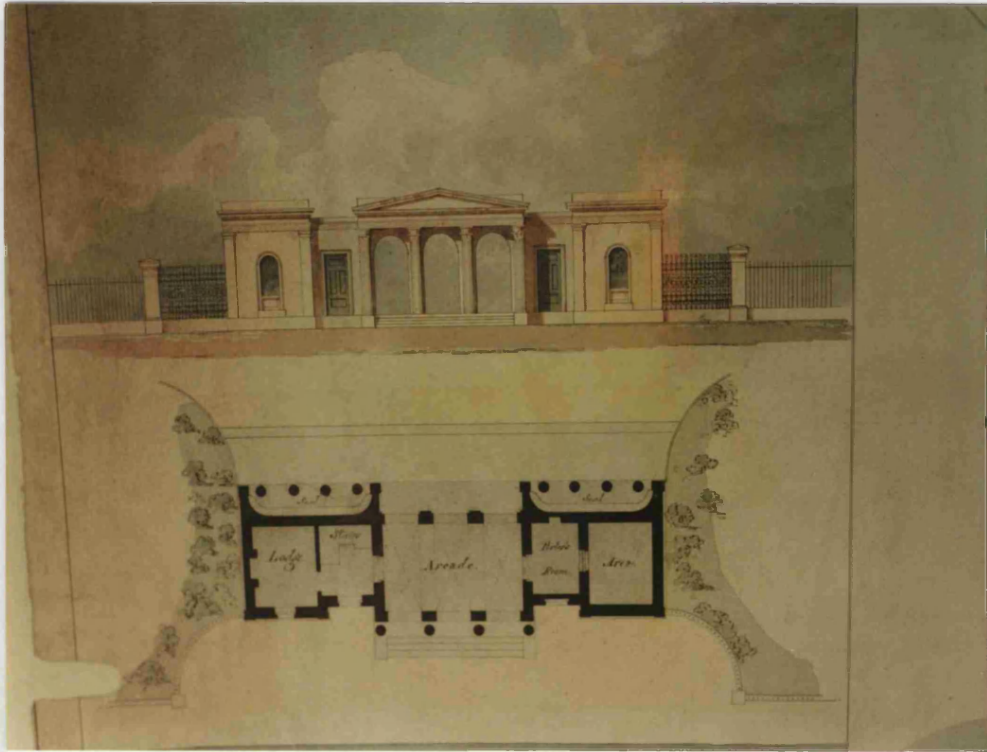
Chapter 6 plate 2c, Plan of the Bayswater Road Lodge, by
Decimus Burton, July 1827, PRO, MPE 794



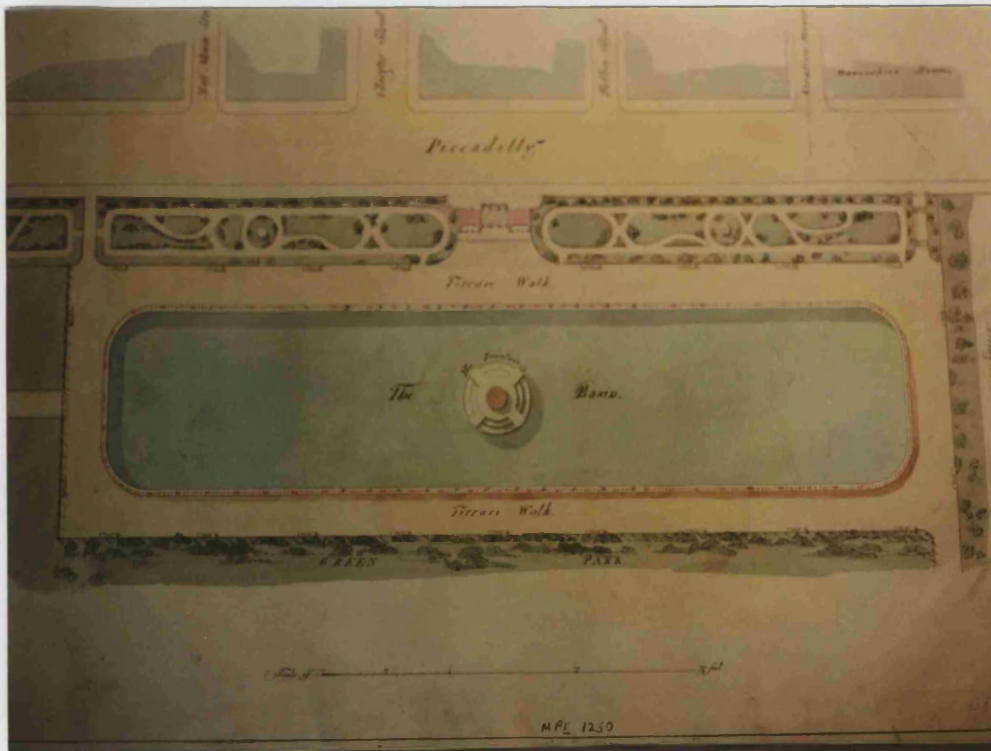
Chapter 6 plate 3a, Detail of sheet of designs for a Fountain in and Entrance to Green Park from Piccadilly, by Decimus Burton, March 1827, PRO, MPE 1250



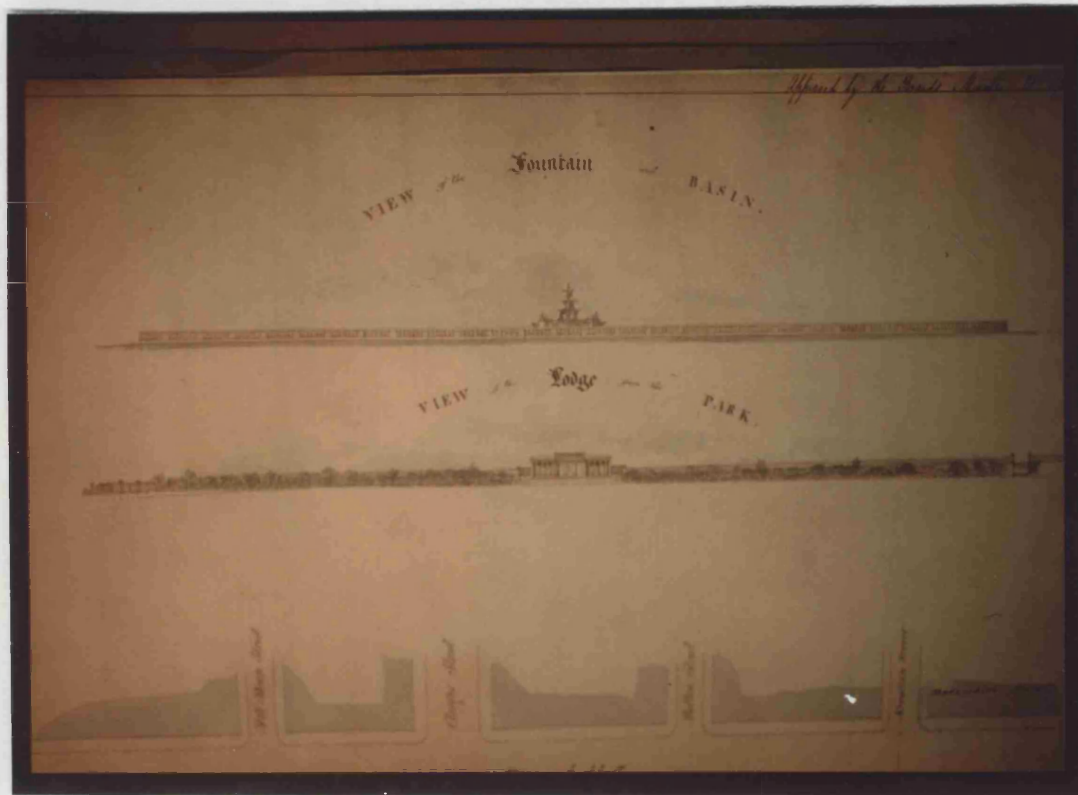
Chapter 6 plate 3b, Detail of sheet of designs for a Fountain in and Entrance to Green Park from Piccadilly, by Decimus Burton, March 1827, PRO, MPE 1250



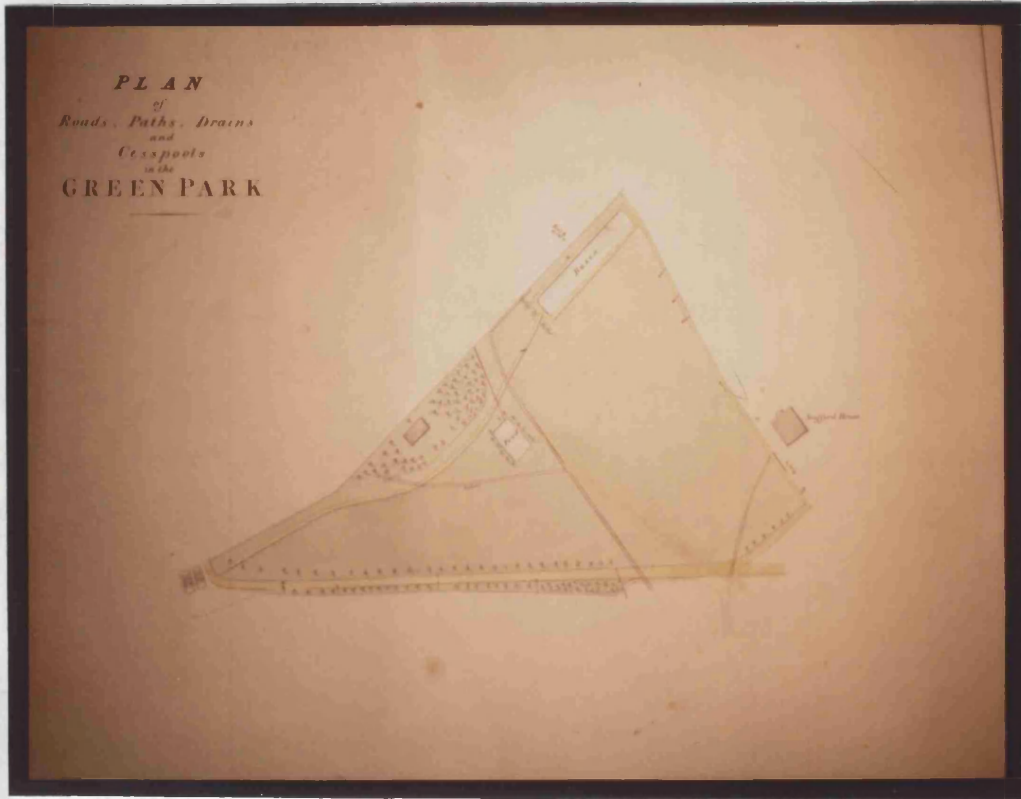
Chapter 6 plate 3c, Detail of sheet of designs for a Fountain in
and Entrance to Green Park from Piccadilly, by Decimus Burton,
March 1827, PRO, MPE 1250



Chapter 6 plate 3d, Detail of sheet of designs for a Fountain in and Entrance to Green Park from Piccadilly, by Decimus Burton, March 1827, PRO, MPE 1250

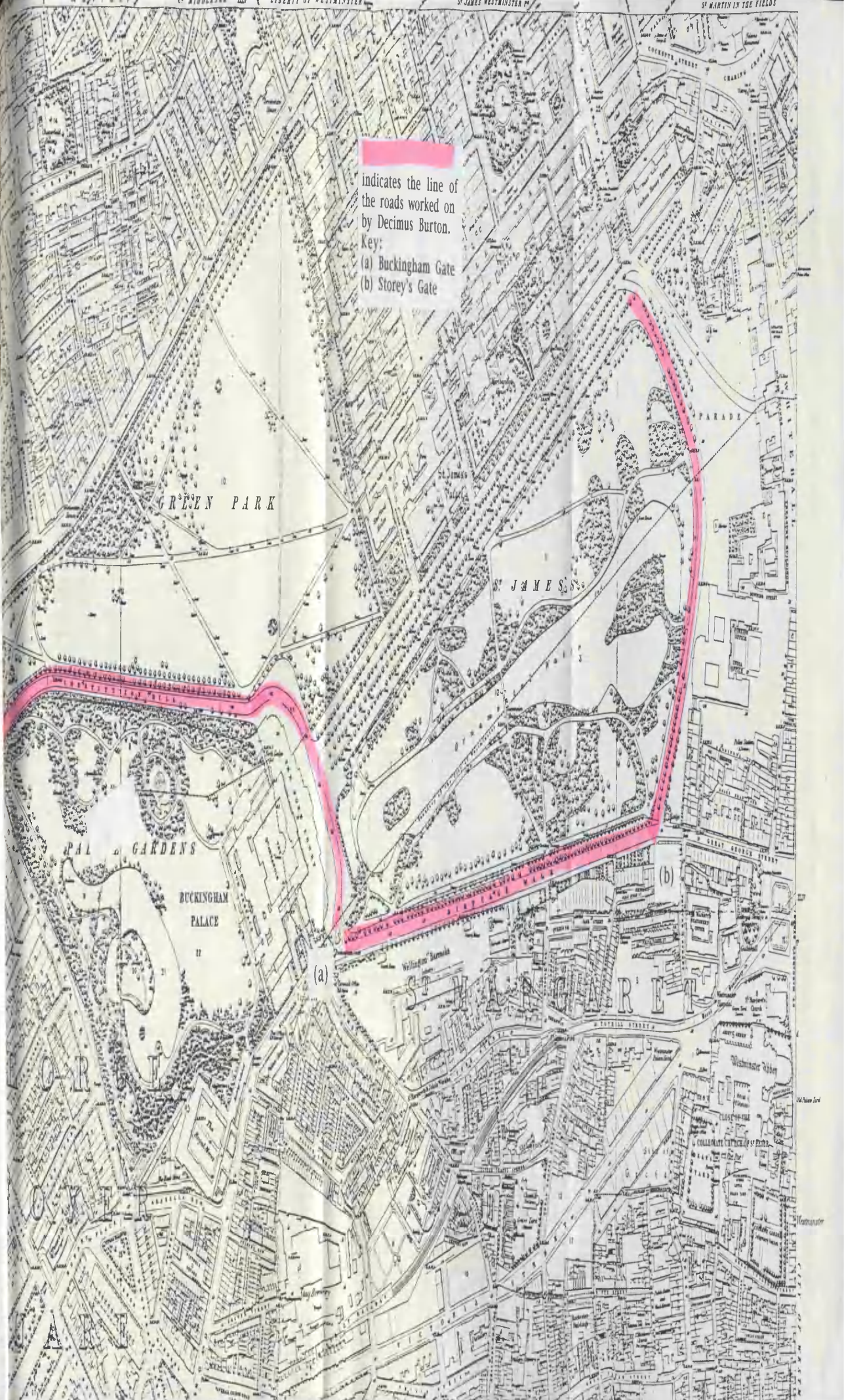


Chapter 6 plate 4, A survey of Roads, drains and cesspools in the Green Park, by Decimus Burton, 1829, PRO, MPE 769



indicates the line of the roads worked on by Decimus Burton.

- Key:
- (a) Buckingham Gate
 - (b) Storey's Gate



GREEN PARK

ST JAMES'S

PALACE GARDENS

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

(a)

(b)

WESTMINSTER

St James's Park

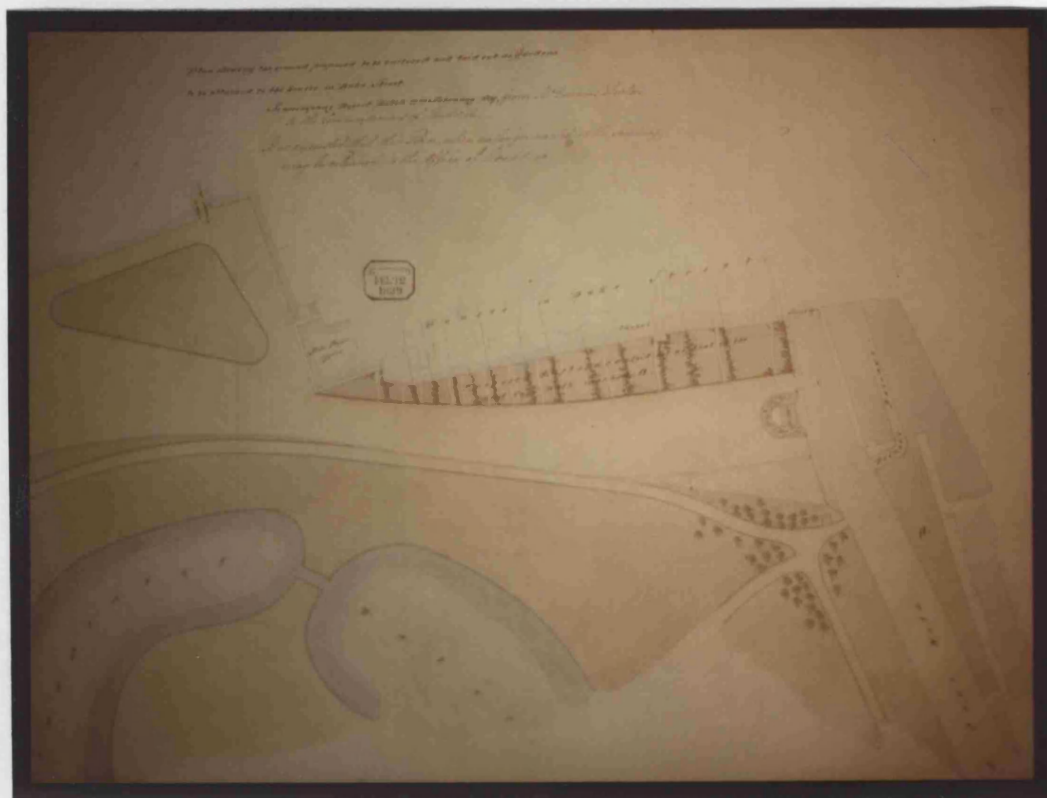
Westminster

Chapter 6 plate 5, A map indicating Decimus Burton's work on the roads and entrances to St James's Park and Green Park.

Chapter 6 plate 6, Detail of plan no 1 for Storey's Gate, St James's Park, by Decimus Burton, 6th June 1838, PRO, MPE 958.



Chapter 6 plate 7, Detail of plan no 2 for Storey's Gate, St James's Park, by Decimus Burton, 12th February 1839, PRO, MPE 809.



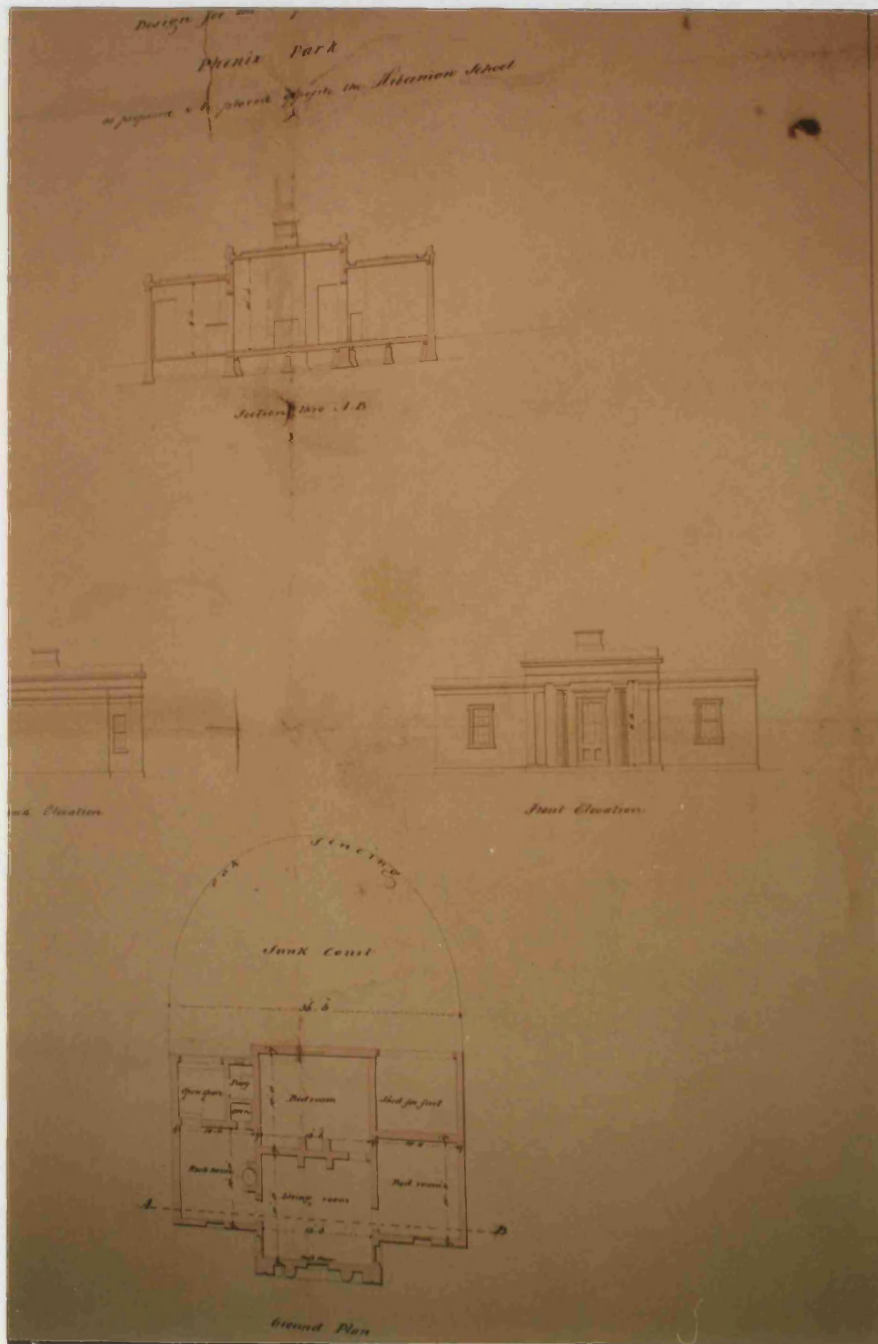
Chapter 7 plate 1, A plan of The Phoenix Park in 1830 from the Appendix to the Twenty Second Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1845.



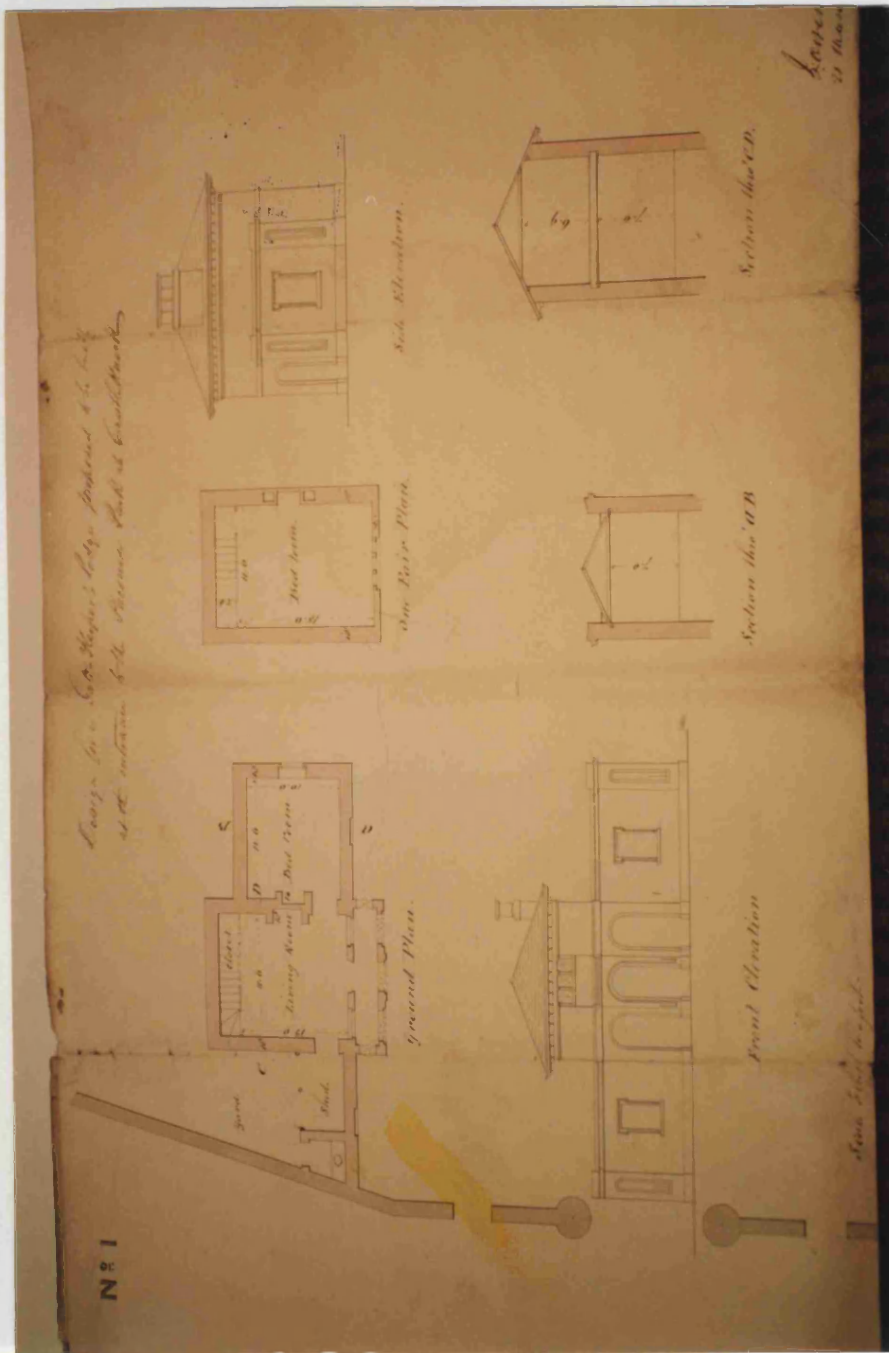
Chapter 7 plate 2, A plan of The Phoenix Park in 1845 from the Appendix to the Twenty Second Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1845.



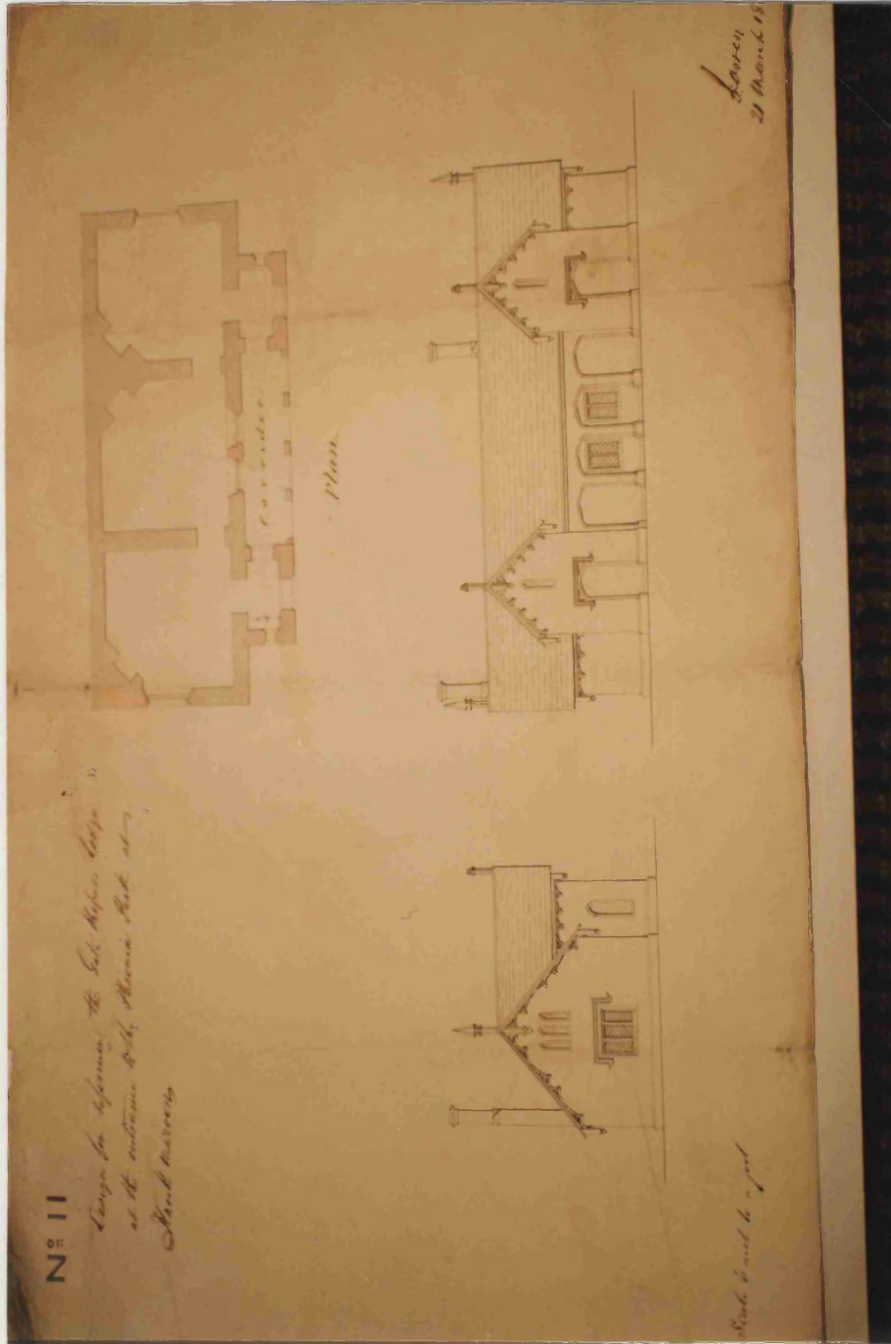
Chapter 7 plate 3, Design for the Chapelized Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, by Decimus Burton, 1833, National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



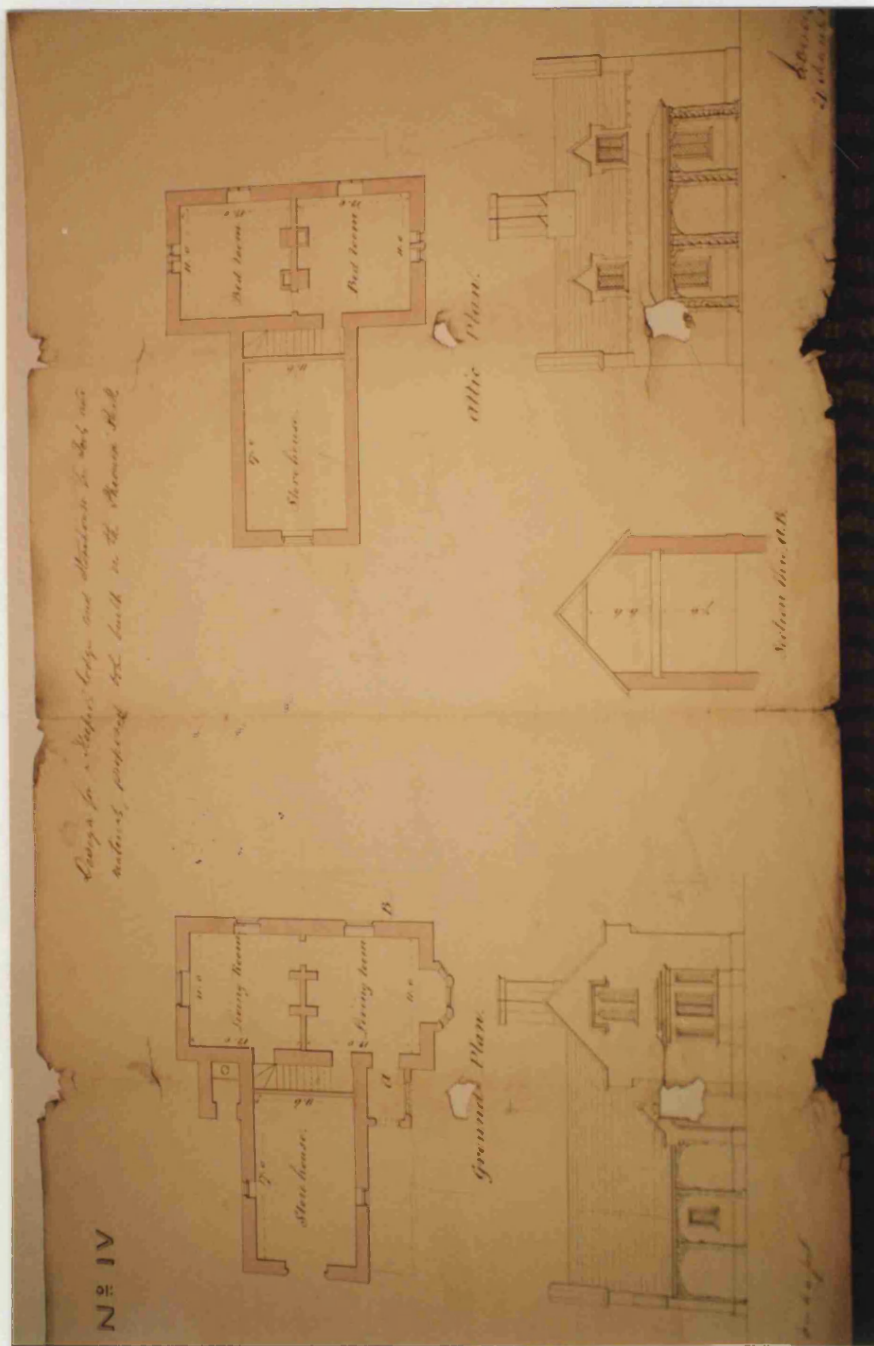
Chapter 7 plate 4, Design for Castleknock Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, by Jacob Owen, 21st March 1834, National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



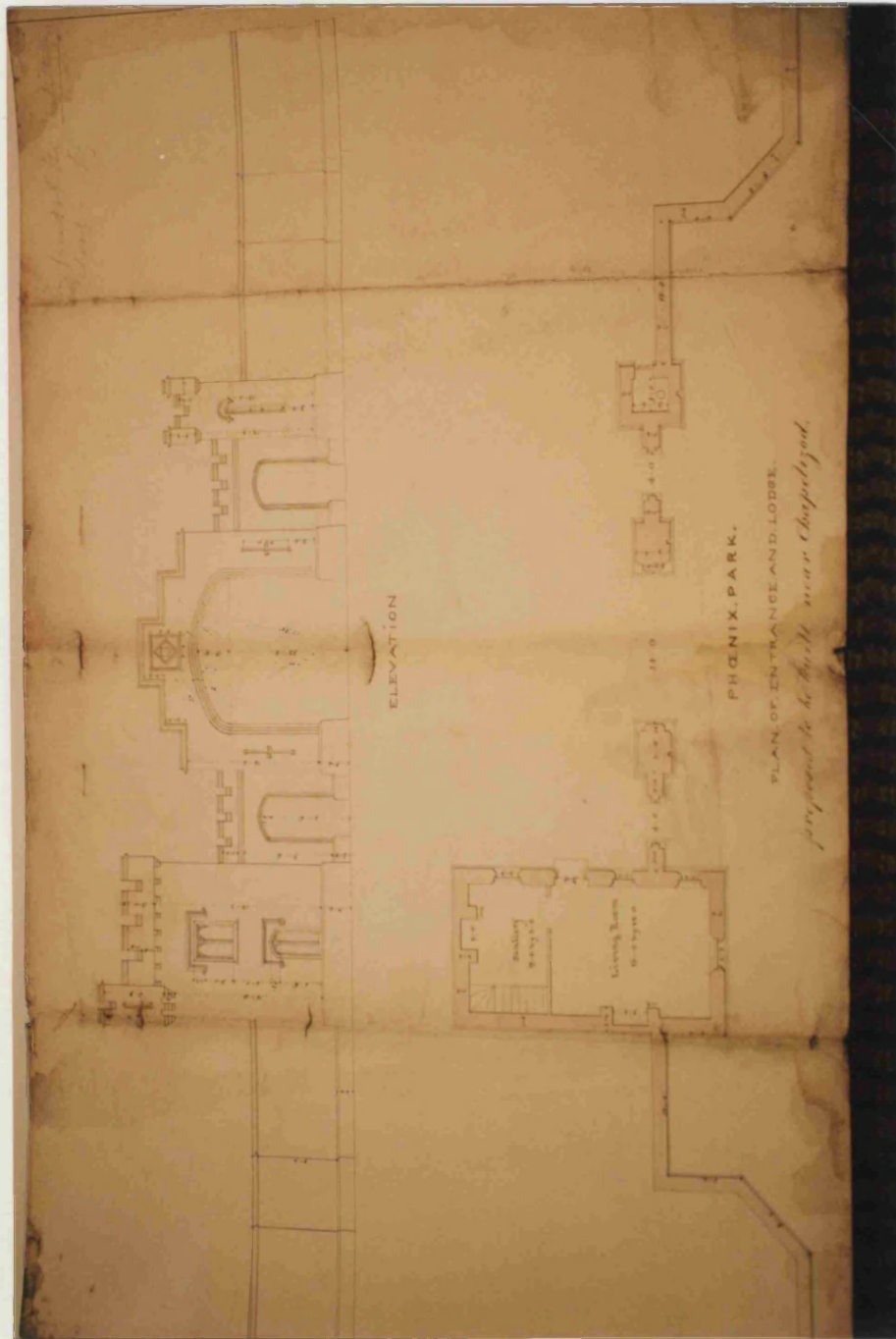
Chapter 7 plate 5, Design for Knockmaroon Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, by Jacob Owen, 21st March 1834, National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



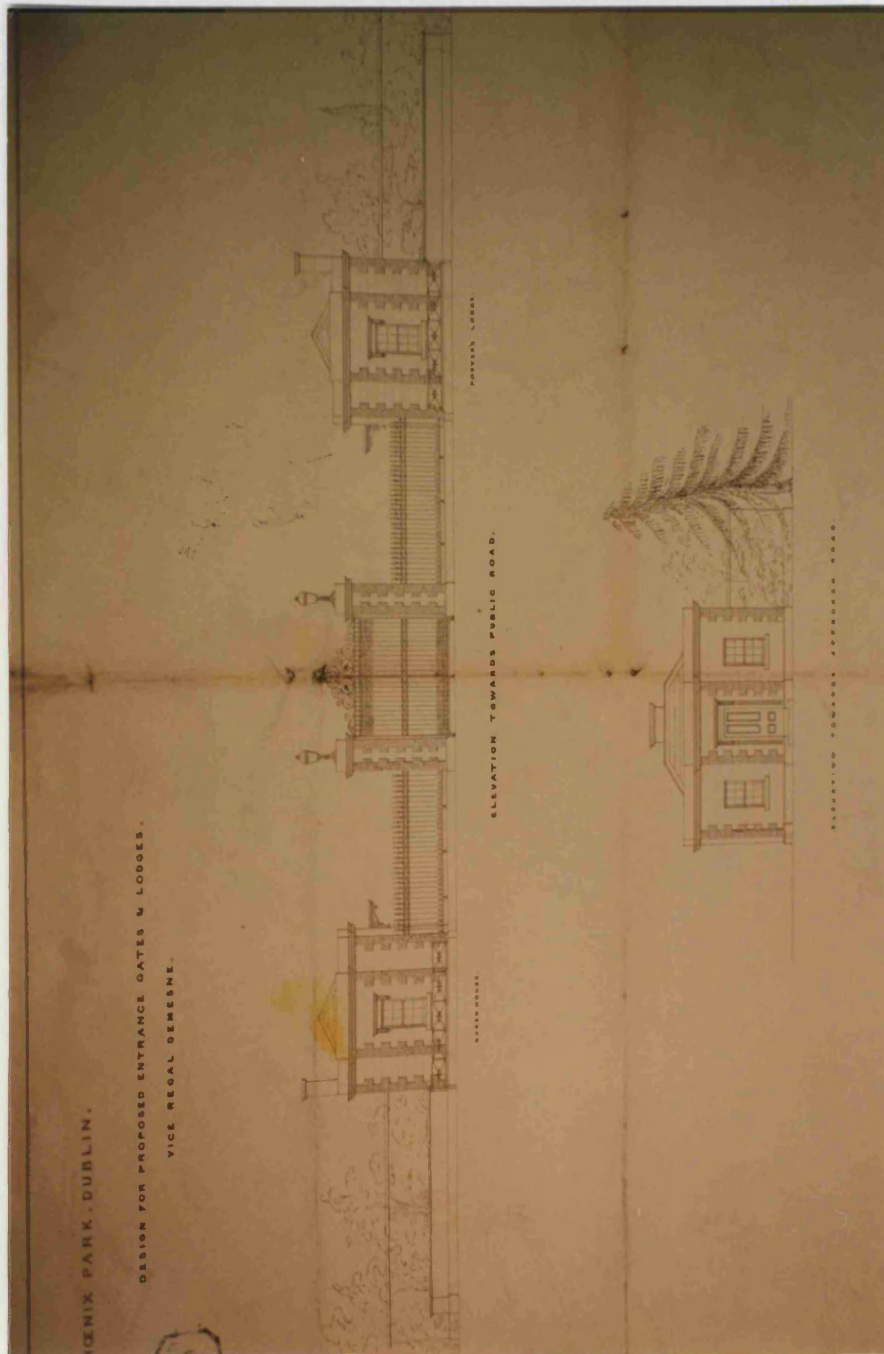
Chapter 7 plate 6, Design for a keeper's lodge and store, The Phoenix Park, by Jacob Owen, 21st March 1834, National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



Chapter 7 plate 7, Design for Chapelized Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, by Jacob Owen, undated, National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



Chapter 7 plate 8, Design for Entrance Gates and Lodges to the Vice regal Demesne, The Phoenix Park, by Decimus Burton, 20th June 1840. National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder 13170/03.



Chapter 7 plate 9, A plan showing the alignment of Chapelizod Gate (centre bottom) and the Hibernian Military School, The Phoenix Park, by Decimus Burton, 1833. National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folderHC/2/65.



Chapter 7 plate 10, Chapelized Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, today showing the use of limestone and Killiney Granite.



Chapter 7 plate 11, Castleknock Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, today.



Chapter 7 plate 12, Knockmaroon Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park, today showing the use of Golden Hill Granite and lime stucco.



Chapter 7 plate 13, Knockmaroon Gate Lodge, The Phoenix Park. today showing the entrance arrangement to the park.



Chapter 7 plate 14, A plan showing the site of the proposed villa plots in The Phoenix Park, by Decimus Burton, 10th September 1840. National Archives of Ireland, OPW 5 temporary folder HC/2/84.

